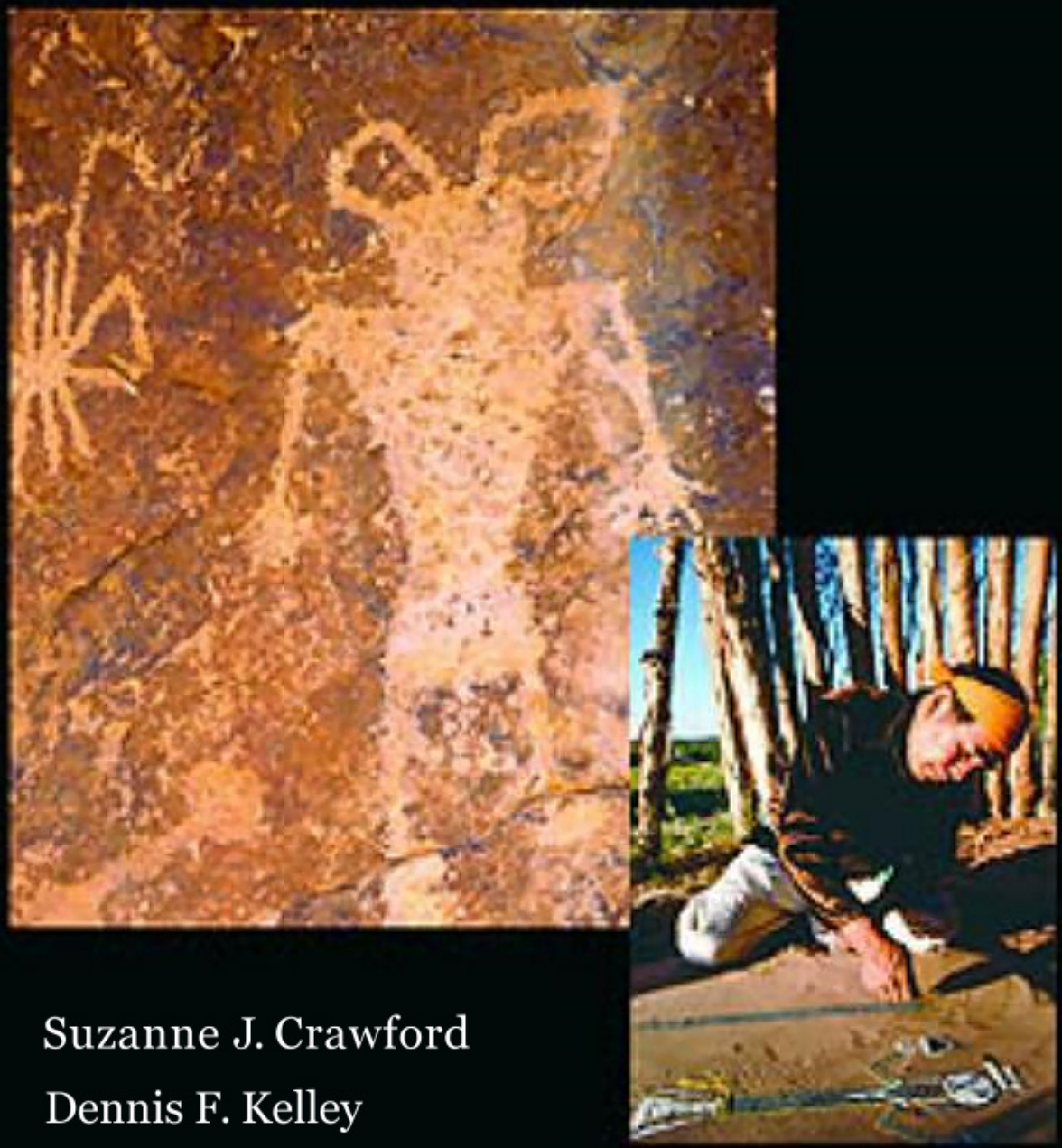
AMERICAN INDIAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

An Encyclopedia



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American Indian Religious Traditions

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An Encyclopedia

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Suzanne J. Crawford and Dennis F. Kelley

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These volumes are dedicated to the memory of my mentor and friend, Professor Howard Harrod, who passed away February 3, 2003. We are blessed to be able to include his work in this project. Howard first introduced me to the study of American Indian religious traditions and encouraged me to continue. Without him, this work would never have come into being.

—Suzanne J. Crawford

I would like to dedicate my efforts in this work to the women and men who strive to maintain their Native cultures and languages so that subsequent generations of American Indians can know who they are, and from where they have come. With this knowledge, they can know where they are going.

—Dennis F. Kelley

The editors have directed that proceeds from the sale of these volumes go to benefit the American Indian College Fund. Information about this important organization can be found at http://www.american-indiancollegefund.org.

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Introduction

Welcome to *American Indian Religious Traditions: An Encyclopedia*. These volumes are the culmination of an enormous amount of effort from many different corners of both academia and Indian Country. Our goal in creating this reference work was to compile a set of articles that would help to define the academic study of American Indian religious traditions as it is undertaken at the beginning of the twenty-first century and to create a reference work both sensitive to and reflective of the political and ethical concerns of the Native communities upon which these volumes depend. The entries in these volumes, therefore, do not approach religion as an isolated experience but as an integral part of cultural, political, economic, and social lives, placing their individual topics within the wider social and political context. These volumes are made up of entries by Native academics and community members, as well as non-Native scholars who have demonstrated themselves sensitive to the concerns of Native communities and aware of the political implications of their work. We are proud to present entries written by the top scholars in the field, whose scholarly endeavors are a testimony to their ethical commitment to Native cultural survival. We have worked to ensure that Native voices are respected in these volumes, encouraging our authors to consult with elders, community leaders, and tribal cultural resource managers whenever possible. And we are encouraged that more than half of the entries in these volumes are written by scholars who are themselves of Native descent.

For much of its early history, scholarship on Native communities was done by non-Native authors who had little knowledge of the internal workings of Native communities and cultures. Interpreted from the perspective of outsiders, much of this early work misrepresented Native religious life. This encyclopedia seeks to rectify this problem by presenting Native spiritual traditions as they are understood by people within the communities themselves.

This project stands apart from other reference works in a number of ways. The authors in these volumes have been allowed to maintain their own voice, perspective, and position. We have not dictated the focus, content, or style of entries, but provided guidelines within which our authors have creatively worked. The reader may therefore notice the use of the first person and the citation of individual Native elders as authoritative sources, methods not often found in reference works. Rather than a

series of brief, definitional paragraphs, defining specific ceremonies or individuals, readers will find more general entries that place the specific within a broader context.

In an era when much of Native religious life is at risk because of threats to sacred land, repressive laws, or misappropriation by New Age religious groups, it is extremely important that these traditions be presented to the wider public in a way that both informs them of the true nature and context of Native religious life and is simultaneously respectful of Native privacy and intellectual property rights. Our overall intention for this project is to provide students with research and learning resources that are both reliable and respectful. The entries and suggestions for further reading set their topics within a historical context as well as a contemporary setting; it is our hope that students, as well as interested individuals in the wider population, will find this a valuable resource as they begin their own research into American Indian cultural life.

Rather than brief dictionary-style entries we have chosen to include longer entries that demonstrate the complexity and context of the issues involved. To lead the reader through the complex web of culture, experience, and history that makes up American Indian religious life, the entries are intentionally linked, via cross-references. Longer, chapter-length entries are devoted to broad topics such as Dance, Ritual and Ceremony, and Religious Leadership.

How to Use These Volumes

If you have a specific term, ceremony, individual, or tribal nation in mind that you would like to study, we recommend that you first turn to the index. At the end of the book you will find an index of tribal nations and key terms that will lead you to relevant entries. Keep in mind that some tribal nations are known by more than one name: for instance, many people think of the Native nation living in the four corners area of the Southwest as the Navajo. They refer to themselves, however, as the Diné. In this project, we have chosen to use the names for Native nations that they themselves prefer to use. The index will help readers find the nations that might be listed in the volumes using an unfamiliar name.

Each entry is followed by suggestions for further reading and research. These include scholarly works cited within the entry and other works that the contributor recommends as reliable resources. Many students undertaking the study of American Indian religious traditions are confronted by the difficult task of weeding through reliable and unreliable sources. It is our hope that these references will help to point students toward solid scholarship that has been conducted with careful sensitivity to the concerns and needs of the Native communities.

A Brief Word on Terminology

As many people from within Native American communities can confirm, the language that is used with regard to

American Indian culture is contested and highly politicized. Mainstream culture and New Age writing frequently refer to "The Indian," suggesting that there is a single identity and experience that defines the Native people of this country. With over 500 federally recognized tribes (not to mention the hundreds of tribes recognized at only the state level), this is clearly not the case. Each nation possesses a unique culture, language, history, and sense of identity. The tendency in the dominant culture to take these multiple and complex topics as parts of a single whole has added to the kind of rhetoric against which Native people now find themselves struggling. At the outset, these volumes set themselves apart from such homogenizing by reference to the plurality of American Indian religious traditions. The entries in this volume avoid broad generalizations and focus on specific, grounded examples of individual Nations. Throughout these volumes the reader will find names and terminologies in their original indigenous language. This is done in an effort to demonstrate tribally specific phenomena as they are perceived from within the indigenous community. It will therefore be necessary for the reader to contend with terms presented in their appropriate indigenous language as well as with the creative use of English terms that come closer to the communities' own understanding than other more commonly-used words. One important example of the latter is the use of the word "shaman." In many non-Native publications, the term "shaman" refers to any and all spiritual leaders among any and all indigenous populations. We have worked to avoid the use of the "shaman" label in these volumes, as we feel it negates the distinct differences existing among indigenous spiritual leaders, healers, and counselors. To introduce readers to these distinctions, these volumes offer extensive entries on spiritual and ceremonial practitioners, providing examples from throughout Indian Country of many distinct and unique religious practitioners. Some contributors may choose to keep the problematic term "shaman," but they do so in a way that situates them locally.

Many readers will be familiar with the debate over the use of the words "Indian," "Native," and "First Peoples" to refer to the indigenous people of this hemisphere. The term "Indian" is the familiar self-reference that most Native communities use among themselves and its use here is intended to convey the internal-community-to-external-audience nature of this work. The use of the term "Indian" here is reflective of the intimate relationship with Native communities within which the entries were created and therefore does not advocate its broad use among non-Native people—it is a recognition of its use and importance among indigenous communities.

What's Here and What's Not

Perhaps the most difficult part of a project such as this is deciding what will be included and what will be excluded.

Given a limited amount of space, we quickly realized that much would necessarily be left out. We have tried to include those topics that are most likely familiar to students and that they are most likely to be researching in a reference work. Although we recognize the impossibility of including every tribal nation and every tradition, we have done our best to give students a sense of the vast diversity of American Indian cultures. We encouraged our authors to provide general overviews, along with a few detailed, grounded examples of the traditions that they were discussing. We decided that offering a few specific examples dealt with carefully and at length, would better serve our student readers than entries that discussed large numbers of traditions without nuanced descriptions or adequate contextualization. The volumes thus address broader topics and ideas, rather than specific minutia. The entries include tribally specific examples of these broader ideas and hopefully succeed in demonstrating the diversity of traditions. Still, we must readily admit that these entries are nowhere near exhaustive. They are meant to provide a brief introduction to the complexity and diversity of experience and to point our readers in the direction of more detailed information.

Because of the limited space and our desire to adequately cover those areas we did include, we made the difficult decision that we would not seek to extensively discuss tribal nations in Hawaii, Mexico, or Canada. However, we drew these national boundaries with extreme flexibility. We worked to construct these boundaries as Native nations do: nations and cultures oftentimes transgress political borders. For this reason, we encouraged authors whose topics crossed political borders to do so as well. Entries discussing nations from the Pacific Northwest Coast thus include nations from British Columbia, and entries on northern Alaska include information on Inuit and Northern Athabaskan communities in Canada. Entries on Native cultures from the Great Lakes and New England likewise cross the Canadian divide. And, some entries discussing the American Southwest freely cross over into northern Mexico. We knew we could not possibly do justice to the complex tribal and cultural diversities within Canada, the Pacific, and Mexico. And yet, we also did not want to laboriously draw our borders along these political lines. Hence, the contributors were encouraged to make reference to communities in these areas when appropriate.

And finally, many subjects were intentionally left out. Many religious traditions for Native communities are extremely private and not meant to be discussed in print. Some people may argue that we have gone too far with what we did include. Some might insist that it is never appropriate to discuss religion in print. We hope that the entries represented here demonstrate our concern to respect the values and wishes of the Native communities they discuss. Some traditions, such as detailed information regarding

secret societies, details of ritual activity, sacred songs and prayers, and images of sacred objects are not meant to be represented outside of their specific ritual and ceremonial context. Although much has been published about these subjects elsewhere, we chose not to do so. By way of example, the Huadenasaunne (or Iroquois) Six-Nation Confederation has requested that no reproductions or images of False Face masks be publicly available. For this reason, no images of False Face masks appear in these volumes.

The editorial board and we volume editors have made every effort to produce this work with honor and any shortcomings will hopefully be tempered by the knowledge that these efforts guided this project.

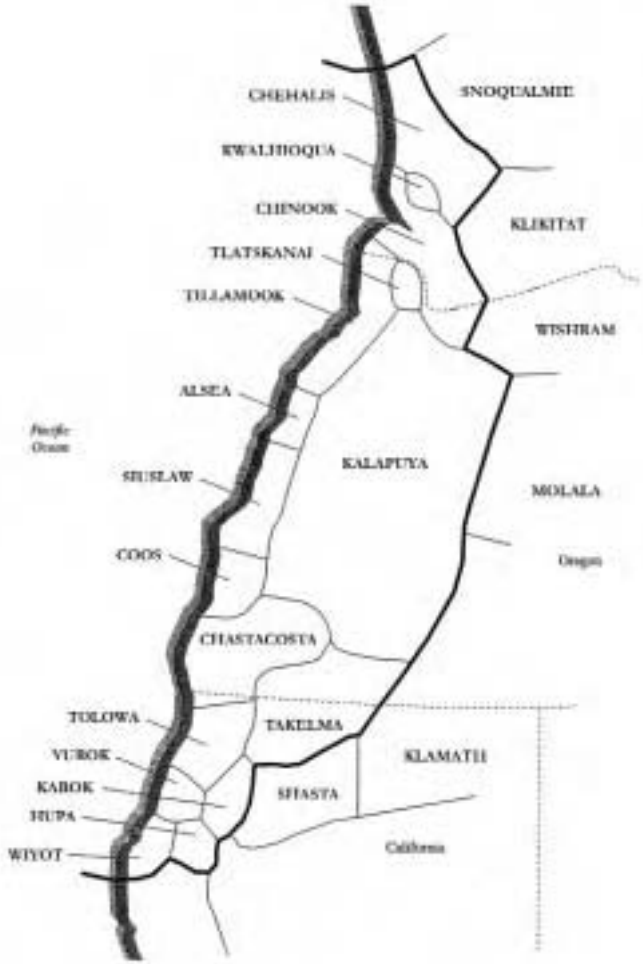
We would like to thank our editorial board for their gracious support and guidance. Each member of the editorial board assisted with overall editorial guidance of the book, and each also offered guidance with materials covering the specific regions with which they had particular expertise. Inés Talamantez (Mescalero Apache), University of California, Santa Barbara, advised us on traditions in the Southwest; Inés Hernandez Avila (Nez Perce/Chicana), University of California, Davis, advised us regarding Native traditions in Southwest and Plateau regions; George Charles (Yup'iq), University of Alaska, Fairbanks, advised us on traditions of Native Alaskans; Lee Irwin, College of Charleston, advised us on traditions of the Great Plains; Joel Martin, University of California, Riverside, advised us on traditions in the Southeast and on historical approaches overall; Ken Mello (Pasamaquoddy), University of Vermont, advised us on entries for the Northeast region of the country; and Michelene Pesantubbee (Choctaw), University of Colorado, Boulder, advised us regarding entries on the Southeast and on contemporary issues relating to gender, sovereignty, and intellectual property rights.

We would also like to thank our families and loved ones for their patient support through what has been a long and difficult project. Suzanne Crawford thanks Michael T. O'Brien for his faith, encouragement, and affection. And Dennis Kelley extends his thanks to his wife, Kate, and their son, Seamus, for their love, patience, and inspiration.

Suzanne J. Crawford
and Dennis F. Kelley


YUPIAQ
Alaska
KOYUKON
INGALIK
TANANA
KUTCHIN
TANAINA
HAN
AHTENA
NABESNA
TUTCHONE
TLINGIT
KASKA
TAHLTAN
TSETSAUT
TSHSHIAN
SEKANI
CARRIER
CHILCOTIN
SHUSWAR
British
Columbia

Alaska



Northwest Coast

Northwest Coast and Alaska

The Northwest Coast culture area encompasses more than 2,000 miles of the Pacific coast, from southern Alaska to northern California. The width of this narrow coastal region varies from about 10 to 150 miles. It is cool, damp, and thickly forested and is cut by many rivers. The mountain ranges that run north-south along the eastern limits of the region include the Coast Ranges in Canada and the Cascade Range in the United States. The region is characterized by mild, wet winters and cool summers. Evergreen forests thrive where there is soil enough to support them, and huge trees form dense canopies that block out much sunlight. Springs and streams from mountain glaciers feed numerous rivers, which, along with the ocean at the coast, provide abundant fish, and the forests are home to abundant plants and animals, providing a wealth of foods and medicines for the Indian peoples of the region.

Northwest Coast peoples speak a variety of languages, with linguistic families ranging from Athapaskan and Penutian, to Salishan and Wakashan. The region is home to numerous and varied tribal traditions, as well, which can be divided into three basic groupings: those of the colder northern area, including the Queen Charlotte Islands of western British Columbia; those of the central region, in the vicinity of Vancouver Island and the mouth of the Columbia River; and those of the warmer southern region, who shared some cultural traits with peoples of the California culture area.

Social organization is primarily focused on extended-family village groups, with regular seasonal cooperative fishing and hunting camps for temporary dwelling. In the central and northern areas, multiple-family houses of cedar planks organized villages into collectives, which shared political connections prior to contact.

Canoes play an important role both culturally and religiously in the central and northern areas at the coasts. Large ocean-going canoes, carved out of single cedar trees, capable of carrying several individuals on fishing, hunting, or trading trips throughout the region were common.

Religious diversity abounds in the region, with southern tribal groups connected to the World Renewal ceremonial paradigm, a complex collection of dances that are key in the firming up and renewing of the earth for

continues

Northwest Coast and Alaska (continued)

the next cycle. People of the central areas and the central and northern regions participate in potlatch ceremonies. Potlatching, once actually outlawed in both Canada and the United States, provides opportunities for the celebration of significant events in the life of the community, such as marriages and births, as well as seasonal observations like solstices and equinoxes. At potlatch ceremonies, the significant aspect is a redistribution of wealth items, often in the form of gift-giving, but at times redistribution includes destruction of property.

The Northwest Coast is a diverse region that requires diverse approaches for the long-term maintenance of available resources, and for the ongoing continuity of tribal cultures. Much of the ceremonial activity in this region, therefore, focuses on both of these aspects, propitiating the spirit world for the continued gifts of fish, game, and plant resources and taking time to celebrate the communities that cooperatively manage these resources.


KALAPUYA
Oregon
KLAMATH
PAVIOTSO
SHASTA
CHIMARIKO
ACHOMAWI
WAILAKI
YANA
YUKI
WINTUN
MAIDU
Nevada
POMO
WASHO
WAPPO
OLAMENTKE
MIWOK
MONO
PANAMINT
COSTANO
Pacific
Ocean
TUBATULABAL
YOKUTS
SALINA
PAIUTE
CHUMASH
SERRANO
KAWAIISU
GABRIELINO
LUISENO
YUMA
KAMIA
PAPAGO
DIEGUENO
California

California

The California Indians, when taken as a whole, reside in a culture area that includes roughly the present-day state of California as well as the Lower California Peninsula, or Baja California. There are two mountain ranges that run north and south through the state of California: the Coast Ranges to the west and the Sierra Nevada to the east. The Coast Ranges drop off to coastal lowlands along the Pacific coast in most areas, but rocky cliffs and awe-inspiring vistas characterize the range to the north. Between the Coast Ranges and the Sierra Nevada, the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers form a basin known as the Central Valley. The climate is generally a mild, Mediterranean-style, with wet and dry seasons and many days of warm weather, especially in the south. Rainfall varies significantly throughout the state, with the forested regions in the north receiving the highest levels and the deserts in the south the lowest. Plant and animal life abound, and the region boasts a rich and varied ecology.

The Sierra Nevada mountain range has long provided a natural barrier to the movement of peoples. As a result, Native Americans east of the Sierra Nevada practice markedly different ways of life and are often included in the Great Basin or Southwest culture areas. Some Indian peoples just south of California's present-day northern border shared ways of life with peoples of the Northwest Coast culture area and the Plateau culture area further inland.

California was one of the most densely populated North American culture areas before European contact, with numerous tribes and bands speaking more than 100 distinct languages. Nearly all of the Indian language families in the lower forty-eight states are represented in California.

Much scientific evidence places the first human occupancy of California at the very end of the last ice age (approx. 10,000 years BP), but the rich nature of tribal sacred history reveals a continuous interaction between peoples, movements in and out of regions, and long-term stewardship of specific regions from time immemorial. It very well may have been that the California culture area was a melting pot of sorts, with tribal groups influencing one another through both trade and population movement.

continues

California (continued)

California once had abundant resources that supported large Native American populations without the need for agriculture before the arrival of Europeans. The dietary staple of most California Indians was the acorn, which was collected in the fall. Acorns can be pounded into flour and rinsed of the bitter-tasting tannic acid, creating an acorn meal that can be boiled into a soup or gruel or baked into bread. This complex carbohydrate, when augmented with protein from fish or meat, provides an extremely healthy diet.

Most Native Americans in the California culture area lived in villages of related families with descent and property ownership traced through the male's family. Permanent villages often had smaller satellite villages nearby, and the complex was presided over by one principal chief, acting much like the mayors of contemporary California. In addition, many regional groups made use of temporary hunting or gathering camps that they occupied for portions of the year.

Religiously, the region is far too diverse to accommodate here, but suffice it to say that the sometimes-fickle nature of California's weather patterns produced philosophical systems that took the uncertain nature of the universe into consideration, with the sacred beings often unconcerned about their human communities. Not relying on simple good versus evil scenarios, California Indian religions tend to view the world as it is. Religious professionals have the ability to sway spiritual matters in one direction or another, either through the employment of specific ritualized formulae, or through the constant monitoring of the movements of the cosmos. California Indian peoples also employed healing artists, people with knowledge of the workings of the human body, herbal remedies to aid in the body's repair, and propitiation of spiritual influences that may be causing physical harm from the spiritual realm.

California's diverse and varied climate, then, presides over a diverse human situation, as well, with many language groupings interacting with the physical landscape, producing religious systems that allow for the continuing interaction with territory both physical and sacred.


SEKANI
BEAVER
CARRIER
SARSI
CHILCOTIN
KWAK'WAK'WKAW
SHUSWAP
Canada
LILLOOET
BLACKFOOT
COMOX
THOMPSON
NICOLA
LAKE
COWICHAN
OKANAGON
KUTENAI
KLALLAM
SANPOIL
KALISPEL
COLUMBIA
SPOKANE
Washington
COEUR
a' ALENE
YAKAMA
KLIKITAT
WALLAWALLA
FLATHEAD
NEZ PERCE
Montana
WISHRAM
UMATILLA
TENINO
CAYUSE
MOLALA
Idaho
PAVIOTSO
Oregon
SHOSHONI
Plateau

Plateau

The native people of the Plateau are linguistically and culturally diverse. Many aspects of their lives are unique adaptations to the mountains and valleys in which they live. However, these people were strongly influenced by the Plains people to the east and the Northwest Coast people to the west prior to Euro-American contact. Most of the Plateau people lived in small villages or village clusters, with economies based on hunting, fishing, and wild horticulture.

The Plateau culture area is an upland region that encompasses the Columbia Plateau and the basins of the great Fraser and Columbia Rivers. The Columbia Plateau is surrounded by the Cascade Mountains to the west, the Rocky Mountains to the east, the desert country of the Great Basin to the south, and the forest and hill country of the upper Fraser River to the north.

The mountains bordering the Columbia Plateau catch large amounts of rain and snowfall. This precipitation drains into a great number of rivers and streams, many of which feed the Columbia River on its way to the Pacific Ocean. The mountains and river valleys have enough water to support forests of pine, hemlock, spruce, fir, and cedar, while the land between the mountain ranges consists of flatlands and rolling hills covered with grasses and sagebrush. The climate varies greatly depending on proximity to the ocean and the altitude. Game animals are generally small, except in the mountain areas. However, nutritious plant foods such as tubers and roots can be found in meadows and river valleys. Seasonal runs of salmon in the Columbia, Fraser, and tributary rivers significantly enhanced the region's available food supply, providing both a staple food and a key sacred symbol.

The Plateau was not as densely populated as the Northwest Coast culture area to the west before contact, yet many different tribes have called the region home. Two language groups are dominant: Penutian speakers such as the Cayuse, Klamath, Klickitat, Modoc, Nez Perce, Palouse, Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Yakama in the interior portions, and Salishan speakers, the Columbia, Coeur d'Alene, Flathead, Kalispel, Shuswap, and Spokane to the northwest.

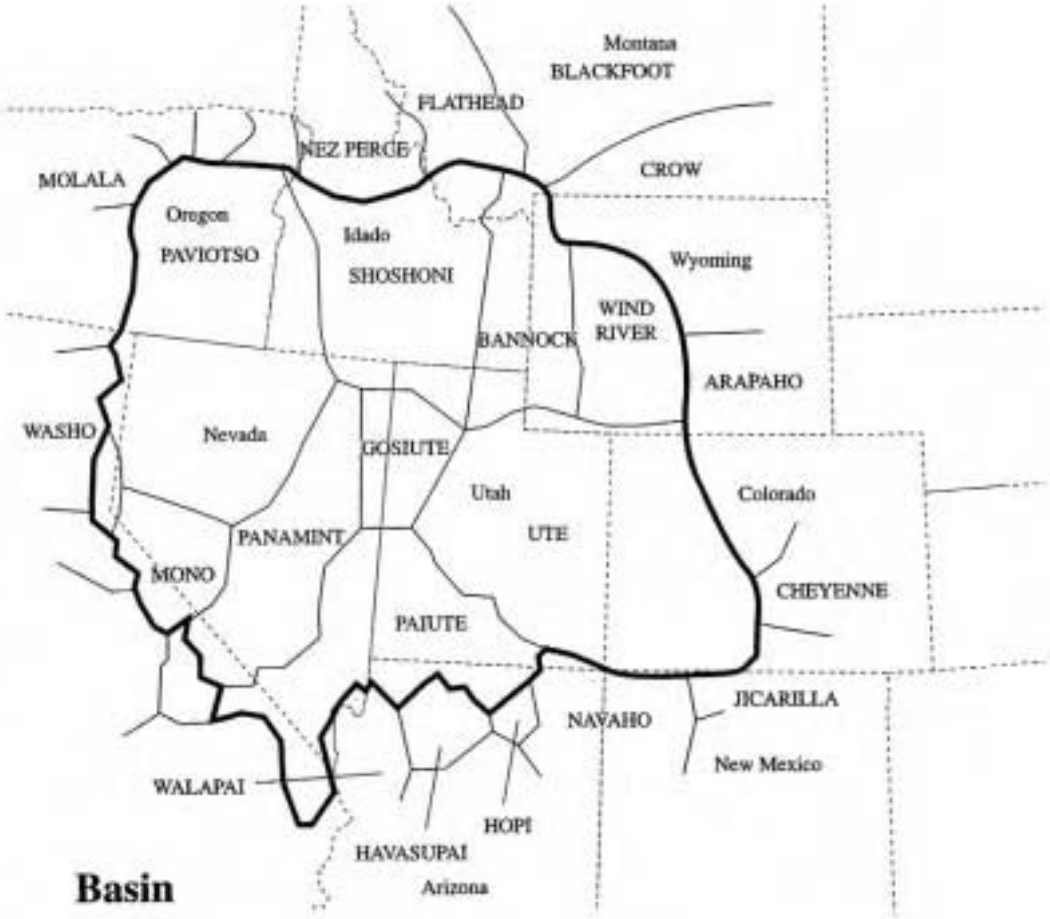
continues

Plateau (continued)

More than two dozen distinct tribal groups inhabited the Columbia Plateau at the time of European contact. Ancestors of peoples speaking languages of the Penutian linguistic family probably settled the area more than 8,000 years ago. Over the centuries these groups have been influenced by the landscapes of the Plateau region in the development of their religious cultures, often centering on the sharing of the salmon runs. First Salmon ceremonies are fairly typical in the region, wherein the people celebrate and give thanks for the new salmon run with a religious ritual prior to partaking in the resource. This activity, while displaying an appreciation for the gift from the sacred beings that salmon represent, also ensures that adequate numbers of fish get to villages farther upstream, and that the strongest fish arrive at the spawning grounds, maintaining a strong genetic line for the future.

Localized variations on this ceremony abound, as well as region-specific rituals and ceremonies of thanksgiving and propitiation appropriate to localities. The extended-family group nature of the tribal system, along with the numerous tribes in the region, also point to the need for extended cooperative trade relationships and intermarriage.

The Plateau cultural area, like all of the cultural regions used to discuss Native American peoples, is really a diverse and varied one with linguistic, cultural, and religious differences from area to area within the region. However, there is enough ecological similarity in the region to inspire some common traits among the tribal groups. Groups of the region often sacralize these commonalities in regular intertribal gatherings for trade and intermarriage.


Montana
BLACKFOOT
FLATHEAD
NEZ PERCE
CROW
MOLALA
Oregon
PAVIOTSO
Idado
SHOSHONI
Wyoming
WIND
RIVER
BANNOCK
ARAPAHO
WASHO
Nevada
GOSIUTE
Utah
Colorado
PANAMINT
UTE
MONO
CHEYENNE
PAIUTE
JICARILLA
NAVAHO
New Mexico
WALAPAI
HOPI
HAVASUPAI
Arizona
Basin

Great Basin

The Great Basin culture refers to an arid inland region encompassing much of the western United States. Consisting of a vast natural basin, with occasional rocky uplands breaking up long stretches of mostly barren desert, the region is surrounded by the Sierra Nevada range on the west, the Rocky Mountains on the east, the Columbia Plateau on the north, and the Colorado Plateau on the south. The region includes the open expanse of the Mojave Desert in the southwest, which provides a stark exception to the general ecological makeup of the area.

The river systems of the Great Basin drain from the high country into the central depression and disappear into sinks and thus have no outlet to the oceans (hence the "basin" characterization). The mountains to the east and west block the rain clouds, leading to both low rainfall and high evaporation. The Great Basin once contained dozens of lakes, some quite large, as evidenced by their remnants, including Great Salt Lake. In the western part of the Great Basin is Death Valley, where temperatures in the summer often exceed 125°F. Sagebrush dominates the sparse vegetation throughout the Great Basin, with some piñon and juniper trees in the higher elevations.

This somewhat harsh environment produces more nomadic tribes than regions to the west, and these tribes speak variations of the Uto-Aztecan family. The one exception is the Washoe to the west who speak a Hokan dialect. The major tribal groups of the Great Basin are the Paiute, Shoshone, and Ute, each with various subdivisions and offshoots. Although dialects vary throughout the region, their similarities have made it possible for different groups to maintain diplomatic relations for trade and intermarriage.

Great Basin Indians adopted their nomadic lifestyles in order to fully exploit wild food resources as they became available. Social organization for this type of resource management tends to be smaller than that of more settled groups, with the extended-family group being the primary source for identity. Leadership is provided through "headmen," who are often capable and wise individuals who oversee the affairs of the family in trade negotiations and the like. Regular gatherings of these family groups, for practical purposes such as "rabbit Drives" (mass rabbit hunts requiring the labors of many), seasonal observations such as solstice and equinox

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Great Basin, (continued)

ceremonies, or weddings often doubled as the group's religious system, and the bands' spiritual advisors would preside over general rites of propitiation and thanksgiving.

The relatively difficult day-to-day circumstances lead to less overall time spent in philosophical pondering, but by no means should this fact be assumed to equate less religiosity. The daily gatherings and hunting done by the family group are accompanied by ritual activity, personal spiritual interaction, and the diplomatic interaction between the human and the other-than-human world.


QUERES
ZUNI
ACOMA
JEMEZ
WALAPAI
PAIUTE
MOHAVE
KIOWA
JICARILLA
HALCHIDHOMA
HAVASUPAI
HOPI
DINE
TAOS
TEWA
TANO
YAVAPAI
COYOTERO
YUMA
Arizona
PIRO
ISLETA
MARICOPA
MESCALERO
COCOPA
TOHONO
MANSO
PIMA
CHIRICAHUA
New Mexico
COMANCHE
DIEGUENO
JUMANO
SERI
OPATA
LIPAN
YEVOME
CONCHO
Texas
COCHIMI
TARAHUMARA
Mexico
CAHITA
GUASAVE
TEPEHUAN
COAHUILTECO
WAICURI
CHINIPA
ACAXEE
ZACATEC
TOTORAME

Southwest

Southwest

In the Southwestern portion of the United States, the tribal communities that maintain their connection to their homeland have done so more successfully than many other tribal groups in the United States. The arid region, relative isolation, and insular nature of the various communities therein are all factors, but in any case, it is important to note that the region boasts a high rate of language, culture, and religious retention despite the long history of colonial pressure, both from Spain and the United States.

The Southwest is one portion of Indian country where the intimate relationship between Native peoples and their lands can be seen most clearly. The Diné (Navajo), Hopi, Apache, and Pueblo communities, while distinct, have relatively similar lifeways owing to the nature of the landscape in what is now the Four Corners region. Despite the arid nature of the high deserts of modern-day Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah, proper management of the available rainfall has yielded corn crops sufficient to give rise to the complex and ancient cultures that call this region home.

The Southwest culture area reaches across a great swath of arid country in what is now the southwestern United States and northern Mexico. It includes diverse terrain, from the high mesas and canyons of the Colorado Plateau in the north to the Mogollon Mountains of present-day southern New Mexico. Cactus-dotted deserts flank the Little Colorado River in present-day southern Arizona and the Gulf of Mexico in present-day southern Texas.

Few rains water the Southwest, and most rainfall occurs during a six-week period in the summer. Snowfall is infrequent except in mountain areas. Three types of vegetation are dominant, depending on altitude and rainfall: western evergreen in the mountains; piñon and juniper in mesa country; and desert shrub, cactus, and mesquite in lower, drier regions.

Among peoples in the Southwest, three language families predominate: Uto-Aztecan, Yuman, and Athapaskan. Uto-Aztecan speakers included the Hopi of Arizona and the Tohono O'Odham (Papago) and Akimel O'Odham (Pima) of Arizona and northern Mexico. Some Pueblo peoples, including the Tewa, Tiwa, and Towa in modern-day New Mexico, speak dialects of Kiowa-Tanoan, a language family related to Uto-Aztecan. The Cocopah,

continues

Southwest (continued)

Havasupai, Hualapai, Maricopa, Mojave, Yavapai, Yuma (Quechan), and other neighboring peoples in Arizona speak Yuman. The Apache and Navajo (Diné) of New Mexico and Arizona and the southern fringe of Colorado and Utah speak Athapaskan languages.

In the early historic period, four distinct farming peoples came to occupy the Southwest: peoples of the Mogollon, Hohokam, Anasazi, and Patayan cultures. The people of these cultures raised corn, beans, and squash. For each of these peoples, the adoption of agriculture permitted the settlement of permanent villages and the continued refinement of farming technology, arts, and crafts, especially pottery.

The Mogollon people of southeastern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico, who appeared about 2,300 years ago, built permanent villages in the region's high valleys and developed pottery distinct in its intricate geometric patterns. The Mimbres people, a Mogollan subgroup, are famous for painting pottery with dramatic black-on-white geometric designs of animals and ceremonial scenes. From about AD 1200 to 1400 the Mogollan culture was gradually absorbed by the then-dominant Anasazi culture.

The Hohokam people of southern Arizona first appeared about 2,100 years ago. Hohokam Indians dug extensive irrigation ditches for their crops. Some canals, which carried water diverted from rivers, extended for many miles. Hohokam people also built sunken ball courts—like those of the Maya Civilization in Mesoamerica—on which they played a sacred game resembling a combination of modern basketball and soccer. Hohokam people are thought to be ancestors of the Tohono O'Odham and Pima, who preserve much of the Hohokam way of life.

In the Four Corners region, where Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado now join, the Anasazi Indians gradually emerged from older Southwestern cultures, and took on a distinctive character by about 2,100 years ago. Anthropologists refer to the Anasazi of this early era as Basket Makers because they wove fine baskets from rushes, straw, and other materials. Basket Makers hunted and gathered wild foods, tended fields, and lived in large *pit houses,* dwellings with sunken floors that were topped by sturdy timber frameworks covered with mud. By about 700 CE, the Basket Maker culture

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Southwest (continued)

had developed into the early Pueblo cultural period. Over the next 200 years these peoples made the transition from pit houses to surface dwellings called *pueblos* by the Spanish. These dwellings were rectangular, multistoried apartment buildings composed of terraced stone and adobe arranged in planned towns connected by an extensive network of public roads and irrigation systems. At its peak, after about 900, Pueblo culture dominated much of the Southwest. From about 1150 to 1300 Pueblo peoples evacuated most of their aboveground pueblos and built spectacular dwellings in the recesses of cliffs. The largest of these had several hundred rooms and could house a population of 600 to 800 in close quarters.

The Patayan people lived near the Colorado River in what is now western Arizona, and developed agriculture by about 875 CE. They planted crops along the river floodplain and filled out their diets by hunting and gathering. Patayan Indians lived in brush-covered structures and had extensive trade networks as evidenced by the presence of shells from the Gulf of California region. The Patayan people are thought to be ancestors of the Yuman-speaking tribes.

During the late 1200s the Four Corners area suffered severe droughts, and many Pueblo sites were abandoned. However, Pueblo settlements along the Rio Grande in the south grew larger, and elaborate irrigation systems were built. Between 1200 and 1500 a people speaking Athapaskan appeared in the Southwest, having migrated southward along the western Great Plains. Based on linguistic connections, these people are believed to have branched off from indigenous peoples in western Canada. They are thought to be the ancestors of the nomadic Apache and Navajo. Their arrival may have played a role in the relocation of some Pueblo groups.

Two principal ways of life developed in the Southwest: sedentary and nomadic. The sedentary Pueblo peoples are mainly farmers who hunt and gather wild plant foods and medicines in addition to growing the larger part of their subsistence diet: corn. Squash, beans, and sunflowers are also grown in plots that range from large multifamily fields to smaller extended-family plots. A number of desert peoples, including the upland and river Yuman tribes and the Tohono O'Odham and Pima, maintain a largely agrarian way of life as well.

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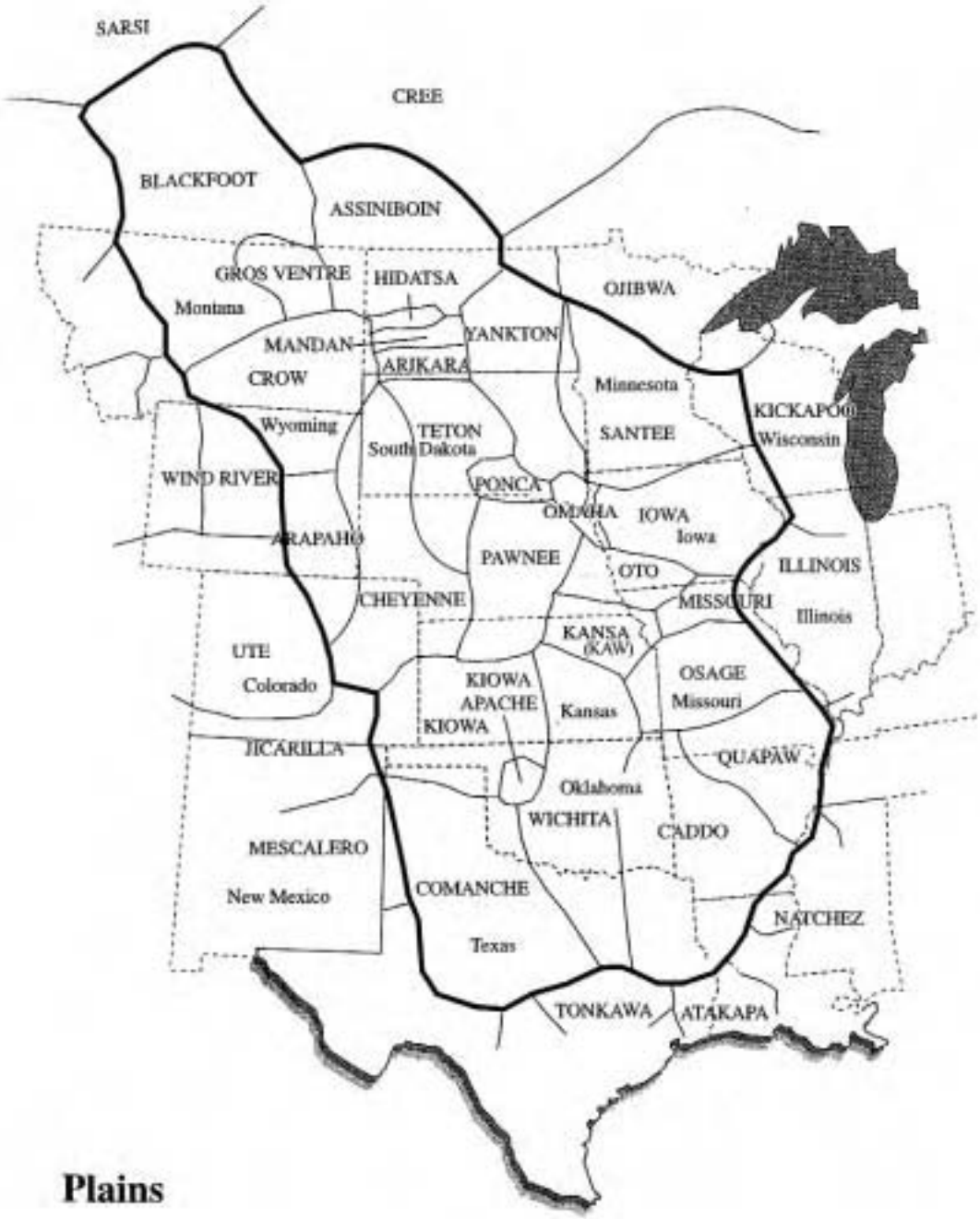
Southwest (continued)

The religions of this region are as distinct as the cultures represented here, however, the presence of relatively sedentary communities from about 1500 CE on renders a similar "emergence" philosophy, in which the people are said to have come to their present place from lower worlds, and the role that agriculture plays for these cultures leads to a common emphasis on fertility, balance, and of course, rain.

The Hopi and other Pueblo cultures celebrate the presence of ancestral spirit beings, called *Katsinam,* for the majority of the year. These beings provide rain, fertility, and social stability through exemplary conduct used to teach the people how to live. Similarly, the Diné (Navajo) utilize the symbolism of corn and the cycles of the growing seasons to pattern both their ceremonial lives and their behavior toward one another and to the universe. Apaches likewise view their reliance on the seasonal cycles as indicative of their sacred responsibilities.

Though the region known as the Southwest culture area appears to be a dauntingly complicated landscape to maintain long-term communities in, the tribal peoples therein have not only managed, but also thrived. In addition, due to the stark nature of the Southwest, and the isolated nature of many portions within it, these tribal cultures have a level of cultural continuity that belies the harshness of the land.


SARSI
CREE
BLACKFOOT
ASSINIBOIN
GROS VENTRE
HIDATSA
OJIBWA
Montana
MANDAN
YANKTON
ARIKARA
CROW
Minnesota
KICKAPOO
Wisconsin
Wyoming
TETON
South Dakota
SANTEE
WIND RIVER
PONCA
OMAHA
IOWA
Iowa
ARAPAHO
PAWNEE
OTO
ILLINOIS
Illinois
CHEYENNE
MISSOURI
KANSA
(KAW)
UTE
Colorado
KIOWA
APACHE
OSAGE
Missouri
Kansas
KIOWA
JICARILLA
QUAPAW
Oklahoma
WICHITA
CADDO
MESCALERO
New Mexico
COMANCHE
NATCHEZ
Texas
TONKAWA
ATAKAPA

Plains

Great Plains

The vast region known as the Great Plains culture area stretches from the Mississippi River valley west to the Rocky Mountains and from present-day central Canada to southern Texas. Dominated by rolling, fertile tallgrass prairies in the east, where there is adequate rainfall for agriculture, the landscape shifts to short grasses in the drier high western plains. Some wooded areas interrupt these vast fields of grass, mostly stands of willows and cottonwoods along river valleys, and in some places highlands rise up from the plains and prairies, such as the Ozark Mountains in Missouri, and the Black Hills of South Dakota and Wyoming. The region is remarkable, however, for the extent and dominance of its grasslands. For thousands of years tens of millions of bison grazed the grasses of the Great Plains.

Prior to the arrival of Europeans, most occupants of the Great Plains lived along rivers in the eastern regions. Predominantly farmers, these culture groups hunted bison and other game seasonally to augment their diets with dried meat and to make use of the hide, bones, and fat of these enormous animals.

The region is known for its diverse Native cultures, some of which have resided in the Plains region longer than others. The Hidatsa, and Mandan, both speakers of Siouan linguistic dialects, as well as Caddoan-speaking Pawnee and Wichita made use of the river banks for small-plot farming and they hunted in large cooperatives once or perhaps twice a year.

More hunting-oriented peoples eventually moved into the region and developed cultural and philosophical traditions based on the bison and warfare/raiding warrior cultures. These include the Algonquin-speaking Blackfeet from the north and the Uto-Aztecan-speaking Comanche from the northwest. After, and in some cases because of, the arrival of Europeans in North America, Eastern tribal groups such as Siouan-speaking Assiniboine, Crow, Kaw, Osage, Quapaw, and the various tribal groups often incorrectly glossed as "Sioux" (Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota) from the Great Lakes region moved to the region. From the Northeast came the Algonquin-speaking Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Gros Ventre. To be certain, this is an abbreviated list. The key issues are that movement into the region coincided with

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Great Plains (continued)

the entrance of horses to the Great Plains and the groups that call the Plains home have all participated in a development of regional, seminomadic cultural traditions that have come to be erroneously lumped together. This tragic loss of a sense of tribal diversity on the Great Plains has been exacerbated by the "Hollywoodization" of Indian issues, itself merely a continuation of nineteenth-century dime novels about the West.

After European contact, some Great Plains peoples continued to farm, and many groups hunted a variety of game, fished rivers, and gathered wild plant foods. However, with the spread of horses as a means of transportation to follow the seasonal migrations of bison herds over great distances, bison meat became the staple food.

Most Great Plains tribes consisted of bands of related families, often with several hundred members. Tribal leadership was typically divided between a peace chief and a war chief (or several war chiefs). Peace chiefs tended to internal tribal affairs. War chiefs, usually younger men, conducted warfare and led raids on enemies. The bands lived apart in smaller family groups most of the year, coming together in the summer months for communal bison hunts, ceremonies, or councils. In opposition to the idea that Indian people never owned land, tribal groups often took responsibility for particular regions, sharing hunting lands with friendly tribes, but protecting them from enemies.

Another myth is that all Indians of the Plains lived in tepees prior to contact. The tepee is a portable shelter that served its purpose for most groups for portions of the year. Earth and grass lodges were also frequently used dwellings before Euro-American arrival, providing large communal dwellings and ceremonial structures.

Religion among the Plains peoples is as diverse as the linguistic traditions represented there, however, there are also some similarities. With the important role that bison play in the lives of these tribal groups, it is no wonder that that animal would be an important spirit being and relative, as well. In addition, the migratory nature of bison, and consequently that of the peoples who rely upon them, support a seasonal and cyclical

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Great Plains (continued)

philosophical system wherein the circle is a key element. Plains Indian religious culture is often represented by circles, sun-wise directional prayers, and cyclical senses of time and space.

Major ceremonies include the Sun Dance, a regular gathering of bands for communal propitiation of the spirit beings, and the more recent religious innovation known as the Ghost Dance, wherein visions and ecstatic dancing propels the tribal culture forward in the face of the difficulties arising from modernity.

The Great Plains, often viewed as the exemplary Native American culture area, is far more diverse and multilingual than popular culture depicts, and the Plains peoples have many localized and territorial traditions that represent specific regional differences.


Ontario
Quebec
OTTAWA
ALGONKIN
SILK
NEUTRAL
HURON
ERIE
MOHAWKS
SHAWNEE


ALGONKIN
Canada
OTTAWA
ABNAKI
PENNACOOK
MASSACHUSET
Michigan
New York
HAUDENAUSANEE
POTAWATOMI
MOHEGAN
MAHICAN
METOAC
NEUTRAL
Pennsylvania
CONESTOGA
DELAWARE
ERIE
Ohio
MIAMI
NANTICOKE
MOSOPELEA
MONACAN
POWHATAN

Northeast

Northeast and Great Lakes

As with most Native American groups, Northeastern tribal groups varied greatly. However, the region has a fairly unified cultural history, resulting in some important similarities across tribal groups.

Since 1000 BCE, the areas encompassing what are now the states east of the Mississippi River, north of the Mason-Dixon line, and bordered to the north by the Great Lakes and the east by the Atlantic Ocean have been occupied by relatively sedentary agricultural communities. Corn has been cultivated by the region's Native peoples from the Adena (1000 BCE–200 CE) and Hopewell (300–700 CE) periods of prehistory, to the arrival of Europeans to the area in the early 1500s. In fact, the United States owes much of its genesis to the interactions between the first European settlers and the Native peoples of the Northeast.

The mound-building Adena and Hopewell cultures contributed a regionally interactive collection of independent nation-states to the Native history of the area, culminating in the Mississippian influence, mostly limited to the southern portion of the area, in which hierarchical societies overseen by religious leaders dominated. From the north came more aggressive hunting cultures, which vied for control of the fertile and game-rich Mississippi and Ohio river valleys. This can be seen as a model for the Native history of the region: a tension between the tribal groups adhering to the more sedentary agricultural aspects of the southern influence and those that carried on the hunting traditions of their northern tribal cultures.

By the time European contact was made with the northeast region, Algonquin-speaking tribal groups were moving into the region and putting pressure on the more sedentary Iroquoian peoples, a situation that both the English and the French immigrants exploited for their own purposes. The Iroquoian tribes generally occupied the area that is now upstate New York and the lower Great Lakes, growing pumpkins, beans, squash, and corn in the extremely fertile soil. Algonquin speakers tended to settle near the coast in what is now New England, hunting and trapping inland and fishing at the coast. The arrival of Europeans increased the tendency for the Algonkin tribes to move west into Iroquoian regions, displacing those tribal

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Northeast and Great Lakes (continued)

groups and prompting the creation of what came to be known as the Iroquois Confederacy, a formal cohort of tribal groups in which each tribe had representation.

Religiously, the northern tribal groups tend to maintain an array of spiritual beings associated with the tasks of hunting cultures, with religious protocols, the proper behaviors dictated by the beings, dominating much of daily life. To the south, seasonal cycles associated with the agricultural needs of the people take precedence, owing to the need for continued fertility in the land. Both the Algonkin groups of the north and the Iroquoians to the south participate in annual or semiannual memorial ceremonies for important leaders who have died. These regular ceremonies serve to provide centripetal focus where the tendency is to favor difference and independence and to allow for the meeting of trade and potential marriage partners and the formation of other types of important allegiances.

The Native peoples who inhabited the region at the time of contact sustained perhaps the longest and most intense pressure to conform to the colonialist project, from the Plymouth colony and French fur trappers of the sixteenth century, to colonial law and French-English hostilities, to America's war for independence from England.


CONESTOGA
ERIE
MIAMI
ILLINOIS
MOSOPELEA
MONACAN
POWHATAN
SHAWNEE
USAGE
Tennessee
PAMUNKEY
CHEROKEE
CATAWBA
QUAPAW
CHICKASAW
YUCHI
WICHITA
CHAKCHIUMA
CREEK
Alabama
CUSABO
CADDIO
CADDIT
TUNICA
CHOCTAW
YAMASEE
Georgia
HITCHITI
ALABAMA
COMANCHE
NATCHEZ
TIMUCUA
TUNKAWA
ATAKAPA
APALACHEE
Florida
BILOXI
HUMA
MOBILE
ACOLAPISSA
CHETIMACHA
CALUSA
Southeast

The Southeast

The Southeast culture area is a region north of the Gulf of Mexico and south of the Middle Atlantic–Midwest region, extending from the Atlantic coast west to what is now central Texas. Semitropical in nature, the area is humid and wet. The terrain and vegetation of the Southeast culture area consists of a coastal plain along the Atlantic Ocean and Gulf of Mexico, with saltwater marshes, grasses, and large stands of cypress. Rich soil can be found in what are now Alabama and Mississippi, as well as along the Mississippi River floodplain. The region also includes the vast swamplands, hills, and the high grass of the Everglades in present-day Florida, as well as mountains of the southern Appalachian chain. At the time of early contacts between Native Americans and Europeans, much of the region was woodland, with southern pine near the coasts and more broadleaf trees further inland.

European incursion, initiated by the French from the Mississippi Valley, then the Spanish after the eighteenth century, found a region of the United States that was bordered by the Atlantic Ocean, the Gulf of Mexico, the Trinity River, and the Ohio River. The cultures of this region include the Catawba, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Cherokee, and Seminole Nations. Influenced by the earlier Mississippian cultures, characterized by monumental mound building and corn cultivation, later tribal groups tended toward sedentary village-based cultures, regional trade, diplomatic systems, and religious traditions that supported the agrarian lifestyle. Much of this lifeway is characterized by sacred activities oriented toward seasonal plant growth patterns.

One example of such sacred activity is the renewal festival, an annual ceremony oriented toward fertility of the soil in the coming year, recognition of the passing of the annual celestial cycle, and especially thanksgiving for the bounty of the previous year. Like many regional ceremonies throughout Native America, these festivals played important diplomatic roles because status issues were an important part of the process of planning and celebrating these festivals. The festivals provided opportunities for young people to meet potential mates outside their familial lineage group.

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The Southeast (continued)

In addition to agricultural production of corn, beans, and squash, precontact Southeastern tribal groups hunted game to augment the plant foods in their diet, and this practice also gave rise to certain rituals. Hunters all over Indian country are aware of the sacred nature of their endeavor, and this is certainly true among the peoples of the Southeastern United States. The propitiation of animal spirits and the need for respectful treatment of the physical beings associated with them require hunters to hunt in a respectful way; failure to do so runs the risk of going hungry.

Another aspect common throughout the region is the important role that games play in both the leisure and religious realms. Most notable among these is the ball game, in which a small leather ball is thrown, kicked, or advanced with playing sticks (depending on the tribal area) by two teams intending to score by advancing the ball past the opponent's goal, as in a combination of field hockey, soccer, and American football. This game has sacred as well as entertainment value.

Many traditions have similar regional manifestations, owing to the relatively unified early cultures extant before European inculcation, far too many for this brief introduction. Suffice it to say that, although the tribal cultures that call the Southeastern United States their place of origin differ greatly one from another, the tendency to maintain similar traits such as sedentary village life, clan and sacred society membership, and regular, important religious festivals remind the student of these cultures that the tribal differentiation which is now of great import in these communities developed out of a regionally aware collection of autonomous villages with much intervillage interaction and intellectual discourse prior to the arrival of Europeans.

The village served as the primary form of social organization among Indians of the Southeast prior to contact, and political organization also began at the village level. The people governed the affairs of a specific area, and village leaders, often led by a headman, met regularly to discuss matters of import to the entire community, such as the cultivation of fields owned by the community, or providing for defense of the village.

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The Southeast (continued)

Some Southeast tribes are organized into chiefdoms, defined as a society with an ultimate ruler with social rank often determined by birth. Some earlier Southeast chiefdoms encompassed many villages, and these tended to have powerful priesthoods, leading to stratification in those societies. The Natchez, Chickasaw, and the Creek Confederacy had well-developed hierarchies until the Euro-American political system undermined the authorities within them. Other Southeastern tribes such as the Cherokee and Choctaw, tended to be more democratic in their political organization and were less likely to be inundated with efforts by religio-political American authorities. Today, the village orientation continues in the region, albeit within the imposed Indian Reorganization Act (1934) system.

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Academic Study of American Indian Religious Traditions

Few academic topics provide as many pitfalls as that most nebulous of subjects, religion. In addition, the academic treatment of non-Western cultures has, at its very heart, the Euro-American colonialist perspective as its impetus. Nonetheless, there have been a great many insights into traditional cultures when these are approached via the portal of religious practice; in addition, we find that the study of American Indian religiosity can dramatically inform the understanding of religion in a non-Native context. Often, what Native experts articulate about the practices of their various communities resonates with other traditions, such as the varieties of faith to be found in Hindu, Jewish, Muslim, or Christian practices. Therefore, the study of the multitude of distinct American Indian sacred practices must be juxtaposed against the very common articulation of the lived worldview that accompanies the great majority of human communities. Of course, the nature of the historic interaction between the modern West and the aboriginal nations of the North American continent has provided a tangle of issues with which contemporary academic and nonacademic understandings of Native culture must contend. This three-volume encyclopedia is an attempt to contribute to the work being done by both Native and non-Native scholars toward that disentanglement. We will therefore begin with a brief introduction to the history of the study of American Indian religious traditions, which we hope will illuminate the current discourse.

The way in which the academic community has approached American Indian traditions has changed drastically over the centuries and decades, reflecting changes in the wider political, religious, cultural, and economic spheres of American society. In its earliest forms, studies of American Indian religions were conducted by missionaries who sought a basic knowledge of Native traditions in order to undermine them. The earliest nonreligiously motivated rigorous academic scholarship of these traditions took shape in the late nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries, during a time when Native nations were forced onto reservations and were suffering the demographic and cultural decline that resulted from the violent policies of conquest and assimilation. Scholarship responded to this crisis with what has become known as salvage ethnography, designed to rescue cultural data from rapidly vanishing populations. With the political resurgence of Native communities in the 1960s and 1970s, it

became very clear to the wider public that Native nations and cultures were, in fact, not vanishing at all, but were indeed flourishing. This newfound political presence gave rise to collectives such as the American Indian Movement (AIM), and Native communal interests and concerns became known to a much wider audience. During this time, and owing much of their genesis to a course in American Indian History and Culture taught at the University of California, Berkeley, more and more Native scholars took on the task of recording and reflecting upon their cultural traditions in an academic setting. Their presence provided the opportunity for truly emic, or insider, perspectives on the material. Simultaneously, this presence demanded that scholarship of Native communities recognize the political realities of contemporary Native nations and the impact that scholarship can have upon those politics. In the contemporary sphere, scholarship has changed dramatically, with Native nations exerting considerable control over access to cultural resources and demanding that academic studies reflect the concerns, interests, and ethical issues of the Native communities. Many scholars, both Native and non-Native, see themselves as working *for* rather than working *on* Native communities and cultures and do so with a greater sense of humility and obligation to these Native communities.

The earliest documents about Native religious traditions were written mostly by missionaries and traders, all of whom had a vested interest in learning about and understanding the Native communities with which they hoped to work. Traders needed to know enough about Indian languages and cultures to negotiate for goods successfully. Missionaries, on the other hand, needed to know enough about the Native communities they encountered to be able to convert them to Christianity. Some of the most informative and most carefully researched documents of this era came from Jesuit missionaries, such as those who arrived in New France. But of course, missionaries and traders all approached Native traditions with an inherent assumption of their inferiority. In their very vocation missionaries were assuming the superiority of Christianity over Native religious and cultural practices. Indeed, for most missionaries, conversion to Christianity simultaneously required a complete conversion to European culture, language, economy, and way of life. The texts that these individuals left behind reflect this assumption of cultural superiority. They rarely supplied the perspective of the Native people themselves, but rather described these traditions as they were perceived by outsiders who did not fully understand the philosophies, cultures, or histories that put such religious practices into play.

In the nineteenth century, Native population levels reached an all-time low. Native nations had been decimated by foreign diseases brought to the continent by European colonists; their tradi-

tional food resources were devastated by Euro-American settlers; and their traditional hunting and gathering locations were stripped and leveled for farming or settlement. Following a series of bloody conflicts between the U.S. Army and various Native nations, most tribes were interred on reservations by the U.S. government, where they faced starvation because of a lack of resources on the reservations and the federal government's failure to honor its treaty obligations to provide food, medical care, and other necessities. Restricted to reservations or isolated in a country now openly hostile to their very presence, American Indian cultures seemed at the threshold of collapse. Observing the rapid rates at which Native communities were changing, many scholars feared that these cultures would be lost forever.

Unfortunately, in an era dominated by Darwinian philosophy, it was assumed that this loss was inevitable. According to this evolutionary doctrine, all of human culture existed within a linear progression from savagery to civilization. This ethnocentric view considered European civilization the most advanced and most evolved of all civilizations. As such, it was argued, European civilization was the most fit to survive. Lesser-evolved cultures and societies must, by necessity, pass away so that Western civilization could proceed. Indigenous cultures throughout the world were seen as less evolved, having stagnated in their "savage primordial" origins. In addition, according to this philosophy, Europeans had only to look at indigenous cultures to understand their own origins in ancient history. Fascinated with the idea of exploring their own origins, many scholars turned to Native American traditions for a glimpse into the primordial depths of the European psyche.

Clearly, such perspectives were intensely problematic. First, they assumed the superiority of one culture over another. Second, they assumed that human civilization exists on an upward linear march toward an end goal: that societies are necessarily evolving toward industrialization, modernity, capitalism, and Christianity. It also assumed that other non-Western cultures had somehow stagnated, had not evolved as they should have, and had remained unchanged for thousands of years. And finally, this social philosophy was entirely informed by the political and economic climate in which it took place. With Manifest Destiny (the belief that the United States was meant to dominate and overtake the entire continent from Atlantic to Pacific) and a colonialist agenda that demanded absolute power over what was to become the United States, Euro-Americans needed a philosophy that justified their expansion, their theft of land from Native nations, and the incredible devastation that this expansion wreaked upon Native populations. It justified and placated a nation struggling with a guilty conscience.

At the turn of the twentieth century, ethnographic scholarship struggled with this philosophical legacy. Some ethnographers, such as Franz Boas, challenged

the idea of cultural evolution, insisting that indigenous cultures be understood on their own, not as the evolutionary origins of Universal Man. But most scholars were still driven by a sense that Native cultures were rapidly disappearing. From the 1880s to the 1950s, these scholars engaged in what has since been termed salvage ethnography: the practice of collecting as much data and material about indigenous cultures and languages as possible, before they were crushed by the onward march of civilization.

Franz Boas, born in Germany in 1858, was a professor of anthropology at Columbia University until he died in 1937. He explored the Baffin Island region of the Arctic and spent an extensive amount of time studying the culture of the Kwakwak'wakw (Kwakiutl) of Vancouver Island. Boas's success among the Kwakwak'wakw, his comprehension of their culture as an integrated whole, and his access to these cultural materials were dependent upon his relationship with George Hunt. Hunt's mother was Tlingit, and his father was an English employee of the Hudson's Bay Company. Hunt's linguistic and cultural knowledge about the Kwakwak'wakw enabled Boas to conduct his research and secure his collection of artifacts.

Boas promoted the idea of *cultural relativism* and *historical particularism* within the anthropological study of culture. Essentially, his work with Native communities led him to conclude that cultural differences were not the result of racial preconditioning or their location on a linear evolutionary scale. Rather, cultural and physiological differences were the result of unique social, geographic, historical, political, and economic conditions. All cultures, he argued, were complete systems and were equally developed (or evolved). In other words, each culture was uniquely and nearly perfectly suited to meet that peoples' particular historical and geographical context. His argument for historical particularism directly challenged the assumption that universal laws governed humanity, and that all cultures could be expected to follow these universal "natural" laws. In so doing, Boas directly challenged the evolutionary perspectives of writers like Louis Henry Morgan and Edward Tyler, who had created a set of cultural stages through which, they argued, each culture passed on its evolutionary march toward civilization.

Boas's work and influence set scholarship on Native traditions on a different course. Rather than studying American Indian traditions to discover deficient versions of, or evolutionary precursors to, European culture, Boas insisted that they had value in their own right, as unique cultural expressions perfectly adapted to a unique setting and context. Boas's work likewise provided a context for study that was not informed by a missionary or evangelical agenda. In advocating the unique value of each culture, the study of Native traditions within their cultural context, and the particularity of each culture as an expression of its unique historical and geographic con-

text, Boas prepared the way for a study of Native traditions that respected and honored those traditions and worked to present them as they were understood by the people themselves.

Boas influenced other scholars of Native American traditions, helping to create fertile ground for this perspective to develop. Many of his contemporaries followed his lead, and Boas's own students became highly influential in the field as well. These scholars included such researchers as Melville Jacobs, active in the tribal nations of the Pacific Northwest; Cora DuBois, whose work on the connection between culture and personality in the Plateau region as well as California was especially important because she was one of the few women in the field at the time. Alfred Kroeber, the first of Boas's students to receive a Ph.D., also worked in California; he was professor of anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley, from which institution he sent many students to do ethnographic work among the tribal groups in California and the Southwest. Another of Boas's students, Leslie Spier, was influential in the development of dating techniques still used by archaeologists.

Although all of these scholars made enormous contributions to the academic study of American Indian religious traditions, gathering huge amounts of data and working to create a mode of study that was scientific in its methodology and critical of universalized laws of cultural evolution, aspects of their work remain problematic. While Boas's work contributed much to the contemporary approach to the academic study of American Indian religious traditions, he and his colleagues shared a misperception common among many of his time: the belief that Native people and cultures were fast disappearing. The urgency behind their work was driven by that belief, and their work reflects the notion of salvage ethnography. While perhaps undertaken with the best of intentions, salvage ethnography assumed that Native nations and traditions were about to disappear, and many researchers during this era demonstrated less caution and respect toward Native privacy and sacrality than should have been the case; sacred objects, human remains, and details of rituals, ceremonies, and songs were removed from their communities to be housed in museums and anthropological journals. Many of these objects and examples of cultural knowledge were taken without the permission of their proper owners, and many human remains were taken in direct violation of Native communities' protests. Scientists often worked carelessly and aggressively, because, they reasoned, these cultures were about to disappear anyway.

It is true that Native cultures and languages were at risk, and the work of these early scholars was essential in preserving some of this data for future generations. However, the notion of the "vanishing Indian" implies the existence of a "true" Native culture, untarnished by cultural contact, and that cultural change inherently means culture loss. In

their emphasis on classical traditions, many of these studies failed to see the means and methods of adaptation, accommodation, and resistance that many Native communities were undertaking. While Native cultures changed dramatically in the twentieth century, they were also successful at survival: as they navigated the changing political, social, and economic climates, their religious practices reflected that navigation. Such traditions remained inherently "Indian," as expressions of Native communities, and, while many changes occurred, they maintained a strong connection with the ethical, philosophical, and spiritual traditions that informed their earlier traditions.

It might also be noted that scholarship of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was informed by these researchers' perspectives as outsiders: they were never able to fully embody the insiders' perspective on these cultures. As such, their work was directed by the questions and concerns of a non-Native academic community. Their methods, approach, and conclusions were likewise the result of a non-Native academic world. Their publications were written for non-Native audiences, and their collections of artifacts were set aside for the benefit and viewing pleasure of non-Natives. In the process, traditions were misinterpreted, sacred objects were mistreated and removed from their proper ritual context, the skeletal remains of Native ancestors were at times removed from Native burial sites, and the very real ethical and political concerns of the Native communities themselves were not always respected, or even acknowledged. Certainly that was not always the case—many of these scholars sought to respect the communities with which they worked, and some testified in court cases in behalf of Native tribes. However, their position as outsiders, and the lack of Native voices to complement their own, meant that a one-sided perspective of Native traditions was presented to the public.

The ability of Native communities to survive the drastic changes of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries is illustrated in the changing face of Native scholarship of the 1960s and 1970s. With the rise of the American Indian Movement, Native scholars entered the academic scene in greater force, insisting that Native traditions be understood and valued as they were perceived by the people themselves. Further, they insisted that academic scholarship be viewed within its political context, and that the political implications of scholarship be overtly recognized.

As has been noted, the political awareness of Native people was highly influential on the academic study of American Indian religious traditions. With a resurgence of a distinctly indigenous identity emerging out of the reservation period and culminating with political acts such as the occupations of Alcatraz Island in California and Wounded Knee in South Dakota, informed scholarship with re-

gard to Native culture gained a wider audience. This shift from ethnographic inquiry to that of cultural studies, mirrored in the development of women's studies, black studies, and Chicana(o) studies at the level of the university, was at least punctuated, and perhaps indelibly influenced, by the publication of Vine Deloria, Jr.'s *God Is Red*. That philosophical treatise reflected upon the context and worldview within which American Indian people understand themselves, and juxtaposed it against the totalizing force of Western intellectual support of the subjugation of Native people. Matching the awareness of political and social concerns brought about by political mobilization, *God Is Red* not only opened the door for understanding American Indian religiosity as a valid area of philosophical and even theological inquiry, it kicked it wide open. Natives and non-Natives alike were challenged to view the traditional wisdom of this continent's autochthonous peoples alongside that of all human history. Hence it was this emerging discourse on religious belief, practice, and behavior that initiated the production of scholarship in other areas, such as law and literature, dedicated solely to the American Indian experience. Seen as parts of a whole, then, much of the scholarship surrounding Native culture was a collaborative project involving sociologists, anthropologists, literary critics, art critics, linguists, lawyers, theologians, archeologists, and, especially, the Native American communities themselves. Such collaborative efforts highlighted the emerging holism that punctuates the discourse today. Emphasis is placed on the communal historical context of the information, with the current social and political aspects of Indian Country as a guide.

In the last two decades since publication of *God Is Red,* an emic, or insider, perspective has increasingly informed American Indian scholarship. Scholarship has become concerned with bringing forth a Native perspective on indigenous religious traditions, and presenting them in a way that meets with the approval of the communities themselves. Theoretical and methodological analysis remains a key part of the scholarly process, but many scholars are working to uncover the way in which traditions are perceived and experienced by Native people, as well as the way in which many traditions function within Native society.

An important element in this process is the revisioning of the idea of "religion." Religion as a unique and separate category of experience does not reflect the experience of most Native cultures, in which traditional spirituality encompassed nearly all areas of life and operated in an integrated mode with the rest of cultural experience. Contemporary scholarship reflects this recognition, exploring religious and spiritual practices as they inform and are affected by land rights, land use, politics, gaming, social networks, health and wellness, recreation, prisons, political reform, and language preservation (among other things).

Further, many scholars today demonstrate a desire to work *with* communities, not *on* them. Communities today are rarely viewed as passive subjects to be acted upon by an outside scholar. Rather, the contemporary academic community within American Indian studies and American Indian religious studies demands that researchers gain permission from the tribal communities with whom they would like to work. The best scholars recognize that community members themselves are the true experts, not the academic. The scholar is a student, learning from the true authorities: the elders within that community. Additionally, the best of contemporary scholars recognize their need to give back to the community, that scholarly endeavors must be a two-way exchange. For some, this means supporting tribal efforts to protect sacred sites or land use rights, lobbying to protect Native American religious freedom, or working to promote Native health care, language preservation, or access to education.

Many contemporary scholars have demonstrated their commitment to working cooperatively with tribal communities, pursuing research agendas set forth by the tribal nations themselves, or working cooperatively to meet tribal concerns as well as their own academic interests. With the passing of the American Indian Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, archaeological investigations have radically changed, and many archaeologists have eagerly sought to promote a more cooperative and culturally sensitive approach to their work (see Archaeology). Contemporary ethnographers commit to working for years with Native communities, learning the indigenous language, and allowing the community itself to guide their research efforts.

In many cases this has meant not publishing material that the community would prefer did not make its way into print. It also means submitting material to the community for their reactions and response prior to publication. For example, ethnographers Keith Basso and Inés Talamantez, both of whom work with Apache communities in the Southwest, have spent years developing relationships within the communities, learning the Native language, and submitting their work to community members for approval and correction. An important part of this process is recognizing the intellectual property rights of Native communities. Native philosophical systems, ritual and ceremonial practices, songs, stories, symbols, and ritual objects are all the rightful property of the Native communities that created them. Contemporary scholars are called upon to respect these intellectual property rights. In doing so, scholars recognize the importance of making public only what the community itself has agreed to. And importantly, profits from such publications should find their way back to the communities and individuals to whom they rightfully belong.

Other disciplines have been remade in recent decades as well. Historians of Na-

tive cultures have begun to realize the importance of not merely reconstructing history based on non-Native written accounts but also drawing from extensive Native oral traditions, which contain a wealth of local knowledge about past events, as perceived from the perspective of the Native community itself. Theology has also been radically challenged and remade by Native scholars such as Vine Deloria, George "Tink" Tinker, Homer Noley, and Clara Sue Kidwell, who have sought to reformulate Christian theology from a uniquely Native perspective.

This trend has brought a final issue to the fore with regard to the study of American Indian religious traditions. In concert with the continuing development of what Wade C. Roof, among others, has referred to as a religious marketplace, an increased awareness of the particulars of American Indian sacred practices has become fodder for the New Age movement, as well as a variety of other spirituality-seeking individuals and groups who tend to favor that which they see as exotic (read: "non-Western"), as possessing a more evocative style of sacred behavior. Along with the appropriation of South Asian traditions such as yoga, tantra, and ayurvedic medicine, and various traditions associated with China, Tibet, and Japan, isolated symbolic elements and ritual behaviors of American Indian origin have been commodified and added to this ever-increasing marketplace. The study of these traditions by non-Native people continues to be controversial for this very reason, and for some communities any attempt at all to unpack the complex nature of sacred ways is a serious breach of religious protocol and privacy. For others, the decreasing amount of confusion and misconception surrounding these practices is one way to stem the tide of appropriation, especially when done with the collusion of the communities to whom they belong. People are less likely to be interested when the fullness of the responsibility that goes with most of these ritual activities is revealed, and when the notion of an "ancient Indian Way" brought forward from time immemorial gets firmly attached to contemporary, modern people who have not only a past but also a present and a future. And so it is with all seriousness that we, along with our editorial board, would like to stress that none of the information contained in these volumes is meant to be replicated, acted on, or adopted by the reader. If there exists a desire to know these traditions on a personal level, seek out members of the community and do just that—get to know them personally.

This has very much been a labor of love. We began in deep trepidation about what it was we were embarking upon, and we were encouraged and aided immeasurably every step of the way by members of various Native American communities, both inside and outside of academia. It is clear that, at this juncture in the development of the discourse surrounding American Indian religious traditions, that there is a great need for the

establishment of standards for the information sought out by the junior researcher, both in terms of the accuracy of the material and the ethical establishment and use of that material. It is our great hope that these three volumes represent an example of that ethos, placing this work amid the very best of scholarship regarding the religious experiences of America's indigenous nations, and helping to define the study of American Indian religious traditions as it exists today.

Suzanne J. Crawford and Dennis F. Kelley

See also American Indian Movement; Archaeology; Christianity, Indianization of; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion; Missionization; Repatriation, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Reservations, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Sovereignty; Termination and Relocation

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Academic Study of American Indian Religious Traditions, Ishi

Ishi, Alfred Kroeber, and the Implications of "Speciminism"

That contemporary anthropology is built upon the foundations of colonial ideology, and the genocidal results of the dehumanization of non-Western subjects, may be an issue for another time. However, the discipline itself has been unfortunately loath to answer such charges until very recently. For social scientific inquiry to occur in Native America, there has to exist a mutual respect if that work is to be free from the pathos that the Founding Fathers (there were no "mothers") willingly brought into the lives of past "informants" and their dead relatives upon whom research was done—whether they wanted it to be done or not. One need merely to look at the prolegomenon in the photographic memoir of Claude Lévi-Strauss (1995), *Saudades do Brasil* [*Homesickness for Brazil*], in which he cautions the reader against seeing the photos of the indigenous Brazilians presented within, which he took in the latter part of the 1930s, as anything like what might be the lifeway of those people now. The images of Nambikwara, Caduveo, and Bororo cannot be likened to those communities, now victims of a modernity that came rushing in behind researchers like him. But perhaps more to the point, Lévi-Strauss admits that these old photos already bear the mark of modernity in that they were suffering the fallout of even earlier incursions by Europeans into their homelands. Such is the kind of story that lies between the lines of *Ishi in Two Worlds: A Biography of the Last Wild Indian in North America,* written by Theodora Kroeber (1961), the wife of Ishi's ersatz host Alfred. Unlike Levi-Strauss, Kroeber never really reflected upon the implications of his actions for the Indian people that he studied, nor for the struggles that continue for those for whom these data were, and continue to be, sacred traditions.

Alfred Kroeber's work in California has been called salvage ethnography, owing to his belief that these tribal traditions, if not the very people themselves, were destined to die out, crushed by the weight of their own archaism. Accepting the anthropology position at the University of California Museum in 1901, Kroeber was enjoined to archive and oversee the remains of one of the worst examples of concerted cultural destruction and ethnic violence ever perpetrated—that of the so-called Gold Rush and the subsequent influx of whites into the state, which precipitated a 90 percent reduction in the Native population. Because of both military and civilian massacres as well as bounty hunts and the opportunistic social and physical

diseases that accompany genocidal practices, this extreme loss of life affected every corner of California Indian Country.

Ishi (not his real name, but the word for "man" in the Yahi language) is said to have found his way into a small town at the edge of his once wide territory (Oroville, California), seeking pilferable food. Caught by townsfolk, he eventually wound up in the hands of Kroeber, who, through the Yana interpreter Sam Batwi, began what was to be a relationship that would frame Ishi's last chapter on this earth, a chapter that was to last a scant three years. After Kroeber took Ishi to live at the museum, Ishi contracted TB and died after suffering a long bout with pneumonia.

While being kept in the museum as a living artifact, Ishi participated in such activities as flintknapping and cordage making, existing as an exhibit depicting stone-age crafts. Ishi was also taken back to his territory near Deer Creek, where he made bows and arrows, hunted, fished, and generally gave Kroeber a lesson in Yahi lifeways that helped to elevate his status in the anthropological community. Kroeber was not with Ishi when he died, but a death-mask was made (it is still on display in the museum, as are all of the things Ishi made while living) and then his body dissected.

Herein lies the key point of this tragic tale: for the three years that Ishi lived as Kroeber's personal specimen, he, Kroeber, never moved their relationship beyond that of researcher and his *ensample*. Alfred Kroeber certainly grew fond of Ishi, and from the writings of Theodora Kroeber, who never herself met Ishi, the fondness was both genuine and reciprocal. One is, however, reminded of the chimp Washoe, a pioneer of sorts in the sign language acquisition ability studies done on apes. While those researchers, after spending countless hours with Washoe both in and out of the lab, certainly became devotedly attached to their subject, they never regarded Washoe as an equal. That is the kind of approach to Indians as sources of study that continues to endanger the legitimacy of their religious traditions as bona fide philosophical systems. While Kroeber may have been sad to return to Berkeley and find Ishi dead and his body dissected, including the removal of his brain, after requesting that the body be cremated intact he packaged the brain to be archived in the museum apart from his cremated but noninterred remains.

While Ishi's life prior to his capture is now fodder for speculation, his skills and knowledge are evident within the pages of both of the Kroebers' work. One wonders how Alfred would have fared had he been dropped onto the shores of Deer Creek and asked to make his way. It would at least be expected that, looking into the eyes of another human being, a researcher would take note of the implications that the study has on the lives of their (let us use the term "consultants") as people. However, Thomas Buckley (1996) quotes Kroeber as follows: "After some hesitation, I have omitted all di-

rectly historical treatment . . . of the relations of the natives with the whites and of the events befalling them after such contact was established. It is not that this subject is unimportant or uninteresting, but that I am not in a position to treat it adequately. It is also a matter that has comparatively slight relation to aboriginal civilization." What Kroeber was after, as were many if not most of his ilk, were the last vestiges of dying cultures that they may be preserved, as Ishi's brain was, to attest to their own extinction.

However, in 1999, despite initial denials on the part of the University of California, Ishi's brain and cremated remains were located and buried by members of the Pit River California Indian community on Mt. Lassen, the key geographical feature in Ishi's home territory. The private burial was followed in May 2000 by a ceremony that included a feast and songs and dances of healing. This act, which can be seen as something of a bookend to the sad tale that is Ishi, serves as a reminder that California tribal traditions continue, and have the ability to provide a healing salve for the injuries caused by colonization.

Dennis Kelley

See also Archaeology; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion; McKay, Mabel; Missionization, California; On the Academic Study of American Indian Religious Traditions; Parrish, Essie; Repatriation, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, California; Ritual and Ceremony, California

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American Indian Movement (Red Power Movement)

The American Indian Movement (AIM) was founded in Minneapolis in 1968 by Dennis Banks, Clyde Bellecourt, Mary Jane Williams, and George Mitchell. The movement was among the most visible aspects of American Indian activism of the 1960s and 1970s, gathering a massive following from around Indian Country, even gaining the support of many traditional elders. AIM's confrontational tactics provided the plight of contemporary Indian communities with news media exposure and identity, but the movement also became, like many social movements of the time, a target of government persecution.

The main purpose of AIM is to encourage self-determination among Native Americans via the international recognition of treaty rights, calling the U.S. government to responsibility for the many transgressions in federal Indian policy. As AIM began to grow, many Indian people came to understand and appreciate the important cultural and spiritual heritage embodied in the core principles of AIM. However, AIM does not impose any religious or cultural views on the different participating communities; rather, it tries to adapt itself to the particular traditions within the sacred histories of those communities. In fact, many Indian people consider the AIM activism years to have been somewhat of an "Indian Renaissance," during which many American Indians sought out their own tribal elders to re-establish a connection with their traditional sacred history. Language resurgence programs, revival of American Indian arts and crafts, and newfound ceremonial awareness all owe their early genesis to some degree to the Red Power movement.

Using the Black Panther opposition to police brutality as a model for their organization, AIM recognized the similarities in the treatment of Indian people by members of law enforcement and the courts they support. In urban areas of the United States, where police

forces were overwhelmingly white, the relationship between the police and minority communities was typically tense, at best. AIM leaders drew attention to the fact that Indians were often harassed and even beaten by police, and that Indian people, especially in communities near reservations, were consistently dissatisfied with their treatment by the courts. AIM also lobbied for improved city services for urban Indians, and established so-called AIM Patrols, among the first official AIM actions, in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in order to monitor the activities of police officers.

> *Somewhere, these young men started the American Indian Movement. And they came to our reservation and they turned that light on inside. And it's getting bigger, now we can see things.*
> *—An Oglala Elder*

AIM soon began to establish chapters in many major cities, and its leaders came to California to participate in the 1969 occupation of Alcatraz Island by a group calling itself Indians of All Tribes. Because federal law states that property abandoned by the U.S. government should automatically return to the control of its previous owners, Indians of All Tribes claimed that the abandoned federal penitentiary belonged to indigenous peoples. That is when another high-profile AIM activist, Russell Means, an Oglala Sioux raised in California, began his relationship with AIM.

On July 4, 1971, Means led a protest at Mount Rushmore. Later that same year, an AIM group occupied Plymouth Rock in Massachusetts on Thanksgiving Day, painting it red in protest. In February of 1972, Means led more than a thousand Indian activists into Gordon, Nebraska, to protest that community's refusal to indict the killers of Raymond Yellow Thunder, an Oglala. The protest was successful in securing both the indictments and eventual convictions of the white men involved in the murder.

AIM members helped to organize and then participated in "fish-ins" in the Pacific Northwest to protest state fish and game laws that violated treaty rights of both coastal and inland waterway Indian nations. In 1972 they organized a caravan to Washington, D.C., dubbed the Trail of Broken Treaties, occupying the offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1973, AIM directed the seventy-one-day occupation at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, site of a horrific massacre of Indian men, women, and children by the U.S. cavalry in 1890. The occupation began as a protest of state manipulation of internal Oglala reservation politics, but when the FBI sent in 250 armed agents to surround the protestors, press coverage allowed it to develop into a broad-based protest of American Indian issues generally. At its culmination, the Wounded Knee occupation had become

Poster urging support of the American Indian Movement, created between 1968–1980. (Library of Congress)

Bobby Onco, a Kiowa member of the American Indian Movement (AIM), holding up rifle. This photograph was taken after a cease-fire agreement between AIM forces and federal marshals at Wounded Knee, Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota, March 9, 1973. (Library of Congress)

a potent symbol for American Indian activism and the burgeoning Red Power movement.

The end of the Vietnam War would portend a decline in U.S. protest movements; the civil rights movement, of which AIM is a part, entered a period of quiescence. With passage of the Indian Self-Determination Act of 1974, many Indian people felt that they had been successful in causing the federal government to modify its Indian policies. Dennis Banks, another important AIM leader, organized the Longest Walk in 1978 to commemorate the Trail of Broken Treaties protest of 1972. AIM and other American Indian activists believe that broken treaties between the U.S. government and American Indian nations remains a relevant issue in Indian Country and that there is a need to raise

awareness about the history of broken treaties.

Today the movement includes a number of chapters across the country and a national board that oversees their AIM-sanctioned activities. Through the end of the twentieth century, however, AIM became much more focused on regional issues rather than national ones, promoting American Indian religious freedom and sacred land rights at the state and local levels.

Dennis F. Kelley

See also Brave Bird, Mary (Crow Dog); Crow Dog, Leonard; Ecology and Environmentalism; Identity; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion; Native American Church, Peyote Movement; Prison and Native Spirituality; Retraditionalism and Identity Movements; Termination and Relocation

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Angalkuq (Tuunrilría)

Among the Yup'iq of northern Alaska, the primary religious practitioner and spiritual healer of the village community is the *Angalkuq,* often referred to in written sources as a shaman. An *Angalkuq* might also be known as *Tuunrilría,* or "one who is using power." An *Angalkuq* traditionally performs a number of extremely important tasks within the Yup'iq community. She or he might work as healers, or as intermediaries between the human, spiritual, and animal worlds. They work to ensure a plentiful supply of game and gathered resources, to ensure good weather, to prevent social conflict, and also to foretell the future. These activities are all done with the power and assistance of an *iinruq,* or powerful object containing one's spirit power, and the help of the *Angalkuq*'s spirit powers, or *tuunrat.* The work of an *Angalkuq* takes place through carefully enacted rituals, ceremonies, songs, dances, masking, and storytelling.

An *Angalkuq* works as an intermediary between spiritual and human worlds. While within a trance, the *Angalkuq* will travel to the spirit world, whether to the animal spirits living on the seafloor, those in the skyworld, or the departed ancestors in the underworld of the dead. *Angalkut* are initiated into the role of spiritual leader through a dangerous brush with death early in their lives, such as an intense illness. Having overcome death, the *Angalkuq* is uniquely gifted with the ability to journey between worlds. In many of their ritual and ceremonial activities, the *Angalkuq* directs or enacts a dramatic representation of their visit with the *yuit* or personhood within an animal or other spiritual entity.

Through masking, dance, songs, and stories, the *Angalkut* are able to re-enact these world-crossing journeys. *Angalkut* direct the carving of masks that will represent the *yuit* of animals as well as their own spirit helpers. The masks will be used only once, as they are considered dangerous; they must be handled with great care. After the dance, masks are destroyed by fire or left out on the tundra to decompose. During rituals and ceremonies these masks enable the dancers to see with supernatural vision, as well as making spiritual beings physically manifest to the community.

Both men and women can be an *Angalkuq,* and they play central roles within their communities as healers, social and political mediators, and spiritual intercessors. Throughout other important ceremonial festivals, such as the Bladder Festival, Kelek, and Enriq, the *Angalkuq* plays a central role. The *Angalkuq* travels between worlds, meeting with the spirits of animals and departed ancestors, working to ensure healthy relationships between the village and those spirits, and ensuring that the village will have all its needs met: that game and plants will be plentiful; that the weather will be good. As social mediators, *Angalkut* work to restore human relationships, negotiate disputes, solicit confessions, and assign proper punishments.

Working as a healer, an *Angalkuq* might give an *iinruq* to an afflicted patient, the power of which may work to cure and protect. Healing might occur through other ritual means as well. The *Angalkuq* might lay hands on a patient, holding or massaging the afflicted area. In doing so, such healers are able to draw the illness out of the patient and take it into their own bodies. They might also suck, blow, or lift the illness out of a patient. In any event, their actions demonstrate an ability to break down the barrier between individual bodies, enabling the illness to leave the patient's body and be dealt with by another, stronger body. Loud noises might also be employed, such as drumming and singing, in an effort to drive illness away. The *Angalkuq* recognizes the close connection between illness and improper behavior. Causing offense to the spirit of an animal or offending another person in one's human community may bring on disease. The *Angalkuq* may therefore also work to solicit a confession from the patient, if doing so seems appropriate. The healer may have to travel to the spirit world, or don the mask of a powerful spirit power, in order to discern what the offense has been. Finally, individuals may be ill because of soul-loss. A part of their soul, their *tarnera,* might have departed from the patient's body. The *Angalkuq* must then travel along the path to the spirit world, retrieve the *tarnera,* and bring it back to the community.

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See also Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Masks and Masking; Oral Traditions, Haida; Potlatch

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Archaeology

As a way of knowing the past, archaeology seems to challenge core elements of many American Indian religions. Archaeology knows the past by excavation, analysis, and interpretation of material remains, whereas American Indian religion knows the past from oral tradition, passed down through generations, which often contains the sacred history of a people. Disputes surrounding the excavation, study, storage, repatriation, and reburial of human remains and sacred objects—such as in the ongoing dispute over the Kennewick skeleton—have brought the issues to the attention of the general public. Although the news media and some individuals portray the debate as bipolar—archaeologists versus Indians; science versus religion—there is actually a continuum of opinion about the role of archaeology in telling the story of American Indian pasts. Although discussions seem focused on skeletons and grave goods, the issues are substantially more complicated and at the heart of definitions of cultural identity. The conflict has a deep history.

Who Are the Indians and How Did They Get Here?

The presence of American Indians has puzzled Europeans from first contact. The land itself, unknown to Europeans, was one matter, but the people who lived on it proved an even greater enigma. European explanations of all they saw around them were mostly theological—that is, they relied on the Bible to explain things. The land and people of the "New World" were fully outside the Bible, causing Europeans to ask if American Indians were even human. Answers explaining the Indian presence often took the form of rampant speculation, with some viewing American Indians as the descendents of the Lost Tribes of Israel. As the Europeans and Euro-Americans began to spread across the continents, they encountered the pyramids of Central and South America and the impressive earthworks of North America. Although a few Euro-Americans saw this monumental architecture as the creation of the American Indians' ancestors, most felt that Indian culture was incapable of building such wonders. In part their view was understandable, however, in that many tribes had been badly reduced by pandemic disease and had become mere shadows of their former selves by the time Euro-Americans had direct contact. For others, explanations filled a need to have a European—

Native American mound cemetery, Marietta, Ohio, created between 1920–1950. (Library of Congress)

that is, a white—history of the land, a view that was informed by notions of Manifest Destiny. Euro-Americans needed an excuse to move Indians off their lands, therefore just about every explanation for the pyramids and earthworks was employed, so long as Indian ancestors were not involved in their creation. Groups as diverse as Vikings, Tartars, and survivors of the Lost Continent of Atlantis got the credit. Many of the explanations became linked to the Moundbuilder myth. The Moundbuilders were a group of whites here before the Indians. They built the mounds, but ultimately the ancestors of Indians annihilated them.

By the late 1800s, and with the development of systematic archaeology, scientific explanations had disproved the Moundbuilder and other explanations in favor of an Asian origin for the Indians. Certainly, after the discovery of the Folsom site in New Mexico in 1926, the great antiquity of American Indians in North America became widely accepted, though the precise date and method of their arrival remained a matter of debate. By the 1950s, and with the help of carbon 14 dating, the Bering land bridge became the favored hypothesis. Lowered sea levels during glacial periods were said to have created Beringia, a wide land bridge between Siberia and North America, and

an ice-free corridor opening onto the Plains. Most scholars accepted as scientific dogma that the first people in the Americas were the Clovis hunters of large animals such as mammoth, entering what is now the United States around 12,000 years ago.

Still, anomalies of earlier sites in both Americas, some with substantially earlier dates than Clovis, kept archaeologists hard at work. Indeed, by the 1960s some suggested that people had come from Asia by boat along the Pacific coastline, avoiding the glaciers altogether. Early sites in South America, such as at Monte Verde in Chile, showed that people had been in the area a few thousand years earlier. By the year 2000, most scientists had abandoned a "Clovis-first" hypothesis. Indeed, the discovery of the Kennewick Man, among other archaeological findings, became a source of major dispute between some scholars and American Indians and even raised the specter of the Moundbuilders once again. Supposedly Caucasoid features of the Kennewick remains became "Caucasian" in the news media. Very recent genetic work on remains in Ohio seems to suggest links to European genetic forms, in support of a few archaeologists who have hypothesized ancient connections to the Solutrean complex of Ice-Age Europe (Chatters 2001).

As scholars find new evidence and offer hypotheses to explain aboriginal Americans, scientific views of the origins of the first inhabitants of the Americas are clarified, elaborated, or even changed completely. What few scientists, especially American archaeologists, take into account, is that their explanations have an impact on the descendents of those they study, whose views of origins might be very different from theirs and for whom the scientific views have great consequences. Certainly these views are at the heart of American Indian concerns about archaeology.

Consider the following statements, which represent the extreme positions in the debate. Archaeologist Ronald Mason (1997, 3), for example, contends that science, "by its very nature must challenge, not respect, or acknowledge as valid, such folk renditions of the past because traditional knowledge has produced flat earths, geocentrism, women arising out of men's ribs, talking ravens and the historically late first people of the Black Hills upwelling from holes in the ground." In one of the earliest Indian/anthropologist formal planned discussions on reburial, Prairie Potawatomi Chick Hale commented, "My people did not cross the Bering Strait. We know much about our past through oral traditions. Why do archaeologists study the past? Are they trying to disprove our religion? We do not have to study our origins. I don't question my teachings. I don't need proof in order to have faith" (Anderson et al. 1980, 12–13). Cecil Antone of the Gila River Indian Tribes at another conference elaborated, "My ancestors, relatives, grandmother so on down the line, they tell you about the history of our people and it's passed on and basi-

cally, what I'm trying to say, I guess, is that archaeology don't mean nothing. We just accept . . . the way our past has been established and just keep on trying to live the same old style, however old it is" (Quick 1985, 103).

These statements suggest a substantial divide, indeed that perhaps archaeological and American Indian views are anathema. From where does this divide come when on the surface, the two would seem to be looking at the same past? After all, isn't the past, the past? At one level archaeologists and American Indians would probably accept the idea that the past is composed of a set of events that left material remains that the archaeologists find in their excavations. Beyond that, however, everything becomes a matter of interpretation and perspective. The same set of events and material items get perceived differently, and that leads to problems.

As scientists, archaeologists emphasize measured time. They look at time as linear, moving only forward from the past to the future. Such a view allows archaeologists to attach the remains they find to a framework of cause and effect, helping them to explain change through time. They break up that temporal stream by using linguistic partitions, apparent in their jargon, to describe ancient cultures, complexes, phases, traditions, and the like. Their dates are relative but linear, with X phase coming before Y phase coming before Z phase, backed up by absolute dates from carbon 14 and other techniques allowing them to put calendrical dates on their sequences. They see the present as only a fleeting moment, with the emphasis on the past and future. Archaeologists have not uncommonly written about "studying the past for the future."

Tradition-oriented American Indians emphasize lived time. They look at time as more complex, not just sequential. What is important is the event itself and its meaning to life. In this view, the very perception of time is flexible. By example, time seems to move more or less slowly surrounding an event. Time may seem to pass very slowly during anticipation of an event, but quickly during the event itself. In this sense, the present is crucial, not the past or the future. This lies at the heart of what is often called "Indian time." What is important is what an event means in one's life and what one learns from it, not that it occurs at a precise point in time. The actors and locations may change, but the fundamentals of human behavior do not. That is a core idea of natural law, immutable, given at the time of creation, and very evident in the quotation from Antone above.

These two views are at the heart of our understanding of the concepts of literacy and orality. For literate cultures, cultures based on the written word, time is necessarily sequential and linear. The "now" of the present is gone in an immeasurable instant and is de-emphasized. In oral cultures, with their emphasis on the spoken word, the spoken exists only in the present and is gone quickly, so it must be

attended carefully. In written cultures the emphasis in stories is the setup (the past) and the consequence (the future), whereas in the oral, the end of the story is contained in the beginning is contained in the end, and so forth. Time and past are a circle or spiral, always coming back to the point of origin. In other words, the past is always present.

Archaeologists tend to say that the past is gone and that only archaeology can interpret it. Take, for example, the comments of archaeologist Clement Meighan: "The archaeologist is defining the culture of an extinct group and in presenting his research he is writing a chapter of human history that cannot be written except from archaeological investigation. If archaeology is not done, the ancient people remain without a history and without a record of their existence" (Meighan 1985, 20).

For many Indian people, the past is never gone; it is always present and alive. To some, what archaeologists call artifacts, especially human remains, Indian people consider people, still present and alive. When archaeologists say that the past is gone unless archaeologists study it, tradition-oriented Indian people could take that to mean that the present is also gone, and thus that they themselves are gone. That is not so dissimilar from a viewpoint often expressed by non-Indians over the past centuries that Indians were disappearing or gone. In addition, archaeologists objectify the remains they find. Although scientists claim otherwise, insofar as skeletons are concerned they dehumanize the remains for study; to Indians that shows a deep disrespect.

In a form of scientific positivism used by many archaeologists, there is only one truth, and it is knowable if one uses the proper approach. Scientists advance hypotheses to explain the data they have found. Their task becomes to disprove or "falsify" the hypotheses. What can't be disproved is likely to be true. This confuses laypeople, who often remark that science "proves" things. Thus when an archaeologist proposes something such as the Bering land bridge idea to account for American Indian origins, then later demonstrates that the hypothesis is too simple and suggests other hypotheses, people see that as a weakness of science; in fact it is the opposite. Scientists know this, but most others don't. Some American Indians, for example, see the explanation of the Moundbuilders, the Bering land bridge, the coastal boat hypothesis, and the new notions of a European connection as evidence that archaeologists don't know what they are doing, or that they have dominant-society political agendas. Nowhere is that problem more evident than in Vine Deloria, Jr.'s (1995) attack on archaeology in his book *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact.*

Archaeologists don't help the problem when they make statements like that of Meighan, above, or when they claim to have the facts or truth about the past. Although most archaeologists claim to have no personal political agenda, they

may fail to understand the impact of what they are saying on the lives of Indian people. For example, debates about cannibalism among the Anasazi or supposed discoveries of syphilis before the arrival of Europeans get used against American Indians in contemporary America. While those are specific examples, on a broader and more important level, if most archaeologists take the debunking attitude expressed by Mason in the quotation above, archaeology becomes a harsh and cruel discipline. If archaeologists tell Indian people that they have the facts about Indian origins and that Indians should accept the archaeological story, what archaeologists are actually telling Indians is that their tribal stories are untrue. For Indians to accept archaeological stories of their pasts, they need to reject their own oral traditions, and that is another attack on American Indian cultural identity.

Sharing Control of the Past

Although there have been efforts to bring archaeology and American Indian viewpoints together during the past quarter-century, the trend has accelerated during the last decade. There is obvious overlap between some American Indian origin stories and archaeological finds, if both sides are willing to shift perspectives slightly. Even under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), consideration of claims for repatriation of remains must include both scientific and oral tradition evidence equally. Some scholars have made a determined effort to bridge the gap between archaeological evidence and the evidence of oral tradition (Echo-Hawk 2000). Tribes such as the Zuni, Hopi, and Navajo (Diné) began their own tribal archaeology programs in the 1980s, and a number of other tribes have since done likewise. There is a growing interest in what is being called "indigenous archaeology," but what that actually means remains undefined. Several academic conferences have made it a point of discussion. The differences may seem small, but in some cases it may mean archaeological research done by tribal members on their own cultural remains; in others it may mean archaeology done by outsiders in full partnership with tribal members. In either case the epistemology of the past—that is, "how we know what we know" about it—will change.

On a practical level, several organizations have enacted ethics codes to make members aware of relevant issues. The first organization to pass such a code was the World Archaeological Congress, which enacted the Vermillion Accord in 1989 and the Code of Ethics on Members' Obligations to Indigenous Peoples in 1990 (Zimmerman 1997a, 106–107). The Society for American Archaeology (2002a) also enacted Principles of Archaeological Ethics in 1996 after much discussion. Two of its principles deal with accountability to affected groups, one of them directly naming Native Americans. The Society for American Archaeology (SAA) developed an endowment for support of scholarships

for Native American and Native Hawaiians to support training in archaeological methods, including fieldwork, analytical techniques, and curation. The National Science Foundation adds support insofar as each year the SAA offers the Arthur C. Parker Scholarship, named after the organization's first president (1935–1936), an archaeologist of Seneca ancestry, and the NSF Scholarships for Archaeological Training for Native Americans and Native Hawaiians (SAA 2002b). The Plains Anthropological Society (2002), a major regional organization, also offers a scholarship for Native American students. Finally, a number of archaeological field schools now directly incorporate American Indian concerns directly into field training and offer interaction with Indian communities.

Perhaps the most difficult issue for archaeology when it comes to dealing with American Indians is learning how to share control of the past (Zimmerman 1994). This is no easy matter for scientists steeped in traditions of academic freedom where they set their own research agendas and reach their own conclusions based on analysis of material remains and their excavated or documentary contexts. Archaeologists must also let go of the idea that what is going on is just "identity politics," when it is actually much more complicated, incorporating the realm of sacred history. For American Indians, the most difficult problem will be to abandon the stereotypic views of archaeology as "grave robbing" and as a tool of domination. In truth, each can benefit the other, but development of an ethnocritical archaeology in which archaeologists and Indians are active and equal partners in exploring pasts will require epistemological changes from both groups.

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See also Kennewick Man; Mourning and Burial Practices; Oral Traditions; Repatriation, Spiritual and Cultural Implications

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Architecture

At the time of European discovery, North America was inhabited by more than a million people who spoke a variety of languages and dialects, who were organized into a large number of tribes ranging from small bands to confederacies and states of considerable size, and who engaged in diverse forms of environmental adaptation: hunting and gathering dominated in some areas, agriculture in others. Here also were numerous and diverse religious traditions whose conception and practice were, and continue to be, embodied and given expression in spaces and places—conceptual, natural, and architectural.

Some architectural forms are intended exclusively for religious purposes—for example, shrines and altars. In all Native American cultures the categories and rules of kinship and social organization are represented or embodied in architectural forms and settlement patterns. Consequently, some architectural forms—such as houses and plazas—serve multiple purposes, being transformed from secular to sacred space as required by a communal ritual calendar or individual life crisis rites. More complex structures are often mnemonic designs for the remembrance of the past. Each reflects something of a people's engagement with the sacred.

The study of Native American architecture had its beginning in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when platform mounds built by several different American Indian cultures were encountered along the Mississippi River and its tributaries. In 1849, Lieutenant James H. Simpson, leading a U.S. Army exploring expedition through northwestern New Mexico, discovered a series of large ancestral Puebloan ruins in Chaco Canyon. Paintings of the ruins by the expedition's artist, Richard Kern, illustrated Simpson's report and helped stir speculation about who had built them and why. Among those speculative efforts was social evolutionist Lewis Henry Morgan's *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines* (1881), which sought to trace

the forms of social organization associated with the stages of human progress. Morgan was not interested in Native American religion, nor were the French sociologists Marcel Mauss and Henri Beuchat, whose *Seasonal Variations of the Eskimo* (1904–1905) considered social transformation within an ecological perspective as they documented the change from dispersed summer dwellings to collective winter houses.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Franz Boas and his students in the American historical school rejected evolutionary theory. They sought to understand historical relationships and emphasized a more inductive approach that came to be called historical particularism. One of their major concerns was material culture, including architecture. As much as students of Native American religious traditions make use of the descriptive accounts of Boas and his students, notably of the totem poles and houses of the Kwakwak'wakw and Haida along the Northwest Coast, the first explicit contribution to an understanding of architecture as the representation or embodiment of the conception and practice of religion is to be found in a mimeographed paper by Father Berard Haile, O.F.M., "Some Cultural Aspects of the Navajo Hogan" (1937; cf. 1942).

The Diné (Navajo) are latecomers to the American Southwest, arriving in their homeland perhaps only a century or two before the Coronado Expedition (1539–1540). Through contact with the Spanish and Puebloan peoples, the Diné acquired horses, sheep, goats, and agriculture. In spite of these changes in their subsistence economy, it is likely that their religion is ancient in its conceptualization and practice. Father Haile's paper was written to explain why the Diné hogan, the home of the Diné family, persisted next to other house forms derived from Anglo-American culture that began to appear on the Diné reservation in the 1930s.

The spatial and temporal structure of the Diné cosmology or worldview has its basis in the Diné emergence narrative. Through a series of underworlds—four or multiples of four—their ancestors, First Man, First Woman, and other Holy People arrived on this earth surface. In the underworlds—first world (black), second (blue), third (yellow), and fourth (white)—various plants, animals, and other objects came into being that are associated in this (fifth) world—in an elaborate system of correspondences—with the four directions and four sacred mountains in which East (life) is the most auspicious direction and North (death) the least so. As with many other Native American peoples, the traditional home of the Diné, the hogan, is on certain occasions a microcosm reflecting this worldview in elaborate detail. Haile summarizes the chantway narratives regarding the hogan, a conical structure traditionally built of wooden poles laid over with sticks and a thick layer of earth:

> These prototype hogans mention either a four- or five-pole type of

> Hogan, meaning the main poles upon which the structure leans. The four-pole skeleton was constructed of a white bead pole in the east, of a turquoise pole in the south, of an abalone pole in the west, of a jet pole in the north. . . . The legends let the spaces between the poles be filled with shelves of white . . . turquoise . . . abalone . . . jet. The course here described introduces an important observance known in Navajo ritual as . . . 'guided by the sun,' sun-wise (our clockwise course). Sandpainting figures, lines of prayer-sticks, sewing of masks, winding of pouches, strewing of pollen or lotions, and numerous other prescriptions must be done sun-wise and the reverse course . . . 'sunward' (our anti-clockwise), is taboo in ritual. (Haile 1942, 42–43)

So understood, the hogan is the proper place for the Diné curing ceremony ("sing"). On these occasions, the space within the hogan is defined by the categories and rules of kinship and the division of labor—men's space and women's space, a place for the *hataali'* ("singer") and for the patient—as well as by the processes that move a person from a state of "ugly conditions," or disharmony and disorder (*hocho*), to that of "pleasant conditions," or harmony and balance (*hozho*).

The Diné curing ceremony involves gifts (prestations) to the Holy People, actions intended to remove the "ugly conditions" from the patient's body through the use of emetics and a sweatlodge, and actions that identify the patient with the supernatural, primarily through the construction and use of dry-paintings on the floor of the hogan (Lamphere 1987). As Haile made clear, the hogan is a place of memory, meaning, and power.

The Hopi are ancient occupants of the same area of northeastern Arizona, living today on a reservation surrounded by that of the Diné. Unlike the Diné, who traditionally lived in scattered hogans, the Hopi live in compact villages, pueblos, on or near three fingerlike projections south from Black Mesa. The Hopi are agriculturalists, whose diet of corn, beans, and squash was supplemented with small game prior to the introduction of sheep by the Spanish. Today Hopis farm, raise cattle, and engage in a variety of occupations on and off the reservation. Nevertheless, corn remains a symbol of life and all that sustains it.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a Hopi village consisted of a series of multistoried, terraced structures made of sandstone and adobe, each containing a number of matrilineal/matrilocal living units (*kihu,* sing.) arranged in long rows or irregularly around a central plaza (*kisoni*). The kiva, a semisubterranean religious structure constructed of similar materials and built in the form of a rectangular keyhole, was located in the plaza, in the broad streets, or at the ends of the house-blocks. Changes have taken place in building materials, and new homes are built away from the traditional house-blocks; however, the *kisoni* and kiva remain the focal points for a

Hopi (Moqui) Snake kiva, Oraibi Pueblo, Arizona. Created between 1890–1932. (Library of Congress)

complex ritual calendar concerned with communal well-being.

The concepts through which the Hopi perceive, experience, and describe their traditional architecture derive largely from their worldview. Hopi cosmology includes the notion of the evolution of mankind through four worlds, with final emergence of the Hopi in the Grand Canyon by way of the *sipapu,* or opening from the underworld below. In Hopi thought, the architecture of the kiva—through the *sipapu,* an opening in the floor, and the levels of the floors—replicates this account. The ladders, which stood against the door-level first floor exterior of the traditional *kihu* or extended above the entrance to the kiva, remind Hopis of the trees their ancestors climbed at the emergence. For Hopis, the *sipapu* is a symbolic medium for exchange and communication between the upper world of the living and the lower world of the spirits—between life and life-after-this-life. From this conception, the levels of the kiva, the tall ladders, the architecture of this world, and the architecture of their cosmology correspond and complement each other.

The Hopi plaza (*kisoni*) remains the focal point for a complex ritual calendar and the center of a series of roughly concentric circles of men's and women's space. A tendency toward bilateral inheri-

tance and neolocal residence has altered the view of the *kihu* as women's space. The kiva, however, continues to serve predominately as men's space. Nearby gardens are tended by women, while men care for cornfields and livestock at some distance from the villages. Beyond these categories of space, priests collect snakes and eagles (as messengers to sacred space, below and above), make offerings at distant shrines (natural and architectural), and go on expeditions for salt.

The kiva and the *kisoni* are architecturally defined spaces that are used for both sacred and secular activities. In the spring and early summer the kachinas come to the Hopi villages as "messengers" to receive the prayers and prayer offerings of the Hopi people and to reciprocate with food and assurances that their prayers have been heard. The masked figures (kachinas) are the spirits of the ancestors and the spiritual essence of all things and beings within the Hopi world. They not only carry prayers to the gods; they also return as rain for the corn plants that sustain Hopi life. The kachinas are spoken of as "beautiful beings," for they are the embodiment of the Hopi way (*hopi*). When the kachinas first appear in the spring, they climb the ladder of a kiva, entering this world from the lower world, and when they depart at the end of the *Niman,* or "home-going" dance, they process to the west, in the direction of the San Francisco Peaks, where in their cloud form they gather and return as the blessings of rain. The kachina "dances" or ceremonies of spring and early summer take place in the *kisoni* coincident with a complex ritual drama, *tsukulalwa* (clowning, clown ceremony), in which behavior that is un-Hopi (*qahopi*) is subjected to the judgment of laughter by those gathered along the sides of the plaza and on the rooftops above. Finally, the plaza is designed with entrances/exits used in other rituals for processions and for the expression of prayers and prayer offerings to the four directions.

The conceptualization and practice of Hopi religion are not limited to the kiva and the *kisoni* and the community physically defined by the architecture of the village. When the first amateur ethnologists visited the Hopi toward the end of the nineteenth century, they were told of the Hopi's pact or covenant with *Ma'sau* (God of the earth's surface) and of the land given to them, land they referred to as *Ma'saututsqua* (*Ma'sau*'s land). *Ma'sau* told the Hopi, "Look in the valleys, the rocks and the woods, and you will find my footsteps there." Today, the Hopi distinguish between *tutsqua* (land as a geopolitical construct) and *Hopitutsqua* (Hopi land, a religious concept). *Hopitutsqua* is conceptual, natural, and architectural. It includes sacred mountains, rivers, springs—the sources of life-sustaining moisture as the kachinas, as clouds are seen gathering on the San Francisco Peaks to the west—as well as shrines through which offerings are made, for example, to the four sacred directions. It is to these places that pilgrimages, prayers, and prayer offerings

are directed and from these places that the blessings that sustain Hopi life flow. Finally, it is to these places that Hopis look to sustain the memories of their emergence and the migrations of their clans, and to see in the ruins of villages destroyed or abandoned in the past moral lessons to be remembered for sustaining their communities today.

Ma'sau was also the first housebuilder, the first architect, who has a two-story house underground. And *Ma'sau* is death. Thus the graveyard is *Ma'sau*'s kiva, *Maski*. It is not simply a burial place (*tuu'ami*); it is the entrance to the Underworld. A stick (*massaqa*) erected on the top of a grave symbolizes the ladder through which the spirit rises to go to the Spirit World. An early student of the Hopi, Alexander M. Stephen, was told, "The dead go to the lower stage or story where the houses are as we live in. The plan of the house was brought from the interior [Underworld], and what is called dying is a return to the early house; men and women follow their usual vocations there." The kiva is, in this sense, "the house that is coming, the future house, the house they return to" (Stephen 1936, 150–151). Thus the kiva is a microcosm of the Hopi world whose principal tenet is the continuity of life in this world with life in the "interior" or Underworld. Life and death, day and night, summer and winter are seen not simply as opposed but as involved in a system of alternation, continuity, and reciprocities that sustains both.

For much of the history of the academic study of vernacular architecture, the focus and unit of analysis has been the built form—for example, house, ceremonial structure—and only gradually has attention spread to settlement patterns and then to what are often called cultural or ritual landscapes. And yet, Native Americans have always located the meaning and purpose of their architecture within a larger conceptual framework, as in a narrative by Tyon, a Sioux, at the beginning of the twentieth century:

> The Oglala believe the circle to be sacred because the Great Spirit caused everything in nature to be round except stone. Stone is the implement of destruction. The sun and the sky, the earth and the moon are round like a shield, though the sky is deep like a bowl. Everything that breathes is round like the stem of a plant. Since the Great Spirit has caused everything to be round, mankind should look upon the circle as sacred, for it is the symbol of all things in nature except stone. It is also the symbol of the circle that makes the edge of the world, and therefore of the four winds that travel there. Consequently, it is also the symbol of the year. The day, the night, and the moon go in a circle above the sky. Therefore the circle is a symbol of these divisions of time, and hence the symbol of all time. For these reasons the Oglala make their *tipis* circular, their camp-circle circular, and sit in a circle at all ceremonies. The circle is also the symbol of the *tipi* and of shelter. If one makes a circle for an ornament and it is not divided in any way, it should be understood as the

Tepee, ca. 2000. (Corbis)

symbol of the world and of time. (Tyon in Walker 1917, 160)

The conceptualization and practice of religion in architectural forms reflects the great diversity and richness of Native American traditions. At the same time there are many common elements. The shape of the house is often the shape of the universe, as in the circular form of the Oglala tepee and the Diné *hogan*. The orientation of the dwelling is often to the cardinal directions, however those are defined. For example, the Pawnee earth lodge is oriented to the morning and evening stars. In contrast, the Haida cosmology is vertical in orientation, with the house pole symbolically linking the sky world, this world, and the underworld. A center place—not literally a geographical center so much as a cosmological center and focus of spiritual power—is also a common feature, whether located in a hearth as with the Haida or in the *sipapu* as with the Hopi. Sacred knowledge is often the privileged responsibility of a shaman, priest, or other religious specialist or group of specialists, and the activities associated with this knowledge are often set apart and secret. For example, while the Hopi Snake-Antelope Ceremony lasts eight days, most of the preparations, prayers, and prayer offerings take place within two kivas with only selected members of the Snake or Antelope societies present.

Space and place—how each is defined, logically structured, and symbolically expressed—are fundamental to the conceptualization and practice of Native American religious traditions. More than in any other form of material culture, memory, meaning, and power are embodied or represented in the built environment, the architectural forms, of Native American cultures.

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See also Mounds; Sacred Sites and Sacred Mountains; Sweatlodge

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Art (Contemporary), Southwest

The universe of contemporary Southwest art—like all divisions within Native American art history—is drawn by multiple boundaries and overlapping beginning points.

Of these, issues of authorship, identity, and authenticity hail from diverse locales to find a regional focus. In addition to the tribes that are situated within the Southwest, the area reveals a significant number of out-of-region artists who moved there in order to participate in the centralized and vibrant art markets of towns such as Santa Fe, New Mexico; Scottsdale, Arizona; and, to a lesser extent, parts of Colorado, Nevada, Texas, and Utah.

The idea that artists recorded what they knew of their own individualized tribal experiences has given way to interpretations of modern Western and cultural themes that may or may not have any relationship to the artist's own tribal affiliation and experience. For example, an identifiable school of modern Diné painting can produce the stylized depiction of a Northern Plains hunting scene in which mounted warriors hunt buffalo in a staged landscape that resembles the Grand Canyon. Such imaginative depictions are closer to the earlier styles of Frederick Remington and Charles M. Russell, whose presentation of nineteenth-century cowboy and Indian theme paintings continues to be reproduced today for popular and specialized markets.

Disciplinary frameworks of anthropology and art history have long defined Native American Southwest arts from within ethnographic contexts that sought to unify art forms according to material applications, such as basketry, textiles, jewelry, and painting. While these typologies proved useful as museum-based categories, artists today draw from a range of media, often amalgamating them in installation works and

Ray Tafoya, co-owner of Povijemu Indian Art, Santa Clara Pueblo, New Mexico, incises a design on a piece of pottery. (Macduff Everton/Corbis)

through new media technologies. Contemporary artists often combine their own culture-based traditions, studio practices, traditional motifs, and new materials and forms. For example, Santa Clara artist Nora Naranjo Morse draws from her Pueblo traditions in her sculptural works of clay and bronze, especially where she re-creates conceptual images of Tewa adobe structures (*Out of the Wall Experience,* 2000). In resituating the Pueblo past, Naranjo Morse's work is also a commentary on the present-day conditions of Southwest arts in relation to the market. In her video installation *What Was Taken, What We Sell* (1996–2000), she highlights the commercialization of Southwest arts by visually commenting on the mass production of artworks, underscored by the tourist trade in low-cost items sold in the public plaza of Santa Fe, the international "center" for Indian art. Her work highlights how artists who bring the market into their work provide a window into art practices themselves, which in turn influence art trends in the Southwest and elsewhere.

The Southwest remains a regional site for the traffic in Native American arts. Nowhere is this more apparent than at the annual Santa Fe Indian Market and the Heard Museum's Indian Market in

Phoenix, Arizona. These art markets bring together artists from all over the United States in a regional setting that upholds the Southwest as a key place for commerce in the Native art trade. Moreover, the range of arts included in any given year offers the would-be buyer a glimpse into the prolific range of artistic media, especially objects that traditionally—in art historical terms—define craft movements. These crafts include a range of objects based in cultural expectations, such as Hopi kachinas, Navajo (Diné) textiles, and a range of Southwestern jewelry by such noted artists as Charles Loloma (Hopi), Gail Bird, and Yazzie Johnson (Diné), and innovative "craft" forms such as the award-winning glass works of Isleta artist Tony Jojola.

While each of these categories has its own unique art history in Native contexts, tribal symbols and motifs continue to mark objects in significant ways that enable tribal identifications with new art forms. For instance, the noted Hopi potter Nampeyo developed her own distinctive style in the 1930s, yet drew from the techniques of prehistoric Anasazi pottery designs. The well-known insignia and design motifs developed by Nampeyo and her daughters continue today as a hallmark of a family tradition that defines these ceramic wares as distinctively "Hopi." Likewise, San Ildefonso potters Maria and Julian Martinez developed a black-on-black incised pottery technique that today stands out as emblematic, if not exemplary, of San Ildefonso pottery. By these examples, and many others, certain family names have become associated with particular art forms over time, as art practices continue within a frame of cultural continuity that links generations of artists within tribal communities. The contemporary ceramicist Virgil Ortiz exemplifies a younger generation of artists who innovate upon kin-based artistic traditions. Ortiz (Cochiti) plays with cultural iconography to create playful and daring clay characters reminiscent of earlier inventions, such as the Cochiti storytellers of Helen Cordero. Based on her great-grandfather, these figurines surrounded by Indian children have become symbols of Cochiti cultural life and artistic innovation.

Distinct from the influences of the Pueblos, other new sculptural forms arose in the Southwest, most notably the early sculptural works of Chiracahua Apache artist Alan Houser. Houser received national acclaim as early as 1949, when he was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship. His prolific body of work is memorialized in Santa Fe at the Alan Houser Sculpture Garden, in addition to numerous museums and private collections. His son, Bob Haozous, continues to break new ground with his sculptures and installation works that tackle complex issues of identity and renewal of indigenous cultural values.

Site-specific works parallel trends in non-Native art practices, as installation and public works became more prominent in the 1980s and 1990s. These "post-studio" works, as they are sometimes

called, were an outgrowth of the preceding decades of studio art—especially under the influence of the Southwest studio school of the Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA)—coupled with an activist orientation to art practices that attempted to reclaim public spaces, from ancestral lands to museum galleries. So-called traditional arts became reinvented and redirected in the social and art movements of the late twentieth century. For example, the paintings of Diné artist Joe Ben, Jr., draw from the art of sand painting, a ritual art form made for ceremonial purposes and barred from display to outsiders. Ben incorporates minerals and pulverized stones, such as turquoise (blue), sulfur (yellow), copper, and coal to attain naturalized effects, lending new meanings to "sand paintings" in a fine arts context. Other nonritual and tourist versions of sand paintings, which use sand as a medium for iconographic depiction, are now sold in tourist shops throughout the Southwest. Like contemporary Hopi kachina carvers and Pueblo ceramic artists, the transformation of ritual arts for the market has created new forms of cultural abstraction in all media.

Abstract art remains most strongly associated with painting, and the Southwest holds a particular beginning point in Native art history with the introduction of painting by Dorothy Dunn in the 1930s and the "Southwest studio" style that was its outgrowth. From interventionist forms of artistic assimilation such as Dunn's, new generations of painters emerged, first following then later breaking with the "studio" style guidelines and prescriptions. Among the earliest painters to rise to prominence was Joe Herrera (b. 1923), who drew from his Cochiti and San Ildefonso roots, especially the influence of his mother, Tonita Pena, a self-taught watercolorist. Herrera wed his own tribal traditions with those of the Studio School and the Euro-American modernists of the 1950s to create a powerful synthesis in form and popular reception.

By the 1960s, the melding of political claims with art genres ushered in an activist consciousness that found artistic expression in the establishment of the IAIA in Santa Fe. The consideration and assertion of an American Indian identity as integral to the artwork is both politicized and legitimated by artists and art consumers who deem the notion important to modern art forms created and sold today.

Within the contemporary art market, the representation of a recognizable style that reflects a specific geographical location is one way to localize Southwestern art. For example, Shonto Begay (Diné) is a postimpressionistic painter whose work often centers on the subject of contemporary Diné reality, such as his depictions of the family-centered drive from the reservation in Arizona to the off-reservation town of Gallup, New Mexico. This school of "Diné realism" is unique to the Southwestern Indian art market. Begay, a painter and illustrator

of children's books, has dominated the art market for a decade with paintings that locate the Diné experience often observed from a pickup truck mirror, through the back window, or gazing from a truck bed where a family huddles against desert elements of heat, wind, and sun.

At the turn of the twenty-first century, Southwest artists and art centers continue to hold significant places within the national Native art scene. A 2002 showcase at New York's American Craft Museum brought together more than two hundred contemporary works of approximately ninety established and emerging Southwestern artists in the exhibition *Changing Hands: Art without Reservation*. Featured artists included ceramic artist Nancy Youngblood Lugo, textile artist Ramona Sakiestewa, and mixed media artists such as Tammy Garcia. Although the faces and forms of Southwestern artists will continue to change, the grounding of cultural histories continues to inform the themes, shapes, and iconographies for future generations of artists.

Tressa Berman and Aleta M. Ringlero

See also Art (Traditional and Contemporary), California and the Great Basin; Art (Traditional and Contemporary), Northeast; Art (Traditional and Contemporary), Northwest Coast; Art (Traditional and Contemporary), Plains; Symbolism in Ritual and Ceremony

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Art (Traditional and Contemporary), California and the Great Basin

The cultural and artistic heritage of the indigenous populations of the Great Basin and California began long before the Euro-American intrusion and disruption of those cultures. The spiritual foundation of their religious beliefs was that the interdependence of man and nature affects the well-being of the living earth and its inhabitants. There was respect and appreciation for the plants and animals that provided food, shelter, and clothing. The symbiotic relationship of humankind and nature was acknowledged in the yearly cycle of spiritual activities.

The Renewal Ceremony recognized the spring as the new year; the fall, with the maturation of plants and the time of gathering, was a time for Nature to rest. Despite the onslaughts of the last two centuries, the ceremony continues. "As

The world is a gift from our old ones. This sacred gift was created through love and respect by those elders who understood the beauty of their surroundings. Their understanding encompassed the total meaning of life within the environment. The old ones paid close attention to the sacred earth and all its nature. They were involved with the mysterious and magical dimensions of reality. The evidence for the representation of the earth as a mystical and magical place was given embodiment through the experiences of those who made visits to sacred places. The power of knowledge was revealed to medicine people and traditionalists involved in its pursuit. We respect those thoughts and teachings; when we are forgetful and need reminding of those teachings they are given back to us in our dreams.

—Frank LaPena, 1987

modern society confronts the consequences of its brutality toward nature, its destruction of the land, water, and air, the Indian respect for the Earth has proven its truth and relevance and now even those who had ignored it, at great cost to the environment, acknowledge its profundity" (LaPena 1992, 43).

Some of the earliest known artistic works in the California/Great Basin region are the petroglyphs and pictographic murals, which are diverse, complex, and found in great abundance. Many petroglyphs are of game animals, but the finest examples of art are found in the complex polychromatic abstract pictographs of the Chumash residing along the Santa Barbara coastal regions. Although the murals date from before contact, the physical display of energy in the application of pigments is reminiscent of the abstract expressionism movement of the twentieth century. In a spiritual sense, the paintings formulated an effort to comprehend the relationship of the inhabitants to their environment and the cosmos. In observation of the world and the sacred, certain colors became associated with the directions and powers of the world. Sometimes a color was intentionally used to make sacred art; sometimes the colors used were found in the local region. Some of the colors used were black, white, yellow, red, blue-green, and a wide palette of earth pigments.

With the arrival of the Euro-American, the natural world of this sacred land and

its people were changed forever. The expansion of the Spanish into California with the establishment of the Mission System (1769–1833) devastated the southern California coastal Native "Indian" populations where the missions were built. The colonial attitude of superiority over an invaded people was used by the church to denigrate the Native people and to justify their exploitation.

The Native people helped to build and decorate the missions with paintings and ornamental designs. "A series of twelve paintings on sailcloth at San Gabriel Mission attributed to Indian artists of the Gabrielino tribes are believed to have been painted in 1779." Other objects produced in this period included murals as well as "statues and figurines, plaques, iron grill work, church implements, costumes, stamped and colored leatherwork, textiles, metalwork and embroideries" (Webb 1952, 232–237).

The following century saw the secularization of the Mission System, a continuing scourge of epidemic diseases, enslavement and genocide, and a relentless westward expansion relating to the ideology of Manifest Destiny. The Gold Rush and statehood were particularly devastating to the indigenous peoples of California: from the time of first contact, they lost more than 90 percent of their population by 1900. The Great Basin suffered as well. The people coming overland had to pass through the Great Basin to get to the California gold fields. Later, silver mining, ranching, farming, and illegal seizure of land displaced many Great Basin tribes.

Traditional knowledge and the wisdom of the elders became vital to maintaining the worldview and spiritual information against all the changes brought on by "civilization." "All things in and of the earth relate one to another and are interrelated in the concept of a sacred circle. This idea, of sacredness, includes all living things; all things in life are living and thus interconnected" (LaPena 1985, 11). In order to help maintain tradition, the traditional ceremonies had to be done more or less in secret. This allowed the Shaker Religion and the Native American church to establish themselves.

The Indian basketry being done in California and to a lesser degree in the Great Basin was acknowledged as being some of the finest work by traditional weavers anywhere in the world. Special baskets of a religious nature were made for funerals, for use in ceremonies, for doctoring and healing, and for use as gifts. Baskets were used every day for gathering; preparation and use of the plants always involved prayers and proper conduct, as well as respect and care for the living plant and gathering places.

There were places of special power and of spiritual importance.

Mt. Shasta was sacred to the Wintu and other regional tribes, and especially to healers and medicine people. Grant Towendolly (1873–1963), a Wintu medicine man and storyteller, painted many

paintings of Mt. Shasta. Most of his paintings were done between 1904 and 1910.

Many Indian children were removed from their families and sent away to U.S. government Indian schools, where Indian languages and religion were not allowed. The Stewart Indian School was one of the government boarding schools at Carson City, Nevada. American Indians were given citizenship in 1924. Under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, it was possible for the Indian artists to have their work accepted in public libraries, schools, and post offices. Before that time a law restricted the use of Indian art by the U.S. government.

The Termination Programs of the 1950s were a major factor of demographic change. Under this program the U.S. government moved Indian tribal members from other states to California; it took people off the reservation and from rural areas and moved them to the cities and abandoned them there. This disruption created a lot of problems but also forced a commingling of diverse tribes. The bringing together of individuals from different tribal regions helped create a "pan-Indian" awareness of issues common to many tribes. Social commentary issues became part of the public domain, and subject matter for Indian artists.

Many contemporary artists work in both the traditional and the fine arts tradition. Several are also noted poets. "Certain themes flow through the consciousness of the tribal society and its members. The themes are related through creation myths, stories, and songs. These in turn, relate to understanding and controlling the philosophical and ethical foundation that helps one make a good and meaningful life" (ibid., 10). In Indian tradition, we believe that to make a whole and complete person is more desirable than to create a fractionalized person who would be disjointed and nonconnected in body and spirit. There is no "school" of art that significantly influences the artists working in California. Perhaps the main reason for this is the special place that Indian religion, culture, and tradition play in their lives. George Blake, a Hupa/Yurok, received the National Endowment for the Arts Heritage Award in 1991. His experience of learning and working with Homer Cooper, a Yurok sinew-back bow maker, exemplifies the importance of the relationship of young and old and traditional knowledge. After several years of study and acquiring information from others, Blake with the last bow he had finished visited Homer in the hospital before he died. "I greeted him, and first made some conversation. But he couldn't wait. He said, 'What's that you got behind you there?' I guess he knew, so I pulled it out. . . . He put that bow on his lap, and then he stroked it from the center of the belly all the way out, then he turned around and looked at me and grinned. He said, 'That's the way I remember them as a boy'" (Ortiz 1995, 31).

"Despite a dissonance between the traditional and contemporary ways, we confirm the ancient teachings of the

earth to have valid lessons for today. Art helps to create order through the use of symbols. These symbols help us to maintain the connection between traditional and contemporary cultures by reminding us of our responsibility for the way we choose to live, the way we relate our lives to the universal connection of the sacred circle" (LaPena 1985, 10). Ceremonies and dances in California–Great Basin are associated with tribal regions that cover the desert, the ocean, the mountains, marshlands, and prairie; all are unique.

Frank Day (1902–1976), Konkow Maidu, was known for his ability to depict the oral tradition in visual form. He also taught dance and music to the Maidu Dancers and Traditionalists, thus increasing the importance of his influence and work. Day was the son of a Konkow Maidu headman from Berry Creek, which was isolated in the foothills. In some respects Day was the artist most connected to a time when cultural traditions were still widely practiced. His work is called "primitive" in the "naive" style of the self-taught artist, but his knowledge and understanding of the Konkow myths, legends, and history represented more than the label "naive," used to define his technical approach, implies.

Frank LaPena (1937–), Nomtipom Wintu, is a traditional singer and dancer. One of his teachers from the Grindstone Nomlakki Wintun reservation was born in 1887. The sacred roundhouse at the reservation is the oldest continuously used house in California. LaPena's initiation into the ceremonial dance house society was the beginning of his ceremonial dancing and singing. His art relates to the ceremonies and dances of Northern California.

Brian Tripp (1945–), Karok, is a traditional dancer, singer, and poet. The yearly dance cycle is important in understanding his work. His artwork is eclectic and surprising. He uses scavenged and natural materials for his mixed media pieces, including wood scraps, rock, glass, different types of paper, rope, wood, paint, oil pastels, and graphite.

In his painting "In No Uncertain Terms," Brian suggests that death, like life, is part of the total life experience that each of us has to face. Whether we accept tradition or not, it still exists. The question is, What do we want to do with our lives, and what do we want life to mean? In recent years he has painted many murals and has given poetry readings here and overseas in which he has shared aspects of his culture and art.

Jean LaMarr (1945–), Paiute/Pit River, is a master printmaker and painter. She has gone back to the reservation and set up a print shop and helped the young people to gather stories from the elders. They then have used the inspiration and collective memory of the elders to create murals for the community. For many years she printed posters for the annual renewal Bear Dance of the Mountain Maidu, held at Janesville in Lassen County. Her recent works have been mixed media and help to tell the story of her elders.

Harry Fonseca (1946–), Nisenan Maidu, became known for his Coyote paintings. He knew this ceremonial figure from his involvement in traditional dance, so that he was able to deal with the irreverence and the trickster personality of Coyote. His interest in the Maidu creation story and his research with petroglyphs and the California Gold Rush resulted in other series of work.

Rick Bartow (1946–), Yurok, uses art to understand his place in the world. After the trauma of the Vietnam War, his art helped him to express the isolation and hurt of a sensitive personality. His ability to capture the terror and fascination of the transformation of a medicine man or shaman involves the power of Bear or Hawk. He is a prolific artist in sculpture, print, etching, and painting, as well as a fine musician and singer with his own band.

Jack Malotte (1953–) is Western Shoshone. "My drawings reflect my feelings about the Indians' connection with the earth and sky spiritually, physically, and politically. I can feel the colors and the wind. The energy of the natural world will always be here. Even after a nuclear war, the stars will still shine and the lightning will flash. Human beings could sterilize the earth and destroy our children's ability to survive the earth, but these things will always be here.

I draw the atom bombs and militarization of Nevada with a lot of colors to draw people's attention. I think about these things because it is all around us in Nevada, within our Shoshone ancestral lands. I want my drawings to wake people up" (Heard Museum 1987, 7).

Frank Tuttle (1957–), Yuki-Wailaki/Konkow Maidu, is a realist who combines found objects with his paintings. His painting of his father, "Seasons Coming and Going," is one such masterpiece. It makes reference to his father's role as a dancer of the Hesi and the Toto. With their sticks, netting, flags, and even words, his art pieces can be appreciated on many levels. He and his wife, Cheryl, are basket makers and makers of traditional dance and ceremonial regalia.

The spiritual heritage and future of California–Great Basin Indian art are ensured by the emergence of new young artists and a continuing involvement of the young in basket making, dance, and ceremony.

Frank LaPena

See also Art (Contemporary), Southwest; Art (Traditional and Contemporary), Northeast; Art (Traditional and Contemporary), Northwest Coast; Art (Traditional and Contemporary), Plains; Ceremony and Ritual, California; Cry Ceremony; Dance, Great Basin; Oral Traditions, California; Power, Barbareño Chumash; Power, Great Basin; Religious Leadership, California; Religious Leadership, Great Basin; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, California

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Art (Traditional and Contemporary), Northeast

Artistic expression has always been a way for Native people to represent their way of life and communicate their spiritual reality. Northeastern art has developed and adapted alongside the changing lifestyles of Native communities, not only bringing style and creativity to their culture but also helping them survive, blurring the distinction between tool and decoration. This article will look at how Native peoples in the Northeast secured a living from the land by creating material objects for working with plants and animals, as well as for interacting with the world of mystery. It is by this conscious interaction with the natural world through art in religious terms that indigenous communities have kept in touch with the Earth and survived. It will also explore how these environmentally/socially based artistic traditions became commoditized for the consumer market to feed the Euro-American imagination's fascination with Indianness.

Environmental conditions had a great effect on the material culture of precontact Northeast woodland peoples. Archaeologists classify the (pre)history of Northeastern Native Americans into four periods according to environmental conditions and subsistence strategies. During the Paleo-Indian period (ca. 12,500 B.P.–10,000 B.P.), the proximity of large glaciers made the Northeast a cold tundra inhabited mostly by large mammals. Natives during this time were primarily hunters that relied on stone tools such as projectile points, knives, and scrapers, using the meat, bones, and hides for survival. In the Archaic period (ca. 10,000 B.P.–3000 B.P.), large game animals were disappearing and the tundra was yielding to deciduous forest. Native peoples during this period built more permanent wooden settlements and relied on more diverse food sources, including plants, fish, and shellfish. As Native peoples began to rely more heavily on the forest, they developed tools for

woodworking, such as stone axes, adzes, and gouges. They also made grinding stones, mortars, and pestles for processing plant foods.

During this period, natives in the Northeast began making rock art. Known as petroglyphs, these ancient images were carved into rock surfaces by striking them directly with a hard stone, dinting or pecking them, or by using a pick or chisel struck with a stone hammer (Lenik 2002, 7). This percussive method left small dents that had to be painstakingly patterned into lines and shapes to create visible motifs. Another common method of making petroglyphs was incising or scratching by using a sharp object. After European contact, some petroglyphs were incised using metal tools obtained through trade. Native Americans of the Northeast also used paints and dyes to produce pictures on rocks known as pictographs. Red ochre, an iron oxide, was most commonly used as a pigment to color images on rock surfaces. Unfortunately, many pictographs have disappeared as a result of exposure to the elements and European intrusion and forest destruction (ibid., 8).

The intention and meaning of rock art are a mystery to present-day researchers. Although many of the depicted forms are clearly human or animal, scholars do not know who put them there or why. Scholarly speculation usually names any mysterious or unknown artistic expression as "sacred." Scholars often focus on the role of the "shaman" as an intermediary between the human and spirit worlds, speculating that the images of animals and humans together were an attempt by the "shaman" to secure food and prosperity for the community or to record psychic journeys into the spirit world. Although much art has undeniably religious significance, the blanket explanation that points to "shamanism" is unsatisfactory.

One of the most effective ways to understand prehistoric rock art is to ask contemporary Native Americans of the region. Ethnographic inquiry of this kind has contributed to the archaeological pool of knowledge as well as served to stimulate interest in, and reconnect Native communities to, the collective past of their communities. The explanations preserved by tribes in their oral traditions are often quite illuminating. Their relationship to the land is retained in these collective memories, and that human ecology is vital to understanding Native cultures. Other explanations for rock art include the use of petroglyphs as territory markers—that is, they may signify family, clan, tribe, or nation boundaries, being employed to negotiate all of those relationships; they may record historical or astronomical events; they may mark graves or other important sites; or they may be meaningless doodles (ibid., 11).

The presence of art in an archaeological area can contribute valuable information to anthropologists and historians trying to explain the patterns of human behavior in a region. In the Woodland period (ca. 3000 B.P.–400 B.P.),

changing environmental conditions and increased trade relations led Native peoples of the Northeast to begin cultivating corn, beans, squash, and other vegetables. This new mode of dependence on horticulture necessitated more sedentary settlement patterns and more storage containers. It is during this period that clay pottery is first found in the archaeological record. Ceramic vessels became increasingly important during this time. Long-distance trade was established, and stone pipes and tobacco were introduced into the Northeast (ibid., 13–16). Some tribes also began weaving baskets for storage that continue today to be an important culturally artistic means of expression.

All tribes in the Northeast have a basketry tradition. Weaving baskets is an immensely complex mathematical and geometric process. Apprentices spend many years learning the intricate designs and the complex methods of tying. Basketry is also important in shaping the relationship between a basket maker and the environment. It is an arduous process to identify, gather, and prepare the native reeds, grasses, and other materials used to construct traditional baskets. It requires a significant commitment to the craft as well as knowledge of the places and conditions where materials can be obtained. It may take as much time to gather the materials as to weave the basket. Often it requires long journeys to the places where traditional basketry materials grow, and they must be gathered at just the right time in their growing cycle. "Traditional basketmakers must be in close touch with the earth, the seasons, and the growth habits of plants" (Giese 1995, website).

One major problem among contemporary basket makers is the denial of access to traditional gathering lands. Pesticide and chemical pollution also threatens many of the ecosystems that support basket making materials. This is an issue faced by basket weavers all over the country. Native peoples in the Northeast rely primarily on the black ash tree to make their wood splint baskets. The habitat of this culturally vital tree is increasingly threatened by industrial pollution, and it is becoming more difficult for Native basket makers to find it. Other important basketry materials in the Northeast include indigo for dye, brown ash, sweetgrass, dogbane, and birch bark. Although many obstacles to basketry have been created by the forces of European assimilation, urbanization, and industrialization, basket making traditions have adapted and continue to flourish among Native Americans of the Northeast woodlands.

The Mi'kmaq of New Brunswick make containers out of skin or birch bark decorated with porcupine quills or moose hair. They also use the roots of spruce trees to make coiled baskets. Since contact with Europeans, the Mi'kmaq, like many other tribes, have shown their artistic ability and entrepreneurship by fashioning baskets in European styles and with European tools to sell to tourists that visit their reserves in Canada.

Maliseet and Passamaquoddy groups speak dialects of the same language. In precontact times they differed primarily in their ecological niches and modes of survival. The Maliseet lived inland and hunted game. The Passamaquoddy inhabited the coasts of New Brunswick and Maine and hunted seal, whale, otter, and other sea mammals. Their way of life relies upon the forest, and thus their artistic traditions work with wood. Birch bark was used to make canoes, baskets, dishes, wigwams, and moose callers. More recently, baskets of black ash are woven for tourists.

Although Native religious objects or crafts are artistic, they are not abstract or representational; they are functional. Many tools are decorated with religious icons to appease spirits and provide protection for the person using the tool. Most religious objects are not simply decorations; they are the physical manifestations of visions. They are meant to be used in meaningful, inherited dances and ceremonies and in the meaningful acts of everyday life. In fact, many such religious objects have a power of their own, which practitioners believe should be kept within the communities they serve. A statement of the Haudenosaunee Grand Council admonishes any outsiders from having anything to do with the masks used by their False Face societies. They call for the return of any and all masks from museums and private collections, and they state: "The Council of Chiefs find that there is no proper way to explain, interpret, or present the significance of the medicine masks and therefore, ask that no attempt be made by museums to do so other than to explain the wishes of the Haudenosaunee in this matter" (Kanatiiosh 2001, website).

In that these artistic traditions are functional and "religious," the grade-school, pipe-store image of Indianness that is engraved in the American consciousness presents a conundrum. What is the origin of the stereotyped Native man with feathers in his hair?

The (mis)representation of indigenous people in the colonized world is a powerful form of knowledge production and diffusion. What we "know" about people, especially as children, is heavily influenced by what we infer from how they are portrayed. The stereotypically portrayed Indian does not appear to belong in a church, university, or other structural housing of refined civilization where the "real" intellectual work of progress in science and thought is done. Instead, the condemning assumption of cultural and intellectual inferiority is laid on all Native Americans. The stereotyped Indian man looks as if he belongs on an impoverished reservation isolated from white civilization. It might surprise many, then, to learn that some Native Americans collaborate in the production of artifacts that distort their own image and commoditize their traditional handiwork (Phillips 1998, 10). Thus one of the primary problems in Native art is authenticity.

The study of art has been a political, male-dominated, biased one that privileges the "fine" arts, done for art's sake

(usually those of men), over "crafts" created by women for the market. Phillips calls this elitist disregard for the mass-produced-and-consumed art the "discourse of inauthenticity" (ibid., x). By labeling Native art produced for the market "inauthentic," this model "marginalizes not only the objects but the makers, making of them a ghostly presence in the modern world rather than acknowledging their vigorous interventions in it" (ibid.). The artistic styles that have been selectively bred by outsider taste and Native skills, the unique combinations of native materials with introduced tools and methods, must reveal something of the cultural context and material reality that are shared at the boundaries of the indigenous world. Indeed these intersections show the flexibility and adaptability, and perhaps short-sightedness, of both Native artists and non-Native consumers.

The issue of non-Native consumption of Native art is tangled up in economic and cultural forces. Thus Phillips writes: "Nearly every northeastern Native community adjacent to tourist sites, sporting preserves, or vacation resorts has engaged in the production of souvenir art" (ibid., xii). For example, the Mohawk reserve Kahnawake produces beadwork for sale at Niagara Falls. The Mi'kmaq community of Eskasoni, on Cape Breton Island, produces splint baskets of black ash for sale in the summer resorts of Maine. Anishinabeg communities in Michigan produce their porcupine quillwork souvenirs for sale to tourists of the Great Lakes (ibid.). However distasteful this may seem to the purist who would "[define] 'real' Indian art as that which displays a minimum of European influence" (ibid., xiii), the fact is that "real" Indians face the realities of European contact and continued cohabitation on this land. The nature of that new lifestyle, if it is forced or exploitative, is explored and expressed through contemporary Native art. Even the stereotypical souvenir art made by Indians for the tourist market is a flamboyant expression of Indianness and one that "invite[s] us to detect in them the voice of the colonized subject" (ibid.).

Brian Clearwater

See also Art (Contemporary), Southwest; Art (Traditional and Contemporary), California and the Great Basin; Art (Traditional and Contemporary), Northwest Coast; Art (Traditional and Contemporary), Plains; Petrographs and Petroglyphs

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Art (Traditional and Contemporary), Northwest Coast

The Native peoples of the Northwest Coast are divided into three groupings with differing social organizations and art styles. The Northern group, consisting of the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian, shares a highly structured matrilineal social organization, and has the most elaborately developed formal system of two-dimensional design. People of the Central group, which includes the Haisla, Heiltsuk, Nuxalk (Bella Coola), Kwakwak'wakw (Kwakiutl), and Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka), have a more fluid social organization, elaborate dancing societies, and lively, dramatic art. The Coast Salish have the most fluid social organization and more abstract, minimalist art style.

The deceptively simple art of the Salishan-speaking people represents an archaic style that was probably more widespread in prehistoric times. In figural sculpture, faces tend to be flat or slightly curved with geometric features; bodies are flat with minimal musculature. Some objects, such as rattles and spindle whorls, have incised curvilinear surface decorations. Much Salish art is personal and sacred, unlike the more public art made farther north. In some groups, spirits grant selected individuals power to achieve certain goals; this power could be manifested in a costume, song, ritual paraphernalia, and sculpture. Rattles, for example, provide access to the spiritual world to enable their owners to heal the sick or prognosticate the future.

By the time of first contact, northern Northwest Coast artists had developed a highly formalized two-dimensional system that centers on the importance of the formline, a swelling and narrowing ribbonlike line that defines the essential elements of the composition. This elegant, calligraphic type of decoration fills the surfaces of boxes, house front paintings, costumes, and screens that separated the house chief from the rest of his extended family. An example of formline painting is evident in the Whale House screen from the Klukwan Tlingit. The images on the Whale House screen and house posts together depict crests, highly prized possessions of lineages, inherited through matrilineal descent and presented verbally and visually at potlatches. Separating the Whale House chief's quarters from the communal space is a monumental screen depicting Raven in the act of supplying humankind with water. According to this

Wilfred Stevens, a Haida carver, uses a wood chisel on a 7-foot totem pole made of yellow cedar, 1994. (Raymond Gehman/Corbis)

history, the petrel Ganook kept all the world's freshwater hoarded within his house. Raven entered petrel's house and, by means of trickery, stole his water. The screen depicts raven with open wings, surrounded by small, squatting anthropomorphic images that represent water dribbling from Raven's beak as he flies over the land, forming lakes and rivers. The two house posts that flank this screen, and the two more that stand in the front of the house, depict crests that played important roles in the clan's history.

Of all the coastal groups, the Tlingit created the most elaborate shamanic artworks. During an eight-day vision quest, animals destined to become a novice's helping spirits approached him, protruding their tongues, which contained spirit power. After this quest the initiate returned to his community, where he either inherited his predecessor's regalia or had new regalia made. Charms, rattles, costumes, and masks depicted the helping spirits the novice encountered on his vision quest. During a seance, the shaman would call these spirits into their images, creating an aura of intense supernatural power. The most dramatic feature of a seance was masked dancing. The shaman owned an assortment of masks, usually around eight. He donned his first mask—often a representation of the land otter, an immensely powerful being that was once a human who had drowned and become an animal—and, after proper incantations, transformed into that creature. Then the shaman took off the otter mask and put on others, becoming a variety of animals such as octopus, eagle, and bear, as well as different anthropomorphic spirits including dead people, young women, powerful warriors, and peaceful men. These transformations enabled the shaman to travel with ease through the air, over land, and into the ocean and to control all human life—living and dead, old and young, male and female, aggressive and docile.

Among the Tsimshian, chiefly groups—the "real people"—could demonstrate rit-

The interior of the Whale House at Klukwan, Alaska, ca. 1895. (Winter and Pond/Corbis)

ual power, or *halait,* in a variety of ways, such as donning masks, performing the peace dance in a Chilkat robe and frontlet with down, and participating in an exclusive group such as the Throwers, Destroyers, or Cannibals. In addition, lineages themselves owned *naxnox* names, personifications of power. When a lineage wished to demonstrate its spiritual wealth, it would sponsor a masquerade during which its *naxnox* names were dramatized, accompanied by their characteristic song and whistles. While most *naxnox* masks were simple personifications of a being, some were extraordinary, such as the Crack of Heaven mask performed by Legiac, a great nineteenth-century chief. This transformation mask opened four times to reveal the face within; at the fourth opening, the whole house was said to have cracked open, the guests moving away from each other, the fire splitting, the roof split apart. Then, when the mask shut, the house slowly reassembled itself.

Art of the Central groups tends to be more sculptural and vividly painted than the works from the North and the South. Masks played major roles in ceremonies; the Nuxalk, for example, wore masks that dramatically represented myths during their *kisiut* winter rituals. Unlike the other Northwest Coast groups, the Nuxalk conceptualize a relatively systematic cosmography consisting of five levels: two heavens, the earth—an island floating in the ocean—and two underworlds. A major female deity who takes little interest in the affairs of humans resides in the uppermost heaven. The second

heaven—that is, the one directly above the earth—contains at its center the House of Myths, in which live deities more directly involved in earthly events. The most important deity for human beings is the sun, master of the House of Myths. Other House residents include four brothers who live in an elevated room at the rear of the House and carry out the wishes of the major deities who also taught humans to carve, build houses, make canoes, paint, hunt, and fish. One of these is *Yulatimot,* "the one who finishes his work by cutting once."

Central groups are known for their "secret societies" or "dancing societies," in which initiates re-enact an ancestor's encounter with a supernatural being, dramatically re-creating his original spirit possession, often using masks accompanied by percussive music. One of the most spectacular of these is the *hamatsa,* or cannibal dance, which the Kwakwak'wakw received sometime during the nineteenth century from the Heiltsuk. According to the *hamatsa* origin story, a group of hunters approached the house of *Bakbakwalanuskiwe,* a great cannibal spirit who lives in the North, and, at the invitation of a woman who offered to help them, entered the house. They were soon followed by the monstrous *Bakbakwalanuskiwe,* his body covered all over with mouths. The hunters, with the help of the woman, caused *Bakbakwalanuskiwe* to die and then returned home with his songs, dances, masks, and other ritual regalia. As a result of this encounter, the hunters' family and their descendents obtained the privilege to perform the *hamatsa* dance. Before becoming a *hamatsa,* the initiate must stay hidden from the community, presumably visiting *Bakbakwalanuskiwe.* When he reappears, he acts as if possessed by the man-eating supernatural being, lunging at people, trying to bite them—and sometimes succeeding. Dancers impersonating the cannibal bird assistants of *Bakbakwalanuskiwe* perform during these ceremonies. At the conclusion of this performance, the new *hamatsa* dances calmly and elegantly, fully reincorporated into human society. The host family then distributes to the guests wealth, the acceptance of which signifies their validation of the family's right to display the *hamatsa* privilege.

The Nuu-chah-nulth used art for whaling magic. Indeed, one of the most extraordinary artifacts ever found on the Northwest Coast is a large shrine used by the great chiefs of Yuquot village to ensure success in acquiring whales. The shrine is an assemblage of eighty-eight anthropomorphic carvings, sixteen human skulls, and an open-air shed that stood on a small island in a freshwater lake not far from the village of Yuquot. Human remains have a magical connection to whaling, although the reason for their significance is today unclear; thus the presence of skulls in the assemblage. The story of the shrine's origin involves a thunderbird who teaches a chief to ritually bathe in preparation for a whale

hunt, to make whaling implements, and to harpoon a whale. After this "education," the chief swims to an island in a freshwater lake where the whaler's shrine is located. The chief addresses the wooden images, which he calls "Doctors of Yaan," the good giver of the woods, asking them for power to "take the life of a whale when the time comes for me to go and get one." He then addresses the skulls of his great-grandfathers who built the shrine, knowing that if he does not perform the rituals correctly they will come to him in a dream and instruct him about the proper actions. He prays to these skulls to help persuade the four Great Chiefs to give him strength to kill a whale.

By the turn of the century, few Northwest Coast spiritual practitioners were practicing, on account of missionary pressure, clans commissioning less and less crest art, and the abandonment by many British Columbia Natives of their ceremonies; many succumbed to pressure from the Canadian government, which had banned the potlatch and dances such as the *hamatsa.* As a result, far less traditional art was made than in the mid-nineteenth century. Nevertheless, Native art on the Northwest Coast did not disappear, in part because of a lively tourist trade that kept carvers working. Visitors to the region enthusiastically purchased carvings that the Haida crafted from argillite, a soft shale, as well as small wooden totem poles made by Tlingit and Kwakwak'wakw artists. The group that held most tenaciously to its cultural traditions, the Kwakwak'wakw, continued throughout the twentieth century making art for ceremonies despite being persecuted for hosting potlatches. Once the British Columbia potlatch was decriminalized in 1951, open potlatching became once more common among the Kwakwak'wakw. Other Northwest Coast groups either continued the ceremonials they had practiced furtively or revived them anew. Art flourished, with new masks being made and used.

In the 1960s, Northern artists became once again familiar with the conventions of the nineteenth-century Northern formline style and began making elegant canonical two- and three-dimensional works. Among the most accomplished artists is Haida Robert Davidson, who not only carves totem poles and designs two-dimensional serigraphs with Northwest Coast images but also creates new masks for original dances he choreographs and for songs he composes. Although most Northern-style contemporary artists follow their traditions relatively strictly, some contemporary artists have chosen to accommodate more modernist artistic concepts into their works, such as the Tlingit Jim Schoppert, who takes Northern formline patterns and breaks them up into cubistic images.

Aldona Jonaitis

See also First Foods and Food Symbolism; First Salmon Rites; Fishing Rights and the First Salmon Ceremony; Healing Traditions, Northwest; Oral Traditions, Northwest Coast; Power, Northwest Coast; Religious Leadership, Northwest; Ritual and

Ceremony, Northwest; Sacred Societies, Northwest Coast; Totem Poles

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Art (Traditional and Contemporary), Plains

Pre-European Contact

Artwork on the Plains was and remains bountiful—so bountiful that it would be a rare occasion to come across any item that did not have some sort of decor. Men, women, and children all play a role in the creation of art. The earliest forms of artwork on the Plains were created using a combination of earth paint, dye, brain-tanned leather, rawhide, and quillwork. Stone carving was also done for various types of pipes and sometimes tools or weapons.

Earth paints and dyes were the most important piece of an artist's tool kit. They also played the most important role in Plains art before the arrival of Europeans. These items turned soft leather hides into a canvas on which to produce beautiful works of art. Porcupine and bird quills were the items most often dyed, while earth paint was used on a wide variety of items. Earth paints were commonly used to add designs to pieces such as parfleche bags (rawhide cases), shields, clothing, robes, or tepees, or used as body paint. Each color had a significant meaning that differed by tribe.

The earth paints could be found in various canyon walls and creek banks, while the dyes were acquired through plants, berries, or other natural materials. This meant that the colors available to the artist usually depended on what part of the Plains they lived in. On the Northern Plains, red, white, black, yel-

low, blue, and green were all common colors, while the Southern Plains most often used red, yellow, and green. Because of this regional factor, obtaining certain shades and tones could mean a high market value when trading with people from another region.

There is a story that one day a white man was on a reservation looking at a parfleche bag that a woman there had created. He was amazed by her talent and could not believe her ability to use color schemes without "formal training." He then asked the woman, "Who taught you to paint these beautiful designs, and how do you know what colors to use?" The old woman looked up at him and pointed to a mountain valley full of wild flowers. "God taught me," she replied, "He has already shown me what colors to use."

In many tribes the men handled some of the painting, but it was strictly the woman's job to produce the quillwork. In quillwork both bird and porcupine quills were dyed and then sewn on to leather to create complicated designs and patterns. The women of the Northern Plains were very skilled in this art. Long winters might have been a major contributing factor to this skill: quillwork takes a very long time to complete, regardless of the technique used by the artist. The fewer times it was necessary to move from camp to camp, the more opportunities to quill (women on the Plains were responsible for moving camp). This is probably the reason that quillwork on the Southern Plains is very rare. The short, mild winters in the South made it much less hazardous to move camp, which meant that camp was moved more often. It could also be the reason that the sedentary, non-nomadic Mandan and Hidatsa are still today known for their amazing masterpieces of quillwork.

Most tribes on the Northern Plains had formal quillwork societies that were led by a group of older women. These older women would take in younger women of the tribe and teach them the ways of quillwork. There was a spiritual side to this as well, because the women would make pledges of prayer for a friend or relative while their particular piece of quillwork was being created.

Rawhide and leather were the primary canvas for all artwork on the Plains. Both forms of animal skin could be stretched, shaped, and sewn into almost anything. Buffalo robes might be the most striking example of this. The robes were worn "hair in," with the outside or "skin side" showing. Both men and women wore buffalo robes decorated with either quillwork or earth paint. The designs on a buffalo robe usually told a story, displayed rank in society, or bore sacred religious symbols for protection. Religious symbols, however, appeared most often on a warrior's shield. Shields were made from the rawhide on a buffalo's back—hide thick enough to stop an arrow at close range or repel a musket ball when properly prepared. Still, the actual protection for a warrior came from the spiritual context of his shield, not its physical strength. Warriors often painted their visions on their shields and then used a

soft leather cover over the top of it to conceal their true power from the enemy. This leather cover was also painted with a design, but the design was far less important than the one it hid.

Post-European Contact

When Europeans arrived in North America, Plains artwork began to change. Pony beads and later seed beads began to take the place of the more time consuming porcupine quillwork. Imported paints and dyes along with metal needles began to show up as well. Fabric such as cotton and wool started slowly to phase out buckskin shirts, leggings, and dresses. The buffalo robe was now being replaced by Whitney blankets in the North, and German silver conches adorned the people in the South. The market for beaver pelts in the early 1800s was the original fuel for all of this trade. However, one has to remember that it was a lot of work to produce traditional goods. It is said that one has never done a day's work until one has field dressed a buffalo for its meat and then fleshed the hide for tanning. That involves removing all muscle and fat from a hide that is the size of a sports car. It can be argued that it is hard to blame Plains ancestors for taking the more modern and easier innovations over the old ways. What that did, however, was create a dependency on the Europeans for goods. Before long it was not just the goods used for art that were being replaced but the goods used for survival as well.

In the end, the importation of European items when it pertains to producing artwork was not a bad thing. It simply caused changes to occur. Some of the most beautiful and intricate pieces of Plains artwork that have ever been created have been made using beadwork. In modern times Plains people create the old traditional pieces to honor the beauty and traditions of their ancestors. In traditional times the ancestors created those pieces because they had to.

Toksa Ake

Mike Ring

This entry was provided by the Mid-American Indian Alliance, Inc., an intertribal 501c3 organization based in Olathe, Kansas, that provides a Native American cultural and community outreach in the Kansas City area.

See also Art (Contemporary), Southwest; Art (Traditional and Contemporary), California and the Great Basin; Art (Traditional and Contemporary), Northeast; Art (Traditional and Contemporary), Northwest Coast; Petrographs and Petroglyphs

Assimilation Policies

See Termination and Relocation

B

Ball Games

Traditional ball games have been and continue to be key cultural elements for many Native peoples throughout the Western Hemisphere. Many of the ball games and their associated traditions differ, and the ball games offer different meanings in different contexts. In some communities ball games are rituals connected with particular observances, while in others they are healing activities. Ball games are the focus of ritual activity in some communities. In some they are social events included in religious and secular festivals, and in still others they have no apparent sacral referent. Racket and ball games are the most widespread of those ball games that have explicit associations to Native American religious systems. They are resilient activities that have continued over centuries of great change and are thriving in many communities, though not all nations that once played such games continue to do so.

Research suggests that Native peoples have played many different types of ball games, including double ball, shinny, and games that employ rackets now widely known as "lacrosse-type," as well as engaging in ball racing and ball throwing. Racket games in general, and specifically those versions played by communities in what is now the northeastern United States and southeastern Canada, are generally considered to be the precursors to the sport of lacrosse. At one time nations that played racket and ball games included many along the Eastern Seaboard of North America and across the inland Southeast, as well as in the Great Lakes region and surrounding areas. A few nations in present-day California and the Pacific Northwest region of North America also played versions of the game. Racket games are good examples of what is a wider phenomenon in many cultures: the utilization of "games" as meaningful cultural expressions and symbols—particularly with regard to religious systems. Although different nations have their own versions of ball games, broad regional similarities have historically resulted in international ball

Mohawk boys playing lacrosse. Cornwall, Quebec, Canada, 1983. (Michael S. Yamashita/Corbis)

games, such as those between Cherokee and Muskogee (Creek) or Mohawk and Seneca teams (Mooney 1890, 107; Culin [1907] 1975, 591).

The two main types of this activity are single and double racket games. Versions that have employed one racket or stick include those of nations in the Haudenosaunee confederacy and surrounding nations, such as the Huron and Passamaquoddy, whereas two-racket games have been the norm among such nations as the Cherokee, Choctaw, Muskogee, Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Seminole. Groups such as the Ojibwe, Santee Dakota, Menominee, and Winnebago also used one racket. The rackets are distinct in each geographical area (Southeast, Northeast, Great Lakes), with minor differences within each area.

In all versions, two teams use either one or two rackets to propel a ball toward a goal, and players cannot pick the ball up off the ground with their hands. Depending on the version, the players may be able to use their hands once the ball is in their possession.

The teams compete to score a predetermined number of goals by crossing goal lines or circling goalposts while in possession of the ball, or by throwing the ball across the goal line. There also are versions of the game that have a single pole at the center of the playing area; one

scores by hitting a target at the top. Members of the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma, for example, continue this tradition. In most communities teams of men play the games, but in some women do play their own contests. Some versions, particularly those of the single pole variety, feature teams of men against women, in which the latter are allowed to use their hands.

In traditional games players usually wear little or no protective equipment, and often, especially in the Southeast, players wear shorts and no shoes; the men do not wear shirts. Often ritual specialists have been involved in ball games, preparing the players and the equipment and in some cases predicting and determining the outcome. Frequently, medicinal substances have been applied or ingested, and in some cases emetics have been used to prepare players, who have undergone rigorous training in preparation for the games.

Wagering on these games once was widespread, as was the participation of the community at large by participation in pregame activities such as night dances. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, religious and government authorities discouraged some communities' ball games. Officials objected to the violence of the games and the wagering on them, as well as to unruly crowd behavior that became more frequent with the influx of spectators from outside the participating communities. Perhaps the major difference between contemporary and past games is that wagering on games has been eliminated or much reduced in most communities where it once was a regular feature.

Many Native American nations have preserved accounts of ball games in cultural narratives in which nonhuman beings played against humans, or in some cases against each other in a time before humans inhabited the earth. The earliest account of a ball game written by a European comes from the *Jesuit Relations,* in which in 1636 Jean de Brébeuf wrote about the game occurring in the area then known as New France. He said that a Huron medico-religious specialist ("sorcerer") might prescribe a game of "crosse" for the benefit of the entire nation or for a sick individual, and sometimes a person would dream that a game was necessary for recovery from illness (Brébeuf 1636, in Culin [1907] 1975, 589).

The Six Nations of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) all have strong ball game traditions. The European settlers who formalized the sport of lacrosse as it is now played everywhere from schoolyards to professional stadiums likely drew heavily from the game of these nations and their neighbors. Haudenosaunee teams today participate both in field and box lacrosse, as well as the classic version with wooden sticks and with no boundaries, protective equipment, or time clock.

Among members of the Onondaga nation, the ball game known as *dehuntshigwa'es* has been employed to heal sickness and comfort the sick; it is played between uneven teams of clan groupings

Stick ball players, Oklahoma, ca. 1924. (Library of Congress)

to a predetermined number of goals (Vennum 1994, 6–7). In 1815, when the Seneca prophet Handsome Lake was dying, Onondaga people held a ball game for him; an account from 1986 reported people being brought in sick beds to the edge of a field to watch a game held in their honor (ibid., 222; Oxendine 1995, 10). Tradition says the game is played in the afterworld, and players make arrangements to bring sticks with them for those future contests (Vennum 1994, 7).

The ball game called *gatci 'kwae* is the central element of the Cayuga nation's Thunder Rite, a one-day ceremony in the middle of the summer (Speck [1949] 1995, 117). It is played to honor the Seven Thunders, who are called "Grandfathers," for "continuation of the service that they render mankind as agents of the Great Spirit"; which team wins or loses is not important (ibid., 117, 118). According to one source, the players "personify the seven thunder gods"; on rare occasions when a sick person has dreamed of the game, Cayuga teams play it during the Midwinter Ceremony (Eyman 1964, 18–19).

The Cherokee ball game *ane:tso* is also known as *da:na:wah:us:di,* or "little war" (Fogelson 1962, 2). The term "play ball against them" carries a metaphoric meaning in the Cherokee language,

meaning to engage in battle or another contest (Mooney [1900] 1982, 483). Some commentators have suggested that there once was a formal link between the ball game and warfare, and there is some evidence that ball games have been used to settle disputes. However, there is no definitive evidence to support the conclusion that the ball game was once a surrogate for war. Research suggests instead that the ball game has expressed a number of social, political, religious, and economic meanings for Cherokee people throughout their history.

In the Cherokee narrative tradition there are accounts of ball games played by supernatural beings (the Sons of Thunder) and games between teams of birds and four-legged animals, as well as famous games between Cherokee teams and teams from other nations. Choctaw, Muskogee, Seminole, Mohawk, and Onondaga narratives of similar games between birds and animals exist, and in all the pivotal figure of the bat is rejected by one or both of the teams before being allowed to play. The narratives differ regarding such details as which team finally accepted the bat and why, but the team that did so always wins in the end.

The Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians continue to uphold their ball game tradition with a series of annual games during the Cherokee Fall Fair. The Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians play their version of the game, *toli,* during annual fairs as well. Recently teams of women have begun competing during the Cherokee Fair, and there are differing cultural traditions as to whether this is a new innovation or a revival of a custom as old as the men's. The women's games follow the same rules as the men's, although they wear shirts.

The Cherokee games match townships against one another or are scrimmage exhibitions between squads from the same township. The ball game is a rough contest, with frequent wrestling and body blocking. The games are played to twelve points, and teams usually consist of ten to twelve players who have undergone several weeks of training and preparation for the week's series of games.

This training regimen can include a rigorous practice schedule, a schedule of "going to water" (ritual bathing or laving), and consultation with and treatment from a ritual specialist. It also can include scarification, ingestion or application of medicinal substances, dancing, fasting, avoidance of certain foods, and for men, avoidance of contact with women and children for specified periods of time. In addition, ritual specialists can perform a variety of activities, including some of a divinatory nature, before and during the match. Movements to and from the field are ritualized as well, and in the past the event was an occasion that featured large-scale wagering on the outcome.

The Menominee ball game and warfare are understood to be related activities that came from the thunderers, and the "game was supposed to resemble a battle" (Densmore 1932, 35). Traditional

narratives explicate this connection by detailing the origin of the game, ball, and racket, which is shaped like a war club (ibid., 36–37). A 1925 account reported that a Menominee man who dreamed of the thunderers held a lacrosse game to receive help promised by them, termed "playing out a dream"; such dreams promised health or success, and medicinal specialists could prescribe games (ibid., 27). In these games, one of which Frances Densmore witnessed in 1925, the dreamer did not play, and the outcome did not affect his purpose. One recent source noted that to "cure illness, the Menominee still play the game in the spring, before the first thunder" (Vennum 1994, 33).

Michael J. Zogry

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Anishnabe; Ceremony and Ritual, Southeast; Dreams and Visions; Great Lakes; Oral Traditions, Northeast; Oral Traditions, Southeast; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Southeast

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Basketry

As with most facets of American Indian material culture, the specifics of basket making—and the baskets themselves—embody spiritual as well as aesthetic and practical qualities. Although basketry materials, techniques, and uses have varied among tribal cultures and have changed over time as a consequence of

Basketry of the Mission Indians, ca. 1924. (Library of Congress)

intercultural contact, baskets are the oldest handmade vessels used by North American Native peoples and one of the most ancient of art forms (Peabody 1986). Although Western science has dated Native basketry back over a thousand years, many Native oral histories include the creation of baskets in their origin narratives, indicating a much older history. An example is the creation story of the Chemehuevi people, one of innumerable Native cultures to practice basketry since earliest times: "In the very beginning of time When the Animals Were People, four Immortals floated in a basket boat on the Everlasting Water. They were *Hutsipamamau?u,* Ocean Woman; *Tukumumuuntsi,* Mountain Lion; *Tivatsi,* Wolf; and *Cinawavi,* Coyote" (Turnbaugh 1999, 9).

Although basket making has become obsolete in some tribes with the passage of time, nearly every indigenous group throughout the Americas has utilized basketry at some point: whether for food preparation and storage; as animal traps or fish weirs; to transport goods and carry children; as clothing; and for sacred and ceremonial purposes. For many tribes and individual basket makers, the finished baskets are living metaphors of people's connection to the

plant materials who are their relations, and to the seasonal cycles of life that influence the rules governing the harvesting and preparation of organic materials. In some Native cultures baskets represent the shape of the universe itself, a manifestation of the Creator's story that continues to be told.

An incredible array of organic materials are used in the construction of Native North American baskets, as well as certain commercially produced materials such as glass beads and cotton thread, which began to appear in some weavers' work with the advent of colonial trade. Nearly every imaginable part of a plant may be woven into Native basketry in three basic weaving techniques, called coiling, plaiting, and twining. Bark and leaves, stems and roots, pine needles and porcupine quills, clam shells and woodpecker crests: the environment of the specific Native community largely determines the weaver's choice of materials, though weavers also trade and purchase particular materials they desire. Basket weavers use both natural and synthetic dyes in creating their work, but many choose to create color variations with the plant life itself. Experienced weavers know when and where to gather particular plants in order to obtain the colors they seek.

North American Native basket weaving is an exacting, time-consuming process and year-round activity. Certain plants may be gathered only at specific times in their growth cycles, and weavers take only what they need. While gathering their materials, weavers and their helpers follow certain rules in order to maintain a proper relationship with both the plant life remaining at the gathering site, so that it will replenish itself, and the harvested plant materials that will become the basket. Sherrie Smith-Ferri notes Pomo weaver Elsie Allen's memory that her mother "always approached sedge grass very slowly. She'd come and stand and say a prayer. . . . She'd always ask the Spirit to give her plenty of roots. Then she'd say, 'Thank you, Father,' before she dug" (Smith-Ferri 1996, 61). For the plants they are taking, weavers say prayers or sing songs of thanksgiving to the plants, and they may leave gifts such as food or tobacco. The spiritual dimension of these long-standing Native land-management technologies fuses with sophisticated practical measures ensuring vigorous plant growth, the renewal of basketry plants in preferred forms, and the persistence of vital ecologies for generations—even more so than if those environments were left entirely untended by humans. While time, distance, legal access to sites, commercial development, and environmental destruction do not always make it possible for contemporary basket weavers to gather their own materials, most weavers prefer to do so, in part because of their feelings of kinship with the plant life at particular sites.

For baskets utilizing designs, which is primarily the case with ceremonial and gift baskets, weavers conceptualized their designs from the beginning, with-

out reliance upon written plans or sketches. The design of the basket is envisioned from the first stitch, and it is held in the weaver's mind as the basket takes shape. Elements of basketry design might come to the weaver from a number of sources, including ancestral, symbolic geometric patterns; motifs in the natural world, such as quail topknots, butterflies, lightning, and rattlesnakes; or from the weaver's own dreams and visions. Yurok weaver Ada Charles says of designing a basket, "I dream about it. It just comes to me, and I have to make it" (McConnell 2001, 4). Renowned Pomo weaver and doctor Mabel McKay explains, "Everything is told to me in my Dream. What kind of design, what shape, what I am to do with it—everything about the baskets—is told in my Dream" (Sarris 1993, 51). For these California weavers and for all who dream their baskets, it is even more important that the correct materials, forms, coloring, and designs be adhered to, which can be difficult if specific plant materials are unavailable in a particular region or season (Adams 2001, 21). Ada Charles recalls using broom straws once because she was unable to obtain the hazel sticks she wanted (McConnell 2001, 5). Such stories underscore the important interrelations between baskets, the living materials from which they are made, and the Native people who make them. Weaver Lois Conner (Mono/Chukchansi/Miwok) explains that "plants are living, and when you create a basket you create a living thing" (Adams 2001, 21).

In addition to the reverence in which Native weavers have held basketry materials themselves, many tribes create specific basketry pieces for sacred and ceremonial use. The Diné (Navajo) wedding basket, called *ts'aa'*—a coiled sumac plaque woven by Diné, Ute, and Paiute peoples—is designed with a white center portion designating "earth or the beginning of life" and a break or gap in the colored portion of the design (most commonly red and black, in the terraced shape of mountains, clouds, sunrays, or rainbows) that allows a pathway for spirit, "including that of the weaver," to enter and exit the basket (Dalrymple 2000, 82–83). This spirit path, which is known by various names, also relates to the Diné emergence stories, and, according to some, "must always point east [the sunrise direction] during ceremonies" (Peabody 1986, 34). Diné wedding baskets hold sacred cornmeal for the bride and groom during their marriage ceremony, and the coiled trays have additional ceremonial use, including storing sacred articles, serving and preparing ceremonial foods, drumming, bathing with yucca suds or washing hair during specific ceremonies (such as *kinaalda*), and for use by healers during chantways such as the Night Way (Dalrymple 2000, 80; Peabody 1986, 221). While some weavers have broken with traditional designs by weaving sand-painting images, or *Yei,* the Diné Holy People, into their basketry trays, this practice remains controversial—as is weaving sacred iconography into Diné rugs—and is not approved of by all Diné people.

The Hopi people of northern Arizona weave plaques of both wicker and yucca for weddings and other ceremonial events, as well as a number of baskets for gifts and daily household use. The groom's family is paid a designated number of wicker plaques by the bride's family in a traditional Hopi wedding, in exchange for the wedding robes the groom's family has woven for the bride. Dalrymple notes that in the villages of Third Mesa, as many as a hundred plaques might be paid to the groom's family with three specific styles required, each to be filled with cornmeal or *piki,* a paper-thin bread made of blue cornmeal and ashes that is often used for ritual purposes (118). Beautiful designs in both the natural colors of the plants and brilliant commercial dyes depict animals, katsinas, birds, and geometric patterns corresponding to clouds, rain, and features of the landscape. In addition to weddings, ceremonial use of plaques includes holding sacred cornmeal and other items in kiva ceremonies such as those performed at winter solstice for Soyál (which marks the beginning of the Hopi ceremonial cycle, children's initiation into kiva societies, the summer Snake Dance, and during the annual February Bean Dance. Part of the larger and highly sacred Powamu ceremony—itself one component of the Hopi seasonal ceremonial cycle held to honor life and ensure its continuance in human, plant, and animal forms—the Bean Dance begins with the appearance at dawn of the Crow Mother katsina, who holds a special basketry plaque containing spruce, corn, and the fresh, green bean sprouts that have been carefully nurtured into being within the kivas (Waters 1975, 159–160, 175–180).

In Pomo culture, as in a number of California tribes, elaborate and finely woven gift or treasure baskets brought prestige to both their weavers and those who received the baskets. Such baskets might be decorated with clam shell disks, a traditional form of Pomo money, or valuable red woodpecker crest feathers, which were designated almost exclusively for gift or ceremonial baskets (Bibby 1996, 78). In fact, as Brian Bibby notes, Pomo baskets "became, themselves, symbols of wealth. They had roles in the exchanges of property that marked certain important personal and community events, such as young women's coming of age ceremonies, weddings, or any situation for which a valuable gift might be appropriate or payment required" (ibid., 79). Oval-shaped Pomo "canoe" baskets were sometimes the equipment of traditional Pomo doctors, used to store and carry the healers' necessary equipment of medicines, rattles, or other items (ibid., 78). Doctors might also receive fine baskets from their patients as payment.

In Yurok, Hupa, and Karuk cultures, basketry figures prominently in the most sacred communal ceremonial events. Each autumn these tribes hold their annual Jump Dance, whose purpose is to "fix" or rebalance the world. A crucial part of the regalia used in this elaborate

ten-day ceremony is the cylindrical basket that male dancers hold in one hand: each dancer, "at certain moments in the dance, with a sweeping motion across the body, raises the basket skyward" (ibid., 77). Traditionally, women wove and assembled the cylindrical Jump Dance baskets, while men painted the geometric ornamentation on the baskets' buckskin end-pieces and added feathers on the baskets' ends. According to Bibby, "Some say the basket's shape is significant, resembling as it does the elkhorn 'purses' that have traditionally been used to hold items of wealth, such as dentalia shells, which are evidence of good luck and good standing with Spirit Beings known in Yurok as *woge*" (ibid., 77). Yurok ceremonial basketry caps, usually worn by young women who have not yet had children, are also important traditional elements of Yurok culture. Yurok ceremonial dances often take place at night, and the bold, contrasting colors—such as black maidenhair fern with white bear grass, and vivid decorations such as red woodpecker crests and dentalia—woven into the basket caps' geometric designs show up strikingly even when seen from a distance in the dark (ibid., 71).

Continuing to make and use ceremonial basketry has not been easy for Native North American peoples. In some cases, especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the craft was maintained in part because the commercial sale of baskets by Native women helped to fend off destitution as Native people were dispossessed and their land bases were eroded by non-Native settlement. Contemporary weavers who create both sacred and secular baskets continue to work against an ongoing host of legal, physical, and cultural challenges to maintain this sacred practice. Literature produced by The California Indian Basketweavers Association (CIBA) lists a number of contemporary problems faced by today's weavers, including lack of access to experienced teachers and local basketry materials; the inability to gather needed materials from traditional gathering sites, which may be located on privately owned or public lands; a lack of privacy during gathering and communicating with plants; the threat of serious illness from contact with pesticides; and restrictions on cultivating or gathering plants in the proper manner. In addition to CIBA, founded in 1991, other Native basketry groups across the nation, including the Arizona Basketweavers and the Oklahoma Native American Basketweavers, have been part of a significant revival of basketry since the1990s. In addition to perpetuating basketweaving as a cultural practice, these groups also advocate "the passing of legislation policies which will help preserve, promote, and perpetuate gathering (of basketry material) in a safe environment" (CIBA).

To many Native peoples, baskets symbolize life itself. California's Chumash people originally lived in houses shaped like baskets, and the universe has been

described by Chumash elder Maria Solares as containing three worlds that are flat and circular like basketry trays. Chumash elders told Fernando Librado *Kitsepawit* that "the world was like a great, flat winnowing tray—some men move up and some down, and there is much chaff mixed through it all" (*Strands of Life*). Weaving together the cultural, economic, social, and spiritual dimensions of North American indigenous peoples, basketry has remained a vital activity that spans millennia. In an ongoing tradition of creative response to the social changes that Native peoples have selectively embraced and, too often, have had imposed upon them by outsiders, the multifaceted and holistic process of bringing baskets into being continues to transmit cultural and sacred knowledge, while revealing the ageless beauty of the living basket. For Miwok weaver Ramona Dutschke, basket weaving "is a necessity in my life because it's spiritual. When you look out you see the creation, and all the things that we work with are part of the creation. Our thinking is always with the Creator" (Chaw'se Basketweavers Demonstrate Each Month 2001, 6).

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, California; Ceremony and Ritual, Pueblo; Dreams and Visions; Ecology and Environmentalism; Healing Traditions, California; Masks and Masking; McKay, Mabel; Oral Traditions

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Beloved Women, Beloved Men, Beloved Towns

The Native American tribes whose original homelands were in the southeastern United States—those five larger tribes well known as the "civilized" tribes, as

well as their less well known relatives, including the Alabama and the Yuchi—seem to have had an understanding of a quality that set apart some women, men, and towns for a special purpose. In English, that quality has come to be translated "beloved." Browsing easily found sources mentioning the various beloveds, looking for the one quality that everything called beloved would share can be confusing. It seems that the English word "beloved" has been used to translate a quality that originally carried a range of implications, according to the specifics of its use. In addition to Beloved Women, Men, and Towns, the Southeastern tribes had a beloved tree that produced a beloved drink. While these beloveds by no means corresponded to one another in every detail, the single element they all shared, beyond simply respect,was some significant connection with the making of war and the keeping of peace.

Once one notices that these various beloveds all relate to the ways of war and peace, one can more easily understand the reason why scholarship on the topic presents itself as so self-contradictory: almost everything written about Native American war and peace issues has been filtered through the eyes of the eventual "winners"—that is—the Euro-American peoples who defeated both the British and the Indians to establish the United States. Books that appear perfectly reliable, written by well-recognized scholars of Native American history, contradict each other on, for example, how being beloved relates to Cherokee towns and whether Beloved Women were the same thing as War Women. Some scholars claim that certain tribes never had Beloved Women although their neighbors did. In response to the confusion, one might ask whether the scholarly confusion about Beloved Women comes from information filtered through the patriarchal system adopted after extended colonial contact; if so, then might it not be the case that what is written fails to accurately reflect the matriarchal realities of earlier times? In order to offer new conclusions and raise new questions about what was *not* written and about what *was* written, one must refilter the evidence through new eyes, sorting through both the contradictions and the gaps. As Theda Perdue has noted of Cherokee political history, "The ready availability of sources for the newer system of written constitutions and laws . . . may lead us to ignore that other system that extends back into an ancient . . . past. Scholars must remember that the surviving record does not always correlate precisely to the human past, and they must be ever alert to opportunities to redress imbalances. Unless we are vigilant, stories . . . will be lost because they run counter to the preponderance of [written] evidence" (Perdue 2000, 568). The several beloveds are part of that "other system that extends back into the ancient past."

Red, White, War, Peace, and Being Beloved

In Southeastern Indian traditions, the color red stood for war and the color

white, for peace. Thus the legendary Creek Red Sticks were simply the fiercest young warriors of their people. During a time of war, a Red Chief was in charge of a village; during a time of peace, a White Chief was in charge. Neither chief was, by definition, beloved, but a chief or any elder who counseled the people concerning war and peace certainly might be a man or woman called beloved. The concept English speakers translate as "beloved" does not correlate exclusively with either red or white, but seems to correlate quite closely with the ability to give sound counsel for war or peace, as well as on other matters.

Beloved Towns

The peoples of the Southeast lived in permanent villages or towns, practicing agriculture along with hunting and war. Larger towns were often known as Mother Towns, and their neighboring smaller towns were daughter towns. Sometimes one of the towns would also be known as a Beloved Town.

Members of each clan of the people lived in each town. Among the Cherokee, for example, members of all seven Cherokee clans resided in every Cherokee town or village. The clan system regulated marriage and kept order through a simple system of blood revenge. If a fellow clan member were killed, the other clan members were responsible for avenging their kinsperson's death by taking the life of the murderer or someone else from the murderer's clan. Until the murder was avenged, the person who died could not pass over into the next world but would linger and cause trouble in this world. To account for those cases of killing that were not intentional, towns of refuge were established. These were often called Beloved Towns. A person who took another's life by accident could flee to such a town and seek protection. If the council in the Beloved Town agreed, the person could remain until the annual Green Corn Ceremony, at which time all debts and injuries of the previous year would be forgiven and the killer could possibly return home. It is difficult to know how completely this system functioned, and how absolute the protection of sanctuary was, since sources are limited. Evidence is clear, however, that at least Chota, the best-attested Cherokee Beloved Town, functioned at times as such a place of refuge (Calloway 1995).

A Beloved Town was not simply another name for a White Town, as some authors have suggested. Any Cherokee town could be Red or White, depending on whether it was at that moment at war or at peace. Each town flew a red or white flag to show its current status. Simply knowing whether a town had been a Red Town or a White Town on a previous visit did not tell a traveler what to expect on a future visit. At a particular time, one town could be at war while a neighboring town was at peace; a town's status would be clear to warriors by the flag it flew, and that status would be respected by all. For white observers, accustomed to think of war and peace in terms of a nation, not a

town, this was a difficult concept. For the Cherokee, and for the other Indian peoples of the region, choosing to participate in war was a very personal and local matter. No one could make the decision for another, and no town could coerce another to go to war or to refrain from war.

Beloved Men

As men of the peoples aged, they tended to counsel against war, having seen the result too often themselves. The elders of a town, who often (but not always) counseled peace, were commonly referred to as the Beloved Men of the town. Some sources seem to indicate that a town might have a particularly respected Beloved Man as its White (Peace) Chief, but that did not make him the only Beloved Man in the town. On the other hand, the White Chief of a town could be a younger man who had not yet reached that status of elder that would make him beloved. Among the Cherokee, the Red Chief, or War Chief, was also known as "The Raven," but the White Chief was not correspondingly called by a certain title. Although the colonists sometimes used titles like "king," "governor," or even "emperor," the peoples of the southeast themselves had no corresponding terms nor any single official in whom was vested absolute authority over the town or the people.

Oral history as well as documentary evidences shows that Beloved Men served as diplomats between tribes in the Southeast, at times using their mediation skills to avoid a bloody conflict. A large mother city might have sitting in its council a group of Beloved Men from other peoples who served in this role in their various tribes. The immunity of the members of this body would be honored, and their safety would be protected even if the two peoples were to enter into war against each other.

Beloved Women

The name Nancy Ward of the Cherokee has become virtually a synonym for Beloved Woman in much popular and scholarly literature. Historians tend to agree that Nancy Ward was the last woman to hold the official title of Beloved Woman (in Cherokee, *Ghi-ghua*) in the Cherokee National Council. Readers of history know that she was the last because of the actions she took to support the adoption of a new Cherokee constitution patterned on that of the United States. The proposed constitution was adopted on July 4, 1827, at New Echota, Georgia, the capital of the new Cherokee Republic; the new constitution did not allow women or persons of African ancestry to vote or to speak in council meetings. Despite the fact that this change went against the traditional practices of the Cherokee and other matrilineal peoples, Nancy Ward agreed to give up her office of Beloved Woman and her right to speak in council in the hope that, by adopting a U.S.-style constitution, her people might keep their lands. As Beloved Woman, Ward was charged to be the representative of all women; the

highest obligation of that role was preservation of the people's land, and to that end, she was willing to give up nearly everything else for which a Beloved Woman had traditionally stood.

The irony of Nancy Ward's final act as Beloved Woman is particularly apparent in light of the history of the development of the U.S. Constitution, which was patterned on the governing documents of the Iroquois Confederacy, those Great Lakes tribes who were distant relatives of the Cherokee. The most significant difference between the U.S. Constitution and that of the Iroquois was in the role of women. While the matrilineal Iroquois practiced full gender equality, with Clan Mothers having final right of choice over chiefs, the United States denied women both vote and voice. After its new U.S.-style constitution of 1827, the Cherokee form of government would have more in common with the white man than with the people's own ancient relatives.

Possibly Nancy Ward is the name most known to history because she was so appreciated by whites as a friend of the colonists; she is remembered by American history books as working tirelessly to keep peace between the Cherokee and the settlers. Early in her career as Beloved Woman, Ward served as a member of the negotiating team at the meeting with John Sevier at Little Pigeon River, Tennessee, in 1781. She was appalled that no women sat on his team, and he was equally appalled that the Cherokee spoke through a woman. The record reports that she admonished him to return to his people and explain his actions to the women, saying, "Our cry is for peace. . . . [L]et your women's sons be ours; our sons be yours. Let your women hear our words" (Sawyer 2000, 15). In another incident she is remembered as exercising her authority to pardon captives by waving the white swan's wing, her symbol of office, to save a white woman who had been taken captive. Other legends tell how she was named War Woman (another synonym for Beloved Woman) when she took her husband's place in battle after he fell.

The almost larger than life legends and stories of Nancy Ward should be seen as making evident the very real presence and authority of the clan mothers and Beloved Women who functioned in Cherokee and most likely other matrilineal Southeastern cultures since time before memory. Like the Iroquois tribes, each Cherokee clan had a leading woman who spoke for it in councils. Within each village, the leader of this council of women had a special role. The title Beloved Woman refers to that role. She spoke for or against war and had full authority over the disposition of captives taken in war. Her role held both in times of war and times of peace. Whereas for the men it was necessary to have the functions of Red Chief (war) and White Chief (peace) held by different men, women were seen as the source of all life and thus could hold the realms of both war and peace in constant tension and balance within themselves.

Beloved Tree/Drink

One of the recognized functions of a Beloved Woman, or War Woman, was to prepare the strong drink that warriors took before going to battle. Observers have called this the Black Drink, because of its dark color, but some of the peoples who used it called it the White Drink, because of its connection with purity. The drink was a strong tea with a high caffeine content made from the leaves and twigs of the yaupon holly, misnamed by Western science *Ilex vomitoria.* White observers noted that men often vomited as part of their purification rituals and attributed the vomiting to the dark drink they consumed in such great quantities. In fact, yaupon tea has no emetic properties and can be drunk just like any black tea, coffee, or other caffeinated beverage (Hudson 1979, passim). The yaupon was known as the Beloved Tree, and the drink was the Beloved Drink, consumed, apparently only by men, as a part of a great number of ritual occasions in the various tribes of the Southeast.

The Loss of the Beloved Roles

The traditional Southeastern worldview kept war and peace functions divided between several men and recognized the key role of women in speaking both in councils of war and councils of peace. When that worldview began to crumble, and when tribal constitutions were adopted that no longer recognized the balances deriving from the original instructions known by the people, the entire culture of a people came to be at risk. From the origin of the Southeastern peoples and their receiving of life through Corn Mother (or her counterpart, according to tribe), the peoples had maintained balance with each other and their surroundings. Although they hoped that by becoming more "civilized," like the white man, they would be left alone and allowed to keep their land, in fact their acceptance of profound worldview-shaking changes had the opposite result. The more their cultures came to resemble those of the colonists, listening only to men and only to the counsel of the Red Chiefs, the more people within the tribes began to go along with the arguments for removal and came to be subject to the bribes of unscrupulous white officials. By the time of the Removal Act in 1830, almost no vestige of the beloved roles and functions, which had served to keep harmony for generations, remained among the Southeastern peoples. Little more than beloved memories went with the peoples to Indian Territory.

Contemporary Beloved Women

In the late twentieth century, the title Beloved Woman was revived by the Cherokee people. Two Cherokee women were so named for their leadership in what might be called the "War to preserve Cherokee culture in the contemporary world." Both came from the Eastern Band. In 1984 the joint council of the Eastern Band of Cherokees and the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma named Maggie Axe Wachacha (1895–1993) a Beloved Woman. For forty years Maggie

Wachacha served as Indian language clerk of the Tribal Council, never missing a meeting. She was a traditionalist who lived in the Snowbird township of Robbinsville. She spoke no English and transcribed all of the proceedings of the council into the Cherokee syllabary for the official records of the Eastern Band. For every meeting, Maggie walked the sixty miles to the tribal headquarters in Cherokee, leaving with her husband at midnight in order to arrive on time. It is said that when they had enough money they would catch a train. Wachacha was also a traditional healer who learned the old Cherokee healing ways from her grandmother. Like the healers of early times, she is remembered as being willing to walk many miles to help her people, in her long skirts and with her gray hair tied up in the traditional red Cherokee woman's kerchief. In many ways, Maggie Wachacha functioned as a Beloved Woman long before she received the title. Like the Beloved Women of the past, she was recognized and honored for what she had already done and what she would continue to do until her death.

The second woman to be honored as a Beloved Woman received the honor from the Eastern Band in 2001, a few months after her death. Louise Bigmeet Maney was known as a soft-spoken, strong-willed master potter, a long-time elementary-school teacher, and keeper of traditional Cherokee culture. The Eastern Band honored her memory by dedicating a painting by Cherokee master artist Dorothy Sullivan to hang at the Museum of the Cherokee Nation. The painting depicts the seven traditional Clan Mothers of the Cherokee and the Beloved Woman, using honored contemporary women of each clan as models. Louise Maney was the model for the representative of her clan, the Paint Clan. She had previously been awarded the 1998 North Carolina Folk Heritage Award and in 2001 was honored as a Distinguished Woman of North Carolina. She traced her heritage as a potter through her mother's line as far back as tradition remembers. Louise Maney's pottery is on display at the Smithsonian.

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See also Dance, Southeast; Missionization, Southeast; Oral Traditions, Southeast; Power, Southeast; Trail of Tears

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Black Elk (1863–1950)

(Religious leader, Oglala Lakota)

In December 1863, Black Elk was born on the Little Powder River, the son of White Cow Sees Woman and the elder Black Elk. He was the fourth person in four generations of his family to carry this name.

Black Elk experienced a lifetime of extreme challenges. He lived through the conclusion of the Lakota-U.S. wars and the early years of oppressive policies by the U.S. government directed against his people. He also witnessed the early reservation period, prior to the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Black Elk was only three years old during the Fetterman Battle; he was five years old when the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty was signed. During the Battle of the Little Bighorn he was not quite a teenager, and in December 1890, during the massacre at Wounded Knee, when Chief Big Foot and his band were killed, he was a young man of twenty-seven. At the time he lived only eight miles from Wounded Knee Creek, on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

When Black Elk was a young adult, the Oglala Lakotas were heavily evangelized by Christian missionaries. Intense pressure was inflicted upon any who resisted conversion. Black Elk felt this pressure. After being forcibly subjugated to Christianity, he attempted to understand it. On December 6, 1904, he chose to be baptized. The baptism took place in the Holy Rosary Mission near present-day Pine Ridge. While Catholicism had been forced upon him, he adopted the role and played it well, appeasing his oppressors.

However, Black Elk remained a strong believer in his traditional Lakota spirituality. Along with many other Lakota people, he participated in an underground spiritual movement. This movement began as soon as the U.S. government's policies restricting traditional religious practices began to be enforced. Black Elk

participated simultaneously in these underground activities and those of the Catholic church. Mastering both traditions, externally he appeared to be the perfect Catholic. However, he feared that the restrictive policies of the U.S. government would destroy traditional Lakota culture and beliefs. Many Lakota traditional spiritual leaders felt the same way, and, like Black Elk, they agreed to record many of their ceremonial and oral traditions, using non-Indian scholars as a means of preserving these traditions for future generations of Lakota.

Black Elk was committed to this task of preservation. He dictated his life story to the poet John G. Neihardt in the summer of 1930. The book *Black Elk Speaks* was first printed in 1932, and since that time it has been widely read throughout the world. His decision to share his story publicly enabled future generations to understand the history of his people, and to secure hope for the future, for the Lakotas, and for all humankind.

In the book, Black Elk records a pivotal vision that he experienced as a young person. The vision carries within it a message for the Lakota, a warning against complete acculturation and assimilation.

With the passage of the 1978 Indian Religious Freedom Act, fear of federal prosecution was lifted. The Lakota were finally allowed open expression and free practice of their traditional faith. This legislation, combined with the widespread popularity of Black Elk's teachings, has helped to facilitate a renaissance of traditional Lakota spirituality. One result has been a decrease in membership and attendance by Lakota people at Christian churches on the reservation. Some of those churches, in an effort to retain membership, have worked to absorb a degree of traditional Lakota symbolism and ritual activity. However, the shift toward reviving traditional Lakota traditions has continued, and it is particularly evident among younger generations.

Inspired by the work and wisdom of Black Elk, this contemporary cultural revival reverses a process of assimilation, acculturation, and missionization that had threatened to destroy Lakota culture. For this cultural regeneration to take place, there must be spiritual and psychological healing from the wounds inflicted by more than a century of colonialism and oppression. This process of relearning Lakota identity has been made easier because of Black Elk's legacy. Black Elk's warnings have been heeded.

Black Elk's courage has been a source of inspiration for the Lakota people. By navigating a dual identity, both Christian and traditionalist, during an era of fierce oppression, he provided an example of a leader who could live peacefully alongside the dominant society while also remaining at heart a Lakota traditionalist. He lived through a difficult, painful, and violent period of Lakota history. However, through the rapid and confusing changes, he remained true to his Lakota identity. His outward appearance may

have changed as he adopted forms of Christianity and European-American culture, but his heart and mind remained distinctly Lakota.

Karen D. Lone Hill

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Lakota; Dreamers and Prophets; Dreams and Visions; Missionization, Northern Plains; Oral Traditions, Lakota (Teton); Power, Plains; Religious Leadership, Plains; Sacred Sites and Sacred Mountains, Black Hills; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Plains; Vision Quest Rites

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Boarding Schools, Religious Impact

Next to the implementation of federal policies designed to remove indigenous people from their traditional and aboriginal territories, legislative measures mandating the education of Indian children according to Western tenets of knowledge have resulted in some of the most profound and enduring impacts upon the lives of historical and contemporary American Indians (see Archuleta et al. 2000; Deloria and Wildcat 2001; Szasz 1999). Much scholarship has been dedicated to assessing and critiquing policies directed at reshaping and eliminating indigenous cultures via compulsory education. The Merriam Report represents one of the earliest as well as one of the most influential critiques of ideas and practices exercised in the education of Indian pupils throughout the United States (Merriam et al. 1928). Ethnographic teams at the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology have since taken a leading role in examining the impact of formal Western education upon the indigenous groups of Arizona and Nevada (Officer 1956; Kelley 1967; Zedeno et al. 2002), and the recent works of Archuleta et al. (2000), Deloria and Wildcat (2001), Huff (1997), Lomawaima (1994), Prucha (1990), and Spring (2001) have been instrumental in identifying critical social, political, economic, and ideological variables associated with the compulsory education of indigenous children across the United States.

At a national level, collective efforts aimed at "killing the Indian and saving the man" materialized in the establishment of the first American Indian boarding school in Pennsylvania in 1879 under the leadership of Richard Henry Pratt (Prucha 1990). Known as the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, this institution became the model for reeducating American Indians throughout North America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In Nevada, a massive resocializing campaign directed

> *Back in those days they were trying to make Indians white overnight, you know what I mean?*
> *—Andrew Vidovich*

at the youths of each indigenous community began in 1890 with the opening of the first nonreservation boarding school three miles southeast of the capital in Carson City, Nevada. By 1902 the federal government had established twenty-five boarding schools across the nation for the purpose of resolving the "Indian Problem" via assimilation tactics, and "[by] the end of the century nearly half of all native children attended school for some period of time" (Berkhofer 1978, 169–170).

Over the next century, indigenous youths throughout the United States were exposed to Western educational regimes at boarding schools, local day schools, and public schools that permanently altered indigenous economic and social milieus developed through centuries of experience. In practice, the assimilation policies of the early years (1879–1928), and to a lesser extent the reform years (1928–1945), translated into rational, systematic efforts to disrupt and if possible eradicate the transmission of indigenous knowledge from elders to youths. Paiute Ed Johnson, former curator of the Stewart Indian Museum (*Nevada* Sept./Oct. 1990: 33), reflects, "What they were trying to do was civilize the Indians, get the Indianness out of them."

Johnson's statement is illustrative of guiding principles underscoring federal policies of Indian education from 1879 to 1928. In practice, bureaucrats working under the aegis of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), "remove[d] the child from tribal influence by placing him in a federal boarding school; during his stay the school . . . [taught] him disrespect for tribal institutions, forb[a]de the speaking of his native language, expose[d] him to Christianity, [and] instruct[ed] him in skills related to [a] non-Indian, rather than Indian economy" (Officer 1956, 116). In the place of indigenous populations fluent in the languages, lands, religions, subsistence strategies, narratives, and social and political codes of each ethnic group, the schools endeavored to create a pool of "new Indians." These new Indians would be bereft of traditional knowledge but much more malleable to the needs of a society structured by Western values and practices (Archuleta et al. 2000, 56).

Although many families were reluctant to send their children to boarding schools, some were lured by the hope that their children's economic futures might be improved if the children were exposed to Western forms of knowledge (Jackson 1969, 22). Ironically, federal policies emphasizing vocational training (Reel 1901; Knack and Littlefield 1996) prepared American Indian students for the lowest paying jobs within local economies and consequently served to

Classroom instruction in art, United States Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, ca. 1901. (Library of Congress)

reproduce rather than reduce social, economic, and political inequities between the indigenous and nonindigenous populations (Willis 1977).

Late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century educational policies for indigenous people created additional risk-imbued situations for which no remedies were immediately forthcoming. While attending boarding schools, children were exposed to multiple disease epidemics. At Stewart, "[s]tudents from kindergarten through the eighth grade . . . were subject the ravages of diseases including measles, whooping coup, smallpox, and the flu. Soon after the school opened, students were [also] afflicted with the mumps" (Johnson 1977); dysentery also reportedly ran rampant (Jackson 1969, 36). In a recent interview, one Paiute elder recalled that her friend was forced to wear the jacket of a dead girl (Stoffle and Zedeno 2001). Many former students also expressed concern about children who had died at school and were never given Indian burials. They explained that without proper burials, the spirits of these children would not be at rest (ibid.).

At the boarding schools students lived under militaristic regimes wherein their

Classroom instruction in math, United States Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1903. (Library of Congress)

behavior was strictly regulated through ongoing surveillance, behavioral modification programs, and the liberal use of corporal punishment. Noncompliance was regularly met with extreme force. "In the first 30 years . . . discipline was immediate—and often brutal. Girls were locked in the attic of the girl's dormitory. Students were forced to carry railroad ties around the grounds. Some were shackled. Children who ran away—and many did—were returned in leg irons and chains. Even in the late years, students were subject to severe punishment" (*Reno Gazette-Journal*). Prior to attending these schools, Paiute and Shoshone elders explain that they had never been exposed to the use of physical violence against children (Stoffle and Zedeno 2001).

Stories of student resistance abound. Not uncommonly, children ran away from the school. In a recent interview, Western Shoshone elder John Kennedy relates the story of how his own father, as well as his extended family, acted in concert to remove John and his two siblings from Stewart:

> The government tried to take every children. They don't want them to

> learn their language. Take them from their Indian ways. One train picked up all the little kids. Dad got us out of the school. Picked up all three kids in a Model T Ford. Took him to Telescope Peak with his aunt—Hide him out—skipping him from here to there, family to family to miss school. To grandparents, stayed in Lida, with other grandfather in Lida. (Stoffle and Zedeno 2001)

Often running away proved to be only a temporary help. "If a child brought to the school ran away, he was rounded up and brought back, sometimes in chains, and put on detention and watched" (*Nevada* Sept./Oct. 1990: 34).

In response to the rigors of a semimilitary institution that was designed to "take the Indianness out of Indians," students employed multiple innovative strategies to protect themselves and maintain a sense of cultural identity. Children would sequester themselves behind buildings where they would speak in their native languages, and older pupils often took the lead in ensuring that younger children had the opportunity to practice speaking their own languages. Students also developed "elaborate codes of slang and became expert note passers to circumvent school rules that impeded communication" (Archuleta et al. 2000, 26). Some students also created innovative strategies to ensure that they had ongoing contact with siblings within an institution that forbade socializing between male and female students. The Vidovich children went so far as to disguise their younger brother as a girl before arriving at the school: "Jerry was a little baby. When he was going to Stewart he had a dress on him. And they put him in the big girls' dormitory, and they got to bathe him and dress him, and fix him up. See, I tell you, that's the reason we [Vidovich children] are so close together. On account of that" (Wheat 1959, tape 74, p. 15).

> *Now they want people to go to school to learn the Indian language and . . . I wonder why that is?*
> *—Homer Hooper*

Students also endeavored to mediate risks by displaying varying degrees of compliance; developing new language, vocational, and athletic skills; and creating support networks that crossed ethnic boundaries and lay the foundations for the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century phenomenon of pan-Indian awareness. In addition, families sometimes relocated to be near the schools of their children, and tribal councils collectively voiced their concerns over BIA educational policies (Jackson 1969, 22). Over time, some of the children and faculty of the boarding schools, particularly returning graduates, sought to transform the schools from places of fear into regions of refuge in a world frequently dominated by Euro-American interests.

In 1928, the BIA progressively began to modify its educational policies toward American Indians. For a full treatment of

twentieth-century BIA policies, see Officer (1956) and Szasz (1999). Generally speaking, policies have continued to shift toward a position of acknowledging the value of American Indian cultural ideas and practices, increasing tribal sovereignty over educational matters, and developing methods to catalyze the revitalization of indigenous systems of knowledge. Today former boarding school students and their children are living out a legacy that has been shaped in part by a century of compulsory educational policies. Reflecting on his own experiences, one former student proclaimed, "It was designed to break the morale of the Indians, but it didn't work" (*Nevada State Journal* 1982).

Alex K. Carroll

See also Christianity, Indianization of; Identity; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion; Reservations, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Termination and Relocation

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Brave Bird, Mary (Crow Dog) (1953–)

(Writer/activist, Lakota)

With the appearance of *Lakota Woman* in 1990, Mary (Crow Dog) Brave Bird became one of the most famous Indian women of the twentieth century, not only for her spiritual wisdom but also as an outspoken activist for Indians' and women's rights. The surprising success of Richard Erodes's and Mary Brave Bird's jointly authored volume led to a motion picture based upon Brave Bird's life and a sequel volume entitled *Ohitika Woman.* Comparisons between Brave Bird and the Nobel Prize–winning author Rigoberta Menchú were quickly drawn, as Brave Bird's books became the subjects of public debate and numerous academic studies. Both popular and scholarly interest in Brave Bird were in some sense a matter of timing and irrelevant to the life and achievements of this paradoxical and courageous woman. At the time of their appearance, the struggle for religious rights had long since been fought and won, although life on the reservation had by then left its marks upon her. In retrospect, Brave Bird seemed destined for fame, from the moment she birthed her first child during a firefight at the Wounded Knee Uprising of 1973, thereafter becoming an impromptu symbol of Lakota and Indian regeneration.

Born an *iyeska* (a person of mixed Indian background) named Mary Moore and raised at He Dog as a member of the Brulé or Sichangu Tribe, Brave Bird joined the American Indian Movement (AIM) at an early age and married the renowned Lakota medicine man Leonard Crow Dog. In opposition to the desires of friends and family members, Brave Bird sought to live in body and soul as a Lakota woman and reverse the century-old process of "whitemanization" that had affected so many on the Rosebud and Pine Ridge reservations. Her early school years at St. Francis Catholic School convinced her of the bankruptcy of the white man's way of living, which drove her into a life of aimlessness until her participation at sixteen years of age in the Trail of Broken Treaties

in 1972, which climaxed in an Indian occupation of the BIA office in Washington, D.C. As the wife of Crow Dog and mother of four, Brave Bird struggled for years at Crow Dog's Paradise (the home and gathering place of the Crow Dog clan and close friends) to gain acceptance as an *iyeska* and also for recognition as an Indian woman (she later had two more children with her second husband, Rudi Olguin). Legal battles to free Leonard Crow Dog from prison brought her to New York City, where she widened her circle of acquaintances and forged a close working relationship with her future coauthor, Richard Erodes. Gradually, Brave Bird came to see the fight against racism and gender discrimination as intimately related. Despite her criticisms of the insularity of mainstream feminism, Brave Bird became an important figure for women of all races, creeds, and backgrounds. This was in part because of her compelling honesty and her willingness to speak the truth about herself and others, no matter how unflattering.

She also spoke out about difficult aspects of her life as the wife of a famous medicine man, the labor-intensive if not back-breaking responsibilities that nearly drove her to despair. The murder in 1975 of her close friend Annie Mae Aquash, a Micmac political activist, left lasting scars and increased Brave Bird's fears of further illegal reprisals against her family. Brave Bird also fought against alcoholism and wife-abuse on the reservation, as well as upholding women's reproductive rights. In her years with Crow Dog before their divorce, she grew in knowledge of Lakota religion and acted as "water carrier" for Crow Dog in the Native American Church. Although initially repelled by the Christian dimensions of the Native American Church, Brave Bird overcame her reservations and came to embrace all sincere forms of worshipping Wakan Tanka, or the creative spirit. Brave Bird has been highly critical of those who would cast her in the role of a "female Don Juan" (from Carlos Castenada), or who would exploit Indian religion for commercial gain, but she has also maintained a spirit of openness to all those who are drawn to Lakota religion.

Although the Native American Church was not incorporated on the Rosebud until 1924, the centrality of the "water carrier" in church rituals resonates with ancient Lakota beliefs, especially as an invocation of Ptesan Win, the White Buffalo Calf Woman, the bringer of the sacred pipe to the Sioux Nation. The woman who carries the water-of-life is a reminder of the great life-giver, the All-Mother of the Universe, who gives life with her blood and accordingly demands the highest respect. Ptesan Win taught the *inikagapi* (or sweatbath), as well as prayers and songs for healing and purification.

All Lakota rituals begin with a sweatbath, as a rite of cleansing and a reminder of Ptesan Win. In the story of the sacred pipe's origin, as recorded by John Neihardt in his conversations with Black

Elk, Ptesan Win sang "With visible breathe I am walking" as she presented the sacred pipe to the Lakota (Neihardt 1995, 293). Brave Bird interprets "visible breathe" in this case to mean "the white hot cloud rising from the sweatlodge" (Brave Bird and Erodes 1993, 100). The purification of bodily fluids through sweating and replenishment with pure water symbolizes the renewal of life. The blood of Ptesan Win nurtures new life within her womb: she is the holy woman, the carrier of fire, flint, and pipe. In both her books, Brave Bird evokes the Cheyenne proverb that "a nation is not conquered until the hearts of its women are on the ground" (Crow Dog and Erodes 1990, 3; Brave Bird and Erodes 1993, 183–184).

The heart of blood is the sacred source at the inauguration of life. But Brave Bird also knows that the creative power of women often provokes the resentment of men, regardless of their origin. For this reason, she reminds her readers that Indian women have rarely received the high honor they deserve, even before the coming of the whites. The fight to restore the honor of Ptesan Win, or the life-giver, is therefore older than the fight against Euro-American racism and imperialism. Brave Bird has fought this battle in behalf of Ptesan Win for most of her adult life, affecting the lives of countless women and men along the path.

Christopher Wise

See also American Indian Movement (Red Power Movement); Christianity, Indianization of; Female Spirituality; Feminism and Tribalism; Native American Church; New Age Appropriation; Oral Traditions, Lakota (Teton); Sacred Pipe; Sweatlodge

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Buffalo/Bison Restoration Project

For many of the Native peoples of the Great Plains, religious life centers on their relationship with the buffalo (bison). The buffalo were given to the Plains people as a source of both physical and spiritual sustenance. Bison are a central element of Plains oral traditions, rituals, ceremonies, and material culture. Despite its importance to Native people, both culturally and as an integral part of the Plains ecosystem, the buffalo was the focus of extermination efforts by nineteenth-century Euro-Americans as they expanded westward. The restoration of bison populations has become a focus of many contemporary Native nations throughout the Plains, and it plays an important part in the

spiritual, financial, and ecological well-being of Native nations across the Plains.

The bison species originated in the steppe region of Asia. They radiated northward to the colder climes and then split into two distinct groups. Some went west and some went east. The bison that went east eventually crossed over a 1,000-mile-wide land called Beringia into the North American continent. These bison are what we call "buffalo" today. There really is no buffalo that is native to North America, and the name is taxonomically incorrect. True buffalo exist only on other continents. The correct taxonomic name for this species is *Bison bison,* although people will probably always identify the animal as the buffalo.

The earliest traces of bison occur in Asia and are from the time period known as the Pliocene geological epoch, around two million years ago. Of course, little is known of this ancient animal, and much more is known of its more recent relatives. There is evidence that a bison called the *Bison priscus* eventually inhabited the far north of North America. The *B. priscus* was a much larger animal than today's bison. Archaeological evidence shows that this distant relative was approximately 3 to 4 meters tall with horns that spread 2 meters across. The bison species underwent several evolutionary changes during the Pleistocene (which began about 20,000 and ended some 11,000 years ago) and the Holocene (from about 11,000 years ago to the present day) periods. The species became smaller than its ancient relative, but it also become more agile and faster.

There are two extant species of bison in the world today. They are the North American *Bison bison* and the European *Bison bonasus*. Both have suffered extreme population declines in recent times. The *B. bonasus,* sometimes referred to as the *wisent,* was very nearly exterminated during World War II by wartime activities and starving war refugees. They are now protected in a national park in Poland. The *B. bison* was almost exterminated in the late 1800s. It is thought that prior to the arrival of the European on the North American continent, bison population numbers were between 30 million and 70 million. They were reduced to approximately 830 individuals during the Euro-American conquest of the West. There were two reasons why the American bison population was reduced: (1) to destroy the food supplies of the otherwise uncontrollable nomadic Indian nations, and (2) to make room on the rich grasslands for the European cattle that were brought onto the Great Plains. There are two subspecies of the North American bison present today. They are the *Bison bison bison* and the *Bison bison athabascae*. The *B. b. athabascae* are known as woodland bison, and their habitat is in Canada. The *B. b. bison* occupy the grasslands of the Great Plains.

The American Indians that resided on or near the Great Plains relied very heavily upon the buffalo for much of

their winter food supply. The buffalo also supplied them with other by-products that were used for clothing and shelter. Although the Indians' food supply also included many other species, such as elk, deer, pronghorn antelope, bear, porcupine, and prairie dog, the bison provided the most meat for the least amount of work. The Great Plains grassland ecosystem is characterized as semiarid, with very cold temperatures during the winter months, and adequate preparation was paramount to survival. The Native people became very efficient at securing buffalo meat, and the meat was preserved in preparation for the severe and harsh winter conditions.

There were about twenty-four Indian nations that lived on, or near, the prairie and survived by hunting buffalo. Many permanently resided upon the grasslands and relied heavily upon buffalo hunting. There were also tribes that lived along the periphery of the grasslands in the mountains or forests, and they would come onto the grasslands to hunt buffalo. There were also tribes that lived along the river bottoms that were dependent upon agriculture but either hunted buffalo or traded their vegetable crops for buffalo meat.

The Lakota Nation tell a story that, many moons ago when they were having a difficult time surviving, two of their young men were out hunting and ran across a strange young woman on the prairie. When they met her, she gave them instructions to go back to their people's camp and tell them to prepare for her arrival. When she arrived the next day, all the people assembled and listened to what she had to say. The message she gave the people was that the buffalo nation wanted to help the people survive better, and they were prepared to give of themselves if the people lived good lives and didn't harm one another. She gave them a sacred pipe and instructions regarding songs to sing and prayers to say. She assured them that if they faithfully followed her instructions, the buffalo nation would always be there to guide and assist the Lakota Nation. In return, the Lakota people developed ways to utilize every part of the buffalo to fulfill their many needs (see Table 1). The two nations lived together in this harmonious fashion for centuries, and even millennia.

When the Euro-Americans came to this land and began their westward trek across the continent, everything changed for the native species that had coexisted for so long. The fragile balance within the various ecosystems that had been in place since time immemorial suddenly began to unravel. On the prairie, many native species began to disappear. The prairie wolf and the prairie grizzly bear disappeared, and the elk left for the mountains never to be seen again in the prairie. The beaver almost became extinct, as did the buffalo. White hunters killed the buffalo in huge numbers, taking only the tongue and hide. The rest of the animal was oftentimes left to rot. The fragile buffalo-based economies of many tribal groups were devastated beyond repair.

Table 1 Traditional Uses of Buffalo Parts

Animal Part	*Partial List of Traditional Usage*
Horns	Spoon ladles, Headdresses, Hide Scrapers, Bow Manufacturing
Hide (Raw)	Parfleche Containers, Rattles, Glue, Mortar, Shield, Ropes (Lariats), Cases, Saddles
Hide (Tanned)	Robes, Tipi Covers, Moccasins, Bedding, Floor Covering, Calendars
Hair/Fur	Halters, Moccasin Stuffing, Saddles Padding, Balls, Paint Brushes
Bone	Needles/Awls, Arrow Points, Sled Runners, Knives, Tanning Tools
Paunch	Water and Cooking Containers
Bladder	Tobacco and Water Containers
Scrotum	Rattles
Sinew	Backing for Bows, Bow Strings, Sewing Thread, Ropes, Cordage, Bindings, Glue
Tripe	Buckets, Food Storage
Tail	War Club, Water Switch in Steambath
Hoof	Hatchet, Glue, Rattles, Pendents
Intestines	Sacks, Sausage Manufacturing, Water Bags
Blood	Smeared on Arrow Points for Greater Penetration
Tallow	Healing Wounds, Sealing Tobacco in Pipes, Mixing with Paints
Gristle	Glue, Chewed by Teething Babies
Heart	Bag from Inner Lining
Dung	Fuel, Baby Powder, Incense, Arrow Targets

It appeared to the Native people that they would no longer be able to depend upon the buffalo to feed their families. However, they were reminded to sing their songs, to pray, and to dance. All over the prairie the people danced and sang in hopes that the buffalo would come back, the earth would be restored to her former integrity, and the intruding white people would leave. The Indian people defied their captors to conduct the necessary ceremonies to bring the buffalo back. In the end, they were herded onto reservations that were akin to concentration camps.

Near the end of the 1800s, there were a few people who had decided that the buffalo could not be allowed to go extinct. There were concerted efforts in the eastern United States to preserve the species and to conserve genetic diversity and wildness. William T. Hornaday worked for the New York Zoological Society and helped establish the American Bison Society. The society began lobbying Congress for the establishment of a buffalo refuge. Meanwhile, some families in different areas on the prairie took steps to save the buffalo and captured buffalo calves. They started building buffalo herds on their private ranchlands. There were four families that are credited with contributing to the effort to save the buffalo: C. J. "Buffalo" Jones in Kansas, Samuel and Sabine Walking Coyote in Montana, Charles and Mollie Goodnight in Texas, and Frederick and Mary Dupuis on the Cheyenne River Lakota Reservation in South Dakota. These families were front-line conservationists and established their own early versions of privately owned "captive-breeding programs."

By 1905 there were two government herds: one herd was at the National Zoological Park in Washington, D.C., and the other herd was at Yellowstone National Park. Within a short time Congress established additional buffalo reserves, and, at the urging of Hornaday, the buffalo were distributed geographically to avoid possible accidental loss of the remaining animals. In the following years, federal reserves were created at the Wichita Mountains (Oklahoma, 1907), the National Bison Range (Montana, 1908), the Niobrara Reservation (Nebraska, 1913), and Wind Cave Park (South Dakota, 1913). The establishment of this reserve system thus ensured the long-term survival of the buffalo as wildlife.

The restoration of the buffalo began with just a few small herds on public lands and private ranches, but it has expanded dramatically in recent times. Buffalo population figures are currently estimated at 300,000. Buffalo populations have expanded exponentially since the turn of the century, and there are now numerous public, semipublic (tribal), and private herds in all fifty states. The dramatic comeback of the buffalo, as a threatened species, is considered the most successful conservation story in this country.

In 1992, various tribal representatives met and formed the InterTribal Bison Cooperative (ITBC). This organization

was originally a sponsored program of the Native American Fish and Wildlife Society. The bison cooperative became independent during 1992 and secured operational funds during the same year. Until this cooperative was established, tribal efforts at restoring buffalo to their lands was a singular experience for them. Prior to the ITBC, while the restoration of buffalo populations was making some inroads, there was little or no effort to reintroduce the cultural, economic, and ecological significance of the buffalo to the tribal community. The ITBC, however, has steadily grown, and it currently has fifty member tribes. It has endeavored to explore new avenues of reestablishing an old concept that Native people lived by in the not-too-distant past—the notion of "spiritual economy."

A spiritual economy is defined by the ITBC as one in which money is not instrumental in the successful development of the economy. Implementing this goal in a modern context is a mind-boggling experience, and thus far it has not matriculated into a coherent plan of action. However, the concept stipulates that if a tribe can develop the buffalo as a sustainable resource and provide the necessary resources—for example—healthful food and by-products—to its membership with proper respect and reverence, a spiritual economy can be reestablished once again. That has not been easy, because the Native people and their communities have been greatly affected by the cash market economy. Also, the concept of individual freedom of ownership has gained a strong foothold among Native people today.

Case Study—Cheyenne River Lakota Tribe

A case study of one tribal buffalo restoration effort can illustrate some of the philosophical and spiritual significance of the effort to the tribal community. The Cheyenne River Lakota Tribe, located in north-central South Dakota, is a charter member of the InterTribal Bison Cooperative, and their buffalo herd is the largest tribal buffalo herd in the country. The herd was begun in the 1970s with approximately 60 head that came from the Custer State Park. The herd was placed on about 4,500 acres of "tribal trust land" (communally owned) along the Missouri River and has slowly increased over the years. In 1990 the tribe embraced an economic development plan that promoted the expansion of the buffalo herd. In 1991 "surplus" buffalo at Badlands National Park (BNP) were distributed to local Indian tribes, and the Cheyenne River Lakota received 250 head from the park. A tribally owned nonprofit corporation, entitled *Pte Hca Ka* ("Natural Buffalo"), Inc., was formed and given management jurisdiction of the tribal buffalo herd and pasture. With natural population increases and the allocations of surplus buffalo from BNP, the herd population was approaching 2,500 animals in the year 2002.

The tribe has kept pace with the herd expansion by allocating additional

acreage that is dedicated as a buffalo refuge. By 1997, the tribal buffalo pasture had expanded from the initial 4,500 acres to 20,000 acres of tribal land. A private donor has also contributed to the expansion of the buffalo land base by purchasing land and designating the land to be used exclusively as a buffalo refuge. In 1999, the buffalo program was able to purchase an adjacent 22,000-acre parcel of grassland. Although this land lies within the reservation boundaries, the tribe had lost ownership through the 1908 Homestead Act. The tribe has dedicated this piece of acquired land to use as a natural parkland. The program does not yet have enough animals to stock the entire 42,000 acres of pasture; however, program policy is to keep all heifer (female) calves for eventual breeding stock. The program has adopted management practices that ensure that many forms of restoration will occur simultaneously—for the buffalo, the ecology, the economy, and the culture.

Nutrition

One of the more compelling reasons for establishing buffalo herds on native lands is to combat the effects of a radical change of diet that was forced upon the Indian people. The modern diet is not as nutritious for Native peoples as were their native foods. When the Lakota people were forced into a sedentary way of life on reservations, they lost a diet that had previously consisted of many different kinds of natural foods, and they had to adopt a diet that consisted of exotic foods. This dramatic change is implicated in alterations in the health of contemporary Native peoples. On the whole, Indian people today all across America are experiencing diseases that were either unheard of or were previously rare within the Native community. Contemporary Native peoples are beginning to experience extremely high rates of diabetes and obesity, as well as rising rates of heart disease. It is thought that the severe change of diet and the more sedentary way of life may be the two primary causes of increasing health problems among Indian people today.

Tribal people are raising buffalo as a natural food source because the meat is high in protein and iron, while having low fat content and cholesterol. In direct contrast, the meat from grain-fed domestic livestock is high in fat and low in protein. The Indian Health Service is beginning to realize that a high-fat diet may be a contributing factor to the increase in health problems among modern Indian populations, and buffalo meat is seen as a method of correcting the ill health among Indian communities. Ongoing health studies in Native communities such as the Winnebago Tribe in Nebraska and the Rosebud and Cheyenne River tribes in South Dakota are confirming that poor nutrition is increasing health problems among Native Americans. A recent health study on the Cheyenne River Reservation has confirmed that there is a significant rise in the early signs of diabetes among children.

Community Resource Development

Almost every Indian reservation has very high unemployment, and this need is being addressed with advancement of buffalo herds as a reservation industry. As the buffalo populations increase, there is a greater need for skilled workers. Workforce development and the upgrading of the tribal infrastructure are key to solving these issues on the reservations. Tribal communities are currently in desperate need of trained Native managers that can administer, protect, and conserve natural resources and protected areas in a holistic manner. Tribal colleges are determining their own destinies in regards to research, management, and education, and they are conducting community-based research. There is a strong need to train tribal students in Western scientific knowledge and indigenous ecological understandings of native ecosystems, to facilitate more appropriate community-focused research and management of resources. Tribal people need to bring this blending of the two knowledge bases together to effectively administer both tribal and public lands that exist within treaty boundaries, such as the national grasslands, forests, and parks.

The right of tribal colleges to determine and establish their communities' educational needs may represent a significant pathway for cultural-ecological restoration and recovery within the tribal community. The establishment of tribal bison herds and the use of tribal college resources and resident expertise will combine to make this a reality over time. However, that will depend entirely upon the ability to have enough freedom, both politically and financially, to determine their own requirements and then go on to develop the appropriate curriculum based upon those needs.

Ecological Considerations

The tribe has thus far dedicated 42,000 acres to buffalo restoration, and their intentions are to turn this acreage into a tribal natural park. They will make use of the land and natural resources as a tool to develop a sustainable tourism industry on the reservation. The area will be managed to maximize the number of visitors who will have very little impact upon the natural resources.

With the ever-accelerating rate of natural resource depletion in the global community, there is a strong need for practical illustrations of how sustainability can be achieved. The tribal bison restoration movement represents a clear example of the development of a regional model of ecological and economic sustainability. This model can and will enable the tribal community to develop economic empowerment that can then lead them to self-sufficiency and true sovereignty, thus providing an excellent example of cultural, ecological, and economic recovery and restoration.

James Garrett

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Arapaho; First Food Ceremonies and Food Symbolism; Oral Traditions, Western Plains; Religious Leadership, Plains;

Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, Plains; Sacred Societies, Plains

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Bundles, Sacred Bundle Traditions

Studies of Native American religions on the Great Plains almost always include descriptions of oral traditions and ritual practices that surround "sacred bundles." This term needs to be interpreted in relation to particular Native traditions and practices in order to understand how these traditions, rituals, and ritual objects embody the specific identity and meet the needs of different groups. Since bundles are widely diffused among groups in North America, they can also be interpreted within the context of a more general cross-cultural framework.

"Medicine bundles" were highly developed among the Blackfeet or Siksika people who presently live on reservations in Montana and in Alberta, Canada. In a powerful dream or vision experience, a dream spirit would speak

or sing to the recipient, providing instructions about the bundle contents and teaching the individual the songs, movements, body painting, clothing, and restrictions that pertained to the bundle. Some early twentieth-century interpreters translated the Siksika term *saam* as "Medicine Bundle," while others rendered the term *saami* as "medicine or drugs." Contemporary linguists translate *amopistaan* as "ceremonial bundle." This word is built on the older root, *amopist-*, which means "to roll or wrap up." Though often associated with healing, the bundles discussed here can be distinguished from the bags in which traditional doctors used to carried their special herbal remedies, face paints, and other materials.

In many societies, including the Siksika, visions associated with bundles might be focused upon powers specifically given to an individual. For example, through a "medicine experience," dream spirits might mediate power to heal specific diseases, or to have success in war or hunting. In such cases, the rituals, songs, and materials gathered to make up the bundle might be so specifically associated with the individual that they could be classified as "personal bundles." Such bundles were often not transferred, and they were sometimes buried with the individual at the time of death. In other cases, the man or woman might transfer the ritual, songs, and "power" of the bundle to a son or daughter. Clearly, the benefits of such bundles affected primarily the individual and the individual's family.

Personal bundles may be compared with a class of bundles that were more deeply associated with the identity and well-being of the group. Although they may be individually "owned," these bundles usually arose in the experience of a predecessor. This predecessor may be a "mythical" being or a historical person. In some societies these predecessors may occupy the status of a "culture hero," or the individual may be marginal to the society—a "poor" youth. For example, the Cheyenne Sacred Arrow bundle was given to the people by Sweet Medicine, and the Lakota sacred pipe bundle was given to the people by White Buffalo Calf Woman. Both of these great predecessors occupied the status of "culture heroes" in those societies. By contrast, a woman who married a Star brought the Natoas, or Sun Dance bundle, to the Siksika people.

In other cases, important cultural gifts were transferred to Siksika through the decision of a powerful nonhuman Person to take "pity" on the people. For example, one of the underwater people, Beaver, transferred a large and complex bundle to the Siksika. In a generous decision to help Beaver, many animals and birds contributed their bodies and their powers to the bundle. As a consequence, this bundle contained the skins of many of the prominent animals and birds in the Siksika environment. The Beaver bundle had complex functions, and it included hundreds of songs in addition to prescribed ritual movements and dances. Beaver bundle owners kept track

of time and were responsible for forecasting the weather. In addition, the bundle was opened when the Siksika planted and harvested tobacco, as well as during the yearly Okan, or Sun Dance, ritual. Animal calling rituals that involved manipulating "buffalo rocks" were also associated with the Beaver bundle. Another example is the Medicine Pipe bundle that was transferred to the people by Thunder. This bundle was opened at the sound of the first thunder in the spring and was associated with the awakening of the natural world after a long winter. Its life-evoking powers were also associated with healing, and thus the bundle was opened and its ritual performed during times of individual or social illness. In some origin versions, such as some of those that provide backing for the Beaver bundle, sexual relations were established between animal Persons and human women. Sometimes children were born of these unions, establishing a deeper kinship relationship, and reciprocities associated with this relationship came into play.

Another important bundle during hunting days was the Iniskim, or buffalo rock bundle. In many societies, including the Siksika, there were widespread beliefs about the ancient character of stone: rocks were believed to be among the oldest of "Persons." Among the many traditions of origin, one tells of a woman who was out gathering berries. The people were in desperate condition, on the verge of starvation. In response to this human condition, Rock took "pity" on the Siksika and began softly to sing as the woman gathered berries. Being drawn by the song, the woman discovered an Iniskim (probably an ancient ammonite) resting on a bed of buffalo hair and sage. The Iniskim transferred to the woman the power to call buffalo, and she returned to the people with this precious gift. While this small bundle may sometimes qualify as a "personal" bundle, it carries with it the obligation to perform its rituals and songs for the good of the people. As we have seen, several Iniskim were essential parts of the Beaver bundle and were used during times when animals were in short supply.

In all of these cases, experiences with dream spirits or with powerful nonhuman Persons were embedded in oral traditions that were transmitted from one generation to the next. These traditions provided an account of the origin of the bundle, the details of its ritual process, and any restrictions pertaining to ownership and use. They may evolve over time, and the significance of the bundle might gradually change with the changing life circumstances of the group. For example, bundle rituals that were focused primarily on calling buffalo may, in contemporary reservation contexts, become focused on the general well-being of the group. Many bundles, including those having to do with hunting, were also associated with healing. Contemporary rituals may focus on healing spiritual and physical ailments that were not present in traditional societies, such as alcoholism, spousal and child abuse,

and relatively recently acquired vulnerability to diseases such as diabetes.

Among the Siksika, bundles are ritual objects wrapped in one or more animal skins or cloths. The "power" of bundles does not lie in their material features, which may be lost or destroyed, but in their association with powers of particular dream spirits or transcendent nonhuman Persons. These powers were "released" through proper ritual enactment. During periods when a bundle was not in use, its efficacy still radiated as a consequence of its sheer presence among the people. In earlier times, the bundle was smudged with sweet grass or sage each day, and during good weather it was suspended on a tripod outside the owner's tepee. Attitudes of respect shown for bundles as well as beliefs concerning their actual and potential power led to the conclusion that bundles were "alive" in a fundamental sense. They are still addressed through kinship terminology and treated like powerful and respected relatives by the people.

Among the Siksika, bundles were individually "owned" and were transferred from one individual to another. The recipient of a bundle may be related to the previous owner, but in most cases kinship relationships did not control bundle transfers. In other societies, such as the Mandans and Pawnees, bundle ownership and transfer were controlled by kinship relationships. Bundles were associated with particular clans; they were transferred within the clan, and the power of the ritual was associated with a specific kinship group. The transfer of bundles almost always involved ritual processes that included as central participants the owner and his wife and the recipient and his wife. In some instances, the owners of other powerful bundles or members of bundle societies participated in the transfer ritual. Although Siksika owners relinquished all specific rights in the bundle through the transfer ritual, social status and honor still accrued to the individual and his family. Previous owners were known for their participation in powerful rituals and were consulted on a variety of matters. Since they were reservoirs of ritual knowledge and experience, they might also be asked to participate in future bundle transfers.

Many interpreters have used terms such as "purchase" and "bought" to describe bundle transfers. These terms need clarification, especially since money is often a prominent medium of exchange in contemporary transfers. In the nineteenth century, bundle transfers among the Siksika involved what were often significant amounts of property to complete the process. This property—buffalo robes, horses, guns, and other items—passed from the "purchaser" to the owner. The purchaser's extended family was usually deeply involved in helping the man and his wife gather sufficient property to conclude the transfer. The notion of reciprocity, however, was the fundamental principle regulating transfers, in comparison with market exchanges that characterize

capitalist economies. Property flowed toward the owner and his or her family; the benefits associated with the bundle, its ritual, and its powerful presence flowed toward the purchaser and the purchaser's family. The widespread use of kinship terminology in relation both to the human beings involved in the transfer and to the transcendent powers signals that the exchanges were infused with meanings that differed greatly from those that characterize a capitalist economic system.

The shared cultural meanings that gave bundles their distinctiveness and related them to the identity and history of particular peoples are found in their traditions of origin. In the case of the Natoas bundle, for example, Siksika people believed that it was given by the people above, and many traditions focus on the central figures of Sun, Moon, and Morning Star. While the details of these traditions vary from group to group, there is a persistent association with solar, lunar, and astral Persons that has been transmitted through the generations. The term *natoas* is derived from meanings that signify Sun power and turnip. Without the backing of oral traditions, these associations make very little sense.

A complex tradition, which probably takes up elements of several traditions and weaves them into a single narrative, focuses upon two young women who were sleeping outside, exposed to the night sky. They awoke before dawn, and the elder, Feather Woman, began to admire Morning Star. Seeing him as the most handsome and attractive of sky beings, she expressed the strong desire to marry Morning Star. A few months after this experience, Feather Woman found that she was pregnant. When her condition was discovered, the entire camp treated her unkindly, and Feather Woman became confused and depressed because she had not had intercourse with any man. A few days later, as she was going to the river for water, a handsome young man with a yellow feather in his hair confronted her. He held in his hand a juniper branch with a spider web at one end. He revealed himself to be Morning Star, the man she loved, and he invited her to join him in the lodge of his father and mother, Sun and Moon. Morning Star placed the yellow feather in her hair and gave her the juniper branch to hold in her hand. Placing her hands on the upper part of the spider web and her feet on the lower end, she was suddenly transported into the sky country. Sun and Moon received their new daughter with delight, and in due time she gave birth to a son named Star Boy.

Moon gave Feather Woman a soft, beautiful tanned dress that was decorated with elk teeth; elk tooth wristlets; an elk skin robe painted with the sacred red paint; a digging stick; and a rawhide headdress cut in the form of a lizard. All of these things made up the first Natoas bundle. Moon told Feather Woman that she could dig any root she chose except for one large turnip. In the course of time, however, she disobeyed Moon.

With the assistance of a powerful bird Person, Crane Woman, she dug up the large turnip. Through the hole in the sky the young woman could see her people below, and she became very homesick. When it was learned that she had dug up the forbidden turnip, it was decided that she could no longer be happy in the sky country; she and Star Boy were let down to earth by spider man, coming to rest in the midst of a Siksika camp. Feather Woman brought with her from the sky country a complete Natoas bundle.

Not many years later, Feather Woman, her father, and her mother died, leaving Star Boy alone and very poor. As he grew older a strange scar developed on his face, and, in addition to his poverty, he was further marginalized by his disfigurement. He became known, somewhat derisively, as Scarface. In time he fell in love with a beautiful young woman who was the daughter of a leading Siksika chief. But because he was so poor and disfigured the young woman rejected him, and he became even more dejected and alone. The chief's daughter did hold out one ray of hope, however: if Scarface could find a way to remove his disfigurement, she would consider becoming his lover. After consulting with a powerful Medicine Woman, the young man learned that Sun had put the scar on his face, and he determined to travel to this great Sky Person's lodge to beg him to heal his disfigured face.

After a long and dangerous journey, Scarface reached the Sun's lodge but found that he was unwelcome because of what his mother had done. Morning Star, his father, took pity on the poor boy, however, and convinced Sun to heal him. After the scar had been removed, Sun instructed his grandson in the details of the Sun Dance, or Okan ritual, transferring to him all of the songs and prayers that were to be used in the ceremony. Sun established the rule that the Okan would be held on the occasion of illness and that only a virtuous woman could be the ritual leader. Scarface returned to earth by way of the Wolf Trail—the Milky Way—and transferred the Okan to the Siksika people. Since Feather Woman had previously brought the Natoas bundle to the people, they were now prepared to enact the first Okan ritual. The tradition ends with Scarface marrying the young woman he loved. Both of them were taken back into the sky country, and Scarface became a star just like his father, Morning Star.

The Okan ritual, which was held yearly among the Siksika, is infused with meanings drawn from this oral tradition. Central among the ritual processes is the transfer of the Natoas bundle from the previous owner to the woman who pledged to sponsor the Okan. The "pledge" arose on the occasion of illness or of social crisis, and the bundle transfer entailed a transfer of valuable goods, such as horses and robes, to the previous owner. Clearly the pledger's extended family was essential for helping her gather the goods necessary for the transfer. An important day in the Okan preparation was the day when the previous

owner and her husband transferred the Natoas bundle to the pledger and her husband. Along with the elk skin dress, wristlets, digging stick, robe, and lizard headdress were transferred the songs, prayers, and ritual movements that, when enacted, released the power of the bundle.

From a comparative perspective, Northern Plains bundles had formal similarities, but when viewed from within the horizons of meaning constituted by their origin traditions and ritual processes, they were clearly associated with particular people and contributed to their sense of identity and distinctiveness. Aspects of these traditions showed increasing similarities as groups on the Northern Plains interacted with one another and engaged in various levels of cultural interchange. Prominent among these similarities was the significance of solar, lunar, and astral Persons and the presence of powerful sacred arrows.

Many bundles among the Crow people contained shields that were given to the people in a dream or vision. Some of these bundles also contained sacred arrows that provided the power to succeed in warfare. In one origin tradition, an arrow bundle was transferred to a poor, orphaned young man by Morning Star. The young man had gone out on the plains to fast for a vision, and, after cutting off the first joint of his index finger, he prayed to Sun to take pity on him. Later that evening, Morning Star appeared in a vision and showed the young man a powerful arrow, instructing him in its uses in warfare. Morning Star told him to return to his people and make seven arrows, each a different color, to symbolize the stars in the Dipper. These arrows formed the central objects in seven bundles that he was instructed to make for the people. Before leaving the young man, Morning Star gave him the original sacred arrow with the instructions that he was to include it in the first of the seven bundles.

The Crows were related to the Hidatsas, who were village people living on the Knife River in what is now North Dakota. The people who became the Crows separated from the Hidatsas and moved west, transforming themselves into mobile buffalo hunters. It is possible that the importance of sacred arrows was derived from Hidatsa traditions that were, when the Hidatsas were a single people, widely shared. For example, a deep Hidatsa origin tradition centered on a culture hero who was, "in reality," an Arrow Person. This Arrow Person, whose name was Charred Body, came down from one of thirteen sky clans. These sky clans lived in earth lodge villages that stretched from the zenith to each horizon. After ridding the earth country of dangerous beings and destructive powers, these Arrow Persons established thirteen villages along the Knife River from which the Hidatsas believed they were descended. Among other things, the Arrow People gave the Hidatsas a bundle containing two arrows, one painted red and the other black. These bundles, associated with the power of the grizzly bear,

gave their owners the ability to doctor and to heal diseases.

Hidatsa arrow symbolism may also have affected the people who became the Cheyennes. During the course of migrations from their homeland near the headwaters of the Mississippi to the Northern Plains, some Cheyennes associated themselves with the Hidatsas and lived for a time in earth lodge villages along the Missouri River. Sometime during this period of cultural creativity, a culture hero came among the Cheyennes. Named Sweet Medicine, he brought to the people a bundle that contained four Sacred Arrows, two of which were painted red and two of which were painted black. This bundle gave the people power over their enemies and over their food supply, the buffalo. Two of the arrows released war power, and, when they pointed them at enemies, users were assured victory. When pointed at animals, the two "buffalo arrows" ensured that the people would have a successful hunt. Animals killed under the power of the sacred arrows were butchered in a special manner: if the buffalo's head were left attached to the spine and tail, the people believed that the animals would be renewed.

Unlike other bundles, the Sacred Arrow bundle was not transferred among individuals or within clans. Rather, a person who was qualified by personal virtue and ritual knowledge cared for it until old age or illness disabled him. At this point the bundle was transferred to a person designated by the keeper. The Sacred Arrow bundle became central to the identity of the Cheyenne people, and it is still important in their ritual lives today. Even though war and hunting have faded, the bundle is still important for the moral renewal of the people, and when it is opened social healing and the flourishing of common life are enhanced.

The Pawnees, who were also earth lodge village people, had a number of important bundles associated with particular villages. These bundles were related to essential life activities, such as hunting and agriculture. Among the prominent bundles among the Pawnees were those associated with the Evening Star and Mother Corn. During the winter communal hunts, especially when game was scarce, the power of several bundles would be brought together. Bringing the bundles together focused and intensified their power through ritual interaction. In some cases, for example, when the powers of the bundle in charge of the hunt were inadequate, Mother Corn was transferred from this bundle to the Evening Star bundle, intensifying and enhancing the power brought to bear on the hunt. Under these circumstances the killing of animals proceeded in a ritually prescribed manner.

Many other comparative materials could be analyzed, but perhaps these examples are sufficient to show how widespread bundles were on the Northern Plains and, more broadly, on the Great Plains as a whole. Each of these bundles or interrelated "bundle complexes" was

usually surrounded by a set of general conditions that pertained to most phenomena in this class: bundles were acquired by means of a dream or vision experience; dreams or visions might be endured by an ordinary person or might occur in the experience of an important Predecessor; songs, movements, body painting, and other ritual elements were transmitted from a dream spirit or Predecessor to a human being, male or female; some bundles might be associated with predominantly male activities, such as hunting, or female activities, such as agriculture; in many cases, there was the possibility of transfer from one individual or group to another; the use of a preparatory sweatlodge preceded bundle openings, and, in some instances, a concluding sweatlodge moved participants from realities evoked by ritual and symbol back to the world of everyday life. These formal similarities should not obscure what were powerful symbolic boundaries constituted by different oral traditions that informed the meaning of bundles and the rituals that were essential for focusing and releasing their power.

From within Northern Plains societies, it was clear to the people that bundles and their rituals were specifically given to the particular people. Historians and anthropologists of religion may be interested in how cultural interchanges produced similarities within the oral traditions and ritual processes. But these interests cannot exhaust the rich levels of meaning that come into view when one takes seriously the claims of Native peoples themselves. For example, when contemporary Cheyenne people say that Sweet Medicine was the founder of *our* society, the source of *our* identity as a people, observers and other interested researchers need to take those claims seriously. When Siksika people in the United States or Canada say that the Beaver, Medicine Pipe, and Natoas bundles still bring gifts of healing and contribute to the flourishing of the people, those outside that society need to grant legitimacy to their claims. And when various people on the Northern Plains perform their yearly Sun Dances, sensitive and sympathetic observers need to recognize that these people are enacting rituals that deeply express who they are as Native societies. Such insights might begin to foster the sympathetic understanding needed for all Native peoples in North America to take their place as serious and respected contributors to the rich tapestry of American religion.

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Arapaho; Oral Traditions, Lakota (Teton); Power, Plains

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C

Ceremony and Ritual, Anishnabe

Anishnabe ("Human Being") is the name by which the Algonkian-speaking people (particularly the dialects of Ojibwa/Chippewa, Odawa/Ottawa, and Potawatomi, as well as Menomini and Algonguin) surrounding the Great Lakes call themselves. Western analyses of Anishnabe religion tend to assume that it represents a primitive human tradition. What is ignored is that the peoples of the Great Lakes were at the northern extent of a vast trading complex with common rituals that allowed for intertribal relationships several thousand years in age, as well as producing refined copper objects as fine as those found anywhere else in the world at that time. The final precontact phase of this intercultural exchange was the formation of a mercantile urban center in the heart of North America, called by archaeologists "Cahokia." This city, as large as any in Europe at the time, was across from present-day St. Louis at the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, just upstream from where the Ohio River enters the Mississippi. Cahokia flourished until the change in climate that took place a century before the Europeans arrived. In other words, the Anishnabeg would have been well aware of cities, long-distance trade, refined metallurgy, and a complex ritual life long before the arrival of European culture; there is no need to seek an explanation for these phenomena in Western influence.

As in many American Indian traditions, the foundational myths focus on migration. In one major version, the Anishnabeg migrated from the Atlantic coast down the St. Lawrence River into the Great Lakes as far as its western extent. Algonkian-speaking peoples continue to live throughout those areas. The major myth cycle focuses on Nanabush (Nanabozo), whose major theriomorphic form is a rabbit, and who is both culture hero and trickster. He is the child of Beautiful Woman and the West Wind. His mother died at childbirth and he was raised by his grandmother, who is also

Moon. He brought to the Anishnabeg important aspects of culture, such as fire, and the rituals, particularly that of the Midéwiwin. He is responsible for the recreation of the earth following the Great Flood.

There are several important pan-Indian rituals in which some Anishnabeg take part, such as the Native American Church (peyote ritual) and the Powwow. At the western extreme of the Anishnabeg, one finds the Thirst Dance (Sun Dance).

The discussion of Anishnabe rituals will focus on contemporary traditional practices. When individuals dream of new rituals for their community, they are told to an elder. If the elder validates the vision, it may become a separate ceremony or be incorporated as part of a longer ceremony. Such rituals may occur but once, for a few years, or they may become part of the ritual year; there are far too many to discuss here.

Circumpolar Rituals

Certain common religious features are found throughout the subpolar regions, from the Saami of Scandinavia, through various Siberian traditions, the Inuit traditions of northeastern Asia and Greenland, and throughout the Americas. The Algonkian-language cultures found through much of northern and eastern North America continue many of those features.

Spirit Lodge

Profaned in the literature by the name "sweatlodge," Spirit Lodge ceremonies, along with Sacred Pipe ceremonies, are ubiquitous among traditionalist Anishnabeg. Similar ceremonies are found among virtually all North and Central American traditions, as far south as the Maya. The Anishnabe structure is identical with the prereservation home, the *wigwam,* suitable to a seminomadic, gathering-hunting way of life: a dome-shaped skeleton of pliable saplings covered with elm or birch bark, and now with sufficient canvas and blankets to create a light-tight structure. The Anishnabe lodge is preferably made of willow saplings in multiples of four to represent water, but maple is also used, in multiples of four, with an opening in the direction of the rising sun. The earthen floor will be covered, save for the central pit, with cedar leaves, which will also be used to create a sacred umbilical line to the fire east of the entrance for heating the rocks. The fire will be backed with an altar formed of the earth from the pit (the Earth's uterus) dug in the center of the lodge for the placement of the Grandfathers, the red-hot heated rocks. This altar will be formed into various shapes depending on the aspect of Anishnabe religion involved. Every feature is laden with spiritual significance.

Spirit Lodge creates a communal spiritual experience among the immediate participants, and one of its major purposes is to bring ritual leaders into harmony prior to major ceremonies. The ceremony is also used for healing purposes, as it is essentially a rebirth experience, and for simply providing the par-

ticipants the opportunity to be in the immediate and intense presence of the spirits (see Paper 1990).

"Shaking Tent"

Binding rituals are common among the Inuit far to the north of the Anishnabeg, and known as *Yuwipi* among the Siouan-speaking peoples to their west. In the Anishnabe version (including that of the closely related Cree to the north), a narrow tepeelike structure is built. The healer is bound and placed inside. As the songs bring the spirits, particularly Turtle, the structure begins to shake, and their voices can be heard, providing important information for the community or for healing an individual. At the end of the ceremony, the healer emerges unbound (see Brown and Brightman 1988; Hallowell 1942).

Bear Rituals

There is a complex of Bear ceremonialism throughout the subpolar regions of the Northern Hemisphere. This is reflected in the Anishnabe tradition with a special reverence for Bear (the black bear), the female spirit of procreation and the most powerful healing spirit. Only special individuals can hunt Bear, which was an important source of dietary fat and oil for protecting the body. Its body is treated with special rituals (see Hallowell 1926).

Pyroscapulamancy

Pyroscapulamancy is the application of heat to scapula to obtain cracks that are then used in prognostication. This was the major form of divination in early Chinese civilization, and it is found as far eastward as the Algonkian-speaking Naskapi of Labrador. Although not part of contemporary Great Lakes Anishnabe ceremonialism, given their migration myths, it seems quite probable that this was one of their rituals in the past (see Speck 1935).

Common American Indian Rituals

Foraging Rituals

All of the substances gathered and hunted for subsistence and for creating traditional structures and ritual items are understood to be spiritual beings (other-than-human beings; see Hallowell 1960). When these beings are hunted, they are spoken to and asked to give themselves for the needs of the people, and they are ritually reverenced after they have given themselves. When plants and stones are gathered the first is also spoken to, and a gift is given in recompense, usually tobacco.

There has been much confusion over these simple rituals that acknowledge the gifts of themselves by the spirits—as all upon which we depend for life are spiritual entities. The confusion has been the result of a misunderstanding of the term *dodem* ("totem"). Anthropology created a primitive religion called Totemism, which seems to have no reality outside of anthropology, psychoanalysis, and Marxist historiography. Like many peoples, the Anishnabeg are socially divided into clans, each symbolized by a spirit called

dodem. It is not the case that those of a clan cannot eat its *dodem,* as is found in the literature. Many clan *dodems* are inedible, or, for the example of deer, would have been the primary source of animal protein. Early anthropologists confused the clan *dodem* with an individual's personal guardian spirit(s). Those relationships are highly individualistic, and any dietary prohibitions, for example, would be a matter of what the particular spirit told the individual with regard to their specific relationship and cannot be generalized (see Pitawanakwat and Paper 1996).

Purifying and Smoke Offering Rituals

A preliminary part of all rituals, from simple daily routines to complex four-day ceremonies, is the purification of participants, place, ritual paraphernalia, and food and water for the feast with the smoke of purifying sacred herbs. The Anishnabeg use the smoke from burning sweetgrass or cedar leaves. The former is often braided and symbolizes the hair of Mother Earth; the latter is picked from the most potent of the healing plants.

A second common aspect of rituals is the offering of tobacco. As mentioned above, tobacco is offered directly to spirits as they are gathered. Many ceremonies also involve, as part of the rituals, placing tobacco directly on the central fire to assist in sending prayers to the spirits. Sacred Pipe rituals also feature prominently as a part of ceremonies, or as a ceremony in and of itself.

Fasting and Vision Questing

As with all the indigenous traditions of the Americas, it is essential that individuals develop a personal relationship with one or more spirits. The Anishnabe means of doing so involves fasting rituals found throughout northern North America.

Generally, those fasting for a vision will blacken their faces with charcoal, build a traditional *wigwam* in a ritual manner, make an offering of food and water to the spirits in the vicinity, and bound the area with a protecting circle of cedar leaves. Those who are connected to aviary spirits will build a nest in a tree. Once in the lodge or nest, those fasting will take no food or water and avoid sleep for four, sometimes eight or more, days. At the completion of the fast, the vision seeker will put on a ceremonial feast for the community.

Vision questing is not for a select few but for all following the traditional path. It is understood that a personal connection with the spirit realm is essential for life; it is from the spirits that we learn our life's path, receive our talents, are protected from injury, and are able to function for our family and community. Vision questing will also be undertaken when an important decision must be made or before one begins a major spiritual activity.

Drumming

Shakers and drums are an important feature of many ceremonies. The Anishnabeg use several types of drums. Most common are the hand-held drums used

in healing and other rituals. Of increasing importance are the water drums used in Midéwiwin rituals (see below). A third type of drum is the Dream Dance drum. It is similar to the large Grass Dance drum, which rests on supports and is played by several drummers; it began in the Plains and became the basis of the Powwow. As the Grass Dance drum spread among the Anishnabe, it came to be treated as an important sacred item. The four supports are decorated with sacred feathers and other items, and the drum is dressed with an elaborately beadworked leather apron. It is ritually kept and treated in a sacred manner, and the use of the drum became a ceremony in and of itself—the Drum Dance (see Vennum 1982).

Life-cycle Rituals

Naming Rituals

Given the understanding that every human person must obtain a relationship with one or more spirits to live, infants are particularly vulnerable, as they are not able to fast to gain such relationships. Parents of a newborn will ritually request an elder to dream (lucid dreams and visions are designated by the same Algonkian word) a name for their child. This name will transfer to the infant protection from the relevant spirit until such time that the child is able to seek visions on her or his own, at which time the person will receive a new name. After the elder receives the name from the spirits, a ceremonial feast is held. The community gathers, and, when the name is announced, the infant will be passed from person to person in the circle. Each member of the community will greet the child by name, welcoming the child into the community.

Menarche and Male Adolescent Rituals

As a person grows from childhood to adulthood, the person needs to take on a mature relationship with both the human and the spirit communities. Children of both sexes are taught to fast for short periods of time until they are old enough to fast for four days. The menarche is the first major fast for females; adolescent males will also fast for four or more days (see Paper 1997).

Death

There are a number of rituals pertaining to death; some are common to most cultures, such as washing and dressing the body. Other practices are required by modern governments. Some of the customs that are particular to the Anishnabeg include, for those who were members of the Midéwiwin, being given instruction after death about the journey that one is to begin. Bodies are buried so that the feet are toward the west, reflecting the understanding that the path of life follows the path of Sun, and the realm of the dead is toward the west. In the past miniature houses were constructed over graves, now often replaced by a symbol on a post representing a dwelling, a clan symbol, or a symbol of a person's status in the Midéwiwin. The

person's belongings are often disposed of at a give-away ceremony, everyone present being given an article of the person's clothing or belongings. During one of the seasonal Midéwiwin ceremonies, one evening may be devoted to a remembrance for the dead. All those who lost someone dear to them in the preceding year are asked to prepare the favorite dish of the deceased for a feast. At the feast, each grieving person holds the dish and speaks about their departed, then all share the food. In some communities north of Lake Superior, there is an annual Feast for the Dead, which is similar. Various communities may have different related customs.

Midéwiwin

The Midéwiwin (known as "Medicine Lodge" among the Siouan-speaking Winnebago) is an Anishnabe *cultus* in the original Hellenistic sense of the term: an optional adjunct to the base religion of a culture requiring initiation. Anishnabeg who are already involved with traditional religion may be invited after nomination by relatives or friends to be initiated into a semi-institutional variant of traditional Anishnabe religion in which the members form a social as well as ritual bond. The initiations, at four sequential levels (eight in some versions), involve teachings and symbolic death and resurrection using cowrie shells and sacred bundles, made of the skins of different animals for each level.

Aside from initiation rituals, there are four seasonal rituals of four days' duration each, in which adherents, including initiates and supporters, gather from throughout the area of the Great Lakes. The general ceremonies are held in a longhouse structure of a sapling framework and nowadays canvas covers. The initiation structure has a similar framework, but the lower part is covered with boughs, with the upper part left open. Since only those initiated to the appropriate degree or the initiates can enter this structure, other adherents may observe the nominally esoteric initiation rituals only from without. A Spirit Lodge will be built in the vicinity for preliminary rituals.

Central to the Midéwiwin is the cowrie shell (*megis*), which, being in the shape of a vagina, symbolizes life for many traditions worldwide; there is also a water drum called the "Little Boy," in reference to the origin myth of the Midéwiwin. All those initiated have the *megis,* but only recognized elders, female and male, will be keepers of the special drums.

Euro-Americans have been aware of the Midéwiwin since the late seventeenth century, and all of its elements have a long indigenous past. Yet most analyses understand the tradition to be due, in various ways, to Euro-American influence or to be a nativistic movement. This attitude is consistent with a mindset that insists on seeing Native cultures as primitive. One of the factors that leads to the assumption of Western influence is the birch bark scrolls that consist of a complex series of symbols with a mnemonic function that assist in the

telling of Midéwiwin instructional myths and maintaining the complex initiation rituals. The Great Lakes Anishnabeg are not the only North American Natives to have such scrolls; the Algonkian-speaking Lenape (Delaware), originally of the mid-Atlantic coast, also had them. The scrolls also reflect the continuing practice from antiquity of drawing symbols in sand during Midéwiwin teachings. Finally, the West did not introduce books to the Americas: the Mayans had immense libraries (destroyed by the Spanish), and the idea of books probably spread up the Mississippi to the mercantile cities and thence northward to the Great Lakes.

By tradition, the Midéwiwin's center is at the western end of Lake Superior, where by the late seventeenth century, after displacing Siouan-speaking people in the upheavals consequent to the fur trade, an Anishnabe trading town arose. The Midéwiwin practices are particularly appropriate for a widespread culture that periodically comes together at an established center.

A second factor in the development of the modern Midéwiwin is the fate of the Wyandot (Hurons). The Iroquoian-speaking, horticulture-hunting Wyandot had their towns at the southern end of Georgian Bay, east of Lake Huron. The Anishnabeg to their north were their trading partners. When the Iroquoian-speaking Five (later Six) Nations, armed by the English, sought to monopolize the fur trade, they attacked the Wyandot, who were allied with the French and seriously debilitated from smallpox carried by French Jesuit missionaries. In the mid-seventeenth century, after a number of battles, the Wyandot were defeated and dispersed. Many joined their Anishnabe trading partners to the north and were assimilated. That would account for the continuing annual Feast for the Dead held by the Anishnabe on the central part of Lake Superior's north shore. It also accounts for major features of the Midéwiwin.

Midéwiwin ritual structures are Iroquoian longhouses; the "Little Boy" is the Iroquoian water drum. At present there are two types of the "Little Boy" that differ according to the method of securing the rawhide head to the wooden body. The older, called the "Grandfather Drum," has the head secured in the Iroquoian fashion. A second type of water drum, which came into use in Midéwiwin rituals in the early twentieth century, has its head tied in a manner related to that used by the Native American Church, which spread among the Great Lakes Anishnabe around the same time.

The focus on death and resurrection is a prominent theme not only in circumpolar shamanistic traditions; it also would have become of particular importance at a time when the majority of the population was dying of introduced Western diseases. Hence the modern Midéwiwin can be understood as an organic development of traditional elements, to which were added aspects brought by the Wyandot when they joined the Anishnabe, to form a highly

viable aspect of traditional Anishnabe religion suitable to the changing social circumstances and living patterns created by the fur trade. There is no need to look for Western Christian influence.

In the 1970s, after a century of enforced prohibition and mandatory Christianization, a revitalization of American Indian traditions began in North America. Some Anishnabe leaders of the American Indian Movement, having been introduced to Pan-Indian religious modalities, began to seek among elders specifically Anishnabe traditions. The Midéwiwin had continued underground among a small number of elderly adherents, and they were discovered by this new generation seeking their spiritual roots. Being semi-institutional, the revitalized Midéwiwin provided a loose organizational structure, even for those traditionalists who were not, strictly speaking, initiated. Native-way schools developed, based on their teachings, beginning with the Red Schoolhouse in St. Paul (see Benton-Banai 1979). Along with the Six Nations Longhouse Tradition, around the Great Lakes, it led to elders conferences held at universities, urban healing centers, elders working with Native prisoners, and so forth. Because of these developments, by the 1980s Christian clergy lost their control over Native reserves in Canada, and the Christian boarding schools disappeared. Even those Anishnabe traditionalists who will have nothing to do with the Midéwiwin were now free to come out into the open and be available for healing and other spiritual activities.

Today, adherents of the Midéwiwin gather seasonally, four times a year, from all over the Great Lakes for ceremonies that rotate widely among Anishnabe reserves. Members of the ritual society serve as healers and counselors in various urban areas. As the Three Fires Society (Ojibwa, Odawa, Potawatomi), they sponsor summer music festivals on the larger reservations that bring together large numbers of Anishnabeg and other American Indians.

Jordan Paper

See also Female Spirituality; Native American Church; Powwow; Sacred Pipe; Sweatlodge; Tobacco, Sacred Use of; *Yuwipi* Ceremony

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Ceremony and Ritual, Apache

All rituals and ceremonies within Apache culture were first brought to the Apache people by the holy people. Oral traditions accompany every ceremony, telling of how the ceremony was first taught to the people by the Holy Ones. To understand ritual and ceremony in Apache culture, it is first necessary to understand Apache notions of sacred power, or *diye.* In traditional Apache culture, *diye* is considered to be inseparable from the forces within nature that have direct impact on physical survival. *Diye* is understood to be the power inherent within animals, plants, and humans. All Apache people have the potential to receive and cultivate *diye.* Life without a source of power is difficult, while life assisted by this sacred power is blessed. *Diye* is acquired through the daily process of living a traditional Apache life within the Apache landscape. It is acquired through proper living and respectful relationship with the natural world. Sacred power might also be attained through dreams and visions. Such visions require a ceremonial response: the power must be enacted and honored. A *diye* vision or dream might provide the guidelines for a healing ceremony, or it might impart knowledge of medicines and healing plants. With that in mind, it becomes apparent that all aspects of Apache life are ceremonies: the proper way to gather plants, to hunt, to prepare food, to attend to a child, are all ceremonial activities that must be conducted with care and concern. These might be considered individual ceremonial activities. Of course, there are communal ceremonies as well, such as those that mark the stages of development in the growth of children and adults.

But all of these ceremonial activities center on the importance of cultivating and honoring *diye,* sacred power. To be properly conducted, ceremonies can be performed only by ritual experts, those who have lived their lives in the cultivation

Apache Indians with headdresses and painted bodies perform a Gahan dance, the dance of the mountain spirit. New Mexico, ca. 1975–1995. (Charles and Josette Lenars/Corbis)

of *diye,* and who have spent years in apprenticeship to the spiritual leaders of the Apache people, learning the rituals and the songs and prayers that accompany them. Only those who have learned how to cultivate and control *diye* through respectful relationships with the Apache natural world can lead these sacred ceremonies.

The search for and cultivation of *diye* continues in contemporary Apache culture. Traditional economic and material culture is inseparable from this search for *diye;* to acquire sacred power is to acquire the ability to survive. Apache ritual and ceremony can be understood only within this sense of interconnectedness and interrelatedness with nature. It is this interrelatedness that enables the Apache to survive in the natural world. Plants and animals are willing helpers, providing Apache people with meat, hide, seeds, and fruit only if "they are approached in the correct manner, with proper attention to beliefs and ritual practices that have existed from the time of the ancestors when the earth was new" (Castetter and Opler 1936; Brand 1937).

Ways of acquiring and cultivating *diye* are present within men's hunting traditions and ritual restrictions, as well as

within women's gathering traditions. Apache women have long-honored traditions of gathering and cultivating wild herbs and plants, and processing those natural materials to make baskets, medicines, and valuable food resources. Forests supply other important *nde bidane* (dietary staples), as well as vital ceremonial materials such as nuts from pinon trees, *'inaada* (mescal), *ye'eltsui* (acorns). In the desert and semiarid regions of the Apache homeland, women gather plants for medicinal purposes, such as prickly pear and *nanstane* (mesquite beans). In the grasslands, women continue to gather the cattail, grama grass, and *gushk'ane* (soapweed), materials that are used in the summer ceremonies. Throughout their gatherings, women are cultivating a relationship with the *diye* within the plants. Their ability to nurture this sacred power within themselves and within the plants will determine their success in gathering, as well as the plants' potency in healing, in practical use, and in ceremonies.

Such traditions of cultivating *diye* through the proper use and gathering of materials in the natural world can be seen within the Apache girls' puberty ceremony. 'Isánáklèsh Gotal, the Apache girls' initiation ceremony, is a ceremonial process in which young girls are guided through a religious transformation. Throughout the ceremonial event, young women are taught about traditional Apache approaches to healing, the proper modes of collection and preparation of ritual foods and materials, and the healing properties of medicinal plants. For instance, cattail pollen in great quantity must be gathered for the ceremony, because of its power to bless and heal. Cattail pollen is carefully shaken from the head of the stalk, then dried and winnowed, before it is stored in small buckskin bags. The material will play a central role in the girls' puberty ceremony, and it is considered extremely precious. The long leaves of the cattail will also be present in the ceremony, serving as the floor covering for the ceremonial tepee. Young girls are required to drink through the stem of a bamboo grass, or *'uk'a,* which grows on the reservation, and that too must be ritually gathered prior to the ceremony. The poles for the ceremonial tepee are made from juniper trees, and they must be gathered in a sacred manner. The earth of the reservation likewise supplies sacred materials for the ceremony: the girls' faces and bodies will be painted with *chi* (red clay) and *dleesh* (white clay). Galena, or *Tse'besh,* an iridescent blue-gray ore that is ground to dust, and *leetsu* (yellow ochre) will also be used in the ceremony. The cultivation of *diye* found within these powerful elements is ensured through the ritual gathering of materials, and it comes to play a key role in the efficacy and power of the ceremony itself.

Diye, or sacred power, is thus cultivated through a proper interaction with the natural landscape. *Diye* is then put into action, effecting protection, blessing, health, and strength for individual

Apache within communal rituals and ceremonies. Many of these ceremonies are directly structured around the growth and development of young Apache people into adulthood. Because of that, Apache people have created ceremonies for every phase of life: birth, childhood, puberty, young adulthood, maturity, old age, and death (Opler, 1941).

At its birth, an infant will be bathed, massaged, and blessed with pollen by the midwife who delivered the child or by another woman knowledgeable about ritual procedures. If the child is a girl, the family will erect a post to mark her birth, and will bury the umbilical cord near the home. The baby will also be blessed with pollen and prayers. Women attendants will lift her above their head, and while blessing the child with pollen will slowly turn clockwise beginning in the east. It is still believed that this sunwise blessing will protect the child against the threat of illnesses common to infancy.

The cradleboard ceremony, or *bizane ts'al,* will be performed within a few days of the child's birth (personal communication, Willetto Antonio, *gutaal,* Mescalero Apache reservation). Prior to this ceremony, the materials necessary for making the cradleboard will be gathered with care, accompanied with prayers meant to grant the baby a long and healthy life. Such prayers in the midst of gathering materials are a mode of cultivating *diye,* for this power is being evoked and cultivated in behalf of the infant. The canopy of the cradleboard that shields the infant's head will be decorated with symbols of the moon, if it is a girl, and the back will be pierced so that Life Giver will be able to see the child and offer the Creator's favorable blessing. Cradles are often decorated with turquoise, beadwork, and a small pollen bag. As part of the cradleboard ceremony, the child will be blessed across the nose and below the eyes with pollen, and blessings are offered to the four directions. Then the cradle itself will be lifted and offered to the east, south, west, and north. The cradle is then lifted to the east three times, and on the fourth time the baby girl will be carefully wrapped and strapped into the cradleboard, ensuring that she will be secure throughout the first months of life.

Within the Apache ritual complex, life is envisioned as a path. As a consequence, the ceremony celebrating a child's first moccasins is particularly significant: it commemorates the child's first steps upon that path. As with all Apache ceremonies, the ceremony for first steps was given by the holy people. 'Isanaklesh first performed this ceremony for her son Child of the Water. Because of that, the ceremony should be conducted only by a woman who has the *diye* of Isánáklèsh. The woman conducting the ceremony will be called 'Isanaklesh throughout the ceremony. If the ceremony is conducted for a male infant, it will be conducted by a man, who will be referred to as *Tobasichine* (Child of the Water).

An Apache coming-of-age ceremony, during which a young woman is being blessed by pollen. Arizona. (Martha Cooper/Peter Arnold, Inc.)

The ceremony takes place early in the morning, and preferably at the new moon, when things are new and newly forming (personal communication, Meredith Begay, Mescalero Apache spiritual leader, 1985). The leader conducting the ceremony will mark all those present with pollen. When the sun rises, the ritual leader will lift the infant four times in a sunwise direction, beginning in the east. The ceremonialist will then draw footprints made from cattail pollen onto white buckskin. Then the child will be helped to walk, placing her feet on the pollen footprints. For each step that the child takes, prayers are offered. The child will walk through the four steps four times, while she is blessed and prayed for. Once she has done this, she will circle the buckskin four times in a sunwise direction, accompanied by songs, prayers, and blessings. The child will then be blessed with pollen by everyone present. The moccasins themselves are then blessed with pollen, lifted to the four directions, and placed on the infant's feet. The ceremony is commonly known as "Putting on Moccasins," and it is considered to be an important source of protection and guidance, enabling children to continue on the pollen path throughout their lives.

In the springtime, when the child is older, she or he will have the first haircutting ceremony. Again, the child will be blessed with pollen. As with all Apache ceremonies, the ritual works to affirm the child's place within the community, and her or his interdependence with the natural world. The child will be blessed with cattail pollen, and prayers will be offered to the four directions so that the child will have a long and healthy life. As the child's hair is divided into sections, a small bunch of grama grass will be laid against the hair, in hopes that like the grass, the child's hair will grow thick and straight. Once cut, the hair will be gathered and left in a tree, one that is in bloom. Prayers and blessings accompany this process, so that the child's life will be productive and fruitful, like the tree in bloom.

When children are introduced to their first solid foods, that also requires ceremonial recognition. These first solid foods are traditional Apache foods, affirming the child's dependence on the Apache landscape: mesquite, mescal, yucca, and sumac.

The most widely recognized of Apache ceremonials is the girls' puberty ceremony. Like other Apache ceremonials, this ritual centers on the proper cultivation and transmission of *diye*. The young girl, as she transitions into womanhood, is endowed with the power of 'Isanaklesh, the female deity, and so receives *diye*. As with other rituals, the goal is a long, healthy, and power-filled life for the young person. If a girl's ceremony is successful, she will reach *'isdzaa dziili* (adulthood) as a spiritually, intellectually, and physically capable woman.

The girls' puberty ceremony, or 'Isánáklèsh Gotal, celebrates and honors young women's lives. To the Apache, it is a celebration of the female deity 'Isánáklèsh. It is often referred to as the Big Tipi, or simply "The Feast." The eight-day ceremony includes four days of ritual activity, attended by large numbers of family and friends, which are followed by four days of quiet reflection. The first ceremony was performed for 'Isánáklèsh herself, when she emerged from the water and first came to this world. When young girls undertake the ritual process, they are literally becoming 'Isánáklèsh: they are the embodiment of this female deity, present in the community.

The unifying and underlying principle of this ceremony is transformation. The young woman is not "identified" with 'Isánáklèsh, as Opler has suggested (Opler 1941, 90). She is not an "impersonation," as Basso describes (Basso 1966, 51), nor is she a "representation," as Hoijer has described it (Hoijer 1938, 148). She is not performing a dramatic role. Rather, the initiate literally embodies the physical and spiritual essence of 'Isánáklèsh.

The ceremonial space is marked by the *gutaal,* or ceremonial Singer, who also supervises the construction of the ceremonial tepee. In the tepee, a fire will be kept burning throughout the days of the ceremony. It is 'Isanaklesh's fire, and as such cannot be allowed to go out. As the songs describing 'Isánáklèsh's first ceremony are sung, the mythic past is brought into the present. The presence of this female deity is so powerful that is must be balanced with the *diye* of masculine holy people. The *Hastchin,* or Mountain Spirits, are thus present, embodied in the *Gahe,* or Mountain Spirit Dancers, also referred to as Crown Dancers because of their elaborate headdresses. These dancers dance throughout the four nights of the ceremony, lending their strength and support to 'Isánáklèsh as she dances in the ceremonial tepee.

This eight-day ceremony, 'Isánáklèsh Gotal, celebrates young Apache women as valuable and powerful parts of their families and community. For four days their family, friends, and extended rela-

tions have gathered to celebrate her, offering up large amounts of time, labor, and resources to see her successfully transitioned into womanhood. This is deeply significant, and impresses upon the girl how valuable she is in the eyes of her community.

On the fourth morning, after dancing all night long in the ceremonial tepee, the initiate will run toward the east, greeting the rising sun. The Singers, who have sung with her all night, will paint the image of the sun on their palms with galena. As the rising sun hits their palms, reflecting off the lead ore, they will place their palms on the girl, blessing her. The initiate, painted with white clay and filled with the power of 'Isánáklèsh, will then bless the community, marking them with pollen and white clay. The four-day ceremonial is completed with a great feast and give-away, symbolic of the abundance that the young woman will have throughout her lifetime. For the next four days, the young woman will remain in quiet isolation with her mentor and the Singer who conducted the ceremony, to reflect upon and consider the significance of what she has undergone.

Many other ceremonies likewise exist within Apache tradition, ceremonies celebrating marriage, aging, menopause, and death. The goal of all these ceremonies remains similar: if individuals live their lives according to proper behavior, living respectfully toward the natural environment and their community, and if they are blessed with the proper ceremonials as they grow, they will reach the status of *saane,* elder. This can be achieved only by following the footsteps of their *'i kek'jagal,* or ancestors.

Inés Talamantez

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Diné; Female Spirituality, Apache; Masks and Masking; Menstruation and Menarche; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Southwest

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Ceremony and Ritual, Arapaho

Arapahos are ancient occupants of the Plains Indian culture area of North America. Throughout history before and after Euro-American contact, Arapaho

culture has been a central and innovative influence in Plains Indian ritual and ceremony. Before the introduction of the horse, the arrival of historical Plains peoples (for example, the Cheyenne and Lakota), and the influx of non-Native people, dispersed Arapaho bands synchronized camp movements with bison migrations, seasonal vegetation, tribal gatherings, and intertribal war and trade. Annual collective rituals, sacred artifacts, an elaborate age-grade system, and a common mythology held the bands together around a core religion.

Arapaho is an Algonquian language, though it possesses a distinct grammatical structure suggesting a long separation from other languages in the grouping. Nevertheless, Arapaho ritual and myth share a deep stratum of forms and elements with other Algonquian cultures, especially Blackfoot, Cree, Ojibwa, and Cheyenne. At another level, Arapaho religion shares many ritual forms distinct to Plains societies.

Arapaho bands probably moved onto the Plains in the distant past, either from the north, east, or northeast in Canada or the Great Lakes region. There is no evidence, however, to establish the time and direction of Arapaho pre-Plains habitation. Before contact with Euro-Americans there were at least five Arapaho subtribes, each with its own dialect and identity (Kroeber 1983, 5–7). One group, called the Rock People, lost its distinct identity in the distant past. Another became the Gros Ventre tribe, now residing on the Fort Belknap Reservation in Montana. Arapaho and Gros Ventre bands split by the late 1700s prior to initial contact with Euro-Americans, though the religious practices of the two tribes still share many elements. By the 1840s the Arapaho bands split into a southern and northern tribe. Today there are two federally recognized tribes: the Southern Arapaho of Oklahoma and the Northern Arapaho of Wyoming. Descendants of the original Wood Lodge or Big Lodge (*Beesowuunenno'*) subtribe merged into both tribes and are still regarded as carriers of the traditions surrounding the care and ritual uses of the sacred Flat Pipe, the eternal center of Arapaho identity, religion, and life.

All sacred narratives related to cosmogony and origins of ceremonies were circumscribed by ritual preparation and enclosure. For the most sacred storytelling, individual listeners had to fast and purify themselves in preparation. Likewise, the narrator had to tell the stories precisely and cautiously. Through these stories, all bands and tribes have long recognized their common identity as *hinono'ei,* translated either as "our people" or "wrong root people" (Anderson 2001, 243–244). The name Arapaho is not indigenous but originated either with a Crow or Pawnee term for the tribe. The concept of "wrong root people" is linked to an Arapaho myth entitled "The Porcupine and the Woman Who Climbed to the Sky," a Star Husband story with many variations across North America (Dorsey and Kroeber 1998, 321ff.). In the story, moon impersonates a porcupine

to entice a woman and a frog up a cottonwood tree to the sky, where they marry moon and sun, respectively. Eventually the human wife of moon ignores the advice of her mother-in-law and digs up the wrong kind of root. Through the hole created she sees her camp and family below on earth. While she is trying to escape down through the hole her husband kills her, but her son, the culture hero named Found-In-Grass, survives to bring all knowledge of culture to the people. As a charter for ceremony, the story shows that one must make a sacrifice for one's kin in order to acquire knowledge and blessings. Many elements of the Offerings Lodge, or Sun Dance, are based in this story, which provided the first link between the above and the earth.

Even earlier in mythical history, the earth and humans themselves were created through an earth-diver cosmogony, common to many other American Indian cultures. During a great flood, the Flat Pipe was alone on the water in a pitiful, lonely state. He called out to all animals and birds to help. After several ducks failed to bring up earth from below, turtle succeeded. From the dirt in his claws, the creator made the earth and humans through the power of the Flat Pipe to radiate all life outward. Again, a lonely and pitiful being acquires blessings from above or below, then shares them with others.

Other sacred narratives recount the origins of the ceremonies of "all of the lodges," described below, and provided charters for proper ritual performance and associated values. Common to all the stories is the motif of an individual alone or separated from the camp who gains some knowledge from an animal or sacred being and then returns the knowledge to the elders, who then use it for the betterment of all the people. Other stories relate the activities of a trickster, called *Nih'oo3oo,* translatable as either "spider" or "white man." These stories, told for instruction to young people, relate the proper limits that should be followed in both ceremonies and everyday life in relations with sacred being, powers, humans, and animals.

Before the early reservation period, Arapaho bands came together from the summer to early fall for communal ceremonies called "all the lodges" (*beyoowu'u*), including the Offerings Lodge (now called the "Sun Dance"), the men's age-grade lodges, and the women's Buffalo Lodge (Kroeber 1983, 153–154). To enter any of the lodges, an individual vowed to fast or make other sacrifices in the lodge in order to promote the life or health of a relative. Then, other pledgers followed with similar vows. All ritual pledges involved sacrificing, fasting, or giving gifts so that life blessings would come to family, band, and tribe.

The age grades and associated lodges functioned to create bonds across different bands among men in the same age set, and to sustain an age ranking system between senior and junior grades. Age distinctions were and are the basis for all order in Arapaho ceremonial and social life. The men's age-grade sequence

began with two grades without lodges, the Kit-Foxes for youths in their mid-teens and the Stars for men in their late teens. Each had a dance performed on the open prairie and a set of regalia to define their membership. When an age set formed from the youthful grades reached marriageable age, it entered and passed through the sequence of intermediate and older grades, consisting of the Club Board (or Tomahawk) Lodge, Spear Lodge, Crazy Lodge, Dog Lodge, and Old Men's Lodge (ibid., 151–158). For each lodge, except the last listed, each man had a ceremonial grandfather chosen from three grades above and an elder brother, drawn from two grades above. The grandfather and elder brother directed, assisted, and instructed the dancers in the lodge. As each age set passed through the sequence, men gained increasingly sacred knowledge and authority in the ceremonies.

Each grade also performed particular roles in military defense, patrolling camps, political decision-making, and ritual authority. The ceremony or lodge marking entry to each grade had its own colors, internal ranking, paraphernalia, body paint forms, medicines, and central sacred being, all of which recognized and emphasized the types of roles men played in them (Anderson 2001, 185–198). The Kit-Foxes and Stars served as servants to the other ceremonies and in day-to-day camp organization. The Club Board Men and Spear Men performed warrior duties in defending the camp, as well as police functions during communal hunts and ceremonies. The Crazy Men were the Arapaho variation of contraries. During their lodge ceremony, the dancers behaved and spoke backward and did "crazy" stunts, such as dancing through fire. The lodge marked the access of men in their thirties and forties to the knowledge and use of medicines. The Dog Lodge marked an age set's transition to military and political leadership. In the Old Men's Lodge, about which the least is known, all men were introduced to the most sacred and powerful knowledge, transmitted in secret. Above all the lodge was a group of seven of the oldest men, who owned the seven sacred bundles needed for directing "all the lodges." Those highest-ranking and most powerful elders became closely associated with the sweatlodge at the center of camp; thus their name translated "Water-Sprinkling Old Men."

The Arapaho name of the women's lodge has never been translated, but the ceremony has come to be called the Buffalo Lodge for the central importance of that animal in the ritual itself and its mythical origins. Young women could pledge and participate in the lodge, though no separate age grading for women followed. The Buffalo Lodge was similar in many ways to the senior men's lodges and the Offerings Lodge. Thus it was regarded as at least as high in rank as the men's Dog Lodge.

Arapaho women participated in ceremonies that did not simply complement or support the roles of men, but rather were crucial to the function of promot-

ing life blessings. Women's power to give birth was considered the first and greatest of human powers. Accordingly, birth was circumscribed by ritual preparation, precaution, and purification, all of which involved primarily feminine agency. Wives were not only identified with the age-grade status of husbands but also provided the food and other exchange goods for all ceremonies of all the lodges. Women were also the primary agents and organizers of many of the most significant childhood life transition feasts or ceremonies listed below (Hilger 1952, 24–43). Upon a death in the family, women also took on the most stringent mourning behavior and sacrifices. For example, a sister or mother could vow to sacrifice a portion of finger for the well-being of the deceased.

The highest expression of women's ritual agency was the sacred art of quillwork, a tradition that involved application of dyed porcupine quills to cradleboards, tepee ornaments, robes, and other ritual gifts, to ensure the life and health of the recipient facing a life transition or difficulty (Kroeber 1983, 64–67). To complete such a project a woman had to seek the ceremonial instruction of seven old women, each of whom owned one of the sacred bundles needed for quillwork. Completion of various ranks and numbers of quillwork objects marked women's life ascendancy, culminating in the seven old women whose rank and bundles were the counterpart to those of the seven Water-Sprinkling Old Men.

Women's ritual roles in the Buffalo Lodge, quill society, men's lodges, and other ceremonies were equally essential to those of men for promoting tribal well-being. Women were the primary organizers and agents for all life transition rituals in early childhood and in the social space of the tepee. The women's lodge and quill society also balanced the relationship between humans and animals, and preserved the most sacred symbols founded in mythical time for ordering the Arapaho worldview and social behavior.

The Offerings Lodge, now commonly called the Sun Dance, is the only surviving lodge ceremony. Most of the lodges and grades had dissolved by the early 1900s, though the Club Board Lodge was performed last in 1931. Government assimilationist policy opposing communal ceremonies, along with deprivation and disease that decimated senior age groups, made it impossible to maintain continuity of age grades and the women's Buffalo Lodge. Although the dance was banned in 1913, Northern Arapahos continued to hold the Sun Dance in secret before the Indian agent allowed them to hold it publicly again in 1923, upon the tribe's agreement that they would perform no piercing. Before the Offerings Lodge was suppressed, some Arapaho pledgers to the lodge had been pierced in the chest with skewers tied for straining to thongs attached to the center pole of the lodge or to buffalo skulls. Although piercing is no longer practiced, pledgers fast for four days and

make individual pledges to perform specific roles. Today only the Northern Arapaho hold the Sun Dance, though it also serves as the main communal ceremony for both the Southern Arapaho and some members of the Gros Ventre tribe.

All Arapaho ceremonies aim to overcome life-threatening situations and then to generate long life for self, family, band, and tribe. When a relative suffers illness or some other hardship, one can make a vow to participate in one of the lodges or in other forms of sacrifice in order to promote life and to discard illness, tragedy, or misfortune. To ensure that children lived long and developed human abilities, families also held a number of small rituals, either in the tepee or in conjunction with larger ceremonies. These included birth itself, naming, ear-piercing, and honor feasts for achievements, such as first tooth, first walk, first speech, or first kill in hunting. Both the cradleboard and amulet bag containing the navel also promoted a long and straight life.

Outside of the lodges, individual men and occasionally women could acquire personal medicines that would give direction to their lives and define their duties to serve others through curing, personal counseling, and rituals. To acquire medicines, men in their twenties or thirties went out to fast on hills, buttes, or mountains, for either four or seven days. Some men never gained medicines, and some others had to try several times. Occasionally, animals or powerful beings also offered medicine to men or women in dreams, day visions, or spirit encounters while traveling. In all instances, younger people sought the guidance of the oldest people to interpret and then use their medicines. In some cases, the receiver rejected the medicine because it was beyond understanding or beyond what the individual could manage for the well-being of his family, for each type of knowledge carried strict proscriptions and instructions for caring for the medicine properly. If one accepted the great responsibility, one had to keep the medicine knowledge to oneself and never use it for harm, lest ill fortune come to one's family.

There were two kinds of medicine for curing illnesses. The first involved knowledge of herbal remedies, along with associated preparations, songs, and modes of application. These could be acquired through visionary experience, or purchased through apprenticeship from the previous owner. The second was very powerful medicine (*beetee*) owned only by the oldest men. This medicine gave men extraordinary powers of prophecy, heightened perception, metamorphosis, and curing or harming others.

To gain life-giving blessings, ceremonies and prayers were directed to a number of sacred beings, including earth, sun, Water-Monster, Whirlwind Woman, Thunderbird, the Four Old Men, and Our Father (*Heisonoonin*) (ibid., 313). One or several beings were petitioned, depending on the ceremony and the age status of the petitioner. Thunderbird was especially central to younger

male age grades, since he is a warrior god, defending the boundaries of the world against attacks and from Water-Monster. Whirlwind Woman was closely identified with the women's quill society, since she originated the sacred art form in the beginning, at the same time that she helped spread the earth out to its current boundaries with her spinning and spiraling motion. Our Father the creator, who sits directly above, was the most powerful and could be addressed only by the oldest men. The Four Old Men, who sat on four hills at the four directions, were called upon, for example, in naming ceremonies, since they represent the four stages of life and in total the desire for a long life for a child or adult name receiver. All rituals involved petitions for long life to the four directions, as well as above (that is, "Our Father"), the earth below, and the center, as in the four and seven numbered order common to other Native American cultures. Each of the four directions is associated with a color, season, stage of life, and epoch in the earth's history. Prayers and actions aimed to totalize blessings in circular space and extend them forward in linear time toward long life. However, powerful beings could also bring harm to family, self, or tribe if ritual actions were not performed properly or if individuals overparticipated in ritual itself.

As camps and bands traveled there were also sacred places of power that people returned to and recognized by offerings. Offerings of cloth, coins, or shells were often left at springs or at river crossings to placate Water-Monster, known for blessings but also for drowning. Other sacred places requiring offerings included trees, fasting hills, stone monuments, and other places marked in memory for powerful events caused by animals, humans, or natural forces. For example, as an Arapaho band passed a stone monument, women often left stones on top in order to pray for the long life of their children.

In addition to the major ceremonies, Arapaho people practiced countless ritual forms in daily life. Eating, praying, smoking, fire-tending, hunting, sunrise, ways of speaking, and many other ostensibly profane activities were infused with ritual proscriptions and prescriptions to maintain proper relations between people, based on age, kinship, and gender, as well as with sacred beings and animals.

There were many changes in Arapaho religious life throughout the reservation period beginning in the 1870s. New ceremonies emerged to replace the loss of most of those in "all the lodges" and to meet the needs of harsh and abruptly changing conditions in reservation life. In 1889, Northern Arapahos became the first Plains Indian society to follow the Ghost Dance (Mooney 1896, 894). Within a year Northern Arapaho followers passed the dance to the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Southern Arapaho. The Paiute prophet Wovoka prophesied a coming apocalypse, removal of Euro-Americans from the continent, resurrection of all deceased Indians, return of the buffalo, renewal of the land to its original

state, and survival for all who performed the dance.

The ceremony of the Ghost Dance itself involved a circular dance to songs specific to each stage, accompanied by leaders' hypnotic movements. All these elements combined to induce visions among dancers about the afterlife and world to come. From those visions, followers acquired direction and their own songs. Most Plains peoples quickly abandoned the ceremony after the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890 and after the prophesied renewal did not happen as predicted in 1891, though both Arapaho tribes continued to perform the dance and retained many of the songs for a number of years. A ceremony known as the Crow Dance, which once accompanied the Ghost Dance, for example, continues today in the Northern Arapaho tribe.

By the 1880s, the Southern Arapahos had acquired the Peyote way from neighboring Kiowas and Comanches in Oklahoma. By 1900, some younger Northern Arapahos had learned about the ceremony from their southern relatives and soon began following the tradition (Fowler 1982, 124–125). The simplicity of the meeting and its performance out of public view at night in a tepee or tent was well adapted to reservation life and less conspicuous to agents of forced assimilation. It allowed younger people a new path for individual inspiration and was practicable with the limited means available on the reservation. Although elders originally met the practice with some concern, they eventually accepted it as long as followers continued to keep the Flat Pipe highest among all religions. Throughout the twentieth century, the Native American Church has gained an ever-increasing following in both Arapaho tribes. A moral code highlighting sobriety, strong family ties, and charity continues to help many Arapahos find solutions to problems of reservation life.

Unlike some other reservation communities, neither Arapaho tribe experienced intense and enduring religious conflict with the Christian missions and associated boarding schools, though of course there were periods of tension and oppressive events. The Catholic and Episcopal missions in Wyoming and the Mennonite and later Baptist missions in Oklahoma drew considerable Arapaho participation. As for the Ghost Dance and Peyote way, both tribes maintained a uniquely Arapaho pluralism combined with compartmentalization. The Arapaho strategy was based on the idea that there are many roads to God but that each must be kept separate from the core sacred traditions. As many outside observers have concluded, the traditional Arapaho religious emphasis on practice over doctrine has helped sustain this pluralism and compartmentalism of ritual traditions, in which the oldest and core traditions endure at the center.

Christian ceremonies were readily appropriated with Arapaho meanings or conjoined with traditional ceremonies. For example, christening became associated with traditional naming practices. Furthermore, the missions offered new

spaces and times for maintaining and inventing ritual traditions, as well as elaborating others. By the early 1900s, the annual Northern Arapaho Christmas week dances at the community halls, though supported by the missions, allowed for maintaining many winter camp traditions, including social dances, speechmaking, and games, as well as the Crow Dance, once associated with the Ghost Dance religion. With the influence of the missions, the war veterans' organizations, pan-Indian traditions, and increasing community solidarity in the face of the tragedies of reservation life, funerals and other memorial ceremonies became much more central in both Arapaho tribes. In general, rather than losing their religion, as assimilationist government policies and missions had intended, Arapahos kept the core ceremonies strong, acquired new forms to meet the needs of reservation life, and defined their own places and times for the Christian ceremonies introduced by the missions.

Apart from those external influences, both Arapaho tribes adapted or invented ceremonies to maintain surviving traditions and support emerging ones. Ceremonies evolved to select tribal leaders and thus resist government-imposed electoral procedures or agent appointments (ibid., 149–151). Arapaho soldiers served in the two world wars, Korea, and Vietnam, and ceremonies addressed their needs and recognized their experiences as a basis for strong leadership in many sectors of reservation life. Today veterans play crucial roles in the Christmas week dances, pow wows, funerals, and all federal holiday ceremonies (for example, Memorial Day, Veterans Day, and Fourth of July). Drum groups, women's memorial organizations, families, and other groups also play significant roles in modern ritual life.

In the contemporary context, Arapaho ceremonial life faces new, unprecedented challenges. The Northern Arapaho continue to ward off the intrusion of commercialization and factionalization of the Offerings Lodge. Compared with other Plains Indian peoples, the Arapaho have been more successful at keeping a single Sun Dance and defending it against the carnival-like dilution occurring on other reservations. Similarly, Arapaho elders have been concerned about the growing influx in the past few decades of pan-Indian ritual traditions, and primarily the sweatlodge, pipe-carrier, and Sun Dance traditions of the Lakota, which have spread throughout Indian country. For younger generations, the compartmentalism maintained by earlier generations is giving way to a freer syncretism among Peyote, pan-Indian, and Christian practices. As in other Native American communities, since the 1970s more and more people have returned to traditional religious practices, and the population has grown significantly, thus placing greater demands on an ever fewer number of elders fluent in both the language and the old traditions. Thus there is an ongoing tension between the need to follow old

traditions and the needs of increasing numbers of young people who want to participate.

Jeffrey D. Anderson

See also Dances, Plains; Kinship; Missionization, Northern Plains; Oral Traditions, Western Plains; Power, Plains; Religious Leadership, Plains; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, Plains; Sacred Pipe; Sacred Societies, Plains; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Plains; Sweatlodge; Tobacco, Sacred Use of; Vision Quest Rites; Warfare, Religious Aspects

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Ceremony and Ritual, California

Any discussion of ritual or ceremony must begin with adequate definitional remarks. Far from being standard, logical terms, the uses of these terms can differ depending on the context in which they are employed. Here, in an attempt to give a broad overview of the ways in which California Indian communities manifest, embody, and practice their worldviews, the term "ritual" will encompass ceremony. Thus all ceremonies are rituals, but all rituals are not necessarily ceremonial. Therefore there are, for our purposes, two broad types of ritual practice: ceremonial and solitary. The latter tends to occur in two spheres—namely, the individual and the communal. Indigenous California practices generally follow that scheme, with communal solitary ritual being either the individual employment of specific traditions, such as in the veneration of shrines along hunting or trading routes, or the individualized type most often experienced by the religious practitioner in the form of a dream or signs that pertain to her or him only but are not limited across tribal groups to those individuals. In other words, anyone who receives a particular message from the other-than-human realm, though it may follow broad "tribal" patterns, would nonetheless view it as hers or his alone and therefore become bound to certain solitary rituals. Individual communal rituals, then, would be performed by an individual, but in the

same form as is done by other individuals. It is important to note that very few, if indeed any, California tribal worldviews consider the individual apart from the community. Thus, when an individual has a solitary and specific practice, it is nonetheless employed within the context of doing one's part for the good of the whole community.

Finally, ceremonial ritual practice can be said to encompass a very broad range of group activities, from a handful of hunters in a sweat ceremony to large intercommunal, seasonal observances. That pattern is not at all out of step with the general treatment of ritual and ceremony by religious studies scholars, meaning that the categories developed in the scholarly analysis of ritual and ceremony would be no more or less likely to resonate with California Indians themselves than with evangelical Protestant Christians or Sunni Muslims. They are but this: a set of parameters within which these phenomena can be subjected to etic discourse.

The elements of these broad categories, then, are myriad, given the large number of distinct tribal traditions in California. While it would be impossible here to provide an exhaustive account of them all, there are some important aspects that can be said to encompass the ritual character of Native California. Dance, song, and oratory are, of course, important factors in the general study of ritual and ceremony, and they are no less important among California Indians. Alfred Kroeber identified a particularly high level of importance placed on the spoken word in his early discussion of California Indian religiosity, and this is one aspect of that early analysis that has lasted. Speakers and general orations are fairly common in indigenous California ceremony, and, as in many Indian communities, songs and speeches generally coinhabit most ceremonies. As Kroeber also noted, it is important to view the role of the singer or speaker apart from the content of the speech or song. Although these songs and speeches do contain important content, the social role played by a singer or speaker, as well as the act of honoring a person by asking that person to speak or share a song, is at least as important as what that speech or song may "mean" to the assembly. In addition, the process of ongoing ceremonial gathering has a substantial role in social cohesion, much in the way Émile Durkheim identified as "collective effervescence," and the very act of gathering at regular intervals and maintaining a ceremonial pattern over time has emerged in the ritual studies discourse as a key aspect of ritual and ceremony generally.

For Native Californians of the central part of the state, it is this factor that has played an important role in overcoming the effects of missionization. California tribes underwent an intense attempt by Spain, via the Roman Catholic Church, to transform them from "idolaters" into "neophytes" (new Christian converts). Of course, this meant that the Catholic religious system had to supplant the

traditional ones, along with languages, dress styles, marital patterns, and child-rearing techniques. At first glance, it may seem as though a church full of California Indians responding to the priest at Mass in Spanish would signal the end of their "traditional" way of life. However, if ritual and ceremony are viewed through the lens described above, we can see how important relationships, patterns of ritual practice, and traditional thought could survive in the mode of "Mission Indian" lifeways. The Roman Catholic scheme follows a seasonal cycle, with the important aspects of the life of Jesus accented in that cycle. For most California Indians, the seasonal cycle of nature provided the perennial backdrop for the overall expression of their traditional worldview. Therefore, a "missionized" group like the Chumash or Ohlone could maintain a sense of the religion of their ancestors via the cycle of birth, life, death, and rebirth that punctuates the Catholic mythology.

In other parts of the state, where the Spanish Catholic invaders were not as prevalent, there were other efforts to transform the traditional cycle of the native people. In Protestant Christian regions, such as in the Northwest, the religious system was more thoroughly ensconced in the economic one. For Northwestern tribal groups, ceremonies are almost always accompanied by gift-giving, and participants in a ceremony would expect to receive gifts from the person or family sponsoring the ceremony; those participants, in turn, expected to sponsor ceremonies themselves, in which it would be their turn to perform a give-away. In extreme circumstances, mostly in the very far Northwest in what is now Washington state and the western coast of Canada and Alaska, the gift give-away, itself at times taking the form of a purposeful destruction of property, was outlawed by the U.S. government. Large give-aways were also universally discouraged in California, if not barred altogether. This important aspect of California Indian ceremony could easily be maintained, however, via both covert methods (by using white commodity goods, such as staple groceries, blankets, and clothing as potential gifts), and in a more obvious way (by adopting "sanctioned" ceremonies in which gift-giving was appropriate, such as Christmas and birthdays). Songs themselves were also given and accepted as honored gifts, and many of the songs that are sung in California Indian Country today survive because they were passed from family to family as largess.

Dance in California is another very difficult set of features to elaborate on, because of the voluminous amount of differentiation in styles between Native California groups. However, California Indian dance can be seen as differing from the stereotypical dance usually associated with Indians that bear an overt Plains tribal style. In California the dances are often "set" pieces, with dancers having designated positions or movements during the dance. Careful

consideration is made regarding the position of dancers, singers, and ceremonial leaders. That is to say that, in a typical circular dance arena, positions corresponding with the cardinal points (north, south, east, west), zenith and nadir, inside/outside, and so forth, would all be held by particular actors according to role, gender, or status, and movement between and within these areas is significant to the dance being performed. Perhaps the best means to illustrate the various ways in which ceremony and ritual manifest among California Indian communities is to provide concrete examples. Bearing in mind the established categories of personal solitary ritual, communal solitary ritual, and ceremony, I will provide examples from various regions of the state in order to lend some insight into the nature of those practices.

Beginning in the Northwest, the tribes along the Klamath River—that is, the Hupa, Yurok, Karuk, Tolowa, and Wiyot—are linked by a cyclical ritual system referred to by anthropologists as "World Renewal." The cycle consists of about a dozen ceremonies held every year or alternating years and encompassing a wide range of ritual performances, including the White Deerskin and Jump dances. These performances, in addition to their role in fulfilling Native responsibilities to the renewal of the world, also afford the community an opportunity to participate in gift give-aways and to celebrate other community milestones, such as the onset of puberty among young people and any births that may have occurred between ceremonies. These communal rites also include various "first-fruits" ceremonies linked to the cycles of nature and resource availability and locations. Such elaborate rituals aid in the maintenance of the natural world and ensure a continuation of the earth's healthy life.

Although each ceremony is distinct from the others, and there are many local variations upon the details of the ceremony, there are two facets common to all. The first is an esoteric part in which a ritual specialist visits specific sacred sites associated with the prehuman ancestral originator of the particular ceremony and recites formulas regarding that first performance, thereby linking the current one to the first. That is then followed by a public part including the performance of one or both of two distinctive rituals, the Jump Dance and the White Deerskin Dance.

These dances, occurring every day for up to ten days or more, require dance regalia, songs, and steps, standardized by custom, whereby the dancers display wealth items such as dentalia shell necklaces and long obsidian blades as part of their regalia. As the dance progresses, the sponsors of the dance provide more valuables for the dancers to wear or carry. White Deerskin Dance regalia consists of deerhide or wildcat kilts and headgear consisting of wolf fur headbands and caps of woodpecker scalps, in addition to the aforementioned wealth items. The dancers also carry poles with stuffed deer heads mounted at the ends

and draped with white or light-colored deerskins. The Jump Dance regalia is a headdress consisting of woodpecker scalps and long white feathers, along with the ubiquitous dentalia and deerskin or cat aprons.

Other rites were less elaborate, such as the Hupa "first fruits"–style Acorn Feast and First Salmon ceremony, but they are no less important. The Acorn Feast is celebrated in the autumn when the nuts begin to fall from tan oaks, and the First Salmon ceremony when the spring run of fish begins. In their respective ceremonies, the acorns and salmon are ritually obtained and prepared, with various prayers spoken and sacred acts performed. It is not until those prayers and acts are finished that the food is consumed and the gathering or fishing season begins in earnest. Such "first fruit" ceremonies celebrate and give thanks for the acorns and salmon, thereby ensuring the continuity of the natural resources that the Hupa depend upon.

Like the rain forest–dwelling tribes of northwest California, the tribes that call the central inland part of the state home also depend upon acorns for food and a source of meaning. The Pomo dedicate much ceremony to the acorn harvest in the fall, and the Pomo also have an Acorn Festival, the main purpose of which is to give thanks for all the blessings of life and to ask for continued help and power for the coming year. The ritual's form varies from community to community, but it always consists of special songs and dances done in the roundhouse, a semisubterranean structure used exclusively for ritual and ceremony; the Big Head Dance is a central aspect. The Big Head regalia includes a unique headpiece of flexible rods radiating out from the crown to which are attached black and white feathers, forming a large convex pattern. The Big Head is one of the most important power items in the ritualist's regalia.

The Pomo, like most societies, pay particular attention to the human movement through the life cycle, including passing from this world into the next. Before Christian insistence upon physical burial was forced on the Pomo in the 1870s, cremation was the preferred custom. Each village had its funeral pyre area, and specific aspects of the ritual differed from village to village. Generally, though, the dead were cremated face down in order that the spirit could leave the body more easily; they were oriented to the south, because that is the direction the spirit takes when it departs. Some Pomo communities designated a woman to perform the task of burying the remains. A second burning would take place on the grave site at the one-year anniversary, with relatives bringing gifts for those who had passed. In the event of an infant death, the child's bedbasket was either burned or submerged in the river during the anniversary ceremony.

In the far south of California, the Kumeyaay occupied the region on the coast and just inland in what are now San Diego and northern Baja California. Prior to European invasion, the Kumeyaay

maintained Sh'mulq (clan) territories with both summer and winter village sites. While territory was not defined in the same manner as by the Europeans, there is a definite sense of Sh'mulq stewardship over specific regions. A hunter tracking game would be able to travel through other Sh'mulq territories, but settling or gathering plant resources in the region of another Sh'mulq was not appreciated and would undoubtedly result in conflict. Large seasonal gatherings were held in strategically hosted locales where various Sh'mulqs would gather for celebration, gambling, and social interaction. These gatherings, sponsored by important families in the host Sh'mulq territory, were both festive and ceremonial. Depending upon the time of year, large-scale rituals appropriate to the Kumeyaay calendar were held, as well as group puberty rituals for the young people coming of age throughout the region. The key individuals at these events were the ritualists/ceremonial leaders called *kuseyaay*. The predominantly male *kuseyaay* were born to their calling, with certain children being observed early for signs of the innate qualities necessary for that important position. When a potential *kuseyaay* came of age, he was taught the herbal knowledge, prayers, songs, ceremonial duties, and the like by an elder *kuseyaay* who acted as mentor. Inasmuch as the *kuseyaay* were also the healers of the village, that information might take many years to impart. A particular religious leader or healer might gain a reputation, or might "specialize" in a particular healing style or ceremony; that would draw people from other Sh'mulqs, or even other tribes, who would seek out the individual for assistance or advice.

The key aspect, then, of California Indian ritual and ceremony is the varied way these categories manifest in particular regional and tribal circumstances; it is far more productive to view them comparatively from a functional, rather than substantive, standpoint. Each tribal group has its own set of ceremonies and rituals; however, indigenous people everywhere tend to incorporate key aspects into these practices. Nature and the natural cycle of the earth are predominant, but not in a guileless sense of fascination with the seasonal weather forces; rather, it is a sophisticated connection between the logic of that group's particular worldview, the cycles and states of the individual human life, and the life of the community. In addition, the ceremonies and rituals tend to tie individuals to the community, even when solitary rituals are performed. Most California Indians hold the key division in human organization to be the family, with that family being broadly reckoned, encompassing extended and nonblood relations as well as the ancestral spiritual, animal, and elemental realms.

Dennis F. Kelley

See also Art (Traditional and Contemporary), California and the Great Basin; Dreams and Visions; Masks and Masking; McKay, Mabel; Missionization, California; Oral Traditions, California; Parrish, Essie; Power, Barbareño Chumash;

Sacred Sites and Sacred Mountains; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, California; Sweatlodge; Vision Quest Rites

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Ceremony and Ritual, Coeur d'Alene

The various ritual and ceremonial activities of the Coeur d'Alene serve as the means for acknowledging and giving thanks for the gifts bestowed upon the human peoples by the *Amotqn* (Creator) and the Animal Peoples (such as Coyote and Chief Child of the Yellow Root, sometimes referred to as the First Peoples). The rituals also serve as a means for helping care for and perpetuate those gifts, and, in turn, share them with family members in need of assistance. Among the gifts received and shared are the camas roots and huckleberry fruits, venison and salmon meats, and *suumesh* songs (spiritual power) and *my-yp* "teachings" (values). These are gifts that nourish and heal the body and spirit, guide and watch over the young and old, impart essential values and a Coeur d'Alene identity, and provide a means with which to express laughter as well as sorrow.

While the influence of Jesuit missionaries and federal government agents has curtailed many of the former ceremonies, there remains a core of traditional practices continued by several Coeur d'Alene families. These ceremonies include the rituals associated with root digging, berry gathering, and deer hunting, the seeking of a guardian Animal Spirit and acquiring of a *suumesh* song, and the Sweat House, Jump Dance, and Memorial Give-Away. In each instance it is only when human and Animal peoples enter into and maintain a close and respectful kinship relationship with each other that the efficacy of the ceremonies is ensured.

Before any camas or bitterroot is dug, any huckleberries or serviceberries gathered, or a deer or elk hunted, a prayer is first offered. Addressing the Creator and the plant or animal itself, the spoken prayer seeks permission to begin the

gathering or hunt, along with a request for success. After the *pitse* (digging stick) has loosened the soil and the first camas bulb is removed, its blue flowers are placed back into the earth, along with an offering of tobacco or *qhasqhs* (a "medicine root"). When the "water potato" roots are being gathered, an elder will encourage the gatherers to remember those who could not gather; when they finish, they take some of the roots and give them to the elders and children. Before berry gathering begins, an elder will go to the berry bushes and bring a small branch back to a "grandmother" (a female elder). She will eat of the first berries, reminding all of the role of the mothers. In gathering the berries, they are to be "combed out" of the bushes so as not to injure the huckleberry bush. When the berry gathering is completed, a basket of the berries is left in a tall tree as an offering for the Creator. Before the hunter goes out he will sing his *suumesh* hunting songs. When successful, the Coeur d'Alene say that the deer has "offered itself" to the hunter; the hunter will again sing a set of hunting songs at each stage of the butchering of the deer. In all instances, an important teaching is emphasized. Only the amount of roots or meat necessary for the family's needs is gathered or hunted—it is traditional for the Coeur d'Alene to tell their children to be sure "never to take too much."

As with roots and berries, meat is distributed to all those in need, such as the elders, the sick, and the households without a hunter. It is a ritual act that is learned early in life. After a young hunter gets a first rabbit, deer, or elk, he or she will have a feast for all the family members. All will share in the meat except the hunter, to, as the elders say, "remind him of his role as a provider." Just as the deer has offered itself up to the hunter, so too should the hunter offer meat to those in need.

The connection to the animal world and to traditional responsibilities can be seen in the vision questing rituals. From the vision quest, an essential and personal "kinship" with the Animal Peoples can be initiated, the benefit of which affects humans and animals alike. Traditionally, both young boys and girls would go during the summer to the nearby mountains to seek a guardian spirit. Having participated in a Sweat House ceremony, the young person would be under the direction and care of an elder member of the family. He would be instructed to stay at the "prayer circle," a rock formation located at the mountain site, for the duration of the fast. The fast might last from two to as many as three or four days. While not drinking water or consuming food during the fast, the young person might be told to bathe in the lake's waters each day. This would be an act of cleansing and renewal, and an acknowledgment of the important spirit beings associated with Lake Coeur d'Alene. Most of the important fasting sites surround this particular lake, which is located in the heart of Coeur d'Alene country. If the seeker's sacrifice is judged worthy, an Animal Spirit, such as an

Eagle, Elk, or Wolf, might appear and give him a *suumesh* song. That particular Animal Spirit could remain with the individual for his entire life, offering guidance and spiritual protection.

The faster would learn the song associated with his guardian spirit, as well as under what circumstances the song should be used. Songs are forms of prayer that help direct the spiritual power associated with the guardian spirit to specific ends. A song might be intended for a healing, hunting, or gambling purpose. It might be used to welcome a new day or even to bring the rains to help nurture roots and berries, deer and elk. Or the song might simply be intended to be sung for the general welfare and health of family members. In all instances, the *suumesh* song is to be respected and cared for, never used casually or for purposes not intended. It is to be sung during the winter Jump Dances, else the individual be infected with "spirit sickness." If a *suumesh* song is not cared for properly, the guardian spirit would leave the individual and "bad luck" would likely follow. A *suumesh* song is one of the most important gifts that can be acquired from the Animal Peoples, solidifying the kinship relationship between human and Animal peoples.

In the heat, prayer, and song of the Sweat House ceremony, individuals are offered an opportunity to give thanks for the various gifts bestowed and to obtain spiritual cleansing, healing, and "rebirth." Held throughout the year and, for many families, weekly, the rituals of the Sweat House take place in a blanket-, canvas-, or rug-covered doomed structure of willow saplings. A lodge may be from six to ten feet in diameter and built along a nearby creek, or even in someone's backyard near his or her home. The lodge itself is sometimes referred to as "Grandmother," while the rocks are called "Grandpas." After the rocks have been well heated and placed within the lodge, the participants enter without clothing. Typically, men sweat apart from women. After the door is closed the ritual begins with the singing of *suumesh* songs and the saying of prayers. The prayers are directed at the needs of those participating, and especially their families. The ceremony is structured into a cycle of four quarters, with water poured over the heated rocks during each quarter and more songs and prayers offered. The heat generated in the sweat is intense. Sweat cedar or a medicine root might be sprinkled over the rocks, or the root might be rubbed directly onto the sweating bodies of the participants. The acts of smudging and rubbing further help to cleanse the participants. After all the prayers are given, which could take as long as an hour, the participants might plunge themselves into a nearby creek or wash off with water from buckets.

The Coeur d'Alene say that emerging from the sweatlodge is like emerging from the womb of the Grandmother—you are reborn and rejuvenated, becoming stronger to help your people. To sweat is to renew one's kinship with one's

family, and with the *Amotqn*. In addition to the regular sweats, the Sweat House ceremony is held to help celebrate birthdays and, prior to the hunting season, to help ensure success for the hunters. The *suumesh* songs sung during a sweat might also be used to remedy a physical pain, heal a sickness, or seek guidance during a troublesome time. The Sweat House and the *suumesh* songs sung within the lodge are often used to help heal what one Coeur d'Alene elder calls "wounded people,"those individuals who have lost their cultural identity as an Indian, as a Coeur d'Alene, and who might be struggling with alcoholism or drug abuse.

The Jump Dance, also known as the Winter Spirit Dance, Stomp Dance, or Medicine Dance, is held during the height of the winter season and helps to culminate the most important prayers and desires of its participants. Sponsored by individual families, the dance is held over a period of two to three consecutive evenings, from sunset to sunrise. It is the sponsor's responsibility to announce the dates of the dance to the community; to prepare the longhouse, community center, or living room of their home for the dance; and to provide a meal for all participants on the morning following each evening's dance. The longhouse or home within which the dance will take place is prepared by having all of its furniture, tables, and loose rugs removed, creating an open dance floor. Windows are covered with black plastic so as to keep out the light of streetlights and the headlights of passing cars, which could disrupt the dance. Only the dim light of one or two oil lamps illuminates the room. As the participants—from thirty to a hundred men, women, and children—enter the longhouse, they move counterclockwise around the room. They greet each other, hug, and shake the hands of those already present. The members of each family will then gather along sections of the room's wall, with pillows, blankets, and folding chairs that will be used to help comfort the participants between dances. The dancers wear moccasins, with many participants also adorning themselves with medicine scarves, necklaces, or other objects representative of their particular *suumesh*. Each of the dancers who will sing their *suumesh* songs will also bring in a "dance stick" to be used to beat the rhythm of their song. Young men will be stationed at the doors of the room to keep people from entering or leaving once the dance has begun.

Following a welcome and opening prayer by the sponsor, the dance begins. An individual will come to the center of the room and give "heart talk," speaking of the good fortune and challenges his family has had, as well as their desires for the future, speaking from the heart, with sincerity and truth. Once the "heart talk" is over, the individual will begin to sing his *suumesh* song and either dance around the room or remain in the center of it. All the participants are encouraged to dance for their families, moving counterclockwise. The dance step involves a

hopping movement, with both feet together and knees slightly bent. It is said that you can feel the spirits close at hand as the dancers begin to transform and take on the characteristics of their particular *suumesh* Animal Spirit, be it Bear, Deer, Elk, or Wolf. In the past, the most powerful metamorphosis involved the Bluejay. A dancer would fly to the top of the longhouse and out into the night forest. Upon its return, and though still dangerous, the Bluejay would foretell the future and bless the food. Only after being smudged by cedar incense and sung over by a powerful medicine man would the Bluejay become human again.

After the dance leader had finished his song, another participant would come forward with his "heart talk" and *suumesh* song, and the dancing would continue. Each participant with a *suumesh* is expected to sing his song and honor his spirit guardian. To fail to do so could bring on sickness. After a brief midnight break, the dancing would continue until sunrise and a morning meal. The meal might include sandwiches or eggs and bacon, and perhaps some camas root among other traditional food items.

In addition to the overt desire to contribute to the welfare of one's own family and the specific needs of each dance leader, the intense dancing and singing are a way to help vitalize and care for the various plant and animal gifts. When one sings one's *suumesh* song, its spiritual power also contributes to providing good spring rains that will nurture healthy fields of camas and herds of deer and elk. In the heat and exhaustion of "jumping hard" (dancing with strength and vigor), the dancer gives back and helps renew the plant and animal peoples of the world. An essential realization also comes through to the dancer from jumping hard and transforming into his *suumesh* Animal Spirit. The Animal Spirits of one's *suumesh,* a relationship likely acquired during a vision quest, are in fact the same Animal Peoples of the oral traditions. In jumping hard the human is transformed and linked not only to the Animal Spirits of the mountains but also back to the creation time of Coyote and Chief Child of the Yellow Root.

The ceremony of the Memorial Give-Away is typically held a year after the wake and burial of a deceased relative, and it can be repeated for several successive years. Held in a community center or longhouse, the public event attracts friends and relatives of the deceased from both far away and close to home. Following a meal for all in attendance, the give-away begins. In addition to blankets, towels, and cloth, items to be distributed often include many of the personal belongings of the deceased, such as clothing, jewelry, and kitchen or hunting paraphernalia. Before their death some individuals may have also gathered or made special items, such as a favorite rifle, a pair of beaded moccasins, or a beaded bag, all designated for particular relatives to be given out on the day of their give-away. During the give-away, a family member would hold up each article and call out

to a relative or friend to collect the item. As that person accepts the item, he or she would speak of the significance of the deceased person in his or her life. The stories can be of a serious note, with tears of sadness shed, as well as humorous stories, with tears of laughter. The collective stories told throughout the memorial event thus piece together an entire life history, and reiterate the kinship ties among all those gathered. Everyone in attendance receives items that are to be taken home, with which always to remember the person.

The Memorial Give-Away thus replicates important teachings from the creation time. When Bird, one of the Animal Peoples, died, his feathers were pulled out and distributed to all the other Bird Peoples. The sorrow was thus distributed and shared among all the relatives. Then as all the Birds flew away, the burden of sorrow was lifted, and Bird himself was allowed to fly forever. The Memorial Give-Away thus offers a way to express and then disperse the sorrow felt following the death of a relative, as well as the means to renew kinship among both the living and the deceased. In letting go, the deceased person is free to return to the land, to "fly forever." An additional teaching is also evident. Some Coeur d'Alene relatives will openly speak of the deceased as "crossing the waters and going to the mountains to prepare the tipi camp, finding the best berry patches and best hunting places." As the Animal Peoples of the creation time have prepared the world for the coming of human peoples, so too the deceased have gone ahead and prepared the way for the coming of the rest of their family.

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Nez Perce; Dances, Plateau; Oral Traditions, Plateau; Spirits and Spirit Helpers, Plateau; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Plateau; Sweatlodge; Vision Quest Rites

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Ceremony and Ritual, Diné

The Diné (Navajo) are Athabascan peoples who live in the Four Corners area of the American Southwest. The current reservation encompasses a substantial part of the Diné's traditional lands. This area, *Diné Bikeyah* or *Dinétah,* is bounded and defined by four sacred mountains: in the east is Sisnaajiní (Horizontal Black Belt, White Shell Mountain, Sierra Blanca Peak), to the south is Tsoodzil (Tongue Mountain, Blue Bead Mountain, Mount Taylor), in the west is Dook'o'ooślííd (Light Shines From It, Abalone Shell Mountain, San Francisco Peaks), and to the north is Dibéntsaa (Big Mountain Sheep, Obsidian Mountain, Mount Hesperus in the La Plata mountain range)

(Kelley and Francis 1994). Diné religion and the chantways that are part of it are embedded in the land, for it is within the four sacred mountains that Diné have a sense of belonging that is sanctified by tradition and integrated by religion, as enacted in their complex of chantway ceremonies. A chantway is a complex of individual ceremonies or rites, each of which has a separate function for healing, such as dispelling and exorcising evil or attracting the healing power of the Holy People. Each chantway is referred to as a *hatáál,* a word that signifies that the ceremonies are chanted or sung.

Diné religion is very complex and integrative. It combines what in American culture is compartmentalized as ritual, ethics, health, history, philosophy, psychotherapy, music, oral history, scholarship, and ideology. It centers on the concept of *hozho,* which is variously translated as balance, goodness, beauty, and harmony, and on the idea that all beings and all of nature are kin, or *alk'éí:* "those who should be treated with compassion, cooperation, and unselfishness by the People" (Witherspoon 1975, 37). Goodness means productivity, dependability, helpfulness, and cooperation. This difficult-to-translate concept summarizes the idea of the controlled integration of all forces and powers in the universe into a single harmonious world. Hozho is the cornerstone of Diné philosophy and the pillar upon which the chantways are built.

Diné philosophy is also based on respect for all beings and the interdependence of life. The universe, which existed before humanity, is an orderly, all-inclusive unity of interrelated elements. It contains both good and evil, which are complementary yet embodied in each other in an intricate duality. Evil is the absence of control. Control depends upon knowledge. Good is that which has been brought under control. Evil can be brought under control by investing it with holiness. Holiness is distinct from both good and evil and refers to some power that has been manipulated in the quest to establish and maintain hozho. Control is ritual, and by enacting ritual, such as an individual silently saying a prayer, a diagnostician gazing at the stars, a *háátli* chanting prayers or constructing a sandpainting in a chantway ritual, the universe can be integrated.

Powers, animals, plants, rains, mountains, and forces populate the universe. Holy People, *Diyin Diné,* are immortal beings who have hozho, know how to cure, and travel by following the path of the rainbow and sunray. Earth Surface People are *Nihookáá Diné,* created by Changing Woman, *Asdzaa Nadleehé,* the most highly revered of all the Holy People. Holy People taught Earth Surface People the essentials of life and how to live well within the four sacred mountains. Their deeds and the history of the world are recorded in the Diné Bahane', or the Creation Story. That text also records the Diné cosmology, outlines philosophy, worldview, and morals, and lays the foundation for the distinctive origin stories that accompany each chantway.

There are several distinct types of Holy People who populate the Diné universe.

The teachings as well as their history and adventures are recorded in numerous Diné oral history stories and sacred texts. Those texts also explain Diné cosmology and philosophical principles, as well as imparting ancestral knowledge that constitutes a blueprint for how Diné can follow the Beautiful Trail and lead a good life. Principles of reciprocity govern Earth Surface Peoples' relations with these elements. However, Earth Surface People do not always do what is correct. All illness is caused by improper contact with inherently dangerous powers, breach of a supernaturally sanctioned rule, excess, or misfortune. These activities result in disharmony and departures from the normal order of the universe. Harmony, balance, and order are restored through the use of knowledge and the correct performance of orderly procedures in a controlled ritual environment.

Ritual is the active part of any religion, and Diné ritual is simultaneously curative and preventive. Individual ceremonies are subsumed into a fluid system of various kinds of song ceremonies, including curing rites, divination rites, prayer and blessing ceremonies, and other minor sites. Sandpainting is used in most Diné song ceremonies. Song ceremonies are rituals in which a rattle is used, accompanied by chanted prayers. The People utilize prayers and ceremonies as the Holy People have taught them. The complex system of rituals is organized into an extensive system of chantways designed to cure specific illnesses.

Much of ritual is concerned with healing, and since sickness is an uncontrollable, occasional, and unpredictable event, the majority of Diné rituals are initiated only when needed. The Diné have no organized system of religious services (such as a prayer service every Sunday morning), no fixed ceremonial calendar (Saint days), or an institutionalized priesthood. However, ritual is highly contextualized and performed only under the direction of highly trained specialists called hataatli, or "singers." The hataatli knows also the details of the rituals, including chants, prayers, and the sacred text that justifies the ritual practices. He supervises the construction of sandpainting and the use of sacred articles, herbs, and other medicines.

A basic set of song ceremonies are the *Blessingway* group, which are concerned with securing blessings and are prophylactic rather than curative. This can include rituals designed to bless a new home, a girl's puberty ceremony, or Kinaaldá, as well as prayers. A critical piece of art used in Blessingway (and other) ceremonies is the ceremonial basket, or *ts'aa',* often referred to as the wedding basket. The symbolic designs on this basket are an encoded depiction of Diné cosmology, the universe, and the Dinétah.

Enemyway is a group of ceremonies designed to eliminate the polluting effects of improper contact with evils, such war, ghosts, and witches. Evilway chants concentrate on the expulsion of evil and rarely utilize sandpaintings. A third category is Lifeway ceremonies, performed following an accident. Lifeway ceremonies do not utilize sandpaintings.

The fourth and largest set of chantways is the Holyway ceremonies, which concentrate on correcting illness and other problems resulting from improper contact with supernatural forces and excess, while also protecting against future misfortune. There are twenty-four chantways that are further subdivided into more than sixty branches. These chantways are further divided into Windway, Beadway, Big Star Way, Eagleway, Flintway, Hailway, Mountainway, Nightway, Shootingway, Waterway, Windway, Chiricahua Windway, and Beautyway. Each Holyway chant is a framework for coordinating the various details of religious knowledge and has a name and an origin story. Some chantways are fixed, appearing in every chant, while others are distinctive. Some are obligatory; others are discretionary, based on the knowledge of the *hataatli* and a suite of other factors such as the sex of the patient, the specific malady, the time of year, and how recently the ceremony has been performed. Each chant has a basic five-night version that consists of ten to twelve ceremonies. These may be divided into two main groups: (1) purification and the dispelling of evil; and (2) the attraction of goodness, strength, and power. Each section is accompanied by chanting throughout the night (hence the common designation of these rituals as "sings" and of the religious healer as a "singer").

The family of a patient sponsors a Holyway ceremony. Sponsorship involves securing the services of the *hataatli,* paying his fee, securing gifts for his assistance, providing a locale for the ritual, and feeding all that attend the ceremonies. For large chants this may run to a thousand or more people, and the expense can be great. Because of the time and expense and the power of the forces called during the ritual, ceremonies are not undertaken lightly.

A Holyway chant must be held in a hogan, usually in the home of the patient or that of a close matrilineal kinsperson. Curing works by ritually attacking evil and forcing it under control, hence yielding to good.

Today, in addition to the traditional religious and philosophical system, many Diné also participate in the Native American Church (peyotism) and various sects of Christianity, including Catholicism, Episcopalianism, Presbyterianism, and several fundamentalist groups. Throughout their lives Diné search for *hozho* and work to put the world in order when individuals or evil things place it in flux. Diné follow the Beautiful Trail as individuals and as a people. That trail is full of blessings and trials.

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See also Emergence Narratives; Sandpainting; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Southwest

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Ceremony and Ritual, Great Basin

See Cry Ceremony

Ceremony and Ritual, Lakota

A person in Lakota theology is a holistic fusion of spiritual and physical aspects. Ceremony allows one to negotiate the spirit world. This understanding is based on a sophisticated, holistic understanding of the relationships between all things. The mythical White Buffalo Calf Woman has revealed major Lakota ceremonies and their attendant instructions over several generations. The Lakota nation uses seven major ceremonies and a myriad of daily or occasional ceremonies. Each major ceremony, as well as the lesser ones, follows a general form, but the specifics of any ceremony vary widely according to the revelation and received tradition of the ceremonial leader. It would be a mistake to assume that there is a single ceremonial format for any Lakota ceremony. In the Lakota experience, no one can conduct a ceremony unless that person is deeply and personally connected with the Lakota community.

The seven major ceremonies of the Lakota have four major components of structure. (1) The first is the process of preparation and invitation. In this phase the participants have a period during which they make physical preparations as well as performing the spiritual practices necessary to get ready for the ceremony. For public ceremonies, the participants issue verbal, personal invitations to those who will participate by being present and observing the ceremony. (2) The second component of any ceremony is the teaching component. This may be private and precede any gathering. It is more likely to be the oral tradition articulated by respected persons and elders at the time of the ceremony. This involves long orations

Slow Bull, Saliva, and Picket Pin, 1907. Edward Curtis. (Library of Congress)

expressing the teachings and history of the ceremony. (3) The third component of a ceremony involves the symbol of the ceremony. This central action or sign embodies the meaning of the ceremony for the participants. (4) The fourth component is the celebration and the conclusion of the ceremony. During this component the participants will feed guests, often give gifts away to the visitors, and express their thanks for the help of those who came as observers.

The White Buffalo Calf Woman has revealed Lakota ceremonies to us. *Ptesanwin* reveals the teaching concerning how to conduct the ceremony, as well as the philosophy accompanying the ceremony's purpose. These teachings are learned only in connection with the Lakota community and cannot be learned from books. General descriptions of the ceremonies will be used here, but the specifics of the ceremony will not be included. They also are learned in the living context of the Lakota community.

Probably the oldest Lakota ceremony today is the Inikagapi, often named in slang the sweatlodge. The Lakota term actually means "They make Spirit." This ceremony involves participants directly

encountering Spirit. To do this they gather stones, heat them in a fire, and construct a dome-shaped lodge. Participants are naked as they enter the lodge, since it is with their bodies that they encounter Spirit. The heated stones are brought into the lodge, and the door is closed. Participants are in darkness, under a dome, in a circle, with stone in the center, as at the beginning of the visible world. Using prayer songs, statements of intentions and intercessions spread over four segments of the ceremony, the participants are strengthened for what lies ahead of them. That might be a specific ceremony or life itself. A Pipe ceremony takes place a little beyond the midpoint of this ceremony, even though the Pipe comes to the Lakota after the *Inipi,* the ceremony to strengthen one's spirit, has been revealed. At the conclusion, the participants emerge from the lodge feeling at peace and in the state of balance and right relationship with all things, a state called *wolakota.*

The second major Lakota ceremony is the ceremonial way to prepare to see a vision, called Hanbleceyapi. The Lakota term refers to wanting something so much one weeps for it. This is a men's ceremony; some say it was a necessary rite of adulthood, but not all agree. If one seeks a vision, one asks the help of a mentor who guides the candidate through the preparation of the ceremonial objects needed. The mentor also prepares the candidate's spirit and mind for the ceremony.

At the appointed time, two rounds of an *Inipi* usually prepare the candidate. Relatives and the mentor then take him to an isolated location. The place is prepared, the cardinal directions being marked with chokecherry staffs with colored flags for each direction. The site is "fenced" in with strings of tobacco ties: one-inch squares of cotton cloth enclosing a pinch of tobacco and tied with cotton string. A buffalo skull altar might also be present on the west corner. Unclothed, the candidate stands holding his pipe. He may have one blanket for warmth. He is left with no distractions—that is, no food, water, or company for the appropriate length of time, up to four days. During this time he waits for a vision, but it cannot be made to happen.

At the agreed-upon time, the mentor returns to collect the candidate. They complete the remaining two rounds of the *Inipi* and are joined by elders with spiritual experience. The candidate explains all he has experienced during the time alone. The elders will help him understand the meaning of his experiences. If a vision occurs, it may give the candidate certain powers, change his spiritual name, and forecast his future life.

There are visions that are not sought and that yet occur. A vision of the thunders would cause one to become a *Heyoka,* a contrary whose life must always be the opposite of whatever is appropriate. Should he not live out his role, his relatives are at risk of being killed by the Thunders. Another nonvoluntary vision would be that of *Anog-Ite,* Double

Woman, the Spirit of Creativity, normally but not exclusively given to women. If a woman has this vision, she is able to sing *Anog-Ite's* song and is also given the highest level of artistic creativity.

The third major Lakota ceremony of adoption is called, "they sing over those over whom the Hunka staffs are held." This ceremony may be held to adopt a person into any relationship, not only to adopt a child. A person may adopt a sibling, a parent, a grandparent, a grandchild, or any other relationship. The teaching focuses on the obligations of kinship. The central ceremony consists of the adopting family's covering the relative-to-be and then, with prayer songs, revealing that person as the relative being adopted. The adopted one is adorned with an eagle feather if it is male, an eagle plume if a female. A Lakota name is given to this person as well. Both formal and informal forms of this ceremony are considered binding on the relatives for life. Because of the importance of kinship, this ceremony is one of the most significant in contemporary Lakota life.

The fourth ceremony is the acknowledgement of a new Lakota woman, Isnati Awicalowan. The Lakota means: "When she lives alone, they sing over her." Located during the woman's first moon time (menses), this teaching ceremony acknowledges the importance of this new Lakota woman. As she is clothed and made up, she is reminded of her new and powerful status as a Lakota woman. The teachings come mainly from her older female relatives. Some of the teaching is delivered out loud and publicly, while other teachings are secret and whispered to her. Traditionally, she now became available for formal courting. In contemporary times her status as a beloved Lakota woman is manifested in the "give-away" that her relatives have to show their respect for her.

The fifth ceremony is the Wanagi Yuhapi: "They have a ghost." This mourning rite is most often kept by parents whose child has died, but it may be kept by any family who cannot bear to let a deceased relative go. To invoke the ceremony, the relatives ask the help of an elder/mentor. Hair is cut from the top of the deceased person's head and placed in a special container. It is understood that this lock of hair contains the spirit of the deceased person. It is kept in a special place and relatives and friends will visit and talk with the spirit of the deceased. To honor the spirit of the person, the relatives and family must continue the good activities the person would have done. This must be kept up as long as the ghost is kept. Other rules the family must keep include prayerful isolation, emotional stability, prohibition from using a knife, and often, in contemporary times, cutting the hair and wearing black clothing. The ghost may be kept for up to one year, when it must be released. On the appointed day the mentor conducts the release. The mourners are spoken to by elders and esteemed persons. The lock of hair is burned in a fire. This releases the spirit of the deceased per-

Lakota Sioux woman dressed in ceremonial dress, posing in the living room of her home just outside Rosebud, South Dakota, 1996. (Robert van der Hilst/Corbis)

son. A farewell song is sung at this time, and the mourners weep openly. The mourners then "give-away," by feeding those who have gathered as well as by distributing gifts to all—as much as they are able.

The sixth major Lakota ceremony is the Tapa Wankeyeyapi, Throwing a Ball. This is a highly stylized ball game. As a ceremony it is a teaching event. A young woman or women represent the nation. The young woman assists the elder or medicine man who leads the event. With prayer the elder prays with the pipe, constructs and altar, and decorates the ball, which has been constructed out of buffalo hide and is stuffed with buffalo hair. Thanks are given to the buffalo for all her help in our survival. The ball is then taken by the young woman and the elder out to the gathered people. The ball is tossed to the west, and some instruction may be given to the people. The ball is then tossed to the north, then to the east and the south. Lastly it is tossed high and brought back to the elder. The game is

then followed with feasting and the usual talks. This ceremony has not been used for three generations. The current revival of all ceremonies may include this ceremony as well.

The seventh major Lakota ceremony is the Wi Wayag Wacipi, the Sundance. This self-offering is based on the Lakota conviction that the only real offering one can make must come from one's own body. To suffer becomes the offering one makes for others and for the entire people. A year of extensive personal preparation brings one to the four days of the Sundance, usually taking place at the height of summer. A Sundance circle is erected under which those not taking direct part in the dancing will rest. A cottonwood tree, considered the most sensitive tree by the Lakota, is erected in the middle of the circle. It is adorned with effigies of a man and a male buffalo. Streamers of cotton cloth are tied in the branches by the dancers. Ropes are tied to the trunk of the tree. Only the topmost branches remain on the tree. Cross branches of chokecherry are placed higher up on the tree.

After the days of immediate preparation, the ceremony begins with people making their offerings of suffering and prayer. On an agreed-upon day, each dancer's flesh is pierced through with parallel slits. Skewers or eagle claws are inserted through the flesh and tied to the rope already attached to the tree. The dancer is now united to the sacred, and he dances until he breaks the pierced flesh as his offering. Only men are attached to the tree directly. Women dancers will be pierced through the upper arm or shoulder and will be tied to a string of buffalo skulls. She will pull the skulls until she breaks her piercing as her offering. Other participants will make flesh offerings, and the ears of toddlers are pierced to mark them as Lakota and to open their ears to spiritual teachings. Recently Sundance leaders on the Northern Plains made a decision to restrict full participation in the Sundance only to Native Americans. This important ceremony is again a Native American ceremony.

These major ceremonies are encircled with many other ceremonies. Spirit-calling ceremonies are conducted for healing. Pipe ceremonies carry prayers many times a day. Lakotas have ceremonies for arising, taking water, hunting, eating food, marking the changes of seasons, and for every other occasion. Yet no ceremony is seen as religion. The word does not exist in the Lakota language, since this is simply the way Lakotas are to live. They are the Lakol wicoh'an.

All Lakota ceremonies have survival as their goal. Health, spiritual strength, community cohesion, and a strong identity are all supported by these ceremonies. They have been revealed to us Lakota as the way we are to live.

Martin Brokenleg

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Yup'iq; Oral Traditions, Western Plains; Power, Plains; Religious Leadership, Plains; Sacred Societies, Plains; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Plains; Sundance, Plains; Vision Quest Rites

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Ceremony and Ritual, Lakota, Yuwipi

See Yuwipi Ceremony

Ceremony and Ritual, Nez Perce

One important aspect of Nez Perce ritual and ceremonial expression, as a reflection of the recent past, revolves around spiritually maintaining the proper relationships with the land and its fish, plant, and animal populations. Through these rituals and ceremonies the Nez Perce seek, among things, to gain both food and spiritual guidance for the human communities, to maintain the health and vitality of the fish, plant, and animal communities, to ensure an equitable distribution of food to all those in need, and to give thanks for what is received. While the activities of Christian missionaries and the federal government over the past 150 years have modified and in some instances eliminated many of the former ritual and ceremonial practices, a core number are still practiced among the Nez Perce. These include rituals associated with the seasonal round, such as First Foods ceremonies, and rituals associated with the life cycle, such as the seeking of a *weyekin,* or guardian spirit. The ancient term *weyekin* specifically refers to "moving with"; it implies being guided by something greater than the self. The underlying relationship sought throughout these rituals and ceremonies is one of "kinship," in which human, animal, fish, plant, and spirit are in a partnership. When the salmon, for example, are understood and engaged with as kinsmen, both human and fish communities benefit.

There are a number of ceremonies held as part of the subsistence seasonal round. While the reasons for conducting a Sweat House ceremony, or Hitemyekse, are many and varied—such as prayer, spiritual cleansing and renewal, healing, or as a pastime—it is a critical ceremony held prior to and following activities associated with fishing, hunting, and root and berry gathering.

A Sweat House is a dome-shaped, blanket- or canvas-covered structure some six to eight feet in diameter; it may be located in the backyard of someone's home or along a valley creek outside of town. After rocks are heated red hot and placed in the small pit within the lodge, the ritual begins. Men and women will sweat separately from each other. Water is ladled onto the rocks in a prescribed

manner to strengthen the body, while prayers are given in the intense heat. Sometimes songs are included as a form of prayer and purification. A very special and spiritually powerful form of ritual bathing is known as the Mud Bath, or Teméeyenwees (literally, "place of mud bathing"). It is often accompanied with an emetic ritual in which a willow stick is inserted down the throat.

A Mud Bath is conducted in a water-filled pit with the "right type of clay-like earth." Hot rocks are added to the pit, causing the "mud to bubble." In both forms of ritual bathing, the ensuing prayers seek success in subsistence endeavors, asking the elk or salmon, for example, to honor the hunter or fisherman. The hunter becomes "so clean that he is almost invisible" and no longer smells like a human but smells like "Mother Earth." The emetic causes him to be "so light that he runs as fast as deer."

Another ceremony is known as the *Qillóowawya,* literally "rawhide hitting"; it is commonly referred to as "Nez Perce Serenade Songs." Dressed in their finest ceremonial regalia, men would gather in front of the lodges of each man who was about to begin an important journey, such as to battle or to buffalo country to hunt. The men would then sing the unique *Qillóowawya* songs as they beat sticks on the stiff rawhide of buffalo, elk, or deer. No drum is used. Following the song, women would present their male relatives with newly made moccasins and bundles of dried foods, thus showing their support for the endeavor. Because of the dangers involved with such travel, the *Qillóowawya* seeks to instill "good memories of family and friend togetherness," for it may be the last time these men might be seen.

Individual rituals are also associated with subsistence activities. Most common among these are the singing of personal *weyekin* songs, *weyekwenipt.* These are songs acquired in a vision quest or handed down from generation to generation within the family; they are designated specifically for some particular activity, such as hunting elk, fishing for salmon, or gathering roots or berries. Gender roles are extended to these songs, with men singing hunting and fishing songs, while women sing berry and root gathering songs. The salmon fisherman, camas root gatherer, or elk hunter would sing his or her *weyekin* song as a means of communicating with the animal population. The song would be a way to demonstrate one's humility, as well as to honor and respect the salmon or elk. In so doing the implicit desire is that the animal in question would reciprocate by "offering itself" to the hunter or fisherman. The prayer that might accompany the song offers thanks to the animal for sacrificing its body for the welfare of the hunter's family.

Throughout the seasonal round, as each new food becomes available an annual communitywide ceremony, a First Foods ceremony, Ké'uyit, is held. In a community hall, or hosted by a particular family in their home, family and friends would gather to partake ritually

of the newly harvested food, be it salmon, bitterroots, or huckleberries. Along with the honored food, a full meal would be prepared and served. With people assembled, the prepared foods would be placed on a central table; an elder would offer a prayer. The words would convey gratitude for the bountiful harvest. The prayer might also convey certain important subsistence values, such as not gathering, fishing, or hunting too many roots, salmon, or deer, but only what the family needed at the time.

Those assembled would be reminded not to take the biggest deer or first fish seen, for fear of endangering the health of the entire animal population. "We are to hunt, fish and gather not for trophy or the biggest, but for the welfare of our families and to look after the health of the animals. Leave some for our children to allow the animals to continue." After the prayer each person would ritually sip water from a glass, acknowledging the vital role that water plays in the health of all living beings. Then the foods would be distributed and eaten by all the attendees. Strongly implied in the Ké'uyit is the value of redistributing the salmon, elk, and roots throughout the community, so that no family suffers from hunger and all are cared for. With the Ké'uyit completed, the full harvesting of the food would commence.

Two important rite-of-passage ceremonies are directly related to the successes or failures in the seasonal round. They involve the seeking and acquiring of a personal *weyekin,* and the First Food Gathering—celebrating, for example, the success of a boy's first hunting of a deer or a girl's first gathering of roots.

In fasting to seek guidance and spiritual power, a critical relationship with the land and its animal peoples is initiated. In this relationship, a person can acquire a *weyekin,* a specific spirit guide or tutelary animal spirit. Following the proper instructions provided by an elder and the ritual cleansing in a Sweat House ceremony, an individual would go to the high mountains and some other sacred place to seek his *weyekin.* Going without food and water, the individual would fast for two to as many as several days. Humbling himself, the young person prays for his particular needs and the needs of his family. During this spiritual quest a Spirit Being, such as an Eagle, Elk, Bear, or even Cloud, may come to the faster and bestow a vision. The faster may hear a *weyekin* song, and may also be instructed in the proper care and use of the *weyekin.* A song may come at some future time.

In addition to coming as a result of vision questing, *weyekin* can also be passed down from generation to generation in the family, inherited from an elder kinsmen, or even arrive when someone is sick and not deliberately seeking *weyekin.* Once received—and if respected and cared for properly—one's personal *weyekin* would be with that person for the rest of his or her life, helping to protect and nurture the individual. Some songs are intended to be used for curing ceremonies, others for hunting or

fishing success; still other songs are for the general welfare of one's family. A salmon headman, for example, would use his *weyekin* songs to seek permission from the salmon to fish them, to ensure that only what is needed is taken, and to safeguard the fishermen's safety.

When a young person kills his first deer or elk, catches his first salmon, digs her first roots, or gathers her first berries, a First Food Gathering ceremony is held. The gathering of relatives and friends may be a community event, held in a community hall, or limited to family members, held in a residential home. Hosted by the immediate grandparents and elder kinsmen of the young hunter or gatherer, a large meal is prepared for all who are anticipated, along with the particular meat, fruit, or roots just acquired by the young person. A special Sweat House ceremony might also be held for the young person prior to the meal. During the meal, an elder will provide songs and prayer, along with words of guidance to the young hunter, fisherman, or gatherer. These talks could reiterate the proper values to be kept in mind during hunting and gathering, such as "keeping your mind clean." "An animal is looking for [the clean mind of the hunter or fishermen], because it's the animal who chooses you, blessing you, offering itself to you." It is sometimes said that salmon go on a long journey only to come back bearing gifts for people when they are respected and honored by the people. The hunter is cautioned against hunting for "trophy" or personal status, being encouraged to hunt only for what is needed by the family. Words of thanks to the animal, fish, or root are also offered, and the new role of the young is acknowledged. As the meal is served and consumed, all will partake of the foods except the young hunter or gatherer. In abstaining from the meat of the newly caught salmon or newly shot deer, for example, the new role of the fisherman or hunter is established and reiterated to the young person. He or she is now a provider for the others within his or her family, not seeking to kill for personal reasons but to look after the needs of others. "As a hunter his work is honorable work." The entire ceremony thus also emphasizes the role and importance of the traditional foods for Nez Perce families.

One other rite-of-passage ceremony, the Marriage Trade, or Misqóoyit (literally "wedding trade"), reiterates the close association each individual has with the foods and activities of the seasonal round. This ceremony occurs when two people begin their lives together in marriage. It is initiated when the family of the bridegroom selects an elder of the family to go and speak on his behalf before the bride's family. The elder explains to the family of the potential bride the particular personality qualities and skills of the young man. If the young man is a proficient hunter or fisherman, as well as industrious and a hard worker, approval of the marriage would likely be granted. In the actual trade, food exchanges are made between the relatives of the two

families. The wedding trade typically focuses on the female relatives of the two families, but occasionally the male relatives are involved as well. The items themselves are called, *misqoyíit'as* (literally, "wedding trade items"). These items include corn husk bags with dried *qáaws* (cous) and *qém'es* (camas). Dried fish and meats are also included as trade items, as well as hides and other useful items. In contemporary times, blankets and cookware are also included.

Josiah Blackeagle Pinkham and Rodney Frey

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Coeur d'Alene; Ceremony and Ritual, Nez Perce; Dances, Plateau; Oral Traditions, Plateau; Spirits and Spirit Helpers, Plateau; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Plateau; Sweatlodge; Vision Quest Rites

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Ceremony and Ritual, Northwest

Northwest native peoples honored all the members of their world throughout the year. Events in the life cycle of plants, especially berries, of animals, especially salmon, and of humans, especially children, were duly observed. Since salmon and cedar were the hallmarks and mainstays of these societies, both figured in mythology and ritual. Salmon beings lived in their own towns beyond the horizon on the ocean. There they taught a disrespectful child how to welcome each new run of a salmon species properly, with a ritual much like that for welcoming a visit from an esteemed chief. Cedar itself taught basket making to a handicapped girl and sacrificed its flesh for planks with many uses. Each stage in any manufacturing process involved ritual prayers, guarded dicta (spells), and offerings. When a canoe was carved from a log, the carver and his wife treated the craft as their newborn, hosting a naming feast to provide it with an identity and stability.

The culmination of these many and varied ceremonies, throughout the Northwest, was the all-inclusive event

Potlatch dancers, Klinkwan Village, Alaska, 1904. (Corbis)

known as the Potlatch, from a Nootkan word meaning "to give," a deliberately ironic understatement for this lavish give-away. Each nation along the coast had its own forms and traditions, as can be seen by contrasting the elaborations of that of British Columbia's Tsimshian high chief (whose title was Ligeex) during the 1800s with that of the Lushootseed Salishans of Washington state.

Tsimshian Potlatch

Unlike other nations of the Northwest, nine coast Tsimshian towns wintered together for a thousand years, hosting feasts and potlatches that relied on the foods each had amassed during summers spent in their home territories. A few chiefs held primary positions that enabled them to initiate certain activities, events, and memberships. After centuries of careful planning, the holder of the chiefly Eagle name-title of Ligeex rose to the forefront of the Tsimshians. His resource base was the entire Skeena River, a major thoroughfare into the fur-rich interior and spring runs of candlefish, whose oil was the basis of Tsimshian trade.

Ever ready to benefit from novel conditions, Ligeex's forces once arrived outside an upriver town. There Ligeex paraded along the shore with the first umbrella, using it to lure the townspeople into an ambush. Although the attack was brutal, victory was undecided. Eventually, Ligeex and his advisors decided instead to rely on potlatches, feasts, and marriages arranged through his daughter-in-law and other relatives to form alliances to strengthen and enforce his apical rank.

About 1866, the man known as Old Ligeex hosted his greatest potlatch, supposedly distributing goods that were given to him by the Hudson's Bay Company in exchange for giving up his trade monopoly of the Skeena. These fur traders wisely decided to pay off the chief instead of fighting him for access to these upriver furs. Ligeex fed his Eagle kin at a preliminary feast, then announced a date for the main event a year away. Eagle families offered to help and suggested which members should be named, elevated, or confirmed in higher ranks at the potlatch, since the audience served to witness those life changes. Next, he held a feast for members of his father's Raven crest to ask their help and

to assign each one certain tasks, such as announcing, organizing, contributing particular foods, or commissioning some carving.

Meanwhile Ligeex continued to amass foods and gifts. To broadcast the date, tribesmen were sent as messengers—accompanied by a lesser chief, so the other chiefs would not feel slighted—to invite other towns and tribes. Arriving in front of the town, the lower-ranking chief stood in the bow of the canoe, wearing a Chilkat robe, shaking his raven rattle, and singing a song to the accompaniment of hidden whistles. He called out the name of the town chief three times, inviting him (and his people) to the potlatch. The fourth time, the chief responded by sending a messenger to the beach to invite the visitors into his house. He fed them and gave them gifts to take back to Ligeex.

The chiefs of each town assembled their families and advisors and were paddled by slaves or supporters to Ligeex's town. There each canoe floated in front of the beach until Ligeex's sister and other ranking women came down to greet them by dancing and singing. The sister, wearing a mask, acted as though she were grabbing one of Ligeex's wonder powers, called All Calm Heavens, from the air and throwing it toward the guests. The arriving chief acted as though he had caught it (in the form of a shiny quartz crystal), wrestled with it, then threw it back to the sister. The canoes then beached, and the guests were welcomed.

Inside the house, visitors were treated to displays of other names and spirits owned by Ligeex. After this dancing and singing, the guests were well fed. That night chiefs stayed in the homes of crest relatives, and other visitors camped on the beach, supplied with wood and food by the hosts.

The next day, a picnic feast was held on the beach. That night a challenge feast was held, with Ligeex boasting of his fame and belittling everyone else, which was his right as generous host. Guests were seated by rank, and some were singled out to receive huge ladlefuls of candlefish grease mixed with snow rushed from the mountaintops.

Ligeex's people came in dressed for war, with their hair bound up, but they soon scattered eagle down everywhere to indicate their peaceful intent. After taunting songs and overeating, gifts were distributed, accompanied by jokes about the shortcomings of the guests. Every item was counted out while a song was sung, the better to overwhelm the guests with the wealth of Ligeex, inasmuch as most of these offerings came from his very own supply. His personal abilities and network were such that he amassed his own fortune. Many goods had been hidden behind a rear partition, and these were now thrown into the room. Soon the pile was so high that roof boards had to be removed. Ligeex taunted that he had thousands of items, while other chiefs had only hundreds.

A Raven man recited all of the names and histories that Ligeex claimed. Then

Potlatch hat. White eagle down was scattered to ensure goodwill during ceremonies held by the cultures of the northwest coast. It was contained within the potlatch rings hanging from the dancers' hats and released by the erratic movements of the dancers' head. The number of rings signified the number of successful potlatches held, in this case eight. (Werner Forman/Corbis)

all of his copper shields were shown and named. Children of Ligeex's own Eagle crest were brought forward and named. Any pregnant Eagle women were given the names of a boy and a girl to use once the gender of the newborn was known. While the guests relaxed, members of the tribe made a final tally of the remaining gifts. Bundles of sticks represented each group of guests, divided by house and lineage. Quantities also varied by tribe, from most to least, according to a ranking: from the tribe of Ligeex's primary wife to a small group that had converted and forsaken potlatching.

The final day was spent giving out these gifts to chiefs, for the benefit of themselves and their tribes. Speeches of thanks by tribal spokesmen followed, and a last feast ended the event. Then the hosts helped to pack all the canoes as the guests left. A short time later, Ligeex held a feast for the Eagles to thank them for their help. Every man was given some food as a gift.

Ranked Orders

The other distinctive ceremonial institution of the Northwest was a series of orders or guilds whose membership was drawn from elite families. It was most complex at Heiltsuk, on the central coast, where a dozen ranked orders formed a double series; it was only minimal to the extreme north and south, where only one form was known. Tsimshian had four orders, known as "great *halaayt*" (*wihalait*).

Among Tsimshians, these four secret orders were, by name, the *Mitla* (Dancers), *Nuthlim* (Dog-Eaters), *Ludzista* (Destroyers), and *Xgedem Halaayt* (Consumers, Cannibals). The first two orders functioned as secret guilds with initiated members. The last two seem to have been the personal privileges of high chiefs and, as such, had no cult associations. In all cases, however, membership in these orders was a mark of membership in the nobility and the royalty of a clan and town, a true badge of the elite. Royal children, both boys and girls, were

initiated during winter into these orders, with the Consumers reserved for the greatest chiefs, who bore *halaayt* names linking them with Heaven, the eminent being of the Tsimshian cosmos.

An initiate vanished at the sound of secret whistles and supposedly went to Heaven to become "elevated." Later the child returned to town riding on a representation of a family crest. Although this crest was inherited through the mother, the display itself was arranged by the father. Thus the *halaayt* made use of both crest and wonder, mother and father, to create a new identity. For the most important initiations, the help of Ligeex was needed. During the first stage, called *Tsiik,* the father of the child arranged for her or him to be elevated.

In one instance, five children were cared for by paternal aunts until Ligeex arrived and threw his great *halaayt* power into them. Instantaneously they disappeared, ascending to heaven even as their bodies were quickly hidden away by their aunts. Their parents then distributed much wealth to the guests, particularly to Ligeex.

On another occasion, as whistles sounded, a girl was led by her father's sister into the house of Ligeex and formally seated. Ligeex came toward her singing and dancing, but, as he reached her, she disappeared. Previously, special craftsmen had made a big swan that could open its wings and had mounted it on a small canoe. This swan was one of the foremost crests of her father. Ligeex found a young girl to double for the initiate. The night before the girl came back from Heaven, the double was taken out in the canoe with the swan. Early in the morning, warned by blasts of whistles, people rushed to the beach to watch the girl's return from Heaven. Offshore, a huge swan appeared with the girl (actually her double) on its back. The swan floated toward shore, opening its wings, and then suddenly sank out of sight. As the canoe vanished, the girl and paddlers swam underwater and hid behind boulders near the shore.

As whistles came from the hills, Ligeex, wearing a Chilkat robe, went into the forest and came back with the naked girl. Dancing and singing, they visited all the homes in the village before going to the *halaayt* house of Ligeex. Her parents gave away wealth there, and the girl went into seclusion. Eventually the whistles were heard outside her father's house. Ligeex went inside and took the cedar bark rings off the girl. Her father then gave Ligeex many gifts. The girl went back into seclusion, until this removal of the woven rings was performed a second and a third time, after which the girl was free to resume a normal life and play with her young friends.

Members of each order used different gestures and hand signals. A *Mitla*'s right hand was over the heart and left hand was extended as far as the elbow with forearm raised. *Xgedem* held the right hand over the heart and kept the left hand fully extended. *Nuhlim* upraised both hands. Dog-Eaters wore a bearskin robe, dance apron, and rings for the

head and neck woven of mixed red and white cedar bark, while Dancers wore only red rings, eagle down, and paint.

The patron spirit of each order was sent away at the end of the initiation. The highest-ranking member, a chief, danced around the fire; made a grasping motion at the sound of a hidden whistle, to grab the spirit; and finished his circuit. Then he threw the spirit to the next ranking member, who did the same and passed it down to the next lower-ranked member. The last member threw it back to the chief, who danced around the fire four times and hurled it through the smoke hole into the sky. The diminishing sound of a whistle indicated that the spirit was returning to the "cave of the spirits."

Sometimes the assembled chiefs engaged in a power contest that the highest ranking always won. Called *sedulsa,* it began when an important person fell dead at a large gathering. Each chief in turn tried to revive him, but no vital signs appeared until the highest chief came forward and began a cure. As an offering was placed in the fire the house became very quiet, so that the sounds of secret whistles could be heard coming from nearby hills, increasing in volume as that chief's spirit got nearer to the house. When the highest chief greeted it and assumed its power, the corpse revived and the ceremony resumed.

Lushootseed Potlatch

A Lushootseed potlatch was held to mark the giving of names, the removal of a stigma (such as when a daughter was sent home by her divorcing husband or a captive was ransomed), or the death of one chief and the elevation of his or her heir.

Upper Skagit potlatches were held during September, after people had returned to their winter homes with stores of food and before the spirits returned to their human partners in November. Traditional gifts were baskets, canoes, prepared cedarbark, unworked cedar and spruce roots, and mountain goat and dog wool blankets—the most prestigious offerings because they enhanced personal warmth. Sometimes, for the fun of it, a joking potlatch was held, with the men and the women trying to embarrass and amuse each other.

When marine or downriver tribes were invited to a potlatch, guests arrived with their canoes abreast, singing a power song to feign an impending attack. Visiting groups were expected to be small, and these overt displays of aggression were expected and encouraged by the host, who made sure that they did not escalate or get out of hand. Such expressive outlets helped to take the edge off any tensions or hostilities deriving from previous breaches, slights, or conflicts.

For a Suquamish potlatch, a plank house was divided into sections according to the number of groups coming from different areas. The host sent word to these different headmen, inviting them all to come with their people. At the giveaway, gifts went to these leaders, who then (or later) passed them out among their own people, affirming the generosity of both the hosts and themselves.

When a leader arrived, he brought his own family to be seated together in their

section of the house. The announcer for the host called out the famous names of people as they came in, and ushers showed each group where to sit and where to stay overnight. Guests brought food to give to the household that put them up overnight.

Inside a traditional smokehouse, today as well as in the past, members of a tribe or drainage are seated on risers between side posts, ideally occupying the same position in the house as their tribal territory has in the world. Thus a tribe from the southeast is seated in the southeastern part of the house. These worshipers thereby directly link the house and the world with their physical bodies.

When everyone important had arrived, the host began to sing his song. Next he spoke to the people, thanking them for coming, and he began another song. At the end, he gave gifts in the same order in which the tribal leaders had been invited. Anyone else who had joined him in hosting this potlatch then sang his song, and gave his gifts in the order of his own invitations. Only leaders received these goods.

When all the gifts were given out to the chiefs, there was a feast and a "scramble." Proud people did not participate in this grabbing free-for-all because they thought it crass and undignified, but the young and the poor found it fun and profitable. For a scramble or "throw," men climbed onto the roof and threw blankets and other gifts to the crowd below. Everyone tried to grab something without pulling or tearing it. The holder with the firmest grip would then claim it and buy off all the others holding on, to have them forfeit their share. If an old man or woman got hold of a blanket, a strong young man would pull it away from the others until he could give it to that elder, showing proper respect for age. Special poles were also thrown down, each one representing a canoe. One person would pay the others for their share if they firmly held the same stick.

Sometimes a chief would deliberately stigmatize himself to have an excuse for a potlatch. One deliberately came too close to his hearth, so that his blanket caught on fire. When it did, he gave a potlatch to cover the embarrassment and to show people that he was generous.

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See also Dance, Northwest Winter Spirit Dances; Religious Leadership, Northwest; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Northwest Coast and Southeast Alaska

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Ceremony and Ritual, Northwest, Potlatch

See Potlatch

Ceremony and Ritual, Osage

See I^{n}-Lo^{n}-Skah

Ceremony and Ritual, Plains, Omaha

See Sacred Pole of the Omaha

Ceremony and Ritual, Pueblo

Among the twenty-two Pueblo communities of the Colorado Plateau, which covers northeastern Arizona and northern New Mexico, ritual and ceremony are the ways through which the people fulfill a reciprocal relationship with sacred beings. As social phenomena, ritual and ceremony express a group mentality with respect to religious values: even in the myths that account for the origin of Puebloan rituals and ceremonies, these religious actions are conducted in a group setting. This emphasis on taking a collective approach to religious activity places the Puebloan tradition on the opposite end of the spectrum from the Plains traditions, especially those of the Northern Plains, such as the Lakota. This is not to say that the Plains tradition is bereft of any regard for the group, but rather, as Ruth L. Bunzel observes about the Zuni: "Although the Zuni may be called one of the most thoroughly religious peoples of the world, in all the enormous mass of rituals there is no single bit of religious feeling equal in intensity and exaltation to the usual vision quest of the North American Indian" (Bunzel 1992, 480). What is true for the Zuni is also true in principle for all Puebloan communities. In fact, even when medicine society priests go on a retreat to fast and pray, they do so as a group. Furthermore, because of the agrarian nature of Puebloan communities, ritual and ceremony are typically guided by the following of a calendar round, which in turn is characterized by the coming and going of the seasons. Following the dictates of specific solar and lunar events, a different ceremony will be enacted for the well-being of the community. Each ceremony, moreover, although different in content and purpose, will nonetheless be made up of elements that are common to all the ceremonies in the calendar round. That is in addition to rituals pertaining to birth and death.

Reciprocity is the premise on which ritual and ceremony are sustained. For example, taking ritual and ceremony as forms of "prayer," Louis A. Hieb observes that making prayer offerings for the Hopi places an obligation on the sacred beings who accept their gift. More specifically, "making prayer offerings to the kachinas . . . the Hopi 'feeds' them. The kachinas are to reciprocate by feeding the Hopis with rains so their crops will grow" (Ortiz 1979, 580). The Zuni maintain a similar relationship with the sacred beings to whom they refer as *k?apin ?a·ho??i,* "raw people"; these may be not only kachinas but also "rainstorms, bears, deer, . . . or corn plants" (ibid.,

Hopi snake priest with snake in his mouth in the Hopi Snake dance, Phoenix, Arizona, 1899. (Library of Congress)

501). Offerings may include "food," such as tobacco and cornmeal, as well as "clothing," such as prayer sticks made from willow sticks, complete with a carved face on the tip and decorated with feathers and paint. In return the supplicant prays for "a completed path (a life not shortened by an untimely death), old age, waters, seeds, riches (clothing and jewelry), fecundity (children, domestic animals, and game), power, strength of will, good fortune, and daylight" (ibid.).

One could say, in light of the evidence, that the Pueblo communities practice a kind of religious pragmatism. Their rituals and ceremonies keep them focused on the needs of this world, as opposed to worrying about the afterlife. The Hopi, for example, according to John D. Loftin, regard their religious activities as being "concerned with practical, material blessings, such as precipitation, long life, fertility, and good health." Indeed, if the Hopi did not tend to their rituals and ceremonies, then, as Don Talayesva, the author of *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian,* asserted, "Life for the Hopi might end" (Loftin 1991, 36–37). This is far from hyperbole, when one considers that the Hopi religion and Hopi culture are virtually one and the same. The urgency that many Pueblo people feel for maintaining their rituals and ceremonies is expressed by the Zuni. According to Edmund J. Ladd, himself a Zuni and an anthropologist, the Zuni believe that a person who neither attends ceremonies nor participates in any of the rituals would, upon death, be like the lonely little cloud, instead of joining the mass of clouds that precedes a rainstorm (Schaafsma 2000, 18).

The rituals that are actually performed, aside from those already mentioned, include making fetishes, altars, sandpaintings, and (kachina) masks, as well as (kachina) dancing, singing, fasting, road-making, pipe-smoking, emesis, sucking out of sickness, whipping, washing, and bathing (Parsons 1996, 268ff.). The most important ritual, especially among the Hopi and Zuni, is the making and offering of prayer sticks. This ritual permeates the oral traditions of both cultures. Indeed, whenever the people are in need of supernatural assis-

tance, they will compensate the sacred beings with prayer sticks. For example, according to Edmund Nequatewa, there was a time when the people were troubled by a heavy wind that blew relentlessly across Hopiland. The people became greatly concerned when the wind continually blew away the seeds they had planted for food. Consequently, the elders held a council to decide what to do. While they deliberated they smoked their pipes, which meant that they were not simply in council but in prayer. The result of their meditations was the realization that they needed to ask the "little fellows," the Twin War Gods, Pöqánghoya and Palöngawhoya, for help.

Once the Twin War Gods had appeared, the elders explained their predicament and asked for help. The Twin War Gods said they would offer their assistance, then instructed the elders to stay in their kiva and make many *pahos,* or prayer sticks. While the elders completed their task, the Twin War Gods went to Spider Woman and asked her to prepare some cornmeal for them. With their supplies, the Twin War Gods headed for the San Francisco Peaks (where the kachinas live). The elders followed the Twin War Gods as far as the Little Colorado River, where they sat down to smoke their pipes. The Twin War Gods were on their way to where Yaponcha, the Wind, lived in Sunset Mountain, which is also where one could find an enormous meteor crater. Yaponcha lived at the foot of this crater, inside the crack in a large, black rock.

The Twin War Gods went up to the crack and threw in the *pahos,* after which they completely sealed the crack with the cornmeal prepared for them by Spider Woman. Happy with their deed, the Twin War Gods left Sunset Mountain for home. The people were at first glad to see that the tiresome wind had stopped, but as the days wore on they began to notice a serious change in the climate. The air became dry and hot all the time, and not even a wisp of cloud would appear on the horizon. People climbed onto their roofs, looking for the longed-for clouds that would bring the rain, but to no avail. Finally, the elders held another council and decided that they needed to ask the Twin War Gods to return to Yaponcha's home and rectify the situation. The elders once again made *pahos* and gave them to the Twin War Gods. When the Twin War Gods returned to Sunset Crater, they determined that the right thing to do was to remove some of the cornmeal seal. When that was done, a cool breeze began to blow out of the crack, followed by a little white cloud that floated toward the Hopi villages.

This time everyone was pleased. The wind was just right, and all the people were grateful. "Ever since," as Nequatewa tells it, "prayer offerings of pahos . . . are made to the Wind God, Yaponcha, in the windy month of March by the chiefs and high priests of the three villages of the Second Mesa" (Nequatewa 1990, 86–87).

The purpose of humans in the first place, according to Andrew Peynetsa, is

Smiling Sun, a thirteen-year-old Hopi, takes part in the hair-cutting ceremony as he enters manhood, ca. 1955. (F. Roy Kemp/Stringer/Getty Images)

to make prayer offerings to the Sun. In fact, the Sun was forced to destroy three previous worlds because the people could not remember to honor the Sun with prayer offerings. Finally, though, when the Ahayuuta, the two Bow Priests, brought the people to Hawikku during their search for the Middle Place, they built a village. Once they had built their village, they then fulfilled the Sun's purpose for them. As Peynetsa tells this story: "Just as the sun had wanted it /

they offered him prayer meal / they offered him prayer sticks: / This is the way it was when newness was made / and that's why / we live by the prayer sticks" (Peynetsa and Walter 1999, 281–282).

Rituals become most poignant among the Pueblos during the various yearly ceremonies. According to Alph H. Secakuku, the Hopi religion was taught to them by Másaw, the caretaker of the earth on which the Hopi would live in the Fourth World. More to the point, Hopi religion is based on the premise "that all things, living or not, are melded into a great wholeness" (Secakuku 1995, 2). Following the ceremonies in the calendar round ensures that the people will maintain the vital rapport that they have with the land, "which they proudly refer to as *tuuwanasavi*—the spiritual center of the earth" (ibid.).

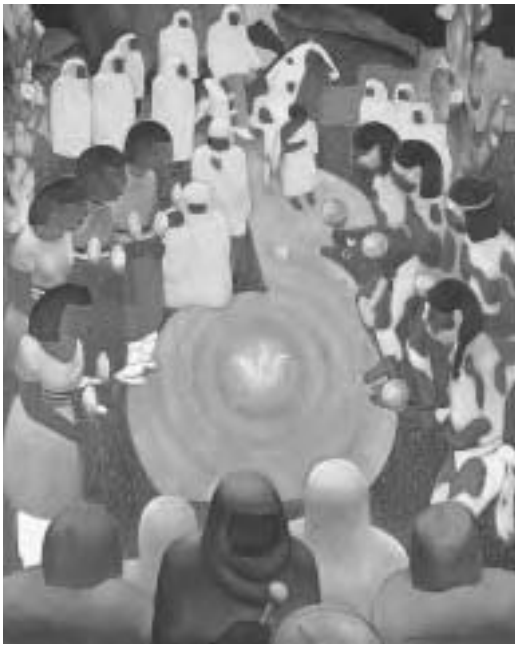
The Hopi calendar round itself is divided into masked and unmasked halves, referring to the kachinas that appear during the first half of the year. More specifically, the calendar round begins in either January or February and ends around July. During these months, the kachinas will appear in the various Hopi villages. "Thus," as Arlette Frigout notes, the kachinas' "presence marks a season extending from sometime in the month or so following the winter solstice to sometime in the month after the summer solstice" (Frigout 1979, 564). The unmasked ceremonies, as clearly implied, cover the complementary half of the year. With respect to the masked half of the year, the first major ceremony, according to Secakuku, is the Bean Dance during Powamuya, which is actually the most complex of all the Hopi ceremonials. Its ultimate purpose is summoning the kachinas "to appear among the Hopi so life for all mankind can have substantial growth and maturity" (Secakuku 1995, 16).

The Powamuya is also the time when children are initiated into the kachina and Powamuya societies (Ortiz 1979, 564). The Powamuya is then followed by the kachina night dances during Ösömuya. The purpose of the kachina night dances is "to create a pleasant atmosphere for all life forms, encourage their growth, and bring all-important rain for their fruitfulness" (Secakuku 1995, 34). Kwiyamuya follows around April, when it is time to prepare the fields for the planting of sweet corn, violet corn, and yellow corn, all of which is protected by the *kwiya,* the windbreaks, that surround the fields of seedlings. It is also during Kwiyamuya that the *Hototöm,* the racer kachinas, challenge young men to footraces. What are at stake are the symbols of fertility, health, and well-being: "baked sweet corn and various breads made of cornmeal" (ibid., 64). Hakitonmuya is the next stage of the calendar round, which is the season for planting beans, pumpkins, watermelons, muskmelons, and gourds. During this time, eaglets are captured and adopted by different clans. They are treated like newborn children and are kept to watch and observe the Hopi people (ibid., 70).

Woku'uyis then arrives as the corn-planting season. Word also begins to spread that there will be a kachina dance. In the meantime, those who are newly initiated into the kachina rituals will gather at their kiva to smoke, meditate, and pray for bountiful crops. The dance then begins at sunrise as the kachinas enter the plaza single file, "bringing gifts of good fortune, virtue, and moisture for all plant life" (ibid., 84). Finally, the kachina or masked half of the calendar round ends about July with Talangva. This midsummer ceremony distinguishes itself as the time of the most intense prayer and meditation. It is also when the kachinas return to their spirit home. Even the eaglets that were adopted earlier will be released. What the kachinas leave in their wake is a land in full blossom. The people's prayers and meditations have come to fruition, testified to by the successful departure of the kachinas for the San Francisco Peaks (ibid., 88–89).

Depending on the ceremony, the entire event will last between four and eight days. In either case, a given ceremony will take place for the most part in two spaces: the kiva and the plaza. Before a ceremony begins in earnest, participants will meet at the kiva (sometimes the clan house) to "smoke, prepare offerings, and arrange the announcement." Once announced, a *ná?ci,* a decorated pole, will be placed adjacent to the ladder that leads into the kiva. From that time on, access into the kiva is strictly limited to those participating in the ceremony. Participants, in turn, will observe sexual abstinence and refrain from eating salt and meat. Inside the kiva, "smoking, singing, praying, and erecting altars" will take place. Apart from the kachina dances themselves, one of the more interesting—and secretive—modes of expression is the altars. These altars, according to Frigout, "consist of vertical slabs, with symbolic or realistic paintings of maize, clouds, lightning, sacred animals, and cult heroes" (Frigout 1979, 570). In front of the slabs are frequently placed *típòni,* or fetishes, which are complemented with a medicine bowl filled with spring water. The most public aspect of a ceremony happens in the plaza (although there are shrines outside of the village that participants may visit). In addition to dancing (both masked and unmasked), participants may deposit offerings "at the *pahóki* or at other sacred places," as well as distribute food or hold races that will "lead the clouds or other benefits of the gods into the village" (ibid., 570). Finally, once the ceremony is completed, participants will sleep in their kiva for four days while maintaining their vows of abstinence. Before they may interact with people again, they must go through the ritual of *ná·vocìwa,* which means "he exorcizes himself." The ritual entails "sprinkling ashes with the left hand on the participant or the ceremonial object" (ibid., 570).

The unmasked half of the Hopi calendar is no less important to the well-being of all. However, instead of the kachinas, there will be the Tala'paamuya, which



Corn Dance, Taos Pueblo, *1934, painted by Norman Chamberlain (1887–1961). (Norman Chamberlain/Smithsonian American Art Museum/Art Resource)*

will consist of alternating years of the Snake-Antelope ceremony and the Flute ceremony. "The purpose of these ceremonies," Secakuku states, "is to bring the last summer rains to insure the maturity of corn and other crops before harvest, and to prepare the fields for the next planting season" (Secakuku 1995, 96). Naturally, this is followed by the Maraw harvest ceremony during Nasanmuya, which happens around September. Only women who have completed their initiation into the Maraw society may dance at this time (ibid., 98). Lastly, the winter solstice season of Toho'osmuya and O'waqölt is marked first by the Lakon ceremony, the second of the important women's ceremonies, and the Basket Dance (ibid., 99).

The Zuni, who also hold kachina dances, recount the origin of these rituals during their migration legends, or *Chimiky'ana'kowa',* "That Which Was the Beginning" (Schaafsma 2000, 163). More specifically, there was a time when the kachinas came from Kachina Village, Kolhuwalaaw'a, to dance among the Zuni people (ibid., 18). The kachinas came because the people wondered what to do to enjoy themselves (Bunzel 1992, 605). When the kachinas brought their dances with them during the summer and winter, the people found them to be both very sacred and very beautiful (Ortiz 1979, 502). In fact, the women found the kachina dances to be especially alluring—so much so that many women actually fell in love with the dancers and wanted to follow them back to Kolhuwalaaw'a. However, since only the deceased can enter Kolhuwalaaw'a, the women who followed the kachinas back to their abode wound up sitting around the lake that served as the entrance. As Edmund J. Ladd describes it, this created quite the predicament for the Zuni people: "They [the women] couldn't come home, and they couldn't go in because their time on earth had not been concluded yet. And so the wise people of our village, the elders, said to the K/apinna:hoi [the raw people, that is, the kachinas], you must leave your image with us but disappear forever, never coming to the village again in human form" (quoted in Schaafsma

2000, 18). Ladd goes on to explain that this story accounts for the origin of the kachina—or in Zuni, *kokko*—mask. Indeed, when the Zuni refer to the kachinas, they mean the mask, the dance, and the sacred being who is represented. From this mythological origin, then, stems an ongoing tradition of mask-making and dancing to impersonate the kachinas (ibid.).

Although kachina masks among the Zuni may be individually owned, the "owner" (who is better described as a caretaker) does not actually create the mask. The kiva to which the owner belongs will do that for him. But one can have this done only after one is properly initiated into the Kachina Society, during which time they are told the story of how the kachinas once came to entertain their living counterparts. Once the initiation is complete and one has acquired a mask, maintaining one's mask is of utmost importance for two reasons. First, one can not participate in any kachina dances without owning a mask. Second, without a mask, one can not enter Kalhuwalaaw'a (ibid., 19). "If a man owned a mask during life," writes Dennis Tedlock, "he may both join the constant dancing at [Kolhuwalaaw'a] and come invisibly to Zuni to 'stand before' the living kachina impersonators" (Ortiz 1979, 507).

With that in mind, Tedlock argues that many interpreters of kachina dancing have gone too far with their claims to the efficacy of imitating the kachinas. More specifically, Tedlock asserts that even the kachinas themselves are impersonators, a facet that is revealed in the mythology. According to the story that Tedlock analyzes, after the kachinas had created the predicament alluded to above (though in Tedlock's version someone actually died each time the kachinas left after dancing), the kachinas came to the people and spoke with them. "'Now, my children, perhaps it shouldn't be this way. It wouldn't be right for us to continue coming. . . . Take a good look at us. We are not always like this.' . . . Two of them set down their face mask, their helmet mask" (Schaafsma 2000, 171).

At this point of the story, not only do the kachinas from Kolhuwalaaw'a reveal their true identity to the Zuni people, but, in addition, during the initiation into the Kachina Society the kachina impersonators reveal their true identity to their initiates. Thus the locus of the kachinas' identity is not in the person, or human form, but in the mask. This is why the kachinas from Kolhuwalaaw'a instructed the people to copy their masks. "You will bring them to life," the kachinas said, "so that when you dance with them, we will still be coming to stand in front of you" (ibid.). In light of this precedent, when a person dons a kachina mask and participates in a ceremony, it is dubious that he actually "becomes" the kachina he is impersonating. In fact, when one dancer was asked whether he felt he was actually a kachina while dancing, he answered: "You don't, really, become one. You imitate, step into it. You make your mask come alive. . . .

Otherwise, a mask is just sitting there, sleeping, till you get in there. . . . You become part of it, but not *really,* because your body will be the same, but just the head, you know, your thoughts" (ibid.).

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See also Kachina and Clown Societies; Masks and Masking; Oral Traditions, Pueblo; Symbolism in Ritual and Ceremony; Vision Quest Rites

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Ceremony and Ritual, Southeast

The Southeast is noted for its large number of sacred sites and ancient ceremonial grounds, all strongly associated with American Indian ritual and ceremony. Many such sites are laid out in rectangular plazas, others have circular plans, and some are built with stone—but only a handful have been thoroughly studied or protected from the bulldozer, ploughshare, and pot hunter. Not one has been reserved for use by Indian people today. U.S. federal courts have never upheld Indians' access to their sacred sites, unless the land was part of a reservation. A survey map of mounds assembled by Swanton for the Smithsonian Institution presents well over 20,000 locations. We can never know how many more lie hidden beneath rising ocean waters or under artificial lakes created by

the Tennessee Valley Authority (as in the case of the ancient Cherokee capital of Tellico in Tennessee). An amateur archaeologist has located more than 500 shell middens of rather recent construction on the southern Florida shoreline alone, while naturalist Constantine Rafinesque found 105 circular temples on the Kanawha River in West Virginia in the 1820s. Moundville in Alabama; Etowah, Ocmulgee, and Kolomoki in Georgia; Mound Bottom and the Narrows of the Harpeth, outside Nashville; and Pinson Mounds on Forked Deer River are a few of the more famous "archaeological parks" that can be visited by the public today.

All such places bear silent testimony to the high degree of interinfluence, advanced social organization, and spiritual refinement in Southern tribes—not to mention their taste for lavish public spectacle. The last mound was built by the Natchez on the Red River in 1728. A little more than a hundred years later, Southeastern ritual and ceremony survived only in Indian Territory, and that in an extremely clandestine and tenuous fashion: one mixed with elements of Christianity and Judaism. Perhaps 95 percent of the region's original ethnicity was already extinct. Today we do not know even the names of the tribes that built most of the monuments.

Descriptions of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, with its fascinating symbols of double axes, woodpeckers, and hands-with-eyes, amount to little more than daring guesswork, subject to a great deal of academic fashion. Despite powwows and other recent tourist phenomena such as cultural centers, American Indians for the most part still practice ritual and ceremony underground—for instance, at so-called inner circle gatherings. Although tribal government meetings may be opened with a prayer, they lack the religious character of old. Few at a powwow could explain why they wear the regalia they wear, do the things they do, or observe certain taboos (for example, never to let a feather fly free and touch the ground). One theory advanced by a Chickasaw medicine man in the television roundtable series "The Native Americans" was this: "When the white man came, most of our people were just waiting for fast food to happen." Not every Indian was a priest or holy man.

The major religious festivals of the Cherokee in the eighteenth century, to take one culture out of many, were as follows. The Spring Festival on the first new moon of the year came first. Everyone in the village celebrated birthdays on that day, having survived the winter and thus become one year older. This corresponded to the busk of some tribes, when villagers threw out their utensils and household fixtures. Fires were renewed and the entire nation "went to water" to dip seven times and be purified. Next was the Green Corn Festival, held about June, when the young corn became fit to taste, an alternative busk time with certain tribes. (Corn is the only world food crop that can be eaten immature.) This was followed in time by the

Ripe Corn Feast, when the fields were in roasting ear. Fourth was the Great New Moon Feast, actually the beginning of the cycle, or Cherokee New Year, still celebrated with great panache today in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, and Cherokee, North Carolina. Fifth was the Ah tawh hung nah, Propitiation, or Cementation, or Friendship, or Bonding Festival. And the sixth was the Bounding Bush, four nights of dancing and sacrifice with "remade tobacco." Additionally, a Great Thanksgiving Festival called the Uku, or Ookan, was held every seven years in the national capital.

The two main types of dancing at these feasts were the stomp dance, originally a communal land-clearing and burning rite, and the friendship dance. On special occasions, such as a peace treaty or the marriage of a chief's daughter, the spectacular Eagle Dance was enacted. A version was incorporated into the choreography of the outdoor pageant "Unto These Hills," a summer attraction at Cherokee.

Other ceremonies included the Black Drink, a purifying ritual, also called White Drink (cassia, cussena, Tihanama *kiyantush*), in which a conch shell full of white, frothy, black-bodied yaupon tea was passed among the men, with an emetic and hallucinatory effect; pipe-smoking rituals (with old, or wild, remade, or ceremonial tobacco, the last a *kinnikinnnik,* or mixture, with sumac, a favorite of the Cherokee); a scratching and bleeding ritual performed by priests with a *kanuga* (scraper with turkey cock spurs) to purify warriors and ballplayers and make them strong; circle visions, or sun dances, in which predominantly young people fasted in an arbor, blew on eagle bone or cane whistles, and found or renewed their life vision; sweatlodges for men and "moon lodges" for women in a log winter house built partway in the ground (*asi* in Cherokee); bonding or marriage ceremonies (a man and woman exchange deer meat and corn under a blanket symbolizing cohabitation, and in the Creek tradition they jump over a fire to mark their new life together); healing, mourning, and coming-of-age ceremonies; and a host of others, now obscure, including trading circles, in which no speaking was permitted, only sign talk. One should also mention all-male (for example, Shalagi Warrior Society) and all-female ceremonies.

The oldest ceremony is the Cedar Grass Honoring ceremony (*achina, lishina apo wanji*), a thanksgiving for fire (*achila*). Cherokee used to insist on seven sacred woods and elaborate rules for building a ceremonial, or sacred, fire. They say that the national council fire kept at Tellico and extinguished by the American soldiers in 1783 sank into the ground and continues to burn. Seven is a magic number for them—seven clans, seven counselors in the council-house, and so forth. Some ceremonies were conducted by a specific clan (always naming and adoption ceremonies). Major dances went all night—and still do at some of the Oklahoma stomp dance grounds. Musical accompaniment was

restricted to the drum (usually a water drum among the Cherokee), rattles and whistles, and flutes being relegated to courting. Ordinary sticks were sometimes used—for example, for mourning songs.

The consecrated circle, arbor, or heptagonal council house is the center of the ceremony ground. Celebrants sit or recline in the sector designated for their clan. Council seats are hereditary, a fact proudly mentioned in stories and protocols. No one may enter with metal or a weapon. Only bare feet or moccasins are allowed, in order to show respect for Mother Earth. Generally, the opening is in the east, sometimes the northeast, as ancient coordinates are about 30 degrees west of today's magnetic north—a trait shared with South American tribes. According to most protocols, entrants are purified, or smudged, often with cedar incense, an abalone shell, and turkey feather. They then walked clockwise at least one full turn, sometimes seven, before taking their proper seats. Traditionally, an intertribal hospitality system ensured recognition of one's clan even in foreign towns or faraway locales. In native understanding, a circle unites the four cardinal directions plus four additional ones, the human dimension, or people, being the last. Circular movement in a clockwise or, "sun-wise," fashion concentrates energy, while the opposite radiates it. Thus in one Cherokee dedication ceremony, the women go one way and the men the other.

To understand ceremonies, a note on time keeping is in order. Natives in the Southeast measured a year by the number of moons, or months, not days or weeks. The Cherokee had names for the months, such as *Gule,* "acorn month," in August–September (when the doves begin to call loudly for acorns), or Strawberry Month in May–June (when everybody took a spring tonic of strawberry juice). Calendar keepers using stone circles observed the summer solstice, or longest day of the year, winter solstice, when the sun rose from its southernmost point on the horizon, and spring and fall equinoxes. These were often times for council meetings, feasts, and trade circles, and today many remnant tribes hold public festivals or gatherings on these dates. In sign talk, a day was a sleep, and a year was a winter. The sun was the day-star and the moon was the evening sun. Most Muskogee considered the sun female and the moon male, but the majority thought in terms of Grandfather Sun and Grandmother Moon. The Pleiades ("the Boys"), Big Dipper ("Bear"), Corona Borealis ("Medicine Bag"), and other stars were followed in the sky in their particular season. Also, the movements of Venus were carefully studied. Years were not numbered as dates but recorded with the name of a memorable event, such as the "year we cried" (1838–1839).

Donald Panther-Yates

See also Dance, Southeast; Green Corn Ceremony; Mourning and Burial Practices; Oral Traditions, Southeast; Religious

Leadership, Southeast; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Southeast

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Ceremony and Ritual, Yup'iq

The central philosophical ideal within Yup'iq ritual and ceremony is that of cyclical return, of rebirth and renewal. Ritual and ceremony are centered on maintaining the proper cycles and recycles of natural, spiritual, and human worlds. They reinforce an ethic of mutual responsibility and establish the rules for relationships between these interactive worlds. Throughout, they demonstrate an emphasis on balance, harmony, and reciprocity. Rituals and ceremonies help to maintain this balance, and restore relationships between people, spirits, and the surrounding cosmos. Songs, dancing, masks, feasts, give-aways, and behavioral restrictions all play key roles in these ceremonial activities. Many ritual activities work to invite spiritual entities, be they the spirit of animals or deceased ancestors, into the community, in order

> *Contrary to non-Native expectation, they [Yup'ik] do not see themselves as merely surviving on the limited resources of an impoverished environment but as living in a highly structured and worthwhile relationship to that environment, a relationship they hope to maintain.*
> *—Ann Fienup-Riordan*

to repair and nurture relationships. Others act to reify a dream, vision, or supernatural experience undergone by an *Angalkuq* (a Yup'iq individual who works as a spiritual leader, healer, and diviner), or to maintain strong human relationships within and between villages. All ceremonies act as a means of giving thanks, directly or indirectly, to *Ellam Yua,* the spirit of the universe. Most rituals and ceremonies take place in the *qasegiq,* or men's ceremonial house. Women enter the *qasegiq* only during these special ceremonial times.

There are several major ceremonial festivals that take place within Yup'iq villages and communities, all of which act to protect subsistence activities and community stability through affirming relationships between the human, spiritual, and natural worlds. In the Bladder Festival, the Feast for the Dead, and the feast honoring animals taken in the hunt (the *Kelek*), ceremonial activities center on inviting the spirits of animals or ancestors to the community, where they are hosted and then returned to their proper homes. By contrast, the Messenger Festival is concerned with reaffirming relationships between the members of living communities and villages.

Nakaciuq, also known as the Bladder Festival, occurs at the beginning of winter, during the shortest days of the year. The festival ensures the rebirth of the *yuit,* or personhood, of animals killed in the hunt. If killed in a proper way and treated thereafter with due respect, the spirit of animals might be induced to return to the community the following year and offer themselves once again as food. When an animal offers itself to the hunter, its spirit retreats to its bladder. Throughout the year, bladders are inflated and carefully stored, awaiting this important festival. In some communities bladders of all sorts of animals are kept: seals, birds, caribou, mice, walrus. In others, only the bladders of seals are preserved. Prior to the festival, the community undergoes days of careful preparation. Men purify themselves in a sweat, followed by a dance and feast. Men may also offer gifts to their wives. Over the next several days, men will carve new bowls, compose new songs, and carefully paint the bladders. Women will make new clothing for all the participants. On the first evening of the festival, all the fires and lights are put out, and the *qasegiq* and its fire pit are cleaned. The

Angalkuq ascends through the smoke hole in the roof of the *qasegiq,* journeying in trance to the spirit land of the animals, where the *Angalkuq* invites them to the gathering.

On the first morning, men are given their new clothes, children's faces are painted, and the new dishes and painted bladders are collected and brought to the *qasegiq,* where they are greeted with a feast and ritual dances. Throughout the days of the festival, from this point on, the *qasegiq* will never be left empty, and fire and lights will not be allowed to go out. For five days the community honors the spirits of the animals present in the bladders, sings for them, dances for them, feasts them and entertains them, offering them food and water.

On the fifth and final day, while in a trance, the *Angalkuq* ritually descends to the sea floor, visits with the sea animals, and affirms the relationship between them and the human community. When the *Angalkuq* returns from this spiritual journey, the story of the journey is re-enacted through dance, song, and masking. On the last night, the *Angalkuq* ascends through the smoke hole in the *qasegiq* once more, followed by the bladders, which are lifted out by the hunters who captured them during the year, an action referred to as *nalugyaraq,* or the "process of pulling up." The bladders are carried to the sea, where five holes are made in the ice, and the bladders of sea creatures, such as seal and walrus, are released back to the sea, accompanied by songs and dances that send them on their way. The bladders of birds and land animals are burned, their spirits released to journey upward. The festival, which might last from five to fifteen days, affirms the transition to a new year, a new hunting season, and the importance of maintaining a respectful and reciprocal relationship with the animal world.

The *Elriq,* or Great Feast for the Dead, which occurs every ten years, and the *Merr'aq,* the annual feast for the dead, also serve as a means of maintaining and restoring relationships between the living human community and the spiritual community. These festivals provide an opportunity for the living to honor and care for the spirits of the recently dead. The Yup'iq traditionally believe that an essential aspect of the individual is carried on within her or his descendents. When children are still young, community members will look for signs of an ancestor's spirit within the new child, and the children will be named accordingly. Names are generally androgynous, as is this spirit of the ancestor that is passed on to the next generation. Hence the spirit of a grandfather might be recognized within a young girl. Named after this grandfather, the girl would be addressed by the man's widow as "my husband"; his children would call the girl "father." The name is thus a recognition of the presence of the particular ancestor within the child. During the Feast for the Dead, namesakes are fed, clothed, and given water to drink. But it is not the namesakes who receive the gift, but the spirit of the ancestor within them.

Prior to both feasts, decorated stakes are placed at the grave sites, summoning the dead to the gathering. A fire and lights are kept burning in the *qasegiq* throughout the ceremonial period. The men sing songs, inviting the spirits into the *qasegiq,* and the spirits move into the communal house, until they rest at the firepit under the floor, awaiting the arrival of their namesakes. The namesakes then eat, throwing food and water into the firepit. Throughout the day-long *Merr'aq* festival, the dead gradually move closer to their namesakes, receiving the gifts offered on their behalf. At the close of the day, they are eventually sent away while the community ritually sings and stomps on the floor.

Elriq, which occurs once every ten years, is a more elaborate version of the *Merr'aq*. The *Elriq* involves a huge amount of goods, and it helps to ensure a regular redistribution of wealth among the village and surrounding communities. Guests arrive for the festival from far-off communities for this extravagant gathering. Because of the expense incurred in hosting such an event, the *Elriq* continually shifts its location, each time hosted by a different local village. The event opens with the singing of *qiatait,* or crying songs. The dead are thus called and welcomed to the gathering. Guests are also welcomed to the *qasegiq,* each giving a gift upon arrival. A feast follows. For five nights the dead are formally feasted and welcomed, and their namesakes are honored on their behalf. On the last two nights the namesakes receive gifts of clothing, food, utensils, carved bowls, kayaks, and so forth. Namesakes can request gifts from the host, which they will maintain possession of, but it is the dead who are the official owners of these objects. On the fifth night, once the gift-giving has been concluded, the dead are called upon to return to the spirit world. When *Elriq* is concluded, it marks the final time that the deceased will be honored and mourned in this way.

During the *Kelek,* the spirits of animals and other natural entities are invited into the community and asked to use their influence to secure a successful hunt and food resources for the coming year. Like the *Elriq* and the *Nakaciuq,* the *Kelek* is also a ceremonial activity concerned with crossing boundaries between worlds. Like the *Elriq,* the *Kelek* is a large intervillage event, each time hosted by another village. Songs are sung to invite the *yuit* of the game animals in question. They are welcomed and embodied within masked dances directed by the *Angalkuq*. These songs and dances have their origin within oral traditions in which a boy or girl encountered these spirits and was gifted with the song and dance that would call the spirits to the community, and through which they would become present.

Prior to the *Kelek,* the *Angalkuq* travels to the moon to request game animals for the following year. The *Angalkuq*'s songs facilitate the journey, and the *Angalkuq*'s spirit guide helps to locate these valu-

able animals. The *Angalkuq* will also complete a journey to the ocean floor prior to this ceremonial time, working to ensure a successful hunt of sea animals for the following year.

The *Kelek* itself is the inverse of the *Angalkuq*'s journey. While the spiritual leader of the community will travel between worlds to visit the spirits, in the *Kelek* the spirits of these animals are invited to journey to the village, to visit briefly with the community. They are invited, and made visible through these masked dances. The *Angalkuq* directs the carving of these masks, which will represent the *yuit* of animals as well as the *Angalkuq*'s spirit helpers, or *tuunrat.* During rituals and ceremonies these masks give their dances supernatural vision, as well as making the spiritual physically manifest to the community. The dances themselves do not simply mimic the movements of the animals in question. Rather, they are considered to be the dance of that animal, the property of that animal, which was given and taught to a human ancestor. The masks will be used only once, as they are considered to be dangerous and must be handled with great care. After they have been danced, masks are destroyed by fire or left out on the tundra to decompose.

Finally, the Messenger Feast, or *Kevgiq,* is another central ceremonial gathering for Yup'iq communities. In this gathering, however, the guests are not spirits but the people of neighboring villages. The Messenger Feast is a celebration of community relationships between villages. Two messengers are dispatched to a nearby village to invite them to a *Kevgiq* sometime in the months to come. Each village responds with lengthy songs that list their requests for gifts, often asking the other village for valuable items difficult to come by. The songs of solicitation that issue these requests are passed back and forth through the messengers. Following months of preparation and gathering of gifts and food, the messengers are sent a final time to fetch the guests. As they make the journey to the village, messages continue to be sent back and forth between the communities. They are finally greeted with songs, entertained, and brought to the *qasegiq* for a feast. When it is time for the giveaway, widows, orphans, and elders have first choice from the elaborate gifts. Individuals perform their songs and dances as the gifts are requested and presented.

The *Petugtaq,* or Asking Festival, is a similar celebration, but one that takes place within the village, and on a smaller scale. Men request gifts from the women. When the women present the gifts at the festival, the men are expected to reply in kind. Throughout the Asking Festival men and women perform comic songs and dances, entertaining each other with lighthearted performances. In both the *Kevgiq* and the *Petugtaq,* the result of the festival is the restoration and continuity of healthy human relationships, as well as the redistribution of wealth and resources.

All of the Yup'iq ceremonial festivals work to ensure not just the survival of the community but also a meaningful survival. Human and animal spirits are kept alive through ceremony, naming, and proper treatment. Gifts and resources are likewise kept alive through circular and constant gift exchange. It is important to recognize that gift exchanges are not for the accumulation of wealth but rather the redistribution of wealth, to ensure the survival and comfort of everyone in the community. Rituals and ceremonies play a central role in ensuring the physical, cultural, and social survival of the communities, as they restore and maintain relationships, teach younger generations modes of proper respect and care, and reaffirm the place of each Yup'iq person within a wider cosmos.

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See also Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Masks and Masking; Oral Traditions, Yupiaq

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Chief Seattle (c. 1786–1866)

Seattle (also Sealth or See-at-la), lived from about 1786 to 1866 in the Puget Sound area of Washington. His father, Schweabe, was of the Suquamish tribe; his mother, Scholitza, was of the Duwamish tribe. Both are coastal Salish nations. Seattle's life spanned the period of transition from traditional indigenous culture to a time of mixed European-American cultures. He blended both religions in his life. He was a convert to Catholicism and promoted daily prayer services in his Native nation. A speech attributed to Seattle outlines his traditional Native religious beliefs and seems to anticipates the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act. He was a military as well as a political leader.

As a young man, Seattle served as war leader after raids by White River Indians. Eventually he united six tribes into a political alliance. When English and other non-Native groups entered the region, Seattle represented his confederacy in political dealings. In 1854, at the age of sixty-eight, he spoke at treaty negotiations with U.S. territorial commissioner (later governor) Isaac Stevens. That is the speech for which he is best remembered. Religious freedom was the main point of the speech.

The content of Seattle's speech is difficult to determine after 150 years. In all records of Seattle's meetings, the U.S. Army reports show only brief sentences attributed to Seattle. Nonetheless, he

Chief Seattle, Angeline, and views of Mount Rainier and Seattle, Washington, ca. 1890. (Library of Congress)

had a reputation as a remarkable orator. A non-Native witness to Seattle's formal speeches, Samuel F. Coombs, describes Seattle as "an intelligent looking Indian who could speak English." Henry A. Smith described his impressive bearing, at six feet tall, and his "deep-toned, sonorous" voice, which carried over a large crowd.

In 1887, Smith finally published the most complete documentation of Seattle's speech to Commissioner Stevens. Smith wrote in the ornate Victorian English style of his time, but the contents appear to be authentic.

Seattle's speech describes indigenous religious practices that contrast to Catholicism. As he presses the commissioner for religious rights, Seattle explains these beliefs in detail. He opens with acknowledgment of the Christian god, who, Seattle states, seems to favor only the European, not the Native. He notes the Christians' need for "written tables of stone." In contrast, he says, "Our religion is the traditions of our an-

cestors." These Native traditions are maintained through instruction from elders and dream visitations from ancestors. Seattle goes on to cite the importance of human remains and their "resting place," which is "hallowed ground." This argument anticipates the Native American Graves and Protection Repatriation Act. In this view, spiritual and physical remains of relatives are connected to specific lands and waters. At these places, ancestors may return to the living "to visit, guide, console, and comfort them." Seattle's entire speech argues for safe passage to sacred burial grounds, so the people can sustain ties with spirit-relatives.

Seattle also describes other religious practices in this speech. Dreams and visionary images are the vehicles for communication, and the elders and religious people are crucial community leaders. Religious experience is heartfelt, rather than text-based.

Spirits of departed people are important in this speech, since they continue to affect the living, even immigrants to the city named after Seattle. They appear especially "at eventide"; at that time of day, people may "greet shadowy returning spirits." These spirits provide continuing power to their descendants.

Seattle stresses the religious importance of land to his people in his speech when he asserts, "Every part of this soil is sacred in the estimation of my people." Every place in the landscape is part of his people's experience, and the story of a "sad or happy event" connects to specific sites, whether "hill, valley, plain, or grove." The soil itself is revered because it is literally composed of his people's "dust," and so "responds more lovingly" to his people's "footsteps" than those of non-Natives. This suggests that the land itself can respond with a "sympathetic touch" to people; it is not an inanimate object. The sacred interaction between humans and the natural environment is an important belief. In 1991, Vi Hilbert, a member of the closely related Upper Skagit Tribe, said in an interview, "Just because it is an inanimate object doesn't mean that it doesn't have life" (Hilbert, 7). So the belief continues.

In 1971, Fred Perry wrote a film script loosely based on Seattle's speech, which was copied in many forms, including the children's book *Brother Eagle Sister Sky.* However, these other versions of the speech show "Indian" stereotypes rather than accurate representations of Duwamish and Suquamish people. The derivative versions simplify the political and religious concerns of Native people to make them conform to the "noble savage" stereotype. Errors appear in Perry's speech, such as a reference to the slaughter of buffalo, which occurred twenty years later. According to the Suquamish Museum, the Duwamish Nation accepts the earliest published version, the Henry A. Smith speech, as the most authentic.

Like the Oglala Lakota holy man Black Elk, Seattle practiced Catholicism as well as his own Native religion. When Seattle died, he was buried "according to the

rites of the Catholic Church with Indian customs added" (Bagley 1931). The great leader and orator succeeded in blending religious practices that fit an emerging hybrid culture that continues to this day.

Denise Low-Weso

See also Black Elk; Ceremony and Ritual, Northwest; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion; Missionization, Northwest; Religious Leadership, Northwest; Repatriation, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Sacred Societies, Northwest Coast

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Christianity, Indianization of

Christianity in its many forms came among Native peoples through a variety of means. The assumption of missionaries was that they would have an impact on Native people. In reality, Native people and culture have had a profound impact on the Christian people and churches that came among us.

Contact with European explorers and early settlers invariably meant that Native people came in contact with some form of Christianity. Probably the earliest contact Native people had with Christianity occurred in the Southwest and interior of the continent, with Roman Catholics and Roman Catholic missionaries. Later, on the East Coast, contact would have been with Protestants. Missionary zeal for Indian souls caused some to kill Native people who did not want to become Christians. In other locations missionaries literally fought one another for rights to Indian souls. This caused embarrassment among the Quakers, who proposed an assignment process for Native nations farther west, and the Quaker Plan was put into effect as federal policy from 1874 to 1890. A single denomination was assigned as the official and exclusive mission to each Native community. Today on Western reservations most residents will belong to one Christian denomination. This does not mean that participation in Christianity is to the exclusion of participation in tribal ceremonies. In fact the unique ability of Native people to tolerate high degrees of ambiguity allows us to participate in seemingly conflicting events with ease. The Native American ability to move between multiple realities gives us the ability to be open to multiple religious realities and not have to demand an exclusive allegiance or exclusive participation. This ability often confused missionaries.

Christianity does not come into Native American communities clean. It is usually in collusion with the governmental officials who seek land or control of Native people. Christianity is also in collusion with education, often being the vehicle of acculturation and alienation from families and communities. Even so, missionaries are influenced by Native people and often advocate for us and behave in sharp contrast to other whites. After the Minnesota-Santee war of 1862, for example, missionaries petitioned President Lincoln to have military court cases reviewed. The result was 39 executions rather than 303—still the largest mass execution in U.S. history. Missionaries who were positively influenced by their relationship with Native people made that effort. Missionaries were the major opponents of a governmental policy of genocide proposed by Benjamin Franklin and others.

Native Christians exhibit profound allegiance to Christianity. Previous to the 1862 war, Dakotas who had converted to Christianity established a utopian community based on the New Testament. No white community in the region had attempted to embody Christian life. The bylaws of the Hazelwood Republic were based exclusively on Christian teachings. Even though none of the members of this community participated in the 1862 war, however, the community was forced to disband. Its members were arrested and removed from Minnesota because they were Indians. The exiles continued their faith in Christianity. The devotion of Native Christians gave them an allegiance stronger than any rebuke.

Native American people learned early on to distinguish the teachings of Christianity from the institution of the church and the white people who did not necessarily live by Christian customs. This practice enabled Native Americans to use the values and ethics of Christianity as reinforcement for our own traditions, and we even adjusted our traditions in light of Christian teachings. For example, among the Lakota retaliation was expected, since it balanced a wrong. Christian forgiveness extinguishes the need for retaliation. That adjustment would not have been possible had Lakotas not been able to see the value of Christian teachings separate from the behavior of white Christians. Christianity has become such an integrated part of some Native American communities that ethnographers state that Christianity might as well be a traditional Indian religion.

In early relationships with a particular Native American community, missionaries depended on specific individuals as interpreters and for advice. The cooperation of the missionary with Native people usually resulted in dictionaries and initial translations of prayers, hymns, and scriptural passages into the local Native language. Bible histories were generated, as were grammar books, theology textbooks, and academic materials for schools. Naturally, that necessitated the invention of a writing system to preserve language and ideas across time and distance. These

materials preserved a high-quality form of that particular Native language and would become educational materials for future generations of Native Americans relearning their language. In some instances Native languages are redefined to include Christian concepts. For example, among the Lakota our term *Wakantanka,* great power, originally referred to an objective force; Christian Lakotas have altered the definition to mean a personage, as in the term "God."

The people who initially provided advice and translations were normally the leadership in their local communities, and they became leaders through the church. Often educated and trained by the missionary, they became significant leaders in negotiating the transition to the reservation. In fact, at a time when no other white institution was interested, the church for several generations raised up Native American leaders. These Native Christian leaders were the new form of the traditional leader, who must always have a strong spiritual base in order to lead properly.

Hymns are probably one of best-known aspects of Christian life. Native people use them in our own unique way. Hymns were translated into local languages in a collaborative effort between the missionary and the tribal people. Native American communities have a long tradition of personal songs, and all Native women and men would have some song they would sing at significant times in their lives. When hymns become available, Native people select one as their personal hymn, much as one would have had a traditional drum song. People will ask to have their hymn sung on important occasions, or the person might sing the hymn at a church service as an offering to the community and to God. In some nations, such as the Cheyenne, a Christian drum song tradition was revealed and remains viable today.

Other traditional customs have become a part of church life. Among prairie peoples there is a long-standing custom of the medicine bundle. This decorated bag contained signs of a person's spiritual experience and power, such as stones from a particular place. In church the "medicine bundles" brought to church would be crocheted or beaded bags to carry prayer books, hymnals, Bibles, and rosaries. The feasting tradition of nearly every Native American community enhances church teaching about Holy Communion, but in Indian country the feast after the Communion service is perhaps more important than the church service—if effort and participation are indicators.

The collusion of Christianity with attempts to change Native American culture and values affected virtually every Native American community for at least two generations. Today many elders feel threatened and act hostilely toward younger Native people who are reconnecting with our tribal traditions. Yet it is Native Christian thinking that provides the theory for validation of the tribal traditions that were demeaned a century ago.

Contemporary Native American Christians have developed a theology that includes tribal traditions. The Hebrew Scriptures have been termed "The Old Testament" by Christians for many generations. Native American Christians see that Old Testament as the history of God's relationship with the Jewish people. But God was also active in Native American communities long before the presence of missionaries. Our tribal traditions and ceremonies are our "Old Testament." They embody the history of God's revelation to us and form the foundation of everything we do as a church. Our oral teachings have the status of printed scriptures. Elders are the learned theologians of Native America. The symbols and themes in our tribal traditions are the groundwork for understanding the teachings of Jesus. If, for example, our traditions teach us to live as good relatives, then our understandings of what Jesus taught are explanations of how to live as good relatives. The self-offering of Jesus on the cross is understood by Lakotas as the offering of a sun dancer. The cross is the sun dance tree.

This process of inculturation is the process by which Christianity clothes itself in the garments of a specific culture, and Native American Christians are engaged in that dynamic now. Native Christians have agreed on which traditional customs express Christianity the best. If a Native nation bathes in sacred smoke to begin gatherings, then that custom is adopted at the beginning of a church service. Drum songs from sweatlodge ceremonies or from the Sun Dance or pipe ceremonies are used instead of hymns. Garments and altar hangings reflect the arts tradition of that particular Native American culture. Holy water will be used for water ceremonies upon gathering. Statuary and wall decorations are the forms from that cultural tradition. Ceremonial movement in church is the circular format of the Native community. Eventually Christian theology will be articulated through the values, symbols, stories, and insights of that Native American community, rather than by Eurocentric theological concepts. Eventually, the Christian church in that Native American community will look and sound like what it is: a traditional Indian religion.

Martin Brokenleg

See also Kiowa Indian Hymns; Missionization, Alaska; Missionization, California; Missionization, Great Lakes; Missionization, Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Reservation; Missionization, Northeast; Missionization, Northern Plains; Missionization, Northwest; Missionization, Southeast; Missionization, Southwest

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Christianity, Kiowa

See Kiowa Indian Hymns

Clowns and Clowning

Throughout much of Native America there is a ritual figure that those in the West find most like the clowns and court jesters of the European tradition. Called *heyoka* among the Lakota, *Koyemshi* among the Pueblos, and *Pe heipe* among the Maidu of California, these figures are simultaneously funny, foolish, provocative, authoritative, transgressive, and subversive. They are inherently self-contradictory and often regarded as the most powerful of medicine people or dancers. They incorporate parts of the roles of teacher, philosopher, editor, ironist, police, doctor, priest, and perhaps others. In mythology, they are often present in the early stages of creation. They are frequently associated with the land of the dead. In some societies, the responsibility of assuming this role is studiously avoided. As a result it is rare that one ever chooses the role. Rather, people are recruited into the role by some form of dream, accident, illness, or selection by an elder.

One may use the term "clown" and refer to what they do as "clowning," but we should remember that the clowns of the Euro-American tradition embody fewer sociocultural functions and meanings than do the traditional ritual or sacred clowns of Native American societies. European and American clowns appear at secular performances such as circuses or theaters (but don't forget medieval clowns and clowning, which was much more sacred and transformative, and the holy fools of Russia). Typically, American Indian clowns appear in sacred contexts. In addition to their own ceremonies, wherein individuals are made into clowns, these figures appear at the ceremonies of others and mock them along with those who attend. At large public ceremonies, they may dance out of step, sing out of tune, and imitate the orations of ritual officiants or political figures. They will dress inappropriately, beg food, give food away, or act the glutton. They use ritual regalia in inappropriate ways, engage in foolish, humorous, or even obscene side-shows, often with respected members of the community, and then assume the role of police and orchestrate the movements of those in attendance. In other contexts they may speak or act backwardly, inverting their meaning, saying "yes" when they mean "no"; they may dry themselves with water and wash themselves with dust, or wear hot clothes in summer and very little in winter.

The Southwestern Clowns

The sociological role and function of clowning is related to the social organization of the society in which the clowns appear. Among the town-dwelling

Diné man bedecked in hemlock boughs and mask of a clown associated with the mischievous rain god Tonenili, "Water Sprinkler," January 6, 1905. (Library of Congress)

(Pueblo) intensive agriculturalists of the American Southwest whose societies are organized into descent groups such as moieties and clans, clowning is most elaborated. Among the hunter-gatherers of the Eastern woodlands and sub-Arctic regions, where society is organized along the lines of age and gender, clowning is least structured.

In the Southwest, where Pueblo society (Diné society is not organized as such) is organized into two units that are mirrors of each other, often referred to as summer people and winter people, so too are the clowning societies organized. We find complementary *Koshare* and *Kurena* societies of clowns respectively associated with summer and maturing plants, and winter and growing plants, at Zia and Laguna, Jemez, and Isleta Pueblos. Zuni and Hopi peoples complicate this pattern, the former with their *Ne'wekwe* and *Koyemshi,* and the latter with multiple clowning societies, including the *Wuwuchim* and *Tataukyamu.*

Although all of these societies engage in some form of buffoonery, they are all also responsible for other matters in different degrees and proportions. In fact, the most common function of the clowns is to serve as a kind of sergeant-at-arms who preserves order even as they undermine it. At Cochiti Pueblo, the clown societies are concerned with fertility, the crops, and communal welfare. At Zia Pueblo they specialize in rainmaking and fructifying the earth. At Laguna Pueblo the clowns cure disease and remove evil. At Santo Domingo Pueblo, they represent men before the deities.

At Zuni, ritual clowning is more formal. There are two groups: the *Koyemshi* and the *Ne'wekwe.* In the first, ten men selected to serve for a year make monthly prayer-stick offerings, attend summer dances for rain, and play at the November Shalako ceremony. Their masks are in the care of a ritual priest. They are held in awe, being most feared and loved by the townspeople. Unlike the *Koyemshi,* who are concerned with rainmaking and who do not cure, the *Ne'wekwe* do effect cures. The former's antics, however, are ritualized; the latter's are improvised. These *Koyemshi* are

considered to be the more sacred and outrageous in their buffoonery, as they are inclined to joke in a sexual idiom.

The ethnographer Matilda Coxe Stevenson describes her observations of Zuni clowns in the late nineteenth century:

> Each man endeavors to excel his fellows in buffoonery and in eating repulsive things, such as bits of old blanket or splinters of wood. They bite off the heads of living mice and chew them, tear dogs limb from limb, eat the intestines and fight over the liver like hungry wolves. . . . The one who swallows the largest amount of filth with the greatest gusto is most commended by the fraternity and onlookers. A large bowl of urine is handed by a Koyemshi, who receives it from a woman on the housetop, to a man of the fraternity, who, after drinking a portion, pours the remainder over himself by turning the bowl over his head. Women run to the edge of the roof and empty bowls of urine over the Newekwe and Koyemshi. (Stevenson 1904, 437)

In her study of Zuni ceremonialism performed in the 1920s, Ruth Bunzel notes:

> The Koyemshi are sacred clowns privileged to mock at anything, and to indulge in any obscenity. They are the most feared and the most beloved of all the Zuni impersonations. They are possessed of black magic; in their drums they have the wings of black butterflies that can make girls (sexually) crazy. In the knobs of their masks is soil from the footprints of townspeople (a widely used love charm). One who begrudges them anything will meet swift and terrible retribution. (Bunzel 1932, 521)

In their study of Mayo-Yaqui clowns, Parsons and Beals identify four different clown groups at First and Third Mesas, and the transplanted Tewa community of First Mesa: a group "who wear their hair like young girls, bunched on each side, or who wear a wig, and paint black around eyes and mouth or red stripes across the face"; a group "who paint in black and white bands with black circles around mouth and eyes and wear their hair in two vertical pokes or horns bound with corn husk"; a group "who wear a knobby cotton mask smeared with red clay with turkey feathers tied to the knobs, and a shabby black woolen loin cloth, hardly a kilt, over their reddened body"; and a group "who wear all kinds of grotesque masks and clothes or appear without masks according to the roles they are for the time being enacting. . . . They are little but comedians or attendants upon the katchina" (ibid., 492–493).

Of the pueblos that have a dual social organization and complementary clowning societies—that is, at Cochiti, Zia, San Ildefonso, Acoma, Jemez, Santo Domingo, and Laguna, as well as both Hopi and Zuni—the *Koshare* type of clown tends to paint in black and white stripes. They also typically wear corn husks in their hair, giving a horned appearance. The *Kurena* type vary a great deal in their appearance.

These clowns, as teachers by misdirection, are not concerned only with internal social and cultural matters. They also burlesque the stranger, satirizing the behavior of Anglo tourists, missionaries, Mexicans, and non-Pueblo Indians who live in the area, by exaggerating what the Pueblos find most distinctive in those persons; they imitate Anglos with their cameras, Catholic priests and bishops with their ritual Masses, Mexicans and their bullfighting, and Diné (Navajo) tribal politicians.

Consistent with the sacred clowns' distinctive characteristic of dynamically embodying opposites within their persons, many of these clown societies have their mythological origins at the time of the creation of human beings, or as the result of some terrible human transgression. At Zia Pueblo, for example, it was both the *Koshare* and the *kwiraina* clowns who led human beings in the second and third worlds. The Zuni *Koyemshi* originate as the outcome of incest between a brother and sister charged with the responsibility of finding a place for the people to live.

In the southern Sonoran desert of Mexico, where the Indian people such as the Yaqui integrated Christianity into their spirituality centuries ago, the clowns appear during Lent and Holy Week. "Wearing grotesque masks and performing ridiculous antics, they run in small groups from house to house through the fields and woods, begging for food, money, or even a few gay flowers to adorn their already brightly painted masks" (Parsons and Beals 1934, 500). These clowns have direct control over the weather and fertility as well as warrior functions. They don't speak and perpetually pray when masked, carrying the crucifix of a rosary in their mouths. They abstain from sexual intercourse and stay with their fellow clowns, who are called Fariseos (Pharisees), Diablos (devils), and soldados del Pilato (soldiers of Pilate), after characters in the Gospels. They, too, imitate other dancers, reverse actions, take fright at the inconsequential, run away, fall down, and pretend to eat filth. Positively, they are "guardians of the image of Christ and act as messengers, wood cutters and water carriers at all small household fiestas" (ibid., 503). They act as police during Lent, being particularly attentive to sexual infractions, and as undertakers.

There are clownlike figures among the Athabascan peoples of the Southwest who moved into the region in the last millennium although their symbolism appears to be derived from the indigenous Puebloan peoples. The Diné have their *nenili* and *djajini,* the Havasupai their *gidji.* All three play pranks and serve as police. The Jicarilla and the Mescalaro Apache, as well as the Pima and Papago peoples, have their clowns, though they are not organized into societies.

California, Northwest Coast, Plains, and Eastern Woodlands

Maidu clowns in California were appointed by the heads of ritual societies and occupied the office for life. They

were distinguished by a necklace of acorns, and by the cane and pipe they carried. During ceremonies they orated, sometimes in a backward fashion, held dialogues with ritual officiants, joked, lied, malingered, simulated fights with imaginary animals, fell into large water baskets, stole, begged and ate food at inappropriate moments, and imitated others. At the same time they acted as authority figures, taking serious roles in some contexts. They were present at the creation in one version of a Maidu myth, and so clowns also announced the beginning of a new day and exhorted the people to get on with their work.

The nearby Patwin people had similar clowns, though among the Pomo and Yuki they were associated exclusively with Ghost Society performances. The Miwok and Yokuts people had clowns associated with Coyote, and the people of southern California had clowns associated with fire.

On the Northwest Coast, in one of North America's richest environments, the sedentary villages of the Kwakwak'wakw, Bella Coola, and Nuu-chah-nulth had their clown societies, which were associated with madness ; clowns worked as attendants and messengers for the Hamatsa or Cannibal Society, the highest ranking secret society. Long-nosed masks were characteristic of these impersonators. The Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian had individuals who acted in either a clownish or jesterlike fashion as well. The Swinomish, Snoqualmie, Snohomish, and Lummi clowns were both police figures and buffoons.

The diversity of Plains Indian cultures presents a similar diversity of clown types. Among the Arapaho and Gros Ventre, Mandan and Hidatsa, sodalities of men approximately the same chronological age such as the Crazy Lodge acted in clownish ways, speaking in the contrary manner and served as healers. Kiowas, Arikaras, and Pawnees all had societies that had clownlike behavior repertoires. The Cheyenne had two contrary societies, neither age-graded, and both were associated with thunder and lightning. The Assiniboine have a Fool's Dance in which the dancers clown in spectacular fashion. All of these societies share a small set of ritual symbols, including contrary speech and action, bird-bone whistles, and the use of red paint.

Among the best known indigenous ritual clowns are the *heyoka,* which appear in all of the Siouan groups. Speaking and acting in a contrary manner, and regarded as the most powerful of medicine people, these clowns are intimately associated with thunder; they ritually transcend the power of fire as they remove meat from a boiling kettle in their own clown-making ceremony. They appear at various social dances. The dress of these clowns varies with locality and vision; some appear nearly naked, though strangely painted, others in ragged clothes including leggings, bark hats, and bark earrings. Lakota also clown at ritual New Year's celebrations for the healing of their relatives, and to bring joy to the community.

On the Northern Plains, the Crow, Blackfoot, Assiniboine, Plains Cree, and Ojibway all had clown societies as well as individuals practicing many of the behaviors characteristic of other Plains contraries.

In the Eastern woodlands, ritual clown behavior emerges in the context of the Haudenausaunee False and Husk Face societies, wherein members recruited by visions wear ragged clothes and masks; they perform cures and beg. Unlike so many of the Plains clowns, however, they do not use contrary speech nor go to war. Among the Algonquian-speaking Delaware people, the Solid Face masks are the analogue to the False Faces. Penobscot and Wabnaki people of Maine had clowns who mediated trade between unfamiliar partners. Finally among the Cherokee we find the Booger Dance, which incorporates clown symbolism.

Becoming a Clown

Although occasionally destined to play fools, clowns engage in very serious business. As such, recruitment into clownship reflects this. On the pueblos, people tend to be clowns for life. They are recruited by having been cured themselves of a malady, having made a pledge, being given to the clown society by their parents, or by trespass by application. Among the Chiracahua and Mescalaro Apache, for example:

> An Apache may stop at some wall of rock in the mountains and sleep there for the night. At that place he has a vision experience. The clown appears to him and offers to lead him to the "holy home" of the masked dancers. He follows. The mountainside opens to admit them. Then he is conducted through four doors, passing four obstacles and entering four separate chambers. Animals and supernaturals of all kinds offer him a great power. Advised by the clown, he refuses all of these, and at the end of the last chamber the masked dancers are waiting for him. Their power he accepts. And spends four nights learning all the details of the ceremony and the designs to be painted on the persons and paraphernalia of the dancers. The clown conducts him back to the door, and then the Apache finds himself awake at the place where he lay down to rest. (Opler 1938, 76)

Similarly, the *heyoka* of the Sioux are also recruited by supernatural means. Insofar as the Thunderbird—a creature living to the west who itself is a series of contradictory powers—is understood to be antinatural, those that dream of him, or one of his messengers, are required to act as clowns and to forestall retribution in the form of illness to themselves or members of their family. Among the far less individualistic pueblo peoples, recruitment into clown societies may be hereditary. This also appears to be true among Maidu people.

Significance, Function, and Meaning

Scholars and others have long speculated on the meaning of ritual clown performances. In the nineteenth century, when an evolutionist paradigm was ascendant, travelers, missionaries, and

soldiers were typically shocked by the behavior of the clowns. Often their descriptions of clowns were in the service of their judgments of the moral and social stage of development of the people they were writing about. With the advent of cultural relativism in the early twentieth century, scholars made a greater effort to understand the significance of clowning. Because most scholars understood societies in functionalist terms, they wondered how clowns contributed to social stability. Notable among the first generation of explanations is the idea that clowns provide comic relief and release from strain in serious ritual circumstances. This might be called the psychological steam valve interpretation. The view is well represented by Lucille Hoerr Charles, who draws upon the psychology of C. G. Jung in her interpretation.

The clown "is a priest . . . performing a rite both in his own and in our behalf. And what is this rite? It is the locating, naming, bringing to a head, and expressing of a psychological element which has been causing trouble in the unconscious; a renegade element, which for the sake of self-integration and further progress in personal living should be brought up to consciousness, released, to a certain extent experienced and consciously related to, and so assimilated into the personality of the beholder" (Charles 1945, 32).

With the emergence of interest in culture as a structured symbolic system, clowns came to be seen as important and privileged figures in both the constitution and subversion of culture as a particular structural and symbolic order. Clowns play a role in the emergence of antistructure, a condition by which the normal relations that organized society were reversed. Freed from the normal constraints on behavior and thought, this is a creative and generative chaos. British social anthropologist Mary Douglas's thinking about jokes is seminal in this approach. "By revealing the arbitrary, provisional nature of the very categories of thought, by lifting their pressure for a moment and suggesting other ways of structuring reality, the joke rite [or clown performance] in the middle of sacred moments of religion hints at unfathomable mysteries" (Douglas 1968, 374).

Clowns then point to the idea and paradox that cultural order itself is a construction. The very capacity to have that insight, however, requires a system of categories of thought and the understanding that those too are arbitrary.

Robert Brightman's analysis of Maidu clown performances takes off from this interpretation and represents the most recent anthropological understanding of the clown's significance: "Maidu clown and other ritual clowns of the subversive cast exhibit the Janus-faced capacity to point both towards and away from received convention, at once legitimizing the cultural order as naturally given and establishing it as artificially contrived" (Brightman 1999, 272). The author goes on to show that performances dramatize

the relationship between conformity and authority and between individual dispositions and the collective life in a society where those issues were complicated by the presence of an underclass that represented an ongoing critique of the status quo. Clowns mediate and translate. Opposites meet within their very bodies. They express the relationships "between inside and outside, self and other, creation and destruction, order and chaos" (Babcock 1984, 120).

Native Interpretation

Native thinking about clowns runs parallel to these more recent scholarly efforts. Morris Opler worked among Apache people in the middle of the twentieth century. A medicine man told him, "People think that the clown is just nothing, that he is just for fun. This is not so. When I make other masked dancers and they do not set things right or they can't find out something, I make that clown and he never fails. Many people who know about these things say that the clown is the most powerful" (Opler 1965, 276).

From the Plains, the Lakota holy man Lame Deer reflects on the meaning of the clowns:

> To us the clown is somebody sacred, funny, powerful, ridiculous, bold, shameful, visionary. He is all this and then some more. Fooling around, a clown is really performing a spiritual ceremony. He has a power. It comes from the thunder-beings, not the animals or the earth. In our Indian belief, a clown has more power than the atom bomb. This power could blow the dome off the Capitol. I have told you that I once worked as a rodeo clown. This was almost like doing spiritual work. Being a clown for me, came close to being a medicine man. It was in the same nature. (Erdoes and Lame Deer 1971, 236)

And finally, Tewa Indian anthropologist, Alfonzo Ortiz (1972, 147) expresses the reflexive aspect of what clowns do: "Of burlesque and caricature generally, it can be said that they best permit insights into Pueblo modes of conception since they reveal what the Pueblos find serious or absurd, baffling or wrong, fearful or comical about life and about other people. When these center about the lives of other people, they can be particularly instructive. The wonder is that this has gone almost completely unrecognized by ethnographers" (Hieb 1972, 147).

Larry Nesper

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Arapaho; Dance, Plains; Green Corn Ceremony; Masks and Masking; Power, Plains; Sacred Societies, Plains; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners

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Crow Dog, Leonard (1941–)

(Spiritual leader/activist, Lakota)

Leonard Crow Dog is a spiritual leader active in the contemporary fight for religious freedom among American Indian nations. During the 1970s he played a key role in the political and spiritual activism of the American Indian Movement (AIM), and was a central player in the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee.

The significance of Leonard Crow Dog's contributions to American Indian Religion cannot be measured without some understanding of the historical conditions that prevailed on U.S. reservations prior to the AIM uprising at Wounded Knee in 1973. The fact that Indians today may observe traditional ceremonies in relative freedom is to a large

American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Russell Means (left) gets an application of war paint from Lakota medicine man Crow Dog just prior to a cease-fire agreement between federal forces and AIM leaders occupying the historic hamlet of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, March 8, 1973. (Bettmann/UPI/Corbis)

extent due to the acts of Leonard Crow Dog and a few other brave men and women who risked their lives to restore basic religious rights following more than a hundred years of illegal repression. Crow Dog's vocation as the most important Lakota Medicine Man of the twentieth century cannot then be meaningfully distinguished from his identity as Sioux warrior, a man who has repeatedly confronted death in the fight for religious liberties that are regularly enjoyed by mainstream society.

It bears remembering that John Neihardt's transcription of "Nick" Black Elk's visions and dreams in *Black Elk Speaks* could take place only after Neihardt assured concerned whites on the Rosebud Reservation that his project was poetic rather than politically subversive. Black Elk himself lived an ambiguous existence, serving for decades as a Catholic catechist while preserving his dreams, knowledge, and sacred things in private. The German Catholic priests who came to proselytize the Sioux Nation in the early twentieth century quite simply viewed Lakota religion as the work of Satan, a demonic force to be vigorously opposed and extinguished. Many Lakota

on both the Rosebud and Pine Ridge reservations converted to Catholicism, or they hid their most cherished rituals and customs far from the eyes of fearful whites. The Ghost Dance itself, which was performed not far from St. Francis on the Rosebud, was brutally terminated by horrified witnesses who feared its possible success. Those Lakota who did not succumb to European religion continued to observe Indian traditions privately, some fully disassociating themselves from the manners and customs of their white conquerors.

The family of Leonard Crow Dog, which prided itself on living as *ikche wichasha,* or "wild natural beings," were among those Lakota who preferred to separate themselves, rejecting the teachings of Euro-Americans. From his earliest childhood, Leonard Crow Dog was recognized for his unusual spiritual gifts, visions, and dreams, which sealed his destiny as a Medicine Man. Leonard's father, Henry Crow Dog, insisted that his son be kept free of the white man's ways of learning, including reading and writing. Instead, Leonard was trained in medicinal, herbal, and other healing arts, as well as the complexities of tribal religious ceremonies. When AIM swept through Indian society in the early 1970s, Crow Dog became the most important spiritual force behind the movement, presiding over countless events and ensuring its religious integrity. At a time when most Indian men feared wearing their hair in braids, Crow Dog stepped forward as a living example of how the "dead" ways of the past might reassert themselves with a vengeance. Ironically, when Crow Dog was imprisoned by the federal government on trumped-up charges, it was the National Council of Churches that raised funding for his defense.

In the years following AIM's takeover of Wounded Knee, Crow Dog oversaw Lakota religious revivalism in South Dakota and elsewhere when Indian religion was normalized on the reservation. Although factions among Indian Christians and adherents to traditional rites remain, Crow Dog helped create an environment in which Indian religion was made safe and legitimized. Among the Lakota, Crow Dog restored the Sun Dance and Ghost Dance, the Yuwipi ceremony, the sweatlodge, the *hanbleceya* (or "vision quest"), and the sacred pipe. He became widely known not only for his powers of healing but also for his incredible generosity and wisdom.

Inevitably, Crow Dog's fame spread beyond South Dakota, and his talents were sought among Indians and non-Indians throughout the United States. It only later came to be recognized that Crow Dog's vision extended far beyond the Lakota peoples, as he gradually incorporated non-Lakota Indian traditions within his increasingly Pan-Indian world view. Crow Dog became an active member and "roadman" in the Native American Church, which was introduced among the Lakota in the early 1920s, founded by the Comanche Quanah Parker, who developed this form of pey-

ote religion in western Oklahoma and the American Southwest. For Crow Dog, distinct varieties of Indian religion offer complementary paths of worshipping Wakan Tanka, or the creative spirit of Lakota religion, and they must be respected as such. The Great Spirit is not the exclusive property of any one tribe or Indian nation, nor of the *ikche wichasha* rather than the *iyeska* (or "half-breed"). One indication of the success of Crow Dog in bridging so many disparate Indian belief systems is apparent in the growing alarm of some tribes about the rising hegemony of Lakota religion today, especially in contexts in which indigenous customs have nearly disappeared. None, however, dispute the success of Crow Dog or his centrality in restoring Lakota religion as well as developing a form of Indian spirituality that freely transgresses tribal, state, and even national boundaries.

Crow Dog has been a uniting force for Native Americans for more than thirty years, influencing state and federal legislation, and helping to make Indian religion an undeniable fact of contemporary American life. The dynamic nature of his orientation to Lakota spirituality has demonstrated the resilience, power, and vitality of Indian religion, not as a museum artifact or a field for scholarly inquiry, but as a viable alternative to European forms of religious expression. Crow Dog's greatest contribution resides in the fact that he has helped Indians learn to live with themselves.

Christopher Wise

See also American Indian Movement (Red Power Movement); Christianity, Indianization of; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion; Native American Church, Peyote Movement; Oral Traditions, Lakota (Teton)

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Cry Ceremony

The Cry, also known as *Yakappi, Burning,* and *Powwow,* is a mourning ceremony that Numic and Yuman people have traditionally used as a means of assisting departing spirits into the afterlife (Kelly and Fowler 1986, 383). This ritual event is a very powerful ceremony involving the spirit of the departed person, members of the departing spirit's community including religious specialists called Salt Song Singers, and a sacred trail that Paiute and Hualapai people traverse on their journey to the afterlife (Stoffle et al. 1997, 16).

According to the Kaibab Paiutes, whose aboriginal territories include portions of southern Utah and northern Arizona, Coyote is responsible for holding the first Cry ceremony. Another origin story exists among the Chemehuevi Paiutes from southern California, who say that the Locusts initiated the Cry with the assistance of Coyote (Sapir

1930–1931, 2, 347, in Kelly and Fowler 1986, 383). In an account recorded by ethnographer Edward Sapir (1912), the Cry was reportedly taught to the Moapan Southern Paiutes by neighboring Mojaves. Sapir elaborates upon the spread of the Cry ceremony in his 1930 analysis, stating that "the mourning ceremony of the Colorado River Yumans has been spreading in the Basin as the Cry Dance." According to its origin story a council was held in the far western country that resulted in the dance. "That place where they had danced turned to stone, and then from its trails arose in all direction. It is in this way that the Cry has come to be" (ibid., 347).

Discussions about the origin of the Cry indicate that Southern Paiutes living in political districts spanning portions of the Mojave Desert, Great Basin, and Colorado Plateau adopted the Cry under circumstances that were unique to each place and community. Among Las Vegas Paiutes, this adoption occurred so long ago that the people of the district affirm that they have "always had it." During the late 1860s a Northern Paiute known as Wodziwob or Fish Lake Joe appears to have further modified the Cry ritual. In its transformed state, this ritual became the basis for the 1870s Ghost Dance (Hittman 1973). In contrast to the original Cry ceremony, which was designed to help Paiute spirits into the afterlife, the Ghost Dance was designed to help Paiute spirits who departed too quickly from the world to return to this world (Mooney 1896, xx).

In its original form, ritual specialists called Salt Song Singers, or spiritual runners, helped recently departed Paiute spirits move into the afterlife by means of a song trail, or *songscape* (Stoffle et al. 1997, 16). Traditionally, Southern Paiutes had a system of trails and specialists who moved along them carrying messages, goods, and services. A knotted string, called *tapiticapi* (literally "the knotted"), was sent out via a runner to other Paiute people to inform them of events (Laird 1976, 26–27, in Stoffle et al. 1996, 16).

Given the great distances traveled by spiritual runners, as well as the diversity of the physical and spiritual landscapes traversed, the ritual specialists required a method that would keep them from getting lost. The songs of the ritual specialists served as memory maps that helped them to safely journey along these trails. Carobeth Laird, who was married to one of the last ritual runners from Chemehuevi, indicates that these ritual specialists were responsible for remembering specific trails as well as the trail to the afterlife (Laird 1976).

Although there are multiple *songscapes,* there is only one trail to the afterlife. This sacred pathway is shared by the Paiute and Hualapai (Stoffle and Zedeño 2002, 187). Known as the Salt Song Trail, this *songscape* covers a vast territory that corresponds directly to the traditional boundaries of the Numic homeland. It is worth noting that the Paiute and Huala-

pai traditionally lived upon opposing sides of the Grand Canyon. Furthermore, the point at which the spirit leaps into the afterlife is a site along the Colorado River in the Grand Canyon. In its entirety, the Salt Song Trail runs across southern Nevada from the Las Vegas Valley. Traveling along the Spring Mountains, it arrives on the northeast side of the mountains near Indian Springs. It then goes through Pahrump to Ash Meadows, comes back south near Eagle Mountain, travels down the Amargosa River past Shoshone, and turns at Dumont Dunes. It goes up through Baker and Soda Lake, then passes south to the Providence Mountains. From there it goes to Twenty-nine Palms, to the San Bernardino Mountains, and turns east toward the Colorado River, crossing into Arizona south of Blythe. After a number of stops in Arizona the soul traveling the Salt Song Trail jumps into the afterlife at a location along the Colorado River near the Grand Canyon (Laird 1976 in Stoffle and Zedeño 2002, 187).

Notification about an upcoming Cry was traditionally given by passing a knotted string or bundle of sticks from community to community. Typically, a Cry is held within three months after a person leaves the physical world. A year later, a second ceremony is held for the purpose of completely releasing the spirit to the afterlife. During the first ceremony, the spirit of a recently departed person is assisted by ritual specialist singers and whole communities who help the spirit to journey along the path that ends in the Grand Canyon. In addition to guiding the spirit into the afterlife, the ritual participants also "dance" the objects of the person into the other world. William Walker (1999, 284) notes, "Ethnography suggests that, by imbuing life force into inanimate matter, ritual activities conducted during the manufacture, distribution, use, and reuse of certain objects have a direct bearing on whether such objects have afterlives."

During the Cry, the possessions of the person that has departed are danced into heaven and then ceremonially burned. In one incident, the horses of a spirit that had recently passed on were "run to death." According to the cultural logic of the Paiutes, this activity allowed the horses to join their spirit companion in the afterlife.

Today there is a growing recognition of the cultural importance of the Salt Song Trail and Salt Songs. In an effort to preserve this sacred knowledge, Paiute elders recently created a project that aims to record all of the Salt Songs while also returning to the many sites along the Salt Song Trail for spiritual, cultural, and educational purposes.

Alex K. Carroll

See also Dance, Great Basin; Mourning and Burial Practices; Mourning and Burial, Choctaw; Mourning and the Afterlife, Southwest; Power Places, Great Basin

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D

Dance, Great Basin

The Paiutes of the Great Basin have always danced. Like many indigenous groups, they danced to celebrate, to mourn, and to prepare for war. Less known is the fact that the Numic people used ritual movement as a primary vehicle for effecting tangible changes within their environments and their communities. In essence, ritual movement served as a means of actively engaging the forces of power that constitute the universe. Through the performance of ancient and historic dance rituals, Numic people endeavored to bring balance to the world and to themselves. The completion of a great pine nut harvest, the death of a cherished loved one, and a change in weather patterns represent the types of events that were often commemorated or renegotiated through the act of dance. In each case the ritual movements were infused with prayer and closely tied to the sacred landscapes in which groups ranging from a handful to several thousand would gather for the purpose of celebrating, mourning, or effecting change.

Dances Concentrate Puha

To understand the social functions of Numic dances, one must first understand the concept of *Puha,* which means "power" in the Numic language. Jay Miller describes this phenomenon when he writes,

> Power is diffused everywhere in continuous flux and flow, which, however, is not haphazard because as an aspect of memory, power is rational. From all available evidence, the routes of concentrated power within the generalized dispersion are web-like. . . . The web image is reflected in the stories where Coyote assumes the form of a water spider to carry humans to land and Sun takes the form of a spider who is webbing the firmament of the universe. (1983, 79–80)

Ethnographic accounts and oral histories confirm that among the Numa the world exists as a matrix of *Puha* in which everything and everyone is alive

and interconnected. *Puha* is often concentrated in ritual specialists and sacred ceremonial places, and whole communities commonly organize their ritual lives around their relationships to this phenomenon. The performance of dance rituals serves as a primary method for concentrating *Puha.* Miller writes, "The attraction of power for life is such that any gathering . . . will concentrate it, while a closed dance circle contains it for some time. . . . After such a concentration, power apportions itself among the participants" (ibid.).

> *Friends let the play commence, all sing together.*
> *—John Wesley Powell*

Another means of concentrating *Puha* occurs through the enactment of rituals that open channels of communication between ritual specialists and forces of *Puha* such as sacred animals. The mountain sheep represents one force that *Puhagants* have been known to engage through ceremonial activities. Kelly and Fowler (1986, 384) confirm the concomitance of ritual movement and communication with nonhuman forces. One of Isabel Kelly's informants, "G," indicates that special alliances were forged with animals as well as other natural forces of *Puha* during dance performances. "There are many songs that go with a circle dance. [They] sing about the sun, clouds, stars, rabbits, mountain sheep, deer, birds, eagle. . . . In the fall they have a dance when they are hunting rabbits" (Kelly 1964, 105).

A third means of concentrating *Puha* occurs through participation in ritual acts at places within the land that were known as sites of power. Although the physiographic bases of ceremonial sites vary, it is clear that specific land formations including plateaus, caves, rivers, canyons, springs, and mountains are frequently understood by the Numic people to be areas where *Puha* concentrates. "The logic is simple—if knowledge resides in powerful places, then let us return to those places where we can capture it" (Carroll et al. 2004). At these special sites that Numic people have returned to for countless generations, many forms of ritual dance have been regularly performed.

Types of Dance

John Wesley Powell witnessed the performance of ritual dances among the Numic people during his travels in the Great Basin and Colorado Plateau between 1869 and 1879. Paramount among his observations was a core set of ritual movements used in virtually all Numic dances. He writes, "They have many dances, but most of them have one thing in common, that is, the people dance in a circle, men and women, boys and girls, and little children taking their places in the circle at random" (Powell MS 798, 12, in Fowler and Fowler 1971, 63).

The Round Dance: Nikkappi *or* Kiyappi

The Round Dance, which was also known as the Circle Dance, Harvest, Pine Nut

Lemhi Shoshone Summer Baldwin dances at ceremony. (Native Stock Pictures)

Rabbit, and Squaw Dance, played a pivotal role in the social organization of the Numic people of the Great Basin. "Typically, men and women, especially young people, alternated in a circle, each facing inward, arms linked (interlocking fingers considered 'new style'; Saint George) and moved clockwise" (Kelly 1964, 104–106). Such dancing was accompanied by singing, commonly performed by male leaders with religious and social standing. All of the community participated in the selection of the circle dance leader. "They picked the best man, someone not too old" (ibid., 105).

In a celebration that Powell likened to a New Year's Dance, the Numa combined elementary ritual movements of the Round Dance with songs that were passed down from generation to generation. Powell explains that a cedar tree stripped of branches was placed in the center of a large circle. "Around this the whole band formed a large circle, dancing and singing" (Dellenbaugh 1926, 178). It is quite probable that the pole served as a focal point through which participants moved into a state of trance that allowed them to communicate with forces of *Puha*.

Through repetitive movements and sound, the dancers moved from everyday awareness into a heightened, trance-induced state of knowing. "The dancing was the usual hippity-hop or 'lope' sideways, each holding the hands with his or her neighbors. In the center stood a man, seeming to be the custodian of the sings and a poet himself. He would recite a piece, and then all would sing it, circling round at the same time" (ibid.).

Ritual dances and songs served several functions. First, dances served as a mechanism for transferring knowledge from generation to generation. Kelly comments that the "songs for circle dances (are) evidently numerous . . . [and] Sapir [1930, 300] mentions a series of over two hundred songs, chiefly ceremonial" (1976, 125).

The Round Dance was also used as a vehicle for connecting people with forces of *Puha* beyond themselves and their immediate communities. Powell

recalls witnessing a round dance being performed by three elderly women who were preparing to leave the earth. When Powell arrived, the women were looking into the fire and paid little heed to his presence. Powell wrote that "each one supporting herself by a staff rose to her feet and they joined in a dance which was a shuffling movement, circling around the fire. This dance was accompanied with the chant that follows:

Ai-ai Ai-ai ai-ai
Ai-ai ai-ai ai-ai
I'van tu'-ni-shump pa-ni-gunt
U-ni-shump uni-shump
I-ai-kwa-vvwan I-ai-kwa-vwan

Alas, alas, alas
Alas, alas, alas
Here long enough have I walked the earth
Here long enough have I walked the earth
Enough, enough
Let me die, let me die.
(Powell MS 830, in Fowler and Fowler 1971, 61)

Finally, dances served as a forum for publicly commemorating important events and providing a setting in which people could meet potential mates, and exchange information and material culture.

Shuffling Dance

Powell describes another type of dancing among the Numa that involved shuffling as well as leaping. He explains, "The women are formed in a circle and dance in a slow shuffling manner, and the men standing within dance on their toes with their heels turned out and body bent forward leaping high into the air" (MS 798, 12, in Fowler and Fowler 1971, 63).

Although the dance participants of the 1870s and 1890s Ghost Dance were known to use a shuffling step, there are several important differences between the dance that Powell recorded in his manuscripts and the Ghost Dance, which involved more than thirty-two different ethnic groups across the United States. Powell maintains that the men in the center of the shuffle dance that he witnessed used a special musical instrument throughout their performances. He writes that they "[bend] forward leaping high into the air, and as they leap giving a yell and whirling a musical instrument [probably a Na-mi-mu-it] which they hold in their hands and which gives out a curious shriek" (MS 798, 12, MS 831-c, in Fowler and Fowler 1971, 64–65).

The *nanimutanimpi,* or "bull roarer" instrument, is a flat piece of juniper wood to which a string is attached on one end. According to Sapir, the bull roarer could be used to make the wind blow or to attract evil spirits. Consequently, some parents insisted that this item not be treated as a toy.

The Cry

The Numic people also created special dances that were performed only when someone passed from this world at the end of their earthly existence. This dance, accompanied by songs sung by respected ritual leaders, performed two

critical functions. First, Numic people help the recently departed spirits to find their way to heaven. Those who remain on earth literally dance the spirits and all of their earthly belongings into the afterlife. Second, this ritual helped the living to grieve the departure of a loved one while also celebrating the life of the departed person (see Cry Ceremony).

The Bear Dance and Scalp Dance

Paiutes also performed the Bear and the Scalp dances, which were probably introduced by their Ute neighbors in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. An informant of Edward Sapir's indicates that the Scalp Dance was used among the Kaibab Southern Paiutes. As in the Round Dance, participants moved in a clockwise direction around a pole placed in the center of the circle. In contrast to the Round Dance, however, the Scalp Dance was accompanied by drum playing, and dancers reportedly hit a scalp hung on the center pole as they moved around in a circle.

Kelly estimates that the Bear Dance reached the Southern Paiutes of Kaibab by approximately 1907. In addition to the people of Koosharem and Kaibab, the Indians of Cedar City, Kaipaarowits, St. George, San Juan, and Moapa learned the Bear Dance (Kelly 1976, 107–109). According to the legend of the Bear Dance, one fall a man came upon a bear den. He told his companions that he was going to stay with the bear, and that they should return to the cave in March. When the companions returned, the man was covered with hair but could still communicate with them. He told them, "I'll give you a bear dance. I'll give you songs and the step. I will dance. My wife [the bear] and I will give them to you. Dance this in March. Now go and tell all the Indians." The Bear Dance reportedly gave people the power to escape a bear attack.

The Ghost Dance

The Ghost Dance, or Spirit Dance, of the late nineteenth century played an important role in Numic society and Indigenous/Euro-American relations. During the 1890s, Ghost Dance or Spirit Dance songs were given to Wovoka, who in turn shared his revelations with Paiutes and multiple indigenous groups for the purpose of effecting change through collective dance rituals.

The Ghost Dance and Round Dance share similar features, including clockwise movement, shuffling, and alternating of male and female participants; consequently, some scholars suggest that the Ghost Dance derived from the Round Dance. Others, including Hittman (1973), indicate that the Ghost Dance derived from the Cry Ceremony, which is a mourning ritual based on dancing, singing, and the memorialization of sacred sites in the landscape.

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See also Cry Ceremony; Ghost Dance Movement; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Power Places, Great Basin; Religious Leadership, Great Basin

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Dance, Northwest, Winter Spirit Dances

Today, throughout the Northwest and on both sides of the U.S./Canadian border, Salish people gather all winter as singers and drummers to support lone dancers as each expresses an ongoing bond with a spirit power (*sqelalitut* in Lushootseed Salish, *tahmanawas* in the trade jargon). This generic word for spirits referred both to career and to curative (*xdab, xnam*) powers, these beings constituting the doctors of the universe. This modern manifestation of ancient beliefs is called Syowin, or Smokehouse Religion, for the open fires in the present version of cedar plank longhouses inspired by ancestral dwellings. While each community, usually on a reservation, is based in its own smokehouse, regularly scheduled winter visits are made on both sides of the border. Today these required ceremonial visitations are sometimes frustrated by border guards, although the United States officially regards these crossings as matters of religious freedom.

The course of these visits is set by the movements of the spirits themselves. Although curing powers remain ever ready to help their shaman partners, most other spirits visited their human ally only in the winter months. During these long rainy winters, people gather to welcome back their spirits by singing and dancing a mime of how they or an ancestor first met in some remote spot on the land or in the sea. For the rest of the year, spirits lived in villages of their own "on the other side" of the human dimension, before spiraling all winter though the Salishan country from the east to the north, west, and south. Towns knew their location along the route from centuries of such

Pacific Northwest boy dances in raven costume, ca. 1991. (Neil Rabinowitz/Corbis)

visits and began to prepare to host their own power displays once they had been invited to the celebrations of the towns that preceded them on the circuit.

Each spirit was both a being and a song. The song moved slowly counterclockwise or westward during the winter and, in late April or so, headed east again. As a group, spirits came to the Nooksak before they reached Vancouver Island, where they lingered until spring. While the song traveled, the spirit itself stayed close to the human partner. Fierce black paint spirits traveled more widely than did those of red paint, who stayed nearby and could be used to cure or help others. Today, while black paint powers still spiral the earth during the year, red paint ones seem to remain closer to their human partners, who can and do sing all year long in the quiet of their own homes, giving it full public expression only in the winter season.

Spirits also moved around during the day, hovering in the air (rather than treading on the ground). They are lower in the early morning and higher later in the afternoon. They are constantly aware of human actions and would leave if their partner became ritually impure or disrespectful. Then the spirit was said to "lift off" until it could be coaxed back by a shaman. Spirits liked daylight but, lacking form or substance, were truly ethereal. They had the most nebulous of existences, with their appetites and pleasures supplied vicariously through their links with humans—especially kin. For woman, her spirit power was regarded as a personal friend, while for man it was an impersonal force that infused his entire body when it returned.

The religious time of winter began with the end of summer food getting activities. About November, at Suquamish (near Seattle), when all of the dog salmon were gone and those that had been caught were dried, the spirits acquired by young men (or women) would return for the first time since they had met. People were invited by a boy's father to help him to sing in public. Each year the youngest dancers were the first to be

The masked dancer is known as a Sxyayxwey *dancer among the Salish and* Xwéxwé *among the Kwakwak'wakw. The mask is danced at winter ceremonials and potlatches to prepare and purify a ceremonial space. June 16, 1913. (Library of Congress)*

exposed to the return of their career spirit.

The father did the inviting because the son (or daughter) was so overcome by the power ("sick to sing") that he could do nothing but deal with his own spirit. He was unable to talk or engage in regular activities. When guests came to help, the father seated them according to their locales and status.

When the spirit power arrived, the human had to sing the binding song to remain healthy. The first time a boy sang, certain people who knew about powers and songs came to help. The young man could not start to sing until someone else sang his song to loosen his mouth. Hearing the song, the spirit forced its way out of the man's chest and emerged as song.

Long ago, in a famous example widely known, a boy was going from house to house in a Suquamish village, pretending to sing just for fun. All of a sudden, of course, the power he was intended to inherit actually struck him, rendering him helpless. People went to the boy's father and told him to clean up his house, saying he needed to empty it to make room for a crowd to come and help his son to sing and dance.

The father did not want to do this, because his son had been joking about power; that reflected badly on his parenting. Since the power came when his son was showing disrespect, the father told the people to find another house to use, but they insisted that it was a father's duty to help his son in the winter. Finally, bowing to community pressure, the father agreed and had his house prepared so that many people could sit on the sleeping benches.

His ill son was brought inside as the father took charge. He had people who knew about power ready to help his son. Ushers took care of the guests, showing them where to sit. For four nights everyone helped this boy, who stayed awake the whole time because his power kept him energized. All night he sang and danced, except for rests in a corner.

At the very first, a man chosen by his father repeated the song that the boy was to sing. Then the song came out of the boy and he sang it. Next the repeater started it again, and everyone joined in so the boy could dance until he made a sign for everyone to quit; he then sang another tune and lyrics. The repeater listened and said these words for all to sing so the boy could dance the second song. Since only important people had several spirits and songs, the boy was again acting dangerously boastful. The same spirit might give several songs, or other spirits might give songs if they liked the child.

Bringing out these songs, coaxing them forth from the boy, had to be carefully done because, if they came out in the wrong order or got "twisted up," the boy would become very ill and might die. To prevent a fatality, formerly a song master but now a shaman was called in to straighten out the songs, placing each in the correct order ("lining them up") inside the boy. Then he would be cured, as proven by his ability to sing an impressive display of power under the protection of his doctors.

On the fourth day, everyone received gifts and departed. The boy ate and slept for a day or so before he went back to work at whatever he had power to do, such as fishing, hunting, or making canoes.

The next year at the same time, the same spirit came back to the son, and the father was now ready. Later, when the father himself got a spirit, it was up to the son to take charge and choose a song repeater. Every year, the spirits' human partner understood his or her power more fully. The repeater helped only for the first year or two; then people could begin singing on their own, gaining confidence and familiarity with their spirit(s) and song(s).

Today, most spirit powers are inherited in families and similarly fixed in a person by a winter-long initiation in a smokehouse or private home. Every smokehouse includes an experienced shaman, master, or lead dancer who, helped by his or her family, "brings out" an initiate's song so that he or she can learn from the power while welcoming it back every year.

Spirit powers are never explicitly identified. Instead, the community gets a sense of the spirit because there are only a dozen song types. Further, certain bonds require certain costuming, as does length of time after initiation. New dancers are called "babies" and covered head to toe with a blanket and hat of loose wool strands. They are under strict discipline and seclusion for their first winter, either at the smokehouse or in their own home. Food and sleep are limited, while sexual intercourse is forbidden. In later years, black paint dancers will wear human hair hats. Red paint dancers wear stylish clothes and move with slow dignity.

While birthdays, weddings, anniversaries, and funerals are usually now celebrated by Salish in recognizably American fashion with cake and flowers, members of the winter smokehouse religion continue to observe traditional

rituals enhancing spiritual aspects of a person. Each dancer regards his or her day of initiation as another (sometimes more significant) birthday, to be observed with traditional foods and festivities. The virtues of age, rank, and family have kept their ancient emphasis, as has the transmission of inherited wisdom in its most private and hard-earned forms in the secluded privacy and protection of the modern smokehouse.

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See also Healing Traditions, Northwest; Power, Northwest Coast; Religious Leadership, Northwest; *Sbatatdaq (Sqadaq)*

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Dance, Plains

Ceremonial song and dance play a significant role in celebrations held in prereservation and reservation-era Plains communities. Some dances are sacred in character, such as the Sun Dance, the Midewiwin (Medicine Dance), and the Ghost Dance, as well as warrior and sacred society dances associated with medicine bundles, doctoring, and age-grading; semisacred and more secular dances are variants of the War Dance, dating back to the Middle Mississippian culture (A.D. 800–1500). Plains warrior society ceremonies and intertribal gatherings during the late nineteenth century expedited the popularity of the War Dance, which burgeoned between 1883 and 1934 despite BIA antidance policies. Concomitantly, the War Dance attracted tourism, and by the end of World War II it had become the major feature of tribal and intertribal powwows. Plains Dance traditions, especially powwow celebrations, continue to flourish in contemporary rural and urban settings throughout North America, where their performances bolster Native American identity (Young 2001, 996; Duncan 1997, 45–52; Young and Gooding 2001, 1011).

Pre-Columbian origins of the War Dance are linked to the Middle Mississippian ancestors of the Dheghia Siouan speaking Omaha, Ponca, Kansa, Osage, and Quapaw, the Chiwere Siouan Iowa, Otoe, and Missouria, and the Caddoan speaking Pawnee and Caddo; scattered throughout the Ohio and Mississippi river drainage systems, these peoples were symbolically united through the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, formerly called the Southern (or Death) Cult. Pottery, shell, and copper artifacts salvaged from major population centers ranging from Etowah (Georgia) to Spiro

Native North American men, wearing large dance bustles of eagle feathers and headdresses of porcupine hair, watch the dance competitions during a powwow. (Corbis)

(Oklahoma) are adorned with avian and bird/man motifs that are also associated with War Dance Complex symbology; dancers dressed as hawks and falcons—the symbols of war—adorned with tattoos and forked eye motifs, are clad in roach headdresses with single, upright feathers and with pendant shell gorgets. Oftentimes they are depicted wearing hawk medicine bundles tied to their backs; some wield war clubs or knives, and a few hold the severed heads of enemies (Duncan 1997, 45–52).

The earliest European reference to the War Dance is Nicolas Perrot's 1665 account of the Calumet Dance—also part of the War Dance Complex—performed by the Iowa and several Central Algonkian tribes. Then, in 1680, René-Robert Cavelier, sieur de La Salle, witnessed a Potawatomi and Miami Calumet Dance. Seven years later, in 1687, a member of La Salle's expedition to colonize Texas observed Quapaw dances, including the War Dance, Calumet Dance, and Scalp Dance. Trekking the lower reaches of the Mississippi River between 1718 and 1734, Antoine Simone Le Page du Pratz noted the same dances among the Alabama, Chickasaw, Kansa, Otoe, Pawnee, Osage, Sioux, and Comanche; back East, the

Seneca asserted that their War Dance, called *Wasase*—derived from the French word for Osage—had originated in the West. In 1819, Edwin James, who accompanied Stephen H. Long's famed expedition, aptly described a War Dance performed by the Otoe and Iowa, noting a prominent Iowa dancer, perhaps a war lieutenant, wearing a white wolf skin with a crow bundle attached above the waist in the back. Victor Tixier accompanied the Osage on a bison hunt in 1840, when sightings of Pawnee enemies in the vicinity prompted War Dance ceremonies lasting four days; dancers were adorned in deer hair roaches, otter fur turbans, white wolf robes, and, notably, the *corbeau* "crow belt" dance bustles (Young 1981, 104–110, 119; Young and Gooding 2001, 1012; James 1823, 235; Duncan 1997, 52–53).

During the 1860s and 1870s, the War Dance rapidly diffused throughout the Plains, assuming various guises: the Omaha and Ponca Hethushka, the Osage Iloshka, the Pawnee Iruska, the Omaha Dance, the Crow Dance, the Grass Dance (given by the Omaha to the Lakota), and the Kiowa Ohomo Dance. Dancing societies formally acquired the War Dance by "transfer" ceremonies, precursors of the contemporary Plains "giveaway," then interpreted the dance according to their own needs (Wissler 1916, 4, 87; Young and Gooding 2001, 1012; Bailey 1995, 18; Duncan 1997, 73–74).

The following essay describes secular warrior society dances and intertribal dances of the prereservation Kiowa, the acquisition of the War Dance in 1883, and how elements from these dances eventually merged into the Southern Plains powwow. Data describing pre-1935 Kiowa dances are derived largely from the unpublished ethnographic field notes of Weston LaBarre, Jane Richardson, Donald Collier, William Bascom, and Bernard Mishkin, members of the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology Expedition to southwestern Oklahoma during the summer of 1935, under the direction of Alexander Lesser. The unpublished field notes are housed in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Like other nineteenth century Plains tribes, many Kiowa dances related to warfare. War chiefs oftentimes sponsored all-night dances in their tepees the night before the departure of raiding expeditions; outgoing warriors, joined by wives and girlfriends, danced to travel songs. When victorious war parties—those that did not sustain any casualties—returned to the Kiowa villages, female relatives of the returning warriors emerged from their tepees wielding lances and long poles adorned with pendant scalps, performing the *adaldaguan*—that is, the "hair-kill dance" (Mooney 1979 [1895–1896], 291), or Scalp Dance, to welcome the sojourners (LaBarre et al. 1935; Boyd 1981, 61–64). During summers when the Sun Dance was enacted, the five Kiowa men's societies alternated policing the communal bison hunts and holding nightly war dances in oversized society tepees. Pri-

The Fancy Dance, called Fast War Dance in the early twentieth century. Traders' Village Labor Day Powwow, 1985. (Courtesy of Benjamin R. Kracht)

vate warrior society dances became public affairs when the tepee covers were rolled up to encourage guests to join in the singing and dancing. Notable among the sodalities were the Tonkonko, or Black Legs Society, and the Daimpega, "Skunkberry People," known today as the Kiowa Gourd Clan (LaBarre et al. 1935).

During the prereservation era, there were forty-five to sixty members of the Tonkonko, so-named for their ceremonial body paint designs: the forearms and ankles up to the knees were painted black, and there were black circles on the shoulder blades and buttocks of the breechcloth-clad men, whose chests, backs, and upper forearms were painted yellow. Dancers completed their attire with horsehair roach headdresses; they adorned their scalplocks with silver medallions and danced holding eagle tail feather fans and sleigh bells. Renowned Tonkonko members wielded the *pwbon,* or "no-retreat" staff, a long lance that curved up like a shepherd's crook at the end; in the midst of combat, a *pwbon* keeper could thrust his lance into the ground, signifying a fight to the death unless a comrade dislodged the lance, freeing the owner from his suicidal obligation to hold precious ground.

Exclusive to the Tonkonko society was the *Ts'akoigya* "turn around" or "reversal" Dance, performed by one group dancing in a clockwise circle while another danced in a counterclockwise direction outside the circle. Four total performances of the Ts'akoigya Dance were highlighted by dancers who discharged their firearms into the air; thematically, many of the songs belonging to the Tonkonko Society still commemorate death through combat rather than retreating from an enemy (ibid.).

Called "Skunkberry People" because of their red body paint were approximately forty prereservation members of the Daimpega Society. In addition to red, some painted white stripes across their bodies, and all wore horsehair or porcupine quill roach headdresses, except for the leaders, who donned owl feather headdresses. Ritual paraphernalia included a sword, a large "mountain," or war club, several "no-retreat" sashes, three lances, including the famous *Zebwt* (meaning "unknown") lance owned by Set'aide, or White Bear (d. 1878), and a bugle that Set'aide presumably captured from the U.S. Cavalry. Dances began when singers, accompanied by hand drums, sang the wordless Starting Song, while Daimpega members stood facing into a large circle, shaking gourd (or rawhide) rattles horizontally. Subsequent society songs signaled the dancers to move the circle inward; then faster-paced songs encouraged them to move about the dance circle and to bob up and down from the knees while dancing. Like Tonkonko songs, Daimpega songs glorified death through warfare (ibid.).

Although Tonkonko and Daimpega dances commemorated warfare, the Kiowa forged alliances with other Plains tribes throughout the nineteenth century: peace was made with the Comanche by 1806, with the Osage in 1834, the Cheyenne and Arapaho in 1840, and after 1868, hostilities ceased with the Ute, Diné (Navajo), and Pawnee. New coalitions brought together former enemies who socialized at dances and celebrations, leading to the exchange of songs and dances; Kiowa Sun Dance ceremonies between 1844 and 1883 attracted numerous intertribal visitors (Kracht 1994, 325). Friend Thomas Battey, a Quaker missionary/teacher among the Kiowa in early 1873, observed a Kiowa performance of the "Osage war dance" on February 19; then on March 3 he witnessed the "Pawnee war dance" conducted by a visiting Pawnee delegation suing the Kiowa for peace (Battey 1968, 125–126, 130–134).

In the spring of 1883, Cheyennes visiting a Kiowa encampment staged a Sioux War Dance in a large tepee; the Cheyenne dancers sat at the north side of the tepee and the Kiowa initiates at the south side, representing the Eagle-Crow moieties. One by one, Cheyennes danced to the south side, handing each Kiowa an eagle feather to place in his scalp lock, then Big Bow, a Kiowa leader, was presented with the ceremonial dance bustle composed of bald eagle tail feathers and two deer horns, as well as a

large drum. Horses were given to the Cheyenne delegates in return. Within a year, performances of the newly formed Ohomo Society—derived from Omaha—attracted a growing membership, and Ohomo dances were conducted concomitant to other warrior society dances during the last two Kiowa Sun dances ever performed, in 1885 and 1887. Elaborate gift giving at Ohomo Society gatherings compelled Indian agents to call it the Gift Dance, which became more popular during the 1890s as warrior society dances were conducted less frequently (LaBarre et al. 1935).

In 1916, Clark Wissler commented that the Plains peyote religion, the Ghost Dance, Hand Game, and Grass Dance were "modern ceremonies . . . conspicuous because of their diffusion" (Wissler 1916, 868). Since these were interconnected rites, the rising popularity of the Ohomo Dance coincided with the 1890–1891 Ghost Dance movement among the Kiowa, and from 1894 to 1916 the revived Ghost Dance served as the vehicle for perpetuating the Ohomo Dance: adherents of the new religion tenaciously clung to war dancing (Kracht 1992, 465). Significantly, the Kiowa obtained both dances from the Cheyenne and Arapaho, who performed the auxiliary Crow Dance before the Ghost Dance; ethnologist James Mooney likened the Crow Dance to the "Omaha dance" of the "northern prairie tribes" (Mooney 1896, 901, 922), so the Crow Dance was a variant of the Lakota Grass Dance and the Kiowa Ohomo Dance. Giving eagle feathers to initiates characterized the Ohomo and Ghost dances, and the Kiowa often referred to the latter as the Feather Dance in reference to the wearing of single eagle feathers in the scalp lock, as in the Ohomo Dance (Kracht 1992, 466). Recalling the Ghost Dance, one of LaBarre's collaborators stated that the dance steps were "similar to scalp dance steps, like [a] soldier [war] dance" (LaBarre et al. 1935). Like many Plains tribes, the Kiowa synthesized elements from different rituals, including the War Dance, into their own syncretic ceremonies (Young and Gooding 2001, 1012).

Plains Indian dances, especially the War Dance, were threatened when the 1883 Indian Religious Crimes Code deemed shamanism and dances illegal. Issuance of the 1892 "Rules for Indian Courts" reified this law, albeit the implementation of BIA antidance policy varied among the Western Indian agencies; nevertheless, many ceremonies became defunct despite Indian Commissioner John Collier's 1934 distribution of Circular 2970, "Indian Religious Freedom and Indian Culture." During this dark era, the Kiowa abandoned the Sun Dance (1890) and the Ghost Dance (1916). Although the Ohomo Dance was also targeted for eradication, it went underground and survived; today, an annual Ohomo Society dance is held every July by the few remaining members (Kracht 1992, 466–469; 1994, 331).

Strategically disguising Ohomo dances as patriotic Fourth of July gatherings in

the post–World War I era helped preserve the War Dance, as did the Wild West shows and Indian fairs that became popular in the 1920s and 1930s. Prompted by tourism, the Omaha-Grass-Crow variants of the War Dance fused into the Straight Dance in eastern Oklahoma and Nebraska; in western Oklahoma they evolved into the fast and furious Fancy Dance, complete with brightly feathered dance bustles and bells; in the Northern Plains, the War Dance became the Grass Dance and the Traditional Dance. Following World War II, tribal and intertribal celebrations, dances, and giveaways flourished throughout the Plains, then spread to distant parts of North America. Returning Indian veterans and the rekindling of the warrior spirit embodied in the War Dance contributed to the formation of the powwow. Kiowa contributions to contemporary Southern Plains powwows are evident by afternoon and evening performances of the Gourd Dance, the nearly defunct dance of the Daimpega Society that was revived in 1957. Like many Native Americans today, Kiowa identity is celebrated by attending these celebrations (Kracht 1992, 467–469; 1994, 331–334).

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Arapaho; Ceremony and Ritual, Southeast; Dance, Great Basin; Dance, Southeast; Drums; Ghost Dance Movement; Mounds; Powwow; Sacred Societies, Plains; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Plains; Warfare, Religious Aspects

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Dance, Plateau

In the Plateau today there are two predominant ceremonial dances, the Winter Spirit Dance (also known as the Medicine Dance or Jump Dance) and the Washat (from the Sahaptin word *wáashat,* to "[Indian] dance"). The Washat is also referred to as part of the Seven Drum or Longhouse "way of life," and is referred to by the Nez Perce as the *Wal'usut* way, or, in the earlier form, *Ip-n'uucililpt.* Both the Winter Spirit dances and Washat dances are culminating opportunities for family members to pray, sing, dance, feast, and share what elders consider their most heartfelt concerns and needs. The Winter Dance is sponsored at the height of the winter season, while the Washat dances are held throughout the year, including as Sunday Worship Dances.

Historically, the Winter Spirit Dance extended over virtually the entire region, including both Salishan- and Sahaptin-speaking tribes. It ranged from the Okanagan in the north to the Klamath in the south, from the Flathead and Nez Perce in the east to the Yakama and Klikitat in the west. Three tribes traditionally did not practice the Winter Dance: the Shuswap, Thompson, and Kootenai. Only into the early part of the twentieth century did the Kootenai begin holding the dance. The Washat, on the other hand, fully emerged as a distinct ceremonial complex only during the nineteenth century. Influenced by the charismatic leader Smohalla and incorporating certain Christian elements, the Washat has come to complement the practice of the Winter Dance among most of the Sahaptin peoples. Winter Spirit dances are also conducted on every reservation in which Sahaptin families follow the Washat way. Today the Washat dances are held on the Nez Perce, Yakama, Umatilla, and Warm Springs reservations, along with Nez Perce and Palouse families at Nespelem on the Colville Reservation, and off-reservation along the Columbia River among Wanapum families at Priest Rapids and other Sahaptin families at the village of Celilo near the Dalles. The Winter Dance,

Myron Berger, bear dancer. Salish, Montana. (Native Stock Pictures)

with few Christian influences incorporated into its rituals, is thus retained primarily among the Salishan-speaking tribes. However, neither the Jump Dance nor Washat demands exclusive adherence, allowing their followers to participate in the other's dances as well as in other religions, such as the Shakers or Catholics. Both dances are tolerant of the "many ways to pray to the Creator."

Winter Spirit Dances culminate a yearlong cycle of prayers and spiritual needs; they are held at any time during the period beginning at the end of December and continuing into February. Prior to the Washat, no other ceremonial dance was of greater importance, either in its duration or its significance. Sponsored by an individual who may have had a spirit visitation or vision to "put on this dance," it would be his family's obligation to announce the event to the community, prepare the site for the dance, and coordinate the meal to be held following each evening's dance. If the individual did not heed his spirit guardian's wishes, misfortune would likely follow. In instances in which a vision was not received, a potential sponsor might hold the dance after first consulting an elder for the most auspicious time to do so.

Once word of the dance and its dates are publicly known, the other members of the sponsor's family and members of other families, as well as friends of those families, would make plans to attend. Some participants may come from as far as neighboring reservations located in other states. Anywhere from thirty to a hundred participants might attend a dance. Many participants will have taken part in a Sweat House ritual prior to the dance, in order to spiritually cleanse themselves, to ask for the assistance of their spirit guardian, and to initiate the specific prayers that they will relate during the dance. Occasionally a special Sweat House is constructed to accommodate up to fifteen sweaters. Traditionally, the dance was held in a tule-mat longhouse. Today a community center or even the sponsor's home can serve as the location for the dance. In one commu-

nity in Idaho the elder who sponsors the Winter Spirit Dance still holds the dance in the traditional "long tent" or composite tepee. His particular "Medicine Dance" is widely known for what this elder considers this traditional aspect. In all instances, furniture, rugs, and other mobile objects are removed from the dance area. Windows may be covered over so as not to allow any night lights from entering the enclosed area. Black plastic sheets may be taped over windows. As in the past, the Winter Dance will be held for two or more consecutive nights, as determined by the sponsor, with each evening's dance lasting from sunset to sunrise. During the day the participants rest and prepare for the next evening's dance.

Upon entering the dance area, each participant offers a handshake to those already present, moving counterclockwise around the room. Everyone, even the smallest child, receives a greeting. "It's not a hug or a time to visit; just a time to acknowledge your kinship and respect for them." Traditionally, women would sit on the left side of the room, while men would gather on the right side of the dance area. Today it is more common for families to gather together, with men, women, and children situating themselves along the room's walls. The children are encouraged to watch and learn, though they might not actually dance. All participants are prohibited from smoking, eating, and drinking during the songs. None are allowed to enter or leave the dance area without permission of the leader, except during a brief midnight recess, and sentries are posted at the doors to enforce these rules. During the dance, the dance area, be it in a longhouse, community center, or home, is lighted only dimly, as, for example, from the flames of two oil lamps. "Mere onlookers" are strongly discouraged from attended these ceremonies, since everyone who attends is there for a "spiritual purpose," offering prayer and dance to help themselves and the members of their families.

In former times a center pole would be used. A small fir tree would be cut, just tall enough to reach the ceiling of the lodge or room. Its limbs and bark would have been removed to a height of eight feet, with the rest left in its natural state. With its base sharpened, the tree was brought to the center of the dance area and placed firmly in the ground. The center pole was addressed as a spirit helper, with the guardian spirit of the shaman sitting atop the pole and serving as the shaman's "eyes."

The sponsor would initiate the ceremony with an address to all participants. In the address there would likely be reference to the sponsor's own spirit guardian, who had commanded him to "put on this dance." During these initial proceedings, and moving counterclockwise, the sponsor would ceremonially sweep the dance floor with an eagle-feather fan, to "cleanse the floor and so all will not get sore feet." The dance area would thus be spiritually purified and the floor "now opened."

Of those who plan to share their songs that night, the first step forward onto the floor and speak aloud "heart talk." During these addresses, most of the dancers identify their particular *suumesh* guardian spirit, though some are reluctant to do so. Often the dancer will wear some emblem of his *suumesh* medicine power, such as a cloth sash or handkerchief tied around an arm. As the address continues, he will relate the challenges he and his family have been facing and ask for assistance from the spirit world and the Creator.

Following the heart talk the speaker "brings out" his song, singing his *suumesh* song. The spirits are understood as being "close at hand, as you feel their power and hear their songs within you." The singer typically uses a dance-staff to keep rhythm with the song, beating it on the floor. A staff is from four to six feet tall and is typically fashioned from a straight fir sapling, with deer hoofs attached at its tip. Its bark has been removed, and it is sometimes painted in a series of bands according to vision instructions. No drums or other wooden percussion instruments are used.

As the individual sings his *suumesh* songs, other participants join him and the dancing begins. The song leader may either stand in the center of the room or begin to dance himself, with anyone wishing to join him doing so. The dancers circle the center pole or the song leader in a clockwise fashion, as among the Sanpoil, or in a counterclockwise manner, as is the case among the Coeur d'Alene. The dance movement is an up and down jump, with both feet moving at the same time and knees slightly fixed. The song leader encourages the participants to dance hard, to "dance for your family." While the dancing continues, other relatives and friends look on, seated along the walls of the longhouse. However, no one is to look directly at the singer who is "bringing out" his song. That is why some women cover their eyes with their bandanas while singing, and an additional reason why the dance area is darkened. The singing continues until the *suumesh* is "no longer heard within you."

During the singing, the lead singer is transformed into his animal spirit. "He becomes the spirit," removing his human clothing, blackening his face, talking as his animal spirit, and perhaps perching on rafters of the longhouse. This human-to-animal metamorphosis is a uniquely Plateau feature. As Verne Ray observed among the Sanpoil (1932, 196), particular characteristics of the *suumesh* guardian spirit are witnessed in the actions of the dancer. For example, the Driftwood spirit might be represented in the dancer's taking a few steps, first back and then forward, as if wood were being carried back and forth in a river. In the case of the Deer spirit, the dancer holds his hands up at the sides of his body, calling *"a'a . . .."* As he dances, he moves one arm and then the other forward, representing the Deer as it walks. The Grizzly Bear dances sideways and emits a deep sound from the throat.

Four Nez Perce Indians on Colville Indian Reservation, ca. 1910. (Library of Congress)

The Elk is seen in the raising and lowering of the dancer's shoulders, while holding his arms vertically at his sides. The Salmon spirit is witnessed in the waving motion of the dancer. Various Bird spirits involve the dancers' arms moving as if flying, while other animals are identified by their unique calls.

One of the most important transformations is that into the Bluejay. Traditionally occurring among the Coeur d'Alene, Flathead, Kalispel, Sanpoil, and Spokane, the dancer becomes the Bluejay and "flies to the rafters of the lodge and out into the forest." Upon his return, the Bluejay is not to be touched, for fear of contracting a sickness. Nevertheless, he blesses the food and foretells the future for the participants present. He is returned to a human state only after forcefully being smudged and sung over by a shaman.

At sunrise, a meal is prepared and served to all the participants. The meal might include fried eggs and bacon, pancakes, fruits of various types, and juice drinks and coffee. Occasionally, camas or some other traditional root food would be included in the meal. Serving traditional foods is a very important aspect of the dances and further strengthens the teachings that govern this important activity. In addition, various gifts might be distributed to the singers who shared their *suumesh* songs during the night.

There are a number of stated reasons for holding the Winter Spirit Dance. Among the most important reasons is influencing the winter snowfall and the coming of spring rains. When the various roots and game animals are well nourished, the gathering of the roots and the hunting of the deer also prosper. Another concern is the health of the dancers. When the *suumesh* songs are sung, it is a way of "respecting your *suumesh* spirit" and avoiding "spirit sickness." Not to sing your spirit songs during the Winter Dance could bring on "spirit sickness." Finally, much of the "heart talk" addresses the welfare of the families and community at large, beseeching members to cooperate and respect one another, and to reduce tensions and rivalries.

The Washat is one of the important ceremonial complexes in the Plateau,

emerging into its contemporary configuration during the nineteenth century. While there are key traditional ceremonial elements that have been retained in the Washat, such as the importance of vision questing, establishing an animal guardian spirit relationship, and holding communal prayer and dance, there are also Christian-influenced elements clearly evident. Such elements include Sunday Worship Dances and an emphasis on a code of proper moral behavior. As understood by many Washat followers, "the Longhouse teachings and the original prophecy songs which formed the basis of these beliefs are basically the same teachings which were given to others across the ocean [Europeans], except that they were given to our people in a different way." After the Europeans "broke the original laws," the teachings were brought to the Indian peoples to help them cope with the enormous change being prophesied concerning the arrival of the Europeans. "Since our lives were about to change dramatically this was the way given to our people by the Creator to help ourselves." In addition, the spread and character of the Washat itself owes much to the guidance of the nineteenth-century prophetic leader Smohalla.

Smohalla was one of the most important nineteenth-century spiritual leaders in the Plateau. Under his influence the Washat spread throughout the region. Smohalla was born in the Priest Rapids, Washington, area sometime after 1810; he died in 1895. Much of the information we have on Smohalla and his influence on the emerging Washat comes from James Mooney (1896). Mooney witnessed the salmon feast celebrated in the Washat orientation. During trance experiences, Smohalla repeatedly journeyed to the land of the spirits. There he received songs and instructions, and he predicted natural events such as earthquakes and eclipses. In one vision he was instructed to make a flag adorned with an oriole with a brass tack eye, and to raise the flag when the longhouse was in use. Smohalla rejected white civilization and the removal of Indian families to reservations. He staunchly advocated following the "traditional way," including how one was to dress and pray, and always protecting the earth. Some tribes—not, however, including the Nez Perce—believed that if the people danced the Washat, whites would be removed from the land and the dead would be brought back to life.

Unlike the single ceremonial event of the Winter Dance, the Washat entails a series of year-round ceremonial expressions. Within the Washat ceremonial complex, dances are held for the first foods' feasts, such as the first roots in spring, the salmon fished in midspring, and the berries that come at the end of summer. There are Washat dances held for wakes and for memorial and funeral observances. The Washat longhouses are used by family members, for example, for naming ceremonies for their children, for the celebration of a child's first powwow dancing, for marriage and

"wedding trades," for high school graduations, and for veterans' celebrations. Hence the Washat is referred to as a "way of life," and not as a specific ceremonial observance.

The Washat dances are traditionally held in longhouses, with their entrances oriented to the east. The tule-mat longhouse has long been a symbol of community solidarity and identity, the place where communal celebrations regularly occurred. Today well-built wood-framed or cinder-block structures are called "longhouses." Both traditional and contemporary forms have a central dirt floor, to remind dancers to stay close to the earth. Tule-mats may also be used to cover part of the center floor. Men, women, and children participate in the dances, with men assembling on the north side and women on south. The gender separation reiterates the important roles men and women play in the community. "From where they're seated, the women look to the hills for berries to gather and roots to dig, while the men look for deer to hunt. Both are needed if the families are to grow." Ribbon shirts might be worn by the men, with women in calico "wing-dresses" and head scarves; both men and women wear moccasins. The wearing of "traditional dress and hairstyle" is very important to the Washat way, as it "shows respect for the original teachings and for the Creator, since He was the one who created us and gave [us] these laws to follow."

Stationed at the west side of the longhouse and facing east is the leader of the ceremony. A Washat leader is chosen by the congregation and can often trace his descent from respected chiefly families. He is often said to possess visionary and prophetic powers. Having extensive knowledge of the ritual of the Washat and their meanings, the leader is responsible for conducting the ceremony. He is ultimately responsible to the people, taking care of their various spiritual needs. To the left of the leader, either standing or seated, are seven singers. Seven is the sacred number among Washat followers. Each singer holds an unpainted hand drum some three inches deep and twenty inches in diameter. The derivation of what is sometimes referred to as the "Seven Drum way of life" is based upon these drummers.

Starting with the youngest and holding an eagle feather fan in his right hand, each of the singers sings his Washat song. In some instances a single eagle feather is held, not a fan. At Priest Rapids the men use swan feather fans; the women use single eagle feathers. During the singing, the leader keeps rhythm with a hand bell as the other singers keep cadence with their drums. The bell is used to signal the beginning and end of the various segments of the ceremony, and for the "count of songs." As the songs are sung, the singers moving their right hands back and forth in an arc fashion, from their hearts upward toward the right. At the end of each song series, people extend their right hands outward and upward, intoning *Aiiiiii,* like an "Amen," and then circling once in

a counterclockwise fashion. Once one of the seven singers completes his song, the next singer begins his Washat songs.

After each series of seven songs, an elder would come forward and "speak out," often with his head lowered. All the participants are told to remember the teachings and values of their grandparents, such as having respect for their elders; stressing cooperation, hospitality, and sharing; and never taking more than what is needed. At the close of the dance you might hear an elder say, "We're wrapping up these words and thoughts that were shared here and putting them into this bundle [holding his hand together, outstretched before him], and now send them to the Creator."

The Washat dance concludes with a community meal and closing song. Before the meal is begun and following a prayer by an elder, a few sips are ritually taken from the containers of water placed before each participant. Water is particularly revered and significant in the Washat religion, considered the "source of all of life." The participants exit the longhouse either after acknowledging each other in a "friendship circle" or simply walking around the longhouse, single file, with each person leaving through the door.

Nakia Williamson and Rodney Frey

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Coeur d'Alene; Oral Traditions, Plateau; Spirits and Spirit Helpers, Plateau; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Plateau

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Dance, Southeast

Sacred dances enabled Native people of the Southeast to commemorate significant events from the past, renew relations between people, and influence the forces of order and chaos that governed

the world they inhabited. When Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Powhatans, Seminoles, and other groups danced, they re-created their communities and reinforced their sense of self, place, and power. As a marker of culture and belief, sacred dances enabled groups of people to connect in a number of ways.

One of the most important functions of dance was to help integrate outsiders into the world of the Southeastern Indians. For example, when Pierre LeMoyne d'Iberville explored the lower Mississippi Valley for the king of France, the people he met used dances to greet him and to bind him to them in political and military alliances. In 1699, Bayogoulas and Mogoulaschas welcomed Iberville to the village they shared and escorted him to the middle of a crowd where he sat on bearskins. The hosts gave Iberville and his men some tobacco and a dish of fermented corn called *sagamité*. After the presentation of the gifts, the Bayogoulas and Mogoulaschas passed the rest of the afternoon in singing and dancing. Iberville wanted to know about the various rivers that cut through the country, but his hosts wanted to celebrate the new alliance that had been born of their contact.

Dances also built bonds between people within Native societies. Social dances required men and women to choose partners for a turn around the sacred fire. Such dances might also be held in conjunction with important events, such as the end of a hunt or the passage of a season. Before ball games Creeks might perform the quail dance, in which men and women alternated in a circle, waddling about like quails. As a drummer pounded out the beat, the quail dancers would sing each of two songs and complete four circuits around the fire for each. The fish dance welcomed hunters back to their hometown. Each successful hunter appeared at the square ground with a stick carved into the shape of a fish. The dancers danced while the drummers sang the fish dance song. Afterward, dancers and observers feasted and concluded the ceremony with a stomp dance, the most common form of dancing, in which men and women circled a fire. The former sang the stomp song while the latter rattled out a beat with tortoise shells filled with pebbles.

Dancing was an important part of the Creek New Year celebration—the *boskita,* or Green Corn Ceremony—which occurred at the ripening of the first corn crop. Creeks from across the confederacy celebrated the Green Corn Ceremony and used its rituals to give thanks for the harvest and to wipe away all of the ill deeds from the year before. Three stomp dances preceded the ceremony. Men wore masks, horsetails, or cattle horns and provided venison in exchange for cornbread made by the women.

One of the preparatory stomp dances might begin with the wolf dance. In the wolf dance young men would visit nearby homes, dismount their horses, and dance around a particular home, howling like wolves. Only when the inhabitants of the home set out a plate of

food would the wolves be satisfied and move on to another house. The men would meet up with women at the square ground, dance throughout the night, and be sent home by a performance of the drunken man's dance at sunup.

The Green Corn Ceremony lasted several days and involved fasts, rituals, and feasts. Dances marked the beginning and end of the period of fasting and announced the beginning of particular rituals. Young boys would be asked to sprinkle new, clean sand over the old square ground. Women would then dance to commemorate the act.

Such dances re-created the Creek's social order. At some times men would dance without women present; at others certain men could not enter the square ground without being welcomed in song by the women. Children would typically dance with women, not men, and from time to time the elderly and the youngest Creeks would have to sit and watch others perform important dances.

Choctaws danced for the green corn as well, and they had other dances that marked important times in their history. Turtle dancers invoked the Choctaws' first contact with Europeans. "A life in the wilderness," the turtle dancers sang, "with plenty of meat, fish, fowl and the [turtle dance], is far better than our old homes, and the corn, and the fruit, and the heart melting fear of the dreadful [Europeans]" (Carson 1999, 21). In this dance, the turtle dancers reminded the people that they had managed to survive by foraging in the forests when Europeans came and spread the diseases and violence that had made their towns uninhabitable.

Along similar lines, tick dancers celebrated a Choctaw ambush of a European exploring party early in the contact period. To commemorate their victory over the boatload of Europeans, the warriors traced out a circle in the high grass on the riverbank adjacent to where the attack had taken place. There they showed their contempt for the invaders by stomping on the ticks that crawled in the grass.

In addition to the Green Corn Ceremony and other kinds of dances, Chickasaws used dancing to heal the sick. Chickasaws believed that illness came in the form of a spirit, and they looked to a doctor, *aliktce,* to heal the sick and confront the bad spirit that had brought the sickness in the first place. In order to exorcise the bad spirit, the *aliktce* would draw on their knowledge of sacred power to make medicine out of plants such as mistletoe, willow, snakeroot, cottonwood, and ginseng. After administering the medicine the *aliktce* would rattle a gourd and dance three times around the patient. Then the *aliktce* would mimic the raven's call to invoke the powers of healing, ask fish to bring water to cool the fever, and call on eagle to fly to the sky and return with refreshment for the sick person.

The Powhatans employed dancing as part of the *huskanaw* ceremony that enabled young boys in their teens to ac-

quire a personal tutelary spirit that would guide each through the rest of his life. The boys spent the morning singing and dancing to call upon the proper spiritual forces. The group then ran three times down a gauntlet while older boys shielded them from the blows of the men who lined the way. After the community-affirming practice of the dances, the gauntlet helped to symbolically kill the boys, so that each could then take off to live alone in the forest for nine months before returning as a man possessed with full spiritual powers and guidance.

As important as dance was to the Native inhabitants of the South in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, dancing continued to play an important role in community formation in the twentieth. Seminoles drew upon their dance traditions to enhance the tourist operations that became an important part of their economic life in the twentieth century. In 1916, Seminoles living near West Palm Beach, Florida, created the Seminole Sun Dance festival. Tour operators and Seminole leaders hoped that the festival would prolong the tourist season. Initially the festival focused on a parade and a dance, and over time other innovations were added. By the 1930s organizers had shifted the focus to the Seminoles' resistance to the federal government and the fact that the government had never defeated them. Other Seminole camps across Florida began to hold their own versions of the Sun Dance festival. Critics charged that the dances were an artificial creation that had more to do with marketing than with Seminole traditions and beliefs. Given the large number of Seminole participants, it is clear, however, that the festival was important for the scattered communities in finding new ways to identify themselves as Seminoles.

Today dances remain a central part of community life. Cherokees in Oklahoma, for example, continue to hold stomp dances. Because customs of clan and gender remain important parts of Cherokee life, the stomp dances retrace in a circle the interdependence of men and women as they seek to uphold the power of sacred fire. Around the fire, women—many of whom still wear rattles made of turtle shells filled with pebbles—stomp out a cadence and a beat that the men follow with their song. Without the beat of the women the men cannot sing, and, consequently, neither men nor women can come together as a community before their sacred fire. Just as in the time when Europeans first came, circles and fire underscore the basic structure of the world, and men and women continue to dance to explain and experience it.

James Taylor Carson

See also Dance, Great Basin; Dance, Northwest, Winter Spirit Dances; Dance, Plains; Dance, Plateau; Drums; Ghost Dance Movement

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Southwest

In the Southwestern portion of the United States, the tribal communities that maintain their connection to their homeland have done so more successfully than many other tribal groups in the United States. The arid region, relative isolation, and insular nature of the various communities therein are all factors, but in any case, it is important to note that the region boasts a high rate of language, culture, and religious retention despite the long history of colonial pressure, both from Spain and the United States.

The Southwest is one portion of Indian country where the intimate relationship between Native peoples and their lands can be seen most clearly. The Diné (Navajo), Hopi, Apache, and Pueblo communities, while distinct, have relatively similar lifeways owing to the nature of the landscape in what is now the Four Corners region. Despite the arid nature of the high deserts of modern-day Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah, proper management of the available rainfall has yielded corn crops sufficient to give rise to the complex and ancient cultures that call this region home.

The Southwest culture area reaches across a great swath of arid country in what is now the southwestern United States and northern Mexico. It includes diverse terrain, from the high mesas and canyons of the Colorado Plateau in the north to the Mogollon Mountains of present-day southern New Mexico. Cactus-dotted deserts flank the Little Colorado River in present-day southern Arizona and the Gulf of Mexico in present-day southern Texas.

Few rains water the Southwest, and most rainfall occurs during a six-week period in the summer. Snowfall is infrequent except in mountain areas. Three types of vegetation are dominant, depending on altitude and rainfall: western evergreen in the mountains; piñon and juniper in mesa country; and desert shrub, cactus, and mesquite in lower, drier regions.

Among peoples in the Southwest, three language families predominate: Uto-Aztecan, Yuman, and Athapaskan. Uto-Aztecan speakers included the Hopi of Arizona and the Tohono O'Odham (Papago) and Akimel O'Odham (Pima) of Arizona and northern Mexico. Some Pueblo peoples, including the Tewa, Tiwa, and Towa in modern-day New Mexico, speak dialects of Kiowa-Tanoan, a language family related to Uto-Aztecan. The Cocopah,

continues

Southwest (continued)

Havasupai, Hualapai, Maricopa, Mojave, Yavapai, Yuma (Quechan), and other neighboring peoples in Arizona speak Yuman. The Apache and Navajo (Diné) of New Mexico and Arizona and the southern fringe of Colorado and Utah speak Athapaskan languages.

In the early historic period, four distinct farming peoples came to occupy the Southwest: peoples of the Mogollon, Hohokam, Anasazi, and Patayan cultures. The people of these cultures raised corn, beans, and squash. For each of these peoples, the adoption of agriculture permitted the settlement of permanent villages and the continued refinement of farming technology, arts, and crafts, especially pottery.

The Mogollon people of southeastern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico, who appeared about 2,300 years ago, built permanent villages in the region's high valleys and developed pottery distinct in its intricate geometric patterns. The Mimbres people, a Mogollan subgroup, are famous for painting pottery with dramatic black-on-white geometric designs of animals and ceremonial scenes. From about AD 1200 to 1400 the Mogollan culture was gradually absorbed by the then-dominant Anasazi culture.

The Hohokam people of southern Arizona first appeared about 2,100 years ago. Hohokam Indians dug extensive irrigation ditches for their crops. Some canals, which carried water diverted from rivers, extended for many miles. Hohokam people also built sunken ball courts—like those of the Maya Civilization in Mesoamerica—on which they played a sacred game resembling a combination of modern basketball and soccer. Hohokam people are thought to be ancestors of the Tohono O'Odham and Pima, who preserve much of the Hohokam way of life.

In the Four Corners region, where Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado now join, the Anasazi Indians gradually emerged from older Southwestern cultures, and took on a distinctive character by about 2,100 years ago. Anthropologists refer to the Anasazi of this early era as Basket Makers because they wove fine baskets from rushes, straw, and other materials. Basket Makers hunted and gathered wild foods, tended fields, and lived in large *pit houses,* dwellings with sunken floors that were topped by sturdy timber frameworks covered with mud. By about 700 CE, the Basket Maker culture

continues

Southwest (continued)

had developed into the early Pueblo cultural period. Over the next 200 years these peoples made the transition from pit houses to surface dwellings called *pueblos* by the Spanish. These dwellings were rectangular, multistoried apartment buildings composed of terraced stone and adobe arranged in planned towns connected by an extensive network of public roads and irrigation systems. At its peak, after about 900, Pueblo culture dominated much of the Southwest. From about 1150 to 1300 Pueblo peoples evacuated most of their aboveground pueblos and built spectacular dwellings in the recesses of cliffs. The largest of these had several hundred rooms and could house a population of 600 to 800 in close quarters.

The Patayan people lived near the Colorado River in what is now western Arizona, and developed agriculture by about 875 CE. They planted crops along the river floodplain and filled out their diets by hunting and gathering. Patayan Indians lived in brush-covered structures and had extensive trade networks as evidenced by the presence of shells from the Gulf of California region. The Patayan people are thought to be ancestors of the Yuman-speaking tribes.

During the late 1200s the Four Corners area suffered severe droughts, and many Pueblo sites were abandoned. However, Pueblo settlements along the Rio Grande in the south grew larger, and elaborate irrigation systems were built. Between 1200 and 1500 a people speaking Athapaskan appeared in the Southwest, having migrated southward along the western Great Plains. Based on linguistic connections, these people are believed to have branched off from indigenous peoples in western Canada. They are thought to be the ancestors of the nomadic Apache and Navajo. Their arrival may have played a role in the relocation of some Pueblo groups.

Two principal ways of life developed in the Southwest: sedentary and nomadic. The sedentary Pueblo peoples are mainly farmers who hunt and gather wild plant foods and medicines in addition to growing the larger part of their subsistence diet: corn. Squash, beans, and sunflowers are also grown in plots that range from large multifamily fields to smaller extended-family plots. A number of desert peoples, including the upland and river Yuman tribes and the Tohono O'Odham and Pima, maintain a largely agrarian way of life as well.

continues

Southwest (continued)

The religions of this region are as distinct as the cultures represented here, however, the presence of relatively sedentary communities from about 1500 CE on renders a similar "emergence" philosophy, in which the people are said to have come to their present place from lower worlds, and the role that agriculture plays for these cultures leads to a common emphasis on fertility, balance, and of course, rain.

The Hopi and other Pueblo cultures celebrate the presence of ancestral spirit beings, called *Katsinam,* for the majority of the year. These beings provide rain, fertility, and social stability through exemplary conduct used to teach the people how to live. Similarly, the Diné (Navajo) utilize the symbolism of corn and the cycles of the growing seasons to pattern both their ceremonial lives and their behavior toward one another and to the universe. Apaches likewise view their reliance on the seasonal cycles as indicative of their sacred responsibilities.

Though the region known as the Southwest culture area appears to be a dauntingly complicated landscape to maintain long-term communities in, the tribal peoples therein have not only managed, but also thrived. In addition, due to the stark nature of the Southwest, and the isolated nature of many portions within it, these tribal cultures have a level of cultural continuity that belies the harshness of the land.

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Datura

The plant known by its Latin name as *Datura* is a powerful, highly toxic hallucinogen and medicinal plant used by indigenous cultures around the world. It is found in India, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Africa, South America, and in the deserts and semiarid places of the

United States and Mexico. Datura is a member of the plant family Solanaceae, the nightshade family, which is considered by botanists to be one of the most highly evolved plant families in the world. Other powerful members of this family are tobacco and chili peppers. Along with these plants, datura has been given a place of central religious importance by the peoples who live with and use this medicine. Considered by some Southern California Native nations to be, in itself, a powerful doctor-priest, datura is approached as a teacher of life's greatest mysteries, who also has the power to take life. As such, datura reflects many of the ritual practices of the world's faiths that honor the tremendous creativity that arises from chaos and death. It is in that seemingly contradictory light that datura appears in depictions of the Vedic deity Shiva, the sacred entity of war, destruction, and creativity. In Native California, datura is treated as both symbol of, and the actual means to achieving, spiritual understanding of these aspects of life, death, chaos, and enlightenment.

The Chumash people, whose home territory is located along California's Central Coast, call this powerful teacher Momoy. Momoy appears in traditional stories as a wise old woman, whose daughter was married to and then killed by a bear. Old Woman Momoy took the scattered bits of the girl's bone and blood and mixed them in a bowl with medicine used to raise the dead. Soon Momoy's granddaughter appeared out of her mother's remains. In one of the many versions of this story, Momoy's granddaughter wandered too far from home and was then taken away and married to Thunder and Fog. She bore their children, the twin boys Six'usus (Little Thunder) and Sumiwowo (Little Fog). In many instructive, highly complex, and spiritually symbolic stories, Old Woman Momoy instructs the rash younger twin, Sumiwowo, and the more self-restrained older twin, Six'usus, on the magic and danger of the world. As Chumash people pass the oral histories from one generation to the next in the stories of Old Woman Momoy and her twin great-grandsons, the Momoy stories transfer cultural knowledge and values that include respect for age and seniority, proper etiquette, reciprocity with humans and nature, self-constraint, modesty, industriousness, self-respect, honesty, moderation, and skill with language.

The datura plant, with its Chumash name Momoy, is understood by the Chumash and surrounding tribes to have many powerful cosmic relatives. Momoy can be clearly seen on moonlit nights, dotting the hillsides with her huge, white, trumpet-shaped flowers. Perhaps partly because of this, datura flowers are believed to share properties with the moon, which is also called Momoy in the Barbareño Chumash language. Since it is believed that both the moon and its flower incarnation on earth control the tides and mark the passage of time, the words denoting each new month begin with the phrase *hesiq'momoy*. This roughly translates to "The moon of" or "the month of." January, interestingly, is

Datura in bloom, Monument Valley Tribal Park, Arizona, 1990s. (George H.H. Huey/Corbis)

called *hesiq'momoy momoy,* the moon of the moon.

Datura has been used as a plant medicine and hallucinogen by every culture that has encountered it. The powerful chemicals responsible for its pharmaceutical value as a topical pain reliever—mainly atropine and scopolamine—are also the constituents that in high doses can bring on nightmarish hallucinations and death. Many indigenous nations use datura's powerful effects in order to help adolescents glimpse their people's creation stories with a sense of the stories' ultimate reality. Many traditional Native American doctors have used a small amount of datura in their diagnosis of a patient, as the plant allows them to "see" the source of illness in the patient's body. The vapor of the steamed plant can be safely inhaled to treat severe respiratory distress. Datura's powerful alkaloid atropine, which dries out and dilates bronchial passages, has long been used as a treatment for asthma. It is most effective as a topical pain reliever, and it is often used as a hot poultice to produce this effect in treating snakebites, stings, and contusions, in reducing swellings, and during the setting of bones when a medical facility is not available.

It is very important to consider the respect and reverence shown to datura by the world's peoples. This plant, if misused, can bring about permanent blindness or insanity, or it can cause a very prolonged and painful death. The Chumash word for power is *at?sw?n,* which is a root verb denoting the inter-related actions of healing, dreaming, or poisoning. The traditional doctor, who carries the knowledge of proper dosage, determines which aspect of datura's power will be made manifest: destruction or creation. The ancient protocol surrounding the use of this sacred medicine has long dictated that it not be used recreationally under any circumstances.

Julianne Cordero-Lamb

See also Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Herbalism; New Age Appropriation; Power, Barbareño Chumash; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, California

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Deer Dance

See Yoeme (Yaqui) Deer Dance

Deloria, Ella (1888–1971)

(Linguist/author, Yankton Sioux)

During Ella Deloria's life, she interviewed thousands of elders from the three Brother Tribes of the Sioux Nation who are identified by the dialect each spoke: the Lakota, Dakota, and Nakota speakers. This entry describes her contribution to the understanding of those peoples.

The official Tribal Enrollment Certificate from the Yankton Sioux Tribes lists Ella's birth year as 1888 and her degree of Indian blood as 5/8 Yankton Sioux. Philip J. Deloria (YS#346–00000391) is listed as father, with Mary Sully/Bordeaux designated as mother.

In a lengthy paper that Ella wrote about her childhood on the Standing Rock Reservation, she refers to her "other mothers," who would be the sisters and cousins of Mary who were living in the immediate area. These women acted, not as surrogate mothers, but as biological mothers to the children of their sister, Mary. And Mary equally considered their children to be her children. That behavior was expected and accepted as the norm by all of the people, regardless of dialect. There was no differentiation between biological and familial "mothers" or "fathers," in attitude or responsibility.

In the original papers, Ella tells of the Dakota-speaking Yankton grandfather who came to visit their family while they lived on Standing Rock. "When my grandparents came to visit at our home on Standing Rock it was my grandfather's custom to take whoever was the baby at the time, on his knee, and sing him or her to sleep. I barely recall a song, like a Gregorian chant, and the words were, 'Canupa ki de waka ce / Unka aniktuze ce do / He waka ce. . . .' It was a long, long song, evidently a song for the Consecra-

tion of a Pipe for a specific purpose, and those few lines were only part of it. I was quite small, small enough to be held and sung to sleep; but I recall that. I wish I knew it all, for it was unlike any other Dakota song I have heard since. It translates: 'This Pipe is Sacred / Beware lest you forget / It is holy. . . .' For the linguist, let me add here that my grandfather was a Yankton and used the D-dialect, as the words indicate."

From this excerpt we know that Ella's first language was Dakota and that her exposure to the religion of the Dakotas began at an early age. This next excerpt on religion demonstrates the trust that the Teton people placed in Ella by telling her of how the people came to have the Sun Dance, Huka, and Buffalo ceremonies. Most white anthropologists have it that there were seven ceremonies that were brought by the White Buffalo Calf Maiden along with the Calf-Pipe. In Ella's work on Dakota culture, however, she identifies eight ceremonies.

> The original ceremonies (according to the legend of the Oglala) are three in number; but others also were strongly in existence for longer periods than anyone could say. In all, I found the following rites and ceremonies in my investigation. They seem to be pretty general among all the Tetons regardless of band; and, to agree in essentials, although differing more or less in detail. I refer to the first eight. The other are local, or long extinct.
>
> 1. The Sun-gazing Dance
> 2. The Huka
> 3. The Buffalo Ceremony
> 4. Ghost-keeping
> 5. The Virgin's Fire
> 6. Heyoka-Wozepi (Antinatural Feast)
> 7. The Double-woman Ceremony
> 8. The Peace-pipe Ceremony
>
> I have spoken of six ceremonies which were general and in a sense open to everyone, under the right conditions. They were: (Listed from birth to death)
>
> 1. Ear-piercing
> 2. Buffalo Ceremony
> 3. Water-Carriers
> 4. Huka
> 5. Sun Dance
> 6. Ghost-keeping and redistribution.

The legend of the bringing of three ceremonies to the Teton people is called *The Man Who Came to Teach and Die*.

"A man came from nowhere and took the chief's daughter for his wife. All honor was shown him at his marriage. And when he and his bride sat down in their own tepee to talk, he said to her that he came to her people on a mission and he wished to communicate it to her father.

The chief sensed that there was no personal message but one which concerned the tribe, so he called in all the principal men and feasted them. Then his son-in-law began to talk: 'I have come so that your lives may be improved. So your part is to plant a pole in the ground and hang me on it, with my arms outstretched. And as many as can, take knives and cut away pieces of my body. When you are finished, you shall be purified. Everything evil shall be blown away. That is the first thing you must do.'

So they carried out his instructions, and stabbed and cut off pieces of his body, and yet he continued to hang there intact. They grew frightened and stopped cutting him. He lifted up his head as he hung there and spoke, 'Thus hast thou decreed and so has it been done unto me. But it has availed nothing. So now, do thou wash them clean. And also cause all evil to blow away. Do thou do it!' he said; and again, 'Accordingly, they have come up in four places. Alas!' At that instant it was noticed that in four places on the horizon the thunders came into view, and on they came, converging at the area over this camp, and poured water in floods on the people, and wet them, and tore down their tepees with their accompanying winds.

When things were again straightened out, then he met with the people and told them he had brought certain teachings to them. And he told them about the wordings for the rituals of the Buffalo Ceremony, the Huka, the Sundance. Principally did he instruct concerning the Sundance. They must set up a pole, with a cross piece at the top. From it they must hang a buffalo-figure and a man-figure. And the man-figure would be himself. Then symbolically, as he had been cut, so the people were to cut and offer their flesh for earnest prayer. And they were to place a buffalo-skull at the base to honor the buffalo-spirit who would keep them fed; and they must lean a pipe, filled, at the base of the tree. He told the dancers how to dress; and instructed them especially when they were consecrated, not to touch themselves but to wear sticks in their hair by which to scratch or scrape off the perspiration during the dance.

Then he instructed about the materials and the business in the ceremonials of the Buffalo, Huka, etc., and the narrative closes with, 'Thus did "He-comes-to-a-stand-sacredly" instruct the people, vividly, as in a dream.'"

From the flow of the story, it seems that Ella transcribed it exactly as it was told to her. The same legend is in her papers more than once, and almost word for word. This would indicate that the same care in retelling this event was taken as for the telling of the Woman Who Came from the Sky, the bringing of the Calf-pipe.

Ella warned of the problems that would occur when nontribal data collectors interviewed these same elders, because no self-respecting Dakota would speak for another, especially about issues not in a personal domain. The success of researchers into the Dakota culture depends on the person's having knowledge of three personality characteristics that are considered serious defects. These are important to the extent that they have labels in the language. They are:

wawiyuge-s'a—one who asks questions boldly and as a habit; and is said to be a regular questioner; this is not a compliment;

woyake s'e—one who freely tells secrets to outsiders and who is to be avoided by all, including, usually to

lesser extent, one's own relatives; and

wasloslol-kiye ktehci—an uncomplimentary title given to someone who is "bent on knowing everything," an extremely undesirable trait.

This explanation of cultural values gives us an insight into why the misconceptions about the people Ella Deloria knew intimately abound to this time. It also explains why they are accepted by both our tribal people and all others who are familiar with concepts as recorded and put forth by the early non-Indian observers.

In a prelude to one paper that Ella titled *Religion among the Dakota,* she gives this precaution concerning the gathering of information about medicine men and power.

> We need to guard against going to loose characters and outlaws in Dakota society and getting material from them, unless it be to find out something about their private lives outside the pale of that society. Naturally the men whose word is respected in the tribe, and who are in good standing are the ones to give the truth. It is conceivable and actually happens that people who are loose give false testimony at times, simply to satisfy the questioner. No white man wants a derelict of his own color to give information about his race and thus to represent him; and in like manner, no Indian wants any but the best informed and the most upright to do so, and speak only truth. I have seen white people questioning some one who is regarded as a fool in the tribe, and quoting him as gospel; and I have seen the real people of the tribe laughing at him, saying, "Look whom he picked out to tell him, what does he know?"

The next selection is the best description of how Ella was accepted by her people that can be found in the papers. It was written as part of a paper on kinship ties—how they are established and maintained—but it clearly indicates the complete degree to which Ella was accepted in each of the three dialect communities.

> The manner of 'new' grandparents was and is immediately more articulate, that is, without any initial formality. I do not know if this is due to a life-time of practice in dealing with numerous grandchildren, or whether to a mellowing by the years that results in an immediate acceptance of all youth as grandchildren; an automatic heart-opening to any and all who relate themselves to them. For example, at a gathering, my brother took me to meet the fine old man, Little Warrior, who took part in the Custer battle. 'He is my (social) grandfather,' my brother said. 'He belongs to my parish. . . . I want you to meet him, he is full of stories.' So we went to him where he sat under a tree with his wife. 'Grandfather, this is my sister, who . . .' The old man's tone and manner became that of a real grandfather. It was a petting tone, a gentle, tender tone, as he reached out, 'Hao, hao, takoza ku wo, lel iyotaka yo, mitakoza, mitakoza!' And he led me to a space between him and his smiling and equally cordial though less articulate wife. And the warmth of affection in

> the air I could almost feel by touch. I had always been their prize grandchild, one would have supposed. No need to ask why I had come, what I wanted of them. They were ready to give all. I felt actually close to these two human beings whom I had never laid eyes on before.

"His greeting was significant of total welcome. Hao, hao, takoza (Welcome, welcome, grandchild). Ku wo (return) lel iyotaka yo (sit down here). Then the exclamations, My grandchild! My grandchild! It is Ku that is significant. It was one of various directional verbs with fine distinctions. They constitute a whole grammatical problem too involved to discuss here. But this must be said. The more technically correct verb would be u-Come (this way. Come for a while from the place you belong. Come, for a visit, on an errand, or whatever) wo is a man's sign of the imperative mood. Deliberately Little Warrior used its companion form, ku (Return. Come home, here where you belong). It meant I had a kinship right to be there; I had immediate claim on all the grandparental ministrations I required, along with all their other grandchildren. It was an indescribable comforting choice of words.

He had not waited for any explanation as to why I had come, what I was after. He interrupted the moment he realized that as his (social) grandson's sister, I was one more grandchild to be treated as such. His instantaneous acceptance, generous to overflowing, was typical; so warm, so unstilted, so selfless.

But this has happened to me before, many times, though never so dramatically. Nor have I ever detected any initial caution, any momentary fear of possible rejection. Whether one accepts grandparents or not, they accept one as a matter of course."

It is abundantly clear from the unpublished work of Ella Deloria that the beliefs we hold today about the historical culture of the speakers of Lakota (Teton), Dakota (Yankton), and Nakota (Santee) are far from the reality that is described by the tribal elders speaking to their grandchild, Ella.

All of the information in this entry comes from the unpublished papers of Ella Deloria, which are housed at the Dakota Indian Foundation in Chamberlain, South Dakota. Since very little has been published about, or by, Ella, the only source cited here is the Ella Deloria Collection of Unpublished Papers. Wherever possible, direct quotations from the papers are used.

Joyzelle Godfrey

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Arapaho; Female Spirituality, Dakota; Missionization, Northern Plains; Oral Traditions, Lakota (Teton); Religious Leadership, Plains; Sacred Pipe

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Dreamers and Prophets

Dreams are a universal feature of human nature, but they are also given highly cultural meaning by Native Americans. Dreaming is integral to Native American epistemology, their ways of knowing. Part of that epistemology is an emphasis on learning by experience and observation, rather than by explicit instruction. Dreams are a means of focusing a person's mind on events as they unfold. In his book *Ways of Knowing,* Jean-Guy Goulet writes, "Among Native North Americans generally, and among the Dene specifically, knowledge is not a commodity to be objectified in instruction; it is an expertise personally absorbed through observation and imitation" (Goulet 1998, 30). Lee Irwin makes a similar point when he writes, "Theoretical knowledge, typical of the dominant culture, often reveals particular kinds of relations among abstract, intellectual precepts, whereas the dreamer's knowledge has a strong experiential, emotional, and imagistic base. . . . Dreaming experientially *transforms* our sense of the everyday world in a holistic and immediate, emotional encounter, not in a logical or abstract sense" (Irwin 1994, 19–20). Commenting on my own experience of Dane-zaa culture, I wrote:

> People in Western culture . . . assume that we can know and experience events only after they have begun to take place in a physical world accessible to our senses. The Dane-zaa assume, I came to learn, that events can take place only after have known and experienced them in myths, dreams and visions. Even their concept of person is different from ours. In Dane-zaa reality, animals, winds, rocks, and natural forces are "people." Human people are continually in contact with these nonhuman persons. All persons continually bring the world into being through the myths, dreams, and visions they share with one another. The Dane-zaa experience myths and dreams as fundamental sources of knowledge. (Ridington 1988, xi)

Dreams provide a medium of communication between human persons and the nonhuman persons with whom they share the gifts of creation. When Plains Indians begin or end a ceremony with the phrase "All my relations," they refer to both human and nonhuman persons. Jennifer Brown points out that the "thought categories" of the Manitoba Ojibwa "leave open the possibility of animation in and communication with the totality of the surrounding universe." These categories explain, she writes, that "the private vision or dream was the prime means of access to significant knowledge and power among the Northern Algonquians," who treat dream encounters "as seriously as did the Freudian psychologists who 'discovered' the importance and relevance of dreams" (Brown 1986, 222). Brown and her colleague Robert Brightman edited the 1823 fur trade journal of George Nelson, who observed that the Cree and Ojibwa people with whom he traded

Chief Smohalla, called The Prophet of Columbia River, with his priests inside a woodlodge, 1884. (National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian)

lived their lives according to "the orders of the Dreamed" (Brown and Brightman 1988, 34). The dream-persons who instruct them include the Sun, who appears as a man, *Walking on the Wind,* animal people, and a variety of spirit beings.

When hunters prepare themselves for a hunt, they attend as much to their dreams as to the physical equipment at hand. They typically dream ahead to the place where their trails and those of their game intersect. In the hunt dream, hunter and game negotiate a relationship. A. Irving Hallowell wrote of the Ojibwa in 1935, "The hunting dream is the major object of focus. . . . It is part of the process of revelation by which the individual acquires the knowledge of life. It is the main channel through which he keeps in communication with the unseen world. His soul-spirit speaks to him in dreams" (Hallowell 1935, quoted in Ridington 1990, 102). Robert Brightman, in his study of *Rock Cree Human-Animal Relationships,* writes, "Crees say that ani-

mals are sometimes killed twice, first in a dream and subsequently in waking life. . . . Crees say that many dreams are perceptions of actually occurring events that the dreaming self witnesses or in which it constructively participates. Such dreams are conceived to be as real as the data of waking consciousness." He quotes a Cree hunter who told him, "You got to know how to do things in your dream. Make things happen." Brightman notes, "Events prophesied or predestined in dreams may occur anywhere from a few hours to decades after the dream itself" (Brightman 1993, 95; 99–100).

Dreams also facilitate communication between living people and their human relatives who have passed on. While most individuals can use dreams to contact animals and natural forces, particularly gifted people, sometimes known as dreamers or prophets, can follow dream trails into the future. Among the Dane-zaa, dreamers follow *yagatunne,* the trail to heaven, and return with messages from the people who have gone before. The gift to dream in this way comes through the dreamer's own experience of dying and returning to earth. The Dane-zaa say that their prophets die and return in order to "dream ahead for everybody." Charlie Yahey, who died in 1974, was the last in a long line of dreamers. The first one that contemporary Dane-zaa remember was called Makenunatane, "He Shows the Way." He is credited with prophesying the coming of the white people and their new technology. Charlie Yahey told me that dreamers are like swans, able to leave their bodies and journey to a place beyond the horizon:

> Even Swans, when they have hard luck
> in the fall time
> and start to starve, they can just go
> right through the sky
> to Heaven without dying.
> Swans are the only big animals God
> made
> that can go to Heaven without dying.
> Swans are hard to get for food.
> They go right through the sky.
> Saya [the culture hero] wanted big
> groups of swans in Heaven
> so there would be lots up there.
> That is why there are only a few that
> he kept on earth.
> Most of them are up in Heaven; only a
> few down here.
> (Ridington 1988, 104–105)

Similarly, he said, there are many dreamers in Heaven and only a few down here. Each song comes from a particular dreamer. Each time the singers give voice to a song they are making contact with the dreamers in Heaven. Charlie explained:

> That is how a dreamer who is still alive
> here
> gets that person in dream.
> He takes that song in his dream,
> the song that woman or man is
> singing.
> The next morning he dreams
> About how that person has started
> walking
> and singing that song.
> (ibid., 106)

Dane-zaa dreamers remind people of the sun's seasonal journey north and

south. They tell people that they must sing and dance, for if people do not sing and dance together when the sun reaches its winter and summer solstice points, the sun will continue moving until it goes out of sight and the seasonal cycle fails.

Like Makenunatane, other Native American dreamers have been particularly important in predicting and interpreting social and economic changes brought on by contact with European society and technology. Many of these dreamers adopted elements of Christianity and incorporated them into their teachings. Because of that, some observers have thought that prophet traditions and practices such as the Ghost Dance were the product of cultural borrowing. Further scholarship and the testimony of Native American dreamers themselves, however, indicates that dreaming and prophecy are of great antiquity and were used as a tool to deal with the traumatic events of European contact. The Seneca Prophet Handsome Lake was one such visionary. His experience of death and rebirth in 1799 gave rise to the Iroquois "longhouse religion," which revitalized Iroquois culture and helped it adapt to social, economic, and political changes.

The Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa was another spiritual leader who, in 1805, used the experience of death and rebirth to revitalize his people. Like Handsome Lake, he had been almost overcome by alcohol and cultural disintegration. He exhorted his followers to abandon alcohol and light new fires, "the new flames to be kindled in the traditional manner" (Edmunds 1983, 36). The name he adopted is strikingly like that of the nineteenth-century Dane-zaa prophet Maketsueson, "He Opens the Door." Tenskwatawa means "the Open Door" (ibid., 34). By 1811, he and his brother Tecumseh had established the center of a new Indian nation they hoped to create at Prophetstown, in what is now Indiana. Sadly, their vision was crushed with the death of Tecumseh at the hands of William Henry Harrison in the battle of the Thames in 1813.

In the Pacific Northwest, prophet traditions were reported during the same period as Handsome Lake, Tenskwatawa, and Makenunatane. A Spokane prophet, Yurareechen ("the Circling Raven"), "heard his Creator in a burst of light tell him to prophesy to the people" and began preaching in 1800, "when the air clouded and the ground became covered with the 'dry snow,' the ash from Mount St. Helens" (Ruby and Brown 1989, 5). A generation later, two other prophets from the same area, Smohalla and Skolaskin continued the dreamers' message of renewal and revitalization. Like Tenskwatawa, who was blind in one eye, and Makenunatane, who was initially viewed as being "crazy," Smohalla was "a hunchback" and Skolaskin "had crippled limbs" (ibid., 14).

Because dreaming is fundamental to the Native American way of knowing about the world, the appearance of dreamers and prophets in many differ-

ent times and places must be attributed to more than the diffusion of an idea from one nation to another. Native Americans responded to similar challenges with similar cultural and individual solutions. A Dane-zaa elder, Sam St. Pierre, explained to me what he understood to be the difference between priests and dreamers. Priests, he said, preach about what they know from books, while dreamers preach about what they know from experience. Native nations throughout North America have been subjected to parallel experiences of contact with European people, institutions, and technology. It is not surprising that they have responded to these challenges through the dream experiences of their leaders. In some cases, such as the Ghost Dance, prophets predicted the disappearance of the white people and a return of the buffalo. Others, such as Handsome Lake and Tenskwatawa, preached against the harmful effects of alcohol. A feature common to most dreamers is the experience of dying in this world and traveling to another. Their dreams and visions become prophecies when they returned to tell people about their experiences.

For hundreds of years, since first contact, Native American dreamers and prophets have provided their people with knowledge about the changes that threaten to overwhelm them. For millennia prior, dreamers provided insight into the economic and political issues of the day. There is no reason to believe that such gifted people lived only in the past. As indigenous nations face increased assaults, they can expect thoroughly contemporary dreamers and visionaries to appear among them. There is great truth when Native Americans invoke the spirits of "All my relations."

Robin Ridington

See also Dreams and Visions; Ghost Dance Movement; Native American Church, Peyote Movement; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, Columbia Plateau; Revitalization Movements, Northeast; Vision Quest Rites

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Dreams and Visions

For First Peoples, dreams have acted as guiding resources for prophetic movements, new techniques in healing, guidance for enduring the hardships of colonialization, innovation in technology and crafts, a resource for the maintenance of religious continuity, and religious revalidation. There is a rich affirmation of dreaming among indigenous peoples around the world, from the Evenki-Tungus in Siberia to the Inuit and to the peoples of Africa and Australia, as well as for a majority of the indigenous peoples of North and South America. Dreaming in a majority of these traditions has been central, a primal resource for religious action, ritual, and individual development. In many of these traditions, dreams are regarded as having greater validity than knowledge obtained in the normative, waking sense. But that does not mean all dreams are regarded as significant, or that any dream may confer status on the dreamer. Most indigenous traditions make a sharp distinction between various types of dreams.

For example, among the Comanche, dreams are indexed according to the degree of *puha* ("power") conferred by the dream experience while either awake or asleep. Dreams with significant *puha* are usually, but not always, acquired under circumstances of rigorous dream questing, while ordinary dreams lack *puha,* as do negative or disturbing dreams (Wallace and Hoebel, 1952, 155). Among the Apache, a dreamer who is asleep at the onset of a dream of power is thought to be "awakened" by the power and taken to the home of the power (as a challenging test of the dreamer's commitment), at which place the dream power is conferred in a ceremonial setting; the dreamer is then returned to the sleeping state (Opler 1969, 204). The dream as bestowing "power" is a critical marker of the ontology of dreaming; the dream as such is not the issue as much as the psychic and spiritual contact with sources of sacred being that generates an influx of enhanced ability or new capacities unactualized before the event of the dream.

It is important to recognize in this kind of classification that "power" is a term that references a type of knowledge—specifically, knowledge acquired through dreams that is considered extraordinary and unusual. The dreamer has been given a gift of knowledge that will empower action in the waking world because dreams are seen as a primary means through which such power is conferred. For example, among the Zuni, *k'okshi* (that is, "good") dreams are those that strengthen the heart and breath and give knowledge that is *pikwayina* ("passed through from the other side"), or a capacity to "see ahead" (*tunaa'ehkwi*). Such knowledge is considered an enhancement of human poten-

tial through contact with more-than-human sources (conceptualized by the Zuni as the raw, animate powers of nature rather than the weaker, cooked power of human beings). Bad dreams are told in the morning while breathing in smoke from the piñon, thus dissipating the negative influence; good dreams are held within to strengthen the breath and enacted only under special circumstances when extraordinary power is required (Tedlock 1987, 113, 117).

Other Native communities make clear linguistic distinctions with regard to dream types. For example, among the Apsarokee (Crow) we find four types: *Etahawasheare,* meaning "no account dreams," are common, nonempowering night dreams. *Maremmasheare,* "wish or sleep dreams," possess minor *maxpe* ["power/medicine"], giving some degree of power based on prayers and desires whose source cannot be identified in the dream; these dreams are sometimes given by the dreamer to other Apsarokee during a sweatlodge rite or in return for presents donated on special occasions. The next highest grade is the *Bashiammisheek* (lit., "he has a medicine"), usually conferring significant *maxpe* while asleep. The highest grade is known as *Baaheamaequa* (lit., "something you see"), or a waking vision that gives an abundant degree of *maxpe* (Wildschut 1960, 4–5). Generally, the dream power is conveyed in terms of certain objects, songs, ritual behavior, and proscriptions necessary to ensure the lasting vitality of the *maxpe* conferred. Often the dreamer must wait years before enacting the power, sometimes signified by four repeating dreams on the subject of the power given.

From just these few examples, for which analogies can be recognized in many other Native communities, we can see that dreams are clearly distinguished into various types, and that some dreams are highly valued as bestowing nonordinary degrees of power and knowledge. Further, ordinary dreams are distinguished from special types of dreams that are believed to establish a link between the religious worldview of the community and the direct, personal experience of the individual. Thus, some dreams are valued more than others—in fact, a relatively small percentage of all dreams are the dreams that are most valued and most reflective of the higher-value world of the dreamer. However, dreams are generally remembered and valued insofar as the dreaming experience is a medium for communication with the sacred powers of the religious world. Dreams in this sense are a means of establishing a direct personal relationship with the deepest sources of ontological value within a given cultural framework. That is because the dreamwork is inseparable from a religious worldview that sees dreaming as a unique form of knowledge, a relationship between empowering sources and dreamers who must enact the dream to manifest the power or knowledge given.

Dreams in the Native context are neither epiphenomenal nor a by-product of

biological or cognitive processes, but a means by which the dreamer establishes reciprocity within a psychically defined religious worldview. Another important feature of the higher-value dream experience is the often visual, nonverbal character of the dream, its intensely vivid and imagistic texture. A dream of power is itself a dramatic enactment, a visceral experience that grips the dreamer in a powerful, utterly absorbing, and often highly emotional fashion. The dream is not about a text but about texture and context. A Hopi dreamer reports how while sitting outside by his cornfield, banging a can and shouting to chase away the crows, he saw a small cloud approaching but ignored it until it came very close to him. Suddenly "a powerful female being" (Mother of the Game) jumped on him, knocked him to the ground, weakened his breathing, made him feel limp, wrestled with him, tried to pin him in a possible sexual embrace that he resisted successfully, and released him only when he promised to offer her prayer sticks if she would give him special ability to hunt. Finally, she spun around "like a top" and disappeared into the ground. When he awoke from this dream, his ears were ringing with the sound of bells and his body was covered with sweat (Simmons 1942, 342). Such an intense somatic encounter opens the door into the profound emotional dynamics of contact with extraordinary power normally inaccessible in lesser dream types.

The impact of the dream is visceral, image driven, emotional, and tactile. In other words, it has ontological reality; it is an encounter with primal power through the medium of the visionary experience that affirms the reality of the religious worldview. The female figure is not merely a Hopi woman but dressed in rabbit skins with long corn tassel earrings—a precise image of the Mother of the Game. This in turn directs attention to the problem of the dream texture (as a vivid emotional and visceral felt-encounter) as compared with the written text through which, in the non-Native context, the dream is conveyed. But what about the Native context? In that context what matters is the success of the hunt, the hunter's ability to actualize the gift of power through successful hunting, not the narrative of the dream. The axiology of the dream lies in its successful enactment in the context of the Hopi worldview, and certainly not in the creation of a written text. The value is not the dream as a form of narrative, but the way in which dreaming acts to empower the individual and give existential value to the dreamer by heightening the capacity to act with greater effectiveness in certain dream-defined circumstances (such as hunting).

To understand this axiological (or value driven) content of the dream, it is necessary to move away from the text-centered bias that currently pervades much scholarship on dreaming. What is the power of the image? How does the dream texture determine the value of a

dream? Why are some dreams recognized as dreams of "power" and not others? The power of the image is not simply its visual presentation; it is the way in which the image moves, the ways in which this moving imagery taps the human potential and arouses a powerful, reactive encounter with latent capacity. In the context of a religious worldview, the visual field is charged with powerful mythic forms and imagery (reinforced through visual semiotics in communal religious life) that can move far beyond dreaming as mere visual presentation (like a spectator watching a film) to a radical encounter that forces the individual to grapple with compelling, visionary manifestations of those forms. The texture of the dream of power is this radical encounter, this compelling, gripping sense of the lived reality: the vividness of the interaction, its provocative, confrontational quality. These are not ordinary dreams, and they cannot be reduced to ordinary texts without obscuring the real texture that validates the dream in its indigenous context. Dreams of power are recognizable not by metaphor or analogy, not by conformity to textual criteria, but by confrontation, emotional depth, and a sense of the nonordinary quality of the dream.

There is more to be said about images. One feature of indigenous dream reports that I have long noticed is the relatively small role played by actual verbal content. Most often, such explicit verbal content is linked to ritual behavior: words to be recited, songs to be sung, prayers to be offered, which, all in all, make up a quite small portion of the dream. The primary content of the dream is the dramatic action, the encounter that is related through a meeting between the dreamer and explicit, animate powers of the shared religious worldview of the dreamer. The remarkable aspect of this action is the way in which the imagery embodies a strategic link to powerful figures of that religious worldview. These figures in turn, through the visionary mode, impact the dreamer as embodying a profound reality, an ontological depth, that moves the dreamer into a state that permits tapping the power of the image through following the dream instructions, through enactment and actually living the dream in a variety of contexts sanctioned by the same religious worldview. So the imagery moves beyond any text classification scheme and into an indexing of the various modes of power that vivify the religious worldview through existential encounter, through real dream affirmation of the power of those images.

Subsequently, the very nature of that encounter opens the door for innovation and emergence in the religious context. As the texture deepens, as the shades and nuances of the culture shift, in the ongoing mediation of power as a religious phenomenon, the dream is a vehicle that can both reinforce existing patterns of belief and open the way for equally potent but new manifestations. The dream is a living medium of encounter and imagery, and

drama is the means by which the dream enhances or affirms new awareness and new thinking. There is nothing in the fundamental theory of dreaming in the indigenous context that inhibits such innovation. The visual medium is a living context in transformation—if the dream reinforces the dreaming of others, constructed in traditional patterns, well and good. But if the dream introduces new ideas, perceptions, encounters, or emergent powers (like Jesus or Mary), that too is well and good. What matters is not the text, but the texture and the gripping reality, the encounter that moves the dream into the arena of power. And the test is the capacity of the dreamer to manifest that power in a context that affirms and supports the communal life.

We can build on this understanding. In the religious context, the dreamer seeks to have these special, empowering dreams as a validation of the religious worldview as well as a personal affirmation of enhanced human ability. People without these affirmative and enhancing dreams lack the special abilities that such dreams give; they do not epitomize the ideal of the successful dreamer. The higher-value dream is much more than a simple pattern dream or a repetition of particular imagery. The validating criterion is the affective nature of the dream in the waking state. It is not "dreams remembered" but the dream as enacted in the actuality of waking life—that is, how the dream enhances and empowers daily life and provides a manifestation of the animate powers of the religious worldview. The crucial reality, the ontological significance, is not the telling of the dream (though that may be part of the pattern) or the dream text, but what the dream sanctions in terms of action and successful manifestations of dream power. A new healer among the California Pomo received dreams of the Pomo round house (ceremonial center) and was instructed in dreams on how to heal, or to use *weya,* or "healing power." Following these instructions he began to healing techniques revealed to him in his dreams and was soon recognized by many Pomo (and others) as a successful dreamer, as evidenced by his actual healing of people (Gray 1984, 146). The real test of the dream of power is for the dreamer to manifest the dream power capacity in a way that is evident and clear to other community members; the dream as text plays only a minor role in this process.

Some persons demonstrate a capacity for dreaming many of these types of higher-value dreams, the contents of which are often linked as a series of empowering manifestations. Usually it is possible for any community member to receive higher-value dreams, although some persons receive many and thus may become highly respected healers or spiritual exemplars. For example, Susie Rube, a respected Washo healer, says, "All *puhágëm* [healers or doctors] have more than one dream. They usually have four or five. This increases the doctor's power. But doctors have one main dream, which is the first one dreamed. Others come in

as help. The more helpers, the more power. The longer the practice, the more helpers. In doctoring, all dreams work together" (Siskin 1983, 25). The *puha* (or healer) gains credibility through a developing ability that becomes manifest through sequential dreaming—the texture deepens and enriches the understanding of the dreamer, even though the actual dream context is rarely discussed or narrated. As Park has noted among the Paviotso, "dreams-in-a-series" is the most distinguishing feature of successful healers or doctors as those healers "continue to dream and develop their powers" (Park 1975, 23).

Henry Rupert, a Washo healer, notes that dreamers do not begin to use their power until about the age of forty-five, but they may be older—over sixty—because younger dreamers often do not understand the significance or application of their dreams (Siskin 1983, 34). They may also not be familiar with the more mature features of the religious worldview held by successful dreamers who have often acted as creative interpreters of that worldview. The knowledge given by the dream is often highly individualized, and in studying dream records I have rarely encountered identical dreams—in fact, most dream narratives have been very diverse, even within a single cultural context, and even though they do share certain features common to the religious beliefs of the community. Dream knowledge is built up over years of dreaming, and younger dreamers will turn to older, successful healers and other practitioners to learn more about the process of dream interpretation and enactment. Higher-value dreams can be very enigmatic or difficult to follow, challenging the dreamer in ways that can be dangerous. In fact, contact with the animate powers of higher-value dreams is considered a profound challenge; the integration of that dream knowledge or power requires a lifetime's effort. The contents of such a dream are unpacked over years of thought and reflection, coupled with dream enactment and supplemented by additional dream experience.

As described by one Gros Ventre dreamer, the encounter with the animate powers of the religious worldview is often "fearsome and uncanny" (Cooper 1957, 278). That quality is a mark of profound contact with psychic contents that challenge dreamers to transform their life in ways that correspond to an ability to access the power as defined in a religious context. The Comanche healer Sanapia reported of her solicitation of the eagle-dream power that "when the eagle came to her, everything around her disappeared, [and] while the eagle was present, she trembled violently and perspired freely, her heart beat very rapidly and she felt as if she was going to faint." To maintain and direct the healing energy of the higher-value dream requires special training and inner development that is part of a shared visionary epistemology that must be enacted to be validated. The reality of the dream power is not simply

vivid imagery or a particular action but an action that solicits the dream state, that invokes and animates the dreamer with the power and presence of the dream. That is no easy task. The dreamer must be able voluntarily to enter the dream state while awake, to bring the dream to life with a texture similar to the original dream instructions. This requires special practice and a certain capacity to embody the dream state as normative for the manifestation of its animating power.

The continuity between the waking state and the dream state is here much more pronounced than most current dream research recognizes. The visionary epistemology of the dreamer is such that the higher-value dream is marked not in terms of waking or sleeping but in terms of intensity and vividness that grasps the dreamer and transports that dreamer into the visionary reality generally sanctioned by communal religious beliefs. And then, the vision may very well surpass the boundaries of communal belief by introducing new motifs, imagery, songs, rituals, and so on that is part of the creative and emergent process of higher-value dreaming. The challenge of the dreamer is to embody the dream in the waking state with a similar if not greater vividness, which brings the creative and transformative qualities of the dream truly to life in the communal context. This takes a high degree of maturity and good judgment in terms of being able to handle the transformative experience that validates the dream. Not only must the dreamer seek to understand the nuances of the dream, its often enigmatic qualities, but, in addition, the dreamer must be psychically prepared to enter the dream state and be able to interpret the dream in terms of processes of both cultural continuity and cultural emergence.

By implication, the dream world embodies primary sources for the affirmation of religious action, either in the person of the respected dreamer or through the dream as the medium by which the animating powers of the visionary world communicate extraordinary sanctions for action. The dreamer, the developed dreamer, having integrated the sequence of dreams into an overall dreaming praxis, becomes increasingly assimilated into the general religious hierarchy of dreaming powers. This is generally not a matter of a rigidly codified institutional hierarchy, but of a very informal pluralism in which a dreamer who embodies specific connections to specific powers "stands out" in communal life as one who knows the visionary world, who enacts it, and thereby represents its authentic presence. Such a role can be ambiguous, "uncanny and fearful," for other members of the community in the same way that the higher-value dream represents the ambiguity and power of the religious worldview. An advanced dreamer-practitioner might well be regarded as embodying the dream power in ways that are extraordinary and uncanny (Irwin 1992, 246). The psychic abilities of the dreamer are recognized by other members of the commu-

nity through the successful enactment of the dream, and the dreamer gives validity to the religious worldview through the dreamer's own personhood. The value lies not only in the dream but also in the dreamer, in the way in which the dreamer makes real and viable the shared beliefs of the community.

This aspect of the dreamer as representing the dream or visionary world of religious belief is an aspect of the pragmatic function of religion in the Native American context. Religion is not simply about belief but also about the capacity of human beings to embody and exemplify ontological depths that empower and enhance human capacity. The dream is one medium of this enhancement, and its most telling exemplum is the vitality and success of the dreamer in manifesting extraordinary power acquired in higher-value dreaming. There is a psychic trajectory here: an individual dreams many dreams, some of which may be more representative of higher values than others. Among all these dreams, perhaps a few stand out as communicating power (or enhanced ability), and those dreams are specially marked as reflecting core values in a religious worldview. There is a shared knowledge that such marked dreams are a means for contact and interaction with the most powerful sources of knowledge in that worldview. However, this knowledge cannot be easily transmitted without the requisite dream experience. Certain individuals excel in this kind of dreaming; they may spend years pondering their dreams until they feel ready to act on them. In acting on them, they have varying degrees of success. Those who have the most marked success, who can actually demonstrate knowledge and power in the visionary (or perhaps uncanny) sense, become recognized as embodying those powers. Over years of practice and skillful development, the individual may be increasingly identified as a religious expert with profound knowledge of dreaming power and may be regarded with some awe or trepidation.

Different cultures interpret this process differently. For example, among certain Northern Plains communities, the above-mentioned development is central to the validation of core religious values. Among contemporary Lakota women (and men), acquiring dreams is a basic prerequisite for eventually attaining the role of a Wapiya Win ("woman healer"). These dreams may begin when a dreamer has little or no expectation of having such dreams, but then, a series, of powerful dreams becomes compelling and draws the individual into religious practices of healing. Nellie Two Bulls tells the story of how she resisted the dream call from the voices she heard and the three women who appeared to her in several waking visions. The dreams made her sick and fearful, but eventually she felt she had to accept the call and subsequently became a very powerful and highly respected Double Woman healer (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995, 54–55). In other communities, such as among the Pueblo peoples, compelling

dreams are less central to the religious life of the ritual processes that characterize the agricultural practices of Pueblo religion. And yet, various societies exist that support individual dreaming—as among the Zuni Teka'we or the Din'e ndilnih—healing societies in which the dream can act as a guiding, even compelling, manifestation for individual development.

Among the Modoc, the *sumach ahot,* or "great dream," is considered an outstanding event because it connects to a time before birth, recovered in the dream, and reveals the dreamer's true power as a *sumact* ("doctor" or "healer") who can embody *Avikwame,* the spirit of the mountain of creation. Such dreams convey new portions of the story of creation, which are then added to the ongoing narratives and rites of other great *sumact* (Stewart 1974, 9). Such an example clearly illustrates that certain dream types are recognized as axiological resources that confirm and help to shape a religious worldview in an ongoing process of cocreation among dreamers. Such dreamers stand out as exemplifying the religious worldview and as affirming in a direct experiential sense the ontological value of dreams. The most advanced Modoc dreamers are able to connect to a preexistence that is still in the process of development and that confers unique abilities and narrative traditions linked to the ongoing story of adaptation and something more than survival. Alternatively, many Native dreaming traditions also have strong "prophetic" elements—that is, predictive narratives about the future tied to various manifestations of power in the present, such as is seen in the many "dreamer" and "shaker" religious movements of the Northwest. All of these affirm the ontological value of the dream as a source of empowerment and knowledge that surpasses ordinary waking or dream knowledge.

In summary, dreams in the indigenous context are multifaceted but converge in their affirmation of core religious values through experiential encounter. The dream is a medium of validation for those values not simply as a text or a narrative but also as a resource that taps the roots of human potential and draws through those roots capacities that are unique, highly honored, and fruitful in supporting emergence and transformation in the religious worldview. Further, dreams give extraordinary knowledge of the mythic and psychic structures of that worldview as embodied in actual dreamers who come to represent that world as living manifestations of its power and reality. The higher-value dream is not reducible to either a literary expression or a simple imaginative act; it is a primary medium for the validation of a religious worldview. It is a creative resource for the exploration of human potential, and such dreams are psychically potent manifestations of as-yet-unactualized capacity and knowledge that takes many years of training and development to realize fully.

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Arapaho; Dreamers and Prophets; Guardian Spirit Complex; Power, Northwest Coast; Power Places, Great Basin; Power, Plains; Power, Southeast; Spirits and Spirit Helpers, Plateau; Sweatlodge; Vision Quest Rites

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Drums

Drums play an important ceremonial role in Native American societies from the Arctic Circle southward throughout the continents. Often used to accompany singing, the drums can take many forms. Some songs or rituals call for a quiet counterpoint played on clappers—split sticks tapped against a leg or the palm of a hand. Many incorporate rattles, while others use small frame drums, water drums, or a large drum played by several people at once. In most cases, the drum or other percussion instrument is understood to play an essential role in the practice, representing a particular kind of power that resides in the drum that is called forth when the drum is given voice by its player. In cultures that use the drum in healing ceremonies, the drum may produce a physiological effect in the drummer and other participants that enables the ritual specialist to enter the proper state of consciousness to effect the needed healing. Two main kinds of drums found in important pan-tribal ceremonies are the water drum used in peyote ceremonies of the Native American Church, and the drum that forms the center of the powwow.

Water Drum

Water drums may be constructed from pottery vessels, from cooking pots, or from a hollowed piece of wood or wooden staves, like a barrel. They are found across many cultures in North and South America, and constitute the only

drum used in traditional Apache and Diné (Navajo) music. The water drum used in the Native American Church seems to be related to this Southwestern variety, generally made from a heavy metal cooking pot, ideally of the old three-legged iron variety. It is usually around eight or nine inches in diameter across the top. A buckskin head is stretched over the opening and kept wet during the ceremony.

The stringing of the head is a ceremonial act in itself. The drum's owner or guardian, a leader in the church called a "roadman," has a kit that includes everything necessary to assemble the drum: the kettle; cotton rope with which to tie down the head; seven marbles or other round, small objects; the deer hide that forms the head of the drum; and a round, pointed tool that is used to help the roadman tie or untie the drum. These tools may be made from antler or wood and are often carved with symbols important in the church, such as the cross or a representation of the peyote plant. The properly tied drum will have a star with seven points formed by the crossed ropes on the bottom of the pot.

Water fills half the pot, and it can be splashed onto the inside of the drumhead as the drum dries. The player, who kneels, holding the drum at an angle but resting on the ground, can accomplish this by slightly tossing the drum to redampen the head. While he plays, the drummer changes the tone of the drum by using the thumb of the hand supporting the drum to press on the head. He plays the drum rapidly to accompany the singing that continues through the night.

The drum incorporates several symbols that enhance the connection between the drum and the religious world of the Native American Church. These include four coals placed in the water to represent lightning, the sound of the drum itself representing thunder, and the water representing rain. The rope can be seen as a symbol of the crown of thorns worn by Jesus at his crucifixion. In addition, the drum itself symbolizes the peyote plant.

The stick used by the drummer to produce the sound of the drum is usually made of wood and carved with various symbols of important peyote images. The roadman usually has several to choose from at a ceremony. The drumstick may also be decorated with beads, metal, or rhinestones. Drumsticks can be part of the ceremony as traded items or gifts as well, given from one member of the church to another at the end of a ceremony in the morning.

Dance Drum, Powwow Drum

In the Ojibwa tradition, the story of this drum relates its first appearance to a Sioux woman named Tailfeather Woman. According to one version of the story, white soldiers had attacked her people, killing her four sons, and Tailfeather Woman tried to escape by running away. She hid in a pond, under the lily pads, and while she was there, over a period of four days, the Great Spirit told her about the drum and the dance and

Drum circle at Native American powwow, ca. 1990s. (Robert Holmes/Corbis)

the ceremonies that she was to bring back with her and give to her people. They were to build the drum, learn the dances, and then pass them on to other Native peoples, spreading peace between the tribes and protecting them all from invasion by whites (Vennum 1983, 44–45).

The drums have been spread since the end of the nineteenth century, from one group to another, across tribal lines. Generally, a group that has a drum will build a new one starting from a piece taken from their own drum, and then they will give the new one to a person in another community. In that way, each drum is a descendant of an earlier drum, and thus all drums in this tradition are related to each other and to the original drum built according to Tailfeather Woman's vision. The presentation of a drum from one group to another is a ceremonial occasion, on which the instructions for its care, for its ritual officials, and for the songs and ceremonies that accompany it are passed on, just as Tailfeather Woman passed the original instructions to her people.

The drum is constructed from part of a wooden barrel or washtub, usually about thirteen inches high and anywhere from twenty-two to twenty-five inches in diameter on the top and several inches narrower on the bottom. Both top and bottom are covered with a heavy hide head, usually made from cow, moose, or horse. The wood planking on the bottom is preserved, but a hole is cut from the middle, leaving a donut-shaped, flat bottom to support the staves and add strength to the drum. The drum has four looped strap handles that are used to hold it off the ground, slung on four legs that are either placed in a supporting frame or put into the ground. Each leg has a hook onto which to hang one of the four drum straps, and each leg is placed at one of the cardinal directions, determining the direction of the drum. The orientation of the drum is reiterated in the painted drum heads, each of which has a yellow strip running from east to west down the center of the drum. The rest of the head is painted blue on

the northern half and red on the southern half. The exact symbolism of the colors is not agreed on.

Other symbolic elements of the drum include a fabric skirt that encircles the entire drum, covering it protectively and adding to its impressive appearance, a beaded belt around the upper part of the skirt, and a fur strip around the top edge of the drum. There are also four tabs or flaps that hang equidistant between the four straps, thus corresponding to the northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest orientations of the drum. These tabs are sometimes used to distinguish a drum used for ceremonies from the social dance drums, which are more modern and secular. Only the traditional ceremonial drums have tabs that are decorated with representational figures such as a hand or a stylized person.

The owner of the drum is only one, albeit the central one, of a society of men and women who take responsibility for the drum and the dance. Other members of the society include singers, drum heaters, pipe lighters, and warriors. Each of these society members has a role to play in the dances and the ceremonies that surround the transfer of the drum to a new owner. The drum heaters are responsible for heating the drum in the sun before the dance starts. They also play the drum, along with the singers in the ceremony. During the dance or the ceremony, the drum is suspended on its four anchoring poles, and the players sit around it on folding chairs. The leader begins the song, and the rest of the players join in on cue with the song and the drum beat. Standing in a half-circle behind the men who play the drum, the women of the drum society stand and sing. The drum is understood by some players as the heartbeat of the community, or the place where the spirits can come onto the earth. Some drums have bells suspended in them that signal the presence of the spirit by their sound when the drum is struck.

In the powwow circuits, the musicians refer to their group as a Drum, not always named after the drum's owner, but named with a title that expresses the affiliations of its members with a place, a symbol, or a historical figure. Each Drum plays and sings in its own style, often a combination of traditional songs handed down through the community and new compositions, often written by the leader of the group. The songs can use vocables or lyrics or a combination of the two. In some cases the Drum will write songs with the idea of preserving a language that is no longer spoken fluently by any member of that culture. These drums are treated with respect, not being allowed to rest directly on the ground or being disturbed by disrespectful or unruly behavior. They are used not only for the traditional ceremonial dances but also for the "socials" or secular dances at the powwow. Their heads may be decorated with a variety of symbols, especially the name of the Drum and an image associated with it. Just as the songs vary according to the identity and affiliation of the members of the

Drum, the symbols and form of the drums also vary. In some cases a marching band–style bass drum is adapted for powwow use. In addition, the powwows that emphasize intertribal participation, and even allow in some cases non-Indian participation in the dances, also vary widely in the roles taken as acceptable for women. Some Drums have mixed membership of men and women, and there are a few that are made up of women only. However, these women's Drums are not always welcomed at powwows by the more traditional organizers and emcees. While women are always welcomed as singers standing behind the men, their presence as drummers is still controversial.

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See also Dance, Great Basin; Dance, Northwest, Winter Spirit Dances; Dance, Plains; Dance, Plateau; Dance, Southeast; Sacred Pipe; Sweatlodge; Vision Quest Rites

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Ecology and Environmentalism

The term "ecology," the study of the relationships between organisms and their environment, and "environmentalism," the varied strategies surrounding protection of environments, are often used interchangeably. "Religion and ecology" refers to the influence of belief systems on human attitudes and activities affecting nature. The positing of a "nature" distinct from "humanity" arose from Western philosophical speculation on the relationship between humans and their environments. On the North American continent, many Europeans in early postcontact history associated Native cultures with wilderness and savagery, a state of being that was considered the opposite of the European model of "civilization" rooted in Christianity, land ownership and cultivation, and European ways of life. According to those standards, land must be changed and developed, subjugated to human needs. Many colonists subscribed to the doctrine of discovery, by which discoverers had sole claim to all "discovered" lands. Aboriginal claims to the land were to be ignored.

An alternative model for studying Native American culture utilizes the concept of "lifeways," whereby the religious, ecological, and sociocultural aspects of life are aspects of a seamless whole, rather than discrete areas of activity. Narrative stories for entertainment and the passing on of knowledge reveal the conflation of these categories, often discouraging analytical efforts by Western researchers. Characters in the stories are human and nonhuman, or combine human and animal qualities, signifying a close commonality between human and nonhuman populations. Indeed, many stories describe a time when human and nonhuman animals spoke the same language, and contemporary stories suggest the possibility that knowledge of nonhuman languages is not completely lost. Persistent descriptions in Native stories of a relational model of daily life among

all life, including human, is the basis for a worldview representational of an interconnected, interdependent universe, dynamically sustained by humans through an ongoing matrix of reciprocal relationships.

It is difficult to speak of generalities concerning Native populations, though a common idea of the interdependence of all life is prevalent. This interdependence is created and sustained through a protocol of respect-based relationships, or reciprocal relationships. Many narrative stories of various Native traditions describe the need for the maintenance of respectful reciprocity between humans and the nonhuman world, and many describe the negative consequences of disrespectful or unconscious actions. Briefly, the earth and larger universe are often considered as inseparable from the prime creative power responsible for bringing the world into being. The maintenance of respectful relationships helps to ensure not only the survival of those engaged in relational activities (for humans, that includes actions such as gathering food, hunting, trading, and living in community) but also the ongoing health of the world at large.

Linguists have commented on the striking lack of terminology in Native languages concerning "nature" as a discrete concept. The notion of a close interconnectedness among human beings, nonhuman beings, and physical environments is often ascribed to Native cultures. Anthropologist Keith Basso writes, "[I]nhabitants *of* their landscape, the Western Apache are thus inhabited *by* it as well, and in the timeless depth of that abiding reciprocity, the people and their landscape are virtually as one" (Basso 1996, 102). The notion of interconnection has been conflated with many contemporary spiritual themes drawing broadly on Eastern philosophical ideas of interdependence, especially Western interpretations of Buddhist thought. There is no word for religion in most Native American languages, exemplifying the integrative nature of the Native worldview. The activity of daily life is religion, and all actions have a sacred dimension: there is a "right" way and a "not-so-right" way of living one's life. Being in harmony with the world, with the ways of the ancestors, with society, with community, and with family is a properly lived religious life. The maintenance of a proper relationship with one's surroundings implies sustainability, rendering the creation of a secondary self-identity as an environmentalist unnecessary.

Just as the use of the concept of "lifeways" allows for a more nuanced glimpse into Native culture, the range of issues under the umbrella of Native American religion and ecology requires a consideration of mutually influential spheres of activity. Battles over intellectual property rights (which have been extended to allow the patenting of local plants by pharmaceutical companies), economic rights (such as access to and profit from natural resources, casino profits, and political representation in policy-making processes), tribal sover-

eignty, land claims based on the sacrality of localities, loss of cultural resources (through disappearance of languages, erosion and degradation of land bases, and cultural assimilation), and the historical foundations upon which such issues rest are but a few aspects of the field of Native American religion and ecology. Such issues reflect the wide variety of battles waged in the Americas by indigenous peoples. These conflicts, by necessity and of their nature, involve issues of social justice, environmental justice, and political policy-making.

The vast array of diverse Native cultures in the Americas have developed and continue to maintain a wide set of belief systems and strategies regarding the place of humanity in the universe. These belief systems and the practices they engender are place-specific, and they tend to change as needs and resources change. As local environments evolve and in many cases are harmed by activities within and outside of local Native communities, strategies for economic survival evolve as well.

Environmental writers, activists, and organizations, operating within the Western cultural context, make use of a variety of ideas to address environmental issues, often drawing from popular conceptions of Native American cultures—or, more likely, a sort of amalgamation of attributes credited to "Indianness." While most would deny envisioning a stereotype historically denoted as the "Noble Savage," many still draw on romanticized ideas of what Native Americans are, distorting the reality of actual living populations.

Activism in Indian country concerning environmental issues has gained greater notoriety since the 1970s, fueled by the works of such writers as Donald Grinde and Bruce Johansen, Winona LaDuke, Peter Mathiessen, and Vine Deloria, among many others. Some seminal writings on Native culture and environment include Keith Basso's *Wisdom Sits in Places,* Richard Nelson's *Make Prayers to the Raven,* and the books and essays of N. Scott Momaday and Leslie Marmon Silko. Contexts for activism are many and varied, including the Cree and Inuit battles against Hydro-Quebec in Canada, water rights for many Native populations in the western United States, the ongoing loss of land in Florida and many other states, the decline of salmon populations in the northwestern United States, and countless battles over state and federal violation of treaty provisions.

Perhaps the most contentious battles continue to be waged over areas designated by Native cultures as sacred space. The inability of the U.S. judicial system to grant substantial recognition to Indian claims of sacred space has resulted in numerous cases of desecration and destruction of places held sacred by Native cultures. The Chumash of southern California, for example, continue to resist development of Point Conception, known as the Western Gate, the point on the Pacific Coast where the recently deceased are believed to pass through to

the next world. The San Carlos Apache have led efforts to defy the building of the Mount Graham International Observatory, citing the importance of the mountain as a sacred place, as well as the ecological degradation connected with the project. The Western Shoshone and Paiute in Nevada unsuccessfully fought a widely unpopular federal decision to designate Yucca Mountain as a long-term nuclear waste repository. Successful efforts to resist the development of sacred places often occur through the linking of spiritual concerns and environmental impact.

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See also Fishing Rights and the First Salmon Ceremony; First Salmon Rites; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion; Sacred Sites and Sacred Mountains; Sacred Sites and Sacred Mountains, Black Hills

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Emergence Narratives

Western spirituality often seeks to inspire its adherents to transcend their earthly state and desires (that is, the so-called natural or the fallen state), and to ascend to the heavens where a more divine state predominates. For Native Americans in general and Southwestern Natives in particular, their history, their spirituality, their art, their identity, and their sense of place all emerge out of the earth.

The idea of people emerging from the womb of Mother Earth onto the surface of the earth is unfamiliar to Western peoples and to Western theology. Rather than seeking to overcome their natural state or transcend their earthly natures, Natives of the Southwest seek to understand and celebrate their natural and earthly state. They see nothing lowly or carnal in their kinship with the Earth Mother. They seek to find their place on the earth and to attune their lives to the rhythm, melodies, and cycles of the earth and the sky.

Judeo-Christian followers sometimes build their temples and sacred structures on high places reaching toward the heavens, seeking to transcend their earthly states and places, orienting themselves to higher states and places of being. In

contrast, Pueblo Indians and their predecessors built their sacred places, the kivas, below the surface of the earth.

The Christian idea of hell as a bottomless pit in the earth and heaven as a paradise in the sky creates antagonism between the earth and the heavens, between the carnal state of the flesh and the higher state of the spirit. Native Americans see no such antagonism. The earth and the sky are kindred to the people—Mother and Father, existing in complementary asymmetry to each other, forming a dynamic and fertile union; they create, if you will, a cosmic concert. To Native Americans, the state of nature is not a war of all against all for self-aggrandizement; it is not a contest for the survival of the fittest, nor is it a struggle for power, wealth, or territory; it is a dynamic and diverse concert! The purpose of human life on earth is to harmonize with the grand concert of which it is a part. Therein do humans, children of the Earth and the Sky, find the fulfillment of their highest nature and purpose.

From the Native American perspective, life, sustenance, virtue, beauty, harmony, health, and well-being all emerge out of the earth. Despite vast differences in culture, language, subsistence, and physical type, a unifying thread that links all or nearly all of the diverse societies in the Southwest is the concept of emergence from a world or a womb below the earth's surface to the world above. The concept of emergence is ubiquitous in both time and place. It is found in song, in story, in agriculture, in art, in architecture, in ceremony, in poetry, and in prayer.

Emergence is foremost an experience of birth, of origin, and of beginning. Emergence stories proclaim that all life—human, animal, and plant—is conceived in and born from the womb of Mother Earth. In many cases the three underworlds prior to this one are metaphorically linked to the trimesters of pregnancy and prenatal development. In the case of the Diné (Navajo), gender issues and identity are resolved in the third world, or the third trimester of the prenatal development of their ancestral peoples.

The emergence from the womb of Mother Earth makes all people—and indeed all life—children of Mother Earth. Because in most cases the other species also emerged with the ancestors of humans, birth from the womb of Mother Earth unites all living beings into a single kindred with the earth. Plants that grow from seeds that germinate in the womb of Mother Earth are also part of this same kindred.

Southwestern Native American accounts of their origin intertwine the literal and the metaphorical in ways that convey a different kind of truth than the truths found in solely literal attempts to render accounts of human origins. Metaphor and symbol can embody and express concepts, perspectives, and truths that are often lost in attempts to render an exact chronology of history.

The quest for a completely literal human history is presumptuous and illusory. No one has a full and complete

knowledge of the past—and especially not of origins. Every detail of "factual" evidence is sorted, sifted, and spun together from the subjective perspectives and purposes of those who recorded them, those who collect and interpret them, and those who write about them in the present.

Native Americans do not presume to possess a completely accurate literal human history and genesis. The importance of origin stories is not primarily in the literal details they recount but in the underlying truths and meanings they convey. Southwestern histories have literal truths embedded in metaphors and allegories, and they also have metaphors imbedded in literal constructions. Westerners have, therefore, been baffled by these histories and have usually treated them solely as myths.

Southwestern histories cannot be fully understood or appreciated if we view them as strictly literal representations. They also cannot be fully understood if we view them solely as metaphorical statements. They are not myths, though they are not solely a chronology of actual events. They are not fiction, though they are not to be taken as solely factual. They are a different kind of history, and they present a different kind of truth. We are going to have to learn to listen to these histories in a new and different way, if we are going to be able to understand them. The Southwestern accounts of emergence provide a good starting place. Emergence is both a statement of fact and a metaphorical statement.

Southwestern histories place and inform the people in their present state and circumstance, and link them to the past and to the future. The emergence accounts are literal enough to provide a recognizable framework that resonates with contemporary people, and they are metaphorical enough not to be mistaken as solely literal representations. The efficacy of the story called history is in its capacity to help people understand their place in the world. History provides people with a charter for their cultural values and perspectives and for their social institutions, resulting in a particular way of seeing the world and a particular way of being in the world.

All history is to one degree or another mythical in nature. Histories that extol the literal and ignore the metaphorical are more contingent, more subject to revision, and, most important, more subject to debate and dispute. The past before our lifetimes cannot be fully known by us; it can only be imagined.

Historical metaphors are analogical truths and meanings imbedded in literal and quasi-literal frameworks. These analogical truths and meanings are more potent, more pregnant, and more far-reaching in the information they convey and the implications they embody than are mere literal accounts. Metaphors enliven and enrich the power and impact of history. Attempts at literal history are mostly mere skeletons of monolithic dates and details—often without form, meaning, or contemporary familiarity.

Metaphor is based on analogy and points to underlying similarities in the past and the present that are otherwise often obscure. Metaphors reveal underlying principles, patterns, and dynamics that link the people to their past and contextualize their place and experience in the contemporary world. There is probably no greater example of the interweaving of the literal and the metaphorical than is found in the Native Southwestern histories of emergence. Emergence is a concept that informs nearly every southwestern culture and society from the Mayans and the Aztecs in the south to the Diné in the north.

In a daily renewal of the experience of emergence, ancient Natives of the Southwest from as long as 7,500 years ago arose with the sun, emerged from their subterranean homes, and ran to the east to greet the rising sun with song, prayer, and offerings. That tradition continues today, though observed less regularly than in the past. The Zuni Sunrise song comes from that tradition.

During the last 1,300 years, homes have been built above ground and ceremonial chambers called kivas below ground. The underground kivas were sacred places reserved for ritual performances and for the retelling and reenacting of sacred history, symbolically returning the people to their origin in the womb of Mother Earth. Descent into and emergence from the kiva linked one with the world below and the world above, with the Earth Mother and the Sun Father, with the dark and the light, with the ancient and the contemporary, with the metaphysical and the physical, with the infinite and the finite.

The admonition *shabik'ehgo* is frequently heard among the Diné. It means: "Go according to the pathway of the light (generally referring to sunlight), or live in harmony with the patterns of Earth and Sky." Accordingly, the people follow the path of the sun. This pattern of following the path of the sun is several thousand years old. As the sun rose each day the ancient ones of the Southwest emerged from the darkness of night into the light of day, coming up out of their subterranean homes at dawn and experiencing a daily rebirth and renewal.

Today the people emerge from adobe and earthen-covered lodges and other types of homes, but those lodges are still metaphorically linked to the earth as their home and their place of origin and birth. When the Diné reenter their *hooghan*s they must follow the sun's pathway, making a sunwise revolution. That is routinely done every day, but it is absolutely enforced at times of ceremonial performances.

The annual pathway of the sun also mirrors the pattern of emergence as the sun moves from its lowest point in the south at the time of the winter solstice to its northernmost position at the time of the summer solstice. The annual ceremonial calendars of the Anasazi of the past and the Pueblo Indians of the last 700 years were all organized around the solstices and the annual cycle of the sun and the earth.

The sun calendar on Fajada Butte near Chaco Canyon marks both the noon hour of the day and the semiannual solstices and equinoxes by guiding light onto serpentine spirals drawn on the interior rock surfaces behind three huge rock slabs. This calendar also marks the nineteen-year cycle of the moon. It is the only ancient site in the world to unite perfectly the interrelated cycles of the sun, the earth, and the moon.

The sun calendar and noon marker were created so that the ancient Chacoan Anasazi could perfectly harmonize their lives—physically and spiritually, agriculturally and ceremonially, daily and annually—with the terrestrial, solar, and lunar cycles that they observed and with which they felt themselves to be an integral part. The daily and annual cycles of Native life are attuned to the complementary asymmetry of Mother Earth and Father Sky.

When one sees the universe as a concert rather than a contest, the appropriate behavior is to ascertain the melody, rhythm, and structure of the concert and then to attune one's life and activities, as well as one's thoughts, to this grand concert. That is the premise and the orientation that led the Anasazi to align their villages and ceremonial structures to the dimensions of the cosmic concert of which they were a part and from which they would attain a fullness of being and purpose.

The concept of emergence further reveals that human life mirrors the life of the corn on which it depends. Corn is planted in the womb of Mother Earth, germinates there, and, with nourishment from Father Sky, emerges from the womb of Mother Earth into a newness of life on the earth's surface. Above the surface of the earth, the corn grows until it reaches fruition. The stock then decays, but some of its seeds may be selected for planting, whereupon the cycle of the corn continues in a pattern of infinite regeneration.

The life cycle of the corn and the life cycle of humans are similar. The only difference is that the human cycle of regeneration is continued by women who become mothers, like unto Mother Earth. Elsewhere, I have argued that in at least the case of the Diné, the Earth Mother is the primary mother and primary referent of the term "*-má*" (Witherspoon 1977, 85–87, 91–94). Human mothers and the mothers in other species are like unto the Earth Mother. Therefore it is human mothers who represent a metaphorical extension of the concept "*-má,*" rather than the reverse.

The ancestors of the Diné (the Diyin Dine'é) emerged into this the Fourth World from three previous worlds below the surface of the earth. In the Fourth World, Changing Woman created the four original matrilineal clans of the people we call today "the Diné." In their own language and history, the children of Changing Woman are called "The People of the Earth's Surface." Changing Woman later became the inner form, or in-standing soul, of the earth. Earth Woman is another one of her names.

The earth's surface is the outer form of Changing Woman.

Changing Woman is named "changing" (*nádlééhé*) because of her power of infinite regeneration and rejuvenation. This power of infinite rejuvenation is manifest on the earth's surface, her outer form. As the earth goes through her cycle of the seasons, Changing Woman is a young girl in the spring; in the summer she becomes a young woman; in the fall she becomes a mature woman; in the winter she becomes elderly. But in the next spring, she rejuvenates and continues her infinite cycle of regeneration.

The ancestors of the Zuni climbed up through four earth wombs before emerging to the surface of this world, the Fifth World. These ancestors emerged onto the earth's surface at the bottom of the Grand Canyon, a place to which they refer as the vagina of Mother Earth. Then their ancestors migrated for many years in search of the Center of the Fifth World. They found that center near the Continental Divide and built seven villages there. This place they called *Halona Itiwana* or "middle place," and the Zuni became "the People of the Center" (or "the People of the Middle"). The Zuni say there are four worlds to come after this one, so they are in both the center of space and the meridian of time in the Fifth World on the earth's surface.

The cycle of human life, like the cycle of the corn and all living beings, mirrors the infinite cycle of life of the earth who is the mother of all. It is She who gave birth to life and sustains and nurtures that life in patterns of infinite regeneration, making all living beings of one kindred.

It makes a moral and metaphysical difference, as well as an ecological one, when one views the Grand Canyon as the vagina of Mother Earth, as opposed to viewing it as the result of hundreds of thousands of years of erosion. These views affect the way one sees the world and the way one views one's place in it. For the Zuni and the other Natives of the Southwest, the emergence establishes a bond of kinship with the earth and all life forms nurtured by the earth. It also establishes a moral and theological imperative that requires them to assume responsibility to help sustain the cycle of life supported by the earth. The annual ceremonial cycle of all the Pueblos not only harmonizes the lives of humans with the larger solar, terrestrial, and lunar cycles of which they are a part, these rituals contribute to and enhance the healthy continuation of those cycles.

In the primary family, the Earth Mother is joined in beautiful and fertile union with the Sky Father, or in some cases more specifically with the Sun Father. Father Sky sends the rain down to earth to fertilize the Earth Mother and bring forth new life conceived in the womb of Mother Earth. The Sun Father also sends sunshine to the earth to lighten, warm, and energize life on the earth. The Sky Father and the Earth Mother form a dynamic and fertile union of complementary asymmetry. One is not without the other; together they form a whole.

Mother Earth and Father Sky are the foundation of what I call the cosmic concert. I think "cosmic concert" is the best gloss for the Diné word *hózhó*. *Hózhó* describes the normal state of the Fourth World, which is a state of beauty, harmony, health, happiness, and peace. This was the state of the world when Changing Woman created the People of the Earth's Surface. That state, however, is not necessarily permanent. It can be, and often is, disrupted. That is where the ceremonial system comes into play. The Holyway and Evilway ceremonies restore *hózhó* when it is disrupted. The Blessingway ceremonies are designed to celebrate, maintain, and enhance *hózhó*.

The complementary asymmetry of Earth and Sky, male and female, thought and speech, static and active, below and above, inner and outer, growth and decay, form the foundation of the dynamic and harmonious ebb and flow of the cosmic concert described by the Diné as *hózhó*. This holistic union sustains a pattern of cyclical and infinite regeneration. The constitution of this world is a complementary and holistic diversity bound together by a common kindred with the Earth and the Sky. The primary theme of this world is a dynamic and diverse harmony. The Natives of the Southwest do not view the state of nature as one of contest but rather as one of concert. These particular, important, and profound truths are embodied in and expressed by the concept of emergence.

The Southwest Native worldviews outlined here provide important premises and purposes for their way of being in the world, provide significant charters for social and ritual orders and institutions, and provide basic prescriptions for individual and collective behavior. Envisioning the world as a single kindred of complementary diversity and dynamic harmony does not presume, however, that these peoples have always lived and behaved in a harmonious manner. They are humans and are subject to human frailties and failures just like humans everywhere. Nevertheless, conceptualizing the world as a dynamic and diverse complementary concert founded on a common kindred with the Earth and the Sky provides a uniquely valuable way of seeing the world and a uniquely valuable way of being in the world.

According to Clifford Geertz, the essential vocation of ethnology is not to provide definitive answers to our deepest questions, but to provide answers that other people guarding other sheep in other valleys have given, and to include them in a consultable record of what people everywhere have said (Geertz 1973, 30). The views of Southwestern Native peoples are certainly worthy of inclusion in such a record; they are voices and views worthy of widespread reflection and thoughtful contemplation.

Emergence reveals truths that transcend all others in their moral, social, and ecological implications; in the way they contextualize human experience on

the earth; in the way they compel one to see the world; and in the way they bind one to the larger community of life.

It is not only the content of what Southwestern Natives have said that is worthy of serious contemplation but it is also the character of how it is said that is instructive. Native histories of genesis beautifully and powerfully intertwine metaphorical messages with literal constructions, suggesting that a strictly literal representation of history and origin is neither possible nor desirable.

In Native American stories of genesis, the literal and the metaphorical are interwoven, just as human perception and experience always occur in an elusive admixture of text and context, fact and figure, reality and representation, information and interpretation.

Gary Witherspoon

See also Architecture; Ceremony and Ritual, Diné; Ceremony and Ritual, Pueblo; First Foods and Food Symbolism; Kachina and Clown Societies; Oral Traditions, Northeast; Oral Traditions, Northwest Coast; Oral Traditions, Plateau; Oral Traditions, Pueblo; Oral Traditions, Southeast; Oral Traditions, Western Plains; Symbolism in Ritual and Ceremony

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Erdrich, Louise (1954–)

(Novelist, Chippewa)

By reading the novels of Louise Erdrich, a reader is immersed into the world of traditional and contemporary Ojibwe (also known as Ojibwa, Ojibway, Anishinaabe, and Chippewa) history, cultural practices, stories, and religion. It is important to keep in mind that in this context, the term "religion" connotes more than belonging to a specific denomination or faith, going to a specific church or temple, or reading the holy books. According to Lawrence W. Gross, an enrolled member of the White Earth Chippewa Nation, "Religion should be understood as referring to the lifeway of the Anishinaabe" (2002, 30); in other words, religion for the Ojibwe encompasses all aspects of their lives.

Erdrich, an enrolled member of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, is one of the most popular and prolific of contemporary Native American writers. Building on and adding to the groundbreaking and award-winning works of N. Scott Momaday, Leslie Marmon Silko, and James Welch, Erdrich established herself as a major American writer with the 1984 publication of *Love Medicine* and eight subsequent related

novels (*The Beet Queen,* 1986; *Tracks,* 1988; *Love Medicine,* expanded and revised, 1993; *The Bingo Palace,* 1994; *Tales of Burning Love,* 1996; *The Antelope Wife,* 1998; *The Last Report on the Miracles at Little No Horse,* 2001; *Master Butchers Singing Club* 2003; and *Four Souls* 2004). One of the reasons for her popularity is that her linked novels are populated by a large and intriguing cast of characters; reading an Erdrich novel is akin to being an invited guest at a large family reunion: you hear stories of the past, you slowly work out for yourself the complicated family relationships, and you become immersed in the ongoing story of the family. No other Native American authors link their novels into one long story of their tribal community in the twentieth century, and reading Erdrich's novels becomes a cultural immersion into a hundred years of tribal history, cultural practices, governmental policies, and Native life on the reservation and in the city.

There are several key events that have shaped the destiny of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, and it is the ongoing and lasting effects of European contact, especially with the French, and the 1887 General Allotment Act (Dawes Act) that figure most prominently in Erdrich's works. Before European contact the Ojibwe had lived in the East until the more powerful Iroquois drove them out. Christopher Vecsey estimates that the Ojibwe migrated to the Great Lakes region around A.D. 1200, where they hunted, fished, and gathered rice (1993, 8). The first European contact came in the 1600s with French fur traders who were seeking beaver pelts and with French missionaries who were seeking souls to convert. Because of increasing pressures by European settlers and incursions into traditional Ojibwe lands by other tribes in search of fur-bearing animals, various Ojibwe groups migrated into Canada, Minnesota, and onto the Plains; the fur traders and missionaries followed and forever altered the Ojibwe's traditional way of life.

The Turtle Mountain Chippewa Band, also known as the Plains Ojibwe, moved into the Red River Valley of North Dakota and hunted in the Turtle Mountains of North Dakota as early as the seventeenth century. Trading posts soon followed—in 1797 the trading post of the Northwest Company of Montreal and in 1843 the Pembina Trading Post, both located near Pembina in the Red River Valley of Northern North Dakota (Jacobs 2001, xix). Father George A. Belcourt worked among the North Dakota Ojibwe in the mid-1800s, and Belcourt, the major town on the Turtle Mountain Reservation, is named for him. Other priests followed Father Belcourt, and in 1884 two nuns from the Sisters of Mercy came to found the St. Mary's Indian Industrial School (*St. Ann's Centennial* 1985, 30). In 1885, Father John Malo became the first pastor at the newly established St. Ann's Church (ibid., 32). The French also brought with them firearms, alcohol, disease, the French language,

and French decorative arts, most notably the floral designs so distinctive to Ojibwe beading.

Of primary importance among the French influences are the métis, the offspring of primarily French but also English, Scottish, or Irish fur traders (Delorme 1955, 124–125). The métis, children of European fathers and Native women, mostly Cree and Ojibwe, became one of the largest groups on the Plains; by the end of the nineteenth century they had joined the Turtle Mountain Band. These two groups hunted together, intermarried, and developed a distinctive language, Michif, which is a combination of French, Cree, and Chippewa (Jacobs 2001, 79). However, the métis maintained their own unique culture, retained their French names, religion, and language, and generally distinguished themselves from their full-blood and more traditional relatives. In *Tracks,* these two groups battle each other as the traditionals (Kashpaws, Pillagers, Nanapush) seek to retain tribal lands while the métis (Lazarre, Morrissey) favor selling their allotments to the Turcot Lumber Company.

The other historical event that has changed the traditional ways of life of the Ojibwe is the Dawes Act. Erdrich writes, "For Chippewa, the nightmare began with the General Allotment Act of 1887 when Henry Dawes, a Massachusetts 'reformer' and Senator determined to abolish Indian reservations, sponsored legislation that virtually halved all aboriginal holdings in the United States, subdividing reservations into 80–160-acre tracts" (1988, 34). The stated goal of this act was to help Native people assimilate into Euro-American life by giving them land on which to farm, but the result and unstated goal was to open up Western lands for European settlers. The U.S. government continued to erode the land base of American Indians through broken treaties and fees assessed to allotment parcels that Native people did not know they were required to pay—the penalty for failure being loss of the land and illegal land seizures. For the Turtle Mountain Chippewa, the McCumber Agreement of 1892 caused them illegally to lose an additional 10,000,000 acres previously guaranteed to them (Jacobs 2001, 81). The Turtle Mountain Chippewa, who originally occupied nearly a fifth of the state of North Dakota, were living on one of the smallest and poorest reservations in the United States by the beginning of the twentieth century (Camp 1990, 81). According to David Delorme, "Today, with its land base of less than fifteen acres per resident, approximately ninety-five per cent of which is unsuitable for dry farming, the Turtle Mountain Indian Reservation is aptly designated a 'rural slum'" (1955, 134).

The effects of French contact with the tribe as well as the fallout from the Dawes Act are pervasive in Erdrich's novels. As *Tracks,* the first of the related novels, opens in the beginning of the twentieth century, the effects of overhunting,

reduction of tribal lands, and disease have devastated the tribe (Erdrich does not name her fictional reservation until the seventh novel, when readers learn that it is the Little No Horse Reservation, assumed to be modeled after her own Turtle Mountain Reservation). Smallpox epidemics in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries devastated the Ojibwe as well as other Native tribes. There were terrible epidemics of measles and tuberculosis, but it was smallpox that brought the most deaths to Native people (Vecsey 1993, 154). The continued ravages of alcohol figure prominently among many of Erdrich's characters: Gordie Kashpaw (*LM*), King Kashpaw (*LM*), Napoleon Morrissey (*T*), Lucille Lazarre (*LM*), Sophie Morrissey (*T*), Mary Fred and Tammy Toose (*BP*), Klaus Shawano (*AW*), and Richard Whiteheart Beads (*AW*).

By the twentieth century, most of the people on the reservation are Catholic, and the Catholic Church in the novels has become a center of community life: the children are sent to mission schools; there is a convent located on the reservation; the people go to Sunday Mass; and there is always a priest to minister to the people (Father Damien is the principal narrator in the seventh novel, *The Last Report on the Miracles at Little No Horse*). One of Erdrich's most fascinating and exasperating characters is Pauline Puyat, one of the narrators of *Tracks*. She becomes Sister Leopolda and plays important roles in *Tracks, The Beet Queen, Love Medicine, Tales of Burning Love,* and *The Last Report on the Miracles at Little No Horse*. Her religious fanaticism causes the deaths of numerous tribal members, and she lives to be over one hundred years old, deluding herself all the while that she really is not Native, that God has chosen her to "save" the (not her) tribal people, and that she is among the best of Christian martyrs. Critics often read this contentious character as Erdrich's censure of the Catholic Church, which sought to kill the savage in order to save the soul.

However, even with the adoption of Catholicism, there are many traditional cultural elements that remain embedded in tribal life, and Erdrich's novels are filled with references to them. Foremost among them is the relationship of the manitous (spirit helpers) to the people. According to Vecsey, "It was the duty of the manitos to keep the Ojibwas alive and healthy" (ibid., 72); two of the most powerful manitous, Misshepeshu and Nanabozho, figure prominently in the novels. Misshepeshu is the Underwater Manito who controls the lakes. Although he is said to be a combination of a horned serpent and a lion, he is not entirely evil (ibid., 74–75). If the people are in right relation to him through gifts of copper, tobacco, and even dogs, he leaves them alone. He even serves as guardian and protector to some like Fleur (*T, BP, LRMLNH*), and he saves her and her great grandson Lipsha from drowning (Jacobs 2001, 161–165). Fleur is the powerful medicine woman who

knows the old ways of healing, speaks the old language, is in right relation to Misshepeshu, and is of the powerful Pillager clan with their bear totem to protect and strengthen them. She knows the old-time love medicines famous to the Ojibwe, and she has the ability to turn herself into a bear. These human-animal transformations are part of traditional stories and are indications of a person's great powers.

The other prominent traditional culture figure in the novels is Nanapush, drawn from the traditional trickster and culture hero Nanabozho. Nanabozho brought fire to the people, taught them to hunt, and could assume different animal or plant forms. Erdrich transforms traditional Nanabozho into Grandfather Nanapush (*T, LRMLNH*), who adopts Fleur, knows the old medicine, knows the old ways of hunting, is a storyteller, plays tricks, and works for the tribe's survival. Gerry Nanapush (*LM, BP*) is Fleur's grandson and Nanapush's adopted great-grandson who inherits power from both. He is another trickster figure in the novels who is referred to as a rabbit or hare (the traditional Ojibwe trickster animal), can escape from the most precarious situations, and possesses powerful medicine. Erdrich associates him with Leonard Peltier, an Ojibwe leader of AIM (American Indian Movement); both fight for the rights of their people and both are unjustly imprisoned. Gerry's son Lipsha inherits the powerful medicine from his father, and *The Bingo Palace* is his story of trying to learn how to use these great gifts appropriately and respectfully. He goes on a vision quest only to learn that he is not living in right relationship with his spirit helpers. He becomes associated with a new tribal enterprise, gambling, and uses his Pillager talent for gambling to win great sums of money. He possesses the gift to heal but not the heart, and the entire community in *The Bingo Palace* watches with disgust and then hope as he slowly transforms himself into one worthy of his hereditary medicine powers.

While *Tracks* has the most embedded allusions to the old ways, there are numerous references in the other novels to the continuance of traditional cultural practices. *The Bingo Palace* opens with a powwow that draws the people together to dance and to be once again in community, and several of Erdrich's characters are known as good traditional dancers: Shawnee Ray Toose (*BP*), Lyman Lamartine (*LM, BP*), and Henry Lamartine Junior (*LM*). Lyman goes on a vision quest that is set up by Xavier Toose, who conducts sweatlodge ceremonies (*BP*). Marie Kashpaw and Lulu Lamartine in *Love Medicine* and *The Bingo Palace* fight to return buffalo to the reservation and to regain tribal lands that were unlawfully seized. Not only is tradition alive on the reservation but it also remains a part of the Indian urban community in *The Antelope Wife,* in which Ojibwe from Minnesota reservations who have moved to Minneapolis to

find work still gather in community to feast and celebrate special occasions.

Erdrich's linked novels celebrate the lives of Native people who, despite the U.S. government, the Catholic Church, disease, and pressures to join the Euro-American mainstream and renounce the old ways, manage to survive, thrive, and maintain the ability to transform traditional ways and practices in contemporary times. As Gross comments, many Native people are "in recovery" from the aftermath of European colonization (2002, 15). He then hopefully suggests, "Even though the surface phenomena may have changed, the core essence of the Anishinaabe world survives, in part, in the teaching of *bimaadiziwin* [the good life]" (ibid., 16). That is what Erdrich celebrates in her novels—the strength of the people to adapt and survive and the power of the old ways to guide them on their continuing journey.

Connie A. Jacobs

See also American Indian Movement (Red Power Movement); Buffalo/Bison Restoration Project; Ceremony and Ritual, Anishnabe; Manitous; Missionization, Northern Plains; Momaday, N. Scott; Oral Traditions, Ojibwe

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Female Spirituality

One of the greatest fallacies spread about American Indian traditions is that the women were unimportant, subservient, demeaned, and without a religious life; the actuality is opposite. When Europeans first observed Native cultures, they saw women gardening and men hunting. In late medieval Europe, peasants farmed and hunting was reserved as a pastime for the aristocracy. Hence Native women were viewed as drudges subject to men, and the men were seen as loafers, indulging only in recreational pastimes rather than work. Secondly, in councils with Native tribes, the Europeans interacted with the men and thus assumed that the men were the leaders. What they did not understand was that most organized societies were matrifocal. The elder women chose male warriors to speak for them; they appointed the chiefs and could dismiss them if they went counter to the women's policies. Men were chosen to speak for the women because any encounter with those of another culture was always potentially dangerous and, therefore, a warrior role. With regard to religion, European religion was one in which ritual leaders were exclusively men (and still are in some traditions); female ritual leaders were executed as witches. Hence, the Europeans were oblivious to the many female rituals and ritual roles.

Related to the above is that, save for the class societies along the Mississippi and the Northwest coast, Native societies were egalitarian, both with regard to class and gender, and leadership was volunteeristic. (Cultures of the Northwest coast had bilateral inheritance, and the Mississippian cultures had a practice whereby those of the highest class would marry those of the lowest; men and women were of equal status.) Leaders were chosen for particular activities, based on the strength of their relationship with relevant spirits, but no one had to take part or obey, and leaders could be men or women. Sex and gender were not necessarily correlated; women could take up traditional male roles, including

Principal spiritual practitioner of the Hupa, ca. 1923. (Edward Curtis/Library of Congress)

being warriors, and men could take up female roles. Such individuals, both in the past and the present, may or may not be homosexual and are greatly honored, because they evidence the spiritual power of both genders.

Women and men understand their roles and lives to be mutually complementary in all aspects, including spirituality. Women function shamanistically no differently than men, and many of the ritual roles are similar. In other cases, men and women have different ritual roles that are complementary to each other. But in all traditions for which there is relevant data, it is clear that women were and are understood to be spiritually more powerful than men because of several factors. Women are biologically linked to Earth because of (1) menstruation—linked to Moon and the flowing waters of Earth; (2) vaginas—linked to caves, the vaginas of Earth; (3) giving birth—linked to the creative powers of Earth; and (4) lactation—linked to the food resources, plants and animals, that are the gift of Earth. Men do not mirror Sky so directly. Women also are understood (as they are in African and Asian traditions) innately to readily connect to the spirit realm, while men usually need ritual activity to enter the same trance states. While women and men have equal access to the spirit realm, as a Native woman put it to me, "Men have to work harder at it."

Female Spirits

For nearly all American Indian religious traditions, the realm of the sacred, prior to influence from Christianity, was one of female and male complementary deities. The virtually ubiquitous tobacco offerings, whether or not in a pipe, are invariably to the zenith and nadir and the four directions, the order varying. Zenith and nadir are the male Sky and female Earth, and the four directions represent the Four Winds, some male and some female. Female Moon is paired with male Sun (some traditions reverse the gender because of particular geographical circumstances); the male Morning Star is paired with the female Evening Star; and so forth. Associated with these cosmic deities are various animal and plant deities, gendered according to their function. Those animal spirits on which humans subsist are female; those perceived primarily for their predatory or protecting virtues are perceived as male. Hence, the female bison was the most important deity for those who resided on the Plains full-time after the adoption of the horse, while warriors revered the male bison. Similarly, the black Bear, the major healing deity, is perceived as female, while the ferocious grizzly Bear is understood to be male.

Only after enforced Christianization was a quasi-monotheistic male Creator deity accorded supremacy over all the other spirits in many traditions. Such a deity did not figure in the primary offerings as delineated above, nor did it fit into the Native understanding that creation came from the female. The primary function of the male was, as a warrior, to destroy. It is only with the adoption of the Creator and other similar male superior

deities, often an extension of Sky, that we find the mistreatment of women by men, modeled on Euro-American practices, and the denigrating of female social, economic, and spiritual importance and complementary equality with males. But the older complementary tradition is now returning in many of the revitalistic movements.

Menarche, Menstruation, and Marriage

While men have no specific physiological marker of maturity, women bleed.

Female Spirituality, Apache

In traditional Apache culture, the most important ceremonial event for women is the coming of age ceremony, or Isánáklèsh Gotal. This four-day ceremony endows young women with the power of Isánáklèsh, the female Apache deity. The ritual transforms the girl to a woman and teaches her the responsibilities she must meet as a good Apache woman. I have devoted much of my life to the study of this tradition; it carries meaning for me, an Apache woman, on a number of different levels.

As a young girl I saw my first ceremony on a visit to the reservation with my mother, aunt, and cousins to spend time with our extended family. Our mothers wanted very much for my cousin and me to benefit from seeing the ceremony. I remember standing in awe, watching the initiates dressed in their doeskin dresses, dancing in front of the ceremonial fire in the Big Tepee, accompanied by the Singers and the rhythm of their deer hoof rattles.

Traditional Apache spirituality was part of my life long before I saw this first ceremony. I was barely six when my grandfather led me outside in the early morning to the growing rows of corn. In the dark quiet of morning I watched him as he gently touched each corn tassel. When he had gone down all the rows, he took cattail pollen from a bag at his waist, blessed himself, blessed me, and put some in his mouth. Then, looking toward the eastern sky, he gave thanks for the new day.

It was when I entered graduate school three decades later that these memories from my childhood would take on greater significance. Since 1967 I have actively engaged in field research among my clan sisters and brothers on the Mescalero Apache reservation in New Mexico. Throughout the years I have attended more than twenty-five girls' initiation ceremonies,

drawing personal and professional wisdom from these moving ritual events. Many times I have stood at the Sun Pole of the central ceremonial tepee, listening as the Singers chant the songs. Certain memories will always remain with me: shadows from firelight on the walls of the tepee, the smell of pine boughs, the peachwood fire, the cattail fronds carpeting the tepee floor, and the warm Pendleton blankets.

Women in Apache society have always played a central role in social, political, and religious life as mothers and elders. In addition, Apache culture is matrilineal—that is, property is inherited through the female line, and women control household property and food supplies. If a woman is a mother of adult children, she can rightfully claim even more respect and influence, as her children honor her through their adult lives. Some women are ceremonialists, healers, and counselors, or *nadek'leshn*—women who are selected to mentor young girls through the girls' initiation ceremony. Such women are chosen because of their wisdom and knowledge of Apache lifeways. Women take responsibility for nearly all the ceremonial preparations, including preparing the girl herself. Women, along with Singers, are the keepers of Apache tradition.

Women play a central role in Apache culture, and because of that families are very concerned that daughters be raised in a proper and caring way. Young girls are seen as living in harmony with nature. Traditional Apache culture recognizes the female role in nature and the place of feminine wisdom. Affirming this need to protect her and ensure her an upbringing that will guide her along the "pollen path," the proper mode of a long and healthy life, her family and her culture celebrate the girl, her power, and her harmony. It is important that careful attention be paid to the minutia of a girl's life, and that such details be ceremonially recognized, so that her growth into spiritual and cultural maturity, her transformation into a woman, will be ensured as she assumes the powers and blessings of Isánáklèsh.

Primarily, a girl is taught how to live like Isánáklèsh through the examples set by the women in her family. Gradually over time, she will learn to join in the responsibilities of women. As part of this process she will be taught politeness, obedience, and awareness, and the importance of using language in a careful and respectful way. Young girls will help with household chores, as

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Female Spirituality, Apache (continued)

well as tending to younger siblings and cousins. As proper social roles are made evident to her, she is taught how to behave properly around adults and boys. Her tasks will become more varied and demanding as she grows older. As part of this education, she is taught how to find and properly gather medicinal and food plants, as well as how to dry, store, and prepare such plants. Young girls might also be taught how to gather ceremonial items such as yucca, pollen, white clay, red clay, and galena.

Young girls are prepared for life, its difficulties and its beauties, through the elaborate Apache oral tradition. Apache societal values are gleaned from this oral tradition, which relates the origin of the Apache people as well as its songs and the complex ceremonial and philosophical system. Grandmothers, mothers, aunts, and older sisters are primarily responsible for this transmission of knowledge. Through learning the histories of other women in her tribe, she is taught how to respond to crises and dilemmas, and the means of survival in a sometimes difficult world. Grandmothers play a key role in this transmission of cultural knowledge. Young girls are required to respect the age and wisdom of their grandmothers. It is through listening to these wise elders that young girls are able to learn about long life and old age. Life wisdom is taught, being referred to over and over again in conversations, myths, stories, and ceremonial songs. The bond between a young girl and the elder women in her family is visibly present among contemporary Apache women, and it can be seen in many areas of day-to-day life, as well as within ceremonial contexts.

Traditional Apache culture recognizes key transitional moments in the lives of its young women with lavish ceremonial events. These ceremonies make evident the valued position that women hold in Apache culture. It is hoped that all women will follow the path of life in beauty. To do so, they must honor their bodies and their families in all areas of life: physically, mentally, and spiritually. Rituals and ceremonies performed throughout a girl's life are intended to ensure that these girls will become strong young women, able to ensure Apache cultural continuity.

Apache women are thus thought of as moving along *'intine* (a path or trail), which is protected by the Apache ceremonial complex. These rituals act to ensure protection for the girl from the time she is born, *guuli,* through

'elchine (babyhood), and on through *guzhaa gulaa'e dadziiya* (puberty, or the age when she can have babies). Puberty receives great attention within Apache ceremonialism because it is the time when "you become aware of all your senses and you begin to notice with care all the things around you, especially nature" (Willetto Antonio, Sun Clan Leader, Mescalero Apache Reservation, 1985, Personal Communication). Among the Apache, puberty and menstruation are a sacred time for women. Young girls are taught by the women in their family of the sacrality and intense power of menstruation, as well as the need for proper behavior during those times of their lives. Apache girls are taught that the opposition between maleness and femaleness in the universe must be held in balance. Contact between a menstruating woman and any male, whether human or animal, can upset this balance. Hence, during her menstruation, a woman should avoid sexual intercourse, ride only female horses, pet only female dogs, and so forth (Opler 1941).

Menarche, the important time in a young girl's life when she first begins to menstruate, is ceremonially blessed and marked with *Isánáklèsh Gotal.* In the contemporary era, as mainstream society impacts the worldview of Apache girls, families stress all the more this notion of the importance of cultural survival. These concerns make a girl's initiation ceremony all the more important.

The woman who prepares the girl and guides her through the eight-day ceremonial process is the *nade'kleshn,* or Sponsor. This Sponsor is responsible for guiding the initiate into womanhood. In *Isánáklèsh Gotal,* the Sponsor acts as the spiritual mother of the initiate. Only women who have been through the ceremony as an initiate are called to be a *nade'kleshn.* Sharing in this experience prepares her to assist a young girl adequately. The *nade'kleshn* is responsible to train the girl for a full year prior to the ceremony. Sponsors will teach the young woman about proper modes of behavior, how to live in beauty and balance, and how to gather and prepare traditional foods and medicines. She will sit down with her before her ceremony and tell her everything that she will need to know. She will massage the young girl's body, molding it into the shape of a strong Apache woman. The Sponsor will direct and guide her movements and actions throughout the four days of ceremonial activity, as well as the subsequent four days of quiet reflection that the initiate will undergo.

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Female Spirituality, Apache (continued)

During the ceremony, the female initiate embodies Isánáklèsh, making her present to the community. As such, the girl is the embodiment of *diye,* or sacred power. As the central female deity, Isánáklèsh embodies female ideals for behavior in nearly every aspect of life. Isánáklèsh arrives from the east with the dawn and meets the girl as she runs toward the east on the first morning of the ceremony. She returns with the girl, and enters the ceremonial tepee. During the ceremony, the girl is ritually transformed: she literally becomes Isánáklèsh: Isánáklèsh, the female deity, also referred to as Mother Earth, appearing to the people during the last day of the initiation ceremony, her lower face painted over with white earth clay.

Apache women are told that they must pattern their lives after Isánáklèsh, in order to follow the pollen path. This entails respecting Mother Earth, doing all daily tasks with care and attention, and treating everyone with kindness and generosity. Animals and plants should be treated as carefully as people should, and food should be prepared in traditional ways. Women should pattern their lives after Isánáklèsh. If women undertake such careful thoughts and actions, then they will be able to share in the power personified in Isánáklèsh herself, and present in the natural world.

Women in traditional Apache culture have social roles distinct from those of men. They are also primarily responsible for rearing children. However, despite these differences, Apache ceremonial practices work to guide women into positions of equal authority and responsibility within their communities. Young women are not prepared through these ceremonies for a life of subservience, but rather for a life that reflects their embodiment of Isánáklèsh, the female deity of the Earth. While young girls and women are taught cultural responsibilities that are distinct from those of men, they are also taught that such activities are profoundly valuable, and necessary for the survival of their people. Apache women are mothers and wives, but they also take on important social and political positions within their tribe as they handle property, run businesses, teach in schools, serve on tribal councils, and act as Sponsors within ceremonies. To fulfill all these responsibilities in a proper way, to walk respectfully on the path of life, women and girls model themselves after Isánáklèsh. By doing so, Apache women are able to

access the strength and power they need to ensure the continuity of their culture into future generations.

Inés Talamantez

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This blood, which emerges from the very center of their bodies, intimately connected with reproduction, symbolizes the essence of specifically female spiritual power. In gathering-hunting and horticultural-hunting traditions worldwide, it is understood that the power of menstruation overwhelms male spiritual power. And menarche is particularly potent because, as a result of lack of experience and learning, it is an uncontrolled power that can have deleterious effects on the entire community. Hence, in these traditions young women are taught to isolate themselves immediately from others, save for their female relatives and female elders. A shelter is built for them away from the camp, and, in most such traditions, this is the time for the first major fast-vision quest. For a period of time, subsequent menstruations will be an interlude for being instructed in adult skills and the development of the female's spiritual life. In the more agricultural societies, the isolation may be in a room of the home, or a part of the large, matrilocal clan longhouse will be walled off for similar purposes. Thus, it is the females who have puberty rituals, not males.

Until menopause, for four days each moon cycle menstruating women will avoid contact with men, as well as their hunting and sacred artifacts, and will not cook food for others, nor will they take part in their normal work. As Native women have told me, "It is a period of time-out." In societies in which men hunt or raid, their work is sporadic, and intense periods of activity can be followed by leisure periods. On the contrary, the female roles of foraging and nurturing continue each day. Four days off a month is most welcomed. Because women isolate themselves monthly and commune with Earth, their spiritual life is continually renewed. Hence they do

not usually require the more frequent vision questing that males undergo in order to attain spiritual equality with the females.

Western interpreters of these practices devalue female power and often understand that menstruating American Indian women are perceived by their peers to be polluted rather than spiritually potent. In Dené traditions in the Yukon and Northwest Territory of Canada, at the time of menarche, young women underwent special rituals for a year. Their faces were shielded by a veil; they did not touch their bodies but used a scratching stick; they drank using a bird-bone tube; and they refrained from eating certain foods. In these cultures it is repeatedly acknowledged that women have more spiritual "Power" than men at all times.

In the related Diné traditions (Apache and Navajo) of the American Southwest, the menarche ritual has become the major cultural ritual, celebrated by the entire community. During the ritual, the pubescent female becomes the Earth deity and can heal with her touch. Similarly, in this regard, in the Anishnabe traditions, the menarche ritual is called "Turning into a Bear." Here it is recognized that at the time of menarche the girl, in being transformed into a woman, is the equivalent of the most powerful healing, life-giving spirit.

In most traditions, there is no particular marriage ritual per se; marriage is a matter of social recognition of two persons becoming a couple. In the Hopi tradition, the marriage ritual has the importance of the menarche ritual as discussed above. This is a strongly matrifocal tradition; the woman chooses her husband, and he builds a house near her family that belongs to her. As part of the marriage rituals, the woman braids a special basket for her husband, and the man and his male relatives weave special clothing for the bride. This clothing is of importance in the next life for the woman, as the basket is for the man. Hence, in this instance, the marriage ritual determines not so much one's path in life as in the afterlife.

Female Rituals and Ritual Societies

Aside from menarche and menstruation rituals, another important set of rituals, primarily engaged in by females, are those directly involved with foraging and gardening. Unfortunately, because the early Western social sciences linked religion exclusively to male activities, the many such rituals throughout North America were studiously ignored. Most ethnologists were totally oblivious to them. We have detailed studies of subsistence rituals in horticultural-hunting Plains cultures that leave out the gardening rituals, and the important planting rituals of the Eastern Iroquoian-speaking peoples are simply not to be found in the ethnographic literature. The only depiction of the female aspects of these rituals is limited to Amazonian cultures, and then in only a single study (see Brown).

A second type of ritual not only ignored but denied in most writings on

Hoton Ho Waste Win . . . Good Talk Woman

Dakota Spirituality: My Perspective

To begin, it must be acknowledged that writing about Dakota spirituality is very challenging. Traditionally, our culture was transmitted via oral stories and life experiences. I am not a religious leader, a medicine person, or an elected tribal official. I am a Dakota *win* (woman) and an enrolled member of the Spirit Lake Nation. I share my story based on my understanding of culture, identity, life experiences, and stories shared with me throughout my lifetime. I share this perspective as a female participant in Dakota ceremonies that were and are integral to my healing and learning journey.

As a child of the 1950s I was raised as a Catholic and attended an Indian mission school in St. Michael, North Dakota. My parents went through a bitter divorce, with my Scandinavian father gaining custody of seven children. We moved off the reservation and converted to my father's religion, Presbyterianism, when I was a teenager. Both religions scared and confused me. Incidents occurred that triggered questions in my mind (even as a child) regarding the sincerity of the lessons being taught. As an adult I have chosen to try to live as a Dakota *win* (woman). I say, "Try to live," because it is a most challenging way of life that has, as its roots, spirituality.

The aboriginal people of the United States were and are deeply spiritual. Spirituality was the basis for how to live and survive. This lifestyle was based on being in balance with one's self and living in harmony with each other as human beings and with nature. The word "Dakota" means "friend" or "ally" and is the proper or preferred identification of our people. The real significance of the word "Dakota" derives from the word "wodakota," which means harmony, a condition of being at peace with oneself and in harmony with one another and with nature—a condition of lifestyle patterned after the natural order of nature (Red Owl 2000).

The historical oppression of the indigenous people of America is greatly misunderstood; it was perpetuated based on mythical images that vacillated from "heathen savage" to "noble Indian" during the settlement of this country, and to some degree it continues on in today's world. Federal policies to deal with Indian people evolved based on the premise that the settlers knew what was "best" for the "conquered" Indian. Religion and

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Hoton Ho Waste Win . . . Good Talk Woman (continued)

religious conversion of the Native people were integral components of colonization of the Americas. The goal of civilizing the Indian was best done through Christianity.

Prior to the European settling of this country, Indian nations had their own very diverse educational systems, all geared toward providing an education informally through parents, relatives, elder members of the community, and religious and social groups. Indian children learned by application and imitation, with great value placed on sharing and cooperation. Tribal societies focused on the needs of the entire tribe, as opposed to the individual good. Individuals were contributors to the welfare of the whole tribe. Traditional educational practices were grounded in the quest for learning about relationships—relationships as human beings and the role that humans play in living in the whole.

As D. H. Dejong, an American Indian educator, says, "Traditional Indian education covered tribal history, including origin and great deeds; physical science, as seen in the Indian's love and care of the natural world; physical education and athletic ability; etiquette, including respect for elders; hunting or learning to provide for one's family; religious training and fasting, which connotes self discipline; and diet and health care" (Dejong 1993, 5–6).

Historians and anthropologists have estimated the indigenous population to be anywhere from 15 to 40 million people living and roaming this great land when it was discovered, with more than three hundred languages and thousands of dialects. There is no term in any American Indian language that means "religion." Yet it is agreed that Native peoples were in fact very spiritual, with rich traditional beliefs and practices. Spirituality for Indians was known and expressed in all facets of everyday life.

Despite the hundreds of different Native tribes, each with its own history, culture, and language, there is some commonality relative to spiritual beliefs and practices. One common belief is of spiritual forces or beings that affect human lives. The natural and supernatural worlds are linked by spirit forces. In Dakota, the word used to describe spirit power is *wakan,* which is sometimes translated to mean "sacred" or "holy." *Wakan* conveys a sense of

mystery or the mysterious and is used as an adjective to denote the sacred quality of spirit or spiritual power. *Wakan Tanka* is often translated and used as "Great Spirit," which limits the Dakota perspective of spiritual power or essence. Everything has spiritual power that is related to a higher power.

Belief in the sacred power of language is another common characteristic for Native people. In the words of historian and author Joseph Epes Brown, "An aspect of the sacred potency latent in words in primal tradition is the presiding understanding that words in their sounds are born in the breath of the being from whom they proceed, and since breath in these traditions is universally identified with the life principle, words are thus sacred and must be used with care and responsibility. Such quality of the spoken word is further enhanced by the understood close proximity of the source of breath, the lungs, with the heart, which is associated with the being's spiritual center" (Brown 1991, 3).

The use of words is critical to the oral traditions of Dakota culture; storytelling reflects the actual reenactment of an event and is not bound by time. Language and use of words are integral in Native cultures. Equally important is the appreciation and sanctity of silence and of words not spoken. Silence is sacred and has spiritual power for indigenous people.

Time and process are components of commonality in spiritual beliefs of indigenous people. Indians think in terms of cycles or circles, rather than in Western linear thinking. Indians believe in a cyclical time frame—the life cycle, the seasons, and the directions—and the concept of what goes around, comes around. Nature is designed with circular patterns (Mother Earth, the Sun, Moon, etc.). The cyclical path of life and the cyclical changes of the seasons symbolize, for Natives, their spiritual significance. Human beings bear the responsibility to understand the relationship and roles necessary to maintain balance and harmony with and in these cycles.

Dakota ceremonies honor the unique character of each cycle of life, as well as the interwoven texture of the entire cycle of human existence. We are taught that spiritual power exists and affects humans even though it may not be seen. Human participation is essential to maintaining the relationship of harmony between the natural and supernatural worlds. Ceremonies to commemorate birth, puberty, relatives and family, death, and self-awareness are

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Hoton Ho Waste Win . . . Good Talk Woman (continued)

all honored by rituals that reinforce relationships and are viewed as promoting the well-being of the individual, the family, and the community. These rituals unite the members of the community in a shared experience that both honors the spirits and strengthens the bonds of the community.

Religion—the belief in the supernatural—varies greatly among different cultures and groups of people. Religions serve similar purposes, however, in that they help people make sense of the universe and provide a guide to human behavior through moral and ethical frameworks of the religious dogma. Spiritual beliefs unite people in celebrating their common identity within a specific faith. Religion has influenced lives and affected culture throughout human history.

The indigenous peoples of the Americas faced numerous hardships and suffered through countless individual and collective traumas. By the early 1900s the Native population had been dramatically reduced—there were fewer than 240,000 Indians. American Indians have survived and endured the taking of the land; having their communities and families destroyed by warfare, separation, and disease; and control by foreigners and foreign governments. Native people survived the destruction of their way of life as stewards of the land, which was based on spiritual understanding of human connections with each other and with nature.

As devastating as the colonization process was for Native Americans, their spiritual essence survived, albeit suspicious and battered. Indians kept their respective spiritual beliefs alive by protecting, hiding, and adapting their rituals and ceremonies. Individuals and families continued the teachings in secret ways until the advent of the Civil Rights movement, which helped create a revitalization of pride in being Indian. The healing process for Native people is taking hold because of traditional ceremonies and spiritual renewal. Natives are coming to terms with their historical trauma and adapting their traditional teachings to live in today's contemporary world. The desire to make sense of a world in turmoil, to make order out of chaos, is timeless and universal—for all human beings. Spiritual beliefs and religious dogma provide the framework and solace that we all seek.

My healing journey began when I became my tribe's health director/planner in the early 1980s. I had graduated from college and returned to the reservation. My social life evolved around drinking and partying. As the health director I began to see the devastation caused by alcohol that permeated all facets of my life—both as an Indian and as a North Dakotan. In rural North Dakota it was accepted that socializing meant drinking, and in Indian country it was only compounded by poverty and cultural differences. I made a conscious decision to quit drinking. I could not be a hypocrite and tout healthy lifestyles and then spend my weekends partying.

Dakota ceremonies became my guide in coming to terms with my identity and in learning of the great beauty in being a Dakota *win* (woman). It was difficult to quit drinking and socializing with my family and friends, and I ended up spending time with older people who would share the stories and laughter of their understanding of Dakota ways. For a year I was initiated into Dakota spirituality by attending sweatlodges and doctoring ceremonies and by observing the Sun Dance ceremony. During this first year of learning I made the pledge to become a sun dancer and obtained a pipe from one of the elders on my reservation. Becoming a pipe carrier was a significant milestone—the pipe was brought to the people by the White Buffalo Calf Woman and its meaning is symbolic of the survival of the Dakota nation. The pipe is the means to communicate with Wakan Tanka. I was in awe and was also afraid—afraid that I would do something wrong or disrespectful. But Indians are wonderfully compassionate and forgiving. There were very few younger people learning these ways at that time, and so the circles were very powerful, led by older Dakota people.

My understanding of Dakota womanhood is that it is a special and unique role because females alone give and provide life. Life is holy, and the woman as mother nurtures this life that has become visible and alive in the community of humankind. The basis of traditional Dakota womanhood is religious and spiritual because she is seen as coparticipant with *Wakan Tanka* in the giving of life. In addition to giving life, the woman transmits the spiritual way of life of the people. The female role in the rituals and ceremonies of the Dakota is integral and significant.

It was a woman—the White Buffalo Calf Woman—who brought the pipe and the seven sacred rites to the Dakota/Lakota/Nakota people (more

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Hoton Ho Waste Win . . . Good Talk Woman (continued)

commonly known as the Great Sioux Nation). The ways of the pipe were instructions on relationships and on how to live in a good way. The pipe symbolizes the gifts of *Wakan Tanka*—the bowl created of red stone is the earth and carved with a buffalo that represents the four-legged animals; the wood stem represents all that grows upon the earth; the eagle feathers represent the winged ones; and the tobacco used to fill the pipe symbolizes the connections with the smoke in sending the prayers to spiritual powers. In accepting the pipe and the ceremonies, the Dakota people made a covenant relationship with *Wakan Tanka* to live a spiritual life based on understanding relationships and connections (Red Owl 1991).

Dakota spirituality teaches us the symbolism of the four directions and the four primary colors with animals or entities associated with each direction:

- West/black symbolizes spiritual strength, doctoring. Thunder beings.
- North/red signifies physical, natural law, common sense, truth. Buffalo nation.
- East/yellow symbolizes emotional health, new life, beginning. Elk, black-tail deer, White Buffalo Calf Woman.
- South/white signifies healing ways, wisdom, elders, the direction when we pass from this world. Spotted eagle, owl nation.

Some elders have stated that the four colors represent the human races of Mother Earth. Each race or color is linked to the balance and harmony of nature. We are also told that the other colors look to the Red people for that wisdom in understanding the relationships and connections.

I have attended and participated in all but one of the seven rites—sweat-lodge, crying for a vision, sun dance, making of relatives, keeping the spirit, and womanhood (the one I have not participated in is the throwing the ball ceremony)—of the Dakota people. I carry a pipe and have been in the sun-dance ceremony for eighteen circles (seasons). In experiencing the power and beauty of Dakota ceremonies, I am humbled and have come to understand that I have a role to play. Part of that role is to be responsible for who I

am and to conduct myself in a good, respectful manner and to give back to my community and family. This understanding does not preclude or dismiss Western practices of medicine or education. Dakota spirituality is a way of life that is based on common sense, respect, and compassion—and practiced every day.

Today we strive to be healthy and to reconstruct the culture in a good way that is appropriate for the contemporary world. Many seek the knowledge and wisdom of Native people. We have much in common as human beings and with the concepts of spirituality and religion. The common thread is that we all strive for understanding and to make sense of our world. Spiritual beliefs and religious practices provide the guide to behavior, giving us the moral and ethical framework in which to make decisions for living a good life.

We all have a responsibility to learn and to teach. We have a responsibility to pass on to future generations the gift of spirituality. I challenge each of us to go forward with this charge to cultivate mutual respect for all beliefs that bring us closer to *Wakan Tanka.*

Mitakuye oyasin . . . we are all related.

Cynthia Lindquist Mala

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Native American religion is those rituals engaged in by women that are only described for men, such as pipe rituals with female pipe-holders (which at times may involve men) and Spirit Lodge ("sweat-lodge"). With regard to the latter, contemporary mixed-sex "New Age" "sweat" rituals are exactly that. These pipe and Spirit Lodge rituals are similar to those engaged in by men, with an emphasis on female needs and concerns.

Of particular importance on the Plains are female ritual societies, which have their own sacred bundles and the like. These societies are parallel to male societies and work together with them for major communal rituals, such as an annual Thirst ("Sun") Dance. An example would be the female Motokiks Society of the Nitsitapi ("Blackfoot"), parallel to the male Horn Society. Both societies put up their ritual tepees during the

Okan ("Sun Dance") and had complementary roles.

Moon rituals are important in the contemporary context, particularly in urban areas. These rituals, held during full moons and directed toward Moon and Earth, enable Native women, particularly those not brought up in a traditional setting, to gather under the tutelage of a female elder to both celebrate and learn about the spiritual aspects of their femaleness. Other than these rituals, most ritual activity takes place in mixed-gender rituals.

Female Roles in Mixed-Gender Rituals

In most major rituals, the complementary spiritual relationship between females and males is an essential aspect of the ceremony. In many of the Plains traditions, a woman must dream of sponsoring a Thirst ("Sun") Dance, and she becomes the central figure in the complex set of rituals—in the Cheyenne tradition, she is called the "Holy Woman." In the Missouri Valley horticultural-hunting traditions, there is a complex interrelationship between bison-hunting and corn-gardening rituals. The primarily male hunting rituals required a woman at the center, and the primarily female gardening rituals required a man. In the Hopi traditions, the male ritual societies require the participation of women, and the female societies require the participation of men. Among the Pikuni ("Blackfoot Confederation"), sacred bundles can be transferred only to married couples, although the woman is the primary caretaker of the sacred bundle.

Throughout North America, in gatherings for rituals such as Sacred Pipe ceremonies, it is common for women and men to sit at opposite sides of a circle; hence, they are separate, yet together they complete a sacred circle. Often, in ritual lodges, men and women take on separate, complementary roles; for example, men tending the sacred fire and women preparing the ritual feast. In constructing Midewiwin lodges and many Spirit ("sweat") Lodges, men gather the wooden poles for the framework and women gather boughs. Each has a different role in their construction. In summary, American Indian religions are those in which both genders have complementary, essential roles.

Jordan Paper

See also Feminism and Tribalism; Menstruation and Menarche; Retraditionalism and Identity Movements; Sacred Pipe; Women's Cultural and Religious Roles, Great Lakes; Women's Cultural and Religious Roles, Northern Athabascan

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Feminism and Tribalism

A key concern regarding feminism for many Native American women is the emphasis on individuality by early Western feminists, who wanted more equality with men in the prevailing patriarchal sociocultural structures in U.S. society, premised on democratic ideals for gender equity (Jaimes 1998). Starting with the suffragettes, upper- and middle-class women demanded the vote for white women within this historical legacy of the women's movement (Kerber and De Hart 2000), but they were not as concerned with "women of color." Therefore, Native American women perceived this early feminism as a reaction to the existing patriarchal sociopolitical system that was not concerned with the racialized oppression of other marginalized women and subcultural groups (called "ethnic minorities"). This included Native Americans as tribal peoples, and the impact of U.S. colonialism on their traditional ways of life. Feminists of these earlier and more exclusive times were focused on challenging the sexism and chauvinistic behavior of men toward women in mainstream populations. These women were generally more educated in Euro-American hegemony, and married with middle-class status, in contrast to their "women of color" counterparts.

The Myth of "Tribalism" and U.S. Colonialism

The meaning of "tribalism" is often connoted with conformity and subservience of the individual subsumed to the interests of the group, since the member must follow group culture and rules with little or no independent thinking. The idea has even been associated with a kind of infantile behavior. On the more positive side, however, tribalism is attributed to kinship and protection, in which individuals work to meet the needs of the community and cultivate acceptance within that community. Among some Native tribes and other ethnic groups these can take the form of other surrogate extended family traditions, among those nonrelated but living in close proximity to each other, also attributed to gangs and even athletic teams. Other terms attributed to the established "tribal order" are magic, rituals, mysticism, animism, and the protection of ancestral or cultural traditions, myths, rights of kinship, and sacred places (Moyer 2000).

Generally speaking, within the Euro-American hegemony "tribalism" is not considered a high level of maturity or civilization. It is associated with the "primitive" or "savage" and therefore is

seen as backward and uncivilized. In this Eurocentric way of thinking, Native peoples and their cultures have often been described as a "tribe" or as "tribal people," which can be associated with the pejorative naming of a group of animals as a lesser subspecies of "white" or European. A more current definition of the term "tribe" by the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* is stated thus: "A group of persons forming a community and claiming common ancestry. A particular race of recognized ancestry; a family . . . the families or communities of persons having the same surname. A race of people . . . a primary aggregate of people in a primitive or barbarous condition under a headman or chief." In this hegemonic context, Native American peoples are seen, therefore, as dependent "tribes" with inferior cultures. This constructing of Euro-American dominance is echoed in the Supreme Court's *Marshall* decision, referring to Native peoples as "domestic dependent nations" (Churchill and Morris 1992). As a result of U.S. colonialism and Euro-American patriarchy, the traditional authority of Native American women has been gradually eroded from the time of first contact to the present.

Native Americans, on the other hand, see themselves as "a People," and refer to themselves as such in their respective indigenous languages through the group names for themselves (for example, *Diné* [Navajo] and *Lakota* [Sioux] mean "the peoples"). According to *Webster's Dictionary* (1969), "people" means: "1. A body of persons united by a common character, culture, or sentiment; the individuals collectively of any characteristic group, conceived apart from the unity of the group as subject to common government (that is, as a state) or as issued from a common stock (that is, as a race or tribe). 2. A race, tribe, or nation; as, the peoples of Europe." The *OED* states the meaning of "people" thus: "A body of persons composing a community, tribe, race, or nation. . . . sometimes viewed as a unity, sometimes as a collective of number. . . . The persons belonging to a place or occupying a particular concourse, congregation, company, or class. . . . Those to whom any one belongs; the members of one's tribe, clan, family, community, association, church, etc., collectively. . . . The common people, the commonality. . . . The whole body of enfranchised or qualified citizens, considered as the source of power; esp. in a democratic state, the electorate. . . . Men or women indefinitely; men and women, persons, folk."

In these definitional configurations of the British/American English language, it is evident how the Western lexicon is used in the dominant/subordinate construction of the colonizer and the colonized. This is done with imperialistic aims and monopolistic agendas, and even duplicitous obfuscation and subterfuge as to what "people," as a population entity, calls itself a nation or state.

Through the acceptance of the U.N. charter and other human rights instruments, the self-determination of all peo-

ples is a universally accepted aspiration in modern times. This recognition of the self-determination of peoples, however, has been recognized only in the realization that colonialism is abhorrent to the desired liberty of all humanity. The meaning of colonialism is a theoretical construct in Euro-American international law, and its meaning can be defined only in the context of the Eurocentric paradigm within imperialist doctrine: "control by one power over a dependent area of people. [Colonialism] is also construed as a policy advocating or based on such control" (*Webster's Dictionary* l969). In the natural world, a colonizer is an "animal or plant which has [not] quite established itself in a place where it is not indigenous." Hence, the colonist or colonialist is a usurper, defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as "one who takes part in founding a colony" where other peoples and their respective territorial nations have already been established. Therefore, the colony is established as a predatory process of colonialism in order to gain dominion over the early inhabitants, their land, and natural resources.

In Native America, this colonial agenda had direct impact upon women, and their ability to maintain their traditional matrilineal roles of authority within their communities. Half of the Native population was women, and among them were those who held formidable spheres of authority and leadership as Clan Mothers. Much of this loss of women's power was directly tied to religious life. Christianity, a historically patriarchal tradition, brought with it a profound change in gender roles. And yet, for Natives, life in a colonialist era often meant becoming at least marginally Christian.

Native scholars in international law and politics have noted the colonialist distinction made between Christians and others. Stigmatized as infidels or, worse, as heretics, indigenous peoples have been labeled as non-Christians, and have been denigrated as pagans, savages, or heathens. Native legal scholar G. T. Morris writes: as an extension of the Roman legal principle *territorium (res) nullius,* "a 'discoverer' could legally occupy a territory that was already inhabited (by 'infidels') and extend Christian sovereignty over it" (Jaimes 1992, 58). In response to Spanish colonial law, Morris also notes, the first known European documents addressing the question of dominion over the "New World" were the papal bulls of Pope Alexander VI. Such documents acknowledged the right of the sovereigns of Castile and Aragon to acquire and Christianize the islands and terra firma of the new regions. The formation of these religio-political laws created immediate tensions and international legal debates that would remain unresolved in Europe from their inception to the present (ibid., 59). Some of the first to suffer under this religious justification for colonialism were themselves Europeans. In ancient times, the Irish were subjugated for being "pagans" by the British imperialists. With the overthrow of Catholicism by the Anglican

Church, colonial conquest of Ireland was once again justified as a means of subduing the threat of Catholicism.

G. T. Morris continues: "The historical antecedents of the legal rights of indigenous peoples may be found centuries prior to the European arrival in the Western hemisphere. After the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire, but prior to the colonial travels of various peoples to the 'New World' . . . distinctions drawn by Europeans between the known world were generally in terms of Christians and infidels." He further states that "although the [United States] claims that its national legislature possesses such rights under the 'plenary power doctrine,' its assertion is not unlike similar claims by other colonizing states that have maintained their relations with colonized peoples are purely domestic issues. . . . The roots of the assertion that the [United States] possesses exclusive domestic jurisdiction over its relations with indigenous nations can be found in [its] case law and the self-serving legislation that often accompanied it. Asserting such claims, however, does not accord them acceptance under law." Morris asserts that, on the other hand,

> while it is true that the [U.S.] Congress has passed thousands of laws in the area of U.S.-Indigenous affairs, to suggest that the unilateral acts of a legislature can diminish the national sovereignty of [these historical] nations . . . seems an unjustifiable conclusion. . . . By 1820 . . . the power of the [United States] had been consolidated . . . to the extent that many indigenous nations were vulnerable to military invasion by U.S. forces. The expansion of the U.S. was fueled by a racist philosophy. . . . [Therefore] the . . . Americans (as colonialists) believed that through divine ordination and the natural superiority of the white race, they had a right (and indeed an obligation) to seize and occupy all of North America. (ibid., 58–67)

The imposition of colonialism on Native peoples and their land-based cultures has made the status of designated tribal nations, with "quasi-sovereignty" within the United States, unique. These federal-Indian relations were based on treaties and other agreements, such as negotiated land transactions between approximately four hundred federally recognized Native groups and the United States (Morris, in ibid., 55–86). What the historical texts conveniently leave out, in terms of the impact of aggressive colonization on a disrupted people, is the cost at which this disruption comes to indigenous people and their land. This inquiry also needs to be contextualized in postcolonialist terms regarding concerns over biocolonialism and biopiracy (Jaimes-Guerrero 2002).

Will Durant, a prolific Marxist scholar, wrote on the Eurocentric "history of civilization" with his wife, Ariel Durant, whom he only later acknowledged. In this work they observed, with regard to what he termed "village communities," that the individual was hardly recognized as a separate entity in natural (that

is, indigenous) society. Within such a context, he went on, kinship was valued over virtually all other possible forms of social organization, and power derived from consent rather than more abstract sources of right to domination. Primitive societies functioned essentially on the basis of cooperation, collective enterprise, and communal custom in this view. The social form in question, he implied, had much more to commend it by way of its humanity than any of its more modern counterparts, and might accordingly be considered as something of a model for emulation in a world beset by ruthless competition, the extreme brutality of hierarchy and class inequality, and global warfare. Remarking that this comparatively idyllic social existence had once been virtually universal, he mused that it should certainly be possible for "modern man"—with all "his" material and intellectual attainment—to do as well (Durant 1954, 21–35). Of course, despite the good intentions and obvious accuracy of much of his analysis, more than likely influenced by Karl Marx's notion that early indigenous peoples practiced a "primitive communism," Durant is still engaging in the fundamentally Eurocentric error of treating indigenous peoples and cultures as if they no longer existed. In actuality, the model of the collective, communal, or indigenous society was still very much in evidence at the time of his writing, and it exists as a cultural tradition in the present as well as for historical consideration (Jaimes 1992).

Indigenous Kinship and Traditional Communalism

In a historical context, the problem with using the term "tribalism" is that it distorts the genuine meaning of "communalism" in traditionally oriented Native American societies. The complex network of relationships that characterizes communalism is the basis for Native nationhood. This is a nationhood premised on matrilineal descent in indigenous kinship, for most Native peoples prior to the impact of U.S. colonialism and patriarchy on their indigenous lifeways. These communal models of indigenous governance, therefore, gave women respect and authority and were exemplary of gender egalitarianism with men through both matrifocal and patrifocal (to use anthropological terms) councils for negotiating consensus and coming to decisions in times of peace and war.

Native women frequently lived longer than men did (as all women generally do outlive men), and with that longevity, and concomitant elder status, provided a matrilineal continuity as Clan Mothers who determined role responsibilities among clan members. Women's matrilineal leadership as Clan Mothers was exercised through collective cultural practices and reciprocal kinship traditions. This can be seen, for instance, among the Iroquois Confederacy in the Eastern woodlands; the Southwest Pueblos and Navajo/Diné; and the Great Plains Tribal Nations in the Dakotas (Jaimes-Guerrero 1999b).

Theresa Halsey, a Dakota woman among the Great Plains peoples, points out that the indigenous concept of kinship is different from the Western one. She states, "When we live in our community, it is called a *tiyospaye,* [meaning] a group of tipis. This community was very important to us because that is where we found our strength and knowledge of knowing who we are and where we came from. We no longer live in tipis but still believe in this concept." She quotes Ella Deloria's ethnographic *Waterlily,* on Dakota traditional living: "Any family could maintain itself adequately as long as the father was a good hunter and the mother an industrious woman. But socially, that was not enough; ideally it must be part of a larger (extended) family, constituted of related households . . . [as in kinship]. In the camp circle, such groups placed their tipis side by side where they would be within easy reach for cooperative living. In their closeness lay such strength and social importance as no single family, however able, could or wished to achieve entirely by its own efforts" (Deloria 2002, 20). Halsey continues,

> I agree with Ella Deloria in her book, *Waterlily,* when she points out that the ultimate aim of Sioux life, stripped of accessories, was quite simple; one must obey the kinship rules; one must be a good relative. No Dakota who has participated in that life will dispute that. In the last analysis every other consideration was secondary—property, personal ambition, glory, good times, life itself. Without that aim and the constant struggle to attain it, the people would no longer be Dakota in truth. They would no longer even be human. To be a good Dakota was to be humanized, civilized. And to be civilized was to keep the rules imposed by kinship for achieving civility, good manners, and a good sense of responsibility toward every individual dealt with. Thus only was it possible to live communally with success; that is to say, with a minimum of friction and a maximum of good will. We also had social kinship which were relationships based on the Sioux cultural concept that relationships can be based on patterns of thought and behavior and be equally as binding as relationships of blood, unlike the western concept of blood relatives. A good example of this is when [in *Waterlily*] Blue Bird and her grandmother lost their family to an enemy war party and the people of their kind who spoke their dialect, took them in and adopted the newcomers like relatives. (Halsey 2002)

In "Traditional Role of Aboriginal Women Has Great Relevance," Warren Goulding quotes Winona Wheeler, an Aboriginal woman and acting dean of Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (Saskatchewan, Canada): "It's a contemporary translation of a traditional role. . . . Women were not dependent on men, their role was very much in balance with men." Goulding argues that "history has much to teach us about the role of women in First Nations communities and family, how they share the responsibilities and duties with men and elders, and how it evolved that the status of

women was diminished and, in the eyes of some Church leaders and European men, demonized." Wheeler says that the primary focus of women prior to the arrival of the European fur traders was to protect the family and to act as breadwinners. As she describes kinship relations:

> Imagine four circles. There is a little circle in the centre with the babies and children. Around the circle is another one, with Elders, grandfathers, and grandmothers. Around that circle are the women and then around them are the men. The men formed the first line of protection, they protected all from danger and their primary focus was the entire community, the sustenance of the entire community. The next line of protection was the women and their focus was on family, then the Elders who were raising the children. . . . There was a balance and no one job, no one role was more important than the other. Especially among Plains societies, which were egalitarian, [because] everyone's role was equally valued.

Goulding notes, "The arrival of the Europeans brought out massive societal changes, the negative impacts of which are being felt today" (Goulding 2002).

Even though these are only two illustrations of this concept of kinship in traditional Native/Aboriginal societies, and both are particular to the Great Plains cultures, these are main themes that reverberate among all indigenous peoples in North America, including the Pueblo peoples of the Southwestern states (that is, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Texas) and elsewhere. Among the themes that describe indigenous kinship are communalism, egalitarianism, reciprocity with others and Nature, and a complementary relationship between women and men, with special respect for children and elders.

Patriarchal Colonialism

U.S. colonialism and patriarchy have severely impacted Native American peoples, especially Native women. These historical forces have continued to erode their indigenous rights, rights they hold as the earliest groups to inhabit the Americas. For Native American women, this has meant a double burden, in having to deal with both racist and sexist attitudes as well as discrimination as a result of such prejudices. This is what can be described as patriarchal colonialism. To understand what is meant by patriarchal colonialism, once must understand U.S. American colonial history. Euro-American colonialism is a legacy of Eurocentric notions of inferiority undermining and subjugating nonwhite or non-Western races and all women in general, and the presumed superiority of the anglicized Euro-American man. A synonym for patriarchy is paternalism; yet patriarchy is indicative of a more systemic hegemony in the prevailing chauvinism of postcolonialist times and is juxtaposed with the racism that is characteristic of U.S. colonialism.

In this context there is also a need to address what can be termed as "transnational colonialism" among Third World

peoples, as the result of the impact of NAFTA and other transnational arrangements today. In response, there is a global indigenous resistance that is emerging to resist a new wave of genocide (destruction or erosion of a people), now linked with ethnocide (destruction or erosion of a culture) and ecocide (destruction or erosion of an ecosystem as a natural, organic environment), and in which Native and indigenous women play key roles as activists and leaders, in both "Native Feminism" and "Native Womanism" campaigns for indigenous liberation in life and land struggles.

Native American Women and Indigenism: Toward Native Feminist Spirituality

There is an emerging global indigenous movement, in which Native American women and their international organizations work as leaders and activists in regard to Native life and land struggles. Central to these struggles is the preservation of Native Spirituality. Among these Native or indigenous women's organizations are Women of All Red Nations (WARN) and the Indigenous Women's Network (IWN), which send delegates to international and national conferences and U.N. forums to advocate for the human rights of all indigenous peoples. The IWN was prominently represented at the Women's International Conference, held in Beijing in 1995, as well as working on inter-American alliances and coalitions with a delegation of Indigenous Peoples of the Western Hemisphere. This hemispheric inter-American organization is calling for more bioethics in the cultural context of Native Spirituality, in the "bioprospecting" of targeted indigenous peoples throughout the Americas (over 700 peoples and their respective cultures), and in what has been called "biopiracy" and "biocolonialism" by geneticists and agents in the Human Genome Diversity Project(s) (Jaimes-Guerrero 2002 and 2004).

In a literal sense, the term "indigenism" means "to be born of a place," but for Native peoples it also means "to live in relationship with the place where one is born," as one's indigenous homeland. In this cultural context, an indigenous member has the responsibility to practice kinship roles in reciprocal relationship with one's bioregional habitat. This kinship is manifested in the cultural beliefs, rituals, and ceremonies that cherish biodiversity, traditional culture, and its relationship to the bioregion. This all occurs within the context of a Native land ethic and Native spirituality. If one moves or migrates, as an individual or a group, one is expected to carry this indigenous consciousness along, to practice this bioethic in a new environment, and to live in a way that is respectful of the bioregion and its biodiversity. This is also manifested in the sacred images of what I refer to as "feminine organic archetypes" in all Native creation stories and geomythology. For example, this archetype can be seen in the Corn Mother and Daughter, Spider Woman,

and Changing Woman of Southwest Pueblo cultural lore (Jaimes-Guerrero 1999b).

This is a main principle of what can be called a "Native Feminist Spirituality" as defined within the context of indigenism and ecofeminism (the latter from a Third World women's perspective). It is a spirituality that advocates for a Native woman's cultural rights in contemporary times, and for one's subjective agency within the existing patriarchal and postcolonialist U.S. society. I also argue for a notion of Native Womanism, which advocates for more historical agency in reenvisioning a prepatriarchal, precolonialist, and precapitalist U.S. society. As Native women take up the task of telling and writing their own history, they are able to express their own self-determination in reclaiming their indigenous matrilineal and matrifocal roles, roles that empower them with respect and authority in indigenous governance (Jaimes-Guerrero 1999b).

A Call for Native Womanism from Sacred Kinship Traditions

The term "womanist" was inspired by novelist Alice Walker's *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens: Womanist Prose* (1983/1967), in which she calls for "women to love women." Her meaning is taken to signify a call, both literally and figuratively, for a restoration of the "Female Principle" and for a challenge to the prevailing colonialist and patriarchal denigration of women and Nature. I feel that Native women, as tribal peoples ensnared in what I have termed "patriarchal colonialism," can resonate with Walker's notion of Womanism. It has been documented by Euro-American historians that Spanish colonists perceived Native men as less masculine than andocentric Europeans, who viewed women, children, slaves, and the natural world as the property of Eurocentric white men. Another reason for this denigration of Native men is that Native or indigenous women were viewed as exotic and erotic, being able to seduce any man into promiscuity and even to turn their own into "eunuchs" (Jaimes-Guerrero, Native women stereotypes 1999). Hence, what the chauvinistic Western Europeans mistook as a subjugation of Native men to their women was actually the gender role dynamics of an egalitarian society that valued both women and men.

Native Womanism also has an ecological perspective, since there is a connection with the degradation of Nature, as acts of ecocide, and the denigration and subordination of women in general. The common denigration of Nature, Native peoples, and women, all of which are manifestations of the Female Principle, can be seen in the "strands of the web of imperialism." This denigration is the result of patriarchal colonialism that has been imposed on Native peoples and others in the process of conquest from an imperialistic agenda. This intersection of the denigration of Nature, Natives, and women, therefore, also serves as a means of illustrating advancing

genocidal agendas, as genocide that is linked with ethnocide and ecocide (Jaimes-Guerrero 2002 and 2004).

Challenging this subjugation of the feminine, as antifemale and antiwoman, calls for the historical agency of Native women, as expressed in Native Womanism. This reassertion of traditional modes of women's power and authority can be put forth to preserve and restore the Sacred Kinship traditions among bioregionally based indigenous peoples, and to promote a vision for a more humane and egalitarian future that is exemplary of being indigenous.

M. A. Jaimes-Guerrero

See also Deloria, Ella; Ecology and Environmentalism; Identity; Kinship; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion; Retraditionalism and Identity Movements

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First Foods Ceremonies and Food Symbolism

Food sustains not only the body but also the soul, in the form of the rituals that surround its use and create a sense of communion both with the spiritual world and the social world. Food works on at least three levels of meaning—basic physical subsistence, relationships between human beings and their environment, and cultural metaphors.

The buffalo were the staple food of Plains Indians. Various tribal traditions tell how buffalo came to ward off human starvation. The Lakota people tell the story of White Buffalo Calf woman, a beautiful woman who appeared to two hunters. One approached her with lust, and he was immediately enveloped in a cloud. When the cloud lifted it revealed his maggot-ridden corpse. The other hunter approached the woman with respect. She taught him seven sacred rituals before turning into a buffalo calf and trotting off across the prairie. The Lakota called the buffalo *wakan tanka, wakan* being their term for eminent spiritual power. The spiritual nature of the buffalo was evident in the way that herds often appeared to rise from the earth or from the surface of lakes. During the Sun Dance—the spring ceremony held in conjunction with the buffalos' rutting season and the first yearly hunt—the families of the young men who had pledged to go through the ordeal of the dance held feasts of buffalo tongues, a special delicacy.

Tribal people acknowledged their sense of immediate relationship with the animals around them. The various animal nations were considered relatives to humans. The use of animal food, however, raises complex issues around eating one's relatives. In the case of animals, they gave themselves freely to sustain human life. The Pawnee hunted ducks, but the ducks were willing prey, based on stories such as that of Small, the orphan who fell asleep while hunting ducks and woke to find himself in the lodge of the ducks under the water. The council of ducks debated his fate, knowing that he was hunting them for food, and pondered whether they should kill him. But also knowing that it was their decision whether to let themselves be killed, they agreed to continue to give themselves to humans for food, and they gave Small great luck as a gambler.

The Lakota also tell of an event that explains both why buffalo were a source of food and why the Black Hills are still a sacred site. The two-leggeds (humans, bears, and birds) challenged the four-leggeds to a great race for dominance. The race went on so long that the track was worn down and the land in the middle was pushed up, thus forming the Black Hills. The buffalo was in the lead, but the magpie had perched on his hump; just as he reached the finish line

A herd of bison roam within the safety of the InterTribal Bison Cooperative, Black Hills, South Dakota, August 1, 1996. The cooperative was formed in 1990 in an effort to return the bison to Indian lands for economic, cultural, and spiritual purposes. (Jean-Marc Giboux/Liaison/Getty Images)

the magpie flew off and crossed the line first. The four-leggeds were defeated and agreed that they would be food for the two-leggeds.

Although corn is generally considered the staple of American Indian diets, it was a relatively late addition to the agricultural complex for Indian farmers. The earliest domesticated plants in North America were seed-bearing plants including sunflowers (*Helianthus annus*), sumpweed (*Iva annua var. macrocarpa*), goosefoot (*Chenopodium bushianum Aellen*), maygrass (*Phalaris caroliniana Walt.*), and giant ragweed (*Ambrosia trifida L.*). These plants could withstand a wide range of conditions and spread readily (qualities that today lead them to be classified as weeds). They were probably domesticated as volunteer plants in disturbed soil near Indian villages.

Corn, beans, and squash displaced these earlier crops, and corn became a metaphor encompassing a range of meanings that bring an understanding of the complex relationship between humans and the environment. The Cherokee in the Southeast, who raised corn as a staple, told the story of Selu and Kanati. Kanati, the husband, hunted game for his family, and Selu, the mother, fed them a delicious grain but would not divulge its

origin. Her two sons were very curious and followed her one day. They discovered that she stood over a basket rubbing skin from her body to produce the grain. They considered her act witchcraft, and when she saw that they had discovered her secret, she told them to kill her and drag her body seven times around the ground surrounding their cabin. They were lazy, however, so they stopped after two times and did not cover the entire ground. The following spring they found corn growing from the places where Selu's body had touched the earth. Because her sons had dragged her body around the fields only two times, corn would ripen only two times a year instead of seven. Those two times became the early and late plantings that the Cherokees followed. Selu's death was necessary for renewal, in the same way that corn is born and is killed in the harvest. The ability of the female to bear children is associated with the fertility of the earth that brings forth the corn. Corn thus becomes the great metaphor for the seasonal cycles and the human cycle of birth and death.

The Cherokee celebrated the spring harvest of the early milk corn at the Green Corn Ceremony, during which Cherokee villagers cleaned out the debris in their villages, settled disputes, forgave those who had transgressed social norms, and put out old fires to renew them from a central fire maintained in the village. Fire, the essential force that made food edible for humans, not only cooked but also cleansed and renewed social relationships.

Corn, beans, and squash were the staple foods of Indian agricultural societies. An Iroquois story told of three beautiful sisters who walked the fields at night, their long hair and flowing garments touching the earth. These were the spirits of the corn, the beans, and the squash. A Diné (Navajo) song sung while planting celebrated the fact that the spirits of the three plants enjoyed being together. This triad of plants is complementary, not only on a spiritual level but also on nutritional and environmental levels. Beans set the nitrogen in the soil, enriching it for the corn and squash. The amino acids in beans complement those in corn to provide a more complete protein. And in the intensive planting system characteristic of Iroquois agriculture, the beans and squash were planted at the base of the hills where the corn seeds were planted, so that the bean plants could climb the corn stalks while the squash plants formed a ground cover that preserved soil moisture and kept the soil at a moderate temperature.

Wild rice (*mahnomin* in the Chippewa language) is a staple for Indian communities in the area around the Great Lakes. Actually a form of grass (*Zizania acquatica*), it grows in shallow lakes in Wisconsin and Minnesota, although its range extends as far south as Florida. Wenebojo, the great creative figure in Chippewa oral traditions, and his mother were in a canoe on a lake when a duck landed on the gunwale. It dropped a few grains of rice from its feet before it flew off, and Wenebojo threw the grains

into the lake to sprout. The rice was gathered from a canoe poled through the shallow water of the lake. The grains were knocked off the stalks into the canoe with sticks, and some of the rice must be thrown back into the lake to ensure the next year's harvest. Some Chippewa people in Minnesota and Wisconsin in the twenty-first century still gather rice in this traditional way and go through the laborious process of parching, beating, and winnowing it to remove the outer husk. *Mahnomin* festivals are held in rural communities and urban Indian centers in Minnesota to celebrate its importance in tribal life.

Food was central to ceremonies that integrated individuals progressively into their own communities throughout their lives. In many societies, ceremonies celebrated a boy's first kill in the hunt. The animal that he killed was cooked and distributed to members of his tribal group. The Diné (Navajo) and Apache in the Southwest, both matrilineal societies, celebrated the first menses of girls with elaborate rituals. Girls ground corn to make cakes to serve at the feasts. The length of her life as well as her health and that of her children were determined by the amount of corn the girl could grind and the size of the cake it produced.

In Pueblo societies, where a highly structured kinship system prevails, exchange of food is an essential aspect of maintaining social order in Native societies and is a key component of reciprocity, which in turn is an essential aspect of ceremonies that maintain the social order. In San Juan Pueblo the summer and winter moieties are two divisions based on kinship, whereby the mother's family and kin are the primary source of relationship. A child must be inducted into its moiety in a ceremony that involves food. Subsequent ceremonies that involve the exchange of food between members of the community serve to establish a person's identity as a member of the moiety with increasing responsibilities as he or she reaches maturity.

In the larger tribal sense, ceremonies such as First Salmon ceremonies on the Northwest coast of North America celebrated the seasonal life cycle of salmon, anadromous fish that spawn in fresh water in the upper reaches of coastal river systems, live in the salt water of the ocean, and return to their freshwater homes to spawn and die. The salmon were perceived as spirits who lived in their houses in the oceans. In the spring they put on their salmon robes and swam up the rivers into the interior of the land, where they could be speared or netted by the Indians. Their life cycle mirrored the cyclic seasonality of death and rebirth. As they swam upstream in the prime of life, they were fat and sleek. The carcasses of those that had spawned and then died floated back downstream, thin and battered by the rigors of their upstream journey and by the process of spawning. But they reemerged again every spring, reborn for a new season. The cycle of death and rebirth that characterized the season in nature and the rhythms of human life was also explicit

Patches of corn in a garden between canyon walls on a Navajo farm. (Edward Curtis/Library of Congress)

in the seasonal cycles of plant and animal life. Ceremonies celebrated their yearly return. The first fish that appeared had to be caught, cooked, and a piece given to every member of the community except for menstruating, pregnant, and nursing women, whose powers might destroy the power of the fish to return.

Indians who relied on animals for their food also utilized a wide variety of wild nuts, berries, seeds, and roots. The seasonality of these foods maintained the sense of a continuing relationship of human beings with the land. The essential idea of ceremonialism is that human energy in prayer and ritual activity causes the change of seasons that in turn is essential to the growth of plants. The cycle of ceremonies of the Made People, who comprise eight religious societies in San Juan Pueblo in New Mexico, are designated by names that translate as Bringing the Buds to Life and Bringing the Leaves to Life. These ceremonies are held about a month before the actual budding and leafing of plants. The planting of beans in Hopi kivas during the Powamu ceremony in early February presages the actual planting of beans in the fields. Ceremony actually produces the foods that people eat as much as their physical work in the fields.

The sacrifice of life is a characteristic of religion, but it plays a limited role in Native societies. One can sacrifice only what one owns or controls, and the dog was the only domesticated animal in North America prior to European contact. The Seneca in the Northeast sacrificed white dogs during their midwinter ceremony. This offering of life amid the many rituals of the ceremony helped to sustain the cycle of the seasons.

The use of human flesh as food is one of the most controversial aspects of Native practice. The Iroquois nations practiced a ritual of torturing war captives from other tribes. Depending on the bravery with which they endured the ordeal, they might be adopted into the nation, or, if they displayed unusual endurance, they would be killed and parts of their bodies eaten by their captors. Although this practice was viewed with

horror by European observers, Iroquois men saw it as a way of assimilating to themselves the qualities of the victim—bravery and the ability to endure pain. Catholic missionaries preached the power of the sacrament of communion, ingesting the body and blood of Christ, to counteract the traditional practices of their converts.

Archaeological evidence suggests that food was essential to leadership in large-scale communities in precontact North America. Skeletal remains from the Moundville site in southern Alabama show better nutrition among those buried with significant grave goods, a sign of status. The highly centralized governance evident at Moundville suggests chiefs whose duties may have included control of the timing of religious ceremonies. At Cahokia, a major mound site in Illinois just across from present-day St. Louis, a circle of postholes shows the existence of a structure called a woodhenge, an alignment of posts used to mark the rising of the sun at the summer and winter solstices and the equinoxes. It roughly defined the first and last frosts, establishing the planting season for peoples who farmed corn and varieties of beans and squash.

The foods widely associated with American Indian cultures actually originated in the Southern Hemisphere of the Americas, home to Olmec, Maya, Aztec, and Inca cultures. The dog was the only domesticated animal in North America, although wild turkeys became semidomesticated because of their propensity to feed off leavings in kitchen middens near Indian villages. The turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*) was first domesticated by the Maya, as was the muscovy duck (*Cairina moschata*). The Inca domesticated llamas and alpacas, which were used as beasts of burden; in addition, their coats were shorn for wool, and their meat was used for food. They were also sacrificed in ceremonies. In a ceremony still practiced in Peru, a llama is set adrift in a canoe in Lake Titicaca to starve to death as an offering to the deities.

Consuming food is the most basic form of establishing relationships among humans, plants, animals, and the forces in the environment that are the ultimate sources of life. It is an integral element of both physical and spiritual being. Gifts of food solidify human relationships; offerings of plant and animal life establish and maintain relationships between humans and the spiritual world. The seasonal cycles of crops mirror the cycles of human life and death. Eating together is the essence of religious experience.

Clara Sue Kidwell

See also Buffalo/Bison Restoration Project; Ceremony and Ritual, Diné; Ceremony and Ritual, Northwest; Ceremony and Ritual, Pueblo; Ceremony and Ritual, Southeast; First Salmon Rites; Fishing Rights and the First Salmon Ceremony; Kachina and Clown Societies; Sacred Sites and Sacred Mountains

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First Menses Site

The First Menses Site discussed below is located on the valley bottom, at the mouth of a small canyon that pierces the northwest flank of Petroglyph Butte, in the northern portion of Hot Creek Valley in central Nevada. The site was first surveyed by James Brooks, who worked for the Atomic Energy Commission during Project Faultless, a nuclear test, in the 1960s (Johnson, Edwards, and King 1996); however, it was not identified as a women's site until 2000 (Stoffle et al. 2000). Native American representatives visited and extensively surveyed the site and vicinity as part of two projects, the first involving an assessment of the effects of environmental restoration on cultural resources, and the second concerning the NAGPRA consultation for the Hot Creek Valley collections (Arnold et al. 1997; DuBarton, Beck, and Johnson 2000). Tribal representatives described the First Menses Site as a powerful ritual setting where women would go to conduct ceremonial activities. Tribal representatives of both sexes and three ethnic groups identified this site as a "gendered" ritual setting on the basis of:

- its secluded but accessible location on the valley bottom,
- its natural shape (a keyhole-type canyon),
- the position of the petroglyphs on the canyon entrance,
- the imagery depicted by the petroglyphs,
- the abundance of medicinal plants used by women, as well as other useful plants,
- the presence of artifacts used by women, such as a beating stick used for felling pine nuts from piñon trees and grinding stones,
- access to a nearby stream,

- the availability of white sands with which to make hot beds, and
- other natural resources that add to the site's power, such as an eagle's nest, a possible paint source, and a source of grinding stones.

The First Menses Site is situated on a small canyon that mirrors a woman's reproductive anatomy. The red and white canyon walls, which are separated by a weaving pathway of white sand, symbolize the opening of the woman's womb toward the east. Walking into the canyon, one metaphorically enters into a woman's body as well as the womb of the earth. Many of the canyon walls throughout the canyon are marked by petroglyphs. Numerous *vulvaglyphs,* or glyphs representing a woman's reproductive organs, are dispersed along the northern and western canyon walls and, to a lesser degree, along the southern side. Glyphs of bird tracks, a circle with a dot in the center, and the symbol of a Bear, who may have been the guardian of the site, are also in evidence. Callaway, Janetski, and Stewart (1986, 352) noted relations between bears and women's puberty ceremonies among Numic-speaking Utes. "During a girl's puberty ceremony, menstrual huts were sometimes located near to Bear Dance grounds during which newly pubescent females danced in public recognition of their new status" (Arnold et al. 1997, 50).

Phallic symbols are carved upon the rocks on the north side of the canyon. Upon one northern rock is a phallic symbol accompanied by a Spanish phrase that is probably contemporaneous with the Gold Rush. Other rock engravings appear to be of much older origin. Noting the depth and height of some of the petroglyph markings, some tribal representatives suggested that men engraved these rocks. In addition, they suggested that certain medicine men might have endeavored to harness some of the women's reproductive powers through these actions (see also Whitley 2000). That activity could be dangerous and would therefore be practiced only by men with a high degree of knowledge of such matters. Other elders reject this theory and maintain that only women would have been allowed to visit this site.

When young women were brought to the First Menses Site they were taught about the physical, social, and religious dimensions of womanhood. According to Kelly and Fowler (1986, 380), "[T]he girl's puberty rite followed the patterns outlined by childbirth . . . seclusion, use of the hotbed at night, use of the scratching and tooth sticks and taboos on meat, salt, and drinking cold water. The conclusion was marked by parting, washing and trimming the hair and painting the face or body." Paiute and Shoshone women heated the white sands from the floors of this canyon to relieve cramping and may have used the sands for birthing practices as well. In addition, the white sands were used in purification ceremonies. The traditional plants and a nearby stream also played central roles in women's ceremonies.

The smoke of big sagebrush (*Artemisis tridentata*) was used to signify the "purification of the living" (ibid., 97) and was prevalent in "girls' puberty ceremonies" (ibid.). Women at this site bathed and ritually cleansed themselves at a nearby stream, after which they could have adorned themselves with paint located at a source identified at this site.

Elements of women's ceremonies were often directed toward educational and social purposes. According to D'Azevedo (1986, 477), "ethnographers have tended to overlook the religious and social aspects of women's subsistence activities. Of particular significance was the consecration of the female role in the girl's puberty rites in which symbolic acts connected with gathering and domestic chores were given emphasis as well as taboos against eating meat and fish." Women who came to the First Menses Site were educated about traditional plants and their future roles as providers. One aspect of this education entailed learning the skills that they would be required to use in their activities as adult members of their societies. Piñon pines, whose pine nuts formed a staple part of the diet of Paiutes and Shoshones, are abundant within this region, which is consistent with the presence of plant-collecting and -processing tools at this site. Native Americans explained that the women who gathered at the site here would do so for physical, ceremonial, and socio-educational purposes.

Three types of data suggest that the reproductive ceremonies of Paiute and Shoshone women in some areas may not have been as harmed by late-nineteenth-century Euro-American legislation banning aboriginal religious practices as were many other indigenous ceremonies. First, there is a strong social memory of the historical use of this site. Our ongoing Kawich History Project, funded by the U.S. Air Force, indicates that Shoshone families, including Hot Creek Annie, whose basketry is exhibited in the Central Nevada Museum, lived in the Hot Creek Valley during the late 1800s and early 1900s, and that at least one Indian camp across the valley from the First Menses Site was being used as late as 1940. Second, a historic photograph of a seclusion hut belonging to the women of a local Western Shoshone family and dating to the 1920s to the 1940s was taken in Kawich Ranch, just south of Hot Creek Valley. And third, the presence of well-preserved perishable artifacts associated with female activities, such as the beating stick, suggests relatively recent use. Other open-air perishable features used by women during seclusion, such as the sage piles found in Airfield Canyon, Nellis Air Force Base (NAFB), by archaeologists from Louis Berger and Associates, Inc., strengthen our observations of the resiliency of Numic women's ceremonies and their recent practice. The continuous use of this site is consistent with independent ethnohistoric documentation. As Steven Crum notes:

> In the late 19th and early 20th centuries the Indian Bureau superintendents were given the task of eliminating the culture of Shoshone [and] Paiute people. This effort was part of the government policy of assimilating the tribal people across the country. . . . [On] the surface this policy of cultural ethnocide, eliminating the Indians' culture, was largely successful. But deep-rooted native culture, the results of thousands of years of development, could not be fully eliminated. One practice that persisted into the 20th century was the isolation of women during menstruation. The superintendent could not forbid this practice since it would cause him embarrassment if he invaded female privacy. (Crum 1994, 51–52)

Contemporary Paiutes and Shoshones continue to regard the First Menses Site as an important and powerful place. Several geographical aspects of the site make it a place of power. Most clearly, the entire canyon mirrors the reproductive organs of a woman. In addition the site combines unique geographical features including high cliffs, striking color contrasts of white and red rocks, white sands, and an area of constriction at the east end of the canyon juxtaposed by steep canyon walls. The presence of a paint source, a stream for ritual cleansing, petroglyphs, and traditional medicinal and subsistence plants further establishes the value of this place as a site traditionally used by Paiute and Shoshone women for physical, ceremonial, social, and educational purposes.

Alex K. Carroll

See also Female Spirituality; Female Spirituality, Apache; Female Spirituality, Dakota; Menstruation and Menarche; Oral Traditions; Petrographs and Petroglyphs; Power Places, Great Basin; Sacred Sites and Sacred Mountains; Scratching Sticks; Women's Cultural and Religious Roles, Great Lakes; Women's Cultural and Religious Roles, Northern Athabascan

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First Salmon Rites

Salmon was arguably the most abundant and important food to Native peoples living along the Pacific Northwest coast and the Columbia Plateau (Driver 1969, 99). Living as adults in ocean waters from Alaska to California, large numbers of these fish migrated upstream in the spring. Some traveled east all the way to the Rocky Mountains. Specific traditions celebrating the arrival of salmon migrating upstream in the spring varied from one indigenous community to another. Yet the conceptual framework of first salmon rites, ceremonies honoring the salmon's arrival, was broadly shared (Gunther 1926, 605; Gunther 1928, 135–136; Boyd 1996, 6).

Seasonal hunger was common for people throughout the region. This was particularly true at the end of winter, when the primary source of subsistence was dried roots and dried fish. On April 17, 1806, Lewis and Clark recorded the situation at The Dalles along the Columbia River: "I have seen none except dryed fish of the last season in the possession of the people above [Five Mile rapids], they subsist on roots principally with some dryed and pounded fish. . . . The inhabitants of the rapids at this time take a few of the white salmon trout [steelhead] and considerable quantities of a small mullet on which they principally subsist" (quoted in Boyd 1996, 58).

It was therefore a huge event when the first salmon arrived in the spring. According to Erna Gunther, an early-twentieth-century anthropologist whose work is still very much respected, the first salmon to be caught in a given year was treated with special honor. It was, to use her word, "venerated." The ideas underpinning this attitude, she said, revolved around the belief that the spirit of the salmon was "immortal" and that it consciously permitted itself to be caught (Gunther 1928, 166). In his book *Nch'i-Wana,* Eugene Hunn describes such beliefs as being animistic. It is important to point out here that "animism" is a term that evolved within the Darwinistic context popular in anthropological circles during the nineteenth century. The concept of "animism" was founded within the evolutionary idea that religion developed over the ages from "primitive" beginnings to the monotheistic heights represented by Christianity. The term is

problematic because it never actually described a religion. Rather, it merely described a theory concerning the origins of religion (Eliade 1987, 296–299).

According to E. B. Tylor, a famous anthropologist of the period, animism entails a belief in autonomous spiritual entities. The world is vitalized by spirit. Spirits possess "will and judgement" (Tylor 1889, 1:424, 469; ibid., 2:108). Animism also entails the belief that spirits persist following the death of their dwelling. Animals may die only to live in the spirit-world, or they may die only to live again within another look-alike animal body (ibid., 1:470). Because of spirits' existence in the tangible and the intangible world, and because of the spirits' influence in the lives of people, they are the focus of awe, prayer, and propitiation. Various legends express the conviction that, if given respect and accorded the ceremonies they are due, spirits can help people survive and prosper. If angered, however, they may decide not to return, thus depriving people of food and causing tremendous hardship. In contrast to Tylor, Hunn (1990) claims that at its foundation animism is much more a moral principle than an ontological idea describing the nature of reality. "People, animals, plants, and other forces of nature—sun, earth, wind, and rock—are animated by spirit. As such they share with humankind intelligence and will, and thus have moral rights and obligations as PERSONS" (230). These themes of animal personhood, spiritual efficacy, and the importance of proper ritual in maintaining healthy human/nature relationships are visible in salmon ceremonies on the Northwest coast and the Columbia Plateau. This is shown through two examples.

Kwakwak'wakw

In the nineteenth century, ethnographers recorded the veneration of the first salmon that arrived in the Kwakwak'wakw (Kwakiutl) villages on Vancouver Island, British Columbia. Many of these ceremonies are still observed among contemporary communities today. Kwakwak'wakw First Salmon Rites occur in the spring, with the arrival of the season's first salmon making their trek from the ocean to the headwaters of inland rivers. The first catch of each season is surrounded by a complex system of ritual prayers, food preparation, communal feasting, and ceremonial deposition of the remains. Kwakwak'wakw tradition tells that the Salmon People dwell in a village, similar to that of Native people, under the sea. In their home during the winter months, the Salmon People dwell in human form. When the spring spawning season arrives, they put on a salmon mask, and a cloak of scales, and become the staple food of the Kwakwak'wakw. The run is considered a voluntary sacrifice for the benefit of the Kwakwak'wakw people, and it is believed that when the bones of the fish are returned to the water, they wash down to the sea where each fish is reassembled and resurrected (Drucker 1965, 85). Upon catching or

spearing the salmon, holding it in both hands, fishermen speak to it affectionately. These words are a prayer, but spoken in a familiar tone, as to a friend or relative:

> We have come to meet alive, Swimmer. Do not feel wrong about what I have done to you, friend Swimmer, for that is the reason why you come, that I may spear you, that I may eat you, Supernatural One, you, Long-Life-Giver, you, Swimmer. Now protect us, me and my wife, that we may keep well, that nothing may be difficult for us that we wish to get from you, Rich-Maker-Woman. Now call after you your father and your mother and uncles and aunts and elder brothers and sisters to come to me also, you, Swimmer, you Satiater. (Boas 1930, 207)

Such prayers precede a careful process of stringing the fish on a hoop of intertwined cedar branches, and careful preparation by the fisherman's wife. She will recite a prayer greeting to the salmon as well, and will proceed to clean the fish, setting aside the entrails and all the bones, and leaving the head, spine, and tail intact. The meat is then shared within a ritual feast. Such meals differ from village to village and may include the family, neighbors, or male elites of the village (ibid., 205–207; Kirk 1986, 83). Despite the diversity of traditions, it remains true from one group to another that the first salmon caught is shared communally.

Following the meal, the bones and refuse are rolled up in the cedar bark mat upon which it had been served and ceremonially returned to the river, thus allowing them to flow back to the ocean. It is strongly believed that if any bones are missing, or the carcass is not properly disposed of, the next year's salmon will be deformed, or unable or unwilling to return (Kirk 1986, 83). The dependency of the Kwakwak'wakw upon the salmon as their primary staple is a strong incentive to respect the sacred, temperamental nature of the fish. Other ritual restrictions exist as well: in order to avoid giving offense to the salmon, parents of newborn infants, pubescent girls, menstruating women, and those in mourning are restricted from coming too close to the runs (Drucker 1965, 157).

The Spring Salmon Rite can be best understood when examined within the wider context of the Kwakwak'wakw worldview. Within their cosmology, the animal and human worlds are understood to have originated from one source. In the mythic past, all creatures were persons; at creation, some put on the masks of various animals, while others took on human form. Emerging from the same source, all creatures have the ability to acquire and conduct *nawalak,* or supernatural power. Within Kwakwak'wakw society, animals and humanity take part in an intricate reciprocal relationship that infuses all areas of life and social interaction. Salmon are often associated with guests in Kwakwak'wakw society, and as such participate in an exchange of supernatural power with their host. "Salmon, drawn inexorably by the

power of the host to his house, enter into a relationship with him within which their animal characteristics set some of the patterns of social intercourse. As salmon they are the wealth of the host. They are supernatural representatives bringing the wealth of the sea . . . [bringing] the *nawalak* of the salmon into the house" (Goldman 1975, 185).

Animals are considered to be humans in disguise, and they are to be treated as such. When the salmon arrive they are considered the Kwakwak'wakw guests, bringing with them the gift of life, *nawalak*. They in turn, by means of ceremonial ritual and respect, are imparted with Kwakwak'wakw *nawalak*. The animal-human relationship is thus seen within this cyclical acquiring and exchanging of supernatural power and life. The salmon provide health, wealth, and a staple food supply to the Kwakwak'wakw, while they in turn receive rebirth and resurrection (ibid., 198).

In that light, the ceremonial masked dancing of the Kwakwak'wakw during the long winter months becomes clearer. The use of masks goes beyond merely "playacting." For the Kwakwak'wakw, they are essentially becoming the animals they portray, traveling into the spirit world, joining with the totemic animals, and proffering a *nawalak* exchange. "They were said to have been kidnapped by the spirits which were said to inspire them. When they reappeared, they were possessed by their particular spirits, bereft of all human qualities" (Drucker 1965, 162). The use of masks thus re-creates a mythical reality, in which humans and animals interact as the same beings. The use of the mask and the winter ceremonial dances reflect the salmon myth: a passing through death, in order to recreate life. In wearing the mask and entering the spirit world, the dancer leaves behind his own identity, dying to his human self to become his animal self. That is clearly much like the salmon, which leaves behind its human life, at the bottom of the sea, donning its salmon mask and cloak, to swim to the Kwakwak'wakw world. The salmon passes through death, its bones are ceremonially released, and the salmon returns to its home reborn (Walens 1981, 59). The winter Salmon Dance of the Kwakwak'wakw, in which a dancer wears the guise of the spawning salmon and reenacts the leaping dance of the seasonal migration, is an essential part of the cyclical *nawalak* exchange. "Just as the human dancer dances to reaffirm his pledge to the salmon that they will be reborn, so the salmon 'dance' their way from their own country to man's, reaffirming their pledge" (ibid., 141). Traveling to the spirit world, the dancer exchanges supernatural power with the Salmon People, and makes possible their return in the fall.

A Kwakwak'wakw story (one among many possibilities) reflects this salmon tradition, demonstrating how it has become infused into the oral tradition of the people. The ritual symbolism of resurrection and the salmon is evident in

the Raven myths. When Raven goes searching for a wife among the dead, he restores her to life after sprinkling water on her bones. When the woman wades to the middle of the river, the first salmon spring from her body, filling the men's nets. She instructs the men to carefully preserve all the bones and return them to the river, that the salmon will return again every year. When Raven arrives home in the evening, however, several low-hanging, drying salmon catch in his hair. Raven forgets to extend the proper ceremonial greeting, failing to treat the salmon as living guests in his home.

"'Oh, why do you catch in my hair, you that are from the dead?' The woman answered quickly, 'What did you say?' I said, 'Why do you catch in my hair, you that are drying?' 'No, you said, "You that are from the dead.'" She looked up at the fish, clapped her hands, and cried 'Wee!' And all the salmon fell down and rolled into the water where they at once became alive and began to jump and swim. The woman disappeared at the same time" (Hays 1975, 146–147). The Raven story illustrates the importance of ceremonial respect within the *nawalak* exchange. The salmon are part of a reciprocal relationship, one that they are not required to maintain.

As the main staple of the Kwakwak'wakw diet, salmon is vital to the community's survival. And yet it is clear that the tribe considers the salmon to be essentially human, like themselves. Just as the Kwakwak'wakw don masks, becoming salmon, to descend to the Salmon People in the winter, the Salmon People don masks to ascend to the Kwakwak'wakw, becoming salmon, in the summer. But the First Salmon Rites are also the cyclical, ritual exchange of *nawalak,* by means of consumption and passing through death, to make possible rebirth. The summer months, no less than the winter months, are a period of masking and supernatural exchange. When women and men take up the masks of animals, initiating a role reversal that is once again reversed in the summer months, they are enabling and affirming their place in the cosmological drama. The woman's prayer to the salmon as she prepares it for cooking becomes a clear representation of this balanced relationship, hinging upon mutual cooperation and respect, which assures the well-being of the community and the ordering of the universe.

"'Welcome, Supernatural One, you, Swimmer, you have come trying to come to me, you, who always come every year of our world, that you come to set us right that we may be well. Thank you, thank you, thank you sincerely, you, Swimmer. I mean this, that you, please, will come next year that we may meet again alive, that you please, protect me that nothing evil may befall me, Supernatural One, you, Swimmer. Now I will do what you came here for that I should do to you,' says she and she cuts it. 'Here is where I shall stop my words, for you know all the ways of what is done with the salmon'" (Boas 1930, 207).

The Yakama

As on Vancouver Island, nineteenth-century ethnographers and ethnographic-minded missionaries working along the mid-Columbia River and its major tributaries observed and wrote about the honor paid to the first salmon caught in the spring by Native peoples. First salmon rites are still very much practiced there today. For inhabitants of the area, salmon were not just fish. They were a people. Relationships with them were familial in nature. If treated with respect, it was believed, the fish would offer themselves as willing sacrifices so that the people might live. First food ceremonies help maintain this relationship. While certainly modified over time, such beliefs remain foundational in the lives of many. Through such rituals, it is held that the tangible and intangible bonds between people, salmon, and the creative forces of the universe are renewed.

Celilo Falls is a very important traditional fishing spot on the Columbia Plateau. It was both a premier place to catch salmon and a center of trade and socializing whose influence reached hundreds of miles in all directions. Although it was flooded in 1956 by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers as part of a regional hydroelectrification project, it remains significant to Natives in memory and practice. A 1999 interview with a Yakama woman living near Celilo Falls revealed that, like the Kwakwak'wakw of the nineteenth century, Yakama people also traditionally understand salmon to be people. Salmon people live in homes under the water and present themselves as food to people, serving as intentional sacrifices as long as proper ritual is observed and respect is given (Chadwick 1999, 9). The importance of respect is made clear in "The Legend of the Lost Salmon":

Long ago, in the time that existed before the coming of humans, animals were all the people that there were. Salmon was available for the people to use. However, there were rules to abide by. "Do not take more than you need. Never lay a salmon down on the ground with his head towards the river. Always place the salmon with his head away from the body of water." The people were told all this by the Creator. He guaranteed that if these simple rules were followed there would always be plenty of salmon to eat.

All went well while the people did as they were asked. Each village along the river stayed busy fishing, cleaning, preparing, and eating salmon. Everyone was healthy and happy. Then one day the people became negligent. They stopped following the rules. They became greedy and disrespectful of the salmon. Not only did they catch more than they needed but they let the excess rot in the sun. Further, those who wished to obey the Creator's rules were ridiculed. Then, all of a sudden, the salmon vanished! Not a single one was to be seen anywhere. The people became hungry. Starvation set in. The old ones begged for food, and the children cried out for something to eat.

One day, as people were seeking along the river's edge for a bit of something to eat, someone discovered a dead salmon. They looked at it and realized what they had done. Feeling deep shame for their actions, they said to one another, "If we are given one more chance, we will do better. If only we could awaken this salmon, the other salmon might come up the stream." Immediately a council was called to order. The people discussed how they might use their spiritual powers to bring the dead salmon back to life. In those days, individuals with special powers could revive the dead by stepping over them five times. They all tried, but none were successful. In desperation they asked Old Man Rattlesnake for help. Though quite old and slow, he was known to be very powerful.

Old Man Rattlesnake resisted their pleas. It hurt his ancient body to move, and he was tired. But they persisted. Finally he relented. As he slowly made his way across to where the salmon lay, the trickster Coyote was already busy trying to revive the dead salmon. He had always wanted to convince people that he had special powers. Coyote knew that he would be famous if he could bring the salmon back to life. So he stepped over the salmon four times and, as he stepped over it for the fifth, he bumped it with his toe to make it appear as if it had moved and loudly said, "O look, my people, I made the salmon come to life. Did you see it move?" But people were not fooled. Old Man Rattlesnake at last reached the salmon. Using all of his strength, he crawled on top of the salmon four times. The fifth time he crawled right into the salmon's spine and it was revived! (Beavert 1974, 38–41)

Resurrection was an important concept in Plateau first salmon rituals, just as it was on the Northwest coast. In 1843 this ceremony was observed firsthand and recorded by the Reverend Henry Perkins, a Methodist missionary living at the Wascopam Mission, located at The Dalles (near Celilo Falls). Because of their clarity, his comments are included here in detail. Perkins observed:

> The natives have but one word for "hallowed" or sacred, & this is applied in such a manner, that I have had doubts about using it in conjunction with the name of our Heavenly Father. For instance, the "tu-a-ti-ma"—or medicine men—as they are sometimes called by the whites—practice a sort of invocatory ceremony on the first arrival of the salmon in the spring. Before any of the common people are permitted to boil, or even to cut the flesh of the salmon transversely for any purpose, the "tu-a-ti"—medicine man of the village, assembles the people, & after invoking the "Tah" or the particular spirit which presides over the salmon, & who they suppose can make it a prosperous year, or otherwise, takes a fish just caught, & wrings off its head. The blood, which flows from the fish, he catches in a basin, or small dish, & sets aside. He then cuts the salmon transversely into small pieces, & boils. The way is thus opened for any one else to do the same. Joy & rejoicing circulate through the village, & the people now boil & eat to their hearts content. . . . But I wish

> to call your attention to the *blood*. This is considered to be "aut-ni"—or as we should say sacred, or hallowed, or sanctified—i.e., it is sacredly set apart, & carefully guarded for five days, when it is carried out, waved in the direction in which they wish the fish to run, & then carefully poured into the water. (quoted in Boyd 1996, 274)

Such use of salmon blood is unique in the ethnographic literature. Despite the fact that first salmon ceremonies were widespread across the Pacific Northwest region, other communities returned bones, not blood, to the rivers. Yet there is no need to question Perkins's credibility, says Boyd. Basins of this or a similar type were used by shamans on the Lower Fraser River (part of the Columbia Plateau, located in British Columbia) to wash or perhaps even to purify their hands. He points out that the first salmon ceremony recorded by Sapir and Spier (1930) near The Dalles was led "by a shaman." However, there is no discussion of special treatment of blood or of the five-day period so frequently mentioned in Yakama legends (see Beavert 1974 and Ramsey 1977). By the time Spier and Sapir arrived on the scene, older styles of observance had been either replaced or modified through acceptance of Washat traditions (Boyd 1996, 128–129). These were initially developed by the Dance Prophets Smohalla (Wanapum) and Skolaskin (Sanpoil) during the second half of the nineteenth century.

In 1896, James Mooney observed a first salmon ceremony on the Yakama reservation. The ritual he saw was Washat, just as it usually is today. Upon entering the longhouse, the men and women arranged themselves on opposite sides, all facing the center. Everyone was well dressed in buckskin regalia. Plates of freshly cooked salmon, along with an abundance of other foods, were set out for a communal meal. Following an initial service during which the longhouse leader asks questions, each of which is answered in turn by the congregation, the assembled are instructed to "take water." All raise a cup to their mouths. "Now drink." They take a sip. "Now the salmon." All put a piece of fish in their mouths. "Now eat." Finally they are permitted to eat freely.

Once the meal is finished, plates are taken away and the "dance" starts. At the sound of a bell held by the longhouse leader, people line up as before. Another ringing of the bell signals that they are to put their right hands over their hearts. Soon all are rhythmically swinging their hands "like fans" in front of them, dancing in place. Ceremonial songs are sung throughout the rest of the service to the sound of drums and occasional ringing of the bell. James Mooney interprets the first song as saying

> Verily, verily, Our Brother made the body.
> He gave it a spirit and the body moved.
> Then he counted out the words for us to speak.

A subsequent song proclaims:

> Verily, Our Brother put salmon in the water

to be our food. (quoted in Hunn 1990, 257–260)

Clearly, Washat/Waashat has Christian elements. This is not a surprising development during a time when missionaries and government agents were actively working to "civilize" Native peoples. Yet the first salmon ceremony of the latter nineteenth century shares commonalities with the ritual recorded by Henry Perkins fifty years earlier. In both cases the salmon, an extremely important food and spiritual figure, is treated as a person of honor. On the Northwest coast, as exemplified here by the Kwakwak'wakw, similar ceremonial themes existed. Salmon are people who give their lives willingly that others might live. Myth cycles are integrally related to ritual performances. And across the Plateau and Northwest coast, although specific ceremonial traits differed from place to place, there is an overarching framework of paying deep respect to and offering thanks for the return of food. That was certainly the case during the nineteenth century and before. Cultures change, yet for many, many Native communities it still remains true today.

Joel Geffen and Suzanne J. Crawford

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Coeur d'Alene; Ceremony and Ritual, Northwest; Ecology and Environmentalism; Fishing Rights and the First Salmon Ceremony; Masks and Masking; Oral Traditions, Northwest Coast; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, Columbia Plateau

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Fishing Rights and the First Salmon Ceremony

The fishing rights of the Indian tribes of the Pacific Northwest and the reintroduction of the first salmon ceremony are both important issues in contemporary Northwest Indian life. When the Indian tribes of the Pacific Northwest signed treaties with the federal government, they reserved the right to fish off-reservation in their historical fishing sites. The tenacity of the tribal fishers to continue their fishing and their determination to have their treaty rights upheld led to important federal court cases, such as *U.S. v. Washington,* 1974 (Boldt decision). That decision reaffirmed the Indian tribes' right to fish off-reservation. Furthermore, the decision stated that they were entitled to 50 percent of the salmon harvest. As fishing again became an important economic and cultural activity for the tribes in the area, the first salmon ceremony was reintroduced. This ceremony honors the first salmon of the season in the spring and ensures a bountiful harvest for the remainder of the fishing season. The tribes now take an important role in natural resource management in the Pacific Northwest in order to ensure the survival of salmon.

Salmon have been at the center of American Indian culture in the Pacific Northwest for thousands of years. Fishing has always been important to the tribes. Salmon have historically been a vital part of the diet of the Natives of the area and a symbol of their way of life. Salmon are anadromous fish, beginning their lives in freshwater streams, sometimes far from the ocean. They migrate down the streams as juvenile fish, spending most of their lives in the ocean, and then return as adults to the stream they were born in to reproduce. After the salmon have laid their eggs (spawned), they die. Salmon need clear, cool running water, streams shaded by trees, and undisturbed areas in which to spawn. In addition, for the salmon to survive, the juveniles must swim unimpeded downstream to the ocean. Many things harm their habitat, such as development of the mouths of rivers (cities and ports), logging, dams, water withdrawn from streams for irrigation of agricultural crops, and water pollution.

American Indian tribes such as the Suquamish, Tulalip, Skokomish, and Nisqually in the Puget Sound of what is now Washington State traditionally lived near or at the mouth of rivers. Other tribes, such as the Nez Perce and Yakama, lived near smaller rivers that ran into the mighty Columbia River. All of these tribes would catch salmon as the fish returned up the rivers to their natal

Members of the Tulalip tribe carry a chinook salmon during a ceremony celebrating the first salmon catch, Tulalip, Washington, 1992. (Natalie Fobes / Corbis)

streams. The Indians would harvest only what they needed, ensuring that most of the fish remained in the streams to swim farther upstream to spawn. This natural method of conservation meant that the fish would return every year. To further guarantee this, the tribes would conduct a first salmon ceremony in the spring. This ceremony embodied the concept of respect for and connection with the salmon.

As American settlers moved westward into the Pacific Northwest (land that is now Washington, Oregon, Montana, and Idaho), the federal government decided that it was time to make treaties with the Indians of the area. The policy of the federal government was to remove the Indians to reservations in order to open the land for white settlement. Isaac Stevens was sent to the Washington territory in the early 1850s to carry out that policy. During the treaty councils that he called with the Indian groups and tribes in the area, he heard, through his translators, many of

the Indians speak about the importance of fishing to their way of life. Although Stevens knew very little about Indians, he did know that white settlers and members of his party depended on buying salmon from the Indians for their own food supply. It was clear that the Indians would not sign the treaties without there being provisions in them to reserve the right to fish, hunt, and gather. Thus the treaties contained a clause that said: "The right of taking fish at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the territory." The important thing about this clause is that the tribes' "usual and accustomed" fishing grounds were not on the newly established reservations; they were the locations where the Indians had fished historically. Thus the tribes reserved in the treaties they signed the important right to fish off-reservation in their historical fishing sites.

The Indians continued to fish in those locations. In the 1860s and 1870s, white settlers still purchased fish from Indian fishers. As more Euro-Americans moved into the area, however, whites also began to fish. By the early part of the twentieth century, the whites were able to catch many more fish with their mechanized boats. Although the Indians continued to fish, and remembered their right to do so, they began to be squeezed out of the fishery by the increasing numbers of white fishers and their ability to harvest the salmon before they reached their natal streams. By the 1870s factories to can fish had been established near the mouth of the Columbia River, and giant fish wheels were put in the river that scooped up large numbers of returning salmon for the canneries. Thus there were fewer fish available to the Indians, who historically had fished farther up the Columbia and on its tributaries, such as the Yakima River. In the 1930s the dam-building era began on the Columbia River and other rivers in the Pacific Northwest, blocking the salmon's migration. If the salmon could not return to their natal streams to spawn, there were no juvenile fish to begin the cycle again.

The state governments of the Pacific Northwest, particularly Washington State, began to be concerned about conserving salmon and passed laws to regulate fishing gear and seasons. They interpreted the words "in common" in the treaties signed by the Indians to mean that Indian fishers could be regulated as were non-Indian fishers. Since the Indians were by then catching only about 2 percent of the salmon returning to their fishing grounds, this imposed an additional hardship on them. During the 1960s the Indians in the Pacific Northwest staged a number of "fish-ins" to bring attention to the fact that their treaty rights to fish were not being recognized by state government.

In the early 1970s, at the request of tribes in the area, the federal government went to federal district court to force the state to recognize treaty fishing rights. After three years of careful consid-

eration of the testimony and evidence, Judge George Boldt issued his decision in *U.S. v. Washingto*n, 1974. He stated that the words "in common" in the treaties meant that the tribes were entitled to catch 50 percent of the salmon returning to the tribes' historical fishing grounds. *U.S. v. Oregon,* 1969, was a similar case that recognized Indian treaty fishing rights on the Columbia River. A subsequent decision, called Boldt Phase II, though never fully litigated, established that an "environmental right" accompanies the treaty right to take fish. This means that the tribes have a legal interest in having fish habitat maintained throughout the migratory range of the salmon. Indian tribes in Washington State have thus become involved in helping to formulate forest practices regulations for state and commercial timberlands, watershed planning for water quantity and quality, and related environmental issues. Indian tribes on the Columbia River have become active participants in river management in order to restore salmon and salmon habitat.

As the tribes began actively fishing again in the 1970s, they reintroduced the first salmon ceremony to celebrate the return of the salmon in the spring, to honor the first salmon caught and ensure that the salmon will return again. At the Tulalip tribes, for example, tribal members begin the ceremony by arriving in a cedar canoe and presenting the tribal members with the first salmon. After the ceremony honoring that salmon, its remains are returned to the waters and set adrift. The spirit of the fish returns to the Salmon People and tells them that he has been honored. This means that the Salmon People will return to the tribe to ensure them a good fishing season. The ceremony is a tribute to the Creator, and to the blessings of Creation. It is also a way to educate youth about the importance of being respectful to, and connected with, nature. The general public is often invited to these ceremonies, at which salmon is cooked on standing spits around an open fire and provided to all.

The tribes look to the future to ensure that salmon will return for this ceremony, and for the important role that salmon play in their economic and cultural lives. To do this, the tribes are active in salmon habitat protection and conservation. Many of the tribes have hatcheries that supplement the wild salmon stocks and provide fish for Indian and non-Indian fishers alike. Because of their treaty rights to salmon, the tribes play an important role in natural resource management in the Pacific Northwest. The first salmon ceremony can thus be seen as both a symbol of the importance of the salmon to the Indian tribes and an indication of the active role the tribes take in preserving the salmon for the entire Northwest.

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Northwest; Ecology and Environmentalism; First Foods Ceremonies and Food Symbolism; First Salmon Rites; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion; Whaling, Religious and Cultural Implications

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Gender and Sexuality, Two Spirits

In many precontact American Indian nations, including the Klamath, Chumash, Hopi, Ojibwa, Winnebago, Crow, Cheyenne, Diné (Navajo), Ute, Papago, Teton Lakota, Oglala Lakota, and Santee Dakota, certain individuals were believed to have both masculine and feminine spirits that accorded them special status in their communities (Lang 1998). What made these individuals unique was their gender expression. Although some two-spirit people did engage in sexual activity that would today be considered homosexual, their positions within their communities focused on the responsibilities and privileges given to them because of their gender.

Terminology

Three useful terms for understanding how gender functions in a society are "gender identity," "gender role," and "gender status." Sabine Lang defines "gender identity as the subjective, felt perception of gender membership on the part of the individual; gender role as the outward expression of this perception; and gender status as the social position assigned to the individual by that person's culture" (ibid., 50). In addition, gender role change refers to giving up the responsibilities and privileges of the gender role associated with one's biological sex for the responsibilities and privileges of the gender role associated with the so-called opposite sex. Gender role crossing is the performance of some responsibilities and privileges with the "opposite" sex without a complete role and status change.

The term "two-spirit" is a recent label given to so-called nontraditional gender statuses that were present in many precontact nations and that continue to exist in both traditional and innovative forms. Intersexed people—or people who have a combination of male and female internal and external genitalia—are considered to be two-spirit by many cultures, as are biological males choosing to express feminine gender characteristics

and biological females choosing to express masculine gender characteristics. Until the 1990s anthropologists referred to two-spirit people born with male anatomy as "berdaches," while those born with female anatomy were sometimes called female "berdaches." The term "berdache" has roots in a Persian word meaning "young captive" or "slave." By the time European colonists encountered Native American peoples, "berdache" was used in England and France to refer to a younger, passive partner in a male homosexual relationship (ibid., 6–7; Roscoe 1998, 7–8). This history has rendered the application of the term to Native American gender variations problematic.

Many Native and non-Native activists and scholars prefer the term "two-spirit" because it locates people with non-normative gender identities between masculinity and femininity. These people are understood to have the spirit of both men and women within. The term originates in the Northern Algonquin dialect. *Niizh manitoag* translates as "two-spirit" (Anguksuar 1997, 221). Anguksuar, a Yup'ik scholar from Alaska, believes that "each human is born because a man and a woman have joined in creating each new life; all humans bear imprints of both, although some individuals may manifest both qualities more completely than others" (ibid., 221). The terms "women-men" (males in feminine roles) and "men-women" (females in masculine roles) are also useful (Lang 1998). Whenever a culturally specific term is unavailable or general discussion is needed, the terms "women-men," "men-women," and "two-spirit" will be used.

Two-Spirit People: A Question of Gender Rather than Sexuality

Gender roles complement each other in traditional Native communities. All necessary tasks are valued. Care of children, food preparation, and manufacture of household items (which do not compose all facets of women's work in Native North America) are treated as inferior tasks by a Euro-dominated worldview, while tasks associated with male gender roles, such as hunting, fishing, and warfare, are glorified (Jaimes 1992). As Lisa Duggan and Kathleen McHugh remind us, this is related to racism and homophobia.

> In the dominant myth of gender, white men work to support their delicate, morally superior feminine white women. The feminine white woman is offered "respect" only in relation to those excluded from the sacred domestic and its "protections"—the slave, the mammy, the whore, . . . the dyke, the welfare queen, [and the "squaw"]. "Femininity" here is the price paid for a paltry and debasing power. This femininity pays the symbolic taxes of a mythology based on the denial of class and race—a mythology that takes no responsibilities for its privilege, its hierarchies, its parasitic relation to other's labor and sweat. (1996, 157)

In contrast, feminine gender roles associated in Native North America were

and are considered powerful positions. Native American women have maintained sophisticated relationships with the plants and animals that surround them. Indigenous women provide food, building materials, and medicinal plants for their families. As the suppliers of more than half of the food supply and materials for trade, women played a fundamental role in traditional economies. Reciprocity is the principle through which relationships between sexes and genders have been cultivated and refined, through which people's contributions to their society are recognized and returned (Cordero and Currans 2003).

Within this context of respect for the work performed by both women and men, two-spirit people found an honored place. In Native cultures, gender roles exhibit the deep respect accorded to individuals and the contributions they make to the continued existence of their communities. Contemporary views of gender and sexuality reveal both acceptance of and resistance to Euro-American models. Like all cultural relations, gender norms and roles are subject to change because of new circumstances. Changes exhibit the dynamism of human communities and thus do not imply "inauthenticity."

Current political debates about the rights of gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered, intersexed, and queer (GLBTIQ) people are heir to understandings of sexuality and gender developed throughout American (and European) history. These conceptions are connected to the Christian worldviews of those who colonized this continent and reveal an obsession with sexuality that has developed within such worldviews. Within this paradigm, discussions of sexual expressions focus on categories of behavior such as heterosexuality, homosexuality, and bisexuality. These categories give primacy to the sexual dimensions of interpersonal relationships.

In contrast, Native American conceptions of interpersonal relationships focus primarily on what gender role a person plays within a relationship or community. Therefore contemporary discussions of transgendered people more closely resemble indigenous views of two-spirit people. For example, in *Transgender Warriors,* Leslie Feinberg provides a global history of gender variation. S/he includes the Crow *badé* (sometimes spelled *boté*), the Chumash *joya,* and the Diné *nádleehí,* alongside female warriors from across the globe, and well-known figures from the West including Joan of Arc and RuPaul. Feinberg risks obscuring important cultural differences and erasing the complex systems within which these examples occur but focuses on gender rather than sexuality and presents a better understanding of these individuals than do discussions of homosexuality. A binary view of gender as only feminine or masculine fails to acknowledge that some individuals fall between masculinity and femininity—or that few individuals completely embody either ideal. Transgendered theories acknowledge a broader set of gender possibilities

that create a space for two-spirit people that discussions of sexuality do not.

The division of sex and gender developed in feminist theory also fails to provide adequate tools for appreciating two-spirit people. For example, Gilbert Herdt describes the Mojave as granting "a distinctive ontology [to] two-spirit persons, expressed in heartfelt desires, task preferences, and cultural transformation with respect to the genitals and to personal pronouns. The social role was sanctified by spiritual power—an attribute lacking in the Western conception of these variations of sex/gender" (1997, 279–280). Thus, understanding gender as the social and cultural meanings given to bodies with different genitalia fails to address the important position of two-spirit people within worldviews that imbue roles and individuals with symbolic importance within a cosmological system of meanings.

Because Western understandings of sexuality do not translate easily into Native American cultural contexts, these phenomena have often been thought to be about sexual desire and expression. Herdt observes "that 'sexuality' in the Western meanings of the word does not apply in every respect to the phenomena surrounding sexuality in non-Western worlds" (ibid., 276). The equation of sexual activity with identity in contemporary American culture obscures important nuances of desire and spirituality. Among the important issues excluded from Western understandings of sexuality are "concepts of the whole person that incorporate spirit, mind, and social relations . . . ; the sensibilities of the body, whose essences and practices . . . make sexuality into a matter of social reasoning and sociality; . . . and the passions, or eros, of being with others sexually or playfully but without necessarily romance or procreation in the modernist sense of these ideals" (ibid.). Sexuality is a social phenomenon, and the behaviors that compose an LGBTIQ identity in the contemporary West are often not understood in the same way in other places or times.

This is not to say that two-spirit people did not or do not enjoy sexual relationships. Although a few tribes did prescribe celibacy for two-spirits, some two-spirit people formed partnerships with people of the same biological sex, while others had partners of the opposite biological sex. Both gender role change and gender role crossing occurred in precontact Native American nations, and continue to occur today.

Historical Two-Spirit People

According to Gay American Indians, an organization intended to address the needs of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered Native Americans, 133 precontact nations recognized two-spirit people (1988, 217). Sabine Lang lists 148 nations (1998, 5), while Will Roscoe cites 155 (1998, 7). These figures are taken from written sources assembled primarily by outsiders that do not include contemporary innovations. The colonial and anthropological sources provide more

examples of women-men than men-women. While this discrepancy may be related to the privileging of male informants over female by male researchers and the greater visibility of men dressing as women and performing feminine tasks, the incongruity is great enough that it is likely that women-men (men in feminine roles) were more common.

Individual nations accorded unique statuses to women-men and allowed for varying degrees of flexibility. The performance of feminine tasks was noted among many California tribes, including the Chumash, Pomo, and Yurok. This included gathering food, preparing meals, weaving, and sewing (Lang 1998, 91–92). Feminine occupations for women-men also existed among the Kutenai, Klamath, Quinault, Aleut, Ojibwa, Winnebago, Crow, Cheyenne, Teton Lakota, and Santee Dakota (ibid., 94–96). The Crow *boté,* the Chumash *joya,* the Cocopa *elxa,* and women-men among the Santee Dakota, Oglala Lakota, Diné, Ute, Papago, and Pomo are described as having an early proclivity for feminine tasks (ibid., 219–220). Women-men in other communities performed a combination of masculine and feminine tasks.

Women-men married or had sexual relations with men or women depending on the nation. Sexual relationships between women-men and men occurred among the Crow, Yuma, Apache, Santee Dakota, Klamath, Chumash, Diné, Cheyenne, Hopi, Papago, Ute, Zuni, Pomo, and others. Scholars report sexual relationships between women-men and women among the Zuni, Diné, Papago, Crow, Klamath, Osage, and others (ibid., 191–194). In some cultures women-men remained celibate, while in others they were sexually available to many. Among the Cheyenne, Chumash, Natchez, Cree, Kutenai, Crow, Papago, Yuma, and Pima, researchers noted an early preference for female company among women-men (ibid., 220–221). The Lakota *winkte,* Zuni *lha'ma,* and women-men among the Santee Dakota, Osage, Hopi, Cheyenne, Diné, and the Yuki were described as speaking in a feminine manner (ibid., 128–129).

Walter L. Williams concludes that homosexuality existed in precontact nations and that it was not limited to two-spirit people, although most existing accounts involve those individuals whose gender status made them visible to colonists (1992, 88). Same-sex erotic expression did not necessarily preclude marriage or children. Sexuality was viewed as a natural and pleasurable part of life. Although restrictions on sexual activity (including extramarital, premarital, and same-sex eroticism) existed in many nations, Native North America had an overall more lenient attitude toward sexuality than contemporary America.

Most precontact nations believed that two-spirit people engaging in sexual activity with each other was improper. Sex between two-spirit people was sometimes understood to be like sex between members of the same family (ibid., 93). In many areas the terms used for sex between males were different from those

for sex between a man and a woman-man (ibid., 96).

Man-woman status (a female performing a masculine role) also allowed for flexibility in dress, work, and sexual relationships. Among the Achomawi of northern California, men-women dressed in feminine clothing but performed masculine work and married women (Lang 1998, 273). One Klamath man-woman assumed masculine responsibilities, including marriage, but continued to wear primarily feminine clothing (ibid., 275). Mohave, Quinault, and Paiute men-women performed masculine tasks, wore masculine clothing, and often married women (ibid., 274). Warfare was usually associated with men but could be performed by women and did not necessarily coincide with masculine or ambiguous gender identification. Thus female warriors were not always viewed as changing gender roles and are excellent examples of gender role crossing without full status change.

Same-sex relationships between women have been largely ignored in anthropological literature. This is due in part to the inability and reluctance of (predominantly) male researchers to access women's lives, but it may also be due to the fact that "gender role crossings were frequently possible for women without involving an ambivalent, nonfeminine gender status. This is above all true for the war/raiding complex, and in isolated cases also for masculine activities such as hunting or participating in certain ceremonies" (ibid., 22, 261). It may have been easier for women to perform traditionally male tasks without signaling a gender status change than it was for men to perform traditionally female tasks without signaling a status change, which may partially account for the larger number of gender variant roles available for men than women.

Both women-men and men-women often had specialized roles. Women-men were typically healers, "gravediggers, conveyers of oral tradition and songs, and nurses during war expeditions; they foretold the future, conferred lucky names on children or adults, wove, made pottery, arranged marriages, and made feather costumes for dance" (ibid., 151). Women-men healers were common within cultures in which female healers were prevalent. Because women-men were considered to have both masculine and feminine spirits, they were believed to have extraordinary access to the spirits and special insight into relationships between men and women. For example, the Lakota *winkte* had special powers symbolized by wearing women's clothing, and much like other powerful people they carried symbols of their spirit healers in medicine bags. Feminine clothing represented connection to spiritual power, a connection so potent that medicine people approached *winktes* for advice (ibid., 157; Williams 1992, 35).

Much of the available literature includes brief references to two-spirit people without providing in-depth examinations of the lives of women-men and men-women, but there are a number of

life histories and biographies, including those of Osh-Tisch (Finds Them and Kills Them), a Crow *boté* (Roscoe 1998, 30; Williams 1992, 179; Lang 1998, 118), Ququnak patke, the Manlike Woman of the Kutenai (Lang 1998, 275; Williams 1992, 236), Hastíín Klah, a Diné *nádleehí* (which means being transformed) (Roscoe 1998, 40; Lang 1998, 68), Woman Chief of the Crow (Roscoe 1998, 78; Williams 1992, 244), and We'wha, a Zuni *lha'ma* (Roscoe 1998, 113; Roscoe 1991). Generally speaking, these individuals share some commonalities, such as making the decision to assume two-spirit status prior to adulthood (Roscoe 1998, 8–9).

In some nations it was possible to hold two-spirit status for a period of time and then take on a masculine or feminine status (Lang 1998, 61). The respect given to these people is part of why an understanding of their lives is so important within contemporary America, a cultural milieu in which the language of tolerance and equal rights is often used to defend the rights of people to discriminate against others on the basis of race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and religion. Connections between these historical individuals and contemporary LGBTIQ and two-spirit Native Americans are complex, because of changes in Native American cultures since contact. One way to examine these relationships is through a discussion of religious beliefs and practices.

The process of forced integration of Native Americans into the United States included the suppression of rituals and ceremonies. Religious traditions and understandings of gender that differed from colonial practices were at the core of Native cultures and therefore were greatly affected by the conquest of indigenous land and the denial of land claims by the U.S. government. Women's positions were undermined by the naming of male heads of households for new family arrangements according to a modern European nuclear model. Two-spirit people did not fit into these new arrangements and therefore found themselves without property or access to government funds (Williams 1992, 176).

Missionization was and continues to be an especially problematic development for two-spirit people. Looking at missionization and colonization as simply historical events is misleading. While missionization and colonization began hundreds of years ago, the effects are still felt, and neither process has ended—either here or abroad. The occupation of Iraq by the United States and Britain in 2003 is but one of many examples of Western imperial powers taking control of natural resources for economic gain and dictating how other nations should live. Native Americans are still denied the right to practice their religions in some areas, and traditional land is more often than not in the possession of non-Native peoples (Cordero and Currans, 2003). Some Native nations are not even granted federal recognition, which allows them land and access to limited resources provided in

"exchange" for the appropriation of land by the U.S. government.

Two-spirit medicine people faced threefold oppression under colonial rule—as leaders of illegal religions, as gender variant, and as indigenous. Missionaries to Native communities viewed conversion as a sacred duty. This process included Westernization as well as Christianization, because European civilization was (and is) viewed as representative of Christian ideals. Walter Williams reminds us that in "its most ethnocentric form, everything Western was sanctioned by the will of God, while everything belonging to an indigenous culture was evil" (Williams 1992, 181). Missionization began as a means of controlling colonial subjects by changing their worldviews.

Christian conversion and the related suppression of indigenous religious expressions have proven to be excellent tools throughout Western expansion. Many Native American tribes have partially or fully internalized Western Christian values, thus both homophobia and distrust of non-Christian beliefs and practices exist in contemporary Native communities. Native Americans with nonnormative gender and sexual identities often feel ostracized on reservations and therefore either suppress their desires or find their way into mainstream gay communities. The ethnocentric views expressed in many studies of Native communities have led to an understandable distrust of non-Native scholars. This distrust combined with a fear of homophobia and misunderstanding of two-spirit behavior can make it difficult to conduct research with two-spirit people. Also, racism, Christianization, and cultural deprivation have led to reluctance by some Native people to acknowledge past or current practices that are not compatible with dominant Euro-American values.

The condemnation of two-spirit people by Westerners (and Native Americans) is a conflict of religious and social beliefs. In the preface to *Two-Spirit People: American Indian Lesbian Women and Gay Men,* Duane Champagne writes that in tribal contexts, "[a]lternative gender roles were respected and honored, and believed to be a part of the sacred web of life and society" (1997, xviii). He continues, "All are to be honored and respected as part of the plan of the Great Spirit. Human beings, only a small part of creation, are not privy to the grand plan of the Great Spirit, but honor and respect must be given to the course of events, and humans must play out the role assigned to them as individuals and nations" (ibid., xx).

Gender expression is a valued choice according to many Native American peoples. Cultivation of individual skills is an asset to the nation. A strong community consists of individuals whose talents are utilized for the benefit of the individual and the collective. Champagne states, "Since individuals have sacredly revealed missions, their activities, regardless of how strange they may seem to others, cannot be interfered with

without retribution from the beings who are directing the sacred mission. Thus in many Indian nations, individualism is highly regarded, and each person may have a sacred mission in the world to perform" (ibid., xix–xx).

Creation stories are exceptional sources for examining cultural self-understandings. The inclusion of two-spirit people in creation myths shows at minimum an acknowledgment of their presence within a society and often exhibits a respectful acceptance of these roles. Two-spirit people exist in Zuni, Arapaho, Pima, Mohave, and Diné creation stories (Williams 1992, 18–23). In all except the Pima story, in which the presence of two-spirit people is blamed on the neighboring Tohono O'odham with whom the Pima have historically been in considerable conflict, two-spirit people are depicted as valued community members.

Reclaiming Two-Spirit Roles

Some contemporary Native Americans identify with traditional understandings of two-spirit people and their link to pre-contact tribal communities. Despite the homophobia within both mainstream and Native communities, some Native Americans see two-spirit people as examples of cultural continuity, and signs of hope for increased tolerance and cultural renewal. For example, a Lakota/Ojibway woman shared a prophecy with Anguksuar, a Yup'ik who identifies as two-spirit, that said, "[At] a time directly preceding a great cleansing in society, the *winkte* and *koshkalaka* would reappear, as out of the grass" (Anguksuar 1997, 220).

When discussing contemporary two-spirit people, the inherent dynamism of cultures needs to be taken into consideration. While Native American cultures have changed, and two-spirits do not perform quite the same functions they did prior to contact, contemporary Native people who identify as two-spirit are not "inauthentic." Anguksuar states:

> An academician may wish to assert that there are no more classic "berdaches," that they are simple remnants of Native cultures, and that Native people, in large part no longer know who they are nor know their traditions. These rather narrow Western parameters and definitions mark a startling contrast to the ways that many Natives regard their lives and origins. Our methods of measuring may not exactly mesh with what academia regards as acceptable or empirical knowledge, but we do continue with our dreams, prophesies, and other esoteric knowledge. (ibid., 221)

Thus, although there may be few, if any, two-spirit people that completely fit historical examples from anthropological literature, there are two-spirit people who have interpreted this role to address contemporary concerns. The two-spirit, like all cultural roles, is flexible and adaptable.

It is important to listen to the voices of living people rather than simply examining historical figures. Beverly Little Thunder, a Standing Rock Lakota, asks scholars to focus on living people: "Instead of

focusing on one or two people who lived in the past it is now time to begin to write about those of us who live today. Anthropologists of today have the opportunity to record the contemporary life of our people, not just our history, for future generations" (ibid., 209). Living two-spirit people, like the living cultures they exist within, are adaptable.

The homophobia sometimes encountered in Native communities leads some two-spirit and LGBTIQ Native people to enter predominately white LGBTIQ communities that may not be sensitive to the needs of Native people. White gays and lesbians have sometimes appropriated the two-spirit as an ancestor to contemporary sexual identities—an extension of an unfortunate tendency among Euro-Americans to take aspects of other cultures to serve their purposes. Claiming two-spirit people as ancestors to Euro-American gay identities denies the complexity of the cultures from which two-spirit people come. Beverly Little Thunder states:

> In the non-Native community of lesbians and gay people I have been told that being two-spirited means that I am a special being. It seems that they feel that my spirituality was the mystical answer to my sexuality. I do not believe this to be so. My spirituality would have been with me, regardless of my sexuality. This attitude creates a feeling of isolation. I live in a white society that finds me exotic. (ibid., 207)

Racism and exoticism are two sides of the same coin. Both deny the full humanity of the individual or community that is either disparaged or placed on a pedestal. Two-spirit people must be recognized as complex individuals who are neither ideals nor aberrations.

Even in the absence of overt racism, the pressure to conform can be overwhelming. Michael Red Earth, a Sisseton Dakota, describes his sexual self-understanding as developing in relation to white standards: "I learned to define myself as a gay man by my exposure to white American culture" (ibid., 214). In LGBTIQ communities, like most other areas of American culture, white experience is viewed as the norm, which can cause tension between ethnic and sexual identities for people of color. Red Earth states that "even though I knew I was sexually and affectionately attracted to men, I thought I was the only Native gay there was" (ibid., 213). Historical acceptance of two-spirit people and an increasingly active and vocal Native LGBTIQ movement helped Red Earth to integrate his identities, but he does not identify fully with the role of *winkte*. Not all contemporary Native American LGBTIQ individuals identify as two-spirit.

Chrystos, a lesbian poet, tells of her alienation from the lesbian feminist community in San Francisco. "After 3½ years I had so little left of myself, so many bitter memories of women who disrespected me & others. . . . The lies, pretensions, the snobbery & cliquishness . . . the racism which bled through every moment at every level" (Chrystos 1983, 69). LGBTIQ communities still

have a lot of work to do to address racism. While the most overt racism comes from white people who both intentionally and unintentionally belittle the experiences of people of color and exclude their concerns from "gay rights" agendas, Barbara Cameron reminds us that people of color have also internalized racism toward other groups. "Racism among third world people is an area that needs to be discussed and dealt with honestly. We form alliances based loosely on the fact that we have a common oppressor, yet we do not have a commitment to talk about our fears and misconceptions about each other" (Cameron 1983, 49). Reservation life is hard, and many contemporary Native people choose to live in cities for many reasons, including sexual orientation and gender expression. The communities these people find themselves in need to be open to the important contributions they can make and to be willing to face their own racism in order to create a truly safe place for all LGBTIQ people, including those who identify as two-spirit.

In addition to being affected by modernity, indigenous people have had a hand in shaping it. American culture would not be what it is without the influence of Native Americans, or without the contributions of people with nontraditional gender and sexual identities. The two-spirit is an important part of American history and should be accorded a place of honor in both Native and non-Native histories without being transformed into an aberration or an idealized ancestor for contemporary LGBTIQ people.

Elizabeth Currans

See also Female Spirituality; Feminism and Tribalism; Religious Leadership, Plateau

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Ghost Dance Movement

The 1890s Ghost Dance represents one of the most challenging and intriguing chapters in the annals of American Indian/Euro-American relations. After it was studied initially by James Mooney of the Bureau of Ethnology (1896) and later by eminent scholars including Spier (1935), Steward (1938, 237), Kehoe (1989), and Hittman (1990), it would seem that everything there is to say about the Ghost Dance has already been said. Ironically, the central issue of restoring balance to the earth, to native peoples, and to ancestors passing much too quickly into death has received only cursory treatment within mainstream ethnographic literature. Over the past several years, there has been a renewed interest in the Ghost Dance. As American Indians have begun to bring their stories and questions forward, it has become evident that despite a large body of ethnographic literature, the Ghost Dance is still little understood.

> *Na'anuga or Father Dance is what we call the Ghost Dance. The dance was to bring these spirits back to their relatives who thought they went too soon and missed them. It is not about a spirit or ghost that has not gone to the afterlife.*
> *—Marlin Thompson, Cultural Specialist, Yerrington Paiute*

Wovoka's Message

The 1890s Ghost Dance Movement originated in Mason Valley, Nevada, under the leadership of the Northern Paiute prophet Wovoka, also known by the Indian name of *Quoitze Ow,* and the Euro-American name Jack Wilson (Chapman, 83–24/III/4:30). In an interview with ethnographer James Mooney in 1892, Wovoka recalled, "When the sun died I went up to heaven and saw God and all the people who had died a long time ago. God told me to come back and tell my people they must be good and love one another, and not fight, or steal or lie. He gave me this dance to give to my people."

Following his first major revelation, which occurred during an eclipse on January 1, 1889, the prophet began to instruct members of his community about the ways they should conduct their lives in order to restore balance and well-being to the earth and themselves (Mooney 1896, 771). Most important,

Wovoka encouraged Northern Paiutes to reconnect themselves to the land, the ancestors, and the powers entailed therein. He also urged indigenous people to respond to the collective stresses that accompanied Euro-American expansion through community solidarity. Such solidarity could be expressed through ongoing participation in a dance that some scholars have likened to the ancient Round Dance (Steward 1938, 237).

> *The Ghost Dance may be mixed up with the Ute Circle Dance—Conavinokai—which could be translated as "God Dance" or "Wolf Dance."*
>
> *—Omer Stewart, Cultural Anthropologist*

Each dance typically lasted five days and was conducted at intervals of approximately three months (Chapman, 83–24/III/4:30/2). Special Ghost Dances were also held when indigenous delegates such as the Sioux or the Arapaho visited (Chapman, 83–24/III/4:30/2), and in response to extraordinary political events (that is, opening up the reservation to Euro-American mining claims) and adverse environmental conditions such as ongoing drought (Wheat, 83–24/III/4:30/78).

Typically, participants gathered in a circle upon a cleared, flat ceremonial site. A. I. Chapman describes three ceremonial grounds where he observed ghost dancing under the leadership of Wovoka. He recalls, "They [the ceremonial sites] had been cleared of sagebrush and grass and made perfectly level, around the outer edge of which the willow sticks were still standing, over which they spread their tenting for shelter during these ceremonies. The cleared ground must have been from 200 to 300 feet in diameter, and only about four places left open to enter the grounds" (Chapman, 83–24/III/4:30/193).

After the prophet had spoken, the participants would join hands and perform a series of side steps or shuffling movements while chanting five songs that were given to Wovoka in a visionary state. According to Mooney, each of the songs was used to alter the weather in some fundamental way (1896, 772). "From his uncle I learned that Wovoka has five songs for making rain, the first of which brings on a mist or cloud, the second snowfall, the third a shower, and the fourth a hard rain or storm, while he sings the fifth song the weather becomes clear" (ibid.).

An examination of the doctrine of the Ghost Dance as recorded by Mooney reveals similar ideas of regeneration and well-being (ibid., 777). He writes, "The great underlying principle of the Ghost dance doctrine is that the time will come when the whole Indian race, living and dead, will be reunited upon a regenerated earth, to live a life of aboriginal happiness, forever free from death, disease, and

misery." The Ghost Dance represented not only a collective response aimed at healing the natural environment and its indigenous people but also a ritual of collectivization and resistance that intensified tensions with Euro-Americans even as it empowered its participants.

Wovoka's message resonated with indigenous people far beyond western Nevada (Chapman, 83–24/III/4:30). Consequently his message spread rapidly, and a steady stream of representatives from indigenous groups from California to the Great Plains regularly boarded the railroads to visit the newly acclaimed Indian Messiah of Mason Valley. Some Euro-Americans feared this new evidence of collectivization and responded by petitioning the railroads to stop allowing Indians free passage upon the rails (Danberg 1968).

The question of how a local Paiute ritual grew into a pan-Indian event with support from such distance groups as the Sioux, Arapaho, and Bannocks has had the attention of much scholarship. The results of these inquiries affirm that the 1890s Ghost Dance movement became a dominant response to the strenuous and often life-threatening physical, economic, political, and social realities that accompanied the Euro-American usurpation of traditional lands (Mooney 1896; Dobyns and Euler 1967; Hittman 1973).

Local Context

When growing numbers of Euro-Americans began to converge upon the traditional lands of the Northern Paiutes and Western Shoshones of western and central Nevada in the middle to late 1800s, they brought along with their material culture diseases to which indigenous people had no immunity (Stoffle et al. 1995; Dobyns 1983). These newcomers carried visions of nature that were in many respects diametrically opposed to the understandings that Northern Paiutes and Western Shoshones had developed by living with and learning from the land for thousands of years.

With the rapid appropriation of land and depletion of resources necessary for their subsistence, the Northern Paiutes and Western Shoshones experienced diminished autonomy and physical hardships that often culminated in death. A predominant adaptation to the risk society of this historical era entailed the participation in the Ghost Dance, which promised to relieve some of the stresses that accompanied encroachment.

Situating the Ghost Dance in Time and Place

The Ghost Dance was first practiced in 1870 under the leadership of Northern Paiute prophet Wodziwob, also known as Fish Lake Joe (Hittman 1973). The Ghost Dance shared similarities to the ancient Round Dance (Steward 1997, 237) as well as the northwestern Prophet Dance (Spier 1935, 5). In addition, symbols and ideas were selectively drawn from Christianity.

During the 1890s, the Ghost Dance flourished among the Northern Paiutes

of western Nevada as well as the Western Shoshones and Northern Paiutes of central Nevada and Owens Valley, California. It is probable that both Wodziwob's and Wovoka's messages first gained popular support among Northern Paiutes living near Yerrington, Nevada, where both prophets lived at the time they began disseminating the Ghost Dance message. In the case of the 1870s Ghost Dance, however, it appears that the prophet Wobziwob, who was originally from Fish Lake Valley, drew inspiration from the Cry, which is a mortuary ritual that was not practiced among the Northern Paiutes of Mason Valley (Wheat, 83–24/III/4:30/70).

By contrast, the Ghost Dance message and songs of the 1890s appeared to have originated in Mason Valley and were thereafter shared with representatives from the central regions of Nevada. According to Shoshone elder Tim Hooper (b. 1874), "They [people around Schurz] sent for three people to come and learn the songs [from Wovoka]. Three men went from Belmont" (Hooper 1959). Hooper also indicates that "Jack Wilson told the Paiutes to come back from Austin." Following the return of the Shoshone delegates from western Nevada, the Ghost Dance gathered increasing momentum among the Western Shoshones and Northern Paiutes of central Nevada. Like their Western counterparts, those of central Nevada emphasized Wovoka's capacity to control the weather. Hooper reports, "He [Wovoka] can make it rain whenever he wants. Snow too. He can make the wind blow too. Everybody know that. One time he want to buy some hay from a man. That man not sell him any. That night that man [Wilson] make that whole haystack blow away—every bit of it. All Indians know that, Paiute and Shoshone too" (ibid.).

Ceremonial Sites

In central Nevada particular sites were selected for the performance of the Ghost Dance ceremony (Stoffle and Zedeno 2001). A Western Shoshone cultural specialist and *Puhagant* (shaman) noted that people always performed Ghost Dance ceremonies at places where their ancestors had performed ceremonies. These places were known as places of power, or *Puha*. It was understood that the ceremonies would be effective if the people sang ceremonial songs for and about the special places, animals, plants, and all other living elements. These living forces grew stronger as a result of these songs and prayers, and in turn, that power was used to help and heal the Ghost Dance participants while also restoring balance and wellness to the earth.

In Smoky Valley, Ghost Dances were regularly performed near a place known as Darrough's Hot Spring (ibid.). Hot springs are places that *Puhagants* and other indigenous people have always returned to for the purpose of healing. Knowledge of the diverse healing properties of particular waters is transmitted from generation to generation, and peo-

ple travel as much as two hundred miles in order to elicit a cure (ibid.). Ghost Dances were performed at other sites throughout central Nevada. Corbin Harney, tribal elder and medicine man of the Western Shoshones, reports that Ghost Dancing activities occurred in important ceremonial areas including (1) Beowawe, (2) Dixie Valley, (3) at numerous springs located on Cortez Mountain, (4) in Spring Valley, (5) in the Crescent Valley area, (6) near Austin, (7) Tecopa Spring, (8) Elko, (9) and Cornacopi, where balancing ceremonies were performed and white chalk was gathered from a local source during the summer. Other important ceremonial areas selected for the Ghost Dance ceremony include (10) Ash Meadows and (11) Hiko. In addition, people danced together in the Hot Creek Range near (12) Moore's Station. Today a large white circle can be seen where these dances occurred. During the late nineteenth century Ghost Dances were also held at a significant ceremonial center in the Fish Lake Valley.

Ceremonial sites are composed of unique and repeating physiographic features. Frequently, a source of water has been described as a factor contributing to the strength, or *Puha,* of a place. Dancers often chose broad, flat terrain that was suitable for gathering potentially large groups of people together (Chapman, 83–24/III/4:30/193; Stoffle and Zedeno 2001). Furthermore, sites close to indigenous settlements that could be used as support communities, or those that were of a large enough scale to provide sleeping and eating accommodations, were preferred. In the case of places located on Shoshone Mountain, there is a close association between the rituals of regeneration and the presence of pine nut stands, which served as a staple food source. Participants regularly returned to ceremonial sites used by ancestors and burial sites. Both practices suggest that cultural inscription practices as well as physiographic variables contributed to the value of a particular ceremonial dance site.

Ghost Dance Eventscape

The arrival of Euro-Americans to central Nevada resulted in alterations of ecosystem/human relations at both a quantitative and qualitative level. Faced with starvation, disease, physical and ideological marginalization, and loss of resources, the Northern Paiutes and Western Shoshones of Fish Lake Valley and neighboring communities instilled great value in the Ghost Dance as a method for eliciting change. Indian people regularly gathered to dance near Palmetto, which is on the southeastern edge of the Fish Lake Valley near the Nevada-California border; it was there, in the 1890s, approximately ninety miles southeast of Mason Valley, that the Ghost Dance was first recorded. Palmetto is also the home of Fish Lake Joe (Wodziwob), who Hittman (1973) convincingly argues was the leader of the 1870s Ghost Dance movement. Hittman also suggests that the Cry ceremonies enacted upon the death of Paiutes of Fish Lake Valley may have

served as an impetus for later Ghost Dance developments.

In the winter of 1890 the Western Shoshone and Northern Paiute people of Fish Lake Valley in Emerald County, Nevada, held a Ghost Dance. It was one of the coldest winters in the history of Nevada; snow fell to great depths, closing roads and even railroads, yet the Indians of Esmeralda County danced for weeks. They danced to regain control of their lands, to bring back native plants and animals, and to dance the many Natives who had fallen to disease and starvation into heaven. They danced to eliminate white people and their adverse influence on the land, water, and animals of central Nevada. They danced to bring the world back into balance.

Hershell Knapp, a prospector and miner who had lived in a cabin in this region, identified one ghost-dancing site on a low hill across from Pigeon Springs. Rock etchings near the ancient petroglyphs indicate that indigenous people visited Pigeon Springs for ceremonial purposes in the late 1880s and in 1912. Older rock engravings demonstrate that this was a traditional site that was visited for healing or knowledge purposes long before the onset of the Ghost Dance.

Perspectives on the Ghost Dance of the 1890s

The 1890s Ghost Dance movement represents another episode in the long struggle to protect lands, resources, and lifeways from non-Indian encroachment. Indigenous people danced to restore balance: to heal themselves, to heal the land, and to guide into heaven the multitudes who had died as a result of Euro-American encroachment. The necessity of the latter activity arose because of the unprecedented death rates that accompanied ten major epidemics as well as pervasive starvation associated with the loss of resources and persistent drought.

The Ghost Dance must also be situated within the context of a new theory that attends to the centrality of power within Southern Paiute and Hualapai culture. According to this theory, for Paiute and Hualapai people, *Puha* (power) pervades everything in the phenomenal world. Power is everywhere in space and time, but it tends to be more concentrated in particular places and people. This concept is fundamental to interpreting the Ghost Dance sites in central and western Nevada and at Kaibab Creek in the Grand Canyon, as well as the ways in which Indian people have interacted with *Puha* sites in both ancient and recent times.

Participants literally ghost-danced places, including the Grand Canyon, as a means of protecting such regions of refuge from Euro-American appropriation. Additionally, these Indian people ghost-danced the Grand Canyon and other sites because they were sources of power to be drawn on for the special needs of humans. When they ghost-danced as part of a far-reaching ceremonial event, they produced a cultural landscape that allied them with other Indian

peoples, producing a spatially and socially larger form of social organization.

Our analysis suggests that these ghost danced–based cultural landscapes persisted, albeit in a somewhat attenuated form, after the spring of 1891. A news article entitled "A Shoshone Nuisance" published in the *Belmont Courier* on Saturday, June 13, 1891, documented the continuation of the Ghost Dance: "Thomas Warburton, of Belmont, has been informed by Hon. T. J. Bell of Cloverdale, that the Shoshone Indians will soon hold a grand fandango at Duckwater, Nye County. Mr. Bell says that a wily red skin has told his dusky brethren that they must keep on dancing in order to induce their dead relatives to pay them a visit on the Earth."

As late as 1906, Ghost Dancing was also reported among the Northern Paiute of Mason Valley, and Ghost Dances continued to be performed in portions of the United States and Canada during the twentieth century (Kehoe 1968, 301). In a recent interview, one of the descendants of Black Elk maintained that the powers of the Ghost Dance song never died out, and that they continue to exert an influence in the present. Thus the Ghost Dance landscape persisted as a source of cultural and historical identification.

The 1890s Ghost Dance movement also catalyzed risk management strategies whose effects echo into the present century. At the inception of the 1890s Ghost Dance, the social fabric of many indigenous groups had been torn asunder. Weakened by social disruptions that accompanied the creation of Indian diasporas and the curtailment of movement within and between aboriginal territories, many indigenous groups felt the need to fight for their very right to exist. Through participation in the Ghost Dance, however, old traditions—particularly the reconnection to places of power—were revitalized and new social networks were developed. The Ghost Dance also signified the beginnings of a pan-Indian movement (Stoffle et al. 2000, 11). Ghost Dancers capitalized on the fluidity of fluctuating interethnic and tribal boundaries that had been forced upon them by federal policies and Euro-American encroachment. Existing connections between tribes were once more utilized, traditional enemies sometimes found common ground, and ethnic boundaries were more readily crossed. These exchanges allowed Ghost Dance participants to create vast information networks for relaying information on the Ghost Dance, as well as both federal and regional events that were affecting their lives.

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See also Cry Ceremony; Dances, Great Basin; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Power Places, Great Basin; Religious Leadership, Great Basin; Religious Leadership, Plains; Retraditionalism and Identity Movements

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Giveaway Ceremonies

Giveaway Ceremonies constitute a central part of American Indian ritual and ceremonialism. Very few ceremonial events take place that do not entail some sort of giveaway. Giveaways might vary in size and scope: they may be monumental events entailing thousands of dollars' worth of gifts given over a period of several days, or they may be a simple

gift given in thanks to an elder or spiritual practitioner who has offered prayers on behalf of a sick friend. It is very rare that a Native spiritual leader would ever charge a fee for any kind of service rendered. However, it is also extremely rude for any individual to call upon a spiritual leader for assistance, or even simply to make a social call to an elder or respected friend, without bringing a gift. Gifts are a sign of respect and of caring, and also an affirmation of one's dependence upon another person.

For Native communities, this sense of reciprocal relationship, not only within personal ties but also within the larger interaction with the universe, guides many of the philosophical systems that compose American Indian religious traditions. The earth provides for the people, in various ways, and the people are thus beholden to that system of care and giving. It only makes sense, then, that giving gifts to one another at important times in the ceremonial cycle allows the people to participate in what is a guiding tenet of creation. Although many researchers have pointed to the communal bonds that are forged and maintained via giveaway ceremonies, most do not acknowledge the role that gift-giving plays in the central philosophies of most Native American communities. This central concept can be compared with repentance for sins among Christian belief systems, or the notion of enlightenment for followers of the Buddha.

Giveaway ceremonies throughout Native America meet a variety of spiritual and social needs. Through the giving and receiving of gifts, social ties and obligations are established, maintained, and celebrated. Young people learn to thank those who have cared for them in their childhood. They learn their duties and obligations to others, and social positions within the community are clarified through the hierarchy of gift-giving. Individuals are thus able to locate themselves within the intricate network of reciprocal relationships that make up a Native community. Giveaway ceremonies also serve as a means of redistributing wealth. Ancient traditions mandating the giving of vast resources to one's community prevent the unequal accumulation of wealth in any one individual, and they also ensure that poorer families will be cared for. Giveaway ceremonies and feasts are a way of thanking people for directing or participating in a ceremonial event, and a feast and giveaway follow most ceremonial gatherings. These events are a means by which those who attended the ceremony can be thanked for their time, prayers, and labor.

By way of example, all of these things occur within the Northwest Coast potlatch. A family or individual who puts up a potlatch earns social prestige by giving away vast quantities of food, material goods, and spiritual gifts. While individuals might give away nearly everything they have, in the process they have gained a different sort of wealth. They have affirmed their relationships to those in their community and the sur-

rounding area. They have established themselves as important community leaders. And they have secured the debt and obligations of others: as they gave, they will in return receive. Further, individuals giving a potlatch have secured for themselves spiritual wealth, in the form of spirit-powers, the rights to clan crests, songs, and dances. "Wealth" in this context is not merely material but also includes the rights to ownership of spiritual positions and powers. Gifts at potlatches are not merely material but also spiritual: markers of social and spiritual status are also given and established at potlatches. Individuals attending the potlatch also receive ownership rights to names, crests, songs, and stories. Further, when an individual achieves a social or spiritual position, through right or inheritance, a potlatch is necessary to affirm and establish that right. By attending the event, the guests indicate their agreement to the new title or position, as well as their support for the individual in question. Through this complex network of giving and receiving, social, political, and spiritual positions within the community are established, wealth is redistributed, and obligations to others are met.

Naming ceremonies are another kind of ceremony often requiring a giveaway ceremony. Yup'iq naming ceremonies, for instance, require a gift-giving. During the Yup'iq Feast for the Dead, the namesakes of departed ancestors are honored. These individuals, who have been named after former ancestors, are treated as though they *were* the ancestors in question. At the conclusion of the ceremony, namesakes receive gifts of clothing, food, utensils, carved bowls, kayaks, and the like, which they accept on behalf of the deceased ancestor. This giving serves the dual purpose of expressing love and support for the departed as well as affirming the young people's position, as namesakes, within the community. They learn that they are honored and cared for, and that they in turn have the responsibility to honor and care for their community and family.

Girls' puberty initiation ceremonies are another ritual event usually followed by a giveaway ceremony. Nearly all American Indian communities have a tradition in which, at the onset of menstruation, young women are secluded from the community and taught their roles and responsibilities as Native women. The girls then undergo an initiation ceremony that transitions them into adulthood. The ceremony itself varies from tribe to tribe in length, content, and expression, but at the conclusion of her initiation, the young woman is welcomed back into the community with a feast and a giveaway. In many communities, such as the Diné, the young woman herself prepares some of the food for the feast (in this case, a corn cake), which is given to others. The event establishes her new position as a young woman, with the responsibilities of an adult. The expression of abundance and wealth within the giveaway is also important among the Mescalero Apache, because it

Northwest Coast

The Northwest Coast culture area encompasses more than 2,000 miles of the Pacific coast, from southern Alaska to northern California. The width of this narrow coastal region varies from about 10 to 150 miles. It is cool, damp, and thickly forested and is cut by many rivers. The mountain ranges that run north-south along the eastern limits of the region include the Coast Ranges in Canada and the Cascade Range in the United States. The region is characterized by mild, wet winters and cool summers. Evergreen forests thrive where there is soil enough to support them, and huge trees form dense canopies that block out much sunlight. Springs and streams from mountain glaciers feed numerous rivers, which, along with the ocean at the coast, provide abundant fish, and the forests are home to abundant plants and animals, providing a wealth of foods and medicines for the Indian peoples of the region.

Northwest Coast peoples speak a variety of languages, with linguistic families ranging from Athapaskan and Penutian, to Salishan and Wakashan. The region is home to numerous and varied tribal traditions, as well, which can be divided into three basic groupings: those of the colder northern area, including the Queen Charlotte Islands of western British Columbia; those of the central region, in the vicinity of Vancouver Island and the mouth of the Columbia River; and those of the warmer southern region, who shared some cultural traits with peoples of the California culture area.

Social organization is primarily focused on extended-family village groups, with regular seasonal cooperative fishing and hunting camps for temporary dwelling. In the central and northern areas, multiple-family houses of cedar planks organized villages into collectives, which shared political connections prior to contact.

Canoes play an important role both culturally and religiously in the central and northern areas at the coasts. Large ocean-going canoes, carved out of single cedar trees, capable of carrying several individuals on fishing, hunting, or trading trips throughout the region were common.

Religious diversity abounds in the region, with southern tribal groups connected to the World Renewal ceremonial paradigm, a complex collection of dances that are key in the firming up and renewing of the earth for

continues

Northwest Coast (continued)

the next cycle. People of the central areas and the central and northern regions participate in potlatch ceremonies. Potlatching, once actually outlawed in both Canada and the United States, provides opportunities for the celebration of significant events in the life of the community, such as marriages and births, as well as seasonal observations like solstices and equinoxes. At potlatch ceremonies, the significant aspect is a redistribution of wealth items, often in the form of gift-giving, but at times redistribution includes destruction of property.

The Northwest Coast is a diverse region that requires diverse approaches for the long-term maintenance of available resources, and for the ongoing continuity of tribal cultures. Much of the ceremonial activity in this region, therefore, focuses on both of these aspects, propitiating the spirit world for the continued gifts of fish, game, and plant resources and taking time to celebrate the communities that cooperatively manage these resources.

ensures that the woman will have wealth and abundance throughout her life. Scarcity at such an event must be avoided, for it implies that she herself will suffer scarcity in her life. Finally, a giveaway teaches the young woman of her obligations to her community: prestige, wealth, and success are defined by her ability to give to others. It is in being a supportive and generous member of her community that she will be a successful woman.

Boys' initiation ceremonies also incorporate giveaway ceremonies. For instance, when a young man has his first successful hunt, it is usually accompanied by a giveaway. The young man is instructed to dress the game in a proper and respectful manner, cutting the meat and distributing it to individuals in his community. In doing so the young man establishes his position within the community, gives thanks to those individuals who helped him to grow into a young adult, and also learns in a concrete way of his obligations to others.

Ceremonial moments that mark the creation of new relationships are also often accompanied by giveaways. Weddings and adoptions often include elaborate gift-giving between families. By exchanging gifts, the families establish a reciprocal relationship and network of obligations. They are making clear their intention to honor and care for each other.

Finally, many Native communities hold giveaways at funerals and memori-

als. In many communities, everything owned by the deceased individual is given away. Such elaborate gift-giving is often seen as a cleansing, facilitating the process of mourning and also working to redistribute wealth within the community. Reciprocal relationships are affirmed, as the family gives away nearly all of their possessions, and the community responds in kind, caring for the family's needs. Such giveaways honor the spirit of the departed family member, further establishing their position as a generous and caring member of their community. Spiritual honors such as names, symbols, songs, and dances are also passed on at this time, affirming the new positions of others within their community and families.

Giveaway ceremonies take on vastly different forms in different communities. They will look different, be experienced differently, and will serve different purposes in different contexts. Still, they are a common thread that runs throughout nearly all American Indian traditions. They signal an emphasis on community, and on locating an individual within complex networks of reciprocal relationships. Communities exist to care for individuals, and individuals, in turn, exist in order to be generous and caring members of their communities. Giveaway ceremonies are places where individual identities and positions within communities are established and affirmed, where social and spiritual status is conveyed and secured. They are moments for the expression of love, respect, thanksgiving, friendship, and family. Their central role within American Indian spiritual life speaks volumes about the worldview of traditional Native communities, in which spiritual well-being is inherently tied to being a part of a healthy, supportive, and caring community.

This gift-giving tradition and the ethic of generosity were strongly challenged by Christian missionaries and U.S. federal Indian agencies. Inspired by their own ethics of Western capitalism, the Protestant work ethic, and the nuclear family, Euro-American missionaries and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) agents sought to outlaw indigenous giveaway ceremonies. They saw such events as contrary to the Euro-American work and save ethic, and referred to giveaway ceremonies as extravagant, dangerous, and licentious. Indigenous social ethics built on community obligation and reciprocal exchange contradicted missionaries' ideals of single-family households, the holding of individual plots of land, working within a wage-labor system, and saving for retirement. In the Pacific Northwest the potlatch system was outlawed, and civil authorities severely restricted its practice. Throughout Native America, BIA agents sought to outlaw and curtail Native ceremonialism, blaming giveaway ceremonies for Native peoples' reluctance to take up the Euro-American Protestant work ethic and nuclear family. For decades, Native peoples were forced to make giveaway ceremonies a private affair, hiding them from the eyes of reservation missionaries and BIA agents.

Today, giveaway ceremonies are once again a public and celebrated part of indigenous spiritual life. Giveaways are reaffirmed as a central part of many gatherings—from powwows to weddings, to funerals, to healing ceremonies. Gift-giving holds a central place in the creation and maintenance of community, in the demonstration of respect for elders and spiritual leaders, and in the initiation of young people into adulthood.

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Apache; Ceremony and Ritual, Diné; Ceremony and Ritual, Nez Perce; Ceremony and Ritual, Yup'iq; First Foods Ceremonies and Food Symbolism; Hunting, Religious Restrictions and Implications; Masks and Masking; Menstruation and Menarche; Mourning and Burial Practices; Potlatch; Power, Northwest Coast; Reservations, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Termination and Relocation

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Green Corn Ceremony

Throughout the Southeast, the Green Corn Ceremony is considered one of the most sacred events of the year. It is also referred to as the Busk, from the Creek word *boskita* ("to fast"), because of its ceremonial fasting. Green Corn embodies spiritual and healing traditions for the entire community and exemplifies the ways in which indigenous traditions are tailored to the needs of the people. It is a time of renewal and purification for the community and is celebrated when the first green corn ripens. Green Corn works to unify the community, which is especially important today because of the changes in lifestyles that make it difficult for members to live together as they did in preinvasion times. It is prac-

ticed by many Southeastern nations, including the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, Muskogees, Yuchis, and Seminoles, yet it is as individual as each squareground where it is celebrated. The information given here is drawn from different squaregrounds; spellings of terms may vary.

Along with fasting, the participants take traditional medicine to cleanse themselves physically, spiritually, and mentally. They also clear the way for a new year of blessings for the community by reflecting on and forgiving past wrongs committed in their communities. It is also a time for thanking and giving back to the Creator (who is also referred to as Old Man Above, Maker of Life, and Master or Maker of Breath). Green Corn is a clearing away of the old in preparation for the new. In the past, when Native people made everything, they burned their old household items along with their old clothing in the old sacred fire and then began the new year with a clean house and new goods. Today people burn what they can and sometimes even offer new things to the fire, to show nonattachment to material goods.

In the past, Green Corn was celebrated during the new moon, between June and August. Now, because of the five-day workweek, the ceremony begins on the first Thursday after the new moon and ends on Sunday morning. Historically, the squareground was the town's center. Families within the community founded each squareground, and membership in the squareground was passed down matrilineally. It was the place where the sacred fire lived, where visitors were received, where children were named, where disputes and other town business were handled, and where other ceremonies took place. Now, because of work obligations, many people live elsewhere, and squaregrounds are often used like campgrounds where people from the community may come and camp out for the duration of the ceremony.

Preceremony Preparation

Preparations and prohibitions depend on the leadership of the squareground; however, generally speaking, participants must abstain from sex, alcohol, and drugs for at least one week prior, depending on their role in the ceremony. They must also refrain from any contact with fresh earth—which means no burials, no gardening, and no breaking of ground. On the night before taking medicine they begin fasting at midnight. Absolutely no food or water is allowed. They cannot even touch water. The only concession that is made is for diabetics, who are allowed a piece of gum or hard candy if they need sugar, but no water is given.

The First Day

On the first day, Thursday, after everyone has set up campsites, people greet family and friends who have come from a distance for the ceremony. The families belonging to that squareground are the hosts; they must make sure that all visitors are fed. Traditionally, in the afternoon, the men challenge the women to a

ball game that the women always win because of handicaps imposed on the men. All have fun and work up a good sweat that helps in the purification process.

After a sumptuous feast, including the past year's corn, they announce a stomp dance. The term for stomp dance in Muskogee is *Opvnka hajo,* loosely translated as "crazy dance" (Howard 1984). This may include a specific dance called the Stomp Dance or an entire series of nighttime dances. Generally, a leader is selected along with three assistants plus a shell shaker girl. The chief selects different leaders through the night, and each leader determines the dances they will do. This first day stomp usually starts at 9:00 P.M. and ends at midnight, so that the participants can be ready for the next day's activities.

The Second Day: Women's Day

Everyone is up at sunrise on the second day. The setting for the Green Corn consists of four brush-covered arbors, supported by posts. The arbors are placed in the cardinal directions, around the sacred fire. Each arbor contains a wooden bench for seating selected members of the community. The *mikko* (chief) and his assistant, the *hemeha* (spokesperson for the chief), as well as the medicine person, are the appointed leaders of the Green Corn. The men report to the *mikko,* and the work begins. Everything at the arbor and squareground is done ceremonially in a counterclockwise direction, starting in the west with the *mikko*'s arbor. The men first clear the arbors of old branches and rake the trash from the ground. Then they bring in new willow boughs to repair the arbor, and a man is selected to sweep all of them. After sweeping he puts small twigs from his wormseed or Mexican tea broom in the forks of each of the twelve front posts of the four main arbors to "kill the green wood" (Howard 1984, 126). This is necessary to protect participants from any harmful energy that might have entered the grounds in the willow branches. Meanwhile, the *mikko* and the medicine man prepare some ceremonial items for the dances. The first dance is the women's Ribbon Dance.

Ribbon Dance

The Ribbon Dance has to precede the lighting of the new sacred fire because women's "life-giving and nourishing Power, circling the empty Fire Mound, is necessary to cleanse and purify the Grounds and make them ready to sustain the *birth* of the new Holy Fire" (Ribbon Dance 4). Seen as Co-Creators or Life-Carriers by the community, women are both "physical and spiritual conduits of life" (Ribbon Dance 3). Even today some communities require women to do the Ribbon Dance first, for the same reason (see *The Apalachicola Ribbon Dance* website in references).

When they have made all of the preparations and it is time for the Ribbon Dance, two young *emarv* (messengers) enter from the South Arbor, carrying tall, feathered wands of cane (*koh-tafv*) (Ribbon Dance 7). They call the women four

times, and at the fourth call the women put on their leg shakers. They traditionally made these from turtle shells, but now some women make them from condensed milk cans. Each dancer carries a willow branch in her hand that embodies the "living prayers of the group" (Ribbon Dance 2). It is an offering for the community, to the One Above, which the Ribbon dancers will send by way of the Sacred Fire at the end of the dance. They do the dance four times. The ribbons used in the dances are so sacred and significant for the individuals, their families, and the community that they must be disposed of ceremonially when they can no longer be used.

Sacred Fire

Fire is a vital part of the Green Corn. It is a sacred living being, lovingly given by Master of Breath to the people so that when He looked down He would see the fire and know everything was all right with them. After the cleaning of the ashes and the rebuilding of the mound, one member from the community arbor and one from the leadership arbor are selected to help line up the wood to start the fire. A Fire Master is then chosen to tend the fire. When the fire is ready, they feed it the first fine ears of corn and other appropriate offerings. The new fire must be kept alive until the next Green Corn.

Third Day: Men's Day

In the morning of Men's Day, women and children may come to get "scratched" and to "touch" medicine if they wish, but then they must leave the squareground to the men. The medicine man sends four specially chosen men to gather the two herbs, *pasa* (spicewood) and pussy willow, to make the medicines he will use. These are made into tea in separate pots. The people of the Green Corn refer to *pasa* as the White Drink because it purifies, but because it is actually black, non-Native people call it the Black Drink. The medicine man (*Hilishaya*) sings a prayer four times and blows the prayer into the concoction with a hollow reed each time. The men drink the pussy willow until the urge to vomit overtakes them. If the pussy willow does not work, the highly emetic spicewood tea is taken to cause vomiting. The purpose of vomiting is to remove the crust that has developed on the lining of the stomach over the past year. The *pasa* is given only in the first of the four rounds of taking medicine, with pussy willow tea being the only drink after that.

Participants get scratched lightly, four times on their arms and legs. In addition, men sometimes request deeper scratches on their chests. Not much blood is shed, and scratching actually benefits the participant because when they bathe their arms and legs with the White Drink it seeps into the scratched areas and aids in healing. Scratching was originally done with thorns, later with steel needles embedded in a wooden frame or with a bent buzzard's quill. Now, because of the threat of disease, they have returned to thorns, and each person gets a fresh thorn. Although every member of the

community can take part in this purification process, it is not required of women and children. After medicine taking and scratching, the participants must "take water" (bathe) at nearby ponds, rivers, or creeks. Unfortunately, over the years water sources have been diverted or polluted, so participants have had to find alternative ways to complete the ceremony. Now participants use nearby public facilities or shower and toilet facilities installed at the squareground.

After fasting, scratching, medicine taking, and bathing, men Feather Dance, a dance done for community healing. The dance is led by members of the bird clan with feathered wands and is repeated four times. At the end of the dance, the men who take part are given white or blue shaved egret or crane feathers, to be worn in their hats until the next Green Corn, as a sign that they participated and sacrificed for the community. The Men's Day ends with feasting on the new corn and many other foods, followed by the all-night Stomp Dance.

The Final Day

At dawn the participants do friendship dances, and the men issue their final challenge to the women to play ball. By midday Sunday, the participants are generally on their way home, tired but with a renewed sense of community.

History

The Green Corn ceremony has weathered five hundred years of "intense" contact with other peoples. Joel Martin, in his book *Sacred Revolt,* says, "In the history of religions in North America, there are probably few examples of ritual that have succeeded so well in surviving through change and crisis as the Busk" (Martin 1991, 42). Perhaps that is because of the communities' persistence and ability to adapt to changes while keeping their core values. Critics believe that modern changes break with tradition, but for Native Americans tradition is not static, and the ability to change is often what keeps tradition alive. The onslaught of Christianity led to the closing of some squaregrounds, but today some Indian Christian churches are honoring the ceremonies and adapting them to the needs of the people. Some formerly closed squaregrounds are being rededicated, a task that takes four years.

Ananda Sattwa

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Southeast; Dances, Southeast; Female Spirituality; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Southeast

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Guardian Spirit Complex

Throughout the Pacific Northwest Coast, a spiritual tradition often referred to by anthropologists as the "Guardian Spirit Complex" was and is prevalent. The Guardian Spirit tradition is still active on the Northwest Coast. However, its practices are extremely private; winter spirit dances are considered sacred and are closed to outsiders. Individuals will rarely discuss details of their religious practice and experience. To respect these sensibilities, this essay does not discuss such traditions in intimate detail, providing only an outline and the basic elements of the tradition.

In this tradition, individuals develop relationships with spirit-powers. In much of the historical and contemporary literature, this tradition is referred to using the Chinook jargon term *tamanawas* or *tumanos,* a term used to refer to both the practice of acquiring spirit-powers and the spirit-powers themselves. This tradition assumes that the

Interior supporting columns of Koskimo home bearing carvings commemorating incidents in family history, often depicting the guardian spirit of the founder. Vancouver Island, British Columbia, 1914. (Edward Curtis/Library of Congress)

natural world is imbued with spirits that can be found within plants, animals, and forces of nature. The spiritual traditions of the Pacific Northwest are ordered by a worldview in which the cosmos is filled with interconnected relationships. The natural world is sentient and participates in these networks of relationships. Human activity, and human well-being, depend upon these systems of relationships remaining in balance. These relationships, sought out within the natural world and embodied within song, dance, and ceremony, provide structure to traditional Northwest spiritual traditions.

Such spirit-beings within the natural world make themselves known to individuals during vision-seeking experiences—most often undertaken during puberty—and begin a lifelong relationship with them, entailing obligations and responsibilities and providing them in return with certain abilities and protections. According to ethnographies recorded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, spiritual practices of the Pacific Northwest Coast center around relationships with spirit-powers acquired throughout one's life, particularly at puberty and, for women, during pregnancy (Amoss 1978). At adolescence, young people engage in solitary ventures, hoping to meet with and acquire spirit-powers found in the natural world. The Reverend Myron Eells described such vision-quest endeavors among Native communities of the South Puget Sound, saying that they might last from three to thirteen days, during which time one did not eat or sleep but focused upon one's songs and prayers, while tending a large fire and frequently bathing in lakes and rivers (Castille 1985, 395–398). When established, such relationships are recorded in carvings upon the prows of canoes, house-posts, figures at house doors, or in images left to guard burial scaffolds. These relationships are also affirmed, commemorated, and strengthened by participating in winter

spirit dances, in which individuals dance the dance of their spirit-power, providing a space for communion with that power.

As mentioned, children are encouraged to begin searching for spirit-powers at a young age. Such activities are equally required of young men and women alike. Melville Jacobs recorded one Coos woman's recollections: "Go round outside! Fear nothing! No matter how bad (fearful) it may be, you are to go nevertheless right to it there, (perhaps) to the ocean, (or perhaps) to a lake, no matter how bad it may be, you must not fear it. . . . Even though (they are) young girls, they will nevertheless tell such things to them. And indeed, that is what they (girls) themselves do. That is the way a girl at puberty goes around, swims, and encounters a (luck-power) person indeed" (Jacobs 1939, 98). A narrative in Jacobs's *Kalapuya Texts* mirrors this one: "That was the way my people used to be long ago. This country gave it to us to be like that. We went to get our shaman spirit-powers in the mountains, and in the lakes too. That is where we got our spirit-powers. It was in consequence of that that some of the people were powerful" (Jacobs 1945, 341–342). James Swan observed these customs in practice among the Shoalwater Bay Chinook of the 1850s. According to Swan, young women and men, at puberty, would fast and isolate themselves for up to seven days in the woods or on an island in the bay, seeking Guardian Spirits and the gift of a spirit-power. During such spirit-quests, spirit-powers might manifest themselves in dreams or visions. Spirit-powers come in many forms: grizzly, grouse, cedar, fir, coyote. Such vision quests had to be undertaken in a careful way, under the supervision of community elders. To attempt such a thing inappropriately would risk illness or death.

Among traditional Northwest Coast communities, spiritual power is considered a kind of wealth. More than merely material possessions, spirit-powers give an individual the ability to acquire material goods, as well as protect her or him from illness, misfortune, and death. Success in hunting, fishing, gathering, the use of medicinal plants, skill in basketry, ease of childbirth, carving, or curing are all dependent upon the acquisition and proper maintenance of a relationship with the proper spirit-power.

In order to keep a good relationship with spirit-powers, individuals are obliged to honor certain ritual obligations and restrictions. They must not eat the animal or plant that acted as their spirit-power, or even speak of it, lest they cause offense. As a Coos woman told Jacobs, "Whatever was their dream, that is what became their power. . . . [T]hey saw them as persons, and as persons understood their language. . . . [W]hatever sort of food was their day (spirit-power), they did not eat what their day was. They said of it thus, if they should have eaten their day, that then their day would take

Nuu-chah-nulth Wolf's Head Mask. Early nineteenth century. (Richard A. Cooke/Corbis)

vengeance on them (causing their death)" (Jacobs 1939, 90).

Spirit-powers are honored during spirit-dances, which often take place during the winter months. Spirit dancing on the Northwest Coast remains an important part of traditional ceremonial life. During the winter, songs that had been given to an individual by her or his spirit helper return to that individual, causing discomfort and sometimes sickness that can be relieved only through dancing and singing. While spirit-powers are present with individuals all year, enabling them to do the things they are gifted to do (hunting, canoe building, berry picking, curing, and so forth), the spirit comes upon the person particularly strongly during the winter months, demanding that it be honored. Winter dances are generally organized by a member of a household who feels a particular need to honor her or his spirit-power. Among some tribal nations, an important part of these winter dances is the wearing of masks, and

dancing of one's spirit-power. By dancing in these masks, often owned by family lineages and inherited through kinship networks, spirit-powers are manifested and physically embodied within the community. If an individual fails to honor her or his spirit-power, it can place that person at risk for illness or even death. It is thus a religious requirement to dance one's spirit-power, acting as affirmation of the relationship and a sign of respect.

Spirit-powers play a central role in traditional Northwest Native healing ceremonies as well. A healer with a spirit-power capable of curing an ailment will be called upon to cure a sick individual. Illness, generally caused by disease-causing spirit-powers, could take the form of a physical object, "shot" into someone's body. Disease would in turn cause a part of an individual's soul to become lost. It is the healer's task to remove the cause of illness and retrieve the patient's lost soul. The healer will thus remove this object and its associated disease spirit-power, through ritual means such as song, prayer, and dance. Guided by their spirit-powers, healers are given their own individualized approach to healing. Some might touch or massage the patient's body, others sit and sing. Some will use cedar diving boards like the *squidaylich;* others might burn sage or cedar. Some healers are paid, while others refuse payment. Personalized healing practices were thus the result of personal relationships with spirit-powers.

The Guardian Spirit Complex of the Northwest Coast also facilitates the maintenance of good social and ethical relationships with a community. Acting inappropriately toward the source of one's spirit-power or toward another individual placed one at risk. Offense to a spirit-power, whether one's own or another's, could cause illness or death. The only cure was to honor and appease such spirit-powers, through properly respectful behavior and winter spirit dances.

Suzanne J. Crawford

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Northwest; Masks and Masking; Oral Traditions, Northwest Coast; Power, Northwest Coast; Sacred Societies, Northwest Coast; *Sbatatdaq (Sqadaq);* Vision Quest Rites; Whaling, Religious and Cultural Implications

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Guardian Spirit Complex, Plateau

See Spirits and Spirit Helpers, Plateau

Guardian Spirit Traditions, Northwest

See Whaling, Religious and Cultural Implications

H

Healing Traditions, California

Healing ceremonies and traditions can be any event wherein a person, family, or community may seek healing from physical ailments, spiritual imbalance, or the complex combinations of both that many indigenous communities worldwide recognize as the sources of illness. Prayers and ceremonies for the healing of the land are also often performed. These two foci are sometimes not treated separately in healing practices of Native North America, as it is often seen that the health of human beings and the health of the land are inseparable.

There are as many ways to heal as there are ways to be unwell. In Native California, there are hundreds of ideas defining "health" and "sickness," a diversity that reflects the hundreds of languages and worldviews extant in Native North America (Mithun 1999), and within California as well. Among the Barbareño Chumash of the central coast of California, the word for health is *shumawish,* a verb that most closely translates as "to be healthy" or "to deal well with situations." While the particular words and meanings for health are different in every culture, this concept interpreting health as an action verb is an excellent place to start when learning about healing traditions in Native North America.

For Native people who have become unhealthy because of the imbalance of their own actions, someone else's actions toward them, exposure to infectious agents, as a result of living in dire poverty in a polluted environment, or a combination of all of those factors, there are many practices available that will help them move toward equilibrium. There are formal ceremonies involving one's entire community, since illness is rarely seen as isolated within a single individual. The Nations of northern California are well known for their days-long community ceremonies dedicated to the healing of children. This is a time when virtually everyone whom the sick child knows will cease usual daily activities in

order to participate in singing and dancing the child well. Virtually all indigenous Nations in California perform healing ceremonies in which the entire community participates. These are often days-long affairs involving tremendous organization and output of energy and skill. I have often heard it expressed during these ceremonies that for an event of this size, the cooks, food servers, security personnel, and announcement-makers play as important a role in the healing as do the doctors and ceremonial singers.

In most indigenous California Nations, there are also less elaborate but equally effective healing ceremonies that consist solely of the indigenous doctor, the ill person or persons, and sometimes also others who are specialized singers of healing songs. A healing ceremony can be as simple as two people in a parked car smoking tobacco and praying, or one person alone, praying for the healing of the community and for loved ones. Both these simpler and more elaborate healing traditions are often in response to health issues that are not recognized as such by mainstream American medicine. To cite an example outside of California, the illness known in Mexico and Central America as *susto* is contracted by a person who experiences tremendous fear or stress that remains in the body, sapping the spirit and making the person chronically ill (Rubel, O'Nell, and Collado-Ardón 1984). A person can die from *susto,* and great energy is spent during curing procedures. To label *susto* merely as a social construction underestimates the power of human constructions of illness. The majority of the world does not recognize as an illness what the U.S. medical establishment has designated attention deficit disorder; however, people do experience this as a real condition with serious, real-life consequences.

A theme central to virtually all indigenous California healing traditions is the emphasis on the community, the family, and the culture as a whole. While to an outsider it may seem during some of these ceremonies that the focus is on one individual, it is not the case that all of this effort is being expended solely for the well-being of that one person. An individual is generally understood to be out of balance in relation to all elements of the world—community, environment, economy, the political sphere—all the realms of existence in which human beings must situate themselves, for better or for worse. Among the Chumash, as well as among many other peoples, illness can be caused by a jealous person or persons who can "shoot" an individual or community with poison (Se-bu-tah 1998; Sevedge 2002). This phenomenon is seen outside of Native California communities as well. According to Gordon Se-bu-tah of the Blackfeet Nation and Randy Sevedge of the Choctaw Nation—two indigenous nations that are very different in language, culture, and belief systems from those found in California, and from each other—these poisons will usually work first to impede people's mobility. Their ability to get around and perform their duties for their

families and communities will be impaired, a situation that affects the entire community. In recognition of the spiritual and systemic nature of this imbalance, ceremonies, both elaborate and simple, are conducted in order to clean the people off, make them whole again in relation to their families and larger community.

Rarely discussed by anthropologists and other researchers who have published vast amounts of material on the healing practices of Native North Americans is the role of diet and nutrition in healing traditions. Among many California Indian people, diet is considered to be the first line of defense in one's physical health. Deliberate avoidance of introduced foods—refined sugar, white flour, processed fats—is an act of healing not only from poor nutrition but also from the effects of the colonial culture that imposed this unhealthy eating pattern in the first place (Margolin 2001). The choice to sustainably gather and consume more traditional foods is also considered an act of healing (Gendar, Ortiz, and Margolin 2000; McCovey 2000). The inability to do so because of destruction of the natural places where these foods were found in traditional times—or the destruction of the knowledge of which plants to gather and how to prepare them—points once again to the systemic nature of imbalance.

If the problem persists, other interpretations as to the cause of a person's or community's illness may be then drawn upon. Plant medicines are among the materials used for more complex problems. Long before germ theory was developed by European medicine in the 1850s (Duffin 1999), there were treatments for septic wounds and virally communicated illness among California Indians. Although introduced infectious diseases such as smallpox, cholera, diphtheria, and measles are extremely virulent and they overwhelmed indigenous communities (along with virtually every other culture in the world, no matter how "advanced" their medical tradition), infection from both minor and serious wounds can be easily kept to a minimum through the use of antimicrobial medicinal plants.

Today, California Indians are faced with health problems rarely experienced by our ancestors. Along with the poor nutritional patterns introduced by the dominant society, the violence of poverty has produced a state of despair verging on hopelessness among many Nations. Compounded by chronic alcoholism, drug abuse, high suicide rates, domestic violence, and the highest rates of both Type I and Type II diabetes in the world, this despair is even further exacerbated by the policies of the dominant society, which continue to destroy Native lands, invade community and individual privacy, and steal Native traditions and sacred items. A casual visit to a reservation will not reveal the complexity of the ill health experienced by both reservation and urban California Indians. Even among Nations that have brought about an era of self-determination and eco-

nomic prosperity, problems with alcoholism, domestic violence, diabetes, and suicide persist (Trafzer and Weiner 2001). In both Native societies and among non-Natives in the dominant society, poor nutrition is common among the wealthy, as the rising rate of Type II diabetes in all North American communities demonstrates.

California Indian Healing ceremonies and traditions have changed over the past few generations in order to address new health issues. While a singer of healing songs and ceremonies will, with great strength and rigorous training by his or her elders, hold to ancient traditional song patterns and ceremonial configurations, new songs and ritual practices are constantly developed in response to these unprecedented stressors. Many new plant medicines are now being used to address previously unknown illness states such as diabetes, neurodegenerative disorders such as multiple sclerosis, and autoimmune conditions such as lupus. These medicines are not generally used simply as more "natural" versions of the chemical pharmaceuticals that are prescribed by Western physicians to address a symptom-pattern. Rather, they are generally used as part of a person's overall change in behavioral patterns, prayer, diet, and physical activity, and the ritual recognition by one's community that one's health is being improved in relation to that community. Indeed, many of the questions asked in diagnosing the person's or community's pattern of imbalance do not focus on the primary symptoms at all, but on the events and disturbances experienced by those entities. Past history, both personal and medical, are also often addressed. This process takes much longer than the usual half-hour allotted by U.S. health maintenance organizations, and it is meant to gain an understanding of the entire community and of the cultural context of the imbalances that have led to illness.

Not all California Indian healers use plants in their healing traditions. Many are ceremonial singers, who heal a person's body and spirit by bringing the power of their songs to address the imbalance. Many other doctors are able to see where in the person's body the imbalance is located and literally pull it out through a variety of means (Sarris 1994; Margolin 2001; Nelson 1983; Walker and Hudson 1993). Very often, an indigenous doctor will have at her or his disposal the powerful influence of tobacco, a sacred medicine used to purify and make whole the person's connection to the earth, the spirit world, and the greater community. The habitual misuse of this powerful medicine is now known by nearly every culture on earth to cause tremendous damage.

The use of medicinal plants for healing is not confined to the esoteric knowledge of indigenous healing specialists. Everyone with any knowledge of everyday traditional practices can identify and use plants for medicine. That knowledge, among people still connected to their homeland, is as common as knowledge

California

The California Indians, when taken as a whole, reside in a culture area that includes roughly the present-day state of California as well as the Lower California Peninsula, or Baja California. There are two mountain ranges that run north and south through the state of California: the Coast Ranges to the west and the Sierra Nevada to the east. The Coast Ranges drop off to coastal lowlands along the Pacific coast in most areas, but rocky cliffs and awe-inspiring vistas characterize the range to the north. Between the Coast Ranges and the Sierra Nevada, the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers form a basin known as the Central Valley. The climate is generally a mild, Mediterranean-style, with wet and dry seasons and many days of warm weather, especially in the south. Rainfall varies significantly throughout the state, with the forested regions in the north receiving the highest levels and the deserts in the south the lowest. Plant and animal life abound, and the region boasts a rich and varied ecology.

The Sierra Nevada mountain range has long provided a natural barrier to the movement of peoples. As a result, Native Americans east of the Sierra Nevada practice markedly different ways of life and are often included in the Great Basin or Southwest culture areas. Some Indian peoples just south of California's present-day northern border shared ways of life with peoples of the Northwest Coast culture area and the Plateau culture area further inland.

California was one of the most densely populated North American culture areas before European contact, with numerous tribes and bands speaking more than 100 distinct languages. Nearly all of the Indian language families in the lower forty-eight states are represented in California.

Much scientific evidence places the first human occupancy of California at the very end of the last ice age (approx. 10,000 years BP), but the rich nature of tribal sacred history reveals a continuous interaction between peoples, movements in and out of regions, and long-term stewardship of specific regions from time immemorial. It very well may have been that the California culture area was a melting pot of sorts, with tribal groups influencing one another through both trade and population movement.

continues

California (continued)

California once had abundant resources that supported large Native American populations without the need for agriculture before the arrival of Europeans. The dietary staple of most California Indians was the acorn, which was collected in the fall. Acorns can be pounded into flour and rinsed of the bitter-tasting tannic acid, creating an acorn meal that can be boiled into a soup or gruel or baked into bread. This complex carbohydrate, when augmented with protein from fish or meat, provides an extremely healthy diet.

Most Native Americans in the California culture area lived in villages of related families with descent and property ownership traced through the male's family. Permanent villages often had smaller satellite villages nearby, and the complex was presided over by one principal chief, acting much like the mayors of contemporary California. In addition, many regional groups made use of temporary hunting or gathering camps that they occupied for portions of the year.

Religiously, the region is far too diverse to accommodate here, but suffice it to say that the sometimes-fickle nature of California's weather patterns produced philosophical systems that took the uncertain nature of the universe into consideration, with the sacred beings often unconcerned about their human communities. Not relying on simple good versus evil scenarios, California Indian religions tend to view the world as it is. Religious professionals have the ability to sway spiritual matters in one direction or another, either through the employment of specific ritualized formulae, or through the constant monitoring of the movements of the cosmos. California Indian peoples also employed healing artists, people with knowledge of the workings of the human body, herbal remedies to aid in the body's repair, and propitiation of spiritual influences that may be causing physical harm from the spiritual realm.

California's diverse and varied climate, then, presides over a diverse human situation, as well, with many language groupings interacting with the physical landscape, producing religious systems that allow for the continuing interaction with territory both physical and sacred.

of game animals. There are of course certain plants with talismanic and spiritual power, such as datura or peyote, that are generally gathered or prepared only by a selected group of ritual specialists.

I have intentionally attempted to reveal very little specific data regarding the healing ceremonies and traditions of Native North Americans. My reasons for doing so are as crucial to the continuation of these healing ceremonies as is the passage of specific information down through the generations of people for whom these traditions are their birthright. There are few areas of Native American spiritual tradition more important to American Indian peoples than those practiced for the healing of individuals and communities. There are also few areas more exploited, inappropriately co-opted, and misinterpreted by non-Indian scholars, as well as by non-Indian individuals seeking a spiritual path that they believe will harness for them the power of Native ceremonies. Many Indian people argue that, after stealing the lands, languages, and modes of self-determination practiced by indigenous cultures, the dominant society is now unashamedly stealing Native American healing and ceremonial traditions (Rose 1992; Churchill 1992; Whitt 1998). That this is not a recent phenomenon is demonstrated by Teton Dakota scholar Philip Deloria, who argues that "[p]laying Indian" is a long-established Anglo-American pastime (1998).

Among California Indians, songs and ceremonies are said to belong to families and individuals and are often more prized than other possessions such as houses or cars. To acquire a song or ritual from a group without permission, many indigenous singers assert, is tantamount to breaking into a home and stealing precious family heirlooms. Often a song or song cycle sung in the presence of people outside one's family or clan will begin with an elaborate introduction detailing the song's meaning, origin, and prohibition of use by others—unless the song is being formally gifted.

While it is possible for privileged non-Indians to read about, co-opt, and practice Native ceremonies with total impunity, the people to whom those ceremonies belong often find themselves in a battle for the right to practice them unimpeded. American Indians are, on paper only, guaranteed by law the freedom from harassment during healing ceremonies and other spiritual gatherings. The American Indian Religious Freedom Act is only rarely enforced, and it is very often willfully violated by local, state, and federal authorities. Why is that the case for Native Americans and not for mainstream American religious traditions? Many scholars and community activists—both indigenous and non-Native—feel that, in the case of indigenous religious traditions, this violation is directly implicated in battles over land tenure and natural resources extraction. California Indian healing ceremonies and traditions are inseparable from the lands in which these traditions were developed

in rich context over the millennia. Now, in the last five hundred and more years, those lands have been grievously injured, along with the peoples whose identity and health are part and parcel of the health of their homelands. Ultimately, of course, the destruction of the land destroys the health and lives of all people, regardless of their long-standing ties to any particular place.

Indigenous Californians must constantly defend sacred lands where medicinal plants are gathered, where generations of our families have gone to pray, and where healing ceremonies have been performed since time immemorial. These lands are seen by the dominant society only for their potential development value. It is in the court records of legal battles to defend sacred lands that the most impassioned arguments regarding Native North American healing ceremonies and traditions can be found (Deloria, Jr. 1998). It would be more appropriate, and possibly also more rewarding, for non-Indian scholars to ask themselves how their research can ensure that Native peoples are unimpeded in the practice of healing ceremonies and traditions, rather than focusing on and publishing the specific details of those traditions. It is as important to the effectiveness of the healing ceremony to be left in privacy as are the specific practices performed, stories told, and songs sung. Members of the dominant society can participate in the healing ceremonies by deliberately, and mindfully, allowing the ceremonies to be conducted in privacy, while working alongside Native American communities to ensure that we can do so.

Julianne Cordero-Lamb

See also Academic Study of American Indian Religious Traditions; Ceremony and Ritual, California; Datura; Herbalism; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion; McKay, Mabel; Missionization, California; New Age Appropriation; Parrish, Essie; Sacred Sites and Sacred Mountains

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Healing Traditions, Northwest

Throughout the Northwest, certain people maintained constant contact with sources of power and spirit beings that enabled them to change conditions for the better—and sometimes for the worse, if they had a selfish reason to do so. Although often called shamans or Indian doctors, they once included a range of specialists much like those of the modern medico-religious profession. After massive dieoffs as a result of European diseases and dislocations, ordinary spiritual practitioners who survived began to assume more and more of the functions and practices of these specialists. Formerly, those functions included that of curer of various types, medium who communed with the dead, song master who untangled tunes, puberty preceptor, baby broker who understood babies' needs, and that of priestly figures who conducted rites such as the First Salmon and other return foods festivals.

Tsimshians

Along the North Pacific coast, for Tlingit and Haida, masks were worn by religious specialists while working. The neighboring Tsimshian, however, used many masks more generally as manifestations of rank and power. Tsimshian culture was imaged as a beam of light from Heaven that refracted into several branches whose emblems were positioned on the model of a head. Crests were passed through mothers and were embodied as hats, carvings of chiefly rank and power were worn on the forehead, and masks covered the face. Shamans themselves were known as "blowers," utilizing the mouth, but their power resided in their hair, which remained unkempt and uncut.

For Tsimshians, the primordial beings are called *Naxnox,* and the powerful refracted light is *halaayt.* During the 1800s, *halaayt* took six manifestations. It was

personalized as a blower—a curer who could be either a man or a woman who served year-round. The Tsimshian year was divided between summer activities devoted to fishing and harvesting wild foods, followed by winter religious and communal events. A chief, as head of a cedar plank house, therefore had two guises. During the summer he coordinated dispersed food gathering, but with the onset of winter he became *Smhalaayt* (real *halaayt*) and took over a more priestly role that included religious duties involved with feasting, displays of heirloom art, and intertribal entertainment. Members of high rank also belonged to one of four secret orders known as *Wutahalaayt* (great *halaayt*), which crossed local allegiances to be international and privileged in scope.

These six roles do not exhaust the realm, however, since various groups and guilds of artists who made the crests, emblems, and embellishments also had religious functions to perform, often in private. Indeed, the penalty for stumbling upon a secluded workshop was immediate death unless the person was of high enough rank to demand immediate initiation.

The Northwest coast included this typical distinction between summer chief and winter priest for all its leaders. Most detailed information is a consequence of the length of time, personalities, and rapport that characterized any fieldwork situation. Outstanding for the coast is that for the Nuxalk (formerly Bella Coola), the northernmost member of the Salishan Language Family, which also includes Lushootseed and Tillamook. These three well illustrate the diversity once seen even among related languages.

Nuxalk

At birth, each Nuxalk person's soul or spirit took up residence in a thin bone at the back of the neck. Other spiritual aspects were located above. In the beginning, the Creator at Nusmatta (a huge house in the upper world) set up a tally post and a section in a water basin for every named person who would live. As named couples, these beings floated down to tops in the human homeland, then set up villages along waterways and began families. At death, a Nuxalk separated into corpse, shadow, and ghost. Since names were inherited, the ghost went back through an unbroken line that led back up to Nusmatta.

When a Nuxalk took seriously ill, special healers had the ability to get to Nusmatta and inspect the patient's pole and basin. If the pole leaned, the acuteness of the angle indicated the outcome of the illness. If possible, the pole was set upright again, and the water in the basin was renewed. Failing that, a doctor would sacrifice grease, bark bowls, and tiny wooden figures to the dead, who lived under the earth. With their help, a sucking cure would suddenly become effective.

Lushootseeds

For the Lushootseeds of Puget Sound, immortal beings provide career or curing

abilities. Leaders had spirits, themselves leaders, that empowered them to give wise council and acquire wealth, as well as to hunt the most dangerous of animals.

The term for both spirits and their human allies, derived from the Lushootseed for "name" or "call": in the Native system of medicine, to designate ("name") the cause of an illness correctly was to diagnose the cure. Healers and curing spirits were always at the ready, unlike career powers whose closeness varied with the seasons.

Just as European noble families sent sons into the church, into business, into banking, or into the military to widen their power base, so too did Lushootseed nobles try to have members in all positions of authority; leadership was multiplex, depending upon the task. Moreover, modern Salish families extend this strategy to include many contemporary options, particularly religious ones. Thus, while families continue to attend winter ceremonials to welcome the return of spirit partners, on Sunday they devotedly attend Protestant, Catholic, Baha'i, or other services.

Lushootseed had at least four overlapping systems of power and consequent specialists concerned with guardian spirits, ghosts, dicta (word formulas, spells), and the High God. Each spirit has two aspects, as being and as song, with a third term used to personify the vision itself. The song came from the east in the fall, moved slowly north, westward, then south during the winter; in late April or so, it headed east again.

Ghosts were the souls of the dead, who were tormented by hunger, loneliness, and nostalgia for their possessions and relatives. Those ghosts who were still in contact with the living roamed the earth between about 3:00 P.M. and 3:00 A.M. Ghosts were particularly attracted by human gatherings, especially when people were eating. A ghost was closest of all when its name was being inherited by a descendant. Certain humans once acted as mediums because they had a special relationship with a ghost, who warned of calamity. This medium conducted rituals in which food and clothes were burned in a fire to send them to the dead. While such burnings were once held separately, they have now become managed by shamans as the first event at modern power displays, memorials, and potlatches.

Dicta were a set of enchantments (incantations and formulas) for influencing or directing the world and its inhabitants. They were passed down family lines to influence the minds and hearts of all living things.

In modern Salishan religion, the High God now features in the Indian Shaker Church and various Christian fundamental denominations. Belief in an ultimate power, however, was ancient and known as *xa'xa*—which means anything sacred and holy as well as forbidden—taboo in such a way as to provide a deification of power.

Puberty preceptors have faded out under Christian influence, yet many features from traditional puberty seclusion

have been incorporated into the modern initiation of Winter Dancers. While a boy's coming of age was marked by changes in his voice and body, girls once observed great restrictions. Placed in a special hut, a girl's bed was made of fresh fir boughs. Every night, she left her hut to go to a creek to bathe and scrub with rotten cedar to make herself clean. During the day she kept very busy, weaving mats or blankets, making yarn, or coiling baskets. This effort made her industrious her whole life, and desirable as a good wife.

If it was ripe berry season, a first menstruant picked with a stick (called a "bridle") between her teeth; the stick was inspected by older women at the end of each day to see if she had stained it by eating any forbidden berries. Her strict diet included food that was allowed to cool if it was cooked. She ate very little, mostly roots, but nothing fresh or warm, using special dishes that were destroyed afterward. Fresh and bloody foods were particularly avoided.

Toward the end of her month of seclusion, her grandmother invited other old women to sing, dance, and feast to entertain the girl, who could not herself join in. Because of her supercharged condition, she was under strong ritual restrictions. She could not look at anyone or they would become sick. She never touched her own hair. She used a stick of ironwood to scratch.

Every day the girl was instructed by older women about how to conduct herself calmly when she was married, as well as techniques for drying fish, picking berries, digging clams, weaving, basketry, and keeping a household running smoothly and well. She was told to be good to her mother-in-law, other affines, and all elders, while showing kindness and compassion to everyone.

After her first seclusion a girl was regarded as dark or light for six weeks, according to the phases of the moon. On dark days, when the moon waned, her face was painted red, and on light days, when the moon waxed, she was visited by other women.

Tillamooks

Along the Oregon coast, the Tillamook once had five types of practitioner, each concerned with healing, poisons, spirits, love, and the baby (Seaburg and Miller 1990, 565). The first three wore the insignia of a braided human hair belt with its ends hanging behind like a tail. Although these specialists became wealthy by their efforts, they were generous at winter ceremonials and so never amassed a hoard.

Healers were both men and women, who would blow while curing. Only men used their hands to extract illness, while women would only suck, specializing in the removal of blood, black ooze, or white ooze, which was thrown into a fire or drowned in a basket. In severe cases, it was both drowned and burned. These women received their power from a being called Wild Woman, whose emblem was tattooed on their breasts. Male healers carved or painted their emblem

on their headboard, which stood at the healer's bed until brought into use during a cure.

Poison doctors were always men, with the ability to send their own "poisons" or to extract that sent by other shamans. Their medical kit included deer-hoof rattles tied on a stick layered with eagle feathers, carved humanoid poles with faces inset with abalone shell eyes, and a headdress made of fringed cedar bark or red male hummingbird scalps. A poison itself was sometimes represented as a tiny bone humanoid doll, or as a fish. Their treatment went on for five nights.

Spirit doctors, always men, journeyed in human daytime to the afterworld to retrieve the souls of patients who were ill but not dead. This spirit could be returned only after human dark, when it was safe from recapture. In difficult cases, he sometimes sucked out a purplish ooze sent from the dead.

Only women served as love doctors, able to manipulate affections and sexual abilities. A baby broker was a man who could converse with babies and dream of events in Babyland, where fetuses lived until they went to be born from human mothers.

Today, throughout the Northwest, the aboriginal variety of religious functionaries now appears in the diversity of leaders of church denominations, beliefs, and spiritual practices, as elsewhere in the modern world.

Jay Miller

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Northwest; Dance, Northwest Winter Spirit Dances; Masks and Masking; Oral Traditions, Northwest Coast; Power, Northwest Coast; Religious Leadership, Northwest; Sacred Societies, Northwest Coast; *Sbatatdaq (Sqadaq)*

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Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches

At the time of the European contact, each tribal group throughout the Americas had well established indigenous health care delivery systems. Some had only one or two healers, while others had more complex systems, with an array of resources and specialists including midwives, bonesetters, herbalists, and so forth. Every family also had a family member who had extensive knowledge about home remedies, and each household

maintained a formulary of herbs and other supplies for times of emergency. At the center of most tribal health delivery systems were healers whose knowledge and expertise enabled them to call upon both natural and supernatural resources to help restore health or to halt an individual's unusual bout of misfortune.

Tribal health care delivery systems, both in the past as well as now, have been embedded in the sociocultural-religious fabric of the respective tribes. The prevailing perception held by many tribes has been that health is interconnected with morality and spirituality, and that the well-being of an individual and of the community requires vigilant attention to maintaining harmonious relationships with nature and with other living beings. It is believed that the disruption of this harmony can result not only in sickness but also in vulnerability to misfortune. To prevent illnesses and misfortune, tribal members strictly observe numerous tribal taboos and other moral codes. Other preventive measures include the use of talismans, medicine pouches, guardian spirits, and observance of certain important ceremonial activities.

Within the worldview of most tribes, nature is informed with spiritual significance. This spiritual significance is frequently embodied in certain landforms (sacred sites, sacred objects, sacred lands), animals, and the like. For example, eagles, ravens, bowhead whales, buffalo, and salmon are examples of animals considered by some tribes as embodying not only spiritual significance but also the spirit itself. For that reason, certain animals serve as guardian spirits (protectors) or as a totemic sign for a particular societal group or clan. Members of the eagle clan, for example, may perform certain religious activities that call for help from the spirit of the eagle, which is their clan totem or guardian spirit. These relationships highlight tribal beliefs about the spiritual relationship between man, nature, and the spirit world. Those beliefs acknowledge that spirituality is transcendental in nature and can influence the manner by which one perceives, adjusts, or seeks remedies in times of ill health or misfortune.

Most tribes share a common set of cultural beliefs about health and illness, despite inherent intertribal cultural and linguistic differences. Understandably, some of these beliefs have been modified, forgotten, or replaced with others over the years, primarily because of ongoing cultural changes and acculturation. The impetus for change comes from many sources, including the adoption of beliefs offered by organized religions, formal schooling, experiences outside tribal communities, access to and utilization of allopathic medicine, urbanization, and the like. That is not to say that all traditional beliefs have been modified or forgotten. They have not. Some traditional cultural beliefs about health and illness remain strong today and continue to play a significant role in how individuals or groups respond to illness or other life-threatening situations.

Victor M. Begay, a Diné medicine man, during a sandpainting healing ritual. In the sandpainting ceremony, a skilled medicine man creates a symbolic picture by strewing finely powdered pigments on the floor of a hogan. The patient sits on the painting and eats a given medicine. After the ceremony the sand is collected and placed outside the hogan. Each illness requires a specific painting, and the Diné probably use more than 1,000 different designs. Monument Valley, Arizona, 1994. (Arne Hodalic/Corbis)

Health beliefs and behaviors are shaped and influenced by many factors, but a significant one for American Indians and Alaska Natives has been the pressure from organized religion. This push-pull relationship between one's spiritual beliefs and one's health behavior, however, is not unique to tribes or indigenous religions. Through their teachings, organized religions shape or reinforce certain health beliefs and behaviors among their members. For example, Jehovah's Witness followers share a proscription against blood transfusion; Christian Scientists believe in and make use of prayer as the ultimate and primary source of healing; and Catholics' belief about the sanctity of life forbids its members to accept abortion, in vitro fertilization, or the use of contraceptives.

Membership in organized religions (many of which historically have discouraged the use of indigenous healing resources) and accessibility to allopathic medicine are but two influences that have modified the traditional health beliefs and behaviors of many tribal members. Despite those changes, many tribal

leaders still advocate for the preservation of traditional healing and for the use of healers in their communities. In fact, most tribal leaders and health advocates want traditional tribal healing to be one of the resources included among the options offered by their local allopathic medical services.

Advocates for this inclusion represent a growing cross section of tribal communities, including non-Indian health care providers. Foremost among the health care providers who have advocated for, and are using, traditional tribal healers are providers in mental health and substance abuse treatment programs. Outside those programs, the number of individuals and families who make use of traditional tribal healers is also on the increase. Among the growing numbers of those who rely on traditional tribal healing are individuals who may be facing life-threatening conditions or chronic health problems not easily addressed by allopathic medicine. Those individuals often use traditional tribal medicine in addition to allopathic treatment. The use of traditional tribal medicine is also important to those tribal members who are rediscovering their traditional tribal spiritual practices, and when faced with the lack of such resources in their tribal communities, some gladly embrace the ceremonial practices of other tribes. For example, the sweatlodge and the rituals that accompany it are increasingly being used by tribal members whose tribes may not have used sweatlodge prior to the European contact. And although the ceremony may be occurring in an urban setting, the participants' quest for a traditional form of purification, blessing, or rebirth has not changed.

Although they generally do not oppose its use by others, there are tribal members who do not utilize traditional healers or traditional tribal medicine. Most are among those whose ancestors or families were converted (voluntarily or forcibly) into one of the many organized religions after European contact, when various organized religions received congressional or presidential approval to locate their churches in tribal communities in order to gain converts. The Europeans and their missionaries looked upon native spirituality as evil and as inspired by evil superstitions. Unable to understand this holistic concept, the European colonizers and the church groups were quick to judge tribes they encountered as godless, heathen, superstitious, and dependent on magic for dealing with illness.

From the European perspective, most tribes did not have a formal religion because there were no visible idols or separate permanent places of worships. All Native peoples, however, did have a religion (a set of spiritual beliefs), but it was not a separate sphere from one's daily activities and thus was not visible. During celebrations or healing ceremonies, however, these activities and the presence of healers gave traditional religions visibility and emphasized the importance of spirituality to the tribal communities.

After the European conquest, the various religious denominations made use of different methods to win converts (or held them as hostage for free labor to build missions), but most of the churches forced tribal members to give up their use of traditional tribal healers or faith. Death or brutal punishment was the fate of "converts" who disobeyed or who were reported to have attended a tribal ceremony.

This push toward assimilation by organized religious groups helped sever the ties these families and individuals had with their ancestral tribal cultures, and today many descendents of these families and individuals do not consider themselves members of American Indian or Alaska Native tribes. They rely primarily on allopathic medicine, and their health concerns reflect the health beliefs and behaviors of the majority culture.

In retrospect, ethnographers, linguists, and other scholars have acknowledged that most tribal languages did not include a specific word for religion, perhaps because most viewed spirituality as an integral part of daily life and as central to the well-being of the individual, the family, and the community. The maintenance or restoration of well-being (which is conducted through various tribal blessings or healing ceremonies) is referred to by many tribes as maintaining or restoring harmony. This holistic view integrates mind, body, emotion, and spirit as if they were one strand in the fabric of one's physical, emotional, social, and mental well-being.

Because most tribal healers also served as their tribe's spiritual leaders, they were labeled by church leaders as a threat and singled out as barriers to civilization and the progress of the churches. A number of healing practices, especially those found most objectionable by church leaders, were outlawed by the federal government in the 1800s, forcing some healing ceremonies to go underground until the policy was changed in the early 1900s. Ceremonies that were prohibited included the Sun Dance among the Northern Plains tribes, the Ghost Dance religion, the use of peyote in the Native American Church, and the Shaker Church Religion. In addition to these overt government policies, the suppression of native spirituality was enforced by various other means, such as requiring a tribal convert to Christianity to burn his or her medicine bundles in public—a gesture intended to denounce one's traditional cultural beliefs. Until the early 1900s, it was also not uncommon to have missionary physicians refuse to treat an Indian patient who showed visible evidence of having been recently treated by a traditional healer—that is, a feather tied to the hair or a medicine pouch necklace.

Today, with few exceptions, most tribal peoples utilize allopathic medicine, and the number of tribal communities who now operate their own medical facilities staffed by nurses and physicians continues to increase. The passage of a number of federal laws has made it possible for tribes to assume

management of health facilities in their communities that were formerly operated by the federal government. In many of these allopathic health programs, traditional tribal healers serve as consultants or as members of the facility's health care delivery team. It is also a common practice now in many tribal communities to have the physicians refer patients to traditional healers.

That is but one indication of the fact that decades of forced cultural change did not greatly alter the need for traditional healers (religious leaders) in many tribal communities. Today, traditional healers are called upon to treat health problems generally not associated with, or deemed treatable by, allopathic medicine. Traditional healers may also be called upon by the patient or the patient's family to help ensure the success of a pending allopathic treatment or procedure—such as cardiac bypass surgery. Traditional healers are also used when allopathic medicine is not able to offer a cure or when a physician has given an unfavorable prognosis. Such a prognosis may motivate the patient or the family to make use of a traditional healer to help with the psychological consequences of the prognosis. The involvement of the family in healing ceremonies provides them an opportunity to offer the patient support. Such interest and familial support serves not only as visible evidence of caring but also as a means to encourage the patient to commit to self-improvement and to getting well.

Apart from treating illnesses, most traditional healers have other responsibilities to their communities. These obligations may include blessing important occasions or carrying out required ceremonial activities for the entire community—that is, praying for a bountiful harvest or a successful hunt, asking for the safety and protection of tribal members, fulfilling other sacred or spiritual obligations, and so forth.

Even today, in some tribal communities, religious leaders devote all their time to their role as healers and religious leaders. Under these cultural practices, it is understood that the entire community is to provide food and other support for the healer and for the healer's family. More frequently, however, most traditional healers tend to be employed and to carry out their religious or healing practice on a part-time basis.

Whatever the time commitment, it is generally accepted that full-time healers are more likely to be found among agriculturally based tribes that have had the resources to support one or more healers—that is, tribes that prior to European contact had developed complex secular/sacred cultural systems. Part-time healers/religious leaders have historically been found among tribes whose history and way of life were more nomadic and who lived as hunters and gatherers.

While each tribe has always had a different name and role for its traditional healers, many healers serve both religious and secular functions. Secular

functions may include holding a special position in the tribal council or serving the leadership as an expert consultant. Today, some of these secular responsibilities include consultation to the tribe on policies for repatriation of human remains or religious objects from museums or collectors. Consultation on development of special academic curricula on such topics as tribal history, or on traditional teaching methods, is another responsibility assumed by some traditional healers today. Healing or tending to the sick, however, remains the central responsibility for most traditional tribal healers.

Some tribes have complex health care delivery systems in which there may be a cadre of healers, each specializing in treating one or more specific health problems. In other tribes there may be one traditional healer (with a number of apprentices) who works alongside other specialists such as herbalists, bonesetters, midwives, or diagnosticians. Although both men and women can be healers in most tribes, women may not be allowed to practice as healers until they have passed childbearing age. It is also common in some tribes to have only female or only male healers.

Most traditional healers learn their skill and art through an apprenticeship with other healers. Before the apprentice is accepted, he or she must negotiate a fee to be paid to learn the ceremonies. Potential healers enter the profession either by seeking to be a healer, or they are "called" through dreams, vision quests, and the like. Depending on the tribe and the complexity of their healing ceremonies, some apprenticeships may take a decade or more before the apprentices are considered skilled or knowledgeable enough to be healers.

Consistent tribal advocacy, a number of supportive court decisions, and passage of other policies such as the American Indian Religious Freedom Act in 1978 have helped protect tribal religious practices—as well as the healing ceremonies that are embedded in those practices. However, the recent loss of a number of legal battles based on the American Indian Religious Act indicates that tribal religious practices are not protected by that law, or by the First Amendment. Issues such as tribal access to sacred sites remain unresolved in a number of instances.

Although freedom of religion debates continue in the legal arena, the use of traditional healers in the health arena has been slowly evolving—and in most cases in more positive ways. For example, the federal Indian Health Service (IHS), the major health care provider for American Indians and Alaska Natives in the United States, formalized and publicized its rather longstanding informal policy of respecting the cultural values, beliefs, and traditional healing practices of tribal groups. This policy is set out in the IHS's 1994 description of its Traditional Cultural Advocacy Program (TCAP). The first sentence of the policy states that IHS staff must inform their patients of their right to practice native

religion and healing practices. In other words, when a patient or the patient's family requests help in obtaining the service of a traditional healer, IHS staff should assist with the request.

This action by IHS is but one of many recently undertaken by the federal government to promote culturally competent care and to decrease health disparities for racial and ethnic minorities. The U.S. Office of Minority Health, an agency within the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, has also recently drafted standards for providing culturally and linguistically appropriate health care. This initiative is intended to provide guidance to health care providers and health care facilities that seek to make their services more culturally appropriate. Recommendations include providing interpreters when the patient does not speak English, conducting periodic needs assessments in order to gauge the health requirements of the patient population, and so forth.

It should also be noted that there is a growing awareness by the general public, but more specifically by scholars, of the need to examine how illness is affected cross-culturally by religious practices, beliefs, and behaviors. Some of this attention is fueled by those who feel that allopathic medicine has failed to treat many chronic diseases successfully, and that there is a need to pay more attention to alternative ways in which individuals can cope with some of these incurable conditions. This coping includes spiritually attuned responses and practices, especially for those such as American Indians and Alaska Natives whose cultures and religions offer complementary ways for dealing with suffering and poor health.

Spirituality has been and continues to be the subject of a number of research endeavors, especially with the chronically ill, although few studies have included research with American Indians and Alaska Natives. From these studies, however, spirituality has been identified as a key factor in providing meaning, quality of life, hope, and adjustment for those suffering from fatal or serious diseases such as AIDS, cancer, and heart failure. Many patients, regardless of their cultural group, indicate that their spiritual beliefs, along with the support of family and friends provide them with hope and optimism in the face of a fatal disease or chronic health problem. Researchers who have examined the role of spirituality for patients with serious health conditions found that those who attest to strong religious or spiritual beliefs are more hopeful, despite their poor prognoses. These individuals were also more likely to remain involved with life, family, and friends, and to take an active role in their own health care. One can say that most of these research findings confirm what has always been an essential part of most Native peoples' beliefs about health and spirituality.

Jennie R. Joe

See also Healing Traditions, California; Herbalism; Indian Shaker Church; Native

American Church, Peyote Movement; Reservations, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Sacred Pipe; Termination and Relocation

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Herbalism

Herbalism in Native America—that is, the use of plants for medicine and as part of a traditional diet—is still widely practiced throughout North America. Herbalists

will be the first to tell you that the plants used as medicine today—as well as traditional theories regarding health, disease, physiology, and medicine—have followed an old tradition of adapting with the times. The *materia medica* (an entire body of knowledge regarding plants used for medicine) of each indigenous nation is not, however, often willingly shared with outsiders. Pharmaceutical corporations, in fact, have patented "discoveries" that were actually given to researchers by indigenous doctors. They have then imposed royalties on the use of those medicines and generally work to isolate single chemical compounds in the search for medicinal "magic bullets"—all practices that greatly hinder traditional doctors' practice of healing within ancient, dynamic systems of using whole plants to heal whole people. Notable exceptions are researchers who have taken careful instruction from traditional doctors in their efforts to understand and work within each nation's system of ancient healing. However, because of the exploitative pressure applied by the majority of pharmaceutical researchers, I will not be discussing details of my nation's materia medica, but rather focusing on the principles of balance and reciprocity with the plant world that I have learned as a traditional herbalist in my homeland.

Contrary to popular belief, native medical traditions have not "resurfaced"; rather, they have always been in place, changing and adapting with the ecosystems, as well as contributing to and borrowing from the medical traditions of other nations. Valuable European medicinal plants, such as milk thistle, basil, and rosemary, have been ably incorporated into the sophisticated medical practice of traditional Native doctors.

However, no matter which plants are used, or which changes in each tribe's herbal practice are implemented over time, certain central principles are not deviated from, unless an individual decides to pay no heed to the central importance of maintaining the plant stands for future generations. Many herbalists not only maintain the physical health of the plant stands but also assert that the principles behind the ancient plant-gathering protocols are indeed part of the medicine. "The healing begins before the plants are even gathered. The herbalist fasts, prays, and approaches the plant people with the highest respect and prayer," says Judy Blue Horse Skelton, a Nez Perce/Chickasaw traditional herbalist who currently works in conjunction with the National College of Naturopathic Medicine in Portland, Oregon. Herbalists like Blue Horse Skelton daily perform an age-old fusion of past and present traditions in practicing and teaching about how to use and gather wild plants for medicine. Like many herbalists around North America, her gathering spots are carefully guarded against the depredations of commercial plant gatherers, development, and industrial pollution. She is quick to remind people that the same principles that guided her ancestors are also highly relevant today: if people wish to benefit from

American Indian medicinal and ceremonial plants of the high-altitude desert and canyons of the western United States, 1994. (Arne Hodalic/Corbis)

the healing power of plants, the stands must be kept healthy, and the gatherers must heed the subtle checks and balances of each unique bioregion. This means that people must put themselves in balance with the land, and that the land must be healthy.

Central to this process are principles of reciprocity between people and plants. Just as well-mannered people continually ask permission and wait to be invited into healthy interaction with one another, the specialized herbalists from each nation have learned that permission must be granted from the plants as well. Beyond the precise training needed in order to identify each plant species correctly—some of them are quite toxic—the herbalist must take into account an almost infinite number of factors regarding the current health of each place. He or she must look at current weather conditions, animal habitat, slope, exposure, soil texture, and many more subtle factors regarding the plants that seem to be offering themselves. Herbalists must then know the lore of gathering techniques: how to give thanks, when to prune, how to angle each cut, when and where to gather root medicines, how to dig with minimal impact, at what time of day to gather, how to scatter or plant seed, and how to constantly monitor one's activities in the

stand. In order to perform this last step effectively, it is necessary for the gatherer to be rooted to the place. It is difficult, if not impossible, to monitor the effect of one's gathering techniques over time if one does not live close to where one gathers. Many non-Native wildcrafters, as medicinal plant gatherers are commonly called, also recognize the importance of a community's rootedness to particular places. Native American herbalists feel and practice this connectedness to ancestral places with deep spiritual and intellectual rigor. Relocating to other lands is to abandon the places that have sustained us—and that we have knowledgeably helped sustain—for countless generations.

Implicit in the word "reciprocity" is that the benefits of a relationship are felt by two or more beings. In the case of traditional plant medicine, the "people" in this relationship are humans, plants, animals, soil, rocks, and every element that contributes in any way to the health of the whole. Western herbalists and environmentalists often use the word "steward" when referring to the care and attention paid by humans, and they often couch that term in biblical references that call people to act as the caregivers of the land. Many indigenous herbalists regard this view as a human-centric elevation of human beings, pointing out that humans ultimately have very little actual, sustained control over anything in the cosmos. Instead, many Native American herbalists assert that humans fall at the bottom of the evolutionary heap; animals and plants are far more knowledgeable about existing on this fragile planet over time and space than we are. When we remember our proper manners, many indigenous herbalists tell us, we are as useful to the land as any other species of animal: the plants use us as pollinators, seed distributors, soil aerators, and also for healthy thinning of the stands through pruning, coppicing, and burning.

In order to cultivate a worldview that sees humans as merely one thread in the overall balance of health, it is helpful to learn from Native American herbalists about concepts of humility in the face of the constant changes in the natural world. In many Native North American languages, concepts for power and healing reflect a continual attunement with the role of humans as humble recipients of the gifts of the world—gifts that we must constantly return in order to remain healthy. That ideal is not always attained, and grievous mistakes have been made by indigenous peoples in the past, but always the lesson of knowledgeable humility and balance is held out to us, herbalists assert, from the plant world. In the language of my home community in Chumash country, the word for power is *'at?sw?n.* This word is not a noun in the European sense; it is a verb with multiple meanings, all of which are constantly kept in mind by the traditional herbalist as he or she works with potentially toxic plant medicines. *'At?sw?n* means "to heal," "to dream," and "to poison." How power is wielded depends entirely on the

knowledge, humility, wisdom, and intent of the wielder. Every herbalist knows that dosage is the difference between a plant that cures, a plant that causes dreamlike hallucinations and contact with the spirit world, and a plant that kills.

Many researchers assume that indigenous knowledge of proper dosage has been a matter of simple trial and error over thousands of years. Indigenous healers assert that this is not the full story, however. According to most traditional herbalists the world over, there is a subtle communication between the plants and the herbalists, something that is not, and can not, be experienced by every person; it is comparable to the subtle communication felt between a fine arts carver and his or her material. The material is not simply carved. Along with the carver's dreams and visions, the material dictates what will be carved. Traditional herbalists "feel the pulse" of their material in much the same way. "Trial and error" comes from a Western world of repeatable experiments based on ideas of power and control couched in Judeo-Christian principles of dominance. Power, to a traditional Native American herbalist, lies within all of life, and comes through beings to be wielded for the healing of all life, the dreaming of all creation, or the poisoning of the world.

The incredible diversity of plant species in nearly every biosphere in North America has inspired a knowledgeable humility among Native American herbalists for thousands of years. More than three thousand vascular native plant species can be found in California alone, virtually all of which are useful to humans and animals in some way. Hundreds of plant species are used specifically for medicine—many more if one includes traditional foods consumed as part of a healthy diet. Diet, in fact, is where most herbalists begin the treatment of human illness. The many factors of a person's life are taken into consideration; herbalists then work to help people understand how many of their imbalances can be gently pulled into place by eating and drinking moderate amounts of healthful, traditional food plants. Chia seeds (*Salvia columbariae*) are eaten by Southern Californian tribes to bring blood sugar levels into balance, as well as to benefit from the heart-helping effects of this food's rich Omega–3 fatty acids. The acorn, easily the most important food staple in California, is a low-sugar protein and carbohydrate-rich nut that is gathered by the ton in the fall by many Native families today. California Indians know that full baskets of carefully stored acorns mean food and good health for the coming year. In California, as well as in other places where oaks are revered, the acorn is a powerful symbol of healing, strength, and potential. In the past, the Chumash even used the mold that grows on acorn mush as an antibiotic, much as penicillin mold is used in Western medicine. Delicious greens, shoots, and edible bulbs are abundant in the spring, and they make a mineral-rich addition to an ill

person's daily healing regimen. The diversity of plants in North America is today sadly diminishing because of largely unchecked development and pollution. It is sobering to note the decrease in overall health in North America as the dominant culture's corporations destroy the places where traditional health has been gathered for millennia.

Traveling to the places where those foods grow, experiencing the beauty and abundance of the land, and connecting with places where our ancestors gathered foods and medicines for their own health and healing are all-powerful medicines in their own right. As a traditional herbalist, I would even go so far as to say that without those embodied experiences of interaction with the land and the plants, medicine is only a Band-Aid, merely covering the symptoms of illness without addressing the source.

There are as many different ways of practicing traditional Native North American herbalism as there are Native North American nations. In my personal encounters with herbalists from many different nations, I have learned that most people have plants and practices unique to their area, and that they are not usually shared with outsiders. I am not at liberty to discuss those practices, but I can share that among all the peoples with whom I have had the profound privilege to meet and learn from, as well as to teach humbly about my own practice, all have shared central concerns regarding the lessons of balance and reciprocity learned from the powerful plants of our respective homelands. It is the sincere hope of many indigenous herbalists, including myself, that the people of mainstream America, who have the extreme privilege of residing in our beautiful homelands, will learn those lessons—for their own health, and for the health of our shared world.

Julianne Cordero-Lamb

See also Datura; Healing Traditions, California; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Native American Church, Peyote Movement; Power, Barbareño Chumash; Power, Northwest Coast; Power Places, Great Basin; Power, Plains; Sacred Pipe; Spirits and Spirit Helpers, Plateau; Tobacco, Sacred Use of

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Hopi Prophecy

A Prophecy in Stone

The Hopi People and their respective culture are considered the longest-known indigenous Pueblo society in North America, and they are still living on their original homeland in northern Arizona. These Mesa people trace their ancestry to the ancient Anasazi, whose Pueblo remains are still evident as "ruins" built into the sides of canyon walls throughout the Southwestern states (that is, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah). An ancient rock or boulder still sits on the Hopi land, land that the Hopi perceive as sacred. On it they have inscribed a petroglyph, a drawing in the stone, an inscription that has undergone numerous interpretations as to its cryptic meaning, and it has been called the Hopi Prophecy.

The Hopi Prophecy is an important part of the traditional Hopi's geomythology that combines geography with their respective religio-cultural beliefs. There are both Native and non-Native scholars on this enigmatic subject. What follows is what the Hopi and others have had to say about this particular Prophecy in Stone, which is a part of their creation story and cosmology regarding their origins and destiny here on Earth. In this prophetic legacy, Nature is a spiritual teacher to the Hopi and is premised on the Female Principle. The writer of this essay has seen the Prophecy Stone firsthand, while on a visit to the Hopi Mesas in the early 1980s to meet with Traditionalists. I was told by those kiva spiritual leaders, most notably the now deceased David Monongye, that this relic from their past is an important part of the traditional Hopi people's religio-cultural belief system, one with spiritual and philosophical meaning that advocates an indigenous ecological way of life. The Prophecy Stone is also the esoteric subject of anthropological and archaeological debate among academics and other non-Hopi/non-Natives.

The Hopi Traditionalists on the Hopi Prophecy

On December 10, 1992, Thomas Banyacya, of the Wolf, Fox, and Coyote Clans among the Hopi, gave a message on Stone Tablet #4, The Hopi Message to the United Nations. He was the last of the speakers:

> In 1948, all traditional Hopi spiritual leaders met and spoke of things . . . of great importance to all people. They selected four interpreters to carry their message of which I am the only one still living today. At the time I was given a sacred prayer feather by the spiritual leaders. I made a commitment to carry the Hopi message of peace and deliver warnings from prophecies known since the time the previous world was destroyed by flood and our ancestors came to this land.

He further stated:

> This commitment was fulfilled when I delivered a letter and the sacred prayer feather I had been given to John Washburn in the Secretary General's office in October, 1991. I am bringing part of the Hopi message to you here today. (Banyacya 1992)

His presentation was preceded by shouts from Oren Lyons, the first speaker as the Haudenasaunee Faithkeeper of the Six Nations, also called the Iroquois Confederacy. It was explained that the shouts were a spiritual announcement to the Great Spirit of the people assembled and of the intention to give a message of spiritual significance to the world.

Banyacya had only ten minutes to speak, but he gave a powerful presentation of his interpretation of the Hopi warning. The Hopi, Banyacya said, had predicted World War I, World War II, and the development and destructive potential of the atomic bomb. Since World War II humanity had lived in fear of the destruction that would result from a third world war. Banyacya urged that a third world war could be avoided and that the nations of the world were at a vital crossroads:

> This is now a time to weigh the choices for our future. . . . If you, the nations of the Earth, create another great war, the Hopi believe we humans will burn ourselves to death with ashes. That [is] why the spiritual Elders stress strongly that the United Nations fully open the door for Native spiritual leaders.

Banyacya spoke of the alienation from the natural world experienced by people from nations around the world. This alienation has led to a life out of balance with nature and the spirit, which the Hopi call *Koyaanisqatsi,* or "crazy life." This life out of balance, Banyacya said, was evidenced by the destruction of war and by the destruction of the lives, homelands, and sacred sites of native peoples around the world. But the Hopi and other native peoples had not separated themselves from the natural world and therefore could provide a solution to the life out of balance experienced by the nations of the world.

The Hopi Prophecy, Banyacya said, clearly defined the two paths open to hu-

mankind. The path of technology separated from natural and spiritual law or the path in harmony with nature:

> If we return to spiritual harmony and live from our hearts, we can experience a paradise in this world. If we continue only on this upper path, we will come to destruction. . . . It's up to all of us, as children of Mother Earth, to clean up this mess before it's too late. . . . If any of you [UN] leaders want to learn more about the spiritual vision and power of the Elders, I invite you to come to Hopiland and sit down with our real spiritual leaders in their sacred kivas where they will reveal the ancient secrets of survival and balance. (ibid., 10–11)

Rex Wyler, a non-Native scholar, offers a detailed description and interpretation of the Hopi Prophecy in his book *Blood of the Land* (1973). Wyler describes the two paths open to humans as "the path of those who forgot the Creator's instructions, those who relied on inventions and cleverness rather than spiritual faith" (Wyler 1973) and the path of the Hopi, which is a path of peace. The path of those who do not follow the Creator's instructions leads to destruction. "The Hopi warn that now the earth is near disaster if the people of the world do not turn away from greediness and war, toward a spiritual, peaceful life" (Wyler 1973).

In his seminal *Book of the Hopi* (1963), Frank Waters, a notable Native Cheyenne scholar on the Hopi people and their respective indigenous culture, describes the Hopi as living a life of simplicity and connection to the natural world. Hopi ceremonies maintained the balance of the forces of nature (sun, wind, rain) and reaffirmed Hopi respect for all life and Hopi trust in the Great Spirit.

Waters expounds on the Hopi prophecies with an incendiary view of future catastrophe, especially considering world crises and conflicts in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Waters interprets the Hopi Prophecy as predicting that the third world war would be started by China, Palestine, India, and Africa. According to Waters, the "gourds of ashes," the boiling rivers that burn the earth so that grass will not grow, and the disease that medicine cannot cure inflicting the United States "can only mean nuclear or atomic bombs; no other weapon causes such effects" (Waters 1963).

The Hopi believe that only they and those who follow Hopi ways will be spared this destruction because they are "at peace in their hearts already" and are "in the Great Shelter of Life" (ibid.). Those who are evil will not survive.

The Hopi predict what Waters interprets as a shift in Earth's poles: "Turtle Island could turn over two or three times and the ocean could join hands and meet the sky" (ibid.).

Waters's book also describes the Hopi beliefs in the cycles of life, and what they call the "Fourth World" that they are living in, to be followed by the "Fifth World," in which the land is "criss-crossed by a giant spider's web," unlike those worlds before and still to come. The Cherokee of Oklahoma also have

this prophecy from their elders: "Someday the world will be covered by a giant spider web (circa 1950)" (Waters 1992). The Hopi and other Native peoples believe that there are signs, or portents, to warn us of this mass destruction; they include the guns and later trains, "snakes of iron," first brought to the "new world" by the Europeans. Waters expounds on Hopi philosophical and spiritual traditions, which manifest in Kachinas, gods personified by Hopi members who take on the spirit of these mythical gods in their respective religio-cultural beliefs. These archetypal entities teach them a social and moral way of life through their sacred ceremonies and rituals. He also writes about UFO sightings by the Hopi, and how they interpret this phenomenon in the context of the Prophecy petroglyph, which signifies "the coming Day of Purification when the true Hopi will fly to other planets in 'ships without wings'" (ibid.).

The Prophecy also warned that there will be three divisions among the Hopi. The first division was in 1906 between the Traditionalists and the Modernists. One of the more critical issues between these two groups, which sparked this conflict, was the question of whether or not to use electricity in the ancient Pueblo. The Modernists were forced to leave Oraibi (as Old Oraibi) and move to Hotevilla (as the New Oraibi with electricity). The second division took place in the wake of the spectacular appearance of UFOs in August 1970.

On the origins of the Hopi people, it is interesting to note that their creation stories also tell of a time when their prehuman ancestors came out from the center of the Earth on the Hopi mesas, as Ant People (Duchene 1981); this could also be a possible connection to an intriguing understanding of their process of human evolution from their indigenous homeland.

The Hopi Message to the World

One significant theme of the Hopi Prophecy stands out. That is that the Prophecy Stone, as part of a longer geomythical legacy, is perceived as a warning of impending planetary upheaval, the outgrowth of mankind's intolerance and inhumanity in contemporary and postmodern times. There is also the portent of environmental degradation, in which the Earth will no longer be a natural habitat for human survival as a result of this global holocaust. In the aftermath, only the traditional Hopi will survive, as well as those non-Hopi who choose to live a more ecological way of life in indigenous reciprocity with Nature and the Earth. This is seen in the context of an imbalance between the Female Principle (manifested in the Earth and Nature) and the prevailing masculine mindset in a patriarchal and neocolonialist society (Jaimes-Guerrero 1999).

No one living today knows the dating of the Hopi Prophecy Stone. Yet, in light of what is going on in the world, as well as what has already taken place, a case can be made to heed the Hopi Prophecy as an ecological as well as sociopolitical warning, and for the sake of the future of

our younger generations worldwide—In Spirit!

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M. A. Jaimes-Guerrero

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Pueblo; Kiva and Medicine Societies; Missionization, Southwest; Oral Traditions, Pueblo; Petrographs and Petroglyphs; Retraditionalism and Identity Movements; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Southwest

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Hunting, Religious Restrictions and Implications

"The Majority of tribal religions look at religion as a healing and balancing process. Healings are a cooperative enterprise between people, animals, and spirits or powers" (Deloria 1999, 154). These cooperative, or mutualistic, relationships between humans and animals underlie the religious and spiritual aspects of hunting for Native American people. One major component of these relationships is respect, which is a key operating principle in religious ideology (Armitage 1992). "Respect involves maintaining good relationships with the spirit world. . . . Hunters obtain cooperation of the animals they kill by showing respect to their bones and other remains" (McGrath 2002). It is important to understand how relationships with nonhumans became such an integral component of Native American religious thinking, and how the rituals and traditions that developed to symbolize those relationships continue to function in the religious practices of contemporary Native American peoples.

As Native cultures evolved in North America, people learned to obtain food and shelter from the land. To survive and

prosper, our ancestors had to become effective at hunting; our survival both as individuals and as cultures depended on our ability to take the lives of other beings. To be an effective hunter required observation of fellow, nonhuman, beings. Each species had at least one ability or characteristic that set it apart from other species and enhanced its chances of survival (Marshall 1995). Humans lacked horns, teeth, claws, and the speed and strength of many other species. Instead, humans had understanding and language, which allowed them to pass knowledge directly from one generation to the next. "American Indians view reality from the perspective of the one species that has the capability to reflect on the meaning of things" (Deloria 1999, 130). Our ancestors survived and prospered by paying careful attention, learning about the strengths and weaknesses of the other organisms, and developing rituals and traditions related to this knowledge that symbolized the importance of the taking of nonhuman lives. This enabled them to take nonhumans as food and avoid being taken by them as food (Martin 1999; Pierotti and Wildcat 2000).

As knowledge acquired through observation was passed on, and repeated constantly so that the knowledge would be passed on intact, several types of stories emerged that dealt with hunting and the gift of animals. Some stories dealt with animal masters or mistresses—for example, White Buffalo Calf Woman. Many dealt with kinship between humans and animals. Others focused on the activity of culture heroes, and in some cases the gift of animals came from an anonymous or poor individual (Harrod 2000). The boundaries between categories of stories were permeable, and different types might be linked in the same narrative.

The notion of kinship created a spiritual conundrum for peoples who depended on hunting as a way of life. The essence of Native attitudes toward other life forms is "kinship relations in which no element of life can go unattached from human society"; it manifested itself in "kinship cycles of responsibility that exist between our species and other species" (Deloria 1999, 131). If nonhumans were understood to have "characteristics similar or equivalent to those of humans, how were humans to understand what it meant to kill animals and consume their flesh?" (Harrod 2000, 46).

This dilemma is one of the defining elements of Native American religious and spiritual thought. Many rituals and traditions stem from practices developed to provide an ethically satisfying resolution to the question of how to take other lives in an ethical manner. It is not widely recognized, but many contemporary religious practices of Indian people stem from rituals originally developed for hunting—for example, the pipe and the sweatlodge, which have been transformed into practices that address the spiritual needs of contemporary Indians (ibid.).

Native peoples were fully aware that they were not the only organisms who hunted as a way of life. They observed that other organisms killed and ate the plant eaters. Wolf, cougar, bear, badger, and eagle were hunters from whom much could be learned, and those animals took on sacred significance; they represent spirits of five of the six sacred regions (directions) in Zuni religious thought (Cushing 1988). Predators were recognized for their power, and humans recognized a kinship with them because humans also took animal lives for food. "From the dawn of our spiritual and psychological being our closest relative in the wild has been Makuyi," or wolf (Jack Gladstone, Blackfeet, quoted in McIntyre 1995). In many tribes, clan systems were based primarily or exclusively on predatory species. For example, Northwest coastal clans are eagle, bear, wolf, orca (killer whale), and raven, which represent the major nonhuman predators found in that ecosystem.

One principle shared by most Native American religious or spiritual traditions, which emerged from the reliance on hunting as a way of life, was that all things are connected (Pierotti and Wildcat 2000, 2001). This is a spiritual acknowledgement of the realization that no single organism can exist without the connections it shares with many other organisms. Taking the lives of other organisms, and consuming their tissues in order to sustain one's own body, establishes connectedness. By eating parts of other organisms, you demonstrate that they are made of the same materials of which you are made (ibid.). A similar principle exists in Christianity's communion rituals, which establishes links between Christ and contemporary humans.

Recognizing connectedness did not, however, mean that animals or plants should not be taken or used for food or clothing. Instead, each taking was accompanied by a recognition of the fact that the taking represents loss of life to a fellow being whose life had meaning on its own terms (Taylor 1992). This recognition led to the following ethical and spiritual conclusions based on the concept of respect: (1) the lives of other organisms should not be taken frivolously; and (2) other life forms exist on their own terms and were not put here only for human use (Pierotti and Wildcat 2000, 2001). Native people recognize that the lives of animals and plants exist on their own terms and have value independent of any that we human beings might place on them (Taylor 1992). Nevertheless, being taken as food is a common fate of species within their natural environment, such as deer, buffalo, salmon, and so forth.

Eating the flesh of these animals establishes the connectedness that is such a profound aspect of spirituality because lives of human hunters and their families depended upon taking the life of the animal. By giving up its life, however, the animal made a profound sacrifice that required thanks and respect on the part of the hunter. "Every species finds meaning in this larger scheme of things and that is

why other species are willing to feed and clothe (humans)" (Deloria 1999, 149). Hunting required practical skill, but it also involved a highly charged spiritual exchange (Martin 2000). A hunter when taking the life of the other could employ two major strategies. In many tribes the hunter might apologize to the victim and give thanks to the victim and its guardian spirit(s). When humans eat or otherwise use nonhumans whose lives they have taken, they are empowered by that relationship, which leads to mutual respect (Anderson 1996).

Many nonhumans had powers far beyond the capabilities of ordinary humans and were able to move through worlds impassable to humans, such as birds flying through air, or whales, beavers, and fish moving through water. Animals were considered "persons" and assumed to have cognitive abilities; thus they were assumed to recognize the danger when they were being hunted by humans (Pierotti and Wildcat 2000). One important restriction was that when a person was planning to hunt a particular species, or an individual of that species, the hunter not use the name of that species in any discussion of plans for the hunt. It was assumed that nonhumans knew when they were being discussed, and that this might cause them to become impossible to find (Martin 1978, 1999; Brody 1982). If the animal allowed itself to be killed, it was assumed to involve some element of choice on the animal's part (Anderson 1996)—hence the concept of the prey "giving itself to you" (Pierotti and Wildcat 2000). This presumed gift required gratitude (thanks) on the part of the human who took the life of the nonhuman.

As a result, ecological knowledge and religion became inseparable to Indian people. "The natural and supernatural worlds are inseparable" (Nelson 1983, 227). The religion of Native Americans served to code ecological knowledge, while providing direct emotional involvement with the nonhuman world (Deloria 1999)—for example, Northwest coast Indians treated nonhuman beings with both a sense of direct personal empowerment and a healthy respect (Anderson 1996). To these peoples, "Fish, bears, wolves, and eagles were part of the kinship system, part of the community, part of the family structure. Modern urbanite ecologists see these as 'Other' and romanticize them, but for a Northwest Coast Indian, an alien human was more 'Other' than a local octopus or wolf" (ibid. 66).

Native Americans understood themselves as predators, part of the world of the prey, connected to the prey in a profound experiential sense (Tanner 1979; Brightman 1993; Marshall-Thomas 1994; Marshall 1995; Pierotti and Wildcat 2000, 2001), which means recognizing that they must take lives in order to live themselves. They also recognized that predation is not a hostile act, and that nonhuman predators may feel strongly connected to the prey when they have taken its life. Wolves act with joy when they kill a rabbit and carry the rabbit in

the same way they would a wolf pup (Pierotti, unpublished observations), and big cats may lick and groom deer or antelope after killing them (Marshall-Thomas 1994).

Hunters sought to avoid alienating the spirits of nonhumans because an alienated spirit could carry news of the insult to its kind. Then that species might either cease to allow the hunter and his people to take them, or extract some form of revenge by sending sickness or disaster upon the hunter and his family (Martin 2000). It has also been argued that apparent breakdowns in this relationship led to extreme reactions by humans. When diseases introduced by Europeans caused the deaths of large percentages of some tribal groups, survivors may have turned on the animals (especially beaver), upon the assumption that those animals were striking at humans for no apparent cause. When respectful treatment of animals did not bring an end to the epidemics, tribes may have regarded the traditional compact between human and nonhuman as having been broken. Thus beaver were trapped without concern for the future of the resource (Martin 1978).

The link between disease and the taking of nonhuman lives was powerful. The Cherokee (Tsalagi) associated many diseases with excessive hunting, especially of deer (Awiakta 1993; Martin 2000). Maladies were named "deer eyes," "deer tongue," or "deer chief disease." It is said that when a deer is killed Awi Usdi, the chief of the deer, comes to check the spot of the killing and asks, "'Has the hunter prayed words of pardon for the life you gave for his own?' If the answer is no, then Awi Usdi goes—invisible, fleet as the wind—and tracks the blood to the hunter's home, where he swiftly pains and cripples his bones so he can never hunt again" (Awiakta 1993, 109). "No hunter who has regard for his health ever fails to ask pardon of the deer . . . for taking its life" (Martin 2000, 36).

Tribes that continue to depend on hunting as a substantial part of their livelihood still use rituals and ceremonies to maintain a relationship with, and avoid offending, the nonhuman. Such religious traditions remain closely tied to hunting activities. These cultures provide insight into how many Native American tribal cultures may have functioned prior to (1) being devastated by disease, (2) being attacked by European invaders, (3) having their religious and spiritual practices and knowledge denigrated, and (4) being forced into reservations or terminated.

The best-studied contemporary hunting cultures are in Canada and Alaska, where human population densities are lower, nonhuman populations are much larger, and ecological communities are more intact. Examples are various bands of Algonkian or Cree, including the Innu (Montagnais-Naskapi) of Quebec and Labrador (Speck 1935; Martin 1978; Tanner 1979; Armitage 1992), the Rock Cree of northern Manitoba (Brightman 1993), and groups of Athapaskans, such as the Koyukon of Alaska (Nelson 1983) and the

Beaver of northern British Columbia (Brody 1982).

Cree traditional hunting practices suggest that nonhumans are considered to live in social groups similar to those of human hunters. To the Innu, "the animals of the forest, the tundra, and the waters . . . exist in a special relation. They have become objects of engrossing religious activity, for to them hunting is a holy occupation" (Speck 1935; Martin 1978). Animals pursue an existence corresponding to that of humans in terms of emotions and purpose. The difference between human and nonhuman exists primarily in outward form, which means that their equality is spiritual and eclipses the physical differences between them which required that animals be treated with the same respect as humans (Speck 1935; Martin 1978; Tanner 1979).

Three major concepts are employed by Cree hunters to model their relationships with nonhumans, based on various categories of social relationship: (1) male-female, (2) dominance-subordination, and (3) equivalence (Tanner 1979). In the first category, the nonhuman is considered to have a close personal relationship to the hunter, similar to that of a female relative or lover. Hunting songs or dreams represent a loving relationship between hunter and prey. For caribou the relationship is analogous to love between man and wife, or man and daughter, whereas for bear the relationship is analogous to a mother or grandmother. Similar relationships can be seen in Plains tribes where animal wives and husbands were regularly associated with the "gift" of animals that allowed themselves to be taken for food. The Pawnee tell stories of men who marry deer and buffalo. The Mandan, Assiniboine, and Lakota all have traditions of young men marrying buffalo wives who then allow the men and their villages to hunt their buffalo relatives (Harrod 2000).

In such stories the humans were having difficulty feeding themselves prior to these interspecies marriages, and the marriage assures the humans of a reliable source of food as long as they maintain the relationship in a proper manner. In some cases the husband cheats on his animal wife, or some other insult is directed at the nonhuman, at which point the nonhuman leaves the village and food once more becomes difficult for humans to obtain (ibid.). Such stories illustrate the necessity of maintaining a proper social relationship and appropriate respect toward one's prey as a way of living a proper life.

For Innu, the dominance-subordination relationship is recognized when the hunter employs ceremonies and rituals in an effort to compel the nonhuman to approach the hunter, or allow itself to be killed. This is necessary because when the hunter first decides that a hunt is necessary the animal is actually in the superior position; it can only acquiesce to be killed through its own agreement, or because the spiritual power of the hunter overwhelms the will of the nonhuman. The "shaking tent" (*kusaapi-*

cikan) and sweatlodge or steam tent (*muutuuciiswaap*) are examples of such ceremonies originally developed for hunting that have taken on other meanings in contemporary Innu religious practice (Tanner 1979; McGrath 2002). In such relationships the hunter may be able to force prey to allow itself to be killed through spiritual power even when the nonhuman does not wish to die.

Another context in which a dominant-subordinate relationship is employed is when an animal species is assumed to have an entity (Animal Master, Master of the Game, Keeper of the Game) that has control over the members of its species, although this concept is not as widely applied by Innu as by other Algonkians—for example, Ojibwe and Chippewa (Anishnabeg) (Tanner 1979; Brightman 1993). This idea of Keepers of the Game is a powerful tradition for many peoples, such as the Awi Usdi, whereby such entities must be assuaged and treated properly before they allow their kind to be hunted and taken by humans. Relationships between animal populations and human hunters depend upon carefully maintained relationships between humans and these "masters" or "keepers." If humans are greedy and hunt to excess, or otherwise insult the species, the "keepers" will withdraw their species from accessibility to humans, or even cause diseases in humans (Martin 1978; Tanner 1979; Martin 2000).

If, however, proper respect is shown, the prey species will be renewed so that the food obtained from hunting will continue to be available. Renewal of the prey species is of paramount importance to hunting peoples, and rituals developed to ensure renewal of animal populations are among the most important of religious ceremonies. Sun dances and the ritual structures associated with such ceremonies among Plains tribes began as renewal ceremonies for the buffalo on which those cultures depended (Harrod 2000), before taking on major significance as healing ceremonies for Native American people in the modern world; this illustrates the point about healings being "a cooperative enterprise between people, animals, and spirits or powers" (Deloria 1999, 154).

Equivalence models used in religious symbolism exist when the relationship between the hunter and the animals he kills is described in terms of "friendship" (Tanner 1979). Many cultures have stories and traditions that deal with such relationships, including stories of humans being taken in and cared for by nonhuman species. An Innu story tells of a boy kept and raised by a bear. The boy's father kills the bear after an extended exchange of spiritual power, and the dying bear gives the boy a gift that will allow him to find bears whenever he feels it is necessary; the boy grows to be a successful hunter of bears (ibid., 148–150). Similar stories are told by Inupiaq and Yup'iq of young men who lived with bowhead whales or bearded seals and were taught the proper way to treat such species in order to hunt them successfully (Martin 1999). These stories emphasize that only

individuals who show proper respect, both for the hunted animals and for their remains after they have been taken, will be successful in hunting. Such traditions may also be related to "vision quests" undertaken by young men of many tribes during which a special relationship may be established with a particular species that "gives medicine" to the individual on the quest, determining his future.

These categories are not mutually exclusive, as the relationship between the hunter and his prey may change over the course of the interaction; for example, the boy raised by a bear story contains elements of both dominance-subordinance (father/bear) and friendship (boy/bear). In Innu tradition the nonhuman goes from a position superior to the hunter prior to the hunt, to a position of equality during the hunt, to the property of women after it has been killed (Tanner 1979).

The role of women is also important during the final stages of hunting rituals. Although women rarely participate in the act of killing, they are the primary individuals involved in preparation of food and skins (ibid.; Harrod 2000; Martin 1999). Women are usually prevented from handling the weapons used by men in hunting, particularly when menstruating. Although this has often been interpreted as women being "unclean" at this time, it is also possible that it is because women and their menses were associated with the production of life, whereas hunting instruments are associated with the ending of life (Martin 1999). For Cherokee the time of menses was considered dangerous because at that time women had their greatest powers. One example of such power is revealed in the story of the village that tried to avoid having their children eaten and their village destroyed by "Stone Clad," by placing seven virgins who were experiencing their cycles along the path into the village. By the time the monster reached the last woman he had no power left and fell into a pile of pebbles. "So they say!" As the Cherokee traditionally end their stories (A. Calhoon, personal communication).

When the hunter is deciding what and where to hunt, he must participate in rituals and ceremonies during which he must appeal to his animal "friend," who has far more knowledge and influence at this stage than does the hunter. "Each animal knows way more than you do. We always heard that from old people when they told us not to bother anything unless we really needed it" (Nelson 1983, 225), which is why the hunter must prepare himself spiritually through sweats and dreams (Brody 1986). During the taking of the nonhuman life, an exchange occurs between human and nonhuman "persons," who interact at an equivalent level.

After the kill, the hunter must act in a properly humble and respectful manner, giving thanks and apologies as needed. Afterward the hunter and his family must continue to act in a respectful manner in the dispersal, preparation, and consumption of the food. The unborn fetuses of female animals also must

be treated with respect (ibid.). Cree hunters and their families must treat the edible parts of the prey with care and make sure that they are shared with other members of their community in a true "communion"—which is literal, unlike the symbolic communion of Christianity. Inedible parts also must be treated carefully, and placed in locations that indicate their significance. Antlers and skulls are decorated and placed in prominent locations. Bones of land animals and birds are placed on elevated platforms, and those of water animals are returned to water. Bones are not given to dogs, nor are they thrown away, for that would be disrespectful (Tanner 1979). The tradition of elevating and decorating buffalo skulls during Sun Dances almost certainly has a similar function—that is, pleasing the game master and making a special ceremony honoring the sacrifice of the animal's life, thus serving to heal the human community at the same time.

The connectedness that derives from these reciprocal relationships between human and nonhuman recognized by Native people leads them to take stands that generate conflicts with the dominant Euro-American culture on key issues dealing with conservation of wildlife and fisheries. Native people find that many fish and game regulations make little sense in terms of the way they live their lives—for example, Anishnabe walleye spearfishing vs. "sport-fishing" in Wisconsin. Fishing regulations are designed to regulate greed on the part of fishermen. The respect that tribal people hold for the fish as relatives means that they would not overexploit the resource, because that would violate their relationship with the fish.

Similarly, catch and release fishing, considered a major tool for conservation by non-Native sport fishermen, may be regarded by Indians as "playing with the fish"—showing no respect for the fish and the importance of its life. If a fish is caught, that fish should be eaten; otherwise, any suffering experienced by the fish during its capture is for no purpose. The same principle is also applied to animals that are the subjects of mark-recapture studies, whereby scientists trap animals, mark or tag them, and then release them so that further studies can be carried out (Nelson 1983; Brightman 1993).

Perhaps the best way to think of the spiritual and religious basis of Native American hunting is that Native Americans *lived their lives as though the lives of other organisms mattered.* They experienced other creatures in their roles as parents, as offspring, and ultimately as persons within a shared community, and realized that their own lives were intimately intertwined with those of these other organisms. Thus, human beings are not the measure of all things, but exist as but one small part of a very complex ecosystem. That idea is in contrast to the Western view, which places human beings above the rest of nature.

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Raymond Pierotti

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Anishnabe; Ceremony and Ritual, Arapaho; Dreamers and Prophets; Dreams and Visions; Ecology and Environmentalism; Oral Traditions, Western Plains; Religious Leadership, Plains; Sacred Pipe; Sundance, Plains; Sweatlodge; Vision Quest Rites

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I

Identity

The cultivation, creation, and reaffirmation of identity is a central part of any religious tradition, wherever it may be found, and issues of identity and identification play an enormous role within American Indian religious, cultural, and spiritual life. Identity is a complex issue for many Native people, created through personal experience, family stories and oral traditions, kinship, community involvement, and federal recognition. The fact that identity politics in Native communities is complex to say the least has a profound impact on the spiritual lives of Native people. While many Native peoples self-identify as Native, may have been taught by parents and grandparents of their cultural heritage, and may participate in cultural activities that celebrate pan-tribal Native traditions, those same individuals may not be recognized by federal or state governments as being "Native." American Indians are the only racial or ethnic group in the United States that must look to the U.S. government for validation and approval of individual identity. Only Native Americans are required to demonstrate a set "blood quantum," or trace a direct lineage to a treaty-signing ancestor, to receive a governmentally approved "pedigree."

These legal complications result in the denial of official Native identity to the majority of people sharing Native heritage, descent, and cultural affiliation. The spiritual, psychological, cultural, and political strain of such federal policies cannot be underestimated. For example, federal policies require Native people to maintain a certain percentage of distinctly tribal blood to remain "Indian." This means that an individual who is entirely "Native" (but the offspring of a diversity of Native American nations, not a single nation) may no longer be considered "Indian" by the federal government and may be denied basic rights and services because of a lack of "pure blood." These policies, many have argued, are part of the federal government's termination policies to erase Native people (legally) from existence.

It is important to understand the complexities of these identity issues when considering American Indian religious and cultural life in the twenty-first century. For many Native people, participation in traditional spiritual practices is a way to affirm a cultural identity that federal and state governments have denied. It should be remembered that Native spiritual practices are tied to indigenous landscapes, ancestral homelands, and oral traditions that are the property of individual nations. This combining of geography with religio-cultural beliefs has been called geomythology. Native people sharing more than one cultural heritage (a condition of the majority of Native Americans) are often conflicted between multiple landscapes and multiple traditions, as a result of U.S. colonialism. Access to community membership, to a home on reservation lands, to an assured identity is called into question by federal policies that are more concerned with the allocation of federal funds than the spiritual and cultural identities of individuals.

Furthermore, traditional indigenous religions are not individual endeavors but communal activities, activities that take place within a sacred landscape. The separation of individual Native people from that community and landscape through federal relocation policies, or through federal laws that do not allow communities to define who they are and whom they include, directly threatens the spiritual well-being of Native people and nations. As this essay will show, identity policies have had a particularly detrimental effect on Native women, who, within the patriarchal Euro-American system, are assumed to take on their husband's name and identity. Native women who marry outside of their tribe have been denied tribal status, while men marrying outside of their community have not. Such practices directly contradict indigenous matrilineal and matrifocal traditions, which are built on and around more egalitarian Native spiritual and cultural traditions. U.S. federal policies that undermine traditional systems of marriage, governance, kinship, and identity act to undermine indigenous cultural and spiritual life. Hence, to understand contemporary American Indian religious life, it is necessary to understand federal and state identity policies, and the impact they have had on Native identity, land ownership, and community cohesion.

Land and Identity

The first threat to American Indian cultural identity occurred with the loss of Native land. At the heart of indigenous spiritual and cultural life is the indigenous landscape, and the loss of land places Native cultural survival and identity at risk. The first step in this theft of land took the form of the reservation system. In the aftermath of the Indian-Settler wars, the U.S. federal government initially wrote treaties with more than four hundred American Indian tribes, in order to pacify those tribes by corralling them onto Indian reserva-

tions. These forced migrations were congressionally legislated by the Indian Removal Act (1830). Among such acts of genocide perpetrated by the U.S. government, the Cherokee "Trail of Tears" and the Navajo/Diné "Longest Walk" are the most infamous. The larger reservations were established in the state of Arizona, while the New Mexico Pueblos were able to maintain their original lands. California's situation was distinct in that the tribal people had already been missionized by the Spaniards; they were therefore a mixed population called "mestizos" (meaning mixed-bloods among Spanish and Natives). Native Californians also wrote agreements with the Continental Congress, but those "treaties" supposedly never reached Congress to be ratified into law. As a result, these Californian groups were left with a quasi-tribal status, many with state recognition but not federal recognition, with their reservation called "rancherias." The history of the state of Colorado is among the most notorious, because the cavalry effectively wiped out most of its "Indians," including the Arapahos, in such engagements as the infamous Sand Creek Massacre.

Hence, in the U.S. history of conquest and colonization enacted upon Native Americans, each state has its own unique story to tell regarding the outcome of its Native populations. Most tribes were eventually affected by the General Allotment Act of 1887, also known as the Dawes Act, which initially targeted the Cherokees and related groups in the Midwestern states and required all tribal lands to be marked off for allotments that broke up the communal land holdings among all the members. What later followed was the Indian Reorganization Act (1934), which further eroded the traditional cultural structures of the Native tribes, in order to have them conform to U.S. federal control in regard to its laws and jurisdiction on the reservations. However, in later years the federal government sponsored "relocation programs," legislated by the Relocation Act (1956), which coerced as well as encouraged American Indians to relocate off the reservation to metropolitan urban centers; such was the case of the Lakota Sioux from South Dakota, among others. Prior to the relocation programs was the ill-fated Termination Act (1953), which took tribal status away from several tribes (including the Menominee and Klamath) in order to hasten their assimilation. Yet that act was eventually rescinded and the targeted tribes reinstated, as a result of the dire consequences brought on by their legal termination. All tribal peoples at that time were living in Third World conditions of poverty on the reservations, and with little recourse for their oppressive situation. The Indian Land Claims Commission (1946) was intended to correct this situation by investigating cases of illegal expropriation of Indian lands. However, this commission had the opposite effect, as it coerced the claimants into monetary compensation that minimized their land claims.

A stated intent of these treaties and agreements by the U.S. government was to ensure these Native peoples federal and state services, such as education, health care, and later housing. These treaty agreements were followed up by twentieth-century congressional legislation intended to assist in the process of their colonization—then referred to as their "assimilation" into U.S. society as subordinate citizens. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) was formed out of the Office of War, which implemented those stipulations, eventually resulting in the expropriation of Indian lands under a duplicitous federal paternalism referred to as a "trust responsibility" (and also referred to as wardship) to Indian tribes. This federal "responsibility" was interpreted in the Supreme Court's Marshall Decision, in *The Cherokee Cases* (1831–1832), by calling these tribes "domestic dependent nations" under federal jurisdiction. In that vein, these treaties and agreements can be perceived as "real estate" transactions, with the federal government taking away traditional Indian lands for public state services (that is, national parks, forests, monuments, and the like mostly under the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt) for the "common good," while asserting plenary domain throughout its nationalist boundaries. In this process, Native Americans were assured of living on lands designated for them to preserve their own cultural ways "as long as the grass grows and the river flows." They were to be removed from Euro-American settlement, as well as being provided federal and state services that were initially interpreted as "obligations" stipulated by these treaties and agreements. Out of such obligations, which the federal government later called "benefits" to Native Americans, came congressional legislation that further colonized Native Americans as second-class citizens (often living in poverty on reservations), such as the Indian Citizenship Act (1924); the Indian Civil Rights Act (1968); the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act (1975); the Indian Child Welfare Act (1978); the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978).

Defining Identity

One of the more perplexing issues confronting the indigenous peoples of North America during the early twenty-first century is the question of how to define who is and who is not "Indian," when considered in terms of the federal Indian identification policy, which includes "blood quantum" formulation. At base, the problems derive from confusion as to whether Native American peoples are to be understood as distinct nationalities, as their several hundred ratified treaties with the United States and other nation-states clearly entitle them to be, or to be classified merely as a "racial group" under the racist labeling of "ethnic-minority." In the first instance, American Indian identity would be determined not only by birth into one or another nation (Mohawk, Ute, Bannock, and so forth) but also by exercise of such

sovereign group prerogatives as naturalization by marriage, adoption, and application. In the latter case, considerations of genealogy predominate to the exclusion of all other factors. For politically convenient reasons of self-interest and opportunism, the United States has chosen to impose both mutually contradictory standards of identification, and often simultaneously. That makes it even more problematic to determine who is eligible as an "American Indian," as an individual or as a tribal group, for both federal and state services addressing education, health, and housing.

Traditionally, most Native peoples employed concepts of group membership that much more closely resemble the time-honored ideals of citizenship than notions of race or "blood." In precontact times, "intertribal" marriage was common in kinship traditions, with either husband (patrilineal descendency) or wife (matrilineal descendency) assuming membership in the group of his or her spouse, depending upon the extent of matrifocality or patrifocality of the cultures involved. Even more pervasive was the practice of adopting children, and sometimes adults, taken as captives in warfare. After contact, such inclusive procedures were expanded to accommodate the desire for membership expressed by both a steady stream of European frontiersmen and even a rather larger number of escaped African slaves. Hence, whatever "genetic purity" might ever have existed within indigenous North American societies had been willingly and thoroughly diluted through a sustained process of intermixing long before the pedigrees of individual Indians began to be catalogued by anthropologists and bureaucrats employed by the federal government.

During the early period of U.S.-Indian relations, Native criteria regarding membership in their various societies continued to prevail, which created a "dual-citizenry" status when the United States mandated the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 for all American Indians. In none of the many treaties (over 400) that the United States negotiated with indigenous nations prior to 1871 did the government attempt to limit, by blood or any other measure, the constituency embodied by the parties to such agreements. It was not until Indians were militarily subdued that the United States felt free to undertake such unilateral presumption. This new federal policy was first evidenced in coherent fashion in the General Allotment or "Dawes" Act of 1887, through which the government set out to assign each American Indian it chose to recognize an individually deeded parcel of land within existing reservation boundaries; this was a colonizing strategy to break up the communal ownership of property. Once all recognized Indians had received a 160-acre tract, all remaining property was declared "surplus" and opened to non-Indian utilization. The standard for the federal recognition of "Indianness," which entitled applicants to receive deeds, was not that they be members or

citizens of their respective nations but that they be "one-half or more Indian blood."

Needless to say, there were far more 160-acre parcels available within the reservations than there were individuals meeting the federal criteria. Consequently, of the approximately 150 million acres of reservation land inside the United States in 1890, nearly 100 million had passed from Native ownership by the time the allotment had run its course in the early 1930s. By then, the government had come to appreciate the extent to which the "blood quantum" method of Indian identification could be used to its advantage, not only in controlling Native land and resources but also in constraining its financial obligations in areas such as education. Moreover, the method could be employed—by the simple expedient of raising or lowering quantum requirements—as a mechanism to manipulate Indian policies and demographics, virtually at will. Thus, blood quantum identification standards have been maintained as an integral aspect of federal Indian policy through the present day, despite recent official adoption of a rhetoric that implies sovereignty and self-determination without government interference for Indians. In this milieu there is the recent passage of the infamous Public Law 101–644–104, Stat. 4662, legislation that denies self-proclaimed American Indians the right to identify themselves as "Indian" artists, legislation with dire effects on targets such as art galleries that exhibit these "Indian" artists in the Indian art market without "BIA certification."

These formative processes have had numerous ill effects on Native peoples. That is exemplified by the fact that, while the 1990 U.S. census formally acknowledges the presence of fewer than 2 million American Indians in the country, more realistic appraisals indicate an additional 14 million who are "federally non-recognized" being categorized as "white," "Hispanic," or "black."

Such circumstances fuel a sharp and even increasing divisiveness within Native communities as to "who is Indian." The situation also lends credence to contentions that the blood quantum system, which has been described as a eugenics code comparable to those employed by such blatantly racist countries as Nazi Germany and apartheid South Africa, adds up to a form of "statistical extermination" of Native Americans. As the noted historian Patricia Nelson Limerick has observed, "Set the blood quantum [standard], hold to it as rigid definition of Indians, let intermarriage proceed as it had for centuries, and eventually Indians will be defined out of existence. When that happens, the federal government will be freed of its persistent 'Indian problem.'"

As a result of these racialized formulations of "blood quantum," the Affirmative Action category of "American Indian" or "Alaskan Native/Eskimo" is shrinking, and the population of "mixed-bloods" (that is, métis, mestizo, mulattos, and so forth), who do not hold this

federally mandated certification, is being denied federal or state services. The federal mandate has now led to "DNA blueprinting," which is premised on genetic coding. The state of Vermont has passed the first "DNA certification," regarding its Native population among their largest and mostly "mixed-blood" Abenaki people. This has harmed younger generations, who cannot meet such restrictive blood-quantum criteria and are thus rendered ineligible for federal and state services. Consequently, the representation of "recognized" Native Americans in U.S. mainstream institutions, such as for education, health care, or housing, is diminishing to the point of making them an "endangered species," with genocidal and ethnocidal consequences.

Gender, Indian Identity, and the Indian Bill of Rights

Most U.S. citizens know of the "Bill of Rights" but are not aware that there exists an "Indian Bill of Rights," written and enacted by the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights for federally recognized American Indian tribes. In his comparative analysis of the two bills (*Retained by the People,* 1994), John R. Wunder states that in addition to the omission of the Second, Third, Seventh, Ninth, Tenth, and Fifteenth Amendments from the U.S. Bill of Rights, portions of other amendments were also excluded from the Indian Bill of Rights: "In sort of a nineteenth-century carryover, individual Indians were accorded neither the Second Amendment right to keep and bear arms, nor the Third Amendment right to be immune from quartering of soldiers on one's property in time of peace. The Seventh Amendment, which allows the right to a jury trial in civil suits exceeding $20 was not extended to Indian courts principally because of the cost to tribal governments and Indian litigants" (137–138). In an early precedent court case, *Talton v. Mayes* (1896), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Bill of Rights did not apply to tribal governments or courts. This case was the first of a roster of court cases that involved controversies over American Indian religious freedom, including *Toledo v. Pueblo de Jemez* (1954) and later *Colliflower v. Garland* (1965), about a reservation dispute over the use of tribal lands in Montana.

This "Bill of Indian Rights" legislation was inspired by the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. As Wunder notes, "The ninth piece of Indian legislation was a last-minute amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1968. This was the Indian Bill of Rights, a pet project of Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina" (ibid., 126). After hearings on the legal rights of Native Americans since 1961, this senator "had become convinced that Indians should have the same individual rights as those guaranteed to all other Americans by the Bill of Rights" (ibid., 127). However, the senator's paternalistic act further eroded tribal communal or collective rights, and Native women were for the most part voiceless in these proceedings. This raises the obvious ques-

tion: why the need for a distinct Indian bill of rights for American Indians?

An extensive review of the Indian Bill of Rights is beyond the scope of this essay. However, it is important to note some of the differences between the Indian Bill of Rights and the U.S. Bill of Rights. In addition to the Second, Third, Ninth, and Tenth Amendments not being added to the Indian bill, the Fifteenth Amendment was also excluded, the Amendment that prohibits "discrimination in the right to vote based on race. The last omission was intentional, as many tribes believed that the inclusion of [that] amendment might make it difficult for them to determine their own membership qualifications based on [kinship] descent or [what is called] blood-quantum" (ibid., 138). Wunder adds that the "reactions by non-Indians to the new Indian Bill of Rights were generally quite favorable . . . [while] the Indians' reactions were mixed" among primarily male leaders and male-controlled organizations. In the latter case, both the Association of American Indian Affairs and the National Congress of American Indians supported the act (ibid., 140). Yet, it is relevant to note that this non-Native author was not necessarily concerned with gender inequities in his conservatively liberal but patriarchal political analysis.

Others, both among Native and non-Native scholars, have written comprehensively on the federal-Indian relationship, and under what is more often termed "Federal Indian Law and Public Policy" in the discourse on American history. It has mainly been concluded that among the approximately four hundred tribes that made international treaties and other negotiations from the 1700s to the 1800s with the U.S. government, all of those nation-to-nation agreements have been violated at the expense of the tribes. U.S. colonization, therefore, resulted in the subordination of these tribal peoples, who traditionally held to communal or collective rights that were initially meant to be protected by treaty with the U.S. federal government. Hence a separate Indian Bill of Rights that took this colonialist history into account was needed, but one in which treatied Indians were to become second-class citizens, or Third World refugees "exiled in their own lands" (Lyons and Mohawk 1992), while often residing in Third World living conditions on tribal reservations marginal to U.S. society.

Prior to the writing of this congressional document, Supreme Court chief justice Marshall had already defined American Indian tribes as "domestic dependent nations," a perspective that enabled a restructuring of tribal status with the federal government, in what was in theory meant to be a bilateral relationship. Hence, this Marshall Decision instead imposed a juridical dominant-subordinate restructuring that, in practice, resulted in a unilateral restructuring. All American Indians were mandated U.S. citizenship in the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, followed by the Indian Civil

Rights Act of 1964 and the Indian Bill of Rights, which favored Indian men over women. This chauvinistic situation, that resulted from U.S. patriarchy, existed despite the fact that the Iroquois Confederacy had influenced the Founding Fathers in their conceptualization of a federalist republic conceptualized as an American democracy—especially in terms of its bicameral houses for legislative representatives and congressional consensus (Martin and Jaimes 1995). What these same land and slave owners who founded the federalist republic ignored was the significant role the Clan Mothers played among the Iroquois nations in their traditional intertribal governance.

Yet it wasn't until the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 that tribal governments were mandated to be restructured as extensions of the duplicitous U.S. government's federal system. The Reorganization Act is described thus: "The IRA (ch. 576, 48 Stat. 948, now codified as 25 U.S.C. 461–279; also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act), was imposed by the United States to supplant traditional forms of indigenous governance in favor of a tribal council structure modeled after corporate boards. In order to put a democratic face on the maneuver, it was stipulated that each nation be reorganized and agree to the process by referendum. The referenda were then systematically rigged by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier" (Jaimes 1992, 15). One divisive result has been the creation of tribal political factions separating those who resist from those who endorse the IRA form of government on many reservations to this day. This act, therefore, further eroded traditional matrilineal descendency and communal ways of holding land, resulting in the loss of women's rights. Intermarrying outside the tribe, which could threaten a Native woman's tribal membership and that of her offspring, often compounded the individual loss of tribal status. As a result of reorganization, such decisions were now being made by male-controlled tribal councils, a move that also corrupted a form of traditional nepotism that favored certain kinship clans over others, which were now "elected" to leadership that monopolized their power and self-interests.

In New Mexico, *Martinez v. Santa Clara Pueblo* (1978) (Jaimes w/ Halsey 1992); Jaimes-Guerrero 1997) became a well-known case illustration when Julia Martinez took her grievance all the way to the Supreme Court after the tribal council threatened to take her Indian status, and that of her children, away because she had married outside of the Pueblo to a Navajo/Diné man. After losing her children's status, she and her family were expected to leave the community, and they were provoked to do so by being denied educational, health, and housing services by the tribe. Martinez sued the Pueblo, premised on her and her children's civil rights, but the Court decided not to interfere with the "tribal sovereignty" of the male-controlled Pueblo council. Therefore it is in this case that a correlation is seen between

colonialism, racism, and sexism in a Pueblo society that once held, in precolonialist times, to matrilineal traditions. Early records indicate that most tribal societies were matrilineal before the European invasion; Native women held positions of authority as exemplary leaders. Hence it wasn't until the more direct coercion of American colonists and missionaries, with their Eurocentric subordination of women as male property, that these societies changed to patrilineal and later patriarchal ways. It is this shift that has since eroded Native women's matrilineal and matrifocal authority as Clan Mothers, as a cultural kinship tradition among their respective peoples.

In regard to the issues of civil rights and sovereignty, there is a juxtaposition between racism and sexism, a "trickle-down patriarchy" as a result of the effect of the colonialist process upon Native people. Research has shown that there is about 50 percent intermarriage (also called exogamy) among Native peoples of both genders (Thornton 1987). The data also indicate that Native women will more often than not marry intertribally and beget children; Native men more often than not marry non-Natives and beget children. The latter are frequently able to put their non-Native wives and children on tribal roles, while Native women married to Native men are not. It should be noted that a Native man is also subject to losing his American Indian status for tribal membership, but because the tribal councils are mainly male-controlled, it is more likely, generally speaking, for a Native woman to lose her tribal membership as a result of intermarrying outside the community.

For a cross-nationalist comparison, the 1978 Martinez case in New Mexico had a different legal outcome than did the Sandra Lovelace Sappier case in Canada on the Tobique Reserve in Ontario Province (Silman 1987). In the Lovelace case, a Native woman was losing her aboriginal status and rights because she married outside of the reserve to a non-Indian. When Lovelace Sappier tried to return to her community with her son, both she and her son were denied housing services. She appealed to the Canadian government on civil rights grounds, and when the government did not respond she took her case all the way to the United Nations. She argued her case as a human rights grievance with the support of a Native women's movement in her area. In 1981 the United Nations decided to intervene by mandating that the Canadian government amend its "Indian Act" to protect aboriginal women from this kind of patriarchal discrimination. That was a very different outcome from what was seen in the U.S. *Martinez* case, in which a male-controlled Pueblo council prevailed, while the Tobique Reserve council cried foul in what they saw as the interference in their "tribal sovereignty."

There are a myriad of issues that Native people have had to contend with in regard to identity formation, including the obfuscation of what is meant by

"dual citizenry," "blood quantum" criteria required for federal recognition, and the play of those issues within individual tribal sovereignty. The federal Indian identification policy has resulted in a majority of Native people who identify themselves as being American Indian suffering from a loosening of ties with their tribal communities, often for reasons beyond their control. These circumstances are resulting in a shrinkage in the number of tribal members, who are becoming exclusive to such a point that the identities of younger generations are being wiped out, or legally distinguished from those of their kin and brethren living on or off the reservations. Census data and research in the 1990s indicated that, at the end of the twentieth century, some 20 to 30 percent of American Indians still permanently resided on tribal reservations; a growing number (60 to 70 percent) of "urban Indians" lived among mainstream populations. The latter are often concentrating in major metropolitan areas, most notably Los Angeles, Chicago, Minneapolis, and Phoenix. Of the 1.5 million Native Americans who constitute 10 percent of the U.S. population, 50 percent are Native women. Native American women, however, are still in the minority in regard to political representation and voting power, and it is generally these women who end up the most disenfranchised and dispossessed because of the colonialism and patriarchy in today's global U.S. society. For the so-called urban Indian population, and for those living on the reservations failing to meet federal "blood quantum" regulations, Native identity has become a complex and painful issue, one intricately tied to gender, culture, politics, and spirituality.

M. A. Jaimes-Guerrero

See also Feminism and Tribalism; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion; Reservations, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Termination and Relocation

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Iⁿ-Loⁿ-Skah

The Iⁿ-Loⁿ-Skah is a time of harmony and serenity for the Osage people, and a primary ritual in Osage life. In addition, the Iⁿ-Loⁿ-Skah is representative of the centrality of ceremonial practice in Osage life, and in Plains Indian religious systems in general.

As well as securing the rebirth of harmony, the Iⁿ-Loⁿ-Skah allows a renewal of Osage spirit and a peaceful understanding of the world (Callahan 1990, 135). The Osage assign great importance to the eldest child. Iⁿ-Loⁿ-Skah (lit.: "playground of the first son") is a time to honor the first son who has been chosen as drumkeeper for the year (Wilson 1985, 201). The drum is a sacred instrument in the Iⁿ-Loⁿ-Skah and brings great honor and responsibility to the eldest son, as well as his family. The drumkeeper must preserve and safeguard the drum as well as perform other duties, which will be discussed later in detail. The cedarman is responsible for the cedar-burning ceremony at the Iⁿ-Loⁿ-Skah. Burning of cedar is another sacred ritual in the Osage culture. The smoke from the burning cedar chips purifies the dance arbor and allows good spirits to remain at the Iⁿ-Loⁿ-Skah (Callahan 1990, 54).

Osage traditions are handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation, and as a result most have been lost. However, the music of the Iⁿ-Loⁿ-Skah continues to thrive and is possibly the main representation of Osage culture (Hamm 1975, 114). The dance style of the Iⁿ-Loⁿ-Skah is the straight dance, which is more traditional and controlled than that of the powwow or fancy dancing. In ceremonial dancing the focus is on the overall spiritual experience of the Iⁿ-Loⁿ-Skah (Callahan 1990, 97). In order for a male dancer to be allowed to dance in the Iⁿ-Loⁿ-Skah, he must be wearing the Osage traditional ceremonial dress, except on the fourth day during family songs and give-away. In Osage dances men are the main dancers; women have been allowed to dance in the dance arbor only since World War II. Women dancers often dance in street clothes with a dance shawl around them; however, some wear tribal dress.

The Iⁿ-Loⁿ-Skah is a four-day ceremony held at Grayhorse, Hominy, and Pawhuska in northern Oklahoma during the month of June. The Iⁿ-Loⁿ-Skah drum was received by the Osages in the mid-1880s from the Ponca and Kaw tribes (ibid., 7). As stated previously, the drum is a sacred instrument in the Iⁿ-Loⁿ-Skah. It signifies the Osage song, life, and history and therefore is the core of the Iⁿ-Loⁿ-Skah. The drum is placed in the center of the dance arbor, and the men singers form a circle around it with the women singers directly behind them.

The most common rhythm in the music during the Iⁿ-Loⁿ-Skah consists of heavy accents that occur during irregular intervals and vary in length (ibid., 74).

The singing seems to be forced from the throat, which gives the music its power. Historically this ceremonial dance has been considered a man's dance because of the belief that men are better equipped to bring out the magic from the drum and music of the I^n-Lo^n-Skah (ibid., 98).

The men dance in a circular pattern around the men and women singers. The women dance in a circular pattern around the border of the arbor. It is not uncommon to find women standing in front of their seats dancing silently in place. Although there are several variations to the men's straight dance used in the I^n-Lo^n-Skah, the most common is the ball-to-heel step, in which the knees bend slightly. The male dancers individualize their I^n-Lo^n-Skah dance technique from their own views and past experiences. The women's dance step is a repetitive flatfoot step with a slight bend of the knee producing an up and down effect.

The burning of cedar is considered a sacred ritual in the I^n-Lo^n-Skah and is used mostly in mourning ceremonies. When the death of a tribal member occurs in an Osage district, a feast for the mourning family must occur before any additional planning for the I^n-Lo^n-Skah takes place. If the death occurs during the I^n-Lo^n-Skah, the drum is kept silent until after the feast for the mourners. At dawn on the morning of the feast the cedarman performs the cedar-burning ceremony. The entire dance committee, as well as the dance arbor, is smoked with cedar, which allows the spirit of the deceased to continue on its journey to the spirit world (ibid., 62). After the feast of the mourners, the drum is brought out of silence and the I^n-Lo^n-Skah continues.

There are many preparations that must take place before and during the I^n-Lo^n-Skah. The present-day dance committee consists of a drumkeeper, head committeeman, several dance committeemen, advisors, tail dancers, whipmen, waterboys, head cook, assistant cooks, drum warmer, head singer, men singers, women singers, and a town crier.

The main job of the drumkeeper and his family is to protect the drum. Additionally, the drumkeeper must select the dance committee, organize special meals during the planning of the ceremony, and ensure safety and protection during the entire I^n-Lo^n-Skah. The position of drumkeeper entails a huge financial obligation, but it brings great honor and respect to the family.

The head committeeman is considered a very important individual during the I^n-Lo^n-Skah. He is in charge of organizing and planning meetings throughout the year, making crucial decisions during the I^n-Lo^n-Skah, and educating the young children on the importance and significance of the dance ceremony. The head committeeman also carries out the introduction-to-the-dance ceremony. When a boy is ready to become part of the dance, the head committeeman is notified and makes arrangements for the ceremony. The boy must have an Indian name and must understand which clan he comes from (ibid., 66). He is accompanied by his family during the

ceremony. The roach, the traditional headpiece of the Osage, is then placed on the boy's head and blessings are given to him (Hogan 1998, 10). The family then gives gifts to members of the dance committee, and the boy is considered to be a part of the I^n-Lo^n-Skah dance.

The additional dance committeemen assist the head committeeman throughout the year in preparation for the I^n-Lo^n-Skah. The advisors are elder members of the tribe that have participated in all aspects of the I^n-Lo^n-Skah. These advisors are called upon when counsel is needed regarding traditions and customs of the I^n-Lo^n-Skah. The Tail Dance of each song may be danced only by the tail dancers (Callahan 1990, 44). Tail dancers have been recognized by the tribe as being excellent dancers. The whipmen serve as messengers for the head committeeman by informing the Osage villages as well as surrounding tribes of when the I^n-Lo^n-Skah will be held. During the I^n-Lo^n-Skah the whipmen deal with unruly behavior that may arise and assign fines to dancers that drop things on the floor. When a dancer drops a piece of clothing or another article on the dance floor, the whipmen picks up the article, and the dancer must pay a fine to get it back. The waterboys give water first to the singers and then to the dancers. Each drinker drops a little water on the ground in accordance with the belief that if you take something from Mother Earth you must give something in return (ibid., 45).

The head cook and assistants are responsible for cooking the meals, which are provided by the drumkeeper, before and during the I^n-Lo^n-Skah. The drum warmer prepares the drum, which is made out of cowhide that covers a hollow piece of wood. The drum warmer must heat the drum on the morning before a dance and make sure that it is placed in the correct spot in the dance arbor.

The head singer is responsible for all of the music during the dances, as well as for placing the male and female singers in their correct positions. The head singer must lead the group of singers and be able to sing and understand a large number of songs for the I^n-Lo^n-Skah. The singers are not required to wear traditional straight dress while in the dance arbor. The singers are very much respected by the tribe and are vital for the success of the I^n-Lo^n-Skah. The town crier is selected for life and is responsible for calling out honored individuals and families during the fourth day of the I^n-Lo^n-Skah (Wilson 1988, 103).

The I^n-Lo^n-Skah begins on Thursday afternoon with the cedar burning ceremony, prayers, and a welcome by the head committeeman. If there is a new drumkeeper, he will usually accept the drum on Thursday afternoon. The new drumkeeper will honor the exiting drumkeeper and his dance committee with gifts and a speech. The new drumkeeper will then officially open the I^n-Lo^n-Skah by making the first drumbeat of the dance. The dance proceeds for four days, during the afternoons and evenings. The number of dancers continues to grow throughout the I^n-Lo^n-

Skah, with the largest number of dancers present on Saturday night. Sunday is the time when family songs are sung. Family songs honor members of certain families. During the family song, the family dances along with close friends to honor their song. At the end of the I^{n}-Lo^{n}-Skah gifts are presented to people who have contributed greatly to the I^{n}-Lo^{n}-Skah, as well as to people who are being honored for different reasons. Items from blankets to groceries are given away during Sunday of the I^{n}-Lo^{n}-Skah.

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See also Dance, Plains; Drums; Song

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Indian Shaker Church

The Indian Shaker Church, or Shaker religion, originated in the late nineteenth century in the Pacific Northwest through Native prophets John Slocum and Mary Thompson. It has no connection or ties to the non-Native religious group known as the Shakers, which originated in England in 1772. This latter, widely known group immigrated to the United States, where it practiced its beliefs in celibacy, group ownership, and a unique way of life. In contrast, the Indian Shaker Church originated in North America and practices more or less a syncretic religion based on Christianity and Native religious ideologies (Slagle 1985, 353).

On the Skookum Bay inlet, located in the upper Puget Sound area of Washington State, a Squaxin Native, John Slocum (Squ-sacht-un), operated a logging camp. In November 1881, at forty years of age, he died. Some say his death was the result of an accident in the woods, while others say that he contracted a serious illness that caused him to become "weak and sickly." Five Indian doctors worked on him without success. After a few hours, however, his relatives and others witnessed a miraculous event as he sat upright and told them of his afterlife experience. This incident marked the beginnings of the Indian Shaker religion.

During Slocum's ordeal, his wife, Mary Thompson (Whe-Bul-eht-sah), sat quietly at her husband's side with her niece Nancy George not far away (ibid., 353). Nancy noticed movement in the previously lifeless body, upon which she left the room, informing others who had remained outside. As people entered the room, they viewed Slocum sitting upright

Portrait of Messiah Squ-Sacht-Un (John Slocum) with Chief High Priest Ai-Yal (Louis Yowaluch), both members of the Indian Shaker Church of Puget Sound, 1892. (Smithsonian Institution/ National Anthropological Archives)

and conscious. As later related by non-Indian judge James Wickersham, the still weakened Native prophet explained, "All at once I saw a shining light—great light—trying my soul. I looked and saw my body had no soul—looked at my own body—it was dead. . . . Angels told me to look back and see my body. I did, and saw it lying down. When I saw it, it was pretty poor. My soul left my body and went up to [the] judgment place of God" (ibid., 354). It is said he died twice that day, being resurrected each time by a higher power.

Slocum began to spread his revelations, as he understood them, brought about by his life-changing experience. He related, "When I came alive, I tell my friends, good things in heaven. God is kind to us. If you all try hard and help me, we will be better men on earth" (ibid., 354). He instructed that they were to build a church within four weeks, and in their services they were to integrate bells, candles, crosses, and other sacred objects. He further stressed that Native peoples needed to cast aside vices such

as alcohol, and even draw away from traditional healers. By this time, many Northwest coast Native people had become familiar with Christian churches and the concept of worship as a path to spiritual salvation (Reed 1999).

White contact had affected Native life in the Pacific Northwest, as in all areas of North America. Native people resisted white encroachment upon their lands, experienced devastating massacres and open warfare, strived to maintain their own traditions in the face of governmental suppression, and witnessed conflicts between traditional religions and the newly arrived and often imposed Christianity. The federal Office of Indian Affairs (today's BIA) confined Natives to reservations while forcing cultural assimilation. The Indian Bureau told the Indians to give up their traditional cultural and religious practices and replace them with those of the dominant society. The federal government and the larger population viewed Native people as "pagans" and their religions as either immoral or nonexistent.

In addition to assimilationist policies, the tribes experienced devastating population declines caused by white-introduced diseases, including smallpox. Many tribal people refer to this time as the "world turned upside down" (Slagle 1985, 353–374). Native people responded in a variety of ways to the drastic upheaval in their lives. Some sought to continue their own indigenous religious practices and beliefs, while others joined mainstream churches. Many others combined more than one form of worship and spirituality. John Slocum did not live in isolation from these changes; rather, he dwelt at the center. Like many Native people he sought to survive, at times succeeding as a hard-working logger, at other times succumbing to alcohol to deaden the pain of radical societal change (Ruby and Brown 1996, 35).

Approximately a year had passed after the death and revival of John Slocum. The flurry over his experience had begun to wane, and he, himself, reportedly began to indulge in his old ways of life. According to one account, "[On] the day following a large and lengthy meeting on Squaxin Island, Slocum began hemorrhaging from the nose. He attributed his condition to having had too much fun the previous day, when he had returned to Enetai at the mouth of the Skokomish River after burying a child at Bald Point. Slocum had caught a ride as a passenger in a canoe race. When the canoe fell behind, the paddlers asked him to help. Slocum obliged by taking up a paddle. Suddenly, he was stricken with pain" (Amoss 1990, 633).

The following day, as he remained ill, John's wife, Mary, walked to a nearby stream for a private prayer. As she prayed a power from a higher source entered her body, and she began to "shake." Mary lost consciousness during the divine phenomenon. She received word from Christ, who instructed her to return home to her husband. Singing a spirit song, she handed a bell to her brother Isaac and asked for more hand-bells to be dispersed among those assembled. Women held candles; men rang the bells.

With her singing synchronized with the ringing of the bells, Mary felt the power of God and the Holy Spirit enter her, and she again began to shake. She worked on her husband through the "healing power" with miraculous results. John Slocum again regained his health, and he organized his new religion with healing being an intricate part of the Indian Shaker Church, introduced through Mary.

As previously indicated, religious syncretism practiced by the Indian Shaker religion combines elements of Christianity with those of indigenous Native belief. Shaker members use the cross in their churches, in homes on altars, on jewelry, and in worship, thus making it clearly a part of their rituals. In addition, members make crossing gestures during appropriate times (an influence of Catholicism). Their doctrine teaches the belief in one God as well as the Trinity (Father, Son, and Holy Ghost or Spirit). Many say that the church helps to deal in a positive way with worldly vices such as drinking, gambling, and smoking.

As for the Native side, the Shaker Church places much emphasis on healing, which was a common precontact indigenous practice that continues to this day. Additionally, the healing is a group or communal effort and not individualistic. In stark contrast, when some non-Indian Pentecostal churches carry out healing openly, it is the lone minister who is involved. In the Shaker service, either one or several individuals work upon one person. The sense of collectivity remains a Native practice. Also, who may be a healer is based on whom the spirit comes to, and that too is part of Native religious belief. Shaker leaders conduct services either during the day or in the evening. Evening healing services start in the early evening and last until the healing is complete, even if that requires an all-night service, which is also a form of nativism. The songs of the Shakers have Native-type rhythm and do not resemble Christian hymns, which emphasize religious domination and the great God.

Some interpreters maintain that the pre-1840 nativistic Prophet Dance movement indirectly influenced the Christian aspects of the Shaker religion after it emerged later in the century. The Prophet Dance movement incorporated elements of Christianity. Many Native religious movements wove together indigenous and Christian beliefs in times of intense change in North America.

As for the Shaker opposition to alcohol use, it might have less to do with a Christian "don't" and more to do with the rise of alcoholism among some tribal individuals in the postcontact period. Many Indian Shakers say that their beliefs and God help them to abstain from alcohol and drugs. They believe that the religion changed their lives and placed them on a positive path (Valory 1966, 73; Amoss 1978, 232).

With a combination of Native and Christian elements, the Shakers have created a unique religion. For example, the church entrance faces the west to

make room for the prayer table in the east side, because east is the "direction for prayer." Church members place candles throughout the church, as they believe that the flames have healing powers. Men sit on the left side of the entryway and the women on the right. Members wear white robes or garments that represent purity and protection. People who enter the church turn in a counterclockwise manner to acknowledge leaving behind bad thoughts and other negative factors. They also make counterclockwise movements during the services (Amoss 1990, 637).

Like other religions, including Christianity, the Shaker Indian Church has not been a monolithic entity since its founding in the late nineteenth century. At different times its members have disagreed over particular issues. Some maintain that once people become Shaker believers, they must give up traditional ways, including tribal dancing and the wearing of traditional regalia. In contrast, others maintain that Shaker members should be permitted to accept both worlds and to participate in tribal dances and ceremonies. Members still adhere to these two philosophical stances to this day (Slagle 1985, 360).

Another more serious matter has been the so-called Bible controversy. Some Shakers maintain that the Bible must be used during church services, since it is the God-inspired word and serves as the intermediary between human beings and God. Others maintain that the Shakers do not need an intermediate agent like the Bible. Instead, the members receive their inspiration directly from God through prayer and worship. The Bible controversy became such a serious issue that it split some Shakers in Washington from the 1920s to the 1940s. Followers settled the issue by separating into two churches, the Indian Shaker Church (non-Bible users) and the Indian Full Gospel Church (Bible users) (ibid., 360).

Leadership practices within the church show both Native and Christian influence. In the earliest days, leadership appeared to follow the indigenous practice of individual influence and charisma. But as the years went by, the church began to follow Christian organizational concepts. Perhaps a large shift took place in 1910, when the Shakers became an organized church with "Articles of Incorporation." This written source brought into existence the church officers of bishop, elders, and a secretary, along with voting. With elected offices, the church had introduced authoritative rule that is a Euro-American concept, not indigenous. In recent times, voting to determine courses of action has become an all-important pattern. In 1970, at their annual convention in Washington, delegates voted 39 to 2 to build a new church at Mud Bay, Washington, to replace the old one that had collapsed after a snowstorm (Richen 1974, 1–10; Amoss 1990, 633). Perhaps one main reason for church incorporation and the adoption of mainstream white church structure rested within the deep-rooted prejudice

against non-Christian religions at the time, especially Native religions.

Like other Native religions, including the Native American Church or the Peyote religion, the Indian Shaker religion was frowned upon by the BIA. It regarded the Shaker religion as a form of paganism and Indianism. Many Euro-Americans and the federal government viewed Native people as "uncivilized" without understanding the complexities of indigenous societies and religious practices. They sought to eliminate Native practices so that Indians would be forced to become "civilized" Christians. Indian Bureau officials regarded the Shakers as carrying out "excessive" behavior because of their long services, the use of bells, and other practices (Charles H. Burke to Alpheus D. Dodge, Feb. 10, 1920, CCF 67761–19-Neah Bay–816, RG 75, NA). The bureau therefore either prohibited or placed restrictions upon the Shaker practice. Regarding one case of prohibition, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells told one Shaker leader, John Johnson of Washington, the following in March 1918: "I can not give you permission in preaching the Shaker faith on the various reservations, to conduct your meetings as you see fit" (Cato Sells to John Johnson, March 12, 1918 CFF, 67761–19-Neah Bay–816, RG 75, NA).

In the end, however, the Indian Bureau allowed the Shakers to practice their religion mainly because it recognized that the church followed Christian models. At the same time, around 1920, the bureau came up with a list of restrictions for the Shakers. They could have only two meetings each week. Each meeting could last for only three hours, to begin at 7:00 P.M. and to end at 10:00 P.M. No meetings could be held after 10:00 P.M. Additionally, the Shakers needed to secure bureau permission if they wanted to have a series of, or successive, meetings. Lastly, the Shakers could not use bells while healing during their services. All of these restrictions denied the freedom of the Indian Shaker Church to conduct worship according to its own religious doctrines (Regulations, January 2, 1920, CCF, 67761–19-Neah Bay–816, RG 75, NA).

Although the main Indian Bureau office in Washington, D.C., allowed the Shaker Church to exist, that did not stop Christian missionaries and local or regional Indian Bureau officials from attacking the church and working to prevent the formation of new Shaker churches on Indian reservations. When some Hupa tribal members of northwestern California wanted the Shaker religion on their reservation in 1930, the bureau superintendent John Keeley immediately asserted, "It would be a serious mistake to permit it to be established on this reservation" (John D. Keeley to CIA, May 5, 1930, CCF 24290–30-Hoopa–816.2, RG 75, NA). Keeley, of course, received the support of the Reverend Philip Payne, the Presbyterian missionary on the reservation, who also opposed the Shakers. Payne said, "[Do] anything you can do to prevent the establishment of this pagan religion on the Hoopa

Reservation" (Philip F. Payne to CIA, May 16, 1930 CCF, 24290–30-Hoopa Valley–815.2, RG 75, NA). In addition to the bureau, Christian missionaries also viewed the Shaker religion as a form of paganism or a negative influence upon their potential Native converts.

In the end, the bureau in 1931 allowed the Shakers to build a church on the Hoopa reservation and at the Smith River Rancheria, in northwestern California, a year later. The controversy, however, continued. On May 25, 1932, the members of Smith River Shaker Church wrote to BIA superintendent O. M. Boggess requesting the government to provide them with a parcel of land on Smith River Reservation as a permanent site for the church. With this letter they included a list of forty-three members of the newly formed Indian Shaker Church. Superintendent Boggess forwarded the petition to the commissioner of Indian affairs, Charles Rhoads, but not without his own commentary: "It would seem unfortunate to me for our Department to place its sanction on the erection of a Shaker church there [Smith River] also. I do not know just the most diplomatic way to proceed in the case, but I hope that the Office can return such an answer that will prevent the setting aside of land and the erection of a building" (O. M. Boggess to BIA commissioner Rhoads CCF, June 1, 1932, 28133–32-Hoopa Valley–816.2, RG 75, NA).

Fortunately, the BIA gathered further information regarding the Indian Shaker Church and, after debating the value of the church, decided to grant the petitioners their request. Commissioner Rhoads reasoned: "Our record on the purchase of the 163.96-acre tract for these Indians in 1907 gives 163 as the Indian population. If one-fourth of them are affiliated with the Shaker Church it would seem that they would have as good a right as any other denomination to a Church site provided there be a lot that is unused and can be spared for the purpose" (Rhoads to Boggess, June 30, 1932, CCF 28133–32-Hoopa Valley–816.2, RG 75, NA). The commissioner continued, "While complaints have been made of this organization on some other reservations we do have reports also to the effect that the Church has had a good influence on its members; that among them there are fewer Indians using intoxicants; fewer divorces, and more industry. Any religious institution that can exert such an influence over the Indians it would seem should be welcomed." An interoffice memo might have influenced Commissioner Rhoads, as it reported: "There is often denominational prejudice against the Shakers. . . . [If] they can influence the Indians to work, to take care of their families, to let booze alone, to marry and live decently it seems more than missionaries of other churches have been able to do, though they have been working fifty years or more among the Indians" (BIA interoffice memo, 28133–32-Hoopa Valley–816.2, CCF, RG 75, NA).

Although the Indian Shaker Church faced opposition at times by the federal

government and from local Protestant churches, as well as internal divisions over the use of the Bible, it managed to establish itself as a major religion of the western United States and Canada. The Squaxin Island nation still refers to itself as the place of origin of the Indian Shaker religion: "One of the most interesting and well-known aspects of the Squaxin Island Tribe is the motherhood of the Indian Shaker Church. Founded by Squaxin tribal member John Slocum in the late 1880s." The tribe also created the Squaxin Museum Library and Research Center, which stands as a magnificent accomplishment after years of planning. In addition to the many traditional dances and songs, organizers asked Indian Shaker minister Rose Algea to bless the building on November 2, 2000. Many members of the Indian Shaker Church still look forward to the conventions held each year, in which Shakers from various regions join together for prayer and healing.

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See also Guardian Spirit Complex; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Power, Northwest Coast; Religious Leadership, Northwest; Sacred Societies, Northwest Coast

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J

Jones, Peter (1802–1856)

(Anishinabeg chief)

An influential Anishinabeg chief between 1825 and 1855, Peter Jones, known to the First Nations in Upper Canada as Kahkewaquonaby, led his community on a course of spiritual and political engagement with settler society. Famous in North America and Europe as the first Anishinabeg Methodist preacher, Jones traveled Upper Canada convincing Anishinabeg and Iroquois communities to move to agricultural settlements and worship the Great Spirit, practices that he believed would offer them a future of increased peace and prosperity. Jones's translations of Wesleyan hymns and portions of the Bible are still used by Anishinabeg communities in Canada and the United States today.

Jones spent his first fourteen years living with his mother in an Anishinabeg community at the River Credit. Although instructed in Anishinabeg cosmology and rituals, Jones failed to attract a spirit, or manitou, guardian during his adolescent vision quest. At age fourteen he moved to the Iroquois reserve at Grand River, where his Welsh father, Augustus Jones, lived with a Mohawk wife. At Grand River, Jones met Chief Thomas Davis, a Mohawk who had become a Methodist. Jones himself attended a Methodist camp meeting in 1823. The preaching left him with a sense of grave spiritual danger. He asked the Great Spirit for help and was given a new vision in which, as he described it, "the trees looked all so heavenly, and the people so joyful." He became convinced that Jesus loved the Anishinabeg and wanted to make them powerful, just as he had done for the Europeans. Jones believed that this vision could give other First Nations people the strength to break their dependence on the vices of settler society and effect the radical shift from hunting and gathering to agriculture.

Jones's Methodist congregations resembled the Medicine Societies common in Iroquoian and Anishinabeg communities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Jones explained the concepts of Methodism in terms of

analogous Anishinabeg beliefs. Entering Methodism required applicants to demonstrate either a visionary dream, usually received at a rambunctious outdoor meeting, or an awareness of their sickness and acknowledgement of the society's ability to help. Sin was the illness the Methodists could cure. Once in the society, members were required to offer special veneration to the Great Spirit, who, like the Anishinabeg manitous Bear and Water Lynx, required demanding ceremonies. Jones himself did not acknowledge the structural similarities between Methodism and other Anishinabeg beliefs, dismissing the Anishinabeg reliance on the manitous as superstition. However, he respected the thanksgiving ceremonies and healing abilities of the Anishinabeg and fulfilled his social role as a chief, which partly explains his success.

Jones's teachings arrived during a turbulent time for the Anishinabeg. In the late eighteenth century epidemics of smallpox had begun to spread in southern Ontario. Some Anishinabeg populations declined by more than 50 percent in the first half of the nineteenth century. In the wake of the American Revolution two waves of Iroquoian and Euro-American settlers had swarmed over Anishinabeg hunting territory. Despite the imbalance that the settlers introduced to the Anishinabeg's seasonal hunting, many Anishinabeg decided not to move north or to resist the settlements, but instead to remain and confront their new circumstances.

When Jones returned to the River Credit Anishinabeg in 1824, preaching about the blessings offered by the Great Spirit, the community listened with acute interest. The community members maintained their political structure but adopted Methodist forms of worship, incorporated farming into their annual cycle, and lived in houses built for them by the colonial government. Soon the River Credit community became well known among the Native groups in Upper Canada, both as news of their increased wealth spread and as their most extroverted member, Peter Jones, proffered the River Credit's history as an ideal to every Native community he addressed. Anishinabeg came from hundreds of miles to judge if the community at River Credit could serve as a model for their own dealings with Euro-American settlers.

Jones's career also included intensive fund-raising and missionary tours for the American Methodist church, speaking to audiences of settlers throughout Upper Canada. Jones's education, his self-deprecating humor, and his status as a chief made him a powerful draw for such audiences and also a fund-raising asset to Upper Canadian Methodists. His knowledge of colonial society, his political savvy, and his passion for protecting the future of his people made him, in turn, attractive to the Anishinabeg. Throughout his career Jones served the interests of the Methodist Church and those of his Anishinabeg community. In 1837 the council at Credit River empow-

ered Jones to act as *oskabewis,* or messenger, for the community, to bring the Credit River's request for title deeds to their land to the Queen of England. Over the years, while maintaining his work as a missionary, and writing hundreds of sermons, Jones undertook this and several other trips to England, where he met with members of elite society to publicize the colonial government's dishonesty in administering land treaties.

Jones retired from active missionary work with the Methodist Church in 1844 and continued on with preaching and political agitation until his death on June 28, 1856. At his funeral Eliza and her four sons mourned Jones, along with members of the River Credit community.

After his death Jones's hymn translations were reprinted and distributed to communities as far away as Minnesota, where they were incorporated into Anishinabeg mourning traditions. They are still used today by Anishinabeg communities coping with death. Also, the legacy of the residential or boarding schools that Jones promoted as a way to limit European influence over Anishinabeg self-determination both fulfilled and frustrated his hopes. Scholars in Canada are largely agreed that although the residential schools undoubtedly provided valuable training to thousands of First Nations children, the physical and spiritual suffering they sustained while receiving their education mocks the efforts of those who believed the schools could offer hope for new generations of First Nations children.

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See also Boarding Schools, Religious Impact; Christianity, Indianization of; Manitous; Missionization, Great Lakes; Sacred Societies, Great Lakes

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K

Kachina and Clown Societies

In the American Southwest, generally taken to be the states of Arizona and New Mexico, there are numerous cultures and communities that are collectively known as the "Pueblos." These communities are so named because they are organized into permanent village settlements of adobe houses and buildings and tend to be agricultural and have highly organized social and religious institutions. Within the more than thirty Pueblo communities there are six different language families. With the exception of the Hopi, who reside within Arizona, all other Pueblos are located within New Mexico, and most are adjacent to river systems such as the Rio Grande. Common to all Pueblos is the presence and significance of kachina and clown societies that perform numerous ceremonial and ritual practices and are, along with the Catholic Church, the primary form of religious expression and practice. While Pueblo communities are by no means uniform or homogenous in their cultural practices or beliefs, there are many commonalties and continuities, though each community has its own unique understanding and practice regarding kachina and clown societies. Given the great disparity in names, practices, ceremonial systems, and religious beliefs, this essay will not attempt to give a general overview of all the cultures concerned. Instead it will focus on two such cultures, the Hopi and Zuni, as exemplars of the significance and role of kachinas and clowns.

Perhaps most readers will have some passing familiarity with kachinas in the form of kachina dolls, which are sold throughout the Southwest as tourist items. That is not, of course, their primary significance for Pueblo cultures and is itself a product of the commodification of indigenous cultures in the Southwest for tourist consumption. Such figures are not decorative objects within their indigenous cultures but rather are representations and manifestations of the spiritual forces that are of

Hopi kachina dancers with face masks, feathers, kilts, and pelts, Walpi Pueblo, Arizona, ca. 1911–1920. (Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, Horace Swartley)

significance to those cultures. Within Pueblo cultures, the dolls are commonly used as gifts for children so that they may learn the different figures in their cultures' pantheons of spiritual powers. At the most general level, kachinas are understood to be spiritual manifestations of deceased ancestors who now reside in specific landforms within the southwestern landscape. They are called upon by the people to bring blessings, rain, and bountiful harvests, and to ensure that the proper balance of life, death, growth, and birth take place.

The term "kachina" is derived from the Hopi term *katsina* (sing.) or *katsinam* (pl.). Each Pueblo community has its own general term for these spirits. Among the Zuni they are referred to as *koko*. However, there are numerous classes and kinds of kachinas in Hopi and Zuni cultures, just as there are within other Pueblo cultures. Each has its own individualized name and is grouped into different categories, often led by different societies or family clans. In all Pueblo communities, the kachinas are represented and symbolized not only in the dolls but also as masked ceremonial dancers. These dancers perform highly specialized dances and ceremonies within their communities to achieve various ceremonial ends that are commonly associated with agriculture and the annual changes in seasons and the movement of the sun and moon. Each culture, and even individual kachina societies within a given culture, have their own oral traditions explaining and detailing the origin, meaning, and ceremonial function of the different kinds of kachinas, the exact details of which are kept for those who are directly initiated into the society.

A common understanding of the origin of kachina ceremonial practice in Pueblo cultures is that in the distant, mythological past, spirit beings came and visited their respective communities. With these visits they brought the knowledge necessary for the people to live in a balanced and reciprocal relationship with their environment and the spiritual powers that animate it. The ideas of balance and reciprocity in these traditions can best be understood as dynamic and interactive, in that the spiritual community of kachinas provides for humans and their needs, for example through rain and bountiful harvests, while humans simultaneously provide for the needs of the spiritual community through prayers, offerings, and recognition of the importance of extrahuman forces. The dynamic aspect of these traditions is regulated by the yearly change of seasons and weather, with certain times of year, such as the solstices, being given special importance and recognition. Through the teachings of the kachinas, the exchange of power, prayers, and sacred substances is dynamically regulated within a context of sacred activity that ideally harmonizes the rhythms of communal existence with the natural seasonal rhythms of Southwestern ecology and hydrology.

After the teachings of the kachinas were given to the people, the original spirit-forces receded back within the landscape and no longer visited the people directly. Through the instruction of the kachinas, the people were taught how to perform the necessary kachina ceremonies to ensure the continued balanced and reciprocal exchange of powers. It then became the responsibility of the communities themselves to perform the sacred ceremonies, sing the songs, and pass on the sacred history through their oral narrative traditions. It is these societies of kachinas and clowns, danced and performed by men, that carry on the original teachings of the spirits.

Given that kachinas are danced by men who are masked and decorated as specific spirit powers, many anthropologists have characterized ceremonial participants as "impersonators." In fact, that characterization is not an accurate depiction of indigenous thought. Although the original spiritual powers may have receded within the landscape, the current ceremonial practitioners are not impersonators. Kachina ceremonies are marked by long periods of prayer, purification, meditation, and preparation. The ideal is that the dancers will be of the proper state of mind, body, and spirit, so that they will not be an impersonation or mere representation of the spirit forces but will more significantly become an embodiment and manifestation of the spirit powers. Thus a properly prepared kachina dancer *becomes* a living expression of the spirit powers. That is a crucial difference, in that their ceremonies are not representations or understood to be merely symbolic (although symbolism does play a crucial role) but are a direct connection to spiritual agencies. Through ceremonial action, the spirit forces are called forth from the landscape to join the community of humans to ensure blessings and well-being for the new year and the new cycle of birth, growth, maturity, and eventual death and return.

Each Pueblo community has its own individual understanding of sacred landscapes, and there may also be variations within a culture according to the different understandings among the different ceremonial societies. Connections are most generally made with associations of the four directions (or, more elaborately, six or seven, if zenith, nadir, and center are also counted among the sacred directions), specific landforms such as sacred mountains (often grouped into collections of four mountains, representing the four directions), places of emergence (as identified in creation and origin narratives), or sources of water (such as springs, lakes, and rivers).

With regard to specific landscape associations, Hopi *katsinam* are understood to reside within the San Francisco Peaks, located just outside Flagstaff, Arizona. For the Zuni, their *koko* are understood to reside at the bottom of a lake to the southwest of their community. As with other Pueblo communities, Hopi and Zuni traditions teach that the spirits of deceased ancestors travel to these sa-

cred locations after death, where they become kachinas. These ancestors can then be petitioned for blessings for the communities. As Pueblo communities are all agriculturally oriented, many of the petitions are directed toward requests for rain and moisture to ensure good harvests. Reciprocally, the kachinas are ritually fed so that they too may be nourished and sustained, just as are the human communities, emphasizing the reciprocal bonds.

Among both the Zuni and Hopi, as is the case for other Pueblos, knowledge of masked dancers and the right to participate in their ceremonies are regulated through processes of initiation. Young men, when they reach the proper age of maturity, are invited into the ceremonial homes of the kachinas, which are generally called kivas. Kivas are round structures that are commonly carved out of the earth and are accessed through a circular opening at the top where one enters and exits by means of a ladder. Initiates are taken down into the kiva where, during their initiation, they are exposed to the kachinas unmasked for the first time in their lives. Kachinas never remove their masks in public, and thus, up until the time of initiation, young members of the community do not know that the dancers are their immediate kin. In the kivas the identity of the dancers is revealed, and initiates are instructed to try on the ceremonial masks and to attempt for the first time to make the requisite sounds and perform the proper ritual actions. Under threat of severe punishment, initiates are exhorted never to reveal the secret identity of the dancers. Initiates are also instructed in the sacred lore of the society and learn the proper realms for action of their particular society: different societies tend to be highly specialized in their ceremonial duties and obligations.

The ceremonial attire of kachinas tends to be extremely elaborate and to contain a wealth of symbolic representation. Often colors are used according to directional symbolism, with specific colors representing different directions. Other common symbolic motifs are clouds, rain, and images of fertility and agricultural growth. Plants and animals, or parts of animals, may also be used, each with its own specific and esoteric meaning according to the society and community in which the kachina practices.

In stark contrast to the intricate and highly formalized symbolism of the kachinas are the clowns. Clowns generally have far less intricate symbolism, are not colored with specific directional colors, and tend not to incorporate highly specific symbolic references in their attire. Clowns also differ dramatically from kachinas in terms of ceremonial behavior and action. To simplify, one could say that kachinas embody order, precision, and prescribed meaning and action, whereas clowns embody chaos, unpredictability, and antisocial behavior and actions. Within Hopi culture, for example, the *katsinam* embody all that is considered *hopi:* the proper and ideal forms of behavior and regulated action.

Clowns, on the other hand, embody all that is *ka-hopi:* all that is not Hopi. In that capacity the clowns will parody improper behavior, ridicule individuals, and basically invert standard social norms, a common practice throughout the Pueblos. By demonstrating and mocking what is not Hopi, they educate individuals about what is Hopi. Commonly, children—and even adults who should know better—are chastised by the clowns, who use humor and humiliation as pedagogical tools.

Overall, the kachina and clown traditions can be viewed as means by which Pueblo communities seek to maintain balance and reciprocity with the spiritual forces of their given environments and landscapes. They emphasize the continuity between life and death, this world and the next, the human and the divine. One can see that there is not an insurmountable divide between the sacred and the secular, the religious and the social, as all aspects of life and communal activity are integrated into the sacred fabric of the yearly round of kachina dances and ceremonies.

Martin Ball

See also Art (Contemporary), Southwest; Ceremony and Ritual, Pueblo; Clowns and Clowning; Hopi Prophecy; Masks and Masking; Missionization, Southwest; Mourning and the Afterlife, Southwest; Oral Traditions, Pueblo; Sacred Sites and Sacred Mountains; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Southwest; Symbolism in Ritual and Ceremony

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Kennewick Man

Kennewick Man is a 9,300-year-old skeleton found on July 28, 1996, near Kennewick, Washington. Possessing what archaeologist James Chatters described as "Caucasoid" characteristics, the remains were first thought to be those of a nineteenth-century settler. Later, however, radiocarbon dating at the

University of California at Davis showed the body to be more than 9,000 years old. The remains became known as Kennewick Man because of their proximity to nearby Kennewick, Washington.

The Army Corps of Engineers, which had jurisdiction over the area of the Columbia River where the remains were found, determined to return the body for reburial to five local American Indian tribes (the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla, the Yakima Indian Nation, the Nez Perce tribe, the Wanapum band, and the Colville Confederated Tribes), as required by the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). This decision resulted in protests from anthropologists and archaeologists throughout the country, eight of whom filed a lawsuit requesting that the bones be turned over to them for study before reburial. The lawsuit was also joined by a third party, the Asatru Folk Assembly (AFA), a religious group located outside of Nevada City, California. The AFA is concerned with the revival of pre-Christian Celtic, Nordic, and Germanic religious practices. Because of Kennewick Man's Caucasoid characteristics (a large nose and oblong face), the group believes him to be one of their ancestors who migrated to the Americas more than 9,000 years ago. The five tribes, however, insist that the body be reburied as soon as possible. The tribes oppose the scientific testing of the remains, especially destructive techniques like DNA analysis and radiocarbon dating, seeing them "as desecration, with devastating spiritual consequences" (*Oregonian,* 10/2/97, D1).

The Kennewick Man debate must be seen within the context of American Indian religious beliefs and practices regarding death, history, and cultural identity. Representatives of the five tribes insist that Kennewick Man is an ancestor of contemporary American Indians, and that failing to rebury him respectfully can result in serious spiritual consequences. Arman Minthorn, tribal chairperson of the Umatilla, explained their feelings: "Culturally and religiously, our religion tells us that when a body goes into the ground, it is keeping a promise that was made when time began. And the body is to remain in the ground until the end of time. And because these remains have been exposed, this is very sensitive to us, because the remains aren't part of the ground like they should be" (*Oregonian* 10/14/96, A1). Horace Axtell, Nez Perce, agrees: "We have an inherent responsibility to care for those who are no longer with us. Our tradition, spiritual beliefs, practices and culture teach us that when a body goes into the ground, it is meant to stay there until the end of time. When remains are disturbed above the ground, their spirits are at unrest. To put those spirits at ease, the remains must be returned to the ground as soon as possible" (*Oregonian* 4/30/97, A14).

The significance of ancestral remains such as Kennewick Man to the Native communities indigenous to the Columbia River Plateau reflects the tie between

tribal communities, their ancestors, and the land. A reciprocal obligation exists between the body, the earth, and the living community. The body, in its decomposition, is fulfilling this relationship: the earth supports the body during life, and in death, the body supports the earth. Halting this process threatens both ecological and spiritual stability.

The Kennewick Man debate also makes clear the different ways in which identity and history are understood within indigenous communities. Rather than the DNA analysis and radiocarbon dating of university laboratories, identities among these communities stem from a complex and honored oral tradition. Adeline Fredin, director and manager of the Colville Confederated Tribes' history and archaeology department, argues that the oral traditions of the communities go back 10,000 years, to the time when Kennewick Man would have lived in the area. "It's very clear that our ancestral people were there. How can we deny our ancestry? We're living with those kinds of stories and those kinds of Indian legends that tell us about our own ancestry" (*Oregonian* 10/14/96, A1).

Larry Zimmerman, an archaeologist at the University of Nebraska, argues that the nature of time and history are understood differently among traditional indigenous communities:

> To Native Americans, the idea that discovery is the only way to know the past is absurd. For the Indian interested in traditional practice and belief, the past lives in the present. Indians know the past because it is spiritually and ritually part of their daily existence and is relevant only as it exists in the present. . . . When archaeologists say that the Native American past is gone, extinct, or lost unless archaeology can find it, they send a strong message that Native Americans themselves are extinct. (Zimmerman 1994, 65)

The Kennewick Man debate exists alongside a history of grave robbing that has devastated many Native communities. Throughout the history of Euro-American interaction with Native people, government officials, academics, and amateur scavengers have collected Indian remains, stealing them from burial grounds and shipping them to museums and universities. In 1996 it was estimated that there were approximately 1 million such remains held by private and public institutions (Mihesuah 2001). Such collections were part of "salvage ethnography," based on the assumption that the Native peoples of the Americas were doomed to extinction by the onward march of progress. That idea, combined with the goals of Western empiricism and science, demanded that specimens of Native biology and culture be preserved for future non-Native generations to study. Such collectors took little notice of the opinions of American Indian peoples themselves, who were, they assumed, going to vanish forever (see Thomas 2000; Trafzer 1997; Mihesuah 2001). Only recently, with NAGPRA, have Native communities been able to insist

legally upon the return of their ancestors' and relatives' remains. For Native communities, Kennewick Man is part of this long history of abuse and disrespect on the part of Euro-American colonizers.

Anthropologists and archaeologists in favor of studying the Kennewick remains argue that their work is not in the interest of a certain cultural or national group but for the benefit of a global human community: "In examining our heritage, physical anthropologists seek to understand the biological history and origins of all humans in all geographical areas. Our focus is on all humankind. . . . Each society's biological history is an integral part of the complete and continuing story of all humankind." Ignoring what makes cultures unique, physical anthropologists explain that they are interested in cross-cultural and cross-racial questions of biological evolution. One anthropologist argued that bones such as those of the Kennewick Man are "priceless rare treasures of humanity. The skeleton's features are virtually indistinguishable from white ancestors and Asian ancestors" (*Oregonian* 12/19/96, E12).

The Kennewick Man debate has been criticized by many anthropologists for reviving "race science," and for making use of racial categories that are easily sensationalized and virtually useless in terms of scientific study (Marks 1998). While discussing the skeleton as a source of information about the physical characteristics, health, and way of life of America's first people, of the peopling of the Americas, and of human evolution in general, scientists also speculated on Kennewick Man's possible ethnic heritage, and the possibility that ancient Europeans might have arrived in the New World before the ancestors of contemporary American Indians. It is because of those speculations upon his possible European heritage that Kennewick Man has garnered so much publicity. State Republican senators and representatives have joined the news media and scientists to suggest that Kennewick Man might have been Caucasian. James Chatters, the first archaeologist to study the bones, suggested that Kennewick Man looked more like British film star Patrick Stewart (of *Star Trek* fame) than a contemporary American Indian (Preston 1997, 73). It important to note that such speculations about indigenous authenticity could carry dangerous political and ethical consequences. Such narratives in the news media could lead some to challenge the authenticity of indigenous land claims, indigenous burial rights, and indigenous religious freedom.

Francis P. McManamon of the U.S. Department of the Interior explained that the U.S. government classifies indigenous remains as: "human remains relating to tribes, peoples, or cultures that lived in what is now the United States before the documented arrival of European explorers. The remains would be considered Native American regardless of when a particular group might have begun to live in this area and regardless of whether these groups were culturally affiliated or biologically related to present-day tribes" (*Oregonian* 4/14/98, B1). The legal guidelines

accompanying NAGPRA provide regulations for the return of remains: they are first offered to individuals directly descended from the deceased; if those are not available, the remains are given to biologically affiliated tribes; if affiliated tribes are not available, they are returned to culturally or geographically affiliated tribes. Whether or not DNA testing demonstrates a clear link between Kennewick Man and contemporary communities, legally—because his death predated 1492 and because he was found in this geographical region—his body belongs to the tribes in question.

Despite what local Native communities argue to be clear legal grounds for immediate repatriation, Kennewick Man was placed in storage pending the outcome of a series of lawsuits and appeals. A DNA test showing that Kennewick Man did indeed share DNA with contemporary American Indians did not settle the case. In September 2000, the Interior Department concluded that the remains should be repatriated to the tribes. The scientists involved in the lawsuit appealed, and in 2002 the decision was overturned. In the summer of 2002, Kennewick Man was given to scientists for study.

Suzanne J. Crawford

See also Academic Study of American Indian Religious Traditions; Archaeology; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion; Mounds; Mourning and Burial Practices; Repatriation, Spiritual and Cultural Implications

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Kinship

Kinship is the most significant philosophical and theological concept in the

thought of many Native American cultures. Lakotas, in particular, value kinship above all ceremonies and sacred objects, since it is the cohesion of the world and the means by which we live in this world. A culture that perceives and functions by means of kinship is termed "histolic" by anthropologists. *Histos* is the Greek word for "net" or "web," and it indicates the network that, in this case, kinship provides. "Histolic" denotes a way of experiencing and expressing all relationships as being based in kinship.

Examining first the level, person to person, an understanding of the Native American cultural value of kinship can be formed. From its first breath and even before, a Native American child is surrounded by relatives. And when we come to the end of this life we understand that we will go to another where we will again live with our relatives. This family might be called an extended family, but in reality it is the normal form of family in the indigenous world. Eurocentric academics alone see the nuclear family as the norm. The Native American concept of family consists of two hundred to three hundred people spread over five generations.

Native families are understood by generations, and they are inclusive in terminology and function. Above my generation I have my biological parents, as well as all of their siblings and cousins, who are also my parents. They are all my real parents, and many Native American children are five years old before they distinguish their biological parents from their other parents. Anyone in the generation above my parents is my grandparent. We have no such thing as great-aunts and great-uncles, since they are all my grandparents. Anyone in that generation in my community is equally my grandparent. In my own generation I do not have cousins; they are all my brothers and sisters. Their children are my children. The children of any of my children are all my grandchildren. Like the generation of my grandparents, anyone in the generation of my grandchildren in my community is also my grandchild. This family is multigenerational and is the unit of people on whom I would depend for survival and a good life. In fact all my social needs are met by this kinship unit, whether those needs be military, educational, religious, or related to social welfare.

Native Americans must have a good sense of social intelligence. One's life consists of interactions with all the nuances of familiarity and avoidance in the tribal code of behavior. Simply recognizing a relative is so important in Lakota life, for instance, that our word for "prayer" and for "recognizing a relative" is the same word. Degrees of familiarity mean that one will probably be the most familiar with relatives of one's same sex and generation. If a relationship crosses to the other sex, there is usually a substantial level of formality that must be included. If a relationship crosses a generation, the younger person defers to the older out of respect and acknowledgement of the greater experience of the

older person. Degrees of avoidance would include the sibling avoidance in which siblings do not speak directly to siblings of the other sex. Brothers and sisters may communicate only through a third party. The greatest avoidance is the in-law avoidance that requires certain in-laws not only to avoid speaking but also to avoid being in each other's presence. A son-in-law would never be in the presence of his mother-in-law, nor would a daughter-in-law ever be in the presence of her father-in-law. This avoidance keeps peace and harmony in the community and in no way implies any dislike between the parties involved. It is the lived experience of the community that has generated these customs.

Each relationship has its defined perimeters, and knowing those limits frees the parties to focus on the ways in which they ought to interact. "Being a good relative" is defined as the highest ethic, and Native Americans understand that moral living enhances survival and quality of life. Essentially, relatives are to help one another. The reciprocity of these relationships guarantees a good life. So long as I am a good relative, I will have what I need from my kinsfolk. Human beings are defined in Native American theology as being essentially good. Good human traits such as concern, helpfulness, generosity, availability, are all defined as the traits of a good relative. The entirety of one's life is devoted to meeting the needs of one's relatives. The impact of this training is so profound that most Native American people place the identity of their community far above their own individual identity.

If someone is not a good relative and does not keep the ethical code of the community, he is ignored or even ostracized until he learns to obey the kinship code. Children are admonished to live as good relatives or people will say, "Look, he's coming," and turn and walk away. Probably the worst statement that can be made to a Native American is to say, "You live as though you have no relatives."

The mentality that results from living among kinsfolk for a lifetime transfers to all other relationships. Native American cosmologies do not separate animals from humans. Normally the term "nations" is used to speak of all those beings that live on the earth and fly, swim, walk on two or four legs, or crawl. This term, "nations," includes persons and animals as well a birds, reptiles, and fish. We relate to all of these entities as our relatives, since that is who they are. The essential difference between them and us is that we humans were the last created and the weakest of all the nations. Also, we can lose our spiritual ways, while they do not, and so we turn to them for instruction. For example, Duane Hollow Horn Bear told me that he learned something from his dog. One day he spoke sharply to his dog, whose ears and tail drooped and he ran behind the house. A few minutes later he peeked around the other side of the house; his ears were up and his tail was wagging. Duane Hollow Horn Bear said, "That's forgiveness. A

dog will forgive you instantly, but a person will hold a grudge for years."

In our relationship with the nations of animals we have to keep the rules of good kinsfolk. If we follow those rules they will see that we have everything we need as human beings. When my relatives go hunting they are careful about what they do and think in the days before they hunt. In that way their relatives, the deer for example, will give themselves to us, if it is meant to be.

Experiential learning is the only kind of learning we respect. By way of example, when an urban couple wanted their son to have all the right sensitivities of his people, they gave him to his grandmother to raise. The grandmother taught him not to fear the dark. She let him discover which wood made the best bow. Then she sent him out to bring back meat. He went near water and he waited. Soon a deer came to drink and the boy let his arrow fly. The deer was mortally wounded, and so the boy ran to grab the deer's head. When he turned the head, he looked into the deer's eyes. He saw that the deer was afraid and that it was in pain. Following his grandmother's instructions, the boy cut the deer's throat and it died quickly and peacefully. When he brought that meat home his grandmother could teach him how we humans are fed, because our own relatives give themselves to us for food. She taught him that food is always a gift. She taught him that food must never be wasted. No one who shops in a supermarket would have this same sensitivity to his relatives who are our food.

It is in our relationship to the earth that we are at the greatest distance from European culture. To Eurocentric cultures the earth is an inanimate object, a commodity to be managed. To us Native people, our experience is that the earth is alive, that she is a sacred being with memory and kinship with us humans. Our life on her is her gift to us, and we are obligated to keep the rules of kinship toward her strictly if we wish to have what we need from her.

In ceremony, we Native people use the dynamics of kinship to negotiate our way. Since humans are a fusion of physical and spiritual, we are able to interact with the spirit world through ceremony, itself a fusion of the physical and spiritual. Ceremony allows us to interact with the spirit world through the rules of kinship. Essentially, a ceremony allows us humans to demonstrate our kinship with certain spirits, which then will provide us with our needs. For example, a healer in a ceremony will make present objects that show him or her to be a relative of the petitioned spirit. Ceremony allows the healer to enact the relationship, and that allows the spirit to give the healer the power necessary to heal. It is accomplished through the medium of kinship. So long as the healer had kept his end of the kinship obligation, the spiritual powers will keep theirs.

In all of life, we negotiate our way through kinship. It is by being good relatives that we live life in a good way.

Martin Brokenleg

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Lakota; Hunting, Religious Restrictions and Implications; Termination and Relocation; Vision Quest Rites; Warfare, Religious Aspects; *Yuwipi* Ceremony

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Kiowa Indian Hymns

Perhaps among the most time-honored components of Kiowa Christian expression is song. Historically, Kiowas and nineteenth-century missionaries had deep and enduring human relationships that often transcended the particulars of both Kiowa and Christian traditions (see Missionization, Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Reservation). These abiding human relationships led both Kiowas and missionaries to create a unique blending of their respective faiths and traditions—what the Kiowas called "the Jesus Road" (see, for example, Ellis 1998). And among these new creations were so-called Kiowa Indian hymns, encouraged and fostered by both groups (cf. Kracht 1989). Many Kiowa people, for instance, tell a story of when missionaries at the Rainy Mountain Mission began encouraging Kiowas to make their own hymns in their own language. "The missionaries Lauretta E. Ballew and Henrietta Reeside encouraged [their congregants] to 'make' a song, to put Kiowa words into a hymn," says Milton Noel, a member of the Rainy Mountain Kiowa Indian Baptist Church. "After that, these hymns just took off" (Lassiter et al. 2002, 114). And indeed they did. To this day, Kiowa Indian hymns remain a vibrant part of Kiowa culture and are sung at churches throughout the community (cf. Lee 1995).

These hymns blend Kiowa traditional songs with "old time" Christian hymns. Sung a cappella, Kiowa Indian hymns are rendered in the Kiowa language and recalled completely from memory; they incorporate both Kiowa and Christian themes. Like all traditional Kiowa songs, Kiowa hymns recurrently restore and minister to the community with each singing: they continue to be integral to the community's enduring identity. The hymns are often highly individualistic, because many songs are composed and shared by church members themselves at different times in their lives. "These songs are their experiences," says Theresa Carter, "their religious experiences. It's what these songs *are*. . . . Like when they say, 'His mother made that song,' after a certain experience. It was true to the heart. She experienced something and the song came out. It

was her religious experience, and most of these songs are just that" (Lassiter et al. 2002, 112).

Songs come to believers in a variety of ways, but they almost always come all at once as a whole, rather than in parts. Take, for example, the following story told by noted Kiowa hymn singer Ralph Kotay about a hymn made many years ago and still sung today:

> My uncle, he's a good singer. He's made some songs. . . . This one particular song, he was telling me: "You know nephew, when I was young, I went to church—and I also went to the Native American Church. We *all* pray about the same thing, about something in our lives. This one time, this particular time, my wife had gone away. God had taken her away. I was really depressed. I was sitting there in the room by myself and thinking about things in my life. Later on, this song came to me. It came to me through the gladness of my heart. I'm glad I sung [it] because it seemed to lift all that depression off of me." (Lassiter 2001, 345)

After receiving a song, believers often share their songs with other singers and various congregations, after which the song may join the larger repertoire of Kiowa Indian hymns. Once a hymn enters this larger repertoire, songs are further categorized by their use. "There are songs of thanksgiving, there are songs of sorrow, for people that are down and with sickness," says Kotay. "We have songs of *all* kinds" (Lassiter et al. 2002, 75). This knowledge is particularly critical for singers who often are called upon to sing particular hymns for particular occasions, such as birthdays, weddings, or funerals. At funerals, for example, only a select number of hymns are appropriate for the occasion. "We often sing [these particular songs] at funerals so that people can remain strong in their faith," says Kotay. "Songs like this remind us of how hard it is to live this life. It's especially hard when you've lost a loved one. . . . It makes people feel good to know that God is with them and helping them through their hard times. People's emotions can be so mixed at such times. Their minds are not clear. So that's why I sing songs like this" (ibid., 102–103).

In addition to categorizing individual Kiowa hymns according to use, Kiowa singers also firmly situate Indian hymns within the same stream as "our traditional Indian songs" (see Lassiter 1998, 139–152). "All of our traditional Kiowa songs are like this," says Kotay. "Native American songs, powwow songs, hymns—many of them come in the same way, from God, through His Spirit" (Lassiter et al. 2002, 93). This is important to note, because when it comes to American Indians, scholars and lay people alike rarely pay much serious attention to the role of Christianity in Native American communities, and consequently, to Indian hymn traditions—perhaps because such talk doesn't match our expectations of who (or what) many people expect (or want) Indians to be (that is, distinctly "other" and distinctly antiquated). Most academic stories

about the encounter between Indians and Christianity, for instance, emphasize the adversarial relationship between nineteenth-century missionaries and American Indians; they stress how Christianity led to the demise and assimilation of Native America. Although that is partly true, the actual negotiation of culture between human beings is never that simple. People everywhere create and re-create religious tradition as a matter of purpose. And when we examine Native American Christianity and song from the viewpoint of experience, we find that the story is much more complicated than previous students of Native American studies ever thought. Indeed, the blending of Native and Christian traditions is as time-honored and integral to the history and heritage of American Indian communities today as such blending is, for example, in African-American communities. Kiowa hymns are thus an important window into this religious experience—an experience centered by song traditions that, until very recently, have been largely ignored by scholars (McNally 2000). That is unfortunate, because, as Thomas McElwain (1990) notes: "Researchers have been blind to a rich source of information on native spirituality in the native Christian traditions."

Luke Eric Lassiter

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Arapaho; Dance, Plains; Drums; Missionization, Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Reservation; Power, Plains; Song

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Kiva and Medicine Societies

Sacred societies are groups within the Pueblo communities that have the re-

sponsibility of maintaining the various components of ceremonial life. Kiva and medicine societies, in particular, are charged with the duties of keeping the people in good rapport with the land and the sacred beings who inhabit it. An important aspect of Puebloan religion is that it takes a collective approach to the necessities of ceremonial life, be it for weather, illness, warfare, control of flora and fauna, or village harmony (Dozier 1970, 133). Like other aspects of Puebloan life, kiva and medicine societies stem from events in the oral tradition, tying those social entities back to the time of the people's emergence into the present world. With respect to studying these societies, what the scholar of Pueblo religion soon realizes is just how little is known about the features and activities of those institutions. "What is known about them," as Peter Nabokov and Robert Easton write, "is mostly conjectural . . . due to the cloak of secrecy around Pueblo religious beliefs and practices" (Nabokov and Easton 1989, 376).

With regard to what can be said about kiva and medicine societies, as social institutions they tend to cut across clan and phratry lines, although it is common for particular clans to be responsible for leadership positions. As Edward P. Dozier observes among the Western Pueblos in particular, such as Hopi and Zuni, "[S]uccession of important [kiva] offices ordinarily remains within one household and lineage" (Dozier 1970, 139). It is the household and lineage—that is, kiva—that will act as "the custodian of ritual paraphernalia" as well as "providing the clan heads" (ibid.). In the case of medicine societies, such as those at Zuni, the four leaders for each society will also be taken by particular clan members. However, those who are afflicted with specific maladies will be obliged to join the society that cured them, regardless of their clan affiliation. Most illnesses, moreover, are caused by transgressing a sacred object, being, or animal.

Among the Zuni there are twelve different medicine societies, whose patron animals correspond to the twelve "beast gods" that govern the Zuni homeland. The most prominent of these include the Mountain Lion, Bear, Badger, Wolf, Eagle, and Mole (Hultkrantz 1987, 98). Simply being cured, however, is not sufficient in itself for claiming membership in any of the medicine societies. One has to go through an initiation ritual, an integral part of which is an elaborate feast. Guiding the individual through this ritual is the ceremonial "father," who is usually the one who healed the initiate. Going through the ritual will enable one to complete life's path, or *onanne*. As Dennis Tedlock points out, "At birth the Sun Father sets the proper span for every person's life. . . .When a person has truly come to the end of his appointed road, nothing can be done about it." At the same time, one may encounter an "obstacle" that may lead to premature death, such as anything that may cause illness. In that case, being healed and

Ni-ha-poo-ma, an antelope priest, removing the A-wat-a-na-tci from the antelope kiva, Phoenix, Arizona, 1899. (Hartwell and Hamaker/Library of Congress)

joining the appropriate medicine society would be the proper way of not having one's *onanne* impeded (Tedlock and Tedlock 1992, 259). The healing act itself may involve ?*icep_o,* or "magicianship." In such cases, the healer may become possessed by the spirit of a bear or mountain lion, at which time he will locate the "foreign" object causing the illness and extract it from the patient's body by either waving it to the surface with an eagle feather or by sucking it out (Ortiz 1979, 505). The usual time for medicine society activities is during the fall and winter. Those who have been initiated into a medicine society will go on a retreat apart from the village, where they will make prayer sticks for their ancestors and pray for rain. Integral to each medicine society's identity is the maintenance of the society's fetish, which is "kept by the main household of the associated clan" (Hultkrantz 1987, 112–113).

The kiva itself is a subterranean or semisubterranean structure, "the oldest type of religious building in continuous use in the Western hemisphere." In fact, according to the Acoma, the first kiva originated because the people needed a sacred place, one that could commemorate the time of emergence, as well as being a place where the kachinas could come to the people (Nabokov and Easton 1989, 376). The number of kivas that each Pueblo community maintains will vary according to location and its respective traditions. Some, like the Tewa groups, have only one large kiva, while others, such as the Hopi, Zuni, and Acoma, possess multiple kivas, "where such structures are definitely associated with clan and sodality (association) organizations" (Dozier 1970, 126). For example, at Old Oraibi in Hopiland, there are thirteen known kivas (Nabokov and Easton 1989, 376), while at Taos and Picuris there are six, divided between the winter and summer moieties that control the ceremonial life of those Pueblos (ibid., 377).

The structure itself is either rectangular or circular, pertaining to the often mentioned division between western and eastern Pueblos, respectively. Among the Hopi, a rectangular kiva will typically be 25 feet long, 15 feet wide, and 10 feet high. There will often be a fireplace, a hole representing the *sipapuni* (or place of emergence), with part of the floor raised, leading to the ladder and exit, so that authorized visitors can watch the rituals and dances that take place in the back interior. A sure sign that one was in the presence of a kiva was a ladder poking out of an entryway in the ceiling. When a kiva was being used for ceremonial purposes, a banner of some kind would be attached to the exposed part of the ladder. "Nearly all of these sacred structures," according to Nabokov and Easton, "are off-limits to non-residents, and many a tourist has been sternly reproached, even by young children, for failing to observe the prohibition against taking photographs or trespassing" (ibid.). During the Wuwtsim ceremony, the prohibitions become even stricter, especially when young boys are

being initiated into the various kiva societies. For example, the people at Oraibi will ceremonially close the four roads that lead into their village. More specifically, a member of the One Horn Society will seal a road shut by "drawing four lines across it with sacred cornmeal," thereby protecting "the village from any evil power that might come" (Waters 1977, 142). Once the roads have all been closed, the villagers are admonished to stay in their homes while the initiation ritual takes place. In fact, members of the One Horn Society will go on night patrol looking for people who do not belong out on this particular night. As for the kiva's being used for the initiation ritual, it is absolutely limited to only those who are necessary to the event at hand.

What this entails is that entry into a kiva, especially when it is being used for ceremonial purposes, is limited to those who have been properly initiated into the respective kiva society. Across all Pueblo communities, young boys in particular are expected to join a kiva society and participate in the ceremonial life of the community. Some may later join other societies, and perhaps some will even lead medicine societies; nonetheless, the community expects—even depends on, for its general well-being—young people joining the rites of their ancestors. Among the Zuni, the parents will usually decide which of the six kivas their son will join first, while the boy is somewhere between five and nine years old. A ceremonial "father" will then guide the child through the first phase of the initiation (Dozier 1970, 141). Initiation at this point will involve being whipped by the kachinas for the sake of purifying the initiate. Symbolically, this also places the initiate under the control of the kachinas. Later on, when the boy is between ten and twelve, he will be further initiated into the secrets of kachina ritualism, as well as going through another whipping for purification purposes (Hultkrantz 1987, 111). Furthermore, during the second phase, "either a mandatory assignment to specific ceremonial association" will be made or the boy will make a "voluntary selection of one from among a number of alternative associations" (Dozier 1970, 141). Once a boy is fully initiated, he will have the privilege and responsibility of donning a kachina (*kokko*) mask and participating in the ceremonies of the calendar round, the cycle of ceremonies that the tribe performs throughout the year.

The process of initiation, according to the Hopi, is likened to the maturation of plant life, such as corn. The child begins as a seedling, but with the proper care he will grow to bear fruit and become ripe, or *hoyya*. In the words of a Hopi man recorded by Walter C. O'Kane, "A baby is like a plant that has started to grow from a seed. It must be protected in just the same way" (Loftin 1991, 29). The process of maturation and then initiation is also likened by the Hopi to their emergence legends into this world. "The baby when born," observes John D. Loftin, "is perceived by the Hopi to be incomplete, just as the first Hopis were in the under-

Ceremonial figure with rain from a fresco on kiva interior wall, ca. 1500, at Tiguex (Kuaua Pueblo), near Francisco Vásquez de Coronado's camp on the Rio Grande, New Mexico. (North Wind Picture Archives)

world." Thus a Hopi baby will symbolically go through the four worlds of emergence before being brought into the sunlight and named on its twentieth day. Once the child becomes of age and is ready for his initiation into a kiva society, he will once again go through the mythological stages of emergence. For the Hopi this will occur during Powamuya, when the Wuwtsim or Bean Dance is held.

Ostensibly, the Powamuya ceremony inaugurates the masked or kachina half of the year, when the kachinas themselves will stay in the Hopi villages until the end of July. According to Alph H. Secakuku, the Powamuya ceremony is the most complex of all Hopi ceremonials. It begins with an *Ahöla,* a kachina priest of the highest order, going around to the houses in the village and blessing them, followed by the ceremonial opening of the kivas to the kachinas who have been summoned. All the boys who have been through the first phase of initiation must now gather and prepare for the ensuing kachina dance. Meanwhile, Whipper kachinas will make their way through the village at night, assessing "whether or not life standards maintained by the village have been acceptable and warrant special blessings" (Secakuku 1995, 16). Eventually, on the day of the dance, the kachinas will arrive bearing gifts, symbols of the wealth and values that Hopis hold dear. Matriarchs will be given small bundles of bean sprouts; girls will be given kachina dolls, dancing wands, plaques, and traditional shoes; boys will receive lightning sticks,

rattles, and moccasins (ibid.). The Powamuya ceremony is also a time of atonement, when ogre kachinas, *Soo'so'yoktu,* arrive in the village demanding food from young girls and boys that is difficult for them to acquire. If the ogres do not receive their food, they proclaim that they will eat the children. During this time of duress, all the people "[look] into themselves to see what they may have done wrong during the year to deserve this terrifying disruption." Of particular concern are transgressions against communal Hopi values. As a way of expiating the villagers' indiscretions, everyone is publicly ridiculed and disciplined. Once that has been done the ogres are forcibly removed from the village, and healing is achieved with public enactment of the kachina dance (ibid.).

The Wuwtsim initiation ceremony that occurs while the above ceremonial events are taking place re-creates the mythological episodes that are referred to in the larger ceremony. More specifically, the initiation invokes the events that led to the Hopi emergence into the Fourth World, or *Túwaqachi.* "The Wuwtsim ceremony is secret," Loftin writes, "and parts have never been viewed by outsiders" (Loftin 1991, 30). Nevertheless, what we can say about it is that it carries the urgency that the first inhabitants of the Fourth World felt upon making it up from the previous world. According to Frank Waters, Sótuknang told the Hopi, "What you choose will determine if this time you can carry out the plan of Creation on it or whether it must in time be destroyed too" (Waters 1977, 21). An important part of the plan of creation has to do with remembering to honor the sacred beings by initiating young people into their secrets and ceremonies.

Four kiva societies will participate in the Wuwtsim: the Two Horn, the One Horn, the Flute, and the Wuchim. Once the Crier Chief has announced that it is time to begin the Wuwtsim, the four societies will remove themselves to their respective kivas and spend the next eight days in preparation for the ceremony. The Two Horn Society, in particular, will erect in its kiva the Six Directions altar. That altar consists of colored sands representing the four primary directions, as well as an ear of dark mixed corn and one of sweet corn, marking the above and below directions, respectively. A wooden backdrop is covered with the colors of the four worlds, which in turn are decorated with symbols of the four elements. In front of this display are two elk horns standing nearly six feet tall. Between the two horns is placed a *típòni,* which is a fetish made from either stone or wood. The Two Horn fetish is a "wooden figure of a man about twelve inches high with a bow beside him." During the initiation ritual a *mongko,* a symbol of a society's origins in the underworld, about four feet long, will cover the kiva entrance.

During the Wuwtsim, young people will embark on the most important stage of their initiation, called Ástotokya, or the Night of the Washing of the Hair. This particular ritual is held only every four years and is shrouded by a blanket of se-

crecy. Such precautions are necessary for the reason that the initiates are thought to symbolize the first people to emerge into the Fourth World. As such, they are free from "any human frailty and must be held inviolate from mortal evil." During the Ástotokya only priests and sacred beings may have contact with the initiates. The initiates are led by their ceremonial "fathers" into the appropriate kiva, where they will sit on benches on the eastern, raised half while the priests occupy the lower end, holding the Six Directions altar. The initiation takes place while villagers are shut up in their homes and the night patrol is on duty.

The initiates watch in the dim light of evening as one of the priests removes a plug from the floor that was covering the *sipapuni*. The priest then recounts the mythological journey that the Hopi people took through the previous worlds. What the initiates learn from this storytelling is that they are similar to the people of the Third World, Kuskurza. By virtue of going through this initiation, the young boys will gain in spiritual growth, learning what their ancestors did when they went through the original stages of emergence (Waters 1977, 138–145).

Edmund Nequatewa, a member of the One Horned Society, tells one version of this crucial moment in Hopi mythology. During the beginning time, long before the Hopi would arrive at their present locations, the people lived in an underworld where "everything was good." However, the people began losing their way because of the divisions made in their society between common, middle, and first-class groups. The lower groups became jealous of the privileges of the first-class groups, particularly the priests. Eventually all the gossip about selfish priests and unfaithful spouses created a huge rift between the lower and upper classes, as well as between men and women. In fact the women felt the greatest amount of offense, as a result of the rivalry between the lower- and upper-class men, so the women began refusing their husbands across the three classes. The men had no choice but to retreat into their kivas. In time the women decided to work out a tentative peace accord with the men. Nonetheless, there was still much strife in the air.

Yai-hiwa, the village chief, along with the Crier Chief and their families, were severely troubled by the turn of events. Yai-hiwa determined that something must be done to ameliorate the discord, in addition to making certain that the people learned a lesson from their wayward behavior. But what exactly to do? Yai-hiwa called on the Posi-wiwaimkum, the wisest men of the community. He asked them to hold council at a location apart from the village. Four days later they gathered. They then engaged in a fatherly and brotherly smoke as they sat around a fire that had been lit for the occasion.

Once the smoking was done, Yai-hiwa prayed that the sacred beings would receive their smoke, and that they would receive help in resolving their stricken community. What Yai-hiwa proposed to

the wise gathered before him was that the people needed to move on to another place. After a moment of silence, the Posi-wiwaimkum asserted their allegiance to the chief and his cause. Yai-hiwa then directed them to begin making *pahos,* prayer offerings, beginning the next morning.

When they reconvened the next day, everyone showed up with the material needed for making *pahos.* Before they started on their work, they all confirmed that they were "strong in heart." With that, Yai-hiwa was the first to make a *paho,* which the others then copied. They worked until they all had filled the plaques they had brought with them with *pahos.* Afterward, they engaged in another fatherly and brotherly smoke.

On the third day, they continued making *pahos* and they smoked.

On the fourth day, Yai-hiwa declared that they were done making *pahos.* However, now they needed to call on someone much wiser than they who could help them with their predicament. Yai-hiwa and the Posi-wiwaimkum then sang a Calling Song that beckoned Yapa, the mockingbird, to their gathering place. Yapa then asked why he was summoned, what could he do to help? Yai-hiwa explained that the people were in great need of his knowledge and wisdom, for which Yapa was offered a plaqueful (a plaue is a flat basket) of *pahos.* Once Yapa had accepted the offerings, he told all who were gathered that there was someone still wiser than he whom they should call. This was Sikatsi, the canary bird. Yapa said that if Sikatsi told Yai-hiwa and the wise men to call on him, he would undoubtedly assist. But they had to summon Sikatsi first. With that, Yapa went to hide while the men sang another Calling Song for Sikatsi, who appeared by and by. Sikatsi asked the men why he was summoned, and what he could do to help.

Once again, Yai-hiwa explained that the people were in trouble that they could not resolve on their own. They needed Sikatsi's knowledge and wisdom. "I understand you," Sikatsi said. "But I cannot do everything alone. I cannot perform my ceremony without the magic songs. The mocking bird must be with us. Call him at once. We need him."

With that, Yapa, the mockingbird, was called forth again. When Yapa appeared, Sikatsi greeted him along with all the others. Sikatsi told Yapa that they needed his abundant knowledge of songs. Yapa said that he was ready to help. Sikatsi and Yapa then flew away around some rocks. When they returned, they had transformed into tall, handsome men with long, black hair.

An altar was then arranged for the forthcoming ceremony. The wise men, including Yai-hiwa, used colored sands, differently colored ears of corn, and a sacred water bowl. Once that was ready, Yapa began singing a song for the water in the sacred water bowl. Then they had to decide whom they would call first with Yapa's calling songs. Yapa and Sikatsi decided that they should first summon Kwahu, the eagle. At the end of every

song the sacred water was sprinkled to each direction.

When Kwahu appeared, Sikatsi and Yapa explained the people's needs to him. Kwahu said that he would try despite the arduous task at hand. When Kwahu asked which direction he should fly, Sikatsi and Yapa said, "We wish you would go up into the skies. There may be an opening and another world up there." Prayer feathers were then tied around his neck and each of his feet. Kwahu then flew up into the sky until he disappeared into the clouds.

All day they waited for Kwahu to return. When they finally spotted him descending it was very late in the day. Upon reaching the ground Kwahu looked exhausted and nearly dead. It took a while before he revived enough to tell everyone what he had found. Kwahu told them about how difficult it was to fly that high up into the skies, particularly how there was no place to rest. However, before he had to give up from exhaustion, Kwahu said that he did spot an opening after all. Kwahu was then given many prayer offerings for his help and asked to stay until the task was done.

Sikatsi and Yapa then decided to summon someone else. This time they called Ki-sa, the hawk. Just like Kwahu before him, it was explained what the people's needs were and where they would like Ki-sa to fly. Once Ki-sa was adorned with prayer feathers, he asked the others to pray for his success. Ki-sa then disappeared into the clouds. "All this time the men were singing prayer and luck songs that nothing would happen to the hawk."

By the time Ki-sa returned everyone was certain that he was dead. In fact, when they spotted Ki-sa in the sky Kwahu flew up to help him back down to the ground. Fortunately, Ki-sa's heart was still beating a little. To help revive him, Yapa sang over Ki-sa, while others prayed and smoked. When Ki-sa was finally able to talk he told the others that what Kwahu saw was correct, that there was an opening to another world. However, in spite of flying even farther up than Kwahu, Ki-sa was not able to actually make it into the opening.

Once again, Sikatsi and Yapa called on another helper. This time the swallow appeared, at which time it was explained to him why he was summoned. The swallow then took his turn at flying up into the clouds, followed by the prayers of everyone gathered. While the men waited for the swallow to return they continued with their smoking and praying. Once again it became very late before the swallow returned from his journey again. He too was near death when he finally landed. Upon receiving his plaqueful of prayer feathers, the swallow confirmed the accuracy of what Kwahu and Ki-sa had reported. But unlike the other two, the swallow made it the closest yet to the opening, where, he said, the wind was very strong.

For the fourth time, Sikatsi and Yapa sang a Calling Song. Si-katsi, the shrike, then appeared, asking why he had been summoned. But before Si-katsi took on

the task of flying up into the skies he said to everyone gathered, "I know and feel that it must be a hard undertaking because these three brothers were not able to make it. But to be sure, you must all tell me if you are all earnest in the hope to be saved. Somebody's heart must be bad here and he is the one that is holding you back and keeping you working so hard. Every heart must be true and honest. Let us all be one if we really want to be saved."

Yai-hiwa then asked all of the wise men if any of them had any doubts about the value of what they were trying to do here, to which all the men assured him that they were committed to the task at hand. With that Si-katsi took off into the sky, flying faster the higher he got, until at least he disappeared into the clouds. Unlike the previous three, Si-katsi did not come back exhausted and near death but with a lot of energy. When everyone saw this they became encouraged and felt happy in their hearts. It was not long then before Si-katsi was telling everyone what he had seen. Unsurprisingly, most of what he saw matched the previous three accounts. But Si-katsi actually made it into the opening that led to the next world, where he found projecting rocks where he could land and rest. "Then, at last," Si-katsi said, "up through the opening which is just like a kiva you have down here. The light and sunshine is much better than here, but there is no sign of human life, only the animals and birds of all kinds."

When it came time to figure out how the people would actually make it into the next world, the humblest among them, Kochoilaftiyo, the Poker Boy, came forward. Yai-hiwa and others were surprised by this, but they listened nevertheless, to what he had to say. Kochoilaftiyo then told them about kuna, the chipmunk. Kuna would know how to make things grow, especially trees, and probably would know what to do.

So kuna was called to forth, and just like the birds he wanted to know why he was summoned here. Once all was explained to him, kuna acknowledged that he was very familiar with the planting and growing of trees. Still, kuna could not guarantee that he could help them achieve their goal. Before kuna reached into his bag, the others smoked and prayed.

"This," kuna said with a seed in his hand, "is a spruce. We will try it first."

Kuna then put the spruce seed in his mouth and sang four songs before planting it in the ground. Kuna then produced a seashell rattle and proceeded to sing over the seedling. Kuna continued with his growing ritual until the spruce began to grow to a great height; nonetheless, the spruce was far from tall enough. "I have done my best," said kuna.

Kuna then asked the others not to give up hope. He then pulled another seed from his bag. This time it was for a fir pine. Kuna then followed the same ritual as before. Like the spruce, the fir pine began to grow to a great height. But, although it was much taller than the

spruce, it was still far from tall enough to reach the hole in the sky. Kuna said that he had to give up on the fir pine, but he would try again. The others, meanwhile, kept up their prayers and smoking.

This time kuna pulled out a seed for the long needle pine. And again kuna went through the same ritual until the long needle pine began to grow and grow, the tallest tree yet. But it too was far too short in spite of being much taller than the previous two trees. At this point, kuna stopped to smoke and think. He could not understand why none of the trees so far were tall enough. At length he felt compelled to ask the others. "I wish to ask you from your very hearts if there is someone here who is not very willing to go and hates to leave behind the ones he loves?" Kuna also suggested that perhaps someone among them was still harboring evil thoughts, to which everyone denied. Everyone assured kuna that their hearts were committed to reaching the next world.

Kuna then went to where the bamboo trees grow. There he took a bamboo shoot and brought a piñon shell filled with water. Kuna then set these on a basket tray, after which he began smoking his pipe and prayed. "Others followed in the same manner. When this was done he put the piñon shell of water in the ground, at an arm length deep and on top of it he planted the bamboo shoot and he covered it up. He took his sacred cornmeal in his right hand and stood over the plant and said his prayers in silence. Then he threw the meal high up toward the sky. Then the others followed one by one."

With everyone joining in for the singing of the songs taught them by Yapa, kuna began his arduous task of trying to make the bamboo shoot grow. Keeping time with the singing, kuna pulled at the bamboo, stretching it further and further upward. As the bamboo tree began to grow taller than any of the other three previous trees, all four of the birds that helped to find the opening in the sky went up to check on the progress of the growth. Naturally, it was the shrike who confirmed when the bamboo made it to the opening. Once this was done, everyone was overjoyed, especially kuna. The next stage of course was to get the people up through the hollow interior of the bamboo and into the next world, the Fourth World. However, since it was night, Yaihiwa decided that they should wait until morning to begin planning their journey upward. "Now they were all very anxious to see the morning come, and before it did come, the chief had appointed two birds—the eagle and the swallow—to be on the lookout so that no wicked people might pass" (Nequatewa 1994, 1–13).

This is the point that the young boys being initiated into their kiva societies have reached. When they climb up the ladder, exiting their kiva, they will be reenacting their ancestors' ascent into the Fourth World. But first, men will come down the ladder into the darkened kiva, wearing robes and large four-pointed white stars on their foreheads. Másaw is among them. During this time the only

sounds are a low humming and the blowing of breath. Slowly these noises become louder. Suddenly there is a voice that proclaims that it is "the Beginning and the End." Just as abruptly, all the men begin clambering to get up the ladder and out of the kiva. While this is going on, other men will be waiting at the top of the kiva with buckets of water that they will pour on everyone's head. This act washes away any impurities that may have come out of the kiva. The Crier Chief then calls into the kiva for anyone to come out who may still be inside. One by one the initiates emerge, naked and as wet as newborn children. The initiates are now taken to a nearby home, where they will have their hair washed in nine bowls of yucca suds. However, the initiation does not end here. "Late in the spring," Frank Waters writes, "each initiate is required to make a pilgrimage to the Salt Cave in Grand Canyon, testing his spiritual wings for the first time" (Waters 1977, 145–146). What the initiates have earned, moreover, is the honor and responsibility of participating in the kachina ceremonies, for which a mask will be made for each of them by members of their kiva society.

David Martínez

See also Architecture; Ceremony and Ritual, Pueblo; Clowns and Clowning; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Kachina and Clown Societies; Masks and Masking; Oral Traditions, Pueblo

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L

Land

See Sacred Sites and Sacred Mountains

Law, Legislation, and Native Religion

Major Laws Affecting Native American Religious Freedom

All peoples and cultures hold certain deeply ingrained religious beliefs to be self-evident. From time immemorial, the spiritual side of life has uplifted and enriched our species. That is certainly true among the Native peoples of the Western Hemisphere, who are heirs to religions that long predate Columbus's arrival. These indigenous religions exist in dimensions that surpass Middle Eastern religious diversity. For example, the United States is home to older and more numerous aboriginal holy places than those described in the Old Testament and Koran.

In contrast, the human right of worship is not universally held. Only the privileged and powerful enjoy that liberty unfettered in most nations. Even in our own democracy, where most citizens take religious freedom for granted, Native Americans have shared the tragic fate of most indigenous societies: since the dawn of the colonial era, the world's indigenous peoples have suffered a history of religious genocide. That history (1500–1945 C.E.) has been felt in most colonies and former colonies through religious intolerance, proselytization, and discrimination brought by European settlers and enforced through the machinery of colonial and postcolonial governments. These policies were enforced in some nations, including our own, by military force and outright government prohibition of Native religious practice. As a result, many tribal traditions, cultures, and religious practices, ceremonies, and sites have disappeared from the North American continent. Today Native peoples struggle to protect what remains.

Sharing his perspective on how this problem affects human rights issues under the jurisdiction of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, Chairman Daniel K. Inouye observed:

Walter Echo-Hawk at a Senate Select Committee on Indian affairs field hearing in Seattle in 1992 regarding Native American religious freedom and legislative needs. Peterson Zah, president of the Navajo Nation, and Vine Deloria, Jr., are shown left and right, respectively. (Courtesy of Chuck Williams)

Religious intolerance and suppression of tribal religions in America is not new. In fact, this form of discrimination has characterized the relationship between our indigenous population and newcomers from Europe for the past 500 years. . . . In the minds of Europeans, tribal religions of the New World were inferior. . . . Thus, it is not surprising—especially given Europe's own heritage of religious discrimination among unpopular Christian denominations and against non-Christian world religions—that intolerance became a basic feature in the Pilgrims' and other colonists' relationship with the Indians. Indeed, although early settlers came to America to escape religious persecution, Old World prejudices were transplanted in the Colonies, where discrimination became commonplace. The Establishment Clause of the First Amendment was intended to curb these Old World abuses of the colonists' religious freedom by preventing majoritarian support for popular religious denominations. From the beginning, the federal government's effort to convert Indians to Christianity became a cornerstone of its federal Indian Policy. . . . As may be expected, Government violation of Indian religious freedom in respect to the Establishment Clause was soon

> followed by an incursion on these freedoms alternatively protected by the Free Exercise Clause, which prohibits governmental intrusion on the practice of religion. Outright prohibition of tribal religions by the federal government began in the 1890s. Federal troops slaughtered Indian practitioners of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee, and systematically suppressed this tribal religion on other Indian Reservations. In 1892 and 1904, federal regulations outlawed the practice of tribal religions entirely, and punished Indian practitioners by either confinement in the agency prisons or by withholding rations. (Inouye 1992, 12–14)

Today the world's nations are entering the "New World Order," which promises unprecedented opportunity for widespread freedom and democracy. The paramount human rights challenge faced in each former colony, including the United States, is to fully restore the religious liberty of aboriginal inhabitants and the cultural integrity of their tribal communities. There is a human rights movement among the world's indigenous nations—which are "invisible nations" within the boundaries of many nations—to protect their beliefs and practices from encroachment by nonindigenous settlers and governments. Those aspirations are embodied in the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which is pending in the United Nations.

America began its response to this challenge twenty-five years ago, with the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978. But the social change intended by that law is not yet completed and remains part of America's "unfinished business." Senator Inouye noted the importance of this challenge:

> If America is to provide strong moral leadership in the world today as a much needed beacon for freedom, our indigenous policies need to be vastly different from countries such as South Africa, which have questionable standing in the international community as a result of mistreatment of their original inhabitants. Like us, many nations are former colonies, and the way in which they treat their indigenous populations reflects their intrinsic values. Even if constitutional rights are ensured for a majority of society, a denial of constitutional protections for indigenous people is a heavy moral weight that may cloud a democracy's human rights foreign policy.

The law pertaining to Native American religion is broad. It encompasses treaties, statutes, executive orders, administrative regulations, case law, and tribal law. This article surveys major statutes that protect indigenous religious practices. Legislation is the primary means by which Native religious liberty is protected in the United States. It is also the hardest form of protection to obtain, because of political disadvantages faced by Native Americans, as an impoverished minority group, in Congress.

Nonetheless, accommodation of religion is primarily a legislative, not judicial, function. Courts have always had

difficulty applying widely accepted First Amendment protections to Indians. They finally gave up that task entirely in *Employment Div., Dept. of Human Resources of Oregon v. Smith* (1990) and *Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Ass.* (1989) and turned the chore over to Congress—not only for Indians but also for all other citizens. As a result, bare politics controls the extent of religious freedom. It is not guarded by judicial enforcement of the Free Exercise and Establishment clauses of the First Amendment, as most people often think.

In *Lyng* and *Smith,* the Supreme Court faced Native American religious claims. In those cases the Court greatly restricted First Amendment protections and referred the plaintiffs to Congress to protect their practices. The decisions also generally turned over the task of accommodating religious liberty to the legislative branch. These cases narrowed the meaning and application of the First Amendment to such rare circumstances that little room for constitutional protection against governmental actions that infringe religious liberty remains.

Smith justified this result on the grounds that religious diversity, in the eyes of the Court, is a "luxury" that society "cannot afford." Under *Smith,* only antireligion laws that are openly hostile to religion are subject to First Amendment safeguards. Since few if any antireligion laws have ever been enacted, those safeguards have little meaning.

The Court left religious accommodation to the political process, despite clear hardships on minority faiths. Even though politics "place at a relative disadvantage those religious practices that are not widely engaged in," *Smith* ordained that this "unavoidable consequence . . . must be preferred." Justice O'Connor dissented against making worship dependent on politics and predicted harsh times for religious minorities:

> The First Amendment was enacted precisely to protect the rights of those whose religious practices are not shared by the majority and may be viewed with hostility. The history of our free exercise doctrine amply demonstrates the harsh impact majoritarian rule has had on unpopular or emerging religious groups. . . .
>
> The very purpose of the Bill of Rights was to withdraw subjects from the vicissitudes of political controversy. . . . One's right to life, liberty, and property, to free speech, a free press, freedom of worship and assembly, and other fundamental rights may not be submitted to votes; they depend on the outcome of no election.

The degree to which Congress has protected the endangered religions of America's Native peoples is surveyed below.

Major Native American Religion Laws

American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (AIRFA). The AIRFA is a landmark law that set federal policy and a legislative agenda that have endured over the past generation. The law is based on congressional findings that the Constitution

has not protected indigenous religious liberty, infringements existed on a massive scale in 1978, and legislation is necessary to protect those inherent rights. Accordingly, Section One establishes a U.S. policy to "protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Native Hawaiians, including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites."

Section Two directed the president to evaluate federal laws, policies, and procedures to identify changes necessary to preserve indigenous religious rights and report recommendations to Congress. AIRFA is remarkable in three respects, even though it only establishes a "policy" and makes no substantive rules.

First, important findings about the government's treatment of Native American religions were made in the "whereas clauses" of this legislation, which have provided the policy backdrop for all subsequent laws and legislative efforts. For the first time Congress acknowledged that freedom of religion is an "inherent right" guaranteed to Native Americans by the First Amendment and declared that their religious practices "are an integral part of" indigenous "culture, tradition and heritage, such practices forming the basis of Indian identity and value systems." Because these religions were found to be "an integral part of Indian life" and "indispensable and irreplaceable," the lawmakers were troubled that federal policy "has often resulted in the abridgement of religious freedom for traditional American Indians." In short, AIRFA formally acknowledged a dark side of U.S. history, determined that our nation must address serious human rights infringements, and inaugurated the need for social change.

Indians seemingly held no constitutional rights prior to AIRFA. That history could no longer be ignored, however, after the declarations made in AIRFA. Those findings corroborated facts long known to historians, who have documented that separation of church and state was disregarded in the government's treatment of Indians. Government-sponsored religion was imposed on Indian tribes for more than a hundred years by hiring Christian missionaries as Indian agents, placing Indian nations under the administrative control of different religious denominations to convert Indians and separate them from their traditions, conveying Indian land to religious groups for the building of churches and religious schools on Indian reservations, proselytizing Indian youth in federal boarding schools, and using federal funds to support those activities. These policies amounted to wholesale Establishment Clause violations for an entire race of people for well over one hundred years. In the report to Congress mandated by Section Two of AIRFA, Secretary Andrus corroborated this troubling history.

> That Christianity and federal interests were often identical became an article of faith in every branch of government and this pervasive attitude initiated the contemporary period of religious persecution of the Indian religions. It was not, to be certain, a direct attack on Indian tribal religions because of their conflict with Christianity, but an oblique attack on the Indian way of life that had as its by-product the transformation of Indians into American citizens. Had a Christian denomination or sect, or the Jewish community, been subjected to the same requirements prior to receiving affirmation of their legal and political rights, the outcry would have been tremendous. But Indians, forming an exotic community that few understood, were thought to be the proper subject of this concern. (*American Indian Religious Freedom Act Report, P.L. 95–341* [U.S. Dept. Interior, 1979] [hereinafter, "Secretary Andrus's Report"], 4)

AIRFA's legislative history, findings, and report to Congress also documented present-day government infringements. That record reveals a shocking list of human rights violations. Problems included the outright denial of access to religious ceremonies, holy places, and burial grounds (including a complete lack of legal protection for those places), as well as the natural materials needed as sacred objects for religious observances (such as peyote, certain plants, mineral substances, eagle feathers, and marine mammal and other animal parts) when located on federal lands or protected by conservation laws. Grave looting, trafficking in human body parts and burial offerings, and massive warehousing of sacred objects and human remains by museums were also documented. Many infringements were found to stem from a "lack of knowledge or the insensitive and inflexible enforcement of Federal policies and regulations premised on a variety of laws" that are "designed for such worthwhile purposes as conservation and preservation of natural species and resources but were never intended to relate to Indian religious practices"(see AIRFA "whereas clauses"). Nonetheless, Congress found that these laws and policies often deny access to sacred sites required in Native religions, prohibit the use and possession of sacred objects needed for rites and ceremonies, and permit intrusions and interference with, and in a few instances ban, traditional ceremonies. Secretary Andrus's report explained that these "abuses have for the most part arisen because of ignorance or misunderstanding on the part of the non-Indian," and added that this treatment "exemplifies what can happen to a religious minority when its tradition is radically divergent from that of a majority in a society" (Secretary Andrus's Report, 7–8). The secretary promised that the U.S. people and nation would rectify those injustices.

"With the enactment of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act our nation is being afforded the opportunity to correct past injustices and to begin anew with regard to treatment of those who adhere to the tenets of traditional Native

A delegation of Indians visit the White House, during the Grant administration (1869–1877). Represented are delegations from the Pawnee, Ponca, Potawatomi, and Sac and Fox. (Bettmann/Corbis)

religions. In countless ways in the past and present, both our government and our people have proven themselves equal to challenges inherent in new beginnings. This will be no exception" (ibid., 16). The findings of Congress continue to provide the foundation for legislative policy to protect Native American religious liberty and will remain in that role until each documented injustice is addressed by the American people and corrected by appropriate legislation.

However, in redressing these injustices AIRFA also teaches that "policy" alone is insufficient to protect human rights. AIRFA's policy was not enforced by the courts. *Lyng* dismissed AIRFA because its policy had "no teeth" and allowed the government to destroy an irreplaceable holy place that was central to the religion of three Indian tribes in order to build a dirt logging road. Civil rights leaders did not rely on "policy" to end centuries of ingrained racial discrimination. Instead, they obtained enforceable laws when human rights were at stake. Similar laws are needed to fulfill Secretary Andrus's ringing promise to Native Americans.

AIRFA Amendments of 1994. In 1990, the Supreme Court denied constitutional protection in *Smith* for an Indian religion of pre-Columbian antiquity involving the religious use of peyote. Because that sacred plant is classified as a controlled substance under federal drug laws, *Smith* created a human rights crisis among Native people who were forced to worship in fear of arrest or job discrimination. The crisis prompted a human rights movement originating on Indian reservations for passage of legislation to correct the problem. This resulted in the AIRFA Amendments of 1994, which were signed into law by President Clinton.

The amendments overturn the application of *Smith* to the religious use of peyote by Indians, legalize such use nationally, and prohibit discrimination against Indians because of such use. The law provides that "the use, possession, or transportation of peyote by an Indian for bona fide traditional ceremonial purposes in connection with the practice of a traditional Indian religion is lawful, and shall not be prohibited by the United States or any state"; it further guarantees that "[no] Indian shall be penalized or discriminated against on the basis of such use, possession or transportation." The act safeguards public interest concerns by allowing: (a) reasonable regulation of the cultivation, harvest, and distribution of this sacred plant; (b) discretion of prison authorities to permit access to this sacrament by incarcerated Indians; and (c) reasonable limitations on such use by military personnel and employees in certain safety-sensitive jobs.

This law protects "Indians," who are defined as a member of "any tribe, band, nation, pueblo, or other organized group or community of Indians, including any Alaska Native village . . . which is recognized as eligible for the special programs and services provided by the United States to Indians because of their status as Indians." The House Committee report explains that Congress passed this law as part of the federal government's trust responsibility to protect and preserve Indian cultures and traditions.

Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). NAGPRA was signed into law by President Bush in 1990. This statute was part of a legislative movement to protect Native Americans from widespread grave desecration, to repatriate thousands of their dead held by museums and federal agencies, and to retrieve improperly acquired religious and cultural property. NAGPRA repudiates an abhorrent historical double standard under which U.S. law strictly protected white bodies and graves from mutilation and desecration, while allowing—even encouraging—private citizens, scientists, soldiers, and museums to loot Native graves, to obtain the contents as "property," and to desecrate Native dead without the knowledge or consent of the next of kin. This double standard violated the sanctity of the dead and the religious sensitivities of every Indian tribe, Native Hawaiian, and Alaska Native community in the nation.

NAGPRA seeks to rectify these horrible injustices by establishing national repatriation guidelines and other remedies discussed below. A significant body of state and federal laws provided precedent. By 1990, thirty-four states had passed laws to protect unmarked graves. These laws prohibit intentional disturbance of unmarked graves and provide guidelines for the disposition and reburial of remains discovered in unmarked graves. The laws closed loopholes created by state statutes that protect marked cemeteries but not unmarked graves, which consist primarily of Indian graves. By 1989, Arizona, California, Hawaii, Nebraska, and Kansas had enacted precedent-setting laws of varying scope to repatriate Native remains held by museums and other entities to Native communities for reburial. On the federal level, the Museum of the American Indian Act of 1989 directed the Smithsonian Institution to repatriate its collection of 18,500 dead Indians under specified standards and procedures.

NAGPRA is a complex law that sets out procedures and standards for repatriating human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony. These "cultural items" are defined in the statute. The provisions apply to federal agencies and museums that receive federal funding. They must repatriate cultural items upon request by lineal descendants, culturally affiliated Indian tribes, or Native Hawaiian groups under defined evidentiary and procedural standards. Under NAGPRA, thousands of these dead have been returned to Native communities for reburial.

In addition, NAGPRA prohibits intentional excavation of cultural items on federal land without an Archeological Resources Protection Act permit. Tribal consent must be obtained for excavation on tribal land. When cultural items are accidentally discovered, activity must cease pending notification of the affected agency and Native parties, so they may determine ownership and disposition. NAGPRA provides the rules for controlling the disposition of human remains discovered on federal and tribal land, even ancient remains such as the Kennewick Man and Salt Cave remains. The rules give the initial right of disposition to lineal descendants and, where descendants are not ascertained, list a descending order of priority among the Native American community. Trafficking in human remains is made a criminal offense, and trafficking in other cultural items obtained in violation of the act is also prohibited. In sum, NAGPRA is an enforceable law that effectuates the social change envisioned by AIRFA.

Repatriation under this historic law is a case-by-case process that will take years to complete because of the massive number of human remains, museums, and federal agencies involved. To implement NAGPRA, agencies, museums, the NAGPRA Review Committee, and courts are interpreting, clarifying, and applying its provisions to specific cases. Those provisions must be liberally construed to accomplish the remedial purposes of

Native American Alfred Smith, whose use of peyote in religious ceremony was condemned by the Supreme Court. 1990. (Phil Schofield/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

this legislation, as is commonly done for civil rights laws, and interpreted under rules of construction that apply to federal Indian statutes: NAGPRA is a human rights law enacted as a part of Congress's Indian trust responsibility. Some scientists seek to limit NAGPRA by arguing in the Kennewick Man litigation, which is now pending in the courts, that NAGPRA is not an "Indian law" statute, that it must be narrowly construed, and that it should not apply to early remains.

Another implementation issue concerns the proper disposition of Native American remains whose cultural affiliation cannot be determined. NAGPRA directs the Review Committee to inventory these remains and recommend actions for their disposition. Native people claim the right of disposition for reburial as the nearest cultural, spiritual, and geographical kin. Their position is supported by the general rule that all persons are entitled to a decent burial. That norm is followed in local laws requiring a burial for each person who dies, even at state expense, for unclaimed strangers, paupers, or persons with no next of kin. The National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), the nation's largest organization of tribal governments, passed a resolution in 2002 demanding such protection for these dead. The resolution opposes disposition that exempts these dead from the norm by elevating scientific interest over the religious, sovereign, and human rights of Native Americans. NCAI insists that these dead "be repatriated and reburied by Native peoples as soon as possible." In contrast, some scientists want to permanently retain these dead as "specimens" for future study.

Laws affecting traditional use of eagle feathers and animal parts. Plants and animals are considered sacred by aboriginal hunters, fishers, gatherers, and traditional people in Native American communities. Their religions are based upon centuries of close observation of the natural world. This has established close spiritual relationships between them and the plants and animals that compose their indigenous habitats.

The Makah Indian whaling culture is an example. For thousands of years this seafaring tribe has looked to the ocean for food, tools, and clothing. Whaling became the core of the Makah culture, identity, economy, and way of life. The rituals, songs, ceremonies, and legends surrounding whales have deep spiritual significance in Makah life.

> Makah whaling is also steeped in spiritual, religious and ritualistic beliefs. The ritual or spiritual nature of whaling is based on the idea that humans are too insignificant to capture such enormous and powerful creatures if the whale does not want to be taken or does not cooperate in its capture. Ritual preparation for months before whaling ensures that the Makah whaler is pure in heart and deserves to take a whale. In fact, Makah and other native whalers believed that the spiritual preparation was as important as the whaling equipment and methods they used.
>
> The Makah practice religious rituals in the woods in private with the goal of finding and securing the aid of intermediary spirits or tamanos, which guarded the destinies of individuals. They would bathe ritually in lakes and in the ocean and would swim imitating a whale by spouting water from their mouths. They would also purify themselves by self-flagellation with nettles or hemlock branches. Moreover, the Makah believed in human to whale transformations. . . .
>
> Once a whale was struck, the Makah used spiritually powerful family songs to turn a harpooned whale towards shore. The Makah would pray to the whale and sing to it, begging its spirit to turn toward the shore where the people "stood ready to give it praise" and to honor it as a guest of the village with ceremonies and rituals. (Miller 2001, 184–186)

Though little understood by non-Indians, such spiritual ties are commonplace among indigenous people. Over millennia, their beliefs have been greatly enriched by teachings and spiritual power received from animals and plants. Traditional ceremonies are conducted to honor these spiritual relatives, communicate and receive blessings or knowledge from them, and to otherwise worship the Creator in the natural world. These beliefs and practices sustain Native life, subsistence, and harmony in indigenous habitats. As a result, numerous animal and plant parts are sacred objects needed for indigenous religious observances. Some are described in Secretary Andrus's report:

> Native traditional religions are based on the natural environment. Their practitioners rely on natural substances for their religious observances. Certain wildlife, plants and minerals—which may be worn, carried or simply present—are considered sacred and fundamental to the religious and ceremonial life.
>
> The sacred objects of a ceremony or religion may be, for example, the salmon, eagle, buffalo, kit fox, hawk, shark, snake, deer, moose, elk, squirrel, turtle, bowhead or butterfly. Some religious ceremonies may hold venerable claws, feathers, beaks, tusks, hides, fangs or quills; while particular

> plants—such as sage, tobacco, mescal, yucca, sweet grass, cedar, peyote—are central to others. Drums, arrows, masks, prayer feathers, pipes, totems, medicine bundles and other objects made from natural materials are held sacred in certain Native religions. Natural products may be roots or rocks, berries, gourds, leaves, shells or turquoise—they may be consumed, buried, held, carried or observed, and are commonly used for healing, purification or visions, according to religious customary law. (Secretary Andrus's Report, 68)

Unfortunately, access to these materials has been curtailed by federal conservation laws, land management policies, and other factors. From an environmental standpoint, Secretary Andrus's report explained that these materials have become scarce, because white settlement and the introduction of nonindigenous species has "inevitably led to a great reduction of the natural animal and plant species." Scarcity was exacerbated by federal development projects that "greatly affected wildlife habitats and rendered inaccessible many deposits of mineral substances" (ibid.). The ability of Native people to gather traditional materials needed for tribal religious observances was seriously curtailed by federal removal of Natives from aboriginal homelands containing those materials. Natives who were able to return to traditional places were confronted with inflexible federal land management policies that prevented Native gathering, and by conservation laws that inadvertently contributed to the problem by failing to take their uses into account (ibid., 69–70).

Major federal statutes addressing problems of this nature include the peyote legislation, discussed above. In 1962 the Bald Eagle Protection Act was amended to allow the use and possession of eagle feathers "for the religious purposes of Indian tribes." This exemption is administered through the Fish and Wildlife Service. In a 1994 executive order, President Clinton attempted to improve this administrative system. The Marine Mammal Protection Act exempts from its "takings" prohibitions "any Indian, Aleut, or Eskimo who resides in Alaska and who dwells on the coast of the North Pacific Ocean or the Arctic Ocean" if the take is for subsistence or for making traditional native handicrafts. The Makah whaling quota (one gray whale per year) is secured under international and domestic agreements entered into under the Makah Treaty of 1855, which reserved Indian whaling rights, the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling, the Endangered Species Act, and the National Environmental Protection Act. Makah whaling occurs under environmentalist litigation, protests, harassment at sea, as well as racial acts and death threats.

Worship by incarcerated Native Americans. Disproportionately high numbers of Native Americans are confined in U.S. prisons. In 1991 the percentage of Native Americans among the prison population of Alaska was 31 per-

cent, Hawaii 34 percent, and South Dakota 25 percent. A major human rights problem is the denial of access to their traditional religious practices. Secretary Andrus's report describes this problem:

"Native Americans have a disproportionately high arrest and incarceration rate—the highest of any identifiable group in the country. . . . Many Native American prisoners experience difficulty in the practice of ceremonies and traditional rites, possession of sacred objects and access to spiritual leaders" (ibid., 86).

Between 1970 and 1996, more than fifty lawsuits were filed to protect the religious rights of Native prisoners. This litigation was effective until the Supreme Court weakened legal standards for protecting such rights in *O'Lone v. Estate of Shabazz* (1987). Subsequently, those hard-fought rights began to erode, hastened by *Lyng* and *Smith.* Congress reinstated some legal standards for protecting worship in the Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993 (RFRA). However, RFRA was ineffective for protecting prisoners, because its application was watered down in the prison context. This ineffectual law was short-lived, and it was struck down, as applied to state actions, as unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in *City of Boerne v. Flores* (1996).

Congress's second attempt, the Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act of 2000, may hold more promise if properly enforced by the courts. This law applies to prisons that receive federal funds. It prohibits prison authorities from imposing a substantial burden on inmate worship unless the authorities show that the burden furthers a "compelling governmental interest" and is the "least restrictive means" of furthering that interest.

In the absence of an effective federal law to protect Native American worship in prisons, five states legislated to fill the void. Largely on account of legislative efforts by Native corrections advocates (such as Lenny Foster, director of the Navajo Nation Corrections Project), Arizona (in 1995), Colorado (in 1992), Minnesota (in 1985 and 1999), New Mexico (in 2002), and Utah (in 1996) enacted laws to protect the religious freedom of Native American inmates.

New Mexico's statute guarantees that "Native American religions shall be afforded by the corrections department the same standing and respect as Judeo-Christian religions." The law directs state prisons to "permit access on a regular basis" to a "native American spiritual advisor" and to "items and materials used in religious ceremonies," as well as to "a sweat lodge on the grounds of the correctional facility." No Native American incarcerated in New Mexico is required "to cut his hair if it conflicts with his traditional native American religious beliefs." Colorado's law affords access to American Indian spiritual leaders, items and materials used in ceremonies, and appropriate religious facilities on a basis comparable to that which is "afforded to inmates who practice Judeo-Christian religions." In federal prisons, a 1996 policy

More than 500 Makah Indians attend the traditional ceremony of the whale hunt, Neah Bay, Washington, 1999. (Anthony Bolante/Corbis Sygma)

statement guarantees Native prisoners the equal access to religious leaders, items and materials, and facilities and ceremonial foods, as well as protecting their right to wear traditional hair styles for religious reasons.

These efforts recognize that Native worship is an important and integral part of corrections. They provide models for legislating national corrections standards. The human rights of incarcerated Native Americans must not be ignored simply because they are locked away. Although separated by prison walls, they remain important to their people and will someday return to tribal communities. It is vitally important that they return as contributing tribal members and not as alienated strangers damaged by unchecked totalitarian treatment at the hands of the state.

Major laws affecting Native worship at sacred sites. All world religions, including religions indigenous to the United States, have holy places. Preservation of such places is the responsibility of each nation. Most countries maintain stringent legal protections for holy places within their borders. Our nation is home to numerous Native American holy places. Secretary Andrus's report advised Congress:

> The Native peoples of this country believe that certain areas of land are holy. These lands may be sacred, for example, because of religious events which occurred there, because they contain specific natural products,

> because they are the dwelling place or embodiment of spiritual beings, because they surround or contain burial grounds or because they are sites conducive to communicating with spiritual beings. There are specific religious beliefs regarding each sacred site which form the basis for religious laws governing the site. (Ibid., 52)

Most sites are natural landmarks (such as a waterfall, mountaintop, or butte) that are no longer owned by Native people but have fallen into federal or private ownership. That often makes Native worship at those sites, or protection of them, difficult.

Native religious use of federal lands containing such sites, and the preservation of these holy places, are not protected by federal statutes. Federal religion laws strongly protect religious property, such as church buildings, but these statutes exclude indigenous holy places because they are natural landmarks that are not owned by Native people. For these second-class religious places, only limited procedural protections are afforded by federal law. This disparate treatment is an Equal Protection problem that has seriously compromised indigenous religious liberty.

The double standard arises from federal laws and policies that strongly protect mainstream religious facilities and properties owned by churches or the government, but not indigenous holy places. The Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993 created stringent legal standards that can be used to protect religious places from government destruction. Those standards help ensure that no church, synagogue, mosque, cathedral, Sunday school, church school, camp, or parking lot will be bulldozed. However, in the Senate Committee report and floor statements regarding this act, senators created a loophole in its coverage by indicating that the act is not intended to apply to "the use of the Government's property or resources." That loophole effectively excludes protection for indigenous holy places that are located on federal land, since they are government "property or resources." This double standard continues in the Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act of 2000, which protects the religious use of a church only if the claimant "has an ownership, leasehold, easement, servitude, or other property interest in the regulated land." This requirement excludes indigenous holy places that are no longer owned by Native people.

Indigenous religious sites have been bulldozed, flooded, paved over, clearcut, commercialized, desecrated by tourists, and shelled by the military. In 1995, forty-four sites were being threatened by development, tourism, resource exploitation, looting, and vandalism. Such an onslaught would shock and outrage the nation if committed against church- or government-owned religious property.

In contrast to stringent laws that protect other religious property, the only

protection afforded Native American sites is unenforceable "policy." U.S. government AIRFA policy did not prevent government destruction in *Lyng,* because it is unenforceable. President Clinton promulgated another policy in 1996. Section 1 of Executive Order No. 13007 on Indian Sacred Sites directs federal land managers "to the extent practicable, permitted by law, and not clearly inconsistent with essential agency functions" to:

1. accommodate access to and ceremonial use of Indian sacred sites by Indian religious practitioners; and
2. avoid adversely affecting the physical integrity of such sacred sites.

Agencies must implement procedures for carrying out these mandates, but Section 4 limits those provisions to "internal agency management" and does not provide enforceable legal rights.

The maze of laws affecting Native worship at sacred sites is an ineffective patchwork. Numerous efforts since 1978 have failed to strengthen, consolidate, or coordinate this maze, or to streamline protections into a more workable, uniform, and enforceable system. In 2002, Native Americans resumed efforts to petition Congress for legislation to protect their religious places, and the Senate Indian Affairs Committee has commenced a series of oversight hearings on this human rights problem. It is hoped that the statutory patchwork, which is surveyed below, may be replaced or strengthened by adequate legislation that affords Native Americans equal protection under federal law.

Statutory protection of Indian cemeteries and burial grounds located on federal and tribal lands is provided in NAGPRA and the Archeological Resources Protection Act of 1978. Both laws prohibit excavation, removal, defacing, or sale of human remains and burial items unless done in accordance with those statutes. These acts supplement state unmarked grave protection laws that protect Indian burials located on state and private lands.

Ten site-specific laws provide for Native American access, ownership, or use of federal land containing sacred sites. In 1970, President Nixon signed legislation to return sacred Blue Lake to Taos Pueblo; 25 U.S.C.A. 640d–19 provides Hopi access to a shrine for ceremonial and gathering purposes; 16 U.S.C.A. 228i adds lands to the Havasupai Reservation for traditional uses, including religious, and gathering or hunting native foods, materials, paints, and medicines; 16 U.S.C.A. 410ii–4 ensures that certain National Park agreements do not prevent traditional Native American religious uses; 16 U.S.C.A. 543f protects traditional cultural and religious uses of a Scenic Area; 16 U.S.C.A. 460uu–47 protects access to a national monument for traditional cultural and religious uses and allows temporary closures to protect the privacy of religious activities; 16 U.S.C.A. 410pp–6 protects cultural and

religious uses of a National Park; P.L. 98–408 returns traditional Zuni land to that tribe for religious and subsistence purposes; P.L. 95–498 returns land containing shrines and religious sites to Santa Ana Pueblo; P.L. 95–499 returns land containing shrines and religious sites to Zia Pueblo.

Finally, two laws offer limited procedural protections. The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) offers procedural protections for property that is significant in American history and culture, including "properties of traditional religious and cultural importance to an Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization." The act requires federal agencies to determine whether their undertakings harm such properties, and it requires consultation with Indian tribes or Native Hawaiian organizations that attach religious or cultural significance to the property. However, after agencies satisfy procedural requirements they can proceed as they see fit, and any substantive protection of religious sites is therefore discretionary.

Similarly, the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) requires agencies to assess the impact of their actions on the human environment. This is done through studies that evaluate those impacts. NEPA regulations require consultation with Indian tribes. While not expressly mentioned, impacts on sacred sites may fall within NEPA's framework. As is the case with the NHPA, after agencies satisfy procedural requirements they can proceed, notwithstanding impacts on the human environment. As such, protection of sites under NEPA is up to the goodwill of agency bureaucrats.

The success of NHPA and NEPA has varied. These laws helped protect Native worship at the Medicine Wheel and Devil's Tower. Those instances required lengthy negotiations by organized Native Americans and supportive agencies that were compelled to defend their actions in federal court against non-Indian special interest groups unhappy with the accommodation of religion by the agencies. Other efforts failed where these factors were not present, as in the case of Mount Graham, which is sacred to the Apaches. As explained by Jack Trope, legal counsel for the Indians who protected their worship at the Medicine Wheel:

> Ultimately, however, the protection of these sites should not be dependent upon the political pressure that tribes can muster, the political clout of a potential developer or the good will of the local land manager. Over the long term, it would be most appropriate to transfer sacred sites to tribal control where this is possible. Most religious sites in this country are controlled by the religious communities that value them. The ultimate goal should be to achieve the same end for practitioners of Native American traditional religions. (Trope 1996, 35)

Given the unique historical circumstances involved, there is much merit to the transfer proposal. Native American religious places are property taken by a government with a policy of outlawing tribal religion. While that policy was later withdrawn by AIRFA, most religious

properties were not returned or sufficiently protected. Under these circumstances, that property should now be transferred back to the original owners or, at minimum, sufficiently protected for the aboriginal religious use predating federal acquisition.

As our society matures, it becomes time for our nation to fully restore Native American religious liberty and cultural integrity. Congress must enact a remedial law to stringently protect Native American sacred sites in a manner equivalent to the protections that it has afforded to other religious properties. Disparate treatment in federal law amounts to religious discrimination. Such laws can not be tolerated, and their inequality must be rejected as repugnant vestiges of the government's treatment of Native American religion.

Conclusion

The laws surveyed in this article measure the extent to which Congress has addressed and incorporated the human rights of America's Native peoples into the social and legal fabric of our nation. Indigenous worship occurs under a significant, but incomplete, patchwork of legislation, and Native American religious liberty is unfulfilled in important areas. Repetitive legislative efforts to correct these injustices underscore the hardships encountered by Native Americans in protecting human rights in the political arena.

Walter R. Echo-Hawk

See also American Indian Movement (Red Power Movement); Archaeology; Ecology and Environmentalism; Fishing Rights and the First Salmon Ceremony; Identity; Kennewick Man; Native American Church, Peyote Movement; Repatriation, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Reservations, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Sacred Sites and Sacred Mountains; Termination and Relocation

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Literature, Louise Erdrich

See Erdrich, Louise

Literature, Religion in Contemporary American Indian Literature

Unlike most Christian societies, in which secular or everyday life is separated from religious practice and belief, traditional Native American societies were quite religious, incorporating aspects of the sacred into every part of their lives. This traditional intertwining of religious and everyday life is no longer universally true, as the amount of religion practiced in daily living varies from tribe to tribe and among individuals. There are still Native Americans who closely follow their sacred traditions, much as their people did in the past, but there are also Native Americans who have become Christian, and so compartmentalize or separate their religion from their everyday activities. Some Native Americans practice no religion at all, Christian or traditional. However, it is the traditional interweaving of religion in daily life that is most often reflected in Native American literature. But what exactly is Native American literature?

A good standard for defining Native American literature is literature written by Native Americans using Native American characters, settings, and cultural situations. That definition would be accepted by almost any scholar of Native American literature, but there are gray areas in which people disagree. For example, Tony Hillerman's books, such as *Talking God* (Hillerman 1991), by the above definition are not Native American literature because Hillerman is not Native American, no matter that his work may fit some of the other criteria in the description. Hillerman's work could best be classified as popular fiction that makes use of Native American characters, settings, and cultural situations.

On the other hand, Martin Cruz Smith, who is Native American, writes some work that is Native American literature and some that is not. For example, *Stallion Gate* (Smith 1986) would be included, but

many of his other books, such as *Havana Bay* (1999), are not included because they do not contain Native American characters, settings, or cultural situations. These distinctions are important when considering whether sacred or religious information contained in the text is authentic—and authenticity is important.

A text written by a person who is Native American is more likely to present religious and sacred information accurately because such persons would probably have been raised in the religious traditions of their own particular tribe or have specific knowledge from their own family and tribe. "Likely" and "probably" sound nebulous, but these caveats must be in place because not all Native Americans are raised within the religious and cultural traditions of a tribe. Many Native Americans live modern lives in places that are far from their tribal origins. Even so, information provided by an "urban Indian" is still more likely to be accurate than that from a non-Native American, because all Native Americans, urban or reservation-dwelling, have a vested interest in ensuring accuracy. Native Americans have been misrepresented and inaccurately portrayed in literature (which includes film, television, and theater, as well as print media) since the first contact by white society, and incorrect labels have formed the roots of misunderstandings and discrimination for centuries.

Much early literature attempted to portray Native Americans as savages who must be civilized through eradication of their religious and cultural beliefs and through conversion to Christianity. Material written by Native Americans like Charles O. Eastman (*From the Deep Woods to Civilization,* 1977), who renounced their culture and embraced the Christian faith, found publishers and readers; those who adhered to traditional sacred belief found themselves silenced. Zitkala Sa (Gertrude Bonnin) of the Lakota tribe attended eastern boarding schools, where she converted to Christianity and became a teacher and writer (*Old Indian Legends, Retold by Zitkala Sa,* 1901). Later in her life she recanted the conversion and published an article in *Atlantic Monthly* entitled "Why I Am a Pagan" (1902). The *Atlantic* article was ignored until recently, when it became available as an e-book on the Internet. Her early works about boarding school and her Christian conversation are widely published in such works as the *Norton Anthology of American Literature* (Shorter 1989, 1630–1652).

Traditional stories from the oral tradition were occasionally studied, written down, and published, but most of these were recorded as anthropological studies intended to preserve information about a supposedly vanishing people; they were not considered valid literature by scholars and the wider reading public. The stories were artifacts, read in much the same way that a modern person might read an article about the San people of Africa in *National Geographic.* It must be noted, however, that without the work of anthropologists such as Franz Boas (*Kwakiutl Tales* 1910), a Columbia

Writer Sherman Alexie, 2004. (Christopher Felver/Corbis)

University professor who worked among the Clackamas and Kwakwak'wakw people of the Northwest, much material from oral tradition, both sacred and secular, might have been forgotten.

Modern literature, particularly film, about Native Americans has tended in the opposite direction, toward portraying Native Americans as wonderfully in tune with the environment, generous, peaceful, and spiritual people; while that may be true of some, it is not universal, and the idea of Native Americans as perfect human beings is romanticizing and just as inaccurate and damaging as the literature that demonizes and dehumanizes. The Kevin Costner film *Dances with Wolves* (1990) is one of the most outstanding examples of such romanticizing.

Furthermore, like most films about Native Americans, *Dances with Wolves* is set in the historical past and perpetuates the notion of the vanishing Indian. It is unclear whether this is the form that filmgoers want to see, or if it is simply the only fare about Native Americans that is offered by most Hollywood filmmakers.

Writing about the movie in his book *Fantasies of the Master Race* (1998), Ward Churchill states,

> It's all in the past . . . comfortably out of reach. . . . Nothing to be done about it, really, at least at this point. Best that everyone—Euroamericans, at any rate—pay a bit of appropriately maudlin homage to "our heritage," feel better about themselves for possessing such lofty sentiments, and get on with business as usual. . . . That is, after all, the very business as usual that films like *Dances With Wolves* help to perpetuate by diverting attention to their sensitive reinterpretations of yesteryear. (Churchill 1998, 241)

It must also be pointed out that the sacred and religious aspects portrayed in this film are just as suspect and improbable as is the general plot. A filmmaking step in the right direction is the film *Smoke Signals* (1998), based on Sherman Alexie's writings.

Alexie, of the Spokane tribe, has been very successful with his publications of poetry, short fiction, and novels. *Smoke Signals* is an adaptation of some of his short stories from the collection *The*

Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven (Alexie 1993). The film follows Spokane Indians, Victor and his friend Thomas Builds the Fire, on a journey from the Spokane Reservation to Phoenix to recover the ashes of Victor's father, who has died there while estranged from his family and tribe. The film is chock full of references and in-jokes that go completely over the heads of viewers who know nothing about Native Americans, but Alexie's creation of humorous dialogue and situations is general enough to make the film worthwhile for everyone. Alexie has been criticized by both whites and Native Americans for portraying a bleak, sometimes hopeless situation for Native Americans, but nonetheless his work is realistic and a more accurate representation than is the romantic, feel-good tripe of modern Hollywood, or the John Wayne Western genre of movies from the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, which typically dehumanized Native Americans and depicted distortions of their culture.

In addition to Alexie, other Native Americans are also producing films. The mixed blood writer Gerald Vizenor wrote and produced *Harold of Orange* (1984), a short comedy drama. Typical of Vizenor's books and articles, this film is full of innuendo, sarcasm, and jokes that are hilariously funny to those who understand them, yet confusing and easily misunderstood by those outside the culture. With the exception of Alexie's *Smoke Signals,* Native American film has not, for the most part, been commercially successful, but with more people developing an understanding of Native American culture, and therefore an understanding and appreciation for Native American film, there is hope for the future.

The future, the turning point for wide acceptance of Native American literature in print, began with the publication of N. Scott Momaday's 1969 Pulitzer Prize–winning book *House Made of Dawn* (1968). Momaday is the Kiowa/Cherokee/white son of parents who were teachers on various southwestern reservations; he spent twenty-five years at Jemez Pueblo in north-central New Mexico. This pueblo is the setting for *House Made of Dawn,* which tells the story of Abel, a World War II veteran returning to the pueblo after the war. It is a violent story of cultural loss, alienation, and Abel's ultimate reunion with the land and sacred traditions of his people upon the death of his grandfather. Abel is rendered inarticulate by the horrors of war and separation from his land and culture, and thus the story is told mostly from the points of view of other characters, including a Hispanic priest, Abel's Diné (Navajo) friend, and a Kiowa preacher from the Native American Church. Sacred performances, stories, and parts of ceremonies from Kiowa, Diné, and Pueblo traditions run throughout, giving the text a cross-tribal sampling of sacred traditions and performance. Material from this book became the core and source for subsequent books by Momaday, including most notably *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (1969).

Rainy Mountain comes closest of any book in translating Native American oral tradition, storytelling, to the written page. The story of the Kiowa migration from southern Canada and the northern United States to their present location in the south-central Great Plains is the core of the book, but Momaday includes historical information and personal memoirs in a three-part formula that echoes the storytelling of oral tradition, wherein the traditional narrative (sacred or secular) remains intact but the storyteller may include relevant collaborative historical "fact" and personal experience. Drawings by Momaday's artist father are interspersed in the text, a technique that is similar to an oral storyteller's use of body language through gestures. The large amount of white space—areas of the pages left blank—is the equivalent of pauses and silences that a storyteller incorporates into an oral narrative for dramatic effect. Momaday has published other works of poetry and fiction, but *House Made of Dawn* stands as the watermark for Native American literature. Besides introducing the world to Native American literature, the book served as a model for other Native American writers to follow, most notably Leslie Marmon Silko.

Silko, who is of Laguna Pueblo, Mexican, and white ancestry, published *Ceremony* in 1977. In this book, the main character, Tayo, is similar to Momaday's Abel in *House Made of Dawn.* Tayo, too, is a World War II veteran returning to his home after serving in Japan, and like Abel, Tayo has been alienated and separated from his culture. *Ceremony* also contains violent scenes that are metaphors for the violent upheaval within the psyche of the characters. Although Silko's novel is certainly patterned on *House Made of Dawn,* it is not a carbon copy but deserving of respect and recognition in its own right. There are obvious differences between the two books. Momaday's work is unrelentingly serious, while Silko includes scenes of tragic comedy, such as the picture she paints of Tayo and friend Harley en route to a bar with Harley, a big man, riding a donkey and Tayo mounted on a blind mule. Another example of a difference between the two texts is that Abel finds himself and reconnects to his spiritual and cultural heritage only upon the death of his grandfather, but Tayo's recovery must come through a ceremony—and hence the title of the book. Since the publication of *Ceremony,* Silko has published other works, such as *Almanac of the Dead* (1992), that are unique and distinct from her first book and Momaday's. With the recognition and success of Momaday and Silko, a process of recovery began.

That is, other previously published but far less successful works by Native Americans were sought out and republished, while new works were published as well. John Rollin Ridge's novel *The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murietta, The Celebrated California Bandit* (1854) was rediscovered, along with Mourning Dove's book *Cogewea, the Half-blood: A*

Depiction of the Great Montana Cattle Range (1927). James Welch published several novels beginning with *Winter in the Blood* in 1974. Altogether, Welch published five novels, a collection of poetry entitled *Riding the Earthboy 40* (1971), and a nonfiction work, *Killing Custer* (1994), with film producer and director Paul Stekler. In addition, Welch and Stekler collaborated on the film *Last Stand at Little Bighorn* (1992), produced for the PBS American Experience series. With the exception of the Ridge novel and the Welch/Stekler book, all of these works incorporate aspects of ceremony and traditional religious practice into the narratives. Other Native American writers have written about aspects of sacred practice in unconventional ways, notably Gerald Vizenor.

A member of the Minnesota Chippewa tribe, Vizenor was a journalist who began writing and publishing books somewhat later than the other writers mentioned, but he has certainly made up for lost time; Vizenor is now one of the most prolific of Native American writers, with seventeen books, both fiction and nonfiction, to his credit. Vizenor is much more difficult to read than some of the others; he utilizes enigmatic characters, circular plots, and odd situations that poke fun at misconceptions about Native Americans, "talk back" to injustices, and redefine the meaning of what it is to be both Native and American. The sacred ceremonies and performances that he writes about are true to the spirit of Native American religious practice, but they are frequently inventions and not the true practices of any particular tribe. Vizenor himself may be the ultimate trickster figure, as his works seem to be the embodiment of all possibilities, allowing readers to decipher for themselves what is meant by a particular narrative. *Bearheart: The Heirship Chronicles* (1990) and *The Heirs of Columbus* (1991) are representative of his novels.

Another notable Native American writer of the Chippewa (Ojibwa) tribe is Louis Erdrich. Erdrich is arguably the most commercially successful Native American writer of all time, surpassing even Momaday. She began her career with the publication of *Jacklight* (1984), a collection of poetry, and has continued with the publication of poetry, short stories, and novels, most of which are set on the Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota. *Love Medicine* (1993), *Tracks* (1989), *The Beet Queen* (1998), and *The Bingo Palace* (1994) are a series of novels with recurring characters and situations that detail land loss, culture and language loss, and survival. Her work intermingles sacred stories and traditions with the lives of modern Ojibwa people in such a way that it is obvious that the traditional stories are a means of surviving the past and continuing into the future. *The Crown of Columbus* (1991) is a novel written in collaboration with her late husband, Michael Dorris, a Native American writer in his own right (*A Yellow Raft in Blue Water*, 1998).

In contrast to Erdrich's success, the late Louis Owens, of Cherokee/Choctaw/Irish heritage, spoke of himself as

"the least read and most misunderstood" of all Native American writers (Owens, personal correspondence, 2002). Regardless of his own opinion about the reception of his work, Owens is an important figure in Native American literature. He is the author of five novels beginning with the publication of *Wolfsong* (1991), editor of *American Literary Scholarship: An Annual, 1990,* collaborator with Tom Colonnese on *American Indian Novelists: An Annotated Critical Bibliography* (1984), and the writer of five other works of nonfiction. Two of these nonfiction works, *Mixedblood Messages: Literature, Film, Family and Place* (1998) and his last book, *I Hear the Train: Reflections, Inventions, Refractions* (2002), are autobiographical in nature and essential reading for anyone attempting to understand the problems of Native Americans in modern society. While Owens never wrote poetry, he had a deep appreciation for the art form and for the Native Americans who wrote and published poetry, including Simon Ortiz, Joy Harjo, Luci Tapahonso, and Kimberly Blaeser.

Native American poetry is as varied as the poets who write it. Some poems, such as Paula Gunn Allen's "Soundings" (*Life Is a Fatal Disease* 1994), are a feast of metaphor and language describing the natural world in terms that are both spiritual and secular, while other poetry is informal in language and tone, such as Luci Tapahonso's poem of wry humor "Raisin Eyes" (*A Breeze Swept Through* 1987). Other poets have used their art form for political protest, as Sherman Alexie does in "Capital Punishment" (*The Summer of Black Widows* 1996).

For anyone seeking an entryway into Native American literature, poetry, or other forms, a good place to start is with *Nothing But the Truth: An Anthology of Native American Literature,* edited by John L. Purdy and James Ruppert (2001). (All three of the above-mentioned poems are republished in this anthology.) This book contains entries under nonfiction, fiction, poetry, and drama, with an introductory explanation before each section. Different as they are, certain common aspects of Native American poetry have been frequently acknowledged, as Native American writer Kimberly Blaeser points out in the section preceding the poetry. She writes:

> Comparatively little in depth interpretation or criticism has been written about Native American poetry. . . . Despite this apparent dearth of critical analyses, certain facets of Indian-authored poetry have been frequently acknowledged. Most notably, the poems have been recognized to have a significant spiritual and physical landscape, to invest themselves in a political struggle, to search for or to attempt to articulate connections with the individual, tribal or pan-Indian legacy, and particularly significant to the poetic form—to retain connections to the oral tradition. (Purdy and Ruppert 2001, 413–414)

Perhaps poet Simon Ortiz speaks for other Native American writers as well as himself when he writes on the dedication

page for his collection of poetry, *Woven Stone* (1992): "The stories and poems come forth, and I am only a voice telling them. They are the true source themselves. The language of them is the vision by which we see out and in and all around."

Native American literature provides an opening into understanding the sacred traditions of the first people to occupy the North American continent, as well as an introduction into the rich cultural heritage of many Native American tribes. With understanding come tolerance, acceptance, and appreciation. We can look forward to the time when poetry, fiction, nonfiction, theater, and film produced by Native Americans will be an unquestioned part of the American canon of literature.

Frances Washburn

See also Erdrich, Louise; Momaday, N. Scott; Oral Traditions; Owens, Louis; Symbolism in Ritual and Ceremony; Tricksters

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M

Manitous

If there is a central traditional religious concept embraced by the Native peoples of the Great Lakes, it is undoubtedly manitou. Loosely translated as "spirit," the term denotes the seat of agency that Natives of the region recognize in all living things. They perceive spirits, with the conjoined sense of power and personhood, in humans, as well as winds, animals, plants, medicines, tools, cliffs, lakes, dreams, and all other impressive, effective features of their surroundings. Although it has this broad reference, in its common usage Natives reserve the term for those who are especially powerful. In fishing, hunting, healing, traveling, and all other important activities, Natives seek the aid or forbearance of associated manitous with prayer, song, tobacco, or other ceremonial offerings. In many of these traditions, individuals acquire their own personal lifelong spirit guardian by performing a vision quest during adolescence.

While the Huron, Ottawa, Ojibwa, Menominee, Potawatomi, Miami, and other Native peoples of this vast region possess different linguistic, folkloric, and ceremonial traditions, they share a common religious outlook. This outlook is based, not necessarily on a shared cosmology, mythology, or belief system, but on a shared logic for detecting spirits in the world. Rather than viewing nonhuman causality as natural or fortuitous, Natives of the region assume that there are persons operating behind all events, whether the "persons" involved are human or other-than-human. Thus all activities and occurrences are interpreted in a social context. The religious traditions of the native peoples of the Great Lakes region are organized around describing and influencing the hidden, nonhuman persons in their respective surroundings. In fishing, hunting, healing, divining, traveling, and all other activities left open to success or failure—fortune or peril—Natives petition the associated agents to affect the outcome.

Although it is known by different names, "manitou" is the term most widely used to refer to the common spiritual

essence that natives perceive in all living forms. In the general sense of the term, everyone is or possesses manitou. This includes the medicine, fish, wind, lake, and other nonhuman persons who inhabit the world. The bodies that contain spirits, such as human, plant, or rock forms, are nonessential, impermanent features of being. Thus it is believed that one's spirit wanders off from the body during dreaming and travels to the land of the dead, or is reincarnated after death. Likewise, it is understood that some manitous have the ability to shift their appearance from one form to another. Plants, animals, rivers, and other manitous not only possess the same types of feelings, needs, and motivations as human beings but, in addition, they may sometimes embody, as in many story traditions, a human form. In this way natives of the Great Lakes region believe that all living things are essentially, despite appearances, of the same spiritual or ontological nature.

In the absence of such hard and fast measures, qualitative or corporeal, for distinguishing the various persons that inhabit their surroundings, native peoples of the Great Lakes region derive social protocols from the quantitative differences that they perceive between "people." Rather than imagining fixed ontological distinctions between human, natural, divine, or other types of beings, natives measure one's social standing according to the amount of spirit one possesses. For that reason it is the powerful, the especially spirited among people, who command the attention and respect of others. Just as members of these tribal societies yield to its powerful, influential members—namely, the skilled hunters, fishermen, healers, as well as wise elders (that is, skilled thinkers)—natives believe that plants, animals, rocks, and other spirits yield to the powerful manitous of their respective domains. When fishing or hunting, Natives make prayer, tobacco, or other respectful offerings to their fishing and hunting tools, as well as to the targeted lake or gamekeepers who control the fish or deer.

It is the especially powerful spirits that natives of the Great Lakes region typically refer to as manitous. In most of these traditions, there is the notion of a Great Spirit, or *Kitchi-Manitou,* who created the world but who lives far away. Among Ojibwas and Menominees, there is also the notion of an Evil Spirit, *Matchi-Manitou,* who dwells in the bottom of lakes. More relevant to the day-to-day activities of natives are the manitous that are believed to embody the large, impressive features that impact their immediate surroundings—that is, the sun, moon, thunders, wind, lakes, rivers, cliffs, mighty rocks, and other large and impressive features of their environment. It is understood that these manitous influence the lesser spirits—the individual plants, animals, and rocks—that dwell in their presence. Thus, in order to safely and successfully complete their important tasks, natives pay homage to the appropriate manitous that govern the lands and waters that they trespass, and the plants and animals that they harvest. Inasmuch as healing specialists, or

shamans, are believed to possess a tremendous spiritual capacity—like their nonhuman counterparts—they too are referred to as manitous.

The traditional religious practices that Natives of the Great Lakes region engage in are informed by protocols of gift exchange, which govern all social interactions. In order to influence manitous, Natives pay tribute to them through rituals of sacrifice and supplication. Veneration, in the context of gift exchange, is an expression of need that obligates potential benefactors, whether they are human or other-than-human, to share their wealth. Individuals honor those that they depend on. Thus, in order to acquire something from "others"—fish from a lake, a straight shot from a gun, safe passage around a cliff, a vision of the future from an eagle, venison from a neighbor—one praises their greatness. It is by the accumulation of such honorary capital, through prodigious hunting, healing, or prophetic skills, that individuals acquire the political capital necessary to be leaders in their societies. In the case of thunders, winds, lakes, and other nonhuman persons, Natives convey their respect through gestures of praise and self-sacrifice. Often, Natives will offer a prayer or song to the manitou while burning or burying a small amount of tobacco. They package their verbal and material tribute to manitous in song, prayer, dance, and other aesthetic forms in order to enhance and underscore the gesture of gratitude that will, in turn, elicit favor from the manitous.

While Natives of the region petition common manitous in their surroundings, such as lakes, cliffs, plants, winds, and tools, that are associated with common tasks, individuals seek the assistance of their personal spirit helpers to receive special power and guidance in determining and negotiating their paths of life. To acquire a spirit helper, Natives undertake a vision quest, fasting in isolation until they are visited by a manitou, which usually appears as the sun, a thunder, bird, wolf, bear, or some other natural element or animal. In traditional Ojibwa contexts, all children between ten to twelve years of age undertake a vision quest to obtain their spirit guardian, or *ōbawagē'kgōn*. At the time just before the onset of adolescence, the transitional time in which boys and girls become men and women and accept greater responsibility for themselves and others, the quester spends a few days fasting in seclusion until he or she obtains a divinatory vision from a manitou.

At the appointed time, the parents rub charcoal on the face of their child to indicate to others that the child is undertaking a vision quest. The novice then enters the woods for a period of four to ten days. Boys spend the duration perched on wooden platforms, or "nests," that they build in trees. Girls spend the time walking in the woods. Because of the arduous nature of the quest, the father periodically checks on the condition of his son or daughter, sometimes providing the child with small amounts of water and food, depending on the age and

strength of the child. Upon the successful completion of the quest, the seeker, now considered an adult, returns to the village where he or she, with the assistance of family members, elders, or shamans, interprets the vision.

By fasting in this manner, the seeker enters a paranormal, ecstatic state that lends itself to unusual visual experiences. A successful quest is indicated by the faster's apprehension of a manitou, which reveals itself as his or her spirit guardian. In a typical account of a vision quest, the manitou presents the seeker with a special power to which she will have access thereafter. The powers acquired typically correspond to a skill, such as hunting, healing, predicting the future, or influencing the weather. In one such vision, described by an Ojibwa, a man appeared and, taking pity upon the faster, left him with deer meet. As he walked away, however, the boy saw him turn into a wolf. Thus he determined that the wolf was his spirit guardian, and that, through the wolf, he would always have special hunting powers (Hilger 1951, 45).

Upon returning from a successful vision quest and interpreting its message, the initiate obtains a charm in the form of a feather, claw, bone, shell, stone, piece of cloth, or some other representative piece of the spirit helper. He then places the charm in his medicine bundle, which he carries with him the rest of his life. Whenever he requires the assistance of his spirit guardian, he draws it from his medicine bundle.

James B. Jeffries

See also Bundles, Sacred Bundle Traditions; Ceremony and Ritual, Anishnabe; Dreams and Visions; Hunting, Religious Restrictions and Implications; Oral Traditions, Ojibwe

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Masks and Masking

The use of masks in rituals and ceremonies is a central part of many Native religious and cultural traditions. Masks and ceremonial masking act as a means of dramatically mediating the spiritual and material worlds, of making the spiritual physically present. In most Native traditions, the material world is believed to be sentient and aware. Plants, animals, geological formations, and natural forces have a conscious spirit within

Nuu'chah'nulth mask, ca. 1910. (Seattle Art Museum/Corbis)

them. In ceremonial masks, the spiritual expressions of these entities take on material form. Such ritual masking is not drama, play-acting, or sleight of hand, but the literal embodiment of the spirit of the mask. Dancers who undertake this process make careful ritual preparations before a ceremony, in order to embody the spirit of the mask fully, so that it might make itself present and communicate with the community. Such masks are considered, ultimately, the property of the spirit that inhabits them. Ceremonial masks are sentient, living entities that must be treated in proper and respectful ways. In many traditions they must be regularly fed, prayed to, and danced for at regular intervals. Failure to treat masks in a respectful way can be dangerous. For many Native communities that is why the housing of ceremonial masks in museums, where their spirits are not cared for properly, is so problematic.

While masks ultimately belong to the spirit that inhabits them, ceremonial

masks are considered the property of the community or particular family lineage that acts as their caretakers. Possession of and right to use a mask are the result of inheritance, a direct gift from the spirit itself, or initiation into a sacred society. The dances, songs, and ceremonies that accompany a mask are similarly passed on, and only those who own these cultural materials can rightfully use the mask. Many tribes insist that because such ceremonial masks are simply stewarded by the community, sacred society, or family, no individual can ever rightfully sell or give away a mask to someone outside that lineage or community. That is yet another reason why many tribal nations insist upon the repatriation of ceremonial masks from museums and private collectors.

Masking is a complex ceremonial and spiritual practice that takes on very different forms throughout Native America. This essay discusses specific tribal traditions within four different regions as a way of exemplifying the diversity and complexity of this ceremonial art. In addition to these ceremonial masks, many of the communities also have so-called secular masks. These might be used for storytelling or dramatic performances outside of a ritual or ceremonial context. Artists within these communities also create secular masks for commercial sale. For some Native nations that is perfectly acceptable, as these masks have not been intended for ceremonial or ritual use and are not the property of a specific lineage or inspired by a sacred dream or vision. In other communities, such as the Haudenosaunee (the seven Iroquois nations), the sale of even rough copies of masks is considered to be inappropriate and a violation of sacred restrictions.

Kwakwak'wakw and Coastal Salish of the Pacific Northwest

According to Northwest coast traditions, parallel worlds exist beneath the sea and in the sky. In these worlds, animals live in their human form in villages and homes much like those of humans. Crossing back and forth between worlds, these birds, fish, and animals put on the external appearance of the animal in question. Particularly important are animals such as thunderbird, eagle, raven, salmon, and frog, which have the ability to move from air to earth, or sea to land. Common images associated with the sea are otter and orca, as is Kumugwe' (in Kwakwak'wakw), the chief of the undersea world. Often portrayed with a loon (who mistook Kumugwe' for an island and landed on his head), his movements cause waves, tides, and whirlpools. Wolves, bears, and Bak'was (the wild man of the woods of the Kwakwak'wakw) play an important role in forest traditions, as do moon and sun in the sky-world. Many animals in these oral traditions shed their skin, fur, or feathers to take on a human form, to marry humans, and to found clans and familial lineages. When spiritual beings cross over to the physical world, these transformations take on physical form through masking and

dancing, as well as through the masks themselves, which are able to change form through sophisticated and complex mechanics wherein eyes and mouths can open and close, and faces can split open to reveal other faces within.

Three main types of masking tradition exist on the Northwest coast: ancestor masks, guardian spirit masks, and masks belonging to secret societies. Ancestral masks and guardian spirit masks are danced at potlatches, and all three types of masks are danced at winter ceremonial dances. The dominant theme of the Northwest coast masking tradition is transformation. When dancers wear an ancestral mask, they are re-enacting the ancestor's life and affirming the ancestor's connection to the present community. Ancestor masks cause a transformation within the dancer, even as they act as memorials to an ancestral transformation. The ancestor of the lineage often initiated a kinship relationship between an animal clan and her or his descendants, a kinship celebrated and enacted through the mask. Often, such an ancestor of a clan or family line had engaged in a spiritual journey, usually resulting in either a marriage to or victory over a spirit power, such as Bear, Salmon, Raven, or Eagle. In such instances the ancestor returned to the community, often with children that were the product of this supernatural union, and bringing with them a mask, songs, and dances.

Intricately carved and painted, such masks illustrate this notion of transformation as they swing open on concealed hinges, revealing the transformed identity inside. The outer mask might be animal, the inner human, revealing the human spirit within every plant and animal. Such masks, signifying a kinship relationship, are limited to individuals within the inherited lineage. At winter ceremonial dances, individual dancers might also wear masks to commemorate their relationship with their personal guardian spirits, acquired on vision quests during puberty. And in yet other masking traditions, initiates to sacred societies are transformed into the powerful spirits of those societies. Animal spirits are transformed into their human form and back into their animal form again, or they might shift shape, from wolf to orca, from bear to mother. Masks, songs, and dances are always the gift of a spiritual being, received either from a personal guardian spirit or within a more mythic past, when an ancestor received them as a gift from a powerful spirit being. As such, ceremonial masks should be kept and danced only by their proper owners.

On the Northwest coast, ceremonial masked dancing takes place primarily in two contexts: the potlatch and the winter ceremonial dances. Masked dances at potlatches serve to mark special events, to verify an individual's claim to wealth or ritual property, and to affirm social relationships. Masking at winter ceremonials offers individuals the chance to dance their guardian spirit dances, to retell and re-enact the

exploits and activities of ancestors and ancestral mythic beings, and for secret societies to perform their ceremonial dances. These spiritual beings and ancestors thus take on their physical expression within masked ritual performances.

LaòLaxa: *Kwakwak'wakw Guardian Spirit Dancing*

One part of the winter ceremonial dances is the *LaòLaxa* dance series. These masks reflect the embodiment of dancers' personal guardian spirits, or guardian spirits inherited through marriage. Masked dancers participate in the Warrior Dance, Grizzly Bear Dance, or Wolf Dance, or embody any other number of guardian spirits, such as killer whale, salmon, grouse, sea monsters, or human ancestor heroes. At the winter ceremonial dances a spiritual leader, or *paxala* in the Kwakwak'wakw tradition, might also participate in the *LaòLaxa* dance series. The *paxala* might re-enact her or his spirit quest and acquisition of power, or the journey of the mythic ancestor who acquired the mask that she or he inherited.

The *Atlakim* Dance is another important winter ceremonial dance. The dance is drawn from an oral tradition in which a young orphaned boy was rejected by his family and sent into the woods. A grouse, caught in his snare, promised the boy great wealth if he was freed. The grouse subsequently took the boy on a tour of the forest, introducing him to animals and giving him masks, songs, and dances that would enable him to draw on the power of each. The *Atlakim* Dance re-creates this narrative—and includes forty masks with their songs and dances—as it celebrates the different Guardian Spirit Powers to be found within the forest. The series of masks and the ritual knowledge are owned by several families, which ensures social cohesion and cooperation in the annual performance of these ceremonial objects.

Tsonoqua *(Dzonokwa)*

Another important mask danced at winter ceremonials is *Tsonoqua,* also called *Dzonokwa.* An eight-foot-tall ogress with pendulous breasts and hair covering her entire body, *Tsonoqua* is known for stealing children and carrying them away in a basket on her back. Nearly blind and notoriously clumsy, she also commonly steals salmon from drying racks, as well as dried berries, dried meat, furs, skins, coppers, and other forms of wealth. Those who are able to capture her and kill her are rewarded with enormous wealth and power. Consequently, her image is often reserved for chiefs. The *Tsonoqua* mask is characterized by black tufted hair and eyebrows, deep hollow eye sockets (often appearing half-closed or sleepy), and hollow sunken cheeks. Her lips are generally protruding, as though whistling or howling, and the dancers' bodies are wrapped in a black blanket or bear skin. At the winter ceremonial dances, the *Tsonoqua* appears asleep. Too drowsy to dance, she stumbles around the room. She is also known

as Tsanaq, or Tzualach among the Lummi, Malâhas among the Kwakwak'wakw, and Sasquatch among the Fraser River and Island Comox tribes. The mask is often said to have been a gift of the *Tsonoqua* to an individual who either found and conquered her, or offered her some kind of assistance. According to several oral traditions, the children who had been captured by her learned magic songs that would put her to sleep, thus making possible their escape. Hence she appears sleepy at winter ceremonials. The *Tsonoqua* tradition is the origin of contemporary *Sasquatch,* or Big Foot, stories of the Pacific Northwest.

Hamatsa: Kwakwak'wakw Cannibal Society

Only those who have inherited the right to do so and have undergone the difficult process of initiation can wear masks belonging to secret societies. Perhaps the most famous of secret societies on the Northwest coast is the Hamatsa, or Cannibal Society of Vancouver Island. At puberty, a potential initiate is "kidnapped" by his guardian spirits and isolated with those spirits in the forest for a period of days, weeks, or even months. After this time of preparation in the forest, supernatural forces, starvation, cold, and loneliness possess the initiate. He is transformed, and he literally becomes the Cannibal spirit. He returns to the community wild, out of control, and hungering for human flesh. It is the task of the ceremonial dance to draw this individual back to the community, tame him, and reorient him to his place in society. Fellow members of the society, masked as cannibal spirits, accompany the initiate through this complex ceremonial process. Occurring over a period of four days, the ceremony culminates on the fourth day, when the initiate is summoned back to the community. He is met at the village edge, captured, and brought in. At first his dancing is wild and uncontrolled, and the initiate searches for someone in the audience to bite. Masked dancers, embodying the spirits of *Baxwbakwala nuxwsiwe',* or Cannibal at the North End of the World, and his village guards *Huxwhukw,* Cannibal Raven, Crooked Beak of the Sky (the Cannibal spirit), and the Cannibal Grizzly Bear dance to calm the initiate and to begin the process of returning him to the community.

Sxyayxwey

At Potlatch ceremonies, a mask known as *Sxyayxwey* among the Coast Salish and *Xwéxwé* among the Kwakwak'wakw is danced at winter ceremonials and potlatches. The *Sxyayxwey* is a spiritual being that cleanses and purifies a ceremonial space. Prior to the winter ceremonial dances, four to six *Sxyayxwey* dancers will dance around a person, preparing the individual to dance their guardian spirit. Typically such dancers are men, but they are silent, accompanied by female singers. They sing a song for a person, one inherited or composed for the occasion, intended to purify the person's state of mind and to remove any

Makah painted mask, ca. 1900. (Richard Cummins/Corbis)

insults or ill feelings that might be present. In preparation for a potlatch, *Sxyayxwey* dancers dance to announce the event. Their presence and dance purifies the space, being intended to restore any fractured personal relationships. The presence of the *Sxyayxwey* ritually prepares the spectators, ensuring good luck and wealth to everyone present. *Sxyayxwey* masks and dancers are present throughout a wide range of the Northwest coast, among the Kwakwak'wakw, south as far as the Lummi, and east as far as the Stelo and Fraser Valley. The masks cannot be worn by anyone with a guardian spirit, or by a member of another secret society. The masks can be distinguished by their cylindrical eyes protruding out from the mask, an open mouth with long, lolling tongue, bird heads as horns, and a nose that is sometimes represented as a bird's head. Ownership of such a mask is a guarantee of wealth; they are inherited among elite families via marriage.

Yup'iq Native Alaskan Traditions

As in the Northwest coast, the Yup'iq of Northwest Alaska traditionally believe that all places, animals, plants, and natural forces have spirit, or *yua*. This *yua* resides in ceremonial masks. However, the spirit in a mask is not believed to be merely the individual spirit of an individual animal, but rather that of the spirit of that species of animal. A mask with an abstract representation of a seal, for instance, does not represent merely an individual seal, but rather the spirit of Seal, of all seals at all times. Anatomically correct masks are more likely to refer to a single animal within a certain story, but an extra eye, mouth, nose, or one eye shaped differently on an otherwise good representation indicates that the mask refers not only to a specific animal but also to the more general genus or category of animal.

Unlike Northwest coast masks, the emphasis is not upon transformation from one state of being to another, but the simultaneous existence of various modes and forms of being within a single entity. At the same moment, a mask

might represent killer whale, polar bear, and the human spirit of a shaman (*anyaquog, anyutkuk,* "man of many tricks"; or *tungalik,* "demon intermediary"). Masks often represent the *tungalik* guardian spirits, such as whale, seal, otter, walrus, or bear. While individuals might often have a guardian spirit, *tungalik* are set apart by the quantity and relative power of their many guardian spirits. The mask is considered the property of those spirits it represents. Because of this, the meanings of masks remain opaque. *Tungalik* are not to explain the meaning (meanings are not theirs to divulge, but the possession of the spirit). In some masks, the animal it represents has a human face located somewhere on it. This face is often covered and can be revealed only when the helper spirit is especially pleased with the community around it. The face of the mask represents its *inua,* or the spirit of the animal.

Kinds of Masking

Tungalik, Yup'iq spiritual leaders, will often use masks to honor the spirit of animals that serve as important food resources. Prayers, songs, and masking invite the spirit of the animal to be present in the community, where it is thanked and honored for its gift of life. Animals are not sought out and killed, but they voluntarily give their lives to sustain the human community. Because of this, they must be honored and thanked. Such ritual dances and ceremonies are a vitally important way of ensuring the future hunting success and survival of the Yup'iq community.

Tungalik might also commission a mask and call for a dance to record and re-enact a journey to the spirit world. In such journeys, the *tungalik* might take on the form of an animal, travel to the spirit world, and secure a vision of the future, a promise of better hunting, improved weather, or the ability to cure. Such masks are generally larger, with appurtenances attached to them. They are worn during the first public performance following a spirit journey, when the story of the journey is danced and sung for the community. The mask is a complex and abstract amalgam of both human and abstract animal forms, representing the combined expressions of the *tungalik* and her or his helper spirits. The image might thus be half walrus and half man, or part whale, part bear, and part human.

Festival Dances: Messenger and Bladder Festivals

Yup'iq ceremonials take place primarily at annual festivals. Festival dances such as the Messenger and Bladder feasts celebrate subsistence activities, such as hunting or berry picking. Some masked dances are owned exclusively by individuals; others are shared as common property. Such festivals and their masked dances take place in the *kazgi,* or ceremonial house.

The Messenger Festival is designed to pay homage to game animals upon which the community depends for survival. The

festival centers on lavish gift-giving and a feast. Dancers wear masks of the spirits of game animals, which they honor, requesting their return to the community so that the village will be ensured of food for the coming year. The Bladder Festival is likewise focused upon securing hunting success. A memorial for all food animals, the festival focuses upon the seal. A central aspect of this ceremony is the belief that animals will be reborn if their bodies and spirits are treated with proper respect. Traditionally, the Yup'iq believe that the soul of animals resides in the bladder. Throughout the year seal bladders are saved, and during this festival they are inflated, painted, hung in the ceremonial house, and feasted and celebrated. On the final day of the festival, they are released into the sea, where they will be reborn. Masking plays a central part in this ceremony, for it is through the masks that the spirits of the seal and other game animals are able to manifest themselves physically at the ceremony. Their presence is embodied in the masked dancers, and they are honored through song and dance. It is hoped that by honoring the animals through the festival, they will return the following year and give themselves to Yup'iq hunters.

Yup'iq Symbolism

Masks are inspired by a guardian spirit, who shows them to a *tungalik* in a dream. The *tungalik* then commissions them to be carved and danced in a ceremonial drama. While Yup'iq masks are designed to be abstract, only hinting at the spirit beings they represent, some recurrent symbols can be recognized. For instance, masks are often created to work in complementary pairs, danced at opposing ends of a ceremonial house, facing and moving toward each other. Masks representing good and bad *tungalik,* or masculine and feminine masks, work to restore balance between opposing forces in nature. A down-turned mouth often represents a woman, an upturned mouth a male. A down-turned mouth on a seal implies a bounty of food resources. Ringed circles around masks represent cosmic levels of the Yup'iq universe that Yup'iq *tungalik* travel to in their spiritual journeys. The large outer hoop represents heaven or the five worlds above, the inner ring that of the earth, pack ice, sea, and the underworld. A small human face on the mask, often at the center, represents the sentient, humanlike spirit of the animal. A hand with a cutout hole signifies a wish for a continuing supply of game; the hole in the hand implies that the spirit will release game to the human community. A fish or animal in the mouth of a mask indicates a wish for abundance. Horns imply the presence of caribou, fox ears agility. One common mask is the Windmaker. The Windmaker mask has a dark or black face, hands or fins that represent the seal or walrus, and dangling spheres representing the air bubbles of seals, rising in blowholes.

Northeast: The Haudenosaunee

The Haudenosaunee, more commonly referred to as the six-nation Confederacy

of the Iroquois, have an ancient and active tradition of masking that centers around the so-called False Face and Corn Husk societies.

The origin of the False Face masks is described in an oral tradition of a culture hero known as Great Defender, Great Humpback, or Rim Dweller. According to tradition, Great Defender was boasting about his powers, and he sparked a conflict with Creator, or Sky Holder. Creator challenged Great Defender to summon a mountain. Great Defender shook his turtle shell rattle and managed to move the mountain a few feet. When the Creator called the mountain however, it sped toward them instantly and silently. Great Defender impatiently turned around and struck his face into the side of the mountain, breaking his nose and twisting his mouth in pain. Having thus learned humility, Great Defender was charged by the Creator with the task of driving disease from the earth and protecting the Iroquois people. The Great Defender is considered to be the first False Face, and masks are modeled after Great Defender, with his broken nose and twisted mouth. Members of the False Face Curing Society wear such masks during curing ceremonies.

Masks are said to take their power from the False Face spirit that inspired and inhabits them, and from the tree from which they are carved. Masks are carved from living basswood trees, though other trees such as magnolia, poplar, white pine, maple, or willow might sometimes be used as well. Carving involves the burning of tobacco and the offering of prayers to the tree. If the tree survives the process, it is believed that the mask takes on the power inherent in the tree. Members of the society are also permitted to use Turtle Shell rattles, or elm or hickory bark rattles within the curing ceremonies.

Masks are used primarily for curing on an individual and communal level, but they have also been used to control storms and extreme weather. Most medicine societies are made up of individuals who were at one time patients. When experiencing an ailment, an individual might dream of or have a vision of a False Face. Sometimes seeing a vision of a False Face can in itself cause illness. Individuals who saw False Face spirits in the woods might be instantly killed, struck with a nose bleed, or risk death if they did not respond by making a mask and having a ceremonial curing in their behalf. It is the individual's responsibility to have a mask made, or borrow one that matches the image in the dream or vision, and solicit a cure from the society in which that mask is used. Oftentimes, following a cure, an individual will then be initiated into the society.

Masking ceremonies cure physical ailments, ailments associated with social conflicts, and also psychological distress. The early Jesuit missionaries were astonished at the effectiveness of the False Face society in the interpretation and curing of afflictions associated with dreams. Public curing ceremonies are held in the spring and fall, and they act

as effective means of communal disease prevention. Curing ceremonies also take place during the Midwinter Festival in the ceremonial longhouse. Throughout the year, private ceremonies might take place in individuals' homes as they become necessary. Curing occurs through masking, dance, prayers, laying-on of hands, and the application of hot ashes to the patient. The ashes are considered to have the concentrated power and healing energy of the tree from which the wood was originally taken. As masks are used, small tobacco ties, cloth pouches perhaps 1 inch square, are added to them, signifying both their use and the degree of power they have acquired.

While False Face Society members are generally men, members of the Husk Face Society, *gad jeesa,* are made up of both genders. The Husk Face Society focuses on curing and agriculture. These masks represent and embody agricultural spirits who first taught the Haudenosaunee the art of planting, giving them seeds of corn, beans, and squash. The masks, made of cornhusks that have been braided and sewn together, are danced by the Husk Face Society for two nights during the Midwinter Festival, the spring planting, and the fall harvest. Husk Faces also work to cure individuals, although more on a daily basis. Women who weave and own them may frequently use them in their own homes to cure common ills. The masks are said to provide aid with hunting, planting, and the knowledge of how to care for corn, beans, and squash. As agricultural fertility spirits, the Corn Husk spirits dwell under the fertile soil, in an agricultural underworld. They arrive for visits during spring planting and fall harvest social dances, on their way west. Their presence helps ritually to clear villages of disease and other malevolent influences.

As with Northwest coast and Yup'iq traditions, False Face masks are considered living, sentient, and powerful beings. During ceremonies, dancers are not merely performing a drama but have literally become the spirits they embody. They are not men or women, disguised as spirits, but the living spirits themselves. The creation, care, and use of masks in curing ceremonies and festivals are actions full of responsibility. Masks are cared for by individual society members, and they can be exchanged among members of the society. However, they should not be given or sold to anyone outside the society. Failure to care for and dance a mask in appropriate ways can offend the False Face spirit. Some are known to have bad tempers, and they must be fed, prayed to, and danced to, in order to keep them pacified. Because False Face and Husk Face spirits are extremely powerful, they can be very dangerous if not approached in a proper and respectful way. Upon the death of an owner, a mask should be passed on to a family member, given to another society member, or buried with its owner. If mistreated, masks can cause severe illness.

Chief Leon Shenandoah, Tadadaho, of the Haudenosaunee Grand Council released a statement on ceremonial masks,

in which he argued that, "Among these medicine societies are those that utilize the wooden masks and cornhusk masks, which represent the shared power of the original medicine beings. Although there are variations of their images, all the masks have power and an intended purpose that is solely for the members of the respective medicine societies. . . . The public exhibition of all medicine masks is forbidden. Medicine masks are not intended for everyone to see and such exhibition does not recognize the sacred duties and special functions of the masks" (Chief Leon Shenandoah 1995). Out of respect for the wishes of the council, no photos or images of Haudenosaunee masks will be included in this encyclopedia.

The Southwest: Hopi Katsinas, Apache Gahe, and Diné Ye'ii

In the Southwest, masks play an important role in seasonal celebrations of fertility among Pueblo communities, in female initiation ceremonies of the Apache, and in healing chantways of the Diné. For the Hopi, masked katsina dancers make up a central and vitally important part of the annual ceremonial season. In the Hopi cosmos, the spiritual realm is composed of noncorporeal counterparts of all material phenomena. All plants, animals, natural forces, and geological features have a spirit within them. Clouds, stars, the sun and moon, animals, birds, insects, plants, and human ancestors may all take material and embodied form as masked katsina dancers. At the time of emergence, when the Hopi entered this world, these deities, known as katsinas, lived among them and taught them how to survive within their new world. Their teachings provided the ceremonial calendar and modes of subsistence, including hunting, warfare, agriculture, social organization, and medical knowledge, that made life possible.

When the katsinas left the Pueblo, sacred societies undertook the ritual responsibilities associated with those aspects of life. Part of these responsibilities included masking as katsina deities at certain times of the year. Katsinas have distinct manifestations and personalities, but they all maintain two modes of existence: as spiritual beings, and as their physical embodiment in masked dancers. Through masking, these spiritual beings are given form, substance, and the ability to act within their communities. Katsina masks are carved and painted wood with distinct attachments. They are designed to represent the spirits of animals, plants, geological features, and celestial beings, and as such they do not resemble human features at all.

Men who wear these masks cease to be their former selves; they take on the spirit in question. Katsina dancers don the symbolic regalia and masks while in the kiva. Underground ceremonial structures, kivas represent places of transition between the spirit underworld and the present surface world of the Hopi. When the dancers leave the kiva, emerging like katsina deities rising

from the underworld, they embody the katsinas themselves in action and in appearance. By enacting these divine beings, they make divine power accessible to the Hopi people. Community members do not recognize dancers as familiar relations but rather consider them the actual embodiment of the katsina deities.

For the Hopi, the year is divided in halves, marked by the winter and summer solstice. From winter to summer is a time of planting, growth, and new life. Summer to winter is a time of harvest and death. The katsinas arrive in the pueblo at the winter solstice, signaling the end of winter and the beginning of a season of growth. At this time the kivas are ritually reopened, marking their return to the community. Throughout the first half of the year the katsinas will periodically appear to renew the world, bring rain, ensure a good harvest, and initiate children. If they are honored appropriately, the katsinas will cure illness, bring a good harvest, and provide rain at the proper time before leaving at the summer solstice.

Two important katsinas are *Ma'sau* and *Ahola. Ma'sau* is an extremely ancient earth and fire god. He represents the dual nature of the cosmos, bringing both life and death and encompassing both female and male attributes. As an agricultural deity he is a guardian of fertile land and of the underworld. Much of Hopi sacrality centers on this idea of death and rebirth, of seeds that enter the earth and emerge from it as new life. Just as life and death never leave the community, *Ma'sau* too stays in the pueblo all year. As a guarantor of new life and fertility, he is present at the Making of New Fire Ceremony at the winter solstice. *Ahola* is associated with the sun and germination. He first appears in December, following the winter solstice, and begins the new season by ritually opening the kivas in anticipation of the other katsinas' return. *Ahola* moves throughout the pueblo, visiting every clean house and blessing women's seed corn. At his arrival, the community offers prayers to the sun for harvest, a long life, health, and happiness.

Apache

Among the Apache nations of the Southwest, one of the most important masking traditions is the Gahe, or Gaan. The Gahe, also known as Mountain Spirit Dancers, play an important role in tribal life. Dancers undergo careful ritual preparation prior to becoming a member of the Gahe, and also prior to each dance. Once in their mask, ceremonial paint, and costume, the individual men are no longer considered to exist. They have become the mountain spirits. No longer speaking, but only making supernatural sounds, the Mountain Spirits arrive at the girl's puberty ceremony, or Isánáklèsh Gotal. While the young woman dances inside her ceremonial tepee, the Mountain Spirits will dance outside, around a bonfire. Like the young woman, they will dance all night, offering their strength and support to her as

she undergoes her ceremony. The Mountain Spirit dancers dance at other ceremonial activities as well, but the girls' initiation ceremony is one of their most public activities. As symbols of Apache reverence for place and tradition, the Mountain Spirit dancers have a powerful and central place in Apache ceremonial life.

Diné

Among the Diné, masked dancers play a central role in certain chantways, or curing ceremonies. Diné chantways are ritual reenactments of a mythological story. In each story, a hero visits the spirit world and returns with a cure. Through the chantway, the patient ritually becomes the hero and shares in the cure. The Coyoteway Chant is an example of one such ceremony. Over nine days, the patient is led through a series of events designed to enable him or her to experience the Coyote myth of the chantway on a personal level. He or she is seated on sandpaintings that depict the myth. The patient listens for eight days to the story, told and retold. The patient repeats the prayers and narratives in the first person, placing herself or himself in the role of the hero of the story. The sandpaintings and the stories are all intended to summon the *ye'ii,* or holy people, visited by the hero in the story. At the proper moment, the *ye'ii* do in fact appear. They enter the ceremonial hogan dressed as described in the chantway and carrying objects meant to assist the patient in the healing process. Again, the community members dressed in this manner are not considered to be friends or relatives. Within this ceremonial context, they have become the physical embodiment of the *ye'ii.* With the holy people physically present, the patient fully becomes the hero-patient of the myth.

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Alaska, Yup'iq; Ceremony and Ritual, Apache; Ceremony and Ritual, Diné; Emergence Narratives; Kiva and Medicine Societies; Oral Traditions, Haida; Oral Traditions, Northeast; Oral Traditions, Northern Athabascan; Oral Traditions Northwest Coast; Oral Traditions, Pueblo; Sacred Societies, Northwest Coast

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McKay, Mabel (1907–1993)

(Basket weaver/medicine woman, Pomo)

World renowned Pomo basket weaver and medicine woman Mabel McKay was born on January 12, 1907, in Lake County, California. Born Mabel Boone to Yanta Boone, a Potter Valley Pomo man, and Daisy Hansen, a Pomo from the ancient village of Lolsel, or Wild Tobacco, Mabel would become the last sucking doctor among the Pomo peoples—in fact, the last known sucking doctor in the state of California—and the last person to speak the Lolsel language. Her maternal grand-uncle, Richard Taylor, known as Lame Bill Taylor, introduced the revivalistic Dreaming Religion—known as the Bole Hesi among the Wintun peoples and the Bole Maru among the Pomo—on the eastern shores of Clear Lake during the winter of 1870–1871. There he announced to more than a thousand Pomo, Coast Miwok, and Wintun that the world was going to flood and be cleared of white people. The ancestors and the animals would return. After four days of heavy rains, the people emerged from roundhouses made specially for the occasion only to find the world as they had left it—intact, with white people. Disappointed, the people nonetheless returned to their homes infused with the spirit of revivalism. Dreamers emerged in every tribe and organized—or reorganized—their respective tribes around the dictates of their dreams. Mabel, Richard Taylor's sister's grandchild, would become the last Bole Maru dreamer.

Mabel began dreaming at age six. What the Spirit showed her wasn't pleasant: blood, poison, disease, crying, misery, and hatefulness. She woke up screaming and frightened, and she became sickly and frail. "If only my brother [Richard Taylor] was alive," Mabel's grandmother Sarah prayed. "He could help her."

"The spirit was showing me all the things I would have to work with as doctor," Mabel said. She didn't want to be a doctor, or medicine woman. "I wanted to be normal like everybody else. But I was cut out different." She resisted her dreams for a long time, until she was nineteen, when, near death, she accepted the help of two Wintun medicine men who understood what was happening to her. "The Spirit said, 'I put you [Mabel] on earth for Doctoring and Dreaming. I'm speaking to you in Dream now. If you don't want to do these things, if you disobey me, I'll take you back. You have no choice. You been picked!'"

Mabel began to doctor the sick, first with songs that she dreamed and with her hands. Soon, however, she grew a "spiritual instrument" in her throat, a second tongue, for sucking out patients' diseases. The basketry that she started as

a young girl was now also inspired by the dictates of her dreams; many of the baskets, particularly her feather baskets and incredibly small miniatures, some no larger than an eraser head, were designed specifically to guide individuals and protect them from ill health. Nothing—no doctoring or basketweaving—was done without the dream. In fact, basket collectors and others might order a basket from Mabel, even offer great amounts of money, but unless she dreamed the basket it would not get made. Typical of Bole Maru dreamers, Mabel dreamed future events: a terrible pestilence that would strike young people; the death of a young man working on the Sonoma Lake Dam.

Unlike other dreamers, Mabel did not have a tribe to work with. By the time she was dreaming and doctoring, only a few individuals of the Lolsel Pomo group were left, and they were more or less integrated into the Sacramento Valley Wintun tribes. In the early 1950s, Essie Parrish, a powerful and well-known dreamer with a large congregation on the Kashaya Pomo Reservation, adopted Mabel into her roundhouse and community. Until Essie's death in 1979, Mabel and Essie worked side by side, sharing their dreams and healing the sick. Mabel continued to serve Essie's family as spiritual leader during Kashaya religious activities.

As Mabel became well known as a healer and basket weaver, she was sought after by Indians and non-Indians alike to cure the sick. Her baskets were held in permanent collections in many national museums, including the Smithsonian. She lectured widely in colleges and universities, continuously taught basketweaving classes, and was honored several times, including by former governor Jerry Brown, who appointed her the first Indian on the California Indian Commission. Yet she was a modest person, never delighting in fame or attention. With her husband, Charles McKay, and their adopted son, Marshall, she attempted to lead a quiet, unassuming life. In fact, while she traveled near and far to doctor the sick, demonstrate basketweaving, and lecture to college and university audiences, she continued to work long hours in an apple cannery—for twenty years—so she could, as she put it, "get her pension." She was more interested in others than she was in herself as someone, or something, special, so that she became like water, benefiting everyone, and everything, she touched. She dreamed that the world as we know it was going to end in the not too distant future. "Fire, destruction," she said. When asked, "What should we do?" she chuckled and stated simply: "What else, live the best way you know how."

Mabel McKay died on May 31, 1993. She was buried on June 4, next to Essie Parrish in the Kashaya Pomo cemetery.

Greg Sarris

See also Basketry; Ceremony and Ritual, California; Healing Traditions, California; Oral Traditions; Oral Traditions, California; Parrish, Essie; Power, Barbareño Chumash; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, California

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Menstruation and Menarche

In American Indian cultural traditions, menstruation has traditionally been perceived very differently than in Euro-American Christian society. While the Western tradition has generally portrayed menstruation as the result of a biblical curse, as unhygienic, and as the failure of a woman to be in her proper state (that is, pregnant) (Martin 1987), indigenous communities have interacted with the physiological reality of menstruation in a very different way. For most Native communities, menstruation was (and often still is) surrounded by a complex system of ritual, oral tradition, ceremony, and proper behavior. Ritual restrictions might prevent women from cooking, sleeping with, or even living with men for a period of time each month. Generally speaking, such restrictions are not because menses is considered unclean, but because it is considered to be extremely powerful. Menstruating women, in many Native cultures, are understood to be embodying an enormous amount of power. During their menstrual cycles they are sometimes said to be embodying a holy person, or that their bodies are ritually purifying themselves, or that they are in a particularly powerful spiritual or intuitive condition, or that they are simply representations of the awe-inspiring ability to bear children.

Community Celebration

Puberty ceremonies have been widely studied among scholars of Native American traditions, and they are a good place to begin as we try to uncover Native traditions of menses and how menstruation is perceived mythologically and dealt with ritually. The most immediately striking difference between Western and Native traditions is the public and communal nature of girls' puberty rituals. In clear contrast to the overriding sense of shame and secrecy among young women in Western cultures, when traditional Native women reach menarche, it is often a source of communal celebration. In fact, Keith Basso has observed that Apaches as a whole are "more apt to speak candidly and truthfully about the girl's puberty rite than any other ceremony" (Basso 1966, 123).

Among the Cheyenne, for instance, when a young woman has her first period,

the event is immediately announced to the community, and her father gives something of value away—traditionally a horse. Sacred objects are removed from the home. Older women unbraid her hair, bathe her, and paint her body red. A bundle of sweet grass, cedar needles, and white sage are burned, and the young girl wraps a blanket around herself, trapping the smoke within. During her monthly menses, for the four days of heaviest flow, young women would traditionally remain mostly at home. When married, young women would traditionally leave their home during those four days every month and sleep in a separate menstrual lodge (Grinnell 1902, 13–15).

The incredible amount of work and expense incurred during the puberty rite demands the full support of all extended family, necessitating the communal nature of the process. Basso argues that the Apache puberty ceremony serves as a vitally important means of ensuring that kinship ties and networks of reciprocity are maintained. "Relations between the girl's family and their blood kin must be unstrained because without the contributions of kinsmen, there would be too much work for an extended family, even a large one, to accommodate" (Basso 1966, 125). The ceremony entails weeks of work: building structures in the traditional manner, shades, wickiups or tepees; clearing the area; preparing food; and cutting firewood. This kinship network is extended even further, because the ceremony serves to create a formal relationship between the girl and her sponsor. The relationship becomes that of extended family. They will call each other *shi ti ke,* an expression of familial obligation. As one man explained, "When you call someone *shi ti ke* you always help him out" (ibid., 132). At the conclusion of the ceremony they will call each other mother and daughter, or, in some cases, Godmother and Goddaughter from then on (Clark 1976, 441).

Like the Apache ceremony, the Diné Kinááldà ceremony is a relatively well known ceremony, and it is well documented. The rite is led by the young woman's grandmother or sponsor and takes place over four days, culminating in an all-night sing on the forth night. On the first day, the girl's sponsor brushes and ties her hair and prepares the girl for the ceremony. The girl runs to the east, in a demonstration of strength and endurance. The sponsor massages the girl's body, shaping her into a good and beautiful Diné woman. During the four days, the girl grinds corn and prepares a corn cake that is baked in the ground during the fourth night. She will not eat of the cake herself; to do so would be to encourage greediness. Instead, she will nurture the values of hospitality and generosity.

Ceremonial Education

In the Apache ceremony Isánáklèsh Gotal, "the young girls are provided with the necessary cultural knowledge and marked as carriers of the wisdom of the religious traditions that will see them into the world of wisdom and a wise old age. They are instructed as to why living their lives according to Apache religious

ethics is so important for the survival of the culture. They are recognized as potentially strong and powerful women capable of handling both political and religious authority" (Talamantez 1991, 132).

Like the Apache ceremony, the Diné Kinááldá is considered to be the means by which the girl is equipped "with the knowledge to participate in society as an adult female. . . . The girl is taught not to be lazy or mean, not to laugh too loud, to be generous, helpful, cheerful, gentle with children, dependable, respectful and kind." The ceremony "promotes industriousness and longevity" (Artschwager 1982, 384). Diné young women reflect on their ceremonies as a challenging time that helped to structure their sense of moral and social ethics: "We have to work real hard. . . . You have to get the muscle. I didn't want to. I was lazy, but my mother told me not be lazy, and keep doing it." "You're not supposed to touch any of it, your own underground cake, because then you'll be selfish when you grow up." "If you don't get up early with the sun, you'll get old right away" (Keith 1964, 31–32).

Along the Upper Yukon River, Julie Cruikshank has recorded the puberty initiation rite of the northern Athabascan peoples, which strongly reflects this formative educational element. While the rite varies according to the social status of the woman and when the rite was performed, there are several common elements involved. The young woman is secluded away from the community in a hut up to one mile from the main camp, for anywhere from several months to a year. During that time, older female relatives bring the girl food and spend time educating her in such skills as sewing and food preparation, in the laws of the community, and in discipline. The girl observes food restrictions, eating only dried food and no fresh meat or fresh berries. She is careful as to what meats she does eat, for her future children might have the characteristics of that animal. If she eats beaver, for instance, her children might have difficulty walking gracefully. The initiate wears a menstrual hood to cover her face, particularly when she leaves her hut, drinks water through a drinking tube, uses a scratching stick, and eats off of special dishes. When she leaves her seclusion hut, she must walk with her head down, follow trails made by others, and avoid game trails. When her seclusion is over, her family celebrates with a communal feast and give-away. Women reflected on the experience as a positive one, a time of learning and growth: women who had undergone the rite were said to gain longevity, a beautiful physical appearance, and endurance under hardship. Young women were taught to withstand cold, hunger, loneliness, and fear—all necessary abilities in the far north (Cruikshank 1975, 3–5).

Among the Wintun of California, the puberty initiation ceremony resembles this Northern Athabascan tradition. A small brush shelter is built twenty to thirty yards away from the family's shelter for the initiate to reside in for one to

several months. She is not allowed to do any cooking during this time and is brought acorn soup by her older female relatives. She is allowed to leave the structure only at night. For the first five days of her seclusion, she is to stay awake. As in the Northern Athabascan ceremony, she has a scratching stick. She is not to comb her hair. The seclusion is a time for education, during which elders in the community give her advice, instructing her on her future behavior.

This educational element is seen as well among the Washo of Nevada. In 1929 a woman present at a Washo puberty rite, the Fire Dance, recorded that the initiate was to fast for four days before the dance. The woman, who was also the initiate's schoolteacher, noted that the young woman continued to attend school in spite of the fast. On the fourth day, the initiate danced for a half-hour alongside a companion, while behind them four elder women chanted and sang blessings over their lives. This was followed by a celebration dance, a feast, and a give-away. Afterward, the initiate ran to the nearest water, in this case the Carson River (which was three-quarters of a mile away), and bathed, despite the fact that it was midwinter and cold. Every aspect of the ceremony exists for a specific instructional purpose: fasting before the ceremony will make the girl live longer and will teach her endurance; bathing in cold water and running to the river will make her strong; and the give-away is said to teach her generosity and hospitality (Cartwright 1952, 136–140).

A similar ceremony is recorded among the Mission Indians of Southern California at the beginning of the twentieth century. A pit is dug and a fire kindled to heat stones. The pit is then filled with green herbs, upon which the initiates lay, wrapped in blankets, for four days. During this time the young women are sung over by older women and instructed in the right ways of living. The event is also a communal one, for while this occurs the large number of guests and visitors who have come for the event dance and celebrate. The event is concluded with a give-away. The time is considered to be one of education for the young girls, in which they are taught to be generous and are ritually endowed with fertility. The ceremony is "performed in order to make good women of the girls. They are talked to by their relatives and advised to be good and to give water and food to people" (Rust 1906, 32).

Embodying Power

Within these girls' puberty rituals, the young woman is nearly always assumed to be embodying an enormous amount of spiritual power. In the Apache and Diné traditions, for instance, the young girl is said actually to become the goddess Isánáklèsh, or Changing Woman. As Basso explains: "The strength of *all* Apaches comes from Isánáklèsh. Through her initiation ceremony, and in the subsequent transformation into a respected and wise woman of her culture, the female in Apache tradition undergoes transformation into something so strong and vital

that she, too, becomes a source of strength for the men and women around her." The initiate's ceremonial dress is reflective of this coming transformation. During the ceremony the girl is considered a powerful authority. Her dress "shows everybody that tomorrow she will be at the head of her people" (Basso 1966, 149).

For the four days after the ceremony the young girl is considered to be holy and filled with Changing Woman's power: power to heal, bless, and transform others. Part of this process entails covering the girl with Cattail Pollen, the most sacred element of the Apache people. As one girl recalls: "On Saturday in the rain all the people, perhaps a hundred, pick up a handful of pollen from a basket beside me and shake it over my head" (Quintero 1980, 269). In the final days, many people will come to be healed by the young woman, the embodiment of Changing Woman or Isánáklèsh, or to have their children blessed. "During the four day ceremony, her services are frequently requested. . . . [M]any of the old and afflicted come to her seeking treatment for their ailments, and she tries to cure them by touching or rubbing them, generally on or over the place of their affliction. She also touches small children or babies to make them grow into strong adults" (Clark 1976, 438).

The Buffalo Ceremony of the Oglala reflects this notion of identifying the menstrual young woman with a female holy person, in this case White Buffalo Calf Woman. The spiritual leader of the community invokes the spirit of the buffalo into the initiate through a complex ritual process that takes place over the course of a single evening. In doing so, he is instilling the Oglala virtues associated with the buffalo into the young girl: chastity, fertility, industry, and hospitality. Within the ceremony both the medicine man and the initiate drink sacred water and pray to the buffalo spirits. The ceremony concludes with a feast and a give-away. This ceremony serves to establish an identifying relationship between the young woman and White Buffalo Calf Woman, one of the primary spiritual beings of the Northern Plains tribes. Red is considered sacred among the Oglala, and sacred water is red. Menstrual blood is associated with sacred water, and it comes to be considered sacred as well. The association of menstruation with White Buffalo Calf Woman, the first woman to menstruate in Oglala tradition, and of menstrual blood with sacred water serves to instill in the young woman a sense of her own participation with the sacred activities of life and the creation of life. Women who go through the ceremony are said to become industrious, wise, and cheerful (Powers 1980, 61). As Powers argues: "The relationship between buffalo and women, prevalent in Oglala myths and rituals, substantiates my thesis that it is the females' reproductive role in society that is being emphasized, rather than her catamenial period, which has been analyzed variously as taboo, pollution, and defilement" (ibid., 55).

The notion among many Native cultures that menstruating women embody

enormous amounts of sacred energy and power is well documented, though often misinterpreted by Western scholars. Seeing only the "taboo" or apparent stigmas attached to menstruating women, scholars assume that such cultural restrictions and distinct treatment are due to the young women's being polluted or contaminating. To see that this is not the case, one has only to look to the mythological origins of menses. In Christian traditions, menstruation is literally a curse. Women menstruate because of Eve's sin, and her responsibility for causing her husband to fall as well. The story is quite different in Native American traditions. For instance, the Diné deity Changing Woman, the holy person of the Earth, of life, and of reproduction, was the first to menstruate. When women participate in their monthly cycles, they are thus participating in the cyclical nature of the Changing Woman. Changing Woman thus comes to be the model for the pubescent girl (Basso 1966, 151–155). Similarly, among the Oglala and Lakota, White Buffalo Calf Woman, their primary deity, is the first woman to menstruate. Menstruation, in many Native cultures, is a sign that the woman is sharing the power of the holy person associated with creation, fertility, and the Earth. A woman at such times becomes the embodiment of that Being's power to create and give life.

The Apache word for power, *di yih,* reveals a force that is at once welcomed and feared. Basso observed a degree of reverence among those attending the puberty ceremony. As he observed: "The prospect of power, even Changing Woman's beneficent power, creates a certain tension which, in turn, inspires the sobriety and good behavior considered proper at *na ih es*" (ibid., 150). The association of women with intense power is the reason most often given by Native peoples to explain practices that Western anthropologists have labeled as taboos.

These restrictions differed from community to community, but they often followed a basic pattern. Among the Diné, menstruating women traditionally lived in separate structures with other women during menses; they did not participate in cooking or sexual relations. They did not enter ceremonial hogans, see sandpaintings, attend as a patient at a healing ceremony, or attend a sing or join in dancing. Among the Yurok and Cheyenne, menstruating women lived apart from men in a special shelter constructed near the main house. They did no cooking, and they ate special food that had been separately collected, stored, and prepared by younger girls or menopausal women (Buckley 1982). Richard Nelson has recorded that among the Koyukon, menstruating women were not to eat certain types of meat, go near trapping lines, or touch their husbands' hunting gear (Nelson 1983).

Such restrictions, it must be remembered, were undertaken because of the enormous amount of power women were said to have at such a time. Cruikshank records several narratives among

the Athabascan of the Upper Yukon River that illustrate this point. One young woman, who was supposed to sit with her legs folded underneath her, violated a restriction by stretching out her legs. In doing so she kicked a boulder, dislodging it, so that it rolled down a hill and blocked the river, causing great havoc. Unable to do so themselves, the villagers had to ask the woman to remove the boulder for them. Another narrative said that a man was able to make a bear get up and move away from the village simply by threatening that if the bear continued to sleep where he was, a menstruating woman might step over him (Cruikshank 1975, 10).

William Buckley's analysis of the traditional Yurok menstrual restrictions illustrate the potentially powerful role that menstruating women are considered to have. Early ethnographies of the Yurok report that women within a village tended to menstruate synchronically with each other. During ten days out of every twenty-nine, the women of the village observed a series of restrictions: they wore bark skirts, and grass arm and leg bands. Their diet was limited to dried fish and acorns, and they lived in menstrual shelters a short distance from the family dwelling. But Buckley discovered a previously unnoticed element: during the same ten days in which women secluded themselves, the men of fertile age within the village did so as well. The men secluded themselves in the communal male sweatlodge. During these ten days men also wore grass ankle bands and maple bark skirts. Their diet was also restricted to dried fish and acorns. In addition, men gashed their legs with white quartz until the blood flowed down their legs. Buckley writes that such bleeding was, like menstrual blood, "thought to carry off psychic impurity, preparing them for spiritual attainment" (Buckley 1982, 49).

The menstrual hut and the sweatlodge can thus be seen to parallel each other, as places "where you go into yourself to make yourself stronger" (ibid.). As Buckley argues: "If Yurok women once shared menstrual periods in synchrony and were able to control their synchrony to some degree, it would have meant that for ten days out of every twenty-nine all of the fertile women who were not pregnant were removed, as a group, from their households' mundane activities and plunged into collective contemplative and ritual exercises aimed at the acquisition of wealth objects and other spiritual boons. This would, logically, have been the ideal time for all the younger men in the sweathouse to undertake their own ten day periods of intense training, which, as did women's menstrual practices, emphasized continence and avoidance of contact with fertile members of the opposite sex" (ibid., 56).

Yurok women were isolated because they were at the height of their powers, and "thus, the time should not be wasted in mundane tasks and social distractions, nor should one's concentration be

broken by concerns with the opposite sex. Rather, all of one's energies should be applied in concentrated meditation on the nature of one's life, 'to find the purpose of your life,' and toward the 'accumulation' of spiritual energy." Cyclical bleeding thus acted in a manner parallel to the sweat for men, as a means of purifying and preparing the self for spiritual endeavors (ibid., 48).

Other tribes' examples likewise support this view of menstruation as a sign of spiritual power, and the ability to create and nurture life. Philip Deere, a Muskogee, explained that "woman is the same as man. But at a certain age she changes into another stage of life. During this stage she naturally purifies herself each month. During their monthly time women separate themselves from men. Men must sweat once a month, while women are naturally purifying themselves to keep their medicine effective" (Powers 1980, 57). Among the Papago it is said that the menstruating woman "is the vessel of supernatural power—the power that allows her to give birth. This power is so different from a man's power that the two must be kept apart" (ibid.).

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Apache; Ceremony and Ritual, California; Ceremony and Ritual, Diné; Female Spirituality; Gender and Sexuality, Two Spirits

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Missionization, Alaska

Christianity came to Alaska in the eighteenth century. The first harbingers of the new religion were not priests or missionaries but ordinary men. They were the fur hunters and traders from the Russian Far North and Kamchatka who had come in search of freedom and riches. They did not preach but followed the customs of their religion, holding the laymen services of the Eastern (Orthodox) Church. Rich in visual symbolism, even the laymen service attracts attention, especially through its music: all services are sung without any instrument accompaniment. There is little if any regimentation for those who attend the services. People move about freely. A century later, the Eskimo people of the Bering Strait described to an American observer the Orthodox liturgy as the Russian dance of worship (Nelson 1899).

The fur hunters were not bookish people. Most of them recognized Aleut spirituality expressed in everyday life. Most held that the Aleuts shared with them many beliefs. Both people turned eastward in prayer. Both believed that water was sacred and had healing qualities; both invoked the aid of the deity when setting out on a sea hunt; both wore protective talismans on their persons and on their boats; both believed in the power of Aleut ritual specialists to invoke spirits (we call such specialists "shamans," a term borrowed from the Russian scholars who in turn borrowed it from the Siberians, Native and Russian. Originally, it was an Evenk/Even [Tungus] word). The Russians acknowledged the spirituality of the Aleuts, the first Native Alaskans they encountered, even as they fought the Aleut warriors. Lay people performed the first baptisms, because in Orthodoxy lay persons can baptize. (If such baptisms take place, the clergy later perform the sacrament of *chrizmation*—anointing with oil—which formally incorporates the baptized individual into the Communion of the Faithful.) They baptized young hostages, the escaped slaves or war captives who sought succor in Russian camps, women with whom families were formed, and trading partners and friends. The ties of god-parenthood were not taken lightly, and godchildren, especially young godsons, were often taken to Russia for an education that included exposure to the glory of Orthodox services in metropolitan churches. Conversions were voluntary. Some of the earliest ones followed recovery from wounds when injured persons had been given up by local healers and were brought to the Russian ships for help.

There were no clergy in the Aleutian Islands until 1824 (except for two visits by Navy chaplains—one in 1790 and the other in 1818, briefly, in the Eastern Aleutians). The role of the laymen in the

A boy carries a cross during a Russian Orthodox procession for the burial of Eyak Indian bones released by the Smithsonian Institute to Eyak families in Cordova, Alaska. ca. 1980–1990. (Natalie Fobes/Corbis)

conversion process should not be underestimated. When priests came to the Aleutians they found already existing Christian communities. Their mission was to serve, not to convert.

The Christianization in the Alutiiq (the modern self-designation of Kodiak and Upper [Eastern] Alaska Peninsula people), the Chugach, and Pacific Athabascan (Dena'ina, or Tanaina) areas, extending from the Kodiak Archipelago to the Upper Alaska Peninsula, Cook Inlet, and Prince William Sound, took a somewhat different path. The First Spiritual Mission, sanctioned by the head of the Russian Orthodox Church and Catherine the Great, arrived in 1794. They were chosen from the brethren of Valaam and Konevitsa monasteries on Lake Ladoga for their ability to adapt to the northern environment and their familiarity with sub-Arctic conditions. By 1799 they were reduced, through tragic deaths, to only four. With little support from the local managers of what later became the Russian-American Company, their missionary activities were severely curtailed.

The Orthodox Church is not an aggressively proselytizing one. The monks were instructed to speak only when asked to and to behave as guests in

someone else's house. They were to attract followers through living the life of their faith. Soon, the monastics became known as defenders of the Kodiak Natives. For this reason, there was a time when the monks suffered persecution from the managers of the local commercial fur hunting interests. One of the clergy, the humble monk Father Herman, founded a hermitage in which orphans and abused women found shelter. Today he is Saint Herman of Alaska, the Father of the Orthodox Church in the Americas. His relics repose in the Church of the Holy Resurrection in Kodiak, founded in 1795 by the First Mission.

Although there were many converts, a majority of village populations kept their own beliefs, and the local ritual specialists continued to function without hindrance. The clergy, even those visiting from Russia, participated in Native festivals and associated with the spiritual leaders. As late as 1844, an Orthodox clergyman, by invitation, met with a shaman, and the two of them discussed, over tea, various philosophical questions. The shaman felt the burden of his position and sought a way out in the wake of the smallpox epidemic that struck Alaska in 1835–1838, when the shamans' power to heal had failed (see Ganley 1996).

The Orthodox Church holds that the Holy Spirit can manifest itself anywhere, and that among the so-called heathen there might be saints whose names are known to God but not to man. Moreover, the Orthodox Church holds that the grace of the Spirit is not associated with any particular way of life. There was little or no overt pressure for cultural change. The head of the First Mission, Archimandrite Ioasaf, designated in 1799 as bishop vicar of Alaska, envisioned the ordination of Native clergy and the founding of a seminary (Ioasaf, along with his entire entourage, perished in the wreck of the frigate *Phoenix* on his return voyage to Alaska in 1799). The first Kodiak Native to be ordained a priest, in 1809, was a graduate of the local school established by the First Mission. He was to serve the Kodiak Parish. Since agents of the Russian-American Company refused to respect his authority, however, he was reassigned to a prestigious parish in the city of Irkutsk.

The Orthodox Church, since its founding, has conducted services in the languages of the people it serves. By 1804/1805, the Lord's Prayer had been translated into Alutiiq. In 1824, when the first resident priests arrived to serve the growing Christian communities of Alaska, the work of translating the church services and the Gospels into Native languages began. The Orthodox clergy were the first to study the Native languages and to produce authoritative ethnographies.

The leader in this work was Father Ioann Veniaminov, parish priest of the Ounalashka District in the Aleutian Islands from 1824 to 1834 and of Novoarkhangel'sk (modern Sitka) from 1834 to 1838 (today Veniaminov is known as St. Innocent, Metropolitan of Moscow

and Kolomna, Enlightener of Alaska and Siberia). Veniaminov pioneered the study of the Aleut, Alutiiq, and Tlingit languages and wrote the ethnography of the Aleut. He was the first to purposefully introduce Orthodoxy to the Tlingit through addressing their gatherings from Sitka to the Stikine River. He was also the first priest to visit the Bristol Bay and Nushagak River Yup'ik Eskimo, many of whom by this time had been baptized by laymen.

The priest resident at Sitka since 1818 served primarily the Orthodox community associated with the Russian establishment there. Tlingit converts were brought into the church by Russian, Aleut, and Alutiiq individuals with ties of kinship and friendship in the Tlingit of the Sitka area. Slaves held by the Tlingit and scheduled for sacrifice at various feasts were ransomed by the Russians and resettled. Such individuals invariably became Orthodox.

Veniaminov's friend and collaborator in creating Aleut literacy and sacred literature translations was Father Iakov Netsvetov, son of a Siberian teamster and his Aleut wife, Maria. Father Iakov served his people, in the Atkha District, from 1828 to 1844. That year, Veniaminov, now bishop of Kamchatka, the Kuril, and the Aleutian Islands, sent him to the Yukon as a missionary. He established himself in the Yup'ik Eskimo village of Ikogmiut (now Russian Mission), opened a bilingual school attended by boys and girls, and carried the Orthodox message to the Yup'ik of the Yukon and Kuskokwim River basins. He also converted Athabascans of the interior—primarily Ingalik, Lower Koyukon, and Kolchane (Upper Ahtna). He soon acquired the reputation as peacemaker and healer. Father Iakov combined Aleut traditional healing practices with the paramedic training that priests were obliged to undergo. Today, Iakov Netsvetov is St. Iakov of Alaska, one of the five Alaskan saints, only one of whom—Hieromonk Iuvenalii, killed in 1796 near modern Kwhetluk village on the Bering Sea—was Russian.

In Sitka, Bishop Innocent opened a seminary in which many Natives were enrolled. He also established an iconography workshop that produced several Native iconographers. At his request a few missionaries came to Alaska from Russia, but in the villages the work of the church was carried on by the local people: Native clergymen, the readers and choir directors. In Alaska, Native church music tones are still used in village churches.

In the Far North, however, a very different mode of Christianity began to appear in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the 1840s, American whalers sailed through the Bering Strait and turned east, along the coast, in pursuit of the bowhead whale. Some of the whaling captains, like most of the early Russian fur hunters in the Aleutians, were men of faith. They, apparently, introduced to the Inupiat Eskimo of the North Slope notions of Protestant Christianity, including the Quaker religion. In the Upper Yukon, where the Hudson Bay Company

Jesuit father Rene Astruc dancing Yup'ik dance. Alaska dance festival, 1992. (James H. Barker)

established Fort Yukon, came, in the 1860s, the first Catholic and Episcopalian missionaries. For a time, the newcomers had little impact. But then, in 1867, the Russian government relinquished Alaska to the United States of America. The Treaty between the two countries guaranteed the right of free religious expression to former subjects of the Russian Empire.

However, the Orthodox Church soon faced not only competition but persecution. The newly arriving missionaries labored, not among the unconverted heathen, but among the Natives who believed themselves to be Christians. Sheldon Jackson, a Presbyterian missionary in Alaska since the 1870s, in 1885 became the first U.S. commissioner for education in Alaska. A friend of presidents, he wielded enormous influence. He established the policy of "Americanization" and divided Alaska into "territories" assigned to various, predominantly Protestant, denominations. The Natives were to be introduced to "true" Christianity. The Orthodox Church did not appear on the map of denominations published by Jackson. The Tlingit fell under the Presbyterian aegis; Kodiak became the province of the Baptists; the Aleutian Islands were assigned to the Methodists; the Lower Kuskokwim region fell to the Moravians; and so on. The policy was that of conversion coupled with assimilation: Native dress, food, and crafts were to be abandoned in favor of "civilized" activities, such as boot making.

The instrument of assimilation was to be the school—not a village school but a boarding school or "orphanage" or "home," where the children, often forcibly taken from their parents, were to be recast in a new mold. Most traumatic of all was the attempt to eradicate the use of Native languages. Presbyterian missionaries, in particular, were active in this respect. S. Hall Young wrote, among other things: "We should let the old tongues with their superstition and sin die—the sooner the better—and replace these languages with that of Christian civilization, and compel the Natives in our schools to speak English and English

only" (Krauss 1972, 23). Clearly, the Orthodox, by now trilingual, church school system that existed in a large part of Alaska was an obstacle in achieving Jackson's goal. Somehow, the message was conveyed to many Natives that Orthodoxy was not a Christian Church but "a Native superstition."

In 1986, in a village on the Yukon, an old lady now long dead told me the story of "Dr. Nikolai," a Native healer in Anvik, who was, together with his kin, expelled from the village by an early Episcopalian missionary. I remarked that "Nikolai" is not an Ingalik name. My friend responded, "Yes, he was baptized Russian, but Russians are not Christians, they are just the way we were before the Christians came." In 1899, Jackson predicted that "twenty five years from now, there will not be any Orthodox church members left in Alaska" (Oleksa 1998, 23). Ironically, the cultural pressure resulted in massive conversion of the Tlingit, especially those who were cultural conservatives, to Orthodoxy. Through passive resistance, and occasionally active protest, the Native Orthodox communities survived. Today, most of the Yup'ik, Chugach, Dena'ina, Alutiiq, and Aleut are Orthodox. A majority of the Orthodox clergy is Native, and services in the villages are conducted in their Native languages or in English. During services one hears English, Slavonic, or Russian, and the local language.

Over time, the attitudes and policies of other denominations changed. Gone is the opposition to the use of Native languages; gone are the prohibitions on Native dancing and masking. In fact, many clergy, especially Roman Catholic clergy, participate in memorial potlatches, in dances, and in drumming at local feasts. No major event in a Native community begins without a blessing by a clergyman. The major exhibit of Yup'ik masks was opened with a Catholic service. A large number of clergy were present, and one priest drummed alongside the Yup'ik dancers. The opening of the exhibit "Looking Both Ways" that currently travels the country began with the Lord's Prayer recited in three languages (Alutiiq, Russian, and English, in that order), followed by the blessing of the exhibit by the Orthodox priest. Almost gone is the interdenominational feuding, though some of the extreme fundamentalist sects do engage in campaigns aimed at liturgical churches and call for destruction of any items reminiscent of "pre-Christian" past. Gone are the separate "Native" and "white" churches. Through intermarriage or choice, individuals now often change their church affiliation.

A new church art flourishes in parishes of Orthodox, Catholic, Episcopalian, and even Lutheran denominations. It is absent, however, in the strict Protestant parishes, such as those belonging to the Swedish Covenant Church, for example, and Moravians discourage participation in *selaviq,* an Orthodox practice reminiscent of Christmas caroling, the *starring* (see Fienup-Riordan 1990). Native healers are active again, but any suggestion

that they are "shamans" is met with vehement denial: they heal now in the name of God.

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See also Christianity, Indianization of; Missionization, Northwest; Oral Traditions, Yupiaq; Religious Leadership, Alaska

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Missionization, California

Spain's excursions into what is now California was a foray into what would be the absolute outskirts of an already overextended empire. An abject inability to deal with much resistance among Indians of the interior part of the state gave Spain the impetus to allow the church to establish missions as a means of "converting" various Native communities, with the hope of turning these missions into pueblos, or towns, that the Spanish Crown could then control. Hence the colonization process for *Alta California* differed greatly from Spain's earlier, and much more violent, colonization of Mexico and Central and South America. This new method, however, was no less insidious and devastating to the Native populations of the region.

The missions of *Alta California* were organized and overseen by a Franciscan with Inquisition experience and a severe personality, Padre Junipero Serra. A man who had designs on martyrdom among the "savages" since childhood, this astute and driven administrator founded, or planned and directed, the establishment of twenty-one missions in California along the coast or at a short distance

inland, reaching from San Diego in the south to Sonoma, beyond San Francisco Bay, in the north.

In spite of somewhat romantic visions of kindly padres ushering docile Indians into the modern world, California missions were essentially religious plantations designed to benefit Spain and its ruling elite. The imposition of non-native crops and animals made it difficult for those Indians (and there were many) who initially resisted the loss of their economic autonomy to maintain traditional plant and animal management schemes. Soldiers that accompanied the padres intimidated the populations, who were used to dealing with their neighbors in more sophisticated ways, such as by financial contract and intermarriage. In addition, the diseases brought by the Europeans made the maintenance of communal systems difficult, to say the least.

Epidemics can be considered the most effective tool of the colonizers in California. Diseases such as smallpox, measles, diphtheria, and syphilis brought Indian communities to a standstill, as enormous drops in population, and the intense suffering that these diseases caused while the victims struggled with them, meant that aid to the sick and obligations to the dead became the main preoccupation. For most mission-area Native communities, their situations demanded that they view the padres as allies. The rise of these unknown maladies coincided with their arrival; therefore they must know how to properly treat them. The baptism of dying infants and their parents became the first major break for the padres' "conversion" plans. In fact, the mission lifestyle—such as the practice of forcibly separating Indian children from their parents and placing them in disease-ridden quarters—most likely increased the spread of the diseases and the suffering of the victims. Pioneering demographer Sherburne F. Cook conducted exhaustive studies and concluded that perhaps as much as 60 percent of the population decline of mission Indians was due to introduced diseases.

In addition to the desperate parents of dying children, many others eventually sought out mission life as a way of mediating the loss of population and traditional economic activity that the missions themselves had caused. The plan was to convert the Indians over a ten-year period, after which they would be given the mission lands, crops, and livestock to work on their own—thus creating pueblos ready for participation in Spain's already impressive trade scheme with the East via the Philippines. The padres, however, never realized this ultimate goal, and they greedily kept control over the stolen lands and the economic wealth. The argument frequently used by the padres was that the Indians were like simple children who would be unable to survive without the help of the missions. In reality, as settlers moved into the region from Mexico, the missions were a key provider of manual labor for the new *ranchos,* even to the point of creating a

completely idle landed upper class to whom the padres were beholden. It is no wonder that the padres were reluctant to give up this source of free labor.

Mission wealth, in both hard currency and valuable land and resources, had reached a peak at around the time that the peasant class became fed up with the same arrangement to the south. Mexicans revolted and won independence from Spain, and the missions were pressured by the new authority to "secularize"—that is, turn over all lands but for the missions themselves to private ownership—and release all Indians who wished to leave the control of the mission padres.

In terms of the religious effects of the mission system, it must first be noted that California, in precontact times, supported a vast number of relatively independent, village-oriented tribal groups. Unlike what missionaries encountered elsewhere on the continent, there were very few large-scale political systems overseen by councils or single leaders. Instead, the approximately two dozen language stocks divided into separate linguistic and cultural groups are intensely regional in nature, and the first issue to be overcome by the padres was understanding the divisions that existed upon their arrival. Dialects would change frequently as the missionary process moved through the state, and cultural differences from region to region were marked. Of course, since the goal for the colonists was to erase any and all non-Spanish Catholic practices, the variety of sacred practices was of little consequence. However, broad regional similarities, managed and maintained as part of an overall inter-regional trade relationship, meant that, from the Native perspective, the sacred activities of the padres did not look so foreign as to make inclusion impossible.

For missionaries elsewhere in the United States, on the east coast, for example, the religious systems of the Indians and missionaries were often so significantly and diametrically opposed as to make the conversion process much more of a struggle. In California, regional sharing of ceremonial practices was a common occurrence, and all villages had individuals well versed in the languages and practices of their neighbors, all the better to facilitate cooperative resource management and intermarriage. Thus when the Roman Catholic ceremonies were shown to the Indians, they most likely recognized enough of the postures, actions, and seasonal markings to make the transition easier. In addition, the goals of the empire were paramount, so the padres were loath to deny participation by willing congregants because of such trivial issues as complete lack of adherence to the Roman Catholic worldview. Baptize and "civilize" first, indoctrinate later.

California religious philosophies tend to be extremely different from Western, Judeo-Christian sacred narratives, more often tending toward codified behavioral protocols designed to facilitate proper responses to the world as it exists, rather

than in a distant afterlife. Many California tribal traditions employ a host of other-than-human participants, from plant, animal, and environmental spirits to heroes, deities, and sacred beings of human origin. It can be said, then, that Roman Catholic doctrine, with its saints, angels, and martyrs, made for a relatively easy translation. Such that, for many contemporary California Mission Indians, the stories of the "before time," Coyote and his adventures and the ceremonial practices and seasonal observances, were brought to them by their ancestors despite the seemingly total disruption by the colonial process of missionization. Even today, many Native Californians see no sharp distinction between their Native traditional ways and their Catholic upbringing. While many modern California Indian people do reject, often totally, anything having to do with the church because of its bloody and oppressive history, it is nevertheless true that one is as likely to find the elders of these former mission Indian communities in Mass on Sunday as not. For the younger generation, applying the worldview handed down to them from time immemorial to information gathered from a variety of contemporary sources is fueling a resurgence in traditional practices within which the original victims of the mission system would most likely feel right at home.

Dennis F. Kelley

See also Christianity, Indianization of; Healing Traditions, California; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Identity; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion; Oral Traditions, California; Reservations, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Revitalization and Retraditionalism Movements, California; Termination and Relocation

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Missionization, Great Lakes

The Great Lakes region has seen two successive enduring waves of Christian missionization, Roman Catholic and Protestant, loosely corresponding to the predominant missions imported during its French (1608–1763) and Anglo-American (1763–) phases of colonization. The relative impact and effectiveness of the

Father Marquette holding peace pipe to greet Native Americans. Hand-colored woodcut. (North Wind Picture Archives)

missions has depended on a number of variables surrounding the interplay between the efforts of missionaries and the corresponding responses of Native Americans. The outreach and longevity of a mission has generally reflected its resources and ability, on the one hand, to penetrate and exert pressure on the communities, and, on the other, its ability to coexist amicably with the ruling government. Native American responses have depended on a number of factors, including their proximity to mission centers and the condition of their societies

and traditional ways of life in the wake of epidemics, expanded warfare, modernization, capitalism, and other disruptive and enveloping factors of European contact and expansion. Often their responses to the missions, favorable or unfavorable, have hinged on whether they have viewed Christianity and its messengers as relieving or abetting their post-Columbian predicaments.

The French were the first Europeans to explore, claim, and colonize the Great Lakes region. In competition for global dominance with the other European empires of the time, the French Crown, in the seventeenth century, targeted the St. Lawrence River and its tributaries for its own colonial expansion. Operating initially from Quebec, established on the St. Lawrence River in 1608 by the "Father of New France," Samuel de Champlain, explorers first entered the Great Lakes in hopes of discovering precious mineral deposits, as well as a transcontinental water route for the lucrative spice trade with the Orient.

In order to secure their interests in North America, whether for exploration, trade, or war, the French required the assistance of Native Americans. Given the limited resources that the Crown provided the colonies, French authority in North America, until well into the eighteenth century, was limited to a handful of settlements near Atlantic seaports on the St. Lawrence and Mississippi rivers. Thus, beyond the reach of the settlements, cooperation was achieved, not by force as the French might have preferred, but by forging mutually accommodative military and economic alliances that outfitted Natives with guns, kettles, blankets, and other desirable European goods in exchange for their assistance. The problem with these arrangements, however, from the French perspective, was that they were costly, transient, and worse, they bolstered the sovereignty, rather than the allegiance, of their allied tribes (White 1991, 50–93). In this context, colonial officials, beginning with Champlain, turned to the Roman Catholic Church to help subjugate Native peoples.

Champlain was confident that Natives of the region would readily embrace the principles of civility and religion that he and his countrymen assumed to be universal and self-evident. Although they believed in spirits, Natives showed little agreement or concern about the particulars of these beliefs. Unrestricted by doctrine, individuals paid homage to an unlimited array of spirits according to their own needs and experiences. Such openness toward spiritual beliefs was also evidenced by their apparent eagerness to learn about Christian notions of God, creation, and an afterlife. Since the Natives did not pray in common to a limited set of gods, Champlain and his countrymen determined that the Natives of New France did not possess religion. Operating from biblical assumptions, they concluded that these "savages" were lulled into a condition of lawlessness by the Devil, who was the real source behind their superstitious customs. Furthermore, Champlain felt that upon recognizing their obligations to

God, Natives would give up their false beliefs and practices in order to model, and ultimately become, French subjects. For Champlain and for the Catholic clergy he would call upon to mount this campaign, the dual function of Christian missionization was to provide the French with loyal subjects while, at the same time, saving them from eternal damnation.

The first missionary, and probably the first European, to reach one of the Great Lakes was Joseph Le Caron, a Recollect Franciscan friar, who visited Huron villages on the eastern portion of Lake Huron in 1615. Le Caron was a member of a small contingent of Recollects stationed in Quebec. Operating from a bark chapel in Carhagouha, a principal village in the Georgian Bay, the visiting Recollects earnestly applied themselves to learning the Huron language and instructing their welcoming hosts on the tenets of Christianity. The Hurons were of special interest to Champlain and the missionaries, not only because they lived in a region that was strategic for exploration but also because they were sedentary. Dwelling in large villages surrounded by wooden palisades, the Hurons appeared to the French to be more advanced—and thus, more inclined to receive Christianity—than the itinerant hunting tribes near Quebec. Such villages also enabled the missionaries to educate and monitor large groups of potential converts. Although they were interested in establishing a permanent mission among the Hurons, the Recollects, as members of the mendicant Franciscan order, had few capital resources to apply to that enterprise. The Huron mission was abandoned in 1629, when the English temporarily overthrew Quebec and expelled the French and their Catholic clergymen.

After Quebec was returned to the French in 1632, the missionary reins were taken up by the Society of Jesus, better known as the Jesuits. A more organized and wealthy Catholic order than the Recollects, the Jesuits succeeded, by the end of the seventeenth century, in establishing roughly thirty missions across the Great Lakes region. Resuming the work of the Recollects, the Jesuits focused on the conversion of Hurons. Fathers Jean de Brébeuf and Antoine Daniel, who had arrived with the first contingent of Jesuits in 1625, spearheaded this effort, learning the Huron language and preaching year-round in their communities. In 1641, the two Jesuits visited the major Ottawa and Ojibwa trade centers at the Straits of Mackinaw and Sault Ste. Marie, where Lake Huron meets Lake Michigan and Lake Superior, respectively. In 1665, Father Claude Allouez established a mission among Ottawas and Hurons at Chequamegon on the western shore of Lake Superior. Two years later Father Jacques Marquette joined Louis Joliet in the exploration of Lake Michigan and the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, clearing the way for future missions in villages populated by Menominee, Potawatomi, Ojibwa, Mascouten, Miami, Illinois, and other peoples of the western Great Lakes.

The health and stability of these missions was generally contingent upon the health and stability of the communities in which they served. Many of the Jesuits' promising converts were lost to the deadly epidemics that swept through the region. Although the Jesuits tried to use their natural immunity to the diseases to convince their hosts that it was the Christian faith that protected them, in many cases that association backfired. As more and more of their people died, even those who were baptized, Hurons began to suspect that the Jesuits were deliberately inflicting the diseases upon them. In addition to the epidemics, the Hurons suffered tremendous losses from increased hostilities with their traditional enemies, the Iroquois tribes of New York, who had acquired guns from the Dutch and the English, rivals of the French. Jesuit missions among the Iroquois near Lake Ontario ebbed and flowed with the currents of war. In 1649 the Iroquois destroyed the Huron villages, and three Jesuits, including Brébeuf and Daniel, were tortured and killed.

While it is a fairly simple matter to chart the comings and goings of the Jesuits in the Great Lakes, it is far more difficult to gauge their impact on the communities in which they preached. Contrary to Champlain's assumptions, the willingness that Natives displayed to learn about Christianity did not augur well for conversion. Since Natives of the Great Lakes region did not, before contact with Europeans, distinguish or privilege a system of compulsory beliefs and practices, the missionaries' insistence that Christian beliefs superseded and invalidated all others struck the Natives as peculiar and arrogant. Although the Hurons, like the other indigenous peoples of the Great Lakes, prayed to spirits for favors, in ways comparable to Christians and their prayers to God, these practices were informed by a shared anthropomorphic logic that associated every perceived action or event that occurred outside human control to a distinct spirit actor. According to this perspective, the world was filled with spirit people, or "manitous," who constituted and controlled thunder, winds, lakes, rapids, cliffs, animals, crops, medicines, dreams, inspirations, and all other powerful forces that affected human beings. Consequently, prayer offerings were not directed to a single universal Spirit but were distributed to an unlimited number of spirits, according to individual need and experience rather than doctrine. Thus, during the early stages of contact, Natives received the Jesuit's biblical stories as they would any visitor's spirit stories. The significance of Jesus, however, like any manitou, was gauged not by the force of dogma but by his usefulness in hunting, fishing, warfare, healing, and other practical activities (ibid., 27). Over time, many tribes came to view the Jesuits, who were constantly badgering them to change their customs, and who were useless in hunting, travel, and warfare, as intolerable nuisances in their communities.

Therefore, the main impediment to conversion during the French era was not Natives' unwillingness to accept God, Christ, the Virgin Mary, or some other Christian figure, but their refusal to accept them in place of, or as something other than, manitous. Consequently, the Jesuits reserved baptism for those who were near certain death, or for those who showed that they prayed exclusively to God. In order to bring about the latter in adults, however, missionaries faced the monumental task of uprooting them, as much as possible, from their familiar, practical associations with the environment. Thus the missionaries were successful in converting mainly those who had already become wholly dependent upon the French—namely, the orphans and refugees created by epidemics and warfare.

The end of imperial conflict in the Great Lakes in the nineteenth century—between the French and the English in 1763, and between the English and the United States in 1815—marked a new era of Christian missionization in the region. Their military services no longer required by one side to oppose the other, Native American tribes lost the bargaining positions they had had to resist displacement and subjugation. Once the border was drawn through the Great Lakes, dividing Canada and the United States, the two nations commenced their respective annexational marches westward into Native territories, forcing the surviving tribes onto reservations. Once these groups were contained on reservations, they faced a resurgence of Christian missions—this time, both Catholic and Protestant—in their communities. Itinerant missionaries who established missions among the Ottawas and Ojibwas in upper Michigan and Ojibwas in northern Minnesota spearheaded the Catholic missions during this period. Anglican and Methodist Episcopal missions were established on Ojibwa reservations in Ontario and Minnesota, on Dakota reservations in Minnesota, and on Iroquois reservations in New York. Likewise, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Lutheran churches followed suit, carving their own missionary niches in the region (Vecsey 1983, 29–35).

Restrained, if not entirely removed from their traditional lands and ways of life, these groups faced enormous challenges to their economic and cultural survival, much like the refugees of epidemics and warfare during the French era. On the reservations, missionaries operated with expanded authority, especially Protestant missionaries, to facilitate and police the acculturation of Natives—in some cases, forcing children on the reservations to attend their schools. Not all of the missions were oppressive, however, and in some cases, the clergy provided real humanitarian relief and acted as effective advocates for their needs vis-à-vis oppressive governmental policies. In those cases, Christianity represented a meaningful vehicle to Natives for navigating an impoverished condition. Indeed, by the twentieth century, many Natives had accepted progressive

movements that led them into churches and mainstream society. Beginning in the 1960s, however, a revival of Native American spirituality and self-determination swept the region, with many calling for the ejection of Christianity and their missions from the reservations.

Today, most Native Americans of the Great Lakes probably place themselves in between the so-called progressive and traditionalist camps, viewing their Christian "religion" as a compatible appendage to their "culture."

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See also Boarding Schools, Religious Impact; Christianity, Indianization of; Manitous; Reservations, Spiritual and Cultural Implications

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Missionization, Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Reservation

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, every mainstream American Christian denomination established missions at the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Reservation (KCA) in southwest Oklahoma. Encouraged by their belief in the necessity of converting Indians, and supported by a federal bureaucracy that eagerly supported such work, missionaries at the KCA Reservation were convinced, as Henry Warner Bowden has written, "that one set of cultural standards—the one shared by churchmen and politicians—promoted both spiritual progress and national stability" (Bowden 1981, 164–165). Church leaders and politicians alike believed that conversion to Christianity would solve the Indian question quickly, humanely, and permanently. Indeed, as the Board of Indian Commissioners noted in its annual report for 1869, where assimilating Indians was concerned, "the religion of our blessed Savior is . . . the most effective agent for the civilization of any people" (Prucha 1984, I: 510). This attitude was perceived by policy-makers to be especially relevant at the KCA Reservation. If those tribes with their warrior

ethos could be brought into the fold of civilization through the work of the churches, it would both be a triumph of peaceful assimilation and point the way toward similar experiments on other reservations.

The 3-million-acre KCA Reservation was established in 1867 by the Treaty of Medicine Lodge. After being consolidated with the neighboring Wichita Agency in 1878, the reservation's population was about 6,000, half of whom were Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches. The remainder came from the Wichitas, Caddoes, Tawakonis, Wacos, Kichais, Anadarko, and Hainai. The reservation quickly gained a reputation for lawlessness and violence, and policy-makers held it in generally low regard. In 1871, for example, Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano described the Kiowas and Comanches as "predatory and criminal." In the same year, the commissioner of Indian affairs declared that of all the nation's tribes, the Kiowas and Comanches had "caused the greatest trouble"; he singled out the Kiowas for their "gross outrages," "restless and war-loving spirits," and "passion for plunder" (Lassiter et al. 2002, 24–25).

In 1869, however, reformers and federal Indian officials agreed that Christian missions might be the best way to secure peace and to assimilate Indians, especially at a reservation as problematic as the KCA. The Peace Policy, as it came to be called, allocated the administration of most of the nation's western agencies to representatives from American churches, a move that Paul Prucha writes "set post–Civil War Indian policy ever more firmly in the pattern of American evangelical revivalism" (Prucha 1984, I: 503). Control of the KCA Reservation went to the Society of Friends, who in May 1869 assigned an Iowa farmer named Lawrie Tatum to the task.

The living embodiment of the Peace Policy, Tatum eschewed force and insisted that the Lord "could restrain the evil intentions and passions of the Indians" (Lassiter et al. 2002, 25). But as William Hagan has noted, "[T]here was no more incongruous spectacle than that of a Quaker agent preaching the virtues of peace and agriculture to a plains warrior, treating this man . . . as a simple, misguided soul who could be brought to see the error of his way by compassion and sweet reason" (Hagan 1976, 160). Indeed, Tatum struggled from the beginning. In the spring of 1870, for example, conditions deteriorated so badly that every Quaker employee save for one couple fled the reservation; Tatum's own wife left before summer. Between 1871 and 1872, Kiowas killed at least twenty Texans, and Tatum admitted in 1872 that the Kiowas were "uncontrollable by me." In 1873, six years after Medicine Lodge, he reported that there were no missions or government schools, and little likelihood that either would soon appear. Tatum resigned in 1873, exhausted by the violence, repeated threats to his life, and the government's apparently endless capacity for failing to meet its obligations (Lassiter et al. 2002, 25–27).

Only two Quaker agents were assigned to the KCA Reservation, and when Tatum's successor was replaced in 1878 by P. B. Hunt (an Episcopalian), both the Quaker era and Peace Policy were dead in the water. Hunt's annual reports were no better than Tatum's, and twelve years after Medicine Lodge he revealed that there were no permanent missions on the reservation (ibid., 28). Yet the Peace Policy's failure did not end the role of the American churches in the government's forced assimilation campaign. With the passage in 1887 of the General Severalty Act—arguably the era's most important assimilation legislation—the church won a second opportunity. Along with allotment and education, missions remained a crucial component in the campaign to transform Indians, and the goal that policy-makers had for Indians remained firmly anchored in mainstream Protestant ideology. As Methodist missionary to the Kiowas John J. Methvin put it, "[C]ivilization alone does not civilize." It was "the Gospel, faithfully preached [that] not only saves the [Indian's] soul, but qualifies him for taking on the habits of civilization." The time had come to pave a new Jesus Road into the heart of the KCA Reservation (ibid., 28–29).

Armed with a renewed sense of importance, missionaries flocked to the KCA Reservation in numbers that eclipsed anything the tribes had ever seen. In 1888 Kiowa Agent E. E. White enthusiastically reported on "the interest now being manifested . . . by religious societies and mission boards" (ibid., 29). By 1900 there were nineteen churches on the KCA Reservation, and before long the roll call of KCA mission stations included the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, the Methodist Episcopal Church South, the American Home Baptist Mission Society, the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, the Territorial Baptist Convention, the Catholic Order of St. Benedict, the Women's Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, the Dutch Reformed Church, the Women's Auxiliary to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America, the Women's American Baptist Home Missionary Society, the Women's Executive Committee of the Reformed Church in America, and the Women's Baptist Home Missionary Society of Chicago. The only major American denomination missing was the Mormons, whose otherwise keen sense of proselytizing did not extend to Kiowas and who were excluded from the reservation by officially sanctioned prejudice (ibid., 29–30).

The most influential denominations were the Baptists, Methodists, and—especially in the early years—the Catholics. Each brought a different strength to the field. The Catholics ran an exemplary school and mission station at St. Patrick's in Anadarko. The Baptists were notable for their devoted and capable women missionaries, who created remarkably strong bonds with the Native communities in which they

worked. The Methodists proved adept at bringing Indians into the ministry, as evidenced by the fact that they ordained nearly a dozen ministers in the first generation of converts alone. Mission stations typically operated day schools and boarding schools, and many of the women also worked in the government's field matron programs, where they taught domestic skills.

While it is tempting to dismiss the missions as corrosive intrusions into Native communities, in many cases the relationship between Kiowas and missionaries was both more complicated and more positive. In many cases, Kiowa communities requested mission stations and actively facilitated their growth. In 1891, for example, the Kiowa leader Lone Wolf wrote to Baptist officials, saying, "I want to see you. Come now! I want you to tell me what I and my people must do" (ibid., 42). The Baptists subsequently established missions among the Kiowas at Rainy Mountain and Elk Creek, and among the Comanches at Quanah Parker's camp. Five years later, Baptist missionary Isabel Crawford established the Saddle Mountain Mission in response to a plea from local Kiowas who complained that they needed, but did not have, their own station. In Anadarko, Kiowas and Comanches asked Father Isidore Ricklin of St. Patrick's for more "great spiritual men" who could teach them "to live rightly," while Big Tree and Lone Wolf thanked the Baptists for coming to Rainy Mountain. Because of the missionaries, said Lone Wolf, "the red people need not be behind the white people." For his part, Big Tree told his people that "we have the light now. Do not be ashamed to follow Jesus now" (ibid., 32, 43–44).

In many mission stations, a complicated cultural middle ground emerged as Kiowas and missionaries negotiated the details of conversion. If missionaries insisted on ending certain practices that were plainly outside the bounds of white, middle-class, Christian norms (such as multiple marriages), more often than not they stopped short of demanding a complete surrender of the institutions and practices that defined Kiowa identity. Language, for example, survived in the missions in several forms. Interpreters translated sermons and messages for congregations not yet fluent in English, but by maintaining language, important cultural concepts and ideals were maintained even as Kiowas converted to Christianity. The Kiowa word for God, for example, is *Daw'kee,* a phrase translated as "throwing power," or "throwing spirit"; it was used by Kiowas to describe their creator long before missionaries arrived. Language also gained a new lease when Kiowa converts began composing Native hymns in their own language. The first of these was composed by Gotebo at the Rainy Mountain Mission in the 1890s, and a new song tradition began that many Kiowas now say is crucial to the maintenance of their identity and language. Missionaries also proved sensitive to traditional rituals associated with births, deaths, and mourning, and they

worked to commemorate them with practices that combined Christian and Native ways. Isabel Crawford, for example, had the hot stones from Kiowa sweatlodges brought to the Saddle Mountain baptismal pool where they were ritually placed in the water in a manner that suggested a joining of traditional and new rituals.

Mission stations also became the sites of revivified communities linked by kinship and shared experience. When influential headsmen became deacons or ministers, or when women from leading families converted, they typically brought with them extended kin networks that reflected traditional Kiowa ideals of social prestige and power. Missionaries also became members of the Kiowa community in the most fundamental sense. This was especially true of women missionaries, who enjoyed a remarkable rapport with the Kiowas and Comanches. The Saddle Mountain Kiowas were so impressed with Isabel Crawford's commitment that they called her among other things *ah-pee,* or "sister." The Comanches at the Post Oak Mennonite Mission called Magdalena Becker *tah-pah-see,* "our older sister." At their deaths, both women were buried in their mission's cemetery. When Becker died in 1938, she was mourned by more than fifteen hundred Comanches, a larger number than had attended Quanah Parker's funeral twenty-seven years earlier. In Crawford's case, the Kiowas paid to have her body returned from Canada in 1961 and buried her at Saddle Mountain under a marker that reads "I Dwell Among Mine Own People." Reverend Perry Jackson was deeply loved by the Saddle Mountain congregation, so much so that Sherman Chaddlesone gave his own Kiowa name—Mipauta, which means "Higher than the other," a reference to the Kiowa Sun Dance pole—to Jackson's young son (ibid., 58, 60).

Missions were also successful because they helped to fill a void in a chaotic reservation political economy. Other spiritual forces competed for converts, most notably the Ghost Dance and the Native American Church, but many Kiowas agreed with a woman named Omboke, who observed in the late nineteenth century that the "Jesus Way is the best way for Indians to travel." But taking the "Jesus Way" was not the same thing as replacing one set of beliefs with another. Rather, it was a more complex encounter in which both sides made concessions. As Stumbling Bear, a Kiowa, once reminded John J. Methvin, the "white man's road . . . [is] good, better than [the] Indian road. But not *all* of the ways of the white man [are] better than *all* Indian ways. Some Indian ways [are] best" (ibid., 19). Largely because they offer Kiowa people an important source of spiritual support that can be accommodated to their tribal ways and traditions, many of the missions established in the late nineteenth century survive in Kiowa country as testaments to the enduring power and adaptability of the Kiowa people.

Clyde Ellis

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Arapaho; Christianity, Indianization of; Kiowa Indian Hymns; Missionization, Northern Plains; Sundance, Kiowa

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Missionization, Northeast

Missionization in New England was largely the work of English Anglican Protestants who arrived in the area in the early seventeenth century. It is worth noting that these early colonies were founded by individuals who had begun their endeavors in colonial Ireland. In Ireland, they sought to control the indigenous Irish population through religious conversion, suppression of Irish Catholicism, and securing large landholdings worked by a docile Irish labor force. The American colonies were guided by the principles and goals they acquired in Ireland. Several of these fundamental assumptions would underlie English missionary efforts in the New World for centuries to come: first, they assumed that indigenous cultures either lacked a religion entirely, or, if they had one, it was the work of Satan. They also assumed that American Indians were capable, and even desirous, of conversion and civilization. However, the most characteristic feature of English Protestant missions (which set them apart from the Jesuit missions in New France) was their insistence upon the complete assimilation of Native people to English cultural practices, and the complete renunciation of every aspect of traditional lifestyles, beliefs, and practices. It was believed that such an approach to mis-

sionization would both create a culturally cohesive society and, in turning Native people into sedentary villagers, farmers, and laborers, would free up Native land for English settlement.

English missionaries thus made as their first priority the cultural conversion of Native people, seeking to convince the various indigenous nations around them to give up their nomadic or seminomadic modes of life and adopt an entirely sedentary and agricultural one. Migration between seasonal tasks such as hunting, gathering, and seasonal agriculture was seen as barbaric. Englishmen viewed the relatively easy and efficient lifestyle of the Native people as licentious, and they sought to encourage a life of hard work, discipline, and sacrifice. Native gender roles also disturbed English settlers, who saw women doing the majority of agricultural work, owning homes, and maintaining a voice in local politics. In most indigenous economies of the New England region, Native women owned the fields and the products of their labor. They often owned the homes, had authority in tribal decision-making, and could claim a divorce, should they desire one. English missionaries sought to change these cultural gender codes, encouraging Native men to take up what from an indigenous perspective was the feminized task of agricultural labor. They sought to curtail access to divorce, and encouraged private male ownership of individual family farms, rather than communally held and women-controlled agricultural land.

English missions were formed within praying towns, sedentary agricultural settlements in which Native people lived in nuclear families. Here Native women submitted to their husband's rule, and English clergy were the final voice of authority. Praying towns centered on the introduction of English cultural traits such as dress, family structures, language, trade, and the introduction of a wage-labor economy. Native people were trained to take up low-skill manual labor positions, in preparation for their integration into English colonial society as a servant class. Converts were given new names, new laws, and (for men) hair cuts, so that they would no longer look like "Ruffians, Wild Irish, and Barbarous Indians" (Axtell 1986, 176).

Beginning in the late seventeenth century, English missionaries also began the construction of residential boarding schools as a tool of conversion. The schools were based on the model of the Irish Charity Schools, in which children were removed from their homes and taught English language and culture. Such schools were funded through the children's own manual labor.

Praying towns and residential schools in New England never achieved any great success. The most immediately apparent reason for this was that conversion meant breaking almost entirely with one's family and community. Extended families and kinship networks formed the most important structure of life for Native people in New England. To join the English missions was to abandon

Moravian missionary David Zeisberger preaching to the Indians in Forest County, Pennsylvania, 1767. Hand-colored woodcut. (North Wind Picture Archives)

one's culture and family, becoming isolated in the world. Converts were no longer a part of their own Native community, nor were they entirely a part of English society. An additional reason for the failure of residential schools was that they soon became concentrated locations of disease, and few students survived for long. Burials soon cost the schools more than tuition.

Such high disease rates were part of a larger series of epidemics sweeping through New England in the seventeenth century. It is estimated that New England Native nations were reduced by half from 1600 to 1650. Epidemics thus posed another obstacle to the success of English missions. As populations declined, English missionaries found fewer and fewer indigenous people willing to listen to their message.

Additionally, English missionaries were extremely reluctant to travel far afield, as their Jesuit colleagues in New France were prone to do. English clergy preferred to live within the colonies, ministering to English settlers. Those attempts at missions that they did make, such as praying towns and residential schools, were designed for those Native people who were willing to come to them.

Praying towns also encountered difficulties when a series of Native uprisings threatened English colonies, such as Pontiac's revolt in 1762. English colonists responded by blaming all Native people, even those who had converted to Chris-

tianity and were attempting to become good Englishmen and -women. So-called praying Indians were removed to isolated encampments "for their own protection." Many found themselves no longer welcomed by the English colonists who had initially sought them out.

The theology that the English offered also proved problematic for many Native people. First, the English saw complete cultural conversion as a prerequisite to religious conversion. Many Native people were simply not interested in such a dramatic shift in their way of life. Secondly, the English notion of sin did not have a precedent in Native philosophy. Right and wrong in Native traditions were determined by cultural consensus: actions that secured a stable, healthy, and cohesive community were good. Actions that created discord and destruction were bad. But every individual was innately capable, in fact naturally inclined, toward doing good. Seventeenth-century English Protestantism, however, taught a doctrine of original sin: humanity was innately sinful; human nature was naturally "filthy and loathsome." Because of this, one was in need of salvation. One could be saved only through grace, and through a life of diligent discipline devoted to prayer and spiritual observance. For seventeenth-century English clergy, the greatest hindrance to salvation was the human sin of pride. Hence, much of English missionary effort was geared toward stripping Native people of their pride and teaching them to take their place within an ordered hierarchy of creation. This emphasis on self-debasement held little appeal for a people taught to value personal achievement and collective success. The Protestant notion of a single deity also proved problematic for many Native people, who saw the world as animated by countless spiritual beings, each of which could be called upon in times of need, and which offered spiritual power, strength, and ability. To join the Protestant church was hence not only to abandon one's family and community but also to break off relationships with powerful spirit-beings inhabiting the natural world. Such a break, within traditional religious practice, could easily result in misfortune, sickness, or even death.

The combination of all these factors—epidemic diseases, the uncompromising requirement of cultural conversion to English modes of life, philosophical and theological differences, as well as the English clergy's reluctance to meet Native people in their own land and on their own terms—ultimately led to the general failure of English missions. After 1670 very few missions continued to function, and English clergy turned their attention to leading churches within English colonies. English clergy found virtually no success in Northern New England or the western New York frontier, either. Jesuit missions had already established a foothold in those areas, and they proved much more attractive to Native parishioners.

English missionaries maintained their efforts among some groups, such as the

Mohawk, throughout the eighteenth century, primarily to prevent French Jesuits from making inroads into English territory. But such efforts were only marginally successful. Conversions, when they did occur, appear to have come only from those Native people who were experiencing such a degree of social and spiritual crisis that they felt they had no other chance for survival. The English experienced some lackluster success, but only among small coastal groups that were greatly weakened by disease and warfare.

Native people in the region generally rejected most attempts by Protestant clergy to convert them to Christianity. The most remarkable form of resistance came in the form of Handsome Lake, also known as Sedwa'gowa'ne ("Our Great Teacher"), who brought the message of *Gaiwiio* ("Good Word") to his Seneca people. Handsome Lake adopted certain elements of the Christian message, but he called for his people to return to traditional modes of life, rejecting the corrupting influences of Euro-American society, such as alcohol, violence, and intermarriage. He promoted a moral code that has become known as the Code of Handsome Lake, in which he called for a return to traditional ways of life, morality, and spirituality. The religious movement he began, known as the Longhouse tradition, continues to be a central part of New England Native religious practice into the twenty-first century.

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See also Missionization, Great Lakes; Oral Traditions, Northeast; Religious Leadership, Northeast; Revitalization Movements, Northeast

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Missionization, Northern Plains

During the 1700s, or earlier, the Kalispel (Salish/Flathead) chief and shaman Shining Shirt received a prophetic vision from a Power that predicted that fair-skinned men in long black skirts would bring major changes and teach them the truth about religion. Other white men would overrun their country and enslave people. He was given a metal talisman inscribed with a cross. Between 1812 and 1820, Christian Iroquois fur trappers settled among the Flathead and taught them a few Catholic rituals. In 1825, a young Spokane named Garry accompanied a Hudson Bay Company brigade to the Red River School in Canada run by Anglicans of the Missionary Society of England; when he returned he established a church and school. Two Koote-

nai youths traveled with Hudson Bay Company Snake River excursions in the Great Basin and California in the 1820s, where they made contact with Christians, perhaps a Roman Catholic mission. They returned bringing new ideas about the Supreme Being, a feast dance on the seventh day of the week, and making the sign of the cross. Fur trader Nathaniel Wyeth took two youths, a Flathead and Nez Perce, to Boston in 1833. Interested in Christianity, the Flathead and Nez Perce sent four delegations, in 1831, 1835, 1837, and 1839, to St. Louis to ask for Catholic "Black Robe" missionaries to come among them.

Inspired by the Indian requests, between 1834 and 1838 Jason Lee (Methodist) and Marcus Whitman and Henry S. Spaulding (Presbyterians of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) visited the Montana Flatheads. They founded missions among the Chinook, Nez Perce, and Cayuse. In 1840, "Black Robe" Jesuit father Pierre-Jean De Smet traveled to the Green River fur trade rendezvous and was escorted to meet the main Flathead delegation along with Nez Perce, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispels. In 1841 he established St. Mary's Mission among the Flathead in the Bitterroot Valley. Under his direction, the Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, Hail Mary, and other liturgies were translated into the Flathead language. De Smet began early to extend missions to other tribes and eventually made contact with Blackfeet, Assiniboine, Sioux, Crow, Cheyenne, Shoshoni, Arapaho, Hidatsa, Mandan, and Arikara. He served as a mediator, peacemaker, and interpreter as well as priest.

Protestant groups began to extend other active missionary work into the Northern Plains during the 1850s. Between 1853 and 1855 Orson Hyde and other Mormon missionaries were sent to the Shoshoni, Flathead, Nez Perce, and Blackfeet. In 1856 Elkanah Mackey and his wife were sent by the Presbyterian Board of Missions to minister to the Blackfeet, but the mission lasted only six weeks. In 1858 the Lutheran Synod of Iowa sent missionaries Johann J. Schmidt and Moritz Brauninger to work among the Crow; the mission was abandoned after a couple of years. In Minnesota and the Dakotas, Bishop Henry B. Whipple and others of the Protestant Episcopal Church began work with Sioux groups in the 1860s. John P. Williamson and Alfred R. Riggs (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) began work at Santee, Nebraska, beginning in 1870, and Thomas L. Riggs established a Congregational mission at Cheyenne River and Standing Rock. William Wesley Van Orsdel, the famous Methodist "Brother Van," began work among the Blackfeet beginning in 1872. Mr. and Mrs. L. A. Fitch opened a school at Fort Peck (Assiniboine and Sioux) in 1875 and were with the mission for a year. The Swiss Benedictine priest Martin Marty, known as "the Apostle of the Sioux," began work after the 1876 Little Big Horn battle. In 1876, C. L. Hall and his wife established a Congregational

mission at Fort Berthold (Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara). In 1880 George W. Wood established a Presbyterian mission at Fort Peck, and Episcopalians began work among the Lakota at Pine Ridge. Bishop William H. Hare (Episcopalian) began work with the Dakotas beginning at Yankton Agency in 1883, and Philip J. Deloria (Dakota) was ordained and put in charge of the Standing Rock mission. John Roberts and others started Episcopalian work with the Shoshones and Arapahoes of Wind River between 1875 and 1883. Father John Jutz began Catholic work with the Arapaho of Wind River in 1884, with Franciscan sisters as teachers. St. Labre was established among the Cheyenne in 1884, with a school directed by the Ursuline sisters, who also extended work to the St. Xavier mission among the Crow in 1887. The Catholic St. Paul's Mission was established in 1885 to serve the Assiniboine and Gros Ventre of Fort Belknap. Mennonites began work among the Northern Cheyenne in 1904. The Federal Council of Churches established the Home Missions Council in 1908, and fourteen denominations joined.

Missionaries viewed many aspects of Indian culture as superstition and idolatry. Indians, as pagans, had to be rescued from darkness and sin by conversion, baptism, and attendance at church services. Generally, missionaries also equated Western civilization with Christianity and pressured Indians to become like white people in their dress, dwellings, socioeconomic practices, and other customs. In the view of most Indians, the rituals, prayers, and hymns were equivalent. Tribal members hoped to add the power of the new religion to their own. They were especially interested in application of this power in warfare, health, and other personal and tribal concerns. Eventually, however, tensions grew. The Indians were not willing to undergo forced change, and they also witnessed the contradictions and assaults of Euro-American culture. Intertribal and Indian-white conflicts, along with inconsistent funding and limited personnel, also were factors in the intermittent mission work.

Missionary activity was connected with treaty-making. Father De Smet was a mediator at the 1851 Fort Laramie treaties and was a government representative during the 1868 Laramie treaty negotiations; he met separately with a Sioux village on the Yellowstone River, at which time he gave Sitting Bull a crucifix as a gift. President Grant's "Peace Policy" beginning in 1869–1870 followed advice of several Christian groups, including the Society of Friends (Quakers) on Indian policy. The main purpose was to change from corruption to honest administration, and to gain Indian trust through conquest by kindness so they could be worked with individually, educated, and assimilated. Churches would recommend reservation agents, who in turn would coordinate choices for teachers, farming advisors, and other personnel called for in the treaties. The Christian layman Felix R. Brunot became

director of the Board of Indian Commissioners, established in 1869. The "Peace Proclamation" by Grant in 1872 divided the reservations among various denominations. Assignments were: Montana Flathead and the Sioux agencies at Standing Rock and Fort Totten to Catholics; all other Montana reservations to Methodists; Sioux agencies along the Missouri to Episcopalians; Nez Perce to Presbyterians; Hidatsa, Mandan, and Arikara of Fort Berthold to Congregationalists. To be included in agency assignments became a status symbol, and churches competed for appointments. Sometimes, because there were not enough staff, other denominations were allowed to work simultaneously on a reservation. For example, American Board Presbyterian and Congregational missions worked on the Sioux reservations along with Episcopalians.

As American territorial expansion continued during the 1870s, the army protected gold-seekers and emigrants and the buffalo dwindled; Indian defense of their lands increased. The military approach to Indian policy took the forefront, and the political "spoils system" was again used to appoint agents. Indians were forced onto reservations by the 1880s, resulting in economic dependence after extinction of the buffalo, malnutrition, disease, and social disintegration. Many missionaries were disturbed by conditions that they witnessed and participated in. John Young, a Methodist minister and agent to the Blackfeet during 1876–1883, left the reservation embittered after the winter of 1883, when six hundred Blackfeet died of starvation.

Under the 1884 *Rules and Regulations of the Secretary of the Interior,* it was considered an "Indian offense" to hold giveaways, feasts, Sun Dances, and most other dances and ceremonies, or to be a medicine man. In 1889, Commissioner of Indian Affairs T. J. Morgan (a Baptist educator) stated: "The reservation system belongs to a 'vanishing state of things.' . . . The Indians must conform to 'the white man's ways,' peaceably if they will, forcibly if they must . . ." (Morgan 1889, 3–4). There was common agreement that there could be no substantial progress in civilization without the presence of Christianity. The goal was detribalization and assimilation, and agents, teachers, and missionaries worked to destroy tribal institutions, particularly government and religion in dances, festivals, and ceremonies, and to transform the economy of each Indian family. Children were forced to attend boarding schools, such as those at Carlisle (Pennsylvania), Haskell (Kansas), Santee (Nebraska), and Chemawa (Oregon). Americanization also emphasized eliminating external signs of Indianness, including names and personal appearance in clothing and long hair. From 1904 to 1916, Father John B. Carroll at St. Michael's church launched an attack on Blackfeet traditions, being especially critical of the Sun Dance, and in 1934, Father Kane refused last rites to a woman who had been the medicine woman at a Blackfeet Sun

Dance, until she publically confessed. One Crow, a nominal Catholic, began attending Peyote meetings in 1916 and eventually was excommunicated.

Some missionaries were tolerant, separated issues of language, kinship, and dress from strictly religious issues, and were open to seeing equivalencies between Indian and Christian beliefs and practices. Father Peter Prando accommodated many Indian cultural values when he worked with the Blackfeet, Cheyenne, and Crow. In 1883 he told Blackfeet chief White Calf, who had become a Catholic, that a modified version of the Sun Dance would be acceptable. Yet by the end of the nineteenth century, few Indians had converted fully to Christianity. Indian leaders noted the contradictions within American society and the sectarian divisiveness among the churches. A Sioux leader stated: "It is your people, who you say have the Great Spirit's book, who bring us the fire-water. It is your white men who corrupt our daughters. Go teach them to do right, and then come to us and I will believe you." Chief Joseph (Nez Perce) protested against missionaries among his people, declaring: "They will teach us to quarrel about Great Spirit. . . . We may quarrel with men . . . but we never quarrel about God. We do not want to learn that" (Armstrong 1984, 110). In the view of chief Plenty Coups (Crow), who was a nominal Catholic, the "Wise ones" of the White man "said we might have their religion, but when we tried to understand it we found that there were too many kinds of religion among white men for us to understand, and that scarcely any two white men agreed which was the right one to learn" (Linderman 1930, 227–228).

Conditions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were frustrating to Indians. The Crow woman Pretty Shield said that the white man had "changed everything for us, did many bad deeds before we got used to him. . . . We grew hungry and sick and afraid, all in one" (Linderman 1932, 249–250). In the spring of 1884, Louis Riel (French-Cree Metis) was teaching at the Catholic St. Peters Mission in present Montana. A Metis delegation visited, requesting him to return to Canada to lead them in a political movement against the Canadian government. In 1887 a young Crow warrior named Wraps His Tail led a brief rebellion, and the Army was called out to help control him and his followers. When Ursuline nuns arrived at the Crow Agency during the height of public excitement, some of the "hostiles" and other Crow escorted them to the new St. Xavier Mission.

Based initially on the vision of Wovoka (Paiute), the Ghost Dance of 1889–1890 spread to many tribes in the West. Wovoka had been influenced by Presbyterians and Mormons. Native and Christian beliefs were combined in most tribes, and some Indians called it the "Dance to Christ." The Gros Ventre Ghost Dance incorporated Christian and Flat Pipe aspects as well as an associated hand game. Catholic and Episcopalian priests helped survivors of the Wounded Knee

massacre in December 1890. Charles Eastman (Dakota Sioux) served as resident doctor at the Episcopal church, which served as a hospital. He writes that what he witnessed "was a severe ordeal for one who had so lately put all his faith in the Christian love and lofty ideals of the White man" (Eastman 1977, 114). The redemptive Native American (peyote) Church was brought to the Northern Plains at the turn of the century. In most tribes, the predominant version became the Cross-Fire, which includes Christian elements such as prayers to Jesus and St. Paul, identification of Chief Peyote with Jesus, and reference to the Bible.

Indians have been active participants in both Catholic and Protestant missions. In 1866, Yankton chiefs requested that Father De Smet establish a mission and school. In 1887 land was contributed by Chief White Calf (Blackfeet) for building a school in connection with the Jesuit Holy Family Mission. In 1890 a group of Crow petitioned the Secretary of Interior to allow Jesuit missionaries to establish the Pryor/St. Charles Mission and school, so the children could be educated in their home community; in 1891, Plenty Coups donated a portion of his land for that purpose. Before 1900, chief Washakie (Shoshone) gave land for an Episcopal church school. In 1903, W. A. Petzoldt of the Baptist Home Missionary Society established a church on the Crow Reservation with a day school requested by the Crow. In 1918 one Presbyterian Assiniboine from Fort Peck was a member of the board of directors of the Young Men's Christian Association. The Catholic Little Flower Chapel replaced St. Michael's near Browning in 1932, and Blackfeet Indians, among them many old traditional leaders, arranged the ceremonies for the dedication.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a number of religious and social reform groups, broadly called "Friends of the Indian," worked to protect Indian rights at the same time that they generally supported official federal policy to eliminate Indianness through an Americanization program. Members of these groups included Indian leaders, social scientists and reformers, and many authors, artists, and poets, many of them Christian. The organizations included the Lake Mohonk Conference, National Indian Defense Association, Indian Rights Association, and American Indian Defense Association. The most influential organization was the Society of American Indians, which was active between 1911 and the early 1920s. Among the Indian members were Dr. Charles Eastman (Sioux, physician and writer), Sherman Coolidge (Arapaho, Episcopalian minister), and Henry Roe Cloud (Winnebago, Presbyterian minister). A major question discussed by these organizations was whether Indians could remain Indian and yet become part of the larger nation, or would have to give up some or all aspects of Indian culture in order to adapt to the American world. There was a re-evaluation of Native religion and missions on the part of Indians, the U.S. government, and

churches. The 1884 *Rules and Regulations* (reissued in 1904), however, still gave the BIA authorization to control Indian religious practices. They were in effect in 1921 when, pressured by missionaries and others, Secretary of Interior Albert Fall and Commissioner of Indian Affairs C. H. Burke ordered limits on the number and types of Indian social and ritual dances, while at the same time being "somewhat tolerant" of the dances. Although the reformers did not gain full religious freedom for Indians, they did achieve several benefits. These included the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, the Meriam Report of 1928 (which generally praised missionary work, especially in education and health), and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.

As mediators and teachers, as well as assimilationists, missionaries helped in the adaptation to powerful cultural forces. Father Eberschweiler (who founded St. Paul's Mission) and the Bureau of Catholic Missions aided the Gros Ventre and Assiniboines in obtaining the Fort Belknap reservation in 1888. Indians turned to missionaries for aid in establishing schools and in obtaining loans, wage work, markets for their farm products, and introduction to other Christians for purposes of marriage. Bible translating gave a base to written Indian languages and thus interpretive struggle with theological issues. The Catholic congresses of the early twentieth century, sponsored by the Bureau of Catholic Missions, did much to bring accommodation between Indian and Catholic social and religious systems. John Frost (Cree), a Baptist from the Crow Reservation, reported at the Chicago Coliseum in 1927: "Great changes have taken place and many of the Crows are rejoicing in a Saviour's love. . . . [We] now have five Indian churches and our own Indian Association" (Hayne 1928, 99). In 1937 a banner was designed by Gros Ventres and the School Sisters of St. Francis for St. Paul's Mission delegation to the Eucharistic Congress in Great Falls, Montana; the banner shows the Gros Ventre Flat Pipe and Feathered Pipe, subordinate to the cross but symbolically important and honored.

Some Indians incorporated Christian practices into their lives, giving up most Indian religious orientations but not necessarily Indian language and kinship practices. In some cases converts opposed the Sun Dance, peyote religion, and other ceremonies. In 1918 a Presbyterian Assiniboine from the Fort Peck Reservation testified against peyote in hearings before a U.S. House Committee on Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. Some Cheyenne Mennonites testified against the Sun Dance between 1919 and 1927.

During the 1930s, Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier issued orders to BIA field workers forbidding them to interfere with Indian religious life; he directed that the culture of Indians is to be considered equal to that of any non-Indian group, and abolished the bureau requirement that Indian students at gov-

ernment boarding schools attend Christian worship service. The key legislation of his policy was the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (Wheeler-Howard Bill), which provided for tribal self-government. Recommendations against Indian customs were sent to Collier from missionary groups, politicians, and several Indians, who denounced him for returning Indians to un-American alien religions and a degrading tribalism. Nevertheless, the Indian New Deal allowed for continued persistence and revival of Native religion. During the 1930s the Cheyenne Sacred Hat bundle was opened, and groups of Blackfeet held Medicine Pipe smoking ceremonies and bundle openings. The Sioux Sun Dance was revived in 1938. A Shoshoni version of the Sun Dance at Fort Washakie, Wyoming, had integrated a number of Christian elements between 1890 and 1905; it was brought to the Crow Reservation in 1941. In 1945 the Cheyenne Sacred Arrow (Mahuts) bundle was opened, and a Gros Ventre Flat Pipe bundle opening ceremony was held in 1946.

Programs from the Depression and World War II to the 1990s included participation of Indians in the military and urban industries, reservation-to-urban relocation, "war on poverty," regional economic development, increased emphasis on education and civil rights, and diversification of Indian programs within the federal government and state agencies. All of these activities resulted in more political involvement of Indians, in the militant American Indian Movement, the American Indian Policy Review Commission, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, and voting rights. Political and cultural persistence and revivals occurred as people moved between urban areas and reservations. Vine Deloria, Jr. (Standing Rock Sioux), wrote a chapter-long caustic critique of missionaries in his book *Custer Died for Your Sins* (1969). In his *God Is Red* (1974 and 1994) he wrote:

> Tribal cultures have shifted to confront the changes forced on the people by the tidal wave of white settlement . . . a continuous conflict of two mutually exclusive religious views of the world. The validity of these two religious views is yet to be determined. One, Christianity, appears to be in its death throes. The other, the tribal religion, is attempting to make a comeback in a world as different from the world of its origins as is the present world different from the world of Christian origins. (237–238)

At the same time, most churches had renewed interest in and re-evaluation of their relations with Native Americans. Baptisms, weddings, and funerals are performed by ministers and priests; churches sponsor retreats and offer counseling. Some priests and ministers incorporate Native traditions into church services through hymns sung in Native languages, preaching sermons in a combination of English and tribal languages and using items such as pipes

and tobacco, sage, cedar, and sweetgrass. Some participate in Native ceremonies such as the Sun Dance and sweatlodge. They do so as community participants to enhance their ministry. In 1961, with financial aid from the Anglican Church of Canada, planning began for an Indian Ecumenical Conference as a pan-Indian religious integration. The first conference was held at Crow Agency in 1970 with ninety-three official delegates from forty-seven tribes. In Catholic belief, "fulfillment theology" has emerged, with Lakota meditations such as the statement by Edgar Red Cloud: "The Woman who brought the Calf Pipe is the Blessed Virgin Mary who brought Christ" (quoted in Steinmetz 1984, 129) and that of Benjamin Black Elk: "The Sacred Pipe is a Symbol of Christ." It is in this ecumenical context that in 1986 two Crow men, flanked by leaders of a dozen faiths from around the world, stood before the pope in Assisi as part of a world ecumenical gathering to pray for peace. Northern Plains Indians participated in interfaith dialogue at the 1993 centennial of the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago.

Christianity and missions continue to exercise influence among Indians. In 1954 the St. Ignatius Mission celebrated its centennial. The Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribal Council wrote to congratulate the resident priest on the service the Jesuits "have rendered to the spiritual, economic and educational advancement of the Salish and Kootenai people. It has been a pleasure to live under the influence of your Order." Today, Northern Plains Indian Christian religious activity centers on Catholic, Methodist, Lutheran, Baptist, Mormon, and Pentecostal religions, with involvement also by Presbyterians, Unitarians, Quakers (Society of Friends), and others. During the 1990s, Indian religion was included in a major review of the history of religion in Montana, sponsored in part by the Montana Association of Churches.

Paradoxical and ambivalent relationships continue. Missionaries are seen as aggressors who tried to suppress Indian culture, yet who also offered sympathetic assistance. Some Indians see the two religious traditions as separate and conflicting, and popular bumper stickers read "Custer Died for Your Sins" and "Born-Again Pagan." Most Indians combine or alternate Christianity with Indian-oriented religions at various levels in what Powers (1987) calls dual organization and Grobsmith (1981) calls dual participation. An Assiniboine from Fort Belknap has been the regional coordinator of the Catholic Tekakwitha Conference. Some artists combine Native and Christian imagery in their paintings. In the view of some Crow, each religion is like the spoke of a wheel, each separate and distinct but all connected to the hub—complementary and necessary to the function of the wheel. The interaction between Indian religion and Christian missions has involved resistance, accommodation, assimilation, and syncretism on both sides.

C. Adrian Heidenreich

See also Black Elk; Bundles, Sacred Bundle Traditions; Christianity, Indianization of; Dreams and Visions; Native American Church, Peyote Movement; Oral Traditions, Western Plains; Religious Leadership, Plains; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Plains; Sundance, Plains; Sweatlodge; Vision Quest Rites

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Missionization, Northwest

The first Christian missionaries in the Northwest came in the late eighteenth century, in the form of Catholic friars participating in Spanish voyages of exploration along the coast. Like the Spanish presence in general, these friars had little lasting impact on indigenous

societies. During the first years of the fur trade, Catholic priests often ministered to traders and their families in forts and outposts throughout the region. Some of these "black robes" made quite an impression on Native people; in 1831, for example, a mixed Flathead/Nez Perce delegation traveled to St. Louis to request "the book" and the priests who worshipped with it. More an example of strategic political outreach than a plea for conversion, the delegation's visit spawned intense interest in the Pacific Northwest among Christian churches and organizations. In the years to come, the missionaries sent by these groups would come to play a powerful role in Native life and in the non-Indian settlement of the Pacific Northwest.

During the 1830s, Christian missionaries of many denominations came to the Northwest in search of souls. In what would become the American Pacific Northwest, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the Methodist Mission Society sent representatives—typically married couples and families—to establish Protestant outposts in what they perceived as a "heathen" wilderness. (Such outposts were also an attempt to control the influence of the largely Catholic Hudson's Bay Company.) Beyond converting Indian people to Christianity, men and women like Cushing and Myra Eells, Elkanah and Mary Walker, and Jason Lee sought to transform Native ways of life entirely by turning skilled hunters and gatherers with existing religious traditions into God-fearing farmers. Of course, many of their attempts failed, as Indian people accepted only some of the missionaries' offerings or ignored them altogether.

Native responses to missionaries, however, could also include violence, as in the case of the famous "Whitman Massacre" of 1847. American Board missionaries Marcus and Narcissa Whitman had led the founding of a mission at Waiilatpu, Place of the Rye Grass, a traditional Cayuse camping ground. There they both attempted to convert the Cayuse—often by coercive means—and served as a stopover for emigrants following the newly blazed Oregon Trail. The Whitmans' tactics, combined with the flood of settlers and the diseases that followed them, led more militant Cayuse to launch an attack on the outpost in 1847, killing the Whitmans and eleven others and destroying the mission. The attack made national headlines and resulted in a minor war that lasted two years and inspired the creation of the Oregon Territory, which soon became a destination for even more settlers. The Cayuse were right, then, to see the coming of missionaries as closely linked to the arrival of outsiders and their diseases.

Meanwhile, to the north, missionaries were fanning out into territories that would become British Columbia. During the same years that the Protestant Whitmans were trying to convert the Cayuse, Catholic priests circulated through Native communities such as those of the Cowichan and Sto:lo. Unlike their coun-

terparts to the south, however, Modeste Demers, Francis N. Blanchet, Pierre De Smet, and other Catholic missionaries in the future Canada typically had only superficial contact with Indian communities. As a result, when Christian ideas took hold at all, they were often simply worked into existing systems of belief—stories about the Christian Creation, for example, could easily be absorbed into indigenous creation stories without changing Native society. As in the south, however, effective missionary work—"effective" meaning capable of transforming Indian ways of life—would only come with large-scale white settlement in the 1850s.

As missionaries of different denominations—Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, among others—came in increasing numbers to the Pacific Northwest, they vied with each other for Native souls. One of the most unusual and telling artifacts of this religious competition was the "ladder," an illustrated chart up to six feet long, depicting basic Christian beliefs including the historical trajectory between Creation and the establishment of missions among the Native peoples of the Northwest. More than just a tool for conversion, though, the ladders also represented long-standing animosities between Protestants and Catholics. Most ladders included depictions of wayward souls falling into Hell; on Catholic ladders, it was Protestants falling into the flames, while on Protestant versions, Native audiences could see bishops, and even the Pope, being cast into damnation. The ladders, then, brought centuries-old religious conflicts born in Reformation-era Europe into the homelands of Native people throughout the Pacific Northwest.

Narcissa Whitman nursing a sick Native American during a western missionary expedition, 1840s. Hand-colored woodcut. (North Wind Picture Archives)

Competition between Christian missionaries only heightened with the establishment of settler towns and farming communities in the 1850s and afterward. Increased settlement in the Northwest added another facet to the relationship between missionaries and Native people, however. As white communities began to be established in the region, churches of varying denominations sent missionaries to attend not to

the spiritual development of nearby Indian communities but to that of the settlers themselves. One of their primary reasons for doing so was concern that male settlers, faced with a lack of available white women, were intermarrying with local Native women and creating—in church leaders' minds—the wrong kind of society in the Northwest. Missionaries in new American towns such as Seattle became voices of racial purity during the years of early settlement, arguing that the mixing of races led only to degradation and moral decay and calling for segregation in the forms of treaties and statutes that outlawed interracial marriage. Meanwhile, to the north, Canadian settlers, frustrated with missionaries' attempts to maintain viable, if assimilated, Native communities, called for their government to extinguish indigenous title to traditional territories, while also supporting the importation of white women to "civilize" communities that were at that point largely biracial. On both sides of the border, then, missionaries played central roles in the dispossession of Indian lands.

After the establishment of reserves and reservations, Native people in the Northwest found themselves increasingly under the control of Christian missionaries. In the American Northwest, Indian agencies were doled out to churches and religious organizations under President Ulysses S. Grant's "Peace Policy," a major reform that began in 1877. In western Washington, for example, the Catholics were given control over several reservations, including the Tulalip, Lummi, and Swinomish, while Methodists became the "caretakers" of the Makah and Quinault and Congregationalist missionaries took over the Puyallup and Skokomish reservations. A similar process took place in British Columbia, as different Christian denominations became central forces in the daily lives of First Nations people. Regardless of their churchly affiliations, however, these missionary-bureaucrats shared many of the same goals: to put an end to traditional ways of life. Through a wide range of policies and practices—most notably boarding schools and the outlawing of traditional ceremonies such as the potlatch—missionaries typically did everything they could to "kill the Indian but save the man"(Pratt 1892) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In a handful of cases, missionaries could also offer new opportunities to Native communities. William Duncan, for example, began a mission among the Tsimshian of British Columbia in 1857, organizing it around a utopian, democratic model. Although Native people who joined Duncan's community of Metlakatla were required to renounce traditional ways of life, they often benefited from the economic ventures that Duncan coordinated, and some Metlakatla community members went on to become key leaders in the Native rights movement in both British Columbia and Alaska. Metlakatla remains a distinct

community of Christian Native people today, suggesting that not all missionary efforts resulted in a loss of Indian identity. For most Christian missionaries, though, the extinction of indigenous culture was an explicit goal.

Ironically, the reports and journals of these missionaries offer some of the best eyewitness accounts, second only to oral tradition, of the cultural practices they were trying to destroy. And even more ironic is the fact that, despite their best efforts, missionaries were often unable to bring about complete assimilation in the communities under their charge. Indeed, the presence of missionaries could lead to new, vital forms of Native religion. Throughout the Pacific Northwest, Christian theories—in particular, concepts of sin and the belief in the Second Coming of Christ—gave Indian people new ways of explaining the dramatic changes taking place in their lives, and new ways of resisting the missionaries themselves. On the Columbia Plateau, for example, a Wanapam prophet named Smohalla became the leader of the Dreamer religion, which combined traditional Wanapam beliefs with Christian ideas and symbols to create a powerful movement centered on purity and the belief that whites would someday leave Native lands. Labeled "renegades," Smohalla and his Dreamer followers maintained their independence and refused to relocate to reservations. Although the Dreamer religion faded after Smohalla's death in 1895, a Wanapam community still remains at Priest Rapids on the Columbia River, far from any reservation.

Meanwhile, other indigenous political and religious movements developed in the nineteenth-century Pacific Northwest, inspired both by missionary ideas and settler injustices. On the Grande Ronde and Siletz reservations in western Oregon, a movement known as the Earth Lodge cult, or the South Wind Dance, emerged in 1871, inspired in part by accounts of Smohalla's Dreamers but also by Christian ideas of redemption and salvation. Spread between communities by men like Depot Charlie, Sixes George, and Coquille Thompson, the Earth Lodge could be found among the Tillamook, Coos, Siuslaw, and Lower Umpqua by the late 1870s. Near Florence on the Oregon coast, Earth Lodge followers built a massive dance house in 1878, much to the concern of the handful of white settlers in the area, who saw such movements as threats to both their supremacy in the region and to their personal safety. Like the Dreamer religion, however, the Earth Lodge/South Wind Dance movement, which declined after the 1880s, was a nonviolent but militant way for Indian communities to find strength in a traumatic time.

While the Dreamer and Earth Lodge religious movements eventually disappeared, another Pacific Northwest religious movement, the Shaker Church, remains a strong presence in the region's Indian communities to the present day. It was founded in 1882, when a Squaxin man named John Slocum had a vision in

which the Christian God promised a powerful new medicine to Native people who renounced gambling, drinking, smoking, and the ceremonies of traditional shamans and healers. Along with his wife, Mary—whose trembling prayers over her husband, who nearly died in 1883, provided the term "shaker"—Slocum became one of the leaders of this new Indian movement, which emphasized both clean living and indigenous independence. Most missionaries and agents hated the new Shaker movement, and many outlawed it on the reservations they oversaw. Despite that, the movement gained rapid momentum, becoming a legal church in Washington state in 1892. By the 1930s, Indian Shaker Churches could be found throughout the Northwest, from the Hoopa Reservation in northern California to the Umatilla Reservation in eastern Oregon and the Musqueam communities of Lower Mainland British Columbia.

Today, most reservations and reserves in the Pacific Northwest are home to a number of religious communities. Traditional religious practices have enjoyed a resurgence in recent decades, while churches begun by missionaries remain landmarks and centers of everyday life; religious hybrids such as the Shaker Church continue to combine traditional and Christian beliefs and ideas. Often, this diversity of religious expression plays a large role in tribal politics, as differing philosophies vie for power and authority in the community. Meanwhile, some mainstream Christian churches have entered into dialogues of reconciliation with Native communities, both in the United States and in Canada. In 1988, for example, the Church Council of Greater Seattle, comprising several mainline Protestant denominations, issued a formal apology to tribal communities for their institutions' role in undermining indigenous cultural traditions. And in Canada, landmark lawsuits demanded restitution for the widespread physical and sexual abuse of First Nations children in church-run boarding schools. The legacies of the missionary movement in the Pacific Northwest remain with us today, attesting to the central role Christian missionaries have played in the region's Indian history.

Coll Thrush

See also Boarding Schools, Religious Impact; Ceremony and Ritual, Northwest; Christianity, Indianization of; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion; Potlatch; Religious Leadership, Northwest; Reservations, Spiritual and Cultural Implications

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Missionization, Southeast

The encounter between Native peoples and European religions that began in the sixteenth century and continued into the twentieth century provoked several significant religious and cultural responses among the Native peoples of the Southeast. Roman Catholic missionaries accompanied the Spanish in their exploration and settlement of Florida and along the Atlantic coast as far as South Carolina. Protestant missionaries became involved in missionary programs to Southeastern Native peoples during the nineteenth century. Native peoples in the Southeast responded to these missionaries in a variety of ways, ranging from conversion, through syncretic blending, to outright rejection.

Between 1567 and 1572, Jesuit missionaries established the earliest missions in Florida. These outposts were set up among the Tequesta and Calusa peoples in southern Florida, near present-day Miami. These initial efforts by the Jesuits were not successful. After violent confrontations between Indians and Jesuits, during which several Jesuits were killed, the decision was made to remove the Jesuits from the area.

From 1573 to 1595 sporadic efforts were made to bring Franciscan friars to Florida to replace the departed Jesuits. With the arrival of twelve Franciscans in 1595, a stable missionary presence in Florida came into effect. During the seventeenth century, Franciscan missionaries built two chains of missions in Florida. One stretched from St. Augustine along the Atlantic Coast as far northward as Santa Elena in South Carolina. The other ran from St. Augustine westward across northern Florida, reaching as far as the Apalachicola River. By the late seventeenth century as many as 130 separate mission stations had been begun in Florida. Most of these were short-lived, however, and scholars indicate that the number of 40 churches and 52 missionaries is a better estimate of the size of the Franciscan mission system by this time.

Several goals motivated the Spanish missionary endeavor. First, the missionaries hoped to convert the Native peoples to Roman Catholicism. Through their proselytizing efforts, the missionaries understood themselves to be saving the Natives from incorrect religious beliefs and also to be introducing them to Spanish civilization. Second, by converting the Indians into Spanish Christians,

John Wesley statue, Savannah, Georgia. Wesley was a missionary among colonists and Native Americans during the eighteenth century. Hand-colored woodcut. (North Wind Picture Archives)

the missionaries understood that they were playing an important role in the successful development of Spanish Florida. Their hope was that, in converting to Christianity, the Indians were being transformed into reliable allies for the Spanish, instead of the potential military threat they had previously posed. Indian attacks on Spanish settlements during the late sixteenth century and continuing into the seventeenth century demonstrated the threat that Indians represented. Religious bonds strengthened other commercial and political ties between the Spanish and the Native peoples in these formerly Native lands. Finally, in their development of mission stations and their encouragement of Indian converts to resettle adjacent to those missions, the missionaries recognized that Indians could be enticed, or, as often, coerced to provide labor for the Spanish settlements that were coming into existence all along the mission trails.

As the mission system developed in Florida under the auspices of the Franciscans, it encountered Guale, Apalachee, and Timuca Native peoples. These groups had a relatively dense population when first encountered by the Spanish, as well as an agricultural basis for their economy. The stable and sedentary nature of these groups made them easier to

incorporate into the Spanish colonial economy. In addition, their agricultural produce could be easily exchanged for Spanish iron and other trade goods. Here again, the religious missions of the Franciscans functioned to reinforce the economic goals of Spanish colonialism.

Not all Florida Indians accepted Christianity or were pleased with the efforts of the missionaries. In 1587, Guale people revolted against the Franciscan attempts to convert them. These Franciscan missionaries, as was often the case, sought to change not only beliefs but also ways of life. In this case, the Franciscans attacked the Guale patterns of marriage and inheritance, with the result being a rebellion in which five Franciscans were killed. In 1656 another rebellion broke out, among Timuca peoples. The revolt lasted eight months and was finally put down by Spanish military forces. As a result, several Timucan missions were abandoned or relocated to areas considered more secure. Disease also stalked the mission Indians of Florida. Without immunity to European diseases, Florida Indians suffered recurrent epidemics with much loss of life. Measles and smallpox devastated many groups, with casualties from a single measles epidemic reported as high as ten thousand.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, as depopulation among Florida Indians severely reduced their numbers, the Spanish mission system was waning as well. However, military attacks rather than microbes were responsible for the demise of the Spanish missions. Imperial competition between England and Spain had intensified during the sixteenth century, and by the late seventeenth century, Spanish missions in Georgia and Florida had experienced raids by English soldiers. The attacks continued, and, unable to maintain and defend their mission system, the Spanish mission enterprise came to an end by 1708. The Spanish cession of Florida to Great Britain in 1763 simply marked a change that had already occurred some years before.

During the Anglo-American colonial era, fewer efforts were made toward the missionization of Indians in the Southeast. Responsibility for such work fell to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). Supervised by Anglican officials in London, the SPG sent missionaries to the South. While these missionaries often came into contact with Native peoples, they typically concentrated their efforts on the white colonial population rather than directly on Indians.

A new period in the history of missionization of Southeastern Indians occurred in the nineteenth century. In the new century, with the encouragement of the federal government, Protestant missionaries now actively pursued mission programs. Moravians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists were the Protestant groups involved among Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, Seminole, and Cherokee peoples. Christianization and civilization were

often cited as the goals of these missionaries. As with their Catholic predecessors in Florida, these Protestants desired to preach the Christian Gospel and seek converts among the members of the tribes. Beyond that, the missionaries sought to teach Native peoples to read and write English and to adopt Euro-American ways of life. Thus Christianization meant adopting the religion of the whites, while civilization meant becoming like the whites and forsaking Native ways.

Mission stations, once established, often had schools connected to them. Among the Choctaws four schools had been founded by 1833, including the Elliot mission, under the direction of Cyrus Byington, and the Mayhew mission, under the direction of Cyrus Kingsbury. Alfred Wright set up a mission at Goshen and, together with Israel Folsom, translated the Gospel of Luke into Choctaw. In the aftermath of removal, twelve additional schools were developed.

Missionaries established schools among the Chickasaws at Charity Hall (1820), Monroe (1821), and Caney Creek (1827). In the decades after removal, the Chickasaw Academy opened in 1851 under Methodist auspices and the Wapanucka Female Institute began in 1852 with Presbyterian support. Within the Creek nation there was considerable opposition to the presence of missionaries, and all were expelled in 1836. However, in the 1840s, Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians all organized churches and schools among the Creeks.

While the Florida Seminoles did not become the object of coordinated missionary attention until the late nineteenth century, the Cherokees received their first Christian missionary as early as 1801. In that year, after extended negotiations, the Moravians opened their mission at Springplace, Georgia. Before removal on the Trail of Tears, missions had been started by the Baptist Evan Jones at Valley Towns, by the Congregationalists Daniel Butrick at Brainerd and Samuel Worcester at New Echota, by the Presbyterian Gideon Blackburn at Hiwassee, and by the Methodist circuit rider James Trott, also at New Echota. While most missionaries used interpreters in their preaching, Jones, Butrick, and Worcester mastered Cherokee sufficiently to preach in it and to make translations of Christian Scriptures into the Cherokee language.

Cherokee interest in the missionaries initially had more to do with a pragmatic interest in the value of educational skills than a thirst for spiritual salvation. Facility in numbers and the English language assisted Cherokees in economic dealings with whites, and Chief John Ross realized the importance of those skills in defending Cherokee rights and improving Cherokee lives.

Cherokee responses to these missions illustrate the range of reactions that the missionaries caused. While some Cherokees embraced both the missionaries' religion and education, others tried to split the two apart or to reject them altogether in favor of Cherokee tradition. Mission-

ary reports from all Protestant groups hailed their success in obtaining converts, but Cherokee revitalization movements—such as White Path's Rebellion in 1827—expressed collective resentment against the missionaries and their schools, and called for a renewal of Cherokee tradition. Additionally, syncretic blending of Cherokee traditionalism and missionary Christianity can be seen in various sacred stories, rituals, and practices.

General patterns remain evident in the twentieth century, and Protestant and Catholic churches remain active among Native peoples in the Southeast. In many areas, Baptists and Methodists predominate, as they do otherwise in the Southeast. Recently the Pentecostal and Holiness traditions have established several congregations, while the Mormons, especially among the Catawbas of South Carolina, are quite visible. Likewise apparent are calls for affirmation of traditional religious practices, such as stomp dances or busk rituals, as well as the blending of elements of traditional Native and traditional Christian religious practices. The installation of Native Americans as pastors of largely Native congregations or the incorporation of tribal themes into the liturgy or ritual of services has served to reinforce the Indian identity of many churches. In the use of symbols, ritual, language, and community relations, for example, Indian identity is expressed in culturally powerful ways. Finally, in the development of Native clergy and lay leaders, a less paternalistic and correspondingly more enculturated model of missionization, sensitive to community needs and aspirations, has emerged in recent decades.

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See also Christianity, Indianization of; Revitalization Movements, Southeast; Trail of Tears

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Missionization, Southwest

The establishment of Spanish missions in the American Southwest began as early as the sixteenth century, under the direction of the Spanish local government. In the sixteenth century the American Southwest was part of Northern Mexico and consedered the far northern frontiers of the Spanish empire in the new world. Franciscan fathers who set out to establish missions in present-day New Mexico were accompanied by the Spanish military. The relationship between the missions and the military was a close one: missions were granted control over all aspects of spiritual and temporal affairs, so long as they honored an agreement to provision the military outposts that accompanied them. This relationship was possible because under Spanish law, Native communities within the missions' reach were required to provide tribute and labor to the mission fathers. Missions were constructed to mimic a fortress convent, with the church and military barracks, both built by Native labor, often placed on opposite sides of the same plaza.

The Spanish government gave the fathers complete legal control over their Native wards. Native people had the legal status of children, and their missionary fathers had the right of corporal punishment and even execution. The *encomienda* system granted missions jurisdiction over Native families and communities within a given region. The missions then had the legal right, with military backing, to demand tribute, labor, and personal services.

Illness proved to be a key factor in the ability of the missions to maintain control over their Native populations. Spaniards brought devastating epidemic diseases to the Native comities. The missions themselves were extremely unhealthy: large numbers of people were forced to live closely together in extremely unsanitary conditions. Such housing helped secure social control, however: families were placed in single-family unit dwellings, disrupting traditional habitation patterns that included extended families. Single women and men were isolated into dormitories, and the women were locked away every night to prevent what the friars saw as inappropriate behavior.

Many commonalities exist between the Pueblo religion and Christianity that could have been used as a basis for communication between the traditions. Both venerate priestly leadership; both use religious buildings as the center of worship—the church and the kiva; both make use of altars, ritual chants, sacred utensils, and a religious calendar that regulates community life. The crucifixes and rosaries of the Catholic Church could be said to resemble prayer sticks, both used as mnemonic devices and visual images of prayer. The two traditions share a veneration of water as holy, and

A portrait of Christ as a Mescalero Apache medicine man hangs above an altar in the Saint Joseph Church, built by Mescalero Indians and Jesuit priests in New Mexico. 1992. (Dave G. Houser/Corbis)

both practice ritual bathing or baptism. The incense of Catholic traditions could be said to parallel the burning of tobacco smoke in indigenous ceremonies. Catholic saints were once living people who had become powerful spiritual intercessors, much like the Puebloan ancestral spirits. Both share a belief in demons and witchcraft. Both believe that the world was created by a divine power, which organized the cosmos according to divine laws. Finally, both traditions share a belief that good and evil exist insofar as they conform or fail to conform to those divine laws (Bowden 1981, 47).

Such common beliefs and practices might partially account for the initial acceptance of missions by Puebloan communities. The fathers were allowed to build on the fringes of Pueblo villages, accompanied by their military garrisons. However, rather than focusing on these similarities in faith and tradition, the Franciscan friars who led the missions focused on what made Christianity distinct from Native faiths. Condemning indigenous practices as the work of the devil,

the mission fathers demanded Native allegiance to the Spanish Crown and church. With the Spanish military enforcing their decisions, friars raided kivas, destroying ritual paraphernalia, masks, and garments. Some kivas were filled with sand to prevent their further use. Community dances, celebrations, and festivals were forbidden. Neophytes were required to take Christian names and speak Spanish, and all Pueblo community members were required to attend daily Mass, or suffer corporal punishment. In Baja California missions, traditional religious leaders were threatened with death and severely beaten for practicing rituals or ceremonies.

Increasing demands for tribute and labor, increasing persecution of traditional religio-political leaders, and a severe drought and food shortage led to the 1680 revolt. It was led by Popé, a Pueblo spiritual leader, and the Spanish were expelled from Northern Mexico (present-day New Mexico) for twelve years. The Hopi never allowed missionaries to establish churches within their community again. When the Franciscans returned to other Pueblos, their evangelical efforts took a much more cautious approach. Living at the edges of Pueblo society, they promoted a tradition that allowed for a degree of syncretism with traditional Pueblo religious practice. Thus some Puebloan communities began celebrating the Saints' Days festivals, still practiced today, which encompass traditional notions of spirituality and communal celebration along with the veneration of Catholic saints.

Seminomadic tribes throughout the Southwest proved the most difficult for the church to missionize. Some, like the Karankawas in present-day Texas, used the missions as part of their seasonal subsistence route. They visited the missions during certain times of year, where they could be assured of food, and then moved on to their other seasonal hunting and gathering locations.

Most early missions failed, largely because of their attempts to instill such a radical change in way of life and beliefs. Challenging firmly established social, political, and subsistence activities without offering a viable alternative failed to attract many sincere Native converts. Additionally, the rapid population decline among many missions, caused by illness, crowding, lack of sanitation, the absence of medical doctors, and the persecution of traditional healers, left many missions with few individuals to indoctrinate. By 1883 a more liberal Mexico, independent of Spain, secularized the missions in northern Mexico, distributing mission land to settlers or military officials. In the Pueblos, Native communities returned to their traditional homes and modes of life. Other, seminomadic tribes likewise deserted the missions, returning to traditional subsistence patterns, while some families and individuals remained near the missions, working as laborers and farmers.

For seminomadic tribal nations such as the Diné (Navajo) and Apache, mis-

sionization efforts were ineffectual until those nations were forcibly tied to reservations by the U.S. government in the middle to late nineteenth century. Prior to that, their only interaction with the Franciscan missions was to attack and raid them periodically. Once forced into more sedentary ways of life, Catholic missions were able to have an impact on community life. Learning from their experience with Pueblo communities, these missions, while insisting on the superiority of the Catholic faith, allowed a degree of cultural syncretism between the two traditions. The contemporary image of Christ in the Mescalero Apache Christ Church, founded in 1916 by Father Albert, is indicative of this culturally accommodating effort. Father Albert, who gave his sermons in Apache, encouraged the interaction of the Catholic faith and traditional Apache culture. In the painting, Christ appears dressed as a traditional Apache ceremonial singer, with a deer hoof rattle, a basket holding ceremonial objects, and the image of the sun painted on his open palm.

In the 1880s, following the Civil War, the Grant administration instituted its so-called peace policy. This policy called for reform of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which entailed the assignment of Protestant Christian ministers to Indian agent posts, the establishment of boarding schools (so that Native children might be educated into Christian traditions without the interference of traditionalist relatives), and an overall policy of assimilating Native people into mainstream society. Seeing the process of "civilizing" Native people as political, economic, social, and religious, missionaries and ministers seemed a natural fit for the position. Further, plagued by corruption in the mid-nineteenth century, the BIA hoped that Protestant missionary-agents would purge corruption from the reservation system, even as they brought the Natives to Christ. By 1895 a system of boarding schools had been established with the intent of furthering this agenda. Many Native children from throughout the Southwest, including the Diné, Apache, and Puebloan communities, were forcibly removed from their families and sent to distant boarding schools, where they were taught Protestant Christianity, English, and Euro-American social and cultural norms. Today, Catholic and Protestant churches exist alongside traditional religious practices on the Puebloan, Apachean, and Diné reservations throughout the Southwest. In the last two decades Mormon missionaries have also made inroads into Southwest communities. However, traditional religious practice remains a strong and viable part of Native life. Many Native people feel comfortable attending both Christian churches and indigenous ceremonies, just as they might consult both a Western medical physician and a traditional indigenous healer.

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See also Boarding Schools, Religious Impact; Ceremony and Ritual, Pueblo; Hopi Prophecy; Kachina and Clown Societies; Masks and Masking; Native American

Church, Southwest; Oral Traditions, Southwest; Religious Leadership, Southwest; Religious Leadership, Southwest, Pueblo; Reservations

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Momaday, N. Scott (1934–)

(Novelist)

N. Scott Momaday mentions and develops many American Indian religious practices throughout his writings and interviews. Drawing from both old and new, he conveys a variety of traditions. These range far and wide—for example, in two of his best known novels, *House Made of Dawn* and *Ancient Child.* In those works, religious practices are indelibly intertwined in the very fabric of the plots, ranging from the religion of the Plains, called K'ado or Sun Dance (*Ancient* 1989, 20), and the sacred Sun Dance doll Tai-me (ibid., 20–21; *House* 1968, 96, 129; *The Way* 1969, 37) to religious peyote rituals (*Ancient* 1989, 229–230; *House* 1968, 110; *The Way* 1969, 39), and the ceremonial organization of Eagle Watchers Society (*House* 1968, 16), to name but a few.

By drawing attention to the panoramic way in which Momaday portrays the American Indian religion, we can appreciate the spectacular reach of the writer's knowledge of religious customs. These religious stories share two important factors. First, they are transmitted from one generation to another by word of mouth. Second, they survive because they evolve, becoming accepted and practiced by other tribes.

One of the most useful means for catching glimpses of Momaday's world and spiritual views is through interviews. In the following example we discover a personal story in which Momaday reflects on the time when he was a boy and on his grandmother, Aho, who would pray. The tenuous survival of religion and culture rests on such fragile relationships. The grandmother's influence, in turn, is seen in everything the writer has produced:

> I remember very vividly the number of occasions when I heard my grandmother pray in Kiowa. We would be the only two in the room, and she would be preparing me for bed and preparing herself for the night. She never neglected to pray just before going to bed. She would pray aloud in Kiowa, and I didn't understand what she was saying. But the quality of that language and the force that lay behind it, the great conviction and the

N. Scott Momaday, professor of English at Stanford University, California, ca. 1990. The son of a Kiowa father and a Cherokee mother, Momaday has been awarded both a Guggenheim fellowship and a Pulitzer Prize for fiction. (MPI/Getty Images)

> profound belief in what she was doing, the belief in the efficacy of language implicit in her prayer, could not be doubted. I could not even as a child fail to understand that something important was happening. I couldn't say what it was in terms of meaning, but it was not lost upon me.
> (Schubnell 1997, 105–108)

In this scene we discover the power that prayer had on a young Momaday. His grandmother is leading a Kiowan prayer in the Kiowa language. While he does not understand the words, he feels the powerful impact that the prayer evokes as it is passed on to him. Spiritual communication has few boundaries and thus is unimpeded by language.

Similarly, storytelling from a fictional grandmother to her grandson, John Big Bluff Tosamah, in *House Made of Dawn* reveals information on the Sun Dance doll Tai-me: "My grandmother used to tell me the story of Tai-me, of how Tai-me came to the Kiowas. The Kiowas were a sun dance culture, and Tai-me was their sun dance doll, their most sacred fetish; no medicine was ever more powerful. There is a story about the coming of Tai-me. This is what my grandmother told me" (*House* 1968, 96). The oral sharing in this instance is significant for several reasons. First, John Big Bluff Tosamah, as a pastor and a priest of the Sun, is narrating the story to his congregation, a group of American Indians holding services in Los Angeles, California; he is a priest for Christians and Native Americans. Second, Tosamah shares the story with his parish, but the words are *through* his grandmother, enforcing the oral sharing of Tai-me: "The story of the coming of Tai-me has existed for hundreds of years by word of mouth" (ibid.). In *The Way to Rainy Mountain,* Momaday describes Tai-me in detail:

> The great central figure of the Kado, or Sun Dance, ceremony is taime. This is a small image, less than two feet in length, representing a human figure dressed in a robe of white feathers, with a headdress consisting of a single upright feather and pendants of ermine silk, with numerous strands of

> blue beads around its neck, and painted upon the face, breast, and back with designs symbolic of the sun and moon. The image itself is of dark-green stone, in form rudely resembling a human head and bust, probably shaped by art like the stone fetishes of the Pueblo tribes. It is preserved in a rawhide box in charge of the hereditary keeper, and is never under any circumstances exposed to view except at the annual Sun Dance, when it is fastened to a short upright stick planted within the medicine lodge, near the western side. It was last exposed in 1888.—Mooney. (Momaday 1969, 37)

Readers will find that throughout Momaday's works, Tai-me is in the characters' lives, although in differing senses. The notion of Tai-me survives in spoken stories, but Tai-me appears to us in times of need, offering salvation. The spirit and story of Tai-me, Tosamah reminds his listeners, "represents a very rich literature, which, because it was never written down, was always but one generation from extinction" (*House* 1968, 97).

Just as real and fictional grandmothers pass on religion and its accompanying prayers from the old to the young, we discover that the Crow share their religion with the Kiowa in a time of great need. They were "befriended by the Crows, who gave them the culture and religion of the plains. . . . They acquired Tai-me, the sacred sun dance doll, from that moment the chief object and symbol of their worship, and so shared in the divinity of the sun" (ibid., 129). The sharing and acceptance of Tai-me reveals its spiritual power—the capability of one culture to receive another religion—and Tai-me's appearance in the Kiowa's time of need.

The Sun Dance religion did not survive in more recent history. In an interview Momaday discusses the effect of the prohibition of the Sun Dance by the U.S. government (1890): "Their religion taken from them, the Kiowas had nothing to sustain them; their spirit was broken. With religion and independence gone, they degenerated, suffered the loss of their 'last hope—hope itself'" (Trimble 1973, 7–8). Nevertheless, Momaday attributes the beginning of the end to 1832, when the Osage tribe stole Tai-me (it was stolen again in 1868 by the Ute tribe), and then its first treaty with the United States, signed at Fort Gibson in 1837. He tacitly seems to state that the sharing, the theft, and the banning of the Sun Dance is another inevitable evolution of religion.

Another moment of religious sharing, this time from the Bahkyula tribe, reveals how they have endured despite being decimated by a plague (*House* 1968, 15). While the Kiowa took the few remaining survivors in, the Bahkyula, in turn, taught the Kiowa the sacred practice of the Eagle Watchers Society, which would not have survived without the Kiowa. Through the Eagle Watchers we discover a social and religious ceremony involving the capture of eagles. Unexpectedly, the ancient Eagle Watchers Society ceremony is threatened not by another tribe or government but by a Kiowa, Abel, who

fully participates in the ceremonial capture but ends killing an eagle in a sacrilegious way. Two issues are gained from this incident. First, Momaday carefully explains the ritual as it has been passed down for many generations, surviving because of the Kiowa. Second, we see a contemporary American Indian who now threatens the existence of the sacred Eagle Watchers.

Momaday shows us how ancient practices have survived, by intermixing of cultures and word of mouth. It should be no surprise that the other dominant theme he portrays in his writings and interviews is the intertwining of American Indian and Christian religions—and they, too, are passed down and shared in unpredictable ways.

Perhaps the most revealing and uplifting example is the syncretism of multiple religious perspectives illustrated in his children's book *Circle of Wonder: A Native American Christmas Story.* We share our stories with each other to create a sense of hope, communal togetherness, and recognition of God with the spirits in our life. Tolo, the child in the book, meets with an elk, a wolf, and an eagle, all noble and strong, but with scars from meeting and battling with each other in the circle of life:

> The boy, the bird, and the beasts made
> a circle of wonder and goodwill
> around the real gift of the fire, and
> beyond them were other, wider circles,
> made of the meadow, the mountains,
> and the starry sky, all the fires and
> processions, all the voices and silences
> of all the world.
>
> Tolo knew then that he had been
> led to the center of the Holy Season.
> He thought again of his grandfather,
> who he knew was here among the
> trees, and of his parents, and of the
> Christ Child, who had come to live the
> twelve days of Christmas in his home.
> Never before had Tolo's heart been so
> full of joy. (Momaday 1994, 36)

Tolo has reconciled his religious views. The experience is powerful because it reveals a conciliation of American Indian within Christian religious practices. By not abandoning one religion or the other, Tolo shows us that he has understood the spirituality of religion.

Mentioned earlier, Big John Tosamah is a telling example of an American Indian who, like Tolo, has been able to harmonize the two religions. He is not a traditional priest in either religion; it is his hybrid practice that places him in a historical class of American Indian spiritual survivors. A signboard outside a building reads:

> Los Angeles
>
> HOLINESS PAN-INDIAN
> RESCUE MISSION
>
> Rev. J. B. B. Tosamah,
> Pastor & Priest of the Sun
>
> Saturday 8:30 P.M.
> "The Gospel According to John"
>
> Sunday 8:30 P.M.
> "The Way to Rainy Mountain"
> Be kind to a white man today.
> (*House* 1968, 89–90)

We discover that Masses are held in the basement of a two-story brick build-

ing. In his sermon on Saturday, "The Gospel According to John," Tosamah elaborates on how John's words of truth came from God. Tosamah feels that John should have left God's truth alone, but expands, saying, "He [John] couldn't see that he had come to the end of the Truth, and he went on. He tried to make it bigger and better than it was, but instead he only demeaned and encumbered it" (ibid., 93). The suggestion reiterates the idea that one's experience with religion is individual. As an American Indian he reconciles John's individualized take on the words of God.

On the following day Tosamah's sermon, "The Way to Rainy Mountain," is given in the same locale, but this time is performed in an American Indian religion form:

> The Priest of the Sun spread a clean white cloth before him on the floor, and on this he placed the things which he removed from the paraphernalia satchel:
>
> 1. A fine fan of fancy pheasant feathers.
> 2. A slender beaded drumstick.
> 3. A packet of brown cigarette papers.
> 4. A bundle of sage sprigs.
> 5. A smokestick bearing the sacred water-bird symbol.
> 6. A pouch of powdered cedar incense.
> 7. An eagle-bone whistle.
> 8. A paper bag containing forty-four peyote buttons. (ibid., 110–111)

The ceremony continues until dawn, with Momaday describing this hybrid tradition, down to the metal pan used for a fire in the basement. We hear the visions of four characters after ingesting peyote, enforcing the notion of multiple shared experiences with religion as opposed to John's single interpretation. We see in these two sermons Tosamah's reconciliation of the American Indian with the Christian religion, solidifying Momaday's thematic portrayal of ancient ways evolving in order to survive.

We see in N. Scott Momaday that religious practices have their roots in tenuously shared stories. For his contemporary characters these stories often are difficult to relate to, but the struggles they face to understand religion and culture are ultimately what lead to understanding. The revelatory moments are as painful as pleasurable, as ugly as beautiful: in all cases they illuminate down-to-earth contemporary American Indian religious experiences. For the reader new to Momaday, his writings challenge romantic versions and stereotypes of complex practices.

John Scenters-Zapico

See also Literature, Religion in Contemporary American Indian Literature; Missionization, Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Reservation; Oral Traditions; Oral Traditions, Pueblo; Oral Traditions, Western Plains

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Mother Earth

"Mother Earth" is a Euro-American term glossing an often ideological and stereotypical understanding of the relationships between Native Americans and their environments; however, the term can also signify the religious, temporally deep, and difficult to articulate concepts of tribally specific relationships to the environment. Scientific research underway on the Gaia hypothesis corroborates some indigenous philosophical components related to the notion of the earth and its biosphere as living, integrated organisms. Within a religious paradigm, Native Americans may strategically appropriate the term "Mother Earth" to further their interests by drawing upon the "noble" side of hegemonic culture's preference for the dualistic stereotype (savage versus noble Indian) over the reality of Native peoples. The term became controversial with the 1987 publication of Sam D. Gill's *Mother Earth: An American Story* and thesis "that Mother Earth has come into existence in America largely during the last one hundred years and that her existence stems primarily from two creative groups: scholars and Indians" (Gill 1987, 7). One of the key critics of Gill's book, Ward Churchill, concedes that "the interpretation and reinterpretation of the Mother Earth concept by succeeding generations of Euro Americans (such as Gill himself) had blocked any broad understanding of the original indigenous meaning of it . . . and carried the popular notion of Mother Earth very far from any indigenous meaning" (Churchill 1992, 200). However, Churchill argues that Gill's book and thesis are flawed in that they deny "a well-developed indigenous Mother Earth concept [*sic*] operant in North America before contact" (ibid.). Likewise, Gill fails to consider "on-going and autonomous" Native American Mother Earth concepts apart from "popular (mis)understandings" (ibid.). Churchill also elaborates on the

various rhetorical and research flaws underlying Gill's premises and found throughout the book (ibid., 204–209).

Shepard Krech III deconstructs the "Ecological Indian" stereotype, stating that it is one of the most persistent and deeply embedded American stereotypes in both popular and Indian imaginations (Krech 1999). The image is oppositionally defined against that of the "Nonecological White Man" (ibid., 22). Employing specific definitions of "conservation" and "ecologist," he states that Indians, prior to contact with non-Indians, in some respects acted as conservationists by setting fire to grasslands to increase habitat for large game, and increased favored plant species. He also details Native actions that can not be considered "conservationist," such as some buffalo jumps, many uses of fire, and beaver and deer hunts driven by the desire for commodities (ibid., 212). He underscores the point, however, that Native interactions with the environment "probably made little difference for the perpetuation of species," including Pleistocene species whose demise likely derived in large part from climatic factors (ibid., 213). It was not until contact and the introduction of the commodity market that the concepts and practices of "waste" and "overkill" entered Native thought; when they did, Native people actively sought ways to avoid such practices as well as to restore depleted animal populations (ibid.). In conclusion, however, Krech finds that under a specific definition of conservation, Native peoples prior to contact did not have widespread conservation practices or analogous concepts (ibid.).

In terms of contemporary actions toward the environment, Krech decries the use of the "Ecological Indian" as "a foil for critiques of European or American society" (ibid., 214). He presents an overview of contemporary struggles by Native nations and peoples to protect and restore specific ecosystems and animal, bird, and fish populations (ibid., 214–215; 217–222). As well, he cites several examples of serious and proposed environmental damage perpetrated by Native nations and peoples (ibid., 215–216; 219–220). Moreover, environmentalists and Native peoples have often worked oppositional agendas over timber, hunting, fishing, whaling, water, and energy development (ibid., 222–227). Krech attempts to demystify the "Ecological Indian" trope through historical research and analysis showing that real Native American peoples display a spectrum of attitudes and practices toward the environment.

The core values, teachings, and practices that may, in any indigenous nation, underlie the notion of Mother Earth, are often complex, interwoven among the many aspects of the nation's existence, and difficult to separate analytically for the purposes of explicating the relationship between that nation and the Earth. However, such explications are present in scholarly treatises. One example is A. Oscar Kawagley's (Yupiaq) book *A Yupiaq Worldview: A Pathway to Ecology and Spirit* (1995). Describing the world-

views of Alaska's Native peoples, Kawagley states that they "recognize that the land is a giver of life. The land has become their life and their metaphysic, to the point that they live by the circadian rhythms of the universe in which they are situated" (Kawagley 1995, 12). Maintaining and sustaining a balance between the human, the natural, and the spiritual worlds frames the original Yupiaq worldview. Kawagley uses a tetrahedral metaphor to illustrate this concept. (Structurally, the tetrahedral's strength lends itself for Yupiaq use as a fish and game storage/drying rack in the form of a tripod [ibid., 15].) Within Kawagley's metaphoric structure the human being carries the responsibility of maintaining the balance between the three points by learning to understand and communicate with the other two, thus maintaining and (re-)creating the Yupiaq worldview. Ritual and ceremony enhance the communication and help to restore and maintain the balance. In the Yupiaq's interconnected universe, "even the unconscious is attuned to the forces of nature" (ibid., 32). The Earth is a focal point for a synthesis of pragmatic, inductive, and spiritual knowledge (ibid., 33), gained from "observation, experience, social interaction, and listening to the conversations and interrogations of the natural and spiritual worlds with the mind" (ibid., 18). Thus the notion of the Earth as a "mother" is literally, for the Yupiaq, a truth. Earth is the *Ur*-source of their knowledge (critical for the maintenance of balance), and therefore, in the Yupiaq worldview, the source of existence and all reproduction (hence her status as "mother").

It is the unique and specific aspects of each Native nation's "cultural map" (contained in language, myths, legends and stories, science and technology, and role models from the community) that construct the nation's relationship to the Earth (ibid., 17). Yet, that relationship and the corresponding concept of Earth is consistently one of "the fructifying female manifestation of spiritual power, as 'Grandmother' or 'Mother'" (Kidwell et al. 2001, 127). Generally, the term "Earth" in Native American spiritual concepts is understood to include "land, sea, and sky, and such presences as wind, rain, fire and light, as well as human and animal life" (ibid.). The Earth is seldom conceptualized as a deity and is not worshipped, although it is seen as the source of spiritual and physical sustenance (ibid.). Everything in Creation is spiritually related. For the Lakota nations, *Takuskanskan* is the unifying force drawing everything into relation. It is understood as energy, or the "power that moves everything that moves, but it was also of a distinct being, a supreme spirit" (Walker 1980, 37). This same force may be called *Skan,* a common word glossed as "sky." In Lakota cosmology, *Maka* is Earth and *Inyan,* Stone—the First Being creates both *Maka* and *Skan* simultaneously, by bleeding his veins. Again, it is the specifics within a Native nation's worldview that infuse the concept of "Mother Earth" with meaning.

When the term is divorced from an understanding of a specific Native nation's worldview, it risks becoming infused with colonizing power. Gill's *Mother Earth* demonstrates this in its thesis and in its own colonial possession of the term. Churchill explains in his critique of the book that "the realities at issue are systematically supplanted, negated and reconstructed to suit the psychological needs of the current crop of colonizers, and the result reproduced as 'truth' among both the oppressors and the oppressed" (Churchill 1992, 211). Thomas C. Parkhill identifies the relevant psychological needs of the hegemonic society and its use of "Native Americans" and colonial inventions of Native American concepts with a focus on the Mother Earth concept. Parkhill theorizes that "urbanites feel disconnected from nature, cut off from both the nurturing and ferocity that typifies life connected to the land" (Parkhill 1997, 110). In the desire and need for place, the non-Indian turns to stereotype, "the authentic Indian," the "Ecological Indian" in Krech's analysis, or the stereotype's surrogate, the New Age guru, to invoke stereotypical nature-centered teachings to grant themselves a sense of place (ibid., 113). He concludes that the use of an essentialized concept of Mother Earth (that is, lacking in underlying tribal-specific knowledge) can only refer back to the hegemonic culture's story, which is about the lack of, and desire for, place (ibid., 127). He adds, however, that the need and desire for place is "more often than not . . . overwhelmed by the singular need to justify the conquest of the lands and bodies of Native Americans" (ibid., 143).

Parkhill also identifies another context and meaning of the term by "neotraditional" Native peoples. He describes their use of the term as a "religious response to the experience of social injustice rooted in colonialism" (ibid.). Used within this context, the term "Mother Earth" embodies Native American "appropriation of a montage of images" drawn from colonizing stereotypes. Such an appropriation of stereotypes is a strategy to take some control over "one of the most oppressive tools of the hegemonic culture—the power to image Native Americans in ways that will meet [the hegemonic culture's] needs of the moment" (ibid.). Neotraditional use of the "Mother Earth" term is a conscious and religious strategy of identifying themselves with the dominant culture's stereotype of the romantic, nature-centered, mystical Indian and the corresponding concept of Mother Earth. This strategy recognizes the power of the dominant culture's construction and use of the dualistic Indian stereotype—romantic versus savage—and seeks to identify with the more positive aspect of the stereotype (ibid., 144). Such a strategy contains an awareness of the dominant society's preference for their stereotypes over the reality of Native peoples and seeks to use this awareness to benefit their people by opting for the more positive image.

The Gaia hypothesis, introduced to the scientific community in 1974, conceptualizes the planet and the biosphere as one integrated, self-regulating organism. The living organisms of the earth, the earth's surface materials, and the biosphere interact to regulate and maintain conditions necessary for life (Lovelock 1979). The theory's author, James Lovelock, states that "there is an obvious analogy between Gaia as a scientific theory and the animistic [*sic*] beliefs of indigenous cultures and their reverence for the Earth as The Mother" (Spowers 2000). The theory "was scathingly attacked by the mainstream scientific community—partly because of its close parallels to animistic beliefs, seeing the planet as somehow alive, but also because [Lovelock's] holistic approach was in direct contrast to the reductionist, mechanistic approach of conventional science" (ibid.). Beginning in the late 1980s scientists began to take the theory more seriously, in large part because of the efforts of Lynn Margulis, distinguished university professor of botany at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, who began collaborating with Lovelock (Mann 1991).

The theory contains concepts such as "autopoiesis," "homeostasis," and "symbiosis," which conceptualize relationships among and across organic and inorganic groups to achieve harmony and equilibrium within and across environmental systems (ibid.). A. Oscar Kawagley, a Yupiaq academic, writes of the close affinity between Native worldviews and the Gaia hypothesis: "The ecological system is very delicate and interdependent. James Lovelock's 'Gaia hypothesis is that together the planet, its life-forms, and its atmosphere are interacting and mutually creating, and have some of the properties of living tissue; that the earth is like an organism.' The Yupiaq desire would be to have this ecological knowledge clearly presented and demonstrated. . . . Yupiaq knowledge can be broadened, strengthened, and given more detail by incorporating modern scientific knowledge" (Kawagley 1995, 133). The scientific community's resistance to Gaia theory may, in part, be related to parallels between the Gaia hypothesis and Native knowledges of the earth. One author suggests science's "tacit, perhaps even unconscious, rejection of the subversive symbolism of Gaia" (Bjornerud 1997).

Despite its "deeply rooted scientific taboos . . . a growing number of scientists are recognizing its power . . . and following fruitful Gaia-inspired lines of inquiry" (ibid.). Today the theory is researched and taught under the auspices of geophysiology, systems science, or biogeochemistry, all of which conceive of the earth as a system, but scientists refuse to identify the system as Gaia, the name of the Greek goddess of the earth (Bjornerud 1997). According to the respected Swiss historian of science Jacques Grinevald, Gaia "is the major cultural and scientific revolution of our time" (Mann 1991).

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See also Ecology and Environmentalism; Female Spirituality; Feminism and Tribalism; New Age Appropriation; Retraditionalism and Identity Movements

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Mounds

American Indians constructed earthen mounds as tombs for the dead, as foundations for temples, and as elevated surfaces for houses of important leaders. Found mostly in eastern North America, earthen mounds are distributed from the prairie-woodlands of Manitoba east across the Great Lakes region to southern New England, south throughout the Midwest to the Gulf of Mexico, and west to eastern Oklahoma and Texas. By far the greatest concentrations of earthen mounds are in the great river valleys of the Mississippi, Ohio, Tennessee, and associated tributaries. Basketloads of

The Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site west of Collinsville, Illinois, preserves the burial mounds of an Indian civilization that inhabited the area from A.D. 900 to 1500. (Michael S. Lewis/Corbis)

soil were piled to create mounds that were conical or dome-shaped, pyramidal and flat-topped, or in the form of an animal effigy. Many mounds stand alone, but some are found in groups of a dozen or more, sometimes arranged around open areas, or plazas. Low earthen walls that form circular or rectangular enclosures surround some mounds. Most mounds are quite small, no more than a few feet high, and required little labor or time to erect. Some mounds, however, are enormous. The largest, Monks Mound at the Cahokia site near St. Louis, stands 100 feet high, covers 16 acres at the base, and is estimated to contain 21,700,000 cubic feet of soil (Fagan 2000, 454).

The Mound-Builder Myth

Euro-American settlers were impressed with the size and number of mounds they encountered during the westward migrations of the 1800s. There was much speculation about who had built the mounds. Some attributed the mounds to wandering Egyptians, Phoenicians, Israelites, or other groups from across the Atlantic Ocean. Most popular was the claim that the mounds were erected by "mound builders," an ancient race of superior peoples who had been wiped out

by the American Indians. Although early Spanish and French explorers had observed the use of earthen mounds by American Indians, most Euro-Americans did not know that. Native peoples had ceased construction of large mounds by the nineteenth century. This fact, together with the ethnocentric, racist, and "Manifest Destiny" values of the times, ensured continued belief in the mound-builder myth. A small group of scholars, however, championed an American Indian origin for the mounds. The U.S. Congress provided funds to the Smithsonian Institution to settle the question once and for all. Smithsonian archaeologists dug into dozens of mounds, carefully recorded their finds, and published their conclusions in a massive report issued in 1894. Based on the similarity of burial practices observed in the mounds to those used by Native peoples, the archaeologists demonstrated that American Indians had built the mounds; the mound-builder myth was thoroughly discredited.

Archaic Mounds (7000–3000 B.P.)

Mounds were first constructed in eastern North America during the Archaic period. This was a time when technological and climatic changes stimulated increased use of aquatic foods along rivers and shores, which resulted in more permanent settlements and population growth. New concerns with community rights to territory and resources may have been expressed symbolically by marking the landscape with highly visible mounds. The oldest earthen mounds are found in the lower Mississippi Valley. At the Watson Brake site in Louisiana, one mound 23 feet high and ten smaller mounds were erected atop a low earthen ring (Gibson 2000, 63). Most Archaic mounds, however, are small, rounded domes. Whether large or small, these oldest mounds contain few artifacts or other clues about why they were constructed.

Archaic-period mound building reached a climax with establishment of the Poverty Point site in Louisiana around 3600 B.P. Poverty Point consists of a large central mound 70 feet high, several smaller mounds, and six ring-shaped earthworks arranged in a concentric pattern encompassing many acres (ibid., 83). Kitchen refuse and postholes indicate that people lived on the earthwork rings. The function of the mounds is less certain, although ash, postholes, and occasional fragments of human bone suggest a burial function. Hundreds of pounds of stone, brought from distant sources, reveal Poverty Point to be the hub of an elaborate exchange network.

Woodland Mounds (3000–1000 B.P.)

The Woodland period was a time when cultivation of native plants increasingly supplemented wild foods, and regional populations became linked together through "interaction spheres" of exchanged products and ideas. Burial mound ceremonialism became established throughout the Eastern Wood-

lands. A set of symbolic artifacts, especially ornaments made of marine shell, copper, and stone, circulated widely and were deposited with the honored dead in burial mounds. The core area of production and exchange of these artifacts was the Midwest, but regional populations from Florida to Ontario incorporated the symbols and burial mound practices into their local traditions.

Woodland burial mounds are conical or dome-shaped and usually contain a central feature for processing or interring the dead that, after use, was capped over with a mantle of soil. These features vary with local traditions and include pits, log or stone-lined tombs, clay platforms, clay crematory basins, and wooden charnel houses. Human remains were cremated, defleshed and bundled, or deposited as fully articulated bodies. Some mounds contain few individuals; others expanded in size as dozens or even hundreds of burials were added over time. Some individuals received special treatment as differences in social status became more pronounced. Mounds were sometimes placed in groups enclosed by earthwork walls. The most elaborate earthworks were built by the Ohio Hopewell in the form of squares or circles enclosing many mounds spread over dozens of acres. Most of these ceremonial centers show few signs of permanent habitation and were occupied only at the time of special rituals.

New mound forms appeared during Woodland times. Beginning about 1700 B.P., long, low effigy mounds in the outline shapes of birds, bears, and other animals were built in the upper Midwest. Another form, the platform mound, developed around 2000 B.P. Platform mounds have square, rectangular, or rounded forms with steep sides and flat summits accessed by a ramp of steps. Platform mounds were built in multiple construction episodes, or stages. Each stage was the surface for special ritual activities, such as feasts, and they sometimes served as a foundation for wooden buildings. After a period of use, the old stage was covered over by a new stage. As the cycle of building repeated again and again, the mound expanded in size. Toward the end of the Woodland period, platform mounds arranged around open spaces or plazas began to appear in the Southern states, a settlement form that was to become prevalent in the Mississippi period.

Mississippian Mounds (1000–300 B.P.)

The Mississippi period was a time of intensified corn agriculture, large fortified settlements, and powerful chiefs. Mississippian platform mounds were constructed singly or in groups and functioned as political-ceremonial capitals. The Cahokia site had more than a hundred mounds and was the largest American Indian settlement north of Mexico (Fagan 2000, 453). Wooden buildings were placed on the summits of Mississippian platform mounds. Based on early historical sources and evidence

from archaeological research, mound-top buildings functioned as houses for chiefs or other important people, as mortuary temples for ancestral bones, and as council houses. Activities that took place on or adjacent to the mounds included feasts, craft production, and storage of corn.

Mound Symbolism

Although mound burial and mound building was often initiated by the deaths of important leaders, such events were permeated with deeper meanings. Archaeology and Native oral tradition provide insights into mound symbolism. Mounds symbolize the fertile earth. Construction and use of the earth-mound symbols reveal an ancient concern with the cycle of birth and death, pollution and purity, a multilevel cosmos, and world renewal. In the creation stories of Southern Native peoples, such as the Choctaws, animals led the first people out of the Below World and into this Middle World through a hole in a mound. A belief that mounds gave birth to people underscores the fertility theme. Earthen mounds represent an *axis mundi* or passageway between the worlds of the living and the dead. In some earth-mound creation stories, the hole closes before all the people can emerge. Thus mound burial may signify a ritual return of the dead to the earth home of ancestral spirits.

Mound construction has also been interpreted as a ritual re-enactment of the Earth Diver creation story common to Northern Native peoples. Earth Diver is a turtle, duck, or other animal who swims to the bottom of the primordial body of water, retrieves a bit of mud, and from the mud establishes the earth upon which people and animals dwell. Episodes of mound construction, in which multiple layers of sand and clay serve to cover the remains of sacred buildings and surfaces, suggest ceremonial cycles of world renewal in which older polluted surfaces were replaced with new clean ones. These ritual functions still survive today in the form of small mounds of earth found at ceremonial square grounds in Oklahoma and other Southern states. These little mounds, created by the annual scraping and cleaning of the sacred grounds at the time of the Green Corn celebrations, are the legacy of the centuries-old mound ceremonial complex.

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See also Archaeology; Ceremony and Ritual, Southeast; Mourning and Burial, Choctaw; Oral Traditions, Southeast

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Mourning and Burial Practices

Death is a universal experience, yet there are no universal practices or beliefs regarding death among the Native peoples of North America. Mortuary practices of Native Americans vary substantially. Traditions, values, practices, and beliefs surrounding death reflect the varied cultures of Native peoples. However, some generalities can be observed. For Native people, deaths and funerals tend to be community events, bringing people together. There is a sense of reverence for the departed, the ancestors, that continues long after death. There has been continuity over time in traditions relating to death and mourning, despite centuries of upheaval. There is an almost universal belief in the sanctity of life and, hence, of death and human remains, and a recognition of burial places as sacred sites.

Traditionally, and at the present time as well, bodies are prepared for burial in different ways. In some tribes, family members dress the body. Bodies may be wrapped in a special cloth, blanket, quilt, or hide. Among some tribes the names of the dead are not spoken, and family members cut their hair. In many tribes the property of the dead is burned, given away, or buried with the body. Some tribes have annual community observances of mourning. Traditional methods of burial included graves, pits, mounds, cabins, death lodges, and caves, as well as placing the body on a scaffold, in trees, or canoes. Cremation also occurred. As the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990 continues to be implemented, an understanding of the cultural importance of properly caring for the departed is essential. By examining the historical continuity of cultural practices and beliefs surrounding death and mourning in two geographically and linguistically unrelated tribes, the Delaware and the Lakota, we can see the centrality of caring for ancestors in those societies.

The Delaware

The Delaware Indians resided in the Mid-Atlantic region for thousands of years. The term "Delaware," after Sir Thomas West, Lord De la Warr, governor of Virginia, refers to the descendants of two groups of culturally similar Algonquin speakers, the Munsee and the Unami (sometimes called the Lenape). The Munsee occupied what is now

northern New Jersey, Long Island, Pennsylvania, and southeast New York. The Unami bands occupied southern New Jersey and parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware. In the early seventeenth century, the Delaware lived in village bands of a few hundred members each, with a total population of from 8,000 to 12,000 (Goddard 1978, 213).

Information about Delaware mourning and burials dates back to the early seventeenth century. David de Vries, a navigator and explorer for the West India Trade Company between 1633 to 1643, noted that the Delaware lined graves with boughs of trees, in which the corpse was laid. The grave was covered with clay, forming a mound seven or eight feet high, and a fence was placed around it. Also during large ten-day gatherings, multitudes of people brought bones of their ancestors bound in small bundles with knives, arrows, kettles, and other possessions for secondary burials. At these gatherings alliances were forged and strengthened. Relatives and friends from other groups attended the ceremony, cementing relationships between groups. Widows grieved and cried daily at the graves. The Delaware believed in the immortality of the soul (Jameson 1909, 223–224).

Adriaen Van der Donck's 1655 history of New York described a Delaware burial at which all village residents assembled. Relatives extended the limbs and closed the eyes of the dead. After several days and nights of wake, the body was buried in a sitting posture on stone or wood. Grave goods, including pots, spoons, food, and money (wampum), were placed in the grave for the journey to the other world. Wood was placed around the body, then an earthen mound topped with a fence. The burial places were secluded, carefully tended, and venerated. It was considered wicked to disturb burial places (Van der Donck 1968, 86–87).

Relatives, especially women, cried for long periods. People scratched and disfigured their faces to show grief. Mothers who lost children might cry and call for the child all night. Both men and women cut their hair, kept the hair for a year, and then burned it on the graves in a large gathering. The bereaved painted their faces black, and the names of the deceased were not mentioned. The Delaware believed that the spirit was immortal, separating at death from the body to go south. Voices and noises in the night were thought to be souls unable to travel to the south. People did not travel alone at night without a lighted torch to keep spirits away (ibid., 105).

Between 1654 and 1656, Peter Lindestrom conducted a survey of the early colonies and observed Delaware funerals. When someone died an announcer spread the news, and the burial was a few days later. The deceased was buried sitting on a stool, pipe in mouth, surrounded by wampum and goods. Four tall poles were erected in the corners of the grave and connected with scaffolding. Mourners stayed at the grave, crying, for a month, after which the body was

exhumed and the bones cleaned and placed on the upper shelf. The mourners stayed for another two weeks. The scaffolding was left as a monument until it fell or rotted. The names of the dead were not mentioned (Lindestrom 1925, 249–250).

A 1683 letter from William Penn described Delaware funeral practices. He noted the mourners' grief and love for the deceased, which caused them to fling their most precious possessions into the grave, blacken their faces, and tend the graves (Myers 1912, 233–234).

In 1698, Gabriel Thomas published an account of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. According to Thomas, when Delaware buried their dead, they included utensils and money. They carried bones of the deceased great distances for burial, and they were careful to preserve and repair graves. They did not mention the name of the deceased and used lead to blacken their faces. Thomas saw a memorial feast in which there was an altar with twelve stones to symbolize twelve months of mourning (ibid., 340–341).

From 1679 to 1680, Jasper Danckaerts kept a journal of his travels through the Mid-Atlantic states. He noted that the tops of the fences enclosing Delaware graves were sometimes braided together to keep animals out. Mounds were weeded daily. Sometimes markers, such as a child's cradleboard, hung in nearby trees. Danckaerts observed an entire family sitting together, painted black, and quietly mourning (Gehring and Grumet 1987, 109–111).

John Heckewelder, a nineteenth-century missionary among the Delaware of Pennsylvania, wrote about the death of a woman. Women went through the village announcing the death, and lamentations erupted. The next day, the deceased was painted with red color and dressed in new clothing, silver jewelry, quilled moccasins, and wampum belts. The body was placed in the coffin along with clothing, buckskin, needles, a basin, and trinkets. A small bag of red paint was inserted into the coffin through a hole cut out at the head. The hole was for the spirit to enter and leave at will. Some women brought food to the burial, and other women served as principal mourners, crying loudly. When the large funeral procession reached the grave, the body was covered with white cloth. The group sat silently around the south side of the grave. The coffin was lowered and a post, painted with scenes from the deceased's life, was placed at the head of the grave, facing east. Women filled the grave with dry leaves and bark to keep animals out. Sometimes, bodies were later disinterred, wrapped in bark, and enclosed in a fence of poles. Deaths were announced for distances of up to 200 miles, and members of other Delaware villages and other nations attended the ceremonies (Heckewelder 1971, 195–203).

Moravian missionary George Henry Loskiel described a typical late-nineteenth-century Delaware funeral. At death, the deceased was immediately dressed in new clothing and laid in the middle of the lodge, the face and shirt

painted red. The deceased's belongings were piled near the body. Graves were lined with bark. If there was no coffin, the body was laid between four loose boards. A tall post was decorated to reflect the deceased's life and placed at the head of the grave, toward the east. Gifts were given to all who had assisted. Female relatives wept by the grave in early morning and at dusk for a long period; they also left offerings of food on the grave. Widows observed a year of mourning, during which they did not fix their hair or wear jewelry. When an Indian of rank died, emissaries came from distant tribes (Loskiel 1794, 119–121).

David Zeisberger, also a Moravian missionary, noted the arrival of a Cherokee delegation after the death of the Delaware chief to express the sympathy of their nation. If a chief lost a close relative, he was not to be consulted on "affairs of state." Even formal visits from other nations had to begin with condolence speeches and gifts of wampum and cloth (Zeisberger 1910, 150–151).

The 1758 Treaty of Easton stipulated that the Delaware leave New Jersey. In the years following, Delaware Indians from New Jersey lived varying lengths of time in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Wisconsin, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Canada. Many Munsee Delaware settled in Ontario, Canada. Today the largest remaining groups of Delaware in the United States reside in Oklahoma at opposite ends of the state, in Dewey and Anadarko. The piecemeal westward migration involved repeated divisions and consolidations of villages, and of political and linguistic groups. The remnants of larger Delaware groups that coalesced and established themselves in distant locations retained essential elements of their funeral customs. Nora Thompson Dean (1908–1984), a Lenape (Unami Delaware) of Dewey, Oklahoma, fluent in English and Lenape, recorded the details and beliefs associated with contemporary Delaware funeral customs. She also included practices that were discontinued in the early twentieth century. Her account illustrates how this contemporary tribal group has retained the underlying structure of traditional belief and practice. Although variations exist and changes have occurred, the key elements are intact after four centuries. The following description of contemporary Delaware burial practices and beliefs is based on Dean's work (Dean 1984, 63–71).

Delaware people begin to prepare for death after their late fifties, or if they sense death is near. Women prepare by sewing a traditional burial outfit by hand, including a skirt, blouse, leggings, and moccasins. A man may ask a relative or friend to help him prepare a shirt and moccasins. There are signs that a person may be close to death. The personality may change. A person may get irritable in order to make others dislike him, so that they will not grieve as much. The small white semicircles at the base of the fingernails (*lenapeokani sekelenja,* or spirit fingers) begin to fade. If the person was especially good, a white mist may appear around him. When the soul

(*lenapeokan*) separates from the body, the Lenape say that the heart has stopped, and that is the moment of death. Just before this, the *lenapeokan* can leave the body and travel around to visit people and places. Some *meteinuwak* (medicine men) can see this soul and cause it to return to the body, so that the person can live longer.

As soon as a person dies, a window near the body is opened for the soul to get in and out. The face of the deceased is covered with a handkerchief. Pictures and mirrors in the home are covered. The deceased's clothing is gathered. One set of everyday clothing is set aside to accompany the coffin, and the rest is packaged into two bundles with tobacco. The community is involved in the funeral preparations. Women pound corn for corn bread, which is then baked in outside ovens and handled carefully for this sacred use. No salt is used in funeral foods.

The family appoints four nonrelatives—two men and two women—to perform specific tasks during the preparations, burial, and feast. The women cook the food. The men make the burial post, get wood, and do the heavy work. In addition, the family appoints a speaker, a respected elder, to conduct the ceremonies and presents him with several yards of white cloth. The family also appoints a special friend of the deceased to sit at the head of the body and not leave it unattended.

The wake is held in the house or a funeral home for one or more nights. The wake generally starts in the late afternoon and continues until the funeral. People view the body and then are seated for the vigil. Traditionally, the moccasin game was played during wakes. At midnight, everyone except the person at the head of the body is called outside, and a rifle is fired. (This is seldom done now, on account of restrictive laws.) Then everyone gathers around the body, and the speaker prays for the departed and the bereaved. Next, the face of the deceased is marked with *olaman* (red paint) to distinguish him as a Lenape for the creator. The paint for women is a small spot on each cheek and a line in the part of the hair. The paint for men consists of three lines from the outside of the eye to the hairline. There is a midnight meal, and the wake continues throughout the night. At dawn a male helper may fire a rifle again, and breakfast is served. Cooking and other burial preparations are arranged so that the burial can occur by noon.

In the burial procession to the cemetery, the speaker, family, and friends go first and the body last. If anyone looks back at the body, it may cause the spirit to fall behind. The grave is dug after the body arrives. Children are not to play with the soil. The deceased is placed with the head toward the east. The speaker then speaks to the bereaved, consoling them. At that point, the special friend, who sat by the head of the body, kneels by the head of the deceased and says a final farewell. People circle the grave counterclockwise, beginning in the east.

Miniature houses, "spirit houses," mark the graves in the cemetery at Eklutna Village, Alaska, 1995. Here, the cultures of Russian Orthodoxy and Native Americans are blended. (Kevin Flemming/Corbis)

A notch is cut in the coffin near the head as a passageway for the soul and painted red (this is similar to the 1762 account of thrusting red paint through the notch). The casket is lowered, and a set of the deceased's clothing is placed on top. Using only the soil that was removed, the men fill the grave. The grave post, *kikinhikan,* is set at the east, at the head of the grave, and is painted red to help the deceased find the spirit world. The post for a man is a straight board with a diamond at the top; for a woman it is a cross with diamonds on the three corners.

Two canvas sheets are spread at the head of the grave and serve as tables for the funeral feast. Food furnished by the family for all in attendance is placed on one sheet. Food donated by friends for the family is placed on the other, and it is important that the family eat only this food. Before the meal, large pans of the choicest foods are presented to the four helpers, the speaker, and the special friend. The best friend will "eat" for the deceased. What they cannot eat is taken home. After the speaker prays, the eating begins. This ritual feasting is a central part of the funeral.

After the meal, just before people leave, a small fire is started; it will be restarted for the next three nights just before sun-

down. These fires keep the spirit warm as it journeys to the spirit world. The two bundles of clothing of the deceased are given to two workers of the same sex as the departed. The speaker then gives final exhortations to the assembly, who afterward leave. When the people get home, they should purify themselves with cedar smoke. The home of the deceased, and anything used by the deceased, needs to be purified with red cedar smoke.

There are still prescribed behaviors for the bereaved family. The family does not fix their hair for the first three days of grieving. Extended mourning lasts a year, during which time immediate family do not attend social events. A deer hide string is tied onto the wrist of anyone close to the deceased and left to come off on its own. At night, the family should sleep with a dim light. The name of the dead is not spoken at any time other than morning. A widow should wear her hair loose and not fix it for one year. After the year of mourning, cedar is burned and the surviving spouse is prayed for. He or she is then free to participate in social events. The relatives of the deceased may furnish new clothing to the widowed person, indicating that the person is no longer in their family and is eligible to remarry. If the family does not furnish clothes, it means that they would like the person to stay within the family.

A special memorial feast, *Wihunge,* may be held in one year, or if a family member has recurring dreams of the deceased. This *Wihunge* is a special feast at which the guests are "eating for the departed." Once someone has held a *Wihunge,* it must be held annually.

The Delaware believe that the real soul, the *lenapeokan,* goes to the Milky Way, where the Creator lives, crossing a bridge guarded by spirit dogs. People who have mistreated dogs will not cross. The place where the Creator lives is similar to earth, but better. An evil person's spirit will go to the place where *Mahtantu* (evil spirit) lives and will be tormented by insects. *Mahtantu* may tire of this person and turn him into an insect to torment the living. Lenape may be reincarnated; elders look at the earlobes of newborns for indentations showing where they may have been pierced before.

There is clear continuity in Delaware funeral customs between the early seventeenth century and the present. A few examples are people preparing for their own death, the red paint, the wake, the notch in the casket, the funeral procession, the grave post, placing the body with the head to the east, the funeral feast, and the intense year-long mourning. While outward aspects have changed, underlying elements have continued. The Delaware believe that the departed are aware and can continue to act, and that the living have a responsibility to care for the departed. As Dean stated, "We Lenape people hold our departed people in mind for a long time" (ibid., 63).

Lakota

Today, members of "The Great Sioux Nation," the Lakota, Dakota, and Nakota,

reside primarily in reservations in South and North Dakota. They trace their roots to the *Oceti Sakwin,* the Seven Council Fires. These seven bands each speak one of three dialects. The Santee speak Dakota; the Yankton, Nakota; and the Teton, Lakota. The Teton, usually called the Lakota, include the Oglala, Brule, Hunkpapa, and Minneconjou bands. The Lakota were nomadic people who hunted buffalo, the source of food, clothing, tepee covers, and tools. According to their creation story, the Lakota are relatives of the buffalo. Lakota tradition emphasizes balance and views everything in the universe as being related. *Pte San Win,* the White Buffalo Calf Woman, brought the pipe and seven ceremonies that are the foundation of Lakota spirituality.

The contemporary memorial feast, and the older spirit keeping ceremony, w*anagi wicagluha* ("to keep one's own"), illustrates continuity in Lakota practices connected to mourning and honoring the ancestors. The spirit keeping ceremony was one of the ceremonies brought by the White Buffalo Calf Woman; it is based on the belief that the spirit of the deceased lingers around the place of death and that relationships between the living and dead continue after death.

The spirit keeping ceremony was observed among the Sisseton Sioux in the 1860s and among the Sicangu Sioux in the 1870s (Yarrow 1881). Both accounts noted the keeping of hair of the deceased by relatives, and that this hair was believed to contain the spirit of the deceased. Francis Densmore's (1918) detailed observations of a spirit keeping ceremony at Standing Rock Reservation agree closely with those in Black Elk (1974), as told to Brown in *The Sacred Pipe* (1974). An individual, known as a spirit keeper, pledged to keep the spirit of someone who died. A lock of hair was cut from the deceased, wrapped in cloth, and kept for one year. This bundle symbolized the deceased and the deceased's spirit. The bundle was treated with care and respect, and the family accumulated items to give away at the end of the year. Spirit keeping was a way to keep the deceased closer for one year. In this transitional state between the living and the departed, the spirit could take messages to others in the spirit world, and could actively help and teach the living. The most important part of the year-long observance was the daily feeding of the spirit.

After a year of keeping the spirit and collecting materials for the final give-away, the people came together for the spirit releasing. A spirit post was carved and dressed to represent the person whose spirit was being released. The post and give-away items were laid by the spirit bundle. After prayers, a pipe ceremony, and a final ritual meal, the spirit departed. The ceremony ended with a feast for all who attended and a give-away of all items accumulated, as well as the belongings of the deceased and the belongings of the spirit keeper.

Although the first accounts of spirit keeping date back to the 1860s, there are

earlier references to the carrying of bone bundles and smaller bundles similar to the spirit bundle, and also to give-aways. Bushnell's compilation (1883) included accounts that referred to the carrying of bones wrapped in skins adorned with quillwork among Sioux in Minnesota in 1680. These bone bundles were "smoked over" and covered with goods for a later give-away. In 1843, bereaved were observed giving away their best clothing and possessions, as well as those of the deceased. In 1849, "valuable presents" were gathered after the death of a woman.

With the establishment of Courts of Indian Offenses in 1883, spirit keeping and the accumulation of goods for give-aways became a punishable offense. This was recorded in winter counts (w*aniyetu iyawapi*), the pictographic histories kept by bands that recorded significant events of the previous year. The winter count of No Ears calls the year 1888 w*aparta yublecapi,* "the year they opened bundles," and Iron Crow's winter count calls 1888 w*aparta natalkapi,* "the year bundles are forbidden" (Walker 1982, 151). Yet, give-aways continued.

Today, when someone passes away, the extended family immediately begins to prepare for the wake, funeral, feast, and give-away. There are normally one to two days and nights of wake, which are announced to the community. When mourners come to the wake they offer condolences to the family, view the body, and then take a seat in the circle of chairs. Anyone at a wake can stand and talk about the deceased, pray, or sing. The family provides meals in the morning, and at noon, evening, and at midnight. The wake is followed by the funeral service and burial, which can follow a contemporary Christian format, or be traditional, or a combination. The funeral ends with the feast, give-away, and final hand shaking. Usually, almost everyone, except family members, receives something during the give-away, with the best presents going to those who had helped the deceased or supported the family in their bereavement. Death in Lakota society is a community event. It is not unheard of for hundreds of people to participate.

Lakota who wish to especially honor a departed person pledge to hold a memorial around one year after the death; the memorial will include a religious service, a feast, and a give-away. There is continuity between the traditional spirit keeping and pledging to hold a memorial. A set of obligations and responsibilities accompany this pledge. The sponsor of a memorial has an obligation to honor the spirit of the deceased. Some people set aside a small offering of food at every meal. If food is accidentally dropped, this is an indication that the spirit may be hungry, and the piece of food is placed outside. Tobacco is also used as an offering. Someone who pledges to hold a memorial is to think and behave properly and to ensure that those living in the family home behave properly. Often the sponsor will wear black and not attend social functions. Women frequently cut their hair.

The pledge to hold a memorial entails a considerable economic commitment. A hundred or more people will be fed. The give-away after the meal includes presents ranging from socks and dish towels to Pendleton blankets. The sponsor of a memorial coordinates a united family effort to make and buy goods for the give-away and food for the feast, as well as to cover extra expenses such as headstones. Other tasks include printing and mailing invitations; arranging for newspaper and radio announcements of the memorial; tending the grave; setting up an arbor; and arranging for an announcer.

Food preparation begins a day or two before the memorial. Beef or buffalo is butchered, large pots of soup are cooked, and many other foods are prepared. On the morning of the memorial, the food, flowers, give-away items, tables, and chairs are set up. Give-away items are arranged, and star quilts are draped over tables and clotheslines. A special place of honor may be set up, with pictures and mementos of the deceased. The people are seated in a circle, and the sponsor directs the activities. There are many variations in how a memorial may be carried out. There may be a short Christian prayer service, or traditional prayers and a spirit releasing ceremony, or some combination.

Food is served to the circle of guests, one food at a time, until none is left. Guests often take home large amounts of food that they could not eat at the meal. Decorated cakes are shown around the circle, cut, and distributed. In the memorial feast and spirit releasing, the food that is served has meaning on several levels. Food is the basis of hospitality and social conduct. It is a symbolic offering on behalf of the deceased. As a dominant symbol, food, and all aspects of its preparation, cooking, and serving, become charged with meaning and value. In the process of cooking food for ceremony, secular ingredients are transformed into sacred life- and spirit-sustaining foods. Some of the traditional foods served include wild turnips, buffalo, tripe, dried meat, and pudding made from native fruits including chokecherries, wild plums, and buffalo berries. These traditional foods are handled with care and fed to elders first.

The give-away follows the feast. People are called forward, receive their gift, and shake hands with family members. Gifts may be given to categories of guests, such as pallbearers. After that there is a give-away of all remaining items. Family members often walk around, passing items out, trying to ensure that everyone gets something. The give-away ends when the family gives away the empty trunks and laundry baskets. At some memorials, the deceased's furniture and household belongings are given away. At a memorial, the give-away is an offering to others in honor of the deceased, and, hence, a symbolic offering to the deceased. The family honors the deceased by sharing, by indicating that the deceased means more than wealth or material possessions.

The gifts that are given away have significance; they reflect Lakota sentiment, values, and beliefs. Tobacco, a symbol of respect and honor, may be given to elders. Other gifts include ribbon shirts, shawls, household goods, and blankets. Pendleton blankets, and especially star quilts, are the most highly prized gifts. Star quilts have come to assume the role formerly held by buffalo robes in indicating honor. The eight-pointed star design, with historical roots in Anglo-American culture, was appropriated and transformed into a Lakota symbol, similar to the morning star design common on ceremonial hide robes. Like hide robes, star quilts are now a sacred symbol, used in ceremonies, and a part of life from infancy to death. At funerals star quilts cover the body, and at memorials star quilts are given away to honor the deceased.

The memorial concludes with the final hand shaking. The family stands together, and all who attended file past, shaking hands with each member of the family. During this emotional interchange, people that the family may not have seen for months or years embrace and cry, the loss of one being a loss to the community.

Over time the memorial feast and give-away have undergone transformations, but they have retained those elements related to the underlying structure of Lakota beliefs, symbols, practices, and values. The symbolic feeding of the spirits, the feeding of the people, and the giving away of goods ensure that the proper relationships will exist between the living and spirit realm, ensuring the continued existence of the people. Caring for the departed is a valued role in Lakota society.

Desecration Issues

Desecration of Indian remains began with the first Europeans (Mihesuah 2000, 2), and plundering, looting, and excavations still occur. Little was heard about the desecration issue, outside of Native communities, until Vine Deloria's (1969) indictment of anthropologists in *Custer Died for Your Sins.* Since the 1970s, when AIM (American Indian Movement) groups began to disrupt excavations, there has been increasing controversy about the treatment of Native American burial sites and of human skeletal remains being in museums. Ronald Grimes sees the disagreement between Native Americans and archaeologists as a clash between conflicting philosophical foundations (Grimes 1986). The Western emphasis on scientific thought has led to secularization, or lack of acknowledgment of the sacred, laying the groundwork for desecration. The landmark 1990 Native American Graves and Repatriation Act recognizes that human remains and funerary items are connected to living people, and that descendants have a spiritual, cultural, and lineal relationship with the deceased. The complexities of NAGRA implementation, however, are daunting. Effective implementation involves developing an understanding of traditional and contemporary attitudes,

practices, values, and beliefs toward death and ancestors, and appreciation of burial sites as sacred sites.

Mary Jane McDermott Cedar Face

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Lakota; Cry Ceremony; Mounds; Mourning and Burial, Choctaw; Mourning and the Afterlife, Southwest; Repatriation, Spiritual and Cultural Implications

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Mourning and Burial, Southeast (Choctaw)

As with so many other customs in the Southeast, mourning and mortuary practices were never uniform. In the Adena culture, concentrated farther north in the Ohio River Valley, while most dead persons were cremated, specific individuals were selected to be encased in log tombs that were subsequently covered by mounds of dirt. These varied traditions gave way to Hopewell and then Mississippian cultures. While it is true that the Yuchi buried their dead in individual stone-lined coffins in restful-appearing positions, facing west, the same tribe sometimes buried them under the floors of their houses, placed them on scaffolds in the woods, or cremated them on a funeral pyre. Others reused these tombs, often placing two individuals in them.

Sometimes the dead were buried where they fell: the eighty-five-year-old Choctaw chief Puckshenubbe collapsed en route to Washington in October 1824. In other cases, tribal and family burial grounds were used. Cherokee chiefs had caves made into tombs on the borders of the lands they ruled (present-day Blount County, Alabama). Moshulatubbee, the last grand chief of the Choctaws, was buried in 1838 under a pile of stones near the spring on his farm in the Choctaw Nation West (now LeFlore County, Oklahoma). The Choctaw, Chickasaw, Yuchi, and other groups continued the various traditions of burial mounds (for example, at Ft. Walton Beach in northwest Florida). The environs of Nashville with its numerous mounds served as a popular "City of the Dead," a kind of Native Jerusalem where as many as eight distinct tribes made pilgrimages. Such mixed traditions, obviously expressive of individual preferences and changing fashions, just like today, beggar any attempts, however studious and well meaning, of the federal government and state archaeologists to assign pre-Columbian human remains or funerary artifacts to the "relevant tribal culture." Many tribes also buried the placenta or afterbirth.

This entry specifically describes Choctaw mourning and burial customs, which illustrate the region's great variety and continual synthesis of traditions, notwithstanding the different origins and lack of uniformity even within that large group, probably the most populous one at the time of European contact. "The sun was the supreme being, and fire, its mate, gave the sun information about human activities," according to Choctaw historian Kidwell. "It had the power of life and death, which explains its importance in the funeral customs of the Choctaws. A dead body was exposed to the rays of the sun on a raised platform and allowed to decay, thus giving itself back to the supreme power." The deceased were scaffolded in their best clothing and painted in an elaborated and personal fashion, so that the sun would recognize them. Often a favorite weapon or (in the case of a woman) her

beauty stone or household heirloom was included on the bier. A period of mourning followed for family members. Signs of mourning included cutting the hair (which represented accumulated memories), assuming a negligent appearance, not remarrying, staying segregated by sex, and being seen only by other clansmen. It did not entail visits to the scaffold, usually rather distant in the woods. In fact, the family was expected to have little to do with the burial. After about a year, the bone picker, a revered figure of the Turkey Buzzard Society, scraped the bones clean with his long fingernails, a sign of rank and power, then prepared a feast for the entire village "only wiping his filthy, bloody hands on grass," according to a French eyewitness in the eighteenth century. The cleaned bones were wrapped, often painted with red ochre, placed in a special willow reliquary, and hung or shelved in the communal or clan bonehouse. A coastal Virginian ossuary appears in John Smith's drawings. Periodically, the relics were brought out and made part of a mourning ceremony, ballplay, or other tribal occasion.

Males and females in the Turkey Buzzard Cult were venerated and trusted, never feared, since their powers were benign and beneficial, unlike most witchcraft. Often they were also healers. Only they could perform the Turkey Buzzard Dance at festivals. Significantly, their totem animal fed only on carrion and did not kill for its meat as did the owl, eagle, hawk, panther, and other carnivores.

Choctaws divided themselves into two moieties, or *iksa*. When Great Spirit created people, he placed half of them on the north side of the mother mound Nanih Waiyah and half on the west side. These two groups were the *kashapa okla* or *imoklasha* and the *okla inholahta* or *hattak inhaolahta,* the "younger brother" group and the "elder brothers." Your mother's *iksa* determined which moiety was yours, and you were expected to marry into the opposite one. The interdependence of the two was also observed in death. When the charnel house was full, the opposite *iksa* carried the reliquaries to a nearby burying ground, piled up the bones, and covered them with a mound, using the reliquaries now as baskets to carry earth. Some rather recent burial mounds of this type may be seen along the Natchez Trace Parkway.

From the middle to late nineteenth century, the Choctaw favored burying their dead directly in the ground. The deceased was buried in a seated position. Seven men placed seven red poles about the grave, with thirteen hoops of grapevines and a small white flag. Mourning went on for several weeks as the family performed the required thirteen cries for the dead. Then a feast and dance were given in the dead person's honor.

Like most indigenous people in North America, the Choctaws believed that it took four days for a soul to become embodied in a person, and four days for that soul to be prepared for its long and final journey. Ghosts were pitiful spirits somehow lost or stuck in this world, often be-

cause their deaths went unavenged. Witches had the ability to steal a person's dying spirit and thus increase their power, defying death. In some traditions, the entire town sang a funeral dirge to direct the released spirit to the other world. Listening to this chorus, the spirit went *away* from the music until it could no longer hear sounds of the living. The words of such a song by the Tihanama (a tribe often hired to conduct funerals) may be translated as follows: Blanket him (her) with spirit/ Raise everything to the highest sky.

These lyrics are sung over and over to a sad tune, often all night, with the participants beating sticks together but no other accompaniment, until the priest senses that the spirit has taken its departure, at which moment the concluding verse is sung to a different melody, only once: May he (she) never have need for anything again, forever and ever.

Like the Yuchi, Natchez, and other surrounding tribes, the Choctaw believed in four distinct spirits, one of which remained in the bone marrow after death and one of which went to an afterworld, conceived of as a beautiful gathering place in the west with good hunting, perpetual games, and plenty of food (legend's "happy hunting ground"). The Milky Way was the path toward the Creator, and its multitudinous stars were said to be the souls of the ancestors. Reincarnation was assumed without thinking. Newborns often received the name of a recently passed uncle or aunt in the hope or recognition that they would also carry the elder one's spirit. Once a relative was dead and mourned, his or her name was never spoken again. This taboo was so strong among the Choctaw that Indian agents could not force mothers to name their dead children on claims forms.

Many traditional Indians today dismiss the issue of repatriation by saying, "Leave them be; they've already been mourned." In practice, most Indians of old had a thousand taboos about death and would go to great lengths to avoid even the subject. For instance, it was unlucky to see an owl, and wise to avoid cemeteries with a wide detour. None of the clothing or effects of a dead person were kept, for fear of contagion. Suicides were usually not honored with a proper funeral, as they were considered to have squandered their life and cheated their families and community. It was believed that the time and place of everyone's death was foreordained. This belief gave warriors courage in battle but caused a lot of superstitions concerning graveyards, journeys, and funerals.

When the Choctaw first encountered the English, they could not understand why the Europeans had left the bones of their ancestors across the ocean. It horrified them to see how casually and unfeelingly the white people dealt with death. The reason why many Natives buried their parents in the floors of their lodges—a practice that continues among the Maya in Central America—was to remain close to them. Death was a part of life, and the dead were still

members of the community. Thus the Choctaw and many other tribal cultures throughout the Americas practice a symbolic cannibalism. Whenever a new fire is kindled, the ashes of the ancestors are mingled with it and inhaled in its smoke by the descendants. Among the Yanomami, a soup containing a small amount of finely ground dust of the deceased person's remains is served. The intent is to keep a person's spirit and power within the living circle of the community.

If tribes had a "heaven," they also had a concept closely approximating the Christian idea of hell, for they believed in divine retribution, though they had no corresponding devil figure. A very bad person's spirit did not automatically go to the happy hunting ground to join his kinsmen; it was judged by the Master of Breath, then sentenced to torments commensurate with the pain he had wrongfully inflicted on others throughout his life. This punishment might last for hundreds of years, while the ghost wandered in this world. At the end of those experiences, the soul was dispersed, never to be reborn. To the Native mind, that was the worst fate imaginable—not only to die unmourned but also for one's spirit to be destroyed. This apparently had a cautionary effect on most people.

Donald Panther-Yates

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Southeast; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Oral Traditions, Southeast; Repatriation, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Southeast

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Mourning and the Afterlife, Southwest

The universal experience of death and dying has diverse meanings for Native Americans of the Southwest, yet tribes do share some ideas about the power and potential danger of the afterworld and those who inhabit it. In particular, death (or its imminence) creates concern for the deceased's soul, its journey to the afterworld, and the safety of those kin who are still living and might be particularly vulnerable at that time to the forces of ghosts and the dead. Fundamentally, ceremonies for the dead help to transform the relationship between the living and the deceased, recognizing the new status and enlarged power of the loved one who is now closer to the ancestral beings and deities, and they facilitate grieving without undo or lingering attachment. For these reasons, as well as the speed with which decomposition begins in the open air, many tribal practices emphasize a ritually correct but prompt disposition of the dead and their belongings.

The soul of a person is considered a central source of life that must be cared for properly, especially following death. The number of souls per person varies across tribes: the Mojave identify four souls for each person, while the Havasupai claim that a person has only one soul. The meanings and purpose of these souls can be understood with an example from the Athapascan language speakers of the Southwest—that is, the Apache and Diné (Navajo)—for whom the soul is believed to contain two parts. The first soul is associated with wind, air, vapor, or breath, and it enters the body at birth, giving it life. This soul, called "instanding wind soul" by the Diné, disappears at death. Jicarilla Apache have explained that this breath-soul leaves the body through the sole of the foot, in the form of a small whirlwind. Symbolism of the soul can be seen in many death rituals; for instance, the Hopi prepare a *potavi,* or "breath string," which extends from a feather on the mouth down along the breast and stomach to the navel. An eagle feather tied to the hair at the crown of the head further symbolizes the soul's floating journey to the land of the dead. The second soul is considered evil and threatening, especially to family

members of the deceased. This soul lingers around the body, the place of death, or the grave for a brief period of time after death or burial, creating danger for family members who remain nearby or who might participate in the preparations of the body and burial. The Paiute explained this evil intent as the preference of the dead to be alive or to take the living away with them. However, that is not a universal perception; the Hopi feel the dead return regularly as clouds and rain, which are beneficial to the living. The Yoeme (Yaqui) also hold a strong belief that the dead are helpful to the living.

Death rituals and customs also focus on the management of danger associated with souls, largely through protection of the body and through assisting the soul in its journey to the land of the dead. Burial and funerary customs of the Southwest region include removal of the body through a hole broken into the wall of the dwelling; abandonment and possible destruction of a dwelling in which a person has died; the destruction or ritual purification of the personal property of the deceased after death; or a taboo or prohibition against speaking the name of deceased persons. Underground burial has occurred since the time of ancestral Mogollon and Anasazi peoples in the Southwest. Since about A.D. 1000, the dead have been placed in a specific position: facing or with face turned eastward for the Pima, facing south for the Tewa, and for the initiated Hopi, facing west. Ornaments, jewelry, ceremonial regalia, and food and water are among the items interred along with the deceased. (These items might be intentionally broken to discourage grave robbers.) Cremation of the body—practiced by several tribes including the Mohave and Yumas as well as by ancestral Hohokam—allowed for incineration of the deceased's belongings along with the deceased. The dead was thought, in either burial or cremation, to thus arrive in the land of the dead with these important and personal items for use in the afterlife. Other practices for disposing of the body include taking the deceased to remote or high places, or, for tribes living in areas with rocky or hard soil, to caves or rocky crannies, then covering them with brush and stones. Some ancestral Pueblos buried their dead in the floors of their houses.

Ghosts are usually considered to be the souls of the dead, though some tribes specify that ghosts are the souls only of bad people—witches, thieves, murderers—since good people would not return to harass the living. Some tribes—for example, the Western Apache—have traditionally feared ghosts because they can frighten a person into sickness. Many Apache tribes discouraged open crying as part of mourning because of its potential for conjuring up ghosts. The Hopi also limit open mourning to several successive days following the death, perhaps for similar reasons. The dead can also take the form of various animals, thus disguising their presence to the unwary. Witches, for example, can take the form of an owl, making those creatures unwel-

come and frightening to the Mescalero Apache. But not all souls are evil-doing ghosts, and the observance of All Soul's Day—a Catholic tradition that is popular among many Pueblo tribes, the Yaqui, and other communities with a strong Catholic presence—promotes continued relationships with and the welcoming of dead relatives to the community.

The location of the afterworld is different for most tribes and can be subject to controversy within tribes. A few examples demonstrate the relevance of the local landscape to tribal ideas about the afterworld. The Mohave placed the land of the dead in the sand hills downriver from the Mohave Valley. For the Zuni, it is a lake at the confluence of the Zuni and Little Colorado rivers. The Diné conceptualize the afterworld as somewhere to the far north, below the level of this earth, and either entered through the place of the progenitors' original emergence or open like a valley and approached from a trail down a steep cliff or hill—and not connected to the place of emergence.

The journey to the afterworld is considered to take several (often four) days. The traveler may be aided in this journey by other dead relatives who come to show the deceased the way. Some Diné have reported that the deceased must pass a test upon arrival at the place of the dead. If dirt is found in the traveler's moccasins, the traveler is considered dead; if there is no dirt, the traveler is not dead and must return to the living. Another test requires the traveler to light a fire; if the smoke rises straight up despite strong, blowing winds, the applicant is considered dead. The Mohave are among the tribes believing that additional deaths might occur after departure from this world. Other ghosts perform the cremation, passing the soul along to its next stage. Ultimately, after varying numbers of deaths, a ghost would end up as charcoal in the desert.

An important characteristic about beliefs in death and dying is the way that funerals can combine traditional and modern beliefs, Indian and non-Indian practices. The Yoeme (Yaqui) Indians are particularly skillful in blending Catholic doctrine and ideas with their traditional, naturalistic beliefs into a unified religion and funeral ceremony. Several details about a funeral attended by anthropologist William Curry Holden in 1936 illustrate the point. The body was guarded during the three-day ceremony by members of the Yoeme devil-chaser society. These guards wear traditional masks of bark and horse hair, deer hoof belts, and cocoon rattle anklets, but they recognize their antagonists as Christian "devils." Chants performed by members of the traditional Yoeme priest society are interspersed during the funeral with prayers by the local Catholic priest. And the grand funerary procession on the third day includes devil-chasers, traditional *pascola* dancers, and young boys dressed in starched, white gowns in the appearance of angels. The ceremony takes place both within the church and in the open grounds of the plaza.

Throughout, Christian and traditional figures interact through ceremonial drama and dance to the music of flutes, violins, traditional drums, and music sticks. Above these activities can be heard the popping of homemade fire crackers, set off to aid the soul in its journey upward, each explosion offering another small boost.

All tribes of the Southwest have had to deal with nontraditional religious influences over the centuries. The impact of these new influences on ideas about death and dying are best seen in the increasing use of the church for funerary activities; nonobservance of traditional taboos associated with the names of the deceased, or of traditional practices such as burning the dwellings of the dead; increased conversion to Christianity and subsequent belief in Heaven as a final destination for souls; and in some cases a reduction in concerns about ghosts and the evil actions of the dead. In addition to Christian funeral services, many Native Americans now have a military service or military component added to their preferred funerary ritual. Memorial services among the Pima Indians, particularly one year after the death, are seen as an opportunity for family and friends to gather in a respectful but joyous celebration of their deceased loved one. Memorial T-shirts are often printed and worn by all in attendance, and local "chicken-scratch" bands with accordion, drums, and guitar play both religious and secular music for the event.

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Pueblo; Kachina and Clown Societies; Kiva and Medicine Societies; Mourning and Burial Practices; Oral Traditions, Pueblo; Yoeme (Yaqui) Deer Dance

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Mourning Dove (?1888–1936)

(Writer, Salishan)

The Salishan writer Mourning Dove (Humishuma) is an important literary figure in Native American and women's literature. Mourning Dove's Christian name was Christine Quintasket, and she was a member of the Colville Confederated Tribes of eastern Washington. Her three books, *Cogewea, the Half-Blood: A Depiction of the Great Montana Cattle Range; Coyote Stories;* and *Tales of the Okanogans,* along with writings published as her autobiography, *Mourning Dove, A Salishan Autobiography,* offer compelling glimpses into the myriad difficulties facing a mixed-blood woman with literary aspirations at the beginning of the twentieth century. In ways both deliberate and unintentional, explicit and half-hidden, Mourning Dove's writing intertwines Okanogan religious beliefs and oral traditions with Anglo-American Christianity, rendering our contemporary understanding of the assimilationist period in which she lived and worked ever more complex.

Mourning Dove claimed that she was born in 1888, but Tribal Enrollment Services records cited various years between 1882 and 1887 as her birth. Mourning Dove claimed mixed ancestry, although again tribal records disagree; certainly Mourning Dove believed that she was of mixed blood. Her access to formal education was both erratic and sometimes coerced. Pressured by a Catholic priest, her parents sent her to the Goodwin Mission School in Washington in 1895 and again in 1898–1899, and she later attended the Fort Spokane School for Indians (1899–1902). In 1913 she attended a Calgary business school in order to improve her English language and typing skills. Despite the uneven nature of her formal schooling, Mourning Dove's education was not limited to mission and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools: Jimmy Ryan, a young white boy adopted by her parents, introduced her to the readerly pleasures of dime novels, and she learned traditional Okanogan beliefs from a female elder, Teequalt, who was also absorbed into the family.

Mourning Dove's autobiographical writing suggests that religion—both traditional Okanogan beliefs and Christianity—was an important aspect of her personal life and that the intermingling of various religious traditions caused her relatively little anxiety. Mourning Dove describes making her first communion on Easter 1899: "I thoroughly believed in the Catholic creed. I honored it as much as my native tutor had taught me to revere the ancient traditions of my forebears. I saw no difference between them and never questioned the priest" (Mourning Dove 1990/1933, 30). At the same time, however, Mourning Dove notes the vitality of Okanogan beliefs. She describes the power of Native shamans when on one occasion she was made ill by a shaman who was punishing her for refusing to use her beauty "to attract the envy of other shamans so he could kill them" (ibid., 31). When she was

finally cured by her granduncle, her family was given the option of having the shaman killed or having his power taken away; being "good, compassionate Christians, they asked only that he lose his power. This was done" (ibid.). On another occasion, Mourning Dove dreamed that two local doctors, threatened by an old and popular shaman, sent their spirits to hurt him. She fell ill after the event but was able to warn the old shaman, who subsequently cured her. These interwoven spiritual beliefs, "both Catholicism and shamanism," prompted Mourning Dove toward her future as a writer: "Together these were part of my childhood experiences and made me resolve to help my people record their traditions and gain all the rights they are entitled to" (ibid., 32).

Key elements of Okanogan belief include Coyote, the trickster figure, the concept of power, which "may be thought of as a guardian spirit and refers to the special relationship between an individual and an object, usually an animal," and the sweat house, where people go to pray for success or guidance (Fisher 1981, xi). Mourning Dove's writing, both autobiographical and fictional, bears this out. In her autobiographical writing, Mourning Dove describes the sweatlodge deity as "the greatest of all deities" and discusses its construction and use (Mourning Dove 1990/1933, 136). Even when the sweatlodge fails to cure diseases brought on by white colonization, such as tuberculosis, measles, and smallpox, Mourning Dove notes that "yet to some extent we have tried to live in both worlds. An Indian knew he could be faithful to his native creed and still pray every day to the God of the whites. When in actual need from the troubles of the world, however, he did not hesitate to turn to the sweat lodge, never understanding how this could conflict with the white God, since the missionaries always said that God had many ways of helping people in distress" (ibid., 141).

In *Cogewea,* Mourning Dove's fictional Western romance, Indian and Anglo-American religious beliefs continue to intermingle. The novel is rich in its integration of Okanogan beliefs, which both support and at times challenge the beliefs of Christianity. The novel itself is based on an Okanogan tale called "Little Chipmunk and the Owl Woman," and it also pays homage to the oral traditions of the Okanogans even as it takes part in the written culture of literary publication.

Published in 1927, *Cogewea* is the result of a collaboration between Mourning Dove and her mentor and friend, the white amateur ethnographer and activist for Native American rights Lucullus V. McWhorter. As a mixed-blood, the novel's heroine, Cogewea, embodies the multiple identities facing Native Americans during the assimilationist period. Moreover, the text emphasizes multiplicity in its religious approaches as well. Cogewea, for instance, values her tradi-

tional beliefs, but she is likewise drawn to the white world represented alternatively by her kind brother-in-law, John Carter, and the villain Densmore, whose goal is to wed, rob, and subsequently abandon Cogewea, in the mistaken belief that she is wealthy. As a mouthpiece for contemporary whites who find Indians a vaguely interesting passing curiosity at best and a cultural threat deserving of genocide at worst, Densmore is dismissive, cynical, and derisive in his attitudes toward Native beliefs. Cogewea recognizes Densmore's ignorance, but she too is ambivalent about the place of Native spiritual beliefs in the changing world. Seeking wisdom, Cogewea constructs a sweatlodge, but she fails to attend to the warning she receives there. Cogewea's grandmother, the Stemteemä, receives a dream that confirms Densmore's duplicity. Eventually Cogewea realizes that she loves Jim, another mixed-blood, when she hears a voice from a buffalo skull.

While the novel acknowledges the presence of Christian beliefs alongside traditional Native beliefs, it also privileges the oral storytelling traditions of Mourning Dove's culture in the figure of the Stemteemä. Represented as the wise storyteller who retells oral histories in order to teach and comfort her beloved granddaughter, the Stemteemä's first suspicions of Densmore are eventually proven correct, and her access to spirit powers ultimately aids in Cogewea's rescue by Jim.

Cogewea has proven a difficult book for readers and critics alike. Besides additions and revisions to the main narrative that frequently protest the U.S. government's treatment of Native Americans, McWhorter extensively footnoted *Cogewea* with explanatory material aimed at uncomprehending whites; McWhorter also added literary epigraphs to each chapter, inserted a "biographical sketch" of Mourning Dove, and included her photograph. The result, for most readers, is a fictional novel that has two competing voices that damage the novel's literary quality. For early critics of the novel, this narrative disjunction was considered ruinous, and McWhorter's contributions were seen as detracting from Mourning Dove's authentic Native American text. More recently, critics see their collaboration as embodying the strains of the historical time period in which they wrote, helping us to recognize the ways in which Native and white Americans were involved in relationships more complex than oppressed/oppressor. Like *Cogewea*'s treatment of religious interconnections, the novel also displays the ways in which Native and European ideas of power, of literary standards, and of authenticity existed uneasily together.

In addition to *Cogewea,* Mourning Dove also wrote a book of Native American stories she had collected from tribal members; she titled it *Okanogan Sweat House*. It was first published as *Coyote Stories* in 1933. As was the case with *Cogewea,* the composition process of *Coyote*

Stories included heavy editing by white editors aiming to satisfy a white readership. *Coyote Stories* focuses on individual tales featuring Coyote, the central trickster figure in Okanogan belief. As a trickster, Coyote embodies oppositional qualities: he is intelligent and creative, but he is frequently foiled by his greed, lust, or arrogance. Like all trickster figures, the Okanogan's Coyote transgresses boundaries and refuses limitations: he is both sacred and profane, human and animal, a creator of life who remains fascinated with his own excrement. However, because Mourning Dove's editor, Dean Guie, aimed the text at a juvenile audience, the figure of Coyote was significantly sanitized for publication. *Coyote Stories* was so successful that it was reprinted in 1934. In 1976, Donald Hines edited Mourning Dove's manuscript *Okanogan Sweat House,* which he published as *Tales of the Okanogans.*

Mourning Dove married twice in her life. Her first marriage was to Hector McLeod in 1909. In 1919 she married Fred Galler. Apart from writing, Mourning Dove worked most of her life doing physically laborious tasks, including caring for children and working as a migrant laborer. As she got older Mourning Dove became increasingly interested in public speaking and in local tribal politics, and in 1935 she became the first woman elected to the Colville Tribal Council. Mourning Dove died on August 8, 1936.

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See also Boarding Schools, Religious Impact; Christianity, Indianization of; Identity; Literature, Religion in Contemporary American Indian Literature; Power, Northwest; Spirits and Spirit Helpers, Plateau; Sweatlodge; Tricksters

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N

Native American Church/Peyote Movement

Native American Church is the name of the Peyote religion in the United States and Canada. This was a revitalization movement that took shape in Oklahoma in the 1880s and was incorporated there in 1918 as the Native American Church, at a time when Indian founders along with white supporters sought religious freedom from state and federal efforts at suppression. The opposition stemmed from Native American Church members' use of peyote (*Lophophora williamsii*), a spineless cactus that grows only in southwest Texas and the adjacent chaparral country of northern Mexico; it is eaten or drunk during a weekly ceremony that lasts all Saturday night. Archaeological evidence suggests nearly ten millennia of continuous use of peyote. But the Native American Church, like the powwow and Sun Dance, is recent, postreservation, and significant, if only for its "pantribal" unifying effect among Native Americans in North America and Mexico.

Peyote Nomenclature and Biota

The first descriptions of peyote followed the Spanish conquest of Mexico. Bernardino Sahagun first described the plant in 1560. Padre Jose de Ortega described a Cora peyote meeting in 1690. And Francisco Hernandez, who was sent to the New World by King Philip II of Spain in 1638 to study Mexican Indian pharmacology, identified it botanically. The first drawing of peyote did not appear until three centuries later. In 1845, Charles Lemaire, a French botanist, whose scientific name for peyote (*Echinocactus williamsii*) did not stick, published the drawing in *Curtis's Botanical Magazine*. Credit for the modern taxonomic name goes to John M. Coulter in 1894 (*Contributions from the U.S. National Herbarium* 3: 1894, 131). He named it *Lophophora* ("I have crests") because this leafless, branchless, spineless, turnip-shaped member of the cactus family (*Cactaceae*) has tufts of matted grayish-white hair, not unlike artists' fine camel's hair brushes on its aboveground top.

Quanah Parker, Comanche chief, in front of tepee. From Smithsonian Bureau of Ethnology, ca. 1909–1932. (Library of Congress)

The term "peyote" itself is thought to derive from the Mexican branch of the widespread Uto-Aztecan language called Nahuatl: *peyutl*. Because of the plant's chemical nature and ceremonial use, Weston La Barre (1989, 16), a pioneering scholar, suggested this derivation: "to excite." Modern Uto-Aztecan speakers, however, call peyote *hikuli*. Across the international border, a wide variety of terms are found: Comanche—*wokowi* or *wohoki;* Delaware—*biisung;* Kiowa—*seni;* Mescalero Apache—*ho;* Diné (Navajo)—*azee;* Omaha—*makan;* Taos—*walena*. More often than not these terms translate as "medicine," suggesting why the Native American Church took shape in North America.

Other terms for peyote can be mentioned. Because English speakers were involved in its extensive trade, "turnip cactus" and "dumpling cactus" are found. But then, too, peyote was also called "dry whiskey." Most commonly, however, the English phrase "peyote buttons" is employed—by reason of the shape of the top of the cactus when cut and dried or sold green.

Second only to the mistaken notion that peyote is smoked is its confusion with other plants used in personal and ceremonial contexts by Native Americans. The famous American historian Bancroft, for example, perpetuated colonial Spanish confusion by calling it a "mushroom" (*Psilocybe* spp.). Among other plants that peyote has been confused with are mescal (*Agave Americana*) and *Sophora secundiflora*. While the former was an intoxicating drink manufactured from the mescal bean, the latter, the mountain laurel bush, sprouts the very toxic red bean. In fact, *Sophora*'s red bean, known in Spanish as *frijolito,* grows in approximately the same general area as *Lophophora:* the Rio Grande valley, in a lozengelike, irregularly shaped area eastward from Deming, New Mexico, to Corpus Christi, Texas, then south to Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, Chihuahua, San Luis Potosi, Sombrerete,

and Zacatecas in Mexico. And since it, too, was historically associated with complex ceremonialism—the Red Bean Cult—early Tex-Mexican Indian uses are viewed as having shaped the origins as well as spread of the Native American Church throughout North America.

Native American Church Studies

Both ethnological studies of the ceremony and laboratory studies of the biochemistry of the cactus were conducted almost immediately following the Native American Church's birth. James Mooney and Carl Lumholtz independently conducted fieldwork among peyote-using tribes. Indeed, according to Omer Stewart (1987, 34), another leading scholar, Mooney penned "the first objective description of the peyote ceremony in the United States." A few years after Mooney's pioneering 1891 investigation of the Kiowa and Comanche Native American Church, the Norwegian explorer Lumholtz (in 1898) wrote about the grueling, forty-three-day, 300-mile annual sacred pilgrimage of the Huichol (Wixarika) of Mexico to obtain *hikuli* (peyote). Because contemporary Huichols essentially maintain this tradition (Schaefer and Furst 1998), and trait-by-trait cultural analyses suggest similarities between Mexican Indian uses of peyote and the Native American Church ceremony, a historical reworking of the former is assumed.

As to biochemical studies, three centuries after Hernandez originally described "peyotl" under the heading *De nanacatl seu Fungorum* ("black mushroom"), American and German researchers studied it. John Raleigh Briggs, for example, a Dallas physician, experimented with "Muscale buttons" in 1887, purchasing peyote at $15 a bushel from Vernon, Texas. Louis Lewin, a pharmacologist at the University of Berlin, on the other hand, had to travel to the United States to obtain peyote; the syrupy substance he extracted was called anaholine ("without salt"). Lewin, along with an associate, P. Henning, who assigned peyote to a different taxon (*Anaholinium lewinii*), also experimentally sampled peyote.

We know that both early ethnologists also sent out samples from the field for lab work. Mooney, for example, in 1893 sent what he mistakenly called "mescal" to Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, chief of the Bureau of Chemistry of the Department of Agriculture. And Wiley's assistant's experience eating peyote only served to confirm the ethnologist's own positive experience, in the context of the Native American Church ceremony, a reiteration of what Kiowas told him—namely, that peyote is not a drug but is partaken as a sacrament.

Lumholtz sent samples of peyote to Arthur Heffter of Leipzig, who early on isolated some of its many alkaloids (for example, anhalonidiine, anhalonine, and lophophorine)—and especially mescaline, which is responsible for color visions. Because other alkaloids are responsible for the tactile, auditory, and additional "paranormal" sensory experiences associated with ingestion of this bitter-tasting cactus (which causes not only vomiting but also a wakefulness

conducive to the all-night ceremony of the Native American Church), Richard Schultes, a leading botanist, calls peyote "the most complex and variable . . . of all hallucinogenic plants" (Schultes 1938, 715). The controversy, or the objection of Native American Church members to the term "hallucinogenic" notwithstanding, this type of research confirms what Lumholtz's Huichol (Wixarika) consultants a century ago, and Native American Church members today, state—namely, that there are two different kinds of peyote or *hikuli: Lophophora diffusa,* which grows around Querétaro, Mexico, and lacks mescaline, and *L. williamsii,* found in a larger area and whose properties have been responsible for more than a century of attempted suppression. At the same time, it is important to note that within a year of peyote's introduction to Western science, Parke, Davis & Co., the leading North American pharmaceutical firm, "discovered" what every Native American practitioner already knew: its homeopathic value as a medicine.

Native American Church

Two distinct versions of the Native American Church took shape in Indian Country, "Indianhoma," or the Oklahoma Territory in the 1880s: (1) the Kiowa-Comanche Tipi Way, or "Half-Moon" Rite; and (2) Caddo-Delaware "Big Moon," which alternatively became the "Cross Fire" Rite.

Quanah ("The Eagle") Parker (1845–1911) was the charismatic Comanche generally credited with the Tipi Way. Wounded by a bull in Mexico during a visit to his mother's brother in Chihuahua, Mexico, this son of a white captive was cured of high fever by a *curandera* with a peyote brew called *woqui.* Other Comanches are credited with this first version of the Native American Church, so-named for the distinctive half-moon shape of its sand altar. Old Man Paddy Quill, Desode, Tasipa, Charcoal or Kuaheta, Mumshukawa, Comanche Jack, and notably, as well, Sitchees-toque, or Billy Chwat, a war captive of the Comanche (Stewart 1987, 69–70).

The second seminal figure in the Native American Church was John Wilson (1840?–1901). Nishkuntu, or "Moon Head," was also of mixed ancestry. A near neighbor of Quanah Parker, in fact, this half-Delaware, one-fourth Caddo, and one-fourth Frenchman was born on the Wichita and Caddo Reservation in Oklahoma. Following his own epic journey (to Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico), Wilson returned home claiming to have had a founding vision of his rival version of the Native American Church ceremony: a Delaware Indian dressed in traditional garb, who appeared and taught him how to construct the "full moon" sand altar (Petrullo 1934, 44–46). Not only did this religious innovator participate in the 1890 Ghost Dance but he also belonged to and acknowledged the Red Bean Cult. And since John Wilson was also a Catholic, the appearance of the Cross as well as other Christian symbols distinguished the Caddo-Delaware, which spread north to the Winnebago and Lakotas and then was carried west across the Rockies by Sam Lone Bear (Sioux) to the Goshute and

other Great Basin tribes in the 1920s as the "Cross-Fire Rite."

Native American Church Peyote "Meeting"

The Native American Church ceremony is usually held in a Plainslike tepee. The most common word used, however, is "meeting," which, along with the weekly scheduling on Saturday evenings (allowing Sunday to recuperate, though meetings on special occasions, such as birthdays, draft induction, and return to school are also routinely held), suggests acculturation to the white man's workweek. As to the structure of the all-night Native American Church ceremony, the traditional (for many tribes) number four is evidenced: Hayatinayo, the Opening or "Welcome Song"; Yahiyano, the Midnight break or "Midnight Song"; Wahako, the Dawn break or "Dawn Song"; and Gayatina, "Closing Song."

But not only are songs sung four times. Four is also the sacred number for distinct ritual officials: (1) The Road Man, or Road Chief, the person responsible for acquiring (purchasing) peyote, and through whose use of ceremonial paraphernalia (staff, gourd, eagle-bone whistle, and feather fan) presides in shamanic capacity as a healer throughout the night; (2) Drum Chief, or official drummer, who accompanies the Road Chief, as well as other singers throughout the night by rapid (140 beats per minute) drumming on a Number 6, three-legged, cast-iron kettle drum filled with water that is covered with animal skin; (3) the Fire Chief, or Door Man, among whose myriad duties include construction of sand altars; feeding throughout the night of his tepeelike arrangement of wood for the fire that is placed directly east of the sand altar, behind which the Road Chief sits, facing east; lighting corn shuck cigarettes that are rolled in corn husks by Cedar Chiefs and smoked at defined intervals throughout the night; distributing (and emptying) tin cans used for the spitting and vomiting; and, finally, (4) Cedar Chief, who sprinkles ground cedar on the fire and distributes sage (*Artemesia* spp.), which is also used as incense and in curing.

Although membership was historically all male, women today not only participate but can also drum and even become "Road Men." Ben Lancaster, Washo peyotist, was one of the first "Peyote Women Liberationists" (Stewart 1987). But even historically, the importance of women in the Native American Church is clear. At least once during the night, the "Water Woman" appears. She brings a bucket of water at midnight to the entrance of the peyote tepee and is also required to pray at dawn. Subsequently reappearing, then, the Water Woman delivers the three sacred foods consumed at the end of every Native American Church meeting: meat (deer, beef), corn (even popcorn), and fruit. Indeed, the very importance of Woman as the discoverer of peyote is revealed by one of the seven types of more than fifty published foundational Origin Myths of the Native American Church (Vecsey 1991, 153–165).

"Everything represents," Howard Rain, a Menominee peyotist, succinctly

and profoundly related the essence of Native American Church beliefs to the anthropologist J. Sydney Slotkin (1952, 582), a European Jew, who subsequently converted and became an Native American Church official. Menominees, like the Lakota and other Native American communities, follow the Cross-Fire Rite, in which the twelve-pole tepees symbolize the twelve disciples of Christ. Whether a whole or half moon, the Road Chief will place the largest peyote button on top of the sand altar at the start of each ceremony, identifying it as "Father Peyote." According to what La Barre (1989, 47) was told, the sand altar represents the mountain on which Peyote Woman first discovered the sacrament. Bernard Ice (Lakota) recently told Father Steinmetz (1990, 104) that the seven marbles at the bottom of peyote drums, which were obtained originally in trade with Europeans, represented the seven-sided Morning Star—the number seven, in turn, representing these Indian sacraments of life: Mother Earth, the Moon, Fire, Water, Corn, Meat, and Fruit. And while anthropologists continue to debate the timing and significance of Christianity in the formation of the Native American Church, the "double-world" or syncretistic mind of the modern-day peyotist is perhaps best revealed by another contemporary account: the Lakota Road Man, Leonard Crow Dog, who told Richard Erdoes (1995, 99) that the drumstick not only represented the stick used to whip Jesus but was also symbolic of the American government's treatment of Native Americans!

Tex-Mex Origins of the Native American Church

David F. Aberle (1966, 17), author of a majestic study of forced livestock reduction on the Navaho Reservation, which he felt led to their membership in Native American Church, wrote that by 1899 at least sixteen tribes were following either version of the new religion. Since many of these people did not use peyote until relocation onto Oklahoma reservations in historic times, the relation between archaeological documentation of peyote and mescal (as early as the first millennium A.D. in both Val Verde County and Edwards Plateau in southwest Texas, and, indeed, as far back as 7500 B.C. in Mexico) remains unclear. But James Howard (1957, 84) does feel, on the basis of attending sixty Plains Native American Church meetings with "Red Bean Cult" prairie tribes, that their ritual similarities (for example, ways of holding bows, or bowlike staves, in one hand and small gourd rattles in the other while singing) suggest this kind of historical continuity or reconfiguration of pre-existent ceremony; that goes along with the replacement of the less toxic peyote for mescal bean, which, as it contains the toxic crystalline narcotic alkaloid cystine, can be fatal. Other researchers also feel that Red Bean Cults are postcontact, or too recent to have been the source of the Plains Native American Church.

Similarities between the Native American Church "meeting" and peyote use in Mexico, on the other hand, were so striking to Reuben Snake (Fikes 1996, 231), an influential Winnebago peyotist and Native American Church leader, that he

wrote: "When I went to Mexico and watched the Huichols and the Tarahumara and the Tepehuan do their ceremony, I could see the roots of our Native American Church there."

La Barre (1989, 56), for example, listed twenty-two of these similarities, and Stewart (1987, 40–42) whittled down his original list of eighteen to twelve. Even a glance at these identical elements, found both in Native American Church ceremonies and the Huichol, who are most frequently used as a "baseline" for reconstructing the origin of the Native American Church, is suggestive: use of a cleared sacred place; seating by shaman on the ground west of the fire; the shaman's/Road Chief's assistance by several men; ceremonial drinking of water; placement of peyote on symbols of the world scratched in the dirt, and the use of birds (hawks, water turkey, cormorants, scissor-tailed flycatchers, flickers, wild and domestic turkeys, the eagle, and even parakeet feathers loosely bunched as fans (Lumholtz 1902, 359–372; La Barre 1989, 20).

To be sure, there is no symbolic equating of peyote with deer in the Native American Church as in Mexico—neither annual pilgrimages nor ritualistic hunting of it by shooting arrows over the plant's "head." On the other hand, commonly used Mexican Indian peyote color symbolism—the color yellow, particularly, whether intrinsically derived from the biochemical properties of peyote—and its impact on users was reported by A. L. Kroeber (1907), in one of the earliest studies of any North American Native American Church community. Kroeber reported the use of yellow ochre applied to the bodies of Arapaho worshippers and to gourds. Indeed, over a century later, Loretta Afraid-of-Bear Cook, Lakota, told Steinmetz (1990, 32–37) about her birth experience involving a peyote vision of a "yellow covering" that had to be peeled off her son.

Yet another important parallel is the curative powers of peyote. Just as *hikuli* is used by the Huichol (and other Mexican tribes) for snakebite, burns, wounds, in child delivery, for rheumatism, and to ward off injury (Lumholtz 1902, 359–360), the Kiowa used peyote for tooth- and headache, hemorrhages, fevers, consumption, skin diseases, rheumatism, diabetes, pulmonary diseases, and even for the common cold (La Barre 1989, 28).

Which tribes are believed to have been influential in the historic spread of the Peyote Religion to Oklahoma and its reformulation as the Native American Church? Besides the Huichol, the following Mexican tribes used peyote: the Aztec, Zacateco, Tarascans, Cazcan, Guachichil, Lagunero, Tepehuan, Tepecano, Cora, Acaxee, Tamaulipeco, Coahuilteco, Tarahumara, Opata, Pima Bajo, Jumano or Concho, Julimeno, Lipan Apache, Carrizo, Tonkawa, Karankawa, Mescalero Apache, Caddo, Otomi, and Tlascalans. Of these, six are considered the most important in influencing the Native American Church: Carrizo or Coahuiltec or "shoeless" (they wore sandals instead of moccasins), Tonkawa, Karanka, Jumanos, Lipan, and Mescalero Apaches.

Extinct today, the Carrizo lived in the area of peyote growth. Jaliscan friars in

Coahuilteco, Mexico, persecuted them for its use. They were then relocated in 1688 to a mission community called "Nombre de Jesus de Peyotes," which was renamed by Franciscans in 1698 as "Mission del Dulce Nombre de Jesus de Peyotes." Tonkawas in the 1830s lived in the "Peyote Gardens" (see below)—that is, Laredo, Texas. Reportedly using peyote in their religion as early as A.D. 1691, Tonkawas were relocated with the Caddo and Wichita onto a reservation in Oklahoma in the fall of 1856—from the latter two came John Wilson. Karankawas reportedly used peyote early (1616). As for the Jumanos of the South Texas Plains, the "fruit like a bean" they reportedly used as a medicine and drunk as a ritual beverage in their "dances and festivities" was thought to have been either mescal or peyote. Lipan Apaches learned about peyote from the Carrizo and were thought responsible for transmitting it to the Kiowa; between 1762 and 1771, they were relocated from Austin, Texas, to an area close to Eagle Pass, which is near the Mexican border, over which peyote is today brought into the United States.

Finally there are the Mescalero Apaches, who Mooney mistakenly believed introduced Quanah Parker's Native American Church version as a result of Comanche raids for livestock, plunder, and captives between 1840 and 1870. Because for nearly a thousand miles southward from Kansas and Oklahoma, Comanches raided into Durango, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, and Tamaulipas, Mexico, scholars feel that this contact with Mexico peyote tribes was what shaped the Kiowa-Comanche version of the Native American Church. Indeed, the name of a Lipan Apache captive involved with the transmission both of peyote and its songs (McAllester 1949) to the Comanche around Fort Sill (in western Oklahoma) is emphasized: he was Civet, or Cheveta, or Billy Chevatts, and he was even photographed in a peyote meeting wearing a mescal bean bandoleer.

Kiowa and Comanche Indian agents, in any event, reported a "narcotic cactus" called *wocowist* used by the Comanche, as well as *hoas* or *hose* among the Apache, in the 1880s.

Two Inquisitions

On June 29, 1620, Licenciado D. Pedro Nabarre de Isla issued a ruling against "the use of the herb or root called peyote." Because peyote then was being used by Indians for the "purpose of detecting thieves, of divining other happenings, and of foretelling future events," it was condemned as "an act of superstition" in opposition to the "purity and integrity of our Holy Catholic Faith" (Stewart 1987, 20–21). Thus began the Spanish Inquisition against the "diabolical *raiz*." Under the Office of the Holy See in Mexico, some fifty confessions were extorted (Leonard 1942). Stewart (1987, 18–21), on the other hand, reported ninety cases between 1614 and 1779, spread across forty-five colonial areas. Indeed, the earliest of these (from Cuautla, Morelos), in 1614, was prior to the infamous 1620 edict. "The real au-

thor of vice," according to Spanish Catholic colonialism, of course, was the Devil, not the biochemical nature of peyote.

Colonial Spain's expansion in what became the United States, in any event, led the Inquisition in 1710 to be applied to a Texas Indian for using peyote to "induce a vision" (Slotkin 1955, 220) and again at the Isleta Pueblo in New Mexico, where Juan del Alamo (a.k.a. Juan Luxan) was charged on February 3, 1720, with bringing peyote to Taos following a sojourn with the Hopi. He was whipped (fifty lashes), then expelled along with a Taos follower named Quara for using it (successfully!) to find a lost object.

The United States under the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo took over the Southwest in 1848, and the American Inquisition can be said to have begun or followed. By likening peyote to opium, Indian agents on the Kiowa and Comanche reservation in Oklahoma, beginning in 1886, attempted to control it through antiliquor laws. William "Pussyfoot" Johnson, a former newspaper man from New York, was reassigned from bootlegging duties by President T. Roosevelt. From 1906 to 1911 this "special officer," in tails and a top coat, buttressed by an anti–liquor sales law passed by the Congress (34 Stat. L. 328) and with funds for one hundred deputies, cajoled Indian students returning from boarding schools—who in fact flocked to the Native American Church—to sign "temperance pledges." Also enjoined by him in this crusade to stamp out peyote were Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) personnel: field matrons, agency farmers, Indian police, and so forth. At least forty-four separate convictions resulted, as Johnson wrote threatening letters not only to wholesalers in Laredo, Texas, but to the superintendent of Wells Fargo as well, whom he also threatened with persecution for shipment. By his own authority he ordered Marcus Poco, peyotist, who was working for Quanah Parker, not to bring peyote into the country from Mexico; Johnson even illegally threatened international prosecution upon learning of shipments from Coahuila, Mexico. In one year he wrote of having "purchased and destroyed by burning, 176,400 peyotes [that year's entire shipment!], for which I paid $443.00" (Stewart 1987, 139). Johnson's actions clearly stemmed from BIA policies. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas Morgan, for example, wrote to the Indian agent to the Sac and Fox as early as July 21, 1890 (ibid., 129), asking that peyote be treated "exactly as if it were alcohol or whiskey." That was followed by a directive dated January 30, 1897 (29 Stat. 506), against the use of "intoxicating liquors" by these "wards of the Government."

This view that peyote was even worse than "intoxicating liquor"—that is, "dope," since opiate addiction had become a national concern—then became central to the Newberne Pamphlet (1922). Written by the Reverend Dr. R. E. L. Newberne of the Omaha Reservation, this BIA document was initially circulated to 3,000 employees on the different reservations. Reprinted in 1925, it

had an even wider distribution until 1934. The entirely biased tone of the Newberne Pamphlet (ibid., v) is revealed in the opening statement by Charles H. Burke, commissioner of Indian affairs, who wrote that the "weight of evidence pronounces it harmful to those who use it habitually, particularly to growing children; therefore I warn the Indian people against the drug." Its author himself worried about "strange orgies" and "paganism arrayed against Christianity" and the fate of Native American Church members who might "interpret the pleasing visions as reflection of the beauties of paradise" (ibid., 8, 19).

Two additional BIA-biased documents can be mentioned. Circular No. 1522 (entitled "Peyote") was a questionnaire sent out on March 28, 1919, to agency superintendents for their reservation physicians, field matrons, farmers, and missionaries to answer. There were 302 negative replies. After the sampling of these, peyote was said to "make the users dead-headed and stupid" and to "produce certain diseases [that lead] to early decay and death" (p. 30). While Bulletin #21 (1923) was a diatribe that outrageously reported immorality and "poor health" (attributed to "spitting on naked bodies of men, women, and children, including new-born infants" (p. 5) by Native American Church members.

Formation of the Native American Church

By 1906, an organization of peyotists stretching from Oklahoma to Nebraska had been formed. Calling themselves "Mescal Bean Eaters," these Winnebagos and Omaha Indians were organized as a defense association by Albert Hensley. Hensley, a Winnebago, was the protege of John Rave, who in turn was a charismatic founder of the Cross-Fire Rite. The Omaha Indian Peyote Society was another group; it was formed in 1915 (Hertzberg 1971, 249). Jonathan (Jack) Koshiway (b. 1886) was another important player in this legal strategy. A Sac and Fox/Oto graduate of the Chiloco Boarding School who for a time was a Mormon missionary and a Presbyterian, Koshiway turned to the new Indian religion, and on the advice of attorneys, he incorporated his peyote sect as the "Firstborn Church of Christ" in Oklahoma in 1914.

With an estimated 12,000 peyotists in Iowa, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, North and South Dakota, Oklahoma, Utah, Wisconsin, and Wyoming, when the BIA pressured Congress to draft an antipeyote law in 1918, the Native American Church was born (ibid., 252). The date was October 10, 1918; the site was El Reno. James Mooney reportedly helped to draft the charter, a four-page document not forwarded to the commissioner of Indian affairs until March 22, 1919 (Slotkin 1956, 62, 272–273). Interestingly, the original name of the Native American Church was the "Firstborn Church of Christ." Koshiway, who testified before Congress, felt that an organization "like the Mormons" was essential for survival. Hence he took the original name from the Bible (Hebrews 12:28). Because so many early Native American Church members were Christianized, a biblical defense of peyote as a sacrament compa-

rable to bread and wine was frequently given (for example, Romans 14:2–3). But since another faction preferred the Native American Church, that became the name. Also agreed upon was that two trustees from each tribe would be appointed to a pantribal organization; that English would be the lingua franca; and that fraternity among Native American Church members was important. Other emphases reveal the degree of acculturation: the value of "hard work" (for the white man) and a proscription against alcohol, the use of which, indeed, all proselytizers argued that peyote alone cured. Finally, the Native American Church charter claims that Truth and Revelation can come about only through ingestion of the cactus plant.

Slotkin (1956, 60–61) wrote that between 1914 and 1955 there were so many different incorporated groups of the Native American Church throughout the country that the Oklahoma-based Native American Church charter had to be amended. So, in 1943, they became the Native American Church of the United States. One year later, that charter was drawn up. Dues were to be ten dollars per tribe per year, and membership cards were distributed; a yearly convention was expected to be held the last Friday in November, at El Reno. Interestingly enough, the white anthropologist from Chicago and honorary Menominee, Slotkin, was selected in 1954 to serve on the Native American Church board of trustees during the annual meetings held in Tama, Iowa, and upon his acceptance, published a quarterly newsletter (La Barre 1989, 171; Stewart 1987, 239, 242, 243).

Then, in 1955, at which time there were sixty-one Native American Church chapters, the addition of two from western Canada led to internationalization. Frank Eagle (Ponca) was elected first president of the Native American Church of North America. Mack Haag (Cheyenne) was vice president, George Pipestem (Oto) recording secretary, and Louis McDonald (Ponca) treasurer (Stewart 1987, 225–226).

Federal attempts to suppress peyote, however, continued. Begun in the late 1880s, these intensified in 1912, when the Board of Indian Commissioners, overseer of the BIA, lobbied for an antipeyote bill. In March 1913, Congress attempted to add the phrase "and peyote" to the Indian Appropriations Bill prohibiting alcohol in Indian Country. But it was defeated. The BIA then pressured the Bureau of Customs to halt the importation of peyote from Mexico. That, too, failed, as did their attempt to include peyote in the Harrison Narcotic Act, which was passed in 1914. But the Department of Agriculture did issue a regulation in 1915 stipulating that any importation from Mexico must be halted as a danger to the heath of U.S. citizens—a regulation eventually rescinded in 1937. In 1917 the BIA also cajoled the Post Office into issuing an antipeyote order "prohibiting the use of the mails"—that order was rescinded in 1940 (Slotkin, 1956, 53; Hertzberg 1971, 25, 55).

The right to practice this religion was also threatened by the seventeen antipeyote bills passed by Western states between 1899 and 1937. While these

were eventually repealed (Slotkin 1956, 56), yet another front was the nine antipeyote bills introduced in Congress between 1916 and 1937. Among those, two were most hotly contested: HR 2614, the Hayden Bill, in 1918; and the Chavez bill in 1937.

During congressional hearings on the Hayden Bill, for example, Mooney lined up Francis La Flesche, his Omaha ethnologist-colleague in the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE), to defend the Native American Church. Gertrude Bonin and her more famous Lakota kinsman, the Santee physician Charles Eastman, opposed them. A decade after the bill's defeat, the massive study of Indian affairs undertaken in 1928 by the Hoover Institute (the Meriam Report) came out against peyote (Meriam 1928, 628). That, no doubt, led to the federal or final attempt made by Congress to outlaw the Native American Church (Slotkin 1956, 54).

The Chavez Bill (S. 1399, "To Prohibit the Interstate Transportation of Anhalonium in Certain Cases, and for other Purposes") was dramatically challenged by Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma. Having participated in a Native American Church ceremony, he testified that Peyote was "not worse for the Indian than wine is for the whites, and I have never heard of an Indian using peyote except in connection with religious rites" (Anderson 1996, 193). Also of significance in the bill's defeat was a prepared statement in peyote's defense given by professional anthropologists. Organized by Skudder Merkeel, an advisor to the new Indian commissioner, John Collier, "Documents on Peyote" was published on May 18, 1937, in the prestigious journal *Science*. Along with its scientific evidence about the use and innocuousness of peyote by illustrious anthropologists such as Franz Boas, A. L. Kroeber, Vincenzo Petrullo (who described a Delaware Native American Church peyote ceremony in 1934), M. R. Harrington, Weston La Barre, Ales Hrlicka, and John P. Harrington, even the acting secretary of Interior, Charles West, stated in the introduction to this document: "The peyote religion fully meets the description of a religious institution."

Arrests and Court Cases

State laws against peyote nonetheless led to arrests and trials. These began with the Winnebago Mitchell Neck (a.k.a. Nah-qua-tah-tuck), who was charged in March of 1914 with "introducing Peyote" on the Menomini Indian Reservation in Wisconsin and "causing the intoxication" of three Winnebagos. Neck's self-defense would be replicated in every other case: peyote is a sacrament that "helped them to lead better lives and to forsake alcoholic drinks," he testified. The case was thrown out of federal district court (Slotkin 1952, 676–677).

One of the best-documented arrests took place at Taos Pueblo, New Mexico. There, confiscation of religious paraphernalia from the "Peyote boys" (along with whipping and fines) in 1918 created a controversy that persisted until 1936 and that would require mediation by the

new commissioner of Indian affairs, John Collier (Stewart 1987, 235–237). Despite issuing Circular 2970, affirming "Indian Religious Freedom and Indian Culture," Collier found himself in a double bind and wound up supporting the Navajo Tribal Council's ban against peyote and persecution of Native American Church members on their reservation. Their tribal council's ordinance against peyote, which was passed in 1940 and remained in effect until 1967, resulted in nearly 600 arrests between 1938 and 1960 (Aberle 1966, 116; Stewart 1987, 302–303). The wording of the ordinance is instructive: peyote was defined as "non-traditional" and "dangerous to health"; it was said to lead to "uncontrolled sexual behavior" and to constitute a "new form of intoxication," one that not only interfered with economic improvements but also allegedly made people "lazy and indifferent to their children's education." It caused adultery, bootlegging, civil disobedience via accusations of witchcraft, family and community discord, and "arrogant and sarcastic" behaviors by practitioners (Aberle 1966, 221).

Two famous Diné court cases led to the overturning of laws against peyote in two Western states. Judge McFate, in *Arizona vs. Attakai* (Criminal Number 4098, Coconino County, July 25–26, 1960, Flagstaff, AZ), overturned a lower court's ruling in a domestic case that was only partially about "possession." Aided by a story in *Time* (1959) and the expert testimony of Omer Stewart, the Fourteenth Amendment rights of these Diné-American citizens were upheld, and peyote was declared neither a narcotic nor a habit-forming "drug, and in fact, associated with bona fide religion." In the second of these landmark decisions, *People v. Jack Woody, et al.* (61 Cal 2nd 716:P 40 Cal. Rptr. 69: 394 P. 2d 813, 1964), thanks to the activism of the Crow Frank Takes Gun, the combination of ACLU involvement, favorable coverage by the *New York Times,* and, once again, expert testimony provided by the above-mentioned anthropologist (Stewart 1987, 308–314) resulted in freeing Diné section hands on the Santa Fe Railroad who had been arrested off-reservation in Needles, California. The Diné were arrested during a peyote meeting run in a hogan by Truman Daily, Oto performing "chief" in Disneyland and important Native American Church missionary. After they were originally found guilty for violation of California's antipeyote law, the state's Supreme Court justice J. Tobriner, on August 24, 1964, issued a judgment that overthrew the constitutionality of the state law and protected the right of Native American Church members to practice their religion.

Closing of the "Peyote Gardens"

Native American Church members call the forty-mile swath along the Rio Grande River from Laredo to Oilton, Mirando City, Aguilares, Roma, and Rio Grande City the "Peyote Gardens." According to George Morgan (1983, 84–85), who also converted to the Native American Church after studying it, a brisk trade in peyote was the very economy of this area at the end of the nineteenth

century. Based in Laredo, Texas, the Aguilares Mercantile Co., L. Villegos and Co., and Wormser Bros. shipped peyote to Oklahoma, which became the distribution point for Native American Church chapters, especially in states where peyote was illegal. The "Peyote trade" followed completion of the Texas-Mexican Railroad in 1881, and when its narrow east-west gauge between Laredo and Corpus Christi joined with the International and Great Northern Railroad, that, along with subsequent rail mergers, made possible shipments directly to the Comanche section of the Kiowa-Comanche reservation in Oklahoma. By 1908, Native American Church members were even driving to the Peyote Gardens, and increased access by rail and automobile made possible the transportation of less expensive green peyote—cheaper because of the time saved drying the "button."

Some idea of the cost of peyote over the first century of the Native American Church can be provided. In 1905, for example, dried "buttons" cost $0.12 per "load" of 300 plants in a basket. An estimated nine firms in Laredo sold 200,000 buttons for $2.50 per thousand around 1909. And that price rose to $5.00 during World War I. In the late 1930s the cost ranged between $2.50 and $5.00 per one thousand. Peyote in the 1940s was sold for $0.50 to $1.00 per gunnysack in the southern part of Texas, and between $5.00 and $10.00 per thousand in the north—its cost difference again being green versus dry. Between 1949 and 1953, the cost on the Diné Reservation was between $10.00 and $11.00 per thousand in bulk, or $0.10 each. Between September 1972 and August 1973, Laredo suppliers reported sales of 1,113,221 buttons; the average price was $20.00 per thousand, dried. From 1966 to 1976, there in fact was a dramatic rise in cost, from $15.00 to $55.00 per thousand plants. The cost then rose to $60.00 in 1979, $80.00 (dried) in 1983, and $100.00 in 1986 (dried, or $20.00 more than green) (Newberne 1922, 6; La Barre 1989, 64, 195; Stewart 1987, 63; Morgan1983, 84–86, 119; Aberle 1966, 215).

Bulk figures are also available: La Barre (1989, 290), for example, reported that peyote was a $100,000 business in the mid-1970s, run by eleven dealers. One individual paid $4,000 a year to ranchers to lease lands on which *peyoteros,* Mexican laborers, were paid $1.00 per thousand buttons. Leases on these private ranches were for thirty days, and a collection of 200,000 tons a year was possible. In 1995 four men reportedly collected 30,000 plants on 25 acres of land in five hours, selling them for $0.15 to $0.17 apiece, or $150.00 to $170.00 per 1,000 dried buttons, plus $5.00 per 1,000 for shipping. But according to Anderson (1996, 51), even if a *peyotero* worked 200,000 to 300,000 acres in one year, collecting some 300,000 buttons, that wouldn't meet the needs of the Native American Church.

Further complicating the problem was the discovery of oil in 1921 in the Peyote Gardens. Land was then leased in the three important formerly Spanish communities instrumental in the peyote trade: Los Ojuelos, founded in 1891, some 40 miles from Laredo; Torrecillas, which became Oilton in 1923; and Au-

guilares on the Tex-Mex railroad. The latter was a major trade center from 1920 to 1932, receiving peyote from Los Ojuelos by wagon, then shipping it via rail to Laredo. Indeed, the town's railroad station continued operations until 1938–1940, when it became the home of Amada Cardenas.

Called "Mom," or "Queen Peyote," this revered Hispanic woman was the daughter of a former Los Ojuelos *peyotero,* and with her husband, Mrs. Cardenas formerly hired workers in the 1930s to harvest peyote for sale. Between 1957 and her death in 1996, the Cardenas home was unofficial headquarters of the Native American Church-NA. Individuals and families stayed there while harvesting or purchasing the sacrament from this Mexican Catholic woman, who was invited to serve on the Native American Church board of trustees and was licensed by the Texas Department of Public Safety and the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) of the federal government. In one month alone, February 1975, Amada Cardenas's guest book recorded 350 Native American Church guests (Morgan 1983, 125–126).

Other factors disrupted and still threaten the peyote trade. The energy crisis of 1973, for example, led to rising fuel costs and the importance of domestic oil. Federal efforts to "improve" the land involved reseeding of native with introduced grasses and sorghum; these impact peyote production, since chaining, brush control, and root plows are required. Then, too, commercial harvesting of peyote, with its improper cutting of the plants—deep cuttings with crow shovels that uproot the very taproot of a plant otherwise capable of generating "buttons" nearly indefinitely—has been a problem. Yet another pressure on supplies ironically came from the swelling number of Diné converts, who probably purchase four out of every five plants sold. And finally there was the invasion by hippies in the 1960s, which not only prompted ranch owners to lock off the peyote fields from Native American Church members but also prompted a change in federal drug laws in 1966 (Anderson 1996, 181). Guy Mount (1993, 67), for good reason then, warns that with the Peyote Gardens disappearing in Texas at the rate of 20 acres an hour as a result of 20-foot-wide disk plows pulled by giant Caterpillar tractors, the very future of the Native American Church is threatened. What every Native American Church member in North America no doubt consequently longs for is passage of legislation comparable to what was recently enacted by the Mexican Congress in 1994: the protection of 182,108 acres of land on which peyote/hikuli grows "for the purpose of [Huichols] conducting their ceremonies and gathering peyote, and preserving it from overexploitation by non-Huichols" (Schaeffer and Furst 1996, 15–19).

Conclusion

The Native American Church presents an effervescent challenge to America's recent commitment to multiculturalism. After originally being suppressed as an "intoxicating liquor," the "divine cactus" that

Native Americans revere as a sacrament and call "medicine" today is defined as a "narcotic." And while anthropologists have rightly challenged both definitions, they tend to prefer yet another term also objected to by Native American Church members: "psychedelic" or "psychotropic" (La Barre 1989, 288). In fact, Section 201 of the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970 (Public Law 91–513) lumps peyote along with mescaline, opium, LSD, marijuana, and psilocybin as a Schedule 1 "hallucinogenic substance." Native American Church members continue to strongly object both to that classification and its alleged "high potential for abuse" (Anderson 1996, 199). Peyote is not used for getting "high," they maintain; it is serious religious business. Or, as the prominent Winnebago peyotist Reuben Snake (Fikes 1996, 26–27), a past president of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), frequently has stated: "Never has it caused me, or any Church member I have ever heard of, to hallucinate, and its directives have always been to live cleanly and with a loving, compassionate heart . . . Ah-ho!"

Other debates regarding peyote have been about the cause of its recent spread: is it attributed to the widespread, age-old traditional quest for visions among Plains Indians (Shonle 1925) or postcolonial despair (Aberle 1966)? Cultural versus organic (biochemical) definition of "visions" as they relate to peyote is another debate. Though "visions" are denied by many Native American Church members, Dr. Robert L. Bergman, chief of mental health programs among the Diné in 1971–1972 interviewed 200 Native American Church members and reported their seeing "beautiful colors" in ceremonies (Stewart 1987, 316); while in two well-known Indian autobiographies about Native Americans, Crashing Thunder, the famous subject of Paul Radin's pioneering study of the Winnebago peyotist, related his personality-transforming vision (Radin 1970) and Albert Hensley told that same anthropologist about his journey to Heaven and rescue in Hell from being crushed between two rocks by an eagle (Radin 1914, 19–20). There is even a vast literature on the types of visions experienced by anthropologists while attending/studying Native American Church meetings, beginning with Mooney (1896, 10) and Lumholtz (1902, 178–179), and running from Petrullo (1934, 88–89) through La Barre (1989, 143–144), Slotkin (1952, 565), and Aberle (1966, 228–230).

Certain recent legislation bears upon the future of the Native American Church. For example, passage of Public Law 95–341, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978, "prohibits any state from prosecuting Native Americans when they use peyote for religious purposes." And when the conservative Supreme Court in 1990 ruled in *Employment Division v. Smith* that it is a crime for Native American Church members in Oregon to use or possess peyote (Lawson and Morris 1991), Congress enacted the Religious Freedom Restoration Act in 1993 as a direct response. Then, in 1994, an amendment to AIGPRA (The American Indian Graves Protection and Repatriation Act,

H.R. 4230) was passed in both houses and signed into law by President Clinton (PL 103–344). But while Native American Church members no longer may be prosecuted for transporting, possessing, or using peyote for bona fide traditional ceremonial purposes in connection with the practice of traditional Indian religion, the important question of Indian sovereignty remains enjoined by church-statelike legislation protecting the Native American Church: the 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act, for example, guarantees freedom of religion, yet tribes organized under the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934 maintain the right through their tribal councils to ban peyote from reservations—as, for example, did the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California in 1937; the White Mountain Apache, 1938; and Yerington Paiute Tribal Council in 1940.

Finally, peyote and the Native American Church not only remain a vital part of Native cultures, but the American tapestry as well. Peyote music, for example, has been studied by many ethnomusicologists (McAllester 1949) and has been recorded. "The Kiowa Peyote Meeting" is available on Ethnic Folkways Library (Album No. FE 4601, 1973), while Leonard Crow Dog, Lakota roadman, and prominent for his involvement during the American Indian Movement (AIM) takeover of Wounded Knee in 1973, recorded "Crow Dog's Paradise" along with his father, Henry, for Elektra in 1972 (La Barre 1989, 267).

In literature, N. Scott Momaday's Pulitzer-winning novel *House Made of Dawn,* the Reverend J. B. B. Tosimah conducts a Native American Church "meeting" in the basement of "Holiness Pan-Indian Rescue Mission" in Los Angeles—while reading directly from La Barre's famous description of the Kiowa-Comanche Tipi Way (Momaday 1969, 126–131). Among non-Indian writers, the poets Jerome Rothenberg and Michael McClure have used peyote imagery, while the playwright Maxine Klein wrote *Savages,* which was performed at La Mama sometime around 1971 with an entire first act that reproduces a peyote meeting (La Barre (1989, 266–267).

In painting, as well, given that cave art suggesting ritual use of peyote can be dated by carbon 14 in association with Folsom projectile points and bison as far back as 8440–8120 B.C., it should come as no surprise that many contemporary Native American artists incorporate the all-night peyote ceremony of the Native American Church in their oeuvre. Monroe Tsa (1904–1937) and Stephen Mopope (1898–1974) are two such artists. The latter's "Member of the Peyote Cult," painted in 1929, hangs on an Oklahoma Historical Society wall in Oklahoma City. There are even three photographs of peyotists in Edward Curtis's monumental collection.

Finally, Native American Church members have fashioned a veritable home industry of crafts: for example, metal ornaments (bolo ties, earrings, pins, and pendants, etc.) that are worn to ceremony, which itself is marked by the use of painted cloths for the display of beaded ritual paraphernalia such as gourds and staffs. And more widely known through

the commercial markets are Huichol yarn paintings, which in fact are inspired by visions (Schaefer and Furst 1996).

The last words on the Native American Church, however, ought to belong to Native Americans. In echoing what his North American Indian compeers, Native American Church members, universally say, Ramon Medina Silva, the well-known Huichol (Meyerhoff 1974), told Schaefer and Furst (1996, 181–182): "Aspirina es droga. Peyote es sagrado." And Ben Lancaster ("Chief Gray Horse"), a controversial Native American Church leader (Stewart 1944; Hittman 1996), who encouraged his wife to become a Road Chief, told Stewart (1987, 275–285) what countless other members of this international Native American religion have attested in defense of peyote as a sacrament and the Native American Church: "I am a firm believer in Peyotism, for I once was a bad character, but since using peyote I am a reformed man. I want to spread Peyotism around for the uplift and betterment of the Indians. . . . This is an old religious worship which all Indians subscribed to at one time. But when the white man came he took our land and everything else. He would take our religion, too."

Michael Hittman

See also Boarding Schools, Religious Impact; Bundles, Sacred Bundle Traditions; Christianity, Indianization of; Dreams and Visions; Drums; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Herbalism; Identity; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion; Oral Traditions; Power, Plains; Reservations, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Symbolism in American Indian Ritual and Ceremony

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Native American Church/Peyote Movement, Diné

Peyote Religion among the Diné

The Navajos or the Diné (the People) of the Southwest comprise one of the largest indigenous nations in the United States today. With a population of more than 250,000, Navajos continue to live upon their ancestral homeland, speak the Diné language, and live in many ways as their ancestors instructed. While the People live in much the same manner as their ancestors, they also have incorporated new ideas and practices into their existing way of life. The Diné follow the peyote road in much the same way as many other Native followers; yet the Diné have made the peyote religion a distinctively Diné practice, one that reflects their abilities to hold on tenaciously to their traditional beliefs and customs while making a place for new things.

The history of the peyote religion among the Diné, like that of other indigenous peoples, is a story of cultural exchanges and revitalization (Irwin 1997). It is also a story of the struggle for religious freedom. Among the Diné, the peyote religion is practiced alongside traditional Diné ceremonies and Christianity. It is not uncommon for the Diné to attend traditional ceremonies, Christian church services, or peyote ceremonies, for they are a people who take the best from different cultures to their own advantage. The Native American Church has a following across many tribes and throughout the United States and Canada. Most Diné have memberships in the Native American Church of Navajoland, while others are members of the Native American Church of the Four Corners or the Northern Navajoland Native American Church Association. Overall, the Diné have one of the largest memberships in the Native American Church, numbering 60,000 (Quintero 1995, 78; Davies 2001, 182; Iverson 2002, 307).

Ritual and Ceremony—the Diné Experience

The ritual and form of the peyote ceremony has not changed much for more than 120 years (Smith and Snake 1996, 79). The People conduct the peyote ceremony in much the same manner as other tribes throughout the Plains and the Southwest (La Barre 1989; Stewart 1987). Peyote, a cactus found in Mexico and Texas, is a sacrament used as a means to communicate with God in a form that draws from Native traditions and Christianity. The Diné sponsor prayer meetings for healing and spiritual renewal. Specifically, a patient, the person for whom the prayer is being conducted, may request blessings for jobs, education, and general well-being. Peyote meetings are also held to cure illness and mental depression. Peyotists also testify that following the peyote road has meant a decrease in alcoholism.

The Diné have made the peyote religion a distinctly Diné practice by conducting meetings in their own language and incorporating their beliefs into the

Diné church members at a Peyote Ceremony in a hogan near Pinyon, holding nightlong rites at which peyote cactus buttons are eaten and used as a sacrament. 1954. (Carl Iwasaki/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

peyote way (Aberle 1983, 559; Davies 2001, 181). The key concept in Diné life, *sa'ah naaghaáii bik'eh hózhó,* which can be translated as "in-old-age-walking-the trail-of beauty," provides the template for how one should live. Diné peyotists utilize peyote or *'azee'* (medicine) as a means to establish and maintain *hozho,* a life of balance and beauty (Quintero 1995, 74). Thus the purpose of life is to live well and to reach *sá,* or old age.

The Diné are a matrilineal people who order the world conceptually as female and male, defined as complementarity (ibid., 78). This importance of the female and male is reflected in Native American Church origin narratives and within the ritual itself. As mothers and grandmothers, women are recognized as culture bearers and the givers of life. In the peyote religion, the peyote button placed at the center of the earth altar is called *shima 'azee',* or mother medicine. Prayers are conveyed to God and the Diné Holy People through *shima 'azee'.* Diné peyotists tell different versions of how the Diné were introduced to peyote. According to one story, a long time ago a woman traveling with her people became lost. Alone and sick, the woman heard a voice

telling her to eat of a plant, the peyote, nearby. Doing so she had a vision whereby she found her way back to her people, and she told them of the peyote's medicinal qualities (ibid., 82, 83).

Diné men conduct the prayer meeting and act as the roadman, the cedarman, the drummer, and the firechief; however, a woman who is called Dawn Woman brings in the morning water and adds her prayers to those offered by the officiants and participants. The prayers for the morning water focus on renewal, healing, and rebirth. As one roadman notes, "The morning time is the female part of the ceremony because women give new life, a new day breaks, and it is a new beginning. You need women and the morning to give new life and to replenish what's there" (ibid., 81). While the nightlong ceremony centered on the patient's problems and the officiants prayed for healing, Dawn Woman's morning prayer emphasizes renewal, the promise of new beginnings. Many scholars have defined the Native American Church as a pan-Indian movement; however, the Diné peyote way is causing a re-evaluation because it indicates that the Diné have retained the core of their belief system and have incorporated something different, like peyotism, to fit into their existing way of life (ibid., 84, 85).

The Struggle for Religious Freedom

Religious freedom lies at the heart of the struggles between peyotists and their opposition. In the early twentieth century, the Diné were introduced to peyotism in the most northern region of the Diné reservation, along the borders between New Mexico and Colorado, where Diné and Ute live near each other. The Diné found the peyote religion attractive, and Diné men trained to conduct their own prayer meetings. However, just as quickly as the Diné embraced the new religion, officials from the federal, state, and tribal levels sought to ban peyote by declaring that its use led to immorality and excess. Diné traditionalists joined together with Diné and non-Diné missionaries who claimed that the new religion was contradictory to established ceremonies and rituals (Aberle 1983, 564–568). Diné peyotists continued their prayer meetings in spite of arrests, confiscation of peyote, court cases, and rejection and ridicule from nonpeyotists. Their struggles to practice their religion led to their participation in the movement for religious freedom. Diné Native American Church members, with the help of their non-Indian friends and sympathizers, have worked with other Native peyotists and effectively lobbied Congress to make religious freedom a reality (Davies 2001, 182; Smith and Snake 1996, 139–153).

Historically, the Diné have been characterized as loosely organized bands sharing common cultural traits who spoke the Diné language. In the seventeenth century Spanish observers reported that the Diné planted cornfields and hunted for food. In the eighteenth century, the introduction of sheep and

horses into the Southwest resulted in significant changes for the Diné, who became pastoralists as well as skilled horsemen and warriors. In fact, they became so adept as warriors that the Spaniards and then the Mexicans both failed to subdue them. In 1863 the Americans accomplished what the previous conquerors had not been able to do—militarily defeat the Diné and place them on a reservation to begin the assimilation process.

In 1864 white Americans who claimed Navajoland for themselves imprisoned thousands of Diné at Bosque Redondo, an internment camp in northeastern New Mexico. Four years later, in 1868, Diné leaders signed a treaty with the United States that allowed eight thousand Diné to return to their homeland and rejoin those who had remained behind. During the years at Bosque Redondo, more than two thousand Diné had died from starvation, injuries and shootings, and illnesses and diseases. The Diné returned to a reservation that had been carved out of a portion of their homeland to resume their former cultural practices. From 1868 to the 1930s, the Diné enjoyed a prosperity that was reflected not only in their vast herds but also in their own increased population. The Diné had managed to remain relatively self-sufficient in comparison to other native nations (White 1983).

During the early reservation period the Diné prosperity and wealth was reflected in the growth and size of their flocks, which had substantially increased since 1868. The Diné had returned to the reservation with 940 sheep, 1,025 goats, and 1,550 horses; by the 1930s, Diné flocks numbered more than 1 million (Iverson 2002, 66, 67, 139). For the Diné, their vast herds signified hard work, careful management, and knowledge of ceremonies and rituals (ibid., 142). Unfortunately, national concerns about soil erosion, silt buildup in Hoover Dam, and plummeting prices for wool and mutton were factors in the U.S. government's forced livestock reduction program for the Diné (ibid., 145). Thus federal mandates in the 1930s to decrease Diné livestock caused great havoc that the Diné equate with their experiences of the Long Walk and imprisonment at Ft. Sumner, New Mexico. It was during the era of forced livestock reduction that the Diné began to accept the teachings of the peyote religion.

Traumatized by the livestock reduction, some Diné turned to the peyote religion for healing and inspiration (Aberle 1983; Davies 2001). The Diné first learned of the spiritual and healing qualities of the *'azee'* from their Ute neighbors (Stewart 1987, 17–30). The appointment of John Collier as Indian commissioner marked a shift in the federal government's attitude toward Native cultural practices and traditions. Whereas former policy had intended to eradicate Native religions and languages, the U.S. government endorsed a cultural pluralism that encouraged Native peoples to revive their traditions and religious practices. Thus the Diné

found an atmosphere of tolerance toward the peyote religion under Collier's administration.

It is difficult to determine why the Diné embraced the peyote religion in the 1930s, and anthropologists like David Aberle have argued that the trauma of livestock reduction was the impetus for its acceptance (Aberle 1983, 563, 564). Perhaps one of the reasons for the acceptance of the peyote religion was the cost of elaborate ceremonies such as the Nightway, which required many sheep and goats, both for payment and to feed participants and guests. While the cost of a traditional ceremony could be prohibitive and required a commitment of time, a peyote meeting required one night of prayer; costs were substantially lower.

Initially the Diné tribal officials had not been aware of peyotism among the People. However, as reports circulated, they became concerned enough to ban peyote, making it illegal to sell, use, or possess. During the tribal council's meeting to debate peyote use, only councilman Hola Tso spoke in favor of peyote and cast the dissenting vote (52 to 1) (Aberle 1983, 565, 566; Niezen 2000, 142–144). The Diné tribal council's ban forced Indian Commissioner John Collier to acknowledge the contradictions inherent in the relationship between the federal government and the Diné nation. Although Collier supported the peyotists because he believed that Native religious traditions should be allowed to flourish, he also recognized that the Diné tribal government retained sovereignty and could limit freedom of religion (Aberle 1983, 565). Thus, although Collier accepted Diné self-government, including their decree on religious freedom, he circumvented Diné sovereignty by refusing to enforce the council's ban on peyote and would not allow federal funds to be used toward enforcement of the ban (ibid., 565, 566).

Under tribal law, from the 1940s and into the 1950s, Diné peyotists faced harassment and arrests. Vigilantes raided peyote meetings and sometimes confiscated paraphernalia. The peyotists, however, fought back and challenged the tribal council's resolution. Enlisting the aid of Frank Takes Gun, longtime president of the Native American Church of North America, they worked to nullify the 1940 Diné antipeyote ordinance through the U.S. Supreme Court. The Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals in Denver reviewed the case. In 1960 the case was reviewed again, this time by the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. Finally it was rejected for appeal by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1963 (ibid., 566). The Supreme Court's refusal to hear the case upheld tribal sovereignty. On another front, the peyotists fought antipeyote legislation by filing papers of incorporation in Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona, a procedure that peyotists had followed in other states since the 1920s (ibid.). The charters of incorporation served as a tool for disputing arrests and justifying claims of religious freedom.

In 1951 the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) estimated that 12 to 14 percent of

Diné were participating in peyote ceremonies. By 1965 between 35 and 40 percent of Diné took part in Native American Church meetings (Davies 2001, 112). By 1972, between 40 and 60 percent of the population were peyotists (Aberle 1983, 559). Presently at least half, if not more, of the Diné population participate in peyote ceremonies (Davies 2001, 152). The Diné have found the peyote religion appealing because it has helped them face problems and issues imposed by colonialism. Through the Native American Church they deal with the struggles of modern life, including alcoholism. Finally, after decades of struggle with peyotists, in 1967 the Navajo Tribal Council passed a resolution that recognized peyotism (Aberle 1983, 566, 567). Most likely, the election of Raymond Nakai as tribal chairman contributed to the council's change in attitude. Nakai had run on a platform of religious tolerance, and peyotists had voted for him (Davies 2001, 114).

The peyote religion emerged on the Diné reservation to both an acceptance and a rejection. Yet, by the 1980s, a watershed occurred as the Navajo Nation recognized the widespread appeal of the peyote religion to the Diné. In 1990, after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Employment Division v. Smith* that states are not required to recognize the religious use of peyote, Navajo Nation interim president Leonard Haskie addressed the Native American Church, acknowledging the importance of the peyote religion to many Diné. He assured Native American Church members that the Navajo Nation supported their religious use of peyote and would act to protect their religious freedom (Haskie 1990). The Navajo Nation made good on Haskie's declaration of support by providing funding for the construction of a church (Iverson 2002, 307).

National Struggles for Religious Freedom

Diné peyotists faced intolerance on the reservation, and at the same time they navigated complex state and federal laws regulating peyote use. The Diné brought suits against states when they were arrested for possession of peyote. These suits contributed toward the national effort of religious freedom that peyotists had sought for decades.

Test cases such as the *State of Arizona v. Mary Attakai* (1960) and *People v. Jack Woody et al.* (1964) reaffirmed Native religious freedom at the state level (Pavlik 1992). In 1959, Mary Attakai was arrested for possession of peyote in Williams, Arizona. Attakai convinced Judge McFate in a Flagstaff, Arizona, court of the integrity of the peyote religion. His decision was upheld by the Arizona Supreme Court and set a sound legal precedent (Stewart 1987, 305, 306). In 1962, Jack Woody, Leon Anderson, and Dan Dee Nez were arrested in a hogan during a peyote meeting outside of Needles, California. Frank Takes Gun, working on behalf of the Diné men, enlisted the help of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Los Angeles. While the California court ruled unfavorably for the men,

the California Supreme Court rendered a judgment that freed the men, once again upholding Native religious freedom (ibid., 309, 310).

In 1978 the American Religious Freedom Act was passed, and, as peyotists discovered, the law did little to protect them. In particular, the *Employment Division v. Smith* case devastated the Native American community (Hirschfelder and Molin 1992). In 1984, Alfred Leo Smith, a Klamath, was fired from his job as an alcoholism counselor because he and a coworker attended Native American Church meetings. Smith and his coworker were denied unemployment benefits. The Oregon State Supreme Court held that a denial of their unemployment benefits violated their First Amendment right of free exercise of religious beliefs. Not satisfied, the Oregon attorney general sought the legal opinion of the U.S. Supreme Court. The Supreme Court reversed the Oregon opinion. It held that states were not required to uphold the First Amendment's free exercise clause, that it is constitutionally permissible for a state to exempt the religious use of peyote from drug laws, but it is not constitutionally required (ibid., 77, 78). Once again, the followers of the peyote religion came together to fight for their religious freedom. Their efforts were not in vain.

By the 1990s the Navajo Nation had become one of the most ardent protectors of the Native American Church. Working to amend the AIRFA of 1978, Diné leaders such as Peterson Zah (former Navajo Nation president), David S. Clark (president of the Native American Church of Navajoland), and Robert Billie Whitehorse (former Native American Church president) petitioned the federal government and spoke to the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs in February 1993 (Davies 2001, 182, 183). Their efforts, combined with those of Native peoples nationally, convinced the House and Senate to approve H.R. 4230, which amended AIRFA. Under the new law, states had to prove "overriding interests" before violating Native American Church members' rights to religious freedom (ibid., 183). In 1994, President Clinton signed the 1993 Religious Restoration Act, an amendment to the 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act, prohibiting states from discriminating against Native peoples who used peyote for religious reasons. This act ushered in a new era for Native peoples, one in which they are able to engage in a religious tradition that predates European and American invasion.

The Navajo Nation remained active in its support of the Native American Church. It is becoming increasingly difficult for Native American Church members to obtain peyote from Texas harvesters, called *peyoteros*. While the Texas Narcotics Law of 1969 had defined peyote as a narcotic, Native American Church members are exempt. Here, again, the Navajo Nation provided support by securing safe and legal access to peyote in Texas.

Native American Church members, with the assistance of the Navajo Nation government, successfully lobbied the Texas legislature to grant exemptions to

their members and establish security measures for the Texas *peyoteros* who harvested the peyote (Stewart 1987, 246, 247; Davies 2001, 183). Today the Native American Church faces challenges from non-Indians who claim discrimination because they cannot participate in the peyote religion by law and who claim to be road men, medicine men, or shamans (Parker 2001; Jocks 2000).

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Diné; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion; Native American Church/Peyote Movement

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New Age Appropriation

Since the 1980s, Euro-Americans involved in the New Age movement have made huge profits marketing books, products, workshops, and ceremonies supposedly based on traditional Native

American spirituality. Indian people are greatly offended by the disrespectful mockery of these misappropriations of their spirituality, as well as angered by the commercialization of their valued traditions.

Although it is difficult to offer a concise definition of the New Age, this movement is perhaps best described as a varied collection of beliefs and practices aimed at individual personal transformation and healing. New Agers often treat the different cultures of the world as a salad bar, picking bits and pieces of various religious traditions and then mixing them together without ever understanding their meaning within their cultural contexts. New Age practices include a wide spectrum of interests and practices, including pagan nature worship, healing through crystals, Zen meditation, goddess worship, extraterrestrial sightings, and the channeling of spirit beings. The majority of New Agers are white and middle-aged, ranging from middle to upper-middle class. Studies estimate the number of people identifying with the New Age range from ten to twenty million. It is difficult to know the exact number because, unlike most countercultural movements, people generally participate in the New Age through the purchase of products and services affiliated with the New Age.

Romanticization of Native American spirituality has played a huge role in the New Age movement since its inception. Some of these New Agers identify themselves as members of the "Rainbow Tribe."

Many Native Americans refer to members of the Rainbow Tribe, as well as others who want to act out their romanticized notions of Native American life and spirituality, as "wannabees."

Wannabees and Rainbow Tribe members are notorious among Native American peoples for disrupting sacred ceremonies. They interrupt prayers with loud talking and refuse to stand during ceremonies. On a number of occasions, they have crossed through sacred circles in the wrong direction, causing already fatigued Sun Dancers to prolong their fast. They have been known to smoke marijuana in sacred pipes and disturb sacred dances with improvised Grateful Dead–style gyrations. In addition, New Age women on their period have sneaked into certain ceremonies prohibited to menstruating women. The Men's Movement, led by figures such as Robert Bly, have instituted warrior weekends at which Euro-American businessmen dress up as Indians to find their "manhood."

Unlike the Rainbows and the weekend warriors, the majority of New Agers pursue their interest in Native American spirituality through the consumption of products. New Age interest in Native American spirituality has spawned numerous products. Some products claim to assist the dabbler in Native American spiritual practices. For example, those who don't want to take the time and trouble of building their own sweat-lodge can order a sweat tent by telephoning an 800 number. Offers for

products that will provide the experience of Native American spirituality abound: sage and cedar smudge sticks, herbal tea, books, CDs, and artwork. Such products, their distributors promise, will provide "the experience" of Native American ritual and wisdom through multisensual consumption.

Entrepreneurs have found ways to blend American Indian spiritual themes with other New Age objects, such as "Native American Tarot Cards." They have tapped into new markets, such as "care crystals" for domestic pets. Medicine shields have been turned into earrings, and the sacred figure of Kokopelli now serves as a wall clock. The advertisement for the Kokopelli clock asserts: "Southwest Native America's playful 'Spirit Guide to the Fourth World' adds a touch of almost-eerie immortality to home or office!" (*The Pyramid Collection: A Catalog of Personal Growth,* summer, 1994). Perhaps the eeriness stems from the unsettling irony of what Pemina Yellowbird and Kathryn Milun refer to as "imperialist nostalgia." In "Interrupted Journeys: The Cultural Politics of Indian Reburial," Yellowbird and Milun define imperialist nostalgia as a romanticization that assumes a pose of innocent yearning, thus concealing its complicity with often brutal domination (Yellow Bird and Milun 1994).

A number of what Native American activists would call Plastic Medicine People have surfaced in the New Age movement, and they are typically Euro-Americans claiming mentorship by "authentic Native American medicine people." These "Shake and Bake Shamans," as some Native American activists have dubbed them, write best-selling books and lead expensive workshops claiming to teach their consumers "how to practice Native American spirituality."

By far the biggest business in New Age appropriation of indigenous spirituality takes place in the publishing industry, where plastic medicine authors are big sellers. Arguably the most successful, not to mention notorious, is Lynn Andrews. Andrews has been dubbed the "Beverly Hills Shaman" by some of her New Age supporters and the less flattering epithet "Beverly Hills Witch" by a number of Native Americans who criticize her commercial exploitation of indigenous spiritual traditions. Controversy aside, she is a best-selling author, having made the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* best-seller lists on numerous occasions. Andrews claims that her books are true accounts of her mentoring experiences with two Canadian Cree medicine women—Agnes Whistling Elk and Ruby Plenty Chiefs. In the first two books, these two elderly women supposedly teach Andrews Native American shaman techniques to help her battle an evil sorcerer. In subsequent books, the trio encounters a flying horse capable of turning into rainbow colors and dolphins that transmit Australian aboriginal dream visions via a eucalyptus tree antenna. Another plastic shaman author, Mary Summer Rain, claims that her mentor, No-Eyes, entrusts her with a

mission to help lost spirits find their way to the afterworld. In a stereotyped Tonto Speak, No-Eyes tells Summer Rain such words of wisdom as: "No-Eyes gonna be speakin 'bout spirits who be stupid-dumb." Native American activists have greatly castigated these works for their trivialization and commercialization of Native American spirituality. Nevertheless, the number of plastic shaman authors and their commercial success continue to swell.

Not all those designated as "plastics" by Native American activists are authors. There are quite a number who run workshops, seminars, or centers claiming to teach Native American spiritual practice. For example, one non-Native American woman who calls herself "Mary Thunder" runs a New Age center in Texas where she conducts sweats, holds pipe ceremonies, and talks with space aliens through Max, the crystal skull. Another woman, referred to as Oceana, or sometimes O'Shinna, claims to have been born in a crystal spectrum in Colorado; she mixes Native American teachings with references to Atlantis, Tibetan Buddhism, and Theosophy.

Some plastics produce videos explaining their philosophies and offering "do-it-yourself" instructions for Native American ceremonies such as sweats. There are also a number of New Age channellers who claim to "channel" Native American spiritual entities. If paid the requisite sizable fee, these channellers access the wisdom of their Indian guides for their clients. One woman claims to channel a Hopi Indian named Barking Tree (as well as Bell Bell, a giggling six-year-old from Atlantis, and a being named Aeffra from Western Europe). A New Ager in Tampa, Florida, claims to channel an entity named Olah, who is supposed to be a reincarnation of both Edgar Cayce and the revered Lakota spiritual entity White Buffalo Calf Woman.

Many Native Americans have been offended by the mockery these bastardized versions make of their sacred ceremonies. Some of the incidents denounced as most offensive include Sun Dances held on Astroturf, sweats held on cruise ships with wine and cheese served, and sex orgies advertised as part of "traditional Cherokee ceremonies." A typical advertisement for such a workshop promises an introduction to "core shamanism—the universal and basic methods used by the shaman to enter non-ordinary reality for problem solving, well-being and healing" (Michael Harner workshop advertised in Omega: Institute for Holistic Studies catalog for summer 1994). Others make even more specific promises: for example, one workshop guarantees that you will retrieve your own personal power animal in a trance. Native American activists have also been angered by the commercial exploitation involved. A weekend vision quest workshop will currently run anywhere from $250 to $550 (accommodations and meals not included). In 1988, Singing Pipe Woman of Springdale, Washington, advertised a two-week pil-

grimage that included study with a Huichol woman; the price was $2,450.

The commodification of Native American spirituality seems to be the point of greatest contention and outrage among Indian peoples. There are a number of reasons why this commercialization upsets Native American activists. Some have pointed out the injustice of these profiteers growing rich while the majority of Native Americans live below the poverty level.

Some Native Americans take a different tack, explaining that their spiritual views can never be understood if they are seen as mere objects of consumption. Along these same lines of argument is the frequent assertion that medicine people within their own traditions do not charge set fees for their services.

The stance against commercialization of Native American religion has been consistently strong. At least two intertribal groups of Native American elders have issued proclamations warning the public that the teachings of these commercial profiteers may harm them. Some Native Americans have taken a harder stand. Scholar and activist Ward Churchill has called for active resistance, including public denouncement of plastics, demonstrations and boycotts of their events, and demands that local bookstores stop carrying their works (Churchill 1995, 222). Leaflets denouncing the commercialization of Native American religion have been distributed at lectures given by plastics, and their workshops have been disrupted by confrontations instigated by Native American activists. The Southwestern AIM Leadership Conference held in Window Rock in the Navajo Nation condemned those who profit from American Indian spirituality, listing many of the plastics by name, and adding: "We put them on notice that our patience grows thin with them and they continue their disrespect at their own risk" (reprinted in ibid., 228). The National Congress of American Indians went even a step further, issuing what they term "a declaration of war against 'wannabees,' hucksters, cultists, commercial profiteers, and self-styled New Age shamans" (quoted in Shaw 1995, 87).

Instead of respecting Native Americans' requests to leave their spirituality alone, the majority of New Agers have come back with defenses trying to justify their misappropriation of these traditions. Some New Agers have based their claim of a right to Native American religion on the reasoning that spirituality and "Truth" cannot be owned. As Gary Snyder argued: "Spirituality is not something which can be 'owned' like a car or a house. Spiritual knowledge belongs to all humans equally" (quoted in Churchill 1995, 219). This argument implies that a cultural or spiritual tradition has to be a "property right" before someone's request that it be respected as private be recognized.

One of the most common New Age defenses is the assertion that they have a "basic" or "fundamental" right to practice Native American religious traditions.

Gary Snyder, who has won literary awards for poetry written from the claimed persona of a "Native American shaman," argues the following: "Given the state of the world today, we all have not only the right, but the obligation to pursue all forms of spiritual insight, and at every possible level. In this sense, it seems to me that I have as much right to pursue and articulate the belief systems developed by Native Americans as they do, and arguments to the contrary strike me as absurd in the extreme" (quoted in ibid., 192). Other New Agers have couched their argument in First Amendment terms, which is a bit ironic given that Native American nations had no say in writing or adopting the U.S. Constitution.

Native American activists have refuted these New Agers' claims of a "right" to Native American religions. Russell Means flatly refuses the idea that New Agers have any "fundamental right" to Native American spiritual traditions. He asserts that Native American tribes have good reasons for keeping spiritual traditions private, and that Native Americans have a "human right" to deny New Agers access to them. Andy Smith offers a similar argument refuting New Age claims that they have a "right" to Native American religion.

> Many white feminists have claimed that Indians are not respecting "freedom of speech" by demanding that whites stop promoting and selling books that exploit Indian spirituality. However, promotion of this material is destroying freedom of speech for Native Americans by ensuring that our voices will never be heard. . . . Feminists must make a choice, will they respect Indian political and spiritual autonomy or will they promote materials that are fundamentally racist under the guise of "freedom of speech"? (Smith 1991, 44)

There has been a long history of obsession among Euro-Americans with images of Indians. These images have served as Rorschach blots onto which prevailing sentiments, anxieties, and political moods have been projected. The images of Native Americans have changed with the times and in response to historical events and attitudes, but these images have always reflected more about non-Natives' desires than Native Americans' lives or cultures. New Age misappropriation is steeped in late consumer culture. Many Euro-Americans feel alienation and loss of identity in this fragmented and rapidly changing mainstream culture. Yet the only way they know to achieve the attributes that they project onto Native Americans is through commodification and purchase. This cycle does not end their alienation. They are still so removed from any recognition of social relations (much less historical conflict) that they cannot understand why Native American peoples themselves would object to their appropriations. The individualism that has become characteristic of both capitalism and American political ideology cannot fathom political and social accountabil-

ity. Yet the kind of community that New Agers so desperately seek to relieve their feelings of isolation would not be defined by superficial trappings, but by collective accountability.

Despite the New Agers' professions of working toward social and cultural change, their commercialization of Native American spirituality articulates well within late-twentieth-century consumer capitalism. There is strong historical and social evidence that the commodification of ideas and values, as well as the fetishized image of a social body perceived to be ethnically "other," stems in part from thought and practices produced within the context of late consumer capitalism. Although the New Age spiritualists identify themselves as countercultural, their uncritical ideas about commodification and marketing practices appear to have been shaped by the larger capitalist market economy. Moreover, their imperialistically nostalgic fetishization of Native American spirituality hinders any recognition of their own historical and social complicity in the oppression of indigenous peoples.

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See also Healing Traditions, California; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion

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O

Oral Traditions

American Indians have always told stories. It is the thread that invisibly but elegantly weaves together cherished people and places, the ordinary and the extraordinary, and moments of clarity, sorrow, and joy. American Indian writer and spokesperson Leslie Marmon Silko (1977) writes: "You don't have anything if you don't have the stories." Historically, oral traditions have played a central role in many American Indian communities. An elder from the Great Basin explains, "We Indian people kept no books or records of our historical accounts. The maintenance of tribal history depended primarily on oral tradition. We had our own historians; these were the wise and knowledgeable old people of our tribe, who would gather the children together to listen and commit to memory sacred stories or tribal ceremonies, legends, and traditions of great Indian leaders" (Intertribal Council of Nevada 1974, iv).

Today, oral traditions continue to perform important social functions. Through the telling and performance of these stories, patterns of experience are generated that Silko (1977) describes as ceremonial acts in and of themselves. Such traditions serve additional purposes, including the invaluable function of holding communities together, or creating "mutually sustaining relationships that ensure the continuing well being of the world" (Cruikshank 1998, xii).

Oral Narratives and Anthropology

As a discipline, anthropology has always expressed an interest in oral traditions, particularly as they pertain to studies of folklore and mythology. The father of anthropology, Franz Boas, maintained that "oral tradition constituted a kind of autobiography of the people" (Dundes 1968, 127), and Malinowski set forth the idea that oral traditions served multiple functions within the societies from which they sprang. In keeping with the conviction that oral traditions served important cultural functions, anthropologists of the early twentieth century typically reported oral traditions as one dimen-

Havasupai storyteller, ca. 1980–2001, Sedona, Arizona. (Katherine Karnow/Corbis)

sion of their fieldwork data. Nevertheless, analyses of oral traditions failed to receive the distinction accorded to other bodies of ethnographic knowledge. In the worst cases, oral traditions were summarily lumped into the ambiguous category of "myths and legends." This categorization is problematic because in common speech myth is often equated with falsehood or fantasy.

Increased awareness of and interest in oral traditions among cultural anthropologists and archaeologists appears to correspond with the growing participation of American Indians in historic and cultural preservation (Anyon et al. 2000, 61–66; Ferguson et al. 2000, 45–60; Vansina 1985, 186–197). Beginning with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966, a series of federal laws have been effected with the aim of recognizing, protecting, and preserving physical and cultural resources. In conjunction with legislation enacted over the last thirty-five years, American Indians, anthropologists, and the general public have raised a series of new and old queries on the nature of their relationship to each other, as well as the physical and ideological terrain of the past. The Archaeological Resource Protection Act of 1979, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA), and the 1992 Amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 have served as significant catalysts in reintroducing these questions. Sections 101 and 110 provide methods for recognizing and protecting Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) of federally recognized tribes.

In part this legislation signals the progressive reconfiguration of the role of American Indians in the stewardship of the past (Kelly 2000, 97–101). Concomitant with the growth of American Indian participation in historic and cultural preservation, the manners in which American Indians conceptualize the prehistoric past have begun to attract the interest of a growing number of scholars (Anyon et al. 2000, 61–66; Ferguson et al. 2000, 45–60; Vansina 1985, 186–197). While there has been a marked interest

in the ways in which American Indians express their ideas of the past through oral traditions, there is little consensus regarding their value in describing, interpreting, or making claims about the historical and archaeological record (Simms 1995, 3; Goldstein 1996, 452–453; and Deloria 1995, 37–61).

Types and Functions of Oral Narratives

Oral narratives can assume multiple forms. In the realm of written texts, the stories of Indian people have been recorded as biographies, autobiographies, and ethnic histories. With the development of mass-communication technologies, particularly the worldwide web, many Indian communities have found a new and effective medium for presenting information to large audiences. In order to preserve and revitalize cultural information, cultural preservation officers have also begun to record information of historical import on compact disks. This information typically includes oral histories and traditional songs.

Oral narratives can also be internally delineated to indicate that different types of information are being provided through various storytelling mechanisms. Sekaquaptewa (Sekaquaptewa 2001, pers. comm.) observes that among the Hopis, collaboration with archaeologists has resulted in more clearly articulating different types of oral tradition. The Hopi distinguish between four types of narratives. These include *Navoiti,* or historical knowledge to which the speaker has a direct link, *Tutavo* and *Wuknavoti,* which entail theology and prophesy, and *Tuuwutisi,* which includes historical knowledge that is either "learned from another person, or stories that non-Indians commonly label myths" (Dongoske et al. 1993, 28).

Through the performance of an oral narrative, knowledge can be successfully transmitted from generation to generation. Stoffle et al. (1990, 22) write: "For thousands of years, Indian ethnic groups have orally transmitted their knowledge. Great Basin people, including the Shoshone and Paiutes, focused much of their attention on where to locate various natural resources and how to utilize them in ways that maximized the utility of the resource but did not violate the basic rights of the resource."

Both the narrator and the audience perform active roles in the knowledge transmission process. Although it appears that the narrator plays the most active role in the oral performance, each audience member plays a special role as well. One product of active listening is a high degree of memory retention. Stoffle et al. (ibid.) confirm this finding, explaining: "Careful triangulation with original documents, archaeology research, and geology research has led professional cultural anthropologists and historians to the conclusion that Indian people (as well as other people who have strong oral traditions) are able to make accurate statements about things that were made or occurred long before the people were born."

Diné men impersonating myth characters during Yebichai dance, 1906. (Edward Curtis/Library of Congress)

Oral narratives also allow the narrator and audience to explore knowledge domains that the storyteller considers important. Some narratives relay information about how a particular community of Indians came to be and their deep connections to the distant past. Others center specifically upon political, economic, and social issues. Additional narratives explore themes of identity: what it means to be Indian, a person from a particular ethnic background, or the member of a family living under historical conditions. These stories are also about the profound joys of Indian people living their lives, celebrating the lives of those around them, and connecting with the earth, which is a constant source of strength and renewal.

Prior to the 1890s and the advent of boarding schools and literacy, oral narratives served as the primary vehicle for transmitting indigenous forms of knowledge from one generation to the next. Elders have always served as "repositories of cultural, philosophical [and ecological] knowledge," (Medicine 2001, 71) that has always been transmitted through

oral narratives frequently associated with particular places. In addition to serving as a fluid mechanism for transferring knowledge, teaching morals, and fostering group identities, oral narratives have been used for political means: "creat[ing] histories, justify[ing] political action, and link[ing] political issues to the social context of the environment" (Singer 1997, 79). Herein, the audience plays an important role in this performative process, which is created for the purpose of fully engaging the person to whom the narrative is spoken.

Future Uses of Oral Traditions

In the future, oral histories promise to play an important role in scholarship as well as in tribal histories. Research examining the epistemological bases of indigenous knowledge is an area that is still in its infancy. Sillitoe (1998, 223) contends that "new focus on indigenous knowledge augurs the next revolution in anthropological method." The ramifications issuing from the use of oral traditions as a means of understanding or positing questions about particular aspects of the prehistoric and historic past have yet to be fully delineated or realized.

Nonetheless, efforts to establish parameters for analyzing oral texts are already well underway. Vansina (1985, 195–198) assesses the limitations as well as the unique properties of oral traditions. He maintains that as sources, oral traditions provide valuable messages that are not necessarily reflected in other bodies of evidence, including recognized historical texts and the archaeological record. Oral traditions are thus irreplaceable, because in their absence certain "information would otherwise be lost." In addition, oral traditions are "sources from the inside" that convey human interpretations of people, processes, and events. Vansina holds that by "collecting oral traditions and studying them . . . interpretations [of the past] become more culturally specific, less anachronistic, and ethnocentric." Herein lies the challenge as well as the promise of using oral histories in the social sciences.

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See also Emergence Narratives; Oral Traditions, Haida; Oral Traditions, Northeast; Oral Traditions, Northwest Coast; Oral Traditions, Plateau; Oral Traditions, Southeast; Oral Traditions, Tlingit; Oral Traditions, Western Plains; Oral Traditions, Yupiaq; Tricksters

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Oral Traditions, California

California's Native heritage is varied and complex, with every Native linguistic family on the continent represented in the state. Therefore, the oral traditions of the California Indian tribal groups are varied, as well. But there are some similarities, both within the California Indian experience and among Native communities throughout the nation. This essay will focus on the intra-California categories that provide a sense of the richness that is California Indian history.

I use the term "history" because the first aspect one should become aware of in terms of California orality is the notion among Native communities that these stories are true. The Chumash, for example, use the term *timoloquinash* to refer to these stories; it means "stories that are true." While a particular tale's veracity can be debated from a Western perspective, a perspective that privileges objective evidence over subjective meaning, for California Indian people their stories are as true as those that you may have learned in your history books. These tales tell of the ongoing experience of their human community and its interaction with the other communities in their landscape. All people, human and other-than-human, have a story, and that story is always imbedded in particular places.

California Indian stories often refer to specific features of their landscape, such as mountains, rivers, and springs; these features are as important to the tale as any other piece of information. The Karuk, for example, refer to the Klamath River, the Salmon that run up and down that river, and themselves as integral actors in a continuing story. Similarly, the Washoe refer to Lake Tahoe in stories that are thousands of years old, and they continue to treat the lake as a sacred place today.

There exists, then, an unbroken narrative from time immemorial to the present that represents the experience of the people in their respective places. These stories make up the history of the people *in their place*. California oral tradition, as is the case with indigenous narratives the world over, serves to orient the people to the land that they are responsible for, and that is responsible for them. As the plant and animal communities are dependent on the land, so are the people. In addition, the land provides lessons both about how to care for it and how it cares for the people. So the second basic aspect of California oral tradition is its use as a teaching tool.

Many Native tribes divide their stories into categories, and California Indian experience is no different. Most tribal groups have stories that are specifically for teaching moral lessons; some encode important information about resources and their management; tales describe the existential philosophy of the people, such as where they came from and what it is that makes them who they are; and there are stories that are primarily for entertainment. Prior to the confusion and mental interference that tends to accompany Euro-American culture, California Natives had ample opportunity to ponder the universe and its implications, place these musings into the context provided by the land, and communicate the resulting ideas to themselves, each other, and all subsequent generations via story.

Often oral tradition is implicitly assumed to be an inferior mode to the supposedly more sophisticated literate traditions. However, questions of why Native people didn't develop written forms of communication the likes of which Euro-America brought to this continent can be re-formed to ask why the Native people would have developed writing. Writing is a tool developed within particular contexts and for specific purposes, beginning with the need to keep accurate economic accounts. For California Indian people, orally communicated narrative not only conveyed information and accounted for the history of the people/place relationship but also provided contexts for continuous sociocultural connections—for tradition.

The act of storytelling comes with its own set of protocols, the final category we will address. Protocol, it can be said, is the act of doing things in the appropriate ways at the appropriate times. Most California tribal groups have very specific mandates as to when certain stories are told, by whom, and for what purpose.

The Yokut tradition prohibits telling stories involving Bear at certain times of the year, and the Tongva have similar proscriptions about Coyote tales.

In addition, some California tribal groups regard certain stories as property, and to tell another family's story without their permission is a serious offense. For others, only certain members of the community are to tell some of the tales, and it is their duty to maintain the integrity of their stories from generation to generation. Certain stories are told only during particular ceremonies and only by the proper ceremonial leader; others are told at all of a certain class of ceremonies—healing ceremonies, for example—and some tribal groups use the invitation to tell a story as a way to honor certain people or families at particular times. During an initiation ceremony for a young person in some tribal traditions, an elder is honored by being asked to tell the people's creation story, and even though all may know the tale by heart, it is told in this way only when properly requested and for the proper reasons.

The tendency of Western scholars to assume a direct correlation between California Indian tales and Western literature has led to the theft of many private stories, the improper reproduction of tales, and the violation of important traditions surrounding the telling of certain stories. There has been a recent response from within California Indian communities to stem the improper treatment of their tales and to take charge of the ways in which these tales are used, so as once again to edify and strengthen their own communities so that subsequent generations will have a strong sense of their history and future.

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Oral Traditions, Haida

The Haida people are indigenous to what is now known as the Queen Charlotte Islands in British Columbia, Canada, and the southern Southeast Alaska panhandle. On a clear day, the mountains of Prince of Wales and Dall Island in Alaska are plainly visible from the north end of Graham Island in the Queen Charlottes.

By the late nineteenth century the overall Haida population had been re-

Chest made of argillite, with a raven bearing both human and birdlike attributes. The raven is the trickster and cultural hero, who discovered mankind in a cockleshell. Haida, late nineteenth century, carved by Charles Edenshaw. (Werner Forman/Art Resource)

duced by almost 90 percent (estimated at between 10,000 and 15,000), primarily because of epidemics such as influenza, smallpox, venereal disease, and measles, to which Native peoples had little resistance. Sometime prior to contact with Europeans, a group of Haida migrated northward into the southern Southeast Alaskan panhandle. Although most published sources place the migration northward in the late 1600s or early 1700s, some Alaskan Haida oral accounts suggest a much earlier occupancy of the area; stories tell of a "great flood" that

covered the islands in the area (Cogo and Cogo 1979, 9–13).

The word "Haida" (*Xaadas*) translates to "the people." The Alaskan Haida are sometimes called *Kaigani,* although they did not use that name at the time of contact. Rather, non-Natives named them for the Haida subsistence campsite located at the southern tip of Dall Island at Cape Muzon, which was also used as a trading area. The name is taken from a former Tlingit village situated there. In fact, many Tlingit place names remain in the southern portion of Southeast Alaska, because Tlingits once controlled the area. Alaskan Haida oral traditions suggest significant cultural borrowing and story exchange between the Tlingit and the Alaskan Haida.

The Alaskan Haida established at least five villages in the southern end of the Alexander Archipelago and numerous other seasonal food-gathering campsites. The area's natural resources provide plentiful salmon, halibut, clams, crab, shrimp, sea greens, deer, and berries. From the early 1900s forward, the steady influx of non-Natives led to rapid cultural and economic change for all Southeast Alaskan Natives. With the introduction of commercial fishing, the establishment of salmon salteries and canneries, and the discovery of precious metals including copper and gold, a wage economy soon developed. At the same time, the use of fish traps at the mouths of streams destroyed many of the traditional fish streams. During this time the U.S. government withdrew all lands in the Southeast Alaska forests, with no recognition of Native title. Subsistence fishing, hunting, and gathering activities began to be necessarily supplemented by a cash economy. Not until the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) was passed in 1971 were Alaska Natives compensated for lands taken, although areas traditionally used for subsistence purposes were not always included in lands reclaimed.

The two remaining Alaskan Haida villages today are Hydaburg and (New) Kasaan—both relocations from original sites. In 1902 the original village of (Old) Kasaan was abandoned when the people moved to a new site, (New) Kasaan, because of promised year-round employment and a school. In 1911 the other villages consolidated at a new location they named Hydaburg. The move was driven, in part, by a desire to provide better educational opportunities for younger Haida, recognizing that Western education was increasingly important for their children's future well-being; yet they were not willing to send their children away to boarding school—the only other option then available. The U.S. government agreed to establish a local school if the villages consolidated. During this era there was both strong pressure to assimilate and recognition of the need to acquire the skills to negotiate within and adapt to a rapidly changing world.

Consequently, the Haida language and all other Southeast Alaska Native languages are no longer being learned as a first language; few individuals under

the age of sixty speak their language fluently, owing to past missionary and government policies. Language loss, Christian influence, and cultural changes have affected both the oral traditions and the spiritual practices of contemporary Alaskan Haida people—many of whom now live far from their respective villages. Still, the stories people tell, and the ones they have chosen to write down, suggest much about cultural and spiritual values at the heart of what it means to be Haida.

John R. Swanton, anthropologist and linguist, collected a great number of Haida oral stories in the Queen Charlottes and Alaska in the early 1900s during the "salvage ethnography" period, when anthropologists sought to describe the cultural practices of the apparently vanishing Natives. Most of the stories were published in two separate volumes (1905b; 1908), with some Alaskan Haida stories included in his ethnography (1905a). Swanton collected the stories after devastating population losses and after many Haida had converted to Christianity. His work marks the most comprehensive collection of Haida stories, compiled at a time when extending anthropological and scientific knowledge was the primary aim. Later work, collected and created in Alaska by the people themselves, suggests several enduring themes that highlight cultural continuity in the face of significant imposed and accelerated change. These texts were created in the 1970s, a time when many Alaskan Haida sought to revitalize their oral traditions through writing. Set within the context of other political and literary activities—such as the Civil Rights movement, Alcatraz Island's occupation by Indian activists, and the beginning of what is now termed the Native American literary renaissance, marked by N. Scott Momaday's Pulitzer prize–winning novel *House Made of Dawn,* the Haida texts created in the late 1970s and 1980s also mark an important point in Alaskan Haida literary history, in that they represent the people's first attempt to document their history and stories from their own perspective.

An important figure in that era is the now deceased Robert Cogo, who was born in Klinkwan, Alaska, in 1906. He learned to speak English after moving to Craig, Alaska, in 1911. Nora, his wife, was born in 1899 in Masset, British Columbia, and like her husband she learned Haida as her first language and later taught herself to read and write in English. The Cogos began writing about Haida customs and traditional activities in 1972, when they became concerned that the Haida language and culture would be lost without written materials (1981, 1).

Within that context, the first Alaskan Haida texts written in both Haida and English emerged as part of a larger project to perpetuate Haida language and cultural values. Because a core group of concerned Haida elders recognized the need to take action, a body of written work—created by the people themselves—now exists. These texts suggest

the intimate connection between material and spiritual planes, and how the stories evoke a people's beliefs and ways of ordering the world.

The story "Eagle Brings Good Luck" appears in Robert and Nora Cogo's *Haida Stories* (1981, 10–11). It illustrates how belief, action, experience, and oral tradition are linked. The story tells the origin of the Haida name of Robert Cogo's uncle Robinson Beatty—*Guut K'áawgaas,* which Cogo translates as "eagle entering the water." Previously, Cogo had explained that the Haida clan system is based upon two complementary moieties, or "halves," known as "Raven" and "Eagle." A newborn follows the mother's line and would be expected to marry a person of the opposite moiety. All rights are reckoned through the matrilineal line, rather than through the patrilineal line as is practiced in the Western system. Traditionally, at about the age of ten, Haida boys went to live with one of their mother's brothers. A child's matrilineal uncle, not the father, was responsible for training the nephew, because the uncle and nephew belong to the same clan; the nephew would eventually assume his responsibilities within it.

Prior to telling the story, the Cogos also explain that for those Haida who are "Eagle" clan, the "eagle is a benefactor . . . in food, valuables, and good luck" (ibid., 10). Accordingly, Eagle clan members have certain rituals they must follow directed toward actual "eagle" creatures. Robert Cogo tells of a time when he was out hunting with his uncle and they come across an eagle preening his feathers in the water. A huge salmon lay next to him. Cogo says that his uncle "immediately arose to the occasion" and "undressed and entered the pool near the eagle and bathed" (ibid.), with the eagle watching closely. The hunters then took half the salmon and left the rest for the eagle, who watched their actions intently. Cogo's uncle thanked the eagle in Haida, saying, "Thank you, our benefactor. To you we give our gratitude" (ibid.). Cogo says that after this experience the hunters had good fortune, bringing many "deer, ducks and fish" back to the village. The story ends with an explanation of how Cogo's uncle then formalized the right to use his newly acquired name, "Eagle Entering the Water."

Cogo writes that after returning from hunting, his uncle had an eagle design tattooed on his back, commissioned from artisans who would be paid for their work during a "potlatch," or ceremonial gathering at which accumulated wealth is distributed across opposite clans. During this ceremony the tattoo would be revealed, the actual eagle encounter story would be recounted, and the audience would acknowledge, validate, and accept Beatty's new name. Thus the story suggests how "belief," "action," "experience," and "story" are linked. The tattoo will commemorate the event and evoke the story. Only through these linked events is he able to claim the new name and display the tattoo. Moreover, the crux of the encounter rests on the idea of *yahkwdáng,* or "re-

spect," an important concept in Haida thought.

"Respect," from a Haida perspective, should be the guiding force of one's everyday actions, not behavior reserved simply for special occasions or special people. Indeed, respect embodies the essence of correct living. As Cogo's uncle demonstrates in the previous story, "respect" involves not only enacting the required ritual behavior when entering the water but also thanking the eagle and leaving half of the salmon. In other words, gratitude and sharing are also important. Many other Haida people echo these sentiments.

For example, a video created in 1982 by Alaskan Haida people is revealing. The video, entitled "Xadaas" ("Bear," 1982), was constructed as a cooperative venture between Haidas of both Hydaburg and Kasaan villages. The stated purpose of the video is to reaffirm Haida values in the contemporary world. In it, David Peele, Kasaan Haida elder, talks about the importance of maintaining the respectful relationship between the people and the land: "The Haida way is not to take more than you really need, to use everything you take, to enjoy it and be thankful." Hence it is important to have an attitude of respect and gratitude toward the natural world and what it provides. Peele also notes that the people "would never be cruel to animals. . . . [So] it was there came to be, the ancient animal spirits gave the Haida permission to take animals for food and clothing, but only as it was done with respect and appreciation and never in a wasteful manner" (Bear 1982). Peele suggests that the natural world should be approached with an attitude shaped by an understanding of the spirituality of life itself, and to honor that understanding by expressions of gratitude in word and deed.

Others have drawn attention to the importance of *yahkwdáng* in Haida thought. Marianne Boelscher, in her work with the Masset Haida, translates the term as "fit for respect" (1988, 70), which she ties to the concept of high rank linked to "respect, generosity, moderation and obligation" (ibid., 82). In addition to pointing out that Masset Haida public speaking is characterized by repeated expressions of thanking, she also notes that the Haida word *hawaa* ("thank you") is one of the few words that has survived "right down to the toddler generation" (ibid., 85).

Similarly, another Alaskan Haida text, *The Transcribed Tapes of Christine Edenso* (ca. 1983), develops the significance of *yahkwdáng*. This publication was created because Robert Cogo wanted to make some of the information now contained in a large audio tape collection available to those who might want to learn about the Haida. The tapes themselves were recorded in Haida by another now deceased elder, Vesta Johnson, as part of a larger work session that Robert and Nora Cogo, Viola Burgess, and Vesta Johnson had conducted earlier in the summer to collect information on Haida food gathering, preparation, and other cultural activities.

Most especially, Edenso's narratives focus on the special foods unique to Southeast Alaska. She tells of salmon, halibut, seaweed, berries, and sea greens—the techniques once used to gather them and the more recent techniques developed with contemporary innovations. She also stresses how important it is to embody *yahkwdáng* by not wasting any part of the food gathered and thereby depleting the landscape's natural resources. She says, "[My] friend . . . used to say, 'Let's not pick the berries in any old way. Let's pick them right and leave some for the next generation'" (ibid., 42). Edenso also stresses how every part of the fish was put to use—the eggs, the head, the tails, the bones—and how "nothing was wasted" (ibid., 10–11).

Embedded within Edenso's narrative is a clan story that illustrates the close relationship among humans, spirits, and the landscape and waterways upon which food gathering takes place. She tells the story of how her people are led mysteriously up a creek by a *gaugiit,* or "wild man," a half-human, half–land otter creature who takes them to a sockeye stream that empties into a lake. The story shows how her clan acquires access to an important food source with assistance from a spirit-creature. The people follow him and are able to locate a food source that can feed them in the winter months when some fish stay under the ice. Edenso explains that they named the place "*Gwaaca* . . . [because the name] has lots of meanings concerning fish and the season of the year in which that kind of fish is taken" (ibid., 21). Thus the people demonstrate their gratitude by linking the place's name both to the spiritual creature who shows the way and to the bountiful fish resource now available to them.

Numerous stories illustrate the concept of respect, but perhaps one of the most enduring and best known among the Haida is the story of "Moldy Collar Tip." Many versions of the story exist, but the basic story line is of a child who does not live up to the expected *yahkwdáng* behavior, with resultingly severe consequences. Children are raised to respect the land's natural resources upon which they are dependent for survival, and they are taught "never say anything bad about a salmon" (Coburn 2001); if they do, it may bring bad luck in the people's ability to harvest them for food. According to Cogo, "[In] the old days children were put through a strict ritual of not complaining about food. . . . Food was a gift of the spirits and in no way were they to be offended" (Cogo ca. 1981, 21).

In "Moldy Collar Tip," as told by Victor Haldane, a child discovers a bit of mold on the fish he is about to eat and begins to disparage it, ultimately refusing to eat it. The people warn him that if he continues his disrespectful talk the "fish people will do something to you" (Spatz et al. 1999, 13). True to the people's prediction, the child is playing on the beach one day and is taken into the sea by the salmon people—spirit creatures—who change him into a salmon. After traveling a long

way with the salmon people, the child eventually returns to the land from where he was abducted. He sees his mother upon the beach; she catches him and starts to behead him, until she notices that the salmon has a small whetstone around his neck. The village shaman is called, and it is he who tells her that this is the child she lost long ago. The shaman instructs her to lay him on the roof of the house, and when it rains her "child will return again" (ibid., 15). The people do as the shaman instructs, and true to his words the fish skin falls off and the child becomes human again. As the story goes, he eventually becomes one of the most powerful spiritual practitioners in Kasaan (ibid., 17).

In a similar story, told by Robert Cogo (1979), a child named *Nang Kwiyass* similarly disparages a tiny piece of salmon the people offer him during a time of great food shortage. Like the boy in Haldane's version of the story, *Nang Kwiyass* ends up being seduced into the sea by the salmon people with whom he lives for a year. Although he longs to go home, "the barrier was now too great" (ibid., 18). Eventually a group of children from his village catch him, kill him, and pack his dead salmon body back home. When they arrive with their fish, the townspeople recognize the abalone earrings attached to the salmon as belonging to *Nang Kwiyass*. The shaman tells the people that it is *Nang Kwiyass* and that he wants to return; therefore his spirit will be reincarnated in a pregnant cousin. The people rejoice when the child is born, naming him "Dog Salmon" to acknowledge he is *Nang Kwiyass* returned from the sea.

Haida stories embody "respect" in several ways. First, the people must demonstrate respectful behavior in both word and deed. Because there is a close spiritual connection and physical dependence upon the landscape and the creatures who inhabit it, the people train their children to understand the consequences of disrespectful actions. *Yahkwdang* is a central Haida concept because it implies appropriate and respectful behavior based upon understanding how closely connected are the spiritual and material realms.

Jeane Breinig

See also American Indian Movement (Red Power Movement); Art (Traditional and Contemporary), Northwest Coast; Boarding Schools, Religious Impact; Ceremony and Ritual, Northwest; Christianity, Indianization of; Missionization, Alaska; Momaday, N. Scott; Oral Traditions, Tlingit; Oral Traditions, Yupiaq

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Oral Traditions, Lakota (Teton)

The Skeleton of Everything

The people of the Lakota tribe are a subgroup of a larger nation of people made up of the Lakota (or Teton), Dakota, and Nakota, collectively referred to as Sioux. There are further subdivisions within the Lakota, Dakota, and Nakota, but for the purposes of this essay, the oral traditions described herein can be mostly attributed to the Lakota, or Teton, group.

Lakotas remember and repeat a wide variety of stories in the oral tradition, from the creation stories that explain the origins of the earth, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the first people to humorous family stories. Some of the stories are sacred ones that explain, recall, and remind the Lakota of their origins; some define relationships to the things that surround all humans; some are meant to teach life lessons; and still others are told purely for fun. As with all human beings, stories underlie everything that is done and thought. In the words of Severt Young Bear, "It's like they're the skeleton of everything" (Young Bear and Theisz 1994, 35). That is true, not only of Lakota or Native American oral traditions in general, but among all people. Perhaps Native American oral traditions are considered unique in world societies because Native Americans have become literate—readers and writers of books in the Euro-Western sense—only since white contact. The written word—that is, books, magazines, newspapers, and so on—is only the stories that someone wrote down. As James Wilson writes in *The Earth Shall Weep,* "Although some of this oral tradition has been lost and much of it, like all histories, has been modified over the centuries, it gives us a remarkable insight into the Native Amer-

ican World and an indigenous understanding of events" (Wilson 1998, 99). All humans still tell stories, even if it is only the story about what happened at the movies last night, or that shocking thing that Uncle So-and-So did at the family reunion.

Creation stories are probably the oldest oral traditions in any society, and the Lakota people have their own special creation story that describes their cosmology:

In the beginning, there was no time or space, only Inyan, the rock, surrounded by Hanhepi, the darkness. Inyan wanted something to rule over, so he let out his blood, the source of his power, and created a circle out of himself, forming it around himself, and he named it Maka, the earth and the waters on it. Now then, he let out so much of his blood that he shriveled into a lump. The powers of the earth and the water on the earth could not get along, so part of the powers departed, forming the sky, Mahpiyato. Now Mahpiyato is supreme, and when Hanhepi, the darkness, and Maka, the earth, get into a quarrel, Mahpiyato, the sky, banishes Hanhepi to the underworld and creates Anpetu, the daylight. But Maka complains that now she is cold, so Hanhepi creates Wi, the sun (or moon) to warm Maka. Now Maka complains that she is too hot, so Mahpiyato decides to alternate daylight and darkness with Anpetu Wi, the sun, following Hanhepi Wi, the moon, around the Maka, the earth. Next, Mahpiyato creates people (Wazi, the first man, and his wife, Wakanka) as servants of the gods and places them in the underworld.

That then, is the basic Lakota explanation for the greatest question of all mankind; the story is an explanation for the origins of the earth, the sun, the moon, and people. It is accepted on faith, much like the biblical creation story is a matter of faith for Christians. The Lakota creation story might be considered similar to the Genesis story in the Bible, with at least one important difference. In the Christian version of creation, there is one God who creates everything. In the Lakota creation story, there are two "gods" (Inyan, the rock, and Hanhepi, the darkness) in the beginning, but through his blood sacrifice, Inyan starts a chain of events that leads to the creation of several other gods including Mahpiyato, the sky, Anpetu Wi, the sun, and Hanhepi Wi, the moon, as well as the first man and first woman. Other gods, such as the Four Winds, appear later in the story. This beginning to the creation story is only one version. There are other versions, varying to greater or lesser extent depending on who is telling the story, and that, too, is an important part of oral tradition: the core of a story remains the same, but the teller has a certain amount of poetic license.

Further, while there is a single general interpretation for the creation story and other sacred oral traditions, people are free to interpret them in their own way, and to perform whatever acts of worship and sacrifice the individual feels appropriate. There is no overarching dogma or

set of specific rules that must be followed as in the Jewish, Christian, and Moslem faiths; however there are traditions, and anyone wishing to depart from those would most likely consult an elder tribal member or medicine man for advice before doing so. There is no punishment other than community and tribal disapproval for failure to follow established traditions. Still, when it comes to the style and content of a particular story, there are disagreements between subgroups and even individuals themselves as to which version is better or more true to the original sense of the story.

Certain religious traditions and practices originate in stories from oral tradition. For example, the Lakota reverence for white buffalo calves comes from the story of White Buffalo Woman:

Long ago, there was a time of great famine among the people. The land had dried up and the animals disappeared, and the people were down hearted, weak in body and spirit. They forgot the ways of the people and became angry and confused. Two young warriors were out hunting without success far away from their village when, on top of a hill, they saw a floating white mist. Out of the mist came a young, beautiful woman, and she was naked. One of the warriors approached her with bad intent, but before he could reach her, the mist rolled down and hid him and the woman. When it rolled back, the other warrior was shocked to see that nothing of his friend was left but his skeleton. Snakes crawled in and around the bones. The second hunter fell down on the ground, humbling himself. Then the woman spoke and told him to return to his people and prepare a lodge for her, which he did. After the lodge was built, the woman appeared carrying a bundle in her arms. She invited the elders into the lodge and taught them seven ceremonies that they must perform, promising them that if they followed her teachings, they would once again become powerful and strong. She presented them with a sacred pipe from her bundle, taught them how to use it, and then she left. The people watched her as she walked to the top of a hill and disappeared into the mist, emerging from the other side as a female white buffalo (Marshall 1992, 17–18).

This story is still told, and the ceremonies that White Buffalo Woman taught are still practiced with the pipe as an important part of many of these rituals. William K. Powers writes in *Yuwipi: Vision and Experience in Oglala Ritual:* "It [the pipe] is the most significant instrument of prayer in all of the rituals, and without it it is impossible to make contact with the benevolent spirits that live beneath the earth, on the surface of the earth, or between the earth and the sky" (Powers 1982, 15).

Beyond the ceremonies, the above story is meant to teach humility and the idea that people should live their lives "in a good way"—that is, with generosity, respect, and understanding for all life that surrounds them, including plants, animals, sky, earth, and water, as well as people. The date of the origin of this

story is of little or no significance to the Lakota; however, since buffalo are an important aspect of the story, it probably dates to the first westward movement of the Lakota tribe from the eastern woodlands onto the Great Plains.

The story of White Buffalo Woman contains elements of another earlier story that is part of Lakota sacred oral tradition—that of Anukite, or the Deer Woman. Knowledge of the earlier story provides a clearer understanding of the White Buffalo Woman story.

Wazi, the first man, and Wakanka, the first woman, had a beautiful daughter named Ite (face), and Tate (Wind), who was a god, fell in love with this mortal woman and married her. Ite gave birth to quadruplets, the Four Winds. Not content merely to be the parents of a woman married to a God, Wazi and Wakanka conspire with Inktomi (Spider), the trickster, to become gods themselves. Inktomi promises Wazi and Wakanka power if they will help him make the people look foolish. Now, Anpetu Wi (Sun) is married to Hanhepi Wi (Moon), but Inktomi causes Anpetu Wi to fall in love with Ite, the first people's daughter. At a feast, Ite sits in Hanhepi Wi's place, a sign of disrespect, so Mahpiyato (Sky) banishes Ite to the earth and makes one half of her face horribly ugly. Now, she is called Anukite, or the Double Face Woman. She appears to men in visions and in the real world in the form of a deer, or two deer women, one black and one white.

The two deer aren't really all white or all black, but are two different types of deer, the white-tailed deer and the black-tailed deer. These two deer and the two faces of Anukite represent proper and improper sexual conduct, and men who have sexual relations with the deer women are said to become disorderly or crazy. Women who dream of Anukite, or Deer Woman, have unusual powers of sexual attraction. Young Bear elaborates on women's dreams of *Winyan Numpa* (Double Woman), writing that: "Women who would see this Winyan Numpa appear in a dream in some way had to make a decision about their future, and if they made the right choice, the Double Woman would give them special artistic powers" (ibid., 24). A tradition has evolved out of this idea. Women who are recipients of a Double Woman vision or dream sometimes create one-of-a-kind artworks, usually beadwork, that is then presented as a special gift to a loved one (ibid., 25). Thus, for a woman to dream of the Deer Woman can be interpreted as a good thing, as it grants the dreamer the special abilities of sexual attraction or artistic talent; however, the results of such a gift may not be good, if, for example, the dreamer uses her sexual attraction to engage in improper sexual relations. For a man, visions or dreams of the Deer Woman are always bad.

The Lakota say that if a man meets a lone woman out in the countryside, he must avoid her, in case she is the deer woman. According to Marla Powers, "The belief is that deer have a peculiar odor in their hooves that becomes fine perfume when a deer becomes a woman.

This perfume acts as a medicine and works an evil spell on men. Sometimes even wishing to make love to the deer woman can be fatal" quoting Wissler 1912).

Knowledge of this second story provides a clearer understanding of the White Buffalo Woman story. The warrior who was killed did not heed the lessons of the Anukite/Deer Woman story and resist the temptation of the woman alone on the plains. His improper sexual behavior caused his own death. There are other stories, quasi-sacred ones, that are derivative of these older stories, such as the story of Koskala, a young man who went hunting and met the Deer Woman (Marshall 2002). As with all Lakota oral traditions, there are variations of Deer Woman stories. In *Dakota Texts,* Ella C. Deloria offers two other versions of the story (Deloria 1932, 163–166); one is from the Teton (Lakota) oral tradition, and one is from the Yankton oral tradition. Deloria comments rather tartly in a footnote: "The Yankton style in both oratory and story-telling is markedly vigorous, plain and terse, as compared with the Teton which is flowery, and often weakened by padding and needless romancing" (ibid., 165). Deloria's comments are an example of that personal privileging of one style of story-telling over another, but it should be noted that in spite of her editorializing, she does present both stories.

More modern stories of the Deer Woman are personal accounts of men who believe that they, too, have met this dangerous supernatural woman. The older stories are, as Young Bear suggests in a slightly different context, skeletons that are added to or fleshed out with newer stories derivative of and dependent upon the older ones.

Trickster stories are common in any Native American oral tradition, and the Lakota version of the trickster is Inktomi, the Spider. The character of Inktomi devolves from the original creation story, as related earlier, and so, it has a quasi-sacred designation, at least in the context of that story. Later Inktomi stories, however, are not considered sacred, although they are certainly didactic, meant as tools to teach proper forms of behavior and to illustrate the consequences of misbehavior. Writing about trickster figures in general, and Coyote (a trickster figure in Southwestern oral traditions) in particular, Karl Kroeber states: "Coyote [is] a being who is simultaneously ridiculous and empowering, a foolish butt of jokes and a self-injuring buffoon who nonetheless releases the profoundest potencies of a community even while making people laugh at his misadventures" (Kroeber 1997, 20–21).

Trickster figures, whether they are embodied in Inktomi, the Spider, or as Coyote or Raven, as in some other tribal oral traditions, have certain attributes in common. They are all gluttons, insatiably curious, sexually promiscuous, obsessed with their own bodily functions, braggarts, and thieves. They can be male or female and sometimes switch gender roles when it serves their pur-

pose. They are the Native American version of con men.

The following is a trickster story of Inktomi:

Once Coyote was visiting Inktomi, the Spider, and Inktomi woke Coyote up in the middle of the night. Inktomi is in a panic saying that he had a bad dream. Coyote asks what the dream was about and Inktomi says he dreamed he saw a *winchincala* (young girl) about to take a bath in a stream. Coyote says that doesn't sound like a bad dream to him. Inktomi goes on.

"She took her clothes off, and I saw her naked."

Again Coyote protests that the dream doesn't sound bad to him.

Inktomi goes on, "I was hiding in some bushes far away. Then my penis began to grow like a long snake and started winding towards her."

"There is nothing wrong with this dream," Coyote says.

"My penis was like a long, long rope," Inktomi continues. "It kept growing and growing until it went into the water and touched her."

"Oh," Coyote says, "I wish I had such a dream."

"Then the tip of my penis entered her, and she didn't even notice at first."

"This is the best dream I ever heard," Coyote yelps.

"But then," Inktomi says, "I heard a great noise. I hadn't noticed in my dream that a team of horses and wagons was coming. It was a wasicu (white man's) wagon. It came very fast, and it was very heavy. It had wheels made of iron, and it drove right between me and that girl!"

"You are right," Coyote says. "That was a very bad dream" (Erdoes and Ortiz 1984, 381–382).

This particular story has no sacred significance. It is a funny story but meant also as a teaching tool, a subtle warning to the listener that improper sexual acts—Inktomi's taking advantage of a young girl—have dangerous consequences. There is a connection, however tenuous, to the sacred stories in that this story is a continuing example of Inktomi's grasping, selfish nature that was first demonstrated in the sacred story when he conspired with the first man and woman to use their daughter for evil purposes.

These stories are part of the collection of Lakota oral tradition that is alive and thriving, with new variations and new stories constantly being added. They are lessons for living, as Marshall points out in his book *The Lakota Way* (2002). To remember the stories is to remember a person's place in family, in community, in larger society, and in the world and to remind the listener of how to live in harmony and respect with all things.

Frances Washburn

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Lakota; Emergence Narratives; Mother Earth; Oral Traditions; Oral Traditions, Western Plains; Power, Plains; Religious Leadership, Plains; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Plains; Tricksters

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Oral Traditions, Northeast

The daily life of oral cultures is dominated by the stories that animate and explain the land around them. Native American cultures in the Northeast, though no longer exclusively oral, maintain a vital tradition of storytelling that serves to connect them to their homeland and guide them in moral issues. In a culture without written records, all the wisdom that generations past have accrued must be preserved in the memories of the people. Indigenous societies have shown that the most effective way to keep that knowledge intact is to canonize it in stories and songs. These methods of clustering information around memorable characters and melodies are the easiest way to remember the often enormous amount of wisdom. Songs and stories are also flexible, changing over time and conforming to the needs of the wisdom keeper and his/her audience for each performance.

Oral traditions of the Northeast are located in narrative stories of two categories: *worak* ("what is recounted") and *waika* ("what is sacred"). *Worak* stories are told of heroes, human tragedy, and memorable events and can be done in a casual manner. *Waika* stories, on the other hand, tell the sacred tribal lore and are therefore told only during ceremony. The spirits of animals and ancestors that can be aroused by the speech of a religious leader have to be honored and treated correctly. It is considered very dangerous to tell a story or sing a song that you do not have the right to perform, but the power of the spoken word when wielded correctly is awesome. To this end, stories and songs are regarded like spiritual currency. They have power that is invoked by their performance, and that power must always be respected.

The act of speaking is respected and thought capable of invoking power and healing. Power is intimately connected with the land. Culture heroes and deities that create or protect the people are often credited in stories with shaping prominent landmarks in the area. This association with the deity bestows them with a sanctity that is honored by every-

one, just as the perception of the landmark is shared. Sacred geographies serve to integrate physical and spiritual landscapes, infusing the land with sacred meaning remembered in stories and songs. These stories serve to orient the indigenous person in the world. With these explanations, the landscape that envelops her is not dead or void of meaning, but a living, breathing entity that watches and guides her.

Stories and songs are handed down, told and retold, and in this way they provide for the cultural continuity that written accounts provide in literate societies. In oral cultures each individual can connect with ancestors through the words in the stories and songs, and those ancestors are being honored and remembered each time the story is told and the song performed. These performances also function to bring people together at the specified times for communal gathering and to invite everyone to participate. If the songs can be sung only by initiated members of a sacred society, the beauty of the songs may inspire a young person to pursue membership in that group. The oral tradition of an indigenous society is the framework for the links that connect people to each other and to their past.

The oral tradition of stories and songs holds a people's way of life together. They combine and transcend Western categories of experience, juxtaposing the sacred and profane, creation and destruction, the solemn and the silly. This interweaving of the elements of reality is often accomplished by a character who embodies them all—the trickster. Tricksters make us laugh with their often vulgar exploits while teaching us valuable lessons in what not to do. Tricksters bend and shape reality, sometimes creating life and land, bestowing invaluable gifts to the human race, and then displaying petty banality. They have their own personalities and desires and, most of all, eccentricities.

The Abenaki trickster is Glooscap (Gluskap), a shapeshifting, all-knowing, ambivalent figure of mighty strength. He created the animals and taught the people how to live in their environment. In one myth he rescues the people's water from a greedy croaking monster. Glooscap painted his body and put eagle feathers in his hair; he wielded a knife made from a mountain of flint and accosted the monster, demanding that he release the river that he had blocked and polluted.

> When the monster refused with his croaking voice, they fought, and when the monster opened its huge mouth to catch Glooscap, he made himself taller than the tallest tree.Then Glooscap smote the monster with his knife and a wild river roared out, down the valley, through the village, and out to the sea. Glooscap then grasped the monster and squeezed him so hard that his skin became wrinkled and threw him into a swamp.He became the bullfrog, who croaks all night in slimy water and whose skin is still wrinkled because Glooscap squeezed him so hard. (Erdoes and Ortiz 1984, 181–184)

Glooscap was also believed to grant wishes to anyone who could make it to his home, which was sometimes imagined as a mist-covered island. The mist is the smoke from his pipe. In this myth his home is in the forest and he grants three wishes in typical trickster fashion. Three men spent seven years searching for Glooscap's home, hoping to have their wishes granted. When they reached him, each asked for a special power: the first for skill in hunting; the second for sexual prowess; and the third for the ability to make people laugh. Glooscap gave them each a gift. To the first man, he gave a magical flute that attracts animals. To the second man he gave a package but warned him not to open it until he was safely home. To the third man he gave a "magical root which, when eaten, would permit the man to make a sound like breaking wind and make everyone laugh, but he was warned not to touch the root until he returned home" (Erdoes and Ortiz 1984, 365).

Although he had been warned not to, the second man opened his package right away, desperate to see what was inside that would give him the power to satisfy women. "Out flew hundreds of beautiful girls, wild and passionate. They embraced him, kissed him, and crowded around him.More and more beautiful girls surrounded him growing wilder into a frenzy until he could not breathe and was smothered" (Erdoes and Ortiz 1984, 366). The third man could not wait as he was told either. He ate the root and was delighted with the loud trumpeting noise he could make. But soon he realized that the noise issued forth from him unbidden. It spooked animals that he hunted and he arrived home hungry and frustrated. The people found his talent amusing at first, but he became unpopular when they realized it was out of his control. Depressed, the third man killed himself in the woods. "But the first man who asked for success in hunting marched all the way home with his magic pipe, secure in the fact that he would never be hungry" (Erdoes and Ortiz 1984, 367). He became a fine hunter and his family was always well fed.

The major food crop for agricultural people in the Northeast is corn. The stories about corn exemplify the multivocal apparatus that weaves practical matters and spiritual/moral guidelines together. The Penobscot tale of the Corn Mother describes the origin of corn, the staple, sacred food and the focus of many ceremonies.

Before there were humans, Glooscap lived on the earth with his nephew who was born from the foam of the waves. After a time they were joined by a beautiful young woman. "A drop of dew fell on a leaf and was warmed by the sun, the giver of life, and this girl came into being. She declared to the two men: 'I am love. I am a strength giver, I am the nourisher, I am the provider of men and animals.'She married the nephew and had many children, becoming known as First Mother" (Erdoes and Ortiz 1984, 12).

"Then Glooscap thanked the Great Mystery Above for having sent them the

maiden. And Glooscap, the Great Uncle, who teaches humans all they need to know, taught their children how to live. Then he went away to dwell in the north, from which he will return sometime when he is needed" (Nicholar). Now the people were prosperous and they had many children. Soon they were too numerous and the lands they hunted were empty of animals. First Mother wept for her hungry children. Her husband asked what he could do to make her happy. She offered to sacrifice her own body so that her children would have food.

"First Mother said, 'Tomorrow at high noon you must do it. After you have killed me, let two of our sons take hold of my hair and drag my body over that empty patch of earth. Let them drag me back and forth over every patch of that earth until all my flesh has been torn from my body. Afterwards, take my bones, gather them up and bury them in the middle of the clearing. Then leave that place'" (Nicholar). When they came back in seven months "they found her flesh on tall plants and it was tasseled with her golden hair. It was corn; and even now when you eat corn you are eating First Mother's flesh" (Erdoes and Ortiz 1984, 13).

Where they buried her bones they found another plant. When they drew close to it they heard the voice of her spirit tell them that this plant was made from her breath and that if they smoke the leaves the smoke will carry their prayers to the heavens. The plant was tobacco. "First Mother's husband spoke.He said:'Remember and take good care of First Mother's flesh, because it is her goodness become substance. Take good care of her breath, because it is her love turned into smoke. Remember her and think of her whenever you eat, whenever you smoke this sacred plant, because she has given her life so that you might live. Yet she is not dead, she lives: in undying love she renews herself again and again'" (Nicholar).

The value of studying these myths is in learning to appreciate the way that they shape the lived experience of indigenous people. The enveloping landscape is the most immediate and most significant entity for land-based cultures. Their myths connect them to that land and provide a framework for appropriate interaction with it and with the spirit beings that share it. They also learn of the follies and misdeeds of their fellow people and how to avoid them. The memorable antics of the tricksters make them laugh while instilling a sense of respect and appreciation for the world that was made possible by their exploits. The oral tradition is a guiding force for the people that has been maintained by the wisdom of the elders.

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See also Oral Traditions, Ojibwe; Storytelling; Tricksters

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Oral Traditions, Northern Athabascan

Northern Athabascan peoples speak around twenty-three different languages spread over Northern and Western Canada and Alaska. These languages were similar to other Athabascan languages spoken by peoples in California and the American Southwest. The Alaskan Athabascan peoples discussed in this entry are bordered by Eskimo-speaking peoples to the north and the west, and even to the south, along part of the Gulf of Alaska. Also to the south lived the Eyaks, who were not Athabascans but who spoke a language that was distantly related to those of modern Athabascan speakers. To the southeast, the major cultures bordering both Alaskan and Yukon Athabascans are Tlingit and Tsimshian. In lifestyle, culture, and narrative tradition, Athabascan peoples of the North have had and continue to have much in common.

Context of Storytelling

In South Central and Interior Alaska, and in the Yukon Territory, distant-time stories were told almost exclusively during the winter, especially in early midwinter. While other genres such as mountain stories might be told only during the summer or personal narratives told anytime, these ancient stories were reserved for night when the long, cold winter was coming on. Distant-time stories could be told by both men and women, and many oral traditions expected that a second elder would guide and correct the storyteller. Generally, the audience was expected to verbalize its appreciation of the narrative while the narrator spoke, but not to interrupt him or her. Folklorist Anna Birgitta Rooth documents the existence of two storytelling voices or styles of presentation. One uses a monotone voice that hypnotizes and transfixes the listeners, transporting them into an otherworldly experience. The second style uses gesture, dramatic mood changes, and the assumption of the voices of different characters (Rooth 1976, 75–76). This style tries to act out the story and entertains through dramatization. Some cultural traditions emphasize one or the other, but examples of each have been found in most groups.

Common to most storytellers in the region is the use of what has been termed High Language. High Language raises the level of formality by using many archaic words restricted to storytelling. High Language is also very metaphoric, with many of the phrases having reference to riddles and songs. Many of the Athabascan oral traditions had a formulaic ending for distant-time

narratives that amounted to a prayer for a short winter.

Local storytelling traditions have flourished, and often there are rules that might not extend to all of the Athabascan oral traditions. For instance, Jette mentions Koyukon storytellers dropping sticks into a pile to mark sections of stories. Koyukon storyteller Catherine Attla notes that storytellers should not interrupt their recounting of a tale for fear of bad luck. Chad Thompson has commented that bad luck could befall the Koyukon listener who fell asleep or left before a story ended. While these expectations might influence specific Koyukon groups, they do not of necessity represent the oral traditions of all the Athabascan peoples in South Central Alaska and along the Yukon River.

Functions of Storytelling

Perhaps the best way to begin to understand something about Northern Athabascan oral narratives is to review how they function in their own social frameworks. Oral narratives are individual performances that engage cultural conversations, ongoing discourses, and group values. One useful way to think about the narratives is to see them as serving three functions in their communities. First, they entertain in ways common to most verbal communication. Second, oral narratives enlighten listeners with cultural, social, and practical wisdom. Lastly, many storytellers themselves speak of how important the act of telling the narratives can be. They see it as an essential link between the human and the spiritual worlds. The act of telling stories creates a harmony among all realms of life, often by creating healing in the human community and harmony between the human and animal realms demonstrated by luck in hunting. Equally important is that hearing and contemplating the old stories promote the proper method of thinking about the world.

Often Native elders will speak of the vital importance of traditional narratives. They fear that if their children do not hear the stories, they will not turn out to be good, moral people and will not understand their Native identities as Koyukon, Gwich'in, and so forth. Such elders emphasize the educational character of the stories. This instruction through narrative continues throughout an individual's life and helps to clarify how the spiritual and human worlds interact. Central to the instructional purpose is the necessity of charting the complex relationships between the human, animal, and spiritual worlds: to show what was, how things started, what processes made them change, and how those processes exist today.

The stories might also function to illuminate the lines of social interaction when they explore what Barre Toelken calls "culturally moral subjects" (Toelken and Scott 1981, 86), such as the execution of social duties, the relationships between kin, the difficulties and responsibilities of marriage, the conflict of loyalties between clans and spouses, the

necessity of cooperation, and the pitfalls of relying on others. Many stories tell of the origin of a social custom or of the establishment of an institution such as the potlatch or council of elders.

A significant number of the distant-time stories include animal actors. Through such narratives, the bonds of relationship are extended into the animal/spiritual world. Since animal and human societies are structured similarly, social instruction can merge seamlessly into spiritual instruction. The stories can reveal and reinforce some of the basic elements of a world view, such as the awareness that it is in the animal/spiritual world that humans will find truth and knowledge or that one must obey spiritual directives over human ones. The stories remind the listener that since human perception is so limited and the animal/spiritual world so powerful, one must be careful not to take illusion for reality.

A more elusive function of storytelling is its ability to promote healing, harmony, and hunting luck. Many storytellers believe that the very act of storytelling, whatever its content, serves to keep the community in harmony with the sacred processes of the world. Indeed for most Native groups the stories of the distant-time function like a body of sacred texts that describe sacred history. Their recounting can have a religious flavor even if they are not told in a ritual context. Mrs. Attla, who compares the distant-time stories she was told to the Bible, says, "Long ago, when times were hard, people would appeal for mercy by telling stories. It was their way of praying" (Attla 1983, 27). In short, they heal, re-establish spiritual/human balance, and foster hunting luck.

Genres

When one looks at the body of oral narratives of the Eyak and the Athabascan people of South Central and interior Alaska and the Yukon Territory, there appear to be two broad categories by which the people think of them. The first genre I will refer to as distant-time stories, taking the name from the translation of the Koyukon term *kk'edonts'ednee.* These stories tell of the origin of the world and all its inhabitants, and they function in the manner of sacred history. A second grouping concentrates what we might call "historical" narratives that recount events of known people in specific locations. Many of these may be personal experiences or descriptions of events that may have come to an individual storyteller from a trusted source. Other, more specific narrative genres might be established by context, such as Dena'ina Athabascan mountain stories that are defined by place and season told. The Koyukon term for this genre is *Yooghe done,* and they embody narratives set in the recent past, often personal narratives. Sometimes they emphasize the mistakes people can make or the successes they achieve by overcoming obstacles. They might transmit knowledge vital for hunting success or for prosperous living in a complex world. The two

broad classes seem to be common for all the peoples discussed here.

However, these Native oral genres are not defined by immutable criteria, and the dividing line between them varies according to the oral tradition consulted. Indeed, we might think of the body of oral tradition as a spectrum representing the content of the stories, as illustrated by the figure below. This figure has proven useful in creating a visual representation of the varieties of Native narratives.

On the left we have origin stories. These stories explore the beginning of things, such as how humans came to be, the origin of death, the origin of the celestial bodies, the functions of the body, the relationship between men and women, and the nature of spiritual power. The world depicted in the stories is one of creative flux, in which the essential nature of things can change. It is usually inhabited by characters who appear to be both animal and human. These characters are not locked into one fixed form or nature but are free to transform at will. They all share a common language and can talk to each other. Stories from this origin era establish the fundamental structures of the world we know today. While referring to this era as the Origin Era, we should note that many Native oral traditions do not actually describe the creation of the world. Rather, it is assumed that the world exists, and the narrative emphasis falls instead upon subjects such as the nature of the celestial bodies, the creation of humans, the beginning of death and procreation. Unnatural creatures and monsters are often eliminated as the world is made safe for human culture.

In stories from the Transformation Era, the basic outlines of human and animal life are already in a fixed and stable form. Animals and humans have natures that are consistent. They no longer transform at will, and characters act with qualities that are either human or animal. However, the relationships between humans, animals, and the spiritual powers of the world have not been completely formalized. Stories from this era establish a reciprocal relationship between the human and the

Figure 1 Varieties of Native Narratives

Origin Era	*Transformation Era*	*Historical Era*
Distant Time	Movement toward Memory	Personal and Communal
Flux	Social Forms	Fixed Natures

The content of Native stories varies as does the degree of transformation possible.

animal/spiritual worlds. They clarify how humans should behave toward animals and spiritual powers. When humans think and act in appropriate ways, then humans, animals, and spiritual entities exist in harmony. Often the stories tell of the origin of human social institutions, such as marriage, hunting, and potlatches. Throughout these narratives, a series of covenants and institutions is initiated that define a human being's place in the world while delineating the origin of human culture and its values. Stories from this era might fall into a variety of Native genres, depending upon the specific oral tradition.

Stories from the Historical Era are mostly concerned with the actions of named and known people. They may be the narrator's experiences or those of a specific ancestor, relative, or famous person. The narratives may concern hunting, warfare, spiritual activity, or relatives. Their function is to carry on the process of developing and defining the nature of man's experience in the world. In the sphere of these narratives, human and animal nature is fixed in forms we recognize today. Transformation is limited to special occasions, such as shamanistic healing, and humans must be constantly attentive if they are to experience power. Ritual and personal vision help connect humans to the spiritual world. However, the basic principles and processes that created the world as we perceive it today are still functioning. These stories serve as a contemporary link to the ancient times.

If considered as a chronological spectrum, the sweep of narratives is clearly to move from flux to fixed natures, from the lack of social institutions and cultural values to their establishment, and from a world hostile to humans and human culture to a world in which humans have a place. Some readers might be tempted to categorize the stories from the Origin Era as myths and the narratives from the Historical Era as personal reminiscences and perhaps legends, but such Western terms promote an attitude that could consider the former to be false and the latter true or possibly true. However, in Native American storytelling, the distinction is not made between truth and falsehood but between distant time and recent time. All the stories are regarded as true to their respective eras, but reality (and thus truth) was of a completely different order during the Origin Era than it is today. The world was different back then. Different rules governed the interactions between beings, but the processes, values, and truths of that era are as real to that time as contemporary personal experiences are to ours—probably even truer and more real to both eras, since they are sacred history, and they explain the unseen, eternal world of spirit. It is equally possible that some readers might perceive this chronological presentation as a model of cultural progress from an animal world to human culture, or as a fall from an idealized paradise. Neither of those interpretations is accurate. The stories explain the changes in the world in a very nonjudgmental manner, highlighting valuable knowl-

edge. They tell of the natural and foreordained processes of the world without the constrictions of Western definitions of Good and Evil or the concept of evolution.

Besides these general genres of Native oral narrative, there are numerous story cycles common and a number of local genres. Raven, of course, holds a position of central interest in the world of distant-time narratives. As the trickster, creator, transformer of that era, Raven established many of the essential characteristics of the world as we know it, from the creation of human existence to the uses of common northern trees. Most Northern Athabascan oral traditions contain an Earthdiver story about the time of the great flood, when Raven gathered the animals who didn't perish and renewed the world. Also extremely common is a cycle of stories about an Ancient Traveler who acts like a culture hero and transforms animals, establishes customs, and kills monsters, cannibals, and giants. Local oral tradition might also reflect popular story genres, such as stories about a dog husband or about the episodes in the life of a stolen woman. A number of stories abound about people who go to live within the animal world, and about bushmen—wild quasi-human creatures who like to steal things and people from remote camps. Together these elements make for a rich oral literature that carries practical, cultural, and spiritual wisdom into the present century.

James Ruppert

See also Oral Traditions; Potlatch; Potlatch, Northern Athabascan; Religious Leadership, Alaska; Women's Cultural and Religious Roles, Northern Athabascan

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Oral Traditions, Northwest Coast

On cold winter nights the peoples of the Northwest Coast have gathered, since

time immemorial, by the firelight in cedar-planked longhouses to feast on salmon and other seafood, to celebrate or sometimes mourn, to sing and dance, and above all, to instruct and entertain one another with mythic stories and historical tales that remind those gathered where they come from and who they are. Coast Salish speakers, like other Northwest Coast groups, distinguish linguistically between these two categories of story, although such distinctions are not meant to separate "truth" from "fiction." Stories without any basis in fact may nonetheless be true for individuals who empower them with great meaning. (For instance, Western scientists might find little basis in fact for the possibility of virgin birth, but the narrative of Mary and Jesus nonetheless possesses deep "truths" for practicing Christians.) Indeed many "true" stories contain references to remarkable displays of power made possible by intervention from the spirit world. Similarly, everyday details anchor the setting for fantastic mythic accounts of nonhuman creatures and transformations.

Early non-Native authors and observers often referred to the oral traditions of the Northwest as "legends" or "folktales"—unfortunate nomenclature that diminished the rich significance of tribal oratory and performance. The term "oral narrative" or "tradition," however, belies the complexity of the subject, as it includes an extremely broad spectrum of traditions: from teachings about history, morality, economics, and the environment to information regarding legal claims and disputes. It encompasses all aspects of ceremonial and social life, including medicine and healing and beyond. Oral traditions as such were and continue to be central to identity formation and community reproduction within Native North American communities. Here we will consider both the function and form of oral traditions among some of the cultures of the central Northwest Coast of the Pacific Northwest .

The distinction between mythic and historical stories is such that myths are often set in the very distant past, when animal people dominated the world, while historical tales refer to named ancestors, places, and events occurring when human beings became firmly established in the world. In both historical and mythic tales, time is often reckoned in relative terms, so that the narrative content takes precedence over concerns about specific dates or historical periods. The function of stories, songs, and dances is to bind people to each other and to the social, physical, and spiritual worlds in which they are placed and where they interact with each other and the nonhuman world. Oral narratives of all varieties are forms of family wealth, because they provide the power to define the boundaries between families and communities and between humans and spirits. Oral traditions may be used to affirm social convention or to dispute certain claims. Family-owned stories of origins, for example, convey legal rights to

Dancer wearing raven mask and coat of cormorant skins during the Numhlin ceremony, 1914. (Edward Curtis/Library of Congress)

ceremonial privileges as well as access to specific lands and resources. To own a story about an ancestor who fished for salmon at the mouth of a certain river is to possess the right of telling the tale. To tell stories at a potlatch and pay witnesses to listen with respect reinforces family claims to exercise these rights and privileges. Some stories might be told only seasonally or in restricted social settings (Seaburg and Amoss 2000, 100).

Other narratives, particularly mythic tales of the heroic deeds of transformers and the animal people—including tricksters like Raven or Coyote—are not necessarily owned by specific kin groups; they may be told by anyone throughout the year. Transformer, or Changer, is a character unique to the Coast Salish peoples of the central and southern Northwest Coast (Boyd 2001; Miller 1999; Bierwert 1999). He is credited with remaking the world of the animal people—the first inhabitants—for the human people who arrived later. Often he is described as "a man," although in some narratives transformers appear in pairs. It is through the work of Changer that ancient relationships between humans and nonhumans, including the places where they resided, were first established and defined. By telling and retelling mythic stories of Changer, the indigenous cultural and physical landscapes are imbued with the evidence necessary to provide meanings. This notion of history-in-place marks an essential method through which people the world over have made sense of local environments and histories (Basso 1996).

In addition to transformer characters, the animal people of Pacific Northwest narratives embody traits that are unique to their "species" yet also reflect certain human qualities and desires. Hence they are not strictly animals or people but *animal people* who possess the power to appear in either form. For instance, salmon people may have gills and fins and live under the water in villages, or they may remove their salmon "cloak" and walk on land. (In traditional stories the metaphor of putting on or removing cloaks is used to describe the

transformation from one state of being to another.) Animal people may marry within and outside of their species. In their humanlike form, animal people have been known to trick human beings, and indeed, kin groups sometimes trace their origins or possess family stories of unions between humans and animal people. Other stories tell of young people who leave their families to live with animals or are stolen and as a result come to embody nonhuman traits. In one story from the Chinook people, whose homeland includes the mouth of the Columbia River, a young boy became lost while his family mended their canoe. His parents searched for him in vain, and some years later he was found living on an island with the seals. Long after he was rescued, the boy retained his special relationship with the seal people, calling them by their individual names and threatening to leave the world of humans to return to them (Ramsey 1990, 73–74).

The animal people experience the full range of emotions and are driven to action by familiar "human" sentiments such as love, anger, hate, lust, fear, joy, and loyalty. These sorts of stories provide moral and intellectual training for children and youth and also serve to remind all community members of proper decorum. Stories of Raven's ribald antics, for instance, or Coyote's greed are lessons in how *not* to behave, and they therefore work to reinforce the moral contours of society. Other stories, such as those of the salmon or bear people, convey vital information about subsistence activities, resource sites, and significant historical events. In this regard the stories about specific places effectively provide a system for mentally mapping a region. Knowing the location of places triggers memories of stories about specific microenvironments, and together these are a means for preserving and transmitting historical, economic, and environmental knowledge within oral cultures (Thornton 1997; Basso 1996).

Because the animal people arrived first in the world, they remain today as the spirit relatives of the animals that humans continue to hunt and fish and with whom they share the environment. Fishers and hunters in turn are taught to treat them with respect. This hints at the manner in which peoples of the Pacific Northwest organized relationships between space, place, and time. The sociolinguist Dell Hymes utilizes the model of a center and periphery to illustrate this: the "established world is the center, which the events and beings of the narratives encircle at a distance" (1990, 593). At one time the animal people were the earth's stewards and occupied its center. After Changer transformed the world, the human beings came to occupy the center and the animal people retreated to the periphery. However, animal people and humans remained in contact with one another in significant ways. For example, during guardian spirit quests, when young people sought personal relationships with different spirit powers, they journeyed away from the winter vil-

lage "center" and toward the nonhuman "periphery," where spirits dwelled. On mountains, near waterfalls, and in other remote places, girls and boys sought the aid and protection of lifelong spirit helpers who would bring them wealth and help them find their unique power as great fishermen, basket makers, warriors, healers, and more.

On the Saanich Peninsula on Vancouver Island, for instance, "hummingbird power" made good warriors by making men "fast on [their] feet," while the female wolf spirit helped women become expert weavers and mat makers. Spirit powers could take many forms, including insects such as lice and hornets, natural phenomena such as wind, lightning, and thunder, or mythical creatures such as Thunderbird. The power of guardian spirits was fully manifested through winter ceremonies in which individuals were compelled to eat certain foods and perform specific songs and dances revealed to them by their spirit power (Elmendorf 1993; Jenness 1955, 48–70). Even though the use of these manifestations was restricted to certain individuals, songs and dances related to the guardian spirit complex were—and are—a part of a community's oral tradition. Today, many of these beliefs and practices continue to inform the Smokehouse religion, practiced throughout the Pacific Northwest. Knowledge about, or membership in, these societies is restricted for the most part to the initiated "spirit dancers" and leaders of the religion (Kew 1990, 476–480).

Moreover, oral traditions were teaching devices through which healers shared knowledge of ethnobotanical medicines and ceremonies. Women with certain kinds of healing powers were the most knowledgeable concerning plants and their medicinal properties, and they were called on to cure all kinds of ailments, from headaches and sore throats to arthritis and pregnancy-related concerns. However, in the event that plant medicines failed to produce the desired effect or when people were diagnosed with spirit sickness, different kinds of healers were called upon for assistance.

Such healers—often referred to as Indian doctors by indigenous peoples of the Northwest—journeyed to the land of the dead to retrieve lost souls and restored them to the bodies of the afflicted. (The use of the word "shaman" here is problematic, as it refers specifically to healers of central Asian origin. "Indian Doctor" is a term more specific to the Pacific Northwest [cf. Elmendorf 1993].) The special talents of a Kalapuya Indian doctor illustrate how power was used in service to communities. In this instance, the "shaman" had "dead people for his power" and thus was able to locate where a drowned person lay beneath the water (Seaburg and Amoss 2000, 262–263). In some cases Indian doctors became the subjects of frightening cautionary tales, as they used their power to cause harm to their enemies through the manipulation of foreign objects or by "shooting" illness into the victim's body (Elmendorf 1993, 204).

Therefore those who relied on Indian doctors for healings but feared their ability to cause—and not cure—illnesses, viewed their power rather ambivalently.

The winter villages were the centers of ritual life and, as such, were the sites of complex ceremonials in which extended families and their invited guests gathered to potlatch—that is, to pray, sing, dance, feast, make speeches, and give away wealth. Rituals such as the "Black Tamanous" evoked the power of the past by inviting spirits into the village center (Williams 1916). *Tamanous* is the Chinook jargon word for "power." Tamanous rituals initiated men and women into secret societies. Williams (1916) provides a rare early description of these ceremonies among the Klallam people of the Olympic Peninsula in Washington State. Williams was initiated and then later converted to Christianity and no longer believed in the proscriptions against telling sacred knowledge. One Katzie man from a Fraser River community indicated to an ethnographer in 1936 that "He Who Dwells Above" gifted each Indian community with unique ceremonies. Over time through intermarriage, the right to perform certain dances, for instance, had spread to numerous villages (Jenness 1955, 71). Among the Coast Salish, villages were composed of extended families, so "village" was at one time more or less synonymous with "kin group." Even though family groups originally owned these, they later spread to many different places.

Anthropologists and folklorists note that even the most transparent oral narratives, mythic or real, may be altered by new generations of mythmakers to emphasize novel or even radical meanings, which should not diminish the strength of the traditions or their significance to community life. If written texts can be compared with containers made of stone, oral traditions are more like loosely woven baskets (cf. Goody 2000). They are inherently more flexible and easily defy attempts to shape them into singular definitions of "the truth." This illustrates the multiplicity of cultural meanings and power struggles surrounding beliefs in immutable historical "truth" and reminds us that people interpret differently the form and function that "history" will take within their communities (Cruikshank 1998, 2; Basso 1996, 30–33; Trouillot 1995, 1–30).

Certainly inasmuch as oral traditions function to transmit significant information about the past, they also provide models for framing contemporary circumstances and cultural change. Even when the medium of transmission is the English language, mythology and oral traditions are more than simple relics. Indeed, the arrival of non-Natives to the Pacific Northwest did not signal the end of "narrative creativity" (Hymes 1990, 601). In fact, oral narration provided a powerful method through which people negotiated and offered commentary on the consequences of Euro-American contact (Boyd 2001). For instance, the horrors of contagious diseases unleashed after the

arrival of the first Europeans are expressed in stories of "monsters" that cause children's bodies to become covered in spots, or "smallpox ships" that contaminated the villages of unsuspecting Coast Salish peoples and their neighbors (Ramsey 1990, 111–112; Lambert as quoted in Gorsline 1992, 204).

Since many of these narratives have been transformed into written texts, it is important to discuss how the acts of writing and reading obscure the performance aspect of oral traditions. In a storytelling setting audience members may freely interact with raconteurs by signaling their approval through laughter and applause, repeating verbatim story lines, or even by contributing their own versions of plots, characters, voices, and other sounds. The process contains an essence of dialogue. In addition, numerous variations of the same story exist within communities, further suggesting that individual style or expression, talent, setting, and interest all play roles in storytelling, although "core items" must be apparent for a story to be recognizable to listeners (Vecsey 1991, 21). For instance, numerous versions of Coyote stories exist, but storytellers essentially agree about his complex character: he is helpful and sly, foolish and wise. Once stories are transformed into written texts, much of this "live" context is lost. So as important as folklore and linguistic studies are to the preservation of oral traditions, those alone will never replace the need for stories to function actively within indigenous communities.

When oral traditions are preserved through writing, they may be removed, sometimes problematically, from local contexts in which their uses and meanings are best understood and most deeply felt. Stories created to convey knowledge of specific places sometimes lose potency and relevancy when researchers attempt to use them in more general and nonspecific ways, or treat narratives as though they are emblematic of all Native cultures and peoples rather than specific groups in certain places and eras (Cruikshank 1998, 45–70). However, for researchers working within or in behalf of indigenous communities' Traditional Environmental Knowledge—or TEK—there may be invaluable applications within fields such as anthropology, history, law, ecological studies, and geology. That will be so as long as scholars remember that stories serve very specific purposes within indigenous communities, and that their use is often mediated by local cultural beliefs and practices.

Narratives from the people of the Northwest, for instance, offer startling clues pertaining to the seismic history of this volatile region. For example, many Native communities living in the vicinity of the Cascade Range and the Olympic Mountains tell stories of Mountain People who quarreled loudly in the past and moved around—metaphors that describe the violent creation of local land forms (cf. Ames and Maschner 1999). At the same time local knowledge of animal behavior is assisting efforts to save

Pacific salmonidae (Lichatowich 1999, 24–37), while historians and legal scholars search archived transcriptions of traditions for supporting evidence in land-claims cases in Canada and the United States (Miller 1997; Mills 1994). Indeed, learning to better interpret stories of traditional land use is all the more urgent since the U.S. Congress passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act in 1990 (NAGPRA 25 USC 3001). For the first time in U.S. federal law, tribal oral traditions are admissible in evidentiary proceedings. Therefore properly and meticulously translating and decoding the knowledge embedded in indigenous narratives is paramount if tribes and First Nations hope to have their complaints heard and understood in courts of law. Court officials have sometimes found oral traditions entered as evidence to be vague, too metaphoric, or simply inaccessible—to the dismay of Native peoples and their legal advocates (Miller 1997).

Thus oral traditions remain important to the survival of twenty-first-century U.S. tribes and Canadian First Nations as unique cultures within the fabric of North American life. Nineteenth-century legislation enacted in the United States and Canada and the product of generations of failed Indian policies directly impeded the survival of Native languages and oral traditions. For instance, potlatch ceremonies in which people sang, danced, orated speeches, and told stories were outlawed on both sides of the international border (cf. Ostrowitz 1999; Bracken 1999; Mills 1994). Children in the United States and Canada were removed from their natal homes and placed in state or church-run boarding schools in which they were physically abused for speaking their languages (Kelm 1998). Even children in day schools were encouraged to forget and even to despise their own cultures and histories (cf. Sioui 1995, xx). Despite such draconian pressures, potlatches continued in secret while people clung tenaciously to their stories and languages, resisting efforts to eradicate uniquely indigenous ways of life. Postcontact movements in the Northwest such as the Indian Shaker Church created safe spaces in which indigenous languages and narratives, including stories, songs, and movement, were transformed to reflect indigenous values in a changing, more accepted colonial context. Simultaneously, Euro-American contact has required the protection of cultures and languages through ongoing legal and social battles at local and national levels.

In addition to protecting their rights, First Nations and tribes throughout the Pacific Northwest are revitalizing languages and traditions. Today, language and culture programs are active in most Native communities (cf. Miller 1999; Smyth and Ryan 1999). Cultural specialists utilize computer and video technologies to preserve the spoken words of elders as well as visual components of their oral traditions, while geographic information systems (GIS) specialists are consulted for mapping specific tradi-

tional geography, including original site names and their associated stories. During the summer months the Native peoples of the Pacific Northwest are traveling once again in cedar dugout canoes to villages in the United States and Canada where people gather in ceremonial longhouses to sing, dance, feast, and tell stories (cf. Neel 1995). In addition, organizations such as the Sealaska Heritage Foundation in Alaska have hired actors and writers to create and interpret innovative scripts in order to produce video productions of Northwest Coast stories (cf. Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 1990). These innovations and community-centered approaches toward the indigenous people of the Pacific Northwest are being adopted to ensure that new generations of listeners on the Northwest Coast learn to become active participants in the reproduction of traditional knowledge and histories.

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Colleen E. Boyd

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Anishnabe; Religious Leadership, Northwest; Whaling, Religious and Cultural Implications

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Oral Traditions, Ojibwe

All religious traditions include some form of mythology—sacred tales that communicate meaning and value and so are, in some sense, existentially "true." Myths reflect and determine the lives of the people who create them. For the Ojibwe, mythology is an ongoing story, one that began long ago and continues today. The Ojibwe, or the Anishnabeg as they call themselves, never told their myths, their sacred tales, simply in order to entertain one another. That is not the purpose of mythology. Nor is it the purpose of students of myth to try to figure out whether myths are true in any factual or historical sense. "Did this story happen just that way?" is the wrong question to ask about Ojibwe mythology—or

> *"Things are going wrong when people think of the land as a pie that can be sliced up in pieces. . . . No matter how you cut a pie, in the end there's nothing holding it together. It gets eaten up like pop and chips, like raisins. It's better for people to live as if they're inside a ball. The sky, upstairs and downstairs, the four directions: these will hold everything together . . . because a ball has a top to cover us and a bottom to hold us, and everything works together."*
> *—Ron Geyshick*

about any mythology. Perhaps the best questions to ask are: "What does this story mean? What does it say about how the tellers of the tales understand themselves and the world? What may we learn from the story and how best may we learn to listen to it?" And when we listen to Ojibwe myth we are listening to the words of storytellers like Ron Geyshick, whose speech describes a world—in this case a "ball" that adheres to the strict definition of cosmos: that is, a universe that is formed and acts as a balanced, harmonious whole. This conception of the universe is one described and experienced in Ojibwe mythology, and it is a dynamic, not a static, worldview. Consequently, the myths the Ojibwe tell form a particularly dynamic collection of tales. It is safe to say that this vigorous nature comes from at least two qualities that characterize Ojibwe myth.

First, Ojibwe mythology is an oral tradition, and even while many tales have been transcribed by Europeans and Euro-Americans and, more recently, written down by the Ojibwe themselves, there is no definitive version of any story. The stories change each time they are told, and they grow and metamorphose in order to include new experiences. A good example of this sort of change is found in the stories of Nanabush (variants include Menabojou and Nanabohzo), the trickster and culture hero whose reaction to the European invasion is told in the myth of the Sleeping Giant. In this story, Nanabush travels west to Thunder Bay and lies down there as a huge promontory. He sleeps now, waiting for the rebirth of Ojibwe culture and spirituality. There are many Ojibwes who would say that he has been stirring in his sleep lately as his people work to realize the prophecy of his resurgence. Sometimes, of course, the changes are smaller, as when is, in another story, Nanabush gets tangled up in telephone wires rather than in the bass wood ropes that caught him in the older versions. This aspect of the dynamic quality of Ojibwe myth is the ability to be flexible, to remain relevant and meaningful. And it illustrates

An image of a bird, common in oral traditions, is painted on a drum. Birds, namely Thunderbirds, were a symbol of the Thunderers, a myth of the Ojibwe that included hundreds of intricate stories. Nineteenth century. (Burstein Collection/Corbis)

the fact that the Ojibwe, while they remember their myths, are not, themselves, mythic figures caught in the past.

Second, Ojibwe mythology is dynamic because it describes not only a cosmos but also the people who live and act in that cosmos. For the Ojibwe, the world is populated both by human persons and by a plethora of other-than-human persons. These persons, who have the ability to act, to communicate, to do harm and good, and above all, to form relationships, include the manitous or spirit beings, animals, plants, and what Euro-

Americans call natural phenomena of all kinds. These people are not forces personified, forces to which human qualities are ascribed, but coinhabitants of a planet, fellow travelers and neighbors in that "ball" that Geyshick describes. They act in mythology in all sorts of ways, sometimes hindering but most often helping humans who are, in most cases, less powerful than they. In order to understand this peopled place and the role of humans in it, it's helpful to look to a few kinds of myths. These include creation tales, tales of the powerful manitous who help hold that ball together, and tales of Nanabush, the trickster who acts out models of human behavior even while he shows us what not to do.

All cultures have creation tales, also known as cosmogonic narratives, that describe how the world came to be. Across North America there are many different understandings as to how the world was created, and many people in the Eastern Woodlands and Great Lakes area share the Ojibwe idea that this present earth is a re-creation, a world that was salvaged from the destruction of a previous one. This type of tale is called an Earth Diver narrative, because during the course of the plot a creature must dive to the bottom of the waters that have flooded the old world in order to retrieve earth, with which a new world may be made. In the Ojibwe versions, characters shift, variations occur, but a core plot line always repeats itself. The story always includes a friendship or kinship between Nanabush and a wolf. The wolf, usually because he is incautious of the spring ice, falls into a lake and is killed by the underwater manitous, led by their chief, or *ogimaa,* Mishebeshu. Mishebeshu is a very powerful person, the owner of the water world, who appears as a horned serpent or an enormous half-cat and serpent—a sort of dragon. His name means Great Lynx, and he is so powerful that his name should be mentioned only in winter when he is imprisoned under thick ice. For in the Ojibwe world, one should never call a person's name if one does not want that person to appear.

Mishebeshu is not evil, but nor is he a friend to humans. He has his own world, and it is best for humans to treat that world with great respect when they venture into it. The wolf, arguably, does not show proper respect, and so he falls prey to the underwater manitous. Nanabush is devastated and angered by the loss of the wolf, and he takes his revenge. He travels, often disguised as a frog, to Mishebeshu's lair and kills him. Since Mishebeshu is a manitou, and since his name describes one person and many, he regenerates or his people flood the earth in response. Nanabush is forced to climb a tree, to build a raft, or to take refuge on the back of a turtle. And it is from this position that he calls the diving animals to his aid. Sometimes loon helps, sometimes otter or beaver, but usually the strongest creatures fail to retrieve some earth; it is the lowliest diver of all—the muskrat—who succeeds. Nanabush then takes the earth, spreads

it about, and breathes life into it. Later he is sometimes said to have a hand in creating humans (though often Kitche Manitou, Great Manitou, does that), other animals, and even more manitous.

In this myth we see the multileveled nature of the world. There is a sky realm, an underwater/underground one, and a fragile island of an earth that rests between. The myth tells us that humans must respect the world and those who dwell within it. It instructs us that the earth is precarious and that anger and revenge have consequences. It tells us that we must care for the earth and treasure it by never upsetting its balance as Mishebeshu and Nanabush did. It reminds us that creation and survival are cooperative enterprises. And, finally, the story shows us that humans are latecomers to this island. The animals and the manitous are our older siblings and our grandparents, and we must seek their guidance and show them our respect. Contemporary Ojibwe people have noted that the destruction of the environment is owed to an inability to hear the lessons of this myth—and their point is well taken. But as we can see, this story is not just an explanation of how the present world came to be, or even an environmental caveat. It is a description of the balance of the world and a prescription for human behavior.

The descriptive and prescriptive aspects of Ojibwe mythology are never mutually exclusive. And one of the hallmarks of Ojibwe myth is its ability to step outside what might be called an either/or box. When we listen to the tales of the powerful manitous who hold the world together, we see that even more clearly. Some of the most discussed and powerful manitous are the Thunderers, or Thunderbirds, who are understood as the storms, the sound of the storm, the makers of the storm, giant birds, and spirit beings all at the same time. At the heart of their being, the Thunderers are grandparents, powerful manitous who assist those humans who know enough to respect them. The Thunderers are said to dwell in the West, but, along with the winds, to stand also at the four corners of the cosmos. They bring life-giving rain, they signal the warm months, and they speak to humans and protect them from the threats of Mishebeshu and his people. In a short myth, Nanabush creates the Thunderers in order to keep the people, whom he has made, from disappearing. The Thunderers are instructed to watch over the humans and to strike against Mishebeshu.

In all their myths the Thunderers are at odds with Mishebeshu, but they also feed upon the underwater manitous they kill; thus they also need those people. The Thunderers speak with their thunderclaps, and humans who listen may understand the message. That is important, because it is a good illustration of the way in which human behavior—especially ritualized behavior—is prescribed in myth. Humans should stay out of the way of the Thunderers. They should sit down and listen quietly to the voice of the Thunder, and they should

offer respect and thanksgiving by burning or burying tobacco as a gift for their grandparents. There is an old story, found in the earliest collections, that is still being told by elders today about humans who got it into their heads to go and visit the Thunderers on their mountaintops. Those humans who went boldly were struck down by their grandparents, while those who fasted, asked permission, and approached with respect were welcomed, sheltered, and fed by the community of Thunderers.

There are hundreds of stories about the Thunderers, some set long ago and some told as personal memories of encounters with Thunderers. The stories are often combined, woven together, because Ojibwe myths are like that—they are not discrete narratives that follow the foreign dictates of Aristotle's *Poetics*. Rather, they are threads of a fabric that connect with one another and have no beginning, middle, or end, because they are ongoing conversations. Angus Pontiac, one of the elders of Manitoulin Island, who told me some old myths of Thunderers, also told me this story: Mr. Pontiac had been in the hospital with a fever. He had a vision in which the room filled with smoke. Standing in the smoke were two figures. "Two old-timers well dressed in leather jackets, jet black hair well combed. They looked at me real stern. They didn't say a word." At this point, Mr. Pontiac glanced out the window and saw it was storming. The lightning flashed, the thunder rolled, and he heard his name called three times. This was the voice of the Thunderers. After his recovery, Mr. Pontiac spoke to an elder who told him that if he had heard his name called once more, a fourth time, he would have died and been taken up by the Thunderers (Smith 1995, 90).

This story is not so different from a well-known myth of a woman who, in a storm on a lake, is threatened by death in the form of rough water/Mishebeshu. She strikes with her oar, invoking the Thunderers and saying that, since in her youth she dreamed of the Thunder, she was using the power of the Thunderers against the threat. Is one story a personal reminiscence and another a myth? I think they are both part of an ongoing mythic conversation, threads that are connected, or, perhaps, just pieces of one long thread.

To understand better the long thread of Ojibwe myth and the Ojibwe refusal to live in an either/or box, it might be helpful to close with a discussion of the mythic character whose adventures never end, Nanabush. For many years mythographers were frustrated by the idea that in Native American myth, the figure of the culture hero, the one who creates things and who teaches humans how to live, and the trickster, the one who upsets the balance and breaks taboos, were one and the same person. Nanabush, who appears in myth as a man and as a rabbit and who has the ability to take on many other forms, is a great hero. We have seen how he remakes the world, fixes humans on earth with the help of the Thunderers, and struggles

against mighty manitous. But he is also a fool, a greedy and vindictive character who is a true hedonist and who will employ trickery to get what he wants. And what does Nanabush want? He wants the basics, really: food, sleep, and sex. How can a hero be a fool? It's a natural balancing act for this person. Nanabush's heroism is usually an accidental thing, or it occurs because he has put himself into a position in which he must act in order to save himself. His character refuses to fall into the categories that the mythographers set for him, and this is what makes him interesting. He is the epitome of the dynamism and flexibility of Ojibwe myth that I described above. And he is great entertainment as well.

Some of the earliest collectors of Ojibwe myths were Jesuit missionaries who faithfully recorded their interactions with the Native peoples of the Americas in *The Jesuit Relations*. This collection is a problematic gold mine, inasmuch as it necessarily includes a Jesuitical interpretation of all that the missionaries experienced. The Jesuits were both enthralled and troubled by the people they met, and they were especially confounded by the character of Nanabush. They found the sexual and scatological humor of the Nanabush tales to be, at best, in poor taste, and at worst, sinful. In order to "protect" casual readers from the scandal of Nanabush's escapades, which frequently include reference to excrement, flatulence, and extraordinary sexual feats, they would sometimes record problematic sections in Latin rather than French. Granted, Nanabush's humor is not sophisticated, and it is often cruel—but just as often it is extremely funny. And the butt of the joke is usually Nanabush himself.

In the famous tale of "The Shut-Eye Dance" or "Hoodwinked Dancers," Nanabush tricks ducks into dancing with their eyes closed so that he may kill and eat them. By the time they get wise to his trickery, Nanabush has a feast ready to roast. He leaves the ducks to cook slowly in the embers of his fire while he sleeps, and, of course, some foxes come along and steal his dinner. The most amusing part of the story is that Nanabush tells his rectum to stand watch during the night and to warn him of danger. The poor rectum does so by emitting gas. Nanabush, who seems always caught up in the pleasure of the moment, berates his rectum and, finally, burns it with a fire stick in order to punish it. The resulting pain he experiences coupled with his discovery of the loss of his meal is funny in many ways. We laugh because he is a greedy fool, because he does not understand his own body, and because the trickster has been tricked. But true to his culture hero status, Nanabush rubs his bottom on some rocks and leaves a red stain, which one can still find today: it is a type of lichen that is both edible and high in protein. That is just one of many accidental gifts that Nanabush leaves in his wake.

So what are we to make of this fractured character? I think we are to understand that he is not fractured at all but

that he stands between the manitous and humans and that he speaks to the best and worst parts of human nature. He provides a model not in spite of but because of his ambiguity. He is said to be half-spirit and half-human, and he is a living presence in the lives of contemporary Ojibwe people. He provides laughter even as he transforms reality and instructs human behavior. The myths that feature Nanabush form a long cycle and one that is never finished, so long as the Ojibwe continue to tell the old myths and to create new ones. Nanabush is sleeping now, but he is not dead—and he is not lost in the past. Perhaps the most helpful lesson he teaches about Ojibwe mythology is that these stories are alive and meaningful, not artifacts to be collected and preserved in museums. Nor do they constitute a canon but an ongoing speech event in which listeners hear of a peopled cosmos that is experienced as one dwells on this continent. And it is worth noting that if there is anything that approaches the status of a "definitive" text for any Ojibwe myth, it is the landscape of the Great Lakes region. One may look to the Sleeping Giant and read Nanabush's story; one may gaze at rough water and see the power of Mishebeshu; and one may watch the storm clouds as they approach from the West and experience the visit of the Thunderers. This inscription on the land should not be seen as a romanticizing of the natural world, nor as an etiological framework through which one may understand natural forces. Rather, it is one more indication of the dynamic and multilayered character of Ojibwe mythology and the Ojibwe cosmos. For in the end, Ojibwe myths describe a sacred landscape. And that landscape has a voice—or I should say, voices, that speak with power and urgency, confirming the identity and purpose of the Ojibwe people.

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See also Manitous; Oral Traditions, Ojibwe; Tricksters

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Oral Traditions, Plateau

The oral traditions of the Plateau refer to a vast body of stories that chronicle the actions of what are often referred to as the Animal Peoples or the First Peoples, such as Coyote, Chipmunk, Salmon, Grizzly Bear, Crane, Sweat Lodge, and Chief Child of the Yellow Root, as well as the actions of human heroes, buffoons, and other characters. These oral traditions are often categorized into stories of the creation time—that is, of the Animal Peoples before the coming of human people—and stories of the time of humans—that is, after the coming of human peoples. It is the powerful Animal Peoples who subdue dangerous monsters, transform a barren land, and prepare the world for the coming of human peoples. They exhibit both animal and human qualities, with the names of animals, yet are able to speak, have human desires and frailties, and live in "tribes" with their "families." With their tremendous spiritual powers, the Animal Peoples create what now constitutes and inhabits the world—the many mountains and rivers, the various animals and plants, and eventually the human peoples themselves. In their deeds and misdeeds, the Animal Peoples also exemplify what is proper and improper behavior, establishing "teachings" and ethical codes for human conduct. Those codes of conduct are given further definition in the actions of human heroes who provide examples of courage, perseverance, and hope in the face of seemingly overwhelming adversity. With the handing down of these oral traditions, the stories at once entertain, providing an emotional tone to life and an outlet for expression; they also educate, instilling and reiterating a sense of identity and heritage, as well as practical skills and knowledge. As one Coeur d'Alene elder stated, "The stories are our textbooks." In the very act of retelling those stories, meaning and vitality are reinvested and perpetuated into the human communities as well as the land's various features and inhabitants. Hence the phrase "Stories make the world."

The land was once a barren and inhospitable place, inhabited by a variety of "man-eaters" and other dangerous monsters, such as Rock Monster and Swallowing Monster. It is the Animal Peoples, and in particular the Coyote, who with great dexterity and cunning, and occasionally deception and trickery, slay these beasts. Although there are no clear descriptions of the images of the Animal Peoples, they typically have animal names and many animal-like features, yet they often walk erect, with arms, legs, and hands. They display the full range of human emotions and moti-

vations, engage in fishing, hunting, and gathering, live in tule-mat lodges, are adorned in clothing, travel by canoe, address each other in terms of kinship relations, and live in tribes. And they have language with which to speak to one another. With their great "medicine" powers (for example, *suumesh*—Coeur d'Alene; *weyekin*—Nez Perce), the Animal Peoples mold the mountains and channel the rivers upon which the human peoples will hunt, fish, and travel. With their transformative powers the Animal Peoples successfully challenge and vanquish all sorts of "man-eaters" and monsters, and they render a dangerous land safe for the "human peoples who are coming." With the wisdom that comes from such powers, it is the Animal Peoples who originate the great ceremonies, subsistence practices, and family structures that the human peoples will need in order to properly relate to one another, and to the animal and plant peoples. And it is from their actions that the human peoples themselves are created.

In a widely shared account, it is Coyote who releases the salmon who had been captured by the Swallow Sisters at Celilo Falls along the Columbia River. The salmon are freed to go upriver and eventually provide food for the humans. It is also Coyote who slays a huge Swallowing Monster and from the parts of its body—its legs, arms, stomach, etc.—creates the various human peoples, all organized along their tribal affiliations. From the heart of the monster the people of the particular storyteller are created. The last to be created, from the blood of the grass, are the people most despised or ridiculed by the storyteller. As in the instance of the Nez Perce, the heart can still be observed as a particular earthen knoll along a bend in the Clearwater River. As Coyote continues his travels, he brings salmon to those rivers where the people allow him to "marry" one of their "daughters," but he creates great falls and withholds salmon from those tribes who deny their women to the Coyote. Hence Post Falls and Spokane Falls are created along the Spokane River, preventing salmon from entering Lake Coeur d'Alene.

In the instance of the Coeur d'Alene, it is Chief Child of the Yellow Root who journeys around a great lake and kills such monsters as Pestle Boy, Foolhen, Comb, Awl, and Bladder, telling them no longer to be man-eaters but to help the people who are coming. Lake Coeur d'Alene is prepared for the coming of the Coeur d'Alene people. Among many of the Plateau tribes we learn that it is Salmon who first taught the people how to build the scaffolds and use the dip nets and three-pronged spears to fish the rivers. And it is Sweat Lodge who taught the people how to construct and use the sweatlodge to communicate their needs to him, and who then transformed himself into the structure of the sweatlodge itself.

In addition to the great transformations brought about through their actions, the Animal Peoples also establish and embed in the world what the Coeur

d'Alene term the *my-yp,* the "teachings from all things." It will be these teachings that guide the people, defining what it means to be Indian, as well as providing the knowledge of the skills needed to subsist and thrive. Among the most important of these teachings, exhibited throughout the Plateau, is the ethic of sharing. It entails the value of giving unselfishly to all those in need, without thought of being reciprocated. When the village is without food, the chief's daughters go to Crane for help. Upon hearing of the starvation, Crane hunts deer, though not killing more than is necessary, and feeds all the villagers, without expecting to receive anything in return. But when Coyote hunts, often asking, "What's in it for me?" he tries to take too many deer, or shoots only fawns, and is ridiculed as a result and goes home hungry.

In the character of Coyote are critical examples of what is proper and improper behavior. Coyote is the trickster par excellence, using his great skills of physical prowess, strategy, deception, and chicanery to outwit his opponent. In the many accounts of Coyote, it is often the case that when he is self-effacing and helps others, as when he frees the salmon from the Swallow Sisters at Celilo Falls or rids the land of the Rock Monster, he is successful in his schemes. But when Coyote is selfish and seeks only rewards for himself, as when he desires the chief's daughter or hunts more deer than he needs, he fails, duped by his own deception, and is made the "fool." In these accounts of Coyote are thus provided important teachings. When defending one's family in the face of an enemy or seeking to benefit the other members of one's family, it is appropriate to be the "Coyote"—applying his skills of strategy, cunning, and trickery. But when those same skills are applied against the members of one's own family or tribe and only self-rewards are sought, Coyote's example only points the way to failure and what is most inappropriate behavior.

A common theme in the human hero tales is the account of a young boy who, in the face of intimidation from a camp bully or certain defeat at the hands of an enemy, uses his courage and tenacity to overcome his adversary. This theme is well illustrated in the Coeur d'Alene story of Four Smokes. While the men of the camp are in Crow country buffalo hunting, the camp becomes surrounded by enemy warriors. A young boy, "tall for his age," is asked to "use a stick like a rifle" and to attempt to divert the warriors away from the camp while the rest of his family escapes. Out of care for his family, the young boy reluctantly accepts. But he also knows that the Crows are great marksmen and that he will surely be killed. On each of four attempts, the young boy gives a war cry and, with lead bullets flying about him, runs to a nearby bush. On each occasion, he makes it to the bush "without a scratch." The warriors come to believe that this "man" has "special powers," and they give up on their raid. That evening in a council of elders the young boy is

given the name Four Smokes, in honor of the four times the Crow rifles discharged smoke but failed to hit the boy, thus saving his family.

With the completion of the creation of the world, the activities of the Animal Peoples had not come to an end. The Animal Peoples became the actual animals, birds, and fishes of the forests, prairies, and rivers, as well as the Animal Spirit Peoples themselves. It would be an Animal Person, such as the Wolf or Eagle, who might come to a fasting vision quester on a distant mountain summit and grant him or her a powerful *suumesh* (Coeur d'Alene) or *weyekin* (Nez Perce) song. That Animal Person would become a guardian spirit, nurturing and protecting the person all his or her life.

The Animal Peoples would also come "alive" and engage the human people each time a storyteller retells the accounts of Coyote, Salmon, Four Smokes, or the other Animal Peoples and human heroes. The storytellers in the community have a special responsibility as caretakers of the oral traditions. While some oral traditions are family stories and are told only among relatives, the vast body of stories are widely shared, and everyone has the potential to become an accomplished raconteur. Typically, Coyote stories are told only during the winter months, often associated with the holding of the Jump Dances. Some elders are particularly adept and widely recognized for their storytelling abilities. The varied techniques and styles used by storytellers all coalesce and seek to transform the listeners of the story into participants within the story. Listeners travel with the Coyote as he plays a trick on some "younger brother" or slays some "man-eater" threatening the other Animal Peoples and the human peoples who are coming. Listeners witness the creation time anew. As oral tradition, the modes of presentation thus directly contribute to the meaning conveyed within the stories, as well as to the role and significance the oral traditions play in the lives of Plateau Indians.

Among the storytelling techniques are the skillful use of voice and intonation fluctuations, distinguishing one character from the next and adding a dynamic to the telling. Along with animated hand gestures and body language, the judicious use of tempo and pauses helps to build tension and to spotlight the actions of the characters. Among many tribes, the storyteller would continue telling the story only as long as the listeners were indeed participants. The involvement of listeners was cued by periodic signals to the storyteller from the listeners, such as voicing or giving the hand sign equivalent to "yes." Should such acknowledgments cease, so too would the story, regardless of whether the story was completed or not.

The listeners often witness stylistic phrase and verse repetitions in the narrative structure. The sacred numbers among the Plateau peoples are predominantly three and five, while four is used occasionally. It takes Coyote either three or five attempts to break the dam at

Celilo Falls. Each episode is told in detail and then repeated, with the last episode conveying success in breaking the dam. When five brothers attempt some endeavor, it is typically the last of the five, often the youngest, who succeeds. The repetitions build until it is on the last of the series that fruition is obtained. In addition, when told in the native language of the storyteller, the entire narrative organization might be grouped into verses of three and five lines within each scene. A verse might be marked by an intonation contour in the storyteller's voice. A structured rhythm in the speech pattern thus marks the presentation of the story.

The participatory involvement of the listeners is particularly facilitated in the creative poignancy attributed to Native words and language itself. Words not only describe or refer to the images of the world; they also have a power to bring forth that which they name. This understanding is reflected in an Indian name. The descriptive "Indian name," ritually bestowed, has a volition to help the person become his or her name. Within the narratives themselves there is a clear understanding of this capacity. Upon *saying* he wanted to look a particular way, Coyote was transformed into that image. When he *sang* the words of a particular song referring to travel, the song was able to transport him to a distant location. At the close of the storytelling season, and having thus spoken of all the Animal Peoples, an elder might say that it is time for the animals to go to the forests, the birds to the sky, and the fish to the rivers. What had been witnessed in the storytelling is now free to return to the mythically endowed landscape. When the word fibers of a story are woven into a fine tapestry, the meaning and vitality of that oral tradition are reinfused back into the landscape's carpet.

The retelling of the oral traditions enriches the Indian peoples both effectively and didactically. The act of sharing the stories offers listeners a sense of suspense and anticipation, of tragedy and despair, of hope and optimism, and of comic delight and humor. In the laughter that so characteristically comes from the storytelling, listeners are allowed to "lighten the load" in what can be challenging circumstances and "explore the heavy issues." Humor is also the most difficult element to translate into the English language and sensibilities. The stories thus entertain, providing an emotional outlet and focus and contributing to the community's ethos.

The retelling of the oral traditions educates, as the listeners learn of their tribal heritage and identity. The stories anchor a people to their particular creation and to a particular landscape, reaffirmed in the waterfalls at Celilo, in the hill of the "heart of the monster" along the Clearwater River, or in the shoreline of Lake Coeur d'Alene. The oral traditions also provide the practical knowledge of the skills necessary for survival, as well as the ethical teachings needed for the "good life." It is Salmon who instructs in the proper use of fishing scaffolds, dip nets, and three-pronged

spears. The way of the Sweat House ceremony is conveyed through its story. The cunning and deceptive Coyote shows how to face and overcome an enemy, while how not to face a relative. The values of sharing and caring for others are well demonstrated by Four Smokes and Crane.

While there are some stories specifically meant for children, the storyteller's intended audience are all members of the community, children and adults. Young and old would gather around the storyteller well into the evening hours. The children would come and go, babies would fall asleep in the arms of their mothers, and elders would laugh as if they had never heard the story before. As each oral tradition is deeply embedded with multiple layers of teachings, each time a listener engages a story his or her own experiences have changed, and something new awaits discovery. At the conclusion of a story there are typically no specific, Aesop-like moral commentaries offered by the storyteller. To prescribe a single moral lesson would be to limit the significance the story held for the idiosyncratic members of an audience. Each traveler within the story was allowed to discover for himself or herself the appropriate lessons. The teachings are to be actively sought out by the story's travelers, and not passively handed to them by the storyteller. In so doing, the young are educated and guided, while the mature are rejuvenated in the identities, skills, and teachings ingrained within the oral traditions.

The act of retelling the oral traditions is akin to canoeing the waterways of the Plateau. When the story comes to its conclusion for an evening, the storyteller might say, "Its time to tie up the story." Upon resuming the storytelling the next evening, the storyteller would say, "Now let's untie the story." And when the storyteller gets off course, on some tangent, a listener might respond by saying, "Get on course or you might float away." In the act of speaking the story to life, the listeners travel the unfolding rivers of the story's landscape, running with the Coyote and witnessing the creation of the world as if for the first time. The canoe is certainly kept on course under the guidance of the storyteller, but it also takes the paddling of the canoe's participants to bring the story to life.

When the story is tied up for an evening or a season, the landscape revealed and traveled is brought to bear as the story's listeners walk beside the "heart of the monster" or along the shores of Lake Coeur d'Alene. It becomes a landscape revitalized and re-embedded with the teachings of Coyote and Chief Child of the Yellow Root. The landscape that occurred in the mythic past is continued and perpetuated into the present. Any distinctions between the travels occurring within the story during the act of storytelling and the travels occurring after the story is tied up become blurred and indistinguishable, as the travelers are well integrated in this perennial landscape. The Animal Peoples are always close at hand, for it is

their stories, assisted by canoe travelers, that make the world.

Rodney Frey

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Coeur d'Alene; Ceremony and Ritual, Nez Perce; Dance, Plateau; Spirits and Spirit Helpers, Plateau; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Plateau; Tricksters

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Oral Traditions, Pueblo

Appreciating Puebloan oral traditions is integral to understanding Puebloan cultures, for there is an intricate link between the mythology and the practices of these cultural groups. Myths are at the basis of organizing sacred societies, such as medicine and kiva groups, as well as justifying the enactment of an array of rituals and ceremonies. The oral tradition also accounts for how each Pueblo group came to settle its ancient home-

Hopi petroglyphs on a boulder at Willow Springs, Tuba City, Arizona, 1980s. (Tom Bean/ CORBIS)

land, and how its pattern of settlement became the basis for each group's customs and beliefs. Indeed, what Ruth Bunzel said about the Zuni oral tradition may be said about the Pueblos in general. "There is little speculative interest in the origin and early history of the world . . . although there is great interest in the early history of mankind, and the origin of laws, customs, and rituals" (Bunzel 1992, 488). In fact, a custom is seen as all the more authentic if it can be said with respect to the oral tradition that "it came up with us" (Parsons 1996, 210).

Although it would be inaccurate to claim that all Pueblos have the same mythology, they do nonetheless share a remarkable number of elements in common. That is in spite of the fact that there are currently twenty-two distinct Pueblo communities throughout the Colorado Plateau, covering modern-day northeastern Arizona and northern New Mexico. Moreover, Pueblo groups are also distinguishable by differences in dialect. Edward P. Dozier points out that "from west to east, the languages of the Pueblos are as follows: Hopi, Zuni, Keres (Keresan), Tiwa, Jemez (Towa), Tewa" (Dozier 1970, 121). But as Fred Eggan observes, the Pueblo communities demonstrate a greater amount of unity than their neighbors in the Southwest and Lower Plains. "Pueblo culture is both highly distinctive and uniform in its externals" (Ortiz 1979, 224). This uniformity extends to the oral tradition itself, beginning with the creation story.

All Pueblos have an emergence myth tradition, in which the first people migrated upward through a succession of worlds, usually three, before arriving in the fourth world, which is the world of today. The people in each of the previous worlds were typically compelled to move on because several among them were guilty of various transgressions against the sacred. However, whereas the culpable would be left behind for their behavior, others would be assisted in their quest for the next world by sacred beings who often came in the form of animals. Moreover, the animals who lend their

support play not only a logistical role in the people's migration but also an edifying one. The latter occurs when the people become more spiritually developed in terms of their understanding of the world, as well as gaining practical knowledge regarding rituals and ceremonies. Particularly in the case of the Western Pueblos, such as Hopi and Zuni, they would acquire the knowledge necessary for summoning the rain.

With respect to the concern for rain, Dozier points out that because there was a significant environmental difference between the Eastern Rio Grande River Pueblos and the Western Pueblos, there were corresponding differences in their respective worldviews. Specifically, the Eastern Pueblos relied heavily on irrigation for their sustenance needs, whereas the Western Pueblos did not. Consequently, as Dozier states, the Western Pueblos "attempt to cope with these basic concerns by magical practices; the Rio Grande Pueblos, especially the Tanoans, by more practical ones" (Dozier 1970, 133). With that in mind, Ake Hultkrantz said about the Zuni that their "myth outlines the major aspects of the Zuni understanding of the nature of the cosmos." This understanding is expressed through customs and beliefs that are considered necessary for the well-being of the community, be they "magical" or not. Puebloan religion, as Louis A. Hieb proclaims, "is felt to be not only logically true but also empirically true, that is, its validity is equally derivable from its relationship to everyday realities" (Ortiz 1979, 577). That is what Hultkrantz means when he asserts that Zuni "rituals are firmly rooted in Zuni cosmogony and cosmology" (Hultkrantz 1987, 93). This is to say that there is not simply a precedent set for particular rituals in mythology, but that they were inaugurated with the group's ongoing welfare in mind.

Among the Hopi each of the four worlds would have a name, beginning with *Tokpela,* "Endless Space" (Waters 1977, 3). In this world there "was no beginning and no end, no time, no shape, no life" (ibid.). Only after Taiowa, the Sun and Creator, made his nephew, Sotuknang, the God of the Universe and Creator of all ceremonies, did the world of substance emerge out of this nothingness. On this world would be placed a helper, Kokyangwuti, Spider Woman. Kokyangwuti would also possess the power of creation, using her abilities to make the world ready for human habitation. In addition then to creating "trees, bushes, plants, flowers, all kinds of seed-bearers and nut-bearers," Kokyangwuti also created a pair of hero twins: Pöqánghoya and Palöngawhoya (ibid., 5). They would protect the people from enemies, keeping the integrity of their culture. While in *Tokpela,* the people multiplied and began speaking different languages; soon even the animals grew apart from humans. This was also a time when the people learned about illness. Things were not as they should be. The people emerged into *Tokpa,* "Dark Midnight," which was not quite as beautiful as the

first world; nonetheless, the people multiplied as before, building villages, storing food, and bartering with one another. Consequently the people became greedy, always wanting more material possessions. Things once again were not as they should be.

The people, who were the few who remembered the song of creation, emerged into the third world, *Kuskurza,* a name whose meaning has long been forgotten. Once again the people multiplied, this time building great cities and countries. Some even knew how to fly through the air on special shields. Because of this mammon, the people fought and became corrupt. For the third time things were not as they should be. After the *Kuskurza* world was flooded, the people, the chosen few, made it into the fourth world, *Tuwaqachi,* "World Complete," through a hollow reed. Once there, Sótuknang revealed to the people that *Tuwaqachi* was "not all beautiful and easy like the previous" worlds. *Tuwaqachi* "has height and depth, heat and cold, beauty and barrenness; it has everything for you to choose from." Whether or not this world would be destroyed like the others would be all up to the people themselves. But first the people would have to complete their migrations in search of the center, which they embarked on after receiving Másaw's permission to live in this world. For Másaw was "the caretaker, the guardian and protector of this land." Másaw, moreover, was the deity of the underworld, who was here to redeem himself for having become too self-important when he was in charge of the third world, *Kuskurza.* With that in mind, Másaw reminded the people of the higher powers to whom they owed deference, then told them that he would be the one to take the world away if the people degenerated into immoral behavior again. With that Másaw sent the people on their way, having first divided them into groups and clans (ibid., 3–22).

When Andrew Peynetsa told the Zuni creation story to Dennis Tedlock, he portrayed the Sun as being unsatisfied with a world in which no one offered him either prayer sticks or prayer meal. So the Sun brought people out of the "second room," whose "lightning smell" killed the people of the first room. But the second room people were also not mindful about making offerings to the Sun, so this world was destroyed by a flood. When the people of the third room were brought out, their lightning smell killed the second room people. Also during this time, the Sun spotted a waterfall at the base of which suds and foam were forming. "It was there," as Peynetsa tells it, "where the suds were made / that the two Bow Priests / sprouted. / There the two Ahayuuta / received life" (Tedlock 1972/1999, 247). Although they were twins, one was known as the elder brother, *Ma'asewi,* while the other was known as the younger brother, *Uyuyuwi.* Together they were charged with the mission of bringing the people from the fourth room into the day world. The Ahayuuta were uncertain as to how to go

about doing this. So, looking for help, Ma'asewi and Uyuyuwi took turns going to the four sacred rain priests of the north, west, south, and east, representatives of the rain-bringing *Uwanammi* who live along the shores of the four oceans (ibid., 283).

All of the rain priests said that unfortunately they did not know what to do. However, the rain priest of the east said that maybe the Ahayuuta knew how to escape from this world, after all. The Ahayuuta were doubtful but said that they would "try something." So everyone, including the rain priests, was asked to gather their belongings and head for the east, where the Ahayuuta first emerged. Then, just as they were approaching their destination, the Ahayuuta asked the people to rest while they went on by themselves. The Ahayuuta went to the north, where they planted yellow prayer sticks, after which a fir tree grew that enabled everyone to enter the third room. This process would be repeated when the Ahayuuta went to the east and planted blue prayer sticks, followed by an aspen that grew up to the second room. Lastly, the Ahayuuta went to the south and planted red prayer sticks, then watched as a cottonwood grew into the first room. Indeed, the cottonwood "stood out into a / place full of the color of dawn / full of yellow" (ibid., 269).

What typically happens next once the people have made it into the fourth room or world is that they still have to migrate in search of the "Middle Place." Edmund Nequatewa tells a story about how the Hopi picked Shung-opovi as their home. Mockingbird gave the people different languages and let them choose their own culture by choosing their primary food, among which the Hopi had chosen the short-ear corn. With regard to that it should be noted that when the Hopi picked the short-ear corn they picked a life of hardship, but a life of endurance in spite of adversity. "Thus the Hopis chose Hopivotskwani . . . and [Másaw] and Mockingbird instructed them on how to live" (Sheridan and Parezo 1996, 241). All were sent to find their proper homeland. The Hopi then separated into various parties and headed east. The first group out happened upon a dead bear, and so decided to call themselves Hona-wunga, the Bear Clan. The next group found the same bear, but because they used the hide to make straps to carry all their belongings, they decided to call themselves Biaquois-wungwa, the Strap Clan. These were followed by other groups who found the same site, and depending on what they saw, named themselves accordingly. Thus came the Chosh-wunga, the Bluebird Clan, the Koking-wungwa, the Spider Clan, the Mui-wunga, the Gopher Clan, and the Wikurs-wungwa, the Greasy-Eye-Cavities-of-the-Skull Clan (Nequatewa 1936/1994, 22–25).

Eventually the Hona-wunga spotted the Eastern Star, but still they were not quite certain where to settle. What they decided, however, was to depend on the rain for their crop cultivation. In light of

that they headed for the Painted Desert, to Shung-opovi, which means "the place by the spring where the tall weeds grow." Because the place was desolate, the Hona-wunga thought that they would be safe from other tribes. Nevertheless, the Bia-quois-wunga tracked the Hona-wunga to their settlement. A messenger was then sent to ask permission to join the Hona-wunga. Although the Hona-wunga were cautious, they granted the Bia-quois-wunga permission to join their settlement, giving them land of their own.

The other clans over time discovered the settlement at Shung-opovi, each in turn asking for a place in the community. Each clan, though, was asked about its rites and ceremonies; more specifically, they were asked what they did to bring about the rain. If a clan leader was humble and deferential with respect to the sacred beings, they were allowed into Shung-opovi. But if they bragged about their own power, they were denied access to the village. However, every time a clan was admitted, they were given land farther out along the periphery of the village. This was especially true for the clans without any high priest or ceremonies that had a difficult time convincing village leaders that there was a place for them. One clan in particular, the Sun Forehead Clan, asserted that they did not have time for rites and ceremonies because they were all warriors, who would be abundantly useful to the people of Shung-opovi because they could provide a line of defense against any enemies that might want to attack them (ibid., 26–28). The way that John C. Connelly interprets this series of events is in terms of the dynamics of social organization. More specifically, Connelly observes: "Clan lore describes the admission of each clan on the basis of its negotiations and commitments for certain ceremonial and secular services to the residence community. The clusters of associated clans thus surround the prime clan in an orbital arrangement of dependency and support, and a clan's social distance from the center is determined by the significance of its contribution" (Ortiz 1979, 543).

Peynetsa, in his story, tells of how the Ahayuuta summoned the water strider for help in determining if they had found the Middle Place. The Ahayuuta told the water strider: "You / must bend over here. / You must stretch out your arms and legs. / By the position / of your heart / the Middle Place will then become known" (Tedlock 1999, 300–301). Once the water strider had done as he was asked, the Ahayuuta were able to confirm that they had finally found the place that was destined for them. Only then could the people finish their migrations.

What finally emerges out of this epic narrative is a worldview that is marked by six sacred directions, which are in turn distinguished by a complex spectrum of beings. More specifically, using the Zuni as an example, at each of the four cardinal directions one will find an ocean, and in the four oceans are four mountains that are symbolized by different colors.

The oceans, moreover, are connected by underground passages that sprout along the landscape in "seeps, springs, ponds, and caves." "At the water outlets and on mountaintops," Tedlock notes, "are the *telassina'we,* 'sacred old places,' or shrines, of the world" (Tedlock 1979, 499). With regard to the array of sacred beings who inhabit the world, Arlette Frigout notes that in the Hopi world there are some 300 kachinas, as well as "the mythical heroes" and "numerous gods." Among those that Frigout lists are the sun, god of germination, god of death (that is, Másaw), sand-altar young woman (the earth), Spider Woman, Dawn Woman, and the Twin War Gods (Frigout 1979, 564).

As a source of intellectual enlightenment, the myths of all Pueblos should not be regarded in the same way that Scripture is in the Western Judeo-Christian tradition. For as Dennis Tedlock has gone a long way in demonstrating with his work in the Zuni oral tradition, the stories are not only performed rather than read but also express a multiplicity of voices, as opposed to being reducible to the voice of a single Supreme Being. As performance, the oral tradition takes on an aural existence, which is facilitated by the storyteller's tone and gestures. "Once a tale has been told," Tedlock observes, "it recedes into its own time again, but it waits there, ready to return to consciousness. . . . 'Past' though a tale may be, its characters did not so much live out their lives in the past of the present world as they go on living and dying in a parallel world" (Tedlock 1999, xxiv). What this compels the scholar of Pueblo oral traditions to do is reorient research away from a text-based paradigm and focus more on storytelling as drama and acting. Lastly, what has often been overlooked is the connection between myths and places. In other words, Pueblo mythology may be regarded as a kind of cosmography insofar as the events recounted in myth are locatable in the surrounding landscape.

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Pueblo; Emergence Narratives; Kachina and Clown Societies; Tricksters

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Oral Traditions, Southeast

Although displaced from the land they celebrated, Southeastern indigenous people had stories, songs, and forms of oratory that were once incredibly rich and advanced. This diversity reflected the vast size and density of populations interacting with one another, as well as the region's thriving towns, trading paths, unique waterways, and ancient agricultural base. Nowhere else except possibly in California did so varied a pattern of intermingling cultures emerge, with Creek, Choctaw, and other so-called Civilized Tribes, roving Siouan bands, Algonkins from the north, proud neutral states like the Yuchi, and remains of ancient empires (for example, Calusa, Natchez Indians). Not all of these tribes were "Indian." Very ancient European contributions to New World DNA are reflected in the X-gene recently discovered by population geneticists. C. S. Rafinesque in his *Ancient History* long ago proposed Kentucky and Tennessee as the center of an antediluvian Western-style civilization, as evidenced by their numerous mounds, circular stone temples, and other monuments. Curtis's *The Indians' Book* (1907) first popularized American Indian oral traditions, creating the earliest anthology of "oral literature." But inclusions from Southeastern Native people were few, and they have continued to be underrepresented.

It is hard for modern-day *readers* to imagine the world of Native *speakers.* Word of mouth enjoyed the same primacy as a medium of knowledge and means of religious practice as do literacy and Scripture in Old World religions. Storytelling, chant, song, ceremony, "talks," and visions were originated and perpetuated by the common people rather than reserved to a privileged few. Religion permeated everything. Orality ensured the communal, continual, and egalitarian nature of tribal religions (a better term might be "spiritualities").

For Indians, oral tradition is sacrosanct, like transmission of texts and writings in the West and Orient. If Christianity is book-based, the religions of the Southeast are oral-based. Paper, books, and laws were quickly recognized as inimical to indigenous ways. Language itself was taught to people by God (Creek: "Master of Breath"). The second highest rank in any community was the politico-religious dignitary called "speaker" (Cherokee: *skalilosken*), and all towns had criers and greeters, usually wise old men skilled in tribally specific markings and intertribal protocols. The equivalent term for priest or scribe is "keeper." Even laws (Adair's [1930] "beloved speech") were oral. There is no theology in Indian society because nothing is written (Deloria 1994). By the same token, there are no lawyers: forensic oratory, so prized in the West, did not develop (Kennedy 1998). History is the story of the people as a whole—men, women, and children. It rarely follows the Latin model of deeds of famous men (*res gestae).* Only occasionally is it a Herodotean collection of times and travels. Never does it approach the Augustinian *City of God* model. The past is seen as a place rather than a time. Indeed, most stories are about places—mountains, caves, streams, pools, lakes, cliffs, islands—often as a way of explaining their sacredness.

Contemporary authors heavily influenced by their people's oral traditions who occasionally pursue religious themes include Te Ata (Chickasaw: *Baby Rattlesnake*), Jim Barnes (Choctaw), Ward Churchill (Creek-Cherokee Metis), Robert Conley (Cherokee), Todd Downing (Choctaw), Jimmy Durham (Cherokee), Momfeather Erickson (Cherokee), Jack D. Forbes (Powhatan-Delaware-Saponi), Diane Glancy (Cherokee), Joy Harjo (Creek), Jamake Highwater (Cherokee-Blackfoot), Linda Hogan (Chickasaw), Betty Mae Jumper (Seminole), N. Scott Momaday (Kiowa-Cherokee), Ralph Salisbury (Cherokee), and Marcellus Bear Heart Williams (Creek: *The Wind Is My Mother: The Life and Teachings of an American Shaman).* Recording artists with a spiritual bent are Rita Coolidge (Cherokee), Joy Harjo (Creek), Lisa LaRue (Cherokee), Bill Miller (Mohican), and Ulali (Saponi?). Marian Anderson, the opera singer who popularized Negro spirituals, was a black Cherokee. (For storytellers, see Duncan 1998.)

Scholars today divide American Indian stories into sacred and entertaining, truth and fiction, but it is unclear whether such distinctions were observed by Native storytellers or originated as a Western construct projected onto American Indian culture. Generally, the whole body of oral tradition of a given tribe or clan is seen as being of one piece and purpose. Indian sign talk has two words for truth—"something I know and have verified and am telling you from my heart" versus "something I have heard tell but cannot vouch for myself."

Probably the most important oral traditions are creation, emergence, or origin stories (called "cosmogonic myths" by

Mooney [1982]). Each is the distinctive patrimony of a cultural group, defining, for instance, what it means to be Cherokee, or Creek, or Yuchi. Before conquest by the white man, Indians deemed stories sacred, having a spirit and life of their own. They had to be passed properly and intact to worthy receivers if passed at all. Oral traditions were regarded as gifts from the spirit world (Cherokee: *kalu[n]lati;* lit., "the Up-Above Place") or from ancestors (usu.: "the Old Ones"), held in common, often owned by a clan. Most begin and end formulaically—for example: "One time long, long ago . . . and that's all there is." They were not viewed as individually authored works fixed in media and subject to interpretation and variety. Versions were highly standardized and static across generations, often incorporating archaic vocabulary and performed ritualistically with rattle, stick, or drum. No mistake or departure from the original wording was allowed. The presence of words for wooly mammoth and other extinct megafauna shows their extreme antiquity.

Both esoteric knowledge and everyday communications were occasionally written down or otherwise preserved in material forms. However, these acted as only a personal mnemonic device, not a codification or publication. The same could be said of calendar keeping and astronomy, highly engrossing activities at religious sites like Coosa, Echota, and Nanah Waiyah Mound. Conjurors (Cherokee: *adawehi;* lit., "they fly around"—they often became owls) made medicine maps showing spiritual pathways; couriers carried wampum belts reminding them what to say; and all girls received religious-instructive dolls (similar to the katsina of the Hopi).

The Yuchi carved ancestral and animal heroes out of stone, making totem figurines that were used in the sweat-lodge and around the fire to tell stories. Clans kept "talking" rocks, crystals, and other heirlooms in their treasuries, each object with a legend and a lesson. Various accounts containing migration records and other tribes' embassies were preserved in the inner sanctum of council houses and chiefs' lodges and displayed and recited on special occasions. The Walam Olum of the Delaware Indians represents that people's annals and is kept even today in various longer and shorter compilations, on wampum belts, prayer sticks, and birchbark. The oldest version resides today in Canada with William Commanda, chief of the Seven Algonkin Nations and spiritual head of all North American Indians. Wampum belts were originally made from purple and white mussel beads sewn with seaweed on cotton or hempen fabric. Preserved as emblems of sovereignty, they were among the first things destroyed by invaders. The last such known to the Cherokee were remade by the Keetoowah Society in Oklahoma after many of the other sacred bundles were removed to Scotland. Few if any of these artifacts survive.

Winter was the prime time for storytelling, whose main purpose was the

moral instruction of the young. The sexes were usually separated. Joel Chandler Harris's Uncle Remus stories capture just such a scene. They are based on Yuchi and Cherokee stories mixed with African and European traditions from a middle Georgia plantation. The trickster in the Southeast is usually the rabbit, sometimes the fox, corresponding to the spider among the Lakota, the coyote in the Southwest, and the jackal in Africa. The oral traditions of the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Shawnee, Yuchi, Natchez, and Seminole are still rich today beyond measure, though dying out and constantly endangered by failure to be passed along. Moreover, there is an ingrained resistance to translating into English or sharing with outsiders. Much survives in unlikely places, such as Puerto Rico and on other islands in the Caribbean, where the last members of a tribe might have been deported as slaves by the English.

Traditionally, the Cherokee imbued the owl (*huhu, uguku, uku*) and panther (*chlu[n]tachi*) with special powers because those two animals stayed awake during the creation of the world. The principal chief of the nation was the Uku. Many stories are told of how the panther guided the people on their migrations. Baby boys were cradled in panther skins to make them good warriors. Among the Muskogee, there were three distinct cat clans. Even today the principal chief on the Big Cypress Seminole Indian Reservation in Florida keeps a Florida panther as his mascot and symbol of office; the most recent under Chief Billy was named Harjo ("warrior"). The trees that stayed awake in the same creation story were the cedar, pine, spruce, laurel, and holly; there was a taboo against using them as fuel.

The "old ways" among most groups lasted until the early 1800s. Not until 1810 was the first Cherokee converted to Christianity. About the same time clan justice was repealed, and a traditionalist ghost-dance movement began under chief Pathkiller. Although the Spaniards thought original Indian populations remarkably spiritual and pious, by the mid-1700s, Adair [1930] complained that they were almost completely "apostacized" and quite irreligious. Curiously, missionaries and Indian agents discovered many Jewish practices, especially among the Southeastern tribes. When D. S. Buttrick conducted ethnological collections around 1820, his informants made more of Moses than Jesus. It is likely that the "mixed blood" hierarchies dominant at the time of Indian removal were mostly descended from crypto-Jewish traders and Melungeons (largely Portuguese Jews, according to recent DNA studies). Sequoyah's father was a crypto-Jewish trader, spy, and linguist from Baltimore, Nathaniel Gist. (A Gist cousin in Kentucky married into the rabbinical Gratz family of traders in Philadelphia and Lancaster.) Crypto-Judaism, like Native American spirituality, was entirely oral, being an underground religion.

Religious instruction was usually the duty of maternal grandparents, who disciplined children by scratching them with gar teeth or turkey claws. Among migratory Siouan bands intersettled with the major tribes (for example, Biloxi, Occaneechi, Saponi, Catawba), vision quests and coming-of-age ordeals were common. All tribes believed in sharing dreams and enacting or avoiding the prophecies contained in them. Young people were taught to speak slowly and deliberately in public. Indian speech is exceedingly polite. Few "curse words" exist in American Indian languages. Traditional Indians will not utilize oaths, either privately or publicly. The Cherokee's strongest oath was "I affirm it, I so say, I have spoken" (*to-e-ooha* or *skeh!)*. Taboos and euphemisms were frequent; for instance, the Cherokee called the white man the "Nothings" and addressed poison ivy as *kanali,* "friend," upon entering the woods.

For the most part, Southeastern Indian language was down-to-earth and plainspoken. Metaphors and similes were uncongenial to traditional speakers because of the Indian worldview, which was profoundly holistic. Southeastern Indians do not divide the world into the natural and supernatural. Nor do they distinguish between the physical and the metaphysical. The visible and the invisible have the same order of being. Mind and body, matter and spirit, are non-Indian dichotomies. Everything is spirit, and all spirit is one. All things are related (*taha ganino* in Tihanama; cf. *mitake oyasin* in Lakota), and man is not the crown of creation but just one being in the circle of life. Accordingly, students of Indian eloquence have usually suspected (white) editorial tampering when a piece of writing contains beautiful and elaborate figurative language and symbolism. Chief Joseph's words, for instance, were greatly "improved."

The following is an English version of the Cherokee origin story in its entirety, as told to the author by Paul Russell of Hartsville, Tennessee, about 1995. It offers many features common to other legends—a certain unadorned style, circular structure, emphasis on place instead of time, a teaching purpose, argumentation based more on credibility than logic, and thoroughgoing "solemnity":

Before the Great Flood there lived a man and his wife in a land now below the waters called Lami. There were no Cherokee at that time. The people of that place were a single nation with one tongue. Many had become wicked. They turned to witchcraft to satisfy their desires. This man and his wife kept to the old ways and were faithful. They had a dog that was loyal to them, that they loved very much.

The dog spoke to the man and his wife in their dreams. One night it told them the world was going to be destroyed. They should make preparations to save their family. The man did not want to believe this. When he saw the dog in the morning he asked the animal what he meant. The dog whimpered and cowered and tried to show fear. The man shook

his head. He petted the dog but the dog was not to be comforted. Finally, the dog took the man down to the river and jumped into the rushing water. To show the man what he meant, he tore his arm and leg muscles with his teeth and drowned. The dog gave his life to save the lives of his people.

The man now knew what he was to do. He began building a boat. He put food and other necessities on it. The neighbors laughed at him because the ocean was far away even though they lived on an island. The stream was too small to carry his boat. When the man tried to warn them, they made fun of him for talking with dogs! It began to rain, and they ridiculed him all the more. The man quietly gathered his family and loaded their things onto the boat.

The flood waters swept them down the river to the sea. It rained for many months. There were earthquakes, and the entire earth was covered with water. Finally, their boat came to rest on Monterey Mountain. This is why the Cherokee still live in the mountains, because they are afraid of another flood. They do not like to live where there are no cedar trees either.

The man and his wife had children, and the children had children. The Cherokees spread out to the east and settled the Cherokee outlet to the sea along the Savannah River. They are called the Principal People [*ani yu(n)wiya*] to show they are all descended from this couple. The original Wolf Clan is still the most common.

Similar stories in this vein are the Muskogee migration narrative (Gatschet 1969), origin of the races story (with different tribal versions, although the red race is always the Maker's favorite), the Cherokee story of Kanati and Selu (Mooney [1982]—notice "Divine Twins"), the story of the origin of medicine (the animals visit illness on mankind in revenge, while plants help the Indians—Cherokee), and a creation story in which a water beetle (Cherokee) or muskrat (Seminole) brings up land and a spark of fire out of the primordial waters.

In deliberative oratory, treaty making, and polemics (which is to say, the bulk of all discourse in the postcontact period), the separate creation of the Indian was a favorite topic, as was the avowed role of speaking for the Great Spirit. Models in the Southeast were Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa (twin brothers whose grandfather was a white trader among the Creeks), Hillis Harjo (Josiah Francis, their cousin); Attakullakulla, Oconostota, Dragging Canoe, John Ridge, Young Tassel (John Watts, who had flaming red hair), Elias Boudinot, John Ross, and Sam Houston (Cherokee); Alexander McGillivray and Red Eagle, or William Weatherford (Creek); Red Shoes, Pushmataha, and Moshulatubbee (Choctaw); James, George, and Levi Colbert (Scottish crypto-Jews) and Piomingo (Chickasaw); and Billy Bowlegs, the several Wildcats or Big Cats, and Osceola (Seminole).

Unusual productions are autobiographies of a people, oral histories in the first person plural that speak for all Indians (see Perdue 1993). Some modern-day "speakers" or "seers" such as Archie Sam (Cherokee-Creek-Natchez Indian,

1914–1986) have been placed on videotape and even broadcast. The intertribal body of knowledge passed to them—the seer tradition—can concern past, present, or future and pertain to any of three worlds, or dimensions—upper, middle, or lower. A prophet (for example, Josiah Francis) is thus someone who sees the future, correctly interprets the past, or discerns the meaning of current events. Often he is helped by medicine beings such as the Tie-Snakes, which appeared from a pool of water to the Tuckabatchee Creeks when Tecumseh pressured them to go to war.

Oratory, like song, formed part of ritual ceremonies, "an attempt to order the spiritual and physical world through the power of the word, whether chanted, spoken or sung" (Ruoff 1990). Songs could be social or sacred, personal, tribal, clan-owned, or intertribal. The first question asked of a returning traveler was often, "Did you learn any good songs?" The Creeks looked to the Choctaw as a source for new songs and dances for their annual busks. Ornate speeches were expected at child naming ceremonies, military decorations and promotions, dedications of new lodges, conciliation and friendship ceremonies, chiefs' councils or peace talks, and treaty-making deliberations. Short speeches were proper for general assemblies and festivals, bonding ceremonies (weddings), military harangues, ballplay pep talks and victory speeches, funeral orations, busks or giveaways, and sweat-lodge ceremonies (Cherokee: *asi,* "winter house"). Medicine men speeches were in special languages that could not be translated. Powwow vocables such as "hey" and "ho" preserve fragments of these languages. Strangely, certain communications were heard once and never repeated (chiefs' songs, death songs). Some were even uttered in imaginary languages and composed of animal cries.

Charms and sayings are an additional area of traditional language. Researchers have found a paucity of proverbs in most preliterate societies. Riddles are practically unknown. Most sayings are about breaking a taboo, couched in a deliberately ambiguous fashion. Southeastern Indian humor is spontaneous and sophisticated. There are some good samples in Adair [1930], while in modern times Cherokee vaudevillian Will Rogers has been justly celebrated. Humor was not thought inappropriate even to serious occasions.

The following genres can only be barely mentioned here: stories about the Little People, or Indian fairies, or other races (Moon People), animal fables ("How Possum Lost His Tail," with a moral about boasting, is probably the best known Cherokee story), clan and family tales, ancestor exploits (often today about the Trail of Tears), "anomalous creature" or monster stories (for example, the Tlanuwa, or Great Hawk, at Chattanooga), witch tales (Stonecoat), never-ending or audience-participatory stories (very popular among Siouan tribes), love stories, travelers' tales ("In Mexico there live six different tribes of Indians and they are all cannibals . . ."), war

stories (many about the Iroquois, or Northerlies), women's stories, and dramatizations (sometimes pantomime).

Donald Panther-Yates

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Southeast; Dance, Southeast; Religious Leadership, Southeast; Spirits and Spirit Helpers, Plateau; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Plateau

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Oral Traditions, Southwest

See Emergence Narratives

Oral Traditions, Tlingit

The Tlingit Indians live in Southeast Alaska from Yakutat to Dixon Entrance, predominantly on the coast but with inland communities along the Chilkat and Stikine rivers in Alaska, as well as in Southwest Yukon and Northwest British Columbia. This part of Alaska is an archipelago roughly the same size and shape as Florida, with few communities connected by road, so that contact is primarily by ferry or air. Native people live in scattered, predominantly Native villages of several hundred people, and also in larger cities such as Juneau, Ketchikan, and Sitka.

Coastal Tlingits live in and on the edge of a rain forest—the most extensive temperate rain forest in the world, reaching from Puget Sound to Kodiak Island—and this environment has shaped their way of life and material culture, along with those of other cultures of the region. Known as the Northwest Coast, the culture area extends roughly from Southeast Alaska to Puget Sound and the mouth of the Columbia River.

After California, the Northwest Coast is the second most diverse linguistic area of aboriginal North America. Although the groups are linguistically distinct, the cultures are strikingly similar. With their immediate neighbors to the south, the Haida and Tsimshian, the Tlingit constitute a northern subgroup of Northwest Coast culture. Native American culture of the Northwest Coast has captured the imagination of explorers since first contact. These are the people of totem poles, elaborately carved wooden bowls and bentwood boxes, plank houses, ocean-going canoes, Chilkat robes, button blankets, and other well-known cultural features, especially the ceremony known in English as potlatch. To the extent that the visual art and its role in potlatch were connected with traditional religion, both art and potlatch became targets of attack by some (but not all) missionaries.

Because the region is famous for its totem poles, and totem poles are part of Tlingit mythology, a few words about them are in order. Totem poles were

Canoe prow ornament representing Land-Otter-Man. In Tlingit mythology he features as a powerful being who rescues souls of drowning people and turns them into land otters. Collected from Nass River. 1918. (Werner Forman/Art Resource)

mistakenly equated with "graven images" by some missionaries, but totem poles were never worshipped or prayed to. They were and are essentially heraldic, referring to the genealogy of the person or group that commissioned the pole to be carved and erected. The images do not "tell" a story as much as allude to stories already known, much as the Christian cross does not "tell the Easter story" but alludes to a story familiar from other sources. Totem poles are one of the many forms of Tlingit visual art that allude to narratives from Tlingit myth and legend.

Terms

In this discussion we use the conventional folklore definitions—that is: *myth* is that which is sacred and true, usually in the remote past, with divinities, superhumans, or nonhumans as characters; *legend* is that which is historical and true, with human characters; *memorate* is a remembrance of limited distribution, usually personal or family; *folktale* is fiction. Folktales and deliberate fiction are conspicuously absent in traditional Tlingit oral literature. But, as a given narrative may change categories over time, it is safe to say that a story considered true in the past may not be considered true by contemporary Tlingits. The above, of course, are Western folklore genres. The Tlingit terms for narratives are *tlaagoo,* specifying a narrative of ancient origin or time; and *shkalneek,* referring to any story or narrative in general. As a final distinction in terminology, we are treating myth here as narrative form, in contrast to a discussion of Tlingit religion in general.

Briefly, then, traditional, precontact Tlingit religion was shamanism of a classical circumpolar or Siberian type. All nineteenth-century observers stressed the centrality of the shaman to the entire Tlingit sociocultural order. The source of the shaman's power was his control over powerful spirits, called *yéik,* who served as his helpers. The spirits had the capacity to choose the person whose helpers they wished to become, and it was extremely dangerous to refuse such a call. Many of the stories from what we call legendary time record how clan ancestors or progenitors acquired particular spirits.

In many shamanic traditions, the right to hunt and engage in other subsistence activity is typically established in ancient convenants (myth); continuing luck or success is confirmed through ritual observances and correct personal thought and behavior in remembering those covenants. Myth is the single event in the past that establishes the covenant; the ritual is the ongoing imitation, remembrance, or representation—much like the Jewish seder, Christian communion, the Tlingit *k̲oo.éex'* ("potlatch"), and other personal or private observances in the spiritual tradition. Discussion of the structure of the traditional Tlingit belief system, and of syncretism in contemporary Tlingit religion, is beyond our limits here. For more on this, see R. Dauenhauer (2000).

Myth Types

Narratives in Tlingit oral literature may be grouped into four broad categories, based on style, content, and the internal relationship of the narratives: (1) early myth time; (2) Raven myth time—Raven as culture hero and Raven as trickster; (3) legendary time; and (4) historical time. Other than historical time, these are all types of Tlingit mythology. These categories are descriptive and not prescriptive; while not arbitrary, neither are the boundaries rigid. Tlingit oral literature as we know it today seems to have involved flow between the categories over time. For example, history may become legend. Thus a personal or family memorate of recent origin might attain the status of a community or national legend. Likewise, recent historical, nonmythic events may be understood or reshaped according to the mythic and mythologizing patterns of the culture. That is as true for traditional Tlingit history as it is for American national history of the twenty-first century. Over even longer periods of time, legend may blend with myth.

Early Myth Time

This is a convenient way to group what now seem like the "odds and ends" of Tlingit mythology: creation accounts involving cosmic phenomena (sun, moon, thunder, earthquakes, wind, the milky way, and so forth) and stories of monsters and marvelous creatures, such as the sea monster or "Lucky Lady." Stories in this group are the most enigmatic in Tlingit mythology and warrant further study. They are outside of the Raven cycle, or they describe events prior in time to the Raven cycle. The cosmic phenomena described were created before Raven entered the scene. Also, most of these stories seem "un-Tlingit" in their absence of personal names and clan affiliation, so characteristic of the narratives from legendary time. The motifs are not unique to Tlingit (for example, Sun and Moon being brother and sister who committed incest), and it is unclear if these myths are very ancient or are borrowings from other Native American groups. For more on this category, see N. M. and R. Dauenhauer (1998).

Raven Stories

The most popular character in Tlingit mythology is certainly Raven, and the most significant feature of Tlingit Raven is his dual or multiple personality. In many societies, the roles of culture hero and trickster are filled by two different persons. In Tlingit, they combine in Raven. This has intrigued and confused observers from the earliest Western accounts to the present day. Raven stories can be divided into two categories: "culture hero" and "trickster." The culture hero is a character in mythology who gives the world its present shape. Raven is popularly called a "creator," although he actually creates little or nothing. He is certainly not godlike, much less himself a god. Raven is the great rearranger, a mythic handyman and jack-of-all-trades. Levi-Strauss described him with the French term *bricoleur*. Typically, Raven redistributes things, and he makes the already created world more user-friendly for people and animals. Thus the world as we know it today was largely shaped by Raven out of the elements that already existed but were inaccessible. Fresh water, fire, low tide, the salmon run, the sun, moon, and stars—all existed, but were hoarded by one individual who refused to share it with the rest of creation. Through trickery Raven steals and redistributes them. In the process, other features of the world are often created, such as rivers, the hydrogen cycle, and various animals and their characteristics. There is often an etiological aspect to Raven stories.

It is important to notice that Raven's motives are not altruistic. He is driven by lust, gluttony, ego, and greed. Benefits to the rest of creation are entirely accidental, coincidental, or created from leftovers as an afterthought. Raven cheats and manipulates his fellow creatures, whence the term "trickster." He is incapable of having a "meaningful relationship" with others. In the Tlingit language, the stem for "Raven" and "liar" are the same. The best one can hope for in a partnership with Raven is to emerge alive and simply hungrier—and with damaged pride from having been robbed or cheated. Raven tricks the small birds out of their share of the King Salmon, and he redesigns their plumage as a consolation prize. (See Nora Dauenhauer 2000 for a contemporary version of this story.) Many are not so lucky: Cormorant loses his tongue; Deer becomes Raven's dinner when he slips off the high log Raven dares and tricks him into crossing; Brown Bear dies a painful death after Raven tricks him into cutting off his genitals for fishing bait; Brown Bear's Wife dies a horrible death when Raven tricks her into swallowing hot rocks whole (telling her they are his special fish recipe). Raven, of course, eats them. Many Raven stories are quite provocative, dealing with Raven's sexual appetite and (exploitative, of course) endeavors, and the reshaping of the human body parts. To avoid problems with censorship, Victorian scholars published these episodes in Latin. For more on Raven and tricksters, see Babcock-Abrahams

(1975), Babcock and Cox (1994), N. M. and R. Dauenhauer (1998), Pelton (1989), and Radin (1972).

Legendary Time

A large and important category of Tlingit myth deals with the acquisition of clan spirits and the crests representing them visually by human ancestors in what might be called legendary time. This genre is extremely important in Tlingit oral literature and world view. Technically, these narratives are legends by definition because the events happened to the human ancestors and progenitors of today's clans, but they overlap with myth in their concern with the acquisition of spirits. Through their human element, the stories are owned by the various clans, and protocols concerning the rights to claim, use, and display the crest art related to the stories remain central in Tlingit culture today. These animals, places, and spirits are the figures commonly depicted on totem poles and other visual art. There are usually songs and dances to accompany the story and visual art. In this genre of Tlingit myth, humans are the main characters, and their actions and encounters with the animal, natural, and spiritual worlds have established the covenants by which humans interact with animals and the environment, and that govern human behavior and thought.

The general pattern of these stories is that a human offends some animal or force of nature and is taken by that form of life to live among them, learn to understand and appreciate them, and gain their power as a spiritual guide. Sometimes the humans die, as do the Woman in the Ice in the "Glacier Bay History" and the Woman Who Married the Bear (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1987); sometimes the human returns from this "out of body" experience and becomes a spiritual mediator or a shaman, as does Aak'wtaatseen, the boy who is taken by the Salmon People (Swanton 1970: 301–320). In all cases, the clan of the ancestor involved gains exclusive access to the particular spirits involved. Typically the mythic event remembered in the story is ritually re-enacted through behavior in daily life or in special ceremonial events. For examples of the acquisition of such stories and their ritual and ceremonial use, see Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1987, 1990, 1994b).

We can assume that in oral tradition as in written literary history, and as in contemporary popular culture, the appeal of certain genres may wax and wane over time (like TV westerns, detective shows, sit-coms, and so forth) and that certain classics will endure. Swanton's storyteller Katishan explains at the end of his Raven cycle that since the time of the Raven stories, "everything is about spirits" (1970: 154). We understand this to mean that the spirit acquisition stories had been gaining in popularity over time. It also implies a concept of time-depth, with the spirit and crest acquisition stories being more recent than the Raven stories and increasingly capturing the popular imagination.

Historical Time

When we enter historical time, in which events can be recorded orally and also be confirmed with other ethnohistorical documentation, we leave the categories of myth. We can touch on only two considerations here. One consideration is the extent to which any culture shapes, interprets, and reinvents its history and its current events in terms of its mythic structures and contemporary needs. (See, for example, Jaroslav Pelikan, *Jesus through the Centuries.*) The other consideration is how we understand mythic truth. Do we accept the myth and legend described above as true, or not? Does mythic truth need to be literal, or can a story be metaphorically and spiritually true, even if people are no longer inclined to accept it literally? A classic example from Western religion is how various denominations in the Judeo-Christian tradition understand and interpret *Genesis.* As a trickster, Raven is alive and well. He is a negative role model, an example of how not to behave. His antics address and embody the psychological and social forces, the personal and cultural anxieties and strategies, at work and at play in all of us. Tricksters like Raven are sacred clowns who can help us "work through our dark side" as we create meaning in our own present lives. As hackneyed as the story of Raven's theft of the sun, moon, and stars can seem at times, it still cuts to the heart of the anxieties of intergenerational relationships. The story in which Raven gets Seagull and Crane to fight each other and spit up a swallowed fish for him is a classic pattern of transactional analysis called "let's you and him fight": one player manipulates two others to fight so that they both lose and the instigator (Raven) wins at their expense. As for the human heroes of Tlingit myth and legend, ideally we live according to the spiritual and ecological covenants they established with the spirits of animals and the land. The wisdom they pass on was hard won and often purchased at the cost of life, so that we might live.

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Northwest; Masks and Masking; Oral Traditions; Oral Traditions, Northwest Coast; Power, Northwest Coast; Religious Leadership, Alaska; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Northwest Coast and Southeast Alaska; Tricksters

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Oral Traditions, Western Plains

Conceptions of Oral Tradition

As in most of North America, Western Plains oral traditions and mythology can be divided into several types. Among the Arapaho, there were ancient stories (*haetaedau*) dealing with legendary characters including the spider trickster, stories relating to recent events (*haucitau*), and jokes or catch stories (*baebaeyat*). The Crow divided tales into myths (told over and over)—such as the Old Man Coyote cycle, the Buffalo Wife, and the Lodge Boy and Thrown-Away tales, and traditions (stories based on direct experience). The Crow term for storytelling is "retelling one's own" (*baaeechichiwaau*). Other categorizations include creation myths, migration legends, tales (of animals, tricksters, heroes), songs, oratory, biographies, and others. Modern categories include poetry, use of originally oral sources in novels, movies, plays, and picture books, and oral histories related to cultural resource management.

The context of oral traditions is important. In most tribes, the best "right time" for storytelling, especially of sacred texts, was winter, although some stories were told at any time of year, any place, during a meal, a sweat, a powwow, or driving to town. Many stories and songs are associated with performances, complex ceremonies, and ritual actions, such as bundle openings, sweatlodge, sun dance, and war parties. Music was considered a form of communication. Talking was done by the flute (called Siyotanka by Lakota) to charm lovers, and sounds of rattles and drum accompaniment had meaning, such as the heartbeat or buffalo running. Vocables, rhythmic patterns and pauses, as well as costumes, were as important to some stories, songs, or performances as the explicit verbal context. So were voiced intonation and

emphasis, telling and listening, and interaction between performer and audience.

Oral literature is mythic and sacred, conveying deep cultural truths. Stories functioned to entertain, teach lessons, and reinforce tribal values. When Old Man Coyote is creating the world and says, "It is bad that I am alone," the underlying Crow value is that a person should not be an orphan, one without relatives, and that everyone, even a creator, needs someone to give him/her advice. One of the most sacred numbers in all tribes is four, which represents completion or wholeness. Some myths portray a reversal of the everyday social order (tangled hierarchy). A woman who draws buffalo to their deaths over a cliff based on human need for food in turn gives them life through song and dance. Other attributes of Western Plains myth are personification and the spiritual interrelatedness of all beings (*mitakuye oyasin,* "we are all related," according to the Sioux), ambivalence and shape-shifting, and the need to remain vigilant.

Sioux and Blackfeet historians used pictorial "winter count" or "summer count" calendars as mnemonic devices with narrative oral history. The Sioux said, "The picture is the rope that ties memory to the stake of truth." A man might use a robe decorated with pictures of his war exploits and shield designs based on his spiritual visions to reinforce biographical accounts of his actions. A woman, especially a member of a select group, such as the Cheyenne robe-quiller's society, might use a porcupine-quill or beaded robe along with oral explanations of symbolic design narrative. Sometimes oral traditions are tied to interpretations of rock art (pictographs and petroglyphs), sacred sites such as the Big Horn and Sun River medicine wheels, and sacred landscapes such as the Backbone of the World (the Rocky Mountains on earth and the Milky Way in the sky), Sweetgrass Hills, Chief Mountain in Glacier Park, and Bear Butte (Paha Sapa) in the Black Hills.

Often there were esoteric and popular versions of stories, including versions told for children. Narratives were based on the memory and creativity of the tellers. Variations of some stories are told by many different tribes, portraying essentially the same characters, plots, and themes but with different details. These include earth-diver creation stories, grandmother's grandchild or lodge boy, rolling heads, brothers and sisters who become stars, and many others.

Traditional Oral Accounts

Creation of the universe is explained by a supreme being, such as Akbaatatdia (Crow), Wakan Tanka (Sioux), Tam Apo (Shoshone), and Maheo (Cheyenne). The more visible creation is accomplished by a culture hero, such as Old Man Coyote, Isaahkawuattee (Crow), Old Man, Napi (Blackfeet), and Flat Pipe Man (Arapaho). Each sends animals such as ducks or turtles diving beneath water that covers the earth, knowing in their hearts that there is something below. Finally one brings up mud, from which is cre-

ated the land surface. Humans, animals, birds, and fish, mountains, lakes, and rivers, stars (constellations), seasons, and finally customs are created by a variety of beings. After Napi created the world, he retired to his favorite gambling spot in the Backbone of the World (northern Rocky Mountains) and Sun Chief took over guidance of humans. Among the Northern Shoshone, Our Father (Tam Apo) created the world, and the sun is his manifestation; an Indian chief disguised as Wolf arranged and supervises the world.

The creation process takes place gradually and is ongoing. The Assiniboine and Crow tell how summer came to be when the northern people sent five animals south to steal the summer and made a deal that the northern and southern people would each keep it for six months. On the origin of the Big Dipper constellation, the Cheyenne say that bison chase Quillwork Girl and her seven brothers, who escape into the sky. Among the Blackfeet, Crow, and Assiniboine, a bear chases a sister and her seven brothers, and in some Crow and Arapaho stories, the seven stars are seven buffalo bulls.

There are many stories of human-animal relationships. One Blackfeet myth tells of animals taking human form and feeding White Eagle and his starving family during one winter, on the condition that people behave correctly toward the animals. When White Eagle's son picks up a flint-tipped hunting arrow, this condition was violated, and it was some time before the covenant between humans and animals was reestablished. Another Blackfeet account tells how the buffalo drive originated as a gift to a woman picking berries when she heard a song and found a buffalo stone (*iniskim*) that would locate buffalo to be led over a cliff. In the Blackfeet story of the buffalo dance, the buffalo are lured over the buffalo jump (*pishkun*) when a young woman promises to marry one of them. A magpie is the messenger between the girl and her father, who follows her to the herd. After he is trampled and she sings him back to life, an agreement is reached to do the same for the buffalo. It is said that Old Man Coyote taught the Crow how to kill many buffalo by tricking them into running over a cliff. Another Crow legend is that Running Coyote received a buffalo jump technique in a vision. The Cheyenne culture hero Erect Horns (Red Tassel or Standing on the Ground) journeyed to the Black Hills, where he was given the Sacred Buffalo Hat (*Is'siwun*), along with the related buffalo ceremonies, the sweatlodge, and Sun Dance (Renewal Lodge). The bear also is an awesome and spiritually powerful animal portrayed by many tribes in rock art, on shields, in ceremonial bear dances, and in stories.

The Little People, known as Awakkule, or keepers of the earth by the Crow because they live in caves, and Ninnimbe by the Shoshone, are spiritual beings who can take the form of small human Dwarfs with great physical strength and spiritual knowledge; they also are considered

makers of pictographs and petroglyphs. They can be dangerous, mischievous, or helpful. The Crow legend of Shoot the Arrow Rock has it that a small boy fell off a travois when the dog pulling it chased a rabbit or deer. He was found and adopted by the Little People, and when he returned to the tribe as an adult he brought many teachings and skills.

Hero stories abound that show the importance of spiritual connections, courage, skill, and vigilance in facing ordeals and overcoming obstacles and enemies. According to the Crow, Old Woman's Grandchild is the son of the Sun and a human mother, adopted by an old woman; he chops off the heads of snakes that crawl into people's bodies, is sucked into a buffalo or other monster who swallows people so he can stab it from the inside, tricks an old woman who uses a magical pot to boil people so that she is boiled by her own pot, tames a ferocious bear, and challenges and kills other bad things. Then he ascends to the sky and becomes a star. Other stories pit a skillful Indian against a water monster or dragon that is killed by throwing hot stones into his mouth. A common theme is the poor orphan, pitied and adopted by a supernatural helper to become successful.

Women are heroines. Among the Blackfeet, Napi's wife, Old Woman, helped Napi and emphasized the existence of frailty, difficulty, death, and sympathy. The most important Sioux legend about a woman is White Buffalo Calf Woman, who brought the Sacred Pipe and associated ceremonies, as well as social customs such as those relating to marriage and cooking. She is responsible for the buffalo that sustain the people; she also told stories to children. According to the Cheyenne, the buffalo are controlled by Ehyophstah, the master spirit of the animals. In one Cheyenne legend, when the people were starving an old woman beneath a spring filled the land with buffalo and corn. The Crow believe that a woman identified the sacred tobacco that had been seen in the vision of the man No Vitals. The Sioux heroine Changing Woman, who has manifestations as heroine and witch, moral woman and temptress, brought the art of quilling to women of the tribe. Likewise the Cheyenne and Blackfeet quilling societies, members of which are select women, were established by a sacred woman. Members of the Native American Church, which moved onto the Northern Plains about a hundred years ago, look to a woman who called attention to peyote, the sacramental "medicine."

Relations between men and women also are told of. According to Blackfeet legend, in the beginning Old Man (Napi) created men and women living separately. Both chased buffalo herds off cliffs (*pishkun*); men used bows and arrows as well, but dressed poorly and did not keep clean, whereas women tanned buffalo hides, made tepees, used porcupine quills for decoration, and were clean except when butchering buffalo. Eventually men and women were united, along with their unique skills.

There are biographical legends. In a Blackfeet story, Mia-wa, plagued by bad luck, goes on a vision quest and obtains an animal helper to become a successful and respected hunter and warrior. In the Crow story of Big Metal, a boy thrown off a cliff by his stepfather is rescued by seven bighorn rams and given sacred powers. Plays With His Face, known as the bravest of all Crow men, was both respected and feared by fellow tribesman and enemies from other tribes because of his aggressiveness and ridicule of death; mothers would get their children to behave just by mention of his name. Shield-bearing warriors are ubiquitous in rock art; they may be combat warriors or visionary shaman-warriors. Ledger drawings of their own exploits and travels were done by Four Bears (Mandan), Sitting Bull (Sioux), Medicine Crow (Crow), and others. There were personal songs related to honor, war parties, death, and victory dances. Other pictorial and oral traditions tell of war exploits and defense, and stories of intertribal conflict include the Pryor Creek (Fence Lodges) battle between Crow under siege by Sioux, the Grapevine Creek battle of Crow versus Blackfeet, and Blackfeet versus either Shoshone or a combined force of Gros Ventres, Plains Cree, and Crow at Writing-On-Stone (Keyser).

Several tribes have migration legends. Two Hidatsa brothers had visions. In his, Red Scout was given corn seeds and told to go to the Missouri River and farm. No Vitals was given tobacco seeds, identified also with stars, and told to journey to the mountains, where his people became the nomadic buffalo-hunting Crow. An ancient Cheyenne legend tells of travel along a rocky coast, crossing a large body of salt water in bull-boats made of bison skin revealed to an old man in a vision; then they traveled south, with subsequent accounts of migrations from eastern woodland farming villages to the Black Hills as nomadic buffalo hunters.

Stories are told of the origin of rituals and instruments. The Nez Perce sweat house began as a man who gave characteristics to each animal and then placed himself on the ground for the use of humans in gaining power. The Crow sweatlodge is a way of healing, and stories have it that an alligator or boy was found at the bottom of a lake or drowned and taken into the sweatlodge; he was restored and remembered that he was a man who would float rather than sink. The Flathead/Kalispel tell of the origin of the drum: when a hunter threw a green elk hide over a pine stump, he was angry when it dried and would not come off, so he hit it with a stick. The people recognized it as sounding like the Thunderbird and buffalo feet pounding the earth, and that the drum spoke the quiet thoughts in their hearts.

The Big Horn Medicine Wheel is identified as an early Sun Dance–based structure by Cheyenne and Crow traditions. Crow legend attributes the Fort Smith Medicine Wheel to Burnt Face, who constructed it while on a vision quest to heal his disfigurement. Blackfeet associate

the Sun Dance (Medicine Lodge) with Star Boy (Scar Face), the son of Morning Star (in turn the son of Father Sun and Mother Moon) and the human Feather Woman. After rejection by the woman he loves, Scar Face traveled to the Sun's Lodge, his scar was removed, and he was given the ceremony for the health of the people. In some accounts, it is Feather Woman who gives the Sun Dance to the Blackfeet.

Trickster stories involve humor and lessons. Plains tricksters include the universal coyote, and sometimes spider, magpie, and raven, and specifically Iktome (Spider) (Sioux), Veeho (Spider) (Cheyenne), Old Man Coyote (Crow), and Old Man Napi (Blackfeet). The Trickster is clever and insatiable: his essential urge is a desire to be unbound and without limitations, exhibited in greed and selfish urges, hunger, sexuality, laziness, and a tendency to roam. Trickster does both good and bad, is at the same time creator and destroyer, a thief who yet is able to be helpful, who dupes others and who is always duped by himself or others. Everything he does involves irony and humor. In Salish-Kootenai stories he tricks Giants to save people, animals, and even Wood Tick. In the Cheyenne story of juggling eyeballs, trickster Veeho once threw his eyeballs into the air to get a better look; he could not get his own eyes back, so he replaced them with a mouse eye and a buffalo eye, each of which view the world very differently. Trickster stories teach that being too clever and not obeying rules can lead to troubling consequences.

Tribal names have legends associated with them. The division of the Crow Tribe called Kicked in the Bellies (an offshoot of the Mountain Crow) was named from an incident when they saw their first horse, when a man stepped too close to the hind legs of a horse and was kicked. Crow clan names have stories associated with them: Ties The Bundle comes from the characteristic fast packing by quickly laying out a blanket, putting possessions on it, and tying the four corners together, ready for travel; Greasy Mouth from being such good hunters that they always have good buffalo fat in their mouth; Sore Lips from working outside so much that they are sunburned. For most tribes, the name a person was given also functioned as a story, a path, or a dream to live by.

Interaction of Indians and Non-Indians

There are traditions associated with the coming of, and the effects of, the white man. Shining Shirt (Kalispel/Salish/Flathead) received a prophetic vision in which he saw a metal talisman inscribed with a cross and predicted fair-skinned men in long black skirts who would bring changes in their religion and lives. The prophet Wooden Cup (Sioux) and the culture hero Sweet Medicine (Cheyenne) prophesied the coming of strangers with light skins and powerful ways who would radically change things. In a vision, Plenty Coups (Crow) saw cattle come out

of a cavern to replace buffalo. The Cheyenne identify the white man, who is both clever and dangerous, with Veeho, the spider/trickster. Likewise, the Blackfeet call the white man Napikwan, similar to the trickster Old Man.

The battle of the Rosebud, which occurred In 1876 and involved the Sioux and Cheyenne against General Crook's men with Crow and Shoshone scouts, is called by the Cheyenne "Where the Girl Saved Her Brother," because Buffalo Calf Road Woman rescued her brother, Comes In Sight. Another Cheyenne tale pertains to an 1890 incident involving Head Chief, a young man in his twenties, and Young Mule, a boy of fourteen. Hungry, they shot a cow and killed the man who discovered them butchering it. Singing their death songs, both of them rode toward the U.S. soldiers sent to arrest them. Women made the brave-heart cry as they died with honor.

Oratory and treaty speeches often emphasize territorial protection, defense of Indian culture, and spiritual issues. The Crow leader Sits in the Middle of the Land said in 1867: "My grandfathers advised the nation of the Crows to be good. How can we be good, when you take our lands, promising in return so many things which you never give us?" Black Moon (Sioux) stated in 1868: "The whites . . . are cruel to our people, maltreat and massacre them without reason, or for the slightest cause. . . . They are ruining our land. . . . This soil is ours, and we are determined not to yield an inch of it." After the Battle of the Bear Paw in 1877, Chief Joseph (Nez Perce) made his famous surrender speech, in which he said, "From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more, forever." Picture-writing included oral stories that accompanied winter counts and other pictures. Sioux "winter count" pictures show "smallpox used them up winter" (Mallery 1893, 308) in 1779–1780, and the "first issue of goods winter" (ibid., 323) in 1851–1852, when the Fort Laramie Treaty was signed.

Ghost Dance songs and symbolic designs on clothing among the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Sioux, and other tribes not only emphasized the poverty, starvation, and misery forced on Indians by the U.S. Army and Bureau of Indian Affairs but also contact with the spiritual world and rejuvenation of life. Sitting Bull traveled with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and was given a trained white horse. According to legend, when the leader Sitting Bull was shot in December 1890, it began dancing like a circus horse.

Modern Oral Tradition

Contemporary Indian poetry is an extension of the oral tradition, as is use of oral tradition stories or styles in novels, movies, and plays and other performances. They are informed by traditional, intercultural, postcolonial, and postmodernist themes.

Some poems are nostalgic, being about the past, as when Minerva Allen (Assiniboine) refers to smoke around camp poles, the smell of sweetgrass, and the buffalo hunt as central to the meaning of

life. Others relate to historical events. In a poem by James Welch (Blackfeet/Gros Ventre), "The Man from Washington" was a slouching dwarf with rainwater eyes who came to make false treaty promises. Novels that express Native traditions include *Cogewea, The Half Blood* (1927) by Mourning Dove (Salish), *The Surrounded* (1936) by D'Arcy McNickle (Salish), and *Fools Crow* (1986) by James Welch (Blackfeet/Gros Ventre). Plains movies that include Native traditions include *Before the White Man Came* (1920), *Walks Far Woman* (1980), and *Dances with Wolves* (1990).

Intercultural conflicts and racism are dealt with in some poems. The phrase "your hate for the wild who bring you money" in Jim Welch's poem about Harlem, Montana, refers basically to the conflict that non-Indians have about Indian drinking versus the profit motive to sell them liquor. Other poems and novels deal with accommodation of traditional and modern worlds, as in *Winter in the Blood* (1974) by James Welch (Blackfeet/Gros Ventre).

Oral tradition continues contemporary influence in widely read spiritual autobiographies such as the Crow elders Plenty Coups and Pretty Shield (Linderman 1930, 1932), the Sioux holy man Black Elk (1932 and 1971), and in the stories and style of *Lame Deer* (Sioux), *Seeker of Visions* (John Fire Lame Deer and Richard Erdoes 1972). Hank Real Bird (Crow) is one of the best known of cowboy poets. In *Rising Voices,* Hirschfelder and Singer (1992) include many poems by young people connecting with historical, spiritual, and ritual tradition. Eight Crow students gave poetry readings at the Library of Congress Poetry and Literature Series program in Washington, D.C., in 1994. The stories and jokes of announcers at powwows are a modern expression of oral tradition, as are emerging Native theater and musical performances, such as the play *Trickster at Dirty Corner* by Vic Charlo (Salish) in 1991, the Eastern Montana College 1993 adaptation of Hanay Geiogamah's play *49* (see Geiogamah 1980), and the PBS broadcast of the intertribal *Spirit* in 1999.

Oral Traditions, Historic Studies, and Cultural Resource Management in Modern Times

Traditional stories have been handed down to modern times, sometimes being adapted to current themes. Many of the Western/Northern Plains stories published in the book *American Indian Myths and Legends* (Erdoes and Ortiz 1984) were gathered during the period from 1890 to 1910; others were recorded from the 1960s to the 1980s, including "Coyote and the Mallard Ducks" (Nez Perce), "Doing a Trick with Eyeballs" (Cheyenne), "Quillwork Girl and Her Seven Star Brothers" (Cheyenne), and "The Legend of Devil's Tower" (Sioux).

During the early twentieth century, Indians and non-Indians published written forms of traditional stories. Sioux stories were set down by Charles Eastman, Luther Standing Bear, and Zitkala-Sa (Gertrude Bonnin). Other traditions, mythology, and tales were recorded from

the Blackfeet by Clark Wissler and D. C. Duvall (1909), Blackfeet and Cheyenne by George Bird Grinnell (1892 and 1926), Arapaho by George Dorsey and Alfred Kroeber (1903); Salishan and Sahaptin by James Teit (edited by Boas 1917), and Crow by Robert Lowie (1918).

Today, a number of oral traditions are being published in texts "as told to" or compiled by Native authors. These include *The Sun Came Down* (1985) by Percy Bullchild (Blackfeet), *From the Heart of the Crow Country* (1992) by Joseph Medicine Crow (Crow), and *Stories that Make the World* (1995) by Rodney Frey (who worked with inland northwest storytellers from the Coeur d'Alene, Crow, Klikitat, Kootenai, Nez Perce, Sanpoil, Wasco, and Wishram tribes).

Since the 1970s, bilingual education books and pamphlets have been produced in Native languages and English, often with illustrations. An Indian reading series was developed by the Pacific Northwest Indian Reading and Language Development Program, Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, and sponsored by the U.S. National Institute of Education. Booklets written by members of various tribes and published between 1978 and 1983 include *How the Big Dipper and North Star Came to Be* (Assiniboine), *Napi's Journey* (Blackfeet), *Birds and People* (Crow), *How Horses First Came* (Gros Ventre), *Coyote Gets Lovesick* (Salish Kootenai), and *Inkdomi and the Buffalo* (Assiniboine). The Council for Indian Education in Billings, Montana, has published numerous stories and poems, with an intertribal editorial board that includes Assiniboine, Blackfeet, Cheyenne, Chippewa, Cree, Crow, Lakota Sioux, and other tribal members. Individual tribes record and publish stories in connection with oral history or bilingual projects for use in schools, including the Crow Bilingual Materials Development Center, the Flathead Culture Committee of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, and the Blackfeet Culture Committee. In 1991, Native Voices Public Television Workshop produced *Transitions,* a Blackfeet documentary film exploring the relationship between languages, thoughts, and culture, and the impact of language loss.

Several stories with accompanying pictures have been published as illustrated children's books. Among these are the versions retold by Paul Goble of *The Great Race of the Animals* (1991) (Cheyenne and Sioux), *Star Boy* (1991) (Blackfeet), and *Her Seven Brothers* (1993) (Cheyenne). Joseph Medicine Crow (Crow) wrote *Brave Wolf and the Thunderbird* (1998).

Oral traditions inform historical studies and cultural resource management. Sometimes these come into court as testimony by expert witnesses for ethnographic and historical perspectives.

Comparative studies of Native oral history and archaeological findings have been done relating to Sioux migrations and use of the Black Hills, the 1876 Little Big Horn battle, the 1878 Northern Cheyenne breakout from imprisonment at Fort Robinson, Indian

use of Yellowstone Park, U.S. Bureau of Land Management supervision of the Sweetgrass Hills (sacred to the Blackfeet, Cree, and other tribes), and the U.S. Forest Service management of the Big Horn Medicine Wheel. Tribal colleges such as Little Big Horn College and Salish-Kootenai College have sponsored projects to study oral history and folklore, including geographical names for places on the land, the origins of those names, and stories relating to the places.

Once traditions were told and retold orally, with pictorial and performance manifestations. Still told orally today, they also are put down on paper and in electronic media. They carry cultural values and expressions into land management and museum programs, courtrooms, and classrooms, as well as daily and ceremonial life.

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See also Art (Traditional and Contemporary), Plains; Drums; Literature, Religion in Contemporary American Indian Literature

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Oral Traditions, Yupiaq

The closest analogy to religion in Yupiaq culture is the concept of *Yuuyaraq* (The Way of Human Being), the central guiding principle or philosophy of the Yupiaq nation of Alaska. The expression of *Yuuyaraq* is a body of concepts especially about human life that begins to define the notion of Yupiaq culture. Through a discussion of Yupiaq oral tradition, this short essay defines *Yuuyaraq* and, by extension, Yupiaq ideology.

The central guiding principle of the Yupiaq is *Yuuyaraq*. Within that central principle are embedded such words as *Ak'a tamani,* "A Long Time Ago at That Place"; *Nunaput,* "Our Land"; *Tangeryaraput,* "Our Way of Seeing"; *Kinakuciyaraput,* "Our Way of Knowing Who We Are"; *Tulukaruk,* "Raven, the Creator of Yupiaq Universe and All That Dwells Within"; and *Angalkugyaraq,* "The Way of the *Angalkuq*" (the Yupiaq medicine people). Within these words are concepts of who the Yupiaq are, and it is these words that give us a snapshot of our identity. The further exploration of these phrases is a complex linguistic exercise. In this essay the notion of the *angalkuryaraq* will be explored. I will begin in the manner of my people, the Yupiaq, with a recent story:

Long ago there was a shaman [*Angalkuq*] named Issiisaayuq who directed his people to carve a mask depicting a freight ship. This was unfamiliar to the people, but they followed his instruction. On the forehead of the mask was a boat with three masts. The center mast had a platform with a man in it. On the deck of the ship was a caribou. The following summer a ship, exactly like the carving, arrived from the sea. On the sides of the ship were images of half human faces. When it arrived at the mouth of the Kuskokwim River the people warned each other not to desire or want the goods from the boat, because they would come to no good. One day one of the men came to the boat, and he noticed that the eyes on the faces were turning toward the sea. The ship sailed away, and all the trade goods acquired disappeared. Issiisaayuq's daughter cried for a necklace that she saw on the boat. Since she would not stop crying for a necklace, Issiisaayuq instructed his wife to spread a skin outside. When she did so, it began to hail. The hail that landed on the ground melted but the hail that landed on the skin did not. They brought these into the *qasegiq* and made a necklace for the daughter. The ornament did not last long, and the following summer a real freight ship arrived as prophesied by Issiisaayuq (Ali and Active 1982).

I use this story to illustrate in part how my generation has heard of our *Angalkut* (traditional religious leaders)—that is, through our stories. The depth with which different individuals within a community understood the story I have just told reflects how each generation interprets that story. To get the inner meaning of this story, one must consult elders who were on the fringes of cultural change at the time of contact between the newcomers and traditional Yupiaq. These elders I refer to are the true Yupiaq language masters, whose primary language is the Yupiaq mother tongue. As the true masters, these elders instruct younger Yupiaq people in the meaning and interpretation of such oral traditions.

When the elders are consulted, this oral tradition takes on much greater depth and meaning. My parents learned from their elders that the *Angalkut* (medicine people), such as the one mentioned in this story, were endowed with special powers as healers, teachers, and forecasters of events, distance seers, and ritual/spiritual leaders. They were also mediators between the concrete and the abstract, between the physical and unseen realms. With their spirit helpers, the *Angalkut* transcended the physical and spiritual realms to accomplish various tasks to benefit the Yupiaq communities.

In this story the *Angalkuq* calls for a certain mask to be carved. The *kegginaquq* (mask) was used by an *Angalkuq,* and was an essential part of her or his ritual. The elders teach us that when the mask is worn a transformation occurs, and the wearer not only looks like the intended symbol but also actually becomes that image. According to my father, the *Angalkuq* would have a *kegginaquq*

carved by a skilled carver, or if skilled himself (as in my grandfather's case) would carve it himself, guided by the vision he received either in a dream or in trance. In the *qasegiq* (men's community house), my father heard various stories about creation and later about *agayuliluteng,* which were masked dances performed with songs to help make animals available for the hunters or to do something good for the people.

According to my father, in the story described above a seal gut rain parka would have been used by the *Angalkuq* as part of the ritual regalia during some ceremonies. This parka indicates a symbolic connection to the *imarpek* (literally, "big container, ocean"), a powerful place where some of the important animals needed by the Yupiaq reside. With a mask and a seal gut rain parka, the *Angalkuq* is symbolically transformed before the participants in the ceremony. The ceremony would have been held in the *qasegiq,* illuminated by whatever light would have come through the seal gut window in the central ceiling. It is through this window that the *yua* ("person," or "spirit") of the *Angalkuq* would enter the realm of the unseen to perform whatever task it set out to do.

As would have been the case in the story described above, the drum was always used by the *Angalkuq,* or sometimes by his assistant. For the Yupiaq, according to my father, the drum was the instrument that helped the *Angalkuq* to transport themselves between the physical and spiritual worlds. The vibrations of the drum are powerful and mysterious, and they help to provide the link between different worlds. The mind's eye conjures the many unseen elements of the Yupiaq world. The *yua* of human and nonhuman beings and the forces of *ella* that exist within the universe are a drumbeat away.

Oral traditions are not merely spoken or written literary texts. An essential part of these verbal expressions, in addition to proper dress, vocalization, and drumming, was movement. The *Angalkuq* also danced, sometimes alone but at times also accompanied by members of the community. The movement of the body through dance transforms energy and distorts space. The visual symbolic representation of the mask and regalia couple with the collective mind-power of all of the participants of the specific ritual and enable them to transcend time and space. In the ritual dancing, the dancers hold in their hands the *taruyamaarak,* two circular dance fans, one for each hand. The dance fans use the black and white wing feathers from the *anipak* (snowy owl, the messengers of spirits). In the dance, the men are on their knees facing the people, and the women stand behind them symmetrically moving in synchrony with each other to the beat of the drums. Along the back wall of the *qasegiq* are the benches where the drummers sit. There is powerful imagery in the movement of the dance fans with the snowy owl feathers accentuating the symbolism of body language. For the Yupiaq participants, the movements of the

dance and the sound speak a timeless language of their own.

The power of the spoken word was used by the *Angalkuq* and coupled with the all-powerful vibrations of the song and drum. The metaphorical *Tulukaruk* (Raven, the Creator), also known as *Ellum Yua* (The Person of the Universe), created the spoken word and song at the time of creation. It is understood that *Ellum Yua* is only a vibration away from its creatures, and connected through the spoken word, song, drum, and ceremony. *Ellum Yua* taught that thoughts are real and that words have power, and warned that words have to be used wisely and carefully. Since thoughts are real and words have power, it stands to reason that *Ellum Yua*'s creations must not use words to injure the feelings of others, human or nonhuman. It is taught that the feelings generated in the receiver by the words spoken to her or him have power, and they will return to the speaker in the manner spoken.

How the Medicine People Acquired Their Power

The *Angalkut* acquired their power from family stories. Some *Angalkut* were born with the power. The gifted child had an unmistakable, intense gaze that an *Angalkuq* identified. However, oral traditions and stories remain a central vehicle for the transmission of power. Some stories were inherited within the family and passed from parent to child, or in some cases from the grandparents to the grandchild. In another example, I draw from a story told by Cyril Alexie, a close cousin of my father, that was recorded on audio tape in 1993. Cyril Alexie recalled traveling with his father on the tundra in the fall and finding a mouse colony with a store of *anlleret* (mouse food, the roots of marsh grass), which has a sweet-tasting white center and is used in soups and in *akutaq*. When they dug up the mouse food, they found that the earthworms were eating the roots. Mr. Alexie's father told him to kneel down and put his hands into the mass of wiggling worms. The worms would have melded into his body, and it was believed that he would have acquired the power to heal. And as he put it, "I would have even been able to heal broken bones." He said with a smile that he just couldn't do it: *qungvagnarqisciyagtellrut* ("they were just too ticklish"). He was modest and did not even directly say that he could have been an *Angalkuq* if he had allowed himself to meld with the earthworms. According to Mr. Alexie, being an *Angalkuq* takes great responsibility; in his words he implied that he was not ready at that time to undertake such a journey.

I will stray for a moment and inject an additional story related to healing. Healing was one important work of an *Angalkuq*. While Mr. Alexie does not designate himself as an *Angalkuq*, he is known by his people as "one who helps people to feel better." Mr. Alexie performs the Yupiaq surgical procedure known as *qapluki* (poking them). He locates by sensitive touching with the tips of his fingers an area of indisposition along the

spine of his believing and willing patient. He pierces the folded epidermal skin with a scalpel-like instrument. The patient's skin is stretched tight and held by an assistant. He then manipulates and massages the pierced area, and a milky-white bloodless liquid is squeezed out. According to my siblings, he performed this procedure on my father several times in the early 1990s. I watched this same procedure being performed by my father on his youngest brother, Benjamin, in the late 1940s while we were in our winter camp. Mr. Alexie still performs this healing ritual but no longer uses the scalpel; he now uses only his hands.

Most present-day Yupiaq have been Christianized, yet they still tell stories of the *Angalkut* and the powers they had. There are rumors that there may be a powerful *Angalkuq* in one of the lower Kuskokwim villages. What is interesting to me is that the area that the rumors refer to is known for its strict adherence to the doctrines of the Moravian Church. The Moravian Church is a Pre-reformation Protestant Church, founded in 1457. It is an evangelical mainline denomination and ecumenical church (Henkelman and Vitt 1985). The Yupiaq in these villages do not sing or dance the old Yupiaq songs or perform the dances. I had the opportunity to meet Kirt Vitt, the coauthor of the book *Harmonious to Dwell,* and he told me that he took a controversial stand when he stated in the book that the *Angalkut* were not all evil, since some of them tried to do good things for people. Dr. Ann Fienup-Riordan has also written an article on Yupiaq elders' memories of *Angalkut.*

As a Yupiaq person living in the twenty-first century, I have been influenced mainly by the encounter of two cultures, the Yupiaq and the Euro-American. By the middle of the nineteenth century, most of the non-Native external forces that would begin affecting the Yupiaq world were well underway. Missionization, assimilation, and acculturation policies of the U.S. government were just a few of those forces. I was hit on the palm of my hands with a wooden ruler for speaking Yupiaq in the second grade. My younger sister, Uyuruciaq (Mary Stachelrodt), and I were sent to a Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding grade school in Wrangell, Alaska, a town in Tlingit territory of southeastern Alaska for one year. In Wrangell I was taught table manners, to iron a white shirt, and to tie a double Windsor necktie without looking in the mirror. In a carving class, I was forced to carve Tlingit totem poles, although I wanted to carve something Yupiaq. We were lined up according to height and marched to our meals daily.

The assimilation and acculturation policies of the U.S. government were efforts to Westernize Alaska Native children, and those polices further added to the cultural suppression practiced in the missionization process. There were relocation and termination policies carried out by the federal government that added to the cultural suppression of Native Alaskan as well as other Native

Americans. Relocation took the form of various training programs for nonmanagerial positions, such as bookkeeping, automobile repair, and cooking. The trainees were given one-way tickets to the job site, and it was hoped by the Bureau of Indian Affairs that these people would assimilate into the dominant society. The termination policies were implemented by the U.S. Department of Interior when it determined that a particular "Indian" tribe would no longer be recognized as a federally recognized tribe, and its tribal status was "terminated." Its members were then expected to integrate into the dominant society. These federal policies resulted in loss of culture and identity. Even today, the residue of colonization persists in what is called the "certificate of degree of Indian blood." Native Americans who belong to federally recognized tribes within the United States carry a card that shows blood quantum in order to get various social services. My family members and I carry such a card.

Despite the cultural suppression and genocide that was practiced by these external forces, the Yupiaq culture is still alive. This survival has been made possible through the Yupiaq language and oral tradition, and has taken the form of family remembrances, stories and songs, dances, rituals, and artistic expressions. As an insider who comes from the Yupiaq culture and with first-hand experience in my family's ways of living, I have written this essay to contribute to the growing body of primary information on the Yupiaq/*Cupiaq* society.

In February of 1994, when I had to return to Bethel, Alaska, on a personal family emergency, I attended the First Traditional *Yup'ik* Healing Conference, at which two Yupiaq elders spoke about the "poking" process and how they still practice it. They are recognized traditional healers. One of these men had a friend who travels with him, and that man attested to the healing of the procedure. The man who made this statement added that he makes sure he is never far from *yungcaristika* ("[my] doctor"). In the audience were medical practitioners from the local health organizations and two nursing instructors from the University of Alaska, Anchorage. Despite the cultural suppression that was practiced by the external forces, the Yupiaq culture is still alive. It has survived through these oral traditions, in the form of family stories and songs, dances, rituals, and artistic expressions.

Ciulanka ciumik quyaviksuganka (My first ones, first, I want to thank).

Kanaqlak (George P. Charles)

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Yup'iq; Hunting, Religious Restrictions and Implications; Oral Traditions; Religious Leadership, Alaska; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Northwest Coast and Southeast Alaska

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Owens, Louis (1948–2002)

(Novelist/scholar, Choctaw/Cherokee)

Louis Owens, Choctaw/Cherokee/Irish novelist and scholar, is known as a writer of Native American novels with violent themes, but Owens was especially effective in evoking indigenous tradition and identity as a means of coping with events imposed upon Indian people from outside of tribal culture. His overlying theme was the meaning of mixed-blood identity, coping simultaneously with tribal cultures and traditions and those of the dominant American culture with every fiber of your being.

Among Owens's strengths is his incorporation of nonhuman elements of the community as vital presences, so that concepts important to indigenous identity, but often ignored by other Indian writers, are important in his stories. For example, place is important to the spiritual identity of Indian people; among Indian writers only Erdrich and Momaday rival Owens in ability to invoke place and in how place figures into the identity of indigenous characters.

Owens integrates spirits so seamlessly that readers may be unable to tell if a character is a spirit, or of flesh and blood. That is appropriate, because to traditional indigenous people there is little or no distinction between the spirit and physical worlds. Many of Owens's tribal elders seem part of the land, and as closely connected to their nonhuman relatives as to their human descendants. They work to protect and guide their descendants, but also to ensure that younger, mixed-blood Indians recognize their connections to the land and the animals that share their homes with them.

In Owens's first novel, *Wolfsong* (1991), Jim Joseph, who received wolf as his guardian spirit, is an important figure. Jim actively resists development of a wilderness and river valley that he regards as sacred. While resisting, he is called home by wolf and "drummers and dancers" in the woods. After Jim's passing, his nephew Tom is attended by a wolf, presumably his uncle in spirit form.

Wolfsong's conflict between white prodevelopment forces, the resistance to development by traditional Indians, and a confused acquiescence to the white ways of acculturated Christian Indians is important, but this is the only time that Owens employed such a theme. Tom's mother tries to survive as a Christian

Great Basin

The Great Basin culture refers to an arid inland region encompassing much of the western United States. Consisting of a vast natural basin, with occasional rocky uplands breaking up long stretches of mostly barren desert, the region is surrounded by the Sierra Nevada range on the west, the Rocky Mountains on the east, the Columbia Plateau on the north, and the Colorado Plateau on the south. The region includes the open expanse of the Mojave Desert in the southwest, which provides a stark exception to the general ecological makeup of the area.

The river systems of the Great Basin drain from the high country into the central depression and disappear into sinks and thus have no outlet to the oceans (hence the "basin" characterization). The mountains to the east and west block the rain clouds, leading to both low rainfall and high evaporation. The Great Basin once contained dozens of lakes, some quite large, as evidenced by their remnants, including Great Salt Lake. In the western part of the Great Basin is Death Valley, where temperatures in the summer often exceed 125°F. Sagebrush dominates the sparse vegetation throughout the Great Basin, with some piñon and juniper trees in the higher elevations.

This somewhat harsh environment produces more nomadic tribes than regions to the west, and these tribes speak variations of the Uto-Aztecan family. The one exception is the Washoe to the west who speak a Hokan dialect. The major tribal groups of the Great Basin are the Paiute, Shoshone, and Ute, each with various subdivisions and offshoots. Although dialects vary throughout the region, their similarities have made it possible for different groups to maintain diplomatic relations for trade and intermarriage.

Great Basin Indians adopted their nomadic lifestyles in order to fully exploit wild food resources as they became available. Social organization for this type of resource management tends to be smaller than that of more settled groups, with the extended-family group being the primary source for identity. Leadership is provided through "headmen," who are often capable and wise individuals who oversee the affairs of the family in trade negotiations and the like. Regular gatherings of these family groups, for practical purposes such as "rabbit Drives" (mass rabbit hunts requiring the labors of many), seasonal observations such as solstice and equinox

continues

Great Basin, continued

ceremonies, or weddings often doubled as the group's religious system, and the bands' spiritual advisors would preside over general rites of propitiation and thanksgiving.

The relatively difficult day-to-day circumstances lead to less overall time spent in philosophical pondering, but by no means should this fact be assumed to equate less religiosity. The daily gatherings and hunting done by the family group are accompanied by ritual activity, personal spiritual interaction, and the diplomatic interaction between the human and the other-than-human world.

while also maintaining an identity as a tribal person.

Owens did not write about Indians as victims; his Indian characters are empowered, and only when they lose touch with their tribal identities and connections to the land do they become victims. One theme in Owens's writing is that whites accept "progress" and development as inevitable outcomes of their way of life. In contrast, even though some acquiesce to development, all Indians are troubled spiritually by its implications, and some actively resist.

Tom Joseph's continuance of his uncle's surveyance (monitoring road construction in a sacred area) leads him into conflicts with whites, who harass and pursue him. Tom is attended and guarded by wolves, who may or may not be spirits. Both Jim and Tom Joseph are accompanied by ravens who observe and comment on the action. This has been interpreted as an effort to introduce "trickster" figures into the narrative (LaLonde 2002, ch. 1); however, ravens accompany wolves regularly in their activities, serving both as an early warning system and as locators of food (Heinrich 2000). Owens employs this relationship to illustrate that the ravens accompany and warn Jim and Tom, human heirs of the wolf spirit.

Owens followed *Wolfsong* with *The Sharpest Sight* (1992), one of the greatest novels ever published by a Native American writer. *Sharpest Sight* introduces Cole McCurtain, mixed-blood Choctaw and Owens's most autobiographical character. The main theme is social forces that lead to violence, and the spiritual reverberations of violent acts to surviving family members and their community. When Cole's older brother Attis returns from Vietnam, he is so damaged by his experience that he kills his girlfriend and is imprisoned. In attempted vengeance, her family orchestrates Attis's "escape," kills him, and throws his body in the Salinas River. Cole flees to avoid

the draft and hides out with his "uncle" Luther Cole in the Yazoo country, where he is pursued by the FBI.

Overseeing these events are a number of elders, some living, others not, who attempt to guide their descendants, and who provide an overarching historical perspective. The story is nonlinear, involving local Indians, whites, and Hispanics—for example, deputy Mundo Morales, a friend of Attis's and the only person actually to see his body in the river; his entanglement in the plot brings his grandfather's spirit and others to counsel him.

In Mississippi, Cole learns Choctaw ways through interactions with tribal elders Luther Cole and Onatima Blue Wood. These sections of the story show a strong combination of humor and spirit power, and they go to the essence of tribal identity by showing that tribal elders are powerful in ways completely separate from the political and economic power wielded by whites. Learning how to live from traditional elders heals and strengthens the confused Cole, while giving him a sense of identity.

In *Sharpest Sight* the animal spirit is *Nalusachito,* the black spirit panther that appears on the bridge over the Salinas to alert Mundo about Attis's body in the river; it also reappears in the Mississippi swamps. Attis's *shilombish* (ghost) travels to Luther's cabin, where it waits for his physical remains to be brought home. The straightforward manner in which Luther and Onatima deal with extraordinary events illustrates the power of traditional elders. *Nalusachito,* the soul catcher, was aroused by Attis's death, and both it and the *shilombish* can be appeased only by the return of Attis's bones to Mississippi—which must be done by Cole and their father, Hoey.

Sharpest Sight is a complex, multifaceted story involving Indians who, although not powerful in the sense of the dominant culture, are perfectly capable of taking care of themselves in extreme circumstances; they draw their strength from their understanding of the land and what they know of their cultural and spiritual traditions. In contrast, white characters are conflicted, and their attempts to control situations succeed only in provoking violence and destroying their own economic and psychological security.

In *Bone Game* (1994), Owens returns to Cole's story twenty-five years after *Sharpest Sight,* when Cole is a professor at the University of California at Santa Cruz. Cole is spiritually troubled, divorced from his wife and living apart from his daughter. He suffers from dreams in which owls call to him from the forest, and he sees images of grizzly bears and painted Indian gamblers.

Unbeknownst to Cole, white male students obsessed with Indian traditions have been killing other whites in some sort of unspecified ritual sacrifice. Their activities link them synergistically with the vengeful spirit of Venancio Asisara, an Ohlone spiritual leader, "a consciousness awakening and looking around at a world entirely familiar and entirely alien

simultaneously, . . . the way the Ohlone were forced in a single generation to see the destruction of their cultural world, by the Spanish" (L. Owens, personal communication April 2002). Monterey Bay remains the Ohlone homeland, but one made alien by urban sprawl, which has created a place of unstable power.

Owens employs a premise from the activities of two serial killers who plagued Santa Cruz in the early 1970s. Asisara's spirit is linked with whites murdering other whites. Again we have the scenario in which Euro-American (and Spanish) hubris and past violence leads to yet more violence. Venuto (1998) argued that "Venancio's continued presence demonstrates that evil, which will always exist, must be acknowledged in order to maintain the world's balance"; however, that is an interpretation of the dominant culture that emphasizes a dichotomy between good and evil. Asisara is "immense anger and power . . . a holy person . . . warped into uncontrolled anger . . . out of the very earth itself . . . awakened by the violence of the murderers" (Owens, personal communication April 2002).

Alex Yazzie, a cross-dressing traditional Diné (Navajo) and visiting scholar at the university, is a trickster figure (LaLonde 2002) who recognizes Cole as a troubled Indian and reconnects Cole to his indigenous roots, while also providing him with a true colleague. In *Bone Game* the powerful animal spirit is grizzly bear, appearing with, or as, Asisara. Like wolf in the North Cascades, grizzly bear is now extinct in California, yet both spirits are powerful symbols, familiar to the indigenous peoples. Asisara and the bear represent a conjunction of powerful spirits exterminated from their homeland, whose spiritual power can be tapped by murderers.

To counteract this spirit power, Luther, Hoey, and Onatima are called from Mississippi to help Yazzie rescue Cole and his damaged spirit. Luther and Hoey travel through New Mexico and encounter a Diné elder, and they also rescue a Diné woman from witches in a scene referential to Silko's novel *Ceremony.* Onatima, who inhabits a different physical reality, appears in California to serve as advisor to Cole's daughter Abby, teaching her about traditional Choctaw ways and how to deal with Indian men. Abby and Alex join forces, working together to rescue Cole, who has become a focal point around which the two murderers and Asisara revolve. After the deaths of the two murderers, Cole's Choctaw family takes Cole back to New Mexico, away from the haunted shores of Monterey Bay. Asisara's spirit remains, roaming the forests and mountains that surround the town of Santa Cruz and the bay.

Nightland is about loss and spiritual madness loose in Indian New Mexico; it deals with drug dealing and double-crossing, driven by historical desires for vengeance by Southwestern peoples. Caught in this spiritual chaos are the mixed-blood Cherokees Billy Keene and Will Striker. Given the same first name by their parents, they are children of

Cherokees who married whites and moved from Oklahoma to escape racial prejudice and share ranchland. The land contains a spring where the Spanish massacred Apaches, after which the water dried up.

Will and Billy have spent their lives together, growing up as two aspects of the same person, but different in personality. Will keeps community together, caring for his animals, whereas Billy has sold all his cattle and keeps no animals. Billy lives with "Grandpa" Siquani, a Cherokee elder who apparently participated in the Trail of Tears and experienced the lives of the Cherokee before the arrival of whites.

Nightland refers to the "land to the west," the Cherokee land of the dead. Will and Billy are hunting in Cibola National Forest when a man and a suitcase containing a million dollars fall from the Western sky. Billy claims the money is a "gift from the Great Spirit," whereas Will calls it "corpse money" and wonders what Siquani would think about it—and also what to do about the man's body, impaled on a juniper.

Arturo Cruz, the man who fell from the sky, joins Siquani after his death to discuss the action that takes place. Owens wrote *Nightland* to explore his Cherokee heritage, and Siquani is the spiritual embodiment of the Tsalagi. Siquani explains that Billy's father asked him to come along when they left Oklahoma, and he agreed, "to see how the story ends." Siquani places things in perspective for Will, but he cannot save Billy from folly, and from his desire to "be American."

At their ranches Will finds buzzards hanging about, but Billy finds crows at his place. Siquani explains: "Old Buzzard was real important back in the beginning. . . . Buzzard flew around to see where animals could live." The buzzards recognize differences between Will's place, where animals can live, and Billy's ranch, where Billy has given up on his animals, and on his human people. Will's ranch is the earth itself, cared for so that animals can live there, whereas Billy has lost his spiritual connections, thinking of himself as American rather than as Cherokee.

Significant in *Nightland* are discussions of history, combined with recognition of the spiritual costs of the American way of life. Paco Ortega, an Indian drug dealer, believes that running drugs is "sending the smallpox infested blankets back to the whites," and that money gained from selling drugs is "the white man's weapon which we must learn to use against him in the long war." Discussing Wounded Knee as a "battle," Paco contends that "[t]he answer has to be in the way Americans conceive of themselves, and I think that everything in the psyche of this country tells people they can just put the past behind them, and that they aren't responsible for yesterday" (180). Americans must face the consequences of their actions, and stop denying that Wounded Knee and the Trail of Tears were acts of genocide; however, reprisal can also be destructive.

That point is reinforced by the introduction of Owens's most manipulative and destructive Indian character: Odessa Whitehawk, a beautiful full-blood Mes-

calero Ph.D. from Berkeley, who plays off all against each other and kills other Indian people. Odessa is the flesh and blood spiritual descendant of Venancio Asisara; even her love bites are toxic. She is from the Apache people whose massacre established Spanish ownership of the land containing Will's and Billy's ranches. Confronting Will after killing Billy, she says, "You deserve everything that's happening to you. . . . This land was the home of my ancestors. They never pretended to own it, but their bones are in the earth you call yours. You and Billy aren't supposed to be here. You're no better than the whites. You let them push you off your own land in the east and march you into the homes of other Indian people in that so-called Territory, and you became just like them. . . . You live on top of my people's bones now."

Siquani conducts rituals and ceremonies to protect Billy, who is in great danger; however, Billy is determined to "be American," when survival requires acknowledgment of his Indian heritage. Siquani can protect Billy against Paco, but not against Odessa. Will is saved by his nonhumans, who attack and distract Odessa, so Will is able to kill her before she kills him.

Odessa's death breaks the curse on the land. Siquani conducts a Cherokee water renewal ceremony with Arturo as he buries him. The massacre of Apaches led to a drought, and the water renewal ceremonies bring the rains back, restoring the spring. Will's connections allow him to survive where everyone else but Siquani has died (Siquani's connection to the living is ambiguous, as are those of other characters in Owens's writing). Will's animals kept him from being alone when he lived without human company, and his responsibilities to them kept him functioning. When Siquani meets Will at the finish, he explains: "I had to help Billy find the path. . . . They been piling up things to hide it for all these years now, but our world is still here. Sometimes we forget because we got to look so hard to see it and people get tired . . . but the animals know and they don't forget. We got to listen." The animals tried to warn Will and Billy; buzzards came to Will's ranch, and crows kept flying over Billy, but he lost the path and his connections to the living world, which is how he became "American."

Owens's final novel, *Dark River* (1999), returns to Apache country, with a Choctaw protagonist. Jacob Nashoba is alone, spiritually and physically. His Apache former wife, Tali, is becoming a tribal leader, and although they maintain a sexual relationship they do not live together. Jake survives only through connection to place, his relationship to the titular river and the canyon through which it flows.

Jake rejects his heritage. Mrs. Edwards, an Apache elder, confronts Jake about his troubled relationships by asking: "Why didn't you ever tell your wife or her children about your own culture? Did you forget everything, or don't those Choctaw people you come from have stories?" His response is: "Look Grandmother, I'm no Indian. My people have stories of leprechauns and something

called the *sidhe.*" This reference to Irish heritage is a deflection, acknowledging spirits and stories of a foreign land while refusing to acknowledge spirits and stories of his native land.

Jessie, a young Apache using Jake as a role model, runs "vision quests" for Europeans. Unlike Jake, Jessie is part of the community, and one of his "vision quests" goes wrong. The tribal chairman, in collusion with tribal police, rents Dark River canyon to militia who want to use it for war games. In the canyon, wearing a wolf costume to give his client a "genuine" vision, Jessie is shot and killed by militia who think they are rescuing his client. The militia then holds the client and Jake's granddaughter, Alison, who is in the canyon on her own vision quest. Jake goes to rescue Alison. After passing, Jessie returns as a shapeshifter who can take the form of an actual wolf, and the two of them help Alison escape from the militia. Jake is mortally wounded and falls into a hole in the earth. Exactly how *Dark River* ends is unclear, because Owens posits several endings to let the Indians decide which one is most appropriate spiritually. Jake is with grandmother spider, helper of the Apache hero Monster Slayer, who takes him home into the earth. After Jake passes, Jessie changes into a proper ghost and leaves as well.

Nashoba means "wolf" in Choctaw. Wolves are prominent presences in Owens's first and last novels, which may be important in understanding the arc of Owens's writing. *Wolfsong* started with Jim Joseph's being called by wolf as his spirit passed, and *Dark River* ends with Jacob Nashoba dying and falling into the earth. "To an Apache, coyote might have been disturbing. If they knew what Nashoba meant, they'd be even more disturbed by him" (124). Jessie employed wolf in his vision quests and comes back as a wolf after his death; perhaps Jake taught him more than either of them knew.

Raymond Pierotti

See also Literature, Religion in Contemporary American Indian Literature; Oral Traditions; Oral Traditions, Pueblo; Symbolism in American Indian Ritual and Ceremony; Tricksters

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P

Parrish, Essie (1903–1979)

(Prophet/doctor, Kashaya)

A Kashaya Pomo prophet and doctor from northern Sonoma County, Essie Parrish led the Kashaya people between 1943 and the time of her death in 1979, a period of religious and cultural upheaval marked by the widening influence of Mormonism, Pentecostalism, and economic and social hardships. Essie Parrish was the fourth, and last of the Kashaya Pomo Bole Maru dreamers. She differed from the previous three Kashaya dreamers by favoring more open relationships with non-Indians and Western education. Like the dreamers before her, she insisted on the maintenance of the Kashaya language and traditions. In addition to her Bole Maru roles, she was one of a handful of twentieth-century Pomo doctors, or shamans. She diagnosed and cured sickness through song, trance, dance, the use of her hands, and the extraction of "poison" from her patients.

One anthropologist of the Bole Maru contends that although revivalist, the Bole Maru is also assimilationist; it cleared the way for further acculturation and Christianization (DuBois 1971, 499). However, Dr. Greg Sarris, Essie Parrish's great-grandson through marriage and Bole Maru adherent, understands it to be a political and nationalistic movement incorporating Victorian ideology and biblical religion only so far as they protected and corroborated Kashaya ways of life (1993, 67–68).

Born Essie Pinola, or Pewoya in the Kashaya Pomo language, she was six years old when the Kashaya acknowledged her as their fourth dreamer. The *Santa Rosa Press Democrat* names her as one of the "50 people who shaped our century" (*Santa Rosa Press Democrat* 2000). Her ability to prophesy and interpret dreams attracted anthropologists, including Alfred Kroeber and Samuel Barrett. Her knowledge of Kashaya language and traditions drew linguist Robert Oswalt into collaboration with Essie and resulted in the publication of a

Kashaya Pomo dictionary and a book of teachings. Her desire to leave accurate records of her knowledge involved her in the production of more than twenty ethnographic films, numerous sound recordings, and a documentary of her life that won a Cannes Film Festival award in 1969.

In 1968, Essie Parrish met with Robert Kennedy on the Kashaya rancheria during his trip to investigate conditions in Indian schools. She took him into her roundhouse and made him a gift of one of her baskets. Her teachings are still influential among a number of Kashaya families and continue to inform Kashaya ways of life, even among Kashaya who do not strictly adhere to her teachings.

The Bole Maru came to the Kashaya Pomo by way of the Earth Lodge cults of northern California in the winter of 1871–1872; they in turn derived from the Ghost Dance movements originating in 1869 with the Paviotso Paiute of Pyramid Lake, some 230 miles southeast of the Kashaya. The Kashaya refer to themselves as *win-.ma-bake ya,* "the people who belong to the land" (Sarris 1993, 176). In the Bole Maru, each Native group has a local dreamer who introduces his or her own ceremonial procedures and doctrines. In general, Bole Maru doctrine includes a Supreme Being and afterlife; both stem from Pentecostal influence. In part because the Bole Maru is not considered "Christian," Kashaya who converted to Mormonism or Pentecostalism persecuted Essie Parrish and followers of the Bole Maru. "Essie Parrish's dream flags, which flew above the ceremonial roundhouse, were ripped down and then soaked in human excrement and placed on her porch step" (ibid.). However, at one point in her life, Essie converted to Mormonism and influenced a number of other Kashaya to do the same (ibid., 178).

Dreamers dream dances, songs, and regalia essential for the well-being of the community; they also organize the tribe's social and political life based upon their dreams, leading the tribe in all ways. Each dance is different, although basic patterns underlie the various dances, such as counterclockwise movement, sets of four, and lines of female dancers. Ritual regalia and instruments include dresses, vests, flags, staffs, and ribbons decorated with symbols specific to the dreamer and dance. Essie Parrish's Bole Maru and doctoring ceremonies often took place on the Kashaya rancheria in a ceremonial roundhouse 45 feet in diameter and 12 feet in height, with a large center pole. The floor is hard-packed earth, there is a fire, and benches line the walls. Elements of Bole Maru ritual include male singers, female dancers with ribbons tied on their fingers, clapper rattles, drums, prayer, song, and a concluding feast. Following the teachings of the Bole Maru, the roundhouse that Mrs. Parrish used still stands but has been locked and left disused since her death. Her dream symbols, songs, and dances can also no longer be used, unless she granted explicit permission to the contrary before her death. If a

new dreamer-prophet is identified sometime in the future, the roundhouse may be reopened and songs revived if the new prophet dreams it so.

The prohibition on using a dreamer's instruments, prayers, dances, and songs after that dreamer's death can function to permit "continuous reinvention of the tradition" (ibid., 70). The lack of shared ritual may, however, exacerbate tribal division and leave young people without spiritual grounding and meaningful connection to their tribal heritage. In fact, Sarris describes such conditions among Kashaya today (ibid., 177). Still, much to the consternation of some of Essie's daughters and other relations who continue to live at Kashaya, former Mormon Kashaya have built another roundhouse on the rancheria, using it for Kashaya religious activity.

Alexandra Witkin New Holy

See also Dreamers and Prophets; Ghost Dance Movement; Healing Traditions, California; McKay, Mabel; Power, Barbareño Chumash; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, California

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Petrographs and Petroglyphs

Several terms are used for markings made on cliffs and in rock shelters. "Petroglyph" refers to marks made by removing a portion of the rock surface by pecking, incising, or grinding. "Petrograph" refers to marks made by adding paint or other substance to the rock surface. The word "pictograph" is also sometimes used the same way, but it more correctly refers to picture writing in any medium. "Rock art" is a general term for all marks made on or in rock surfaces, whether or not they constitute "art" in the Western sense.

Most American Indian rock art was made or used in a religious context.

Some rock art conveyed simple messages, such as a group's whereabouts, and some recorded warriors' exploits or a group's visit to a particular place; most other types were directly related to religious beliefs. Since all activities, including warfare and travel, traditionally included elements of ritual and prayer, one cannot draw a strict line between secular and religious rock art. For example, Hopi clan symbols at Willow Springs, Arizona, record expeditions to acquire salt and yellow paint as part of winter solstice rituals.

Primarily religious Indian rock art falls into several categories: rock art created during ceremonies; rock art used in individual devotion, such as the vision quest; images of mythic beings or stories; images of ceremonies or items used in ceremonies; and depictions of religious experiences such as visions or trances. Many Indians believe that spirits create the markings as messages to the people from the spirit world. In some cases, this may mean that the rock art is very old and thus associated with the time before people. It may also have reference to people creating rock art while impersonating a spirit being. Religious specialists and ordinary people might take on the role of a spirit being to validate or publicize their visions. In that role they might make rock art on behalf of the spirit being. A widespread belief is that rock art will reveal a message about the future to holy men or women who have fasted and prayed nearby. At other times the rock art will convey a sacred message to an ordinary person, but he or she may need the help of a religious specialist to understand it. These beliefs assume that the rock art mysteriously changes to convey the correct message—or, from another perspective, that the spirits change how the viewer sees the image.

Other Indians view rock art as a message deliberately left to them from the ancestors, or more generally as a window to their past. Outside of prayer, they do not try to interpret the symbols. A Zuni man told anthropologist M. Jane Young, "I don't know what it means, but I know it is important." Lakota Sioux historian James LaPointe expressed a similar view. He said that his people believed that ancient, intelligent people made the marks on the rock so that later people could learn something of their ancestors. His people did not worry about the meaning of rock art, because not all mysteries are meant to be solved before one dies and enters the spirit world.

Rock art and landscape are inextricably linked, because rock art is believed to appear at places where the spirits dwell. In Lakota religion two spirit beings, Double Woman and Spider (Iktomi), create rock art. The Crees assert that Little People create the markings. Dakotas attribute some rock art to the Thunder Beings. It is never clear whether the spirits inhabit a place because it has sacred markings or whether the sacred markings appear because the rock is a spirit home.

Some rock art in the Americas is thousands of years old and thus difficult to interpret using information about historic

Anasazi Puebloan petroglyphs of whipping kachinas. Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado. (North Wind Picture Archives)

or modern tribal traditions. The farther back one goes in time, the less likely it is that historically recorded information will pertain to the rock art. Nevertheless, some ancient rock art can still be recognized as religious because it shows ceremonial activities or religious symbols that persisted into historical times, such as the thunderbird. Rock art comprising the abstract designs and colorful images typical of trance states is often assumed to have a religious origin. An example is the painted rock art of southern California. Other rock art is more recent and clearly linked to particular groups, such as images of the Apsoroke sacred tobacco in eastern Montana. The more clearly a style of rock art is linked to a particular culture, the more successful will be attempts to interpret its meaning. In some cultures, however, the use and meaning of rock art images have been closely guarded secrets not shared with outsiders. Religious art often is highly symbolic or metaphorical, making its interpretation especially difficult. In some cases, tribal historians have retained detailed knowledge of old symbols and are experts on their meaning.

In the Great Basin, boys and girls created rock art as part of their puberty ceremonies. Girls and women making bone tools at sites associated with a spirit being called Double Woman probably created some "tool grooves" and similarly abraded hoofprints and vulvas in the Great Plains. This gave the women special abilities in tanning and decorating hides. A related type of rock art found in California and the Great Basin consists of pits and grooves abraded into the "baby rocks" or "rain rocks," places where women could pray for rain, fertility, or the sex of an unborn child. Other rock art appears to record visions. Pictures of ceremonies are rare; however, an Elk Dreamer society ritual is shown in western South Dakota rock art, and Yeibichai dancers appear in Navajo rock art in New Mexico. Some rock art shows sacred items or plants, such as tobacco or peyote.

Much Indian rock art depicts myths or mythical beings. Caves in Missouri and

Wisconsin depict a culture hero called Red Horn. Petroglyphs in the Cave Hills of South Dakota illustrate myths connected to eagle trapping, and others in western Wyoming show mythical beings such as Water Ghost Woman. Images of kachinas (spirit beings that control rain, fertility, and well-being) appear in Southwestern rock art.

Concerns about rock art research generally focus on whether researchers can construe accurate interpretations of it. Over the years rock art has been called on to "prove" many fallacious ideas, such as the arrival of ancient astronauts on earth or the presence of ancient Egyptians in North America. That made some researchers reluctant to work with rock art, and the emphasis on scientific archaeology in the 1960s through the 1980s further discouraged rock art research. Today many researchers are turning to the methods of history and art history in trying to understand Indian rock art. This emphasizes the physical contexts of time, place, landscape, and the presence or absence of other rock art, as well as the cultural context that produced the symbols. Recently, much Indian rock art has been interpreted as shamanic (made by persons believed to have special powers of communication with the spirit world). Such conclusions have sometimes ignored other possibilities. For example, a winged person or a person with a rayed head may represent a mythical being or spirit, rather than illustrating a shaman's trance experience. The geometric designs associated with various trance states occur in art unrelated to trance, as well as in art produced under altered states of consciousness. Conversely, images of animals and other recognizable objects may occur in trance-related art, as well as in art that has no religious motivation. Some images that appear abstract may represent objects unfamiliar to researchers, such as a tool not preserved archaeologically or a map of garden plots.

Researchers have yet to develop reliable methods for determining the age of rock art. Most promising so far is accelerator mass spectrometry–aided radiocarbon dating. Tiny amounts of pigment can be collected and dated through the radiocarbon method, but only if the pigment contains residues of organic material such as charcoal, albumin, or blood. It may eventually be possible to measure the rate of chemical change to the rock surface initiated when the surface was broken in creating a petroglyph. Dating methods in use now include measuring the age of buried archaeological material that covers rock art panels or contains bits of fallen rock art; measuring the age of materials covering rock art, such as wasp nests or cliff swallow nests; and correlating the stranding of rock art panels with episodes of erosion. These methods yield only minimum ages rather than absolute ages.

Other clues to the age of a petroglyph or petrograph come from the items depicted. If an extinct animal is pictured, the rock art presumably was made before the species died out. If European

trade goods or horses are shown, then the image must have been made after those items arrived in the Americas. Sometimes an unusual motif found in rock art is also found in portable objects from the same area that can be more readily dated. If one style of rock art consistently superimposes another, the style "on top" is assumed to be younger. Weathering, amount of soil displacement, and amount of lichen also provide clues to the relative ages of styles occurring together.

Important issues surrounding rock art concern its preservation and its continued use by Indians. Because it is exposed to the air, weather, and the actions of people, rock art is extremely vulnerable to damage. Well-meaning people have applied chalk or other substances to petroglyphs and petrographs or have attempted to make rubbings or casts, causing permanent damage. Thieves have stolen some rock art, while other sites have been lost to dam or highway construction. People building fires below the rock art panels, rubbing against them, touching the rock art, or trampling or looting archaeological deposits near the rock art have damaged some sites. Because many Indian people consider rock art sites sacred places, they abhor such desecration. Although in some ways Indians and archaeologists are allies in their efforts to protect and preserve rock art sites, problems can arise from this alliance. While public land managers must know the locations of sites to ensure that they are not damaged by planned development, some Indians believe that if the locations become known outside the community the sites will lose their spiritual potency. Some efforts at preservation change the larger environment of the rock art, spoiling its sacred nature. For example, a dome built over a petroglyph site in the Great Lakes area of Canada now forms an artificial barrier between the rock and the sky.

Rock art has been removed from its natural setting and placed in museums in advance of dam construction. This may preserve the rock as an artifact, but it hardly preserves it as a place of worship. Traditional beliefs hold that rock art, like everything else, should gradually fade away; thus, some tribal people oppose aggressive conservation measures. State or federal preservation regulations often require that the land manager make a statement of the site's significance. Such a statement might require information that Indians are unwilling to make public.

Another problem is the appropriation of rock art sites by adherents of the New Age movement. Some Indians feel that this devalues or desecrates sacred sites and makes it difficult for Indians to use them in traditional ways. Some also object to the use of sacred images on T-shirts, coffee mugs, and other items.

Linea Sundstrom

See also Academic Study of American Indian Religious Traditions; Archaeology; First Menses Site; New Age Appropriation

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Pipe, Sacred

See Sacred Pipe

Potlatch

"Potlatch" is a term that entered English from the Chinook Jargon, the trading language of the North Pacific coast. It referred to any ceremony involving feasting and especially formal gift-giving. However in more recent anthropological and to some extent popular Native and non-Native usage, the term has come to signify a ceremonial distribution of gifts by the hosts to the guests, aimed at reaffirming or raising the hosts' social status and rank.

The potlatch is generally seen as a unique institution of the indigenous peoples of the Northwest coast (from southeastern Alaska to coastal Oregon) and their neighbors (especially in the interior). Despite regional and local variations, the potlatch did have certain basic general features. Ceremonial formalities were observed in inviting guests, speechmaking, and the distribution of goods by the donor(s) according to the social rank of the recipient. The former and the latter represented different kinship groups, with the guests often recruited from both the local community and more distant ones. The size of the ceremony, the amount of food served, and the number of gifts distributed reflected the donors' rank. In addition, the potlatch usually involved a display of crest-bearing sacred regalia as well as a recitation of formal speeches, the singing of ceremonial song, and the performance of elaborate dances by both the hosts and the guests. By accepting gifts, the guests signified their agreement with the hosts' claims to these ceremonial prerogatives and particular positions within the social hierarchy.

A potlatch was given by a successor to, or an heir of, a deceased head of a kinship group (chief) to validate his or her newly assumed social position and name

A child being named by the hosts/mourners prior to their distribution of money and gifts to the guests at a Tlingit potlatch in Angoon, Alaska. 1991. (Sergei Kan)

or title. Important events in the life of the community and its high-ranking members—such as births, puberty rites, marriages, initiation into secret societies, totem pole raising, house building, and especially deaths—were the main occasions for potlatches. While the occasion itself was important, the validation of claims to social rank was central to the ceremony. Hence even such relatively minor life-cycle events as the piercing of an aristocratic child's ears could be used as a reason for a potlatch.

The potlatch was the central institution of the aboriginal Northwest coast societies, stimulating intense economic production, inter- and intragroup competition as well as cooperation, and artistic creativity. Not surprisingly it has been a favorite subject of anthropological research and theorizing from the time Boas first took part in Kwakiutl (Kwakwak'wakw) potlatches at Fort Rupert, British Columbia, in the mid-1890s. Until fairly recently most scholars have focused on this ritual's economic and sociopolitical dimensions and functions. Thus some have interpreted its lavish feasting as a mechanism for a periodic redistribution of resources from one kinship or regional group to another. Others have focused on the fact that goods given away at potlatches were supposed to be returned later

when the original recipients held a potlatch of their own and have argued that the potlatch was an economic exchange that strengthened intragroup cooperation and especially intergroup solidarity and reciprocity. They have also emphasized the potlatch's sociopolitical function by trying to correlate ceremonial exchanges between groups with the establishment and maintenance of marriage ties and other types of alliances.

Ironically it was the great French "armchair" ethnologist Mauss who, in 1925, was the first to emphasize the potlatch's spiritual significance by characterizing it as a "total social phenomenon," one that was simultaneously mythological, religious, social, economic, and legal. As he correctly pointed out, because most of the tangible and intangible ceremonial privileges displayed, invoked, and legitimized in the potlatch (for example, rights to food-producing areas, sacred narratives, songs and dances, and regalia) belonged to the participants' ancestors, who in turn were believed to have obtained them in the mythical past from the superhuman beings, the potlatch was first and foremost an elaborate ritual drama in which the living impersonated and even incarnated the spirits, whose names those bore, whose dances they performed, and who sometimes were reincarnated through them or possessed them.

This "religious" essence of the potlatch was most clearly manifested in its northern version (that is, among the Tlingits, Haidas, and Tsimshians), where most potlatches constituted the last stage in a cycle of rites aimed at disposing of the remains of, mourning, and memorializing a deceased person of high rank (Kan 1989a; Blackman 1977; Seguin 1985; Beynon 2000). The matrilineage (house) or clan of the deceased acted as the mourners and were assisted and comforted by one or several matrilineal groups from the opposite moiety linked to them through marital and ritual ties. The matrikin of the deceased were strictly prohibited from touching the corpse; they had to rely on their "opposites," who cremated it and performed all of the other death-related services, for which tasks they were publicly thanked, feasted, and generously remunerated in the potlatch. Thus the latter was seen as the only proper way of completing the mourning cycle, and a failure to perform it was believed to be not only an embarrassment for the mourners and an insult to their opposites but also a show of disrespect to the recently deceased, whose death was said to remain "incomplete." Such conduct was thought both to undermine the mourners' status and to bring them more deaths and other supernatural misfortunes.

This memorial emphasis of the northern potlatch was underscored by the fact that its initial stage was devoted to the chief hosts' final ritualized mourning of their recently departed loved one. Other members of the hosting group used the opportunity to grieve publicly over their own deceased matrilineal kin, whose

memorials were often combined with the potlatch commemorating their higher-ranking relative. The most dramatic part of this segment of the potlatch was the hosts' performance of the most sacred songs of their matrilineal group, which often referred to some tragic incidents in its mythic or more recent history. Following that the guests comforted the hosts with their elaborate speeches of condolence, which invoked the speakers' own ancestors and sacred crests. Through a skillful use of rhetorical devices, the guests linked the ancestors on both sides with their living descendants, the mythical past with the present, and the social and the spiritual domains of the culture (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1990).

Throughout the northern potlatch, the presence of the ancestors was repeatedly invoked. While the guests' oratory emphasized that it was not really they but their deceased matrilineal kin who were comforting the hosts and accepting their gifts, the hosts served their own ancestors' favorite foods, some of which was sent to them directly through the medium of the fire. In fact, the guests were believed to be consuming only the material form of the delicacies offered to them, while their own as well as the hosts' ancestors were supposed to partake of the food's spiritual essence.

The fate of the goods given to the guests was perceived in a similar fashion. The notion that the ancestors were present during the ceremony and benefited greatly from its periodic performances was expressed in a variety of other ritual acts and observances. Thus, for example, the Tlingit potlatch was supposed to be conducted only at night—that is, the time when the spirits residing in the land of the dead were awake. The high point of the entire ceremony was the bestowing of the deceased aristocrats' ceremonial tile and regalia upon their heirs. Like other Northwest coast potlatches, the northern ones did have important political functions and were not immune from interpersonal and intergroup competition. However, the presence of the dead (whose names were invoked whenever a disagreement between participants threatened to disrupt the ceremony) helped sacralize them (Kan 1989a).

Among the central and southern peoples of the North Pacific coast, the death of a high-ranking person was only one of several major occasions for having a potlatch. Moreover, among some of these groups, especially the Kwakwak'wakw, the nineteenth-century potlatch appeared to have been more politicized and much more competitive than in the north. Because so much data had been collected on the Kwakwak'wakw version of this ritual and because of its very dramatic nature (especially an occasional competitive destruction of property), it came to be seen as the quintessential potlatch, whose primary functions were economic and sociopolitical. It has even prompted some psychologically oriented anthropologists to speak of the "megalomaniac Kwakiutl." Subsequent research by Helen Codere demonstrated

that the aggressive conduct and rhetoric of some of the participants in the Kwakwak'wakw potlatches of the mid to late nineteenth century had a lot to do with an increased competition over high-ranking titles and positions in the social hierarchy caused by such postcontact changes in Native life as a population decline and the rise of the nouveaux riches, who had benefited from trading with the Euro-Canadians. Nonetheless, until the 1970s anthropologists tended to ignore the rich symbolism and heightened spirituality of the Kwakwak'wakw potlatch. However, thanks to the work of several scholars, who reinterpreted Boas's data by focusing on the potlatch's mythic and ritual symbolism, the interrelationship between "politics" and "religion" in it is now much better understood .

Thus Walens describes the rituals of the Kwakwak'wakw potlatch, especially the masked dances, as "vividly dramatic and theatrically powerful" (1991, 83). In his view, its war-related ritual acts and oratorical metaphors expressed "important ideas as to how the Kwakiutl envisioned their world. They imagined it a place of violence and turmoil and their own lives as a continual struggle. Just as a salmon has to struggle upstream against the torrent in order to fulfill its destiny, they had to struggle to fight the forces that threatened their way of life. The Kwakiutl therefore believed a chief, who was responsible for the financial and spiritual well-being of his kin, needed to be a spiritual warrior, capable of taking power of the world onto himself and redirecting it for human benefit" (ibid.). The spiritual significance of the Kwakwak'wakw and other central and southern Northwest coast potlatches (for example, those of the Heiltsuks, Nuxalks, Nuu-chah-nulth, and Salish) was further underscored by the fact that they were often combined with a complex series of ceremonies known as "winter ceremonials" or "spirit dances." As in the case of the other ceremonial prerogatives featured in the potlatch, membership in these societies was inherited, and the right to perform a particular dance or wear a mask depicting a particular spirit had to be validated through a potlatch ceremony (Suttles 1991; Amoss 1978).

The "wasteful" nature of potlatch and the dramatic "heathen" performances involved in it prompted missionaries and Indian agents to advocate banning the ceremony. In Canada it was officially forbidden by the Indian Act of 1885 (Cole and Chaikin 1990), and in Washington and Oregon, Indian agents did their best to prevent potlatches and winter dances on Native reservations. Although in southeastern Alaska the ritual was never officially outlawed, it did come under heavy criticism from the Euro-American reformers and some of the more Americanized younger Native leaders themselves (Kan 1999). While some coastal families and communities did stop the practice, many secretly maintained the time-honored ceremony by scaling it down and incorporating some non-Native elements into it. Because of this direct persecution as well as the more indi-

rect forces of economic, sociopolitical, and ideological change that took place between the late 1800s and the 1950s to 1960s, the potlatch did lose many of its overtly religious elements. Some of the traditional occasions for holding it were no longer marked by one or disappeared altogether. However, death-related potlatches have survived in many of the Northwest coast societies, having been incorporated into a cycle of mortuary rituals that now begin with a Christian funeral (Kan 1989b; Stearns 1977; Kew 1990; Roth 2002).

In fact, as Native economic and sociopolitical life continued to undergo dramatic changes, the competitive aspects of the ritual have tended to decline while its cooperative, emotional, and spiritual dimensions have persisted. Since the 1960s a political revitalization in the indigenous societies of the region combined with a heightening of ethnic pride and a dramatic renaissance of the Native arts (carving, the manufacturing of ceremonial regalia, and so forth) has contributed to a significant increase in the frequency and scale of potlatches as well as their revival in those communities in which they had virtually disappeared. Even though the potlatch is no longer as central to the lives of the aboriginal coastal peoples as it once had been—and an idealized image of the Native society and cosmos that it presents is further removed from the reality of their everyday life than in the past—the potlatch continues to bring individuals and families together and link the past with the present. Moreover, today the potlatch has an important new function as a key symbol of a distinct indigenous identity, political and intellectual sovereignty, and tribal survival (Kan 1989b, 1999; Webster 1991).

Sergei Kan

See also Art (Traditional and Contemporary), Northwest Coast; Ceremony and Ritual, Northwest; Dance, Northwest Winter Spirit Dances; Masks and Masking; Missionization, Northwest; Power, Northwest Coast; Sacred Societies, Northwest Coast; Totem Poles

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Potlatch, Northern Athabascan

In the contemporary world most northern Athabascan nations make use of the term "potlatch" to signal a community gathering of distinction often aligned with funerals, memorials for those who have been deceased for a year or more, and life cycle events. Memorial ceremonials, each known by specific terms in their own languages, are practiced by northern Athabascans throughout Canada and Alaska. The following describes some of the most commonly known northern Athabascan memorial potlatches in Alaska, where approximately half of the northern Athabascan population resides.

Each nation, and in some cases each village, formulates its own particular ceremonial structure, most of which are deeply rooted in local traditions; others are not. Of these one form is more common than others: feasts sometimes lasting for three or four days sponsored by an extended family and sometimes a lineage-based kin group. At such potlatches many gifts are distributed to all of the guests in hierarchical order depending on the nature of their personal or family relationship to the deceased, as well as their social status in the family, community, or region. In some areas the precolonial practice was to distribute all or most of the family belongings at the end of the potlatch in a stark demonstration of central northern Athabascan cultural themes: generosity and altruistic love. Both reinforce a common belief that one must give away everything in order to replace the value of the one who is gone.

Some communities host memorial potlatches that honor all those who have died in the past year, and thus they do not centralize a specific family or person. The Koyukon villages of Kaltag and Nulato on the lower Yukon River in western Alaska are well known for their village potlatches

known as stick dances or the HiYo. Stick dances are annual events held between midwinter and early spring. They are elaborate ceremonials that honor each deceased person through relatives or friends who dress like and otherwise imitate the decedents. Like other memorial potlatches, stick dances last for several days and include a feast every day. On the fifth day the men of the host community harvest a tree, strip off its bark, and decorate it with ribbons and feathers. The stick dance features fourteen traditional songs. When the fourteenth song is being sung the men set up the pole in the middle of the room. Those imitating the dead wear special handmade clothing and receive food in unopened containers in preparation for the long journey the deceased make to the spirit world. At the end of the evening the men carry the pole to the Yukon River, and those imitating the dead remove the special clothing to bags and take it to the river, make a gesture as if they were discarding it, and then return with the bag to the ceremonial hall. When they return, the "giveaway," which is traditional in all memorial potlatches, begins.

A variation on the northern Athabascan potlatch is teas, small gatherings in churches and private homes held during the days leading up to the funeral service or burial of a deceased individual. The purpose of such teas is to spare the immediate family from large, unexpected expenses, to accommodate the irregular arrivals of people traveling long distances, and to allow more people to take honored roles at important Athabascan sacred and social events. Giveaways are not part of the teas.

Theologically, there are four basic tenets of northern Athabascan religious traditions that are manifest in varying degrees throughout the region. The most common of these is that all relations, including those in the spirit world, follow complex rules of reciprocity, particularly what Sahlins has designated as general reciprocity. Secondly, northern Athabascan languages create structured, asymmetrical relations between humans and unseen, unknowable forces of power and knowledge. Thirdly, northern Athabascan religious traditions are merit-based. Athabascan tradition holds that unseen forces judge the merit of the individual based on his or her thoughts, behaviors, and relations with the natural world. Finally, some northern Athabascan traditions include a belief in the reemergence or reincarnation of the spirits of humans and other creatures after death.

Notions of reciprocity are pivotal to all northern Athabascan cultures. These include expectations based on certain kinds of family relations (such as uncle to nephew or mother to daughter), as well as actions, thoughts, and gifts. In matrilineal communities the reciprocal relations in potlatches are linked to patterns of exchange between lineages. Many variations occur. For instance, Simeone (1995) observes about the Upper Tanacross potlatches that matrilineal relations are not a dominant feature in everyday life, particularly since many circumstances can

cloud issues of clan affiliation. The idealistic format of a potlatch in a matrilineal Athabascan community is that members of the widow's or widower's lineage take charge of the expenses and preparation of a funeral potlatch; they are reciprocated at a memorial potlatch sometime later, ideally within a year of the funeral. Values of openhanded generosity and sharing with everyone inform all potlatches through the simple device of making sure that there is enough of everything: everyone leaves feeling well fed and comes away with a memento, large or small, of the deceased and the potlatch. Typical memorial potlatch gifts include rifles, blankets, hand-crafted items, and T-shirts and caps personalized with the name of the potlatch.

One of the present-day hallmarks of potlatches originated in the colonial era: the cloth dance. Most memorial potlatches call for the use of a bolt of cotton muslin that participants grip as they dance. After the dance, potlatch matrons cut the bolt into handkerchief-size sections and distribute them to whoever asks. The spirits of the deceased are likewise included in reciprocal relations. An enduring Athabascan mortuary custom is to burn something with the belief that the object burned will transform into an analogous product in the spiritual realm.

Some northern Athabascan precolonial traditions, such as those of the Gwich'in, called for burning everything physical belonging to the deceased, including the house, body, and all possessions. Since many of those possessions are essential for family subsistence (such as hunting, trapping, or sewing), the theory behind this draconian action is that the spirit world might reciprocate in equal measure. While some families may have starved to death as a result of this practice, northern Athabascan theories of reality hold that starvation is a part of life and death. Honoring the dead by burning everything is a sanctioned demonstration of absolute reciprocal dependency on the greater power of spiritual forces.

The nature of the spiritual force takes form through Athabascan languages as verb-based relationships between that which is unseen but powerful and the speakers. For instance, the Gwich'in language articulates concepts of supreme power that control and benefit all creatures as *Vit'eegwaahchy'aa,* meaning "that upon which we depend." *Vit'eegwaahchy'aa* is a verb-based term that posits a reciprocal relationship between a dominating force and the speaker. *Vit'eegwaahchy'aa* is neither a person nor a being, but rather a dynamic force and relationship.

Language places emphasis on sacred relationships not only through word formation but also through those who might have the privilege of creating and employing certain words or utterances—such as prayers or songs—and when they might do so. Nowhere is this demonstrated more clearly than at memorial potlatches. As an example, the Tanana Athabascans divide potlatch songs into two categories. The *drat-*

ach'leek are memorial dance songs that are sung at any and all potlatches. Older *dratach'leek* songs are used as greetings to incoming mourners as well as to remember events of the past. On the other hand, the *huteetlch'leek* are potlatch songs composed by significant Tanana elders to be sung and danced by participants at the memorial potlatch of the decedent for whom the song was created. *Huteetlch'leek* are not to be sung after the memorial potlatch for the honored deceased. The *huteetlch'leek* are composed of a few key words that inspire the individual asked to compose the song.

Closely linked to the themes of reciprocity and the primary spiritual forces at memorial potlatches is the idea that all human relations with the sacred are merit based. All thoughts and behaviors—especially those related to subsistence activities such as hunting, fishing, and keeping warm enough in the harsh northern climate—are judged by everything in the environment, including all animals, spirits, and other humans. A key tenet of Athabascan cultures is that everything in the environment is living, conscious, and self-determinant. Two other tenets of Athabascan culture are important in this context: respect and love, which traditional Tanana Athabascan chief Peter John refers to as *ch'eghwtsen* (selfless love of all things). Merit, therefore, derives from respecting and loving the interactive and voluntary relationships between oneself and another, whether the other is a game animal to be hunted or a fire to be lit. Animals are directed to the hunter not merely through the forces of the sacred but also by the willing cooperation of the hunted. It is a notion akin to the idea of doing unto others as you would have them do unto you, with a necessary added component: acknowledging that the "others" include environmental forces, such as weather, land, and water. The consequences of one's failure to respect and love all things occur in merciless and unsubtle forms in Athabascan country, where temperatures can reach –80° Fahrenheit without taking into account the wind.

As Nelson (1979) has documented about the Koyukon, the northern Athabascan world is alive with spiritual forces. Embedded in this concept are theories of reincarnation that vary from region to region and generation to generation. Northern Athabascan elders provide verification of the rebirth of ancestors through their dreams and visions, as well as by observation of unique behaviors in the newborn that seem directly related to a deceased individual. Dreams about deceased relatives are respected, sought after, and recited with awareness of the power of the spiritual force implied in such dreams.

Northern Athabascan potlatches epitomize Athabascan religious traditions in all ways, and in every way reflect the dynamic tension between the living environment and the human dwellers within it. During the colonial era northern Athabascan potlatches have become one of the few means by which ancient

beliefs continue on in the younger generations. By use of contemporary technology, northern Athabascan elders throughout Alaska and Canada educate their descendants about the meaning and form of traditional ceremonials. The Tanana elders of Minto, Alaska, for instance, asked videographer Curt Madison to produce a video entitled *Hitting Sticks/Healing Hearts* (1991) to help young Athabascans understand traditional concepts of grieving that give essence to a memorial potlatch.

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See also Mourning and Burial Practices; Potlatch; Women's Cultural and Religious Roles, Northern Athabascan

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Power, Barbareño Chumash

Native North America has many divergent modes with which to express concepts of power. In Barbareño Chumash, the primary word for power is *'atəswən*. This is known to be something people must pray for over their entire lives, and it is something that exists outside their bodies, often manifesting itself in a charm worn as a neck pendant, which is also called *'atəswən*. When the Chumash leaders of the contact era observed the Mission and Presidio complexes and the organization and labor required to build them, they may have felt that these Spanish people had prayed for very powerful *'atəswən,* which they could use either to dream (*atəswəch*) or to poison (*atəswəcchish*) or both. Very likely they viewed the Franciscan padres as being, like themselves, *'a'latəswənich,* people who pray for and wield the natural powers of this world. These Chumash men (and sometimes women) who attained the status of *wot* or *'antap* were powerful in this way (Hudson and Underhay, 15–19). The old stories tell us that these

were people whose words could help sick weather heal itself (Blackburn 1975, 27–43; Hudson and Underhay), and who had developed a science of astronomy comparable to that of the Maya and far beyond the advancements in astronomy in Europe at that time and one that the Spanish refused to comprehend (Hudson and Underhay, 19–20). When they encountered the Spanish they witnessed a sort of power different from what they had seen before, but certainly no greater or lesser than their own; it was simply a part of their world not yet seen.

Domination, the form of power that is used to place people beneath one's own status, is often understood in Westernized societies as the sole definition of power. That, however, is a very limited understanding of the term. Power is not something that an individual simply holds over others; it is something that occurs within relationships between beings. Power requires these relationships. When an individual dominates another, he or she has power over the other person and yet is simultaneously dependent upon the other to give the dominant master power. When an individual has power in mutual, reciprocal correspondence with another being, she or he uses power to support—or to poison to death—the entire matrix of the ontological context in which one exists.

A systemic approach requires participants to exercise power *with,* rather than power *over.* The Barbareño Chumash conception of power can also be seen to qualitatively parallel the properties of many medicinal plants, such as tobacco (*Nicotiana spp.*) and jimsonweed (*Datura spp.*), both of which are used in prayer, as psychoactive sacraments, to treat arthritis pain, to kill bacteria, and to heal wounds—but which are also highly toxic, powerful members of the nightshade family. As with any medicine, the difference between cure and poison is in the dosage. The word for power, like the word for health, in this Chumash linguistic ontology is a verb with chemically active constituents that can be wielded to cause flourishing or death.

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See also Power, Northwest Coast; Power Places, Great Basin; Power, Plains; Power, Southeast

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Power, Great Basin

"Power"—*booha* in Northern Paiute, *poha* in Shoshone, *puwa* in Southern Paiute, and *wegaleyu* in Washo, the only non-Uztecan language spoken in the Great Basin—is both a philosophical concept and a praxis or practice. Linguists most often translate these words, which they liken to "energy," as "power." Great Basin Indian men and women either deliberately sought power or were found by it. Those who deliberately sought power visited caves, mountains, or bodies of water, while fasting and undergoing other

forms of sensory deprivation to obtain a vision. Of these sources of power, Jay Miller (1983, 344) wrote that Water was "the keystone of the religion because power as the life force-and-energy has a very great affinity for all living things, all of which depend on water." If unsolicited, power ordinarily came in dreams.

Power was believed to emanate from nearly everything in the universe: the planets (the Sun and Moon); natural phenomena (lightning, clouds, rain); and animals, including Wolf and Coyote, creator figures. One even sought and obtained power from Spirits of the Dead and demonic figures. Of the latter, water babies and dwarf women figured prominently in the Washo religion. Shoshones, according to Ake Hultkrantz (1986, 633), similarly sought power from a lake-dwelling "little dwarf spirit with poisonous arrows," whom they feared more than ghosts. Yet oddly enough, although plants arguably were more important in Great Basin Indian economies for ten thousand years, with only one exception, none conferred power.

Reasons for seeking power included becoming a healer, exercising control over the weather, achieving invulnerability in battle, attaining gambling and sexual prowess, or charming antelopes as bosses of cooperative antelope hunts.

Often the same individual owned or practiced distinct types of power, which in every case was understood to be dangerous. These individuals needed to follow the instructions from power source scrupulously and also avoid losing an item from the medicine bundles they owned, which would invariably spell the loss of power, if not the death of the holder. And wittingly or unwittingly, individuals might also use power for nefarious purposes, that is, the practice of sorcery (Whiting 1950). Power was routinely displayed during the healing ceremony. A shaman called into the house of a patient smoked and danced during one- or two-night ceremonies. Shamans were capable of entering trancelike states, in which power was used to divine the cause of illness. If sorcery were diagnosed as the cause, the shamans might also be asked (and paid accordingly) to remove the object believed shot into the patient. Extraordinarily powerful shamans were capable of traveling to the land of the dead to restore life. In this instance, a patient would be diagnosed as having suffered soul loss. Isabel Kelly (1936, 129) reported that Southern Paiutes had four different kinds of shamans: three specialists (rattlesnake, arrow wounds, and horses) and the general practitioner.

Cures, like ceremonies, were always held at night. Darkness, hence, nighttime, was intrinsic to the concept as well as the practice of power. As explained to the anthropologist Willard Z. Park (1938, 16) by Joe Green, a Northern Paiute consultant, "There are two nights. The second comes behind the night that everybody sees. This second night is under the darkness. It tells the shaman where the pain is and what caused the sickness. When the second night comes it makes

the shaman feel that he is a doctor. The power is in him to doctor. Only shamans can see this second night. The people can only see the darkness. They cannot see the night under it."

Funeral rites illustrate another social arena for the demonstration of power. A good talker, for example, was expected to ease the mourner's pain with his words or prayer, both by hastening the departure of the deceased's soul to the other world at the gravesite and by assisting the living "not to think about me [the deceased] any more."

Power was also essential to Great Basin Indian ceremonialism. In the Round Dance, the most important ritual in this culture area because these gatherings invariably took place in association with anticipated food harvests, good talkers were believed capable of influencing the outcome with spoken prayer. During the Bear Dance, a ten-day ceremony that took place in the spring and was practiced only in the eastern part of the Great Basin (among Shoshones and Utes), shamanizing occurred as it did in the four-day Sun Dance, which Great Basin Indians learned from Plains Indians. Joseph Jorgensen (1972, 192) witnessed a participant being lifted off his feet, which reportedly reached the same level with his head before he hit the ground after he had been struck with buffalo power generated by the center pole of the ceremonial lodge.

Although Great Basin Indians were rapidly acculturated and displaced onto reservations and colonies in Nevada, Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, and parts of California and Oregon, it can be shown that the concept and practice of power continues even to the present day. In the two religions that arose as protest movements among Northern Paiutes in Nevada and spread throughout the nation, the prophet Wodziwob (Tavibo) of 1870 Ghost Dance fame prophesied that the Indian dead would be resurrected and invading whites destroyed in an apocalypse. The 1890 Ghost Dance prophet (Wovoka), who obtained power from Wolf, clouds, eagle, and the Judeo-Christian God, was believed capable of controlling the weather and invulnerable to the white man's bullets.

Years later, when the Native American Church was introduced, each of its three proselytizers, the Lakota named Lone Bear, and two Great Basin Indians (Ralph Kochampanaskin, Ute, and Ben Lancaster, Washo) were seen as shamans. Indeed, whether adopted by Great Basin Indians or not, the hallucinogen peyote these individuals brought was defined in the traditional sense of medicine, that is, power, by Great Basin Indians. The same holds true for the Christian religions that were missionized among Great Basin Indians. A Pentecostal minister, for example, is seen as powerful, when he or she can bring about cures in Christ's name, much in the same sense that shamans were formerly evaluated.

Great Basin Indians continue to employ the concept and practice of power in several ways. Any number of shamans are simultaneously active in such seemingly

distinct religions as the Native American and Episcopalianism (cf. Stewart 1956). There are genuine examples of transcultural healing, as illustrated, for example, by the career of Henry Rupert, who expanded his shamanic practice from traditional Washo sources of power (water) to curing Mexicans and whites with a deceased Hindu and Hawaiian volcano god as his new powers (Handleman 1967).

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See also Power, Barbareño Chumash; Power, Northwest Coast; Power Places, Great Basin; Power, Plains; Power, Southeast

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Power, Northwest Coast

The Need for Power

A common Northwest coast mythical theme is the pathetic and impoverished human being who obtains supernatural power and becomes rich and powerful. This represents the fundamental view that human beings, by themselves, are incapable of effectively coping in a hostile world. Only by the acquisition of exogenous power can humans carve out a meaningful existence for themselves. The main animal food species—salmon, halibut, oolichan (a common, oily fish species; also spelled "eulachon"), sturgeon, seal, deer, and mink—were unobtainable except with the cooperation of the animals themselves, who would sacrifice themselves to those with the proper power. Such power was generally obtained during the myth age, when humans and animals could change forms and easily communicate, and it was passed down through inheritance. Upon such power was founded human society. Certain outcasts, particularly slaves, were excluded from this power, and thus seen to be dependent upon others for their sur-

Nineteenth-century Heiltsuk Raven Rattle. (Brooklyn Museum of Art/CORBIS)

vival. For most people, however, power was an integral aspect of their lives, even if it was held primarily by high-ranking relatives. At the very least, every effective hunter and fisher, as well as artists and artisans, warriors, and other occupational groups, required a modicum of power to be successful, and possessed rituals designed to conserve and fortify that power.

Forms of Power

On the Northwest coast most manifestations of superhuman power were integral attributes of living beings, either human or other-than-human (this would include natural species as well as monsters and mythical beings). It was somewhat less common for power to inhere in otherwise inanimate objects, as in other regions such as the Plains, although that did occur with certain classes of objects. Quartz crystals were, for instance, considered a conduit and possibly a source of shamanic power. Copper was an inherently powerful substance, connected with the ability to gain wealth. In addition, a range of man-made objects were connected with power. Some, such as the Raven Rattle, common throughout most of the Northwest coast, seemed to be loci of power in and of themselves (that is, anyone wielding one would be empowered). Most objects, including masks and other

portrayals of supernatural beings, are better viewed as representations of power deriving from several sources, including the being portrayed, the wearer or bearer, and the artist who made it. In an extended sense, even utilitarian objects and structures were vessels of power; a house, for example, was thought of as a powerful being that maintained the family structure intact and, moreover, displayed the important family crests, themselves commemorations of relations with spiritual beings. Moreover, objects connected with hunting and fishing, such as hooks and clubs, were necessarily infused with power.

A second—and perhaps more fundamental—form of power is found in stories. These generally recount the experience of an ancestor obtaining power from an original donor during the myth age. The mere recitation of such stories revitalized that power for its contemporary owner. It related to such real-world dimensions of power as territorial ownership and chiefly legitimacy. Plastic art forms were usually intended as representations of such stories, which were frequently re-enacted as masked dances. However, neither plastic nor verbal arts could be entirely reduced to the other. Each encompassed manifestations of power that could produce "ripple effects" in the world. Together, they are particularly potent materializations of power.

Types of Power

Most people had access to some type of power. Power was thus widely distributed and took many different forms. This complexity can be managed by positing two dimensions along which power types may be located. The first, the level of individuality or communality, defines the degree to which power was shared among members of a group. Thus, for example, myths attaching to noble houses describing the creation of ancestors in a particular place were relatively widely shared. Although a chief would have greater access to that power, and would probably know additional esoteric knowledge unknown to others, the power nevertheless provided an umbrella of sorts for the entire group. This had implications for material matters such as rights to territory and economic productivity. On the other hand, certain forms of power were specific to an individual. Shamanic power, witchcraft, and special animal powers were individual. These latter were more common among southern tribes, especially the Salish-speaking ones. Private knowledge and power would be connected to one person alone. This principle was represented in Salishan "Spirit Dances." Intermediate forms could be found in the dance societies of the central coast: Tsimshian, Heiltsuk, Nuxalk, Kwakwak'wakw, and Nuu-chah-nulth. In those societies, more than one dancer may be possessed or inspired by a single powerful being. Performances were less individualistic and often took the form of dramatic enactments that entailed the cooperation of various performers.

A second dimension is the opposition between order-destroying and order-af-

firming power. This opposition is embodied in the Heiltsuk terms *náwálakw* (meaning "sacred power," with the possibility of undermining order) and *gwiylás* (meaning "routine authority"). Chiefly power was of the second type. Power held by spiritual practitioners was generally of the first sort. However, this is complicated by several issues. First, established power did at one point consist in overturning a particular order and replacing it with something that made possible the order that replaced it. Stories of outcasts who come to eclipse their erstwhile betters are examples. Second, some power that is potentially, even inherently, disruptive could be put to the ends of established order. Doctors who used their power to heal, or to assist the chief in the realization of communal goals (for example, by sending magic against enemies) were examples. However, shamanistic power was generally threatening to the established order. Such healers and spiritual leaders tended to live apart from society. These individuals could turn to sorcery, as could nonhealers; this represented the extreme antisocial pole. Chiefs, on the other hand, performing rituals such as the First Salmon Ceremony, designed to ensure the return of food species, or undertaking the potlatch, a celebration of collective powers, represented the extreme order-affirming pole.

Shamanic power, whatever its end, had a destructive aspect, in that it involved the breaking down of the subject (often experienced as temporary death) in order to save him. Healers and spiritual leaders themselves often underwent initiatory illnesses and were thought to die. Death and rebirth were thus under their purview. Naturally, healers employed considerable sleight-of-hand as well as theatrical effects. This did not imply that their powers were nonexistent; many people, including they themselves, believed in their healing powers. Indeed, the ability to perform an illusion effectively, such as pretending to suck a substance from a patient's body, was considered by many a manifestation of that power. The healer's main gift was the ability to see the world as it really was, as a vast web of power connecting beings together. Diagnosis involved seeing the absence or presence of such connections, as soul loss or sorcery. Although healers could themselves be sorcerers, one major function was to detect sorcerers and witches who used power secretly for selfish ends.

The dance societies of the Heiltsuk and Kwakwak'wakw dramaturgically represented the opposition between those two poles, the shamanic and chiefly. These dances, taking place during the sacred winter season, entailed the manifestation of shamanic powers. And within those dances these powers became available widely to nonhealers. The nature of this power was destructive: themes of death, disease, anthropophagy, and other threats to human existence were portrayed. In the end, these forces were kept at bay by the forces of order controlled by the chief, just as the world around them transformed from the dark barren winter

to the productive, human-friendly spring. This annual drama represented the precarious nature of human existence, and human dependence upon exogenous powers, which had their own imperatives.

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Northwest; Dance, Northwest Winter Spirit Dances; Guardian Spirit Complex; Masks and Masking; Oral Traditions, Northwest Coast

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Power Places, Great Basin

Power, places, and rituals in the Great Basin can be understood as three related components of the world, which together serve to maintain balance. This essay illustrates these relationships by discussing a very old balancing ceremony place that supported an interethnic Ghost Dance in 1890 (Stoffle et al. 2000).

Every Indian child in the Great Basin is taught a few basic ideas so they can act appropriately anywhere in nature. The lesson begins with the idea that the world is alive, as it has been since Creation. Everything in the world has its own *puha* (power), which may also be translated as energy. With that energy everything in the world can talk, act, move, respond, and exert its will. *Puha* is distributed unevenly yet purposefully throughout the universe and flows in a netlike pattern wherein certain points or nodes concentrate power. Individual components of the world such as plants, animals, springs, rocks, kinds of wind, and people have different kinds of *puha,* which is useful alone and in combination with other elements for achieving goals. Tobacco, for example, is a powerful plant that likes to be near dramatic

volcanic cliffs, and so the two are often found together along with the presence of rock peckings and paintings, which indicate the presence of multiple powers. *Puha* has the following key dimensions (Miller 1983; Fowler 1992):

- *Puha* is useful in many types of ritual and physical settings to keep in balance the lives of individuals, communities, nations, and the world itself.
- People go to places that have the power to solve or help solve specific problems through appropriate rituals.
- All power places are alive and from them come the knowledge and strength to restore balance. Some places provide the rituals through visions and trances that are needed to engage and use their power properly.

Since power places are alive, they need to be talked with, given verbal and physical thanks, and ritually marked. The message of the marking is: "This is a power place that is willing to share with humans if it is treated with respect." It is extremely dangerous for humans not to know where such places are. Discussions of power and power personalities occur between parents and children, so that by age five or six each Indian child knows not to disturb crystals, yell while on a mountain, or throw rocks into a river or spring. Rocky places are especially singled out as powerful (dangerous), and children are told to stay away from them until they are older, initiated, and learn what such places can do to and for them.

So we begin with the idea that there are types of powerful places and that they are ritually marked to communicate something about where they are and what they have done with Indian people in the past. That is a cultural fact. It is basic and shared by all adult tribal members. From this point on, interpretations of the place markings vary among Indian people today. Some people just do not know what the specific markings mean; others will not tell, because you are not a tribal member, or are not a woman, or are not initiated. Often even close friends will not tell each other, because they fear that the knowledge will become public and that people will come and participate in culturally inappropriate behaviors that will insult the place. Other people fear for the welfare of non-Indians who may come to the site because the non-Indians, like children, do not know how to prepare themselves for the visit, how to interact while at the site, and how to leave the area.

Given this perspective, we can begin to understand why questions about the meaning of rock markings are so problematic, while they still tell us so much about the places where they are located. There are marking symbols that are consistently associated with types of power places and ritual activities. Whitley (2000) maintains that mountain sheep are often associated with rain-making and thus associated with places where

rain-making power comes from, which are in turn marked by pecking (generally not by paintings). There are also places where a young man is to shoot his first mountain sheep, and those are marked with sheep that symbolize it as a place for singing the mountain sheep song as a part of the initiation ceremony. These places are visited by men and boys whose families own the territory, and thus the killing of the sheep and the singing of the song are confirmations of ownership. So the place where mountain sheep are pecked could be used to help make rain or transform a boy into a man and give him territorial rights and obligations.

If a place has rainmaking powers, it is possible that a pecking of a "killed sheep" is symbolic of a shamanic trance. It also may be that the rainmaking shaman has to go into the place to find his spirit helper, and that act involves transformation. At this time, our analysis would be well served by talking about a specific place rather than a general pattern.

There is an element of trance in all medicine. There are places where the shaman moves into the rock and travels to other worlds—the stars. Such places are covered with paintings—they almost never have peckings; they are usually small, low-roofed rock shelters in which the shaman lies face upward during the travel and then paints the experience just afterward. Each trip seems to be painted. By contrast, a place where a mountain sheep spirit helper can be acquired may have only one or two old markings.

The movement of a traveler shaman is in great contrast with the shaman who is involved in a balancing ceremony—such as the round dance, which is the foundation ceremony of the Ghost Dance. Such a shaman holds still and opens himself up to his spirit helpers, who come while he is in a trancelike state. An Indian medical doctor also stays still. He becomes like a window so that powers from his spirit helpers can come to the sick person and combine with the power of the sick person to restore balance. Thus there are trances during ceremony and healing that do not involve travel. Other kinds of trances are involved in space travel. Most learning about songs, plants for medicine, and power itself involves a trance state in which a person (who has already gone through considerable ceremonial preparation) goes to a place such as a cliff face or a cave and then goes through the rock or the back of the cave to meet powerful spirits.

There is an 1890s Ghost Dance site located in Kanab Creek near the northern rim of the Grand Canyon that has hundreds of rock paintings and peckings. They span thousands of years and represent dozens of kinds of ritual events. People have gone there because it is a special power place. It is not a place for space travel; it is a balancing ceremony site. There are two wonderful, awe-inspiring caves down the canyon toward the Colorado River that are used exclusively for space travel. A large deposit of

white paint occurs at the site, probably defining it as a place for balancing ceremonies. The white paint was used on the bodies of the ritual dancers, but it seems to have been used mostly in association with the Ghost Dance. Dancers more commonly use red paint, and the great majority of rock paintings at the site are of that color.

Headless figures painted in white are symbolic of death, and it is generally believed that they are Indian people who were killed by whites. After a normal Indian death, a community sings the spirit of the person to the afterlife. This ceremony is called the Salt Song (or Cry), and it involves the physical movement of the spirit over a thousand-mile path to the afterlife. Is that flying? It certainly involves movement. Is the spirit in a trance? Probably not. Do the singers go into trance? Yes, the lead singer visits the spirit at various times and of course at various physical places during the ceremony and asks how he (or she) is; the lead singer then brings back to the assembled community members participating in the funeral the spirit's thanks for helping the spirit to travel to the afterlife. Note here that nothing ever dies; it just changes form.

Indian people killed by whites were often not buried in a traditional Salt Song Ceremony. Thus they became spirits angry that they could not get to the afterlife and thus lost souls that presented a problem for the living. They become whirlwinds. There were times when whole villages died from diseases, and no one was left to bury them. The presence of thousands of whirlwind spirits must have weighed heavily on the minds of Indian people who participated in the Ghost Dance. Were those whirlwinds the headless white figures that had been killed by Euro-Americans? Did people return to the Kanab Creek site because it was a powerful balancing place? There are many questions yet to be answered about the Ghost Dance and the places where this type of balancing ceremony was held.

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See also Cry Ceremony; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches

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Power, Plains

No term in English can adequately translate Plains Indian religion; however, the

Four Piegan fringed leather medicine bags hung on tripod. 1910. (Edward Curtis/Library of Congress)

concept of "power" comes closest to providing an interpretive frame for understanding these diverse Native American religious beliefs and practices. Origin stories of Plains Indians tell of powerful mythic presences, such as *Tirawahat,* the Creator, of the Pawnee peoples, whose creative power remains present in the medicine bundles of priests and healers. Sacred power, according to another Plains people, the Ponca, referred to anything mysterious, ineffable, or uncanny. Thus the Ponca sense of *wakkada* referred not only to a sacred transcendent power but also to various types of spiritual beings in nature, such as exceptional animals and plants as well as the Sun, Moon, Evening Star, and Morning Star.

Obviously, power among Plains Indians had a compelling cosmological character that also provided orientation in everyday life. The pervasive character of this mysterious power demands a closer interpretation than simply labeling it "sacred power." That is, the idea of power among Plains Indians suggests not only vertical axes of power implying transcendent forces or beings beyond the human and the earth but also horizontal axes in which power is expressed both in the realms of natural materiality and in the social and political orders. In an effort to understand these extraordinarily complex and beautiful ideas, this discussion will address the concept of power among Plains Indians as having cosmological, experiential, natural, and communal dimensions.

Cosmological Power

One of the most evocative descriptions of Plains Indian power is in Alice Fletcher and Francis La Flesche's comprehensive study *The Omaha Tribe.* They describe *wakanda,* the Omaha term for a universal life force, saying:

> An invisible and continuous life was believed to permeate all things, seen and unseen. This life manifests itself in two ways: First, by causing to move—all motion, all actions of mind or body, are because of this invisible life; second, by causing permanency of structure and form, as in the rock, the

> physical features of the landscape, mountains, plains, streams, rivers, lakes, the animals and man. This invisible life was also conceived of as being similar to the will power of which man is conscious within himself—a power by which things are brought to pass. Through this mysterious life and power all things are related to one another and to man; the seen to the unseen, the dead to the living, a fragment of anything to its entirety. This invisible life and power is called wakon'da. (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911, 134)

The Omaha think of *wakon'da,* the power of all life, as being in movement, constantly changing, ineffable, and incomprehensible. The conceptual depth of Plains Indian thinking about these ideas is evident in their comprehensive view of *wakon'da* both as underlying all movement and as the source of stable, permanent realities such as mountains and rivers. Also, the use of human will power is an analogy for cosmological power signals that manifest both intention and determination. Finally, there is a religious ecology embedded in this understanding of power that recognizes the inherent interrelationship of all life forms. Some Plains peoples, such as the Siouan-speaking Ponca, distinguish the gratuitous, unexpected experience of cosmological power as *wakkada* from the personal expression of power—for example, in a warrior's prowess. The Ponca call this intentional manifestation of power by an exceptional hunter or warrior *xube.* These conceptual distinctions demonstrate refinements in Plains Indian thought often associated with the emergence of specialists in handling and thinking about power, such as priests or shamans.

These assessments of power are found among other members of the Siouan-speaking language family. For example, the Teton Lakota call sacred power *wakan* and say that it manifests itself broadly throughout nature. The Lakota also speak of the mysterious, creative presence of this power in a unified form as *Wakan Tanka.* The Winnebago, Santee, Oto, and Missouria, all Siouan-speaking peoples, use variations of *wakanda.* Among other Siouan speakers such as the Mandan, however, the term for power is *xopri,* whereas the Crow (Absaroka) speak of power as *baxpe* (masculine) or *maxpe* (feminine). These linguistic distinctions suggest gendered encounters with power that have not been clarified in the ethnography. For the most part Plains Indian ethnography has heavily emphasized male prerogatives with power. The Arikara, a Caddoan-speaking people, call power *awahaxu?,* and the Uto Aztecan–speaking Shoshone peoples call power *puha.* The Algonquian Plains peoples such as the Arapaho call power *beetee,* and the Cheyenne (Tsistsistas) speak of *vonoom* as the order of the Creator, *Maheo.*

Some scholars suggest that the cosmological dimensions of sacred power among Plains Indians may be pervaded now by the spiritualizing ideas of Christianity, especially the concept of a supernatural Supreme Being in whom all

power resides. There is no doubt that Christianity has interacted with, and influenced, Plains Indian religious thought from the late eighteenth century onward. It is also the case that ideas about sacred power were shared at intertribal gatherings. It would seem, therefore, that ideas about *Wakan Tanka* among the Lakota and *Maheo* among the Cheyenne, for example, present indigenous ways of thinking about cosmological power among many Plains Indians. These perspectives suggest that Plains Indians saw power as both immanent in the natural order and, simultaneously, transcendent and beyond the relative, changing world.

Rather than in abstract theological discourse, Native Americans shared their reflections on cosmological power in more experiential and ritualized modes. First and most significant is the sense that Plains Indian oral traditions transmitted teachings in narrative forms that probed ideals for refining the psychological self in relation to the cosmological self. That is, the cosmological narratives that described the powerful beings and the ways that those beings communicated their powers to humans profoundly influenced the daily, formative ethics of the self among these peoples. The ethics of power, then, can be likened to living life as a story. Second, concepts about power were embedded in ritual modes such as the search for personal experience of sacred power in the vision quest as well as community ceremonials for re-enacting the great stories of power. In the Sun Dance, Plains peoples shared concepts of cosmological power among themselves both before and after contact with the West. In these considerations of cosmological power it is also important to emphasize experiential modes as the validation for any claim to power.

Experiential Modes

Plains Indian societies have been strikingly egalitarian in the sense that anyone might be called to the experience of sacred power. Yet a creative tension exists between those egalitarian understandings of power and the fact that certain individuals embodied power in exceptional ways. Thus in many of the Plains Indian societies there are charismatic individuals, such as shaman-healers, who control and direct sacred power. These individuals may have received dreams or visions that communicated instructions about the assembly of material objects into symbolic bundles of power. Among the Ponca, healers are called *waxube*—that is, those who control their manifestation of power (*xube*). The Crow now call these healers *akbaalia,* or "a person who can accomplish things." Among the Lakota those healers who have exceptional abilities to re-enact their experiences of cosmological power are called *wichsha wakan,* or "*wakan* persons."

Among Plains Indians the human experience of power stands in an axial relationship with cosmological power. The vertical axis suggests an other-power that spontaneously and gratuitously manifests itself to the human in dreams or visions. These existential experiences

of power typically do not remain in an abstract or simply personal realm; rather, they bring about relationships of authority and prestige between individuals and groups within Plains societies. In this sense, power among Plains peoples cannot simply be understood in terms of a vertical axis oscillating between the cosmological and the experiential. A horizontal axis of power is evident in which the life-force becomes embedded in the material world, especially in objects gathered from the natural world and assembled by humans in bundles of power.

Apache medicine cap and fetish, 1907. (Edward Curtis/Library of Congress)

Materiality and Power

Some of the most striking manifestations of power among Plains Indians are the many collections of objects in bundles that have been gathered by individuals or by select societies of men and women. Among the Crow, for example, an individual may receive a power dream or vision during a ritualized vision quest. Others may experience power participating in a ceremonial such as a Sun Dance or spontaneously during daily life. For the Crow, a power dream authorizes the collection of objects into a bundle (*xapaaliaa*). These objects may include animal parts, plants, and minerals that are associated with the cosmological powers of the dream. Typically, a "medicine bundle" also has songs attached to it, as well as modes of opening, arranging, and displaying the objects. The performance of the bundle, then, is a complex set of actions that may actually become more complex as the bundle is ritually "sold" or transferred to another owner. Over the years a bundle and its power may "travel" through many owners in different locations and among different Indian nations.

Material expressions of sacred power are experientially grounded in the collected substances of the bundle, such as buffalo horns, birds' wings, tobacco plants, and stones with fossils. This material embodiment of sacred power, while related to cosmological power through dreams and visions, is linked to ways of imaging the natural world. Each time the bundle is opened, the material bundle is obviously directly related to the

cosmological powers that it embodies as well as the experiences of power that are re-enacted. Thus ritualized expressions of power among Plains Indians may be understood as the skillful and complex interweavings of different modes of power. It is also crucial for understanding the cultural differences on the Plains to consider the interplay of these different expressions of power in the sociopolitical or communal order.

Communal Order

From a Western analytic perspective, the sociopolitical dynamics of power are the most significant because all other modes of power are culturally constructed and personally subjective. From a traditional Native American perspective, however, the experience of power is not simply subjective but validated by its source in the surrounding world that sustains all life. Thus the sociopolitical order from a Native American perspective is not a separate, secular realm void of cosmological power. Rather, the communal order constitutes a lifeway that overlaps with the natural and cosmological orders. Plains Indian lifeways are pervaded by the same powers that create and sustain the world. Social and political leaders of the Plains Indian lifeway are identified and validated in terms of their experience of cosmological power. Thus a Sun Dance guide, a military leader, or a Peace Chief achieves those positions by bringing together experiences of sacred power with his or her own personal skill and maturity with that power. While both sexes have been suggested here, it has been noted that among Plains Indians power is primarily a male prerogative. Exceptions are evident, as there are women healers, female warriors, and mixed-gender religious specialists called two-spirits or berdache in the earlier literature. Regardless of their sex, however, all of these ritual roles depend upon the personal experience of power and the capacity to make present that power at appropriate moments.

Interactions of diverse expressions of power become evident in social structures, institutions, and social practices that manifest power relationships. Individuals and groups in the Plains clearly recognize the privileges of particular charismatic individuals and religious societies that claim advantages based on cosmological, experiential, and material power. Plains Indian age-grade warrior societies during the times of intertribal warfare are conspicuous examples of normative social groups that set the stage for power experiences among boys and men as they matured.

Sacred clowns among the Lakota, called *heyoka,* are a striking example of power manifestation that appears to oppose normative social values. Power in the sociopolitical order typically validates the dominant social arrangement. The Lakota *heyoka,* as well as sacred clowns found among other Plains peoples, are "contraries" who manifest a resistance to normative behavior. Their ritual clowning often entails doing daily tasks backward and speaking in seemingly nonsensical or inappropriate ways. This type of liminal power among Plains

peoples appears to mount resistance to dominant modes of power and to open pathways that empower the powerless.

Interestingly, the major ceremonial pathway for the experience of power among Plains Indians—namely, the vision quest at puberty—has embedded within it all of these complementary expressions of power. The vision quest not only affirms normative perspectives regarding the experience and acquisition of cosmological power for a successful life but also brings new visions to the people that challenge the normative sociopolitical order. Although much changed and diminished by contact with dominant American societies, the complex interactions of power in their cosmological, experiential, material, and sociopolitical expressions in Plains Indian religious life continue into the present.

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Arapaho; Ceremony and Ritual, Lakota; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Oral Traditions, Western Plains; Power, Barbareño Chumash; Power, Great Basin; Power, Northwest Coast; Power, Southeast; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Plains; Vision Quest Rites; *Yuwipi* Ceremony

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Power, Plateau

See Spirits and Spirit Helpers, Plateau

Power, Southeast

Most of the indigenous groups from the Southeastern United States share a general concept of religious power. It flows through all creation and directly impacts everything in This World, the World Above (or Upper World), and the World Below (or Under World), including both the physical and metaphysical, the seen and unseen.

Southeastern Native Americans conceptualize the universe as consisting of This World, the World Above, and the World Below, with each world intricately connected to the other two. This World is the place in which humans currently live. Humans interact with the visible and the invisible (the physical and metaphysical) every day. The unseen, spiritual

aspects of This World contain entities that either permanently exist here or sometimes visit from the World Above and the World Below. Additionally, everything in This World has a spirit. That includes animals, plants, rivers, and places, and all those spirits are interconnected and interdependent. Most of the southeastern groups believe that This World is flat and circular, and that it geographically centers upon their specific group. This World sits between the World Above and the World Below. The World Above is like This World only better. Everything there is in balance and makes sense. The World Below is the opposite of the World Above, where disorder and chaos exist. In order for the universe to continue to exist, balance must be maintained between all three worlds. As the center of the universe, each group believes that they, and they alone, must maintain this balance through proper actions and proper thought and by performing the right ceremonies at the appropriate times. By doing those things, they guarantee the correct flow of "power" throughout the three worlds.

Religious practices for the indigenous inhabitants of the Southeastern United States center upon controlling the flow of power. Power, as Native peoples of the Southeast understand it, fills the universe, and it guides and is guided by human and nonhuman behavior and thought. Power in this sense is like energy or a life essence that all things need to exist. This power in and of itself is neither solely benevolent nor solely noxious. The users of power, be they human or otherwise, choose the nature of its employment. Because power ebbs and flows throughout the universe, individual humans, human groups, and nonhuman entities need periodic renewal. For human societies, their behavior, their thoughts, and special ceremonies enhance and control their individual and community levels of power.

Therefore the loss of life (human or otherwise) means a loss of power. When individuals from a community die an unnatural death, the community loses more than the labor, the experience, or the comforting familiarity of those individuals. It also loses power. That power can be regained only through the proper ceremonies, thoughts, and actions (which includes what a person eats). For instance, if an enemy kills a war leader, revenge must be taken upon that enemy, but, in addition, someone in the community must perform the correct ceremonies to be able to replace the missing leader physically, to assume the spiritual/power status of the fallen leader to guarantee continued success in warfare and to reacquire the appropriate aspect or type of power lost to the community. Likewise when animals are hunted and killed, ritualism accompanies the process to ensure that the loss of power among the community of animals is restored. In all cases, failure to perform the appropriate ceremonies can throw the three worlds out of balance and could cause This World and possibly all three worlds to come to an end.

Dixie Ray Haggard

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Southeast; Dance, Southeast; Green Corn Ceremony; Masks and Masking; Menstruation and Menarche; Power, Great Basin; Power, Northwest Coast; Power, Plains; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Southeast; Vision Quest Rites

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Powwow

Powwow gatherings are an important part of contemporary American Indian life, centering on drumming, dance, song, community, and celebration of Indian identity and history. The name "powwow" is derived from the Algonquin *pawauogs,* referring to healing ceremonies conducted by a skilled spiritual practitioner. Euro-Americans later incorrectly used the term to refer to any gathering of Native people, and in the twentieth century it has taken on its current meaning, describing a gathering of one or more tribal nations for competitive dancing, drumming, singing, and socializing.

Powwows are typically sponsored by one tribe or band, and they welcome Native people from around the country. Many Native people join the "powwow circuit," in which they travel from powwow to powwow (primarily in the summer) to compete as dancers and drummers and to celebrate Indian culture with people of other nations. Powwows can range from small, local affairs lasting a single day to enormous national gatherings that might last as long as a week.

While styles of dress and dancing vary broadly from region to region, some dances and styles are held in common. A variety of dances can be seen at a powwow, including the Two-Step, Round Dance, and Gourd Dance, as well as performative dances such as the Spear and Shield Dance, Hoop Dance, or Eagle Dance. The most common dances stem from the nineteenth-century Plains War Dances. In the mid-nineteenth century these War Dance traditions spread throughout the Plains, often referred to as the Omaha Dance, Grass Dance, or Crow Dance. These War Dance traditions have taken several forms in the twentieth century, depending on regional styles and expressions. Oklahoma and Nebraska nations developed the Straight Dance, while among western Oklahoma nations the dance evolved into the Fancy

A woman wears traditional clothing as she dances in a dance competition at an Ottawa powwow. Harbor Springs, Michigan, ca. 1980–1990. (Macduff Everton/CORBIS)

Dance, or Feathers Dance. Northern Tribes were largely responsible for contemporary Grass Dances (characterized by braids of sweetgrass hanging from dancers' belts and bustles), and the Northern Plains Traditional Dances in which dancers' regalia includes full face paint and dress to mimic the appearance of animals or birds. Women's Dances have changed as well. Traditional women's dancing was primarily supportive, moving gracefully and succinctly in time with the drumbeat. Since the 1960s women's dancing has taken on a more expressive and creative mode, as women's Fancy Dances have become increasingly common—in particular, the Shawl and Jingle Dress Dance.

The powwow is typically characterized as a secular event. The dances and competitions are not overtly religious, and gatherings are open to all. The event is generally not directed by a spiritual practitioner, nor is a powwow a sacred ceremony. However, powwows still play an important role in contemporary American Indian spirituality. Powwows are places where American Indian people can affirm their ties to community, celebrate and rediscover their Native identity, and reconnect with traditional Native culture. For many Native people, carefully making their regalia, practicing, and participating in powwows is a spiritual activity. Sobriety is an important part of powwow life, as drugs and alcohol are not allowed on powwow grounds. For many Native people seeking sobriety and strength within their Native culture, the powwow circuit offers a path toward spiritual and cultural integrity. Children are taught about the values of traditional culture and about respecting elders and community, and they are encouraged to take pride in their indigenous heritage.

For many individuals, dancing works as a space for prayer and contemplation, for reflection and personal expression. In it, physical expression can be both personal fulfillment and prayerful worship. There is no prescribed dogma of what dances must mean or symbolize for individual dancers. For some dancing may

be a purely secular, competitive endeavor. For others it is a profoundly spiritual one, and a central part of their religious and spiritual life. It is up to the individuals to determine the meaning and role that dancing will have in their lives.

Another important aspect of powwows that can carry spiritual significance is the giveaway. Giveaways provide an opportunity to honor one's community and the elders who have played an important part in one's life. One's interdependence with one's community, and one's obligations to others, are a central part of Native culture and spirituality. During powwows, individuals and families will take time to honor and thank others. Young people who achieve great accomplishments, such as graduations, can be recognized in such a setting as well. It is important to note that rather than honoring a graduate, for instance, with gifts, the graduate is honored by gifts given to others in the graduate's name. Gifts are given to those who helped the person reach a goal. Through such giveaways, everyone is reminded of the importance of community, of helping and relying on one another. A special honor song will be sung, and participants will shake hands with the honored individual. Gifts such as money, blankets, ribbon shirts, or dance outfits will often be given.

Powwows are also an important place for honoring Native veterans, who play an important role in the gathering—from the grand entry to the judging and awarding of prizes. Warrior societies and the honoring of warriors have long played an important role in American Indian religiosity.

Regalia

Individuals participating in powwows generally make their own regalia, or outfits. One's regalia is deeply personal, crafted through hours of labor and care by oneself and one's family. The individual artistic expression within a dancer's regalia is an expression of that individual's own identity, family, tribal community, and life experiences. Family or community members might give a dancer pieces of their regalia. To receive such a gift is a great honor. One's regalia might change from year to year, and it is a constantly evolving part of one's life as a dancer. Powwow fashions combine the traditional with the contemporary, as well as with images from pre-Christian Native traditions and Christian traditions. It is important to note that regalia is never referred to as a "costume," which implies that the dancer is dressing up, putting on a show, or participating in a kind of fakery. Regalia, and the careful crafting of one's regalia, are a genuine expression of culture and identity, not play-acting.

The Drum

In American Indian traditions, the beat of the drum is an extension of the heartbeat of Mother Earth. Drumming, or dancing to the beat of the drum, places an individual in rhythm with the earth. As you move, you step into the proper

beat and harmony of all of creation. The drum likewise carries the heartbeat of the Indian nation. To dance in rhythm is to be in step with the wider community of Native people. Drumming and dancing thus can be experienced as a spiritual, prayerful practice, one that brings one back into synchrony with the Earth and one's community. Drums are often said to contain a female spirit, and they must be treated with care and respect. Singers and drummers must follow careful protocols when entering, participating in, or leaving a drum circle.

The drum itself is a large base, covered with hide. The drummers (typically only men) form a circle of eight or more individuals around the drum. As they strike the drum, they sing in unison. Songs are often in Native languages, or have been reduced to vocables so that members of other tribal nations can sing along. The Lead Singer begins each song and determines which songs will be sung. Both local songs and songs known more widely are included.

The Lead Singer will begin each song with a lead line. This indicates to the singers and dancers which song will be following. As the song is taken up, the dancers begin to enter the circle. Drummers will occasionally strike the drum particularly loudly; at such moments they are offering so-called honor beats to the drum.

People

Powwows are organized by a powwow committee, members of which represent the sponsoring tribe or nation. They work to bring all the elements of a powwow together: drummers, dancers, food, crafts, entertainment, booths, and the important elements of running a powwow, such as security, parking, and camping facilities. The powwow itself is run by a master of ceremonies, who directs when dances begin, makes announcements, and keeps everyone in order. Arena directors likewise help to keep the event going smoothly, offering direction to dancers, drummers, and judges alike. Most powwows are competitive, and judges determine winners for each category based upon their abilities, regalia, rhythm, and ability to stop dancing on the final beat of the drum. Lead Singers play an important role in the powwow, as mentioned above. They will determine what songs and what dances are played. Head Man Dancer and Head Woman Dancer lead the dancing, directing when individuals should join the circle.

Dances

Grand Entry

Every powwow begins with the Grand Entry. Flags and eagle staffs are raised, and the drums beat a grand entry song. The first to enter the arena is the tribal chair of the local sponsoring tribe, as well as any visiting guests of honor. Color guard veterans follow, behind which come any royalty (princesses, warriors) who have been chosen to represent their home community. Elder men will then enter the area, followed by men's tradi-

tional dancers, grass dancers, and fancy dancers. Women elders will then enter, followed by women's traditional dancers, jingle dress dancers, and fancy shawl dancers. Teenage boys and teenage girls will then enter, followed by younger children. As each group enters the master of ceremonies introduces them. Finally, when all have assembled, the prayer song and honoring song for veterans is sung.

Men's Traditional Dance

Generally considered the oldest type of dance, men's traditional regalia is said to represent various kinds of animals and to present the image of a warrior fitted for battle. The movements of the dance itself are intended to portray actions such as hunting, or a warrior searching for an enemy. They are actions associated with men's sacred obligations to protect and provide for the community. Typically, men's traditional dancers will wear a neck choker, a breastplate made of animal bones or shell, jingling hooves or ankle bells, and a hide shield. They may also wear a bustle of eagle feathers, as eagle feathers are associated with bravery and honor, and a porcupine hair roach. Armbands and cuffs will be either beaded or metal, and breechcloth aprons will be either leather or cloth and generally elaborately decorated. Many dancers wear beaded knee bands and angora furs around their ankles.

Women's Traditional Dance

The Women's Traditional Dance, or Buckskin Dance, is the oldest form of women's powwow dancing. This type of regalia is indicated by a fringed shawl, held over one arm, a feather fan, and an awl and knife case on the belt. In the Southern and Oklahoma style, women's traditional dancers will wear cloth or buckskin outfits. Regalia is carefully and elaborately beaded in styles and patterns that reflect their home nations, communities, and families. Women's traditional dancers may wear a hair bone pipe breastplate and glass beads hanging to their waist or ankles. Beaded hair barrettes, beaded fur hanging from the hair, beaded crowns (for women who have been powwow princesses), and beaded moccasins complete the regalia. When dancing, women's traditional dancers must demonstrate grace, stamina, and a smooth flowing movement. They must move slowly, in time with the drum, keeping their feet close to the ground. Dancers dance in rhythm to the drum, bobbing to its beat, as the long fringe of their shawls sways with the beat of the dance. They dance swaying slightly, bending at the knees in carefully controlled but fluid swaying movements. Women raise their eagle feather fans to honor the drum and their male relatives whenever the drummers strike honor beats.

Men's Grass Dance

It is often said that the Men's Grass Dance originated as dancers sought to smooth down the grass on a new dance site. The dance was originally a warrior society dance, and it reflects that origin,

as dancers' movements are low and fluid, as though they were stalking game. Every movement danced to one side is repeated on the other, an indication of the need for balance in one's life. The regalia itself harkens back to an older custom, when dancers would wear braided grass in their belts. Today a Grass Dancer will wear long fabric or ribbon strands at the base of the outfit to represent grass. The outfit will be beaded and decorated with belt and armbands, cuffs, and side tabs, as well as a front and back apron, headband, and moccasins. Front and back aprons are very striking, being decorated with complex beadwork and ribbons, the ends hanging loose two to three feet. A beaded H-harness will fall from the shoulders to below the knees, beaded and decorated with tassels or ribbons. Grass Dancers will also wear a porcupine hair roach, or headdress, that has two feathers attached to it. These feathers and fringe will spin and sway as the dancer moves, and a good dancer will be able to keep the motions consistent, steady, and constant until the final beat of the drum. A grass dancer's regalia is distinct from that of other dancers by virtue of the nearly complete absence of feathers, other than the roach feathers.

Women's Jingle Dance, Prayer Dance

The women's jingle dress dance originated in northern Minnesota with the Ojibwe; it is also called a Prayer Dress. According to one tradition, a traditional healer dreamed the dance during a time when his granddaughter was very ill. His spirit helpers instructed him to make the dress and have her dance in it. His granddaughter put on the dress and danced. Although at first she was very weak, by her fourth circuit around the room she was cured.

The regalia is made of cloth, leather, or velvet and covered with shiny metal jingles, generally made from cone-shaped shiny metal, often from the lids of snuff cans. One dress will be covered in hundreds of jingles. When in motion the dress will sound like wind and rain. The dance itself is composed of carefully controlled steps in a zigzag pattern. The Jingle Dress dancer, like Women's traditional dancers, will raise her eagle feather fan when the drummers play "honor beats" to the drum. She must carefully stay with the rhythm, listening to the drum and keeping in step with the other dancers, ending with her final step on the final beat of the drum.

Men's Fancy Dance, Fancy Bustle Dance

Men's Fancy Dance, or Fancy Bustle Dance, is a strenuous and athletic dance. The dancer must demonstrate stamina and athletic agility, jumping, twirling, and dancing at great speed. The dancer wears two feather bustles, with ribbon and feathers added for color, and armbands and headbands repeating the patterns of the bustles. The regalia represents rainbow spirits, indicated by the feathers, ribbons, and bright colors. A headdress roach is worn, also brightly colored, with two eagle feathers that should be kept rocking and spinning throughout the dance.

Women's Fancy Shawl Dance, Northern Shawl Dance

The Women's Fancy Shawl Dance is a newer, athletic form of dance, sometimes called the Northern Shawl, or blanket dance, because of the shawl that the dancers wear over their shoulders. It was performed in the 1960s and called Graceful Shawl but was characterized by much smaller movements than is the case today. It is very similar to Men's Fancy Dance, with its strenuous jumping, twirling, kicks, spinning at great speed, and bright colors. Fancy Shawl Dancers wear high moccasins with intricate beaded patterns representing individual, familial, and tribal symbols. Dancers wear their shawls over their shoulders and spin gracefully around, keeping up with the rhythm of the drum. Fancy Shawl Dancers will decorate their shawls with elaborate designs of beadwork, ribbon work, and appliqué. Long fringes on the shawl will fly out from the dancer as she spins, emphasizing her movements.

Oklahoma Straight Dance

Oklahoma Straight Dance is a Southern dance, as is indicated by its formal, carefully coordinated motions and regalia. It evolved from Ponca Hethuska dances. Clothing regalia is carefully matched and made up of garters and side tabs. Ribbon work will run down the aprons, leggings, trailer, and otter dragger. Regalia will differ from tribe to tribe, indicating which nation the dancer comes from. Dancers will likewise wear a roach of porcupine hair and red or white deer hair. Regalia also includes bells mounted on a leather strip and moccasins, as well as a tail stick or mirror board carried in the right hand. The Straight Dance is proud, slow, and characterized by its precise and smooth motions.

Women's Cloth Dancing

Women's Cloth Dancing is another mode of Southern powwow dancing, introduced by the Kiowas, Ponca, and Osage. It is graceful and slow, and a champion Cloth Dancer will be able to maintain a steady, smooth rhythm. Regalia is typically composed of a cloth or wool dress with high-top moccasins and open sleeves. At the waist the Cloth Dancer wears a wrap, often fringed. The regalia is completed with a dual-sided breastplate and a belt of silver conchos with an awl case and tobacco pouch attached. Dancers will carry a shawl, purse, and fan.

Suzanne J. Crawford
Dennis F. Kelley

See also Dance, Great Basin; Dance, Plains; Dance, Plateau; Dance, Southeast; Drums; Giveaway Ceremonies; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Kinship; Song; Warfare, Religious Aspects; Yoeme (Yaqui) Deer Dance

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Prison and Native Spirituality

Following the path of Native American spirituality and cultural identity in today's prison system in the United States is usually impossible, often banned, and always very, very difficult. And yet, for some Native American prison inmates, walking the red road in the white man's iron house is the path to salvation, the way of beauty, and the only road to rehabilitation and survival.

> For those [prisoners] who attend the Inipi [sweatlodge], they must be willing to forsake the Black Road and become a new man or woman. We call this the Red Road, or the Beauty Road. When we walk the Black Road [that is, the way of alcohol, drug, and tobacco abuse], we are slowly drained of life, our spirit becomes silent, and death follows quickly on our heels. When we make a conscious decision to walk in the spirit (The Red Road or Beauty Road), our life is changed and the Great Spirit fills us with a greater portion of life than we've previously experienced (Bartlett 1998).

Religious discrimination has always been a fact of life for Native Americans, and it is no different in prison than in the "free world." For most Native American prisoners, the blunt, raw reality is that the average prison in this country—especially at the local level—neither recognizes American Indian spirituality as a legitimate religion nor allows Native inmates to practice their religion, even on an individual basis. That contrasts sharply with the general attitude of prison administrators toward Christian, Islamic, and Jewish prisoners, who almost always are allowed to attend weekly services, possess Korans, Bibles, and holy pictures, celebrate major religious holidays, and otherwise participate in a religious life.

Over the course of the last two centuries, three different levels of jails and prisons have been created in the United States, in part to deal with the "Indian problem": federal, state, and local. The latter are the most numerous, ranging from small-town "drunk tanks" and city- and county-run jails to large, for-profit prisons run by Wackenhut Corrections, Corrections Corporation of America, and other private companies. Incarceration

The Inipi *ceremonial grounds in a New Mexico prison usually includes a tarp-covered sweatlodge supported by a frame of willow saplings, a small earth altar, and a large fire pit where lava rocks are heated until they glow red. The rocks are then taken into the lodge and placed in a central pit, where cold water is poured over them, producing the hot breath of the creator. 1998. (Courtesy of Joe Winter)*

has become a big business in America, with profit, rather than rehabilitation or even punishment, the key motivating factor.

Aside from a few notable exceptions, such as the city correctional facility in Gallup, New Mexico, which encourages the use of a sweatlodge, a ceremonial hogan, and visits from Navajo medicine men who perform curing "ways" or ceremonies, most local jails and prisons do not allow Native Americans to practice their religion. Some of the state and county prisons, and most federal prisons, do permit their Native American inmates to attend weekly *Inipi* ceremonies and otherwise participate in religious life in a limited fashion, but they are far outnumbered by the state and local prisons that do not. Some prisons even allow biannual solstice ceremonies when families are allowed to bring in traditional foods. A few prisons have actually been innovative in their approach to Native American religion, but it always takes a sympathetic chaplain or understanding administrator who recognizes that far from being a danger to security, traditional Native American religion is actually the road to rehabilitation and a relatively easy way to control inmate behavior. But prison chaplains and administrators come and go, or they lose their fire and give up trying, and what was allowed under one regime is taken away by another.

That is exactly what happened at the Lea County Correctional Facility in New Mexico in 1999, where a chaplain fresh out of divinity school helped the Native Americans at this large private prison to develop a religious-based rehabilitation program that included daily pipe rituals, weekly *Inipi* ceremonies, Talking Circles, drumming sessions, history and culture classes, and Red Road To Sobriety meetings, as well as biannual family solstice ceremonies. Unfortunately, just as the program was starting to jell, a

new warden concluded that the Native American religious group was actually a gang, so he systematically began dismantling their program, leaving only the weekly *Inipi* ceremony. The last straw was when he took away their water drum. What was then intended as a peaceful demonstration of "counting coup" was perceived as a direct attack by the guards, and in the ensuing fracas several prisoners and guards were seriously injured. Twelve young American Indian men were sent to the maximum security, total lockdown unit at the Penitentiary of New Mexico at Santa Fe, where most of them languish today, without the right to have sweatlodge ceremonies or pipe rituals or anything else; the only time a few of them can meet, perhaps to share a little traditional tobacco, is when they are taken out of their individual cells once a week and are allowed to work out in small, separate cages in an enclosed yard. Several have gone on hunger strike, and at the time of this writing (February 2002), one is in very serious condition at the prison hospital in Los Lunas, where he is being force fed.

Many of the prisons and jails in this country are nothing more than warehouses for young, jobless Native Americans, who are often jailed for vagrancy and public intoxication, driving while intoxicated (DWI), shoplifting alcohol, or driving with a tail light out and "looking like a drunk Indian." And yes, there are repeat DWI offenders who have driven the wrong way on I-40 and killed whole families, as well as men who have gone berserk and murdered their families, or raped and killed young girls. They deserve to be in prison for a long, long time, but the blunt truth is that the average Native American in prison today is there because he or she made a mistake that would have earned a white offender nothing more than a slap on the wrist: maybe a night in jail and a phone call to daddy, who contacts the family lawyer, who contacts his friend the judge. Most Native Americans are in prison today because of alcohol, drug, and related crimes, and because they lack the money and expertise to manipulate the legal system. Many Native Americans were born into a culture of incarceration, in which brothers and cousins and fathers and grandsons go to prison because that's the way it is in America. And with the privatization of prisons into big, moneymaking corporations, the cycle and culture of incarceration has expanded even more.

Breaking this cycle—breaking the acceptance of a culture of incarceration, both on the part of whites as well as Native Americans—is absolutely essential if Native American society and religion are going to survive. Somehow, somebody has to convince the state department of corrections or the state health department or the state or federal legislature or the city or county council or whomever that halfway houses for men and women getting out of prisons, as well as intercept programs for at-risk youth who could end up in prison, are absolutely

necessary. We have to convince someone—anyone in the white power establishment who cares—that preprison intercept programs and postprison halfway house programs with *Inipi* ceremonies and pipe rituals and Talking Circles and Red Road To Sobriety programs and culture and history classes and eagle feathers and the celebration of holy days are all very good indeed.

But with only a few exceptions programs like that don't exist, even in the twenty-first century. There are only a few intercept programs on the streets of our reservation towns, and there are very few sweatlodges and safe havens where we can Walk the Red Road, in or out of the White Man's Iron Houses. And when they do exist, they are soon taken away:

> Effective Date—January 2, 2002
> ARIZONA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS—
> Inmate Notification
> A recent review of the store and property list has resulted in a change regarding possession of Eagle feathers. Pursuant to federal law, persons may not possess Eagle parts without a permit from the United States Fish and Wildlife Service. Prior to authorization to receive or possess an Eagle feather, or any other Eagle parts, inmates must produce a lawful permit from the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, issued in their name. Permits are not transferable.
>
> In the case where an inmate is currently in possession of an Eagle feather or other Eagle parts, the inmates will be given six (6) months from the effective date of the policy change to obtain and produce a lawful permit. If within six (6) months a lawful permit is not obtained or produced, Eagle feathers or other Eagle parts will be considered contraband. After six (6) months, any inmate in possession of Eagle feathers or other Eagle parts without a valid permit, will have those items confiscated as contraband. Confiscated Eagle feathers or Eagle parts will be turned over to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service for proper disposition.

The roots of the current pattern of religious discrimination against, and the large-scale incarceration of, Native Americans are sunk deep in the fabric of Euro-American history. Beginning with genocide and outright extermination, the culture of incarceration evolved as a result of the large-scale and frequent execution of Native American men and the imprisonment of entire tribes on distant, inhospitable military posts. Today Native American men still have the highest incarceration rate of any ethnic or racial group, and the rates increase dramatically from south to north. In Oklahoma, for example, where Native Americans make up 4 percent of the population, they account for 9 to 10 percent of the state's prison inmates (Hilligross 1987). In Montana, North Dakota, and South Dakota, where Native Americans constitute 5 to 8 percent of the population, they account for 16 to 21 percent of the states' prison inmates (Foundation for National Progress 2002). And the situation is even worse in Canada, where First Nations people account for less than 3 percent of the country's population yet make up more than 13 percent of the provincial prison population and over 18 percent of

the federal prison population (Correctional Service of Canada 2002). Then there is Alaska, where one out of every three state prisoners is an Inuit, Aleut, or American Indian (Foundation for National Progress 2002); only 16 percent of the state's population is Native American.

Native American arrest rates are also astoundingly high—more than three times that of blacks and ten times that of whites. In rural settings, the arrest rate of Native Americans is four times that of whites; in urban settings, it is thirteen times that of whites. And once an Indian has been jailed, he or she will serve an average of 35 percent more time before parole than will a non-Native for a similar crime. When they're out, Native Americans have a recidivism rate that is often more than 50 percent (U.S. Department of Justice 1982; Hilligross 1987; Reed 1993).

Why are these rates of arrest, incarceration, and return to prison so horribly high? Alcohol abuse, drug addiction, related crimes, extreme poverty, and despair are obviously contributing factors, but there are other deeper and more insidious factors at work as well. One of the most fundamental is that Native Americans have always been subjected to oppression, violence, incarceration, and an environment in which drug addiction and alcoholism are not only tolerated by white Americans but are actually encouraged by them, as a means of control. Incarceration is a way to control Native American men (and when necessary, women), with today's pattern of large-scale imprisonment and religious discrimination merely the current version of a far longer pattern that has become institutionalized in American society.

As long as Native Americans are treated differently in our legal and prison systems than blacks, Hispanics, or whites—as long as their basic human rights and religious freedoms are denied them—our prisons will remain warehouses used to control young Native Americans. And the streets of our reservation towns will be filled with the human debris produced by a national tragedy.

Intercept programs that incorporate Native American spirituality work. Halfway houses and detox centers with sweatlodges and pipe ceremonies and culturally relevant substance abuse treatment programs work. Native American religious societies in prisons work, as do religious-based rehab programs. In Canada, where healing lodges are often provided in the provincial and federal prisons, the recidivism rate for the Native inmates who used them is 6 percent, compared with a national average of 11 percent for all offenders (Correctional Service of Canada 2002).

Healing, hard work, a positive spiritual attitude—that is what it is all about, that is how we Walk the Red Road, in or out of the White Man's Iron House.

> When people make the choice to attend an Inipi Ceremony, they must be willing to suffer and be prepared to give all of their strength, prayers, and songs to the Creator. It is the only way they can expect to receive a blessing and benefit from the experience. It is said

by the Old Ones that the purer a man becomes, the closer to the Creator he is. This is one of the first rules taught to those who choose to walk the Red Road, and it is also the first basic tenet of the Inipi Ceremony. It is the starting point on the spirit trail, a way of life for those who choose it, or, as I like to say, if the Spirit chooses you. (Bartlett 1998)

Joseph Winter

See also Christianity, Indianization of; Native American Church; Power, Barbareño Chumash; Power, Northwest Coast; Power, Plains; Power, Southeast; Reservations, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Sweatlodge; Termination and Relocation; Vision Quest Rites

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Puhagants

The capacity to effectively engage and direct the forces of *puha (*power) that circulate through all living forces serves as the basis for Numic healing practices. The Numa have always understood that people are born with *puha,* which is unequally distributed among them (Stoffle et al. 2002, 19) and most heavily concentrated in individual *Puhagants* ("where power sits," or "shaman"), sacred objects, spiritual beings, and sacred sites within the landscape (Powell 1877, 14–15; Stoffle et al. 1997; Bonvillain 2001, 294). This unequal distribution of power may be explained in part by the fact that there is no real death among the Numa, only the transformation of life forces from one state to another. Accordingly, a Numic medicine man could return to the earth in the form of a hummingbird, while retaining the power of a great shaman. In addition to obtaining power through birth, *Puhagants* receive gifts of *puha* through dreams and vision questing (Whitley 1998, 15).

The Numa have traditionally held *Puhagants* in high esteem. As mediators between the phenomenal world and the unseen forces of the universe, *Puhagants* have often used their powers to effect healing and to restore balance within individuals, whole communities, and the living physical environment, which includes diverse landforms, minerals, plants, animals, water sources, and even the air that people breathe. Restoring balance may occur through multiple acts that range from the healing of sick people to the control of the weather (ibid., 15). Because of this extraordinary responsibility, many *Puhagants* were killed

during the encroachment period when their interventions failed to keep pace with the rapid proliferation of diseases introduced by Euro-Americans.

In times of hardship as well as times of peace, *Puhagants* have served as crucibles of knowledge for the Numic people. A cornerstone of this knowledge is an understanding of the interconnectedness of all life forms. When John Wesley Powell interviewed Northern Paiutes from western Nevada in the 1870s, the Paiutes explained that the Numic people are the progeny of the *Numwad* (Fowler and Fowler 1971). These mythic ancestors spoke the Numic language and assumed many physical forms, including rocks, trees, sagebrush, birds, and human beings (for living rocks, see Lowie 1924, 24–26; Stoffle et al. 2002, 19). In addition to shamans, Powell described two other forms of *Puhagants,* which included prophets of peace such as White Cloud from the Panamints of western Nevada, and witches, who may practice sorcery for evil purposes (Powell 1877, 14).

The *Puhagant* of today and yesterday is a gifted medicine person who wields the capacity to engage multiple life forms directly, ranging from power spots within the landscape to plants, animals, and the diverse forces of nature. Among the Shoshone, for example, it is understood that the hummingbird contains the spirit of a medicine man, and alliances between *Puhagants* and hummingbirds were not uncommon. Similarly, one Northern Paiute medicine man told Powell that he would talk about an illness until a hummingbird sang a song in his head. Thereafter he would begin the curing (Fowler and Fowler 1971). The *Numa* also called the helpful south wind *Pa'-vaiyo-ga sha'-gai-yu,* or Hummingbird (ibid.), and Corbin Harney, a contemporary Western Shoshone spiritual leader, has written extensively about his special relationship with hummingbirds (Harney 1995).

American Indians outside the Great Basin also attribute a sacred role to the hummingbird. In the oral traditions of the Hopi, who have two Paiute clans, it was the hummingbird that helped the Hopi to survive along their journey from the first to the fourth world. "One day a hummingbird came to some people working in their fields and said, 'My master, Maa'saw, Ruler of the Upper World, Caretaker of the Place of the Dead and the Owner of Fire, observed that your crops do not grow well because you have no warmth. I was sent to teach you the secret of warmth'" (Courlander 1971).

Among American Indians more generally, the hummingbird formed a sacred alliance to tobacco plants that are commonly associated with healing. Johnstone (2002) writes,

> The Humming Bird is the Tobacco Bird. In many Native cultures throughout the Americas, the Hummingbird has traditionally been associated with Tobacco plants as guardians and cultivators, earning them fame throughout the world and honourable

> names; Tobacco Birds, Medicine Birds, Doctor Birds, Birds of Magic, Rain Makers, Life Givers, Sun Catchers and more. . . . Wherever Tobacco grows the Hummingbird lives. These birds and the Tobacco plants are so related, that should the Tobacco plant die, so would the Hummingbird or vice versa. (We have already lost the knowledge carried on the wings of the Hummingbirds that are already extinct.) They share a soul with one and other.

Many *Puhagants* of the Great Basin also share a personal spiritual connection with the bighorn sheep. Archaeologist David Whitley (1998, 13) indicates that "the bighorn sheep is the most common zoomorphic motif at Great Basin sites." He maintains that rock art panels of certain bighorn sheep represent the shaman in a transformed state in which he changes into "his spirit helper *alter ego,* the bighorn" (ibid.).

Using data gathered from independent weathering rind organics, AMS radiocarbon assays, varnish microlamination studies, cation-ratio dating, and ancillary geomorphological data, Whitley confirms that "Great Basin Tradition engravings were made as early as 16,500 B.P." (Whitley et al. 1996). Whitley has also traced a basic ethnographic pattern in far-Western rock art production that involves "the production of rock-art by shamans to depict altered state of consciousness (ASC) experiences of their vision quests and ritual" (Whitley 1998, 14).

By means of birth, vision questing, and dreaming, *Puhagants* acquire powers to be used in "curing, sorcery, weather control, clairvoyance, controlling game animals, finding lost objects, and so on" (ibid., 15). During times of drought and famine, control of the weather was a particularly sought-after form of medicine. Wovoka, the Northern Paiute prophet of the 1890s Ghost Dance, represents a *Puhagant* who specialized in weather control.

During a total eclipse of the sun in 1889, Wovoka received five songs while in a trance state. Each song gave Wovoka a means to re-establish balance in the natural world. James Mooney (1896, 15) "learned that Wovoka has five songs for making rain, the first of which brings on a mist or cloud, the second a snowfall, the third a shower, and the fourth a hard rain or storm, while he sings the fifth song the weather becomes clear." Followers of the Ghost Dance later recalled seeing Wovoka riding a beautiful white horse down a mountain near a celebrated Ghost Dance site. It is probable that this animal served as one of Wovoka's helper animals.

The close relationship developed between a *Puhagant,* animals, and the natural environment manifests through the confluence and concentration of *puha* sources at sacred sites throughout the Great Basin. For example, at Gypsum Cave near Las Vegas, Nevada, where *Puhagants* would regularly go for vision quests, contemporary cultural experts identified a sacred tobacco plant growing out of the rock adjacent to the mouth

of this song cave. The significance of the observation lies in the convergence of potent sources of *puha* in a single location. Today *Puhagants* continue to play a central role in healing individuals, communities, and the physical environment.

Alex K. Carroll and Richard W. Stoffle

See also Dance, Great Basin; Ghost Dance Movement; Oral Traditions; Power Places, Great Basin; Religious Leadership, Great Basin

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Red Power Movement

See American Indian Movement (Red Power Movement)

Religious Leaders, Alaska

With more than 200 Alaska Native nations and 20 major languages, cultural diversity and shortcomings in education often leave Alaska Natives uncertain about who qualifies as a spiritual leader. One element common to all customary definitions of Alaska Native spiritual leaders, however, is the notion of having a mission that goes beyond human endeavors. The men and women listed below represent only a fraction of those identified as spiritual through oral tradition, positions held, or election. They all conducted their lives and maintained religious traditions in a matrix of cultural theories, paradigms, ontologies, and epistemologies.

Ka-shishk (Tlingit)

One of the earliest Alaska Native spiritual leaders in recorded history is Ka-shishk, who is thought of as the greatest of the seven Tlingit men to inherit the title of Chief Shakes. He lived sometime in the sixteenth century, before Euro-Americans arrived in Alaska, as detailed by Tlingit oral tradition. The southern end of southeast Alaska has long been a trading, meeting, and war zone of the Tsimshian, Haida, and Tlingit nations. Several generations ago, at the end of a war in what is now British Columbia, the Nisq'a chief We-Shakes, in a move to avoid the humiliation of becoming a slave to the victorious Tlingit chief, removed his "killer whale" hat and placed it on his enemy's head—that of Tlingit chief Gushklin of the Stikine River near Wrangell. As he placed the killer whale hat on Nan-yan-yi Gushklin's head, the Nisq'a chief gave the Tlingit leader his own name, "We-Shakes." For unclear reasons, the title has since been shortened to "Shakes." The position maintains traditional Tlingit spiritual, military, and political dimensions.

This title has passed from Chief Shakes I to the present-day Chief Shakes

VI according to the customary laws of the Tlingit: through men of the maternal line. Chief Shakes I died in a smallpox epidemic soon after receiving the title. He was succeeded by his brother, Ka-shishk. Ka-shishk was renowned because of his benevolence and consideration for his people, thus living the paradigmatic life of Tlingit religious traditions as a "crystal person." He died after a long reign when he was killed by a falling tree on his return from a trading expedition on the Stikine River. Indicating his stature at the time of his death, many slaves were sacrificed at his funeral in order to serve him in the next world. (Excerpts from a pamphlet first printed in 1940 by the *Wrangell Sentinel* and written by E. L. Keithahn.)

While Ka-shishk and his successors met, or attempted to meet, expectations set on them as chiefs through ancient Tlingit notions of power, human morality, and the numinous, contemporary Tlingit spiritual leaders have had to face the challenges of postcolonial suppression of indigenous religious practices. Some of them, like Walter Soboleff, have combined formal Christian training with equally formal Tlingit customs in order to meet the spiritual needs of their followers. On the other hand, some spiritual leaders strive to meet the needs of justice beyond their own cultural boundaries. One such leader was Elizabeth Peratrovich. Still others, like Ethel Lund, have recognized the practical importance of Tlingit theories of spiritual power with respect to medicine, and they use their roles as leaders to bring these important elements into the clinics and hospitals of southeastern Alaska.

Walter T'aaw Chán Soboleff (Tlingit)
Walter Soboleff was born on November 14, 1908, in Killisnoo, Alaska, to Anna Hunter Soboleff (Shaaxeidi Tláa), a Tlingit woman, and Alexander (Sasha) Soboleff, of Russian and German descent. Dr. Soboleff's common Tlingit name is T'aaw Chán, and his ceremonial name is Kaajaakwti. He is of the Aanx'aakhittaan house (People of the Center of the Village House) of the L'eineidi (Dog Salmon) clan in the Raven moiety. Perhaps inspired by his father, who was a Russian Orthodox priest, Dr. Soboleff pursued his interest in Christianity at the University of Dubuque in Iowa, where he received a bachelor of arts degree in 1937 and a bachelor of divinity degree in 1940. In that same year he was ordained as a Presbyterian minister, and he served at the Memorial Presbyterian Church in Juneau for twenty-seven years. In addition, he served as chaplain for the Alaska National Guard, achieving the rank of lieutenant colonel prior to his retirement. Dr. Soboleff received an honorary doctor of divinity degree from the University of Dubuque in 1952, and in 1968 he received an honorary doctor of humanities degree from the University of Alaska at Fairbanks. From 1970 to 1974 he headed the Alaska Native Studies Program in Fairbanks. At the age of ninety-five, Dr. Soboleff returned briefly to Fairbanks from his

home in Juneau to be the 2003 commencement speaker at the graduation ceremony of the University of Alaska at Fairbanks.

Dr. Soboleff married Genevieve Ross, a Haida woman. Genevieve, born December 17, 1914, died on January 27, 1986. She and her husband had four children: Janet Soboleff Burke, Sasha, Walter Jr., and Ross. Dr. Soboleff married Stella Atkinson, Tsimshian, in 1997. For more information, consult Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1994).

Elizabeth Jean Wanamaker Peratrovich (Tlingit)

Although most would not consider Elizabeth Jean Wanamaker Peratrovich (1911–1958), whose Tlingit name was Kaaxgal.aat, a spiritual leader, her impact on Alaska has a strong spiritual component for all Alaskans. She was born and reared in Petersburg, in southeast Alaska, having been born to the Lukaax.adi clan in the Raven moiety and adopted in early childhood by Andrew Wanamaker of the Kaagwaantaan clan (Eagle moiety). She married Roy Peratrovich in 1931 in Washington state, and in 1941 they moved to Juneau, where they discovered that racial discrimination in Alaska prevented them from buying or renting certain homes and that "No Native" signs were often displayed in store fronts. Both Elizabeth and her husband initiated efforts toward an Anti-Discrimination Act in the Alaska Territorial Legislature in 1943, although Elizabeth is credited with the testimony that moved legislators to pass the Anti-Discrimination Act on February 16, 1945, a day that has since been named Elizabeth Peratrovich Day by former Alaska state governor Tony Knowles. Although her life was relatively short (she died in 1958 of cancer), memory of her lives on in annual ceremonies, plays, stories, and other media events.

Ethel Aanwoogeex' Shtoo.aak Lund (Tlingit)

Another Tlingit leader whom many might not view as spiritual is Ethel Aanwoogeex' Shtoo.aak Lund. Lund was born in Wrangell, Alaska, to Carl Lund of Sweden and Maartha Ukas Lund of Wrangell. She is of the Tlingit nation, Raven moiety, Frog clan. Granddaughter of Thomas Ukas, a totem carver and Tlingit historian, Dr. Lund has three children: David, Diane, and Leah. Dr. Lund suffered with severe illness as a child, and she was not expected to survive to adulthood. But survive she did, and with determination to enter the health field. She attended the Good Samaritan School of Nursing in Portland, Oregon. Throughout her lifetime she has combined Tlingit cultural methods of healing with Western medicine. One of the founders and president of the Southeast Alaska Regional Health Consortium (SEARHC), she has overseen its regional operations, which include the Mt. Edgecumbe Hospital in Sitka, the outpatient medical facilities in Juneau, in Haines, and on Prince of Wales Island, and the village-based health programs

in outlying communities. To retain Tlingit cultural doctrines of medicine, she established an elder's council as a management advisory group.

Dr. Lund served as chair of the Alaska Native Health Board from 1978 to 1981, and she developed a landmark Memorandum of Agreement with the Indian Health Service in 1978. She served as chair of the Alaska Tribal Health Directors and vice chair of the National Indian Health Board. In addition, she served on President Carter's Mental Health Commission. Dr. Lund served as grand president of the Alaska Native Sisterhood (ANS) Grand Camp, as well as local president of the ANS Camps 1 and 70. In 1984 she was selected Woman of the Year by the Business and Professional Women, Juneau Chapter, making her the first Alaska Native woman to receive that honor. In 2001 the University of Alaska, Anchorage, offered Dr. Lund an honorary doctor of laws degree. Dr. Lund has a life of service in the field of health care to Alaska Native people, and a commitment to retaining cultural input in present-day programs.

Maniilauraq, or Maniilaq (Inupiaq)

There have been many other Alaska Native spiritual leaders in other regions of Alaska, each following paths that meet the needs of both their times and their cultural traditions. One of the best known of Alaska's spiritual leaders is Maniilauraq, or Maniilaq as he was more commonly called, an Inupiaq man of the early 1800s. He came from the Upper Kobuk region of northwestern Alaska off Kotzebue Sound near a place called Qala. Born to an Inupiaq woman named Qupilguuraq and a father whose name has been lost, Maniilaq was the oldest of three children. He was celebrated as a great prophet, and the Maniilaq Association (a nonprofit agency sponsored by the Northwest Arctic Native Association [NANA]) is named for him. His many prophecies included the passing or change in the powers of the *agnatkut_* (the Inupiaq word for medicine people), as well as travel on water without the use of paddles and in boats through the air.

Maniilaq and his wife had two sons, Uqquutaq and Itluun, as well as a daughter, Piqpukpak. According to oral tradition, Maniilaq traveled throughout the Kotzebue Sound area telling people of his prophecies. Before the arrival of Euro-Americans in this region (1850s), he disappeared without a trace (Terry and Anderson 2001). Legends about his life and prophecies are still an important part of Inupiat education.

Dr. Della Puyuk Keats (Inupiat)

A half-century later, in 1906, the late Dr. Della (Puyuk) Keats was born near Maniilaq's homeland on the Noatak River, north of the Kotzebue Sound. Keats served the people of Alaska for more than sixty years as a bridge between modern medical techniques and traditional practices. Her hands were her primary diagnostic tool. By touching the area of pain on a patient, Dr. Keats could help by locating the trouble, describing

it, performing a curative maneuver or prescribing herbal remedies, or by using massage or exercise. Her hands "were so strong they could move the powerful muscles of a man who worked all his life. They were delicate enough to feel the walls of an organ inside a person's body. They were so exacting they could move an umbilical cord wrapped around the neck of a baby inside a mother's womb" (Mauer 1986, B-1).

In the 1970s, Della Keats spent many hours recording stories by Inupiat elders along the Kobuk River in northern Alaska, as well as in the Senior Center in Kotzebue, where she was a board member. When she was in her seventies, she worked for Maniilaq Association (the nonprofit organization in Kotzebue named for the nineteenth-century Inupiaq prophet) as a healer and teacher. Her teachings led to the development of the Della Keats Summer Enrichment Program at the University of Alaska, Anchorage, a scholarly course designed to help Native students study for health-related professions. Della Keats received an honorary doctorate of humane letters in health sciences from the University of Alaska, Anchorage, in 1983. She died in March 1986 in Kotzebue.

Albert Edward Tritt (Chandalar Gwich'in Athabascan)

To the east and south of the Inupiat of northern Alaska are northern Athabascans, of which there are eleven language areas, and at least as many traditional nations. Near the Canada/Alaska border, a well-known Chandalar Gwich'in Athabascan medicine man known as Albert Edward Tritt was born around 1880 near Smoke Mountain, in a place close to Vashraii K'oo, or Arctic Village. He was born about twenty years after the Canadian Anglican missionary Robert McDonald began translating the Bible into Takudh, an eastern Gwich'in dialect. McDonald finished his translation in 1898, when Tritt was very young. By carefully comparing the Takudh Bible with the King James version, Albert Tritt taught himself to speak English in what Robert McKennan (1965, 86) described as a "truly biblical manner"; he referring to women as "damsels" and "virgins" when McKennan visited him in 1962 (ibid.).

At some time in the early 1900s, Tritt converted to Christianity, and he brought copies of McDonald's Bible and hymnals from Gwichyaa Zhee (Fort Yukon) to Vashraii K'oo in order to teach Gwich'in children to read and write. One of his greatest projects was to ensure that the people of Vashraii K'oo had enough food; at that time they were enduring terrible epidemics, loss of viable hunters, and long periods of starvation. Tritt's project, which took several years, ended in 1914 with the construction of a long caribou fence at the base of one of the nearby mountains. The fence, built according to traditional Gwich'in standards, was used to snare caribou of specific sizes on their migration routes through the mountain passes. Traces of the fence are still in place. Besides the caribou fence, Tritt also had villagers

construct a small chapel in Vashraii K'oo. The chapel was finished in 1922. Since trees of sufficient size are not abundant in the area, logs had to be hauled from as far away as twenty miles from the village. His last proposal, to cut a wide, straight road to Gwichyaa Zhee, met with too much opposition in the community; it was never completed.

Despite Albert Tritt's conversion to Christianity, many of his activities as a leader in northeastern Alaska followed traditional Athabascan religious traditions, insofar as he believed that his missions were directed by sacred forces. However, although he had many followers, other spiritual leaders in the community eventually withdrew their support of his visions and mandates. Tritt's legacy is carefully guarded by his descendants. He compiled an early Gwich'in lexicon, and he wrote the story of his life in several ledgers that are accessible for study only by the Venetie Tribal Government (IRA).

While Tritt's knowledge of Christianity was primarily self-taught and informed by prophecies and visions, other Gwich'in leaders of that era were educated, and often raised, by an Episcopalian missionary—Hudson Stuck. One such was John Fredson (1895–1945), whom Stuck hoped would become a future Native leader and missionary. Fredson, who came from a community a little to the south of Tritt's birthplace, became successful in creating public facilities, such as schools, a medical clinic, mail service, and finally a reservation. Hearing of new federal legislation to create reserve lands for Indians, Fredson recognized the potential and solicited support from Gwichyaa Zheh, Viihtaii, Vashraii K'oo, and Zheh Gwatsal. As a consequence of his efforts, the 1.8-million-acre Venetie Reserve was officially created in 1943 (MacKenzie 1985, 170). John Fredson died of pneumonia two years later in 1945, at the age of fifty. He is venerated in his community through oral tradition, schools, and other public facilities that bear his name, and in the ethnographies of Cornelius Osgood.

Chief Andrew Isaac (Tanacross Athabascan)

Chief Andrew Isaac was born in 1898 in Ketchumstock, Alaska, near the Canada/Alaska border, 70 miles south of the Yukon River and south of the Gwich'in nation. He lived there with his family until 1917, when an epidemic claimed the lives of many people in his family and community. The survivors moved to Mansfield Lake, now thought of as the spiritual home of the Tanacross Athabascan people, for whom Chief Andrew Isaac is a beloved ancestor. In 1942 the entire community moved to Tanana Crossing, now called Tanacross. Isaac learned English and worked for the U.S. military during the 1940s as a construction worker; later he worked in coal mines near Eagle and Chicken Creek and in gold mines at Fortymile.

In the years following World War II Andrew Isaac became a leader of the Tanacross Athabascans and traveled

often to Washington, D.C., where he advocated for personal development and education. He became the chief of the United Crow Band (one of the six matrilineages of the Tanacross people), holding that position for fifty-nine years. In 1972 he was named a traditional chief of the interior Athabascans, a role that he maintained until his death in 1991 at the age of ninety-two. The Alaska Native medical clinic in Fairbanks is named for him. In 1979 he received an honorary doctorate in humanities from the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, and in 1990 he was named Citizen of the Year by the Alaska Federation of Natives.

Howard Luke (Tanana Athabascan)

Fairbanks, one of the three large population areas of Alaska, is home to the Tanana Athabascans, and now it is home to Howard Luke. Luke is one of the most influential spiritual leaders in interior Alaska. The Howard Luke Academy, an alternative public high school, is named after him. Born in Linder Lake, a Tanana Athabascan community near Fairbanks, Alaska, Howard was raised in a traditional subsistence way of life. Although he was unable to finish a Western education at St. Marks boarding school in Nenana, his mother taught him to read and write at home while she and other relatives taught him the Tanana Athabascan cultural ways.

Dr. Luke developed the Bear Child Gaalee'ya Camp on grounds of the original Old Chena Village, just outside the Fairbanks city limits. People from throughout Alaska, and some from other cultures and nations, go there to learn Athabascan ways as well as to refresh themselves spiritually. He is particularly attentive to the needs of children and has achieved remarkable results with alcoholic and drug-addicted children, as well as with the children of addicts. In acknowledgment of his work, he received the Alaska Social Worker of the Year Award in 1993, and an honorary doctorate of humane letters from the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, in 1996. In addition to his work at Gaalee'ya Camp, Dr. Luke volunteers in classrooms at all levels of education, teaching the Tanana Athabascan language and culture. His snowshoes, sleds, fish wheels, and other traditional tools form an important part of his lectures and discussions.

Less is known about southwestern precolonial Aleut spiritual leaders than those from anywhere else in Alaska, since Russian Orthodoxy has become the religion of choice throughout that extensive coastal and islandic region. Two linguistic regions compose the Aleut region, and within them are several smaller nations. The two languages are Unangan and Alutiiq (also known as Sugstun). The nations include the Unangan of the Aleutian Chain, the Unangan of the Pribiloff Islands, the Alutiiq of Kodiak Island, the Alutiiq of Prince William Sound, and the Alutiiq of Cook Inlet. Despite the devastating effects of history, Unangan religious traditions are known and taught to young people. These include respect for elders, recitation of

Northeast

As with most Native American groups, Northeastern tribal groups varied greatly. However, the region has a fairly unified cultural history, resulting in some important similarities across tribal groups.

Since 1000 BCE, the areas encompassing what are now the states east of the Mississippi River, north of the Mason-Dixon line, and bordered to the north by the Great Lakes and the east by the Atlantic Ocean have been occupied by relatively sedentary agricultural communities. Corn has been cultivated by the region's Native peoples from the Adena (1000 BCE–200 CE) and Hopewell (300–700 CE) periods of prehistory, to the arrival of Europeans to the area in the early 1500s. In fact, the United States owes much of its genesis to the interactions between the first European settlers and the Native peoples of the Northeast.

The mound-building Adena and Hopewell cultures contributed a regionally interactive collection of independent nation-states to the Native history of the area, culminating in the Mississippian influence, mostly limited to the southern portion of the area, in which hierarchical societies overseen by religious leaders dominated. From the north came more aggressive hunting cultures, which vied for control of the fertile and game-rich Mississippi and Ohio river valleys. This can be seen as a model for the Native history of the region: a tension between the tribal groups adhering to the more sedentary agricultural aspects of the southern influence and those that carried on the hunting traditions of their northern tribal cultures.

By the time European contact was made with the northeast region, Algonquin-speaking tribal groups were moving into the region and putting pressure on the more sedentary Iroquoian peoples, a situation that both the English and the French immigrants exploited for their own purposes. The Iroquoian tribes generally occupied the area that is now upstate New York and the lower Great Lakes, growing pumpkins, beans, squash, and corn in the extremely fertile soil. Algonquin speakers tended to settle near the coast in what is now New England, hunting and trapping inland and fishing at the coast. The arrival of Europeans increased the tendency for the Algonkin tribes to move west into Iroquoian regions, displacing those tribal

continues

Northeast (continued)

groups and prompting the creation of what came to be known as the Iroquois Confederacy, a formal cohort of tribal groups in which each tribe had representation.

Religiously, the northern tribal groups tend to maintain an array of spiritual beings associated with the tasks of hunting cultures, with religious protocols, the proper behaviors dictated by the beings, dominating much of daily life. To the south, seasonal cycles associated with the agricultural needs of the people take precedence, owing to the need for continued fertility in the land. Both the Algonkin groups of the north and the Iroquoians to the south participate in annual or semiannual memorial ceremonies for important leaders who have died. These regular ceremonies serve to provide centripetal focus where the tendency is to favor difference and independence and to allow for the meeting of trade and potential marriage partners and the formation of other types of important allegiances.

The Native peoples who inhabited the region at the time of contact sustained perhaps the longest and most intense pressure to conform to the colonialist project, from the Plymouth colony and French fur trappers of the sixteenth century, to colonial law and French-English hostilities, to America's war for independence from England.

usually shamanic oral traditions, and medicinal knowledge.

Anfesia Shapsnikoff (Aleut)

Among the Aleuts' many respected spiritual leaders is Anfesia Shapsnikoff (1900–1973), who was born at Atka. Her father, Avakum Lazarov, was from Atka, while her mother, Mary Prokopeuff, was from the island of Attu near the western end of the Aleutian Chain. When Anfesia was six her mother took her and her brother John to Unalaska, a large island near the mainland. Anfesia's mother died in 1919 during the flu epidemic, following her father's death in 1914. In that year Anfesia married the Russian Orthodox deacon Michael Tutliakoff, who died in 1934 during the wreck of the *Unmak Native*. A few years later she married Sergie Shapsnikoff. Anfesia learned to read and write English, Unangan, and Russian, highly prized skills in Unalaska as well as throughout the Aleut region. She was ordained a reader of the Orthodox Church and often conducted services when the priest was absent. Throughout her lifetime she taught and promoted Unangan

culture, and she was called on to lecture in California, Arizona, Oregon, and the Yukon Territory of Canada. Her pattern for a child's rainproof *kamleika* (hooded jacket) made of young sea lion or seal intestine is included in *Unugulux Tunusangin* (Hudson 1992).

Peter Kalifornsky (Dena'ina Athabascan)

Like so many other Alaska Natives from Alaska's southern coastal area, Athabascan leader Peter Kalifornsky (1911–1993) would not have considered himself a spiritual leader, but he is included here because of his extensive knowledge about Dena'ina Athabascan philosophy and culture. He was born on October 12, 1911, at Kalifornsky Village on the Cook Inlet bluff on the Kenai Peninsula, in south-central Alaska, at a place he called Unhghenesditnu ("farthest creek over"). His mother, Agrafena Chickalusion Kalifornsky, died when he was two years old, and he was raised by his father, Nick, his aunts, and an uncle. Kalifornsky spent most of his life in Kenai, working at various construction- and fishing-related jobs, as well as subsistence hunting, trapping, and fishing. Although he attending public school only through fifth grade, he worked closely for almost twenty years with linguists Kari and Boraas to record and study his language and the oral traditions of his ancestors. In addition to his work on Dena'ina cultural traditions, Peter Kalifornsky was an accomplished poet in both English and Dena'ina. He was an inspiration to many generations of Athabascan people. For more information, see *K'tl'egh'i Sukdu, A Dena'ina Legacy: The Collected Writings of Peter Kalifornsky* (Kalifornsky 1991).

The Alaska Native spiritual leaders named in these pages are but a few of the hundreds of people who have informed the lives and history in every Alaskan community. Some, such as the nineteenth-century Inupiaq *agnatkut_* Manilaq, never saw Euro-Americans but told of the cataclysmic changes that would occur because of their imminent arrival in northwestern Alaska. Another, Ethel Lund of southeastern Alaska, became a spiritual leader by virtue of her survival from a terrible illness in childhood and her frequent testimony to her belief in the extraordinary powers of traditional Tlingit medicine in combination with Western knowledge. Still others, such as Paul John, traditional chief of Tooksook Bay in southwestern Alaska, and Peter Kalifornsky of south-central Alaska, have devoted much of their lives to explaining the spiritual roots of their cultural practices. In so doing, they have become leaders in spirit, political action, public and traditional education, as well as language.

Phyllis Ann Fast

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Yup'iq; Missionization, Alaska; Oral Traditions, Haida; Oral Traditions, Northern Athabascan; Oral Traditions, Tlingit; Oral Traditions, Yupiaq; Potlatch; Potlatch, Northern Athabascan

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Religious Leaders, Basin

See Winnemucca, Sarah

Religious Leaders, California

What constitutes "religion," and likewise, what constitutes a "religious leader," is an important question when discussing American Indian spiritual and cultural leaders. The individuals mentioned in this essay might not all be what many anthropologists would call shamans. Many of these people are doctors, writers, educators, political activists, basket weavers, mothers, and fathers. What they share is a common commitment to preserving the traditional lifeways and spiritual practices of their people. Spirituality takes many forms: prayers offered when collecting plants for weaving a basket, healing a sick child, or leading people into war. These individuals are important leaders because they have worked to maintain a continuity with traditional California Indian culture, and they carry those traditions into the present. What follows are a few brief biographies of some important cultural and spiritual leaders in Native California. This collection is by no means inclusive. Many, many more individuals should have been included. This is but a small selection of some of the central figures.

Elsie Allen (Pomo)

Born in 1899, Elsie Allen was a renowned Pomo basket weaver and cultural expert. She was active in the Pomo Women's Club, which worked to provide financial and social support for individuals and families within the Pomo community. She took up basket weaving at the age of sixty-two, having been trained by her mother. Her book *Pomo Basketry: A Supreme Art for the Weaver* was published in 1972. She was a primary consultant for

the Warm Springs Cultural Resources Study, and she received an honorary doctorate of divinity for her work as a tribal scholar and basket maker. She was the first to teach the art of Pomo basket making to people outside the Pomo community, breaking with an older practice but ensuring that the art of this tradition would be known and respected throughout the country and the world.

Curly Headed Doctor (Modoc)

Born in 1890 on the Modoc Reservation, Curly Headed Doctor was a powerful spiritual leader among his community who played an instrumental role in the Modoc War of 1873. Curly Headed Doctor was believed to have the ability to protect his followers from death and injury, and to draw a line that the enemy could not cross. Through his instigation the Modoc pursued a course of war against the U.S. Army that ultimately failed.

During the 1860s the U.S. government was aggressively seeking the separation of Native people from their traditional homelands and their consolidation on reservations. The United States sought to place the Modoc on the Klamath Reservation along the California-Oregon border. The Modoc people at first refused to be separated from their ancestral homelands and the spiritual and cultural traditions that they contained. When they were later relocated, the Modoc found themselves as unwanted guests among the Klamath, who were themselves struggling to survive on a reduced land-

Curly Headed Doctor (Modoc) was a powerful spiritual leader whose followers believed he had the ability to protect them from death and injury. 1873. (Louis Heller/Library of Congress)

base with limited resources. Discouraged by reservation life, Captain Jack, a Modoc tribal leader, left the reservation and returned to Lost River near Tule Lake in the Modoc's ancestral homelands. Delegations from the U.S. Army, led by Superintendent Meacham, sought to convince them to leave. While Superintendent Meacham was speaking with Captain Jack, Curley Headed Doctor stood and announced that the Modoc would not go back to the reservation. At that sentiment shifted, and Captain Jack and the rest of the community likewise refused to leave Lost River. Captain Jack preferred to resist nonviolently, but Cur-

ley Headed Doctor advocated violent resistance and encouraged the Modoc to kill the army delegation.

Meacham and his party called for reinforcements, and the Modoc fled to the lava beds on the south shore of Tule Lake, where they established a stronghold. The army was unable to dislodge them. General R. S. Canby sought to establish peace, and he met with Captain Jack. At Curley Headed Doctor's instigation, Captain Jack killed Canby. The army responded by sending in fifteen hundred additional troops. Curley Headed Doctor told his followers that the army would be unable to cross a tule rope that he painted red and laid around the stronghold. He promised as well that none would be injured by gunfire. He then led the community in a night-long circle dance around a central medicine pole and medicine flag, in preparation for battle. On April 15, Curley Headed Doctor's power was discredited when the army crossed the threshold of the compound and a Modoc man was killed by a cannonball. Curley Headed Doctor surrendered on May 23, 1873, and soon after led the army to Captain Jack's hideout. He was exiled to Indian Territory in present-day Oklahoma, where he lived until his death in 1890.

Delfina Cuero (Diegueño Kumeyaaye)

Born around 1900 in the San Diego area in the Diegueno Kumeyaaye nation, Cuero was one of the few to survive the forced removal of her people. Having lived on the land for thousands of years, her family's rights to ownership were denied with the arrival of the Spanish missions and later the Euro-American settlers. They were frequently forced to move as more and more settlers entered the area. Cuero moved with her family to Baja California, where she lived a difficult life. With the assistance of Florence Shipek, Cuero wrote her biography, preserving knowledge of the traditions and natural surroundings of her Kumeyaaye people. She also narrated the difficulties faced by Native women and children in a changing world characterized by poverty, inequality, wage labor, and abusive homes. She was able to establish her right to U.S. citizenship through the publication of her book, and she returned to live in the San Diego area. She died in 1972.

Doctor Charley (Modoc)

Born around 1880, Doctor Charley played an important role as a Modoc spiritual leader and healer, empowered by spirit powers of dog and frog. Through his spiritual abilities he was able to discern an illness affecting many Modoc infants. Children's hearts, he explained, were linked to an object in the supernatural realm. This caused their hearts to become irritated. A nightmare of either parent prior to the infant's birth could cause this ailment. Doctor Charley was able to cure the infant by means of a ceremony involving the infant's entire family, who grasped a cord representing that which bound the infant to the spiritual realm. During an era of rapid change

characterized by reservations, disease and malnourishment, and the loss of traditional cultural practices, Doctor Charley's mode of curing met an important need. It enabled parents and families to come together to create healthy infants. Many California Indians during this time suffered from the spiritual and cultural trauma of changing ways of life. Doctor Charley's cure was a means of strengthening the bonds between families and communities during this difficult time.

Doctor George (Modoc)

Born in the mid-nineteenth century, Doctor George was an important spiritual leader and healer among his Modoc people. He was initiated as a healer during a traditional five-night ceremony attended by hundreds of people. Doctor George was widely known for his abilities to cure and also to change the weather. A local white cattle rancher asked him to pray for rain, and Doctor George was successful. The cattleman paid him for his services with money and food. He was a leader of the Dream Dance, a local variation of the 1870s Ghost Dance brought to the area from the Paiute. His wife, Sally George, who also served as a singer, as well as his son, Usee George, assisted him in all his ceremonial activities. (For more on the Dream Dance, see "Ghost Dance Movement," and "Dreamers and Prophets.")

Domenico (Luiseño)

Born in the mid-nineteenth century on the Rincon Reservation, Domenico was a powerful Luiseño spiritual leader and healer. He trained with his father, who was also a powerful healer, and began to receive power visions early in his life. Domenico was known to have the ability to hear conversations taking place miles away, to control the weather, and to be an effective and powerful healer. When healing his patients he would take on their symptoms, sharing in their suffering. He was able to communicate with powerful curing and disease-causing spirits and to effect cures through that communication. People of all ethnic and racial backgrounds sought out his assistance in curing physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual illnesses. He maintained an amiable relationship with Euro-American physicians and referred his patients to local doctors whom he trusted. He saw traditional and Western medicine as working cooperatively, and he had great success with his patients. He did not charge for his curing services, though appreciative patients often offered him gifts. He died in 1963.

Florence Jones, Pui-lu-li-met (Wintu)

Born in 1909 within the Wintu community, Florence Jones is widely known for her work as a doctor proficient in the Wintu tradition. In her early childhood Jones encountered powerful spirit powers, and at seventeen she entered her first trance. During such trances the spirit powers of animals, deceased relatives, and the powers inherent in sacred places would come and speak with her, teaching her songs and rituals for curing.

She was able to diagnose illness as these spirit powers worked through her hands, as well as locate lost objects. She was also a skilled herbalist. She trained several other Wintu in the traditional healing practices of her people. Florence Jones held public ceremonials at Mount Shasta for many years before retiring in 1995.

Ruby Modesto, Nesha (Desert Cahuilla)

Born in 1913 to her Desert Cahuilla father and Serrano mother, Modesto grew up speaking the Cahuilla language and learning the traditions of her father's people. She received her spirit helper, the eagle (Ahswit), when she was ten years old. As a young child she entered into a deep trance-sleep that lasted several days. It required the work of a traditional Cahuilla healer to bring her out of her sleep. She chose to devote her life to *pul,* the traditional spiritual practice of her Cahuilla people. As a healer she was widely known for her ability to cure people made ill by demonic influences. She was a teacher of her Native language and guest lecturer at colleges and universities. She also wrote a book, *Not for Innocent Ears: Spiritual Traditions of a Desert Cahuilla Medicine Woman.* Modesto lived on the Martinez Reservation until her death in 1980.

Julia Parker (Pomo)

Born in 1919, Julia Parker is widely known for her work as a Pomo basket weaver and cultural expert. She reared four children and helped to rear two granddaughters and seven grandsons. She worked as cultural demonstrator for Yosemite National Park, educating the public as well as future generations of Pomo children in the art of California Indian basketry. She studied with many well-known California Indian basket makers, including Carrie Bethel and Minnie Mike (Mono Lake Paiute and Southern Sierra Miwok); Mabel McKay (Cache Creek Pomo); Molly Jackson (Yokavo Pomo); Ida Bishop (Mono Lake Paiute); and Elsie Allen (Cloverdale Pomo). She has been instrumental in the preservation of Yosemite Miwok and Paiute traditions. Julia Parker has taught demonstration classes at national parks, museums, colleges, and the Smithsonian in Washington, D.C.

Somersal, Laura (Wappo/Pomo)

Born in 1892, Laura Somersal (Wappo and Dry Creek Pomo) grew to become a valued cultural expert, hand game player, and internationally known basket weaver and teacher among the Native communities of Sonoma County. Somersal was a linguistic expert, fluent in Wappo (her first language) and several other Indian dialects, as well as English, Russian, and Spanish. She began her training as a basket maker when she was only eight or nine years old, studying with her paternal uncle Jack Woho and later with her sister-in-law. During her lifetime she lectured on Pomo and Wappo cultural traditions and basketry techniques at colleges and universities throughout California. Her work as a

cultural and linguistic expert made possible the preservation of the Wappo language, and she coauthored a Wappo-English dictionary. When the Army Corps of Engineers proposed to flood an area where Wappo people traditionally gathered basketry materials (present-day Lake Sonoma), Somersal led efforts to transplant those native plants to safer locations. Along with her brother George and her mother, Mary Eli, Somersal collaborated with Harold Driver to write *Wappo Ethnography* (Driver 1936).

Lucy Parker Telles (Miwok/Mono Lake Paiute)

Born around 1870, Lucy Park Telles would become a well-known expert in the art of California Indian basketry. By the time she was in her forties she had earned the reputation as the finest weaver in the Yosemite region. She introduced new designs, which other weavers soon began following. She worked for many years as cultural demonstrator and weaver for the Yosemite Valley National Park Service. She produced hundreds of baskets during her lifetime and was instrumental in passing on this important aspect of traditional California Indian cultural life.

Toypurina, Regina Josefa Toypurina (Gabrieliño)

Born around 1760 in the area of present-day Long Beach, California, Toypurina was an important spiritual and political leader for her Gabrieliño people. The daughter of a Gabrieliño chief, she was widely known and feared among her people as a powerful spiritual leader and ceremonial practitioner. Toypurina was believed to have the power to kill as well as to cure, and she was considered a powerful threat to the invading Spaniards. She was able to divine the future, protect her people through the use of a sacred bundle, as well as exert control over the weather. Through the use of datura, or jimsonweed, Toypurina was able to enter the supernatural realm, communing with spirits and gaining supernatural power. On October 25, 1785, when she was only twenty-five, she helped to lead a rebellion against San Gabriel Mission. As a spiritual authority acknowledged by her own tribe as well as other local tribes, she was sought out by tribal leaders and warriors for her protection and empowerment in their attack on the mission. By means of her spiritual power, Toypurina was to kill the soldiers and padres, returning local control to the Native people. She entered the mission compound along with a group of warriors, but news of the rebellion had already reached the mission fathers. The group was intercepted and arrested, and fifteen people were taken into custody, including two indigenous chiefs and Nicolas Jo'se, a newly converted neophyte. At her trial, Toypurina severely castigated the Spanish fathers, denouncing them for trespassing on land owned by and sacred to indigenous people. Jo'se likewise spoke out against the Spanish, their prohibitions against the practice of Gabrieliño religious traditions, and their

coerced conversions of Native people. When called before the territorial governor, Pedro Fages, Toypurina reportedly kicked over a stool that had been offered her and proudly acknowledged her part in the rebellion and her anger at the invasive presence of the Spanish. Toypurina was held in custody at the mission until two years later, when she converted to Christianity and was baptized. Shortly thereafter she was pardoned and deported to San Carlos Mission in northern California, where she lived until her death on May 22, 1799, at the San Juan Bautista Mission. Jo'se was imprisoned along with two other rebellion leaders at the San Diego presidio.

Tsupu (Miwok)

Born in 1815 near Petaluma California, Tsupu was fluent in the language and cultural traditions of her Miwok people. She passed on her cultural and linguistic knowledge to her sons Tom and Bill Smith and their families. Thomas Comtechal (Tom Smith) would become an important Coast Miwok spiritual practitioner and healer. Because of her knowledge and successful transmission of that knowledge to her children and descendants, traditional Miwok cultural traditions survive to this day. Her granddaughter Sarah Smith Ballard was the last fluent speaker of Bodega Miwok, and she taught much of her knowledge to her grandson David Peri, Coast Miwok tribal scholar and anthropology professor at Sonoma State University. More than one thousand Native people can trace their ancestry to Tsupu, including David Peri; Bill Smith (former professor and director of American Indian Studies at Sonoma State University); Kathleen Smith (tribal scholar and artist); and Greg Sarris (professor of English, UCLA).

Suzanne J. Crawford

See also Basketry; Ceremony and Ritual, California; Datura; Dreamers and Prophets; Dreams and Visions; Ghost Dance Movement; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; McKay, Mabel; Menstruation and Menarche; Missionization, California; Parrish, Essie; Power, Barbareño Chumash; Reservations, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, California; Termination and Relocation; Vision Quest Rites

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Religious Leaders, Great Lakes

Collectively known as the "Three Fires," the Odawa, Ojibway, and the Potawatomi have lived throughout the Great Lakes region since before the arrival of Europeans, and many of their communities still located in the region cling to traditional religious practices. At the same time, others of the Three Fires' communities have either adopted one form or another of Christianity or syncretized Christian and traditional elements together while maintaining their indigenous identity. In some cases, as they came into contact with new and different Native groups they merged spiritual elements from those other indigenous groups with their own. The best example of that occurred when, as members of the Three Fires moved west, they began to adopt religious traits from the Plains tribes. In general, the traditional religions of the Odawa, Ojibway, and the Potawatomi were not organized to any great degree, and they centered upon shamanism in which individual spiritual leaders chose and trained their successors based upon their individual areas of expertise and insights.

Odawa (Adawe, Odawe, Odawu, Ottawa, Outaouact)

Pontiac (ca. 1720–1769). A traditional Odawa military leader, Pontiac used the Delaware prophet Neolin's revitalization message to organize a military resistance to the British presence in the Great Lakes and Ohio River Valley region, and Pontiac's legacy continued to instill and inspire Odawa religious and cultural identification to the end of the twentieth century and beyond.

In the 1760s, Neolin, a Delaware prophet, began urging the Delaware to return to their traditional ways, which included restoring the proper exchange relationships within the Delaware community, with other tribes, with the natural world, and with their ancestors. He also preached a rejection of Anglo-American culture and urged Native people to resist Anglo-American settlement on ancestral lands. Pontiac took Neolin's message to heart and carried it back to his people. He used it to provide a spiritual foundation for an elaborate plan to unite all of the tribes in the Great Lakes and Ohio River Valley region to attack and destroy the British garrisons there and then drive Anglo-Americans back beyond the Appalachian Mountains. All but two of Great Britain's fortifications, Detroit and Pittsburgh, fell to Pontiac's alliance. However, since those two installations held out, the Native military alliance eventually disintegrated, and British expeditions into the interior re-established control in the region. A price was placed on Pontiac's head, and in 1769 he was

Ottawa chief Pontiac holding a wampum belt, in council. Hand-colored woodcut. (North Wind Picture Archives)

killed by a member of another tribe at Cahokia, Illinois. Despite the lack of a military victory by Pontiac and his alliance, his movement provided lasting inspiration to the Odawa people; along with the later revitalization movement of The Trout in the early nineteenth century, it created a culture and religious foundation for sustaining Odawa identity throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The Trout (Mayagaway) (Early 1800s). A religious figure that sought to return the Odawa to traditional beliefs and life patterns, Mayagaway (The Trout) first began teaching the rejection of Anglo-American culture in 1807. The Trout seems to have been connected initially with the Odawa communities that lived in the vicinity of Mackinac, and his home community was probably in that area. Eventually he came to have significant influence among the L'Arbre Croche community located on the northeast shore of Lake Michigan. Finally, after settling in Peoria, Mayagaway disappeared from the historical record.

Often associated with the Shawnee prophet Tenskawatawa, Mayagaway preached a rejection of Anglo-American materialism and alcohol, and he urged an Odawa return to ritual relationships with the natural world. Eventually this message embraced the complete, physical destruction of the Anglo-American presence in the western Great Lakes region. Along with Pontiac's military and spiritual crusade, Mayagaway's prophetic movement became a cornerstone for a continued, traditional Odawa identity and a revitalization effort that has lasted to the present day.

Ojibway (Chippewa, Mississauga, Saulteur, Saulteaux)

Copway, George (Kahgegagahbowh) (1818–ca. 1869). George Copway worked as a Christian missionary to Native people but gained fame as a lecturer and writer in the mid-eighteenth century. He was one of the earliest Native Americans to gain fame as an intellectual, speaker, and author.

Born at Rice Lake in Ontario, Copway's father served as chief and medicine man for the Rice Lake band of Ojibway. Both his mother and father converted to Methodism from their traditional Ojib-

George Copway (Kahgegagahbowh), 1860. Dopway was one of the earliest Native Americans to gain fame as an intellectual, speaker, and author. (Marian S. Carson Collection/Library of Congress)

way beliefs on account of the missionary efforts of Peter Jones, among others. Copwell received his initial education at the mission school built for the Rice Lake Natives. Eventually, in 1830, George Copway also converted to Methodism, and at the age of sixteen, in 1834, he began to work as an interpreter at the Lake Superior Mission of the American Methodist Church along with his uncle and his cousin. A year later he assisted the Reverend Sherman Hall in the translation of the Gospel of St. Luke and the Acts of the Apostles into the Ojibway language, while working at the La Pointe Mission on Madeline Island. After that, Copway attended Ebenezer Manual Labor School in Jacksonville, Illinois, from 1837 until his graduation in 1839. From there he went back to Ontario, where he met and married Elizabeth Howell, an English woman. Her family did not approve of the marriage, but that did not deter the couple. Before and after the marriage, Copway worked at various missions for Native Americans in the United States and Canada. Several times during the 1830s, he performed his missionary duties with his cousins, John and Peter Marksman.

In 1846 the Saugeen Mission on Lake Huron and his own tribe accused Copway of embezzling funds, for which crime he was tried, found guilty, and served several weeks in prison. As a result of this scandal, the Canadian Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church expelled him. After his imprisonment, Copway published his life story, entitled *The Life, History, and Travels of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh (George Copway)* in 1847. Because of the success of his autobiography, Copway became a popular fixture on the lecture circuit. One of his favorite subjects for lectures was the need to use education and Christianity to improve the plight of Native Americans in both Canada and the United States.

In 1850, Copway published the *Organization of a New Indian Territory, East of the Missouri River,* in which he argued for a self-controlled Indian territory gov-

erned by educated Native Americans that would one day join the United States as a state. Later, after touring Europe, he published an account of his travels called *Running Sketches of Men and Places* (1851). In the early 1850s, Copway remained a popular attraction on the lecture circuit, associated with the likes of James Fenimore Cooper, Washington Irving, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. However, before the end of the decade, he fell from celebrity because the novelty of his being an educated Indian had worn off. Interestingly, Copway was alleged to have been the model for Longfellow's poem *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855). He spent the last years of his life moving among the Native tribes in the northern territories of the United States and in Canada, fulfilling the duties of an itinerant healer. Finally, Copway worked as an interpreter for the Roman Catholic mission near Lake of Two Mountains in Canada. There he is said to have converted to Catholicism and died days later, on January 17, 1869, although some reports have him dying at Pontiac, Michigan, in 1863.

Sunday, John (Shahwundais) (ca. 1795–1875). John Sunday was a Mississauga Ojibway chief and a Methodist missionary to his people.

Born in New York state but a member of the Mississauga Ojibway in Upper Canada, Shahwundais became a leader of his people and fought in the War of 1812 before converting to Methodism in 1824. From that point forward he worked to promote the spread of Christianity and education among Native people in the Great Lakes region of both Canada and the United States. Sunday toured Great Britain to raise funds for the Methodist missionary efforts in the Great Lakes area and even had an audience with Queen Victoria in 1836. He was effective at preaching to his people because he did so in their own language. Sunday was just as zealous in protecting Native rights as he was in converting his people to Christianity. He retired to Alderville, Ontario, in 1867 but remained active as a defender of Native rights and as missionary until he died, on December 14, 1875.

Steinhauer, Henry Bird (Shawahnegezhik) (1816–1884). Henry Steinhauer worked as an interpreter, missionary, and teacher among his people for more than fifty years.

Shawahnegezhik was born at Lake Simcoe in Ontario, and he converted to Methodism in 1828. For his initial education he went to the Methodist mission school located on Grape Island in the Bay of Quinte. While there he became known as Henry Steinhauer, after the Philadelphian that paid his educational expenses. Beginning in 1832 he continued his education for two years at New York's Cazenovia Seminary and after that attended the Upper Canada Academy at Cobourg, which is now known as Victoria College.

Steinhauer began work as a teacher in 1836 and as a missionary in 1840. For the

rest of his life he made his living as an interpreter, missionary, and teacher, shifting from one mission school to the next every year or so as he was assigned. During this period, while working at Norway House, he helped James Evans translate the Bible into the Cree syllabary, and he helped establish a new mission known as the Oxford House at a Hudson's Bay Company post in 1850. Steinhauer married a Cree named Jessie Mamanuwartum in 1846. He toured Great Britain in 1854 to raise money and make presentations to various audiences. Finally, upon returning to Canada the next year, the Canadian Conference in London, Ontario, ordained Steinhauer. Although he continued his mission work and teaching in his later years, Steinhauer became an important fund-raiser for the Canadian mission effort among Native Americans. He died on December 30, 1884.

Jacobs, Peter (Pahtahsega) (ca. 1807–1890). Peter Jacobs served as an indigenous missionary to the Ojibway early in life, before suffering from poverty and alcoholism later in life. His autobiography continues to be a valuable primary source for the Mississauga Ojibway of the mid-eighteenth century.

Pahtahsega was orphaned as a young child, and as a result his early years were marked by poverty and lack of direction. Sometime around 1825, Pahtahsega began his education at Belleville, close to the Bay of Quinte, with the help of benefactors that covered the cost of his education. Later he attended the Credit Mission school. At some point while receiving his education, Pahtahsega took the name Peter Jacobs and converted to Methodism. Before he left the Credit Mission school, he served as an interpreter and led prayers. Jacobs continued his education under the guidance of the Dorcas Missionary Society in 1829. He began his own missionary work in 1836, and over the next two decades, Jacobs worked at and helped found several missions, primarily in upper Canada; eventually he was ordained in England in 1842. He wrote and published his valuable autobiography, *Journal of the Reverend Peter Jacobs, Indian Wesleyan Missionary,* in 1853, and throughout his missionary career, Jacobs assisted other missionaries with translations into and out of the Ojibway language.

Jacobs's first wife, Mary, was a member of the Credit Band of Mississauga Ojibway, and he had a daughter by her before she died in 1828. He remarried in 1831 to Elizabeth Anderson, and they had five children. Two of his sons by Elizabeth later became missionaries for the Church of England. Unfortunately for Jacobs, in 1858 the Methodist Conference dropped him for purportedly raising funds in the United States without the permission of the conference. Although he may have reconverted in 1867, this incident helped lead Jacobs down the path toward alcoholism and the poor house, which marred his last few years.

Marksman, Peter (Kahgoodahahqua or Madwaqwunayaush) (ca. 1815–1892).

Peter Marksman was an interpreter and influential missionary to Native Americans for the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Great Lakes area during the mid and late eighteenth century.

Born Khagoodahaqua in the Fond du Lac region in the western Great Lakes, Marksman's father was an Ojibway hereditary chief from Mackinac Island. His mother was also Ojibway. Because Marksman was a twin (his brother died at birth) and twins were seen as spiritual beings with special power, his parents prepared him to became a shaman in the Ojibway Midéwiwin religion. However, Marskman had different ideas after being introduced to Christianity as a child, and he finally converted in 1833. Throughout his life he worked as an interpreter, missionary, and teacher in the Great Lakes region, bringing the Methodist doctrine to the Ojibway and other Great Lakes tribes. In 1844, Marksman married Hannah Morien, who helped with his mission. The Potawatomi of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan were so grateful for the couple's work in their behalf that they named their town after Hannah, calling it Hannahville. After working almost his entire adult life as a missionary, Marksman died on May 28, 1892.

Gagewin (ca. 1850–1919). A practitioner of the Ojibway Midéwiwin religion, Gagewin became an important informant on the traditional Ojibway religion and culture for the ethnographer Frances Densmore in the early twentieth century.

Gagewin was a member of the White Earth Reservation band of Ojibway in Minnesota. He introduced Densmore to the Midéwiwin concept that living the correct way physically and spiritually led to a long life. Gagewin also provided information on how the young were instructed in the ways of the Midéwiwin by use of sacred scrolls. He died on October 23, 1919.

Fiddler, Jack (ca. 1820–1907). Of Cree-Saulteaux heritage, Jack Fiddler was a well-known shaman and leader of his people during the last half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

A member of the Red Sucker band, Jack Fiddler was the son of the shaman Porcupine Standing Sideways. The Red Sucker band as a group generally remained aloof from contact with Europeans and maintained traditional lifeways. As a leader of this group, Fiddler was noted for being a traditionalist, and as a shaman he built a reputation for his ability to heal, communicate with animals, and foretell the future. His family received their surname for their ability to play the fiddle. In 1907, Canadian authorities arrested Jack Fiddler and his brother, Joseph Fiddler, for the murder of Joseph's mentally ill daughter-in-law, Wahsakapeequay. The Fiddler brothers thought that she was a windigo. Windigos were feared spirits in the Algonquian belief system that ate human flesh, and according to tradition, they had to be eliminated to protect the people. The two brothers admitted to killing Wah-

sakepeequay, and Jack Fiddler admitted to killing fourteen other windigos during his lifetime. Later that year Jack Fiddler committed suicide because he could not face life apart from his people. One of as many as twelve children left behind when Jack Fiddler died was Adam Fiddler, who also became a spiritual leader of their people.

Fiddler, Joseph (Pesequan) (ca. 1856–1909). A mixed Cree-Saulteaux, Joseph Fiddler was a shaman and a leader of the Red Sucker band, located in northwestern Ontario.

Pesequan was the son of Porcupine Standing Sideways, and as a leader of the Red Sucker band he helped limit their contact with Europeans and urged them to follow traditional religious beliefs. With his brother, Jack Fiddler, Joseph was jailed and sentenced to be executed for the murder of his daughter-in-law Wahsakepeequay, whom the two believed to be a windigo. Later his death sentence was commuted to one of life imprisonment; Fiddler died in prison on September 4, 1909.

Mink, John (Zhonii'a Giishig) (ca. 1850–1943). An adherent of the Ojibway Midéwiwin religion and the Drum religion, John Mink was a local Medicine Lodge leader for the Lac Courte Oreilles Reservation in Wisconsin throughout most of his adult life. He was also an important informant for the ethnologists Joseph B. Casagrande and Robert Rittzenthaler in the early twentieth century. He did not begin seeking the ways of a medicine man until two years after the death of his first wife in childbirth, when he had remarried. Through training and later through the process of fasting, Zhonii'a Giishing (the name given to him by his maternal grandmother) learned a multitude of medicines and sacred songs for healing the sick among his people. Mink became an important informant on Ojibway spiritual and healing practices late in his life. Casagrande wrote a short biography of Mink called "John Mink Ojibway Informant," which appeared in the book *In the Company of Man: Twenty Portraits of Anthropological Informants* (1960). After living more than ninety years, Mink passed away in 1943.

Gordon, Philip B. (Ti-Bish-Ko-Gi-Jik) (1885–1948). One of only a handful of Native American Roman Catholic priests in the country during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Philip Gordon used his position in the Catholic Church to improve the condition of Native Americans in the United States.

Born into a family with fourteen children in Gordon, Wisconsin, Philip Gordon went to the St. Mary's Mission School at the Bad River Reservation in Odanah, Wisconsin. After attending seminary, Gordon was ordained in 1913, and he later attended Catholic University in Washington, D.C. He then served at the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, worked for the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions touring Indian schools and Indian agencies in the Midwest, and finally served at the Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas. While in Lawrence, Gordon began to func-

tion as an activist to better conditions at Indian schools, missions, and reservations, because of what he had experienced at Haskell. In 1918 he began to assist his own people at the Lac Courte Oreilles Reservation in Wisconsin. Gordon worked with Sister Larush (also a converted Ojibway) to rebuild the Catholic church that had burned down there. Finally, in 1923, Gordon began work with the Committee of One Hundred, which was a reform group appointed by the secretary of the interior to help revise the federal Indian policy. After spending a lifetime serving the Catholic Church and half his life advocating reform of the federal Indian policy, Gordon died in 1948.

Fiddler, Adam (1865–1959). Continuing the family tradition, Adam Fiddler followed his grandfather (Porcupine), his father (Jack Fiddler), and his uncle (Joseph Fiddler) by practicing as a traditional medicine man or shaman for the Red Sucker band, but he also served as a Methodist lay minister in Ontario.

After experiencing a vision in 1901, Fiddler merged Christian elements with traditional Cree-Saulteaux beliefs. Inasmuch as he was the only person to introduce Christianity to his isolated people for a long period of time, he successfully led a syncretism of the two religions that was palatable to both Christians and traditional followers. Fiddler served his people as a religious leader until 1952. He died in 1959.

Larush, Sister M. Sirilla (Wayjohniemason) (1892–1976). Born on the Lac Courte Reservation in Wisconsin, Wayjohniemason converted to Roman Catholicism and served various missions as a nun for almost seventy years.

Given the name Fabiola at birth, Larush received her initial education at a mission school near her home, and she followed this up by later attending the Hayward Indian School. In 1908, Larush joined a convent in Milwaukee and later worked at a mission in Nebraska before returning to her reservation in 1925. Upon returning to her home, she restored the Catholic community and raised funds to rebuild the Church, which had burned down a few years earlier. In her later years, Larush served the Catholic community at missions in Chicago and Mississippi before she passed away in 1976.

Redsky, James, Sr. (Eshkwaykeezhik) (1890–?). James Redsky was a medicine man that practiced the Midéwiwin religion among the Canadian Ojibway at the Shoal Lake Reserve and eventually helped interpret many sacred scrolls of the Ojibway into English. He also wrote a biography of the Ojibway leader Misquonaqueb.

Born at Rice Bay in the Lake of the Woods region of Canada, Redsky started studying the Midéwiwin religion under the tutelage of his uncle (Baldhead Redsky) when he turned twelve. He also attended the Presbyterian mission school near his home. During World War I, Redsky served in the Canadian Infantry. After the war he finished his Midéwiwin education and

eventually was given all of his uncle's sacred scrolls. Because the number of participants in the Midéwiwin religion was decreasing and he did not have an apprentice to whom he could pass on his knowledge, Redsky helped interpret and publish the scrolls in *Sacred Scrolls of the Southern Ojibway* (1975) with Selwyn Dewdney. Later Redsky converted and was ordained a Presbyterian elder in 1960, and afterward he wrote the biography of Misquonaqueb in *Great Leader of the Ojibway: Mis-quona-queb* (1972).

Reflecting Man, John (?–1956). A medicine man that practiced the Midéwiwin religion, John Reflecting Man carried on the traditions of his people on the Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota until his death in 1956.

John-Paul (ca. 1900–?). The grandson of the legendary shaman Shawwanosway and a resident of the Birch Island Reserve in Canada, John-Paul became a shaman in his twenties and later in life turned to mysticism as his life's calling.

Mustache, James (Opwagon) (1904–?). The grandson of John Mink, James Mustache served his people as a traditional Ojibway religious leader and cultural preservationist.

Born on the Lac Courte Oreilles Reservation in Wisconsin, Opwagon was the grandson of a midwife, Iikwezens, and Midéwiwin medicine man, Zhonii'a Giishing (John Mink). Mustache was trained at an early age to be a spiritual leader, but he also received an Anglo-American education. He initially began his primary education at a Catholic mission school, but after attempts to convert him his grandparent transferred him to the Hayward Indian School in Wisconsin. Mustache went from Hayward to the Tomah Indian School, where he finished his Western education. He then enlisted in the military for four years and afterward served in the Indian Civilian Conservation Corps at Lac du Flambeau Reservation. At Lac du Flambeau he met and married the daughter of a spiritual leader, Rising Sun, which further strengthened his ties to traditional Ojibway culture. Eventually Mustache became civil and spiritual leader for the Ojibway and other tribes in the region, and he was a delegate to the National Congress of American Indians. Later in life he worked to use computer technology to record and teach Ojibway culture and language.

Jackson, Jimmy (ca. 1910–?). A traditional medicine man and religious leader, Jimmy Jackson became an important ethnographic informant when he was interviewed in the 1980s by Larry Aitken and Edwin Haller. Jackson used dreams to garner information and medicine for healing the sick.

Fortunate Eagle, Adam (ca. 1930–). An Ojibway from the Red Lake Reservation in Minnesota, Adam Fortunate Eagle worked as an activist, sociologist, and spiritual leader.

Fortunate Eagle received his initial education at the Indian boarding school in

Pipestone, Minnesota, and while still young he learned pipemaking and its ceremonial vestiges. After graduating from the boarding school, he continued his studies at the Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas. After leaving Kansas, Fortunate Eagle moved to the Bay Area of California. In California he taught sociology at the University of California, worked with prison inmates, and for a decade was chairman of the Council of Bay Area Indian Affairs. In 1969, Fortunate Eagle participated in the American Indian occupation of Alcatraz to publicize the condition of Native Americans and how they were treated by the federal government. Finally, he became a pipeholder and ceremonial leader in 1972. As a religious leader, Fortunate Eagle conducted only ceremonies that he defined as intertribal. Later he moved to Fallon, Nevada, to run the Roundhouse Gallery.

Stillday, Thomas, Jr. (1934–). A leader of the Midéwiwin religion among the Ojibway on the Red Lake Reservation in Minnesota, Thomas Stillday became the first indigenous and non–Judeo Christian religious practitioner to become the official chaplain of the Minnesota legislature.

Stillday spent his childhood learning the traditional ways of his people before serving in the military for twelve years, which included a tour of duty in Korea. While in Korea he served as a "codetalker," in which he and other Native Ojibway speakers used a coded form of their language to protect their radio communications from the enemy. After leaving the military, Stillday studied elementary education at the University of Minnesota, Morris. As a traditional religious practitioner, he gradually rose to prominence in his community, which eventually led to his being appointed official chaplain of the Minnesota state legislature in the mid-1990s. Stillday's duties included providing the opening prayer for new sessions of the legislature. This was the first time that an indigenous religion had received official recognition in Minnesota.

Dowd, Donny (ca. 1940–). A spiritual leader among the Ojibway in the late twentieth century, Donny Dowd spent his early years seeking a direction for his life, and this led him to enlist in the military and participate as an activist with the American Indian Movement before finally finding his path within the Ojibway Midéwiwin religion.

Dowd grew up on the L'Anse Reservation in Michigan, although a portion of his childhood was spent in a Catholic orphanage. In his late teens Dowd dropped out of high school and enlisted in the U.S. Navy, where he pulled two tours of duty in Vietnam. Suffering from posttraumatic disorder after being discharged, he could not keep a job and suffered a failed marriage that produced two children. In the late 1960s, Dowd joined the American Indian Movement in Minneapolis. Eventually, after attending a Midéwiwin ceremony, he found his calling and sought training in this traditional religion. Finally, Dowd moved to a

Michigan reservation with a new wife and became a religious leader and cultural educator for the community.

Hascall, John (1941–). In the late twentieth century, John Hascall successfully syncretized traditional Ojibway beliefs with the tenets of Roman Catholicism to became a successful practicing medicine man and Catholic priest. He conducted Mass for Native Americans.

Potawatomi

Main Poc (ca. 1765–1816). Born without fingers on his left hand, which marked him as having special powers provided by the Creator, Main Poc used his gift to become a shaman and war leader among his people, and for a period of time in the early nineteenth century, he used his influence to resist Anglo-American encroachment.

Pokagon, Leopold (ca. 1775–1841). A charismatic leader of the Potawatomies during the era of removal, Leopold Pokagon worked to preserve a place for his band of Potawatomie to remain in Michigan, to maintain peace with their Anglo-American neighbors, and to convert his people to Roman Catholicism.

Shabona (ca. 1775–1859). Born of a Seneca mother and an Odawa father, Shabona became a leader among the Potawatomies through marriage. Prior to the War of 1812, he advocated joining Tecumseh's Native alliance against further Anglo-American encroachment and in rejection of Anglo-American culture, but after the war, Shabona advised accommodation of Anglo-Americans and peaceful coexistence.

Medicine Neck (early 1900s). A practicing Peyotist, Medicine Neck introduced peyote to the Menominee Reservation in Wisconsin during the early part of the twentieth century.

In 1914, Medicine Neck was arrested for bringing peyote and peyotism to Wisconsin, on charges of breaking a federal law that forbade the introduction of intoxicants to Native reservations. The judge eventually ruled that the law applied only to alcohol and set Medicine Neck free.

Negahnquet, Albert (1874–1944). Negahnquet was one of the earliest full-blooded Native Americans to be ordained by the Roman Catholic Church.

In 1874, Negahnquet was born in Topeka, Kansas, near St. Mary's Mission. Eventually he joined the Citizen Band of Potawatomi in Oklahoma and received his early education at the Sacred Heart Mission school located near the Potawatomi Reservation. From there he went to the College of Propaganda Fide in Rome and was ordained in 1903. Upon becoming a priest he returned to the United States to work with Native people in Minnesota and Oklahoma.

Dixie Ray Haggard

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Anishnabe; James, Peter; Manitous; Missionization, Great Lakes; Oral Traditions, Ojibwe; Women's Cultural and Religious Roles, Great Lakes

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Religious Leaders, Great Lakes and Northeast

See Jones, Peter; Tekakwitha, Kateri

Religious Leaders, Northwest

The best known religious leaders in the Northwest for the past two and a half centuries have often blended their ancient beliefs in ways acceptable to imposed Christianity. Most have sought some kind of compromise or reformation satisfying to old and new beliefs.

Ivan Pan'kov (1770s–1850s)

On April 23, 1828 (the Feast of Alexander Nevsky), Ivan Pan'kov, Aleut leader (*toion, toyon*) in the Fox Islands of the Aleutian chain, arranged a remarkable meeting. For two years he had been working with Fr. Ioann Veniaminov (now St. Innokentii), a Russian Orthodox priest, on an Aleut (Unagan) translation of the catechism. At this meeting, Veniaminov listened carefully as Pan'kov translated the words to a famous shaman named Smirennikov. After serious reflection, the priest wrote his bishop that the sixty-year-old man seemed to be doing the work of God. Later, when he published the first ethnography of Native North America in 1840, Veniaminov continued to hold that there were both good and bad shamans, a sensitive admission for a extraordinary missionary, who later became supreme head of his church.

Even more significant is the contribution of Pan'kov in establishing literacy and trust in a new faith that has since become embraced by Aleutians in the succeeding century. Important in this process have been Creoles such as Iakov Netsvetov (1804–1864), mixed race clergy who used Native fluency to further indigenize Orthodoxy in Alaska.

Bini (?–1870s)

During the 1830s, at the south end of coastal Alaska, a Carrier prophet named

Bini ("mind") caused a stir along the Skeena River and the coast, preaching a blend of Catholic, Orthodox, and Native beliefs. He had been a successful hunter, shaman, and gambler until he lost everything by betting his goods, nephews, parents, and family. He went into the deep woods, where he dropped from exhaustion. He had a vision of a man dressed all in white who came from the Sky, charged Bini to take up preaching for a better world, and taught Bini something like the sign of the cross by touching his forehead, shoulders, and heart.

A search party found Bini's clothes and assumed he had frozen to death. Later they found him buried in snow, with barely a pulse. They carried him home, placed him beside a fire, and a shaman worked on him for two days. When he revived, Bini spoke an unknown language and taught new songs and dances. His feet were together and his arms outstretched, and he swayed his body as though crucified.

Bini's nephew spoke for him, as was appropriate for his heir. In this region, kinship was traced through mothers, so uncle (mother's brother) and nephew (sister's son) were very close. Bini predicted the advent of new things such as flour (dry snow) and horses, as well as special days like Sunday. People gathered and feasted at this house for several days. Some danced so strenuously that they ended by rolling on the floor. Then Bini preached five commandments: be faithful to one's home life, avoid another's hunting grounds, do not murder, respect elders and chiefs, and stop war.

Bini left to visit far and wide. He continued to use an unknown language, and his nephew translated. Tsimshians learned his message and spread it to other coastal tribes when they took candlefish together on the Nass River. In this way, Bini's preaching went much farther than he actually did.

Before Bini several upriver women had received visions, as did his older brother. But Bini became a chief of the Beaver crest and thus earned prestige and respect for his message. He hosted a great potlatch and set up a carved pole to confirm his rank. After preaching for fifteen years, he installed aides and tried to introduce public confession and whipping. Too many hardships and fights followed from these disclosures, however, so he ended them. He died about 1870, perhaps from sipping poisoned water while trying to cure a woman.

His nephews and others, including at least one woman, assumed the Bini name and continued to preach until Catholic clergy arrived in the region and supplanted their efforts with mission churches.

Captain Campbell, Skagit, (c. 1850–c. 1880)

Just across the border from southern British Columbia, Upper Skagit Native villages were politically and religiously centralized through the efforts of Cap-

tain Campbell, the Skagit prophet who founded the present Campbell or Camel family. His father came from eastern Washington, supposedly fleeing a threat of sorcery directed against him. He moved across the Cascade Mountains and married a woman from the town at the mouth of the Snohomish River. The prophet was born and raised there before he married a woman from the village on Clear Lake on the Upper Skagit River. During one of his frequent visits to his Interior Salish relatives, he met Father Eugene Casimir Chirouse, an early and important oblate missionary active at the Catholic mission among the Yakama just before the 1855 Treaty War. Fr. Chirouse moved to the Tulalip Reservation in 1863, then ended his career among the Canadian Okanagans.

The prophet worked closely with Chirouse, particularly in translating liturgy into Lushootseed Salish. Apparently, the priest and the prophet communicated with each other using the Okanogan dialect of Interior Salish. The prophet established his own longhouse near Marblemount, at the junction of the Cascade and Skagit rivers, where he led Catholic services in the summer and Native spirit dances in the winter. His links with Chirouse expanded his basis of authority into Euro-American contexts.

When the prophet's first wife died, he married the daughter of Petius, who widened his political base, although she seems to have outranked him. This woman had assumed the chiefly name of a famous male relative and went everywhere with an escort of body guards and attendants who acted in her behalf.

John and Mary Slocum and the Shaker Church, 1882

Near Olympia, the capital of Washington territory, John Slocum, a man of chiefly family, died but soon revived to found the Indian Shaker Church. Brilliantly combining outward forms of Catholicism, Protestant hymns and notions of personal salvation, and core Native beliefs, several thousand international Shakers still worship from northern California to southern British Columbia.

John Slocum died and revived on October 20, 1882. Later, Mary received the healing trembling ("the shake") that distinguishes this faith—a manifestation akin to the trembling of the original Quakers and other ecstatic cults. Presbyterians, particularly in Olympia, were initially supportive, but relations cooled after Natives entered the state capitol in a Sunday-afternoon Christmas procession led by a man on a horse with his head bent and arms extended, followed by his wife, identified as either Mary or Eve. Their behavior and "strong fish smell" embarrassed the minister who had invited them, and he lost all sympathy with their beliefs.

Together, the Slocums revealed the word of the Christian God for Natives, protected by being legally incorporated in 1910 within Washington state. Its tenets strictly identify the church as an

Indian religion inspired by the Christian God and Jesus Christ, as well as another supernatural figure they address as the Spirit, who is compatible both with the Holy Ghost and the aboriginal immortals who acted as guardian spirits.

The Spirit enters members during public ceremonies when they manifest the "shake," augmented by "gifts" and "helps." At death, this same Spirit "takes them home." Gifts include candle holding, bell ringing, curing, interpreting the cause of sickness, baptizing, divination, shaking, and ridding a home or a room of evil spirits. Each varied "help" depends on the quality and amount of supernatural ability that a member is able to express, and, in this, most corresponds to the aboriginal possession of distinct guardian spirits. Whenever Natives join the Shaker Church, their aboriginal spirit powers convert with them, thus continuing that source of ancestral religious tradition into the new practice.

Its forms are a brilliant blend of religions. Many of its overt public gestures reflected Catholic worship—such as altars, albs, candles, and making the sign of the cross by placing fingers to forehead, shoulders, and chest. Some mirror Protestantism—such as personal salvation, local language use, hymns, and plain steeple churches. Influences from schoolrooms include the use of hand bells to accompany such hymns during circular processions. Candles for light and wood-burning stoves for heating and cooking have kept Shakers self-reliant, avoiding costly electric bills.

Overall, Shakerism is devoted to curing, temperance, and the conversion of Native people to their avowedly Christian belief. Shaker curing specifically addresses ghosting, sorcery threats, depression (feeling sorry), soul loss, and unwanted spirits. In the modern Native community its specialty is curing, especially of addictions, but unlike the ancient shamanic tradition that also continues, Shaker curing is much more universal and democratic in the sense that it is performed by all believers and is free of charge, whether in a patient's own home or a Shaker church. A basic tenet grants the truth of individual inspiration, though a continual tension exists between this autonomy and hopes for unanimity as institutionalized in the authority of the Shaker bishop and council.

Old Pierre (1860s–1946)

Old Pierre, a Katzie (Sta:lo, Fraser River) spiritual leader, most fully articulated Salishan genesis to Diamond Jenness of the National Museum of Canada in 1936. A few significant details were provided by Simon Pierre (a son born in the 1880s) to Wayne Suttles in 1952.

His mother, a spiritual practitioner herself, sent Pierre out questing from the age of three and paid three of their oldest and best informed relatives to teach him sacred epics from the age of eight. As a result, among his powerful helpers was the Father Of All Trees, the only arboreal being who could grant power. Another time, he tripped over a

rock that turned out to be the pillow of the Leader of the Earth, gaining power in his hands and wrists to draw out sickness, power in his mouth to swallow it, and power to see all over the world to recover "minds" that had strayed from their bodily homes.

Pierre learned to diagnose sickness depending on its causes, either from (1) lost vitality or mind, (2) impurity or offense to a spirit or ghost, or (3) a probe shot into a victim by a hostile shaman. More important, Pierre grasped a systematic account of the Sta:lo Universe, from a Katzie perspective.

Humans were instructed to pray to deities in sequence, beginning with the Lord Above, then moving to the Sun, Khaals, Moon, and personal spirit powers. Humans owed their existence to the Lord Above, who created each of them endowed with a soul, vitality-thought, a certain talent-power, and a shadow-reflection. At death, the breath and special talent perished with the body, the soul returned to the Lord Above, and the vitality and shadow merged to produce the shade or ghost that roamed as a barely visible form in the neighborhood of its old home, feared by the surviving relatives.

Vitality, which was inseparable from thought, pervaded the entire body. Any loss of the body was accompanied by a proportional loss of vitality. The loss of a limb or the cutting of the hair, therefore, decreased its manifestation as warmth, closely linked with the sun. While it was diffused throughout the body, it was especially concentrated at the heart. The Lord Above created evergreen trees at the beginning of the world so humans would have a strong source of vitality, manifested by the constant green of the foliage. During the winter, when the world is cold, ceremonials were held because they also provided warmth.

Because they were transformed from the first people, the original members of the various species were sacred and able to share their talent-power with particular humans. The more remote the home of the being was from humans, the more powerful it was. Humans needed these powers to cope with the unseen hazards and dangers that filled every life. A human without power was like a cork floating helplessly in the water, subject to all kinds of pulls, crosswinds, and undercurrents.

The Fraser River valley became a huge dish filled with food through the work of the Lord Above, who decided to send specific groups of people under a named leader to particular locales along the river. Instead of one pair, like Adam and Eve, there were many couples, each entrusted to form a set community at specific places.

Initially, the Katzie world was grim and silent, with only shellfish to feed these first people. There were no birds, animals, or winds. The Lord Above made the sun to give warmth, the moon to measure time, and the rainbow to indicate weather conditions.

In time, a leader called Swaneset emerged to "fix" the earth, marrying

wives from the earth such as Sockeye Salmon and the sky such as a Star. Then the Lord Above prepared the way for humans by sending Khaals to further make things right. Through the power of thought, Khaals changed beings. Bluejay prophesied his arrival, assembling most of the beings so that Khaals, who was always just, could sort the good from the bad and make the world a better place, allowing those people who showed respect to remain human. The humans have overpopulated their world several times, suffering starvation, disease, and extermination before they were able to reform into respectful communities.

Through his work and teaching, Old Pierre provided the most detailed and systematic account of Coast Salish beliefs on record.

Native Clergy

Several Protestant churches in Canada have had Native clergy, particularly Peter Kelly (Haida), George Edgar (Tsimshian), William Henry Pierce (Tsimshian), and Edward Marsden (Tsimshian). The career of the Reverend John Kilbuck, a Delaware who helped found the successful Moravian Church among the Yup'ik Eskimo, has more human interest because he fell away for part of his career. Equally fascinating is the thwarted life of the Puyallup Reverend Peter Stanup, who lived near Tacoma, Washington.

Peter Stanup (1857–1893)

Peter Stanup was the son of Jonah, a vigorous leader who died at the age of ninety-four in 1897, and the daughter of a Puyallup chief. His parents were Roman Catholics, but he became a Presbyterian. In 1875 he started as a printer's devil for the Olympia *Daily Echo* but was the butt of many practical jokes because of his deep faith. When this press moved to Tacoma to become the *Herald,* he served as a printer. Seeking further education, he joined other Puyallups at the start of a regional federal boarding school. Later he became a reporter, describing a Skokomish Potlatch of October 22–28, 1878. During the costly Seattle/Tacoma rivalry over the name of the tall mountain often called Rainier, Stanup added that the Puyallup word *Ta-ko-ba* means "the mountain," but earlier Rainier had been called *Tu-wak-hu,* or *Twa-hwauk*. His Native terms and perspective, however, only further confused city boosters.

After he returned from school, Peter served as interpreter for the Presbyterian missionary to the Puyallups and himself studied for that ministry. Peter served in two state Republican conventions and was considered as a candidate for governor at the 1890 state Republican caucus. He married, but four of his six children died. He became involved in the sell-off of his reservation and made a financed trip to Congress in 1893. He became wealthy from these land sales, but also took to alcohol. He was preparing to take the bar and add law to his credentials when his body was found in the Puyallup River on May 23, 1893. Although no murder charge was ever made, many suspected foul play.

Petius (1904–1989)

Until 1989, the most honored shaman in the American Northwest carried the famous name of Petius, once father-in-law to the Skagit prophet and the recognized leader of the Native Samish town where Bayview now stands. Living at Lummi but with kinship ties among the Lushoosteeds, Petius and his large family served as Bible Shakers, a Pentecostal choir on radio, and lay preachers until their father led them back to Winter Dancing when he took up an expected family career as a Native doctor. Drawing on family privileges, he rapidly became successful through his use of painted power boards and an inherited ability as a medium who was able to deal with troubling ghosts.

Helped by his large family of daughters, he founded his own smokehouse and began initiating new dancers. When his older son married the daughter of another Native doctor, both their families enhanced their careers. As other children married into other reservations this network expanded, and it continues to do so.

Late in his career, Petius was given medical privileges at hospitals in Vancouver, Canada, and in several cities in Washington state. Native patients in these impersonal surroundings immediately began to improve. At his death, the eldest son assumed the mantle of his father, but has yet to enjoy the same wide fame.

Finally, the impact of other "minor" prophets should be mentioned. During the late 1800s, from the Plateau came word of the teachings of a Kootenai woman who dressed and acted like a man, of Smohallah along the Columbia River, of Jake Hunt and the Feather dance, and of the Ghost Dances of 1870 and 1890. Coquelle Thompson (1849–1946) preached an 1870 version known as the Warm House along coastal Oregon for a year after April 1877. Natives of the Oregon coast had been particularly devastated and sought succor in new faiths, including the Indian Shaker Church.

Jay Miller

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Northwest; Christianity, Indianization of; Dance, Northwest Winter Spirit Dances; Guardian Spirit Complex; Healing Traditions, Northwest; Indian Shaker Church; Missionization, Alaska; Missionization, Northwest; Religious Leaders, Alaska; *Sbatatdaq (Sqadaq)*

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Religious Leaders, Plains

Bull Lodge

A spiritual leader and warrior said to possess the ability to heal and prophesy, Bull Lodge kept two of the central sacred symbols within Gros Ventre religiosity: the Feathered Pipe, or Chief Medicine Pipe, and the Flat Pipe. Such pipes are kept in sacred bundles, which are wrapped in outer wrappings along with other sacred objects.

Bull Lodge was born in 1802 and died in 1886. He distinguished himself in his early life as a powerful warrior, and he sought spiritual empowerment as well, undergoing seven different fasts in seven different sacred spaces of the Gros Ventre landscape. As a result he received powerful visions that aided the Gros Ventre people through difficult eras of change and colonization. Because of his role as keeper of the sacred Flat Pipe and Feathered Pipe, Bull Lodge was able to influence the weather, cure illnesses, and protect the community from danger. His position as a healer was established when he healed his uncle, Yellow Man, when he was extremely ill. After having cured nineteen people he was presented with the Feathered Pipe, and he held the office of Pipe Chief medicine man, a very important honor. He died at eighty-five years of age, having foretold his own death. His daughter, Garter Snake, dictated his life story to Frederick Gone, a Gros Ventre tribal member. The volume, edited by George Horse Capture, was published as *The Seven Visions of Bull Lodge* in 1980.

James Blue Bird (c. 1887–?)

One of the first peyote roadmen among the Lakota, James Blue Bird was first exposed to the peyote faith in 1902, at the age of fifteen. Quanah Parker, a Comanche peyote roadman, led this ceremonial meeting. His father, who was an Episcopal minister, did not protest his son's newfound faith, seeing in it the symbols of Christianity: the cross, the fire, and prayer to a Great Spirit. He spent years learning about the tradition from John Rave and Albert Hensley in Nebraska. When James Blue Bird returned to his community in 1916, he was quickly acknowledged as a peyote roadman. In 1918 the Native American Church was officially incorporated, so as to protect its followers under the constitutional assurance of freedom of religion. Subsequently, Blue Bird organized and directed the Native American Church of South Dakota, a position that he held for fifty years. His church ultimately com-

prised sixteen local chapters. The year of his death is unknown.

Davéko (1818–1897 or 1898)

Davéko, an Oklahoma Kiowa-Apache who lived from about 1818 until 1897 or 1898, was a powerful healer and spiritual leader. As an adolescent, Davéko undertook the four-day vision quest, receiving the spirit-powers of turtle, owl, and snake. Davéko used a black handkerchief in his healing ceremonies; it helped him to locate the disease-causing object. He healed patients through the use of herbs, roots, songs, prayers, and through the literal sucking out of the object that was causing the disease. His success at healing, as well as his ability to find lost individuals or objects, enabled him to become a powerful spiritual leader during a tumultuous century.

Philip Deloria (Tipi Sapa) (1853–1931)

Born in 1853, Philip Deloria (Yankton Sioux) was raised in the traditional way, and he was apprenticed to his father to become a traditional spiritual leader and healer. His mother, Siha Sapewin, was Lakota of the Rosebud band. When he was three years old, while his father was away, Philip became very ill and died. When his father returned, he carried Philip to a high hill, where he prayed for his son's life. Philip was restored to life, and the next day he and his father returned to the community. When he was seventeen, Philip converted to Christianity, adopting the dress and many of the customs of Euro-Americans. In 1892, with his father's approval, he became an Episcopal priest. In 1873 he founded Wojo Okolakiciye, The Planting Society, which was later known as the Brotherhood of Christian Unity. He was elected chief of the Eight Band of the Yankton Sioux, and in 1888 he was placed in charge of the Episcopal missions of South Dakota. He served as a missionary and priest for forty years on the Standing Rock Reservation, before dying in 1931. He married Mary Sully Bordeau and had five daughters and one son, Vine Victor Deloria, Sr.

Vine Victor Deloria, Sr. (1901–1990)

Vine Victor Deloria, Sr., was born in 1901, and, following in his father's footsteps, he became an Episcopal priest. In 1926, Deloria played a key role in the government hearings at Lake Andes and Pipestone Quarry, the quarry where many Plains tribes secure the pipestone needed to carve the bowls of sacred pipes. With his assistance as a translator, the tribes were able to secure access to the quarries. Following his ordination as a priest, Deloria served for seventeen years at the All Saints Mission, and then for an additional three years at the Sisseton Mission in South Dakota. He was appointed to the Episcopal National Council in 1954 and oversaw all Episcopal Indian mission work in his position as assistant secretary for Indian Missions of the Episcopal Church of America. Later he was also appointed archdeacon of the American Indian parishes in South Dakota.

Vine Deloria, Jr. (1933–)

Vine Deloria, Jr., has been described as one of the most influential voices among contemporary American Indian authors. He has acted as an advocate for American Indian religious rights, the preservation of sacred land, and tribal sovereignty, and against the cultural assimilation of Native people. Born in 1933, he received his bachelor's degree from Iowa State University before earning a master's degree in theology from Lutheran School of Theology, Rock Island, Illinois. He decided against becoming ordained, arguing that following the white man's religion had failed to grant Indian people social or political equality, nor had Christianity succeeded in lifting the United States out of a spiritual, moral, and ecological crisis. He urged instead a return to traditional Native religiosity, and, for non-Natives, a complete change in social and theological outlook. Non-Natives as well, he argues, should return to a tribal-communal approach to life that seeks an ecologically balanced relationship with the environment.

Deloria is a founding member of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI); he served as a professor of law and political science at the University of Arizona; and he is currently a professor of American Indian Studies, History, Law, Political Science, and Religious Studies at the University of Colorado, Boulder. His first book, *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto,* published in 1969, served as an inspiration for the newly emerging American Indian Movement, and for other Indian activists of the era. Other important publications include *God Is Red: A Native View of Religion* (1973); *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties* (1974); *American Indian Policy in the 20th Century* (1985); *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact* (1997); and *For This Land: Writings on Religion in America* (1999).

Frank Fools Crow (1891–1989)

Born around 1891, Frank Fools Crow was an important spiritual leader among the Lakota. He led Sun Dances, *yuwipi* ceremonies, and was a healer (*wapiye*) for more than sixty years. In addition to maintaining his traditional faith, in 1917 he became a Catholic, and he saw no difficulty in practicing both faiths. He was faithful to both traditions until his death in 1989. A nephew of the famous Lakota spiritual leader Black Elk, Fools Crow was taught the traditional Lakota spiritual path. He was trained by his father and grandfathers, as well as by Iron Cloud, a Lakota leader, and Stirrup, a famous Lakota medicine man of the early twentieth century. During his vision quest in 1905 he received a powerful vision that would empower him in his spiritual practice. And in 1913 he received another vision while riding in the midst of a thunderstorm. His second vision quest in 1914 likewise empowered him with another powerful spirit. These visions and spiritual relationships would enable him to be a powerful leader and intercessor for the Lakota people.

Fools Crow played an important role in the American Indian Movement of the 1970s, particularly in the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973. He blessed the efforts of the occupiers, and offered encouragement to them as a spiritual leader. He, along with other Lakota elders, also sought to achieve a peaceful reconciliation by negotiating with federal representatives. He delivered the proposed settlement to those occupying the Knee, and facilitated a peaceful conclusion. However, he himself was disappointed with the terms of the negotiation, because it failed to achieve their goals: the reinstatement of the agreed-upon treaty relationship, as established in the 1868 treaty with the federal government. Fools Crow, following instructions he received in a vision, dictated his life story to Thomas E. Mails, with the assistance of Dallas Chief Eagle. The book, *Fools Crow,* was published in 1979.

American writer Mary Crow Dog in Paris. (Sophie Bassouls/Corbis Sygma)

Albert Hensley (1875–?)

Born in 1875, Albert Hensley (Winnebago) was a peyote roadman and missionary. As a roadman, he helped to establish his particular mode of ceremony, the Cross-Fire or Big Moon ritual, throughout the northern Plains, among the Ojibwa, Chippewa, and Lakota. He also introduced the use of the Christian Bible into the ceremony, and he crafted a more Christianized expression of the peyote meeting. He was involved both spiritually and politically, writing letters to the federal government and Bureau of Indian Affairs defending the peyote religion. He was a founding member of the peyote church when the Winnebago incorporated the church, the first tribe outside of Oklahoma to do so. It was later renamed the Native American Church of Winnebago, Nebraska. The church includes both Half-Moon and Cross-Fire ceremonial traditions.

Emily Hill (1911–?)

Born in 1911, Emily Hill was a remarkable woman who worked as a spiritual leader, healer, and preserver of cultural knowledge. Hill spent nearly all her life in the Little Wind River area in Wyoming,

though she briefly attended boarding school on the Wind River Reservation. Hill was the granddaughter of a Shoshone warrior woman who was well known for her bravery in battle and her fierce advocacy for mistreated women in her community. Hill herself married and had three children. After her husband's death, she lived with her half-sister, Dorothy. The two of them lived together for the remainder of their lives, supporting and caring for each other. Together they drove teams of horses, cut and stacked hay, irrigated fields, and dragged and cut large logs for firewood. After Dorothy was injured in the 1950s, Emily took care of her until her death, thirty years later.

Hill was a powerful medicine woman and healer. While at boarding school as a child, she witnessed a measles epidemic. She helped to care for the other children and gained a respect for certain aspects of Western medicine. As an adult she practiced traditional Shoshone medicine, curing people through powerful songs that she acquired within dreams and visions. She was trained by a Shoshone woman elder, who taught her traditional modes of healing and the use of herbs, as well as the procedure for procuring spirit power. Inspired by what she had seen at boarding school, Hill combined aspects of Western medicine with that of traditional Shoshone medicine, creating a unique mode of healing.

Hill and her sister were also believers in the Ghost Dance religion, and she continued to sing the sacred songs long after the dances had ceased to be held. Along with other women, she also sang at Sun Dances, supporting the efforts of young Shoshone men as they prayed and suffered for their communities. Throughout her life she continued to pray and heal using the sacred songs from the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, the Women's Dance, and the Wolf Dance. By singing these songs she was able to cultivate healing power and renew relationships with the powerful spirits present in the natural world. Along with four other Shoshone women, Hill collaborated with Judith Vander to produce a book, *Songprints,* which was published in 1988.

Kee'Kah'Wah'Un'Ga (Reuben A. Snake, Jr.) (1937–1993)

Born in 1937, Kee'Kah'Wah'Un'Ga (Winnebago) was an important religious and political leader. He fought throughout his adult life for religious and political freedom for American Indian people. He was a national chairman of the American Indian Movement in 1972 and national president of the National Congress of American Indians from 1985 to 1987. Kee'Kah'Wah'Un'Ga was a prayer chief and roadman of the Native American Church, as well as the elected tribal chairman of the Winnebago nation. As roadman and spiritual leader, he frequently led all-night prayer services to seek peace and justice for American Indian people. He served as a founding trustee and spiritual adviser within the American Indian Ritual Object Repatria-

tion Foundation. He traveled throughout the country lobbying for legislation that would ensure American Indian people the right to religious freedom. It was in part due to his efforts and advocacy that the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978), the National Museum of the American Indian Act (1989), the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990), the Native Language Act (1990), and the Native American Free Exercise of Religion Act (1993) were successfully passed.

Kicking Bear (1846–1904)

Born about 1846, Kicking Bear (Lakota) was an important medicine man and warrior. He was an advocate of the Ghost Dance among the Lakota, and in 1889, along with several others, he visited the Paiute spiritual leader Wovoka. He became convinced of the truth of Wovoka's claims and returned to the Rosebud and Standing Rock reservations to teach the new religion. The Ghost Dance taught that all Native people, the living and the dead, would soon be reunited. The world would soon be remade and all white people removed from the land. The buffalo would return, and the earth would be restored. Followers were to dance in a traditional circle-dance and sing. Periodically dancers would fall to the ground and be given visions in which they were transported to the spirit world. There they were taught new songs, dances, and rituals that they were to teach to the people. The movement also called for the return to a traditional mode of life, and a rejection of white culture and its vices, such as drinking.

Kicking Bear and his brother-in-law Short Bull received a vision instructing them to make a Ghost-Shirt. The shirts, they believed, would protect them from bullets. They brought these shirts with them to the Lakota when they taught them the Ghost Dance. The militaristic overtones that Kicking Bear inspired in the dance aroused fear in government officials, and they sought to curtail the religious practice. They attempted to arrest Kicking Bear, but he eluded them, which added to his fame and his followers' belief in the new religion. In 1890 he and his followers fled to the Badlands in South Dakota, hoping to avoid persecution.

Fearing that Kicking Bear's uncle, Sitting Bull (Tatanka Iyotake), would join them, the Standing Rock Indian agent attempted to have him arrested. In the ensuing struggle, Sitting Bull was murdered. Following that, the Minneconjou leader Big Foot (Si Tanka) decided to move his people to the Pine Ridge Reservation, to seek protection. The army however, mistakenly believed that Big Foot was on his way to join Kicking Bear and intercepted them. The next day, on December 29, 1890, the U.S. Seventh Cavalry massacred more than two hundred children, women, and men of Big Foot's band, including Big Foot himself. Afraid for their safety, Kicking Bear and his people surrendered to the army. In 1891 he was incarcerated. However, his sentence was commuted on the condition that he join

Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show for two years. He did so, returning to Wounded Knee Creek in 1892, where he lived with his family until his death in 1904.

Susan La Flesche Picotte (1863–1915)
Born in 1865 on the Omaha Reservation, Susan La Flesche Picotte was the daughter of the Omaha chief Joseph La Flesche. As a child she studied with both Presbyterian and Quaker missionaries, who facilitated her entrance into school. She graduated from the Elizabeth Institute for Young Ladies in New Jersey, the Hampton Institute in Virginia, and in 1889 from the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania. She was the first American Indian woman to become a medical doctor trained in the European-American tradition. She worked as a reservation doctor on the Omaha Reservation and as a medical missionary to her tribe. She was an advocate for Indian rights, speaking to Congress and to many religious congregations. She lobbied for resources to end tuberculosis among Native communities, for increased access to education, and for the prohibition of alcohol on reservations. She also advocated for local, Indian control of their own lands and for the right of individual Indian people to lease or sell their land without government supervision. In 1913 she founded a hospital on the Omaha Reservation that, following her death in 1915, was named after her. While she was deeply entrenched in and able to navigate the white world of schools, congressional halls, and churches, she also remained committed to her tribal community. Her sense of communal obligation and responsibility guided her in all her actions, and she sought to improve the welfare and well-being of the Omaha people.

John Fire Lame Deer
John Fire Lame Deer was born on the Rosebud Lakota Reservation in the late nineteenth century. He was a powerful Lakota spiritual leader who received his spiritual power from the thunder beings, or *wakinyan*. At sixteen he underwent his first vision quest; he was told in a vision of his great-grandfather that he would become an important spiritual leader and instruct many more medicine men who would follow him. Throughout his adult life he was a healer, using traditional herbs as well as traditional ceremonies such as the *yuwipi* to heal his patients. He was the father of Archie Fire Lame Deer, who also went on to become an important spiritual leader in his community. Lame Deer remained a practitioner of traditional Lakota religion, preferring not to follow any Christian traditions or the Native American Church. Remaining true to the Lakota traditions, and practicing them in a faithful way as they should be done, was, he said, more than enough for him. His commitment to his community and to their traditional way of life has helped to ensure its survival through a tumultuous century.

Low Horn (Atsitsi) (1822–1846/1899)
Born around 1822, Low Horn (Blackfoot) was one of the most important spiritual

leaders of his generation, along with such individuals as Black Eagle and the medicine woman Kitsin'iki. He was a powerful healer who doctored through the spirit-powers of sparrow hawk, rabbit, thunder, and mouse. He undertook a successful vision quest at thirteen, when he acquired his first spirit-power, thunder. In a dream he was given the spirit songs of sparrow hawk, and in other visions that of jackrabbit and mouse. He was a powerful medicine man and successful warrior. In 1846 he was killed in a battle with the Cree. Fearing his great power, the Cree dismembered his body and attempted to burn the remains. A burning ember from his body flew from the fire, and where it landed a bear emerged from the ground. The bear killed five of the Cree.

Low Horn was so powerful that he was able to reincarnate himself into a young Blackfoot, named Only Person Who Had a Different Gun. When he was six, Different Gun met Low Horn's widow, and he told those around him that she had once been his sweetheart. The next day, he and his family crossed the site where Low Horn had been killed. The boy began to cry, and told his family that this was where he had been killed. To prove his identity he instructed elders in his community to find certain objects that Low Horn had hidden before his death. Eventually the community accepted Different Gun as the reborn healer and began to call him Low Horn. From that time, Low Horn was apprenticed to the spiritual leaders and healers in his community and became a powerful healer. He had the ability to cure gunshot wounds, even those that white physicians could not heal. He died in 1899.

Mon'Hin Thin Ge

Mon'Hin Thin Ge (Omaha) was born in the early 1800s, and was an important spiritual leader and keeper of the Sacred Tent of War. Three sacred tents within Omaha tradition encompasses the most important elements of Omaha spirituality: the tent for the Sacred Pole, the Sacred Tent of War, and the Sacred Tent of the White Buffalo. Mon'Hin Thin Ge was chosen to keep the Tent of War. As an adolescent, Mon'Hin Thin Ge underwent the traditional Omaha vision quest, or *No'zhi zho,* which literally means "to stand sleeping." The vision that he received empowered him in his office as spiritual leader. During and just prior to his life, the Omaha experienced a number of devastating blows: in 1802 white traders brought smallpox to the Omaha, and the resulting epidemic decimated the community. The population dropped from 3,500 to fewer than 300. The nation's cultural continuity was further threatened by the U.S. government's relocation policies, by which the Omaha were forced west of their original homeland. They were resettled on the Omaha Reservation in Nebraska in 1854. The federal government forced them to cede the northern half of the reservation in 1865, for the resettlement of the Winnebago Nation.

These devastating events brought enormous cultural changes. In 1884, Mon'Hin Thin Ge feared that the knowledge of Omaha ceremonialism would be lost with him, and with it the proper care and respect for the Sacred Tent of War. Afraid that the objects would be neglected or abused, he gave them to Omaha physician Francis La Flesche and ethnologist Alice Fletcher. The sacred objects held within the Sacred Tent of War were placed in the Peabody Museum at Harvard University. The contents of the Sacred Tent of the Sacred Pole were likewise bequeathed to Peabody Museum by their keeper, Shu'-Denaci, in 1888. Happily, since 1989 the sacred pole, which is the most sacred object of Omaha ceremonialism, as well as the objects of the Sacred Tent of War, have been repatriated to the Omaha by the Peabody Museum.

Mountain Wolf Woman (Xeháchwinga) (1884–1960)

Si'ga'xunuga (Winnebago) was born in 1884 and was a traditional healer and peyote leader. When she was three years old, she became very ill and nearly died. An Indian medicine woman, named Wolf Woman, healed her. The woman then gave Si'ga'xunuga her healing powers and a new name, Xeháchwinga, which roughly translates as Mountain Wolf Woman. She spent eight years in a Lutheran mission school and was baptized there. She left the school to enter into a marriage arranged by her brothers, and did so against her will. The experience was unpleasant, and she determined that her own children would choose their own spouses. She left her first husband and married Bad Soldier, with whom she had eleven children. Xeháchwinga had an active faith that integrated three traditions: traditional Winnebago spirituality, the peyote religion, and Christianity.

Her father, who taught his daughters to observe certain ritual practices and prayers, introduced her to traditional Winnebago spirituality. Her grandfather, Náqiwankwa'xo'piniga, who was a medicine man and who passed on his spiritual power to her, also instructed her in traditional Winnebago healing practices. In 1908 she was first introduced to peyote, which she used during the birth of her third child. The experience was so positive that she became an adherent of the peyote faith. While attending a peyote ceremony, she had a powerful vision of Jesus. The experience was profoundly moving, and following the experience she was convinced of the sacrality of the peyote way. After that she became a peyote leader. Her reputation as a peyote leader spread widely, and people came from far away to join the meetings. She integrated Christianity within her faith in peyote and continued to believe that peyote was a holy faith, blessed by Jesus, that would help Indian people to overcome alcoholism and other destructive behavior. Throughout her adult life she continued to practice both as a traditional Winnebago medicine woman and as a peyote leader with a faith in Jesus Christ. She died in 1960, just before her

life story was put to press. *Mountain Wolf Woman: Sister of Crashing Thunder,* was edited by her adopted niece, Nancy Oestreich Lurie.

Porcupine (Hishkowitz) (1847–?)

Born around 1847, Porcupine (Cheyenne) was an important healer, spiritual leader, and spokesperson for the Cheyenne nation for more than forty years. Following a visit to Wovoka at Walker Lake, Nevada, he became a believer in the Ghost Dance, and he returned to his people as an advocate for the faith. His father was Arikara and his mother Lakota, but he joined the Cheyenne nation when he married a Cheyenne woman. He is well known for his bravery as a warrior, as well as for his leadership in the Ghost Dance. He led dances until the turn of the century, when he was arrested and sentenced to hard labor for practicing a faith that the federal government had outlawed. He was a successful healer within his communities until the end of his life, and well known for his ability to cure. He healed his patients with the use of spirit-power songs, sweet grass, a sacred rattle, a sacred pipe, and medicinal teas and roots.

Pretty Shield (1857–?)

Pretty Shield (Crow) was born around 1857, and was a powerful medicine woman among her people. She was one of three sisters, all of whom married a man named Goes-Ahead. When she was sixteen, she was struck with smallpox and nearly died. A Crow medicine woman, Sharp-Skin, healed her, and the experience left her with a sensitivity for healing the illnesses of others. As a young wife, she experienced the death of a baby girl. During her mourning period, she fasted and slept very little. She prayed for a vision that would give her comfort and also be a blessing to her community.

While in a medicine dream state, she had a vision of a spirit woman. The woman instructed her in a number of rituals that she was to perform. Once she had done them, Pretty Shield was instructed to enter a beautiful lodge that had a war eagle at its head. Following that, Pretty Shield was given the spirit-power of war eagle. Later she was also given the spirit-power of ants, a powerful spirit that enabled her to do great things. She became a wise elder and respected medicine woman. When Pretty Shield was seventy-four, she told her life story, describing the ways of the Crow people as well as traditional passages of life, such as childhood, courtship, marriage, and childbirth, to Frank Linderman. The resulting book, *Red Mother,* was published in 1932. It was reprinted in 1972 and retitled *Pretty Shield: Medicine Woman of the Crows.*

Quanah Parker (1850–1911)

Quanah Parker was born around 1850, the son of Peta Nocona, a chief of the Quahada band of Comanche, and a white woman, Cynthia Ann Parker. Cynthia Ann Parker was captured in 1836 along with her brother when she was

nine years old and later married Peta Nocona. She was recaptured by a white man in 1860. She repeatedly begged to be allowed to return to the Comanche and her husband and children but was never allowed to do so. She died in 1864. Parker was known for his success as a warrior, as well as for his role in promoting the peyote religion throughout the Plains. Parker fiercely resisted white encroachment on Comanche lands, surrendering only after years of resistance. Following his surrender, however, Parker quickly adapted to the white world. He encouraged the Comanche to be educated in white schools and to learn to navigate the white world. By 1867 he was chief of the Kwahadi band of the Comanche.

The peyote faith would have been a part of Comanche culture throughout his life, as the Comanche had been using peyote since the early 1800s. But it was not until 1884, when Parker became seriously ill and was cured with the aid of peyote, that it became an important part of his life. From that time on, he defended the use of peyote against government and Christian opposition. He saw it as a means by which Native people could not merely talk about Jesus, but speak directly to Jesus. Parker went on to be a judge in the Courts of Indian Offences, which was established by Indian agents on Indian reservations. He was a chief representative for the Comanche people during the Dawes Act of 1887, and he later became a successful businessman and friend of President Theodore Roosevelt, while never abandoning his faith in the peyote religion or his belief in the value of the traditional Comanche way of life.

Sanapia (1895–1968)

Sanapia (Comanche) was born in 1895 and was a powerful medicine woman. She attended the Cache Creek Mission School, before undertaking four years of intensive study to become an Eagle Doctor. She trained with her mother, a Comanche-Arapaho, and her mother's older brother, both of whom were Eagle Doctors. During her training she was closely observed by her mother, uncle, maternal grandmother, and paternal grandfather. When they all approved, she was accorded a blessing ceremony and granted the status of Eagle Doctor.

In her training she studied the diagnosis of illness, the use of medicinal plants, and important ritual actions and restrictions. She doctored with the use of herbal medicines; sacred songs; the spirit power of the eagle, which was called forth through her medicine songs; and by sucking the object that had caused the illness out of the patient's body. She was particularly skilled at curing Ghost Sickness, a dangerous ailment. In her religious life, she was exposed to the traditional Comanche faith by her mother and uncle, the peyote religion by her uncle and grandfather, and Christianity by her father. She incorporated elements of all these traditions within her worldview and approach to healing. Although she completed her training to be an Eagle Doctor when she was seven-

teen, she was not able to begin her work as a healer until after menopause. Her first healing took place in the late 1930s, when she healed her sister's child. She died in 1968.

Sitting Bull (Haná cha-thí ak) (1854–1932)

Sitting Bull (Arapaho) was born around 1854; he was an important Ghost Dance leader and prophet. One should not confuse him with the Hunkpapa Sioux principal chief Sitting Bull. Haná cha-thí ak accompanied several other men, including Kicking Bear, to visit the prophet Wovoka, who had founded the new Ghost Dance religion. He returned to the Arapaho and began teaching the songs, dance, and message of the Ghost Dance.

The Ghost Dance taught that a messiah was coming, that soon the world would be remade, that the white people would be removed from the land, and that the dead would return to life, joining their living relatives. The buffalo would return and the world would be reborn. Wovoka taught that Indians should live peacefully with whites but maintain their traditional way of life. They should abstain from alcohol, gambling, and violence. Sitting Bull received a vision that when this great event came, the whites would be removed from the land by a great wall of fire. Native people would be protected from the fire by sacred eagle feathers, and a great rain would then put the fire out.

Sitting Bull held large Ghost Dances at which thousands of people attended, including Arapaho, Cheyenne, Caddo, Wichita, and Kiowa. Participants received visions of the spirit world and communicated with departed relatives. In 1890, Sitting Bull advised the Arapaho to sell their reservation lands to the U.S. government for needed money. He firmly believed that the land would soon be restored to them with the coming of the messiah and the re-creation of the world. When the lands were not soon returned, and when the Ghost Dance movement entered into a rapid decline following the massacre at Wounded Knee, Sitting Bull lost influence and his position as spiritual leader. He died in 1932.

Tenskwatawa (c. 1775–1836) and Tecumseh (c. 1768–1813)

Born in 1775, Tenskwatawa was an important Shawnee spiritual leader who worked alongside his brother Tecumseh toward a revitalization of Shawnee culture and a political alliance with other Native people. In 1806, Tenskwatawa became ill and died. He revived suddenly, telling his people that he had had a vision from the Master of Life that showed him a beautiful country reserved for those who lived honorable lives, and a world of fiery torture for those who led wicked lives. He taught that the Shawnee should turn from drinking, intertribal violence, polygamy, intermarriage with whites, and promiscuity, and return to traditional Shawnee ways of life. He demonstrated his spiritual power by accurately predicting the total eclipse of the sun that took place on June 16, 1806.

Shawnee mystic Tenskwatawa served as a spiritual guide and inspiration for his brother Tecumseh. Early 1800s. (North Wind Picture Archives)

Tenskwatawa's religious movement served as a spiritual guide and inspiration for his brother Tecumseh's political goal of forming a pantribal confederacy. The brothers hoped to form an alliance that would prevent further expansion of white settlers. He and his brother traveled widely, from present-day Wisconsin to present-day Florida, advocating their religious and political visions. Tenskwatawa lost influence after a failed military engagement with U.S. troops. In 1813 he fled to Canada, and his religious movement came to an end.

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See also American Indian Movement (Red Power Movement); Bundles, Sacred Bundle Traditions; Ecology and Environmentalism; Ghost Dance Movement; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Missionization, Northern Plains; Native American Church, Peyote Movement; Power, Plains; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements; Sacred Pipe; Sweatlodge; Tobacco, Sacred Use of; Vision Quest Rites; *Yuwipi* Ceremony

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Religious Leaders, Plateau

Jake Hunt, Klickitat (c. 1860–1910 or 1914)

Jake Hunt founded the Waptashi, or Feather Religion. Born on the White Salmon River near Husum, Washington, in the 1860s, Hunt was raised in the Washani or Longhouse religion. He was a follower of Smohalla, the Wanapum Dreamer prophet. Following the death of his wife and son, Hunt received a vision that inspired the new religion. In Hunt's vision he saw Lishwailait, a Klickitat prophet. Lishwailait was standing in the center of a circular disk of light that symbolized an expanse of land, the earth. Lishwailait was dressed in traditional clothing, wore two eagle feathers in his hair, and carried a small drum and drumstick. Following the vision, Hunt stopped grieving for his wife and son, both of whom had died within months of each other, and built a longhouse.

The Waptashi, or Feather Religion, drew on elements of Waashat traditions and the Indian Shaker Church. Like other Dreamer Prophets of the time, Hunt advised his followers to reject white acculturation and return to Native traditions. Like the Shaker Church, the Waptashi advocate abstaining from alcohol; healing is a central part of worship, and services are held in a longhouse. Like the Waashat, Waptashi adherents continue to honor first foods ceremonies, celebrating the first salmon, berries, roots, and game of the year.

The Waptashi can be distinguished from the *Waashat,* or Seven Drums religion practiced throughout the Plateau, by its use of feathers and spinning (*wasklikí*) in rituals. These elements are intended both to purify individuals and to help them attain spiritual assistance. Eagle feathers are held during services, and hand mirrors, which were also present in Hunt's vision, are used as well.

Hunt traveled widely throughout the Plateau, teaching about his new religion. When he was unable to cure a man on

the Umatilla Reservation, the reservation agent banished him from the reservation and destroyed Hunt's sacred objects. He died sometime between 1910 and 1914.

Chief Joseph, Nez Perce (1840–1904)

Chief Joseph was born in the Wallowa Valley in 1840 and was named *Hin mah tooyah lat kekt,* or Thunder Rolling Down the Mountain. Chief Joseph led the Nez Perce during an era of rapid change and white encroachment on Native lands. While not an official religious leader, Chief Joseph was a central cultural and spiritual leader to his people during a time of violence, oppression, and forced relocation. His resistance to white encroachment on Native lands, and his insistence on fighting for his people's right to their Native homeland, continues to be a powerful symbol of Native strength, endurance, and commitment to their traditional spiritual values.

Chief Joseph (Hin mah tooyah lat kekt, or Thunder Rolling Down the Mountain), Nez Perce. Chief Joseph was a central cultural and spiritual leader who sought to preserve Nez Perce lands and traditions. 1900. (Gill, De Lancey/Library of Congress)

Throughout their history with white settlers, the Nez Perce had been cooperative and peaceful, remaining neutral or even assisting the government in their Indian wars. In 1855, Joseph's father cooperated with the territorial governor of Washington to establish a reservation for the Nez Perce, one that stretched from Oregon to Idaho, covering 5,000 square miles and including their Wallowa Valley homeland. In 1863, following the discovery of gold in the Wallowa Valley and a sudden rush of white settlers, the federal government produced another treaty. This treaty reduced the reservation to a tenth of its former size and did not include their homeland in the Wallowa Valley. Furious over the betrayal, Joseph's father destroyed his U.S. flag and Bible and refused to leave the valley.

Threatened with military force, Chief Joseph regretfully agreed to move to the new reservation. But on the way, a group of frustrated Nez Perce men attacked and killed several white settlers. This began the war between the Nez Perce and the U.S. Army that lasted a year and covered 1,400 miles. By the end many Nez Perce had been killed, in battle or by cold and

lack of food. Joseph bitterly surrendered at the Bear Paw Mountains in 1877. In his often quoted speech, he said: "I am tired of fighting. . . . Hear me, my chiefs, my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands I will fight no more against the white man" (Joseph 1995).

Despite promises that they would be returned to their reservation, Joseph and his followers were incarcerated and sent to Oklahoma, where many died of malaria and starvation. In 1879, Joseph pleaded his case in Washington, D.C., before President Rutherford Hayes. But it was not until 1885 that Joseph and the 268 remaining nontreaty Nez Perce were allowed to return to the Northwest. Even then, only half of them were allowed to go to the Nez Perce reservation. Joseph and half of his followers were sent to the Colville reservation in northern Washington, where he died in 1904.

Chief Joseph remains a pivotal character in the history and cultural identity of Native people of the Plateau. His 1879 speech before federal officials in Washington, D.C., remains a powerful statement of the ethical and spiritual position upon which he based his actions and his leadership:

> I have heard talk and talk but nothing is done. Good words do not last long unless they amount to something. Words do not pay for my dead people. They do not pay for my country now overrun by white men. They do not protect my father's grave. They do not pay for my horses and cattle. Good words do not give me back my children. Good words will not give my people a home where they can live in peace and take care of themselves. I am tired of talk that comes to nothing. It makes my heart sick when I remember all the good words and all the broken promises. If the white man wants to live in peace with the Indian he can live in peace. There need be no trouble. Treat all men alike. . . . All men were made by the same Great Spirit Chief. They are all brothers. The earth is the mother of all people, and all people should have equal rights upon it. You might as well expect all rivers to run backward as that any man who was born a free man should be contented penned up and denied liberty to go where he pleases. If you tie a horse to a stake, do you expect he will grow fat? If you pen an Indian up on a small spot of earth and compel him to stay there, he will not be contented nor will he grow and prosper. . . . I only ask of the Government to be treated as all other men are treated. . . . We only ask an even chance to live as other men live. . . . Let me be a free man, free to travel, free to stop, free to work, free to trade where I choose, free to choose my own teachers, free to follow the religion of my fathers, free to talk, think and act for myself—and I will obey every law or submit to the penalty. . . . Then the Great Spirit Chief who rules above will smile upon this land and send rain to wash out the bloody spots made by brothers' hands upon the face of the earth. For this time the Indian race is waiting and praying. I hope no more groans of wounded men and women will ever go to the ear of the Great Spirit Chief above, and that all people may be one people. *Hin-mah-too-yah-lat-kekht* has spoken for his people. (ibid.)

Kau'xuma'nupika (Kokomenepeca), Kutenai (c.1780–?)

As a prophet and religious leader, Kau'xuma'nupika sought to encourage Native resistance to white settlement and the survival of Native culture on the Columbia River. She predicted the arrival of epidemics brought by white immigrants, the imminent devastation of Indian lands, the destruction of the world, and the subsequent arrival of a golden age in which Indian peoples would be restored to their former strength and the dead would return to life. Several early written records from the early nineteenth century mention Kau'xuma'nupika. Ross Cox was one Euro-American who met Kau-xuma-nupika in person. As he recalled: "Among the visitors who every now and then presented themselves were two strange Indians, in the character of man and wife. . . . The husband, named Kocomenepeca was a very shrewd and intelligent Indian, who addressed us in the Algonquin language, and gave us much information respecting the interior of the country." Ross noted shortly thereafter that "they were both females" (Cox 1831, 92).

Kau'xuma'nupika was a Kutenai woman who had been briefly married to a white trader. She soon left her husband, declaring that she was at heart a man and would live the life of a prophet. She joined, and led, a number of war parties among the Kutenai, gaining status as a spiritual leader and warrior. Leslie Spier argued that "at length she became the principal leader of her tribe, under the designation of 'Manlike Woman.' Being young, and of delicate frame, her followers attributed her exploits to the possession of supernatural power, and therefore received whatever she said with implicit faith" (Spier 1935, 26–27). In 1811 she arrived in the Columbia River Valley with "a young wife, of whom she pretended to be very jealous" (Tyrell 1916, 512–513, 920). Kau'xuma'nupika was a powerful prophet who mobilized early resistance to white cultural encroachment and encouraged Native resistance to Christian missionization during a time of epidemic disease and the arrival of large numbers of white settlers.

Lillian Pitt, Warm Springs and Yakima (1943–)

Born in 1943 on the Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon, Lillian Pitt spent much of her life on the Columbia River Plateau. A nationally recognized artist, she now lives and runs her gallery, Kindred Spirits Gallery, in Portland, Oregon. Her work is inspired by and reflective of the living spiritual and cultural tradition of the Plateau. Her masks and sculpture are inspired by the stories, symbols, and spiritual traditions she learned growing upon the Warm Springs Reservation. She is a recipient of the Governor's Award of the Oregon Arts Commission.

Her ceramic masks and "Shadow Spirit" totem images are based on the symbolic and spiritual traditions of her Columbia River heritage. Her mixed-media installations make use of natural

materials in order to memorialize her ancestors. As she describes her approach:

> The focus of my current sculptural work is to combine diverse materials to create a rich visual context for the stoneware forms I hand build and fire. I combine beads, feathers, shells, strands of copper wire, stones, thread, and peeled or weathered wood—materials which allow for startling juxtapositions of texture and color that move the eye. With these materials, sometimes I adorn the work; at other times I mend or reassemble things that have been torn asunder. My aim is to heal the things of this wounded planet by creating a consciousness of the need for healing and a sense of the transformative magic in ordinary things and beings. I orient my work in relation to the four winds, the seven directions, and at times celebrate the ancient stories of my Warm Springs, Wascho, and Wishxam ancestors in the imagery I create. There are also times when new characters are born in response to the contradictions caused by remembering traditions that reveal the madness of current culture which destroys so much that has sustained life in our world. These characters tell their own stories, and new myths are born as I reflect on their meaning. In this work, I aim to create a visual language that will translate the stress on things in the natural world into a voice that will make everyone aware of the responsibility we all have to work inside the circle of things that supports life on earth. (http://www.stoningtongallery.com/artists/pitt.htm)

Perhaps her most famous piece, "She Who Watches," is inspired by the well-known Columbia River petroglyph. As she describes the piece: "She Who Watches is a pictograph found along the Columbia River. She overlooked the village where my great-grandmother lived. Because she wanted to watch over my people forever, Coyote changed her into a rock. Under her watchful gaze, my people remember her as the last woman chief of the Columbia River People" (www.lillianpitt.com).

Her work, which translates traditional Plateau symbolic and spiritual traditions into artistic form, is in several major collections throughout the world, including the Burke Museum at the University of Washington, the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona, and the Sapporo City Hall, in Sapporo, Japan.

Skolaskin (also Kolaskin), Sanpoil (1839–1922)

Skolaskin, a Sanpoil, was born around 1839 in the village of Sinakialt on the Columbia River. Like Smohalla, Skolaskin received a vision and messages for his people from the Creator during a near-death experience. His message called for an adherence to traditional lifeways, a repudiation of private land ownership, and a return to traditional subsistence patterns such as salmon fishing, root gathering, and hunting. His message also provided a strict moral code and advocated peaceful resistance against the encroachment of white settlers and the U.S. government. Incarcerated on Alcatraz Island from 1889 to 1892, Skolaskin was accused by the government of inciting reservation unrest and resistance to white control. After his release, Skolaskin

returned to the Colville Reservation and continued to demand that the people return to traditional modes of spirituality and subsistence.

Like Smohalla and other Plateau Dreamer prophets, Skolaskin played a pivotal role in the survival of traditional indigenous beliefs and practices into the colonial era. These prophets adopted certain elements of Christianity, such as Sunday meetings in a permanent structure (the longhouse) and the occasional incorporation of Christian symbols like the bell, the cross, or the Bible. These outward symbols made the evolving tradition a viable alternative to Christianity for many Native people. These prophets also facilitated the survival of traditional lifeways, by demanding that their followers continue traditional modes of dress, subsistence food gathering, family and kinship networks, marriage, and other rites of passage. Their message of sobriety, health, and healing also came at a pivotal time, when many Native people's well-being was threatened by the importation of alcohol and disease by white settlers.

As a young man, Skolaskin suffered an injury that permanently disabled him, making it difficult for him to stand upright or walk without the assistance of a staff. It was during his recovery from this illness that he nearly died. He visited the Creator Spirit (or *Quilentsuten*), who advised him to return to his people and preach this message: the people should reject the imposition of white culture in all its forms. His authority among his people was ensured when an earthquake, which he had predicted, occurred in 1872.

On November 21, 1889, frightened by his influence over his followers and his continued resistance to non-Native encroachment on Native lands, the federal government arrested Skolaskin and imprisoned him without trial on Alcatraz Island.

In his later life, Skolaskin himself converted to Catholicism. However, the faith that he inspired and helped to set in motion, now called the Longhouse, or Seven Drums, religion, is still widely practiced on the Colville Reservation and throughout the Plateau.

Smohalla (Smowhalla), Wanapum (1815–1895)

Smohalla, a Dreamer prophet on the Columbia Plateau in the mid-nineteenth century, is often credited with having originated the Waashat religion, also known as the Seven Drums or Longhouse religion. He was born between 1815 and 1820 in Wallula on the Columbia River in Washington state and gained power through the traditional mode of a vision quest, or *wot,* when he was still young. He was given the spirit-powers of *shah* (crow), and *speelyi* (coyote). He was known by many names, including Wak'wei or Kuk'kia when he was young. When he took up his role as a prophet, he became known as Smohalla, which translates as "dreamer" or "preacher." He was also known by his people as *Yuyunipitqana,* or Shouting Mountain.

A portrait of Mourning Dove from Mourning Dove, a Salishan Autobiography. *(Courtesy of Jay Miller/University of Nebraska Press)*

On two occasions, Smohalla died and traveled to the spirit world, where he was given a vision and message to take back to his people. He called for a return to traditional Native ways of life and a rejection of efforts to forcefully assimilate Native people into white society. He taught his followers that the world would soon be made new. All faithful Native people would return to life, European settlers would be removed from the land, and the earth would be restored to its previous strength and beauty. He called for the institution of Sunday services, seasonal holidays to celebrate the first foods (salmon, berries, roots, game), and the return to a traditionalist way of life (Hunn 1990, 253). He condemned the restriction of Native people to reservations and the loss of traditional modes of subsistence. Smohalla's message of an apocalyptic cataclysm with the return of the dead and a righteous life and strict adherence to tradition was particularly powerful because it came at a time when Native communities of the Plateau were threatened by encroaching white settlers, the U.S. military, and vast epidemics that swept through the region.

Smohalla based his community of followers at the village of P'na, at Priest Rapids on the Columbia River. When Euro-American settlers and military attempted to coerce Smohalla and his followers into a life of agriculture on reservations, he responded with a clear religious and ethical doctrine which demanded that the earth be treated with respect. "You ask me to plough the ground? Shall I take a knife and tear my mother's bosom? Then when I die she will not take me to her bosom to rest. You ask me to dig for a stone? Shall I dig under her skin for her bones? Then when I die I cannot enter her body to be born again. You ask me to cut the grass and make hay and sell it, and be rich like white men, but how dare I cut off my mother's hair?" (MacMurray 1887, 248).

During his life Smohalla interacted with and inspired many prophets

throughout the Plateau, who carried similar messages of spiritual revival to their own people. These included Kotiakan, who worked closely alongside Smohalla. This Yakima Dreamer prophet taught his followers at Pa'kiut village on the Yakima River. Following a death and rebirth experience similar to that of Smohalla, he heard a voice telling him that he was to worship the Great Spirit with song and dance, and to do so on Sundays. A Tyigh Dreamer prophet named Queahpahmah was also active at this time, advising his more than 200 followers to refuse the allotment of farms and annuity goods from the government and to return to traditional hunting, fishing, and gathering. A Umatilla prophetess Luls (also Lals) advised her own people to maintain their traditional ceremonies, celebrating the first roots, berries, fish, and game of the year. Like these other prophets, Smohalla's central message remained a call for the preservation and veneration of the land and its eventual return to Native people; his authority came from visions received while in a ceremonial setting or near-death experience.

Smohalla and other Dreamer prophets were central in revitalizating indigenous religious and cultural practices during a time of intense stress. Illness brought by white settlers ran rampant among Native communities. The U.S. military and growing numbers of white settlers and missionaries placed an enormous amount of pressure on Native communities to assimilate into white culture, or become wards of the state on reservations. Dreamer prophets provided an ethical code, a traditionalist way of life, and a mode of worship that enabled indigenous culture and spirituality to survive through this devastating era.

Smohalla died in 1895 and was succeeded by his son, Yoyonan (also Yu'yunne), who carried on the movement until he died in 1917. Yoyonan was succeeded by his cousin, Puck Hyah Toot, who continued as a central Washat leader well into the twentieth century. In 1989, Smohalla was selected for the state of Washington's Hall of Honor, as one of 100 people whose life had significantly influenced the state and the nation.

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Coeur D'Alene; Ceremony and Ritual, Nez Perce; Gender and Sexuality, Two Spirits; Ghost Dance Movement; Guardian Spirit Complex; Indian Shaker Church; Masks and Masking; Mourning Dove; Oral Traditions, Plateau; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, Columbia Plateau.

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Religious Leaders, Pueblo

Thomas Banyacya (Hopi) (1909–1999)

Thomas Banyacya was born June 2, 1909, in the Hopi village of Moencopi, Arizona, and was part of the Fox, Coyote, and Wolf clan from his mother's side. The name Banyacya refers to his father's clans, the Corn and Water clans (the name evokes the image of corn plants in a field of standing water). As a child, Banyacya attended the Sherman Indian school in Riverside, California, and in 1930 he attended Bacone College in Oklahoma. Responding to the lack of classes and resources on Native culture, language, and religion, Banyacya and his fellow students joined together to build a medicine lodge on campus and began performing ceremonies and songs.

During the 1940s, because traditional Hopi beliefs do not condone participation in war, Banyacya refused to register for the draft in World War II. As a result he spent seven years in prison. When he was released, Banyacya successfully petitioned the federal government to allow Hopi people conscientious objector status, excusing future Hopi men from registering.

In 1948 traditional Hopi leaders, the Kikmongwis, gathered to discuss the state of the world. Deeply disturbed by the events of the previous years and in particular the dropping of the atomic bomb on Japan, Hopi elders noted that

their own oral traditions, prophecies, and religious traditions spoke directly to the ominous developments of the day. From this meeting, four spokespersons were appointed, of whom Thomas Banyacya was the last survivor.

Banyacya spent half a century traveling throughout the United States and the world, discussing the protection of indigenous cultures, the need to protect Mother Earth, and the dangers of contemporary consumerism and militarism. Throughout his travels in other countries, Banyacya refused to use a U.S. passport. Rather, he used a Hopi passport that he had helped to design.

Beginning in the summer of 1952, Banyacya helped to organized a series of six caravans that traveled across the United States. These caravans traveled with the intent of provoking interest and pride among Native communities in their religious and cultural heritages. These convoys traveled from reservation to reservation, and city to city, having an enormous effect on the development of American Indian retraditionalism and cultural identity in the latter half of the twentieth century. The caravans gathered together some of the most important cultural, spiritual, and political leaders in Indian Country at that time, and helped to revive Native languages, cultures, and religious practice. The caravans served as the foundations for what was in the 1960s and 1970s to become the American Indian Movement.

On December 10, 1992, Thomas Banyacya spoke to the UN General Assembly, calling upon world leaders to heal the ravages of environmental destruction, to put an end to warfare, and to feed and care for the poor and hungry. Excerpts from his speech to the General Assembly follow (*See* Hopi Prophecy):

> The traditional Hopi follows the spiritual path that was given to us by Massau'u the Great Spirit. We made a sacred covenant to follow his life plan at all times, which includes the responsibility of taking care of this land and life for his divine purpose. . . . We still have our ancient sacred stone tablets and spiritual religious societies which are the foundations of the Hopi way of life. . . . What have you as individuals, as nations, and as the world body been doing to take care of this Earth? In the Earth today, humans poison their own food, water and air with pollution. Many of us including children are left to starve. Many wars are still being fought. . . . Nature itself does not speak with a voice that we can easily understand. . . . Who in this world can speak for nature and the spiritual energy that creates and flows through all life? . . .The native peoples of the world have seen and spoken to you about the destruction of their lives and homelands, the ruination of nature and the desecration of their sacred sites. It is time the United Nations used its rules to investigate these occurrences and stop them now. (Banyacya 1992)

Juan de Jesus Romero, Deer Bird (Taos Pueblo) (1874–1978)

Born in 1874, Romero belonged to a hereditary family of *caciques*. As cacique, or spiritual leader, Romero was responsi-

Juan de Jesus Romero (center), religious leader of the Pueblo, and interpreter Paul Bernal witness as President Richard Nixon signs a bill on December 15, 1970, that gives the Taos Pueblo Indians title to their sacred Blue Lake and 48,000 acres of land surrounding it in New Mexico. Washington, D.C. (Bettmann/Corbis)

ble for carrying out the complex ceremonies and rituals of the Taos Pueblo. The ceremonial cycles, oral traditions, and rituals have existed since the Taos emerged from the underworld. This emergence, they believe, occurred at Blue Lake (Maxolo), the sacred center for the Taos people. It was there that the world was created. Because of this, it is the location of annual ceremonies celebrating the creation of the world and the Taos people.

Despite their long-lasting tie to Blue Lake, the lake was made part of the Carson National Forest in 1906. The Taos people were allowed to occupy and use the land only with a permit, while hunters and tourists had unrestricted access. As Taos elder member Paul Bernal testified at a 1969 congressional hearing, "We are probably the only citizens of the United States who are required to practice our religion under a permit from the Government. This is not religious freedom as it is guaranteed by the Constitution" (http://www.sacredland.org/taos_blue_lake.html). Such access, the Taos people felt, violated the sacred nature of the place.

Beginning in 1906, Juan de Jesus Romero led an effort by the Taos people

to regain ownership of this traditional sacred site. As he himself argued, "[If] our land is not returned to us, if it is turned over to the government for its use, then it is the end of Indian life. Our people will scatter as the people of other nations have scattered. It is our religion that holds us together" (http://www.sacredland.org/taos_blue_lake.html). He argued that in taking Blue Lake, which is inherently tied to his people's cultural traditions, the government threatened to erode Pueblo unity and their very identity. For many years he met with little success, rejecting offers from the federal government to buy the land. In 1970, at the age of ninety-six, he went to Washington, D.C., and pleaded his case before Richard Nixon. In July 1970, President Nixon endorsed legislation to return the lake to Taos ownership. Following Senate approval, Blue Lake and 48,000 acres of surrounding wilderness were returned to the Taos people in 1971, in very large part because of Romero's unceasing efforts. Romero died in 1978. He was 104 years old.

Popé, Po'pay (Tewa, San Juan Pueblo) (c. 1630–c. 1690)

Born around 1630 in San Juan Pueblo, Popé (*Po'pay,* or Ripe Squash) was raised within the traditional Tewa culture, spiritually honoring the cycles of seasons, the planting of crops, and praying with corn pollen. As a young man he was made assistant to the tribal War Captain, learning the ceremonial war dances and how to supervise them. He was soon appointed War Captain by the village leaders, and he carried out a great many social and spiritual obligations within that role. He soon became aware of the increasing threat that Spanish colonization posed to the traditional Pueblo way of life, the Spanish having first entered the area in the 1590s. Spanish settlers and the military that accompanied them coerced Indian people into forced labor. The Pueblo people were compelled to contribute their labor to building Spanish churches and were required to give food and labor to Spanish settlers. The *encomienda* system required Pueblo people to provide Spanish settlers with a portion of the pueblo's crops, as the Spanish were not able to grow enough food to support themselves. Spanish colonial authorities also exerted a system of *repartimiento,* whereby Pueblo Indians were forced to work for Spanish settlers, tending their homes, animals, and gardens without payment. Spanish missions likewise exerted enormous pressure on Pueblo people to abandon their traditional religious practice. Pueblo people were coerced into attending services, and traditional worship centers were vandalized or destroyed by Spanish militias. Priests boasted of having destroyed traditional Pueblo religious regalia and ritual equipment.

In 1675, frustrated by their lack of success in converting the Pueblo people, Spanish officials arrested forty-seven Pueblo religious leaders, charging them with sorcery. Four men were condemned to death, and the remaining forty-three,

including Popé, were publicly lashed. The Pueblo people were forced to witness these punishments being carried out.

After his release, Popé began organizing the Pueblo people to resist and overthrow the Spanish colonial presence. At his direction, two messengers were sent out to all the Pueblo villages to gather support for the resistance. When colonial governor Antonio de Otermin learned of the resistance, he arrested the two messengers. In fear and anger, the villagers responded by killing a Spaniard and their padre, Juan Baptisto Pio. That day, August 10, 1680, the revolt began. Pueblo Indian warriors laid siege to Santa Fe, trapping the Spaniards inside, and blocking their water supply. After several days the city fell, and the Spanish left the area. The Pueblo once again ruled over their own land. The Spanish would not attempt to regain control over the region again until 1692.

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See also Hopi Prophecy; Kachina and Clown Societies; Missionization, Southwest; Oral Traditions, Pueblo; Sacred Sites and Sacred Mountains; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Southwest

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Religious Leaders, Southeast

The tribes of the Southeast region of the United States had lived in the area for centuries before the arrival of Europeans, and some of those communities still exist within the region to this very day. Many others were forcibly removed from the Southeast by the U.S. government during the 1830s and 1840s and sent to the Indian Territory, which later became the state of Oklahoma. Many American Indian communities still cling to traditional religious practices, while others have either adopted one form or another of Christianity or syncretized Christian and traditional elements while maintaining their indigenous identity. In general, the traditional religions of the Southeast tribes were highly organized, and their religious practices and

ceremonies were conducted by a select priesthood that perpetuated itself by training each succeeding generation, usually recruits from their own clans. The desire to guarantee the continuation of traditional practices led many religious leaders in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries to record their knowledge in manuscript form, and also to work with ethnographers that wanted to study traditional, indigenous culture in the Southeast.

Catawbas Religious Leaders

Hagler (Arataswa, Oroloswa) (ca. 1690–1763). An important leader among the Catawba during the eighteenth century, Hagler remained a staunch British ally to his death, but he insisted that his people resist adopting Christianity and continue to practice traditional, Catawba religious beliefs.

Cherokees

Arch, John (Atsi) (?–1825). In 1820, John Arch helped found the Creek Path Mission for the Chickamauga Cherokees in Alabama after briefly working at the Brainerd Mission from 1818 to 1820. He served as an interpreter and an assistant to the missionaries and helped translate passages of the Bible into the Cherokee language. Arch died of tuberculosis on June 18, 1825.

Nancy Ward (Nan'yehi) (ca. 1738–1824). The Ghigau (Beloved Woman) of Chota, Nan'yehi, called Nancy Ward by Anglo-Americans, constantly strove to maintain peace between her people and the United States, because she believed that was the only way that the Cherokees could survive as a nation.

Born into an important clan and the maternal niece of the influential leader Attakullakulla, Ward became the Ghigau, which also means War Woman, of Chota at an early age because she picked up the musket of her husband after he was killed and helped lead the Cherokees to victory over the Muskogees at the battle of Taliwa in 1755. As Ghigau, Ward's responsibilities included deciding the fate of prisoners of war, preparing the Black Drink (a ritual, purifying tea) for ceremonies, voting in the general council of her town, leadership of her town's women's council, and a position of importance on delegations to outsiders, which included other tribes, the colonial powers in the Southeast, and eventually the United States. As the ultimate decision-maker on the fate of prisoners, Ward spared the life of a Mrs. Bean in the 1760s, and after befriending her, Ward learned many of the skills that Anglo-American women performed, including weaving and husbandry. Over time, Ward became convinced that the Cherokees needed to adopt some of the ways of Anglo-Americans to survive, and that war with the United States needed to be avoided. As the Ghigau, she used her influence to bring about some change in the Cherokee Nation. Later she married a Scots-Irish trader named Bryant Ward, and with him she began keeping an inn near Chota. After the death of her hus-

band, Ward returned to live in Chota until she died around 1824.

Kaneeda (John Wickliffe) (ca. early 1800s). Originally a priest in the traditional Cherokee religion, Kaneeda converted to Christianity, became a Baptist missionary, and participated in the Cherokee attempt to resist removal in the 1830s.

It is not known when Kaneeda was born, but upon reaching adulthood he became a priest in the traditional Cherokee religion. He later converted to Christianity, was baptized in 1829, and was given the name John Wickliffe. Eventually Wickliffe was ordained in 1833. Also during the 1830s he became a member of the Cherokee Council and participated in the Cherokee Nation's efforts to avoid removal from their homeland in and around the southern Appalachian Mountains to Indian Territory (modern Oklahoma) by the U.S. government. After removal Wickliffe headed the congregation of the Delaware Town Church in the Cherokee Nation as its minister from 1847 to 1857.

Yonagusta (ca. 1760–1839). A prophet and peace chief among the Cherokees of North Carolina, Yonagusta successfully kept his followers from being removed to Oklahoma in the 1830s by the U.S. government.

At approximately the age of sixty, Yonagusta fell into a coma after being seriously sick, and many of his followers thought he had died. He recovered, however, and stated that he had received a vision from the spirit world. As a result of that vision, he preached a return to traditional ways and renounced the use of alcohol. In 1829, based on the provisions of an earlier treaty, Yonagusta and his followers abandoned the Cherokee Nation and became U.S. citizens on a reservation in Haywood County, North Carolina. That act along with help from his adopted son (Will Thomas), a lawyer, kept Yonagusta's band from being removed. They later became known as the Eastern band of Cherokees.

Boudinot, Elias (Galagina, Buck Watie, Stag Watie) (ca. 1802–1839). A Christian missionary to his people, Elias Boudinot is best known as the editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix* and as a leader of the Treaty Party that advocated removal to Indian Territory as an effort to preserve the Cherokee Nation.

A full-blood and born near Rome, Georgia, Galagina attended the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, Connecticut, between 1818 and 1820. While there he took the name Elias Boudinot, after a supporter of the school. Later, from 1822 to 1823, Boudinot went to the Andover Seminary to continue his education. Upon returning home to the Cherokee Nation, he worked with Samuel Worcester in translating the Bible into the syllabary of the Cherokee language. Boudinot edited the *Cherokee Phoenix* between 1828 and 1832. Along with several other people, Boudinot signed the removal treaty of 1835. They (the treaty

Elias Boudinot, a Christian missionary to his people and editor of the Cherokee Phoenix. *Steel engraving by J. W. Paradise after painting by Waldo and Jewett. (Library of Congress)*

party) believed that eventually the United States would remove the Cherokee people to the Indian Territory anyway, and therefore they needed to get the best deal they could for the Cherokee Nation. After Boudinot moved to Indian Territory, he, along with other members of the treaty party, was assassinated on June 22, 1839, for violating the Cherokee law against giving away land.

Bushyhead, Jesse (Unaduti) (?–1844). A political and Christian missionary among the Cherokees, Jesse Bushyhead was the first ordained Baptist minister from the Cherokee Nation.

Born in the Cherokee town of Amohee at the turn of the nineteenth century, Bushyhead attended school in Tennessee, where he converted to Christianity. Beginning in 1832, he served as an assistant missionary with the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions for eleven years. Bushyhead was ordained by the Baptist Church in 1833, and over the course of his life he translated many passages of the Bible into Cherokee. On several occasions he served as a representative for the Cherokee Nation to the U.S. government in Washington, D.C. Furthermore, Bushyhead held several positions in the Cherokee national government, including a position as a justice of the Cherokee Supreme Court. After the Cherokee removal to Oklahoma, Bushyhead helped re-establish the Baptist missionary effort there and also founded the National Temperance Society within the Cherokee Nation in the West. He died on July 17, 1844.

Gahuni (?–ca. 1857). Gahuni practiced the traditional Cherokee religion as a medicine man, and he also practiced Methodism. Furthermore, he was an important informant for the ethnologist James Mooney. Gahuni recorded many sacred formulas and biblical verses in the syllabary of the Cherokee language, and after his death his family gave most of his writings to the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Tanenolee (mid-1800s). An abolitionist, Baptist missionary, and Cherokee politi-

cian, Tanenolee lived in the mid-nineteenth century, in a period of great turmoil for the Cherokee Nation during removal and the Civil War.

Tanenolee converted to the Baptist religion and most often assisted Evan Jones in his missionary work. He helped resist the removal process, and when all other options failed, Tanenolee and Jones led one of the traveling parties during the removal. After removal he was ordained as a Baptist minister and served as pastor at Taquohee, Dsiyohee, and Long Prairie. At one point he also served in the Cherokee national legislature. Because of his abolitionist views, Tanenolee may have been killed in 1862 by Cherokees that supported the Confederacy.

Downing, Lewis (Lewie-za-wau-na-skie) (1823–1872). A Baptist minister and one of the founders of the Ketoowah Society, Lewis Downing served as principal chief of the Cherokee Nation in the turbulent years following the Civil War from 1867 to 1872, and he eventually reunified the nation under one government.

Downing was born in eastern Tennessee. Like most of the Cherokee Nation, Downing and his parents, Samuel and Susan Daugherty Downing, were removed to the Indian Territory. After attending Baptist mission schools he was ordained as a minister, and in 1844 he became the minister at Flint Church in the Indian Territory. Downing spoke and wrote in the Cherokee language, and he eventually helped create the Cherokee Ketoowah Society, which was dedicated to preserving Cherokee culture and traditions. During the Civil War, Downing served as a chaplain with the rank of lieutenant colonel in the Union army. He later served as acting principal chief before being elected to the position in 1867. His primary achievement during his time as the principal leader of the Cherokees was to reunify the nation by encouraging former Confederate and Union soldiers and sympathizers to serve together in the Cherokee government.

Forman, Stephen (1807–1881). An ordained Presbyterian minister, educator, missionary, and translator, Stephen Foreman was one of the most influential leaders of the Cherokee Nation before and after the removal to the Indian Territory in present-day Oklahoma.

Foreman's mother was Cherokee and his father was a Scottish trader. Foreman was born near Rome, Georgia, before the family moved to Cleveland, Tennessee. He attended a mission school near his home in Tennessee that was run by the Congregationalist Church. Upon the death of his father, Foreman studied under the Congregational missionary Samuel Worcester in New Echota, Georgia. Later he attended the College of Richmond in Virginia and the Princeton Theological Seminary, and finally he was ordained in 1835 as a Presbyterian minister. When he returned to the Cherokee Nation, Foreman began his efforts to assist his people in their opposition to forced removal; as a result, the government of Georgia imprisoned him for his

efforts. During the Trail of Tears, he headed one of the parties that set out for the Indian Territory in present-day Oklahoma.

Once there he developed a public school system for Cherokee children, and Foreman also helped Worcester translate the Bible into the Cherokee syllabary. Foreman served on the Cherokee Supreme Court beginning in 1844, and he acted as executive councilor for the tribe from 1847 to 1855. He chose to live in Texas during the Civil War, where he acted as a missionary. At the conclusion of the war, Foreman purchased Elias Boudinot's old home and converted it to a church. He preached there until his death in 1881.

Black Fox (?–1895). A conjurer, Methodist preacher, soldier, and keeper of public records, Black Fox, as well as being one of the ethnologist James Mooney's informants, created numerous records of Cherokee history, culture, and religion.

A full-blood Cherokee, Black Fox was ordained by the Methodist Episcopal Church around the year 1849, but he never abandoned traditional Cherokee ceremonial life. He kept the letters, minutes, and reports for the Echota Methodist Mission on the Qualla Boundary. During the Civil War he joined the North Carolina Infantry, in which he received the rank of sergeant. At the time of his death in 1895, Black Fox still practiced the traditional Cherokee religion. After his death, Black Fox's granddaughter gave his records and documents to James Mooney for preservation by the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Swimmer (Ayunini) (ca. 1835–1899). An Eastern Cherokee, Swimmer was a priest and healer in the traditional religion of the Cherokees, and he was an important informant for the ethnologist James Mooney.

Ayunini, known to Anglo-Americans as Swimmer, trained at an early age to become a Cherokee holy man, and by the end of his life he had become the leading authority on sacred Cherokee ceremonies and religious beliefs. He kept a record of Cherokee traditions, including folk stories, formulas, prayers, and songs written in the syllabary of the Cherokee language. Late in life, Swimmer met James Mooney, the ethnologist from the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology. He was Mooney's primary informant on Cherokee tradition and ceremonies. Through Mooney, the Smithsonian purchased Swimmer's manuscripts, which continue to be valuable sources of information on Cherokee culture. Swimmer died in March of 1899.

Smith, Redbird (1850–1918). A spiritual and political leader of the Cherokees, Redbird Smith struggled his entire life to maintain the political independence and cultural persistence of his people.

The son of Cherokee parents, Smith continued their tradition of supporting the Keetoowah Society. The Keetoowahs were a resistance organization that

sought to maintain Cherokee cultural and religious traditions and political independence. His father, Pig Smith, chose Creek Sam, a Natchez medicine man, to train Redbird Smith. Redbird Smith eventually became a member of the Keetoowah Society and rose in its ranks of leadership; later he helped lead Cherokee resistance to the Curtis Act and the Dawes Act, which eventually ended tribal sovereignty and gave tribal land to individuals of the tribe and to Anglo-Americans. Smith was briefly imprisoned for his resistance to the implementation of these acts. Finally the Keetoowahs withdrew from political matters, and Redbird Smith established a ceremonial grounds in 1902. In 1908, Smith became the principal chief of the Cherokee Nation, and later he established the Four Mothers Society to aid and promote communication between traditional members of the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Muskogees. Redbird Smith died in 1918.

Long, Will West (Willi Westi) (ca. 1870–1947). A spiritual leader and cultural preservationist among the Eastern Cherokees, Will West Long also became an important informant for several ethnographers.

Born into a Cherokee family, Long was trained by his mother and his maternal uncle in the traditional ways of the Cherokee people. He briefly attended Old Trinity College in Randolph County, North Carolina. While he was there, a classmate taught him the Cherokee syllabary. Later Long attended the Hampton Institute in Virginia from 1895 until 1900, and afterward he lived in New England until 1904.

In 1887, Long began a relationship with James Mooney as an informant on Cherokee culture; the relationship lasted until Mooney's death. After 1904, Long began learning as much as he could about Cherokee culture from friends and relatives. His cousin, Charley Lawson, taught him how to sing traditional songs and how to make the Booger Masks used in spiritual ceremonies. Long passed this information on to Mooney and other ethnographers such as Leonard Bloom, William H. Gilbert, Mark R. Harrington, Frank G. Speck, and John Witthoft. He died on March 14, 1947.

Choctaws

Oakchiah (ca. 1810–1849). Born a full-blood Choctaw and converting to Christianity at an early age, Oakchiah served his people as a minister and ordained deacon in the Mississippi Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Mississippi before the removal of his people. Afterward he served in Indian Territory. He died at Fort Smith, Arkansas, on November 2, 1849.

Dukes, Joseph (1811–ca. 1861). Joseph Dukes served as an interpreter for several missions to the Choctaws after attending the Presbyterian mission school at Mayhew as a youth. He also played an important role in creating a Choctaw grammar book and dictionary and trans-

lating parts of the Old and New Testaments into Choctaw.

Wright, Allen (Kiliahote) (1825–1885). Allen Wright served the Choctaws in Oklahoma as a Presbyterian minister for most of his adult life and as principal chief from 1866 to 1870.

Orphaned as a child, Wright was raised by a Presbyterian minister named Cyrus Kingsbury. Kingsbury named him Allen Wright after an early missionary to the Choctaws. Initially educated at local mission schools, Wright continued his education first at a school in Delaware and later at Union College in Schenectady, New York. He graduated from Union College in 1852. Wright then attended Union Theological Seminary in New York City and graduated in 1855. Upon being ordained by the Presbyterian Church in 1856, Wright returned to Indian Territory.

After returning to the Choctaws, Wright at different periods served in the Choctaw House of Representatives, in the Senate, and as treasurer. In 1866 he represented the Choctaw Nation in treaty negotiations with the United States. Later Wright suggested the name *oklahoma* for the Indian Territory as it prepared for statehood. The word means "red people." He served as principal chief of the Choctaw from 1866 to 1870. He published a Choctaw dictionary in 1880 and translated the Choctaw and Chickasaw constitutions, legal codes, several hymnals, and portions of the Bible. He died on December 2, 1885.

Wright, Frank Hall (1860–1922). A Presbyterian minister, Frank Wright founded missions first among his own people, the Choctaws, and then to several different Indian nations in the United States and Canada during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Wright received his initial education from local missionaries near his home at Boggy Depot in the Indian Territory (Oklahoma) and later attended Spencer Academy in the Choctaw Nation. Afterward, Wright went to Union College in Schenectady, New York, and he then attended and graduated from Union Theological Seminary in New York City (1885). He spent the rest of his life establishing missions and spreading the Christian message among various Native groups in the United States and Canada for the Women's Executive Committee of the Reformed Church. Finally, Wright was awarded his doctorate of divinity degree from Westminister College in Fulton, Missouri, in 1917. He died on July 16, 1922, in Muskoka Lakes in Ontario, Canada.

Belvin, B. Frank (b. 1914). A Choctaw by birth, B. Frank Belvin served as a missionary for the Baptist Church to the Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole nations in Oklahoma. He published *The Status of the American Indian Ministry, War Horse along the Jesus Road,* and *The Tribes Go Up.*

Muskogees (Creeks)

Francis, Josiah (Hildis Hadjo) (ca. 1770s–1818). A prophet and a leader of

the nativist Red Stick movement during the War of 1812, Josiah Francis supported Tecumseh's effort to unite all of the Eastern tribes. After the Red Sticks' defeat in 1814, he eventually moved into Spanish Florida, where he continued to resist U.S. expansion.

Although he was a mixed-blood (his mother was Muskogee and his father was white), Francis chose to follow the path of his Muskogee ancestors; throughout his life he resisted the advance of the U.S. frontier and culture into Muskogee territory. He preached a return to traditional Muskogee ways as well as armed struggle against whites. Francis's spiritual powers were reported to include his ability to disappear underwater for long periods of time and the ability to fly. He received visions from a spirit who helped him defeat his enemies.

In 1811, when Tecumseh visited the Muskogee Confederacy, Francis encouraged his people to join Tecumseh's Indian alliance against the United States, but he failed to motivate a majority of his people. Afterward he helped lead the Red Stick movement, which culminated in the Red Stick War of 1813–1814 against accommodationists within the Muskogee Confederacy and eventually against the United States. During the war, Francis founded the sacred towns of Ecunchattee (Holy Ground) as havens protected by the Great Spirit for traditional Creeks. These towns were burned during the war.

After the war Francis went to Great Britain to secure a treaty that promised the Muskogee Confederacy an independent state, but the British government chose to solidify relations with the United States instead. Upon returning to North America, Francis took up residence near St. Marks in Spanish Florida. Pursuing Natives that had been raiding the U.S. frontier in 1818, Andrew Jackson invaded Spanish Florida and burned St. Marks. He then hanged Francis on April 18 for supporting and inciting the raids on the U.S. frontier.

Winslett, David (ca. 1830–1862). Born just after his parents arrived in Indian Territory after removal, David Winslett eventually became a Presbyterian minister and an interpreter for missionaries among his people.

Winslett went to school at the Coweta and Tallahassee missions in Oklahoma, and by 1851 he had been appointed the ruling elder at the Tallahassee school. Finally he was ordained as a Presbyterian minister on September 6, 1858, and was placed in control of the Coweta Mission. Winslett served in the Confederate army during the Civil War; he became ill and died while on furlough in 1862.

Perryman, James (Pahos Harjo) (?–ca. 1882). The son of a prominent leader among the Muskogees, James Perryman was a Baptist minister and an interpreter for the missions among his people.

Perryman was educated in mission schools near his home in Oklahoma. Perryman worked as an interpreter for Presbyterian missionaries to his people, and

he helped translate the first books into the Muskogee language, as well as portions of the Bible. Later Perryman switched to the Baptist faith and served his people as a minister for three decades.

Checote, Samuel (ca. 1819–1884). Samuel Checote served the Muskogee people as a Methodist minister and principal chief during the mid- and late-nineteenth century.

Born in Alabama but removed to Indian Territory with his family while he was still a child, Checote received his education in the local mission schools in the Indian Territory. In 1852 the Methodist Church licensed him to preach. After fighting on the side of the Confederates during the Civil War, Checote worked to bring together Muskogees that had fought on different sides during the war. On and off, Checote held the position of principal chief between 1867 and 1884. He died in 1884.

Perryman, Joseph Moses (1883–?). The son of Moses Perryman and the grandson of the Muskogee chief Benjamin Perryman, Joseph Perryman worked among his people as a minister in both the Presbyterian and Baptist faiths.

Perryman was educated at the Coweta Mission in the Indian Territory. After studying for a number of years, he was ordained by the Presbyterian Church. He created the North Fork Presbyterian Church and ran the local mission school for the South Presbyterian Synod. For unknown reasons, Perryman abandoned the Presbyterian faith for the Baptist denomination in 1878 and was eventually ordained in his new faith.

Perryman, Thomas Ward (1839–1903). Thomas Ward Perryman was a Presbyterian minister, political leader, and translator in the Indian Territory during the last half of the nineteenth century.

Perryman gained his early education at the Tallahassee Mission school near his home. After fighting for a time for the Confederacy during the Civil War, he switched sides and joined the Union army on December 7, 1862. He studied with the Reverend William Schenck Robertson and became a licensed minister in 1875; he was ordained the next year by the Kansas Presbytery. In addition to his religious duties, Perryman served the Muskogee people for several terms in the Creek House of Warriors, beginning in 1868; he was also a district attorney, and, in 1891 and 1896, presiding officer of the House of Kings. He later moved to Kansas City, where he died on February 11, 1903.

Smith, Stanley (ca. 1940s). From the Muskogee town of Arbika in Oklahoma, Stanley Smith traveled to Florida in 1943 at the behest of the Muskogee, Wichita, and Seminole Baptist Association to spread the gospel to Seminoles there. He delivered his sermons in the Muskogee language, and as a result of his elo-

quence, he began to gain converts immediately. Smith shifted his denominational affiliation to the Southern Baptist in 1945, and during that time his converts numbered almost two hundred Florida Seminoles.

Deere, Phillip (?–1985). A traditional Muskogee medicine man and tribal leader, Phillip Deere actively campaigned to improve conditions for all Native Americans throughout his life.

A descendant of participants in the Red Stick War (1813–1814) that fought to stop the infiltration of Anglo-American culture and Anglo-American seizure of Muskogee land, Deere participated in Chitto Harjo's opposition to U.S. control of Muskogee affairs in Oklahoma during the early years of the twentieth century. Deere saw himself as continuing the traditionalist movement and the resistance efforts of his ancestors into the twentieth century. He traveled extensively in the United States and Europe to lecture on the conditions confronting Native Americans in the United States. Deere acted as a spiritual advisor for the American Indian Movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and in 1979 he began bringing the Youths and Elders Conference to his Muskogee roundhouse to promote Native traditionalism among the generations. He was also associated with the International Indian Treaty Council, which was affiliated with the United Nations, and Deere was involved with the Circle of Traditional Indian Elders, a group consisting of elders from numerous tribal nations in the United States. Deere continued to practice the traditional Muskogee religion until his death on August 16, 1985.

Seminole

Bemo, John (1800s). A nephew of Osceola, John Bemo served the Baptist and Presbyterian churches in the mid-nineteenth century as a missionary to his people.

Captured as a youth during the Second Seminole War, Bemo was adopted by a French ship's captain. After traveling throughout his youth, he gained an education in Philadelphia. Bemo then went to Indian Territory to establish a Presbyterian mission among his people, the Seminoles. Some years later Bemo switched to the Baptist faith and continued his mission to the Seminoles as a teacher and minister.

Arpeika (Sam Jones) (ca. 1765–1860). A Seminole medicine man and war leader in the Second Seminole War, Arpeika, along with Billy Bowlegs, successfully resisted the U.S. attempt to remove him and his followers. As a young man, Arpeika was a revered *hillis hay,* or medicine man, before the three Seminole Wars. At an advanced age he became a war leader for his people because of his religious knowledge and strong spiritual power. After resettling his people in the Everglades and successfully resisting attempts to remove them to the Indian

Territory, Arpeika died of natural causes in 1860.

Jumper, John (ca. 1822–1896). John Jumper served the Seminoles as principal chief and a Baptist minister.

Descended from a long line of important leaders, Jumper was one of the first Seminoles to be removed to Indian Territory. Because he saw the value of education, he later asked the Presbyterian Church to build schools among the Seminoles. Jumper converted and became a Presbyterian in 1857. Later he switched to the Baptist Church. He aided the Confederacy during the Civil War and served in the First Seminole Mounted Volunteers as a major, eventually achieving the rank of acting colonel. After the war Jumper was ordained as a Baptist minister. Jumper died on September 21,1896.

Billie, Josie (ca. 1887–?). Josie Billie was a medicine man and an assistant pastor among the Muskogee and Miccosukee Seminoles in Florida.

A member of the Tiger clan, Billie began his training as a medicine man at the age of fifteen when he began fasting to prepare to learn sacred information; a few years later he began an apprenticeship with Tommy Doctor. For many years Billie studied with several medicine makers, learning everything that he could from each. After some trouble in which a relative was accidentally killed, Billie moved away from his home community along the Tamiami Trail to the Big Cypress Reservation in 1943 and 1944. At the same time, he was forced to give up his medicine bundle to his brother.

Billie converted to the Baptist faith in 1943. He was heavily influenced by Stanley Smith, a Muskogee missionary from Oklahoma. Eventually the Southern Baptists licensed him as a preacher, and in 1948 he was appointed the assistant pastor at a church near the Big Cypress Reservation. Because of his extensive knowledge of Seminole culture and religion, Billie became an important informant for the ethnologist William C. Sturtevant.

Dixie Ray Haggard

See also American Indian Movement (Red Power Movement); Ceremony and Ritual, Southeast; Christianity, Indianization of; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Missionization, Southeast; Native American Church, Peyote Movement; Power, Southeast; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Southeast

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Religious Leaders, Southwest

Hosteen Klah (1867–1937)

Hosteen Klah, also known as Azaethlin, was born on the "Long Walk Home" from Bosque Redondo at Fort Wingate. His great grandfather Narbona was also a well-known healer and leader of the Diné (Navajo). Hosteen Klah was recognized early as a traditional healer through his work with his Apache uncle, married to one of Hosteen Klah's mother's sisters. It was during this visit with the Apache uncle that it was discovered that Hosteen Klah also possessed qualities that would permit him to attain knowledge usually taught to the women of his family. Hosteen Klah's

interest in healing led him to study with all of the Diné healers he knew of or heard of. At the age of forty-nine in 1917, Klah performed his first complete Yeibichai, a nine-day-long healing ceremony. That is the most complex and lengthy Diné healing process, and it established him as the most knowledgeable and powerful of all known or remembered Diné healers. In his last thirty years of life, Klah transferred his knowledge onto the visual format of rug weaving, a traditional Diné craft. Klah's weavings are known far and wide and depict many of the sacred portions of the Diné healing and religious rites.

Ruby Modesto (1913–1980)

Ruby Modesto was a member of the Desert Cahuilla tribe of indigenous peoples and known among her people as a healer. As a young child, around the age of ten, she experienced what she described as dreams, a precursor to the world of a Desert Cahuilla healer. As a member of the Dog clan, Ruby came from a long line of Desert Cahuilla healers, or *pul*s. These individuals—men and women—were highly respected clan leaders capable of performing their specialties in the areas of hunting, singing for specific needs, and ceremonies. A *pul* is chosen by Umna'ah, Creator, and has a helper; in Ruby's case her helper Ahswit, Eagle, is a very powerful helper. *Pul*s can heal a variety of ailments from menstruation problems to epilepsy, known as *tookisyl,* with excellent results. In Desert Cahuilla oral history, passed on by Ruby to her family, Frog is the center of negative power, or evil in Ruby's words. For the Desert Cahuilla, healers come into their source of healing power and responsibilities at approximately forty years of age and continue gathering stature throughout their lifetime.

Geronimo, Goyatholay (One Who Yawns) (1829–1909)

Chiricahua Apache of the Nednhi band and a Bedonkohe Apache (grandson of Mahko), Geronimo was an influential leader of a band of Apache who consistently refused to be bound to a specific piece of real estate known in modern times as a reservation. Because of a speech impediment, Geronimo often spoke for his brother, Juh, who was reported as being a hereditary leader. Geronimo was quoted on one occasion as saying, "I was born on the prairies where the wind blew free and there was nothing to break the light of the sun. I was born where there were no enclosures." Many of the Indian leaders of the late 1800s made statements of this nature when they and their people were rounded up and confined to reservations where they could no longer practice their sociocultural and religious way of life. Geronimo epitomized the reluctant individual who stepped up to care for and lead his people during extremely difficult times. Despite surrendering to the U.S. Army three times and leading small groups of Chiracahua back to their homeland each time, Geronimo was captured and interred in Fort Marion, Florida, in 1886.

In 1894, Geronimo and the balance of the Chiracahua who had survived were

Geronimo, Goyatholay (One Who Yawns) was a revered Chiricahua Apache medicine person and spiritual leader. 1907. (Library of Congress)

moved to Mt. Vernon in Alabama, where many more were exposed to tuberculosis and died. As a revered leader, medicine person, and spiritual and intellectual leader, Geronimo lived out the balance of his life as a prisoner of war (political prisoner) because of his ability to escape, evade, and lead his people out of government control and into what little freedom they could find in their ancestral lands. Geronimo, as a prisoner, was forced to appear in the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis and actually rode in the 1905 inaugural parade for President Theodore Roosevelt. Geronimo was later transferred to Ft. Sill in Oklahoma, where he died near the Apache on their reservation north of Ft. Sill. Geronimo died a prisoner of the U.S. government at Ft. Sill on February 17, 1909, and was buried in the Apache cemetery there.

Barboncito (Hástiin Dágha [Man with the Whiskers]

Bislahalani [The Orator]; Hozhooji Naata [Blessing Speaker]; Ma'ii deeshgíízhiníí [Coyote Pass People, Jemez Clan]; and Hashke yich'í Dahilwo [He Is Anxious to Run at Warriors]) (1820–1871)

Barboncito served his clan and the Diné in many capacities during his lifetime. He appears to have begun his formal responsibilities in 1860, when he joined Manuelito in a reprisal attack over the loss of a number of their horses that had been slaughtered by soldiers from Fort Defiance. In 1862, Barboncito and his brother Delgadito informed the commander of Fort Defiance, General James H. Carlton, of their intention to live peacefully with the fort. That only led to their forced movement to Bosque Redondo, at which point Barboncito and Delgadito once again joined Manuelito in rebellion. In 1864, Barboncito was captured by Colonel "Kit" Carson, a famous Indian scout during the 1863–1866 Navajo War, as a war chief. In June of 1865, Barboncito left Bosque Redondo, leading a group of 500 Diné to their ancestral lands. In November of 1866, Barboncito once again surrendered at Fort Wingate, with twenty-one of his followers.

In 1868, Barboncito was appointed as the lead signatory to the final peace treaty between the Diné and the U.S. government. Barboncito lived out his

last few years after signing a peace treaty that placed the Diné back on their ancestral lands.

Dr. Lori Arviso Alvord (1958–)

Dr. Alvord, who considers herself a traditional Diné, is also a board-certified and well-respected physician. In her own words, the "words Navajo and surgeon" are rarely heard together, and never associated with each other. During the ten years between 1981 and 1991, Dr. Alvord studied and learned her surgical skills at Stanford University and in the Stanford area. From 1991–1997, Dr. Alvord plied her skills in Gallup, New Mexico, and in the process gained a new understanding of her traditional Diné healing responsibilities, working in concert with known traditional healers. It was during those ten years that Dr. Alvord was able to reconnect with her traditional early teachings and become involved with, among others, Thomas Hatathlii at the Tuba City Medical Center. She relearned the power of traditional healing, both sharing her knowledge with Hosteen Hatathlii and learning from him the power of traditional healing. Dr. Alvord credits Hosteen Hatathlii with reintroducing her to the many traditional Diné healing ceremonies, in particular Kodi's Prayer. Dr. Alvord is currently a guest lecturer at Dartmouth Medical School.

Tasiwoopa ápi

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Apache; Ceremony and Ritual, Diné; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Missionization, Southwest; Mourning and the Afterlife, Southwest; Sandpainting

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Religious Leaders, Southwest, Pueblo

See Religious Leaders, Pueblo

Religious Leadership, Alaska

See "Angalkuq"

Religious Leadership, Great Basin

Historical analyses of Great Basin American Indian religious leaders have involved profiling powerful leaders who achieved a place in Euro-American society through either fame or controversy. In this essay we depart from that model

in order to examine the equally important foundations of Indian religious leadership roles in Numic society, and how those roles changed over time. We examine this issue by looking at how religious leadership manifested during four distinct historical periods—(1) traditional times, defined as being before Europeans arrived; (2) encroachment times, which include the early occupation of indigenous territories by Euro-Americans; (3) conversion times, when Europeans began to use religious conversion as a tool of conquest/salvation; and (4) multicultural times, when Indian people can choose among various religious options without fear of retribution.

Our main thesis is that the role-relationship expectations and possibilities confronting Great Basin religious leaders were seriously altered by forces beyond their control during four historical periods. Within a context of change induced by Euro-American encroachment, relationships between religious leaders and members of Indian communities were constantly renegotiated. As Numic religious leaders were exposed to other Indian religions (for example, the revitalization movement of Smoholla and the Native American Church), Western religious tenets introduced by Christian missionaries, and U.S. society at large, Numic religious leaders adapted themselves to serving the needs of their people. Basin Indian religious leaders were not victims of their times, but instead were recognized as leaders exactly because they adjusted to the times and continued to serve their people effectively.

Two concepts need to be narrowly defined in order to keep this essay within bounds. First, when talking about Basin religious leaders, this essay is restricted to those who speak the Numic language. Thus some Great Basin tribes are not considered, while certain Numic tribes residing far from the Basin are included. Numic people traditionally lived from the Sierra Nevada Mountains in California to the front range of the Rocky Mountains in Colorado. Numic groups include the Northern Paiutes in Bend, Oregon; Owens Valley, California, Paiutes and Shoshones; Western Shoshones from Wyoming to Death Valley, California; their cousins the Goshutes in Utah; Southern Paiutes in Utah, Arizona, Nevada, and California; and the Utes of Utah and Colorado. A second point is that among Numic peoples the once clear line between religious and political leadership shifted until they became indistinguishable roles, and they have once again become distinct roles only in recent times. Given the changes in role definition over time, this essay always attempts to specify what time frame is under consideration.

In view of the paucity of relevant studies of Numic religious practices, this essay is necessarily speculative. One study, however, needs to be highlighted because it informs this issue directly. It took the scholarly lifetime of Omer C. Stewart, but once he had published *Peyote Religion: A History* it became unique as a source for understanding how religious leaders in the Peyote religion (Native American Church) survived various

U.S. national polities designed either to suppress or to support that particular religion. Stewart traced the lives and shifting religious roles of hundreds of Peyote religious leaders, including many from Great Basin tribes. The book also clearly illustrates a widely shared religion and an irreversible trend toward pan-Indian cultural patterns in North America.

Traditional Times: Before 1492

Religious leadership is not usually seen in the archaeological record of the Basin, so one must guess at how Indian religious leadership functioned based on what was first observed by Europeans and the basic beliefs of Numic religion and authority. *Puha* (which glosses in English as "power" or "energy") was made as the force that causes everything to be alive and have agency. *Puha* came at the time of Creation when it, the land, and the Numic people came into being and relationship. Religion is basically an understanding of how *puha* works to keep the world in balance as it was defined at Creation, and how ceremony can be used to restore balance. Individuals, groups, plants, animals, and all else in nature can become out of balance and thus need a curative ceremony; the most common balancing ceremony is the circle or round dance.

The concept of a religious leader, which in European culture usually means a single person who is the head of a church, does not directly translate into traditional Numic culture. The closest description is a person who is primarily responsible for calling and leading balancing ceremonies that are needed by groups and nature. Persons who specialize in bringing balance back to individuals are called shamans or medicine doctors, but the process of restoring balance is fundamentally the same regardless of the problem's scale.

The power of religious leaders is not primarily their own, although they may have been especially selected as a person who will know how best to use this power, and they do bring their own power to balancing ceremonies. The term *Puhagantu,* which is often used for religious leaders and shamans, is revealing because it translates as "to have *puha*" or even "where *puha* sits." Religious leaders, like shaman, are basically windows through which power passes on the way to balance an individual, group, or aspect of nature. This power tends to arrive as spirit helpers that can be an animal, such as a mountain sheep, a mineral, such as crystal, or a spirit, such as a water baby. Places of power also add their *puha* to balancing ceremonies.

Traditionally, when religious leaders accepted the responsibility of being the window of power, they understood the risks involved. Failure to control *puha,* as evidenced by things getting worse or more out of balance, indicated that the leader/shaman was losing control over the sources of power being used to bring balance. Repeated failure eventually resulted in their friends and relatives killing them. This act has been interpreted by Euro-Americans as retribution for failure to cure or fix the world, but

quite a different interpretation comes from Numic epistemology. First, when people accept the responsibility of being a religious leader or shaman, they know what they must do as the "window of *puha*." They also recognize that if they begin to fail it is because they are a broken window and they will be killed. This second point is also misunderstood because mater cannot be destroyed, it merely transforms. With reincarnation the killed leader becomes an animal, and when the animal dies it can come back as a person. In fact, there is evidence that a shaman becomes a hummingbird, and this shaman's helper can become a shaman at death.

Encroachment Times: 1776–1890

During this period Indian religion and ceremony was largely irrelevant to Euro-American society, despite the 1776 expedition of fathers Escalante and Dominguez, during which they were pleased to find friendly Southern Paiutes looking like Pueblos with rancherias and irrigated farming—and thus more easily converted than the more mobile and hostile Apaches. More important to most outsiders, however, was that Indian people not restrict the economic activities of Europeans who passed through the Basin looking for beaver furs and precious minerals. When the former were trapped out and the latter was found in California, Indian people were simply pushed back from major sources of water and away from the routes of travelers. The 1863 Treaty of Ruby Valley (Harney 1995, 193) with the Western Shoshone illustrates the federal policy of only taking from—not giving to—the Indian people.

As Indian people became increasingly marginalized in the Basin, they responded by working together through big balancing ceremonies. Indian religious leaders combined efforts with political leaders to organize the largest pan-Indian movement since the 1680 All-Pueblo Revolt (Nabokov 1981). Unlike that armed conflict, this was to be a religious conflict fought with *puha* instead of guns. The first well-known such ceremony was the Ghost Dance movement of 1870. Twenty years later the 1890 Ghost Dance (Dobyns 1967; Hittman 1997) was to become the largest pan-Indian joint balancing ceremony ever, because it involved up to thirty-two ethnic groups (Mooney 1991). Both ceremonies were fundamentally traditional round dances scaled up to address the greatest problem that had ever confronted Numic peoples and lands (Stoffle et al. 2000).

The federal government responded to these efforts with physical force, such as the Wounded Knee massacre among the Sioux. The safety of white society and commerce was the priority, and Indian travel and ceremony were suppressed. In many portions of the Basin, local Indians still outnumbered their non-Indian neighbors. Nevertheless, Euro-American hegemony prevailed. The famous prophet of the 1890 Ghost Dance movement, Wovoka, was put under house arrest, and a manned fence was built around Wovoka's home at Yearington,

Nevada, to restrict his travel and that of his community. Soon the federal government would add Christian missionaries to the efforts to civilize and pacify the tribes.

Conversion Times: 1890–1960

The Ghost Dance of 1890 along with an increasingly hostile boundary between whites and Indians in the Basin caused the Federal government to outlaw the practice of Indian ceremonies of all kinds (Crum 1994, 51–52). Thus the role of Indian religious leader had to be subsumed under that of a political leader or even a labor leader. Religious leaders could be jailed for public practice of ceremonies, so their activities became largely unknown to the dominant society. Indian people hid their religion within the context of social events that were legal. Ghost Dance songs continued to be sung, but they had to be buried within nonthreatening public activities (Vander 1988). Some religious leaders became the heads of Euro-American churches that permitting them to continue to serve in a modified traditional role. It is clear, however, that some of these new Indian converts to Western religions truly rejected traditional religions and ways of life. Unlike European religious practice, Indian religions permitted adding alternative approaches to understanding the world, so it is possible that an Indian religious leader could in good faith participate in both religious systems. Still, during this period, traditional religious leaders were all but invisible to the outside world.

Multicultural Times: 1960 to Today

After the Civil Rights movement achieved major successes for African Americans in the mid-1950s, many activists took heart and moved on to other issues. Some moved to the environment and became instrumental in arguing against and even stopping dams along the Colorado River, efforts that partially resulted in the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969. Others lent their voices and energies to American Indian movements of various kinds, including efforts to achieve religious freedom. After a decade of these efforts, Congress passed the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1979, which included both a national apology for past efforts to eliminate Indian religions and a commitment not to stand in the way of Indian religious practice in the future.

While it is impossible to characterize all of the Indian leaders who emerged during this time, it is clear that it became increasingly acceptable for Indian leaders to perform non-European religious ceremonies publicly. It is also clear that many religious leaders in the Great Basin became associated with religions that did not derive from Numic culture. Examples include most leaders of the Peyote religion, including members of the Duncan family (Utes) who served both as Sun Dance religious leaders and roadmen in the Native American Church. Many of the non-Numic religions were

led by Indian people who were not Numic. Nevertheless, Numic-based religions flourished during this period as more and more situations occurred in which their religious leaders could step forward to present Numic religious principles and be positively received by both their own people and people from the general society—and even the world. An example is Corbin Harney (Western Shoshone), who was called to be a leader and eventually became a world icon; at one time he was visualized in a Sting (Gordon Sumner) concert held in honor of indigenous people.

Today Indian people still respect and follow the tenets of their traditional religions, but they are also likely to draw upon the insights of the Peyote religion and that of friends and family members from other Indian religions. Many families and all local groups contain people who share religious perspectives that originate far from the Basin. Just as the people have become multicultural, so many religious leaders practice more than one religion.

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See also Power Places, Great Basin; Ghost Dance Movement

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Religious Leadership, Northeast

Native American religious leaders fulfill a multiplicity of functions, yet non-Native observers have tended to place all religious leaders in the same category. The earliest colonists and missionaries usually described them as witches or servants of the Devil. This category has transformed over time and has become identified with the term "shaman." That word comes from the Tungus people of Siberia, for whom the *saman* is a spiritual leader who can travel to the spirit world and ascertain the desires and demands of the spirits. While some Native American religious leaders are clearly engaged in similar practices, the blanket

category of "shaman" for all medicine people is inappropriate. The myth of a unified, coherent religious tradition of soul travel by shamans that traveled with Arctic people over the Bering land bridge and survived in the Americas is unsubstantiated.

Religious leadership in Native American communities is almost always associated with the ability to heal. That ability can be obtained in multiple ways; it can be inherited, developed as a result of dreams or visions sent by animals or good spirits, or the person may be chosen by an actual event such as a near-fatal encounter with a dangerous or poisonous animal. In each case the medicine received cannot be used properly until the person has cultivated a familiarity with it. The spiritual medicine that a plant or animal offers tends to be aligned with its actual behavior and attributes.

The lifetime commitment to becoming a medicine person is not pursued half-heartedly. In fact it is dangerous, and some have tried to escape it. Many tribes have stories of potential medicine people who became critically ill because they refused to accept the responsibility. They describe the ultimatum given to them, of choosing to become a healer or dying. These kinds of ordeals are interpreted as tests of the individual's strength and will by the Creator or by the relevant spirit. Many healers describe a kind of death of their former self followed by a rebirth in which they take on the body and spirit of a healer. Near-death experiences are also often the points at which a prophet has a first vision.

While the oral histories of tribes in the Northeast are no doubt full of the kind of medicine people described above, the recorded history of the Northeast is filled with the characters of Christian Indians, those who sought to bring the good news of the new, white religion to their brethren. Many Native people close to the early New England colonies were quite open to the god of the English and developed their own leadership by incorporating Christian ideas into traditional belief systems. Of course, there were also those who struggled against the intrusion of Christianity into their communities and who led movements to revitalize and reinstate the ancestral religious foundation that had sustained them for generations.

Religious leaders often fulfilled multiple roles. **Aiowantha (Hiawatha)** was one such individual who acted as a healer, prophet, tribal leader, diplomat, and orator for the Mohawk Nation in the 1500s. Aiowantha was a captivating speaker who allied with a Huron leader, Deganawida, to establish an alliance among their neighboring tribes. Deganawida preached a message of peace, and he wanted to unite the tribes to stop the cycle of revenge killing that plagued them. Aiowantha, with persuasive diplomacy, and Deganawida gathered together the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca nations into a confederacy known as the League of the Iro-

quois. When it was later joined by the Tuscarora, it also became known as the Six Nations; it became the most powerful force in the Ohio River valley region until it sided with the British during the American Revolution. When peace was attained, Aiowantha put the principles of Deganawida's vision of peace into action, developing a representative system of governance with laws and ceremonies for negotiating and settling disputes. The framers of the U.S. Constitution admired the Iroquois League's success in uniting its groups together and utilized several of the league's principles in formulating the new American government, including political equality, separation of governmental power, checks and balances, and political freedom.

Molly Ockett was an Abenaki healer and herbalist who mingled in both the world of her Native family and the white world colonizing it. Born with an Abenaki name, Singing Bird, she grew up in Pigwacket Wabanaki country in present-day Maine. While her family sought refuge in Massachusetts because of war between the French and British, she learned English and Christian religious beliefs. Because her people had sided with the French, she was taken hostage by the British and sent to live with an English family in Boston. When she was reunited with her family at about the age of ten, she had become accustomed to the white way of living, but she went back to her Native ways, learning the healing arts from her mother and others. Although her family was killed during further conflicts between the French and British, in 1762 she returned to her homeland and helped maintain peace between the Pigwacket band of Abenaki and the English colonists that had settled there. Her fluency in English and her commitment to her own people enabled her to help them immensely. She was a skilled healer who was known for treating anyone, white or Indian, at any time. She was also an excellent hunter and was remembered for being generous with her catch. Ockett can be understood as a peacemaker who facilitated a good relationship between two colliding cultures.

A Native American who took a different route to sponsoring good relations between whites and Indians was **Samson Occum** (1723–1792). Occum was a Mohegan who became the first Indian formally trained and ordained as a Christian minister. He was ordained by the Presbyterian Church in 1759 and began recruiting Native youths for missionary Eleazor Wheelock's educational project, Moor's Indian Charity School, which later became Dartmouth College. Occum became disillusioned with the school when it started focusing on training missionaries instead of Indians. He traveled with his family, preaching Christianity among the Algonquian peoples of New York and New England, eventually establishing a religious community called Brotherton. Occum believed that Indians should minister to Indians, and his community focused on training Native people to lead their own communities. In 1772 he published a

speech, "Sermon Preached at the Execution of Moses Paul," in which he criticized white traders for bringing alcohol into Native communities. He continued preaching to the Indians at Brotherton until his death in 1792.

Another Christian Indian who fought against the exploitation of whites was **William Apess,** a Pequot born in 1798 who became a Methodist missionary to the Mashpee tribe, encouraging them to expel the corrupt white missionaries. He also fought to forbid whites to cut timber on Mashpee land. His confrontational leadership earned him the respect of Indian people and thirty days in jail. His story became well known when he published an autobiography and several other books.

Widely known as the visionary who led a successful revitalization movement among Iroquois people in the early nineteenth century, Seneca prophet **Handsome Lake** acknowledged Christian ideas but stressed a return to the traditional Iroquois ceremonies and moral ideals. Seneca land, population, and culture were being devastated by white intruders after the Revolutionary War. Without a powerful leader and a new vision, the Iroquois way of life was threatened with extinction. Handsome Lake received a vision that articulated a new religion and a new way of life for his people that combined elements of Christianity with the traditional Seneca songs, dances, and ceremonial calendar. He believed that by consciously acculturating to some American ways, the Iroquois would be better able to survive this period of white domination. Handsome Lake's grandson became the leader of the Longhouse religion after Handsome Lake's death, and it is still practiced on several reservations today.

Joseph Onasakenrat (White Feather) was a Mohawk chief and Methodist missionary in the l860s and 1870s. He was raised in the Catholic Church in Quebec and groomed for missionary work. After attending college for three years, he was elected principal chief of the Iroquois in 1868, at the age of twenty-two. The young leader accused the Catholic Church of keeping the Natives in poverty and led a campaign to renounce them. As a result, most of his people converted to the Methodist Church, of which he became a leader. He continued to fight against the Sulpician Catholic order that controlled the Oka missionary settlement where he lived, challenging their ownership of the land in court, their wood-cutting rights, and their settlement claims. He was accused of burning down the Sulpician church in 1877, but the case was later dismissed. He spent his last years translating Scripture from French into Iroquois and preaching to Iroquois communities in Caughnawaga and St. Regis. He died in 1881.

There are few other reliable historical accounts of Native medicine people from the Northeast. Presumably, if they avoided contact with whites their stories were not recorded. Warfare destroyed many Northeastern tribes before scholars were present to record cultural information. However, beginning in the late

1960s, a religious/political faction known as the American Indian Movement (AIM) gained national attention and pan-Indian participation. **Anna Mae Pictou Aquash** was a Mi'kmaq woman from Nova Scotia who became an AIM leader in the 1970s. A tireless and productive worker for Indian rights and cultural sovereignty, Aquash helped organize the Boston Indian Council, a service agency for Indian alcoholics. She was an important "female warrior" during the FBI siege of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota in 1973. She later taught at the Ojibwa's Red School House project and was director of AIM's West Coast office in Los Angeles. In February 1976, Aquash was found dead under suspicious circumstances and became a martyr to the AIM cause.

Brian Clearwater

See also American Indian Movement (Red Power Movement); Missionization, Great Lakes; Revitalization Movements, Northeast

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Religious Leadership, Northwest

Throughout the Northwest, certain people maintained constant contact with sources of power and spirit beings that enabled them to change conditions for the better—and sometimes for the worse, if they had a selfish reason to do so. Although often called shamans or Indian doctors, they once included a range of specialists much like those of the modern medico-religious profession. With massive die-offs as a result of European diseases and dislocations, ordinary spiritual practitioners who survived began to assume more and more of the functions and practices of these specialists. Formerly, those functions included that of curer of various types, medium who communed with the dead, song master who untangled tunes, puberty preceptor, baby broker who understood babies' needs, and that of priestly figures who conducted rites such as the First Salmon and other return foods festivals.

Tsimshians

Along the North Pacific coast, for Tlingit and Haida, masks were worn by shamans while working. The neighboring Tsimshians, however, used many masks more generally as manifestations of rank and power. Tsimshian culture was imaged as a beam of light from Heaven that refracted into several branches whose emblems were positioned on the model of a head. Crests were passed through mothers and were embodied as hats; carvings of chiefly rank and power were worn on the forehead; and masks covered the face. Spiritual practitioners themselves were known as "blowers," using the mouth,

Mask used in the naxnox *dance series, which involved the dramatization of a name. The eyes have three positions: open, closed, and copper covered (shown here). The movable jaws reveal teeth or a copper band. Tsimshian culture. (Werner Forman / Art Resource, NY)*

but their power resided in their hair, which remained unkempt and uncut.

For Tsimshians, the primordial beings are called *naxnox,* and the powerful refracted light is *halaayt.* During the 1800s, *halaayt* took six manifestations. It was personalized as a blower—a curer who could be either a man or a woman who served year-round. The Tsimshian year was divided between summer activities devoted to fishing and harvesting wild foods, followed by winter religious and communal events. A chief, as head of a cedar plank house, therefore had two guises. During the summer he coordinated dispersed food gathering, but with the onset of winter he became Smhalaayt (real *halaayt*) and took over a more priestly role that included religious duties involved with feasting, displays of

heirloom art, and intertribal entertainments. Members of high rank also belonged to one of four secret orders known as Wutahalaayt (great *halaayt*), which crossed local allegiances to be international and privileged in scope.

These six roles do not exhaust the realm, however, since various groups and guilds of artists who made the crests, emblems, and embellishments also had religious functions to perform, often in private. Indeed, the penalty for stumbling upon a secluded workshop was immediate death unless the person was of high enough rank to demand immediate initiation.

The Northwest coast included this typical distinction between summer chief and winter priest for all its leaders. Most detailed information is a consequence of the length of time, personalities, and rapport that characterized any fieldwork situation. Outstanding for the coast is that for the Nuxalk (formerly Bella Coola), the northernmost member of the Salishan Language Family, which also includes Lushootseed and Tillamook. These three well illustrate the diversity once seen even among related languages.

Nuxalk

At birth, each Nuxalk person's soul or spirit took up residence in a thin bone at the back of the neck. Other spiritual aspects were located above. In the beginning, the Creator at Nusmatta (a huge house in the upper world) set up a tally post and a section in a water basin for every named person who would live. As named couples, these beings floated down to tops in the human homeland, then set up villages along waterways and began families. At death, a Nuxalk separated into corpse, shadow, and ghost. Since names were inherited, the ghost went back through an unbroken line that led back up to Nusmatta.

When a Nuxalk took seriously ill, special healers had the ability to get to Nusmatta and inspect the patient's pole and basin. If the pole leaned, the acuteness of the angle indicated the outcome of the illness. If possible, the pole was set upright again, and the water in the basin was renewed. Failing that, a doctor would sacrifice grease, bark bowls, and tiny wooden figures to the dead, who lived under the earth. With their help, a sucking cure would suddenly become effective.

Lushootseeds

For the Lushootseeds of Puget Sound, immortal beings provide career or curing abilities. Leaders had spirits, themselves leaders, that empowered them to give wise council and acquire wealth, as well as to hunt the most dangerous of animals.

The Lushootseed term for both spirits and their human allies derived from the Lushootseed for "name" or "call": in the Native system of medicine, to designate ("name") the cause of an illness correctly was to diagnose the cure. Healers and curing spirits were always at the ready, unlike career powers whose closeness varied with the seasons.

Just as European noble families sent sons into the church, into business, into banking, or into the military to widen their power base, so too did Lushootseed nobles try to have members in all positions of authority; leadership was multiplex, depending upon the task. Moreover, modern Salish families extend this strategy to include many contemporary options, particularly religious ones. Thus, while families continue to attend winter ceremonials to welcome the return of spirit partners, on Sunday they devotedly attend Protestant, Catholic, Bahai, or other services.

Lushootseed had at least four overlapping systems of power and consequent specialists concerned with guardian spirits, ghosts, dicta (word formulas, spells), and the High God. Each spirit has two aspects, as being and as song, with a third term used to personify the vision itself. The song came from the east in the fall, moved slowly north, westward, and then south during the winter; in late April or so, it headed east again.

Ghosts were the souls of the dead, who were tormented by hunger, loneliness, and nostalgia for their possessions and relatives. Those ghosts who were still in contact with the living roamed the earth between about 3:00 P.M. and 3:00 A.M. Ghosts were particularly attracted by human gatherings, especially when people were eating. A ghost was closest of all when its name was being inherited by a descendant. Certain humans once acted as mediums because they had a special relationship with a ghost, who warned of calamity. This medium conducted rituals in which food and clothes were burned in a fire to send them to the dead. While such burnings were once held separately, they have now become managed by spiritual practitioners as the first event at modern power displays, memorials, and potlatches.

Dicta were a set of enchantments (incantations and formulas) for influencing or directing the world and its inhabitants. They were passed down family lines to influence the minds and hearts of all living things.

In modern Salishan religion, the High God now features in the Indian Shaker Church and various Christian fundamental denominations. Belief in an ultimate power, however, was ancient and known as *xa'xa*—which means anything sacred and holy as well as forbidden—taboo in such a way as to provide a deification of power.

Puberty preceptors have faded out under Christian influence, yet many features from traditional puberty seclusion have been incorporated into the modern initiation of Winter Dancers. While a boy's coming of age was marked by changes in his voice and body, girls once observed great restrictions. Placed in a special hut, a girl's bed was made of fresh fir boughs. Every night, she left her hut to go to a creek to bathe and scrub with rotten cedar to make herself clean. During the day she kept very busy, weaving mats or blankets, making yarn, or coiling baskets. This effort made her industrious her whole life, and desirable as a good wife.

If it was ripe berry season, a first menstruant picked with a stick (called a "bridle") between her teeth; the stick was inspected by older women at the end of each day to see if she had stained it by eating any forbidden berries. Her strict diet included food that was allowed to cool if it was cooked. She ate very little, mostly roots, but nothing fresh or warm, using special dishes that were destroyed afterward. Fresh and bloody foods were particularly avoided.

Toward the end of her month of seclusion, her grandmother invited other old women to sing, dance, and feast to entertain the girl, who could not herself join in. Because of her supercharged condition, she was under strong taboos. She could not look at anyone or they would become sick. She never touched her own hair. She used a stick of ironwood to scratch.

Every day the girl was instructed by older women about how to conduct herself calmly when she was married, as well as techniques for drying fish, picking berries, digging clams, weaving, basketry, and keeping a household running smoothly and well. She was told to be good to her mother-in-law, other affines, and all elders, while showing kindness and compassion to everyone.

After her first seclusion a girl was regarded as dark or light for six weeks, according to the phases of the moon. On dark days, when the moon waned, her face was painted red, and on light days, when the moon waxed, she was visited by other women.

Tillamooks

Along the Oregon coast, the Tillamook once had five types of practitioner, each concerned with healing, poisons, spirits, love, and the baby (Seaburg and Miller 1990, 565). The first three wore the insignia of a braided human hair belt with its ends hanging behind like a tail. Although these specialists became wealthy by their efforts, they were generous at winter ceremonials and so never amassed a hoard.

Healers were both men and women, who would blow while curing. Only men used their hands to extract illness, while women would only suck, specializing in the removal of blood, black ooze, or white ooze, which was thrown into a fire or drowned in a basket. In severe cases, it was both drowned and burned. These women received their power from a being called Wild Woman, whose emblem was tattooed on their breasts. Male healers carved or painted their emblem on their headboard, which stood at the healer's bed until brought into use during a cure.

Poison doctors were always men, with the ability to send their own "poisons" or to extract that sent by other shamans. Their medical kit included deer hoof rattles tied on a stick layered with eagle feathers, carved humanoid poles with faces inset with abalone shell eyes, and a headdress made of fringed cedar bark or red male hummingbird scalps. A poison itself was sometimes represented as a tiny bone humanoid doll or as a fish. Their treatment went on for five nights.

Spirit doctors, always men, journeyed in human daytime to the afterworld to retrieve the souls of patients who were ill but not dead. This spirit could be returned only after human dark, when it was safe from recapture. In difficult cases, he sometimes sucked out a purplish ooze sent from the dead.

Only women served as love doctors, able to manipulate affections and sexual abilities. A baby broker was a man who could converse with babies and dream of events in Babyland, where fetuses lived until they went to be born from human mothers.

Today, throughout the Northwest, the aboriginal variety of religious functionaries now appears in the diversity of leaders of church denominations, beliefs, and spiritual practices, as elsewhere in the modern world.

Jay Miller

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Northwest; Dances, Northwest Winter Spirit Dances; Masks and Masking; Oral Traditions, Northwest Coast; Power, Northwest Coast; Religious Leadership, Northwest; Sacred Societies, Northwest Coast; *Sbatatdaq (Sqadaq)*

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Religious Leadership, Plateau

Visions and spirit power have always been essential for religious leadership in the Plateau (Walker 1978, 1980, 1998). They are the most ancient and fundamental forms of religious belief and practice in the Plateau. The vision quest, winter spirit dances, and sweatlodge ceremony form a foundation for all other traditional belief and practice throughout the region. Before participation in any activity associated with the spirit world, people cleansed themselves in the sweatlodge, a structure used to achieve purity of body, mind, and spirit (Walker 1969).

Vision quest sites are also scattered throughout the Plateau and are especially concentrated in mountains and along rivers where stone cairns, pictographs, and petroglyphs often mark places where tutelary spirits have been encountered. Tutelary spirit power is often accompanied by a spirit sickness, and trusted healers assist in dealing with it by instructing the neophyte in the

proper ways to honor and employ the power they have acquired in vision quests and dreams (Walker 1989).

Midwinter ceremonies provided opportunities not only for neophytes but especially for religious leaders to dramatize and honor their spirit power through symbolic costumes, songs, and dances. Although any person could attend, only those with spirit power would participate in these dances, while others in attendance cooked, served, and lent support in various way. The curing of illnesses of various types customarily took place in these ceremonies; in addition, ceremonial leaders officiated during both life cycle and other calendrical ceremonies associated with the changing seasons and subsistence activities—especially fishing, hunting, and the gathering of roots and berries.

The spirit powers that made a religious leader successful as a healer were also a source of potential harm. If a patient died and the healer was judged to be evil or inept, he or she might be killed. In addition to curing, some religious leaders were thought to be able to change the weather, foresee the future, impart unusual powers to inanimate objects, and possess other miraculous abilities. The primary tests for religious leadership in the traditional Plateau was the ability to heal magically and to foretell the future from visions and dreams.

Men and women occupied similar leadership roles in the Plateau religion. Each complemented the other, and they had similar spirits. Most men and women in the Plateau sought guardian spirits as children. Both genders could aspire to become healers, although in some groups there were not as many female practitioners as there were male. Both could become prophets and exercise leadership in all spheres of religious activity. Some religious leaders also specialized in ceremonies for a particular resource, such as salmon or camas roots, and would lead the first fruits ritual ceremony. This ceremony involved procuring a particular food when it first appeared, primarily during spring and summer, worshipfully carrying it back to the settlement, and conducting a public ritual over it. Each such ceremonial leader must have the proper guardian-spirit power to perform these rituals, whose principal purpose was to secure continuation of the resource.

The Prophet Dance and Religious Leadership

Most historians have assumed that the visits of early explorers such as Meriwether Lewis and William Clark in 1805–1806 marked the beginning of Plateau contact with Euro-Americans, but that assumption is open to question (Spier 1935). An increasing body of evidence points to the protohistoric (that is, the time immediately before the historical period begins: A.D. 1500–1800 in the Plateau) as a time when cultic innovations described as the "Prophet Dance" by Spier (ibid.) were already underway (Relander 1986; Walker 1969). This hypothesis is supported by the diversity of

cults and prophetic figures already present in the Plateau during the early contact period, the archaeological evidence from altered burial practices, increasing non-Indian trade goods in the region, the extinction or catastrophic reduction of various groups through epidemic disease, and surviving records from oral tradition among historical and contemporary Plateau religious leaders.

The growing intensity of contacts in the protohistorical period and later during the nineteenth century created major cultural crises in Plateau religious life that brought changes in religious leadership (Stern 1993). One example is a Cathlamet Chinookan text that describes how the informant's grandfather had died during a smallpox epidemic, visited the after-world, and then returned to life bringing messages, all in good Prophet Dance fashion (Boas 1901, 247–251). This dying and reviving of religious leaders in times of cultural crisis is common in the Plateau, but it is nowhere more prevalent than among the Sahaptians of the Southern Plateau, where it has been explicitly related to population decimation and the consequent response of religious leaders such as the following account indicates:

> There was an epidemic of smallpox among the Yakima and people were dying and leaving the country. One old man, a chief, took sick and was left behind. He died. In his dream he travelled and came to a place where people were gathered eating lots of good things. He was awfully hungry. He came to a kind of gateway and asked for food. The people turned him away and told him it wasn't time for him to come in yet. So they directed him to another place a long way off. He travelled and finally he reached there. They told him when he asked for food that they didn't eat there. They looked thin and raw boned and didn't say much. They said, "We are people called angels." They told him to go back where he came from. "We can't take you in," they said. He felt bad and went back. When he came to his place he came to life again. But his people thought he was dead. He followed them. He surprised them. The first place he went to was Hell. The second place was Heaven. (Spier 1935, 17)

Such newly inspired religious leaders typically communicated a code of worship that involved a distinctive dance, usually circular, and prophecies obtained in deathlike visions; participation in ceremonies was by whole settlements, and great emphasis was placed on a creator spirit or god who reigned above the other spirits. In some cases confession of sins was required, and prophecies of a coming world transformation were regular features of these new developments. Cult activities were periodic, with an emotional heat being generated; with a failure of prophecy, however, there was a waning of interest, only later to be regenerated (ibid.; Du Bois 1938). Spier's so-called Prophet Dance is significant in this regard and must be understood as a general term that is inclusive of various local cultural manifestations led by various "prophets" (from both the protohistorical period and the

early historical period) who appeared among at least the following groups: Nez Perce, Umatilla, Spokane, Colville, Coeur d'Alene, Kootenai, Wanapam, Yakima, Klikitat, Wayampam, Palouse, Sanpoil-Nespelem, and probably certain Chinookan groups on the Lower Columbia. They included such well-known figures as Shuwapsa, Dla-upac, Spokane Garry, Kootenai Pelly, Nez Perce Ellis, Colville Kolaskin, Wiletsi, Hununwe, Jim Kanine, Shramaia, Lishwailait, Ashnithlai, the Tenino Queahpahmah, Luls, Smohalla, Wiskaynatowatsanmay, Kotiahkan, Patio, Toohoohoolsote, Jake Hunt, Martin Speedis, Yo-Yonau, and especially Puck Hyat Toot. Puck Hyat Toot was the most influential in the development of what has come more recently to be called the Seven Drum religion, the Long House religion, or the Washani/Washat religion, the dominant traditional religion now functioning widely among southern Plateau tribes (Ruby and Brown 1989; Walker 1978, 1980, 1985). It has preserved most of the earlier religious beliefs and practices of the prehistorical period, with additions emphasizing prophecy, nativism, revitalization, and some ceremonial features apparently borrowed from Christianity during the protohistorical and early historical periods. Recent leaders include Andrew George, Palouse; Clarence Burke, Walla Walla; Amos Pond, Umatilla; Gail Shippentower, Cayuse and Walla Walla; Fermore Craig, Cayuse; Armand Minthorn, Cayuse; Ron Pond, Umatilla; Steve Sohappy, Wanapum; and Dallas Dick, Wanapum, Palouse, and Nez Perce.

Indian Shaker Church leaders are closely linked to the Northwest Coastal groups first led by John Slocum and Mud Bay Louie. The Yakama and Warm Springs reservations have been centers of Shaker influence, which more recently has been extended to the Colville and Umatilla reservations. Indian Shaker leaders are often prominent both in the Shaker and the Seven Drum religion (Barnett 1957).

A more recent development in the Plateau has been the introduction of the Native American Church through such religious leaders as Leonard Crow Dog from Pine Ridge. Such leaders have been instrumental in establishing a regular presence among the Colville, Coeur d'Alene, and Yakama (Stewart 1988). Ted Strong has been a major leader in the Native American Church among the Yakama, as has David Mathesen among the neighboring Coeur d'Alene. Other leaders include Peter George, George Nanamkin, and Vance Robert Campbell on the Colville Reservation. Members of these tribes regularly assemble on various reservations for Native American Church services. There is also some ceremonial interaction among these tribes and the tribes of southern Idaho, where the Native American Church has been established much longer. Tommy Sope and Don Dunbar are principal leaders at Duck Valley and Fort McDermitt Indian Reservations, but there are many others among the Northern Paiute and Shoshone on the Wind River Reservation and the Fort Hall Reservation who, from

time to time, interact with leaders of the Plateau Native American Church.

Christian Leadership

Although little reported by anthropologists, numerous Christian communities with well-known Indian leaders have developed among many Plateau tribes and date from the nineteenth century. The Catholic and Protestant missionaries of the first half of the nineteenth century have been the subject of much historical writing, but that writing rarely reveals much about Indian Christian leadership among Plateau tribes (Burns 1966; Raufer 1966; Drury 1936, 1937, 1940, 1949). Christian missionaries' programs of educating tribal pastors and priests led to large-scale conversions of tribes and the formation of permanent Christian ecclesiastical structures among such groups as the Nez Perce, Yakima, Umatilla, Coeur d'Alene, Spokane, Flathead, Warm Springs, and Colville in the Southern Plateau, as well as others in the Canadian (Northern) Plateau. Nez Perce Christian leaders include the following preachers who not only served the Nez Perce Presbyterian churches but also served as missionaries: The Reverend Archie Lawyer was pastor of the Second Kamiah Church at the time of his death in the spring of 1893. The Reverend Robert Williams, the first ordained minister, ordained in 1879, was pastor of the First Church of Kamiah at the time of his death in 1896. That was his only charge. The Nez Perce ministers were the Reverend James Hines, honorably retired because of old age; the Reverend Mark Arthur, pastor of the Lapwai Church; the Reverend Peter Lindsley, without charge; the Reverend James Hayes, pastor of the First Church of Kamiah; the Reverend Moses Monteith, pastor of the Second Church of Kamiah; the Reverend Robert Parsons, pastor of the Meadow Creek Church; the Reverend William Wheeler, stated supply of the Stites Church; the Reverend Enoch Pond, stated supply of the North Fork Church at the time of his death, March 20, 1907; and the Reverend Silas Whitman, died in June 1905 (McBeth 1908). They served in most tribes throughout the Plateau as well as among the Shoshone and Paiute of the Northern Great Basin.

Father Brown, a Blackfoot Catholic priest, is an example of the much less common Catholic tendency to train an Indian priesthood in the Plateau. Therefore, Catholic missionizing has historically been, and continues to be, primarily in the hands of non-Indian priests such as Fathers Cataldo, De Smet, O'Malley, and Connolly (Burns 1966). In contrast, Nez Perce preachers Cecil Corbett, Walter Moffett, and Mose Thomas are more recent seminary-trained missionaries who continue to operate in various tribes throughout the West and even Canada on behalf of the Presbyterians.

Small Indian-dominated Pentecostal churches have been formed and are closely tied to the Indian Shaker churches at Yakama, Warm Springs, Colville, and elsewhere. In some cases Pentecostal leaders are found as leaders

in both the Indian Shaker Church and Pentecostal churches. The Pentecostal Bible and the Doctrine of the Holy Ghost have also been introduced into some Indian Shaker ceremonies. Unlike the major tests for traditional religious leadership in the Plateau—magical healing and prophecy—the Christian Indian religious leaders have depended on formal confirmation by non-Indian church authorities for legitimation. In contrast, the generally less educated Pentecostal Christian religious leaders more often establish their legitimacy by healing and visions.

Deward E. Walker, Jr.

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Coeur d'Alene; Ceremony and Ritual, Nez Perce; Oral Traditions, Plateau; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, Columbia Plateau; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Plateau; Vision Quest Rites

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Repatriation, Spiritual and Cultural Implications

Today's academic disciplines of archaeology and physical anthropology share a legacy with museums rooted in desecration, sacrilege, and violations of indigenous human rights. American Indians and Native Hawaiians have battled the collective might of these imperialistic entities and won a number of important religious freedom and human rights victories in the political arena. Federal and state laws resulting from these struggles have enabled Indian nations to repatriate ancestral human remains, funerary objects, and cultural items belonging to them that were lost to the hands of others. Laws have also extended burial protections to federal lands and to some states. Museums and academics have become more receptive to Indian concerns, but this cultural war is far from having been won. Many museums, universities, and federal agencies continue to hold, and have the final say over, the disposition of items belonging to Indians and Native Hawaiians. Consequently, mistrust, fear, and doubt continue to plague this relationship. More important, the desecration of Indian graves continues in the name of progress.

Like people everywhere, indigenous peoples of the U.S. and other places have spiritual beliefs associated with the dead and the places where they are buried. These views and mortuary traditions differ in many respects from Indian nation to nation, but a common theme among them is that the dead should not be bothered except for legitimate and compelling purposes. In 1850s, Chief Seattle, responding to the U.S. government's demands that the Suquamish and Duwamish peoples of Washington cede their lands, declared, "To us the ashes of our ancestors are sacred and their resting place is hallowed ground. . . . Our dead never forget the beautiful world that gave them being. They still love its verdant valleys, its murmuring rivers, its magnificent mountains, sequestered vales and verdant lined lakes and bays, and ever yearn in tender, fond affection over the lonely hearted living, and often return from the Happy Hunting Ground to visit, guide, console and comfort them." As Seattle noted, cemeteries are sacred places. A Shasta's final words, recorded in 1877, explain the religious significance of a proper and lasting burial for many California Indians. After telling his companions not to bury him away from his home village, the dying man gave a passionate "adjuration to them not to let his body molder and his spirit wander homeless, friendless, and alone in a strange country."

Indigenous groups shared many beliefs regarding tampering with the dead. Many expect a lasting burial in which their remains would deteriorate within Mother Earth. Some believe that disinterment stops the spiritual journey of the dead, causing the affected spirits to wander aimlessly in limbo. Pawnees, Diné (Navajos), Apaches, and others assert that anyone who disrupts a grave is an

evil, profane, and demented person who plans to use the dead as a means of harming the living. Sickness, emotional distress, and death are the possible effects of such activities. Many Indians stress that disinterment may occur only for a compelling reason. For example, Pawnees occasionally opened a grave of one of their deceased relatives to reposition an incorrectly placed holy object.

However, Europeans who entered the Americas had scant regard for the host population's rights. Their invasion occurred under the color of a racialized mindset that relegated Indians to the lowly position of savages and pagans. The invaders, by virtue of the "doctrine of discovery," claimed a God-given right of preeminence to the land. Graves of Indians also became fair game. English violations of Indian burials occurred shortly after the landing of the *Mayflower* at Plymouth Bay in 1620. The sacrilege escalated dramatically after the founding of the United States in 1776. Throughout the colonial and early republic periods, men of high social standing such as Thomas Jefferson disrupted Indian graves for the sake of curiosity and trophies for home display.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the looting of Indian graves became a cottage industry, an honored profession, and an undertaking sanctioned by law and public opinion. Beginning in the 1830s, Samuel G. Morton paid soldiers, federal Indian agents, and settlers to steal skulls from Indian graves. The federal policy of moving Indians westward left thousands of Indian graves unprotected from the shovels of looters. Morton's craniometrics research sought to prove the intellectual and cultural superiority of Anglo Saxons over other races. Others used the pseudoscientific findings of Morton and his followers to write racial studies that denigrated Indians as intellectually or culturally inferior. These works supported the self-serving claim of white America that it had a God-given right to expand its borders and civilization across the hemisphere. In 1867, the Army Medical Museum (AMM) began to collect Indian remains for study. Prizing crania, field surgeons often went to the scene of battles and decapitated the bodies of fallen Indians. By the early 1890s, field surgeons and others had shipped AMM curators Indian crania and bodies representing approximately 4,000 individuals.

During the late 1800s and 1900s, professional and amateur archaeologists, joined by museum curators, joined the sacrilege in larger and larger numbers. Individuals of this bent sought to endear the work of Morton by calling him the father of American physical anthropology. University graduate programs in physical anthropology and archaeology produced scholars trained in the crafts of exhuming and studying indigenous bodies and grave contents. Amateur archaeologists scoured the countryside in search of Indian burials. Digs often drew large crowds, and some exposed cemeteries became tourist attractions and state parks. Museums acquired, dis-

played, and warehoused stolen skulls, bones, and grave goods for educational purposes. These profane operations gave rise to what can be termed the archaeology/museum industry. These professions shared a common value rooted in the exploitation of deceased Indians and Native Hawaiians and the taking of cultural objects under a cloud of federal oppression. The rise of professional organizations including the Society of American Archaeology (SAA) and the Association of American Physical Anthropology (AAPA) promoted scholarship involving the excavation, warehousing, study, and display of Native remains and funerary objects. Rather than telling the story of Indians from an indigenous perspective, these studies cast this history in the realm of Western intellectual thought.

The sacrilege did not stop there. Believing that Indians were a vanishing race, museums also became heavily engaged in the business of acquiring cultural objects from Indians subjected to the heavy hand of federal oppression. By the 1890s most Indian nations had been confined on reservations, where their people lived in dire poverty and faced an uncertain future. These lands often resembled prisoner of war camps, with U.S. military and Indian police forces in place to suppress Ghost Dance and other spiritual activities seen as rebellious and uncivilized. Federal agents, following a national policy committed to eradicating all vestiges of traditional Indian culture, took thousands of Indian children from their families and placed them in distant boarding schools. School personnel employed corporal punishment, education, and strict military regimentation in an attempt to force the children to forget their native languages, to accept Christianity, and to adopt white American ways. Codes of Indian offenses criminalized Indian rituals and healing ceremonies.

Facing oppression and destitution, some Indians began to sell religious objects to museum curators and private collectors who went to reservations for that purpose. The Antiquities Act of 1906 essentially turned over the ownership of indigenous graves to the federal government. Under that law, potential diggers on federal lands, including reservations, had to apply for a permit in which they agreed to turn over the fruits of their labor to public institutions for study in perpetuity. State governments followed the federal example of compelling excavators to surrender unearthed objects found on state lands to public facilities.

Through these efforts, federal and state agencies, universities, and private museums amassed enormous collections of human remains and cultural objects at the expense of Indian religious freedom and burial rights. A national mindset, complete with laws, sanctioned the desecration and oppression. The granting of citizenship rights to Indians in the late 1800s and 1900s did nothing to impede the growth of the archaeology/museum industry. It took a movement that surfaced in the 1960s to accomplish that purpose.

Indian challenges to discriminatory laws and the archaeology/museum industry emerged with the rise of the Indian movement. Along with demanding religious freedom, a return to treaty relationship with the federal government, and full sovereignty, Indian activism also focused on ending the scientific theft of indigenous graves and regaining control of the collections in museums. Members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and others periodically disrupted digs and protested the mistreatment of their ancestors and the discriminatory laws that denied many deceased Indians a lasting burial. American Indians Against Desecration (AIAD) surfaced as an organization committed to the protection of Indian burials. In Hawaii, Hui Malama I Na Kupuna O Hawai'i Nei was founded to protect the sanctity of *iwi kupuna* (ancestral Native Hawaiian remains) and ensure their proper return to *ka 'aina* (the land) through the practice of traditional values, spiritual beliefs, and practices.

Fortunately, the message carried by AIM, AIAD, Hui Malama I Na Kupuna O Hawai'i Nei, and burial protection advocates about the disrespectful and abusive treatment of deceased Indians gradually resonated with the American public. Despite strong opposition from elements of the archaeology/museum industry, a growing number of states responded by extending burial protection laws to include unmarked Indian cemeteries. A few universities, the North Dakota Historical Society, and the Nebraska Unicameral Legislature agreed to repatriate human remains in their collections to Indian nations.

The successes of the repatriation initiatives created a crisis in the archaeology/museum industry. Its affiliates divided, taking positions ranging from flat resistance to compromise. The American Committee for the Preservation of Archaeological Collections (ACPAC) viewed the conduct of archaeologists who participated in repatriation as treasonous. It presented its membership as victims of irrational attacks on their ability to tell the story of prehistory. Waving the banner of academic freedom, ACPAC sought to maintain professional solidarity by blackballing the "sellouts" and raising funds to support the legal defense of members accused of violating burial laws. A 1986 ACPAC newsletter declared:

> Archaeologists, your profession is on the line. Now is the time to dig deep and help ACPAC with its expenses for legal fees. Next year or next month will be too late; we have to act immediately to fight this issue. This one will be resolved in court, not by the press. We will be able to cross-examine Indians on their tribal affinities, religion, and connection to the archaeological remains they seek to destroy. We will be able to challenge anti-science laws based on race and religion. We can make a strong case, but it takes money. Send some!

Those who advocated compromise sought to continue their work by gaining the respect and trust of Indians.

As the 1980s closed, the United States became more receptive to Indian and Native Hawaiian demands for the repatriation of human remains, funerary objects, and sacred cultural objects. In 1989, American Indians and the Smithsonian Institution reached a landmark repatriation agreement. Later that year Congress implemented the agreement by enacting the National Museum of the American Indian Act (NMAIA), requiring the Smithsonian Institution to repatriate human remains and funerary objects in its collections linked to present-day Indian nations by a preponderance of evidence. The following year Congress made repatriation a national policy when it passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). This bipartisan measure required all entities receiving federal funding to inventory the human remains, funerary objects, objects of cultural patrimony, and sacred objects in their collections. Upon receiving those inventories, Indian nations could begin the process of repatriating items linked to them. In 1996, Congress created statutory uniformity by amending NMAIA to enable Indian nations and Native Hawaiian organizations to repatriate objects of cultural patrimony and sacred objects from the Smithsonian. These laws have provided a legal avenue for Indians and Native Hawaiians to repatriate thousands of their ancestors and funerary objects. These indigenous peoples have reclaimed cultural objects that are central to their identity as a people, as well as some that are needed for ongoing religious ceremonies.

Repatriating human remains has forced the next of kin to address the issue of how the reburials should take place. After all, Indians never before had to conduct reburial ceremonials. Does a ceremony need to be conducted? Should the remains be spiritually fed? Should non-Indians, the perpetrators, be allowed to attend the reburials? Should the press be allowed to attend, so that the reburial can be publicized for educational purposes? Indians and Native Hawaiians have devised reburial procedures that are culturally appropriate for them. Basically, reburials are often spiritual observances accompanied by reverence, prayer, and song. They are both sorrowful and joyous occasions. Those in attendance sense the disturbing history involving the disinterment and confinement of their ancestors in boxes, on public display, and on shelves. Unlike funerals for the recently departed, however, reburials evoke feelings of elation for the sacred act of returning ancestral remains to the womb of Mother Earth. These services bond the living with their ancestors in ways that are both spiritual and symbolic. Some groups exclude non-Indians from attending, while others want the occasion recorded to teach others about the shameful legacy of grave looting.

Despite these laws and the successes of the repatriation movement, serious problems continue to hamper Indians and Native Hawaiians in their quest for

burial rights, repatriation, and religious freedom. First, the Society of American Archaeology, professional archaeologists, physical archaeologists, and others remain committed to preserving the privileged status they acquired through the history of scientific racism and cultural genocide. In an August 26, 1999, letter, G. A. Clark, head of the Archaeology Division of the American Anthropological Association, declared bitterly:

> I have no patience with, nor sympathy for, NAGPRA and the political correctness that underlies it. Moreover, I am deeply embarrassed for, and ashamed of, American archaeology and physical anthropology. One might've thought the various professional societies would've done a better job contesting this lunacy when it was possible to do so. Academics are not very politically adept, however, and when erstwhile Smithsonian Secretary Robert Adams agreed to repatriate the Smithsonian's skeletal collections, it knocked the pins out from under any efforts the SAA and AAPA might've undertaken to prevent it. This is what happens when politics is allowed to take precedence over rational and disinterested evaluation of the credibility of knowledge claims about the human past.

Individuals who oppose repatriation are often found in museums and federal agencies. NAGPRA assigns these people the responsibility to determine the cultural affiliation of human remains in their collections. This means that they have the ability to stop the reburial of human remains, especially the older ones such as Spirit Cave Man now coveted by the archaeology/museum industry, by rejecting evidence submitted by indigenous peoples. Additionally, SAA members comprise the majority of the staffing within the National Park Service (NPS) office responsible for NAGPRA implementation authority. Indians and Native Hawaiians feel that this arrangement constitutes a conflict of interest that allows the NPS to render administrative decisions in favor of archaeologists against native interests.

A second issue is that museums often applied deadly pesticides to masks and other cultural objects. This means that the keepers and wearers of poisoned religious objects could suffer the health consequences of contact with the toxins. Third, in some states, including Texas, legislation protecting Indian burials is missing, leaving property owners the owners of Indian cemeteries.

Finally, NAGPRA left the fate of tens of thousands of human remains up to the NAGPRA Review Committee, a body composed of Indians and academics, sometimes one and the same. This committee is supposed to submit its determination to the secretary of the interior for approval. To date, however, the committee has considered five draft recommendations without approving any of them. The last draft elevates the interests of science above those of Indians by making the repatriation of the "culturally unidentifiable" human remains voluntary.

Meanwhile, representatives of Indian nations adopted their own recommendations for consideration in a December

2002 meeting at Arizona State University's law school. The recommendations state:

1. Culturally unidentifiable Native American human remains are culturally affiliated to contemporary Native peoples, including federally recognized tribes, nonfederally recognized tribes, Native Alaskan peoples, and Native Hawaiian people.
2. All Native American human remains and associated funerary objects, including those deemed "culturally unidentifiable," shall be under the ownership and control of contemporary Native peoples.
3. All "culturally unidentifiable" Native American human remains shall be speedily repatriated to Native peoples in accordance with procedures to be determined by contemporary Native American groups.
4. All scientific study of "culturally unidentifiable" Native American human remains shall immediately cease.
5. The federal government shall be responsible for funding the costs of this repatriation. (Recommendations for Disposition of "Culturally Unidentifiable" Native American Human Remains under NAGPRA)

In closing, the repatriation movement has dramatically altered the privileged status of the archaeology/museum industry in ways that support the religious freedom and beliefs of American Indians and Native Hawaiians. Yet the repatriation battle is still raging in institutions and the courts. The fate of the so-called culturally unidentifiable human remains is still unresolved. Many indigenous peoples continue to view the archaeology/museum industry with mistrust and apprehension.

James Riding In

See also Archaeology; Identity; Kennewick Man; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion

Reservations, Spiritual and Cultural Implications

In this essay, the labels First Nations and Indigenous Peoples are used to name the Aboriginal peoples of the United States. Labels such as "Indians," "American Indians," and "Native Americans" are used only when directly quoting another source. The substitution of labels is crucial because the names Indians, American Indians, and Native Americans are "counterfeit identities" resulting from the hegemony of European American colonialism and linguistic imperialism (Yellow Bird 1999). Indigenous Peoples are "not Indians or American Indians because they are not from India. They are not Native Americans because Indigenous Peoples did not refer to these lands as America until Europeans arrived and imposed this name" (Yellow Bird 2001, 61). The change in terminology is a matter of historical and linguistic justice. Indigenous Peoples have struggled, and continue to struggle, against the oppressive paradigms of American linguistic colonialism that ignores individual tribal identities and falsely names Indigenous Peoples to serve the needs and history of the colonizer. Counterfeit labels are dan-

Entrance road sign for the Nez Perce Reservation, Idaho. (Joseph Sohm/ChromoSohm Inc./Corbis)

gerous because "they are historically entangled in American racist discourses that claim Europeans discovered a new world that needed to be settled, claimed, and civilized. This myth-making has promoted the notion that the original inhabitants were unable to settle, claim, and civilize these lands because they were nomadic, unsettled, savage peoples" (Yellow Bird 1999, 86). Therefore, this essay does not use the labels Indians, American Indians, or Native Americans.

A reservation is often defined as tract of "public" land set aside by the U.S. federal government for the "use," "possession," and "benefit" of Indigenous Peoples (*Merriam Webster's* 2000; Pevar 1992). However, this definition fails to reveal that use and possession of, and benefits from, reservation lands are largely determined and controlled by the U.S. Congress, which exercises plenary authority over those territories through the U.S. Department of the Interior and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. And in order for these lands to be declared public, a term that suggests they are open and accessible to all, control and ownership had to be first taken from the owners. Indeed, by using the force of their courts, congressional removal policies, warfare, and the violation of treaties, land-hungry, resource-starved American colonizers

A woman in a white robe symbolizes Manifest Destiny. On the ground below, Native Americans and bison run in front of her. The philosophy of Manifest Destiny, that U.S. expansion to the Pacific Ocean was inevitable and even divinely inspired, enabled Americans to justify their colonization of indigenous lands. (John Gast/Corbis)

often illegally drove Indigenous Peoples off their lands and claimed them. "Manifest Destiny," the accepted belief that U.S. expansion to the Pacific Ocean was inevitable and even divinely inspired, enabled Americans to justify their theft and colonization of indigenous lands. Missouri senator Thomas Hart Benton, a fierce proponent of this philosophy, declared that white Americans had alone received the divine command to subdue and replenish the earth, while Indigenous Peoples had no rights to the lands because they had been created for use by the white races according to the intentions of the Creator (Benton, 1846). In 1500, when Europeans began arriving in this country, Indigenous Peoples controlled billions of acres of land. By 1887 their land base was down to 140 million acres, and by 1931 it had shrunk to less than 48 million acres (Olson and Wilson 1986).

Failures by the U.S. Congress to ratify land agreements made with Indigenous Peoples also caused these groups to lose

hundreds of millions of additional acres of land. The amount of land stolen from Indigenous Peoples by the citizens and governments of the United States is shocking and shameful. By 1980 the U.S. federal government held only 52 million acres of Indigenous Peoples' land in trust (ibid., 209). However, struggles for the land between Indigenous Peoples and the United States are not over, and many tribal nations continue to work for the return and protection of their aboriginal territories. Today's reservations represent the last remaining lands belonging to people who once owned and occupied all that is now the contiguous United States and Alaska (Snipp 1996, 39).

Most reservations were created by treaty, presidential order, or an act of Congress, and the majority are located west of the Mississippi River in mainly isolated, rural areas. There are two types of reservations: federal and state. These entities are referred to as colonies, communities, pueblos, ranches, rancherias, reservations, reserves, tribal towns, and villages (U.S. Census Bureau 2000). In 2000 there were 315 federal and state reservations around the nation. Reservations vary in size, "ranging from only a few acres, such as the small rancherias scattered around California, to the Navajo reservation in the four corners area, which is approximately the size of the state of West Virginia or the nation of Ireland" (Snipp 1996).

Reservations were established on some of the poorest, more remote lands in the United States and, in many instances, were not regarded or intended to be places where Indigenous Peoples could reside indefinitely. In fact, many influential nineteenth-century white policy-makers believed that these groups must assimilate into white society if they were to survive, and that "the biggest obstacle to Indian assimilation was the reservation system" (Adams 1995). Over many generations, poverty, lack of opportunity, federal government neglect and relocation policies, and isolation caused many First Nations People to flee reservation life. At the inception of this system the majority of Native Peoples lived on reservations. By 1990 slightly less than 22 percent of the indigenous population resided on those lands (ibid.).

While it was asserted by white policymakers that reservations were established to protect Indigenous Peoples from encroaching white settlers, during their early development in the mid to late 1800s, reservations were also established to serve as holding pens or concentration camps where Indigenous Peoples were detained and confined by the U.S. government. Many tribes who had resisted the American invasion into their lands were herded, often under heavily armed military guard units, onto these lands and treated as "hostiles" or prisoners of war. Whether individual tribes had been friendly or at war with the United States made little difference in these environments; most received poor treatment, such as inferior food, housing, and medical care. Reservation life took a

terrible toll on the physical, emotional, psychological, and spiritual lives of the residents. Conditions were so bad that they would cause an often embarrassed U.S. Congress to launch numerous investigations to study these problems. However, little was ever done to correct or improve these environments.

When reservation life had weakened Indigenous Peoples to their lowest point of resistance, almost every social, political, and economic aspect of tribal life came under the most pointed and aggressive attack. Without any regard or respect for Indigenous Peoples' former customs and beliefs, "Bureau of Indian Affairs" superintendents, who were sometimes corrupt, and federally subsidized missionaries imposed changes in all aspects of Native life. To ensure that Indigenous Peoples could not escape from this situation and would conform to the subjugation of the reservation system, the federal government enacted harsh laws and penalties. For instance, commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis A. Walker, in his 1872 annual report, declared, "In the first announcement made of the reservation system, it was expressly declared that the Indians should be made as comfortable on, as uncomfortable off, their reservations as it was in the power of the Government to make them; that such of them as went right should be protected and fed, and such as went wrong should be harassed and scourged without intermission" (Prucha 1975, 139). Because reservations created a system of racial segregation and made possible the political and economic discrimination and manipulation of First Nations peoples, they could, by definition, be regarded as the earliest form of government-sponsored apartheid in this nation. In fact, the reservation system was so effective at controlling Indigenous Peoples that it is believed that Nazi leader Adolph Hitler researched Indian reservations as models for his concentration camps (Means 1999).

Until the early 1970s, when a major resurgence of indigenous identity and cultural renewal occurred, the effects that reservations had upon Indigenous Peoples' religious lives were almost exclusively negative (Nagel 1997). Concentrating these groups in one area made it much easier to control and oversee their activities and made Indigenous Peoples a captive audience for missionaries. The ethnocentrism of white policy-makers and Christian missionaries caused them to look upon Native religious practices as primitive, barbaric, superstitious, and inferior, as well as preventing moral and religious development. Indigenous Peoples, it was argued, "must be taught the knowledge, values, and habits of Christian civilization" if they were to be saved (Adams 1995, 141–143). As more and more missionaries arrived on reservations for the purpose of religious conversion of Indigenous Peoples to Christianity, the spiritual lives of Indigenous Peoples faced considerable and continuing disruption.

The souls of Indigenous Peoples were divided up between various religious

groups, beginning with the Quakers in 1869. By 1872 government agents had assigned 238,899 individuals from seventy-three different reservation agencies to thirteen Euro-American Christian religious groups (Prucha 1975). Family members, both nuclear and extended, were often divided between different competing religious denominations, which created spiritual conflicts and religious arguments between people where none had existed before. In fact, Lakota scholar Vine Deloria, Jr., asserts, "No demand existed, however, for the people to go into the world and inform or instruct other people in their rituals and beliefs of the tribe. The people were supposed to follow their own teachings and assume that other people would follow their teachings. These instructions were rigorously followed and consequently there was never an instance of a tribe making war on another tribe because of religious differences" (Deloria 1999, 262).

Perhaps the greatest reply to the imposition of white religious beliefs upon

Leo Yellowhair stands outside his hogan on the Hopi Indian Reservation. Yellowhair and his mother, Joanne Yellowhair, live day to day along the rim of Blue Canyon about twenty miles southeast of Tuba City, Arizona. Their home is a small octagonal dirt and wood traditional Diné hogan. Living without plumbing or electricity, their life centers on tending their eighteen sheep and goats and one horse. In the summer they raise crops irrigated with water carried from Tuba City. Ca. 1996. (Kevin Fleming/Corbis)

Indigenous Peoples was delivered by Seneca leader Red Jacket, who said the following to a preacher from the Evangelical Missionary Society in 1805:

> Brother, you say that you are sent to instruct us how to worship the Great Spirit agreeably to his mind, and, if we do not take hold of the religion which you white people teach, we shall be unhappy hereafter. You say that you are right and we are lost. How do we know this to be true? We . . . only know what you tell us about it. How shall we know when to believe, being so often deceived by the white people? Brother, you say there is but one way to worship and serve the Great Spirit. If there is but one religion, why do you white people differ so much about it? We are told that your religion was given to your forefathers, and has been handed down from father to son. We also have a religion, which was given to our forefathers, and has been handed down to us, their children. We worship in that way. It teaches us to be thankful for all the favors we receive; to love each other, and to be united. We never quarrel about religion. (Wright 1992, 231–232)

More recently, Sahnish (Arikara) elder Magdalene Yellow Bird recounts as a young girl how all the people in her community would come together to pray and worship in any of the Christian churches on a given Sunday and how white religious leaders then prohibited this practice.

> It didn't matter to our people what church they attended because we were all accustomed to prayer and worship as one tribal community. It was just natural for us to all be together at this time. The church just happened to be the place we went to. After the services were over we would all sit down together in the church basement in the winter, or outside in the summer, to eat a meal and visit before going to pray at the next church. At first the ministers at the different churches didn't mind us going from place to place. I think they were just glad that they had so many of us in their congregation singing, praying, and thanking them for their good words. But it didn't take long for them to figure out what we were doing and pretty soon they began to tell us that we could not come to their services if we were not members of their church. Of course this bothered the people because they were so used to being together whenever something holy was going on. So, what happened changed how we viewed religion and it's when we started to become really divided in our spiritual beliefs. So now I'm a Catholic, one of your aunties is a Lutheran, and your grandma belongs to the United Church of Christ. Of course some still attended tribal ceremonies but didn't tell the Christian ministers about it, because they were always saying we were going to go to hell if we practiced these ways. (Interview with Magdalene Yellow Bird 1990)

Since time immemorial, "sacred landscapes, rivers, forests, stories, songs, plants (medicines), dances, and symbols have been at the center of Indigenous spirituality helping First Nations Peoples find wholeness and renew their cultures" (Yellow Bird 2001, 66). However, when

Our Lady of the Little Rockies Church, Fort Belknap Reservation, Hays, Montana. 1994. (Dave G. Houser/Corbis)

Indigenous Peoples were confined to reservations, access to these places, practices, and materials was often not possible. Holy pilgrimages to sacred sites or the collection of plants necessary for various ceremonial purposes either ceased or had to be done in secret. "Thunder Butte," a sacred landscape to the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Sahnish of the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota, is located just outside the western borders of the reservation on land now belonging to a white rancher. At one time this site was located on the lands of these tribes, but it was taken away during one of the many reductions of their territory by the federal government. For several generations the only sacred pilgrimages to this area were done in secret, under the cover of night, and at great risk to the individual. During the 1970s, tribal members who were interested in reviving their traditional religious practices approached the owner of these lands and gained permission to resume sacred use of the site. However, there often remain periods of time when the owner will not allow such visits.

The religious practices of Indigenous Peoples, who were virtual prisoners on the reservation, were continually attacked and threatened by government

A bumper sticker on a vehicle in Neah Bay, a town on the Makah Indian Reservation in the northwest corner of Washington state. (Ed Eckstein/Corbis)

Indian agents and Christian missionaries. To discourage the practice of tribal religious life, laws were imposed that banned the singing of tribal songs, dances, and religious ceremonies. Traditional religious leaders were condemned, jailed, and ridiculed by white missionaries and government agents, and they were removed from any influential position they had held among their community. Those leaders that abandoned their religious tribal beliefs and turned to white religious practices were especially useful to white colonizers.

Banned from singing songs that were an important means of transmitting spiritual culture to younger generations, a group of prominent Sahnish leaders and chiefs petitioned the commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1913, requesting permission to be allowed to resume that practice: "Sir; Whereas the old time songs and music are being forgotten, and in order not to have them forgotten entirely, we, the undersigned do hereby respectfully request permission to meet once a month to practice the said songs, so as to give the younger generation a chance to learn them, and to let them in turn teach them to the next generation. Also we wish to perpetuate these songs to sing to Historians when they chance

to come here and want to hear old time songs. Hoping that this request will be granted to us we sign ourselves" (Gilman and Schneider 1987, 224). Recognizing that the necessary degree of assimilation had taken hold among this group, the commissioner later gave his permission. However, most tribal groups that made such requests were not so fortunate.

Sharing and generosity were, and remain, important spiritual values among many First Nations Peoples. Helping others by sharing of what one has, whether it is time, resources, or knowledge, is a way in which many groups reinforce their respect and appreciation for one another. Such actions helped inspire good relationships and contributed to peace, harmony, and the well-being of all tribal members. Many Indigenous Peoples use give-away ceremonies to extend their good fortune. Items such as food, clothing, blankets, money, and cookware are shared between people. For many groups, sharing and generosity are part of their original religious tribal teachings. For instance, among the Sahnish a holy being named Mother Corn taught them "to provide for those who should be dependent upon them . . . to be generous and forbearing, to practise hospitality to strangers, to be kind to the poor" (Gilmore 1930, 108). In the past, the sharing and generosity of Indigenous Peoples were regarded as cultural defects, and many attempts were made by whites to extinguish those values (Meyer 1977). In one instance a missionary working among the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Sahnish on the Fort Berthold Reservation in the late 1800s declared that "they are a generous people and feel their responsibility toward their brother. But the mission work is gradually overcoming this" (ibid., 128).

The ceremony called the Sun Dance, practiced by many Plains tribes, was outlawed by federal authorities among the Sahnish, Hidatsa, and Mandan tribes in the early 1900s. It was considered by white missionaries to be a heathen practice of self-mutilation of the worst sort. Anyone guilty of participating in the Sun Dance had rations withheld and was jailed for a second offense. Those who were caught practicing traditional medicine were jailed for ten days (Gilman and Schneider 1987). The ban on the Sun Dance was maintained for several generations, and it was not until the 1980s that the Mandan and Hidatsa resumed that religious practice. The Sahnish did not return to the ritual until 1998, almost 100 years after the original ban.

Sahnish historian and scholar Loren Yellow Bird explains that his tribe endured many difficult trials throughout their history and that their religious traditions have lapsed; most sacred ceremonies are no longer practiced because of the impact of reservations upon Sahnish religious life (Yellow Bird 2003). However, he explains that, like many different tribal peoples, "our medicine men a long time ago in ceremonies predicted" that the "destruction of our traditions" would occur with the coming

A warning sign nailed to a tree at the edge of the Mount Currie Indian Reserve, British Columbia, Canada. The sign reads "WARNING No outside white visitors allowed because of your failure to obey the laws of our tribe as well as the laws of your own. This village is hereby closed." (Gunter Marx Photography/Corbis)

of whites who would bring with them their own beliefs. Still, he maintains, "It isn't over for us. . . . I, for one, am continuing the best that I can with the history that was passed down and look at what we need to carry on our traditions" (ibid., 13).

Although reservations were once places where Indigenous Peoples were confined against their will, for many they "have since become places whose importance cannot be overestimated." Today, for many Indigenous Peoples who reside on these lands, as well as for many who do not, the reservation remains a center of "cultural identity," "ceremonial activity," and "an essential symbol of tribal life" (Snipp 1996, 39). It is now a place where new and old sacred and secular ceremonies are being created and re-created and passed between generations of tribal peoples. However, it is important to not over-romanticize reservation life, since many continue to carry on life and death struggles with poverty, isolation, social ills, and lack of economic opportunity. In many respects, the chronically poor conditions on many reservations reinforce the feelings of many Indigenous Peoples that the U.S.

government has no more interest in the well-being of these lands, or the people that live here, than it did during the early reservation period, when these lands were used as holding pens and concentration camps.

Despite the humble environment of most reservations, Indigenous Peoples continue to reside on these lands, and many former residents return often during their lifetime. Today, many come back to the reservation from urban environments to get reconnected with their religious traditions, while others return to be buried. Many use these lands and sacred sites to overcome despair and oppression brought on by forces outside their cultures, and many come to celebrate who they are and to reaffirm their identity. For instance, a Native person living in the San Francisco area for many years returned to the reservation. "I became a Sun Dancer, a museum curator. My boys are Sun Dancers. One is a keeper of our sacred tribal pipe. . . . I brought them back to live on the reservation so they will know racism, pain, the hardcore stuff of life around here. . . . A real Indian lives in an Indian environment, learns spiritual ways, is discriminated against because of his looks, is shaped when he's young to be quiet because of racism. We pay a penalty. There's a positive aspect—the spiritual side. . . . That's what I came back for" (Nagel 1997, 191).

The reservation system has had an enormously negative effect on the religious lives of Indigenous Peoples. It has been directly responsible for much of the loss and suppression of traditional religious beliefs and practices. The reservation enabled Christian missionaries and government agents to enforce the introduction of many different white, Christian belief systems upon Native Peoples, which divided many families and communities. Despite all the divine inspiration and assistance from God given to whites, their philosophy of Manifest Destiny, and their theft of indigenous land, the reservation system was not enough to eradicate Indigenous Peoples' traditional religious lives. Today, Indian reservations remain, as do all the lands of this nation, the cultural birthright and spiritual stronghold of Indigenous Peoples.

Michael Yellow Bird

See also American Indian Movement (Red Power Movement); Law, Legislation, and Native Religion; New Age Appropriation; Retraditionalism and Identity Movements; Sacred Sites and Sacred Mountains; Termination and Relocation

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Retraditionalism and Identity Movements

American Indians are the only Americans whose entire heritage is in the United States, has always been here, and is to be preserved here and nowhere else. While it is important to realize that the term "American Indians" is a sometimes problematic reference to a continental population actually composed of many nations, it is also true that there is a measure of collective identity to be expressed in terms of aboriginality. A common way of speaking about this is "pan-Indianism," but that term tends to gloss a plethora of interrelated issues of legal, economic, and cultural import. For some, pan-Indianism is the "pow wow culture," a broad set of practices and cultural referents, heavily influenced by Plains cultures, dubbed in the 1960s "Indians of All Tribes." For others the term is a nod to the growing cross-tribal and indeed international movement toward returning indigenous communities all over the world to a sense of self-determination. Regardless of which area of the dis-

course this term occupies, "pan-Indianism" has its genesis within a set of historical circumstances that opened the door for multinational communication, on this continent as well as others, regarding the current state of indigenous peoples and what the future holds for them.

One key area of this discussion is the effort being made in many contemporary Indian communities to return to a self-defined set of traditions—collective identity, worldview, spiritual practices and beliefs, etc.—that range from language revival, to seasonal ceremonies, to traditional leadership or economic views. This set of phenomena has been referred to by D'Arcy McNickle, Robert N. Wells, Jr., and Joane Nagel (among others) as "renewal," and it varies in character from group to group.

Renewal can take many forms and proceed in many directions; however, the participation level of various communities is governed by several factors. One is that there is a range of continuity experienced by these groups, with those enjoying long-term land tenure and language retention, such as the Diné, only relatively recently feeling the pressure to make concerted efforts in behalf of cultural renewal. There are other tribal groups, on the other hand, such as those in California, for whom missionization created a fairly wide cognitive rift between ancestral knowledge and contemporary Indians.

Another factor affecting levels of renewal efforts being mounted by particular communities is their current socio-cultural circumstances. For some Indian nations, extreme poverty and accompanying disease remain at the forefront of communal concern. While undoubtedly most advocates, both inside and outside Indian Country, would place cultural renewal at the heart of any return to economic and social normalcy, the reality is that many communities find themselves in a veritable fight for survival that may hinder the process. One of the dirty little secrets in the United States is the level of misery experienced in some reservation communities, and indeed by individuals of Native American heritage that find themselves away from any community whatsoever in the larger cities.

In fact, the dispersal of Indian people from their communities, both geographic and human, provides a final factor in the range of successful renewal efforts among contemporary American Indians. As I will discuss in more detail below, the U.S. government made a concerted effort to strip Indian people of their culture. From the Dawes (Removal) Act, to tribal "disenrollment" and termination policies, to treaty violations, the U.S. government embarked upon, and indeed continues along, a path toward the marginalization and dissolution of separate Indian communal identities. Therefore renewal also occurs at the individual level, with many of the patterns mirroring those of the generation that W. C. Roof has called "seekers," in that a post–Viet Nam culture in the United States has raised issues of individual spirituality and religious choices to a

meta level; Roof's "baby-boomer" category, of course, also includes American Indians, both reservation and urban.

American Indians are not immigrants. There are no "homelands" preserved overseas to which they may go for cultural information. The sole guardians of their languages, religions, material creations, and customs, only they are capable of preserving their ancestral cultures. American Indians have been battling attempts to obliterate their cultures from the time of the arrival of the first Europeans. The first wave of invaders, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, brought military incursions that were soon amplified by the ravages of disease. The second wave, from the mid-eighteenth through the mid-nineteenth centuries, brought Euro-American populations large enough to warrant well-supported military campaigns along the series of western "frontiers." The official position of the United States during its first 150 years was articulated by the Supreme Court's chief justice John Marshall in his decision in *Johnson v. McIntosh* (1823) when he wrote: "The tribes of Indians inhabiting this country were fierce savages, whose occupation was war and whose subsistence was drawn chiefly from the forest. To leave them in possession of their country was to leave the country a wilderness; to govern them as a distinct people was impossible" (Hobson et al. 1998).

The late nineteenth century would prove to be the low point in American Indian life in many ways. According to the U.S. census website, in the 1890 census, 228,000 American Indians were recorded in the United States, less than one-tenth of the population only four centuries earlier. While the census no doubt failed to account for thousands of American Indians living independently, off of reservations, and either "passing" in some other census category or avoiding the census altogether, the substantial drop in population belied an openly racist paternalism, coupled with corruption, all over the country that often erupted into open violence against Indians. Indians were kept thoroughly ensconced in dire poverty and malnourishment, living in woefully inadequate conditions; children were forcibly taken from their parents to be kept in boarding schools, forbidden to speak their own languages or practice their religions. Mortality among Native Americans was very high, with diseases such as influenza and tuberculosis common.

The notion of cultural evolution dictated that Indians should be trained in menial labor tasks before they would be able to "progress" to higher pursuits. Western mono-crop farming was imposed upon Indians no matter the environment of their particular reservation. Any success, and there was success because of the presence of agriculture among some tribal groups for millennia, was mitigated by racist white locals or by ultimately unworkable capitalist schemes. For example, Indian small-scale cattle or pig concerns were often second-guessed by BIA managers who instructed Natives to resist taking ani-

mals to market in the fall on a gamble that prices would rise in the spring—only to have those small-production reservation outfits collapse under the weight of extra care for the animals over winter when prices dropped in the long run. While a large-scale capitalist venture might be able to play the market that way, absorbing losses or passing them on to other portions of their system, small-scale farmers like reservation-based American Indian farms would go bankrupt. That, of course, would provide both "proof" of the inadequacies of Native American farming, and cheap goods when the market enjoyed the BIA-sponsored buyout of Native concerns.

Many Indians were forced into the manual labor pool, especially as agricultural laborers, and at wages and in camp conditions that would have been unacceptable to Euro-Americans. The Indian boarding schools taught boys manual and girls domestic work, graduating young adults with an education level of eighth grade or less. One illuminating case is that of Beloit College, which between 1871 and 1884 accepted Dakota youths selected and prepared by the Riggs family of missionaries in Minnesota. Ohiyesa, called Charles Eastman in English, earned top status in mathematics at Beloit, went on to Dartmouth, and took an M.D. from Boston University in 1890. The Bureau of Indian Affairs took offense at Beloit's efforts to give such opportunities to Indians and cut off support for the program when college officials refused to limit Indian students' academic education to manual labor and to place them in factory work.

The contemporary American Indian identity reached, in some ways, a watershed during the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt. John Collier, commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) beginning in 1934, was in many ways as paternalistic as his predecessors, but rather than being guided by the supposed moral superiority of Christianity he romanticized Indians, seeing them as Noble Savages who should be returned to their "primitive democracy"; that notion became a large part of the national imagination with regard to Indian people. He was aided in his efforts by wealthy liberals who thought they were finally doing it right, and all federally recognized tribes were pressured into writing a constitution and electing a tribal council to govern their respective reservations. Truly traditional forms of self-government including hereditary leadership were strongly discouraged. Tribal members who opposed these ideas, including elders who made up the "library" of traditional identity, showed their disapproval by avoiding tribal elections altogether, thereby giving small minorities of "progressives" apparent victories.

Collier did, however, manage some reforms, including early legislation honoring non-Christian religious practice; supporting tribal language, arts, and manufacture programs; ending the damaging boarding school system; and reducing the role of non-Indian BIA agents in the day-to-day lives of reservation

communities. Unfortunately, inasmuch as the country was in the depths of the Great Depression, many of these reforms were far less effective than they might otherwise have been, and with the onset of World War II, much of the work he began in the area of BIA reform was curtailed. The war also provided opportunities for Indians in both industry and military service, and this period can be said to have given birth to the modern Indian identity.

Much of Indian Country remained somewhat isolated, both from the events of the world in general and, more important, from each other. Nations that had become involved in Collier's reservation reforms had begun to meet regionally prior to the war, and factories, military training facilities, and the armed services all provided an opportunity for Indian people to interact on a level never before possible. At the end of World War II, it seemed to most Americans returning to a postwar society that a booming economy and progressive industrial development would provide the means for providing for their families. American Indians expected to be released from the gripping poverty of the previous century. The American government capitalized on this development, offering Natives the "opportunity" to move off of reservation land and become trained in the new industrial skills needed by U.S. companies. However, that would not prove fruitful.

Most Indians who left their ancestral lands looking for economic security found just the opposite, as factory and industrial work was occupied by white workers. Like African Americans on the so-called Northern migration, they found themselves in even more dire circumstances. Families were torn apart by the need to be mobile in order to find adequate work, and when that proved difficult, the opportunistic social diseases of poverty—depression, alcohol and other drug abuse, domestic violence, and disillusioned youth—followed quickly. Back on reservation lands poverty levels soon surpassed those of the pre-Collier years, and many who remained were forced to accept government-sponsored buyouts of land rich in mineral resources, or long-term, low-yield lease arrangements with ranchers and farmers.

The Indians' experiences during the war encouraged them to begin taking a more proactive stance. Given their newfound national identity as American Indians, they began by forming a pantribal political organization called the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI). Somewhat bolstered by familiarity with U.S. government policy and modes of civil action, acquired after Collier's Indian Reorganization Act brought many more Indians into federal employment, the NCAI persisted as a moderate but firm voice. Ironically, the mainstream presence of Indians and their newfound "noble" status resulted in intense efforts by the government to terminate Indian federal status and to force Indians out of all traditional communal practices. Laws preventing the sale of alcohol on reserva-

tions were rescinded, BIA-sponsored private land grabs were intensified, and the general sense that Native people would be better off without their traditional culture and communal practices became the guiding notion of government policy.

With the new goal of assimilation as a directive, the Eisenhower administration and Congress began enacting legislation to terminate Indian tribes. Washington began to rank federally recognized tribes according to the proportion of educated and economically independent members, on the premise that those qualities indicated adequate assimilation into mainstream American society. Following typical national politics, another large factor in termination was the desire of state politicians to disenroll particular tribes. Lobbying by state and industrial interests intent on the land that would be available to them if a given tribe were terminated intensified, stacking the deck against the relatively voiceless reservation tribes at the level of national policy-making.

At the culmination of termination in the mid-1960s, the long-term outcomes of changes begun during the New Deal began to bring about changes in American Indian identity, ushering in a sort of renaissance. During World War II, Indians, such as the famed "Navajo Code Talkers," had demonstrated their abilities and been respected. Becoming tribal leaders upon their return, they began to plan for the future of their people, including the completion of higher education that they might become lawyers, doctors, and even U.S. government officials, in order to aid their tribal communities. The postwar generation's struggles in colleges that neither remedied poor preparation in Indian schools nor honored non-Western cultures led to programs in the 1970s assisting Indian students and bringing about new attitudes about American history, indigenous cultures, and human rights. Groups such as AIM began high-profile struggles for Native American rights, and changes in official recognition of Indian identity allowed for more people to turn to their ancestral roots to answer contemporary questions about how the universe works and what their place might be in it.

At the turn of the new millennium, much of the pan-Indian identity is tempered by a sharp return to tribal-specific themes. Many Indian people see expressing themselves culturally and spiritually in their own languages, styles, and patterns as key to their future as Indian people; there are many individual programs and processes—from language revival and education programs to traditional arts and craft cooperatives—that promise to provide the next generation with a new set of tribal memories. Rather than only struggling to survive, perhaps they will find new avenues for communication in their own languages, for traditional artistic self-expression, and for the expression of ancestral religious worldviews.

Dennis F. Kelley

See also American Indian Movement (Red Power Movement); Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Identity; Native

American Church, Peyote Movement; Reservations, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, Columbia Plateau; ; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, Plains; Revitalization Movements, Northeast; Termination and Relocation

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Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, California

California is somewhat unusual in terms of its Native history because the large variety of tribal groups that call the state home make for a rich and varied set of religious traditions. From the high desert Mojave to the coastal Chumash to the woodland Karuk, there are many traditional practices that continue today. However, owing to the state's relatively late entry into the union (1850, after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo struck between the United States and Mexico) and the fact that California was seen by most whites in the East as their ultimate destination, there was rapid and often violent change for virtually all of California's Native inhabitants with the large-scale influx of Americans.

Prior to that, of course, there had been smaller and more focused incursions into the territory, primarily by Spain and Russia. This focused immigration, forming "pockets" of non-Indians with specific resource desires, had variously severe implications, as with the Spanish mission system; there were also milder shifts, such as those surrounding the Russian fur trade and the first few gold prospectors in the Sierra Nevada foothills.

Spain's Catholic missions in Alta California began as an attempt to create pueblos—towns full of potential subjects that would populate and work the lands for the Crown. However, the process of missionization took longer than expected, and the padres' own writings at the time reflect the ongoing battle with the Indians over the residual Native religious traditions. In fact, Spain was unable, as was Mexico after the revolution, to rid the Native populations of all of their traditions, and the practice of forcing the Indians to abandon their languages in deference to Spanish actually provided the mission populations with a sort of lingua franca. In 1824, for example, the missions were caught off guard by a simultaneous revolt at several missions that began with a vision by a Chumash holy woman and the appearance of a comet in the night sky. The vision

A Hoopa basket maker shows a child how to weave baskets from straw on the Hoopa Indian Reservation in northern California, 1993. (Phil Schermeister/Corbis)

and the celestial event were taken as a sign by the people, and it surprised the padres just how well the Indians communicated between missions, and how much of the traditional belief and social cohesion remained intact.

For the Indian populations that were not under the rule of Spanish Catholicism, religious practices provided a context for cultural continuity in the face of shifting power paradigms; in the northern part of the state, there is much photographic and audiorecorded evidence of regular ceremonial participation. Unfortunately, when California became a U.S. state, the Native population went from the frying pan into the fire. U.S. systems of control were intolerant of both language use and cultural participation among Indian people, and many Natives of various tribes suffered not only bigotry and oppression but also injury and death if found to be speaking their own languages or practicing their own religions. In some areas official laws were passed barring those practices, and children were forcibly removed from their homes to be taught English, Christianity, and manual labor skills, often at the business end of a leather strap. These boarding schools and legal tactics forced Indian people in California to find innovative and even clandestine ways to

maintain their cultural traditions, and in some areas many people found it necessary to abandon the overt practice of these traditions altogether.

Although many California Indians still experience bigotry toward their traditional beliefs and practices, the general cultural liberalization that occurred in this country in the post–Viet Nam era and the subsequent reinvigoration experienced by ethnic communities throughout the land had a particularly strong influence on Native cultures. Perhaps the result of equal parts cultural stimulus among Indian people and the realization of the oppressive nature of the Christian influence on American culture among non-Indians, places like California were ripe for cultural renewal. Furthermore, California in particular had the kind of political atmosphere that allowed for Indians to become much more active in the revitalization of their tribal traditions. There were two main avenues for this retraditionalism: external political activism and internal cultural awareness.

For California Indians, the nature of the "Golden State" and its place in the American economy in the latter part of the twentieth century provided one main issue to which all tribes needed to respond—the disposition of their sacred places. Developers had long been turning the state, particularly the highly desirable coastal regions, into a condominium and luxury home mecca, at the expense of Native sacred places. Burials were disturbed, springs ruined, and gathering areas paved. With little legislative ammunition with which to do battle, Indian activists set about the task of forcing local, state, and federal legislators to take this issue seriously, after many years of toe-to-toe confrontation between developers and their bulldozers and Indians and their courage. A significant shift occurred only during the Clinton administration, when the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was given additional enforcement capabilities through amendment.

It was during the battles for small victories among some devastating losses that California Indian people began to get better acquainted with their tribal traditions. In other words, there was a distinct shift in identity from the more generalized Native American to more tribal-specific self-identification. Activists sought out elders, learned their traditional languages, songs, and ceremonies, and continued to adhere to them after they had unchained themselves from the construction equipment. This cultural awareness coincided with that of Indian people who had gone a different path to the same place—a path that took the form of personal spiritual searches, art and craft skills, or both. A good example is the art form that California Native people are best known for—namely, basketry.

For most California tribal groups, basketry is not simply a practical craft (though, of course, it is that as well) but also a cultural practice. From the awareness of the plant resources, their habitats and management needs, to proper protocol for approaching basket makers for

instruction and advice, making is much more than the weaving. Many tribes have very specific methods for preparing to become a weaver, with songs and ceremonies (that need to be learned from elders who are properly approached, a propriety that also needs to be learned) accompanying the plant interaction, the gathering process, the materials preparation, and the actual weaving. Weavers in some tribal groups are required to present the baskets they make to specific people for specific reasons when they first begin, and some gift baskets are accompanied by particular stories or songs devoted to that basket and its gathering and weaving. We can see, then, that an Indian person who wants to learn basket weaving learns as much, if not more, about her tribal culture and spiritual traditions as she does about baskets.

This notion can be replicated in any of a number of similar processes. Dancing and regalia, traditional foods, language acquisition, and singing are all governed by the same type of protocols described above for basketry. People who decide to "get in touch" with their Indian heritage via these or other means embark upon a journey of traditional education and spiritual development that brings them into the presence of their ancestors, connecting them not only to a time before invasion but also to the kind of spiritual traditions that enabled their people to survive that invasion.

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See also American Indian Movement (Red Power Movement); Ceremony and Ritual, California; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Indian Shaker Church; Missionization, California; Oral Traditions; Oral Traditions, California; Power, Barbareño Chumash; Prison and Native Spirituality; Reservations, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, Columbia Plateau; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, Plains; Termination and Relocation

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Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, Columbia Plateau

From colonial times to the present, Native revitalization and retraditionalizing

Showing some influence from Christianity, Chief Smohalla's movement, also known as the Washat, met every week on the Sabbath in longhouses that in some ways resembled churches. (Government Printing Office, 1896)

movements have been characteristic of the American cultural landscape. Ottawa chief Pontiac used teachings of the Delaware Prophet to justify military actions against British forts in the Great Lakes region in 1763. Handsome Lake, the Seneca prophet, was publicly active from 1799 to 1815. Tecumseh's brother, the Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa, was a catalyst in the formation of an Indian alliance to drive out whites and re-establish societies based upon traditional Native ways and values. The Paiute prophet Wovoka is well known for his association with the Ghost Dance (1888–1896). Revitalization and retraditionalizing movements are well known on the Columbia Plateau as well. Washat, along with Indian Shaker, "Feather cult," and the Native American Church movements, are primary examples.

One of the first scholars to provide a definition of revitalization movements was Ralph Linton (1943). He described nativistic movements as "any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate neglected aspects of its culture." That, said Linton, happens when cultural groups come into contact with one another (Linton 1943, 230).

Anthony Wallace incorporated Linton's ideas into a broader framework. According to him, revitalization movements are a "deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society

to construct a more satisfying culture" (1956, 265). Among the wide range of social phenomena that might fit such a definition, Wallace includes "nativistic movements," "revivalistic movements," "cargo cults," "millenarian movements," and "messianic movements." Nativistic movements tend to concentrate on "alien persons, customs, values, and/or material" from the cultural fabric. Revivalistic movements generally promote ways of life and values that were once vibrant but now seem to be missing. Cargo cults are so labeled because of their characteristic importation of alien values, practices, and material culture. Millenarian movements call for societal change within the context of "an apocalyptic world transformation engineered by the supernatural." Messianic movements focus attention on single individuals understood to be divine saviors manifesting in human form. Wallace points out that these categories are not at all mutually exclusive. To the contrary, they may well act in overlapping and mutually reinforcing ways (ibid., 267).

Academic discussions about revitalization movements over subsequent decades have characterized such movements as based in conscious change. They are also understood to travel through cyclical stages: steady state, stress, cultural distortion, and revitalization, ultimately returning back to a steady state once more. Furthermore, the impetus for this is generally considered to be deprivation or oppression by the dominant society. However, evidence suggests that external pressures alone are not necessarily powerful explanatory tools, for they do not consistently produce revitalization movements. Therefore, contemporary scholarship increasingly highlights the influence of internal processes in a given group as well. Only through an examination of cultural systems already in place can a particular manifestation of revitalization "make good sense" within the larger context of deprivation or oppression (Schwarz 1997, 750–751).

Plateau Background

Dreams, visions, and guiding spirits constitute the oldest and most basic aspects of spiritual belief and practice on the Columbia Plateau. Vision quests and "medicine sings" or "winter spirit dances" are among the bedrock cultural materials upon which all other indigenous spiritual and religious convictions in the region are erected (Walker and Schuster 1998, 499).

In *Nch'i-Wana, The Big River: Mid-Columbia Indians and Their Land,* Eugene Hunn reports that powers obtained through guardian spirits supplied mid-Columbia peoples with the strength necessary for a successful life. Vision quests were solitary ventures intended, through physical deprivation and altered states of consciousness, to place a person in contact with guardian spirits. Death and revival or rebirth was a recurrent theme in achieving spiritual awareness. According to Robert Boyd, "Middle Columbia natives viewed a loss of consciousness, entry into a trance state, or recovery

from a debilitating illness as potential avenues for making contact with the supernatural. . . . Many times in the ethnographic literature from the Upper Chinookan area, various forms of altered states are described by native observers as varieties of 'death'" (Boyd 1996, 119).

Spirit power was a prerequisite for participation in winter dances. At this ritual event, perhaps the most important religious occurrence of the year, individuals with new spirit guides began to experience "spirit illness." A medicine man then diagnosed the sickness and gave the individual a song. Dancing followed (ibid., 129–131). Again, ceremonial purification and death are found intertwined. Thomas Farnham's description of winter dances at Wasco in 1843 is instructive:

> Various and strange are the bodily contortions of the performers. They jump up and down, and swing their arms with more and more increases, and yelp, and froth at the mouth, till the musician winds up with the word "ugh"—a long guttural grunt; or until some one of the dancers falls apparently dead. When the latter is the case, one of the number walks around the prostrate individual, and calls his or her name loudly at each ear, at the nose, fingers and toes. After this ceremony, the supposed dead shudders greatly, and comes to life. And thus they continue to sing, and thump, and dance, and die, and come to life through the night. (quoted in ibid., 132)

Concepts and experiences involving spiritual entities, ritual purification, death, and renewal are commonly visible in Columbia Plateau revitalization movements. The first of these to come onto the scene was Washat, followed by Indian Shaker, "Feather cult," and finally the Native American Church.

Washat

Washat, also known as Seven Drum or Longhouse religion, is a nativistic movement deriving quite directly from an older tradition referred to in the academic literature as the Prophet Dance (Walker and Schuster 1998, 501–502). Leslie Spier (1935) described the Prophet Dance as a "cult" characterized by a dance, often circular, and inspired leaders who offered prophecies received through visions usually experienced during "death-like trance states" succeeded by a reviving or "rebirth." A hierarchical arrangement of spirits was ruled over by a "creator spirit." Sometimes Prophet Dance rituals prioritized the confession of group members' sins. In almost all instances, however, they revolved around prophecies of world renewal. Rituals were frequently directed toward bringing that renewal to fruition (Walker 1969, 245; Walker and Schuster 1998, 500).

The Prophet Dance has been correlated with occurrences in the Plateau during the period immediately following Lewis and Clark. Included among these events are epidemic disease, the introduction of the horse, trade, the arrival of Christianity and other "alien" beliefs and practices, and the existence of various Native prophets. However, evidence

strongly suggests that the Prophet Dance was stimulated by precipitous population declines within indigenous communities before 1800 (Walker and Schuster 1998, 499–500). It appears that later forms of the dance, such as Washat, were born of such onslaughts of death as well.

In the Sahaptin language, *waashat* means "dance." This tradition is associated with the "dreamers" of the middle Columbia Plateau, known as such because of the trancelike psychological states in which their visions were obtained. By the 1830s, Washat rituals were containing distinctly Christian elements. Adherents were speaking of "the Creator," services were held on Sunday, and Longhouse leaders were using a handbell as an integral part of ritual procedures. Yet Washat maintained a very strong emphasis on older traditions. These included a reliance on guiding spirits, "shamanistic" curing, and a determination to maintain group language, behavioral expectations, ethical precepts, beliefs, values, and ways of life (ibid., 501–502).

Smohalla of the Wanapum, a people living at Priest Rapids on the Columbia River, is probably the most famous Washat leader of the nineteenth century. Speaking of events in the early nineteenth century, Smohalla commented late in his life:

> The whites have caused us great suffering. . . . Dr. Whitman many years ago made a long journey to the east [1842] to get a bottle of poison for us. He was gone about a year, and after he came back strong and terrible diseases broke out among us. . . . The Indians killed Dr. Whitman [at the so-called Whitman massacre], but it was too late. He had uncorked his bottle and all the air was poisoned. Before that there was little sickness among us, but since then many of us have died. I have had children and grandchildren, but they are all dead. My last grandchild, a young woman of 16, died last month. If only her infant had lived. . . . I labored hard to save them, but medicine would not work as it used to. (quoted in Hunn 1990, 242)

With such death, and with the great threats it presented to family and community survival, Plateau peoples turned to dreamer-prophets. Visions were employed to shape a response to the challenges and, if possible, chart a return to a traditional way of life (ibid.). In addition to death from disease, there were also stresses induced by conflict with the U.S. military, treaty signings, and forced confinement to reservations. This was the context in which Smohalla and his contemporaries lived.

Smohalla first appears in the pubic record in 1861, when he is mentioned in a military report listing Indians hiding in a place called "Smoke Hollow." Much more is known of him through the ethnographic work of James Mooney, printed in 1896. Mooney's writings are grounded largely in talks held between Smohalla and Major J. W. MacMurray in 1884–1885 (ibid., 253). It was during the course of those conversations that Smohalla is famously quoted as denying the

value of white civilization, by saying: "My young men shall never work. Men who work cannot dream, and wisdom comes to us in dreams" (ibid., 254). Further, in response to the major's exhorting the Indians to settle down and farm, Smohalla stated:

> Those who cut up lands or sign papers for lands will be defrauded of their rights and will be punished by God's anger. You ask me to plough the ground? Shall I take a knife and tear my mother's bosom? Then when I die, she will not ask me to her bosom to rest. You ask me to dig for stone. Shall I dig under her skin for her bones? Then when I die, I cannot enter her body to be born again. You ask me to cut grass and make hay and sell it and be rich like white man, but how dare I cut off my Mother's hair? It is a bad law and my people cannot obey it. (quoted in Relander 1986, 139)

Smohalla was famous across the Plateau for his ability to enter a trance and return to consciousness—after traveling to the land of spirits—with songs and messages for his followers. These were used in their ceremonial in order to quicken the coming world renewal. Smohalla is credited with prophesying earthquakes and eclipses (Hunn 1990, 253). He called for people to wear traditional clothing, adhere to time-honored means of subsistence, resist being placed on a reservation, and to be loyal to traditional forms of spiritual belief and practice. In return he guaranteed a revitalization of Native cultures in the process of which dead Indians would return to life and whites would be removed from Indian territories (Walker and Schuster 1998, 505).

Another significant figure was Skolaskin (or Kolaskin) of the Sanpoil. When he was around twenty years old, Skolaskin fell desperately ill. After two years he dropped into a coma. Burial preparations were begun, but consciousness returned the night before he was to be interred. Skolaskin had returned to life from the land of the dead. He told assembled family and friends that his illness was gone. Furthermore, he said that he had been instructed by the Creator to bring a message to the people: "All of the Indians, he had been told, must change their ways; they must no longer drink, steal, or commit adultery. But it was most important that they pray to their new god. . . . Moreover, every seventh day must be devoted to prayer and singing exclusively. . . . [A]ll were to gather together to pray and sing, and to listen to Kolaskin, prophet of their god" (Ray 1936, 68–69).

Skolaskin sought and found converts among the Spokane, Sanpoil, and Southern Okanogan. There were no dancing and no bells. His prophecies were generally apocalyptic. In one, he proclaimed

> that at the end of ten years' time the world would be enveloped in a great flood. To avoid destruction, he continued, they were to build a sawmill near the church and saw the lumber for a great boat. Before the end of ten years the boat would be completed and all followers would

> gather inside at the appointed time. Also, a male and female of every animal and bird would be included. Then the rain would come and flood the earth but all those in the boat would be saved. (ibid., 71)

For approximately ten years, between 1870 and 1880, his movement had a substantial impact on the local region. Following legal trouble, however, Skolaskin embraced more traditional ways before the movement faded (ibid., 75).

There were many dreamer-prophets on the Columbia Plateau, and they were found among virtually every group. At a minimum, the Nez Perce, Umatilla, Spokane, Kootenai, Wanapum, Yakama, Klickitat, Wayampam (skin village), Palouse, Sanpoil-Nespelem, and some Chinookan groups on the Lower Columbia such as the Wishram at Celilo Falls were all represented. A list of prominent personalities would include Shuwapsa, Dla-upac, Spokane Garry, Kootenai Pelly, Nez Perce Ellis, Skolaskin, Wiletsi, Hununwe (a woman), Jim Kanine, Shramaia, Lishwailait, Ashnithlai, the Tenino Queahpahmah, Luls, the Wanapam Smohalla (smuxala), Wiskaynatowatsanmay, and the Yakima Kotiahkan (Shawaway Kotiahkan) (Walker and Schuster 1998, 499).

Washat emphasis on maintaining and promoting a nativistic vision of the world led its leaders and membership to play significant roles in wars of resistance during the 1800s. Christian missionaries and federal agents responded by acting against them on the Yakama, Warm Springs, Umatilla, and Nez Perce reservations. Collier's Indian policies in the 1930s had the effect of reducing oppressive tactics against Native American beliefs and practices. Washat expanded accordingly. By World War II its presence was very notable across the Plateau. During the 1990s Washat bloomed as a centerpiece of resistance to pressures of assimilation. It remains at the core of a neotraditionalism on the Yakama, Umatilla, Warm Springs, Nez Perce, and nearby Salishan reservations, particularly the Colville, where a number of Nez Perce and Palouse have lived since treaties were signed in 1885 (ibid., 505–506).

Indian Shaker

The Indian Shaker religion originated on the Pacific Northwest Coast and later crossed the Cascade Mountains into the Plateau. Experiences of deprivation and oppression contributed to its emergence. Even though this revitalization movement was promoted by its leaders and followers as a form of Christianity, it contained significant elements borrowed from extant local systems of Native belief.

The 1870s were difficult times for Native Americans on the Northwest Coast. In the wake of Euro-American contact, treaty signings, and confinement to reservations, many people had lost their aboriginal territories and access to vital subsistence resources. Villages were decimated by disease, and ancient ways of life and values were under assault from

missionaries and federal agents. It was a period of profound change, deepening powerlessness relative to the dominant society, and great uncertainty.

John Slocum was a Squaxin (Southern Coast Salish) living near Olympia, Washington. He was exposed to Catholic teachings in his younger years. As an adult, Slocum watched eleven of his thirteen children die from disease. In 1881 he himself became quite sick and, according to available accounts, died. During the extended funeral service, Slocum awoke. After telling family and friends there that he had indeed died, he described how his soul had traveled to heaven, been met and judged by an angel, and told to return home. In consequence of leading a sinful life, he was instructed by the angel to lead other stray sheep into this new church (Barnett 1957, 5–6).

About a year after his first sickness, Slocum fell terribly ill again. Death appeared imminent. His wife, Mary Thompson, was convinced of the veracity of her husband's teachings and shaken to the core by the prospect of his passing. "[T]he crisis induced in her a hysterical seizure in the course of which she approached Slocum's prostrate body praying, sobbing, and trembling uncontrollably" (ibid., 7). Upon being touched by her, he revived. Mary and others attributed divine power to this apparently miraculous occurrence. That event marked the beginning of "shaking." Slocum soon began preaching again, and the Indian Shaker Religion was born. Trembling or "shaking" became a distinguishing characteristic in the developing Shaker ritual, along with bell-ringing, singing, and the stamping of feet. Shaking was and is seen as a gift from God, intended to provide believers with physical and spiritual well-being (ibid., 147). Word of "the shake's" curative powers quickly spread. Congregations were soon established in Skykomish, Chehalis, Puyallup, Nisqually, Clallam, and other Native Pacific Coast communities in Washington (ibid., 7–8; Walker and Schuster 1998, 507).

John Slocum's teachings recognize the Trinity, emphasize good works, promote brotherly love, and draw from Christian eschatological visions (Barnett, 285–286). They do not typically promote Native spiritual traditions. However, Indian Shakerism does contain elements derived from Native traditions. An openness to spiritual transformation through altered states of consciousness was displayed by Mary Thompson over Slocum's body (ibid., 308). Arguably, this openness was characteristic of vision quest and other indigenous ritual practices.

Converts to the Indian Shaker religion were made on most of the reservations in Washington and Oregon, and in northwestern California and parts of British Columbia (ibid., 7–8; Walker and Schuster 1998, 507). Shakers were invited to the Yakama Reservation in 1892. A Wasco brought the religion to Warm Springs in 1893. From there it spread to the Klamath (Barnett, 70, 74). By 1908, Indian Shakerism was found throughout the

Plateau (Walker and Schuster 1998, 508). With a continuing emphasis on curing, and manifesting a strong array of Christian elements set within an ancient Native context, it remains a vibrant religion across the region.

"Feather Cult"

Unlike the Washat and Indian Shaker, the Feather cult does not seem to originate in response to external pressures, much less those related to deprivation and oppression. Instead, it was born largely from the experiences, ideas, and force of personality of one man—Jake Hunt of Husum, Washington.

Hunt was a Klickitat who was born into a Washani family between 1860 and 1870. Klickitat prophets Lishwailait and Ashnithlai, dreamer-prophets and contemporaries of Smohalla, were influential in shaping Hunt's outlook (Du Bois 1938, 16, 20; Walker and Schuster 1998, 511). In the Sahaptin language of the Plateau, the Feather cult is known as both the *waskliki* (spin) and *waptashi* (feather). In English, adherents are spoken of as the bum-bum or pom-pom Shakers. The name, says Du Bois, is a recognition of the two sources from which the Feather cult arose (Du Bois 1938, 5).

The conversion experience that led Hunt to found this "cult" in 1896 came as a consequence of his exposure to the Indian Shakers. That year his third wife and son were deathly ill from tuberculosis. On the basis of the curative powers reputedly associated with their religion, Shakers were invited to come down to the Columbia River from the Yakama Reservation. Although resistant to Shakerism, Hunt allowed himself to be converted in the hope of saving his beloved wife and child. It was to no avail. The child died several weeks later. As the group surrounded the open grave, praying, one of Jake's nieces brought her hands together as if she had grabbed something. She reportedly said:

> My eyes were shut, yet it was as though a lighted match were held at night before my eyes. There was a large flat bright disk of light and in the center was a man. This circle was a piece of land (titcam). The man wore a buckskin shirt and trousers. In his left hand was a drum and in his right, the drum stick. . . . Jake Hunt then took the disk from her and claimed it as his own. . . . Jake . . . began to shake violently. He then seemed to seize something between his upraised hands, after which he spun rapidly in place. When Jake stopped, he announced that he had Lishwailait's soul. (ibid., 22)

Despite all their continuing efforts, Hunt's wife also died within a month. While the Shakers were in his house, one of his sisters had a vision and began to spin. At this time, in deep mourning, he lay on his wife's grave, fell asleep, and had a dream. He saw his wife and child telling him to cease grieving. He also heard the voices of his ancestors instructing him to construct a rawhide tambourine. "He saw again a disk of light . . . which was

brought down from the sky by an eagle. The persons who appeared to him were singing some of the old Washani songs. He was commanded to convert people in seven lands" (ibid., 23).

Hunt built a longhouse and, with his sisters, founded the Feather cult. Its focus was primarily ecstatic healing. Ideology and rituals were borrowed from ancient Plateau beliefs, Washat, and the Shakers. Curing was undertaken through possession of spirit power. Washani elements were very similar to those associated with Lishwailait. Exposure to the Shakers provided moralistic precepts and an emphasis on curing, particularly where alcoholism was concerned (ibid., 43; Walker and Schuster 1998, 511–512).

Hunt soon began seeking converts "in seven lands." By 1905 he had won over adherents on the Yakama Reservation, and in the following year on the Warm Springs Reservation. His efforts on the Umatilla were disappointing to him, however, and afterward he spent the remainder of his life with his fourth wife at Spearfish, just upstream from Husum (Du Bois 1938, 20; Walker and Schuster 1998, 512). Some families on the Yakama Reservation were still following the Feather ways in the 1990s, and they may still be doing so today. The core of Feather cult activity, however, is located on the Warm Springs Reservation (Walker and Schuster 1998, 513).

Cora Du Bois, perhaps somewhat ungenerously, describes the Feather cult as unoriginal and artificial. Virtually all ideological and ritual aspects were borrowed. And any attempts to slow acculturation came far too late. That, she implies, is made clear in the fact that the "cult" never spread any farther than Hunt himself carried it. "The whole movement," says Du Bois, "impresses one as a one-man affair whose force was individual, appealed to no growing social need, and was correspondingly ephemeral" (Du Bois 1938, 43).

Native American Church

Peyote's use as a vehicle for spiritual or religious purposes among indigenous peoples of the Americas apparently originated in Mexico. There, as Weston La Barre explains, it played a role in an agricultural-hunting religious ceremony, preceded by a ritual pilgrimage to find the plant. Around 1870 peyote diffused to the United States. It was especially popular with Native groups living in the Plains. Following the loss of territory and with confinement to the dreary reality of reservation life, there was severe cultural fragmentation in the Plains. Kiowa, Comanche, and Caddo peoples were primarily responsible for the expansion of peyote use across the Plains and into portions of southern Canada and the Great Basin (La Barre 1975, 7). An Oto by the name of Jonathan Koshiway established a Christianized derivative of peyotism in the early twentieth century. He founded a "Church of the First-born." From that the "Native American Church" emerged (ibid., 7–8).

There was strong resistance on the part of missionaries and federal officials. However, Indian Peyotists de-

fended their religious practices. One notable speaker was Albert Hensley, a Winnebago and graduate of the Carlisle School. By 1908, Hensley and other Winnebago understood peyote as simultaneously a Holy Medicine and a Christian sacrament. "To us," he said, "it is a portion of the body of Christ, even as the communion bread is believed to be a portion of the body of Christ by other denominations. Christ spoke of a Comforter who was to come. It never came to Indians until it was sent in the form of this Holy Medicine" (Stewart 1987, 157).

The Native American Church (see also the entry by that title) spread into the Columbia Plateau by the 1970s. While attending a peyote ritual in Arizona, a Yakama named Ted Strong had a vision of Mount Adams, a dramatic snow-capped volcanic peak that dominates the skyline of the Yakama Reservation. When he spoke of what he saw, the image was interpreted as meaning that the Native American Church would be brought to the Yakama. And in 1977 it was. Roughly contemporaneous with Strong, a group on the Colville Reservation was also seeking to found a Native American Church. They too filed articles of incorporation in 1977. Walker and Schuster state that the reasons behind incorporation were identical with those motivating Native Americans in Oklahoma in 1918: "To foster and promote religious beliefs in Almighty God . . . with the sacramental use of peyote for religious purposes" (Walker and Schuster 1998, 513). Lakota Peyotists were contacted. Leonard Crow Dog and Gilbert Steward from the Rosebud Reservation and Rufus Kills Crow Indian of the Pine Ridge Reservation came to teach the Cross Fire ceremony on the Colville Reservation. The very next year, in 1978, Paul Small and Joe Stanley, both of whom were Cree, traveled to Nespelem on various occasions to instruct people in the Half Moon ritual (ibid.).

Whether deriving from Peyote traditions found in Arizona, as in the case of Ted Strong, or from those on the Plains, as seen in the Colville example, the use of peyote as a religious sacrament has successfully spread into the Columbia Plateau in relatively recent years. Since the 1970s, Native American Church meetings have also occurred on the Nez Perce, Umatilla, Warm Springs, Spokane, Coeur d'Alene, Klamath, and Salish-Kootenai reservations, and in off-reservation places (ibid.).

Conclusions

While certainly building upon very old and culturally specific traditions in the Columbia Plateau, revitalization movements have at the same time sprung forth largely in response to external pressures of deprivation and oppression. Personal power derived from guardian spirits and practices associated with medicine men or dreamers was and is relied upon by Washat adherents, reformulated and repackaged as "the shake" by Indian Shakers, transformed into "the spin" by members of

the Feather cult, and sought in various rituals by Peyotists. Continually rocked by external challenges from the dominant society and by internal social pressures resulting from a combination of prior and ongoing colonial experiences, many Native Americans on the Plateau turn to revitalization movements, just as they have since the time of Lewis and Clark.

Joel Geffen

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Nez Perce; Dance, Plateau; Dreamers and Prophets; Dreams and Visions; Indian Shaker Church; Native American Church, Peyote Movement; Religious Leadership, Plateau

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Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, Northwest

See Indian Shaker Church

Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, Plains

Scholar and writer Zitkala-Sa (Gertrude Bonnin), Dakota, ca. 1843. (Library of Congress)

The best description of Indian metaphysics was the realization that the world, and all its possible experiences, constitutes a social reality, a fabric of life in which everything has the possibility of intimate knowing relationships because, ultimately, everything is related. This world is a unified world, a far cry from the disjointed, sterile, and emotionless world painted by Western science. Even though we can translate the realities of the Indian social world into concepts familiar to us from the Western scientific context, such as space, time, and energy, we must surrender most of the meaning in the Indian world when we do so. The Indian world can be said to consist of two basic experiential dimensions that, taken together, provide a sufficient means of making sense of the world. These two concepts are place and power, the latter perhaps better defined as spiritual power or life force. Familiarity with the personality of objects and entities of the natural world enabled Indians to discern immediately where each living being had its proper place and what kinds of experiences that place allowed, encouraged, and suggested. And knowing places enabled people to relate to the living entities inhabiting it (Deloria and Wildcat 2001, 2–3).

First Peoples have always maintained varying degrees of social autonomy in their lives, in spite of powerful colonial forces and the consequent devastating cultural imperialism. The retention of traditional metaphysics has been central to the maintenance of that cultural autonomy. Contrary to popular misconceptions, the traditional spiritual world views and practices of Plains Indians are alive and in many cases thriving, although often still subjected to constant and significant assaults. The resistance to Eurocentric attempts to impose Christianity has not ceased since the first conversion attempts began. This ongoing refusal to be subjected to Christian imperialism can be examined during four historical eras: the initial genocide, reorganization, awakening, and renaissance.

I love a people who have always made me welcome to the best they had.
I love a people who are honest without laws, who have no jails and no poorhouses.
I love a people who keep the commandments without ever having read them or heard them preached from the pulpit.
I love a people who never swear, who never take the name of God in vain.
I love a people who love their neighbors as they love themselves.
I love a people who worship God without a bible, for I believe that God loves them also.
I love a people whose religion is all the same, and who are free from religious animosities.
I love a people who have never raised a hand against me, or stolen my property, where there was no law to punish for either.
I love a people who have never fought a battle with white men, except on their own ground.
I love and don't fear mankind where God has made and left them, for there they are children.
I love a people who live and keep what is their own without locks and keys.
I love all people who do the best they can.
And oh, how I love a people who don't live for the love of money!
(George Catlin (1796–1872)

The initial genocide on Turtle Island and adjacent land began with the first European contact as early as the 1400s. Cultural genocide or ethnocide began when Spanish conquistadors and other early imperialistic explorers brought with them representatives from the Catholic Church in the 1400s and 1500s. The inhumane acts of these first colonizers was justified by a religious doctrine, a Eurocentric theological justification for murder, misogyny, homophobia, and land grabs. In a papal bull of 1453, Pope Nicholas sanctioned such acts, giving clear direction to "capture, vanquish, and subdue the saracens, pagans, and other enemies of Christ," "to put them into perpetual slavery," and "to take all their possessions and property." A second papal bull, issued in 1493, gave further support to the violent subjugation of "brute animals" by "civilized conquerors." These edicts, which came to be called the Doctrine of Discovery, a legal principle rooted in a Judeo-Christian dogma, were used not only by the Spanish but also by the Portuguese, the English, the French, the Dutch, and ultimately the Euro-Americans.

Less than fifty years after the formation of the United States, in 1823, the Supreme Court quickly incorporated the Doctrine of Discovery into U.S. Law. In *Johnson v. McIntosh,* Chief Justice John Marshall used the Christian doctrine to justify the newly formed nation's further erosion of American Indian rights and the denial of First Peoples' sovereignty—thus with a sweep of his pen making them into dependent peoples because of their "heathen" condition.

From the beginning of contact, the coercive and exclusive nature of the Eurocentric religion as well as its lack of respect for women was much noted; as early as the 1600s, American Indian women, in contrast to most Indian men, resisted Christian conversion. For example, historian Carol Devens has documented how Upper Great Lakes women who resisted Jesuit control were subjected to torture and hardship. In return, these women sometimes torched the homes of Christian missionaries. Many of the descendants of these women would later be expelled into what would come to be known as the Great Plains area of the United States.

Both before and after the inception of the reservation system, Christian churches became one of the chief arms of the U.S. military and state. A significant number of the infamous Indian schools were missionary schools, funded largely by the federal government. The Department of War and later the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of Interior, quickly forbade the practice of traditional spiritual ceremonies ranging from the *Inipi (*sweatlodge), the *Yuwipi* or *Lowanpi* (healing ceremonies that, like the *Inipi,* enlist the aid of holy spirits), to the *Winanayag Wachapi* (Sun Dance). For the most part, however, Plains nations were among the last of the First Peoples to have to face the ethnocide of the colonizers; thus traditional roles and cultural practices were still a vital part of Plains peoples' lives when the last of the Plains reservations were instigated in the late 1800s. During that period the well-known Ghost Dance and, in the Plains, the North American Indian Church movements emerged, while, for the most part, the practitioners of the traditional ways such as the *Inipi, Yuwipi,* and *Winanayag Wachapi* went underground. In reaction to the Ghost Dance Movement, Christian imperialism sparked the Wounded Knee massacre; Christian officers and soldiers killed women, children, and elders.

Young Plains people who had knowledge of the old ways and whose spirits had not been broken by the boarding schools began to return to the old ways. For example, from 1900 to 1902, Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, Zitkala-Sa (Red Bird, Yankton Sioux), who had succeeded as a scholar and writer in the Waschiu world but had chosen to return to her people and her traditional spirituality, wrote a series of essays for the *Atlantic Monthly.* One particularly poignant and telling piece, published in 1902, is entitled "Why I Am a Pagan."

The reorganization period, the second era, coincides with John Collier's political

reorganization in the 1930s, through which indigenous peoples were granted more autonomy, although the limited means of self-determination were still largely dependent on Euro-American social institutions. By law, traditional practices were no longer prohibited; in fact, Christian forces still made open acknowledgment of adherence to traditional spiritualities very difficult and often impossible, if practitioners wanted employment and social acceptance. In addition, openly flouting the new laws, Christian fundamentalists continued to intrude and brazenly break up traditional ceremonies, in particular the Sun Dance. Thus many people continued to attend *Wasichu* (white) churches and secretly participate in the old ways.

The Civil Rights era, the third historical period, can be linked to a period of awakening in which empathetic postsecondary faculty, American Indian Movement members, War on Poverty workers, radical Christians, sensitive social scientists, and social service professionals began to assist medicine people in providing relatively safe environments for the open performance of traditional ceremonies and other cultural practices. Based upon oral history, experiential knowledge, and the unbiased observations of early Europeans such as artist George Catlin, who lived among the Assiniboine and other Plains peoples in the 1800s, the scholarly writings of Plains Indian intellectuals such as Henrietta Mann, Bea Medicine, and Vine Deloria, Jr., began to refute the myths perpetuated by Christians and academics about traditional spiritualities, ways of life, and the relationship to the land—in particular sacred land. During this era, Plains Indian religious rights activists, descendants of the original inhabitants as well as of those who had been forced by the colonizers into the Plains, laid the foundation for the passage of the Freedom of Religion Act in 1978, a major accomplishment albeit a rhetorical act that contained no remedies for enforcement.

The fourth period in the history of revitalization movements, the era of modern renewal or renaissance, in the Plains as well as nationally is still unfolding. New indigenous Plains writers such as Ed McGaa, Tilda Long Soldier, Mark St. Pierre, and Dan Wildcat and non-Indian allies such as Carl A. Hammerschlag have added their voices to the earlier ones, continuing to refute academic and Christian claims that traditional spiritualities have been romanticized or destroyed. In this period, the national effort to ensure the realization of First Amendment freedom of religion rights has produced a number of legal enactments, such as the National Museum of the American Indian Act of 1989, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990, and the Indian Self-Determination Act Amendments of 1994.

Such political and legal steps have helped protect the expression of traditional spirituality as well as conscious synergetic combinations of traditional metaphysics with compatible elements of Christianity. During Plains ceremonies

recognition is usually given to Jesus as a holy man, albeit not as the only holy person and not as the only way to a spiritual life. A growing number of Christian denominations are also becoming more inclusive of traditional indigenous rituals. Fundamentalist Christians are now acknowledging the church's sins committed against First Peoples and permitting indigenous music and dance as part of worship. This new sensitivity may be partially explained by two influences: (1) efforts by churches to address the human rights critiques of the alliance between organized Christian religion and colonization and (2) the influence of knowledge associated with the new medical science of psychoneuroimmunology (PNI), the findings of quantum physics, and other Western scientific fields that now recognize the connections between mind, body, and spirit—an intersection that traditional spiritualities and healers have always recognized.

However, the new inclusiveness of Christian churches does not challenge its basic theology. For example, nowhere is White Buffalo Calf Woman recognized as a legitimate holy person. To do so would be Christian heresy. Given the vast differences in Eurocentric and First Peoples' world views, Deloria and Wildcat point out that an in-depth synergetic combination of American Indian metaphysics with Christian theology may never be possible.

Today Plains spiritual practices are not only blossoming again in Plains Indian Country but, in addition, the old ways have spread beyond the Plains. Diné, Apache, and others participate in the Sun Dance. Plains-style sweats are held in East Los Angeles and other urban centers throughout the United States. Recognizing a common metaphysics, the Bear Dancers in California include Plains people. And fundamentalist Christians are beginning to ask indigenous leaders for permission to preach, promising that they will not repeat the old overt name calling and condemnation practices, although most Christians have not yet reached a level of understanding at which they can make a fully informed critique of their religious imperialism, which while destroying traditional Plains spiritualities has also seeded the ground for its resurgence.

Mitakuye Oyasin (All of relations, all of my relations, Lakota).

Tsonkwadiyonrat (We are one spirit! Wyandot).

Karren Baird-Olson

See also Retraditionalism and Identity Movements; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, California; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, Columbia Plateau; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, Southeast; Revitalization Movements, Northeast

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Great Plains

The vast region known as the Great Plains culture area stretches from the Mississippi River valley west to the Rocky Mountains and from present-day central Canada to southern Texas. Dominated by rolling, fertile tallgrass prairies in the east, where there is adequate rainfall for agriculture, the landscape shifts to short grasses in the drier high western plains. Some wooded areas interrupt these vast fields of grass, mostly stands of willows and cottonwoods along river valleys, and in some places highlands rise up from the plains and prairies, such as the Ozark Mountains in Missouri, and the Black Hills of South Dakota and Wyoming. The region is remarkable, however, for the extent and dominance of its grasslands. For thousands of years tens of millions of bison grazed the grasses of the Great Plains.

Prior to the arrival of Europeans, most occupants of the Great Plains lived along rivers in the eastern regions. Predominantly farmers, these culture groups hunted bison and other game seasonally to augment their diets with dried meat and to make use of the hide, bones, and fat of these enormous animals.

The region is known for its diverse Native cultures, some of which have resided in the Plains region longer than others. The Hidatsa, and Mandan, both speakers of Siouan linguistic dialects, as well as Caddoan-speaking Pawnee and Wichita made use of the river banks for small-plot farming and they hunted in large cooperatives once or perhaps twice a year.

More hunting-oriented peoples eventually moved into the region and developed cultural and philosophical traditions based on the bison and warfare/raiding warrior cultures. These include the Algonquin-speaking Blackfeet from the north and the Uto-Aztecan-speaking Comanche from the northwest. After, and in some cases because of, the arrival of Europeans in North America, Eastern tribal groups such as Siouan-speaking Assiniboine, Crow, Kaw, Osage, Quapaw, and the various tribal groups often incorrectly glossed as "Sioux" (Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota) from the Great Lakes region moved to the region. From the Northeast came the Algonquin-speaking Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Gros Ventre. To be certain, this is an abbreviated list. The key issues are that movement into the region coincided with

continues

Great Plains (continued)

the entrance of horses to the Great Plains and the groups that call the Plains home have all participated in a development of regional, seminomadic cultural traditions that have come to be erroneously lumped together. This tragic loss of a sense of tribal diversity on the Great Plains has been exacerbated by the "Hollywoodization" of Indian issues, itself merely a continuation of nineteenth-century dime novels about the West.

After European contact, some Great Plains peoples continued to farm, and many groups hunted a variety of game, fished rivers, and gathered wild plant foods. However, with the spread of horses as a means of transportation to follow the seasonal migrations of bison herds over great distances, bison meat became the staple food.

Most Great Plains tribes consisted of bands of related families, often with several hundred members. Tribal leadership was typically divided between a peace chief and a war chief (or several war chiefs). Peace chiefs tended to internal tribal affairs. War chiefs, usually younger men, conducted warfare and led raids on enemies. The bands lived apart in smaller family groups most of the year, coming together in the summer months for communal bison hunts, ceremonies, or councils. In opposition to the idea that Indian people never owned land, tribal groups often took responsibility for particular regions, sharing hunting lands with friendly tribes, but protecting them from enemies.

Another myth is that all Indians of the Plains lived in tepees prior to contact. The tepee is a portable shelter that served its purpose for most groups for portions of the year. Earth and grass lodges were also frequently used dwellings before Euro-American arrival, providing large communal dwellings and ceremonial structures.

Religion among the Plains peoples is as diverse as the linguistic traditions represented there, however, there are also some similarities. With the important role that bison play in the lives of these tribal groups, it is no wonder that that animal would be an important spirit being and relative, as well. In addition, the migratory nature of bison, and consequently that of the peoples who rely upon them, support a seasonal and cyclical

continues

Great Plains (continued)

philosophical system wherein the circle is a key element. Plains Indian religious culture is often represented by circles, sun-wise directional prayers, and cyclical senses of time and space.

Major ceremonies include the Sun Dance, a regular gathering of bands for communal propitiation of the spirit beings, and the more recent religious innovation known as the Ghost Dance, wherein visions and ecstatic dancing propels the tribal culture forward in the face of the difficulties arising from modernity.

The Great Plains, often viewed as the exemplary Native American culture area, is far more diverse and multilingual than popular culture depicts, and the Plains peoples have many localized and territorial traditions that represent specific regional differences.

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Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, Southeast

Revitalization is a term that scholars use to describe the process whereby mem-

bers of a culture perceive a loss of power and attempt to recoup it through a variety of ways, most often through religious revivals. In many ways, revitalization is a recurrent theme in the history of the Native Southeast. Cultures and societies have risen and fallen since the first people moved into the region thousands of years ago. Generally speaking, however, scholars have tended to look for Native American revitalization movements in their history after contact with Europeans. Across the American Southeast, Native societies sought to use sacred power to control the European and American invasion of their land.

Success on the deer hunt, flourishing fields of corn, and victory on the battlefield resulted from people's ability to acquire, manipulate, and deploy sacred power. When diseases introduced by Europeans decimated Native populations, when Native people came to depend on European goods for survival, and when they began to lose their land to expanding settlements, leaders across the Southeast began to question their ability to effectively wield the sacred power that for centuries had underwritten their societies' faith and power. Many Native leaders, particularly a number of self-styled prophets, proclaimed that people had to return to older ways of living in order to restore their independence, autonomy, and mastery of sacred power. Others sought to restore sacred power by reforming customary political, social, and economic relationships in ways that integrated the knowledge and power of the United States.

Tecumseh, Shawnee Chief 1768–1813. (Library of Congress)

Revitalization movements swept the Southeast in the early 1800s and followed three distinct paths. Many Creeks made common cause with prophets from the Shawnee nation of the Great Lakes region to fight the expansion of the United States. Choctaws tried to fuse American and Choctaw ways of thinking and believing in order to defend their land from settlement. And Cherokees revitalized their society by adopting a constitution based on the American one, by publishing a newspaper to advocate for their cause, and by carrying the defense of their power and sovereignty to the Supreme Court of the United States.

In the fall of 1811 the Shawnee war leader Tecumseh visited the Creeks. They welcomed him as their kin because his mother was Creek. Tecumseh had initiated a revitalization movement in the Great Lakes country and wanted Creek help to resist U.S. expansion. Some Creeks refused to support his cause, but others followed him back north to hear the vision of his brother Tenskwatawa, the prophet.

The Creeks who were sympathetic to Tecumseh's mission believed in Tenskwatawa's opposition to alcohol, his mistrust of Euro-American ways of life, and his struggle to resist American settlement. On their way back to their homeland, they killed some settlers in Tennessee. Big Warrior, a prominent Creek chief who disagreed with Tecumseh, attempted to capture the guilty warriors, many of whom were killed in a fight with their pursuers.

A number of prophets whom Tecumseh had inspired called for Big Warrior's death. Josiah Francis, Paddy Walsh, and other Creek prophets began dancing Shawnee dances and singing Shawnee songs in order to acquire the power that had strengthened their friends to the north, power that they would need to fight their enemies. They also avoided alcohol, livestock, cotton cultivation, and other facets of U.S. material culture in order to show the Great Spirit that they had taken a new path to a righteous and proper life.

In 1812 and 1813, the Creek revitalizationists, who came to be called Redsticks because of the color of their warclubs, killed livestock and tore down fences as part of their attempt to purge their society of alien influences. When they began to kill Creek opponents of their program, the Redsticks risked civil war. An assault on Big Warrior's town and followers completed the transformation of acts of sporadic violence into a full-fledged war among Creeks.

At the same time the United States was engrossed in a war against Great Britain, the War of 1812, and both British support for the Redsticks and Redstick attacks on U.S. settlements pulled the U.S. army into the Creek civil war. Forces under the command of General Andrew Jackson invaded Creek country, devastated the countryside, and crushed the Redsticks. At the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, Jackson's forces, augmented by Creeks and Cherokees who opposed the Redstick cause, crushed the remaining Redsticks. Many of the survivors fled to Florida, where they found refuge among the Seminoles and continued to resist U.S. expansion.

The Choctaws had refused to take up the hatchet that Tecumseh had extended to them when he visited as part of the tour that took him to the Creeks in 1811. The three chiefs who governed the nation preferred to side with the United States. As American settlers invaded their land and as American politicians pressured them to move to the west, they, like the Creeks, experienced a crisis of power and faith. Instead of rejecting U.S. culture and endorsing the kind of revitalization preached by Tenskwatawa,

Tecumseh, and the Redsticks, many Choctaw leaders urged their followers to incorporate agriculture, Christianity, and written laws into their lives in order to give them access to the sacred power that made the United States such a formidable opponent.

To reinforce the link between traditional forms of sacred power and new ways of life, Chief Greenwood LeFlore called a national council at the Nanih Waiya mound, the place where, Choctaws believed, the Great Spirit had created them. While standing on the mound, LeFlore issued a series of written laws that brought Choctaw life into conformity with Anglo-American law.

In addition, LeFlore embraced the message preached by American missionaries who had opened schools in the nation. He and his supporters, however, pushed the missionaries aside and began preaching that Choctaws ought to turn their prayers to the Christian god for help in their struggle. Insofar as the missionaries helped them in the cause, the Choctaws considered them to be messengers of the Great Spirit. The combination of the Great Spirit and of God in a new religious movement upset many Choctaws, and the nation teetered on the brink of civil war.

Before the two sides could begin fighting, however, the U.S. government forced the Choctaws to cede their remaining land in Mississippi and to remove to the West. Across the nation Choctaws gave up their new faith in God, began dancing old dances, singing old songs, and preparing for a new life in a new land.

Chief John Ross was among the Cherokee leaders who wrote a constitution for the Cherokee people to govern their nation in its struggles with the U.S. government. (Library of Congress)

Like the Choctaws, the Cherokees also experienced a revitalization movement that emphasized what historians call syncretism. That is, unlike the Redstick Creeks, who rejected much of Euro-American culture, the Cherokees merged facets of U.S. and Cherokee culture in an attempt to find new sources of sacred power. Like the Choctaws, Cherokees identified written laws as a source of power in their struggle against the federal government.

European colonization and American settlement had upset the ways in which Cherokees had lived for centuries. Some

Cherokees, particularly the Chickamaugas, sided with the Shawnees and Creeks and fought the United States in the 1790s and early 1800s. Most Cherokees, however, followed a rising group of leaders who sought to revitalize their society and sovereignty by initiating a broad reform movement that focused on politics but touched equally on the spiritual foundations of the nation.

Legal and political reform began in the early 1800s. The national government created a police force to secure Cherokee property and to patrol the nation's boundaries. Eventually the government also removed the clans' authority to adjudicate legal disputes and to oversee property inheritance. Such reforms reflected leading chiefs' close relationship to the U.S. market economy and their support of missionary schools that instilled in their children U.S. values and Christian precepts.

Critics of the reforms organized a broad coalition to resist changes to Cherokee law and practice under the titular leadership of a healer named White Path. The so-called White Path's rebellion pitted shamans, clan leaders, and others who resented the degree to which chiefs had abandoned old ways for new ones and the spread of Christianity by the missionaries. Support for the rebellion, however, was too diffuse to halt the reformist and revitalizing agenda of chiefs like John Ross and George Lowry.

In 1827, Ross, Lowry, and other leaders wrote a national constitution that created a bicameral assembly, a judiciary, and elected executive to govern the nation in its struggles with the United States. Elias Boudinot edited a new Cherokee newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix,* to defend his nation in the popular press of the period. The reforms and Boudinot's editorials enabled the national government to defend in a more concerted fashion Cherokee land and power. They also reflected the degree to which the Cherokees hoped to appropriate sacred power from their adversaries.

The power of the new Cherokee nation alarmed its neighbors. In 1831 the state government of Georgia declared the Cherokee Nation to be null and void, so that the state could survey and sell the Cherokees' land. In response, Chief Ross launched two cases in the Supreme Court, *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* in 1831 and *Worcester v. Georgia* in 1832. Despite the Court's finding in favor of the sovereignty and legitimacy of the Cherokee national government in the *Worcester* decision, the federal government and the government of Georgia refused to abide by the Court's decision. Unwilling to fight as the Redsticks had done twenty years earlier and thoroughly dispirited by the failure of their new sacred power to protect them and their homes, the nation acceded to the fraudulent treaty of New Echota in 1835 and embarked on the Trail of Tears four years later.

James Taylor Carson

See also Christianity, Indianization of; Dance, Southeast; Missionization, Southeast; Power, Southeast; Trail of Tears

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Retraditionalism and Revitalization, Northeast

One of the primary effects of colonization is that it often destroys indigenous peoples' ability to survive and thus leaves their culture and religion irrelevant. When a people's self-sufficiency has been usurped and they must rely on an occupying force for goods and services, the religious ceremonies that reaffirm traditional ways of being and celebrating abundance are inevitably seen as meaningless by some. For those, the process of religious conversion is a logical step. But for others, the loss of traditional ways is lamented. Those men and women who feel a strong connection to their cultural heritage and long for the health and balance their communities enjoyed before contact are often inspired by a dream or vision to return their people to the ways of their ancestors, which provided them with social stability and cultural vitality for generations. People are creative; they synthesize the things around them into coherent, manageable systems. It is a natural response to use the icons, ideas, and imagery of the Native religious tradition combined with an acknowledgment of the unpleasant realities caused by external forces to chart a new course. This courageous attempt by charismatic leaders to bring their communities back into traditional order by spreading a message of a new vision with a new promise for prosperity is what scholars call a Revitalization Movement. Such movements often incorporate some elements of the invading culture's ideology and are spread by prophets who tell of a vision that forebodes a great suffering and end of the world if the new message is not heeded.

One example of a Revitalization Movement among Native Americans of the Northeast Woodlands is the Seneca religious revival led by Handsome Lake around the turn of the nineteenth century. This was in response to the loss of

Iroquois culture and religion precipitated by continued exploitation by British and U.S. colonists. Handsome Lake and his followers began a new religion, one that incorporated limited aspects of Christianity into the traditional Iroquois ceremonial calendar and moral code. The revitalization of Seneca society that resulted facilitated the endurance of their cultural identity while advocating changes deemed necessary to survive reservation life. To understand fully and to interpret the meaning and value of Handsome Lake's movement, it is important to know the historical circumstances to which he was responding.

The Iroquois Confederacy, made up of the Six Nations—Mohawk, Seneca, Tuscarora, Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga—was founded in the 1560s and became the most powerful force in the New York region's fur-trading empire. Initially allied with the Dutch, the Iroquois later became trading partners with the British when they defeated the Dutch in 1664. Armed with Dutch and British weapons, the Iroquois attacked neighboring tribes in the mid-seventeenth century, gaining access to rich fur-trapping territory while making enemies of the French- and Algonquian-speaking peoples they defeated. When French-British competition escalated, the Iroquois, who remained allied with the British, found themselves in the center of the series of French and Indian Wars, which lasted from 1689 to 1763 with intermittent periods of peace. From 1701 to 1763 the Iroquois maintained a profitable neutrality, whereby they played the European imperial powers off against each other for their own gain. Their strategic position, considerable power, and influence over other tribes were capitalized upon by Iroquois diplomats. Although their eventual military support was pivotal in the British victory over France, the Iroquois were considerably weakened by the sustained conflict. The British now controlled all the territory around Iroquois land, which reduced their strategic importance, and the British no longer needed Iroquois men as warriors.

The Iroquois split allegiances when the American Revolution broke out in 1775. The Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas remained loyal to the British, while the Oneidas and Tuscaroras sided with the Americans. This division, along with the eventual victory of the United States, was a devastating blow to the Iroquois Confederacy. All the major Iroquois towns were destroyed by the John Sullivan expedition in 1778, and they were forced to flee to British refugee camps. With the Fort Stanwix Treaty of 1784 and later land cessions, the Iroquois were deprived of all their land with the exception of a few small reservations. By 1797 the Iroquois Confederacy was scattered; the remaining tribes were divided on relations with the new United States and whites in general. There was no effective leadership to reunite the bands that had been forced to retire to the small tracts of land available to them.

It was in this historical setting that Handsome Lake lived. He was born in 1735 to a noble Seneca family of the Allegany band, a half-brother to the famous Chief Cornplanter. Iroquois society had been ravaged by European diseases and abuse of alcohol. Handsome Lake was no exception. His life was plagued by illness and alcoholism. He spent four years as a debilitated invalid after years of drinking and intemperance. It was perhaps during this time that he had the opportunity to reflect on the entrance of European culture and religion into Iroquois society, the effects of alcohol, and the complex cultural decisions of accepting or rejecting European ways.

In 1799, Handsome Lake received the first of his visions. Although he had been sick in bed for four years, he was seen to rise and walk outside, where he appeared to collapse dead. He lay as though dead until the next day, when, surrounded by his family, he awoke. Another version is that Handsome Lake went into a coma after days of drunkenness, during which he received a vision. He immediately arose and began to preach the message sent to him by the Four Messengers, emissaries of the Creator sent to Earth to instruct the prophet of the will of the Creator. Inspired by his visions of these messengers, Handsome Lake told a new story of history; he traced the origin of the evils that the Europeans had brought to America as conceived by Hanîsse'ono, the evil one. According to the story, this devil had tricked a young preacher into supplying Columbus with "Five Things" that were to benefit the new race of people that lived across the sea. The five things were rum, playing cards, money, a violin, and a decayed leg bone. These things were carried by many ships to the Indians. According to Handsome Lake's message, they were the downfall of his people. The rum turned their minds to waste; they gambled their lands and homes away with the playing cards; the money made them greedy and dishonest, forgetting the old ways; the violin made music that made them dance and gossip idly; and the bone was the secret poison that took their lives. The Creator had pity for his people and sent the Four Messengers to tell Handsome Lake the truth and give him the vision and power to lead his people to the good religion of the longhouse.

Handsome Lake spread a teaching collected in the Gai'wiio', the Code of Handsome Lake. Every priest in this new religion memorized this code and delivers it at periodic ceremonial gatherings held in a rectangular wooden structure called a longhouse. The teachings seem influenced by Quaker ideology, which was being spread from a Quaker mission on the Allegany band's land. It indicted the Iroquois people for falling into moral ruin and espoused repentance for sins. Handsome Lake's next vision, a few weeks later, laid out a strict moral code outlawing alcohol, gambling, quarreling, gossip, and sexual misconduct, and emphasizing respect for children. He consistently expressed an extreme dislike of

boasting and always stressed humility and gratitude.

The recorded message of Handsome Lake tells of a struggle between the Great Ruler, the Creator, and the evil-minded spirit for the will and minds of humans. The code also sets forth proper ways to treat one's wife, the poor, and the elderly. Handsome Lake's message was tailored to the struggles that his people were facing at the time. For example, they had less land because of their loss in the American Revolution, and the land had been overhunted for nearly two hundred years for the sale of fur. Handsome Lake's messengers advised adopting some means of survival employed by whites, such as building a permanent house, cultivating the soil for food, and keeping livestock. These practices had already been forced upon the Seneca by the United States government after the American Revolution, so Handsome Lake's message was to peacefully adapt to the current situations. He eventually endorsed the Quaker mission and recommended sending children to their schools.

The messengers told Handsome Lake that the people should return to their traditional ceremonial calendar. The penalty for noncompliance was allegedly to be the apocalypse of the world by fire. The messengers told how the world was full of sin and that if the entire world repented the world would be made new again. Handsome Lake prophesied that the world would end in the year 2100, three centuries after his vision. At one point in his visionary travels, Handsome Lake encounters Jesus Christ, whom he regarded as the prophet of the Creator to the whites. This explicit association with Christianity, along with the analogous concepts he employed—such as the imagery of heaven and hell, confession, and abstinence—may have simply reinforced ideas already present in Iroquois belief. It is clear, however, that his message incorporated an awareness of Christian beliefs and utilized them to forge new ground upon which his followers could stand comfortably in relation to whites. He formulated a system that confirmed and revitalized the old ways while showing their compatibility with the social reforms necessary to survive in their current colonized situation.

Although it may seem that Handsome Lake was imitating or lobbying for acculturation to white ways of life, he may have been shrewdly preparing his people to survive reservation life until a stronger political situation manifested itself. To that end he accepted the reorganization of the family structure that had begun in the midcentury from strong matrilineal clans, which were instrumental in maintaining territory and trade relationships, to nuclear families, which were more conducive to farming. The traditional political power of clan matrons to nominate chiefs and lead ceremonies was not challenged, but the new economic strategy that resembled the Protestant work ethic was more easily facilitated by nuclear families, in which the man worked

the fields and the woman attended to household duties.

In effect, then, Handsome Lake's movement was an attempt to revitalize the traditional religious system while adapting social life to the everyday realities of reservation life. It was a religious response to the devastation caused by colonization, but it did not take an extremist position. Rather, Handsome Lake articulated a realistic means of maintaining Iroquois cultural identity in the face of concerted, though implicit, efforts to eradicate it. His moderate path of selective acculturation paired with a revival of the old ways was successful, in that his new religion continues to function today, saving the integrity and self-respect of the Iroquois as a minority with their adherence to a foundational identity-structuring religious system.

Brian Clearwater

See also Retraditionalism and Identity Movements; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, California; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, Columbia Plateau; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, Plains; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, Southeast

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Sacred Pipe

The Sacred Pipe is so important in many American Indian religious traditions that it has become the contemporary symbol for Native religions in general, similar to what the cross is for Christianity. There are many types of pipes used ritually, but the pipe that separates into two parts—the separation and rejoining of bowl and stem itself is of ritual and symbolic significance—is preeminent in pan-Indian rituals (those rituals that bring together people from different traditions). For this reason, although all pipes used in rituals are inherently sacred, the term is often specifically applied to pipes with separable stems and is so used here.

Types of Pipes

Tubular Pipes

The original pipe was a simple tube with tobacco placed in one end and the smoke sucked out of the other; it dates to at least 4,400 years ago. This pipe type is related to tubes for sniffing tobacco snuff and for sucking sickness from an ill person's body into a tube. Tubular pipes were used throughout the Americas in the past and continue in ritual use in the western part of North America.

Tubular pipes are commonly made of stone, sometimes with a slim, round, bone mouthpiece. Pipes made from the leg bones of animals were ritually smoked in the Plains into the twentieth century by Arapaho, Cheyenne, Kiowa, Lakota, and Piegan. Bone pipes are usually wrapped with rawhide or sinew to prevent the bone from splitting as a result of the heat of the burning tobacco. Ceramic and stone tubular pipes remain in use in Pueblo rituals. The coastal California ritual pipe is a tubular one of wood, often with a stone bowl insert.

One-piece Elbow Pipes

Bending the pipe allows gravity to keep the tobacco in the bowl so that the smoker's head can remain at a normal, comfortable angle. With pottery, the tube can be bent before the clay hardens, and ceramic elbow pipes were used

throughout the pottery-making regions of both North and South America.

Bending the pipe also brought the bowl into the view of the smoker, encouraging developments in decor. When Europeans sailing up the St. Lawrence River and into Lake Ontario encountered Iroquoian-speaking peoples, they found them to smoke ceramic elbow pipes in council. The tribal "flat pipe" of the Hidatsa and the Arapaho are unusually long one-piece elbow pipes, made of either wood or stone.

Pebble and "Monitor" Pipes

Besides bending the pipe, a second means of creating a pipe with an upward-directed bowl is to drill a stone from two directions, meeting in the middle, with a hollow wooden or reed stem then inserted into one of the holes. Such pipes with short stems were used over much of North America and continue in ritual use among the Pueblo peoples. About 2,000 years ago, flat stone pipes with an upright bowl in the middle began to be used throughout the Midwest, the tradition lasting about 600 years. Archaeologists termed these pipes monitor, after the Union's Civil War steel warship.

Separate-stemmed Pipes

About 1,500 years ago, pipes began to be made with a long reed or wooden stem. Bowl and stem are kept apart, save when ritually used, and both are laden with significance.

The bowls are commonly made of red stone (called "catlinite," after the artist George Catlin, the first Euro-American to describe the major quarry), symbolizing the blood of life, or black or blackened stone, symbolizing Earth. The stone itself represents Earth, and its function as a vessel for holding tobacco, as well as having a hole that is a receptacle for the stem, continues the female imagery.

A number of bowl shapes have been traditionally made. The simplest is a tubular pipe bowl with a long stem. It is an archaic shape that continues in importance among Cheyenne and some of the other Plains traditions for particularly sacred rituals, such as the Thirst Dance (Sun Dance).

Most common is the elbow shape. Many have a projection away from the stem receptacle end, either rounded or pointed. Several hundred years ago, some pipes were made with projections as long as the stem end, both ends tapering toward the bowl in the middle, with the bowl having a double taper. That is probably the basis for the T-shaped pipe bowl, common since the second half of the eighteenth century. Bowls of this last shape were made near the red-stone quarry at Pipestone, Minnesota, in a factory with drill presses for trade with Native people. (Now they are made there by local Natives, the quarry being a national monument.) The T-shape became ubiquitous; most souvenir pipes are of that type. A rare variation of the elbow pipe is a pipe with double bowls, the meaning of the two bowls varying with each pipe. A different variation of the elbow shape is for the bowl to be carved into the shape

of an animal body or head, or a human head.

In ritually used sacred pipes, those with an effigy either carved on the bowl or projecting from the stem, it may be seen by the smoker when the stem is pointed toward the recipient of the smoke offering. That is because it is the prayer and offering that is the most important part of the ritual. On tourist pipes, the symbolic image often faces the smoker when the pipe is being smoked, which is but a secondary aspect of the ritual use.

Another relatively common bowl form is the keel shape. Some of the early vasiform separate-stemmed pipes had a projection at the bottom with a hole for the attachment of feathers and other sacred objects. This led to two variations, each with a flat projection at the bottom the length of the bowl, often with one to four holes for thongs to be attached. One type was common along the St. Lawrence River, in the Atlantic Provinces, and Maine. It has a tall vasiform bowl; a thong, often beaded, is tied from the bowl projection to the stem, to prevent the bowl from dropping off and breaking. A second type is common in the Northern Plains, particularly among the Blackfoot tribes. Here the bowl has a double taper, and there tend to be multiple holes on the projection.

A rare, archaic form, although common in Osage sacred bundles, is a horizontal disk shape that may be quite large, although the bowl itself tends to be shallow. The bowl may or may not have a projection away from the stem end. This shape is to be contrasted with a vertical disk, which is a variation of the elbow shape and also uncommon.

Pipe bowls have been decorated in a number of ways, some of which have been mentioned above. After contact with Europeans, bowls began to be inlaid with lead or German silver, particularly in the area of the Great Lakes. Some black bowls were inlaid with catlinite and silver. Early elbow pipes often had a flange at the top of the stem end of the bowl, of varying sizes, sometimes incised or perforated.

Stems are commonly made from wood, although early ones were made from long reeds. Stems can be round or flat and as long as a meter in length. Round stems are created by pushing out the pith, leaving a smoke channel in the center of the stem. The earliest extant stems are of that type—hence the term from the French, calumet, meaning "reed." Flat stems are generally made by splitting the wood, gouging out a channel for the smoke, and then joining the two halves together with glue, sinew, or brass tacks. The second method allows for elaborate pierced designs as well as steaming, to twist the stem into a spiral. Since the late nineteenth century, stems have also been made from catlinite, with wood inserts at both ends, particularly for the tourist trade.

A favorite wood for stems, especially round and square ones, is sumac. The pith of sumac is very soft and relatively easy to push or burn out with a thin rod.

Willow and red osier were also used for thin, round stems. Flat stems are made from a variety of hardwoods, especially ash. During the 1960s and 1970s, most of the tourist pipes made in Pipestone, Minnesota, had stems made from California redwood obtained from a local lumberyard. But the Pipestone pipemakers have since been using sumac again.

When inserted into the pipe bowl for ritual use, the stem represents male energy and creative potential. But as the channel for the smoke offering, the stem represents our voice and, as in Pawnee culture, may be decorated with black circular lines along the entire stem representing the trachea. The stem also represents the journey of life and may so be symbolized by a red line the length of the stem along its top.

The most common stem decoration is a coating of red ocher mixed with bear grease, each symbolic of life-giving spiritual energy. More elaborate stem decoration includes a variety of carvings based on individual visions, colored porcupine quill decorations, or beads obtained from trade and suspended feathers, especially of the eagle.

Sacred Pipe Ritual

There are four significant aspects to the ritual of the Sacred Pipe: that the two parts of the pipe are separable, that the purpose of the pipe is to make a smoke offering, that the pipe links the smoker and the recipients of the offering, and that the pipe is frequently used communally.

The ceremony is relatively similar in pan-Indian and in specific cultural traditions throughout North America, excluding Mexico, the American Southwest, and the Arctic. It is identical in general to the Euro-American descriptions of such rituals from the late seventeenth century to the present, and each specific contemporary action described is attested to in the ethnohistorical literature. Presumably, these rituals have remained unchanged in the main since the inception of the separate-stemmed pipe over the last millennium and a half. While a communal ceremony will be described, the ritual would be similar if only a single smoker were involved.

The ritual implements are kept either in a pipe-bag or wrapped in a bundle. The ceremony begins with the opening of the bundle or bag and the laying out of the paraphernalia. Sacred herbs are either directly lit or placed over a glowing coal from a fire. The resulting smoke is first spread in the four directions plus zenith and nadir, then the locale of the ritual—for example, the perimeter of the room in which the ceremony is being held—then over each of the implements, and finally around each of the participants. The purpose of the smudging is to purify, in the sense of removing any and all negativity. Once the purification has taken place, at any point in the ceremony sacred songs may be sung, with or without the use of hand drums or shakers.

When the preliminary laying out of the ritual paraphernalia and purifica-

tion has been completed, the stem and bowl will be joined together. Only when the male stem is inserted into the female bowl, when the two major complementary spiritual forces in the universe are conjoined, is the pipe spiritually potent. This awe-inspiring act creates a sacred moment in time, a time out of time, and determines the space where the ritual is taking place to be temporarily the sacred center, the *axis mundi,* of the world. A feeling of reverence permeates the congregants.

The pipe bowl is then filled, often with the bowl resting on the sacred Earth or a symbol of Her. Each pinch of tobacco is smudged with the purifying smoke and dropped into the bowl. The first six pinches of the tobacco offering, dedicated to the sacred directions—Four Directions, Sky, and Earth—are spoken to. Other pinches may or may not be specifically dedicated, depending on the tradition, the purpose of the ceremony, and the one making the offering. A tamper is used to settle the tobacco in the pipe bowl. The filled pipe is held in both hands with the stem pointing in the direction of the primary recipient(s), and relevant prayers are spoken. At this point the filled pipe may be put aside, if the actual smoking will take place in the context of other rituals, such as during one of the breaks in a Spirit Lodge (sweat-lodge) ceremony or at the completion of a vision fast.

When the pipe is smoked, traditionally the tobacco is lit with an ember from a fire, a smoldering chip of dried bison dung, a glowing braid of sweetgrass, or the glowing tip of a stick of cedar or other especially sacred wood. Nowadays some ignite the tobacco in the pipe directly with the flame of a match or a lighter.

A solo smoker, or the one leading the ritual, offers smoke through the pipe to the six directions and other spiritual recipients. This is done by taking in the smoke and blowing it in the appropriate directions. Simultaneously the stem of the pipe is usually pointed in the direction of the offering. This particular aspect of the ritual is open to a variety of variations, depending on both tradition and inspiration received directly from the spirits by the one making the offering.

In a communal ceremony the participants will be seated in a circle, usually with women and men each forming half the circle and facing each other. The pipe is passed in the direction of the path of the sun from one participant to another. Each in turn holds the pipe with both hands and takes one or four puffs. They may brush the smoke over themselves with one hand, speak the words "All my relations" in the tribal language—acknowledging their connection with the spirit realm—or turn the pipe in a circle. Participants will carry out these secondary rituals only if they have been specifically so taught by the spirits; to do so without the "right" is considered irreverent.

The pipe will continue around the circle until it returns to the one leading the

ritual. If it is a large circle, the tobacco in the bowl may have become ash before the circuit is completed. But even if empty, the pipe will be taken by each participant in turn and brought to the lips. When the pipe reaches the ritual leader, if tobacco is still present the leader will smoke until all the tobacco is consumed. With further prayers and statements of thankfulness, the pipe is taken apart, the stem and bowl separated. At this point the ritual is complete, although all of the ritual paraphernalia must still be wrapped back into a bundle or returned to the pipe-bag.

Pipe rituals are carried out for a number of purposes. Because it is a major means of both offering tobacco to the spirit realm as well as communicating with the spirits, it often forms a major part of larger rituals. Indeed, there are few major rituals that do not include pipe rituals as a subsidiary part. Pipe rituals are also carried out when a simple ritual is desired to bring people together, or there is a felt need for a ritual to re-create or strengthen the relationship with the spirit realm. The pipe ritual, when carried out communally, not only makes possible communion between humans and the spirits through the medium of the shared tobacco smoke but also creates a communion among the congregants through the passing of the pipe and the sharing of the tobacco smoke.

Pipe rituals serve another important function: to allow for peaceful intertribal relationships. Long-distance trade has been a major part of Native economies for thousands of years. A mechanism was needed to allow traders to travel safely through territories of other cultures and to allow trade to take place between people of different groups. Beginning some 2,000 years ago, a common pipe shape, the monitor, continued in use for half a millennium throughout the region of the Ohio and upper Mississippi valleys, as well as in the Great Lakes. This suggests that the pan-Indian use of the separate-stemmed pipe had its antecedents hundreds of years earlier, for Sacred Pipe ceremonies served as rituals of intertribal adoption for as far back as we can trace their use. Even cultures like those in the Southwest, which do not traditionally use the separate-stemmed pipe, will carry out this ritual in intertribal contexts.

The use of a common pipe shape over virtually all of North America north of the Rio Grande River, east of the Rocky Mountains, and south of the sub-Arctic existed side by side with a common pipe ritual. Clearly, the two are intimately connected. Euro-Americans quickly learned that they could safely travel throughout this area by carrying a Sacred Pipe, a practice they often abused. The ritual smoking of the pipe as delineated above, when carried out by persons of different tribes, was understood to create a relationship among the participants; it was a ritual of adoption. By becoming a relation, one was no longer an enemy and not subject to attack.

This should not be understood to mean, however—as is often the case in

the literature—that the Sacred Pipe was used only for peaceful purposes; it was also necessary for raiding and war. All activities required the assistance of the spirit realm, and the Sacred Pipe was a major means for requesting assistance for martial activities. Thus the Sacred Pipe was used to bring groups together as allies in warfare, as it also was to bring former enemies together for peace.

This ancient tradition of intertribal use of the Sacred Pipe continues in modern pan-Indian rituals. These ceremonies have often been mistaken by the dominant culture as being an ersatz modern ritual, rather than having an antiquity at least as old as, if not older than, Christianity. In contemporary intertribal meetings, as well as in prisons and hospitals, the ceremony of the Sacred Pipe is a religious ritual that can be subscribed to by virtually all the Native peoples of both Canada and the United States. As with the Spirit Lodge, the Sacred Pipe ceremony allows people of different Native religious traditions to share a common ritual and bond together meaningfully as relatives in the larger scope of "All my relations."

Jordan Paper

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Arapaho; Oral Traditions, Western Plains; Power, Plains; Sweatlodge; Tobacco, Sacred Use of; Vision Quest Rites

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Sacred Pole of the Omaha

Omahas are one of the five Diegha Siouan tribes. Their Sacred Pole is an emblem of tribal identity. Today the Omahas call their Sacred Pole Umo^{n}'ho^{n}'ti, the "Real Omaha." He is a physical object, a cottonwood pole—but he is also a person with a life of his own. His life touched the lives of the Omahas when they moved from a homeland east of the Mississippi to their present location on the Missouri River several hundred years ago. He continued to stand for their tribal identity during the good times when they controlled trade up and down the Missouri River. He was with the Omahas through years of war and epidemic

disease. He accompanied them on the great tribal buffalo hunts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. When the Omahas were forced to abandon their buffalo-hunting way of life in the 1870s, elders of the tribe were uncertain how they could continue to honor Umo^{n}'ho^{n}'ti. They knew that to avoid being forcibly removed to "Indian Territory" they would have to learn the ways of the Americans under whose jurisdiction they now found themselves.

In 1888 a young Omaha named Francis La Flesche approached the Sacred Pole's last keeper, Yellow Smoke, with a proposal. Francis was one of the first Native Americans to become a professional ethnographer. He began his study of Omaha culture in collaboration with Alice Cunningham Fletcher, a researcher and writer from Harvard's Peabody Museum. He reports his conversation with Yellow Smoke in a 660-page comprehensive ethnography, *The Omaha Tribe,* which he and Fletcher coauthored in 1911. "Why don't you send the 'Venerable Man,'" La Flesche asked Yellow Smoke, "to some eastern city where he could dwell in a great brick house instead of a ragged tent?" After thinking about the proposal, La Flesche reports, Yellow Smoke agreed. So it was that in 1888, Umo^{n}'ho^{n}'ti came into the care and keeping of the Peabody Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Following the transfer, Yellow Smoke told Fletcher and La Flesche the story of the Pole's origin.

"When the Omahas still lived in wooded country near a lake," Yellow Smoke said, "their chiefs met in council to devise some means by which the bands of the tribe might be kept together and the tribe itself saved from extinction." While they were in council, a young man, the son of a chief, was hunting in the woods. At night he lost his way. He stopped to rest and to find the "motionless star" (the pole star) for his guide. Suddenly, he was attracted by a light. When he approached the light he saw that it was "a tree that sent forth light. He went up to it and found that the whole tree, its trunk, branches, and leaves, were alight, yet remained unconsumed." The young man watched the luminous tree "until with the rising of the sun the tree with its foliage resumed its natural appearance." He remained by it throughout the day. "As twilight came on it began to be luminous and continued so until the sun rose again. When the young man returned home he told his father of the wonder." The young man's father told the chiefs of all the tribes:

> My son has seen a wonderful tree.
> The Thunder birds come and go upon this tree,
> making a trail of fire
> that leaves four paths on the burnt grass
> that stretch toward the Four Winds.
> When the Thunder birds alight on the tree
> it bursts into flame and the fire mounts to the top.
> The tree stands burning,
> but no one can see the fire except at night.

Then they cut the tree down "and four men, walking in a line, carried it on their shoulders to the village." They made a tent for the tree and set it up within the circle of lodges. "The chiefs worked upon the tree; they trimmed it and called it a human being. They made a basketwork receptacle of twigs and feathers and tied it about the middle." They placed a large scalp lock on top of the pole for hair. "Then they painted the Pole and set it up before the tent, leaning it on a crotched stick which they called *imongthe* (a staff)." When the people were gathered, the chiefs stood up and said, "You now see before you a mystery. Whenever we meet with troubles we shall bring all our troubles to Him (the Pole). We shall make offerings and requests. All our prayers must be accompanied by gifts. This (the Pole) belongs to all the people, but it shall be in the keeping of one family in the Honga (Leader) clan."

Umo^{n}'ho^{n}'ti is a person who accumulated many stories during his long life. You can "read" some of these stories in his very appearance. He bears the signature of much devotion. For many years, people "fed" him with buffalo meat. Each year they painted him with buffalo fat mixed with red pigment. They wrapped him with a piece of leather called *a'shondepa,* "the word used to designate the leather shield worn on the wrist of an Indian to protect it from the bowstring." Fletcher and La Flesche explain: "This name affords unmistakable evidence that the Pole was intended to symbolize a man, as no other creature could wear the bowstring shield. It indicates also that the man thus symbolized was one who was both a provider for and a protector of his people" (Fletcher and La Flesche 1992, 225).

In 1988, a century after Yellow Smoke handed Umo^{n}'ho^{n}'ti to Francis La Flesche, Omaha hands once again touched their Sacred Pole. Tribal chairman Doran Morris, who is Yellow Smoke's great-great-grandson according to the Omaha system of reckoning kinship, and Edward Cline, a former chairman, wept as they held Umo^{n}'ho^{n}'ti in prayer in a little courtyard outside the Peabody Museum. They wept because of the break in ceremonial order caused by his long absence from his people. They wept for the lack of respect that had been shown to the Pole, just as Yellow Smoke had wept more than a century before when a boy named Francis La Flesche nearly ran down the Pole and its keeper with his father's horses. They wept for the Pole's century of confinement. They wept for joy at his release. And they wept to see him refreshed by sun and wind after so many years within the walls of the "great brick house." While in Cambridge, they began negotiations for the Pole's return. Following some months of deliberation, the Peabody faculty announced a unanimous decision to approve the request.

On July 12 of the following year, 1989, Mr. Joe Johns, a Creek artist-in-residence at the Peabody, escorted Umo^{n}'ho^{n}'ti back to the Omaha tribal arena in Macy, Nebraska. Tribal chairman Doran Morris

received the Pole on behalf of all Omahas in the hope that his return to the tribal circle will bring all his relations a "blessing for a long time to come." The successful completion of the transfer was not without some difficult moments. Close cooperation between Omaha tribal historian Dennis Hastings and Peabody curator Ian Brown turned out to be essential to the process. Initially the tribe had hoped to obtain temporary storage in Omaha's Joslyn Art Museum, but at the last moment that plan fell through. A resolution of the problem came when Dennis Hastings made contact with the University of Nebraska at Lincoln and requested that they provide the Pole and associated ceremonial objects with interim curatorial care on behalf of the tribe. The university agreed to house the Pole until such time as the Omahas are able to realize their long-range plan of building a tribal cultural center on the reservation.

The Omaha interpretation of these events was that the Pole had found his way to Lincoln for his own reasons—namely, that the university also held the remains of more than a hundred Omahas from the late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century "Big Village" site of Ton'wontonga. By returning to Lincoln rather than to Omaha, the Pole found himself back among the people who had cared for him a century before he went to the Peabody. His return to where his people were housed also had the benefit of easing what had been a potential confrontation between the tribe and the university over the issue of reburial. Omaha elder Lawrence Gilpin spoke to the tribe about Umo^{n}'ho^{n}'ti in 1989:

> The way I would refer to the Sacred Pole is that it is a being. This was done with God after our people realized that in the days of the beginning they talked to nature. They talked to the trees, they talked to the birds, they talked to the sky and they talked to Mother Earth. Everything here was created by what they referred to as the Holy Spirit. And they came to realize that this Holy Spirit was the Creator of all living things here on earth. He made it possible for everything that they could see on Mother Earth here. They took and cut a tree down, taking life from the ground itself, this tree. They took this tree and made it into what we today refer to as the Sacred Pole. The people made their pact, or agreement, with the Great Spirit that this tree here as they took life from it.

The Sacred Pole now has stories to tell about life in our own times. Contemporary Omahas have touched him and prayed over him. Contemporary academics have marveled at the power of motion and of life that remains strong within him. Even more than the *Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* Umo^{n}'ho^{n}'ti offers himself as a text for reading and interpretation by people alive today. The son of an Omaha chief long ago read what was to become the Sacred Pole as "a wonderful tree." His father read the same object as "a tree that stands burning." The older man understood it as sa-

cred, a place where "the Thunder birds come and go . . . making a trail of fire that leaves four paths on the burnt grass that stretch toward the Four Winds." Fletcher and La Flesche read him as the relic of "a past once so full of human activity and hope." Now more than a century has passed since they read the Sacred Pole as a relic of a dying culture. The Omahas have survived as a people. They still face the problem of devising "some means by which the bands of the tribe might be kept together and the tribe itself saved from extinction." In times gone by, Umo^{n}'ho^{n}'ti guided them toward that goal. If people continue to come to him in the right frame of mind, they will be gifted with what elder Clifford Wolfe called "a blessing for a long time to come."

The Sacred Pole is remarkable because he is a physical object that has survived from a distant past. He is remarkable because he is sacred and alive with meaning. He is remarkable because he is a person to members of the Omaha tribe. He is remarkable because he is a gift from Wa'konda, "a power by which things are brought to pass." He speaks to people today from a time in the tribe's past when "a great council was being held to devise some means by which the bands of the tribe might be kept together and the tribe itself saved from extinction." He was central to the tribe's ceremonies during their buffalo-hunting days. Now he has returned to the tribe as a carrier of Omaha identity.

Dennis Hastings and Robin Ridington

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Arapaho; Kinship; Missionization, Northern Plains; Oral Traditions, Western Plains; Power, Plains; Religious Leaders, Plains; Reservations, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Plains

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Sacred Sites and Sacred Mountains

For traditional Native peoples the landscape includes not only the physical world of rocks, trees, mountains, and plains but also the spirit world. Native Americans felt obligated to protect and defend the graves of their ancestors and sacred locations where the Great Spirit both resides and communicates with them: locations such as Mt. Graham in Arizona, Bear Butte and Harney Peak in South Dakota, and Hesperus Peak in Colorado. Centuries spent living in the Great Basin or on the Great Plains brought about a deep love and understanding of the landscape in which Indians believed themselves inseparable from the land and sky.

Devils Tower, the first national monument named by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1906, is a sacred site known as Bear Lodge to many Native American tribes. (Bill Ross/Corbis)

In seeking and guarding access to sacred sites, American Indians need a guarantee of religious freedom for ceremonies, festivals, medicinal plant gathering, and pilgrimages that differ from Christian traditions. Because most Americans have not understood the uniqueness of Indian religions, we have violated their free exercise of them. We need to understand landscapes in the context of traditional Native American religion and the powerful, enduring presence of sacred geography (see Gulliford 2000).

For most tribes a sacred place is a location made holy by the Great Creator, by ancient and enduring myth, by repeated rituals such as Sun Dances, or by the presence of spirits who dwell in deep canyons, mountaintops, or hidden caves. An entire landscape may be sacred, because for thousands of years Indians migrated from place to place in

search of food on seasonal rounds that took them into the high country in the summer and to lower elevations in the winter. Sacred sites remain integral to tribal histories, religions, and identities.

Indians honor oral traditions linked to specific sites such as Ribbon Falls at the bottom of the Grand Canyon, where the Zuni believe they emerged from the center of the earth as a people. A sacred site is always sacred, and human burials or village sites remain hallowed ground. If shamans carved rock art panels to evoke spirits in southern Utah or at the bottom of Echo Park in Dinosaur National Monument in Colorado, those places remain special and should not be disturbed. They are sacred sites where the living communicate with the dead or with powerful animal spirits of deer, elk, and mountain lions that the rock artist came to see in his visions.

Continuity over Time

Repetition and tradition, unbroken continuity over time—these elements define traditional Indian spirituality, whether it is a young man seeking a vision at a remote vision quest site, a tribe such as the Shoshones or the Utes at their annual Sun Dances, or Miwok leaders on a pilgrimage to collect plants for religious purposes as they visit sacred shrines in California. Indian religions—not religions in the sense of rules and dogma, but rather highly individualistic approaches to honoring the Creator—are intricately bound to a tight web of place and an intimate, subtle, even secret understanding of landscape.

For traditional tribal peoples, spirits exist and can help or hurt the living. For the Shoshone those spirits may be the elfin *NunumBi.* Different tribes have other names for spirits, but in every case the spirit world intimately links to place. What compromises are possible to protect sacred sites and to preserve a sacred landscape? How do we address significant issues of the free exercise of religion for Native peoples? To answer these questions, Native American sacred sites must first be defined by type so that they can be identified.

Religious Sites associated with Oral Traditions/Origin Stories

The first category of sacred sites would be religious sites associated with ancient myths and oral traditions that figure prominently in emergence and migration stories. To use nomenclature from the National Register of Historic Places, which is administered by the National Park Service, these sites are "traditional cultural properties" that have deep meaning for tribal identities (see Parker and King 1990). Examples would include the huge stone monoliths in Navajo Tribal Park in Monument Valley called "Big Hands," or symbolic barrels, with spouts essential in legend for storing and providing rain for the Diné (Navajo). Rainbow Bridge near Navajo Mountain has sacred qualities for Diné, because the arch comprises two beings, a male and a female, and "from their union come the rain people, rainbows, clouds, and moisture that originates here and spreads over

the reservation" (see McPherson 1992; Kelley and Francis 1994).

On the 17.5 million acres of the Navajo Nation, sacred places may be associated with the origin stories of clans, the origins of ceremonies, the origin of specific customs, and the general Diné creation story. Other Southwestern tribes such as the Zuni, Hopi, and Walapai also have specific places linked to their clan migrations and creation stories.

Each tribe has its own story of emergence and migration. For the Kiowa, the story was of a long migration eastward from the headwaters of the Yellowstone River to the Black Hills and south to the Wichita Mountains. Part of that journey took the Kiowa to Devils Tower, Wyoming, which became the first national monument in the United States set aside in 1906 by President Theodore Roosevelt. More than twenty tribes have stories about Devils Tower as part of oral traditions, and Native Americans believe that Devils Tower should be renamed according to its Indian name, Bear Lodge.

Trails and Pilgrimage Routes

A second category of religious sites would be trails and pilgrimages through sacred landscapes such as the trail to Zuni Heaven or the Ute Trail. Cairns as trail markers are particularly important for migratory peoples who remembered the cairns as a place to pause and meditate, as Nez Perce guides did along the Lolo Trail with Lewis and Clark in 1806. Indians also reverently added to the cairns as each passing traveler would say a prayer and add another rock to the pile for both personal good luck and respect for their ancestors who had gone before.

Along the Columbia River in Washington, tall cairns of basalt represent kinship and family lineage for the Yakama, as well as fishing boundaries for different Plateau bands of Indians. Native peoples believe that cairns contain the essence of the builder and must be approached with care, because they offer comforting proof that ancestors passed through the area generations earlier.

Traditional Gathering Areas

A third category of religious sites would include gathering places for fish, wildlife, sacred plants, and materials to quarry, such as mineral deposits that provide sources for face and body paint. Crucial to religious ceremonies, Great Plains paint mines would be neutral territory, and warring tribes could gather red, yellow, and black clay in peace. Sacred paint sources include the Paint Mines near Calhan, Colorado, and in Wyoming at Sunrise and Rawlins. Shield Cave in Colorado represents a rare site that contains every clay color needed in Ute religious ceremonies.

Diné gather hematite and special dirt and sand for sand paintings used in healing ceremonies. Most Southwestern tribes also have sacred places where men gather salt. There are sacred gathering areas at which clans gather special roots and herbs, as well as family-use sites.

There are gathering areas for willows to be used for baskets, wild tea for medicinal purposes, and places to retrieve special water from sacred springs or snowmelt from high elevations. For their *Jish,* or medicine bundles, Diné medicine men may also collect projectile points and pieces of petrified wood. The gathering of such items is always done with gratitude and prayer.

Because Native peoples use plants in religious ceremonies, traditional gathering areas for sacred sage, sweetgrass, and other herbs must be protected. Tribal sacred sites include these traditional cultural property areas where for generations tribes have gathered food, whether it be salmon among the Plateau Indians, bitterroot among the Shoshones, camas roots among the Nez Perce, or huckleberries among the confederated tribes of Warm Springs and the Yakama Nation. These sites retain their sacredness, because they bring the people together each year at harvest time to gather plants for the first feasts and to initiate young girls as women and young men as hunters or fishermen. Indians in the Northwest are acutely conscious not only of their reservation lands but also of lands ceded by treaty, lands that guaranteed Natives the perpetual right to hunt and fish in their "usual and accustomed places." Tribal members exercise those rights yearly. Gathering roots and berries in the old way keeps the people physically strong and knitted together by social tradition.

Offering Areas: Altars and Shrines

Native peoples also make offerings either privately or within ceremonial cycles when they gather sacred materials. At certain times of the year, American Indians offer prayer sticks and special foods to the Creator to keep the people in harmony, to heal the sick, and to provide general balance and prosperity. Offerings are also left for powerful animals like bears and buffalos. Archaeologists sometimes consider such offering sites prehistoric, assuming that they are no longer used, but Native peoples consider such time distinctions irrelevant. Altars are never abandoned; they represent active conduits to the spirit world.

Vision Quest and Other Individual Use Sites

A fifth category of religious sites would be sites used by single individuals, such as vision quest sites. These sites are often composed of stones 18 to 24 inches high, placed in a horseshoe or circular shape. The young man or woman seeking a vision enters the earth or stone enclosure, remaining without food or water until the arrival of the animal or bird spirit, which then becomes the source of his or her personal power or medicine. Indians built most vision quest sites on high precipices with panoramic views, sites that "are among the most common forms of sacred geography in North America," according to Deward Walker (1998). Small, individually used sweatlodges or wooden tree platforms used by

medicine men for meditation and healing exist in deep canyons or on mountain ridges.

Vision quest sites can be found at remote locations throughout the Rocky Mountains, and Indians who visit them today often leave offerings of sacred sage, tobacco, or water to placate the spirits. An Indian might reuse the site for a modern vision quest or leave it undisturbed, but in either case a seeker of visions has made it a sacred place.

Group Ceremonial Sites: Sweatlodges, Dances and Sings

Ceremonial dance sites such as Sun Dance, Bear Dance, or other dance sites are also sacred places, and usage may date back for decades or centuries. Plains Indians erect the Sun Dance lodge at the same spot in a lengthy ritual that includes a virtuous woman selecting the forked aspen or willow tree for the central lodge support.

Once the dance has been completed, prayers have been offered, and people have been healed, the dancers leave the lodge by midafternoon of the last day. A permanent Sun Dance structure is not the traditional Shoshone, Ute, or Arapaho way. The Sun Dance lodge loses its religious purpose, because after the dancers have left the space is no longer hallowed. Their sacrifice over, the cosmic spell has been broken. What endures is the process, the community ritual, and the repetition of the Sun Dance, with each group of committed dancers sacrificing themselves at the same sacred place. Ten months out of the year, no one visits the sites (see Jorgensen 1972).

Just as with the routes taken by the Shalako spirits at Zuni or the Deer Dancers at Taos Pueblo plaza, what is sacred is the reconstruction of tradition through meditation and performance. Building the Sun Dance lodge anew brings people together. Ancient ceremonial sites include Serpent Mound National Monument in Ohio and Pueblo Bonito at Chaco Canyon in Chaco Culture National Historic Park in New Mexico. Men's societies still actively use kivas in the Southwest to initiate young boys, and, on the high mesas—such as the village of Walpi on First Mesa at Hopi—ancient plazas still reverberate with the dance steps of the Katsinas.

Ancestral Habitation Sites

Another category of sacred sites to be respected and protected would include ancient Puebloan ruins, as well as tepee rings where Plains people once set up large seasonal encampments. Brush shelters, or wickiups, for Great Basin tribes or Utes in Colorado would also qualify as sacred village sites. Zuni tribal leaders closed to visitors the ancient site of Hawikuh, which is now protected by the Zuni Preservation Department, although other ancestral Puebloan sites—such as those at Mesa Verde National Park or Canyons of the Ancients National Monument—are open to respectful visitation.

Petroglyphs and Pictographs—Ceremonial Rock Art

Many petroglyphs, pictographs, and pictograms qualify as sacred. The Eastern Shoshone believe that petroglyphs represent messages from the spirit world and that only properly trained medicine men or shamans can decipher them. Ceremonial rock art often illustrates origin and creation stories and can be found on the tops of mountain peaks, on boulders in the bottom of drainages, and along pilgrimage routes—anywhere, in fact, the rock surface can be incised down to the desert patina under ledges protected from weathering.

The Spanish priests Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez and Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante, traveling north from Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 1776, encountered a variety of Fremont-era and Ute rock art south of present-day Rangely, Colorado, in a canyon that they named Canyon Pintado because of the colored drawings. In their journals they specifically noted the famed *kokopelli,* or flute player, represented in stylized form throughout the Southwest. Much rock art symbolism has been analyzed and described, and distinct motifs vary among cultural and geographical regions. Petroglyphs and colored pictograms also represent living tribal traditions, and some examples of historical rock art may help to validate tribal claims to ceded lands.

Individual Burials and Massacre Sites

As with all cultures, human remains are sacred to tribal peoples, and with the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990, unmarked graves found on public lands now come under federal protection. While some tribes find every individual burial sacred, for the Diné in the Southwest, burials are to be protected, also being places to avoid out of respect.

In addition to Indian burials, another sacred category includes massacre sites and mass burials such as the Marias River Massacre site in Montana; Sand Creek in eastern Colorado; Washita River in Oklahoma; the Camp Grant Massacre site in Arizona; and Wounded Knee at Pine Ridge, South Dakota. These sites of shame, where armed military forces attacked sleeping Indian villages, rarely receive protection or interpretation. Without question these sites are sacred to Native Americans who feel an obligation to tell the living about past atrocities.

Observatories and Calendar Sites

Massive stones atop Fajada Butte at Chaco Canyon National Historical Park in New Mexico functioned as a solar and lunar calendar, designed by ancient Puebloan peoples to mark the passage of time and the seasons. Throughout the Southwest, stone alignments and concentric circles on rock art indicate solstice markers. For the Fremont people who once lived near Rangely, Colorado, a ridgetop observatory may have helped determine their very limited agricultural season at high elevations on the northern boundary of the Colorado Plateau. In southern Colorado, Chimney Rock near

the Southern Ute Reservation is high in elevation and was used as a solstice marker. In the South, the misnamed Old Stone Fort near Manchester, Tennessee, represents a sacred earthen enclosure from the Mississippian period with an entrance to the east constructed to admit maximum sunlight on June 21, the longest day of the year.

One of the most powerful sites in North America is the Medicine Wheel in northern Wyoming, which is aligned to both the summer solstice and to the rising of the summer stars Aldebaran, Rigel, and Sirius, though the wheel has been periodically altered over the centuries. The Medicine Wheel must be considered as an entire religious complex including vision quest sites, sacred trails, and even stone cairns in the shape of an arrow pointing to the site from more than 40 miles away across the Big Horn Basin. According to Fred Chapman, Native American liaison with the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, the Medicine Wheel represents an "archetypal form of religious architecture" (Chapman 1993).

Sacred Mountains

A special landform sacred to Native peoples is mountains, which have important meanings because they represent diverse ecological niches in which a variety of plants and animals can be found, depending upon the elevation. Desert peoples understood that mountain snows and summer storms created their main source of water, and spirits reside in mountain springs, adjacent canyons, crystal blue lakes, and on the tops of peaks. Mountains in the Appalachians and Adirondacks had meaning for tribes east of the Mississippi, but because President Andrew Jackson forcibly relocated many tribes after 1830, case studies will be drawn from Western mountains still accessed today by Native peoples.

San Francisco Peaks: Home of the Katsinas

The highest peaks in Arizona rise to the west of the Colorado Plateau and stand as silent sentinels, catching the morning sun and reflecting the last light of day near Flagstaff. Sacred to the Hopi and the Zuni, the San Francisco Peaks are also revered by the Diné, whose traditional homeland is bounded by four mountains with the San Francisco Peaks as the boundary mountains to the west. Solitary volcanic mountains, the peaks can be seen 80 miles away by the Hopi who live on high mesas and who for centuries have made annual pilgrimages back to the peaks to leave offerings for the Katsinas who dwell there. Former Hopi chairman Vernon Masayesva writes that the peaks are "the shrine we look to because it is the home of ancient Katsina spirits, emissaries of life. Sometimes we felt we could touch the mountain near Flagstaff" (Masayesva 1998).

Attempting to utilize both the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978, the Hopis filed suit against the U.S. Forest Service in 1982 to

Aerial view of Serpent Mound National Monument in Ohio, which is an ancient ceremonial site. (Richard A. Cooke/Corbis)

prevent the expansion of a ski resort that would alter ancient shrines, religious ceremonial sites, and gathering areas held sacred by Hopi clans. The tribe lost in court. Frustrated by a judge who determined that ski area expansion and more parking spaces would have little impact on religious sites, Hopi cultural officer Leigh Kuwanwisiwma found that "there is no final, absolute protection under either act." Equally grating to the Hopis, who, according to Kuwanwisiwma, "once used to go to the mountains unhindered," is the demeaning requirement for a special-use permit to gather the sacred plants they have collected for millennia. The permit is required because under U.S. Forest Service rules, such gathering is now subject to federal jurisdiction.

Leigh Kuwanwisiwma explains: "It bothers me because I have been assigned by my clan to lead pilgrimages to the peaks. The last time I led a pilgrimage we were supposed to get a permit, but a Hopi goes where his heart tells him to—not where he is told to gather spruce branches." He adds that there are numerous trails from Hopi villages to the San Francisco Peaks, and though some trails are no longer used, "ceremonial activities deified the trails that then came into disuse with better maintained roads into Flagstaff. Now when pilgrimages are

made we think of the trails and offer special prayers so that the trails do not lose their significance." Pilgrims originally came to the mountains on foot and then by burro, horse, and horse-drawn wagon. Now the clans come in pickup trucks, but their purpose is the same as it has been for centuries.

Leigh Kuwanwisiwma argues: "Regardless of its use or not, in our prayers and ceremonies the trails still have integrity because you always have a spiritual element. Clans have living memories and hold specific place names for ancestral sites." Offering areas are associated with the sacred peaks, and on the ancient trail from Oraibi to Wupatki National Monument, formal shrines with distinct characteristics mark the route for male Hopi travelers. Because of the prominent San Francisco Peaks, an entire sacred landscape exists across the Colorado Plateau.

California's Mount Shasta

Visible from much of northeastern California, 14,162-foot volcanic Mount Shasta glitters white with snow half of the year and is considered sacred to northern California Indians including the Shasta, Modoc, Pitt River, Hupa, Karuk, and Wintu. Because Californians brutally exterminated Indian tribes in the nineteenth century, and the California legislature even considered legalizing Indian slavery, several tribes interested in protecting Mount Shasta are not federally recognized: today they are few in number and have only a tiny land base compared with their aboriginal territory of hundreds of square miles. Mount Shasta was an important feature in the mythology of all groups whose territories bordered the mountain, and today's use of the mountain is rooted in traditional practices and values.

The Wintu have maintained the closest ties to the mountain, and they believe, along with the Pitt River Indians, that Mount Shasta is the home of the "little people" who reside inside the peak. A powerful Pitt River spirit called Mis Misa is said to live inside the mountain and has served to keep the universe in balance. Some tribes bury their dead toward the mountain because it points the way toward the spirit world, and when the Wintu dance and pray they always face Mount Shasta. Pitt River Indians believe that spirits of the deceased fly on the backs of eagles to the top of the mountain as a way station before leaving for the Milky Way.

Wintu spiritual leader Florence Jones, who is in her mid-80s, still conducts ceremonies and teaches tribal culture on the mountain, as did her great-great-grandfather. An important ceremony is held at Panther Meadow because of the healing power of its spring, which forms the headwaters of the McCloud River, which flows through original Wintu tribal lands.

Indian tribes and the Save Mount Shasta Citizens' Group wanted Mount Shasta in its entirety listed on the National Register of Historic Places as a National Register Multiple Property,

which would include Panther Meadow, a small subalpine meadow that is a spiritual quest/ceremonial site, and the top of the peak. There are twenty-three associated sites, including Coonrod Flat on Pilgrim Creek, where Wintu camp, visit, and entertain as part of a four-day spiritual preparation prior to ascending to upper Panther Meadow Spring. Debate has swirled around exactly how much of Mount Shasta is sacred in the context of the legal boundaries necessary for designation on the National Register of Historic Places. The development of a ski area has sparked a debate and pitted tribes with centuries of occupation and use against developers and local residents.

The 1994 designation of the entire mountain as a sacred site pleased the Indians and New Age religious users but infuriated non-Native locals and a California congressman. The Mount Shasta listing has since been cut to a 40-acre site at Panther Meadow and a 19,000-acre "Native American Cosmological District" within a preexisting 38,000-acre wilderness area reaching from the 8,000-foot contour at timberline to the 14,000-foot summit. Only the top of the mountain has been totally preserved. These new boundaries reflect the original proposal by the California State Historic Preservation Office and the Shasta-Trinity National Forest, although other types of cultural properties are not included and have not yet been evaluated for their archaeological or ethnographic importance.

Gloria Gomes, secretary of the Wintu Tribe of Shasta County, explains: "Mount Shasta is the most sacred area to our people. Our creator lives there, and that's where our spiritual leader receives her power." Merely to preserve the mountain's summit dissatisfies local tribes as well as Gomes, who says, "Declaring only the top of the mountain significant is like considering only the steeple of the church. Why not respect the whole church?"

Taos Pueblo Blue Lake

High in the mountains above Taos, New Mexico, at nearly 14,000 feet in elevation, a lake rests between granite stones and tall spruce trees. Sacred to the Taos people who have lived at their pueblo since at least A.D. 1300, Blue Lake and its watershed symbolize cultural continuity for the tribe and the source of all their health and spiritual well-being. It is from this sacred lake that the tribe emerged, and the lake is the source of their origin as a people. Taken by the U.S. Forest Service as public land and incorporated into the Carson National Forest in 1906, the Blue Lake area has stood as a symbol of the denial of Native American religious freedom. As novelist Frank Waters explained, "The quest for Blue Lake brought Indian religion to the forefront of national consciousness. And it was crucial to the Indians' success that they convince the general public that religion lay behind their claim."

The pueblo's cacique, or religious leader, worked for more than sixty years

Mount Shasta in the Cascade Range is considered sacred to northern California Indians. ca. 1992–1994. (David Muench/Corbis)

to have legal title to the sacred turquoise lake, *Ba Whyea,* restored to Taos Pueblo. The cacique is responsible for the tribe's spiritual life, and he knows all the rituals and mythic stories that begin with tribal emergence from their sacred lake. According to the religious leaders, Blue Lake and the surrounding area "is an ancient place of worship. It is where our ancestors dwell, the source of our life giving water and the heart of Taos Pueblo religion and life."

The pueblo proclaimed: "Our tribal government is responsible to this land and to the people. We have lived upon this land from days beyond history's records, far past any living memory deep into the time of legend. The story of my people and the story of this place are one single story. No man can think of us without also thinking of this place. We are always joined together." Each year the August Ceremony took place at Blue Lake, and tribal members of all ages made their annual 25-mile-long pilgrim-

age to its deep blue waters, which flow through the pueblo as Blue Lake Creek, or Rio Pueblo de Taos.

Believing that a U.S. Forest Service designation would help protect their property, especially from rampant overgrazing, Taos Pueblo acquiesced to the U.S. government's incorporation of the Blue Lake area into the Carson National Forest in 1906. But the agency's mandate of multiple use of forest resources soon distressed pueblo leaders, who came to regret the inclusion. Serious disagreements arose between local Indians and Forest Service personnel who demanded visitation permits and treated Native Americans condescendingly. Taos people increasingly felt as if they were trespassing on their own sacred lands, but in fact it had been non-Natives who had trespassed and squatted on pueblo land.

Tribal leader Seferino Martinez explained: "We don't have beautiful structures and we don't have gold temples in this lake, but we have a sign of a living God to whom we pray—the living trees, the evergreen and spruce, and the beautiful flowers and the beautiful rocks and the lake itself. We have this proof of sacred things we deeply love, deeply believe."

Taos Indians could visit the lake, but so could tourists, hunters, campers, lumberjacks, and cattlemen. Their sacred area—and the source of water for the Taos village—was no longer under the pueblo's control as it had been for centuries before recorded history. Cacique Juan de Jesus Romero feared that "[if] our land is not returned to us, if it is turned over to the government for its use, then it is the end of Indian life. Our people will scatter as the people of other nations have scattered. It is our religion that holds us together" (quoted in Brookover 1996).

After years of political delays, in 1969 Congress finally reintroduced the Blue Lake Bill, or House Bill 471, which recommended passage of the law as the cornerstone of a new Indian policy of self-determination. President Richard M. Nixon signed the bill into law on December 15, 1970, returning 48,000 acres of forest land known as the Blue Lake Wilderness Area to federal trust status for Taos Pueblo and granting an exclusive-use area, making the lake and adjacent mountains off-limits to anyone not an enrolled member of Taos Pueblo. At the symbolic signing of the bill, President Richard Nixon said, "Long before any organized religion came to the United States, for 700 years, the Taos Pueblo Indians worshipped in this place. We restore this place of worship to them for all the years to come." As it has since time immemorial, the War Chief's Office patrols Blue Lake and associated sacred shrines and pilgrimage trails.

A major legislative accomplishment without parallel in Indian history, the return of Taos Blue Lake could not have been accomplished without the steadfast support of tribal members, tribal leaders, non-Native attorneys, and sympathetic outsiders who respected Indian religious beliefs and felt that Taos Pueblo

had clearly been wronged. Frank Waters noted that the return of Blue Lake "was the first land claims case settled in favor of an Indian tribe based on the freedom of religion."

Although the Blue Lake area is restricted to enrolled Taos Pueblo members, the ancient village is not, and Taos Pueblo welcomes tourists to enjoy "a thousand years of tradition." It is this openness to the larger society that created the necessary coalition to achieve the return of Blue Lake. The sixty-year struggle resulted in an enormous burden, but there was never any hesitation about the effort or the goal. By protecting Blue Lake and their sacred watershed, the people of Taos Pueblo are protecting themselves and ensuring that future generations will be firm in their identity and rooted in a special sacred place. As Cacique Juan de Jesus Romero said, "It is our religion that holds us together" (quoted in Brookover 1996).

Mount Graham: Telescopes and the Big-Seated Mountain

The failure of Apaches to stop the construction of two telescopes high atop 10,720-foot Mount Graham in the Pinaleno Mountains of southeast Arizona represents a critical defeat for Native Americans and environmentalists, and a resounding victory for the University of Arizona, expensive lobbyists, and Washington, D.C., lawyers willing to play hardball to protect their clients. A small tribe of Apaches challenged the Mount Graham International Observatory and its associated Angel Mirror Laboratory, which is considered one of the most important astrophysical projects in the world.

The Apaches lost by providing too little cultural information, too late, on the mountain known to them as "Big-Seated Mountain," or Dzil Nchaa Si An. Indians claimed that the mountain is one of four sacred Apache mountains, and that it contains the burial sites of medicine men, the homes of spiritual beings including Gaan Dancers, and that it is a sacred pilgrimage site for the collection of plants and medicines. "There are songs about Mount Graham that are an important part of our religious practice," stated Apache medicine man Franklin Stanley. "There are herbs and sources of water on Mount Graham that are sacred to us. Some of the plants on Mount Graham that we use are found nowhere else." He explained: "The mountain is part of spiritual knowledge that is revealed to us. Our prayers go through the mountain, through and to the top of the mountain. Mount Graham is one of the most sacred mountains. The mountain is holy. It was holy before any people came, and in the mountain lives a greater spirit." Eighteen varieties of plants and animals are found there that live nowhere else.

A formidable environmental alliance to stop the telescopes included Defenders of Wildlife, Earth Island Institute, Greenpeace, National Audubon Society, National Wildlife Federation, the Sierra Club, and the Wilderness Society. Other opposition came from the National Council of Churches, the Unitarian Uni-

versalist Association of Congregations, and tribal groups including the Apache Survival Coalition and Apaches for Cultural Preservation. Commentators argued that environmentalists sought Indian alliances only after earlier attempts to stop the construction on environmental grounds had failed.

In a June 1991 letter to the U.S. Forest Service, the San Carlos Apache Tribal Council demanded that construction of the telescopes be stopped because of Mount Graham's "vital importance for maintaining the integrity of our Apache culture and tradition." The council argued, "Any permanent modification of the present form of this mountain constitutes a display of profound disrespect for a cherished feature of the Apache's original homeland as well as a serious violation of Apache traditional religious beliefs." Along with the Zunis, for whom Mount Graham is also a sacred site, the San Carlos Tribal Council called for an assessment of the mountain under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, but construction permits had already been approved.

Apache silence about their religious traditions did not help in this legal battle. Because Native Americans had previously not objected to change on the mountain and had not discussed or described their sacred sites, federal officials had assumed that no important sites existed; they acted accordingly. The U.S. Forest Service sent letters to the tribal council after locating two rock cairns and a shrine on the mountain, but they received no written response. The University of Arizona and other institutions involved with the telescopes do not deny Apaches their religious beliefs; instead, this is the familiar dilemma of restricting access to sacred sites on public land. James Welch, historic preservation officer for the Fort Apache Reservation, argues that non-Apache "experts" should not decide issues of cultural significance for Apaches, and that Native oral traditions must be recognized on a par with academic findings.

Colorado's Hesperus Peak, or Dibe'nsta

Hesperus Peak in the La Plata Mountains is one of the four sacred mountains in Diné cosmology; it represents the northwest boundary of the Diné cultural area. In 1868, when the Diné were incarcerated at Bosque Redondo, chief Barbacito said that they would do anything if only they could go home and not be sent to Oklahoma. In his speech to General William Tecumseh Sherman, he described the boundary areas including Hesperus Peak as one of the Four Sacred Mountains.

Hesperus Peak, 13,232 feet high, figures in Diné lore not only from the treaty's nineteenth-century date but also much earlier in Diné myth and legend. One of the most important of all Diné ceremonies, the Yei Bi Chai, or Nightway Ceremony, is performed only certain times of the year; it is one of two major healing ceremonies held only during the winter months, when the snakes are hibernating and there is no danger of lightning. This ceremony is performed for

eight days and nine nights, being initiated when a patient first seeks the help of a hand trembler, who can sense and feel symptoms of a certain nature.

By midafternoon of the second day of the ceremony, sand is used to make figures on the four sacred mountains, and the sand is placed in all directions beginning with the east, south, west, and finally north. Talking God enters the hogan where the ceremony is being performed, and he rotates himself around the patient four times in a clockwise motion, beginning with the east and finishing in the north.

Diné medicine men go to the area to gather sacred dirt and special plants for their medicine bundles, because the heart and soul of the Diné start with the four sacred mountains. Diné medicine man George Blueeyes explains, "These mountains and the land between them are the only things that keep us strong. . . . We carry soil from the sacred mountains in a prayer bundle that we call *dah nidiilyeeh*. Because of this bundle, we gain possessions and things of value: turquoise, necklaces, and bracelets. With this we speak, with this we pray. This is where the prayers begin."

A small church and cemetery with white crosses for grave markers stands in the desert below Black Mesa in New Mexico. ca. 1980–1990. (Macduff Everton/Corbis)

According to legend, the sacred mountains were the pillars that held up the sky; thus as pillars they had to be fastened down. The sacred north mountain, or Hesperus, was tied down with a rainbow, black beads, and mist; many plants and animals were added. A dish of black beads, *paszini,* held two blackbird eggs under a cover of darkness, and on Dibentsaa lived Pollen Boy and Grasshopper Girl. Because of the sacred nature of Hesperus, "sacred mountains should not be climbed unless it is done in a proper way through prayer and song, and they should be returned to by medicine men every twelve years to renew their Blessingway prayers," wrote Robert S. McPherson (see McPherson 1992).

Sacred Sites Today

If the term "sacred site" has multiple meanings for tribal peoples, it is a term that is generally misunderstood by non-Indians, who do not easily comprehend how Native Americans value their lands and landscapes. Perhaps through the use of the term, despite its ambiguity, Indian sites can be better protected. Certainly Presidential Executive Order No. 13007 on Indian Sacred Sites (May 1996), signed by President William Clinton, provides new protections to special areas and helps to accommodate American Indians in the free exercise of their religions. As Deward Walker has noted, "Clearly sacred geography is a universal and essential feature of the practice of American Indian religions" (Walker 1998).

After centuries of religious oppression and denial of Indian religious freedom, it is time to respect tribal traditions. Former Hopi Chairman Vernon Masayesva explains, "If an Indian says a rock contains the spirit of God, courts and judges must not dismiss this as a romantic description. Keep in mind, to a Catholic consecrated bread is no longer bread but the very physical body of Christ." He adds, "No court would challenge the Catholic belief in that regard." Masayesva concludes, "And no court should challenge as romantic overstatement that places or things contain the spirit of God either."

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Diné; Ecology and Environmentalism; Hopi Prophecy; Identity; Mother Earth; Oral Traditions; Religious Leadership, California; Religious Leadership, Southwest, Pueblo; Reservations, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Sacred Sites and Sacred Mountains, Black Hills; Termination and Relocation

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Sacred Sites and Sacred Mountains, Black Hills

The Black Hills, which cross the borders between western South Dakota, northeast Wyoming, and southeast Montana are sacred spaces for the Oceti Sakowin (the peoples collectively referred to as Sioux), particularly the Lakota, as well as the Northern Cheyenne and Omaha.

According to the Lakota Sioux, they have always lived in the northern Great Plains area. Any migration was purely localized, they say, outward from the Black Hills into the regions surrounding them. For the Oceti Sakowin, the Black Hills are profoundly religiously and spiritually significant. The Lakotas are the chosen protectors and caretakers of the Black Hills—largely because the Black Hills are recognized as their birthplace.

According to Lakota oral tradition, the Oceti Sakowin first emerged from the Black Hills. The traditional story tells of a time when the people lived beneath the earth. This place beneath the earth had been their home for thousands of years. They emerged through Wind Cave, which is located in the southern Black Hills. Once they emerged, they were no longer able to return to their ancestral home. The people had left their leader behind, underground. He foresaw the hardships that his people would soon encounter, the cold and the hunger. Sacrificing his secure and comfortable existence, the leader emerged through Wind Cave. As he did so, he took on the form of the buffalo. The buffalo would then sustain the Oceti Sakowin during their first years on the earth and for generations to come, providing food, shelter, clothing, tools, and all the other necessities of life.

The Black Hills are known to the Oceti Sakowin as Paha Sapa, or "the heart of everything that is." The hills contain all the curing elements necessary for the psychological and physical well-being of the people. Sites within the Black Hills of particular importance are Harney Peak, Devils Tower, and Bear Butte. Lakota oral traditions tell of the creation of these places, and of their importance in Lakota religious life. Ceremonies are conducted at these sites. Their timing is in accordance with the movement of the constellations, beginning in the spring and continuing throughout the summer.

The Oceti Sakowin first encountered Euro-American settlers in the eighteenth century, and trade with Euro-American traders reached its peak between 1825 and 1839. A struggle with the U.S. govern-

ment began in earnest in the mid–nineteenth century, as the United States began to seize land through treaties. These documents set boundaries for tribal lands, constraining the Natives' freedom and traditional ways of life. A series of treaties with the Oceti Sakowin set the boundaries of the so-called Great Sioux Reservation, which encompassed the western half of present-day South Dakota.

However, when gold was discovered in the Black Hills, which were within the agreed-upon boundaries of the Great Sioux Reservation, the U.S. government sought to convince the Oceti Sakowin to sell the Black Hills. The Oceti Sakowin were unconvinced. Without a legal agreement, the U.S. government pushed a treaty through a gathering representing only 10 percent of the adult male population, removing the Black Hills from the Great Sioux Reservation. The government seized the land, resulting in a long and bloody war. Since that time the Oceti Sakowin have continued to protest the seizure of their sacred lands, and to refuse any monetary compensation.

In 1980 the Court of Claims, the Indian Claims Commission, and the Supreme Court acknowledged the illegality of the seizure. Instead of ordering that the land be returned, the Lakota were offered a monetary sum: the value of the land in 1877 plus interest: $570 million. Arguing that a people cannot sell sacred land, the Oceti Sakowin refused to accept the sum.

The Black Hills have been subject to logging, mining, and recreation, despite protests from the Lakota. Gold, coal, and uranium mining have polluted the water with cyanide and left open pits throughout the hills. Very often, companies are permitted to leave sites without any efforts at environmental clean-up.

Today, Bear Butte (Mato Paha) and Devils Tower are popular tourist destinations for hikers and climbers. For tens of thousands of years, Bear Butte has been the site of tribal gatherings, vision quests, and ceremonies. Hikers have been requested to stay on designated trails and to avoid ceremonial areas. However, restrictions are not enforced.

The American Indian Religious Freedom Act has failed to protect these sites from incursions and to preserve them as ceremonial and sacred places. Politicians continue to permit the violation of sacred places in the Black Hills, allowing mining companies to abandon depleted mines without restoring the land. Only 0.8 percent of the Black Hills are protected from logging, and the U.S. Forest Service permits logging throughout the region.

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Lakota; Kinship; Oral Traditions, Western Plains; Oral Traditions, Lakota; Reservations, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Sacred Sites and Sacred Mountains; Termination and Relocation; Vision Quest Rites

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Sacred Societies, Great Lakes

Sacred Societies (sometimes known as Medicine Societies) were formed by Iroquoian and Anishnabeg nations in the Great Lakes region to convey the blessings of a particular Spirit to members of their communities. Members of both groups believed that humans shared the universe with powerful beings who, although occupied with concerns of their own, sometimes helped humans. Sacred Societies, which owned particular songs and dances and followed certain rules, were devoted to serving and pleasing various spirits. The societies attended annual festivals as a group to appease discontented Spirits and to honor beneficent ones. While the entire community benefited from the intervention of the societies, individuals could also ask them for special healing, though some payment for the rite was usually required to fulfill obligations to the Spirit. The Sacred Societies continue today and are especially prominent in Minnesota and on Manitoulin Island, where their members guard the teachings and rituals of the societies from the view of nonmembers.

Most studies of the religion of First Nations concentrate either on details of the rituals or on the social value of the societies. What the rituals meant to individuals within the societies, rather than to the community as a whole, is difficult to uncover. Furthermore, the historical development of the societies is also difficult to determine, as the documentary record, which began in the seventeenth century, contains only the impressions of observers who were not usually privy to the meaning of the ceremonies. Iroquoian Sacred Societies were certainly active from the early seventeenth century, and the Anishnabeg from at least the middle of the seventeenth century. Scholars and First Nations communities, however, disagree among themselves and with each other over when the societies actually began.

The Iroquois Confederacy was and continues to be served by many medicine societies, including the False Faces, the Bear, the Buffalo, the Chanters for the Dead, the Eagle, the Husk Face, the Little People, the Otter, and the Society of Women Planters. Most of these societies have procured special abilities from their patrons. The Husk Faces, for example, received agricultural skills and shared them with the community. Other societies served a protectionist role. The Little People Society protected their community by ensuring that their potentially malevolent patrons received enough attention. Anishnabeg First Nations, on the other hand, developed only two major societies: the Midéwiwin, or Grand Medicine Society, and the Wabeno, or People of the Dawn. In the

Carved wood figure with rectangular opening in the chest, used by the Midéwiwin secret society. From Leech Lake, Minnesota. (Werner Forman/Art Resource, NY)

nineteenth century, Anishnabeg communities incorporated the Drum Dance and Peyote rituals from other First Nations into their rituals. Alongside the societies, the Anishnabeg maintained less structured personal networks between people who had dreamed of the same Spirit. Dependants of the powerful Bear Spirit, for example, shared a sweatlodge ceremony renowned for its brutal temperatures. The Anishnabeg also had a visionary religious tradition in which individuals spontaneously took on spiritual leadership after receiving Spirit dreams.

Most of the Iroquois and Anishnabeg societies told stories about the origins of their society. One of the most famous is the Iroquoian story about False Face and his Creator brother. When the Creator was busy making the world, his brother False Face grew annoyed and began to follow him around, taking things apart after his brother had made them and adding unpleasant animals to the growing collection of useful ones. Eventually, when the world was complete, the two brothers got into a fight about who had actually made it. The Creator suggested a duel of power. Each would try to move a mountain. Whoever succeeded clearly was the creator. False Face tried first and failed. His brother then told False Face to turn his back. Being by far the more powerful, the Creator moved the mountain up behind False Face's back, and when False Face turned around he smashed his nose on it.

False Face admitted that he was the weaker and asked his brother to allow him to live. The Creator assented but insisted that in return for his life, False Face should take care of humans. False Face agreed to give humans the power to manipulate hot coals, to survive the cold, and to fight disease, witches, and bad weather, so long as they demonstrated their respect and affection for him by giving him tobacco and corn mush. The False Face Society in turn took as its first responsibility the creation and maintenance of Masks with which they could

act out the relationship between humans and False Face prescribed in the origin story.

The story of the two brothers demonstrates a common perception of the relationship between humans and Manitous in the Great Lakes area. False Face was motivated to become the guardian of his society by circumstances foreign to the human Iroquois. The Society accepted his help with the knowledge that it was offered, not out of affection or inclination, but as part of a bargain; it would continue only as long as they fulfilled their half of the agreement.

Not all Iroquois became members of the False Face Society. But those who did reflected their patron's combination of hostility and helpfulness while spreading the protection of False Face to their community at the Midwinter festival. The Society members, themselves called False Faces, ritually purged their community of the malevolent power of both unseen Mysteries and antisocial humans. In one dramatic ritual the False Faces organized themselves into two groups at opposite ends of the village. Each group began to walk toward the center, entering every house on their path. Inside the homes the False Faces yelled to frighten malevolent spirits away and shook rattles into the darkest corners to eradicate all dangerous human and spiritual forces. The False Faces also jostled sick people to their feet and teased layabouts. When the houses were all visited the Faces met in the center, where a representative of the villagers quickly thanked the Faces and offered gifts of tobacco and corn soup to prevent the False Faces from becoming resentful and turning on the village. Thus the relationship between the villagers and the False Face Society who served them mirrored the relational structure of reciprocal obligations between humans and Manitous.

In the twentieth century, many of the False Face Masks were photographed; others were displayed in museums for the amusement and education of non-Iroquois people. Some Iroquois leaders charged that such actions abused the Spirits associated with the Masks, and a number of scholars lost the support of their Iroquois informants. Museums holding Masks and other religiously significant pieces were forced to begin the long, slow process of self-examination that has led to the return of some religious objects. However, some Iroquois believe that the people who gave the Masks to the museums will be deprived of Spirit blessings until the Masks are returned.

Like the False Face Society, the Anishnabeg Grand Medicine Society, or Midéwiwin, offered spiritual protection to members and nonmembers alike. However the Midéwiwin incorporated a broader cross-section of society into its general membership than did the False Faces. Possibly that was because the Midéwiwin helped people to live well in order to prepare them for death. In one version of the Midéwiwin origin story, a human named Cutfoot had a vision of terrified Anishnabeg being turned away

from *Ishpeming,* the land of the dead, because they were not at peace. Nanabozho, the trickster Spirit credited with creating the earth and the Anishnabeg, gained permission from the other Spirits to give Cutfoot birch bark scrolls containing knowledge of herbal healing, rituals, and teachings that would enable the Anishnabeg to approach death with equanimity and enter *Ishpeming.* Members of the Midéwiwin learned and passed on the wisdom given to the Anishnabeg by Cutfoot.

Joining the Midéwiwin entailed either purchasing a curing ritual from the Mide leaders or undergoing an initiation ceremony. Mide curing ceremonies lasted for several days and featured an incremental recitation of the Mide origin story. The Anishnabeg believed that telling stories about the Manitous promoted healing because the Manitous visited people who spoke about them. Once cured, the patient became a member of the first order of the Midéwiwin. Through initiation into the Midéwiwin, even children could gain the general blessings of the Society. Mide initiation ceremonies began with the construction of a Mide lodge, or a *Midewagamig,* a rectangular tent built with doors opening toward the east and west. In the middle of the tent stood one or two poles hung with figures of humans ready to be filled with medicine.

To open the ceremonies the gathered community shared a large feast. When the meal was over, the Mide leaders went into the woods alone to sing. At night the people entered the lodge and sat down between fires lighted at each entrance. Mide leaders played drums and led the assembly in singing and dancing. Eventually the adolescent initiates walked to the center, where a Mide leader charged them to remember to fast faithfully. Then the assembled Mide took out their medicine bundles, or *Kahshkekeh mahahkemoot,* and circled the lodge. The leaders passed by the initiates, shooting *migis* shells into the initiates' bodies by touching them with their medicine bundles. The shells were believed to have come from the Great Ocean and to contain the power of life. At each touch the children fell, overwhelmed by the power suddenly in their bodies.

After each fall the initiates stood again, ready for the next. When the last of the Mide leaders had passed by, the children remained prone on the ground until a woman who was standing behind them throughout raised them by singing in their ears and drawing their attention to the four directions and then to the earth. Once the initiates were raised, the head Mide distributed pieces of medicine from his own bag to the Mide leaders. The Mide leaders all chewed their medicine, then spat the juice onto the initiates' chests, necks, and backs, transferring their power to the initiates. Finally each leader addressed the children, identifying them as members of the Mide and welcoming them to all of the ceremonies of the Mide.

Leadership in the Midéwiwin fell to men and women known for having

dreams of powerful beings. Such people received instruction in the meaning of birch bark scrolls marked with detailed line drawings, like the ones given to Cutfoot by Nanabozho. The scrolls contained teachings corresponding to four degrees of initiation. Higher degrees of the Midéwiwin included instruction in herbal remedies, in curing victims of witchcraft, and in traveling over distances without physical bodies. The first two degrees of the Midéwiwin were associated with the earth and water Mysteries, Otter and Weasel. The more powerful Mysteries, Bear and Mink, watched over the second two degrees, known as the sky degrees. As students progressed through the levels of the Midéwiwin, their powers both to heal and to harm others grew. As a result, people known to have achieved the third and fourth degrees could easily become suspected of sorcery. Like the False Faces, high-level Mide priests could never be uniformly beloved by their community.

Scholars are divided over the origins of the Midéwiwin. Several, drawing on the work of anthropologist Harold Hickerson, have concluded that the Midéwiwin began as a spiritual revival motivated by cultural changes resulting from the arrival of European traders and settlers. Such scholars argue that before the advent of the Midéwiwin, small kin groups, each with local spiritual leaders, observed ritual practices according to directions they received personally from the Manitous. When the fur trade began, increased centralization allowed influential leaders to establish a priestly order. While the reasoning is sound, the initial argument rested on the presence of a cross figure in Midéwiwin scrolls. However, other scholars have pointed out that in the context of Anishnabeg beliefs, the cross symbolized the four directions and the four wind Manitous who presided over them. Later scholars have argued that the Anishnabeg received the Midéwiwin before the arrival of Europeans in North America, independent of outside influence.

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Anishnabe; Dreams and Visions; Manitous; Masks and Masking; Sacred Societies, Northwest Coast; Sacred Societies, Plains; Sweatlodge; Tricksters

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Sacred Societies, Northwest Coast

Sacred, or secret, societies were common throughout the Northwest coast, with the exception of the far northern reaches of the Alaska panhandle and among some of the more southerly groups. Gatherings of these societies invariably took place in winter. The Kwakwak'wakw (Kwakiutl) viewed the world as a disk that was flipped over in the winter, revealing a dark underside. This was the natural milieu of superhuman spirits that were often threatening, although who also offered important gifts. This world was fundamentally hostile to humans. It was dark, especially in the higher latitudes, and stormy; the resources upon which humans relied were either absent or difficult to obtain. During this period humans relied upon stored food, especially dried salmon, which was eaten in large quantities at feasts and potlatches associated with the sacred society dances. Late winter, after the conclusion of the ceremonies, was a period of hunger, even famine, as well as ritually prescribed fasting. Not until the first run of salmon or oolichan (a common, oily fish species; also spelled "eulachon") in the spring did life return to a normal, human-centric routine of food procurement. The unifying theme of sacred societies, and thus their diagnostic criterion, is the dramatic representation of possession by spiritual power and the ability of the group and individual to overcome that possession.

Regional Variations

Many features of Northwest coast culture run along a north-south axis. In the case of sacred societies, the northern tribes tended to practice a more communal and highly structured type of performance, while in the southern region it tended to be more individualistic. In the south, winter performances fade into a type of generic guardian spirit complex, where at some point they cease being "societies" at all. In the north, not only are the dances organized communally but, in addition, they represent communal themes. The source for many of the dances performed in the northern coast region is the north-central region, especially the Heiltsuk, who apparently invented flesh-eating dances and other dances that are found regionally. This area is also the richest in terms of a number of distinct societies. It is likely that the idea of sacred societies itself originated in this area and diffused south and north, reaching limits in what is now southern Washington and southern Alaska.

Southern Region

In the southern half of the Northwest coast—from southern Oregon through southern British Columbia—sacred societies were a rather loose organization of individuals holding superhuman power, usually from zoomorphic donors. That was the basic pattern of the southern Salish Spirit Dances, in which dancers displayed evidence of the powers bestowed upon them by a guardian spirit.

Only people of chiefly lineage were eligible to take the role of a Hamatsa, or Cannibal Dancer. To indicate his hunger for human flesh, his costume had carved wooden skulls attached. The depicted skull on the wooden arc would have been carried by Kinqalalala, his female attendant. With this she would subdue Hamatsa. (Werner Forman/Corbis)

They did so in an organized fashion that superficially resembled the more communal societies of the central and northern Northwest coast. However, the individual spirits "sung" were unique to the holder, and thus they did not constitute series or subgroups within the dance.

Adolescent boys and girls obtained spirit power of their own accord through vision quests, and they displayed it in public for the first time at winter dances. These dances were ultimately therapeutic, in that they were sponsored by someone suffering from the effects of spirit power. Spirit powers were used to cure the sufferer. However, spirit powers were equally capable of inflicting harm, and they could in fact become an instrument of sorcery. One function of Spirit Dances was thus to channel the spirit power toward positive ends. The performances varied by group and according to the type of power, but for many Coast Salish it involved the rhythmic shaking of deer hoof rattles and beating of roof planks, the use of "spirit boards" to represent the guardian spirit power (which became animated during the course of the dance), and some degree

of bodily mutilation, often the piercing of flesh with a knife. Certain tricks, such as bleeding in the mouth and hanging from ropes, were performed. Specific ceremonies were performed to retrieve souls from the land of the dead.

In the region of the central Coast Salish, the dances took on a more communal form. Rather than acquiring power through vision quests, initiates were "grabbed" by veterans of the society and taken away for seclusion and training. During this period the initiates were thought of as dead, and thus their return represented a rebirth. A song revealed to the initiate in a vision is a mark of power, and the initiate is classed according to the type of power revealed in the song. Elaborate costumes and face paint, but no masks, were worn by the initiates. They danced for the remainder of the winter season, while remaining secluded and engaging in frequent bathing and other purificatory practices.

Among the northern Coast Salish, masked dancing was practiced. There, the basic principle of the sacred society transformed from an individually acquired guardian spirit to an inherited privilege, although among some local groups the characteristic southern form persisted. Groups such as the Comox of Vancouver Island practiced the Sxwayxwey masked dance, which represents cultural diffusion from the neighboring Kwakwak'wakw.

Northern Region

In the north, a number of separate dance societies were typically incorporated into the Winter Ceremonial. The highest-ranking and best-known dance society in this region was the Hamatsa, or Cannibal Dance. This originated with the Heiltsuk and was acquired by the Kwakwak'wakw in the nineteenth century. It epitomized the theme of spirit power as threatening to humans. Initiates were "grabbed" and taken to the bush for training. They were said to be dead, to have been eaten by the cannibal spirit. Upon return they demonstrated their possession by biting people, appearing to cannibalize a corpse, and other "wild" behavior. Although theatrical tricks were used, there was undoubtedly some eating of human flesh. Since the initiates were believed to be possessed by the cannibal spirit, they were not considered human at the time. Over several days initiates were "tamed," becoming more manageable. For the remainder of the winter season, initiates fasted, drank seawater, and otherwise purified themselves in order to reenter human society.

Other similar dance societies involved sickness, war, predation by animals, and death. With the exception of the Hamatsa, who was minimally clothed in cedar bark, these were all masked dances. As a rule, these most powerful dances entailed existential threats to humanity. These threats were, in a sense, brought into human society, where they were ultimately defeated. In the Heiltsuk version of the Winter Ceremonial, two distinct series, called the Tsaika (meaning "shamans") and the Dluelaxa (meaning "second down"—that is, from

heaven) were opposed as forces of destruction and restoration of order. The threatening dances were generally in the former; the latter allowed hereditary chiefs to use their power to bestow blessings and to "heal" the community. The Kwakwak'wakw had these two series as well; the latter was sometimes called the Weasel Dance, referring to fur-decorated headdresses worn by the chiefs (rather than masks).

Among the Tsimshian a similar opposition pertained, although dances were organized into four separate societies. A Dog-eating Dance took the place of the Heiltsuk Cannibal Dance. Among the Nuxalk (Bella Coola), two dance series were held, although not all of the dances were derived from the neighboring Heiltsuk. The Haida of Queen Charlotte Islands performed Winter Ceremonial dances, but they apparently simply borrowed them directly from the Heiltsuk. They had more the quality of entertainment than dances on the mainland. The Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka) of western Vancouver Island and their Makah cousins to the south had a community masquerade called the Tlukwana, or Wolf Ritual. This reenacted events from the mythical age, involving the acquisition of supernatural power by human ancestors. Most male members of the community would be involved. In addition, central and southern Nuu-chah-nulth and Makah possessed a second "shamans" series, the Cayiq. This was influenced by both the Heiltsuk and Kwakwak'wakw Tsaika (the names are cognate) and northern Coast Salish Spirit Dancing. Like the latter, it focused more on actual healing, rather than on the defeat of existential threats to human existence.

Kwakwak'wakw man kneeling on one knee dressed in skins, hat, and other garments, 1910. (Edward Curtis/Library of Congress)

One commonality among all these dance societies is the notion of transformation. This was more evident in the masked dances, but it pertained as well in unmasked versions of Spirit Dancing and performances such as the Hamatsa. With masking, the effect is more obvious—the dancer is no longer human, or at least no longer his or her "normal" self—but other features make it obvious that even unmasked dancers are psychologically and spiritually in an altered

state. With most dances—the spiritually more potent ones, especially—an initiate is not thought to be impersonating a spirit but rather possessed by that spirit. The dance is thus a performance of liminality—of a person moving in and out of a social identity.

Such transformation is a cosmological principle. The very seasonality that provides the backdrop for sacred society performances is itself an example. Moreover, living things transformed themselves, both originally in the myth age and through reincarnation. Humans and their prey are likewise transformations of one another, as salmon, for instance, are thought to live in societies much like those of humans. In one sense, the Cannibal Dance represents the completion of this transformation, in which humans become prey. A class of Kwakwak'wakw masks, called "transformation masks," illustrates this principle visually. An animal mask may open up and turn into a spirit, and then into another species; likewise, benevolent and malevolent beings may appear in the same mask. This represents a high form of religious thought, in which seemingly contradictory ideas may be held simultaneously. It stands, moreover, as a metaphor for the interconnectedness of the human and natural worlds.

Historical Variations

These traditional sacred societies were themselves subject to historical processes, such as diffusion and, later, prohibition by colonial authorities. Additional dances were invented in response to European contact, and certain dances (for example, those dealing with disease and death) became more important. Additionally, influences from outside the culture area led to the development of indigenous religious societies. Most important was the influence of the widespread Ghost Dance, which, in the Northwest, became the Warm House cult in Oregon and the Prophet Dance in the Plateau. Syncretistic religious movements, such as the Indian Shaker Church, had their origins in indigenous sacred societies.

Most sacred societies were discouraged or, especially in Canada, prohibited from the late nineteenth through the mid-twentieth century. Since the 1960s, many of these performances have been revived, or, in some cases, have become public again after decades of secrecy. These undeniably are continuous with the precontact societies, although they have undergone considerable change as well. Gone are even theatrical renditions of anthropophagy in the Hamatsa, as well as, generally, the bloody aspects of all dances. At the same time, they have adapted to changed circumstances—for example, Spirit Dances have been used to treat substance abuse and behavioral problems in Salish youth.

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Northwest; Dances, Northwest Winter Spirit Dances; Guardian Spirit Complex; Masks and Masking; Oral Traditions, Northwest Coast; Power, Northwest Coast

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Sacred Societies, Plains

Acquiring supernatural power through spiritual intermediaries was an individualized process throughout nineteenth-century, prereservation Plains communities, although those who possessed similar powers usually convened in sacred societies: doctors' societies performed curing rituals, and medicine bundle societies maintained tribal spirituality through shared rites of intensification. United by spirit-derived powers obtained spontaneously and involuntarily, or through the vision quest, members of sacred—and usually secret—societies guarded their collective esoteric knowledge from outsiders (Irwin 1994, 78–79). Other societies, less sacred in nature, were associated with a common feature of Plains Indian social organization: the formation of non-kin groups, or associations. Plains peoples lived as semisedentary horticultural villagers, or as equestrian bison hunters. Tribal kinship patterns varied from unilineal descent—patriclans, matriclans, moieties, and phratries—to bilateral descent—bands and villages—crosscut by men's age-graded or nongraded military societies (sodalities) and women's age-graded or nongraded societies. Whether membership was voluntary or restricted to collective powers, societies shared common animatistic/animistic beliefs pertaining to the acquisition and accumulation of spiritual power and its connection to success in warfare, hunting, curing, and social activities. Steeped in these principles, Plains societies, even those labeled "secular," had sacred components.

Medicine bundle societies among the horticulturalist Plains Village Tradition

Six men participate in the Arikara medicine ceremony, the Bears. 1908. (Edward Curtis/Library of Congress)

peoples consisted of priests and ceremonial leaders representing clans, bands, or villages. In the Upper Missouri region, villages of northern Siouan-speaking Mandan and Hidatsa were subdivided into exogamous matrilineal clans and moieties. Keepers of personal and sacred tribal bundles belonged to different clans, conducting important tribal ceremonies connected with their bundles (Wood and Irwin 2001, 357; Stewart 2001, 335–336). Characterized by patrilineal clans, the Dhegiha Siouan-speaking Omaha, Ponca, Kansa, Osage, and Quapaw and the Chiwere Siouan-speaking Iowa and Oto/Missouria also had ritual specialists and keepers of sacred clan or village bundles (see DeMallie 409, 423, 470, 480–481, 502, 439, 448–449). Unique for villagers, the Caddoan-speaking Arikara and Pawnee reckoned bilateral kinship and organized at the village level; each autonomous village had an origin myth and a sacred bundle owned by a priest who maintained the spiritual integrity of the community. Pawnee and Arikara cultures were stratified, so priests and leaders derived from the

upper class (Parks 2001a, 373, 375; Parks 2001b, 530–532, 534). In all these cultures, rituals conducted by village and clan leaders spiritually unified exogamous kin groups, and on a larger level, the tribe.

Among equestrian peoples there were priestly keepers of Sun Dance and other sacred bundles, but most tribes lacked the medicine bundle societies typical of the predominantly clan-based villagers. The Crow, linguistically related to the Hidatsa, were unusual for equestrians because of the formation of matrilineal clans, which perhaps explains medicine bundle societies uniting those with similar powers: the Tobacco, Sacred Pipe, and Horse Dance societies (Voget 2001, 707). In contrast, their Siouan-speaking Northwestern Plains neighbors, the Assiniboine, had six to eight Holy Men—ceremonial leaders, diviners, dream interpreters, and practitioners of malign shooting magic—who did not form a society (DeMallie and Miller 2001, 578). Also unique among equestrians were the Kiowa-Tanoan-speaking Kiowa, distantly related to the Taos Pueblo peoples of the Southwest; tribal unity and spiritual well-being were maintained by a priestly society of ten men, keepers of the sacred Split Boy or Boy Medicine bundles, who met periodically to renew the bundles (LaBarre et al. 1935). Shield societies linked to power visions also existed, a trait shared with their linguistically unrelated Southwestern Plains allies, the Athabascan-speaking Plains Apache (Levy 2001, 913–915; Foster and McCollough 2001, 931). Two of the four important tribal ceremonies of the Algonquin-speaking Cheyenne were related to the Medicine Hat and Sacred Arrows bundles, protected by full-time priests; the Sacred Arrow Renewal was the most important Cheyenne ceremony (Moore, Liberty, and Straus 2001, 873–875).

Doctors' societies comprising individuals sharing common shamanic curing powers were widespread throughout the Plains. Such secret societies existed among the Arikara and their Caddoan Pawnee and Wichita relatives. Below chiefs and priests in status among the Arikara were doctors, particularly the leaders of the eight doctors' societies—Ghost, Black-Tailed Deer, Shedding Buffalo, Cormorant, Duck, Owl, Din of Birds, and Bear—which coalesced in the medicine lodge during important tribal ceremonies held in mid-August (Parks 2001a, 381–382). Similar distinctions acknowledging priests as bearers of sacrosanct bundles pertaining to tribal welfare, and shamans as the recipients of curing powers, were found in Pawnee culture, where an amorphous association of doctors was superseded in importance by the Doctors' (or Medicine) Lodge, which held two-day ceremonies in the spring and summer, followed by a month-long early fall ceremony conducted by leaders who publicly displayed their magical powers (Parks 2001b, 532).

Semisecret, open-membership societies related to various aspects of tribal well-being existed among the Wichita. Notable was the Deer Dance—extinct

after 1871—led by a Deer shaman, which ensured overall good health and prosperity for the tribe. Possible use of the mildly hallucinogenic mescal bean (*Sophora secundiflora)* enhanced visions from power animals (Newcomb 2001, 558). Doctors' societies also existed among the Omaha, Ponca, Quapaw, and Osage (DeMallie 2001, 410, 424, 502; Bailey 1995, 45–48). The Iowa Medicine Dance and the Medicine Lodge of the Oto/Missouria were similar to the Central Algonkin Midéwiwin Society: curing through sacred bundles, ceremonial song and dance, and herbal medicines characterized the former, whereas the elite members of the Medicine Lodge employed sorcery to control deviant behavior (Wedel 2001, 440; Schweitzer 2001, 451–452).

Siouan equestrian tribes with doctors' societies included the Assiniboine, Santee, Yankton, Yanktonai, Teton, and Crow. Assiniboine Horse Society rites pertained to doctoring people and horses, and Fool Society ceremonies held during the summer Sun Dance included a special healing ceremony for people with vision problems (DeMallie and Miller 2001, 579). The Santee Midéwiwin Society conducted curing and renewal ceremonies and held feasts for the dead (Albers 2001, 769). Another version of the Central Algonkin Midéwiwin, the Yanktonai (and perhaps Yankton) Medicine Dance, involved curing performances by Tree-Dweller dreamers (DeMallie 2001a, 789–790). Teton doctors' societies were loosely organized groups of individuals who had received power visions from certain animals (ibid., 808). Although Crow medicine bundle societies had specific medicine powers related to victories against enemies, acquisition of horses and wealth, and longevity, they also functioned like doctors' societies in their emphasis on curing and well-being (Voget 2001, 706–707).

Other equestrian groups with doctors' societies included the Kiowa (Levy 2001, 915) and Plains Apache (Foster and McCollough 2001, 931); their comrades the Uto-Aztecan-speaking Comanche had a number of "medicine societies" composed of up to twelve individuals sharing the same power (Wallace and Hoebel 1952, 165; Kavanagh 2001, 892), such as the Eagle doctors (Jones 1972, 27–30). One of the four major ceremonies of the Cheyenne, the Massaum, or Crazy Lodge, was performed by shamans dressed like the animals from which their powers derived (Moore, Liberty, and Straus 2001, 874). The Arapaho were linguistically related to their Cheyenne confederates; near the end of the nineteenth century, Southern Arapaho doctors' societies were created by shamans sharing the same powers, although they could belong to several societies (Fowler 2001, 844). Perhaps the last tribe to emerge onto the Plains, the Algonquin-speaking Plains Ojibwa, bison and moose hunters organized into patrilineal clans, maintained numerous Woodland traditions including the Midéwiwin, or Medicine Lodge ceremony (Albers 2001, 650).

Most common among doctors' societies were those related to curing powers received from animals, particularly, Buffalo, Bear, and Black-Tailed Deer. Buffalo societies existed among the Ponca, Omaha, Iowa, Oto/Missouria, Quapaw, Mandan, Pawnee, Teton, Arapaho, and Kiowa. The Plains Cree, a transitional Plains culture linguistically related to the Plains Ojibwa, practiced a Buffalo Dance unrelated to curing, unique for Plains tribes. Tribes with Bear societies and Grizzly Bear Doctors included the Ponca, Omaha, Iowa, Quapaw, Arikara, Pawnee, Wichita, Teton, and Arapaho. Black-Tailed Deer societies were found in the Arikara, Pawnee, Mandan, and Teton cultures (DeMallie 2001, 360, 381–383, 410, 424, 440, 451–452, 502, 538, 647, 808, 844, 915).

That Plains cultures recognized women as eminent healers was evident by several doctors' societies with female membership. The Buffalo Doctors' Lodge of the sedentary Oto/Missouria and the Buffalo Society of the Iowa included male and female shamans (Schweitzer 2001, 451–452; Wedel 2001, 440), as did the Deer Dance of the Wichita (Newcomb 2001, 558), and the Medicine Dance of the Yanktonai (DeMallie 2001a, 789–790). Both genders likewise participated in the Cheyenne Massaum Ceremony dressed like the animals representing their shamanic powers (Moore, Liberty, and Straus 2001, 874), and men and women belonging to the Assiniboine Horse Society specialized in doctoring horses and humans (DeMallie and Miller 2001, 578).

Some tribes even had exclusive women's societies. Prior to coalescence in Like-a-Fishhook Village in 1845, the Hidatsa and Mandan inhabited matrilineal, clan-based villages crosscut by age-graded men's and women's societies, largely secular in function but with some spiritual elements. Since Mandan and Hidatsa women had access to supernatural power, each culture had four age-graded women's societies: post-menopausal Mandan women formed a shamanistic healing society, the White Buffalo Cows, and members of the powerful Hidatsa Holy Women Society, including berdaches, participated in all important tribal rituals (Stewart 2001, 337, 344; Wood and Irwin 2001, 360). The Wichita, Arikara, and Ponca each had three women's societies; membership in the Ponca Tattooed Women society consisted of the daughters of chiefs and affluent men (Newcomb 2001, 558; Parks 2001a, 378; Brown and Irwin 2001, 424).

Among the equestrian tribes, the Kiowa were represented by women's societies (Levy 2001, 912). The Plains Apache had the Izuwe, a secret society comprised of twenty elderly women who prayed for sick people and departing warriors (Foster and McCollough 2001, 930–931); the Blood and Northern Blackfoot divisions organized the Women's Society (Ewers 1982, 61, 106). Presided over by elderly women, the Assiniboine Dance without Robes—similar to the Old Women's Society dance of the Kiowa—included male dancers, and the sacred Female Elk Society performed yearly fer-

tility dances (DeMallie and Miller 2001, 579; Kracht 1989, 183–188). More secular women's societies included quilling societies that emphasized decorative sewing skills, as found among the Kiowa, Cheyenne, and Teton (Kracht 1989, 247; Grinnell 1923, 159–169; DeMallie 2001b, 808).

Men's military and dancing societies existed in at least twenty of the semisedentary and equestrian Plains tribes, and they were all similar in form and function, notwithstanding variations of age-grading. Age-graded men's societies were present among the equestrian Blackfoot, Arapaho, Gros Ventre, and Sarcee, whereas the six Kiowa sodalities were loosely graded (DeMallie 2001, 615, 633, 683, 844, 846, 912). Among semisedentary peoples, Mandan and Hidatsa societies were age-graded; when young boys formed a new cohort, the other grades advanced in rank (Wood and Irwin 2001, 360; Stewart 2001, 334–335). When the Arikara joined Like-a-Fishhook Village in 1862, they differed from the Mandan and Hidatsa because they were subdivided into nongraded men's societies (Parks 2001a, 375, 383). Besides the Arikara, nongraded men's societies were found among the Pawnee, Omaha, Ponca, Iowa, Assiniboine, Stoney, Plains Cree, Plains Ojibwa, Crow, Teton, Cheyenne, Comanche, and Plains Apache (DeMallie 2001, 411, 423–424, 440, 532, 579, 597, 645, 704, 802–803, 876, 893–894, 931).

Plains military societies possessed distinctive songs, dances, staffs, lances, and other distinguishing regalia. Although some societies were sacred, most were secular organizations that sponsored social dances featuring variant performances of the War Dance following the safe return of war expeditions, or during summer Sun Dances and other tribal ceremonies. Societies were often called upon to safeguard tribal encampments or to police the summer bison hunts to prevent individual hunters from scattering the herds preceding the departure of organized hunting parties; optimal control ensured the maximal gain of buffalo meat for the community. In certain tribes there were elite fighting societies composed of men with outstanding combat records and suicide warriors with no-retreat rules compelling them to fight rearguard skirmishes with their flowing sashes staked to the ground: the Assiniboine No Flight Society (DeMallie and Miller 2001, 579); the Teton Lance Bearers (DeMallie 2001b, 802–803); the Comanche Lobo Society (Kavanagh 2001, 893–894); the Plains Apache Klintide Society (Foster and McCollough 2001, 931); the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers (Moore 1996, 112, 126–127, 132); and the Kiowa Principal Dogs (Levy 2001, 912; LaBarre et al. 1935). Crow men losing the will to live became exalted Crazy Dog Wishing to Die warriors (Lowie 1935, 331–332).

The following is a brief sketch of sacred societies among the prereservation Kiowa of southwestern Oklahoma, largely based on the ethnographic field notes of James Mooney (1891–1904) and

Weston LaBarre (et al. 1935), located in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. Kiowa orthography is consistent, wherever possible, with Merrill (et al. 1997).

Nineteenth-century Kiowa religious beliefs centered on the Sun Dance held in mid-June to unite the coalesced Kiowa bands spiritually and socially. It was believed that successful performances of the ceremony regenerated the Kiowa people and the bison herds on which they depended. The *Taimek'i,* or "Taime Man," was the full-time priest who cared for the Taime Sun Dance bundle and directed the ceremony. Equal in importance to the sacrosanct Taime were the ten *zaidethali* "Split Boy" or *talyi-da-i* "Boy Medicine" bundles—also known as the Ten Medicines—created in mythological times when the culture hero Sun-Boy, the son of Sun, and one of the Split Boys transformed himself into the eucharistic bundles (Mooney 1979, 239). The Ten Medicines sometimes were referred to as *adalbehya,* "lots of hair, or scalps," because people offered enemy scalps and other gifts to the bundles along with prayer requests. Human-shaped figurines inside the bundles were the principal source of *dw'dw',* or "power," of the bundles, respectfully treated as if they were people. Strict taboos accompanied the bundles: only a keeper's wife could erect the twenty-four pole tepee that housed his bundle, which hung suspended on the west side of the lodge; transported bundles were carefully fastened over the back and to the left side of the horse. Since the bundles disliked disturbances from playing or crying children, the tepees were pitched outside village limits; only the wives of the keepers or Mexican captives were allowed to handle the bundles, because their powers were greatly feared.

Revered as holy men, the Ten Medicines keepers were expected to be pleasant, peaceable, nontruculent, patient, and helpful. Taboos followed by the keepers included the avoidance of bear meat, hides, or any part of the bear, since the bundles allegedly contained bear claws—but mostly because the Kiowa have always been brothers and sisters to the bear. Eldest sons or other close relatives inherited the bundles, but if a keeper died without naming a successor, the other nine convened to select an heir. Until a new recipient was named, the deceased keeper's widow or daughter cared for it. New owners did not necessarily possess *dw'dw',* though they could seek it through the vision quest or through transferal sweatbaths.

Individually, Ten Medicines keepers served as civil servants who settled disputes within the villages by offering lighted, long-stemmed pipes to the aggrieved parties. These were expected to smoke together and resolve their differences, as witnessed by the spirit world and connected by the rising tobacco smoke. Individually and collectively, the keepers prayed for the well-being of the Kiowa people, especially after first Thunder in the spring signaled the new year. Power existed equally in the ten bundles,

so offerings to one bundle symbolized the power of all ten; supplicating the bundles with gifts that included scalps, meat, horses, and blankets put *dw'dw'* in prayer requests, which typically related to good fortune on war expeditions, recovery from illness, the birth of a child, or infertility. In most instances sweatlodge ceremonies were held for individual bundles; during emergencies or epidemics, bringing together at least four keepers provided powerful enough prayers to protect the entire tribe. Ten Medicines keepers aspired to attend annual sweatlodges, and every two to three years the ten bundles were brought together in the Sun Dance encampment inhabited by the aggregated Kiowa bands, the Plains Apache, and visitors from other tribes. Pledges to sponsor the sacred sweat for the ten bundles were made well in advance, often during austere times of illness or near annihilation by enemies. During the four-day performance of the Sun Dance proper, the keepers assisted the *Taimek'i*.

Recognizing Buffalo as the most powerful terrestrial animal, about twenty Kiowa shamans formed a powerful doctors' society, the Buffalo Society, or the Buffalo Medicine Lodge, inspired by the power vision of Etda-i-tsonhi, "Old Woman Who Has Medicine On Her," sometime between 1750 and 1770. According to the myth, Etda-i-tsonhi and another woman, fleeing from Pawnee warriors, encountered a bear that ate her companion, and she barely escaped, using a cedar tree to climb a large rock; later that night she slipped away by walking on buffalo chips to cover her tracks. The next day she crawled under the rib cage of a decomposing buffalo bull carcass, then while dozing received an involuntary power vision. Since Kiowa women could not possess dream shields, Etda-i-tsonhi manufactured a shield from buffalo bull hide and presented it to her husband, who eventually passed it to their son, Pa-gyato, "Buffalo Old Man," who made seven shields for his sons and three for his brother's sons based on the original shield design. The Buffalo Medicine Society originated with the ten buffalo shields.

War parties departing south into Texas and Mexico seeking captives and livestock typically recruited one or more buffalo doctors. Prior to battle, the buffalo doctors made medicine by painting the left sides of their bodies red and the right sides white while singing a buffalo song. They fought like other warriors but assisted fallen comrades by spewing red paint (clay) on open wounds to stanch the bleeding. Although they often worked alone, up to fourteen buffalo doctors worked together on emergency cases, each doctor applying his own special healing technique. Until recovery, patients were expected to assume the taboos of the doctors, including the avoidance of "wounded meat" and other animal parts. Like other bundle owners, the buffalo doctors prayed daily to their bundles, but they also assembled during the Sun Dance to conduct sweatlodge ceremonies. Every few

years they congregated to renew the bundles, repair old ones, or create new ones. Attendance was mandatory at these assemblies.

Like the buffalo shields, several dream shield societies existed that were linked to original power visions and inheritance of replica shields. Notable were the Sun Dance shields: seven Taime shields introduced after 1834 and carried by the *demguk'o,* "yellow breasts," shield keepers; the seven Kowde shields resulting from Poor Buffalo's 1839 vision; and the five Hotoyi shields derived from the vision of Hotoyi, or Akopti, "Timber Mountain," and introduced in 1869. These shields were carried by the owners, who danced during the Sun Dance proper. Other dream shields included eagle shields, fish-hawk shields, and others that were forgotten following the Kiowa surrender at Fort Sill in May 1875 and the confiscation of weapons and war regalia by the U.S. Army. Shield societies died out shortly afterward because of the attenuation of their power.

Virtually every Kiowa male belonged to a warrior society, since possessing *dw'dw'* or war honors was not a prerequisite for membership. Sodalities were founded in the principle of *kom,* "blood-brothers," friends who paired off for life upon initiation into a society. All boys able to walk belonged to the Polanyup, or "Rabbits" Society, and attended feasts at which they were taught Kiowa virtues. After boys reached the age of twelve, they were "kidnapped" by other societies, except the K'oitsegun, the highest ranked. Many advanced to the second society, the Adaltoyui, "Young (Wild) Sheep," where they spent a brief time prior to being kidnapped by a higher-ranked society, perhaps the Tsentanmo, "Horse Headdresses," the Tonkonko, "Black Legs," or the T'anpeko "Skunkberry People." Tonkonko membership was restricted, its high status represented by a no-retreat staff, and the equally important T'anpeko Society owned several no-retreat sashes. Not to be outdone, the K'oitsegun, "Real Dog" or "Crazy Dog," Society, representing the most outstanding and oldest warriors, owned ten suicide sashes. As in other Plains cultures, societies above the rank of Rabbits were frequently called upon to police tribal encampments, monitor communal hunts, enforce decisions concerning domestic disputes witnessed by the Ten Medicines keepers, and to assist during the Sun Dance—a period when the societies held social dances inside large tepees with the flaps rolled up so that female supporters could join the ceremonial song and dance.

Several women's societies also existed. Defunct after 1905, the Bear Society, supposedly connected to the Ten Medicines, conducted clandestine meetings greatly feared by men. More popular was the Old Woman's Society, whose membership was extended to postmenopausal women renowned for their great *dw'dw'* and obscene dances because they had "no shame." Warriors departing on war expeditions vowed feasts for both societies upon the procurement of scalps, whereas individuals sought the help of

the Old Woman's Society when family members were sick, especially since this society was related to the power of Taime. Finally, the Industrious Women Society, composed of five or six middle-aged women acclaimed for their tanning skills, made the suicide sashes for the K'oitsegun Society; they were also known as skilled midwives.

Unfortunately, the passing of the horse and buffalo culture of the nineteenth century brought about the demise of most Kiowa societies. The Sun Dance has not been performed since 1887, although Taime is still cared for, as are the Ten Medicines, even though there is no formal society. Only two warrior societies remain, the T'anpeko, known today as the Kiowa Gourd Clan, and the Tonkonko, or Kiowa Black Leggings Society. These societies have been kept alive by the warrior spirit that continues in Kiowa veterans and soldiers serving in the armed forces.

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See also Bundles, Sacred Bundle Traditions; Dreams and Visions; Power, Plains; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Plains; Vision Quest Rites

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Sacred Societies, Southwest

See Kiva and Medicine Societies

Salishan Shamanic Odyssey

See Sbatatdaq

Sandpainting

Sandpaintings—or drypaintings—are sacred ephemeral paintings made of dry, pulverized materials strewn onto a level surface primarily for medical and religious ceremonies that include divination, disease diagnosis, and curing. Powerful gifts of deities, sandpainting are also referred to as sand altars, sand mosaics, ground paintings, earth pictures, and sand pictures. They also serve as mnemonic devices used for teaching and are always made under the direction of a religious specialist. Many groups throughout the world, including Native peoples living in Australia, Africa, Central America, India, and North America, make some form of sacred drypainting. A few also use them for secular purposes, including birthday greetings, personal blessings, and maps.

Use of drypaintings in the Americas predates European contact and continues to the present. Cheyenne and Arapahos, for example, use them during the Sun Dance, and Native American Church leaders paint sand designs on their altars. In southern California, sandpaintings are made as part of initiation ceremonies and puberty rites. The designs are abstract renditions of the universe and astronomical phenomena. Sacred sandpaintings appear extensively among Uto-Aztecan speakers from Guatemala north to California; as an art and religious form, however, they are most developed in the American Southwest, where the designs and the technique are highly valued by Puebloan, Apachean, O'Odham, and Cahitan peoples. Materials used to make the sacred drawings include pulverized sandstones, ocher, sand, corn pollen, and pulverized flower petals and leaves. Designs center on important symbols and include depictions of deities required by ritual.

The group that has the richest repertoire of sandpaintings, as both a religious act and a secular art form, are the Diné or Navajo. Drypaintings, or *iikaah,* which means "the place where the gods come and go," are the gifts of the Holy People to Earth Surface People. How each of the more than 1,200 designs was given to Earth Surface People and the rules that accompany their appropriate use is recorded in the sacred texts that accompany each Navajo ceremonial cycle (see Ceremony and Ritual, Diné).

In general the first sandpaintings were said to be "sewings" (*naskha*) composed of five or six kinds of materials. These included buckskin, unwounded deerskin, cotton, black or white clouds, sky, or spider webs. The Holy People unrolled these materials during a prototype ceremony

Hataali Gray Squirrel ritually blends the sands of a sandpainting, as part of a four-day ritual to bring rain. Two children then rest atop sheepskins spread over the blended sands during the ensuing three days of the ritual. Each summer, Gray Squirrel does one or two full ceremonies to bring rain. Farmington, New Mexico, 1978. (Ted Spiegel/Corbis)

recounted in the sacred texts of each chantway. They showed the paintings to the protagonist following his or her adventures who memorized it and took the knowledge of the design and how it must appropriately be used to invoke healing back to Earth Surface People. After the ceremony the Holy People rolled up each *naskha* and carried them away to their homes. Because of the delicacy, value, and sacredness of the *naskha,* the Holy People decreed that Earth Surface People should use ephemeral sandpaintings made of powdered rock and similar materials, and that they should produce them anew for each ritual use. The other reasons given for this decree were that the *naskha* might be stolen, soiled, overused, damaged, lost, or quarreled over. Paintings might also become material possessions that outsiders could steal and evil beings (including witches) could misuse to the detriment of the Diné. To further ensure that the sacred designs depicted in a sandpainting were safe and that the powers within them would not be misused, the Holy People decreed that misuse would lead to blindness, illness, and death to the individual and disaster and drought to the People.

Sandpaintings are simultaneously the place where ritual behavior is carried out and symbolic representations of powerful supernaturals used in many curing ceremonies. They serve as a temporary holy altar and a means of attracting the Holy People who are invoked to cure and bless. Each of the approximately 1,200 paintings used in fifty-six different Holyway and Blessingway ceremonial cycles is a visual, mythical statement and mnemonic device. A specific painting has a specific name, generally based on the main theme symbol—for example, Arrow People from Female Shootingway. The paintings all use similar symbolic and artistic conventions yet are specific to a song ceremonial that in turn is related to a particular set of etiological factors and supernatural powers. The specific painting chosen by a *hataatli* (a highly trained religious specialist who chants or sings during ceremonies and oversees the curing process), in consultation with a patient's family, depends on the nature of the illness, the sex of the patient, seasonality, when the painting was last used, the length of the total ceremony, and the *hataatli*'s ability to control the use of powerful symbols.

Subject matter in Diné sandpaintings consists of symbolic representations of powerful supernaturals who are invoked to cure the patient and restore *hozho*—restore balance, goodness, beauty, and harmony and bring those things that causes sickness under ritual control—and of portrayals of beings or powers who assist this process. Figures in the paintings symbolize humanlike portrayals of protagonists of the origin myths that accompany each ceremonial, figures of the Holy People (Diyin dine), *yeis* (a special class of Holy People who help humans), and various personified beings, animals, and plants whom the protagonist met on his or her travels. These may also be the etiological factors that cause illness, for like can cure like. Holy People are the most common power and are depicted as personified plants, animals, anthropomorphic beings, natural or celestial phenomena, mythological creatures, or natural objects. Animals and plants may be painted in the different manifestations of their power, either naturalistically or as Holy People. They are also made in a semistylized form as subsidiary figures; the most common plants are corn, beans, squash, and tobacco.

Sandpaintings also symbolically portray an episode in the sacred text that accompanies each curing ceremony. The action is played out in Dinétah, the traditional and sacred homeland of the Diné, which is bounded by the four sacred mountains. These are shown in sandpaintings as colored circles placed in the corners between the main theme symbols. Mountains as a generic landscape feature are black ovals on which Holy People stand. Reading location symbols is like reading a mythological road map. In the center of radial paintings is a local symbol representing water, a mountain, a house, or a *hajiinaí,* the place of emergence. In linear

compositions, the locality symbol is the bar placed to the west, beneath the feet of the Holy People. Location, rain, symbols of movement, and other critical features are used to place the painting in mythological and historical time and space. Locations can be any place in the Diné (Navajo) sacred geography or cosmology. While sandpaintings are illustrative of events occurring in the sacred texts, few are narrative or realistic in their figurative style, in the Western sense of the term. Also, while they are depictions of past events and episodes, they re-create these events in the present, thereby visualizing Diné concepts of cyclical time as well as sacred settings.

Gifts of the Holy People, sandpaintings are to be used only under the direction of the *hataatli* and treated with respect because of their inherent power. They are very dangerous if misused. They must be made perfectly in order to be efficacious; they are destroyed at the end of a ceremony because they are full of transferred sickness. The paintings are blessed by the *hataatli* using pollen and cornmeal offerings when complete. In addition, large and elaborate paintings are used to cast out illness, to prevent evil from intruding into a person's life, for blessing, and for harmonizing a person and the community with nature.

Sandpaintings can be viewed as the ceremonial membrane that allows the transference of goodness for evil to take place during a Holyway ceremony; they help the patient identify with the healing powers. This ritual process has been likened to a spiritual osmosis in which the evil and sickness in an Earth Surface Person and the goodness and holiness in Holy People penetrate the sandpainting from both directions. During the process sickness is neutralized by holiness, but only if the exact conditions for the transfer have been fulfilled. Universal rules of reciprocity govern this exchange. If the sandpainting is made flawlessly, the Holy People are drawn irresistibly to their pictures; they view the gifts and offerings of the participants and then become the beings depicted in the paintings. They are then compelled to come to the sacred site and cure in exchange for the appropriate gifts. Because of this ability to take on supernatural power or holiness, sandpaintings are considered living entities when consecrated, and hence they are revered as beautiful in the sense of *hozho*. They are not, however, considered "art" in the strictly Euro-American sense of the term: something to be simply looked at and admired.

A sandpainting ceremony is performed once during a two-night chant and successively on the last four days of a five- or nine-night ceremonial cycle. One painting is made each day during Holyway ceremonies in order to receive the sun's blessing. For exorcistic rituals the paintings are made at night. A different design, representative of a group of Holy People and events, is used on each occasion; the same design is never used twice in the same ceremonial round. Male relatives of the patient, assistants of the *hataatli,* and any other men in the

community with the requisite skill and knowledge produce the painting under the direction of the *hataatli.* Women seldom help unless they are curers or apprentices. Although women are not barred from painting, they are usually reticent to participate if they are of childbearing age, for fear of inadvertently harming an unborn baby. All assistants should have previously been patients in a ceremony; that means they have some ritual preparation for being around the concentrated power residing in a sandpainting.

At the beginning of the sandpainting ceremony, a sandpainting setup is erected in front of the hogan door. This setting-out ritual occurs at dawn and notifies both Earth Surface People and Holy People that sacred portraits are about to be made. To the accompaniment of prayers, the bundle prayer sticks from the *hataatli*'s *Jish* are stuck in an upright position in a small mound outside the hogan to the east of the door. The hogan has already been cleaned and the central fire moved to one side. Next the floor is covered with clean riverbed sand and smoothed with a weaving batten. Colored pigments—which have been collected by the family sponsoring the ceremonial and previously ground with a mortar and pestle on the northwest side of the hogan—are placed in containers near the central area. These colored pigments include pulverized sandstones, mudstones, charcoal from a hard oak hit by lightning, cornmeal, powdered flower petals, and plant pollens. No adhesive is used, because the painting will be ritually destroyed at the end of the ceremony. A sandpainting is made freehand, except for the occasional use of a taut string to make guidelines straight and to ensure that the main figures will be the same size. Extreme coordination and speed are necessary to make a thin, even line of sand.

Although paintings vary in size from a foot in diameter to more than 12 feet square, most are approximately 6 by 6 feet, the floor area of the average hogan. The typical sandpainting requires the labor of three to six men and takes roughly four hours to complete. The more elaborate the composition, the more time it takes to construct; the most complex and powerful require as many as forty painters each working ten hours. Larger paintings are preferred because supernatural power is increased by the repetition of figures, but smaller and simpler compositions are also effective. The factors determining the size of the sandpainting include the amount the sponsoring family can afford to spend on gifts for the painters, the number of people available to paint, and finally, the chant in which the painting is used.

Construction, placement of figures, composition, and the use of ritualized artistic designs are strictly prescribed by the Holy People for each painting. These rules must be followed explicitly in order for the cure to be effective. The painting is begun in the center, with the painting's location symbol, and constructed outward in a sunwise sequence (east, south,

west, and finally north). Next the main figures and secondary figures are painted. Finally an encompassing guardian figure (often a rainbow) is painted around the entire composition but left open at the east. This ensures that the concentrated power in the painting is protected from evil and that the painting has a boundary. The eastern opening allows for the transference of power during the ceremony. To future help the *hataatli* control the transference process, the paired guardians (messengers of the Holy People) are constructred at the east opening. The same construction sequence is used for each figure in the composition: when a picture of a Holy Person is made, the entire torso is painted first in one color. Then the figure is clothed by means of a technique called overpainting. Finally, decoration—masks, headdresses, symbols—are added. All of these designs, figures, and symbols must be perfect (that is, made as the Holy People have taught) in order for the ceremony to be effective. The only allowable individual artistic deviations are in the kilt design and the decoration of the medicine bags that hang from the waist of Holy People.

When completed, the painting is reviewed for mistakes, which will be covered over with clean background sand and the figure begun again. After the *hataatli* is satisfied that the painting is error-free, he intones a Blessingway prayer to neutralize any unknown errors that could be harmful to the makers or inadvertently invalidate the ceremony. He will also bless and consecrate the painting by sprinkling sacred pollen on the composition in the specific order in which it was made, ending with the protective guardian.

After the painting is blessed the patient enters the hogan and reconsecrates the painting. He or she sits on a specified portion of the painting, facing east. While praying and chanting, the *hataatli* touches parts of the painting with herb medicine on his palm and then the corresponding part of the patient's body, matching parts of the body. Usually he works from the feet to the head, and from right to left, emulating the growth of plants and the rotation of the sun. This procedure is repeated four times, along with other ritualistic acts and prayerful chanting. The healing *hozho* in the painting moves through the *hataatli* into the patient while the illness in the patient is simultaneously transferred into the painting. The painting in effect absorbs the sickness.

These procedures identify the patient with the deities represented in the paintings. Their supernatural strength and goodness are transferred via the *hataatli* to the patient. The patient becomes like the Holy People, for he or she has been able to partake of the nature of their divinity and *hozho*. As a result the patient is made strong and immune from further harm but also becomes potentially dangerous to anyone who is not similarly ritually prepared to come into contact with concentrated supernatural power. The patient must follow a number of prescriptions, including using special eating uten-

sils, for four days before returning to society. Violations of these requirements may reinfect the patient or injure other people.

Upon completion of the sand application the patient leaves, and relatives may hastily apply some of the painting to their own bodies. After the women leave the hogan, the *hataatli* erases the painting in the opposite order from which the figures were laid down. The sand is deposited north of the hogan under a lightning-struck tree, where it becomes a barrier against the evil and sickness that has been driven away. The use of the sandpainting usually takes less than an hour.

Like other religious paraphernalia that can be imbued with sacredness, such as masks and medicine bundles (*jish*), sandpaintings must be treated with respect. They are feared as well as revered (Reichard 1950). The painting never remains in a pristine form unattended; the longer it remains intact, the greater the possibility that someone will make a mistake in its presence and cause unintentional harm.

During the twentieth century, however, permanent forms of sandpainting have been developed to both preserve Diné sacred designs and as a form of secular art. At first, reproductions were made by religious specialists and anthropologists to ensure that the knowledge contained in the designs is preserved for future generations. Based on technological changes in the backing and adhesive, artistic sandpaintings have been made for the regional and international ethnic art market since the 1960s. Originated by Fred Stevens, Jr., a Diné Nightway *hataatli,* and Luther A. Douglas, an Anglo artist, Diné secular sandpaintings—which are permanent paintings made of pulverized dry materials glued onto a sand-covered wood backing—have become an established art tradition. While not as extensive an industry as weaving or silversmithing, several million dollars worth of paintings have been sold each year since the 1980s; more than six hundred Diné men and women have been or are painters. While primarily men or women past childbearing age make the sacred sandpaintings, Diné artistic sandpainting is a Diné art form that is produced equally by both sexes.

While artistic sandpaintings developed from sacred sandpainting designs, they are not conceptualized as the same thing, although both are beautiful. They are felt to be art in the Western sense and are made intentionally for sale to non-Diné. A process of secularization has resulted in this new category of art. The singers and artists intentionally make the paintings imperfect, by changing symbolism through simplification, elaboration, transposition, and several other symbolic devices to accomplish this transformation. The design symbolism is changed so that the resulting composition does not call the Holy People, and so the Holy People will recognize that the designs are not intended for a curing ceremony. The paintings, however, are clearly recognized as deriving from sacred templates and therefore as containing *hozho.*

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Diné; Emergence Narratives; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches

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Sbatatdaq (Sqadaq)

Distinctive of Puget Sound, *Sbatatdaq (Sqadaq)* was a symbolic journey undertaken by cooperating spiritual practitioners who traveled to the spirit world to recover the soul of a sick person. Erroneously called Spirit Canoe Ceremony, *Sbatatdaq* involved a space defined by planks and effigies to provide a vehicle to the land of the dead. There the ceremonialists regained some vitality, depending on the severity of the illness (variously a lost guardian spirit, soul, or mind), and returned it to their patient. During the entire ritual, the patient rested unobtrusively on a cedar mat at the rear of the house. *Sbatatdaq* was last held in full form in 1900, though a more personal version still occurs today. To add to the confusion, local pioneers often called this ritual the Ghost Dance, though it has no relation to the national spiritual revivals of 1870 or 1890 that originated in Nevada.

Each occasion of the rite was customized to local conditions of that patient, community, dwelling, drainage, and current events. Each rite was therefore distinctive, though each relied on common beliefs about the reversed conditions between the worlds of the living and that of the dead. When it was summer there, it was winter here; day was night; low tide was high tide; and what was whole was broken. This public ceremony, therefore, was set during the coldest, wettest months of the year, often in January.

Originally, the cedar plank house was either owned by the patient or loaned for

Plateau

The native people of the Plateau are linguistically and culturally diverse. Many aspects of their lives are unique adaptations to the mountains and valleys in which they live. However, these people were strongly influenced by the Plains people to the east and the Northwest Coast people to the west prior to Euro-American contact. Most of the Plateau people lived in small villages or village clusters, with economies based on hunting, fishing, and wild horticulture.

The Plateau culture area is an upland region that encompasses the Columbia Plateau and the basins of the great Fraser and Columbia Rivers. The Columbia Plateau is surrounded by the Cascade Mountains to the west, the Rocky Mountains to the east, the desert country of the Great Basin to the south, and the forest and hill country of the upper Fraser River to the north.

The mountains bordering the Columbia Plateau catch large amounts of rain and snowfall. This precipitation drains into a great number of rivers and streams, many of which feed the Columbia River on its way to the Pacific Ocean. The mountains and river valleys have enough water to support forests of pine, hemlock, spruce, fir, and cedar, while the land between the mountain ranges consists of flatlands and rolling hills covered with grasses and sagebrush. The climate varies greatly depending on proximity to the ocean and the altitude. Game animals are generally small, except in the mountain areas. However, nutritious plant foods such as tubers and roots can be found in meadows and river valleys. Seasonal runs of salmon in the Columbia, Fraser, and tributary rivers significantly enhanced the region's available food supply, providing both a staple food and a key sacred symbol.

The Plateau was not as densely populated as the Northwest Coast culture area to the west before contact, yet many different tribes have called the region home. Two language groups are dominant: Penutian speakers such as the Cayuse, Klamath, Klickitat, Modoc, Nez Perce, Palouse, Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Yakama in the interior portions, and Salishan speakers, the Columbia, Coeur d'Alene, Flathead, Kalispel, Shuswap, and Spokane to the northwest.

continues

Plateau (continued)

More than two dozen distinct tribal groups inhabited the Columbia Plateau at the time of European contact. Ancestors of peoples speaking languages of the Penutian linguistic family probably settled the area more than 8,000 years ago. Over the centuries these groups have been influenced by the landscapes of the Plateau region in the development of their religious cultures, often centering on the sharing of the salmon runs. First Salmon ceremonies are fairly typical in the region, wherein the people celebrate and give thanks for the new salmon run with a religious ritual prior to partaking in the resource. This activity, while displaying an appreciation for the gift from the sacred beings that salmon represent, also ensures that adequate numbers of fish get to villages farther upstream, and that the strongest fish arrive at the spawning grounds, maintaining a strong genetic line for the future.

Localized variations on this ceremony abound, as well as region-specific rituals and ceremonies of thanksgiving and propitiation appropriate to localities. The extended-family group nature of the tribal system, along with the numerous tribes in the region, also point to the need for extended cooperative trade relationships and intermarriage.

The Plateau cultural area, like all of the cultural regions used to discuss Native American peoples, is really a diverse and varied one with linguistic, cultural, and religious differences from area to area within the region. However, there is enough ecological similarity in the region to inspire some common traits among the tribal groups. Groups of the region often sacralize these commonalities in regular intertribal gatherings for trade and intermarriage.

the occasion. Its floor space was cleared so that a middle aisle was bordered by paired planks. These handmade cedar boards, shaped and painted, were stood up so that carved effigies of each practitioner's Little Earth could be placed between them. These Little Earths conferred the ability to go to the land of the dead and return safely, because they were the "owners" of the earth itself. Because they were of the earth, they could draw the doctors back to it.

What was unique about this enactment was that, while doctors usually worked alone, here several doctors worked simultaneously. To balance the depicted vehicle an even number of practitioners, usually four or six, co-officiated during the

rite, although one of them took the lead. In addition to their power from Little Earths, their other spirit allies were also called upon periodically to help, so that the doctors could safely go to the afterworld and return. Almost all of the doctors were men. Women were not prohibited from joining the rite, but very few female spiritual practitioners had the necessary spirit helpers. Only two such women are still recalled.

Everyone in the community was involved in the preparations. Meanwhile, the practitioners, or that practitioner associated with the house, went into the woods and selected a large cedar tree, which was hauled or floated to a convenient location near the community. There it was split into planks, each shaped into a particular tribal (river-specific) form, particularly with a top that had either a curve, a snout, or a disk. Every drainage had its own style of plank. For example, the Snohomish cut out the snout because they traced descent from a legendary marine mammal.

Each plank was coated with a chalky, white layer of paint to provide a background before thick black outlines were drawn along the edges. The day before the ceremony, each doctor was assigned a plank on which he painted an image of his primary power in the middle in red, white, and black. Sometimes dots in red or black surrounded the figure to represent the song that linked doctor and spirit. Since humans were alien in the afterworld, doctors felt as though they were traveling through an engulfing viscosity. Whenever they sang or talked, their breath escaped as bubbles, represented as these painted dots, moving through this thickness. Poles were also made for or by the doctors to serve multiple purposes during the rite—as bows, punts, probes, spears, paddles, or place markers.

Every spiritual practitioner possessed a carved humanoid figure about a yard high representing his Little Earth. Before an odyssey, this figure was cleaned, repainted, and dressed, as appropriate, to look its best. When the Little Earths, primordial male and female spirits who lived in forest marshes, heard the practitioners singing as they departed for the afterworld, they rushed into the house to help out by lodging within their carved effigies. According to common belief, these earthlings actually made the voyage that was merely depicted by the doctors.

While helpers readied the room for the ritual, often digging up the floor to make it loose enough to implant artifacts, spectators had to keep very still, since these actions were fraught with danger. Much could go wrong, because worlds were about to be breached, and that might lead to fatal consequences.

When all was prepared, practitioners and their human helpers lined up outside, ready to march in and set up the paraphernalia so that they could start their odyssey. Engulfed by drumming and singing, this procession entered the house. The doctors were wearing special cedar-bark headbands and face paint.

Long strips of woven cedar bark were sometimes draped around the neck like scarves. At the very start, each curer carried his Little Earth, with an assistant carrying the painted plank. Sometimes the planks were held so that they appeared to peek inside the door, making their power seem more lifelike. Each doctor placed his figurine in a line down the center aisle of the outfit and sat down on the side.

Helpers arranged the planks in pairs so that each spiritual practitioner could face the image on his centrally painted spirit power. The boards at the ends were painted on only one side, while those in the middle were painted on both. When the schematic vehicle had been constructed in the middle of the floor, the practitioners stood in the cubical spaces between each board and acted out their departing. They had to hurry, because in Lushootseed belief, any illness was a prelude to death, not a brief disability. Their patient was wasting away, without any obvious cause, because the dead were sapping the patient's vitality. At this point, the Little Earths occupied the aisle. Later, during various stops and activities, the figures and doctors switched places.

At the first stop, doctors visited a place filled with the spirits of artifacts, each of which sang its song. Moving among them, these healers learned and repeated these songs to help people to use tools more efficiently. Tools and foods were attracted to people, just as spirit-powers and kin yearned for their relatives.

Since this was the initial encounter with the "other side," everyone was reminded that it was the spiritual (and sung) aspects of existence that were the most important, a logical beginning place for any such journey, and for life in general.

After some time the trip continued, until they got to a berry thicket where bird-size berries were hopping about in the shape of human babies. Spiritual practitioners tried to pluck a berry or two with their poles, and their clumsy antics created much humor for the audience. If they managed to get just one, there would be a plentiful berry harvest the next fall.

Continuing on, the practitioners next came to a lake where their vehicle was reconfigured into a flat-water canoe. A practitioner with a lake-dwelling spirit like Otter called out its name to speed the canoe across this water.

Next, they came to a wide prairie where the practitioners used their poles as bows and seemed to hunt meat. If they were successful, there would be plenty of game in the fall.

Fifth they came to Mosquito Place, where they were attacked by these insects, the size of birds, fighting them off with their poles. Any sting would be fatal. Mosquitoes were doctors in the spirit world because of their ability to suck out blood. Moving on, the doctors came to Beaver Den, where they hunted using their poles as spears. If they killed a

beaver, furs would be of high quality the next year.

Afterward, the doctors braced to meet the Dawn after they had been traveling most of the night. The curers had to "lift the daylight" by passing their poles over their heads. Because Dawn had increasing intensities, they had to lift it several times to safely move on. What was dawn for the spiritual practitioners was sunset for the ghosts. After their exertion, the practitioners rested all day, since it was night in the land of the dead, preparing to resume the next evening. Sometimes the lead practitioner, if he had great power, would make a quick trip to this afterworld to plan the final assault.

During the next day's journey, the major difficulty was a raging river with collapsing banks and rolling boulders. The doctors quickly conferred and decided to tip up one end of a plain cedar plank to serve as a ramp to help them jump across the river, using their poles to vault. A doctor was most vulnerable at the moment when he was suspended in the air, supported only by his spirits. If a doctor slipped or fell, he was expected to die within the year.

By now the crew was close to the town of the dead, whose physical setting sometimes became the nearest human graveyard. The vehicle was beached. While a few spiritual practitioners reversed the enclosing planks and figures so they could head back home, the rest went along the trail to the town. They sometimes encountered a ghost, played by a member of the audience, who was out picking berries. A ghost walked by crossing and recrossing the feet. Pretending that they too were ghosts, they asked for news and learned the quality and name of the newest occupant and where it dwelled. This newcomer was the soul, mind, or spirit of the patient. Then the practitioners quickly killed the ghost and buried it in a shallow grave. Such ghosts went to other lands of the dead until all memory of them faded away.

Having learned from the ghost what they were after, the doctors planned for visiting the town. Sometimes they created a diversion by having one of their spirit powers appear in front of the town as an elk, deer, or beaver. Every ghost rushed to the river to hunt that animal. Acting like a ghost, the most powerful doctor entered the deserted house to lead out the patient's vitality. Other doctors protected the retreat as they rushed to the vehicle. Once aboard, a doctor "threw his meanness" at the ghosts, who swarmed to fight for the vitality. Apparently, by successfully fighting for the lost spirit, doctors were able, in fairness, to keep it.

In some towns, this final battle was enacted with long flaming splinters shot at the doctors by youngsters acting the part of the ghosts. Any doctor hit or burned died within the year. Since the enactment took place at night, often inside a house, these flames were both dramatic and dangerous inside the old wooden buildings.

The spiritual practitioners paddled hard, with their Little Earths providing heightened protection. Sometimes they took a short cut used by those who died suddenly that brought them back in a few hours instead of days. The practitioners arrived, each quivering with power. Their leader came forward with the missing vitality and acted as though he was pouring it into the head of the invalid. Slowly at first, then with renewed vigor, the victim began to sing his or her power song.

Sometimes, while away, doctors retrieved the souls of other "healthy" people, carried back in a shredded cedar scarf, and restored it to the owner. These unintended patients liberally compensated their healer.

Once the vessel returned safely, everyone in the house heard about future conditions. Any artifacts, berries, or meat brought back were given out to families who might need them. Predictions were also made, both to delight or to warn everyone.

Although the doctors might rest briefly, the used paraphernalia had to be dismantled to close off the route to the afterworld. Planks were left in a remote area of the woods to rot, returning to their elements. The poles may have also been abandoned, but some seem to have been reused in later rites.

Kept for a lifetime career, Little Earth figurines were carefully washed, losing much of their paint, and hidden in special places in the woods, often in a hollow tree. There each awaited the next ceremonial use by its spiritual practitioner partner. Only after the practitioner died was the Little Earth left forever in the forest to rot away.

In Puget Sound, intertribal contacts enhanced local social, political, and religious complexity. Important leaders fostered these interchanges by hosting feasts, namings, marriages, funerals, cult initiations, and winter dances. These activities in turn engendered the larger environment that made possible the international spiritual connections basic to this complex odyssey.

Jay Miller

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Northwest; Dances, Guardian Spirit Complex; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Healing Traditions, California; Healing Traditions, Northwest; Masks and Masking; Missionization, Northwest; Northwest Winter Spirit Dances; Oral Traditions, Northwest Coast; Potlatch; Religious Leadership, Northwest; Sacred Societies, Northwest Coast; Vision Quest Rites

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Scratching Sticks

Extensive ethnographic studies on indigenous girls' puberty rites have identified a number of "marginal survival traits" that are distributed throughout North and South America. The theory of "marginal survivals" was first used by Erland Nordenskiold in 1912 to explain distribution traits occurring throughout the Western Hemisphere (Driver and Riesenberg 1950, 1–31). The most readily identifiable ritual object in rites of menarche is the widespread use of deer hoof or dew-claw rattles. However, culture-element surveys frequently overlook the field of meaning in various forms of scratching sticks, scratching stones, or scratchers used in puberty rites and menstruation seclusion practices. Typologies of women's ritual objects are invariably catalogued and identified as symbols of subsistence, fertility, power, influence, and privilege (Maschio 1995, 131–161). Less studied have been the ways in which material ritual objects attend to aspects of self-oblation, privacy, autonomy, and transcendence while women are in ritual seclusion. A comparative analysis of archival data and field research reveals the extent to which scratching implements are common in both puberty and menstrual seclusion rites.

The earliest archival reference to scratchers comes from the ethnographic work of Leslie Spier, who in 1930 identified four types of Yurok "head" scratchers (*sado'ktcuts*) used by girls in puberty rites (Spier 1930). Spier's illustration shows four oblong-shaped bone pendants that are strung by a cord and "tucked under the left wristband or hung about the neck" (ibid., 69). His illustrations indicate a plain scratcher and three elaborately decorated ones. I contend that they represent two distinct versions of the same thing—a private and a public scratcher. The cross-hatching designs may not be merely decorative but may in fact elaborate how many times a woman has participated in menstruation seclusion rites. I base my theory on Janet Spector's (1991) study of similarly incised, cross-hatching designs on Sioux women's sewing awls (Gero and Conkey 1991, 389). In Spector's analysis, each incised line on the awl was a record of the material goods produced in seclusion; it was proudly worn as a public record of women's diligence to ritual and material production.

In 1942, Harold Driver's "culture-element distributions" for girl's puberty rites in Western North America provided a broad survey of ritual objects used by California Indians; the survey includes a description of shell scratchers used by Southern California Diegueños and Luiseños. Unfortunately, Driver did not provide an illustration, and he failed to elaborate on the function or religious significance of the oblong scratchers he describes (Driver 1942, 59).

The Tlingit of Alaska used scratchers made of bone or stone. Frederica de Laguna identified "mouth stones" and "body scratchers" that were used by men in hunting rites and by women during puberty rites (De Laguna 1972, 521, 538, 598, 666, 689–690). The stones were used to symbolically scratch the inside of an initiate's mouth as a reminder never to gossip maliciously about another human being. They were quickly buried after ritual use, so that "ugly thoughts" would be buried along with them. De Laguna also described "a long thin stone" that was used while a girl was in seclusion "to scratch herself, apparently to avoid self-contamination from her fingers" (ibid., 521).

Taking a different form and different material are the scratchers used by Chumash women in puberty ceremonies. Chumash scratchers were made from the outer rim of an abalone shell and worn like a pendant. Using a standard anthropological approach, Travis Hudson and Phillip Walker record that a menstruating girl was "not allowed to touch her head directly with her fingers and was required instead to use a pendant made from the rim of an abalone shell to scratch herself" (Hudson and Walker 1993, 104). Hudson and Walker do not determine where the "pendant" fits into the ritual symbolic system, other than to add that restrictions associated with menstruation were "intended for the good health and well-being of the entire household" (ibid.).

In New Mexico, contemporary Mescalero Apache puberty ceremonies of Isánáklèsh Gotal also include a scratching stick (*tsibeecichii*) as one of the ritual objects used by young girls during their eight-day initiation process. Willetto Antonio, the ritualist who "sings" the young girl through her transformation from girlhood to deity and back to womanhood, tells us that the young girl is never allowed to scratch herself, because if she touches her skin it will wrinkle prematurely; if she scratches her head, her hair will turn gray (personal communication, June 1991, May 1992). The Mescalero Apache scratching stick is carved by the initiate's father and is made from sycamore, oak, or cottonwood. She wears it suspended from the right side of her leather-fringed blouse and uses the scratching stick only when scratching is necessary. The Lipan and Chiracahua Apache of Arizona also use a similar scratching stick in rites of passage ceremonies known as "Changing Woman" or "White Shell Woman" (Basso 1966, 145).

Interpretation of the symbolism or "form meaning" of scratching sticks calls to mind what Victor Turner identified as "the smallest units of ritual which still retain the specific properties of ritual behavior; it is a 'storage unit' filled with a vast amount of information" (Turner 1967, 19, 50–52). What this study reveals is that scratching sticks are more than just simple tools that satisfy a bodily itch, or an amulet to ward off evil or contamination. Scratching sticks are seen to assist women in regenerating and actualizing a transcendent mode of consciousness. A concept that has not been fully explored

in cross-cultural context to any extent, nor has its implication for religious studies theories been developed, is the idea that while scratching sticks may represent a worldly and mundane tool, their use in women's rites serves to remind women of Creator's presence.

Avoiding the extreme objectivity characteristic of Boasian descriptions, which tend to discard exegetical (the indigenous interpretation), operational (the way they are utilized within ritual context), and positional (the position in the total symbolic system) meanings entirely, I prefer a descriptive schema that can elaborate on the religious dimension of scratching sticks in the context of what women hope to achieve or enjoy in the rituals they celebrate. Dominant interpretations concerning ritual objects are that they are either all psychological or sociological in nature (as in Victor Turner's model). But can the meaning of ritual objects extend beyond the representational or symbolic, or the psychological or sociological? How are moments of transcendent experience and regenerative action achieved through the use of scratching sticks? Cultural anthropologist Thomas Buckley illustrates the religious dimension of scratching sticks as they are used by Yurok women in the context of a communicational transaction between sacred and profane worlds when he states that "a woman must use a scratching implement, instead of scratching absentmindedly with her fingers, as an aid in focusing her full attention on her body . . . by making even the most natural and spontaneous of actions fully conscious and intentional. 'You should feel all of your body . . . exactly as it is . . . and pay attention'" (Buckley 1988, 190).

According to this description, the scratching stick may be seen as a tool that allows a participant to maintain the proper liminal space while in focused meditation. Scratching sticks incorporate vital energy, and they reflect their role as "energizing nodes." A scratching stick is a "tool for making the intangible concrete" (Rubin and Pearlstone 1989, 16). Used in ritual meditation, the proper function of the scratching stick becomes a method by which to suppress the unconscious response to the mundane act of satisfying a bodily itch while in mindful prayer. Meditation is the moment-to-moment awareness of self within the cosmos. To scratch the body or head unconsciously would automatically break the conscious connection with the divine in nature. Once a participant had achieved a state of unusual mental calm, she would very consciously pick up the scratching stick and very consciously scratch that discomforting itch, remaining conscious of each moment and each movement. The practice of "mindfulness" and the pattern of meditation, bathing, and ritual scratching are foundational for the regeneration and reformation of spiritual and moral action that can than be carried back into everyday life.

The persistence of ancient traditions, and moral and aesthetic values, are embodied in the nascent revivalism of traditional gender religious practices that

require ritual scratching sticks. The values of the past have evolved and changed, yet they continue. It is hoped that these values may be seen and admired, appreciated, and even understood. In Native American culture, women are honored as the central site of creation, and they are highly esteemed for their acts of piety and devotion to community well-being. For Native American women, scratching sticks help to maintain a purposeful and conscious contact with the divine.

Mary V. Rojas

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Apache; Female Spirituality; Female Spirituality, Apache; Female Spirituality, Dakota; Feminism and Tribalism; Menstruation and Menarche; Women's Cultural and Religious Roles, Northern Athabascan

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Song

Music and dance remain at the center of how Native Americans maintain ceremonies and traditions of all kinds. To sing to the Creator or to guardian spirits is to bring the past into the present. Performing religious Native music almost always requires employing techniques and evoking sounds that are distinctly Native, so that a given song is both sacred in function and an important marker of tribal or general Native identity. It is true that most Native Americans enjoy—and some perform—recreational

music that matches or draws heavily on white or black genres, such as country music, types of rock music, and the like. In addition, the music of Christian churches that Native Americans attend (as a minority or majority) may sound much like the church music of their neighbors of other ethnic groups, though some words and meanings will likely have been modified for Native purposes. Further, there are a few distinctively Native genres of music that are explicitly secular—for instance, courting songs played on the flute or social dance music that is fiddle-based in certain cultures. Nevertheless, substantial bodies of Native religious song remain in use. In fact, most Native song that remains distinctively Native in sound is sacred, and the composition of songs, formerly often done during vision quests, still frequently involves prayer.

Evidence of the importance of music to Native Peoples reaches back millennia. And despite the great variety in all aspects of Native culture over the centuries, there has been considerable unity too. Inasmuch as North America was long a land of seminomadic or entirely nomadic populations, with anything resembling cultural borders in constant flux, cultural interaction of all types was common. In fact, songs seem to have crossed from one Native group to another fairly often, whether bringing associated performance characteristics with them or not. Later on, when tribal boundaries were imposed by outside forces, those artificial boundaries remained fluid in terms of culture. With the considerable outmigration from reservations during the twentieth century, music has become a tool of ever-increasing importance both for marking specific Indian populations and for allowing Native peoples to express shared experiences in a shared way. It has proved to be easier to mark Native culture as distinctive through music and dance than in any other way.

The uses of music in ritual or in ceremonies with any kind of sacred connection are legion. In fact, the overarching function of song in Native American culture is to mediate between man and his spiritual and physical universe. Songs record myths and legends. Parts of the life cycle may be marked through singing, and most funeral traditions include music. Songs often invoke celestial aid in hunting and placate the spirits of the harvested animals. Many animal dances involve considerable pantomime. Activities loosely associated with hunting need songs, too. For instance, in sub-Arctic Canada, singing specific songs eases the considerable labor involved in moving the massive carcasses of whales. Songs are the principal means of communication with spirit helpers, are integral to curing ceremonies, and may help to foretell the future. The Inuit use songs to influence the weather. From California to the Great Basin to the Southwest, song helps men maintain or renew harmony with nature. Song is integral to all religious ceremonies, new and old, public and private.

And even song-driven ceremonies that may seem relatively secular to outsiders may be infused with religion. In particular, the powwow may not appear to be religious to the casual outsider observer, but its purely secular moments—snake dances and 49s and such—are in the minority. Flag songs and ceremonies to retrieve fallen important feathers are clearly religious, and some participants—particularly in the North and East—speak of the meat-and-potatoes intertribals (war dances) as having religious overtones.

The musical details of the many Native song styles tend to be differentiated, as are the broad culture areas in general; in fact, the anthropological definition of the term "culture area" was based to some extent on those musical styles. More recently, styles have come into being that span culture areas—in order of appearance, the music for the Ghost Dance, for the Native American Church, and for powwow culture. There is not enough room here for a meticulous listing of musical traits according to culture area; the interested reader can best explore these details in the many articles on Native music in the third volume of the *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music,* the volume covering the United States and Canada. What follows is a summary description.

The principal sound source in Native music is the voice, generally the male voice. (While there are a very few types of songs that women sing alone, most performance of sacred Native song is either entirely by men or by men supported by women singers, who generally double the men's melody at the octave.) The unit of performance is the individual song, generally of five minutes or less in length, so that many ceremonies consist of a mosaic of songs.

Men may sing alone or as a group in unison, or they may take turns singing (either one man's voice alternating with another, or a soloist to whom a chorus responds); alternatively, in a texture common today and well known through powwow style, a soloist may start a song or section of a song, with a group of other men joining in within a few seconds. Most songs also include the sounds of percussion instruments, ranging from bells attached to dancers' feet, to rattles or small hand-held drums, to the large drum of the modern powwow. The word "drum" refers both to the instrument itself and to the ensemble, the few to a dozen or so men striking the instrument in unison. (The formal umbrella term for this array of textures is monophony—that is, melody lacking any sort of harmonizing accompaniment, either explicit or implied.)

Most songs either remain steady in tempo or, more often, gradually speed up, and they may also become gradually a bit louder. Subdivisions of a given song are marked by accents in the percussion accompaniment or in the volume of the voice(s), or, also frequently, by repetitions in the contours of pitches that the melody traces. These contours—that is, the broad sweep of melody—tend to

start high and end low, though certain styles found in parts of California and elsewhere in the Southwest feature the "rise," portions of a song that reach up in pitch level for a few moments here and there. Nearly all song forms contain plenty of repetition of patterns of pitches. When these repetitions seem about as long as a verse of a song, we call the form strophic. Forms can be literally strophic, as in powwow songs: one extended section of music repeats several times to make up the song, whether that section has new words each time or not. Other basically strophic forms can be more complicated, as in the involved forms of the Southeast. And forms that cannot reasonably be called strophic still contain much repetition. For instance, songs of the Northwest coast contain short patterns that recur, and both Great Basin and Peyote songs contain some paired phrases.

Most songs that have any words at all have just a few phrases of them, though those few phrases are very carefully chosen. In fact, many songs are made up mostly or entirely of vocables—of sounds made by the voice but that do not have a specific concrete meaning that is known at this time. In many cases we may think of the voice singing vocables as an instrument. In rarer instances, sounds that the voice emits once bore more specific meanings, but those have been forgotten. But patterns of vocables often retain a more general meaning, that of tribal or regional identity markers, since a given array of vocables will have emerged naturally from a certain Native language or group of languages. When there are specific words in a song, these often come at predictable places in a given musical form. For instance, in the Plains-style singing of powwow music, the forms are strophic, with each verse (strophe) first descending in a terraced contour, then proceeding in what is called an incomplete repetition. That is, when the voices get to the bottom of the range of the song, and go high again within the verse, they do not go quite all the way back to the beginning. In most powwow songs that have words, those words occur only in that section of incomplete repetition.

While pitch sets employed in Native songs may be diatonic (like the major scale, having seven different pitches per octave), most styles and individual songs use fewer pitches, from four to six pitches per octave. Since seven-pitch diatonic scales permeate the art music most familiar to the musicologists who coined Western musical terminology, the sorts of scales employed in Native music have come to be called "gapped" scales. Such scales allow more room in some Native styles for a very wide vibrato and for pulsations of various kinds. Indeed, while the usual performance forces can be thought of as tightly circumscribed—only male voices and a few percussion instruments—the amazing range of techniques that the voice employs makes it an unusually versatile and expressive sound source. The voice may be relatively relaxed (as in much of the

music found on both coasts), or, more often, nasal or tight, which are qualities that allow sound to carry far without amplification. Interjections of moans or gasps infuse a few styles, and pulsations of many kinds can either permeate a performance or be employed to mark the formal divisions of a song.

Native American song is now in a period of expansion and diversification. More and more newly composed powwow songs have relatively involved contours, and more and more are word songs. And Native populations that have lost much of their expressive culture are working actively to recover, acquire, or create materials to replace what has been lost. For instance, the Occaneechi-Saponi of central North Carolina, a population of about five hundred, are rebuilding their music and dance repertoire in several ways. While they are a woodlands people, they have the gift of Plains-style powwow music, and they arrange several traditional powwows each year. In addition, tribal leaders have acquired woodland songs from tribes with which they share some parts of their history, such as the Cayuga (a group now geographically distant); they are also seeking the help of the Creator to compose new songs. Even among this tiny Native population, just as throughout Native America, sacred Native song is thriving today.

Chris Goertzen

See also Dances, Great Basin; Dances, Northwest Winter Spirit Dances; Dances, Plains; Dances, Plateau; Dances, Southeast; Drums; Kiowa Indian Hymns

Song, Kiowa

See Kiowa Indian Hymns

Sovereignty

The idea of sovereignty is typically understood in the European sense of worldly rights or powers deriving from the Deity, a matter most clearly expressed in the medieval assertion that monarchs rule by divine right. All Western constructions of the concept have evolved directly from this basic premise. Hence, at a number of levels, it matters little whether modernist depictions of sovereignty frame it in accordance with the Hegelian proposition that it consists of certain prerogatives naturally vested in the state, or, as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Thomas Jefferson, and Karl Marx alike insisted, as a property inhering exclusively in "The People." Within the parameters of mainstream discourse, the concept of the sovereign ultimately devolves, as nazi legal theorist Carl Schmitt rather famously observed during the 1920s, upon questions of political theology. Self-described postmodernist thinkers, given their recent propensity to swallow Schmitt more or less whole, would appear to have little to add.

Given the Eurocentrism with which the word "sovereignty" has been both conceived and applied, as well as the fact that no known indigenous language evidences a terminological equivalent, it has been widely believed—indeed, actively contended—that American Indians possessed no true conception of

sovereignty, at least until such time as it was inculcated among them by Europeans. A closer, and perhaps more honest, inspection of Native belief systems reveals the falsity of such conclusions, however. Merely because something is not seen or appreciated for what it is by an observer or group of observers hardly means it is therefore nonexistent. Put most simply, the indigenous notion of sovereignty has been, and for the most part remains, incomprehensible or invisible to those of the Western tradition, largely because it tends to reverse the polarity of that which presumptively inheres in the sovereign.

As Onondaga faith-keeper Oren Lyons once responded to a young Euro-American New Ager demanding that he respect what she considered her right to acquire the innermost secrets of Onondaga spirituality, "We Haudenosaunee have no conception of rights. Our tradition gives us only an understanding of our responsibilities." (Haudenosaunee refers to the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy—of which the Onondagas are part—situated in upstate New York and southern Ontario.) In other words, this time paraphrasing the late Oglala Lakota principal chief Frank Fools Crow, that which the Creator—or Great Mystery, as the Lakota approximation of Deity is usually known—endows the people, individually and collectively, is more properly viewed as a divine responsibility rather than a right of any sort. To the extent that something resembling a right may be said to exist, it amounts to an expectation that both the individual and the group will remain unfettered in their fulfillment of their obligations to the Creator.

The theme is recursive, resounding throughout the oral teachings of virtually every people native to North America and endlessly committed to paper from the point European stenographers first began to record the statements of indigenous leaders. While the range of specific applications of the principle at issue is at least as great as the number of cultures applying it, it nonetheless forms what may be accurately portrayed as a fundament of indigenous law, irrespective of variations (real or apparent). At base, this is always and everywhere an injunction that the group—and, by extension, each individual within it—must conduct their affairs in ways allowing them to pass along the creation as they encountered it to their posterity several generations in the future (just as their ancestors did for them). From this flows the oft remarked Native preoccupation with apprehending and preserving the natural order and the placement of a high social value on personal attributes such as humility, respectfulness, and generosity (for example, absence of material covetousness).

Taken as a whole, every formulation of tribal law embodies a bedrock insight that only through the conscious protection of nature by each generation can there be assurance that it will remain sustaining in coming generations. In practical terms, for any people to comport themselves in the manner indicated, they must enjoy what amounts to

complete control vis-à-vis other human groups over the geography comprising their environment. Such control adds up, regardless of the name assigned it, to the exercise of sovereign prerogatives. Assertion by another culture of control over or ownership of the land base of a given people is by definition preemptive of the ability of the usurped people to meet the range of responsibilities dictated by their spiritual tradition to the land itself and thus abridges their sovereignty in the most elemental way conceivable. This is all the more true when the usurping culture is, as has been the case with European Christendom in its invasion and continuing occupation of the New World, one that takes transformation of nature into the form of consumable commodities as the cardinal signifier, not only of virtue and value, but of its intrinsic superiority to the culture(s) upon whose land it settles.

Contemporary Native Americans are thus presented with an unfathomable dilemma. To assert their sovereignty within the paradigm of Eurocentric understanding is to nullify themselves in terms of their own traditions and identities as distinct peoples. At the same time, failure to advance such assertions, insofar as it allows Euro-America's devastation of the land to go unchallenged, is guaranteed to produce essentially the same result. Since both routes lead to the continuing dissolution and eventual disappearance of indigenous cultures and societies, the choice appears to be between acceptance of their own genocide on the one hand and an autogenocidal participation in the eradication process. Whether there is a way out of this particular box remains to be seen, but, all things considered, the prognosis is exceedingly grim.

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See also American Indian Movement; Identity; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion; Retraditionalism and Identity Movements

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Spirit Canoe Ceremony

See Sbatatdaq

Spirits and Spirit Helpers, Great Lakes

See Manitous

Spirits and Spirit Helpers, Plateau

The role of Spirits or Spirit Helpers in an individual's life is a relationship of great significance within the Plateau region. The association between an individual and his or her Guardian Spirit is remarkably intimate and ever present. An individual's Helper is not held in reserve only to be called upon as needed, but is consistently used as a powerful ally embodied within its holder throughout the day.

For Indian people, the Spirit world is not something to explain, prove, or deconstruct. The Spirit world and its power is alive, real, and encompassing. Spirits are not viewed as foreboding but are accepted as part of the life circle. Spirit is the glue that binds all circles together, the circles shared by the animal world, physical world, Spirit world, and humans.

The varied tribes on the Plateau believe that one would lead an unsuccessful or unproductive life without the aid of one or more Spirit Helpers. Spiritual power is used or needed for essentially every domain of life; consequently, lacking the assistance of a Spirit Helper is considered a grave predicament.

Within Plateau cosmology, animals, plants, and particular inanimate objects are believed to have a spiritual aspect or quality. Visions, Spirits, and power are shared by those entities in the forms of song, dreams, or visitations. Through such sacred connections, these entities or Spirit Helpers might provide an individual with enhanced and physical or mental abilities. Spirit Helpers may bestow gifts of knowledge, spiritual power, or medicine.

Song is the primary medium through which Spirit Helpers communicate a particular power. Within the Plateau, Spirit and song are so closely identified with each other that they are often described by the same word. Song is considered the embodiment of the Spirit, and a person rarely exists apart from it. Among the Klamath, *Swis,* or song, is also the term for the Spirit who imparted the song. The bestowal of *Swis* by the Spirit Helper establishes the relationship between the individual and the Guardian Spirit.

Spirits and spiritual powers are referred to by diverse terms specified by each cultural group and location within the Plateau region. Various Salish peoples tend to refer to Spirit powers as *suumesh.* Within the ethnographic literature there are several different spellings of the term s*uumesh,* including *somesh, sumex,* and *sumi'x. Suumesh* is the most common currently. Among the Wishram the term *Walu'tk* is used to describe life, Spirit, wind, and breath. The Kootenai refer to Spirits as *Nupik'a* (Spier and Sapir 1930). Guardian Spirits and the powers bestowed to their holders are termed *Wéyekin* by the Nez Perce, *Taax* by the Umatilla, and *Sukat* by other Columbia River Sahaptin people.

The concept of the Guardian Spirit or Spirit Helper among Plateau Peoples is a multidimensional complex that goes beyond simply acquiring a particular

Spirit Helper on a quest. Schuster (1998) articulated the Guardian Spirit complex among the Yakama as consisting of the Sweatlodge, Vision Quest, and the Winter Spirit Dance. The Sweatlodge is used by both men and women and is considered one of the most powerful of the Guardian Spirits because it possesses the ability to protect and restore one's spiritual power and purity (ibid.). Additionally, Spirits might come to an individual during a Sweat to deliver a message or offer a particular power. The Vision Quest was practiced by prepubescent or pubescent boys and often girls. During the Vision Quest, neophytes would attempt to obtain a Spirit Helper. The Winter Spirit Dances, held at the beginning of each year, provided individuals an opportunity to give thanks and to honor their Guardian Spirits, cure illness, ask for protection, and gain good fortune for the upcoming year. The composition of the Guardian Spirit complex consisting of the Sweatlodge, Vision Quest, and Winter Spirit Dance was common throughout the Plateau region.

The Quest for Spirits

Children had close contact with the Spirits from an early age. Turney-High documented that, among the Kootenai, even a very young child could be sent from the lodge if he was disobedient, in the hope that some Spirit might correct him (1941). A parent, in his old age, may teach a song to a young child and then dance with the child upon his back to transmit the Spirit power (Stern 1998a).

Before and during puberty, male and often female children were sent on a Vision Quest. It was important for a child to gain a Spirit Helper while still young. If a child failed to gain the power of a Spirit Helper in time, the opportunity to gain that power vanished, and the individual was to live without the protection of a Spirit forever (Spier and Sapir 1930). Very early in a child's life, he or she learned that "a successful Spirit experience is indispensable to any valued achievement as an adult, indeed to avoid complete social insignificance" (Ray 1939, 68).

Verne Ray describes a Sanpoil shaman's first vision experience as a young boy:

> A young boy was often sent down to the river at night. He did not know what he was to do on these ventures. He wandered aimlessly along the banks of the river. One evening he met a handsome young fellow who spoke to him and asked him where he was going. The boy answered that he did not know. The stranger said, "Well, you had better listen to me. I'm not a friend of yours now but I will be. I'm not who you think I am. I'm going to tell you something. When you grow up you will be lucky. If you take something from someone else you will not be caught. You will be able to get food easily. You will be favored by women. You will be sharp eyed. You will be able to see (know) what is going on at night. When you are in danger I will warn you." He gave him a song and left. It was Wood Rat. (Ray 1932, 183–184)

Among the Yakama, it is documented that Guardian Spirit power could be sought on a Vision Quest, or it could be inherited from another person. There was a tendency for similar powers to be found within the same family (Schuster 1998). The Kootenai, Cayuse, Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Yakama believed that an individual usually had no choice which Spirit powers he or she obtained. Nevertheless, individuals attempted to influence the type of power they would receive by engaging in activities to attract a particular Spirit, such as taking a token from a relative's Spirit bundle who possessed the desired power (Burnton 1998; Stern 1998a). In all cases, the Spirit bestows the power, as Spiritual Helpers or Powers cannot be bought or obtained unless the Spirit is willing to bestow it upon the individual (Schuster 1998).

In some tribes it is believed that the Spirits have no specific dwelling place. Among the Klamath and other Salish peoples, children would be sent to traditional places where a Spirit might appear or where specific spiritual powers would be found: on mountaintops, near streams, in whirlpools, or in caves (Ray 1939; Stern 1998a).

The novice must enter upon a Vision Quest with proper intentions and attitude. Walker (1998) identified that if the child was hostile or jealous he might be visited by an undesirable Spirit, who could bestow powers that may be used for malicious purposes.

Typical Vision Quests lasted one night, although some quests lasted five days or longer. Among the Kootenai, the quest was rarely longer than a single night. If the child was unsuccessful on the first night, the quest was prolonged until success was achieved. One of the single most important aspects of obtaining the power of a Spirit Helper and being successful was acquiring a song imparted by a Spirit during the quest. During a quest, a Spirit, taking the form of an animal, insect, or object, might take pity upon the child and bestow a song with instructions on how to use the power the song conveyed or what taboos to observe (Schuster 1998).

Spirit Helpers can appear to their holder in various forms. A Spirit may come in the physical form of an animal, plant, or tree, or in the nonphysical form of a ghost, heavenly body, or act of nature such as lightning, floods, or ice (Walker 1998).

Spirits are specialized and grant powers that vary considerably. A man may be given special hunting powers, fighting powers, medicine powers, fishing powers, the power to move stealthily, hide readily, the power of invulnerability, or the capacity to win at gambling or attract women. Women may be given special root digging, berry picking, or medicine powers (French and French 1998; Spier and Sapir 1930; Walker 1998). Having more than one spiritual power is possible, and often Coeur d'Alene and Flathead adolescents would go on multiple quests to obtain greater spiritual power.

A lad on a quest met Magpie, who said, "My nest is built high in a tree. It

> is of brush. Once my enemies were shooting arrows at me. But the arrows went right through the nest and didn't hurt me. It will be the same for you." Then the boy saw Flint Rock. He said, "Arrows and bullets can hit me but they don't go through me. It will be that way with you." Then he saw Grizzly Bear. "You will be like me," Grizzly Bear said: "strong, brave and quick tempered." So he got three powers at one time. (Ray 1932, 184)

Holders of particular Spirit powers could use their powers for extraordinary purposes. Some may change the weather or the outcome of battles, help plants grow, create love magic, end a famine or bring a famine to an enemy, heal terminal illness, or maliciously create an illness.

> For clairvoyant powers, Klamath shamans relied upon the Spirits such as Bear; to find lost objects, Dog was useful. A shaman with Eagle or Weasel power could predict the outcome of an impending battle. To abate cold weather, the aid of tutelaries such as West Wind, Rain, and Thunder was invoked. Appropriate tutelaries might, upon appeal, bring snow upon enemies. During the Modoc War, a shaman acted to bring down a shielding fog against the army's advance (Stern 1998, 460).

It is documented that men kept various representations of their Guardian Spirits, including claws, feathers, bones, and roots. For the Nez Perce, an essential aspect of spiritual power was possession of a collection of sacred objects. This collection needed proper care and appropriate use, since they possessed great power (Walker 1998). Medicine bags among the Nez Perce, as well as among other Plateau tribes, were often carried into battle, and the skins or feathers of a Spirit Helper were frequently affixed to an individual's clothing or hair (Walker 1998).

The quests to gain a Spirit Helper ended after puberty, and the *Suumesh* or *Wéyekin* was not to be recalled or revealed. The manifestation and exhibition of one's Spirit Helper did not occur until adulthood, when the Spirits reappeared to the individual. An exception to this practice is the Kootenai, which did not have a pattern of "forgetting" one's Spirit Helper until maturity (Ray 1939).

When the Spirit Helper returned to the individual, he or she would fall ill with Spirit sickness, often feeling an overall sense of despondency. Among the Sanpoil this Spirit illness was called *Kélemsasumixu* (Ray 1932). During this time the Spirit Helper would sing the power song and instruct an individual to sponsor or sing at a Winter Spirit Dance, thus helping the individual overcome the Spirit sickness. The Winter Spirit Dance and the curing of Spirit sickness are closely linked. The Okanogan referred to the Winter or Guardian Spirit Dance as the *Snixwam,* which means "to take sickness and drop it down" (Kennedy and Bouchard 1998).

It is documented that, among the Nez Perce, when a child obtained a Spirit Helper the public came to know the nature of his Spirit Helper for the first time when the child sang a new song at the

Guardian Spirit Dance (Spinden 1908). James Teit, in his invaluable ethnography of the Okanogan, reported that during the Guardian Spirit Dance the individual would sing the song that he acquired, show his powers, and imitate his Guardian Spirit while dancing, yet not announce who his Guardian Spirit was (1928).

Within the Colville, Okanagon, and other Plateau tribes, the exact nature of one's Spirit Helper was not announced during the annual Winter Spirit Dance. Hunn (1990) documented that among the Sahaptin peoples it was essential that young persons not reveal their visions to anyone. If the Spirit Helper was revealed, sickness, spiritual loss, or death might occur. It was not until the point of death that the individual could reveal the mysteries of his or her Spirit Helper. This practice was common among Salish peoples as well, where—as among the Klamath—individuals were free to discuss their Spirit Helpers in public (Spier and Sapir 1930; Teit 1928).

The Winter Spirit Dances were occasions for those with Spirit power to sing their Spirit songs and to dance. The purposes of the Winter Spirit Dances were to give thanks, honor one's Guardian Spirit, cure illness, ask for protection and healing, and gain good fortune for the upcoming year. During the Winter Spirit Dances those with Spirit Helpers would often renew their connection with their Spirits, as well as provide an opportunity for validating the Spirit power of novices.

Throughout life, the strength of one's spiritual power could become inconsistent and fluctuate. Spiritual powers had to be used to remain effective, although excessive use of one's power could diminish its strength. If the Spirit Helper's power were neglected, it could not provide the necessary protection or guidance. Ray (1932) illustrated by explaining that if an individual possessing arrow immunity were wounded by an arrow in combat, his wound could be attributed to the individual's not thinking of his protective power when struck.

The use of the Sweat Lodge ceremony continues as the primary means of maintaining communication with one's Spirit. Tobacco is also utilized to show gratitude and to honor the Spirits. It is believed among the Kootenai that when the Indians took over the land, the Spirits could no longer gather tobacco. Since the spirits needed tobacco, they provided tobacco seeds and taught man how to grow it (Turney-High 1941).

In healing, doctors cured illness by extracting malignant Spirits that invaded the person's body. Among the Wishram, however, a shaman could cure an individual bewitched by a Spirit only if his own Spirit Helper was more powerful (Spier and Sapir 1930). Among the Klamath, the curing procedure involved searching for the Spirit responsible for causing the illness. Multiple Spirits might be invoked in an attempt to find the culpable Spirit (Kroeber et al. 1930).

Spiritual powers were not always used for a good cause. The Nez Perce believed that spiritual power could be used by most individuals to cause sickness or

disasters (Walker 1998). It was believed that Rattlesnake and Spider could give an individual the power to kill others (Stern 1998). A Wishram man with a Snake Spirit could have the ability to send his Spirit to bite someone (Spier and 1930).

Contemporary Indian people of the Plateau still go into the mountains in search of a Spirit Helper, but the number of those with a Guardian Spirit has decreased significantly in modern times. It is apparent that "with the traditional context largely destroyed, young people are no longer able to benefit from the guidance, assistance, and powers of their elders in their own search for meaningful spiritual links to their social and natural environment" (Hunn 1990, 239).

Although many traditional ways of living have disappeared, many Plateau people still seek out and obtain Spirit Helpers and powers much like those of yesteryear. The Spirits today are just as powerful as the Spirits of the past. A Coeur d'Alene consultant remarked that for him, "Spirit is still the core of life itself." Spirits and Spirit Helpers are very real to Plateau Indian people. The American Indian might have changed in appearance, but Spirit Helpers still play the same quintessential role they did during precontact times (personal interview, June 2002).

The Spirit world is something greater than human beings. We are just small little things. We don't try to question it; we simply accept it. As you lie there and listen to the wind blow through the trees, you begin to see how small we are, how pitiful we are as human beings. We need the power that Spirit put into our circle. The Spirit is what lights the fire in the middle of our circle. "A small little tiny ant might come to me, turn around and dance, and a song would come. He'd give me a song, that tiny little ant; just a speck. It doesn't have to be a big grizzly bear, a big moose, or a mountain lion. It is the Spirit that is in the heart, which is found in the smallest little thing" (ibid.).

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See also: Ceremony and Ritual, Nez Perce; Dances, Plateau; Song; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Plateau; Vision Quest Rites

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Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Alaska

See Angalkug

Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Basin

See Puhagants

Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, California

The vastness of the California aboriginal cultures and the variety of traditions within them make a comprehensive accounting of all ceremonial practitioners virtually impossible here. As a result, broad comparisons will be drawn utilizing specific information from three distinct regions: the communities along portions of the Klamath River, the Karuk and the Hupa; the high desert–dwelling Chemehuevi; and the south coastal villages in Chumash country.

The role of ceremonial leader varies in most Native communities by what kind of ceremony it is that they are leaders of. California Indian religious ceremonies can be general community events that occur on a regular schedule, or they can be smaller, more specific rituals such as those that accompany physical healing or birth/death ceremonies.

Villages along the Klamath River and its tributaries are linked by a cyclical ritual system referred to by anthropologists as "World Renewal" ceremonies. The cycle consists of several ceremonies held every year encompassing a wide range of ritual performances including the White Deerskin and Jump Dances, which, among other things, afforded opportunities for wealth display and costuming. These are all presided over by particular Native practitioners, whose authority is tied to their knowledge of the particular aspects of the ceremonies, as well as to their timing. The leaders of these ceremonies take responsibility for arranging the date and time of

Sam Lopez, wearing Tolowa costume including a redheaded woodpecker scalp headdress and strings of dentalia shell beads. He holds a traditional painted bow and an obsidian blade, a sign of wealth. ca. 1923. (Library of Congress)

each ritual performance, as well as for assembling the proper personnel and seeing that all materials are gathered properly and readied for the ceremony. Thus, for World Renewal rituals, the leader convenes, emcees, and provides authority both prior to and during the ceremony. These roles are often passed from father to son, but initiates into the leadership roles all apprentice with an expert for some time before they are considered competent enough to lead a ceremony.

World Renewal rituals also include various "first fruits" ceremonies tied to an annual cycle and to specific locations. These elaborate rituals are intended to show respect for the gifts of the earth, thus ensuring their regular arrival. Although each ceremony is different from the others, and there exist multiple variations in ceremonial detail, all tend to include two parts: a private part followed by a public performance of one or both of two distinct rituals, the Jump Dance and the White Deerskin Dance. In the private part, the ritualist visits sacred sites and recites "formulas"—a sort of incantation/prayer that acknowledges the

first performance of the ceremony in sacred time and its benefit to the people, thereby establishing the logic of its continuity. The sacred history of the people is thus invoked in virtually all such ceremonial situations. This requires that the priest/ritualist can be trusted by the community to perform these functions properly, in order to ensure the efficacy of the ceremony.

Following the private rituals, the dancing begins and goes on every day for up to ten days or more, when possible. Modern life often requires a change in this pattern, and it is the ceremonial leader who makes that decision and announces the schedule after consulting with the participants. The Karuk dance regalia is fairly standardized by custom, and it is also up to the ceremonial leader to ensure that all participants are within compliance. Dancers in the White Deerskin Dance wear regalia of deer hide or wildcat skirts and dentalium shell necklaces; wolf fur and woodpecker scalps form the headdress. The name of the dance derives from the fact that all dancers carry poles from which hang white deerskins, complete with the head of the deer at the point.

The Jump Dance regalia consists of a headdress made from woodpecker scalps and white feathers along the forehead. Dentalia are also worn, and a skirt of deerskin. The ceremonial leader is responsible for seeing that all of this takes place according to custom, and the leader makes the proper speeches and invocations during the ceremony. He will often invite honored attendees to speak to the assembly, and see to it that singers, dancers, and musicians are all paid for their participation. The feast that follows these ceremonies is also organized by the key leader, though the food itself is usually sponsored by another person.

Other, less elaborate observances, are also held in this region. Among the Hupa, an Acorn Feast is held in the autumn, when the nuts begin to fall from the oaks, and a First Salmon ceremony takes place when the spring run of fish begins. The acorns or salmon are carefully obtained, especially for these rituals, and various prayers are said and sacred acts performed. Until these procedures are completed no one eats the food, and the harvesting and fishing cannot continue until the ceremonies are held. The leaders for these ceremonies are often village elders and important family members who will also oversee the season's take for that area. Extended families possess rights to certain areas along the river and in oak groves, but with those rights come the responsibilities to the larger community that proper respect be paid and all members of the community be cared for.

For the Chemehuevi, the seasonal arc differs from that of the riverine environs of the Karuk and Hupa. Clearly, the environment plays heavily into the ceremonial cycle of any traditional community; the available resources and topography associated with the Mojave Desert are best managed via small extended-family groups through much of the year, with regular, seasonal gatherings of larger

scale. For the Chemehuevi, day-to-day religious life takes on a particularly personal quality, and one can seek the assistance of a Spirit Helper to aid one in the navigation of the world; each person has particular ritual obligations to that helper.

In terms of broad religious leadership, those roles are either inherited, as with the lineage's "head man," who presides over the larger seasonal ceremonies having to do with observances of the solstices and equinoxes by several lineages in a region, and smaller, intralineage rituals for hunting, water control, or healing. In the former, the captain of a lineage is chosen to preside over a regional ceremony and is in charge of all the details, much like the Karuk World Renewal ceremonial leader. For the latter, the designation as ritualist is most often derived from dreams, but such dreams can be brought on from the ceremonial use of the Jimsonweed plant. These are most often male, but female healers and water priests are not uncommon. Hunter priests, as can be inferred from the title, perform certain rituals to ensure success in hunts. Water priests can either "dowse" for springs and oases, or invoke spiritual help to start or stop the rains. Healer priests are able to manipulate spiritual and medicinal factors for purposes of physical healing, and they oversee birth and death ceremonies as well. Their power is concentrated in cane staffs that are used in all ritual situations.

The Chemehuevi's use of Jimsonweed, in some respects, mirrors that of the final exemplary tradition, the coastal Chumash. For the grouping of loosely interconnected and independent villages that have come to be known as Chumashan, the key cultural aspect that helps to define ceremonial leadership is the extensive trade relationships that were central to Chumash life prior to the influence of Spanish missionaries. These trade partnerships, partnerships that crossed language groupings within Chumash country, were maintained via a series of guilds that oversaw the material and cultural products of the villages. From basket weavers to ritualists, the guilds served to unite what would have otherwise been a disparate cultural region. The priesthood tended to fall into several categories: ceremonial presider, often the role of the presiding village's political leader (whose membership in the priestly guild was assumed); astronomers, who were charged with keeping constant the people's awareness of seasonal changes and celestial events via extensive knowledge of the cosmos and its movement; and the ubiquitous healers, whose specialties ranged from treating snake bites to broken bones. The most typical healing priest in California, the suck doctor, tends to have a "general practitioner" approach in Chumash country, in that she or he sucks the illness-causing agent from the person's body, either directly or through a hollow reed or tube.

Initiation into the priesthood that oversees the spiritual aspects of these ritualists involves, as with the Chemehuevi, consumption of a concoction derived from

the Jimsonweed plant. The result of this ceremonial consumption is a mild coma, during which the initiate receives his or her Spirit Helper and the songs associated with the particular ceremonial role.

As can be seen from these brief descriptions, ceremonial leaders throughout California are in their positions because of their ability to do what is needed for the overall health of the people. Whether that means keeping track of the proper ritual protocols from season to season so that they are always performed properly, or enduring potentially deadly initiation ceremonies so that their Spirit Helper may put them at the service of their communities, ritualists among most California Indian peoples approach their role as a "vocation": to be in the role of ceremonial leader means a lifelong commitment to proper maintenance of the power invested in them by the universe on behalf of the people.

Dennis F. Kelley

See also Ceremony and Ritual, California; McKay, Mabel; Oral Traditions, California; Parrish, Essie; Power, Barbareño Chumash; Religious Leaders, California; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, California

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Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Northwest Coast and Southeast Alaska

Northwest coast religious practitioners may be divided into roughly a half-dozen categories by function. The one factor that links them all is contact with and use of some type of supernatural power. Although these functions are discrete, individuals may have carried out more than a single one. The categories are: first fruits/hunting and fishing magic practitioner; domestic cult leader; shaman;

witch/sorcerer; winter ceremonial dancer; and artist. Considerable variation occurs along a north-south axis, from southeastern Alaska, through coastal British Columbia, to the Oregon coast. Within this area there exist ten major ethnolinguistic group, and scores of "tribal" groupings. Thus any discussion of the area in general terms necessarily involves simplification and abstraction.

First Fruits/Hunting and Fishing Magic

This function was often fulfilled by a hereditary chief in his role as owner and steward of productive territories. Occasionally, other high-ranking persons might fill the role of priest. However, individual hunters and fishers usually practiced some rituals in preparation for their endeavors, and consumers observed certain rules of food preparation, eating, and disposal. First fruits rituals had the dual function of honoring the species, usually and most importantly salmon, and of effectively opening the season on that species. Salmon were universally thought to be a sentient being whose existence paralleled that of humans. The five species of salmon provided the main staple for all coastal groups. Thus the question of how they were taken was of fundamental importance. Salmon knew and communicated to others whether they were treated well or badly by particular local groups. If they were ill treated, they would absent themselves in future years, thus withdrawing that group's sustenance. The appearance of the first salmon of a given species was of the greatest importance to a group; it often gave rise to a "first salmon" ritual, in which the fish was ceremonially prepared and served. In addition to first fruits rituals, which honored the collective "run" of fish, individual salmon were treated with respect by having their bones returned to the water, which, it was believed, ensured their regeneration.

Nuu-chah-nulth man taking a ceremonial bath before a whale hunt. Clayoquot, Vancouver Island, British Columbia. 1843. (Library of Congress)

Hunters and certain types of fishers (generally, those who fished from boats) practiced a variety of ritual preparations. These usually involved multiple abstinences—from food (especially of the

same type as that to be pursued) and sexual intercourse. In addition, bathing and other purificatory practices were adopted. This may have had a practical effect of making the hunter less easily detectable by keen-scented land animals, and certainly was connected to cultural ideas about purity. By appearing as purely human, as opposed to human mixed with the nonhuman essences of foodstuffs, the hunter appeared in an unambiguous form, facilitating exchange, the basis of all hunting and fishing. Fish and game animals willingly gave themselves up to humans as part of a cosmic exchange that was imagined differently in different cultures but that generally viewed humans as one among many communities of sentient and social beings. In addition to abstinence, prayer was commonly employed both before and after the kill. Hunters and fishers attempted to ensure not only their immediate success but also the long-term welfare of their community.

The most elaborate example of hunting magic comes from the Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka) of the west coast of Vancouver Island. In preparation for open-sea whaling (which only they and their southern kinsmen the Makah engaged in), a hereditary chief, who was also the leader of whaling expeditions, would bathe, pray, and fast in secret places, including special shrines erected away from the village. These shrines contained human remains, as well as carved representations of humans and whales. When the chief and his party embarked, the chief's wife or other noblewomen would carry on the ritual in the shrine. This was considered essential to the success of the hunt and to fending off disaster. The woman, who had ritually prepared herself for this, remained immobile in the shrine. At this point she was explicitly identified with the whale. If she moved, the whale moved, making it more difficult to catch; in addition, this was an action that could, if it occurred at the wrong moment, capsize the canoe and kill the crew.

Domestic Cult Leader

Most religious practice was connected with the domestic unit. These units varied in composition and organizing principles, but they were composed minimally of a household of persons related by blood and through marriage. Larger groupings, such as extended lineages and clans, brought multiple households together into a single structure. For illustrative purposes, I will here discuss the Kwakwak'wakw (Kwakiutl) *numaym,* or "house," a cognatic or bilateral descent group. Leadership in the *numaym* (as in other such groups) was vested in a senior male and his close kin. Senior position was determined by primogeniture, with a patrilineal preference; thus, eldest sons of eldest sons of eldest sons, and so on back into the genealogical depths, were preferred as chiefs. However, matrilineal descent was also considered. The head chief was also the steward of the *numaym*'s symbolic property, which included religious

paraphernalia, knowledge of origin stories (both genealogical and mythological), the use of certain crest designs (which appeared on houses, poles, button blankets, and movable property), and the right to perform certain dances during the winter ceremonial. As the guardian of this property, the head chief was responsible for displaying it under proper circumstances. The most important such context was the potlatch, a great giving-away feast to which other *numaym*s were invited. Other occasions included weddings, funerals, and naming ceremonies. The prosperity and prestige, as well as the health and spiritual power, of the group was considered a direct result of the effectiveness of the head chief in his role as domestic cult leader.

Shaman (Spiritual Healers)

Shamans, or spiritual healers, were ubiquitous on the Northwest coast. They operated independently of both the secular and religious structures of society. In some extreme cases, healers did not dwell with others in a village but lived alone in the bush, where they kept shrines. Many healers were peripatetic. Spiritual healers possessed one or more "helpers," usually the spiritual form of animals such as bears, wolves, and killer whales. Shamans constituted a sort of guild that transcended tribal and community boundaries. Intergroup competitions were held, in which elaborate sleight-of-hand techniques were practiced and judged. The primary function of shamans, at least from the standpoint of nonshamans, was to heal illness, especially illness caused by taboo violations or witchcraft. The job of the healer was thus to diagnose the spiritual cause of the disease and to restore the patient's soul, the loss of which was the proximate cause of the illness. More powerful spiritual practitioners could, however, use their ability to cause illness, or to "throw" power into enemies. In some cases shamans worked for chiefs, and carried out warfare by other means. In other cases shamans became powerful sorcerers who could use their powers to obtain what they wished. Such spiritual practitioners were frequently wealthy, since few would refuse them payment. Ironically, these individuals were also the persecutors of witches and sorcerers, whom only they could detect. In the north especially, the persecution and torture of persons suspected of witchcraft and sorcery was commonplace. Among the Tlingit of southeastern Alaska, such spiritual practitioners are remembered today. They were especially active during the disease pandemics of the late nineteenth century, which most Tlingits blamed on sorcery.

Witch/Sorcerer

Witchcraft and sorcery—a distinction that rests on whether or not spells and esoteric knowledge are used (sorcery), or whether it is merely a type of spiritual malevolence (witchcraft)—was widespread on the Northwest coast. It was not considered a religious practice by most

Northwest coast people, but it certainly fits within our definition. Moreover, as we have seen, shamans, who were the most powerful religious practitioners, might "turn" and become sorcerers. Power over the victim is increased if one has access to objects associated with that person, such as clothes, or, even better, body parts, such as hair or nail clippings. For this reason, such items were usually disposed of carefully. Although generally malevolent, with the intent to cause disease, misfortune, or death, some witchcraft took the form of love medicine. This form at least is still practiced today in areas of the Northwest coast.

Winter Ceremonial Dancer

The winter was the sacred season on the Northwest coast. The pervasive darkness, bad weather, and relative lack of food made it a poor time for productive activity. The Kwakwak'wakw envisioned the world's turning over during the winter, with an effect similar to that of turning over a rock and finding slugs and worms. The spirits likewise came out in the winter, and humans impersonated them or were, in some cases, possessed by them. Most adolescent and adult males of respectable but not necessarily noble lineage participated in winter dances; in some groups women likewise participated. A wide variety of dances and dance types existed among different groups. Many involved masks and elaborate theatrics. The Kwakwak'wakw were especially well known for constructing masks weighing a hundred pounds or more that had moving parts and could even change appearance. These "transformation" masks illustrated the concept of the interconnection between the human, spirit, and animal worlds. Other dances were performed with little costume; these tended to emphasize a state of spiritual possession or the inherent sacredness of the dancer.

A further distinction between dances was between those that were shamanistic in character and those that were closely related to the domestic cult. The shamanistic series of dances, called by groups such as the Kwakwak'wakw and the Heiltsuk (Bella Bella) by the word for "shamans," replicated in collective form the spiritual encounter of practicing shamans. This did not make the participants any more than "honorary shamans," however. The most powerful such performance was the Hamatsa, or "Cannibal Dance," which employed theatrical and perhaps actual anthropophagy. Other dances appeared closer to the themes of the domestic cult and were often led by hereditary chiefs. Such dances invoked supernatural ancestors and other heavenly beings and asked for blessings upon the community. Groups such as the Heiltsuk and Nuxalk (Bella Coola) kept the two types of dances entirely separate, while other groups mixed them together.

Artist

The role of artist was an explicitly sacred one throughout the Northwest coast. On the one hand, artists were in contact

with the sacred as they manufactured ritual objects, including masks, and decorated even utilitarian surfaces with the crests of the clan. More than that, though, artists were masters of a special type of power akin to shamanism. Like shamans, their ability to "see" the spirit world enabled them to operate on a spiritual plane, apart from normal humans. The Tsimshian of northern British Columbia called artists *gitsontk,* people with secret power. The Northwest coast world was a profoundly aesthetic one; house interiors were suffused with objets d'art. Since each such design represented—in a literal sense—spiritual beings, the artists could be seen as one important way in which humans and nonhuman spiritual beings were brought into contact. Even the most utilitarian of objects, such as cedar storage boxes, which were the universal container for everything from preserved food to masks, were decorated with sacred designs. And yet these were no mere designs; the box was thought to become the spirit represented on its front, and thus to look over and protect the contents. Similarly, the ancestral crests on the fronts of houses sheltered the occupants as much as did the roof and walls.

Almost all important artwork was done with wood, usually a type of cedar or alder. The artist thus stood at the nexus of several streams of spiritual power: that of the tree, that of the tools (traditionally made of stone or bone before the advent of metal), and that of the entity represented—in addition to the frequently powerful personage commissioning the work. Many surfaces were painted, and that too involved potent forces. Paint—red and black were the main colors employed—was made from elements such as charcoal and red ocher, which were themselves not devoid of power. For certain powerful masks, menstrual blood—an immensely potent and dangerous substance—was sometimes used.

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Northwest; Dances, Northwest Winter Spirit Dances; Guardian Spirit Complex; Masks and Masking; Oral Traditions, Northwest Coast; Power, Northwest Coast; Sacred Societies, Northwest Coast

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Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Plains

To this day, spiritual and ceremonial practitioners—possessors of supernatural powers linked to magical protection, good fortune, success in warfare, and curing—maintain, to varying degrees, the metaphysical integrity of Plains Indian communities. Although prereservation, nineteenth-century Plains peoples were semisedentary, horticultural/bison-hunting villagers or were equestrian, nomadic hunters and gatherers, they shared the common belief in an animatistic power force permeating the universe, obtainable by humans through the assistance of animistic, spiritual beings represented by animals or natural forces. Individuals receiving "power" through dreams, visions, inheritance, or purchase typically possessed sacred "medicine" bundles representing personal, clan, band, village, or tribal powers; these healers or spiritual leaders were frequently summoned to mediate on behalf of their brethren.

Sacred power, often associated with a creator, was identified by Dhegiha Siouan-speaking peoples—Omaha, Ponca, Kansa, Osage, and Quapaw—as a variant of *wakkanda* or *wakanda* (Liberty, Wood, and Irwin 2001, 408; Brown and Irwin 2001, 423; Bailey and Young 2001, 469; Bailey 2001, 480; Young and Hoffman 2001, 503). The Chiwere Siouan-speaking Iowa and Oto/Missouria also believed in *wakanda* (Blaine 1979, 192; Schweitzer 2001, 450), as did the Northern Siouan Mandan and Hidatsa, albeit they employed different terms (Wood and Irwin 2001, 357; Stewart 2001, 335). The Caddoan-speaking villagers, the Arikara, Pawnee, and Wichita, also identified a supreme being and a hierarchy of power (Parks 2001a, 381; Parks 2001b, 536; Newcomb 2001, 557).

Among the nomadic equestrian tribes, the Athabascan-speaking Sarcee and Plains Apache acknowledged an all-powerful creator—Maker of the Earth—and the Uto-Aztecan Comanche referred to their creator—sometimes identified with Sun—as Niatpo, "My Father" (Dempsey 2001b, 633; Foster and McCollough 2001, 931; Kavanagh 2001, 892). Algonkin tribes likewise recognized a creator as possessor of the greatest powers: Napi, or "Old Man" (Blackfoot); a nonpersonified spirit creator (Plains Cree); The One Above Thought (Gros Ventre); Maheo (Cheyenne); and Pipe Person (Arapaho) (Dempsey 2001a, 616; Darnell 2001, 646; Fowler and Flannery 2001, 682; Moore, Liberty, and Straus 2001, 873; Fowler 2001, 843). Conversely, the Siouan-speaking Assiniboine, Santee, Yankton/Yanktonai, and Teton recognized the animatistic powers connected with variant forms of the Lakota *wakan* "holy," the "common denominator of oneness," and *wakan tanka,* "big holy," or the totality of everything (DeMallie and Miller 2001, 578; Albers 2001, 768; DeMallie 2001a, 790; DeMallie 2001b, 806). To the Crow, also Siouan speakers, Sun, or "father," was the most important

The site of a Crow Sun Dance Circle. Crow Agency, Montana. 2001. (Marilyn "Angel" Wynn/ Nativestock)

spirit power (Voget 2001, 706), a conception similar to the Kiowa belief that Sun possessed the strongest *dw'dw',* "power" (Kracht 2000, 237).

Despite different etymologies, power was attainable through inheritance, dreams and visions, or purchase. Among the Hidatsa, the Mandan, and the Dhegiha and Chiwere tribes, clan bundles were inherited according to unilineal descent rules—some bundles were tribal, others were personal (Stewart 2001, 335; Wood and Irwin 2001, 357; Liberty, Wood, and Irwin 2001, 409; Brown and Irwin 2001, 420, 423; Schweitzer 2001, 449–450; Bailey and Young 2001, 469–470; Bailey 2001, 481; Young and Hoffman 2001, 502). Pawnee and Arikara social organization centered on endogamous villages unified by origin myths and bundles that passed from father to son (Parks 2001a, 373; 2001b, 530). The equestrian Cheyenne and Kiowa, keepers of Sun Dance bundles and other sacred tribal icons, chose sons or close male relatives to maintain the medicines after their death. Cross-culturally, Plains peoples believed that the continuation of individual power was contingent on heirs who assumed responsibility for bundles, songs, techniques, and sacred knowledge; otherwise, power died with its owner.

Throughout the Plains, power was informally obtained through "involuntary or spontaneous visions" initiated by spiritual forces, and formally through the institutionalized vision quest, a near pan-Plains phenomenon (Irwin 1994, 78–79). Vision quests usually involved self-sacrifice by fasting and thirsting an average of four days and nights in remote, often elevated locations by young male supplicants who offered prayers to the spirit world, accompanied by wisps of tobacco smoke drawn from long-stemmed pipes. Mandan, Crow, and Hidatsa seekers often took self-sacrifice to extremes, by severing finger joints as offerings (Wood and Irwin 2001, 357; Voget 2001, 706; Stewart 2001, 335). If fortunate, novices gained pity from animal—or other—spirits and were bestowed

with power visions. Afterward, it was not unusual for new ecstatics to seek further knowledge from experienced individuals in the community, especially those with similar powers.

Becoming understudies to power keepers, providing them with gifts, and replicating their power symbols, bundles, and related ceremonies was another way in which individuals gained access to power. Perhaps the most unusual form of power transference, practiced by the Mandan, Hidatsa, Arikara, Gros Ventre, and Crow, involved ritual intercourse between a seeker's wife and a bundle keeper (Wood and Irwin 2001, 357; Stewart 2001, 337; Parks 2001a, 383; Fowler and Flannery 2001, 684; Voget 2001, 706–707). Regardless of its source or strength, acquired power could ensure successful hunting, lucrative raiding and horse-stealing, warrior prowess over enemies, longevity, and overall well-being; however, the strongest power belonged to shamans, the principal Plains healers (Irwin 1994, 72–73).

Power was largely male-dominated, although Hidatsa, Mandan, and Crow women deliberately sought visions. Among the Santee Sioux, Gros Ventre, Lipan Apache, Arapaho, Assiniboine, Blackfoot, Cheyenne, Kiowa, Comanche, Pawnee, Teton, and Dhegiha tribes, women gained power, often through involuntary spontaneous visions. Moreover, male shamans could not function properly without their primary assistants—their wives; husband-wife shaman pairs existed among the Crow, Cheyenne, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, and Comanche (Stewart 2001, 337; Wood and Irwin 2001, 361; Frey 1987, 77; Albers 2001, 768; Irwin 1994, 80–81, 176–177). Healers, male or female, usually derived their powers from spirits represented by certain animals, especially Bear, Black-Tailed Deer, and, notably, Buffalo. Bear and Buffalo doctors existed among the Omaha, Ponca, Iowa, Oto/Missouria, Quapaw, Pawnee, Wichita, Santee, Teton, Arapaho, and Kiowa (Liberty, Wood, and Irwin 2001, 410; Brown and Irwin 2001, 424; Wedel 2001, 440; Schweitzer 2001, 451–452; Young and Hoffman 2001, 502; Parks 2001a, 537–538; Newcomb 2001, 558; Albers 2001, 768–769; DeMallie 2001b, 808; Fowler 2001, 844; Levy 2001, 915; Kracht 2000, 239). Other power animals related to healing powers were Panther, Elk, Beaver, Owl, and Snake.

In the ensuing sketch, the concept of power and its use by spiritual and ceremonial practitioners—shamans and tribal bundle keepers—among the pre-reservation Kiowa of southwestern Oklahoma is described. This reconstruction is largely based on the ethnographic field notes of James Mooney (1891–1904) and Weston LaBarre (et al., 1935), housed in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. Kiowa orthography is consistent, wherever possible, with Merrill (et al. 1997).

Nineteenth-century Kiowa religious beliefs were centered in the notion of *dw'dw',* "power," an impersonal spirit force permeating the universe, including plants, animals, the sun, moon, stars,

earth, water, and rocks. *Dw'dw',* largely obscure to humans, was sometimes revealed in lightning, thunder, tornadoes, directional winds, and other natural phenomena, as well as in animals, birds, and reptiles. In a hierarchical spirit world in which greater and lesser powers coexisted, Sun was recognized as the principal life force because everything else depended on its *dw'dw'* in order to live. In Kiowa cosmology, the combined powers of Sun and Wind brought rain, causing the grasses to grow, which fed the bison upon which the Kiowa depended. Sun was also linked to the creation of the sacred *thali-da-i,* "boy medicine" bundles, known today as the Ten Medicines. As father to the bison and grandfather to the Kiowa, Sun was presented buffalo meat offerings and petitioned for good health and well-being with personal sacrifices of human flesh. Young male recipients of Sun-inspired visions acquired war power, developed into great warriors, and often became band leaders of the ten to twenty Kiowa bands. Sun power provided invulnerability, so warriors painted solar designs on their bodies, war shields, and war ponies. Sacred shields and dancers were also adorned with sun motifs during the Sun Dance, the most important tribal ceremony, performed to regenerate the bison herds and the Kiowa people.

Living in the upper level of the universe with Sun were the lesser powers, represented by Moon (female) and other stars. Beneath them dwelled Wind, the authority of the middle realm who physically supported Sun and his retinue and controlled the movements of rain clouds and the stars. Thunder, Whirlwind, Tornado, or *tseigudl,* "Red Horse," and the four directional winds dwelled in Wind's domain, as did Eagle, Hawk, and Falcon, symbols of war power, and Crow, whose powers included the ability to dodge bullets. Feathers from these and other birds were used in most Kiowa rites, including curing rituals. *Dom,* "Earth," addressed in prayer as "mother," dominated the lower level of the universe, inhabited by surface, underground, and underwater creatures coexisting in a predator-prey hierarchy. Among the terrestrial beings, Buffalo Bull was dominant because he received his power directly from Sun and could endow male vision seekers with war power from Sun. Otherwise, Buffalo had great medicine powers transferable to men who became buffalo doctors, or buffalo medicine men. Other earthbound power animals included Elk, Antelope, Deer, Prairie Dog, Beaver, Wolf, Mountain Lion, Badger, Wolf, and Horse. Snake and Snapping Turtle represented healing power. Power animals feared by the Kiowa included Owl, the messenger of death; Coyote, whose howling implied sickness; Gopher and Mole, diggers of poisonous burrows; Underwater Monster; and Bear, still regarded by the Kiowa with ambivalence.

Regardless of how power was obtained—purchase, inheritance, or the vision quest—the Kiowa believed that a man received war power or curing

power—two distinct, mutually exclusive categories of *dw'dw'*. For those who attained either type of power, public disclosure was considered improper because of the conviction that newly acquired power would manifest itself at the appropriate time: for instance, a warrior returning from a fierce battle unscathed, or a novice shaman called in as the last resort to cure a patient.

Notably, shamans, as doctors, had the ability to accumulate different powers; powerful shamans often specialized in several specific disorders—for instance, a shaman who treated fevers and battlefield wounds.

Those who acquired curing *dw'dw'* and became shamans were obligated to live according to the dictates of their helping spirits, who imposed stringent taboos on their particular medicine powers. Dietary and behavioral taboos included the avoidance of bear, mole, and fish meat, and certain animal parts, such as brains and marrow; some shamans could not use knives as eating utensils. Each shaman also adhered to specific behavioral taboos: prohibiting people from walking behind them while they were eating, or disallowing visitors whose feet touched the ground while doctoring. Breaching these and other taboos could result in sickness and, ultimately, the death of the shaman, who also did not treat his own family members because of the concern that he would become sick instead.

Magical doctoring powers, *gietso* (meaning "unknown"), resided in the shaman's torso, ready to be coughed up, on demand, in the form of stones, paint (colored clays), moles, lizards, snakes, toads, pieces of buffalo horn, and hide. Osonte, "No Voice," possessed the ability to spit out a miniature bison as part of his magic. During healing episodes, shamans discharged *gietso* from their mouths to demonstrate the strength of their particular *dw'dw',* and likewise spewed *gietso* at the end of the session highlighted by the "sucking" technique, the magical extraction of disease agents from the patient's torso. This was a practice founded in the notion that sickness was caused by supernatural beings or human sorcerers who selected victims, then discharged foreign objects into their bodies; the objects could be retracted only by shamans and spat out with their medicine. When a shaman died, *gietso* shot out of his mouth and was lost forever, unless an apprentice was there to receive a mouth-to-mouth transference.

Curing ceremonies in behalf of sick persons were initiated by any male relative who lit a long-stemmed pipe before approaching a shaman; the shaman respectfully listened to the problem and asked appropriate questions about symptoms. If the shaman felt his powers could help, he accepted the pipe, smoked, and prayed to his spirit powers for assistance in curing the patient. Prior to examination, the shaman purified his hands in sweetgrass smoke, then took a black handkerchief, or perhaps a buffalo calfskin, and placed it over his eyes while

scanning the patient's torso to locate the "poison."

Once the source of affliction was determined, the shaman took sharpened flint, incised the skin, and began sucking the wound, although each practitioner had his own eccentricities: some shamans did not make incisions, others placed hot embers in their mouths beforehand, used hollowed-out bison horns for sucking, or applied feathered fans smudged in cedar smoke to the smitten area. Patients screamed from excruciating pain as the entity was extricated and spat out for display to the assembled family members supporting the healing process. The object, perhaps a stone, a piece of deerskin or black handkerchief, or exuviae from human corpses, including hair, skin, teeth, and fingernail pairings, was displayed to show that the shaman had successfully removed the entity. Afterward, family members rewarded the shaman with horses, blankets, or other gifts, unless the patient's condition worsened, upon which nothing was said. A shaman lost prominence, however, after repeated failures. Convalescing patients were expected to adhere to their practitioner's personal taboos until the completion of a ritual feast sponsored by the shaman.

Notable among Kiowa shamans were the buffalo doctors. The power of Buffalo resides in the cud, or in the hair balls in its stomachs coughed up and swallowed during the digestive process, as symbolized in the magical healing rite of buffalo doctors who spewed Indian paint or colored clay on the torsos of their patients. Buffalo doctors usually accompanied war parties because of their talents for treating arrow and bullet wounds. Before skirmishes with enemies, those buffalo doctors in attendance sang a buffalo song while painting their bodies red and white to symbolize the power of Buffalo, derived from rolling in the dirt. Buffalo doctors usually worked alone to assist fallen warriors by spewing red paint (clay) on open wounds to stanch the bleeding; in severe cases, as many as seven or eight worked together. Most buffalo doctors employed the sucking technique, though other treatments involved rubbing buffalo tails, fur, or even buffalo bundles across the patient's body. After successful treatment ceremonial paint was applied to the patient, accompanied by the healing power of buffalo songs. The patient was expected to follow the taboos of the buffalo doctors: they could not eat "wounded" meat—the location of the fatal wound—raw livers, kidneys, and gizzards, raw meat, or uncooked blood. Nobody was allowed to break bones in their vicinity, nor could they place buffalo tails, horns, or hooves into fires. Violating these taboos was considered dangerous to patient and practitioner alike.

Another group of shamans, the owl doctors, received their *dw'dw'* from that dreaded bird and understood Owl language, permitting them to communicate with deceased spirits using owls as mediums. The so-called owl prophets sometimes conducted nighttime seances by

summoning owl spirits into miniature tepees placed at the western end of a special tepee pitched for a divination rite designed to find lost comrades and horses, or to predict the future outcome of a war expedition. Owl doctors typically treated individuals bewitched by owls and ghosts, responsible for facial twisting or paralysis. Other healers were those with Snake power, including women, who treated snake and spider bites.

Besides healing episodes, shamans often displayed their *dw'dw'* in power contests, a practice that continued well into the twentieth century. Such public expositions typically were performed by men who possessed their own unique powers and did not belong to medicine societies: Tsodltoi, "Spotted Wing," a snakebite doctor, could magically spew four large rattlesnakes from her mouth; Pododlte (meaning unknown), one of the intermittent Owl doctors, kept a spider, centipede, turtle, butcher knife, and pistol in his stomach; and the remarkable Tonakwt, "Turtle," a recipient of Turtle and Underwater Monster powers, withstood a point-blank rifle shot to the face—a story that survives in oral traditions today.

Most Kiowas feared these individuals, a fear founded in the belief that medicine powers could be used for good or evil, and that shamans who did not belong to medicine societies had a penchant for sorcery. Anyone foolish enough to offend such a person expected to get sick and possibly die. A sorcerer, using the restrictive taboos of an adversary to his advantage, sketched an outline of the intended victim on the ground; then, based on the principle of sympathetic, or image, magic, placed a blade of grass, needle, small feather, or other object into a pipe stem and blew it into the desired area. Sorcerers could also "shoot" bones into the bodies of their victims, or cause harm by pointing and chanting in the person's direction. These practices were consistent with Kiowa etiology that illness was caused by intrusive supernatural entities, oftentimes sent by shamans practicing sorcery. The well-documented deaths of Kicking Bird in 1875 and Joshua Given in 1893 under mysterious circumstances have been attributed to shamans punishing them for allegedly betraying the Kiowa people.

Once smitten by malign magic, part of the cure involved identifying the culprit, who might avoid the victim, or treat him especially well to cover his sorcery. If the perpetrator was unknown, certain shamans were hired to perform divination ceremonies involving the placement of black handkerchiefs over their eyes while examining the patient's body. The hope was that a suspect would be named, his poisonous *gietso* sucked out, spat into a fire, and destroyed. After the sorcerer's identity was revealed, there were several options: he was stalked and forced to rescind the spell at gunpoint; or the services of a more powerful shaman were engaged to bewitch him. To this day, the Kiowa believe that those engaging in sorcery would eventually succumb

to malevolent powers, bringing about their own demise.

Unlike shamans, who possessed curing *dw'dw'* and employed individualized healing techniques, keepers of the eleven tribal bundles offered spiritual assistance and intervention in personal and tribal affairs; individually and collectively, they performed sacred rituals in behalf of the Kiowa people. Keepers of the ten "boy medicine" bundles, or Ten Medicines, were holy men who prayed for everyone's welfare, especially in the early spring, when Thunder first appeared. Individual keepers were often summoned to pray for sick persons being doctored by shamans, and in the winter encampment, people brought offerings of scalps, tobacco, calico, blankets, beads, dried meat, buckskin, or sticks symbolizing horses to an owner's tepee and placed them on the bundle with prayer requests. Sick persons were then allowed to inhale the contents of the inner bundle, after loosening the outer covering. The next morning, the keeper kept some of the offerings or gave them to relatives, and summoned children to eat the meat for well-being and longevity. Symbolically, gifts to one bundle were inclusive to all ten, so a popular offering was ten balls of meat.

Ten Medicines keepers also served as tribal civil servants, because their services were solicited to facilitate conflict resolution. Whenever disputes arose in the encampments, relatives of one of the aggrieved parties dispatched a gift-bearing relative to find the nearest keeper. Leading several horses, or carrying presents for the opposing party, the kinsman pleaded for the keeper to fill his long-stemmed pipe with tobacco, seek out the disputing factions, and offer them the lighted pipe—a request impossible to refuse, because smoking together symbolized the agreement to resolve their differences, as witnessed by the spirit world that was contacted by the smoke carrying the prayers of the Ten Medicines keeper.

The keeper of the sacred Taime Sun Dance bundle, the *Taimek'i,* "Taime man," prayed for the people, as did the Ten Medicines keepers. Likewise, gifts and prayer requests were brought to Taime, and sometimes Taime was invited to sweatlodge ceremonies for one of the Ten Medicines. Most important were pledges to erect medicine lodges for Taime, signifying a forthcoming Sun Dance in mid-June. The Sun Dance—not necessarily an annual ceremony because of extraneous factors such as drought, bison availability, and the presence of enemies—was performed to regenerate the buffalo herds and the Kiowa people. During the six-week period following the aggregation of the dispersed Kiowa bands into a single encampment and concluding with the three-and-a-half-day Sun Dance proper, the *Taimek'i* became the high priest overseeing all activities. Under his authority violence was prohibited, based on the belief that any bloodshed would attenuate the ceremony. In addition, only communal bison hunting was per-

mitted, since solitary hunters dispersed the bison herds before enough animals could be dispatched to feed the assembled bands.

The Kiowa Sun Dance has not been performed in its entirety since 1887, although the Taime bundle still exists, as do the Ten Medicines, which are still consulted with prayer requests. Indeed, Kiowa belief systems have changed over the last century, with the advent of Christianity, the Native American Church, and other religious movements filling the void following the demise of the Sun Dance. Today, *dw'dw'* assumes many guises as spiritual and ceremonial practitioners—whether shamans or ministers—continue ministering to people's needs.

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See also Bundles, Sacred Bundle Traditions; Dreams and Visions; Power, Plains; Sacred Societies, Plains; Vision Quest Rites

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Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Plateau

The physical landscape among the Plateau people is a world deeply imbued with spiritual qualities. Spiritual life is not separate from mundane existence, as all entities, actions, and phenomena occurring within the physical world have a spiritual connection. These close relationships are often recognized through ceremonies utilized to facilitate life transitions and offer necessary prayers.

Because of the rich physical and spiritual landscape the Plateau people embodied, spiritual and ceremonial practitioners were involved in the numerous realms of their existence. The ceremonial practitioners were responsible for conducting or facilitating the diverse number of ceremonies within the Plateau region. In addition to using their powers for curing, spiritual practitioners conducted individual or communitywide ceremonies including the first food ceremonies, Winter Spirit Dances, love rituals, war ceremonies, and gambling rituals. "The weather is controlled, fish are made to run, lost articles and thefts discovered, the fate of a war party is foreseen, and the community is protected against malignant spirits" (Spier and Sapir 1930, 118). There often were several practitioners within each particular band or cultural group, specializing in a particular domain. Because they possessed only select specialties, most spiritual practitioners did not practice all the above ceremonies. Only those with the proper spiritual powers were allowed to conduct specific ceremonies.

Ray (1939) reported that the quest to obtain Spirit Helpers and become a doctor was identical to that of a layperson's spirit quest, except that the doctor is distinguished by his amount of power and the results that power was able to obtain. Men and women doctors, known as *twatima* within the Western Columbia River Sahaptin, were recognized as possessing "extraordinary spiritual powers by virtue of numerous and particularly powerful spirit allies gained through a charismatic calling and repeated vision questing" (Hunn et al. 1998, 388).

Despite the strength of a practitioner's power or how many Guardian Spirits he may possess, other attributes must be present to differentiate a doctor from a layperson. An individual was not considered a capable practitioner unless he had received a specific spirit, had been commissioned by the spirit during a vision quest, or had received the power by heredity (Ray 1939, 93).

An individual's spiritual powers were known to most members of the community. Often practitioners gave performances to demonstrate the strength of

their powers during community events or ceremonies such as the Winter Spirit Dances. Occasionally, rivalries would develop between doctors, and claims of superior power were made. Tricks would be played against other doctors, attempting to usurp or undermine their power.

At times, doctors might be accused of causing sickness, a serious accusation that could result in the death of the offending doctor. Spiritual practitioners that were known to have intentionally used their powers to kill were called *wataytam,* or sorcerers, among Western Columbia River Sahaptin (Hunn et al. 1998). Unnatural illnesses or events caused by magical poisoning are called *ptax* by the Lillooet. The power of *ptax,* practiced by women of postmenopausal age, can be used to alter events for both good and evil ends (Kennedy and Bouchard 1998).

Healing Practitioners

It was commonly accepted that illness was caused by natural or supernatural causes, although most illness among the Plateau people was considered spiritual in origin. Principal explanations for illness could include spirit or soul loss, intentional or unintentional spirit intrusion, object intrusion, moral transgressions, or spirit possession (Hunn et al. 1998; Ross 1998).

In the event of an illness, curing practitioners, known as *Idiaxi'lalit* among the Wishram (Spier and Sapir 1930) or *twati* by the Yakama, were called upon to provide diagnosis, prognosis, and treatment. A curing practitioner would consult with his or her Spirit Helper to determine the cause of the illness or the sorcerer responsible for causing it. Treatment could include manipulation, sucking at the site of illness, sweating, smudging, dancing, singing, giving the patient medicine to drink, massaging the area of illness, and extracting the foreign substance from the body and plunging it into water to render it harmless (Ross 1998; Schuster 1998, Spier and Sapir 1930; Walker 1998). Ross (1998) characterizes the curing rituals as psychodramas in which practitioners employed ventriloquism, hypnotism, legerdemain, and demonstrated their power through glossolalia, various dramatic and even painful proofs of ordeal, or by transformation (280).

An enormous amount of pressure was placed upon the healer. "Because a medicine doctor has the potential to help or cause harm, a great deal of ambivalence surrounded his role" (Schuster 1998, 342). An unsuccessful doctor could be accused of being a sorcerer or be judged as being careless or inept. Such an individual could be killed by the patient's family (Schuster 1998).

The most important ceremonial practitioner among the Nez Perce, the *tiwét,* was known to cure illness (Walker 1998). Among the Umatilla the most feared of spiritual practitioners were the *isxipin,* whose powers derived from the tutelary of a dead shaman or from his own ghost. Their powers were very dangerous.

Through their powers of divining, an *isxipin* was able to locate lost objects and foretell future or distant events (Stern 1998a, 411).

Among the Nez Perce the *'isxíipit* was highly respected and played a role that involved several complex attributes. Walker (1998) notes that "this shaman was temperamental, much opposed to disorder, and very desirous of property. If an *'isxíipit* shaman commented on the attractiveness of an object belonging to another, it was advisable that it be given up immediately. Otherwise, he would become offended and sick, sometimes going into a tantrum in which he might lose control, cutting himself and cursing the object's possessor" (426).

Lewis and Clark encountered an *'isxíipit* while passing through Nez Perce country. William Clark wrote in his journal: "Tuesday October 9th . . . The Indians and our party were very mery this after noon a woman faind madness &c. &c. Singular acts of this woman in giveing in Small potions all She had & if they were not received. She would Scarrify her Self in a horid manner &c. . . ." (Clark 2001).

Members of the expedition concluded that this woman was crazy because she started giving away all her possessions, went into incantations, slashed herself, and passed out. A Nez Perce consultant discusses the nature of *'isxíipit*.

> And what this is, is that you want to increase your knowledge of something or some people or some person and the way to do that is to confront them and make yourself humble and try to increase your knowledge of a particular thing or human being. This is what she was doing and to see if Lewis and Clark were really the people they really said they were. Are they bringing peace, are they bringing these good things to us and are they going to treat us well? This is what she was trying to find out. There is a reason why she did that. She wanted to gain knowledge about these strange people and that's the way she was doing it. (http://www.L3-lewisandclark.com)

Food-Related Ceremonies

It is believed that the spiritual and ceremonial practitioners' most important task lay in maintaining the series of seasonal, religious ceremonials (Walker 1998). Ceremonies often followed or were structured upon the seasonal round. Among the Coeur d'Alene, the people would come together to celebrate the first gathering of berries, roots, or salmon of the year. Spring marked the first salmon and roots ceremony. During the summer, the ceremonial gathering of the first fruits was celebrated. Autumn often marked various hunting ceremonies. The nature of these specific ceremonies embraced and reflected the essential teachings of the first people.

Gathering of the particular fruit or root was not allowed until the first fruits ceremony had been held. Before any hunting, fishing, berry-picking, or root-digging season was initiated, a prayer

was offered giving thanks to the Creator as well as the plant or animal and asking for a plentiful harvest. A simple ceremony called *skpu'tenem* among the Sanpoil and Nespelem was performed during the initial gathering of the first fruits and roots. All were called together for an offering of thanks and for a feast of the particular food (Ray 1932).

The Kootenai celebrated the Grizzly Bear Dance. Held at the beginning of the berry-picking season, this three-night dance served as a prayer for plenty. The power of the Grizzly Bear was called upon because berries are its primary source of food. A special spiritual practitioner, known as the Grizzly Bear shaman, facilitated the ceremony (Turney-High 1941).

The salmon season was initiated with the first salmon ceremony, known as *snxa'wi'lem* among the Sanpoil. This multiday celebration brought many people together to feast and celebrate the arrival of the salmon. A ceremonial headman, known as the Salmon Chief, or *xa'tu's,* was in charge of the selection of materials for the traps and the collection, proper butchering, and distribution of the salmon. It was the duty of the *xa'tu's* to see that no salmon were taken before the *snxa'wi'lem* ceremony had been performed. It was also his responsibility to ensure that all fish were distributed equally (Ray 1932).

The Southern Okanogan believed that Coyote taught the First Salmon Ceremony to their ancestors. It is believed that "Coyote said the ceremony should be done so, and so it is" (Cline 1938, 17). Throughout the Plateau, the First Salmon Ceremony is necessary to guarantee the salmon runs. If the First Salmon Ceremony is not observed the salmon might not return in the future: Salmon traveled a long distance for the Indian people, and recognition of the Salmon's sacrifice is essential (Cline 1938).

Additional ceremonies included songs and rituals associated with hunting and the various stages of butchering. When food was scarce, ceremonial practitioners with the proper powers would lead specific ceremonies to bring game, particularly deer, to their people.

War Ceremonies

A war dance or ceremony was held to seek supernatural protection during battle, to predict success, to enlist recruits, or as a procession before battle or after victory. An individual with specific war powers would pray and sing for the success of the war party. Depending on the cultural group, those going on the war party would join in with the same song, or sing their own Guardian Spirit song. A war shaman did not have to be the leader of the war party to lead a war-related ceremony (Ray 1932).

Stick or Hand Game Practitioners

The Stick Game is a widespread game of skill and chance that has been played since precontact times. Games can take place in any location, often occurring

whenever there is a large gathering of people, such as at first food ceremonies or at powwows. The game consists of two teams sitting in a row and facing each other. The object of the game is to guess in which hand an opposing team member is hiding the striped bone or stick. A correct guess wins a stick from the opposing team. The winning team is the one that acquires all the opposing team's sticks. As play commences, songs are sung and other personal rituals are practiced so as to bring forth one's power in guessing or deceiving the opposing team. Stick game players often possess distinct powers or songs specific to bone handling or guessing. For the Plateau, "all material manifestations are mirrored in spirit. It is thus understandable that the stick game is not merely a material event. The ideas of spirit and power are as much a part of the game as is strategy" (Brunton 1998, 579).

Winter Spirit Dance

The Winter Spirit Dances were occasions for those with spirit power to sing their spirit songs and dance. The purposes of the Winter Spirit Dances were to give thanks, honor one's Guardian Spirit, cure illness, ask for protection and healing, and gain good fortune for the upcoming year. During the Winter Spirit Dances, those with Spirit Helpers would often renew their connection with their Spirits, as well as provide an opportunity for validating the Spirit power of novices.

Each midwinter, individuals attending the Winter Dances would sing their power songs and dance in honor of their Spirit Helper. The various spiritual and ceremonial practitioners, such as healers and the hunting and salmon leaders, would sing their particular power songs during curing ceremonies and ask for a successful deer hunt or salmon catch (http://www.L3-lewisandclark.com).

Spiritual leaders sponsored Winter Spirit Dances, acted as masters of ceremony, and helped those with new Spirit Helpers express their spirit powers in dance and song (Hunn et al. 1998; Kennedy and Bouchard 1998). Among the Yakama, the *twati* helped the neophyte bring out the power he or she had received and express it at the Winter Spirit Dance (Schuster 1998).

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See also Ceremony and Ritual, Nez Perce; Spirits and Spirit Helpers, Plateau; Vision Quest Rites

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Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Southeast

Whether one uses the term medicine man, shaman, healer, conjurer, or priest—all have been rejected, both by scholars and practitioners themselves—the Southeast presents a dizzying variety of traditional spiritual specialists. To take but one culture, some labels in the Cherokee culture are *adawehi* ("one who goes about freely," magician, conjurer, counselor, wiseman), *kuniakati* (wound doctor; lit.: "he follows the arrow"), *uku* (priest; lit.: "owl"), *nunnehi* (Little People, fairies, immortals, and those who communed with them—for example, Beloved Woman Nancy Ward [Nanyehi, Ghigau, or Tsitunagiski, ca. 1738–1824]), *dinadanu(n)wiski* (conjurer, healer, curer), and *(a)tskili* (witch, owl, shapeshifter, sorcerer). All healers ascribe their powers and any success they may have to a gift from the Creator. There were also some highly specialized practitioners, such as eagle-feather gatherers (Cherokee) and bone pickers (Choctaw Buzzard Cult).

The most powerful practitioner in the prehistoric Native world was a Southeastern woman. Big Jar (Ko-ke-lus), queen of the Calusa Indians in Spanish

Florida, was reputed to know the secrets of the ages. She was summoned by the Natchez Indians to cure unfamiliar diseases introduced by the French, died at the age of 110, and is buried in a mound built for her palace on the Tennessee River, near Hurricane Mills, Tennessee.

Until the American Indian Freedom of Religion Act became law in 1979, the practice of Native religion and ceremonies was illegal in the United States. Traditional healers and seers were trained secretly, often under the guise of learning card tricks. Apprenticeship could last seven years or more, and enormous feats of memory were required. Today many practitioners are dying without having trained a follower.

Chief Billy, a Seminole healer, was employed as a consultant by the pharmaceutical industry because of his vast range of knowledge concerning herbal drugs. However, by the time his pharmacological virtuosity was tapped in the mid-1990s, the majority of the plants known to him were no longer to be found growing anywhere.

Southeastern tribes are credited with having introduced tobacco (a Cherokee monopoly, used extensively as an antiseptic until the last century), goldenseal (which grows best in the Blue Ridge Mountains), ginseng (traded to the Chinese since the Han dynasty), and echinacea (the term is thought to derive from the Cherokee language). Southeastern tribes also understood the concepts of hygiene and holistic, diagnostic, and preventive medicine.

Herbs were not named or classified as in Western science, nor were they thought to have only one beneficial principle or to operate on just one part of the body. Most uses were regulatory, systemic, and restorative. Herbs were divided into men's and women's medicine. Confusingly to modern people, the same name might be used for a dozen different species; only an herb walk with the practitioner will sort them out. For instance, in Cherokee, *tsoliyusti* can refer to mullein or any tobacco-like plant.

The difference between a spiritual healer (shaman) and herbal healer (often "root doctor") lies in their respective tool chests. The former invoke spiritual forces and helpers to defeat the spiritual and material causes of disease, often traveling to the upper or lower world and suffering a symbolic death. Varieties depend on the different spirit guides, helpers, powers, experience, training and divining abilities. For instance, there might be a spirit healer with spider medicine. All are trained as the sole successor of a master healer and are usually chosen early in life. Herbalists drew on their knowledge of plants, prescribed in the form of smudges, teas, tinctures, topicals, and powders, and often chewed, applied with spittle, blown through a tube, or otherwise applied in a hands-on fashion. Significantly, their knowledge is proprietary and hereditary, often commanding handsome fees.

Dhyani Ywahoo (Etowah Band Cherokee) claims to be the twenty-seventh of

her lineage to practice her particular philosophy of spiritual wellness. According to her book, she was instructed by her grandfather, Eonah Fisher, who received the teachings from his father-in-law, Eli Ywahoo. Vernon Cooper, a Lumbee "faith doctor" alive in 1995, is a good example of the combination of the two types of practice with Bible Belt Christianity. Many traditionalists became ministers of the Gospel, whether out of sincerity or subterfuge. For instance, Black Fox (Enola) of Wolftown, North Carolina, became a Methodist minister in 1848.

Conventionally, a diagnosis is first performed, the traditional fee being one dressed deerskin. Later this was commuted to a blanket. Most scrupulous practitioners operate on the basis of permission. If they do not have spiritual permission to heal, or the treatment is not within their scope of activities, the deerskin is returned. A diagnosis may take several days. The traditional answer to repeated queries is "I have taken it to the spirit lodge." The religious basis of all Native medicine is thus apparent. Moreover, treatments work in the original (sacred) Native language only, though some would say they work *best* that way.

Every nation, tribe, clan, band, and family maintained its own specific remedies. In this respect, Southeastern Indian society was egalitarian and nonspecialist. The woman was usually the guardian of a family's nostrums. Every individual knew the virtues of a handful of herbs for self-medication. Nearly everyone carried a medicine pouch with at least some tobacco, a protector stone or fetish, and a snakebite cure. The occupation of healer was rarely pursued as one's sole livelihood but rather combined with being a farmer, hunter, and warrior.

Nicolas Chiviliu Tacaxoy, the Tzutujil Mayan shaman described in Prechtel's *Secrets of the Talking Jaguar* (1998), ran many businesses in his hometown of Santiago Atitlan in Guatemala, becoming a principal chief and one of its richest citizens. Typical of his profession, he was said to have been a high liver, not particularly saintly or even honest, and with many enemies.

A certain degree of showmanship or magic went with the turf. To keep a parrot, even among northern Indians, was a medicine man's privilege, equivalent to hanging out a shingle. In prehistoric villages, the shaman's lodge was often on the edge of town; he was regarded as irascible and antisocial. Sequoyah was disliked. Yet the practitioner's standing in the eyes of the village could rise very high. In many tribes, the roles of priest and king were united. One of the time-honored duties was purifying young men for the warpath and conferring military decorations upon their return. European soldiers had standing orders to shoot the "medicine men" and "witch doctors" first, the effect proving most demoralizing.

Shamanism is international, and there appears to be a silent code of recognition and cooperation among its practitioners. You might have a convention of shamans from Africa, South America, and Siberia,

and they would all understand each other. Mooney notes conjurers' exchange of secrets, mercenary interests, and competitive tensions. When Cherokee medicine men learned that the Potawatomi had lost their lands and possessions, they set out from the Tennessee mountains to bring herbs, formulas, and ceremonial objects. By the same token, Indians in the Southeast were open to revivalists from other tribes. The Plains Ghost Dance religion popularized among the Cheyenne and Sioux by Wovoka, a Paiute, can be traced to Cherokee antecedents in the age of Dragging Canoe and White Path. Native religion was thus ecumenical and synthesizing.

The range of an old-time Cherokee shaman was large. In 1887, Mooney's principal informant, Swimmer (Ayunini, d. 1899), had a 240-page book of old prayers, songs, and prescriptions covering the following subjects: herb gathering songs, medicine preparation songs, divination, worms, chills, rheumatism, frostbites, snakebites, black and yellow bile, childbirth, wounds, bad dreams, witchery, love charms, fishing charms, and hunting charms (for which he charged patients $5 apiece), as well as prayers to make corn grow, to frighten away storms, to drive off witches, to destroy life, to help warriors, to know one's place of death, for long life, for safety among strangers, and for acquiring influence in council and success in the ballplay.

A Muskogee medicine man from modern-day Oklahoma, Marcellus Williams (Bear Heart), was able to produce snow for a Colorado ski resort and cause choking fits from a distance in those with evil intentions. Rolling Thunder (John Pope, Cherokee, 1916–1996), a brakeman for the Southern Pacific Railroad during most of his life, cured a woman of multiple sclerosis; acted as spiritual advisor to pop singer Bob Dylan, the Grateful Dead rock band, and Muhammad Ali; and caused it to rain on several Western Indian reservations. Jamake Highwater (probably Cherokee, foster name Jay Marks, ca. 1932–2001) was a prolific artist, crossing many boundaries, from poetry and philosophy to dance, music, and film.

Paul Russell (Two White Feathers, Tihanama-Potawatomi-Shawnee-Cherokee, b. Saginaw, Michigan, 1938), an elder of the Thunderbird Clan of the Tihanama people of middle Tennessee and southern Florida, is a spiritual healer, herbalist, principal chief (since 1990), storyteller and teacher, ceremony chief, conjurer, traditional grass and straight dancer, keeper of seer traditions, amateur astronomer and geophysicist, painter, leather worker, jeweler, mechanical engineer, computer programmer, third-level Midéwiwin Lodge priest, flute and drum maker, songwriter, singer, composer, recording artist, stone carver, potter, mask and mandela maker, knife maker and gunsmith, bow and arrow maker, and woodworker/carpenter. His wife, Penny Russell (Ojibwa-Seminole, b. Isabella Indian Reservation, 1939), is a Bear Clan mother, women's spiritual

workshop leader, weaver, jeweler, beadwork artist, dreamcatcher maker, and dream consultant.

Space forbids describing divination processes among seer-healers or the paraphernalia used by them. However, one might mention crystals, cowry shell beads (which came from the Pacific), stargazing, snake handling, rattles (of gourd for men, tortoiseshell for women), drums (always one-sided for a shaman), mad stones, medicine sticks, protector stones, spirit brushes, tobacco, and greenstone pipes. Clients today are most interested in knowing about love matters, dream interpretation, and where they will die, most indigenous people being convinced that the time and place of their death is fixed and unalterable.

Donald Panther-Yates

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Southeast; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Oral Traditions, Southeast; Power, Southeast; Religious Leaders, Southeast; Spirits and Spirit Helpers, Plateau

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Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Southwest

The topic of spiritual and ceremonial practitioners in the American Southwest covers a broad range of cultures, practices, concepts, and beliefs. Historically, the "Southwest" is taken to mean the

areas of Arizona and New Mexico, though many of the cultures in those states are also represented elsewhere to the immediate north and south. Perhaps the best-known cultures are the various "Pueblo" cultures, such as Hopi, Zuni, and the southern Athabascan groups of the Apache and Diné (Navajo). However, many other cultures are found within this region as well. Because of the great cultural diversity, this short essay cannot be a comprehensive study of the Southwest. Instead, the focus here will be a comparative overview of spiritual and ceremonial practitioners in the southern Athabascan cultures of the Apaches and Navajos.

Anthropological works on spiritual and ceremonial practitioners in the Southwest make use of a variety of indigenous terminology, titles, concepts, and names. However, equally as common are the uses of such generic terms as "shaman," "medicine man/woman," "healer," "singer/chanter," and even "priest." One of the goals of anthropology and the comparative study of cultures and religion has been to develop and employ non–culture specific terminology to facilitate general understanding and to ease the process of comparative research. Yet the use of such generic terms can obfuscate as much as it can educate, for in the process of rendering Native terms and concepts in generic terminology, the indigenous subtleties and nuances are often glossed over. In an effort to highlight the specific over the general, this essay will emphasize indigenous concepts and how they might be glossed in English and related to more generic terms.

To begin, it is important to recognize that there is not simply one "Apache" culture within the Southwest, and that Navajo culture, while somewhat more uniform, also has wide latitude for variations and regional practices and understandings. Historically, "Apache" cultures, or *Inde,* "The People," have been grouped in the Southwest into "Western Apache"—such as the Cibecue Apache, White Mountain Apache, and San Carlos Apache in Arizona—and the "Eastern Apache"—such as the Chiricahua Apache, Mescalero Apache, Lipan Apache, and Jicarilla Apache. While Apache cultures share many aspects of ceremonial practices and oral tradition, each culture is unique. Some of the Eastern Apache, such as the White Mountain Apache, have been described as being somewhat closer to Navajo ceremonial practices than other Apache cultures, with their use of sandpaintings, while the Jicarilla Apache have been described as being more influenced by Pueblo ceremonialism than the Chiricahua or Mescalero. Among the Navajo, or *Diné,* "The People," families are grouped according to regional clans in which different ceremonial repertoires may be emphasized. Thus it is important to understand that diversity and variation are the norm and not the exception.

Several of the ceremonial practitioners in these Athabascan cultures, and Pueblo cultures as well, have been referred to as "priests" by many anthropologists—a

Little John, a revered Diné medicine man. Monument Valley, Arizona, 1994. (Arne Hodalic/Corbis)

concept that has been contrasted with "shamans" or "medicine people." This anthropological distinction has been made on the basis that certain ceremonies, such as Navajo "chants" or "chantways," and Navajo and Apache puberty ceremonies, are conducted by trained specialists who do not necessarily possess any particular spirit "power." Instead, such practitioners rely on codified bodies of knowledge, oral traditions, song repertoires, and ritual practices. In contrast, "medicine people" and "shamans" are those whose practice is more individualized and based on the practitioner's personal connection to some source of "power" or "spirit helper."

In both Apache and Navajo contexts, those who are classified as "priests" are almost always referred to as "singers" or "chanters" in the indigenous languages. Singers are identified as *gutaal'n* among the Chiricahua and Mescalero, *gokaalii* among the Jicarilla, and other linguistically related terms in the other Apache groups—all of which can be glossed in English as "one who sings/chants" or a "singer" or "chanter." Among the Navajo this same designation is found with the term *hataatli.* Such singers are generally contrasted in Apache cultures with *diyin,* or "holy people," commonly called "medicine people" or "shamans" in English and anthropological literature.

Diyin are individuals who have a personal connection with some source of spiritual power outside of themselves; they base their ceremonial or spiritual practices on this direct spiritual connection. The concept of *diyin* in Apache cultures should not be confused with the *Diyin Dine'é,* "Holy People," of the Navajo, which term refers to sacred personages in Navajo oral tradition.

Apache and Navajo singers perform preestablished ceremonials that often combine elements of recitation of oral traditions, the singing of a designated corpus of songs, and engaging in particular ceremonial activities such as the construction and use of sandpaintings, directing ceremonial dancers, and performing puberty ceremonials for young women. The overall emphasis in such ceremonial acts is on precision and correctness. Navajo "chantways," which are numerous, and Navajo and Apache puberty ceremonies are understood by Native practitioners to be re-creations of ceremonies that were originally established by sacred beings. To be considered authentic leaders of these ceremonies, individuals must apprentice themselves to experienced singers. During that apprenticeship, the novice is instructed on the proper procedures, oral traditions, songs, and ceremonial activities that are to take place within the ceremonial.

Such an apprenticeship is often a long and difficult process that requires an extreme dexterity of oral memory and recitation as well as, among the Navajo and some Western Apache, intricate memorization of the proper construction and use of highly elaborate sandpaintings and tradition-specific symbolism. Once that is mastered, the new singer is given the right to perform his (singers are most often males) new ceremony. He need not be inspired or directed by a spiritual power and does not generally enter into altered states of consciousness, though intense concentration is required. Furthermore, ceremonies performed by singers are not considered to be open to personal change or innovation. Singers should perform the ceremony as taught, for the ceremony is passed down in a lineage from the original "Holy People" to the contemporary practitioners. Such ceremonies are highly conservative, and any introduced change is widely regarded as improper, potentially invalidating of the ceremony and practitioner; it is also dangerous for practitioners and insulting to the spiritual powers.

In contrast to the "priestly" function of singers and chanters, Apaches use the designation of "holy person," or *diyin,* to indicate a practitioner who operates from individual spiritual inspiration. This term has most often been glossed as "shaman" or "medicine person" in the literature. When speaking English, many Apaches will use the term "medicine man/woman" when speaking of a *diyin,* and, in fact, that is a fairly reasonable gloss. *Diyi* has been translated as "power," "holy," "medicine," and so forth, depending on the context and the writer. A *diyin* is therefore "one who has

power/medicine" or "one who is holy," and therefore "medicine person" is somewhat accurate. However, both Navajo and Apache ceremonial singers are often called "medicine men" as well, with Navajo singers currently forming the "Navajo Medicine Men's Association." The fact that such singers are also called "medicine men" can be a source of some confusion, especially when there is a contrasting indigenous term.

In Apache cultures, a *diyin* is someone who has had, and may continue to have, direct contact with spiritual forces, such as through dreams, visions, auditory experiences, and so forth, and who may be initiated either intentionally, such as through a vision fast, or through spontaneous spiritual experience. While a singer in the girl's puberty ceremonial or the Mountain Spirit ceremony may be *diyin,* that is not a necessity.

The practices of *diyin* tend to be highly individualized, as each practitioner follows his or her own spiritual inspiration. Even when two different practitioners claim to have a similar spirit power, it does not mean that their powers, abilities, or ceremonial actions and songs will be the same. It is widely understood that the power itself will instruct the individual in his or her practices, and thus those can be highly individualized. Even when a novice *diyin* apprentices himself to a more established *diyin,* which is common, the novice will introduce many personalized elements into his or her own practice, according to how the spirits and powers instruct. The abilities of *diyin* also vary greatly—from healing to diagnosing illness, performing protective ceremonies, finding lost objects, performing blessings, and so forth. Some *diyin* may emphasize treatment through herbs and roots, ceremonial procedures, or various healing practices such as sucking, blowing, removal of witchcraft objects, or any number of other culturally significant practices. Just as with doctors in the mainstream medical profession, *diyin* are understood to have specialties and primary interests. It should also be noted that there is a great deal of intercultural exchange in the Southwest, and that medicine people and singers commonly perform for people outside their specific culture.

The "medicine people" of the various Apache cultures tend to play more prominent roles within their cultures than the spiritually inspired practitioners in Navajo culture. Apache medicine people perform ceremonies, healings, and other common practices, whereas inspired practitioners in Navajo culture tend to perform more limited diagnostic functions. In English, such Navajo practitioners are referred to as "crystal" and "star gazers," "hand tremblers," and generically as "diagnosticians," such as those who use the vision-inducing datura plant. These practitioners tend to find lost objects and diagnose diseases according to indigenous disease etiology. The diagnostician will consult with spiritual forces or manipulate symbolic and spiritual elements to determine the

cause and course of treatment for a disease. He or she then informs the patient of what ceremonial repertoire or chantway is required to bring about the restoration of balance and harmony, known as *hozho* in Navajo. Thereby the patient is referred to a singer or chanter who can perform the requisite ceremonial procedure to effect restoration.

Another highly significant aspect of Navajo and Apache ceremonial practice is the use of masked dancers. In Navajo culture, masked dancers often play a part in the performances of the various chantways. All chantways have sacred oral traditions to which they are related wherein the deeds and actions of various *Diyin Dine'é* are described and recounted. At specific portions of the chantways, masked dancers such as "Talking Gods" and "Calling Gods" and other personages may make a ceremonial appearance. Such dances are always performed by men, even when the personage represented is understood to be female.

One such Navajo masked dancer type is referred to as *hasch'ééh,* which has been compared to the Apache "Mountain Spirits" or "Mountain Gods." Terms for these figures vary in Apache cultures, with Western Apaches using the terms *gan, gaan,* and *ga'an;* Mescalero and Chiracahua tend to use *gaahe.* However, at times *hastchin, hactcin,* and *haastch'i* are also used by Apache cultures to indicate the Mountain Spirits. Each Apache culture has its own oral traditions describing the origins and natures of these spiritual beings, and their visual appearance and ceremonial actions vary greatly from one Apache culture to the next. However, like Navajo masked dancers, the Mountain Spirits are danced by men and are commonly understood to possess the ability to bless, heal, and protect those for whom they dance.

While anthropologists have tended to associate both Apache and Navajo masked dancers with Pueblo influences, it is important to recognize that they should not be classified as "kachinas," as Pueblo masked dancers are generically designated; Pueblo masked dancers tend to be grouped into spiritual societies. Among the Apache, for example, Mountain Spirit dancers are separated according to dance group, led by a singer or medicine person, and generally not according to specific spiritual societies. Furthermore, whereas anthropologists have referred to both Navajo and Apache masked dancers, as well as Pueblo kachinas, as "impersonators" of mythological figures, the indigenous understandings emphasize embodiment of spiritual forces whereby the dancers are understood to directly manifest the powers of the spirit embodied in the dancer. In this sense, dancers are themselves transformed during the ceremonials into spiritually powerful beings.

Martin Ball

See also Art (Contemporary), Southwest; Bundles, Sacred Bundle Traditions; Ceremony and Ritual, Diné; Ceremony and Ritual, Pueblo; Clowns and Clowning;

Herbalism; Kachina and Clown Societies; Kiva and Medicine Societies; Masks and Masking; Oral Traditions, Pueblo; Religious Leaders, Southwest; Sandpainting; Vision Quest Rites; Yoeme (Yaqui) Deer Dance

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Sun Dance

The Sun Dance is a ceremony of community solidarity and renewal that is found among many Native American peoples of the Plains, Prairie, and Great Basin regions of North America. Dancers enter into a sacred structure in which they undergo ordeals that draw together personal resolve, community welfare, and cosmic spirits. The primary purpose for participation in this ceremonial is to acquire sacred power for the community. Generated through the sufferings of the dancers, this power is not simply personal. Rather, the creative potential of the Sun Dance flows throughout the community just as material wealth flows from redistribution rituals during and after this ceremonial. These traditional concepts of sacred power evoked in the Sun Dance relate to religious, economic, and social ideas and practices that are not separate from each other. Rather, religion, trade, and subsistence activities mutually interact as a lifeway that orbits around an axis of sacred power. Currently, some Native Americans associate the Sun Dance with resistance to the cultural dominance of mainstream America. Commercial exploitation of the phrase "Sun Dance" by non-Indians concerns traditional American Indians. In recent times Native Sun Dance leaders have brought non-Indians into this ceremony in both reservation settings and nontraditional locations such as Arizona, Oregon, Mexico, and Europe.

Great Plains Sun Dance lodge. Rocky Boy, Montana. 2003. (Marilyn "Angel" Wynn/Nativestock)

The tribal ceremonies referenced by the phrase "Sun Dance" are actually quite different, but there are several striking similarities—namely, they are communally based, cosmologically comprehensive, and personally transformative. Sun Dances are performed in particular seasons of the year, such as the full moon of late spring or early summer. Particular ceremonies were used as pictographic markers on buffalo robe calendars in the nineteenth century to record historic events. During the Sun Dance a sequence of rituals over a multiday period builds solidarity by evoking sacred powers to renew the community of all living beings. One such ritual is the discovery and capture of the cottonwood tree that becomes the center of the Sun Dance structure. The tree is addressed as a living person and often treated as an honored enemy. Among some people a ritual apology is offered to the birds that nest in the tree before it is cut down. The tree is then placed upright at the center of the designated Sun Dance grounds, where a lodge, corral, or arbors will be built. The center tree becomes the focus of prayer and the place for the experience of transformative power.

A redistribution of goods begins with extensive giveaways and feasts before and after Sun Dances, involving the participation of extended families, clans,

and often the larger band or village community. Individuals who have had dreams or other experiences vow to dance in the ceremonial. Dancers undertake instruction by intercessors regarding the completion of their vows. Dancers determine to undergo bodily deprivation or physical pain as acts of commitment to the community and as the means to bring about visionary experiences. Typically, dancers attend sweat-lodge ceremonies before the Sun Dance for purification and as a way to focus on the challenges they face.

The dancers' commitments parallel the distributive giving of the community, as well as the community's intentions to evoke those cosmological forces that created the world and sustain life. Such a spiritual presence is embodied in a buffalo skull or hide placed on the center pole or at its base as part of an altar. The lodge, moreover, is charged with cosmological symbolism in the number and arrangement of the timbers used in the structure. The dynamics of groups both within and without the lodge interweave, contest, and coordinate their spiritual roles to augment the power of the ceremonial. Families outside the lodge stand as witnesses to the sacrifice of the participants. Elders may sit at the entrance of the Sun Dance lodge in silent support of the dancers. Announcers may also be found at the eastern-facing entry of the Sun Dance lodge, calling out to the participants in encouragement and with instructions. Singers gathered around the drum sing personal power songs as well as traditional Sun Dance songs. The dancers themselves often coalesce in groups to care for one another physically, share tobacco in sacred pipe rituals, and provide the setting for the narration of personal experiences. At the back of the lodge or in designated arbors or teepees the sponsor, leaders, and healers at the Sun Dance form a special coterie of wisdom keepers and guides for the ceremony. Dancers often have face and body painting on different days of the Sun Dance that has clan and individual visionary significance. The roles and activities of all the participants and the attendant community manifest an exceptional religious intensity that is strikingly beautiful and deeply moving.

The phrase "Sun Dance" is first reported in a memoir of the trader Jean-Baptiste Trudeau. In 1794–1796 he noted that this ceremony was found among Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and neighboring tribes on the upper Missouri River. George Catlin also used the term in 1833 for a ceremony named *wiwanyang wacipi,* or "gazing at the sun." Catlin saw this ceremony at the mouth of the Teton River, held by a division of the Sioux (Lakota). In 1849, Mary Eastman described a ceremony of the Santee Dakota as a Sun Dance (Archambault 2001, 983). Since that time, the term has been used as a classificatory name for these diverse ceremonies. However, among the approximately thirty tribes known to have practiced such a ceremonial dance, few concentrated on the Sun or even referenced it during their ceremony.

The Sun Dance can be understood as having three historical phases. First, from the precontact period into the 1880s, different Native groups performed Sun Dances that manifested distinct tribal lifeways. These ceremonials undoubtedly changed with migratory pressures related to the early contact period with Euro-Americans. Intertribal warfare flared in response to the movements of peoples westward. Different Sun Dances display characteristics associated with clan revenge, warrior initiations, and renewal of the living world that accord with those dynamic and troubled centuries. Among the Crow and Kiowa, for example, obtaining a warrior vision revenging a clan death was a primary motivation for the dance. Among the Cheyenne, Lakota, and Arapaho, the Sun Dance was more of a community vision quest and initiation of warriors. Among the Shoshone, healers often competed during the ceremonial, both to demonstrate and to augment their curative powers. The Sun Dance definitely stands in continuity with established tribal understandings of creative powers associated with animals located in land, waters, sky, and adjacent realms of the cosmos.

From 1883, both the Canadian and U.S. governments suppressed the Sun Dances. For example, in 1883, Secretary of the Interior H. M. Teller wrote Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hiram Price, condemning the Sun Dance, medicine men, and traditionalists who supported them. The U.S. commissioner of Indian affairs sporadically acted in league with missionaries, Indian agents, and the military to ban all Indian ceremonials throughout this period.

In 1934 the Sun Dance was publicly revived with the passage by Congress of the Indian Religious Freedom and Indian Culture act. Revitalization was possible because several peoples, such as the Shoshone, Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, had taken the Sun Dance underground, performing it far from Indian police, government agents, and resident Christian missionaries.

While legislative action and more accepting attitudes eased pressures on the Sun Dance, it did not entirely eliminate the "Christianizing" and "civilizing" agendas that had suppressed the Sun Dance. Native leaders took the lead in reestablishing confidence in the public performance of the Sun Dance. From traditional dances among the Canadian Blackfeet/Blood, the Plains Cree, and Plains Ojibwa, the Sun Dance was restored to many Canadian tribes. Two indigenous restoration moments were primary in the resurgence of the Sun Dance. This first pulsation reverberated from the turn of the twentieth century, when several tribes resisted the suppression of Native American religious life by performing the Sun Dance and other ceremonials in remote areas. The second restorative pulse came in the 1960s, from intertribal political and religious movements on the Plains often associated with the American Indian Movement (AIM). The Sun Dance revival signaled a

political renewal of Indian identity that attracted both Indian youth and non-Indians disaffected from the dominant society.

In 1870 at least nineteen groups were practicing the Sun Dance—namely, Blackfoot, Northern and Southern Cheyenne, Northern Arapaho, Gros Ventre, Plains Cree, Plains Ojibwa, Arikara, Sarcee, Kiowa, Hidatsa, Crow, Ponca, Assiniboine, Santee (Sisseton and Canadian Sioux), and Teton in the Plains; as well as the Eastern Shoshone and Ute in the Great Basin. The Omaha *Hedewachi,* the Pawnee "Four Pole" ceremony, and the Mandan *Okipa* are considered closely related ceremonies. It was reported by Margot Liberty in 1965 that Sun Dances among twelve of these groups were extinct. However, by the end of the twentieth century all but the Ponca, who held their last Sun Dance in 1908, had recovered their traditional dance or adopted a modified form of the ceremony from another tribe when their own original Sun Dance was lost. In addition, tribes like the Comanche, Kootenai, Mandan, Arikara, and Pawnee, which may not have practiced a traditional Sun Dance, obtained the ceremony from nearby Indian religious leaders.

Some of the names for the Sun Dance among tribal groups give some indication of the different perspectives on this ceremony. For example, the English phrase among the Ute, Shoshone, Plains Cree, and Plains Ojibwa is "thirsting dance" or "thirst lodge"; the Sioux and Ponca say "sun-gazing dance." The Assiniboine call this ceremony "lodge-making dance," whereas the Cheyenne name it the "new life lodge" or "medicine lodge ceremony." The Gros Ventre say "sacrifice lodge" or "prayer lodge," while the Arapaho call it "sacrifice lodge" or "offerings lodge." The old Crow Sun Dance, which is no longer practiced, was called the "fringed ankle dance" or "miniature lodge," whereas the ceremony acquired from the Shoshone in 1941 is called "imitation lodge." The Arikara call their ceremony "house of whistling." The Sioux and Ponca definitely reference the Sun in their name for their ceremony, but for other nations the Sun has little or no overt mention in their name for the ceremony. The Sun, however, is a major symbolic presence at Sun Dances that have a dawn greeting ritual.

Despite the ambiguity of the term "Sun Dance" in academic usage, the sheer volume of the literature on the Sun Dance warrants consideration and use of the term. Even more important, the pan-Indian movements of the twentieth century have led many Native American elders to emphasize the intertribal, and for some, the interracial foundations of their particular version of the Sun Dance (Yellowtail 1991, 177–183). It can be stressed, however, that the religious and spiritual dimensions of the Sun Dance are central and take precedence over any social or political interpretations. The religious aspects of the Sun Dance can be said to refer to the interwoven cultural, organi-

zational, and logistical concerns whereby the ceremony is conducted. Spiritual dimensions suggest more personal and experiential interpretations that transmit the intentions and purposes of participants. The following sections explore these dimensions, especially in communal, cosmological, and personal expressions.

Communal Basis

The communal nature of the Sun Dance is evident in the following statement of Lakota elders in 1896: "The Sun Dance is the greatest ceremony that the Oglalas do. It is a sacred ceremony in which all the people have a part. It must be done in a ceremonial camp. It must be conducted by a shaman who knows all the customs of the people. He must know all the secret things of the shamans. He is chief and *wakiconza* [intercessor] of the ceremonial camp. Other shamans should help him as his council" (Walker 1980, 181). While the shaman has a special role, traditionally everyone in the local village or band community would be connected to preparations for a performance of a Sun Dance. Such defined positions as the Thunder-men among the Ponca led the ceremonial after they had been invited to dance four times. Among the Blackfeet a Sacred Woman is the sponsor and the one who initiates the ceremonial. Other roles at the Sun Dance include mentors for the candidates, the Sun Dance chief, and shamans who might join him in the lodge. Along with the participants as dancers, there are singers and others who maintain the fire during the nights of the ceremonial. There are those who police the campground, maintaining order. There are usually camp criers or announcers. Some people still have sacred clowns at their Sun Dances who bring humor into the dramatic settings of the ceremonial. Through these diverse roles and varied responsibilities, a community unites in the performance of a Sun Dance, manifesting communal solidarity as a conduit for sacred benefits.

From the late nineteenth century, Native American Sun Dance communities have been affected by the introduction of Christian denominations on reservations and an increasing secularization brought on by the dominant society's consumer individualism and scientific worldviews. Changes in traditional Sun Dance patterns can result from employment. Thus the Sun Dance is often held now over weekends to accommodate work schedules. Moreover, Christian values may intrude into traditional interpretations of the Sun Dance. However, the Sun Dance as a means for bringing benefits for the whole community of living and nonliving beings continues to be a central purpose of this ceremony. The Crow elder and Sun Dance chief Thomas Yellowtail expressed it this way: "In the Sun Dance way, the individual benefits from his prayers, but this is not all. The entire tribe benefits from the Sun Dance, because one part of our prayers is especially for the tribe and for all creation. Without these prayers from

all of the different Indian tribes, the world might not be able to continue" (Yellowtail 1991, 103). This statement reflects the changing character of the Sun Dance from a communal exchange with sacred powers and a major ceremonial redistribution of goods to an intertribal prayer for the continuation of the world as a whole. Communal motivations for the Sun Dance are exemplified in the preparations prior to the Sun Dance.

Preparations for the Sun Dance include instruction of the candidates who have made vows, gathering of the material necessary for constructing the lodge, and organizing pledges from clan and village groups (for example, *tiospaye*) of food and assistance during the ceremony and afterward at the feasts. These preparations for the Sun Dance are often coordinated at rituals of smoking tobacco with sacred pipes and the opening of sacred bundles. Medicine bundle openings are conducted many times (typically four) over the months before the actual dance. Usually at the full moons before the Shoshone-Crow Sun Dances, a sequence of "outside dances" are held at which pledgers gather to witness the sponsor and a family member dance in full regalia. The return of the buffalo hunt as a preparatory feature of the Sun Dance has resulted from the development by many tribes of private buffalo herds. Moreover, the close association of the buffalo with most tribal Sun Dances marks continuity with traditional practices. The buffalo as the major symbolic presence of abundance, fertility, and strength is central to the cosmology of the Sun Dance. In the older Sun Dances the buffalo hunt and collection of buffalo tongues were central events leading up to the actual dance.

Cosmological Context

On or near the central cottonwood tree of the Sun Dance lodge a rawhide effigy of a buffalo is hung, or a buffalo skull altar is prepared, or the head of a buffalo is mounted on the tree. The dancers draw inspiration from the buffalo. A stuffed eagle may also be placed in the fork of the central tree where the rafter poles will rest. Such animal and bird figures are not presented as symbols of absent spiritual agents. Rather, they make present the sacred powers that originally gave the Sun Dance to the people. These cosmological powers are named and evoked by the shamans in their healing rituals in the lodge during the Sun Dance. Thus the Sun Dance becomes at times a healing ceremony, and at other times it appears to be a communal vision quest. At times the ordeal of an individual pledger seems central in his or her effort to break free of personal problems and to be restored to the larger cosmos of power.

These cosmological concerns are evident in the ceremonial speech of Pete Catches, a Lakota healer and Sun Dance intercessor. Addressing those at a Sun Dance, he said,

> My relatives, this Sun Dance is a very great ceremony. . . . The Sun Dance is

> the greatest of all, the highest of the Lakota prayers which they direct toward *Tunkasila* [Grandfather] *Wakan Tanka* [the Presence of Mystery]. For this they [those to be pierced] select the ropes they will need on that day. They attach the selected ropes to the selected trees and they lay them down on a buffalo robe or a bear robe which is painted red; and pregnant women pass by, singing and speaking a prayer for generation; and then in the morning they gather to pray, and the children touch the tree at each direction as they walk around it. And they pray, to *Wakan Tanka* they pray. Then that tree around which *Wakan Tanka* will cause them to dance, is here set in the ground. There the people come in and make the ground smooth, for they have come together to pray to *Wakan Tanka,* they have been waiting to show themselves to *Wakan Tanka*. The people burn sweet grass, and they pray for the poor, and they clear a space on the ground. (Rice 1989–1990, 68)

Here a powerful picture emerges of those who will submit themselves to the sacrifice of the Sun Dance by being pierced and attached by ropes to the central tree. They, like their ropes, are laid down on buffalo robes, pierced, and attached to the tree. They will be "burned" away like the sweet grass; they will be wiped smoothe like the ground that the people have prepared for them. With the people they will show themselves to the sacred powers who are one and many, and this showing is in prayerful hope of re-creating the people, of renewal and fertility as pregnant women and children pass by. These pledgers continue the old Sun Dance ethos of warriors who protect the people by entering into the sacrifice of themselves for the good of the people. Their sacrifice is the culmination of the space of the Sun Dance lodge, which joins with cosmological reflections on time.

The number of days of the Sun Dance ceremonies varies a great deal. Some Plains Ojibwa have been described as having three days of dance. The Cheyenne speak of four or eight days, the Shoshone-Crow of four nights, the Comanche and Kiowa of twelve preparatory days and four actual dance days. No definite length united the different tribal groups, although each Sun Dance complex shows a concern for multiples of four. This numerical symbolism makes present cosmological thought of the four directions so prevalent in Plains religious ideas. The correspondence of colors, animals, winds, stones, and virtues with the four directions varies within and among the Plains peoples in their Sun Dances. In a related symbolism, the dancers walk into and out of the lodge in a sunwise (clockwise) direction, to place themselves correctly in relation to the cosmological powers.

Personal Transformation

From that moment when the participants enter the Sun Dance lodge in a sunwise direction they begin a test of their endurance. Participants take a vow (either publicly or privately) to undertake the suffering involved in the

ceremony so as to help others. The vow to enter the Sun Dance includes fasting from food and water at the same time as participating in strenuous dancing to and from the center pole. This fast from food and water may last for two, three, four, or even five days among the Crow, Kiowa, and Shoshone.

Among the Lakota and Cheyenne who practice piercing of the body during the Sun Dance, a vow may be taken by a male dancer to have an incision made on his chest, skewers inserted, and ropes attaching the skewers to the center tree. The dancer then exerts himself until the flesh tears and he breaks free of the attached line. A vow may also be made to pierce the shoulder area and drag buffalo skulls until the flesh tears. Vows also may be made by women to cut pieces of skin from their arms in support of dancers or in fulfillment of their own promises to assist others. Women dancers regularly dance at the Crow Sun Dance and at some Fort Hall Shoshone dances. In Sun Dances related to the American Indian Movement, especially on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations of the Teton Sioux, women have begun to play a more active role in dancing and piercing.

Participation in the Sun Dance brings to completion the dream injunction or invitation to dance from elders, ceremonial organizers, or spiritual beings. Personal transformation relates to both the older Sun Dance ideal of the warrior who sought a vision for revenge or for acquiring military abilities, and the contemporary quest for personal power in the face of the powerlessness created by dominant societies. Behind both ideals is a commitment to the larger community within which one's personal transformations find their deepest meanings.

John A. Grim

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Arapaho; Dances, Plains; Oral Traditions, Lakota (Teton); Oral Traditions, Plateau; Oral Traditions, Pueblo; Oral Traditions, Western Plains; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Plains; Sun Dance, Crow; Sun Dance, Kiowa; Sweatlodge; Vision Quest Rites

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Sun Dance, Crow

The Crow (Apsaalooke) name for the traditional Sun Dance is Baaiichkiisapiliolissuua, "fringed ankle dance," and the contemporary ceremony is called Ashkisshilissuua or Ashkisshe, "Big Lodge." The traditional Crow and contemporary Shoshone-Crow and Sioux-Crow forms, like Sun Dances of other tribes, are ceremonial prayer rituals of intensification and renewal for individual worship and the general welfare of the tribal community. Prayer, sacrifice, and suffering are involved through fasting, effort, and traditionally by sacrificial piercing. During the nineteenth century, it took place at the time of tribal reunion, hunting, feasting, and visiting, when the tribal bands came together between early summer and early fall.

Some Crow consider the Big Horn Medicine Wheel in the mountains of northern Wyoming to be "the Sun's Lodge"; it is associated with spirit people who had no iron or fire, called "the Little People" in popular writing. One story is of Red Feather, who fasted at the Medicine Wheel and was instructed by them. The early Kiowa and Crow Sun Dances appear to have been related from the time in the 1700s when the two tribes were allies. The Taime (Sun Dance doll)

Apsarokee man, with strips of leather attached to his chest and tethered to a pole secured by rocks, all part of the piercing ritual of the Sun Dance, 1908. (Edward Curtis/Library of Congress)

of the Kiowa was obtained from the Crow. The Wind River Shoshone received the Sun Dance about 1800 from a Comanche, Yellow Hand, who in turn had been familiar with the Kiowa Sun Dance.

During the nineteenth century, the Crow Sun Dance was a prayer for group welfare including food, raising of children, health, freedom from disease, and protection from enemies. Gradually it became more related to warfare as a ceremony to test and prove individual bravery and fortitude, and a prayer for vengeance against the enemy tribes that surrounded them. It might be held every three or four years, or several times a year. It was done when a man sponsored it, usually following the death of a relative, based on the need for spiritual understanding, power, and revenge. In the 1860s young people liked it, and some older people were distressed by it.

Following the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, the Crow were located on a reservation, and in 1875 they were relocated to another agency. The government stressed farming rather than hunting as a way of life, and there was discouragement of traditional ceremonies by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Crow discontinued the Sun Dance "voluntarily," but they continued other ceremonies such as the vision quest, sweatlodge, and Tobacco Planting and Adoption ceremonies. Sun Dances remained in the people's hearts, and in some tribes they were held in secret or modified so as to obtain permission of the U.S. government to perform them (for example, by discontinuing piercing and adding Christian elements). Some Crow participated in the Sun Dance ceremonies of other tribes. A twenty-four-year-old Crow rebel named Wraps His Tail, or Sword Bearer, participated in a Cheyenne Sun Dance about 1887. A Shoshone form of the Sun Dance on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming integrated a number of Christian elements between 1890 and 1905, and a number of Crow attended during the following decades.

Following the 1934 change in Bureau of Indian Affairs policy, to no longer interfere with Indian religion, there was a

revival of Sun Dances. In the summer of 1941, a Sun Dance was sponsored on the Crow Reservation with an invited Shoshone leader to guide it. It was the fulfillment of a prayer by the sponsor for survival of his young son, who had been sick. The entry of the United States into World War II led to sponsorships with an emphasis on prayers for safety by soldiers preparing themselves to enter the service or by their relatives, or vows to sponsor a Sun Dance if they returned safely. The 1955 Sun Dance at Crow Agency was dedicated to Korean War veterans and preservation of the peace. During and after the Vietnam and Desert Storm wars, the Crow and other tribes continued to pray for safety or give thanks for the successful return of soldiers by sponsorship or participation in Sun Dances.

Sun Dances are given when a sponsor makes a pledge (vow) for a specific purpose, such as aid for the sick, health, good luck in finding work, peace for mankind, or gratitude for a previous healing. Dancers make their own decisions about participation. Preparation begins during the winter and continues into early summer with four Medicine Bundle ceremonies: four Outdoor Dance Prayer services, obtaining lodgepole pine, aspen, fir trees, and the sacred forked cottonwood tree center pole. The lodge is constructed the day of the dance, which begins in the evening. A buffalo head and cloth offerings are placed on the center pole; in the fork is the nest of the eagle. Participants fast and exert themselves by praying with tobacco cigarette smoking and by charging toward and backing away from the center pole with sincerety and determination (*diakaashe*). The goal is to worship, encounter, and receive sacred power (*xapaaliia*), a vision, or adoption by a Medicine Father (*Iilapxe*). A dance usually lasts three days, and sometimes four. Attire is a combination of traditional and contemporary clothing: skirts (kilts) for men and dresses for women, along with sheets and Pendleton blankets, beaded belts, chokers, eagle bone whistles, and finger plumes. Face and body painting is done on the third day.

Between 1941 and the 1960s, at least two dances were usually held each summer on the Crow Reservation. Since the mid-1970s there have been from 85 to 120 dancers in each ceremony; there have sometimes been more than one each year in different communities. Women began to participate within the lodge itself during the 1950s. The majority of participants in the Crow Sun Dance are members of the tribe. Indians from other tribes and non-Indians sometimes participate, however. Both young and old attend, as well as people from every social stratum. As many as a thousand people might camp and provide support for a Sun Dance. In 1991, the Golden Anniversary Sun Dance was sponsored by the son of the 1941 sponsor.

There are variations and controversies about the Crow Sun Dance and other spiritual practices. In the theology of some, interpretations of symbols are

traditional. Others accept Christian interpretation, such as lodge rafters equated with the disciples of Christ and the center pole with the cross. Still others believe that each religion (for example, Sun Dance, Peyote, Catholic, Baptist) is like the spoke of a wheel: each separate, distinct, and not to be mixed, but all connected to the hub. Most participants are tolerant of syncretism. There has been debate into the twenty-first century between those who feel that the Crow Sun Dance should be held only on the reservation by formally accepted leaders and those who feel that Sun Dances can be sponsored and held anywhere they might be desired. Crow people visit and participate in Sun Dances and other rituals of other tribes. By the mid-1980s, relationships between Crow and Sioux, partly through involvement with the intertribal political American Indian Movement, grew strong, and some Crow sponsored a Sioux (Lakota) (or Sioux-Crow) piercing version of the Sun Dance on the Crow Reservation. Other Crow turned to an individual vision quest/Sun Dance with piercing. The first off-reservation Shoshone-Crow Sun Dance was held in Arizona for a group of counselors involved with troubled youth. Another was held in the East, led by an off-reservation Crow man. About 1990 a variation of the Crow Sun Dance was held in England. There have been increasing numbers of visitors from Germany and other countries to the Sun Dances held on the Crow reservation. Most visitors do not participate in the ceremonies within the lodge, but rather witness or help with building the lodge and other activities.

Such ceremonies as the Sun Dance serve to express and maintain both specific Crow tribal and intertribal identities. Involvements with Sun Dances and other spiritual activities are a symbolic commitment to the adaptation to everyday stresses and modern life, as well as persistence, revival, and renewal of tradition and community survival.

The Sun Dance of the Crow and other tribes has been portrayed in literature, photography and film, and on stage. During the 1950s, several Crow traveled to Europe, where scenes of the Sun Dance were performed on stage along with other dance exhibitions. Hyemeyohsts Storm's controversial novel *Seven Arrows* (1972), a popular book among Indian and other American counterculture/New Age adherents, is a fictionalized story incorporating ideas from the medicine wheel, from Crow and Cheyenne Sun Dances, shields, and teaching stories, as well as Jung and Oriental thought.

Key works on the Crow Sun Dance include Lowie (1915), Voget (1984), and Frey (1987). There is a biography of the prominent Sun Dance leader Thomas Yellowtail (1991). Documentary works include the videos "The Gift of the Big Lodge" (1989) and "The Crow/Shoshone Sun Dance, A Traditional Ceremony" (1992), and Crummett's (1992) Sun Dance photographs and commentary.

C. Adrian Heidenreich

See also Christianity, Indianization of; Kinship; Missionization, Northern Plains; Oral Traditions, Western Plains; Power, Plains; Retraditionalism and Revitalization Movements, Plains; Spiritual and Ceremonial Practitioners, Plains

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Sun Dance, Kiowa

The Kiowa Sun Dance was the tribe's most important ceremony until its suppression by federal authorities in the late nineteenth century. Like the Sun Dance complex widely shared by Plains people, the Kiowa version brought the entire tribe together for the only time during the year; it was the occasion for ritually and symbolically important ceremonies that ensured good health, prosperity, good hunting, success in war, and happiness (Kracht 1989, 258–265). "This was a dance of thanksgiving," writes Maurice Boyd. "For those who had been spared in battle, had survived a serious illness, or had been rewarded with good hunting, the dance was an expression of gratitude. For those whose family members needed to be healed, whose women desired the blessing of children, whose camps needed food, or whose tepees sought revenge . . . the Sun Dance ritual . . . offered strength for the fulfillment of sacred vows for the new year" (Boyd 1981, I: 37).

The Kiowas called their dance Skaw-tow. The first scholars to work with the Kiowas, however, often failed to hear the softly pronounced "s" at the beginning of the word, and it was subsequently recorded as "Kaw-tow," or as James Mooney and Hugh Lennox Scott put it, "ka'do," or "kado" (Mooney 1898, 237, 242–244; Scott 1911, 345). The original meaning of the word is unclear, but according to Billy Evans Horse, it means "We're building an abode, a house, or dwelling that we all meet in" (Lassiter 1998, 91). Kiowas also called the dance Daw-s'tome, or "procession-entering-the-lodge," an interpretation that echoes Billy Evans Horse. The Kiowas associated their dance with Pahy, the sun, because it was Pahy that entrusted the Kiowas with the care of the "Taime," a two-foot-long figure representing a female human that

is central to the Kiowa Sun Dance rituals. Tribal historians have described the ritual as "a dance of thirst and self-denial," and they note that it is related to the sun "only at the moment of sunrise and sunset, when certain songs in the ceremonial ritual coincided with the action of the sun. Although the ritual was not concerned primarily with the sun, the dancers did stare incessantly at the sun or the medicine bundles at the top of the center lodgepole" (Boyd 1981, I: 35; Mikkanen 1987, 6–7).

Kiowas say that both the Tai-may and the Sun Dance came to them through the Crow people, among whom the Kiowas lived before acquiring horses in the early eighteenth century and migrating onto the Plains. James Mooney estimated that they learned the dance around 1765, as did the tribal historians who assisted Maurice Boyd on *Kiowa Voices* (1981). Based on his conversations in the early twentieth century with elderly Kiowas, Hugh Scott believed that the Kiowas obtained the Tai-may and Sun Dance a century earlier, in 1670 (Mooney 1898, 241; Scott 1911, 369–372). In any case, tribal historians give several accounts of its origin. In one, a poor Shoshone man attended a Crow Sun Dance and prayed with great sincerity before the Tai-may. Taking pity on the man, the Crow Sun Dance priest gave him the Tai-may, an act that brought the man great spiritual powers and wealth. Angered, other Crows stole the Tai-may back. The Shoshone man made a copy of the Tai-may, later married a Kiowa woman, and gave the Tai-may and Sun Dance to her people. Recognizing Tai-may's power, the tribe "adopted it as our most sacred medicine, and regarded it as the most important symbol used in our great Skaw-tow . . . ceremony." According to tradition, the keepers of the Tai-may are the descendants of that Arapaho man and Kiowa woman (Boyd 1981, I: 31–32; Mooney 1898, 240–241).

In an alternative version, Scott's consultants told him of an elderly Arapaho couple who accompanied the Kiowas on a visit to the Crows but were too poor to make the return trip. Out of kindness, a Crow chief gave them the Tai-may, and when the Kiowas returned on a subsequent visit, the Arapaho couple went with them and gave them the Tai-may and Sun Dance. As in the first version, their descendants became the traditional keepers of the Tai-may bundle, which became the mediator between the Kiowas and the power of the sun (Scott 1911, 350, 368–369).

The Tai-may was maintained in a sacred bundle by a hereditary keeper who determined the year's Sun Dance site, usually during midwinter, to give ample time to those who had made vows to dance or otherwise assist with the ceremony. (By some accounts, he could also appoint an honored warrior to make the decision.) The timing of the dance was determined by one of several signs, including the appearance of downy white fluff on the cottonwoods, or when the sage grass was about a foot high and the ponies were fat. The site had to be within

four days of the most distant Kiowa camps, and it had to provide enough water and pasture for the tribe as well as its large pony herds (Kracht 1989, 265; Scott 1911, 349; Boyd 1981, I: 37–38; Mikkanen 1987, 5–9).

The date usually fell near the summer solstice, but that was not a strict requirement. In 1873, for example, the dance began on June 16; in 1874 it began on July 3 (Scott 1911, 349). Although every effort was made to hold the dance, in some summers it proved impossible. In 1833, for example, the Osages stole the Tai-may and prevented the dance from being held again until the Tai-may was returned in 1835. In another example, Mooney's consultants told him that because the tribe was constantly on the move in the summer of 1841, no dance was held. There was no dance in 1852 or 1860, or in 1871, 1872, 1880, 1882, 1884, 1886, or between 1888 and 1892, when federal authorities finally suppressed the ceremony. Conversely, two Sun Dances occurred during the same summer in 1842 and again in 1878 (Mooney 1898).

Once the site and time were known, the Kiowa bands gathered in one large encampment for about two weeks. In a typical year, the ceremony required four to six "getting ready days" and another four "dancing days." The "getting ready days" began with the search for the tall, forked cottonwood tree that served as the center pole in the Sun Dance lodge, and also for an appropriate campsite for the assembled Kiowa bands. Two men from a warrior society who had been ritually cleansed in the sweatlodge led four bands of mounted warriors on the search. Once the tree—which needed to be about twenty feet tall—and campsite were identified, the bands set up their lodges, each claiming a designated place as part of a large circle, in the center of which would stand the Sun Dance pole and lodge (Kracht 1989, 275–311; Boyd 1981, I: 38–42).

On the second day, a young buffalo bull was killed and its hide brought to the Sun Dance lodge. Protocol dictated that a man with war honors kill the bull with no more than two arrows. Moreover, the animal had to be chased in such a way that when it died it faced east and fell on its belly. Finally, the shot had to be into the heart, to prevent bleeding from the animal's nose or mouth, something that was considered an ill omen and a harbinger of illness. The bull was skinned, and a wide strip of skin from the tail to the head (including the hide around the entire head) was taken to the Tai-may keeper, who took it into the sweatlodge and blessed it prior to placing it at the Sun Dance pole (Boyd 1981, I: 38–43; Scott 1911, 356–360; Meadows 1999, 71).

On the third day, an elaborate sham battle, or "laugh fight," was held between warriors on foot and on horse around the sacred tree, which had not yet been cut. After a series of charges by the mounted riders, the tree was surrendered by the warriors on foot. A woman—often a captive, to ensure that any miscues in the felling would not affect any Kiowas—cut

it down and limbed it, and the tree was tied to the mount of a warrior, who dragged it to the center of the camp. As with many other Plains tribes, the warriors ritually charged the tree and counted coup on it as it was moved. Members of the Calf Old Woman Society dug a hole, members from the warrior societies raised the tree, and then the women danced (Boyd 1981, I: 43–46).

The fourth and fifth days were for the construction of the Sun Dance lodge. On the fourth day, a large circular arbor of cottonwood trees twelve to fifteen feet in height was built around the center tree, and brush was dragged to the camp circle to cover the walls of the Sun Dance lodge. During this time, young men and women were allowed to mingle unchaperoned, and social regulations about courting practices were relaxed (ibid., I: 47; Scott 1911, 352; Meadows 1999, 74–76). On the fifth day the walls and roof of the lodge were completed and covered with brush, and a cedar screen was erected close to one side of the lodge on a north-south axis behind which the dancers and officials would rest during the ceremony. The Calf Old Woman Society and children from the Rabbit Society cleaned the arbor and covered its floor with sand. The Rabbits' job for the remainder of the Sun Dance was to keep the lodge clean, a practice that is carried on to this day at the annual meeting of the Tiah-piah, or Gourd Dance Society. The Sun Dance shields were hung on the cedar screen, two earthen censers for burning cedar were erected at either end of the screen, and the Tai-may and other ceremonial objects were prepared (Boyd 1981, I: 47; Scott 1911, 350).

On the sixth day, the "Mud Head" ceremony was held, during which men disguised under mud-coated buckskin masks rode through the camp teasing people and acting out practical jokes. This was followed by a symbolic buffalo hunt, during which men covered in buffalo robes were herded into the Sun Dance lodge, which they circled four times before lying down as if they had been killed. Members of the Buffalo Medicine cult then searched under the buffalo robes for the man who had the most war honors. His name was announced to the assembled tribe, and the entire affair was repeated four more times to honor the four greatest Kiowas "who had struck their enemies the greatest number of times during the past year." The preparations for the dance were now almost complete, and the Tai-may keeper unwrapped the Tai-may from its bundle, tied it to a six-foot-long pole, covered it, and prepared it to be placed in the center of the Sun Dance lodge (Boyd 1981, I: 48–49).

At sunset, the Tai-may keeper and his assistants entered the lodge, circled it four times, and placed the Tai-may to the left of the center pole and in front of the cedar screen. The first of the four dancing days began at sunset and continued until midnight. The next three dancing days began at dawn and continued to midnight, except for the final day, when dancing ended at sunset. The dancers,

who were under the command of the Tai-may keeper and his assistants, were men who had made vows the previous year to dance. Bareheaded, with their torsos and arms painted white, dancers wore white-painted buckskin shirts and blue aprons that reached to the ground. Standing in a line facing the Tai-may, they danced in a bobbing motion, blowing eagle bone whistles with outstretched arms. Dancers moved about the arena, and could perform more or less freely. This continued from noon to sundown, when there was a brief break. Dancing resumed until midnight, when spectators retired to their lodges while the dancers and officials remained in the Sun Dance lodge. Dancers fasted during the entire ceremony but were given water lilies to cool their bodies. Unlike other Plains Sun Dances, the Kiowa version strictly avoided bloodshed, scarification, and piercing. Bloodshed of any kind was an ill omen and could bring the entire ceremony to a halt (ibid., I: 50–52; Scott 1911, 353–354).

The second and third dancing days featured several acts of symbolic death. In one instance, a middle-aged man wearing a buffalo robe entered the lodge and reenacted the death of the buffalo killed on the second getting ready day. Staring at the sun, he danced more and more rapidly until he collapsed and fell on his stomach, facing eastward as in the actual hunt. In another instance, a dancer was symbolically killed, usually once each afternoon, after being chased by the Tai-may keeper until he collapsed and fell unconscious. With luck, the dancer would have a vision that he would later share. Dancers chosen for the honor of the "feather killing" were expected to have a long life and good health (Boyd 1981, I: 52–53).

Near the end of the fourth dancing day, spectators piled goods around the base of the Sun Dance pole in order to gain protection and power from the ceremony. Dancing ended just before sunset; the Tai-may was packed into its bundle, and clothing and other goods were tied to the Sun Dance pole as offerings. A large social dance was held that night, and raiding parties were organized to leave the next morning, when camp was broken and the bands went their separate ways. Just prior to departing on the raids, the men would perform the Buffalo Dance "in hopes of receiving strength and courage from the Buffalo Guardian Spirit" (ibid., I: 53; Kracht 1989, 341–342). With that, the Skaw-tow ended, and as Billy Evans Horse put it, "Every society felt renewed through the prayers that they offered and the dances they did. They rejuvenated their spirit, so to speak, and they were ready to go wherever. And they knew that the following year they were going to have it again" (Lassiter 1998, 91).

The Skaw-tow ended in the late nineteenth century, when federal authorities suppressed it (Kracht 1989, 725–733). As noted above, for example, between 1871 and 1892 the Kiowas failed to hold the dance on at least eleven occasions. And in years when they did hold it in that era,

they were increasingly under the scrutiny of federal troops and several times had to resort to buying the buffalo bull whose hide they needed for the ceremony. When the dance was suppressed, however, its songs and rituals were not forgotten but were folded into surviving ceremonies, most notably those of the Tiah-piah Society (also called the Taimpego Society, which means "Gourd Dance Society" or "Gourd Clan"), a men's warrior society that had a prominent role in the old Sun Dance. Tiah-piah members began to hold dances in 1912, and they continued to do so until 1938. When members revived the society in 1957, they did so by including some of the old Sun Dance's most meaningful practices, including the timing (July 4, which coincides roughly with the traditional timing of the old dance), dancing for four days, using Sun Dance song traditions such as Brush Dance Songs, having members of the Rabbit Society clean the arena, and performing the Buffalo Dance at the end of the Gourd Dance (Lassiter 1998, 119; Meadows 1999, 136–139). Since the 1970s, Gourd Dancing has become one of the most important expressions of identity in the Kiowa community; it also enjoys nationwide popularity as part of the pan-Indian powwow complex (Ellis 1990).

In 1997 an attempt to revive the Kiowa Sun Dance produced strong objections from tribal elders. When Vanessa Jennings, a Kiowa, announced plans to invite a Crow-Shoshone Sun Dance priest to her home in Ft. Cobb, Oklahoma, to hold a Sun Dance in June 1997, tribal elders opposed her. Harding Big Bow noted that when Kiowas put away the dance in the nineteenth century, they agreed never to speak of it again. Big Bow noted that the prayers and rituals had been lost, and that the dance could be performed only when all of the bands were camped together. "We respect our ancestors," he said. "Our society depends on it." In a resolution that passed by a vote of 178 to 173, Kiowa elders criticized "the continued stripping of culture by . . . ambitious individuals . . . creating an evil humiliation of tribal customs and religions." Jennings rejected the resolution, saying it wasn't "a case of . . . tradition, of respect—it's male domination" ("Tribal Elders Fight Resurrection" 1997; Brinkman 1997). The dance was not held, and there have been no subsequent attempts to organize another attempt.

Clyde Ellis

See also Bundles, Sacred Bundle Traditions; Ceremony and Ritual, Arapaho; Christianity, Indianization of; Kinship; Kiowa Indian Hymns; Missionization, Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Reservation; Oral Traditions, Western Plains; Power, Plains; Sacred Pipe; Sun Dance

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Sweatlodge

The sweatlodge ritual is found among a wide variety of Indian groups in North America. It entails prayer, physical and spiritual cleansing, preparation for other sacred events, healing, and social and spiritual interaction. Participants are exposed to high temperatures in a dark, tightly enclosed structure for significant amounts of time. In wide use before European contact, this ceremony was deliberately suppressed by civil and religious authorities in the 1800s and early 1900s, along with other rituals, but it has come out from hiding, has revived, and continues to be important to a wide variety of Native groups. The structure of the lodge and the ceremony itself varies according to the cultural group, the time period, and the inspirations of specific spiritual leaders. Despite cultural, temporal, and personal variations, the ceremony itself has remained fairly consistent over time. The greatest flexibility and variability for this ritual lies in the purposes for which it is performed.

Scholars have distinguished two types of sweats used by Native North Americans: direct heat and steam. Direct fire baths are found primarily among Natives in Alaska, California, and the Plateau. Steam baths are found in the rest of North America. There are a few groups in the Southeast and Southwest as well as Mesoamerica who did not use this ritual, or about whom we know too little to be sure if they used the ritual or not.

Sweating is a circumpolar phenomenon; it is found in other parts of the world as well. Russians, Latvians, Estonians, Finns, and Swedes all utilize saunas.

Luna Harrington, a Pima Medicine Man, in a sweatlodge during a purification ceremony. Monument Valley, Arizona. 1994. (Arne Hodalic/Corbis)

What is distinctive about Native American sweats is that they have retained their religious orientation; except in the case of neopaganism and Jewish purification baths, contemporary European sweating is secular, although in places such as Russia sweating was once a religious practice.

Traits and Trait Analysis

Nineteenth-century anthropology called for the analysis of cultures by their "traits" or component parts. Traits could be material artifacts, such as spears and canoes, or social customs such as marriage rules or kinship terms. Rituals are an important category of culture, and the sweatlodge is thus a trait (or feature) within that larger category. In this encyclopedia, elements of Native culture are identified as traits for ease of interpretation and to focus each article on different elements of Native religions. Note, however, that in contemporary religious and anthropological studies, the focus on studying a ritual is on how it relates to other elements within that culture—such as the social order, kinship, politics, health and healing, economics, history, folklore, and, indeed, other rituals. While we can analytically separate the sweatlodge from its cultural nexus, in reality it is always part of a complex social whole.

Studying Rituals

Native peoples and scholars often differ in their interpretations of and interests in this ritual. Native people focus on proper (respectful) use of the sweat and its power, while scholars often focus on ritual structures and procedures, changes in the ritual over time, as well as the distribution and diffusion of this ceremony. For example, anthropologists suggest that the sweat may have originally come from Asia or from Europe, while Native peoples often explain that their ancestors were taught the ritual by a divine entity, or that the ritual was given to someone through a dream or vision to improve the life of the people or to heal or revivify someone.

The Nature of the Ritual

Today, ritual sweating according to a Native tradition is becoming more prevalent, both on reservations and in urban areas. Non-Natives will sometimes join Native people for sweats, and, at times, non-Natives will conduct their own sweat rituals. This has caused much controversy in Native communities as they try to protect their spiritual traditions from exploitation by outsiders as well as from other Natives.

Because of its increasing prominence and popularity, the sweat has become a very important ritual, though not as central a ritual as the Sun Dance or vision quest (to use the Plains tribes as an example). It acts as a transitional or boundary ritual, allowing people to move from one state (profane) to another (sacred), and, indeed, to be transformed and to transform the social order. Outsiders may be invited to participate if they have a connection with the group who are sweating and are "respectful." Respect includes being in the proper ritual disposition (there are certain restrictions on when one may sweat and how one prepares), acting properly, and following directions.

Writing about the sweat, as in writing about anyone's religious belief, also requires respect. The author of this article is a non-Native who has been honored to be invited to many sweat rituals and has attempted, to the best of his ability, to be respectful in his writings. Many Native people have stressed that outsiders should have an understanding of their rituals and beliefs so that they may be appreciated and respected, and so that they not again suffer the suppression imposed upon them both by the U.S. government and by Christian churches. So I gratefully acknowledge my welcome to the sweats, and I seek to use my own scholarly work to make appropriate information known for the sake of understanding and tolerance on all sides. I ask in advance for forgiveness for any shortcomings or omissions in this article. I do not speak for Natives, nor do I define their ritual practice. Rather, I seek to share what I have learned from Native practitioners of the sweat, as well as research that shows the wide variety of sweat practices. I seek also to highlight the importance of these ritual procedures, to consider controversies surrounding the sweatlodge today, and to let Native and other voices speak through my own work.

Historical Descriptions of the Sweatlodge

One source of our knowledge of early sweatlodge ceremonies derives from observations of the ritual by European explorers, diplomats, missionaries, military personnel, government agents, fur traders, and, much later, anthropologists. Europeans, and especially missionaries, had an ambivalence about this ritual. They were interested in its physical and curative properties, but they rejected its use in worship and belief; the early missionaries were quite intolerant of non-Christian belief, worship, and ritual practices. The descriptions that these individuals left are one source for a

broader knowledge of the ritual. Another source of information has been oral literature that was generally kept within tribal groups, although sometimes it is shared with sincere and interested outsiders.

Native people have been engaged in recovering their past through accessing both local oral historians and more remote non-Native archival and published descriptions of their cultures. While descriptions by outsiders are often partial and in some ways flawed, Native peoples make use of non-Native archival and published descriptions of their cultures. A blurry photograph of a loved one taken by a photographer not known to you is better than no photograph at all. While the imprecise image is not the person, the picture can be added to the heart and mind along with memories, oral reports, and other knowledge to create a better composite picture of the past.

We will look at sweating in three different geographical areas during three different eras, through the eyes of a variety of non-Native observers. This will help us to appreciate the historical depth and variety of forms of this ritual, which some Native societies date to the foundations of their cultural orders. This will also help us to understand the goals and biases of various collectors of this information and how their viewpoints color their descriptions and understandings. Finally, it will give the reader a method for studying sweatlodge practices of other groups in the future.

The Jesuit Relations: Hurons and Montagnais

One of the first groups to interact intensively with Native peoples for an extended period of time, in what they referred to as New France, were the Jesuits, members of a Roman Catholic religious order that came to spread their faith and culture. They became students of Native languages and cultures both with a genuine interest and sometimes to refute their beliefs and replace them with Catholicism. Jesuit priests wrote detailed accounts of Native custom and behavior as reports for their superiors and as guides for others in their order who would take up their work.

Jesuit Father François Joseph Le Mercier, S.J., quotes a letter from fellow missionary Fr. Pierre Pijart, who describes a sweatlodge ceremony he observed in 1637 while among the Hurons:

> Here is something quite remarkable: Towards evening of the 26th (of May), they prepared a sweat, which was followed by a feast. I never saw anything like it in my life; 20 men entered, and almost piled themselves upon one another. Even the sick man dragged himself thither, though with considerable difficulty, and was one of the troop; he also sang for quite a long time, and in the midst of the heat of this sweat he asked for water with which to refresh himself,—a part of which he drank, and the rest he threw over his body. An excellent remedy, forsooth, for a sick man on the verge of death! So the next day I found him in a fine condition; indeed it was a fine condition for him, since God then gave

> to him the grace to conceive the importance of the concerns of his salvation, and to me to put into my mouth the words to explain to him our principal mysteries.

Le Mercier pays most attention to the medicinal efficacy of this ritual; he seems less aware of its spiritual dimensions. When a cure is effected, the Jesuit interprets it through his own cultural lens as the result of his preaching of Christianity rather than the efficacy of the Native prayer ritual. Note the other elements of the sweat—specifically Huron—that are revealed: singing, drinking water, and feasting afterward are important elements of the sweat. The sweat is also social: a large number of people crowd in with the sick man. Finally, Le Mercier reveals his European fascination with this "odd" ceremony, a fascination with the exotic that continues to hold many Europeans to this day.

Father Le Jeune, S.J., writes a very detailed description of the sweatlodge of the Montagnais in his report of 1634:

> They sing and make these noises also in their sweating operations. They believe that this medicine, which is the best of all they have, would be of no use whatever to them if they did not sing during the sweat. They plant some sticks in the ground, making a sort of low tent, for, if a tall man were seated therein, his head would touch the top of this hut, which they enclose and cover with skins, robes, and blankets. They put in this dark room a number of heavy stones, which they have had heated and made red-hot in a good fire, then they slip entirely naked into these sweat boxes. The women occasionally sweat as well as the men. Sometimes they sweat all together, men and women, pell-mell. They sing, cry and groan in this oven, and make speeches; occasionally the sorcerer beats his drum there. I heard him once acting the prophet therein, crying out that he saw Moose; that my host, his brother, would kill some. I could not refrain from telling him, or rather those who were present and listened to him as if to an oracle, that it was indeed quite probable that they would find a male, since they had already found and killed two females. When he understood what I was driving at, he said to me sharply, "Believe me, this black robe has no sense." They are so superstitious in these uproars and in their other nonsense, that if they have sweats in order to cure themselves, or to have a good hunt, or to have fine weather, [they think] nothing would be accomplished if they did not sing, and if they did not observe these superstitions. I have noticed that, when the men sweat, they do not like to use women's robes with which to enclose their sweat boxes, if they can have any others. In short, when they have shouted for three hours or thereabout in these stoves, they emerge completely wet and covered with their sweat.

We learn a lot about Fr. Le Jeune here as well as about the sweat. He has no tolerance for Native religious practices, equating them with superstitions and nonsense. He is not above interfering with the spiritual leader, denigrating his predictions as obvious. Jesuits were

trained in debate throughout their philosophical and theological studies, to use refutation in verbal combat not only with Native Americans but also against European Protestants. Nevertheless, we learn some more important elements about the sweatlodge. Singing is vital to the process. In addition to healing, there is supplication and prognostication. Drums are sometimes used. Women and men sometimes sweat together. Le Jeune also provides a detailed description of the construction of the sweatlodge enclosure. He tells us that there are multiple uses for the sweat: curing, success in hunting, predicting where game will be found, and to bring about good weather. Other Jesuits point out that the Natives used the sweat to get knowledge of a patient's disease, to gain the help of spiritual forces (referred to at that time as "demons"), to make the medicine more effective, and to predict future events such as occurrences in warfare and to diagnose illness.

While the Jesuits were sometimes tolerant of Native social customs, they were most intolerant of their ritual life. They set about refuting these practices among the Natives and making enemies of the traditional spiritual leaders, and proscribing their use by converts to Christianity. Nevertheless, the missionaries did recognize some natural curative efficacy to these baths. Contemporary Native Christians also make accommodations and transferences as they enter this new religion, continuing prayer and recitation in the sweat, but in Christian metaphor. Fr. Lalemant describes an early instance of this phenomenon in 1640:

> This good Christian,—having returned some months ago from a journey that he had made to the Khionontateronons (the Tobacco Nation), whither he had gone to assist our Fathers in the preaching of the Gospel,—seeing himself wearied with travel, took a sweat (this is a certain kind of bath which these Savages use, with which to refresh themselves). Having entered this bath, it was a pleasure to hear him,—not singing of dreams, and war songs, as all his fellow countrymen do on this occasion, but animating himself to a new combat; resolving to die for the defense of the Faith; promising God to scour the whole country, and announce everywhere his holy name. In a word, what is deepest in the heart is the most ordinary subject of his conversation, of his songs, of his most affectionate intercourse.

Like many other Europeans, Jesuits demonstrated an interest in the medical practices of the Indians. Jesuits were generalists and particularists, describing the specific details of local customs among specific tribes but also sometimes generalizing for all Natives they encountered.

The study of primary documents, despite the limitations of their authors, is essential to reconstructing early sweat ceremonies. The more different sources

one can use in the reconstruction (Native and non-Native, textual and oral, written, drawn, and photographed), the fuller a picture we can derive.

Explorers and Ethnographers: Mandan and Hidatsa

The explorer-artist George Catlin visited the Mandan Indians in 1832, when he noted the use of sweatlodges among those people. The baths were located near villages along the banks of the river. Inside the lodge, there was a double row of rocks about three feet apart on which rested a "crib" in which the bather sat. Outside the lodge, a woman heated rocks and brought them in, placing them under the bather and then dashing cold water on the rocks to produce an abundance of steam. The lodge was sealed tight during this process. Catlin further describes the process:

> He [the bather] is enveloped in a cloud of steam, and a woman or child will sit at a little distance and continue to dash water upon the stone while the matron of the lodge is out preparing to make her appearance with another heated stone. He will sit and dip from a wooden bowl, with a ladle made of the mountain-sheep's horn, and throw upon the heated stones, with his own hands, the water which he is drawing through his lungs and pores. The steam distills through a mat of wild sage and other medicinal and aromatic herbs, which he has strewed over the bottom of his basket, and on which he reclines.

Catlin reports that the sweater made a verbal utterance, the door was opened, and the occupant plunged himself into a river. He considered this a rather satisfactory remedy for about every disease known to the Mandan.

The explorer Maximilian, Prince of Wied, spent the winter of 1833–1834 with the Mandan and the culturally related Hidatsa, whom he referred to as the Manitarie. He concurs with Catlin on the extensive medical use of the sweatlodge. He provides more extensive data for uses of the Hidatsa sweatlodge:

> When a man intends to undertake anything, and to implore by medicine the aid of the higher powers, he builds a small sudatory of twigs, which is covered all over with buffalo hides. Before the entrance is a straight path, forty feet long and one broad, from which the turf is taken off and piled up in a heap at one end opposite the hut. Near this heap a fire is kindled, in which large stones are made red hot. Two rows of shoes, sometimes, thirty or forty pair, are placed along the path. As soon as the stones are hot, they are borne into the hut, where a hearth has been dug, on which the hot stones are laid. The whole population sits as spectators on either side of the path, where are placed a number of dishes with provisions, such as boiled maize, beans, meat, &c.

Maximilian points out that a medicine man conducted the ceremony. He walked to the sweat on top of the shoes. The supplicant for whom the sweat was created lamented in front of the sweat. The older men then went into the sweat,

Sweat lodge frame. Chief Plenty Coups State Park, Montana. 2001. (Marilyn "Angel" Wynn/ Nativestock)

and women covered it tightly. Inside, the men sang, using a rattle for an accompaniment. When the door was opened a buffalo head was carried over the row of shoes and placed on the mound in front of the lodge. Offerings were put on a pole behind the sweatlodge. The sweat itself was located outdoors, but in winter sweats were constructed within the earth lodges.

Maximilian noted the religious import of this ceremony, which included self-torture to ensure spiritual help and success from "higher powers" that Maximilian, in his ethnocentric view, unfortunately described as "superstition."

When we move to anthropological texts, we get a fuller picture of the religious dimension that Catlin missed in his description. Anthropologist Alfred Bowers, who worked with Mandans and Hidatsas from the 1920s to the 1940s, provides a Mandan story about a young man named Black Wolf, who was brought into a sweatlodge by Black Bear and a group of animals. They sang in the sweat, prayed to the animals, poured water on themselves, and then came out. Black Wolf was told that the sweat was a place to refresh oneself as well as to heal people who were sick. Note that prayer is an essential element of the sweat in the

story and should not be separated from healing, as both are integral to a successful cure in Native understanding. The Hidatsa held that the sweatlodge could bring blessings, good fortune, new life, good homes, health, success against enemies, and material wealth. Sweats were also used in ceremonial preparation for catching eagles, according to ethnomusicologist Francis Densmore, who worked with the Mandans and Hidatsas in 1912, 1915, and 1919.

Missionaries, Explorers, and Anthropologists: Yup'ik

The Yup'ik of Central Alaska traditionally used the *qasegiq,* or men's house, for sweating. This structure is also known as the *kashim*. This building was also used for religious ceremonies such as the Great Feast to the Dead and the Bladder Festival, for recreation, and as a living space for men.

Edward William Nelson, meteorologist, explorer, and part-time ethnographer, lived from 1877 to 1881 among the Bering Strait Eskimo. He provides an early account of their sweats:

> In these buildings (the kashim) sweat baths are taken by men and boys at intervals of a week or ten days during the winter. Every man has a small urine tub near his place, where this liquid is saved for use in bathing. A portion of the floor in the center of the room is made of planks so arranged that it can be taken up, exposing a pit beneath, in which a fire of drift logs is built. When the smoke has passed off and the wood is reduced to a bed of coals, a cover is put over the smoke hole in the roof and the men sit naked about the room until they are in profuse perspiration; they then bathe in the urine, which combines with the oil on their bodies, and thus takes the place of soap, after which they go outside and pour water over their bodies until they become cool. While bathing they remain in the kashim with the temperature so high that their skin becomes shining red and appears to be almost at the point of blistering; then going outside they squat about in the snow perfectly nude, and seem to enjoy the contrasting temperature. On several occasions I saw them go from the sweat bath to holes in the ice on neighboring streams and, squatting there, pour ice water over their backs and shoulders with a wooden dipper, apparently experiencing the greatest pleasure from the operation.

The author also describes how bathers protect themselves from the intense heat by using a cap of waterfowl skins, and respirators:

> Throughout the region visited the men, while taking their sweat baths, are accustomed to use a cap made of the skin of some water fowl, usually the red- or black-throat loon. The skin is cut open along the belly and removed entire, minus the neck, wings, and legs; it is then dried and softened so as to be pliable and is fastened together at the neck in such a way that it can be worn on the head. Owing to the intense heat generated in the fire pit, the bathers, who are always males, are obliged to use respirators to protect their lungs. These are made of fine shavings of willow or spruce bound into the form

> of an oblong pad formed to cover the mouth, the chin, and a portion of the cheeks. These pads are convex externally and concave within; crossing the concave side is a small wooden rod, either round or square, so that the wearer can grasp it in his teeth and thus hold the respirator in position.

John Henry Kilbuck, a Moravian missionary of Mohican and Delaware Indian descent, worked among the Yup'ik from 1885 to 1922. He wrote this description of the direct fire bath:

> The heat is sometimes so intense as to blister the ears—before perspiration takes place. When the wood is dry and piled properly—there is quick combustion with a minimum amount of smoke, and the bathers in the midst of such enjoyment—set up a lamentation which is so like the howling of a pack of huskies or wolves. This lamentation is for the dead because they are missing such a luxurious sweat-bath.
>
> From experience the Eskimos have learned which embers and partially burned pieces of wood produce distressing headaches—and these are carefully put out—before the window is replaced.—Boys are not permitted to take these sweatbaths.—After the sweat—the men go out into the open air—and roll in the snow in wintertime—or plunge into the nearby stream in summer.

Anthropologist Chase Hensel worked in this region in the 1980s and 1990s. He describes how the *qasegiq* fell into disuse by the early 1990s because of radical changes in social and religious life, but shows how sweating continues to be an important hygienic and social activity and serves as a marker of cultural identity. Men still sweat together, but there are also family sweats and sweats with outsiders, Native and non-Native. There is joking, and challenges are thrown out to cosweaters to endure the heat. Men engage in the sweat and sweating is an important topic of discussion. Note that the sweat is a highly flexible social and religious institution, adjusting to shifts in family structure and gender relations. Sweats, like other rituals, are transformed by contemporary need in dialogue with structures of the past. Tradition does not invalidate but rather guides present practices, as we will see in looking at more contemporary sweatlodge phenomena.

Personal Experience: Lakota

Eber L. Hampton is a Chickasaw and Euro-American from Oklahoma. He grew up in California, and his primary teacher in traditional ways is a Kiowa. Hampton writes of the respect necessary in learning about the sweat, analyzing it, and representing it in textual form, but he also stresses that the sweat is primarily an event, not a description: "The learning, the transformation takes place at a level deeper than words. Everything related to the sweat has a purpose and an effect. Its reality is not a symbol with a meaning. It is real at all levels and works with our actions to have real effects."

As I have learned from my own teachers, one should speak one's opinion

about spiritual matters. So this article will shift from formal academic research to a reflection on my own participation in the sweat. I have sweated and continue to sweat primarily with Lakota people, mostly on the Pine Ridge Reservation. I want to be careful to speak only from my experience, understanding, and what I was taught. I do not universalize my own experience into a "standard sweat"; nor do I claim any authority over what is right or wrong practice. Each sweat I have attended was structurally the same, involving prayer, song, intense heat, and intense emotions, from sorrow to joy. Each sweat was also unique.

What strikes me most about the ceremony is its intensity, not only in terms of heat but also in terms of religious and social experience. The ceremony forges close spiritual and social bonds among participants. People come together to form sweat groups for various needs and concerns: personal, tribal, and even cosmic. The sweatlodges that I have attended are primarily places of prayer, whether it be petition or thanksgiving. In Christian churches, one recites a creed to establish a harmony of belief; the sweatlodge provides for a harmony of practice—all undergo the same difficult ritual, regardless of how they pray or what they believe. While anthropology often focuses on the social and cultural elements of this ritual, at root it is essentially religious.

Lakota sweats generally have four rounds, periods marked by closing and then opening the single door. Rocks are heated outside the sweat and brought in by a doorkeeper, who may or may not join the rest of the group for the sweat. The sweatlodge itself is a dome-shaped frame of willow or cherry branches covered with tarps and blankets so as to be airtight. The entrance faces a specific direction, usually west or east. Sage and sometimes carpets are placed on the seating area. A pit in the center of the lodge holds the hot rocks, and there is an exterior fireplace in line with the pit and the entrance outside. Sometimes an altar is formed outside of the lodge in line with the door from the stones excavated from the interior pit.

People are expected to be in good relationship with each other when entering the sweatlodge together. Negative thoughts or feelings are amplified in the sweat, as are positive ones, so one should not bring negativity into the lodge, according to my teachers. The Lakota ask that women who are menstruating exclude themselves from the sweat, for they have a different power at that time. The people with whom I work are quick to point out that this means nothing negative or judgmental, but that the mixing of powers is dangerous.

Everyone enters the lodge before the rocks are brought in. The first six or sometimes seven rocks are arranged in a special way, with prayers and incense. Sometimes a sacred pipe is touched to each rock. The rest of the rocks are then brought in, and a bucket of water and a ladle are also introduced. Singers bring hand drums with them. Once the water is

blessed, the door is shut and the first round is begun. The leader of the sweat welcomes the participants, tells what the sweat is being "put up" for, and sometimes mentions his or her qualifications for leading the sweat—always in a humble and self-effacing way. The four rounds are conducted with prayers, singing, sometimes talks between rounds, and the pouring of water to create an intense steam heat. Leaders are careful not to scald anyone, and they encourage people to say "*Mitakuye Oyasin*" ("all of my relatives") if it becomes too uncomfortable, so that someone can open the door. People in the sweat open their hearts and lives to each other. What is said and prayed about during a specific sweat is kept confidential. Intimate prayer sharing amid the physical suffering in the lodge brings participants release from their sufferings and intensifies spiritual and communal support. Between rounds, water is drunk, speeches may be given, and people sometimes converse and joke. Humor is an essential part of every Lakota ritual, and it certainly has its place in the sweat.

At the same time, the sweatlodge is a place where Natives encounter not only spiritual reality in an intense way but also social reality. Many sweats are gatherings of family members, voluntary associations, veterans, or people enhancing their own sobriety. The sweat is also a place where outsiders, non-Indians, can meet and pray with Native people *if they are invited* and properly prepared. Thus the sweat can be a place of reconciliation. I have often heard Lakota people remind participants that in the sweat we are all equal: we have no color in the darkness, and we are all humbled and reborn. This is not merely rhetoric, but reality in the sweatlodge. Others respect the universality of the ritual but ask outsiders to honor their own traditions in their own ways, rather than to participate in Native rituals.

There are any number of published works describing different forms of sweats; each has unique elements as well as a consistent format. The Lakota sweat is sometimes cited as the most prevalent type. It endured when other groups ceased sweating and then was learned by those groups. But other Native groups also continue their own precontact sweat rituals, all incorporating both past practice and contemporary needs. Both on and off reservations, there is wide interest in the ceremony.

Simply learning about the sweatlodge ceremony does not entitle one to participate in the ritual, nor does it give a person the authority to construct or conduct a sweat. Different tribes have different criteria for who may lead a sweat, who may be taught how to do so, and who may participate. I have always entered the sweat as a participant, sometimes called upon to pray in a special way or to speak between rounds—but I have always been an invited participant, not the one who conducts the ritual.

Contemporary Uses

Historical accounts teach us that the sweatlodge was used for a variety of

purposes: spiritual, medical, and social. Native societies did not necessarily consider these to be separate categories, as modern Western cultures do. Thus it is not surprising that Natives continue to adapt the ceremony for additional purposes. On the Pine Ridge Reservation, where I sweat, some of the uses of the lodge include healing family crises, consoling mourners, preparing people who will engage in other rituals such as the Sun Dance or vision quest, honoring veterans and healing the traumas they may have encountered, consulting with spirits for guidance, healing people physically and emotionally, and incorporating new group members from the reservation or, depending on the group, sometimes from off-reservation. Lakota not raised in traditional ways sometimes use the sweat as the first step toward reincorporating themselves into traditional ritual practice.

Beyond the boundaries of the reservation, the sweatlodge can be found today throughout North America and in Europe. Natives from cities and rural areas make use of this ceremony. The sweatlodge ceremony is practiced by Natives in many prisons as well as in drug and alcohol treatment centers, personal growth and therapeutic programs, and in men's and women's groups. The controversy arises when non-Natives appropriate the sweatlodge for their own purposes, or sometimes when Natives actively spread the use of this and other rituals among non-Natives.

Abuses and Protests

The Lakota I have met have a broad acceptance of people who sincerely seek a spiritual path. Hospitality is valued in ritual as well as in social life. Problems over ritual participation are likely to arise when people force themselves into situations, begin taking over, or exploit what they have been privileged to experience. Mistrust of outsiders is justified. Both the U.S. government and Christian churches once vigorously opposed and suppressed Native religious practices. A series of people, non-Native and Native, have exploited Native religion for personal gain. Memories of abuse are long. Healing is sometimes slow.

Some Lakota cite the four colors used to designate the sacred directions—red, white, yellow, and black—as evidence of the inclusivity of the sweatlodge ritual, both symbolically and ethnically. Others stress that the whites have taken everything from the Lakota, and that their religion is the last thing they have left. Understandably, they and other tribal groups are very guarded about non-Indians participating in the sweat, and they distrust some of their own people who misuse spiritual ways. Red Cherries, a Northern Cheyenne Sun Dance/Arrow Priest and Elk Society Headman, had this to say about the exploitation of Native ceremonies, specifically the sweatlodge:

> The sweat lodge was given by the Creator: we have oral history as well as ceremonial proof and testimony, that it ascended from certain Tribes.

> Although there are similar forms of sweat lodges in other tribes, it is the Plains Warrior Sweat of the Cheyenne and Lakota Nations that seems to be the most often exploited, he said.
>
> The Plains ceremonies are imitated and exploited by non-Native, and at times Native, New-Age shamans who are self proclaimed priests or priestesses molding it to there [sic] wild agendas.
>
> I have heard of sweats termed as new moon sweats and solstice sweats, somewhere this non-sense must be challenged. I don't think our elders who fought so hard and paid the ultimate price with their blood and lives so that we could continue to carry on our ceremonies have ever heard of these types of sweats.

Non-Natives have been charged with misappropriating the sweatlodge for financial gain and with conducting unauthorized ceremonies, or with abuse of the ceremony itself through inappropriate innovations. Different tribes and individuals within tribes have various views and opinions about this issue. Some allow non-Natives to participate in sweats, or even to conduct them, while others more strictly regulate who may conduct and participate in sweats and restrict those privileges to members of their own group. Some groups allow one to lead a sweat based on his or her personal spiritual experiences, while others regulate leadership socially, by passing down the right to conduct the ceremony—sometimes referred to as pouring water—among members of the group.

On reservations, sweats and other ceremonies are regulated through community approbation or nonattendance at rituals. With the expanded use of the sweatlodge ceremony off reservations and, in some cases, out of local Native control, new modes of regulation of the sweat ceremony and protection of sacred ceremonies have arisen. Lists of proscribed leaders, newspaper articles, documentaries, books, the Internet, and even legal action in tribal or non-Indian legal systems have been resorted to.

There is a large and growing literature on the appropriation of Native religious culture. Some Non-Natives hold that they have a right to spiritual practice and that it cannot be owned culturally. Some Natives hold that non-Natives be completely restricted from any Native ceremony—either to observe, participate, or lead. It is safe to say that all Natives would agree that ceremonies such as the sweatlodge should be conducted properly. The proper role of non-Natives is currently being settled in many places and in many different ways. Just as there is no single, simple answer from the variety of Native communities to the question of whether non-Natives can engage in sweats and other ceremonial activities, there is no one opinion from the non-Native scholarly, professional, and practicing communities.

Conclusion

The sweatlodge is a uniquely universal example of Native ritual. Practiced widely among tribal groups in the past, and now again in the present, the ceremony is easily replicated. As a boundary

or transitional ritual, it is ideal for moving people between profound and sacred worlds—and, when appropriate, between Native and non-Native realities. The ritual is transformative, and many have found physical, spiritual, and even cultural healing in its warm embrace. In the past, geography, language, dress, and custom allowed for clear boundaries between groups, Native and non-Native. Religion remains one of the unique identifiers for Natives. Despite the ravages of colonialism, the sweatlodge allows Native people to establish and recognize boundaries, both sacred and profane, to control those boundaries, and to cross them—and sometimes allow others to cross, as well.

Raymond A. Bucko, S. J.

See also Academic Study of American Indian Religious Traditions; Architecture; Ceremony and Ritual, Lakota; Ceremony and Ritual, Yup'iq; Christianity, Indianization of; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Identity; Kinship; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion; Menstruation and Menarche; Mother Earth; New Age Appropriation; Oral Traditions; Prison and Native Spirituality; Reservations, Spiritual and Cultural Implications; Sacred Pipe; Spirits and Spirit Helpers, Plateau; Symbolism in Ritual and Ceremony; Vision Quest Rites; Warfare, Religious Aspects

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Symbolism in American Indian Ritual and Ceremony

Symbolism connects rituals and ceremonies to the sacred stories of the people and to the kinship systems told about in the stories. These kinship relations include plant and animal relatives, along with human relatives and spirit relatives

who are other-than-human. Rituals and ceremonies are chiefly concerned with the renewal and maintenance of these kinship connections, which are fundamental for the survival of every people. Rituals and ceremonies establish and orient a people in relation to (1) their place in the world by means of the sacred directions, and (2) the important personages in their kinship network by means of appropriate reciprocities.

The meaning of any symbolism depends on the sacred stories underlying the symbols. All ritual life and ceremonial traditions are based on the stories that the people hold as sacred, so that rites and ceremonies are a sort of replay of, or re-engagement with, the experiences related in those sacred stories. Sacred stories originate from (1) unusual dreams or visionary experiences of individuals that may be described as prophetic, revelatory, mystical, or shamanic, or (2) unusual group experiences that dramatically transform the communal life of the group. In either case, a sacred story relates the experience as an oral narrative of an encounter with nonordinary reality that establishes a relationship with other-than-human beings who possess power over life and death. The primary narrative features in these sacred stories are shaped and reshaped by the people through an ongoing process of remembering and recounting these narrative elements as they relate to the day-to-day existence of the people. In this way, a set of signifiers is formed from the stories that establishes the people's way of looking at the world, at the whole of existence, and at the meaning of life and death. This set of signifiers functions as a symbolic system, and the power of symbols can come into play through ritual words and acts that (1) recall and renew the formative relationships with the primordial spirit-persons as told about in the sacred stories, and (2) call forth the protective and regenerative forces of those relationships to be operative in behalf of the people in the circumstances of the present moment.

The symbolic systems of American Indian peoples differ from those of European-derived cultures because of the difference in the stories. The sacred stories of any people will include creation stories that tell of the origin and structuring of the universe. Each story about the origin of the universe always includes, either explicitly or implicitly, an account of the cosmology of the universe, which is a narrative that tells how the universe came to be structured as an orderly, functioning cosmos. While each indigenous people has its own distinctive creation stories that result in a particular cosmology which shapes the signifying system of that people, there are similarities among these indigenous cosmologies that mark them collectively as distinct from the European-derived cosmology. In modern times that European cosmology has taken the form of a scientific story of creation (the big-bang theory) and of cosmology (a sought-after unified field theory). A scientific cosmology too

often dismisses all forms of human consciousness and experience other than a cognitive perception of an objectified world, so that it includes no respect for dreams and visions or for transformative moments in communal self-perception. Because the cosmology of a people governs the signifying system of that people, the discourse or accepted way of communicating in a European-derived culture will function differently from the discourse of an American Indian culture. For this reason, it is vital that our understanding of symbolism as it functions in the rites and ceremonies of indigenous peoples be clearly derived from indigenous cosmologies and avoid the discourse patterns of the dominant culture.

Cosmologies of American Indian peoples commonly feature systems of kinship relations that give priority to inclusiveness and interconnectedness, so that all oppositions and separations are secondary to the fundamental relatedness of all beings. Kinship-centered symbolism influences the symbolic role of places and of persons in indigenous ritual and ceremony. In symbolizing place, this world is not seen as an impersonal landscape where the physical processes of nature play out in a closed system of cause and effect; instead, this world is characterized by a sacred geography in which all places are related in one way or another to episodes in the sacred stories about the ongoing relationships connecting human persons to their plant and animal relatives, their deceased ancestors, and the other-than-human spirit persons. Each place is a location that is symbolically tied to the special kinship interactions "taking place" (whether past, present, or future) in some intimate association with that location. In symbolizing persons, an individual person is not seen as a subjectively separate self whose existence is cut off from, and incapable of, any intimate identification with other humans, plants and animal relatives, or sacred beings. Instead, indigenous symbolism includes sacred systems of metamorphosis by which a mask, a song, or a dance introduces you to stunning shifts in identity; momentarily, but authentically, you become the face, voice, and persona of an other-than-human person, thus affirming in the face of all evidence to the contrary that such a person is your very real kin.

It is virtually universal among indigenous peoples of North America to orient the symbolism of place around four sacred directions. These four directions would be misunderstood if we equated them to the four cardinal points of north, east, south, and west in the manner of mere coordinates. Instead, these four should be understood in the personal mode of kinship as the four sacred winds, or the four sacred mountains, or whatever set of four is known in a people's stories as the four distinctive forces that give all places their own particular features and that empower places with possibilities for encountering significant others when they are invoked in ritual and ceremony.

In Lakota tradition the west wind has priority in ritual status, so that prayer will be directed first to the west, followed by ritually facing and addressing in sequence the north, east, and south, and completing the cycle by once again facing the west. Lakota people pay kinship respect to fellow beings of all four quarters of the cosmos by saying the ritual words *mitakuye oyasin,* commonly expressed in English as "all my relations," and by ritually making a full turn of the body so that all relatives of the four quarters are acknowledged. This cycle of fourness is so formative in indigenous cosmologies that it may be extended symbolically to designate four seasons of the year, four stages in a human life, or other ways of periodizing time by fours—such as the four openings of the doorway to a sweatlodge, marking the four stages of the ceremony or the four days of a contemporary Sun Dance. The fourness that permeates indigenous stories signals that temporality as well as location is framed by the personalizing considerations of kinship.

Beginning with the ubiquity of sets of four throughout North American traditions, the complexity of indigenous cosmologies typically moves beyond this basic fourness to embrace two additional directions, for a total of six. The kinship quality of these six is memorably evident in the well-known vision-story of the Lakota holy man Nicholas Black Elk, in which he reports a shamanic or out-of-body journey to a cloud-tepee in the sky. Within this imposing tepee he finds six old men and is told: "Your Grandfathers are having a council" (Neihardt 1932, 24). He realizes that "these were not old men, but the Powers of the World" (ibid., 25). Each of these "Grandfathers" addresses him in turn, beginning with "the Power of the West." Each gives him a gift that represents a specific power, and each subsequently leaves the tepee and undergoes metamorphosis into an animal form, the sixth transforming into a likeness of Black Elk himself. These six sacred persons empowering the Lakota universe are described with the kinship term of "grandfather," and the gifts they give and the forms of their metamorphoses symbolically indicate their specialized powers. These six "grandfathers" include, besides the standard four, two "grandfathers" named "the Spirit of the Sky" and "the Spirit of the Earth" (ibid., 29–30). The ritual sequence for the six begins with the four representing the horizontal plane of existence and shifts to the vertical by including the sky above and the earth below as the fifth and sixth sacred directions, thus encompassing the whole of the real world.

While all six sacred beings are gendered as male in Black Elk's story, Lakota tradition customarily treats the sixth of these as female, as "grandmother," and other traditions also commonly identify the sky, the sun, and the realms above as male and the earth, its navel, and the realms below as female. Both the above and the below are considered to be sacred

realms that are off-limits for ordinary human existence, though accessible to individuals through dreams and visionary journeys. Ordinary people may relate to these sacred realms symbolically in ceremonies in which a sacred mountain, a sacred tree, a lightning bolt, or a falling star may represent an access route for relations with sacred beings from above, and a sacred spring or a sacred cave may represent an access route for relations with sacred beings from below. The sacred realms of both the above and the below may be represented as multilayered. Stories about human emergence from a series of worlds below our present middle world characterize the Pueblo traditions of the Southwest, whereas stories about human origin through a woman falling from the world above can be found among Iroquoian peoples of the Northeast. Other traditions identify sacred realms existing at the extreme perimeter of the middle world, marking a domain normally inaccessible to humans in a way similar to the above and the below. Kwak'wak'wakw people of the Northwest coast expect Baxbakwalanuxsiwae, the Man-Eater Spirit from the North End of the World, to fly in bird-form from the extreme north in order to make a ritual appearance at the *tsetseqa* (winter solstice ceremony). That ceremony symbolizes the renewal of life and all of its relationships, when the power of winter is reversed and the birthing light once again defeats darkness.

While indigenous symbolism of place and time conveys a sense of the wholeness of the created order and its kinship network by way of the six sacred directions, some traditions highlight the importance of a seventh "direction," which functions as a focal point for the set of six. The Zuni story of the water strider identifies its six legs as signifying the four horizontal and two vertical directions and specifies that the *itiwana* (center) of the universe lies at the place where the six vectors of the water strider's legs converge, which is the water strider's own middle, or "heart." The water strider revealed to the Zunis the location of the sacred middle place of the universe, thus concluding their migration history. They had been searching for this convergence point where all true orientation of place and time begins and where life is engendered and empowered. This seventh "direction" becomes the most propitious location for ritual acts, since it is the true convergence place of relatedness for each of us to the whole range of our cosmic kin.

The seventh "direction," as the focal point for renewing ritual relations on a cosmic scale, can be a specific geographic location, or it can be ceremonially construed as the center of the universe by addressing and invoking in turn each of the six winds or mountains or cosmic forces—thus making that specific place of ceremony an empowered location where the six powers of the universe converge. When the cosmic pow-

ers of the six sacred mountains are invoked in Diné (Navajo) ceremony through sacred chants and replications of sacred mosaics (called sandpaintings) on the floor of the ceremonial hogan (the traditional Diné dwelling), ordinary space and time are opened up to the nonordinary realities acknowledged in Diné sacred stories. When the person to be healed enters the sacred mosaic and sits in the center of that ritual space, he or she is understood to have stepped into an ancient world of story in which the principal powers of this world are enacting or re-enacting creative moments of balancing the life-and-death factors that connect all relationships and that bring order to ordinary existence. Sitting at the center of things, where the sacred world momentarily impinges on the ordinary realm, is to be at the ritual place where the fundamental relationships that shape all life are specifically engaged. These relationships possess the intimacy and reciprocity characteristic of kinship, while also conveying the profound capacity to extend beyond the boundary of the human so as to embrace those other-than-human beings who transcend ordinary space and time.

Besides telling about the beginnings of the universe and the shaping of place and temporality, sacred stories include narratives about hunting and fishing and the harvesting of plants. Food is fundamental to survival, and all food is understood in these stories as given and received within the mutual reciprocities of a kinship system. When you eat animal or plant foods, you are eating your relatives and incur an obligation to them that you discharge by respectful treatment and ritual acts of giving back to your plant and animal relatives so that your kinship ties with them are maintained and renewed.

Contemporary Lakota communities celebrate the annual Sun Dance in which the male dancers are pierced so that wooden or bone skewers are inserted through the flesh of the upper chest or of the upper back (there are alternative modes of piercing available to contemporary female dancers). Thongs are attached to the skewers and the thongs are connected to a rope tied to the central tree (when piercing the chest) or to one or more buffalo skulls (when piercing the back). To dance until the flesh gives way was understood by the dancers to be a voluntary act of sacrifice by which reciprocity with your buffalo relatives was carried through. The buffalo people had given away their lives to their relatives; these hunters were obligated to emulate their buffalo relatives with similar acts of generosity. The give-away of the buffalo brought life-sustaining food to the human relatives, and the give-away of the Sun Dancers is understood by contemporary Lakota people to bring life-enhancing benefit to the entire kinship system of the dancers, while recognizing that such a system extends not only to the buffalo

people but also to all the beings of the universe.

In one of his dream-vision episodes, Black Elk describes how the camp of people he is leading transforms into "buffalo and elk and even fowls of the air" (DeMallie 1994, 126). In an aside to his narrative, Black Elk explains to John Neihardt that this metamorphosis means "that the Indian generations have dreams and are like unto the animals of this world. Some have visions about elks, birds, and even gophers or eagles. People will be like the animals—take the animals' virtues and strengths" (ibid., 127). Because all humans dream, the universality of dreaming consciousness with its characteristic signature of metamorphosis fosters the recognition that our kinship relations extend well beyond the strictly human community. By engaging these kinship reciprocities, Sun Dancing and other rituals open the door of dreaming consciousness to a psychic and symbolic depth beyond the merely human.

Black Elk's narrative of his visionary journey to the realm of the Six Grandfathers includes instances of his being given plants (herbs) with extraordinary powers. Plants play a variety of symbolic roles in indigenous ritual and ceremony. The "four smokes" of Great Plains traditions include the protective and purifying roles of sage and cedar, along with the roles of sweet grass and tobacco in attracting, pleasing, and propitiating spirit relatives. Some of the plants revealed to Black Elk possessed power to heal illness when used in a ritually appropriate manner, which would include a respectful acknowledgment of kinship reciprocity with those plant persons possessing medicine power.

Among peoples who cultivate food plants, there are stories that tell how we are related to Corn Mother. There is a common storyline to these stories, claims George Tinker, that "involves the willing self-sacrifice (vicarious suffering) of the First Mother (Corn Mother) on behalf of her children" (Tinker 1998, 150). Tinker notes that this implies "the sacramental nature of eating. Corn and all food stuffs are our relatives," and he points out our reciprocal obligation—that is, "[O]ne can never eat without remembering the gift of the Mother" (ibid., 151). Tinker wishes to emphasize the symbolic role of gender in the ritual acknowledgment of Corn Mother's give-away, admonishing us "to pay attention to the inherent valuing of female gifts and wisdom in our communities. We are to remember forever that healing in the form of both food and spiritual sustenance has come to us traditionally not through men but through a woman" (ibid., 152). Tinker also acknowledges that the example of the White Buffalo Calf Woman among the Lakota people establishes the importance of the feminine within the rituals of kinship among a hunting people (ibid., 149). She functions as the Buffalo

Mistress, the one who looks after the welfare of the buffalo people and mediates between them and the human community by providing the Lakota with a set of appropriate kinship rituals, including the Sun Dance.

Another powerful plant being has come to play a prominent role in contemporary indigenous ritual and ceremony, based on stories with relatively recent origins. The peyote cactus is featured in traditions beginning in the 1870s and 1880s on the Southern Plains. Not only are the stories linked with peyote of more recent origin than most sacred stories; they also differ from the norm by the pantribal reach of their symbolism and by the openness to inclusion of elements borrowed from the Christian stories of Euro-Americans. By providing an alternative symbol system for American Indian peoples whose traditional rituals and ceremonies were rapidly disappearing in the face of a cultural destruction that included geographical displacement and military suppression, in addition to the loss of the kinship reciprocities with the vanishing buffalo and other increasingly scarce game, peyote represented a way of spiritual survival. The new symbolic structures of peyote ritual included much that was familiar, such as the healing and wisdom-giving powers of a plant relative and the reciprocal kinship obligations toward such a relative. In a time of cultural distress, the Peyote Spirit offered stabilizing forms of story, symbol, and ceremony.

All sacred stories, all symbolic systems, and all ritual and ceremony exist in time and, therefore, within the processes of change from generation to generation. Recent decades have been times when various American Indian peoples have taken the opportunity to reclaim ritual practices once suppressed or reduced to clandestine observance. Recovery of traditional ways can function as a renewal of the force of the old stories and the symbol systems vested in those stories, and this cultural and religious renewal can serve to differentiate a people's identity from the imposed stories and symbols of the dominant culture; it can even mark a political resistance to the globalizing interests of the world's governing elite, who are living by their own, quite different story, a story that values commodities instead of kinship. However, the old stories and their symbolic meanings will survive only if they serve the actual life of their communities, and this matter of surviving always faces practical realities and requires a process of both validating and adapting the stories and symbols in order for the rituals and ceremonies to continue to be powerful and true.

Dale Stover

See also Dreams and Visions; First Foods and Food Symbolism; Hunting, Religious Restrictions and Implications; Kinship; Masks and Masking; Native American Church, Peyote Movement; Sandpainting

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T

Tekakwitha, Kateri (1656–1680)

(Spiritual leader/Mohawk)

Kateri Tekakwitha, also known as Kateri Tegaquitha, Catherine Tekakwitha, Catherine Tegahkouita, La Sainte Sauvagesse, and the Lily of the Mohawks, was born in 1656 in the Mohawk village of Ossernenon near present-day Auriesville, New York. Tekakwitha was the daughter of an Iroquois chief and an Algonkin Christian mother. Her parents and younger brother died of smallpox when she was four, and she was left crippled, with poor eyesight, and horribly disfigured by pockmarks. Her name, Tekakwitha, has variously been translated as meaning "she-pushes-with-her-hands," "who walks groping for her way," "hard-working woman," or "gathering-things-in-order" (Vecsey 1997).

After the death of her immediate family, Tekakwitha lived with an uncle, Iowerano, an ally of the Dutch and a critic of the Catholic Church and of Catholic conversions. He was particularly critical of Tekakwitha for taking an intense interest in conversion when, in 1675, Jesuit father Jacques de Lambertville started a mission in Kateri's village. Father de Lambertville started to prepare Tekakwitha for baptism into the Catholic faith, and a year later, on Easter Sunday, 1676, she was christened and named Kateri (Catherine). As her conversion was not accepted by her extended family, de Lambertville suggested that she relocate; in a heroic escape she fled north to the St. Lawrence Jesuit reduction, Sault St. Louis/Kahnawake, near Montreal, Quebec.

Tekakwitha became a central figure in the Christian community and persevered in trying to live a life of Christian perfection. Although she was ineligible to become a nun because she was Indian, she observed the life of hospital nuns in Montreal, which increased her desire to take a vow of chastity and to get closer to her self-avowed spouse, Jesus Christ. After much instruction she was allowed to take the long-desired vow and was indeed the first Iroquois to take the vow of chastity. She subjected herself to

extreme mortifications, such as flagellation, exposure to the elements, fasting, and sleeping on thorns. Although her confessors urged her to reduce her mortifications, she continued with more extreme asceticism and became mortally ill. As she weakened, she received last rites and died on April 17, during the Holy Week, in 1680. She was twenty-four. It is documented by her confessors that within half an hour of her death her pockmarks disappeared and her beauty overcame those around her.

Within a few weeks of her death, Tekakwitha's confessors, Jesuits Pierre Cholenec and Claude Chauchetiere, wrote Tekakwitha's biography as hagiography. Those writings contain most of the information that is known about Tekakwitha today. Shortly after the hagiographies were written, Tekakwitha was transformed from a Mohawk girl whom few knew to a symbol, Kateri Tekakwitha, the first Iroquois virgin and a saint-in-the-making. She became a symbol for the Jesuit mission's success in Catholic conversion. Her story grew over time, and in 1884 the Jesuits petitioned for her canonization, the first step on the road to becoming a saint. In 1932 her dossier was presented to the Vatican, and after careful deliberation Pope Pius XII declared her Venerable in 1943. In 1980 the Vatican beatified her, and she officially became the Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha, with her feast day being July 14. At present she is one miracle away from becoming a saint. The Vatican is carefully weighing evidence of her intercessions and miracles that have happened in her name, but they are awaiting one more confirmed miracle before she can be elevated to sainthood.

Tekakwitha, over time, has functioned as a healing force for Native Americans within the Catholic Church. Many Native Americans find her identity as Indian particularly appealing. The annual Tekakwitha Conference began in 1939. Initially it was an advisory group of non-Native priests looking for ways to incorporate Native American spirituality with Christianity. Over time the conference embraced a board of both Native Americans and non-Native clergy. The mandate is now to unify Native American Catholics while accepting and nurturing tribal differences. They also pray for Tekakwitha to be elevated to sainthood. Out of the conference has developed so-called Kateri Circles. These are independent, local gatherings of Native Catholics who focus on Kateri's virtuous example and pray for her canonization. Pragmatically, these circles also do good works within the community, helping the infirm, the poverty-stricken, and the dying.

Donna Cameron-Carter

See also Christianity, Indianization of; Missionization, Northeast; Religious Leadership, Northeast

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Termination and Relocation

Federal termination and relocation policies profoundly influenced the religious beliefs of American Indians during the 1950s and 1960s. Even after those two efforts were replaced during the 1970s with a new federal Indian policy called Indian self-determination, their effects continued for the remainder of the twentieth century. The results have netted a polarized situation in many Indian communities between old ways and new ways of life. The dilemma of the new and old originated with the arrival of Columbus and the introduction of new ideas and values to Native peoples. This continuous binary situation was accelerated because of termination and relocation.

The 1950s

The world witnessed great changes following World War II as the United States positioned itself as the leading industrial power. This modern transition involved undertaking new ideas and considering new values as America launched the atomic age. American leaders envisioned a standard way of life involving suburban living in an ideal nuclear family, paying a mortgage on a ranch-style house in a democratic, industrialized society. As the rise of the Soviet Union challenged U.S. democracy with the launching of Sputnik in 1957 and nuclear testing, many American Indians felt more a part of the mainstream, since an estimated 25,000 Indian men served in the armed services of the United States in World War II. That tradition of Native patriotism was repeated with another 10,000 who served proudly in the Korean War. An estimated 43,000 Indian men served in Vietnam, and the Native tradition continued with the Persian Gulf conflict and the war with Iraq. This Native tradition in the armed services convinced bureaucrats and congressmen that Native Americans were ready to leave reservations to join the American mainstream by living and working in cities where jobs were plentiful.

Goals of Termination and Relocation

Termination of tribal status had a finality about it, and its implication had serious results. Termination had several versions that included liberating American Indians from the constraints of federal trust restrictions. Policy-makers in the Bureau of Indian Affairs claimed that Indian people had changed and that a termination would lift the trust restrictions by relocating eighteen- to forty-five-year-old adults with their children to cities with federal assistance. Additionally, termination worked with federal action in 109 cases to permanently nullify the special minority status that American Indians

held because of their 389 treaties and agreements made with the United States between 1778 and 1871.

Those responsible for introducing termination and relocation proved to be congressmen from Western states motivated by their interests in the natural resources on reservations. Senator Arthus Watkins of Utah, Congressman E. Y. Berry of South Dakota, Senator Patrick McCarran of Nevada, and Congressman William Harrison of Wyoming introduced House Concurrent Resolution 108 in the House of Representatives, and Senator Henry Jackson of Washington sponsored the bill in the Senate. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Dillon S. Myer, formerly of the War Relocation Authority, which relocated Japanese-Americans to camps farther within the United States during World War II, came into the BIA to initiate the relocation program.

Essentially, Myer and other government officials believed that reservations could not support a postwar economy for tribes and that it was time for American Indians to join the mainstream society. In addition to assistance from the government, churches and civic groups helped Indians to adjust to urban life in large cities such as Chicago and Los Angeles. More than 100,000 Native Americans participated in the relocation program from 1951 to 1973. As a part of their new lives in cities, American Indians found themselves attending churches and starting their own in urban Indian areas, such that an Indian church of Baptist, Methodist, or Lutheran belief was a part of the focal point in urban Indian areas alongside the typical American Indian Center.

The newness of living in cities and its urban culture threatened the nativism of American Indians. Indian values, distinct for each tribe, became vulnerable, including American Indian religious beliefs. Many American Indians adopted urban values and began to attend churches of various denominations in cities, while others joined the Native American Church (NAC), based on the Southwestern sacrament of peyote. Federal government action continued termination and relocation until the early 1970s, when President Richard Nixon declared a halt to termination. In 1970, President Nixon signed over 45,000 acres to the Pueblo, the Sacred Taos Blue Lakes located in New Mexico. This important land return included three other instances of the federal government's returning land to Native peoples.

The early 1970s saw the rise of the American Indian Movement (AIM), which began in the summer of 1968 in Minneapolis as an urban Native effort to stop police brutality against Indian people. By the mid-1970s, the federal government had begun to recognize American Indian religious rights with the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act in 1978 during the Jimmy Carter administration. Federal court decisions followed to support American Indian religious practices, but legislation and court battles focused mainly on cultural and treaty rights.

As mentioned, other Indians joined the Native American Church. The history of the NAC began with the introduction of peyote in the Southwest and became increasingly popular in the 1880s. Two versions of the Native American Church, the Half Moon and Big Moon (also called Cross Fire), developed as the NAC became widely recognized in the early twentieth century. By 1922, the NAC had 22,000 members. As more Indians searched for belief in something relevant to life, this modern Indian religion grew with a membership currently estimated at 250,000.

Christianity made a great impact on urban Indians. One survey in 1950 of Christian Missions indicated thirty-six Protestant denominations housing 39,200 Indian Christians. By the early 1990s there were several hundred ordained Christian ministers of American Indian descent. In 1974 the United Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, United Methodist, American Baptist, United Church of Christ, and Reformed and Christian Reformed indicated 452 Indian parishes operating with a staff of 177 missionaries.

By the end of the twentieth century, at least seventeen states had major Indian Christian organizations: the Alaska Native Brotherhood in Alaska; American Indian Bible College, Chief Inc., and United Indian Missions, Inc., in Arizona; American Indian Liberation Crusade, Inc., and the Native American Ministry Project in California; Four Corners School of the Bible in Colorado; Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions and Friends Committee on National Legislation in the District of Columbia; Commission for Multicultural Ministries of ELCA Native American Program in Illinois; Associated Executive Committee of Friends in Indiana; Mennonite Indian Leaders' Council in Kansas; Council for American Indian Ministries (CAIM)/United Church of Christ in Minnesota; Assemblies of God/Division of Home Missions in Missouri; Tekakwitha Conference National Center in Montana; American Indian Bible Missions, Inc., in New Mexico; American Bible Society, Episcopal Council of Indian Ministries, Interreligious Foundation for Community Organizations (IFCO), National Council of the Church of Christ in the United States of America, Native American International Caucus/United Methodist Church, and Native American Ministries, United Presbyterian Church USA in New York; National Native American Ancestral Religion in North Carolina; American Baptist Indian Caucus and Native American Field Office of the Episcopal Church in Oklahoma; American Friends Service Committee in Pennsylvania; Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Indian Committee in Utah; and North American Indian Mission (NAIM) Ministries in Washington.

Since the introduction of Christianity to American Indians, many Native peoples have converted from their Native beliefs, as noted by the famous conversion of Black Elk of the Oglala to Catholicism. Since termination and relocation,

an increasing conversion among American Indians has occurred to establish their own kinds of Christianity, such as Hopi Catholics, Choctaw Methodists, Muskogee Creek Baptists, and the like, while many Indian people have converted to the mainstream way of Episcopalians, Lutherans, and Pentecostals. Such conversions are too numerous to estimate. However, many scholars and community members have continued to argue that American Indians frequently have more than one religious belief, practicing Native religions and Christianity simultaneously and without apparent contradiction, a dual mode that most non-Native people would see as a clash of religious ideologies.

Traditionalism of tribal beliefs has persisted in spite of the mainstream influence on Native Americans. Various individuals such as Sanapia of the Comanche, Philip Deer of the Muskogee Creek, and Willie Lena of the Oklahoma Seminole have carried forward the traditional beliefs and cultural practices of their people. While it is typical that elders of a community practice the old cultural ways of the people, new generations of Indians are finding it increasingly difficult to know what is traditional. A renaissance began during the 1970s to increase the knowledge about tribal histories, family genealogies, and cultural traditions. Relocated Indians in cities found it increasingly difficult to maintain connections with those on the reservations.

With each generation of American Indians becoming more urbanized and adopting mainstream values, tribal languages are spoken less all the time and cultural ways are being lost. Specifically, fewer American Indians are learning the languages of their people or practicing traditional ways. At the end of the twentieth century, an estimated 210 tribal languages were spoken among the 562 federally recognized tribes in the United States.

Borrowing the ways of other people has been an effective means of cultural survival for Native peoples in the United States. Adopting the technologies of others to better meet the needs of daily life, such as hunting, has enhanced Indian life while introducing new material items to Native cultures.

As American Indian people live adjacent to and within the American mainstream, their identities as Native people are held intact. They have changed many of their cultural ways to adjust to modern times, but they are still American Indians. Religion remains an integral part of their lives.

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See also Black Elk; Christianity, Indianization of; Law, Legislation, and Native Religion; Religious Leadership, Plains; Reservations, Spiritual and Cultural Implications

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Tobacco, Sacred Use of

The single feature unique to American Indian religions is the ritual use of tobacco smoke (a variety of tobacco is chewed but not smoked by Native Australians). Elsewhere in the world one can find such relatively common aspects of American Indian religion as the ritual use of sweat ceremonials, fermented beverages, dog sacrifice, shamanic trance, and so forth. The focus on tobacco as the primary sacred plant is ubiquitous throughout the Americas save for the Arctic and the southern tip of South America.

The word "tobacco" comes from a linguistic misunderstanding by Christopher Columbus, who thought that a Carib word for a *Y*-shaped inhaling instrument meant the plant itself. The early French explorers used *petun,* a Brazilian Tupi word for the plant.

Tobacco is classified botanically as the genus *Nicotiana* Linnaeus, named after a sixteenth-century French ambassador to Lisbon, Jean Nicot; it belongs to the nightshade family (*Solanaceae*), which includes the potato and eggplant. Most of the sixty-four species in the genus are native to the Americas.

Although it is questionable whether tobacco is technically a psychoactive substance, it is used in healing practices among Native peoples in Central and South America in ways similar to their use of powerful psychoactive plants. Nicotine liberates the neurohumor norepinephrine, which is chemically related to mescaline, and it releases the hormones epinephrine, dopamine, and serotonin.

Euro-American domestic tobacco is derived from *N. tabacum* L. from the Caribbean; in eastern North America, the native plant is *N. rustica* L. In the Plains, three other varieties were grown, and several yet different varieties were cultivated on the West Coast.

N. rustica L. is an attractive plant that varies in height from two to four feet, depending on climate and soil, and has medium-size leaves and small, yellow blossoms. Both the dried leaves and the blossoms are smoked. The leaves dry green, the preferred color, in shade. The plant is hardy and self-seeding. The seeds are quite tiny, similar to mustard seeds in size.

In discussing tobacco in Native religion, one is considering not only varieties of the genus *Nicotiana* but also

A medicine bundle belonging to the weasel chapter of the Crow Tobacco Society. During ceremonies the bundle is opened and women dance with the weasel skins to obtain supernatural powers that ensure the fertility of the sacred tobacco and so the growth of the Crow tribe as a whole. (Werner Forman/Corbis)

other substances either mixed with *Nicotiana* or smoked in its place when it was not available. Those alternatives include the inner bark of certain trees of the genus *Cornus,* such as red osier, the leaves of one of the sumacs (*Rhus glabra*) when they have turned red in the autumn, and the leaves of bearberry (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*). All these plants have an association with red, symbolizing blood, the essence of life: the outer bark of red osier is red; sumac leaves turn brilliant red in autumn; and bearberry has red berries and the dried leaves are similar to the green of shade-dried tobacco leaves. The Algonquin language word *kinnikinnick* is applied to smoking mixtures as well as individual elements.

Tobacco is the oldest domesticant in the Americas, dating to more than 8,000 years ago in central South America. It probably reached the middle of North America some 4,000 years ago. The cultivation of tobacco is generally quite distinct from the growing of plant foods. In some Plains cultures only tobacco is grown, and it is cultivated by men; plants for food, with few exceptions, are everywhere traditionally grown by women. Frequently, tobacco is but sown and allowed to develop with no further human assistance or allowed to self-seed. Tobacco horticulture requires special rituals and is an especially sacred act; those who grow it often belonging to ritual societies.

The purpose of offering tobacco, either directly or as smoke, is for communication with the spirits. The primary mode of offering tobacco is to place the leaves directly in or on the earth, water, sacred stones and plants, and the remains of animals/spirits. Whenever herbs, trees, animals, or stones are taken for use, especially sacred use, tobacco is placed by the requested substance as it is asked to offer itself for human needs.

Other nonsmoking uses of tobacco include snuffing the powdered leaves into the nasal passages, chewing the leaves, ingesting the powdered leaves mixed with other substances, as enemas, and imbibing liquid infusions from the leaves, often as a purifying emetic. Snuff was common to a number of areas of the Caribbean and South America, where a forked pipette was used to facilitate the inhaling of the powdered leaves or a liquid infusion. Chewing tobacco or placing powdered tobacco in the mouth, usually mixed with lime, was practiced from California south through much of South America.

The most common means of offering tobacco smoke to spirits is the most direct: throwing the leaves on fire or placing them on coals. Other methods involve those making the offering bringing the tobacco smoke into themselves and then blowing it toward the spiritual recipient. The sharing of the smoke between the one making the offering and the spirit receiving it creates communion between the two.

In being thrown on fire or coals, tobacco in North America becomes similar to the sacred fumigants. These include cedar leaves in the East, sweetgrass in the Central region, sage in the Plains, and juniper and pine needles in the Southwest; presently, the use of these substances is not limited to specific geographic areas. This smoke is used to purify the place, participants, paraphernalia, and offerings used in ceremonies.

There are several methods of smoking, often indicating regional preferences. The simplest is to place one's head over burning leaves and inhale. Next in order of complexity is the cigar, a roll of leaves ignited at one end, with the smoke drawn into the mouth through the other. This was the most common method of smoking in the Caribbean and Mesoamerica, and cigars are still used ritually by the highland Maya. Next in complexity is the

placing of shredded tobacco in a tubular, combustible container as a reed or rolled corn husk. This method of ritually smoking tobacco is found from the American Southwest through much of South America. Finally, there are manufactured smoking devices—that is, pipes—that are the most common form of containing tobacco for smoking in North America.

Jordan Paper

See also Bundles, Sacred Bundle Traditions; Healing Traditions, California; Health and Wellness, Traditional Approaches; Herbalism; Sacred Pipe

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Totem Poles

One of the most frequently illustrated and commonly photographed types of Northwest coast art is the totem pole, which has become the stereotypical Northwest coast artwork. It turns out that the totem pole as we think of it today—a tall, elaborately carved and painted crest monument erected outdoors—is a relatively recent development in Northwest coast art history, emerging from the coalescence of several different aboriginal artistic traditions. In 1791, John Bartlett, a seaman on the ship *Gustavus III,* drew the earliest known depiction of a totem pole, a 40-foot-high frontal pole in the Haida village of Dadens on Haida Gwaii. While that was the first recorded image of a totem pole, two years earlier, John Meares had sighted and briefly mentioned an exterior pole on North Island. Before that time no traveler had described or illustrated exterior poles. By 1829, Skidegate had thirty to forty poles in what was clearly a proliferation of that type of carving. By the 1880s, Haida villages boasted forests of poles.

The Northwest coast totem pole as we now know it appears to have developed, shortly after contact, out of several aboriginal types of art: interior house posts that depicted esteemed crests stacked one atop the other, free-standing funerary sculptures that stood outside houses, and painted house facades that illustrated crests to all who passed the structure. With metal tools artists could carve larger and more complex works of art, and commercial paints could facilitate their decoration. The wealth that poured in as a result of the fur trade contributed to the production of these status sym-

A totem pole carved by members of the Haida Nation in the village of Skidegate, British Columbia. (Christopher Morris/Corbis)

bols, which became among some groups increasingly abundant as the century progressed. By the second half of the nineteenth century, totem poles—which combined the form of the housepost, the freestanding exterior sculptures of the funerary monuments, and the public declaration of crest imagery of the house front—had become significant cultural features of the Haida, Tsimshian, and some southern Tlingit villages.

Totem poles were not uniformly favored throughout the Northwest coast during the nineteenth century. Unlike the Haida, whose every village had an abundance of poles, the Tlingit to the north had relatively few poles. Only the southern Tlingit included totem poles as part of their cultural landscape, presumably because of their proximity to the Haida. In contrast, residents of Klukwan, one of the most conservative Tlingit communities, considered poles foreign and thus limited their heraldic carvings to house posts, such as those from the Whale House (*see* Art [Traditional and Contemporary], Northwest Coast). The Wakashan-speaking Kwakwak'wakw and the Nuu-chah-nulth as well as the Nuxalk also had relatively few totem poles at this time. Among the Nuu-chah-nulth, most were simple poles surmounted by birds. By the first decade of the twentieth century, however, the Kwakwak'wakw produced numerous poles, perhaps as defiant expressions of cultural sovereignty.

During the early twentieth century, both the Canadian and U.S. governments recognized the value of totem poles as tourist attractions, and they supported projects for their restoration. Between 1926 and 1930 the Canadian government collaborated with the Canadian National Railway to restore thirty Tsimshian poles along the railroad's Skeena River route. Although during the first few years the restorations were carried off relatively successfully, by 1927 antagonism toward the project began to develop. Some Tsimshian were particularly incensed that the government, which just a few years earlier had

Tsimshian Indians use guide ropes to put a totem pole into place at a gathering of three clans in Metlakatla, Alaska. (Bob Rowan/Progressive Image/Corbis)

strongly discouraged totem pole carving, now spent money on their preservation.

Across the border in southeast Alaska, another totem pole project got underway a few years later. In 1933, President Roosevelt had approved the founding of the Indian Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). In Alaska the first projects under this New Deal program, such as construction of housing for teachers and nurses in Hoona, were intended to improve the social conditions of the Natives. By 1938 the Indian CCC had moved into the more aesthetically oriented activity of restoring totem poles. That project, managed by the Forest Service, supported the retrieval of poles from abandoned villages, their restoration by Native artists, and their erection along the ferry route.

By around 1940 museums had begun to play increasingly larger roles in totem pole salvage. In 1957 an effort to salvage some Haida totem poles from Ninstints brought some exquisite artworks to Victoria for safekeeping. Unlike those who had earlier shown no sensitivity toward the Natives whose cultural treasures they were collecting, Wilson Duff of the British Columbia Provincial Museum (now the Royal British Columbia Museum) first ap-

proached the Skidegate Band to obtain their permission for the project. Only after receiving their approval did Duff and a crew including artist Bill Reid and Harry Hawthorne of the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology travel to the southernmost tip of Haida Gwaii and remove poles to be preserved in museums.

In addition to salvage projects, museums have become involved in sponsoring totem pole restoration or carving. The two major British Columbia museums, the Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria and the Museum of Anthropology on the University of British Columbia campus in Vancouver, were innovative in this respect. In 1947, Kwakwak'wakw master Mungo Martin began restoring some old poles and carved some new ones for the University of British Columbia's Museum of Anthropology. Five years later Martin went to the British Columbia Provincial Museum in Victoria as the chief carver in that museum's totem pole restoration program. Martin's legacy at the Royal British Columbia Museum is impressive, for his successors there include Kwakwak'wakw artists Henry Hunt, Tony Hunt, and Richard Hunt, and Nuu-chah-nulth Tim Paul.

Mungo Martin's Big House and Dzoonokwa totem pole in Thunderbird Park, outside the Royal British Columbia Museum at Victoria. 1993. (Gunter Marx Photography/Corbis)

Today totem poles flourish, with expert carvers of every group creating new monuments. Many Native villages up and down the coast have poles declaring the cultural strength of their inhabitants. Recently carved poles stand in cities and towns in Alaska, British Columbia, and Washington state, having been commissioned by museums, municipalities, and private donors. One can find contemporary Northwest coast totem poles throughout the United States and Canada, as well as in Europe, Asia, and the Pacific.

Aldona Jonaitis

See also Art (Traditional and Contemporary), Northwest Coast; Ceremony and Ritual, Northwest; Healing Traditions, Northwest; Oral Traditions, Northwest Coast; Power, Northwest Coast; Religious Leaders, Northwest; Sacred Societies, Northwest Coast

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Trail of Tears

The Trail of Tears, in its most commonly used meaning, refers to the 1838–1839 forced migration of the Cherokee people from their traditional homeland in Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee to "Indian Territory" west of the Mississippi River—territory that later became Arkansas and Oklahoma. Because approximately one in four of the more than 16,000 Cherokee people who began the journey died as a result of the ordeal, the Cherokee came to call their removal *Nunna-da-ul-tsun-yi,* "The trail where we cried"—hence the English name, Trail of Tears.

Taken more broadly, the term "Trail of Tears" refers to the larger experience of Indian Removal set in motion by the Removal Act, which passed the U.S. Congress in 1830. In particular, the five tribes that resided in the Southeastern states—the Choctaw, the Muskogee (Creek), the Chickasaw, and the Seminole, as well as the Cherokee, collectively known to the people of the United States as the "Five Civilized Tribes"—have all used the term "Trail of Tears" to refer to their forced removal. While the actual name "Trail of Tears" was said to have been first used by the Choctaw during their removal ordeal in 1831, more than likely each tribe removed used some name for their experience that could warrant the expression, whether or not that name is known to us today. Certainly the number of deaths that each tribe endured must have left behind a trail of tears for every mile the

Cherokee Trail of Tears memorial overlooking the Arkansas River, Cadron Settlement Park, Conway, Arkansas. (North Wind Picture Archives)

people traveled. The impact of the Trail on the peoples who walked it, and on their religious and spiritual traditions, lingers to haunt their tribes and descendants even in the present day.

The Election of Andrew Jackson and the Beginnings of Removal

Andrew Jackson was elected president in 1828 on a platform of Indian removal, and in his inaugural address he called for the removal of all Indians remaining east of the Mississippi. Moreover, contradicting what had been federal policy since the passage of the Non-Intercourse Act of 1791, Jackson called for states to design and enforce their own Indian policies, without consultation with the federal government. In Georgia, where gold was discovered in the same year that Jackson took office, state legislators moved with great speed to write laws claiming jurisdiction over Cherokee lands and resources. They began to survey Cherokee lands and divide them into sections to distribute to incoming settlers.

The U.S. Congress followed Jackson's program by passing the Removal Act of 1830, mandating federal negotiations with tribes to exchange all remaining Indian lands east of the Mississippi for equivalent portions of land west of the Mississippi, in what would be called "In-

dian Territory." While the terms of the Removal Act directed only that there be negotiations, President Jackson proceeded as though Congress had mandated forced removal, with or without a legally negotiated treaty. Every tribe with holdings remaining in the east—but particularly those in the Southeast, who still lived almost entirely in their original homelands—would be affected by these developments.

Removal of the "Five Civilized Tribes": The Choctaw and the Chickasaw

The Choctaw and the Chickasaw were the tribes of the Southeast with the westernmost locations; each of their homelands already extended to the shores of the Mississippi River. The Chickasaw were a relatively small tribe, numbering in 1830 approximately 4,000 persons. They occupied the northern part of Mississippi, from the great river eastward, extending slightly north into Tennessee and as far as a few miles into Alabama. The 25,000 Choctaw held a much larger territory extending from the river eastward, bordering the Chickasaw on the north and occupying much of the rest of Mississippi into Alabama. Like most tribes, both the Choctaw and the Chickasaw already had ceded large portions of land in treaties made with the United States between the end of the Revolutionary War and the time of forced removal; they had hoped that by cooperating with the new government and by giving up part of their land they could keep the rest. But the Removal Act demanded all land east of the Mississippi, and the negotiators from Washington would no longer accept partial results.

On September 27, 1830, foreshadowing what would happen later with the Cherokee, a minority of Choctaw elders and chiefs signed the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, agreeing to exchange 11 million acres of land east of the Mississippi for 15 million acres north of the Red River, extending across the southern half of what would later become the state of Oklahoma. A larger contingent of elders, chiefs, and common people had initially come to the meeting with Jackson's secretary of war John Eaton and his favorite nephew-by-marriage and fellow Indian fighter, General John Coffee, but they had left in disgust after two weeks of negotiations. Those who remained were the chiefs most willing to sign if enough money changed hands, and thus the treaty was made. To the U.S. Senate, one signed Indian treaty looked like any other; if no one told them it was fraudulent within its own nation, the senators, even those disposed to giving the Indians justice, had no way to know they were being presented with a problematic document. Thus the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek was ratified and enforced.

Between 1831 and 1839 the Choctaw peoples, moving in waves, attempted the trip to Indian territory. Some 6,000 perished along the way from cholera, shipwreck, starvation, exposure, or a variety of other diseases. Approximately 7,000 remained in Mississippi or left the trail

and found their way back home, hiding in the woods and swamps or blending in with slave communities that already contained mixed-blood Indians. Those who survived the journey settled along the Red River, just north of the boundary with the independent Republic of Texas. There they faced the double challenge of rebuilding themselves as a nation and bringing harmony between those who had signed the treaty and those who had not. That same challenge would face their neighbors, the Cherokee, for very similar reasons.

The Chickasaw, on the other hand, made their move under more favorable conditions and with much less loss of life. Both they and the federal government had learned from the Choctaw disaster, and better provisions were made for health and safety along the Chickasaw's trail. By the end of 1838 almost all the Chickasaw people had relocated west of the Choctaw area in Indian Territory.

The Muskogee (Creek) and the Seminole

Like the Choctaw and the Cherokee, the Muskogee (Creek) people, located east of the Choctaw and south of the Cherokee, were divided over issues of assimilation and removal, but the Muskogees' most profound crisis had come long before the U.S. Congress became involved in removal. A portion of the Muskogee warriors known as the Red Sticks had sided with the British in the War of 1812. The split engendered by those events continued into what would come to be known as the Creek Wars of 1813–1814. In reality, the 1813–1814 events are more correctly seen as a Creek civil war, with the United States and the Cherokee siding with the more assimilated Creeks against the more traditional Red Stick Creeks. Joel Martin has described the event as a "sacred revolt" by the traditionalists in a last effort to preserve culture and spiritual tradition against the onslaught of "civilization." Even after the "progressives" won the wars, the culture battles continued. Ultimately, with the memory of the bloody Creek Wars still in the white settlers' memories and with the Muskogee peoples still deeply divided among themselves, removal of the Muskogee became a nightmarish reality. By 1837, 15,000 Muskogee had reached Indian Territory alive, but at least 3,500 were dead from disease, starvation, accident, exposure, or heartbreak.

An uncertain number of Muskogee resisted removal by fleeing toward Florida to live with relatives among the Seminole. The Seminole, unlike the other southeastern tribes, resisted the Removal Act militarily. They too, however, ultimately were divided over removal, and some did move west after years of fighting to save their homelands.

The Cherokee

With the most northern location of the five tribes, the Cherokee had experienced the longest period of contact with whites and the most positive history of intermarriage and cultural mingling.

Many Cherokee had adopted white styles of dress, were bilingual, and were well educated in both the white and the Cherokee sense. A large number of "promising" young men had been sent by the missionaries to be educated in New England schools, and some had married young ladies of New England. Among the gifts of civilization they had adopted, none perhaps was as strong as the belief and trust in American democracy. Indeed, feeling empowered to marry whomever they wished and being blind to race and class demonstrated not merely love of a young lady but also faith in the ideals of equality for all under the law. Although the Cherokee were related to the Iroquois people, who had given the early colonists many of their ideas about democracy and who had provided much of the substance of the constitutional law the colonists finally adopted, the Cherokee themselves had not been functioning under a written constitution. Still, they were familiar with democracy from their practice of giving everyone, both men and women, voice in the tribal councils, and they quickly came to believe in the constitutional version of democracy that their New England education had taught them governed the United States. By the Cherokee's understanding of U.S. democracy, Georgia could not do what it was trying to do, and the United States could not do what it was threatening to do when it passed the Removal Act. Thus, in accordance with democratic principles, the Cherokee brought suit in the courts.

In their first suit, *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831), the Cherokee people argued that the Cherokee Nation had a legal relationship with the United States as a nation, not with Georgia as a state. Thus state law could not be forced on them apart from federal law. Chief Justice John Marshall declined to take the case as such, saying that the tribe was neither a foreign nation nor composed of U.S. citizens but, rather, was a "domestic dependent nation." Marshall implied that he would be willing to rule in a case involving a U.S. citizen, and within a year the Cherokee had such a case to bring him. Through all of the legal efforts, the most "civilized" and "progressive" of the Cherokee leaders held to their faith that justice and democracy would surely triumph.

The Role of Christian Missionaries

In the several decades before and for nearly a century after removal, colonial opinion, followed by official U.S. government policy, held that civilization and Christianization for the Indian went hand in hand. The overall goal of both was assimilation. Being considered "civilized" meant, in part, that the southeastern tribes had become receptive to the overtures of Protestant missionaries. While the proportion who accepted Christianity never approached a majority in any tribe, the numbers were large enough, and their impact great enough, that the story of removal cannot be told apart from the story of the missionaries.

A unidimensional view of missions would see them as simply one more

point of pressure toward the assimilation that was threatening the continued existence of Indians as culturally distinct peoples in every part of the continent. From that viewpoint, one might expect the missionaries to have worked hand in hand with federal agents to dispatch the peoples to Indian Territory as rapidly as possible, since their souls could be saved just as well out of view of the white settlers. Such an analysis would be quite incomplete, as the case of the Cherokee missions exemplifies.

Several groups of missionaries were laboring in Cherokee country at the time of the Removal Act, but the key figures with regard to removal were the Baptist Evan Jones and the Congregationalist Samuel Worcester. Both men had learned to speak Cherokee fluently, and both were engaged in projects to translate the Bible into Cherokee, using the syllabary script developed by Sequoyah and read by nearly all speakers of the language. Like most missionaries, both Jones and Worcester took the side of the people to whom they ministered when threats to the land came from Washington.

Evan Jones, in particular, is remembered for teaching the Cherokee people that God sided with the oppressed of the world. Just as he had looked with compassion on the Hebrew slaves, so God would look with compassion on the Cherokee who were threatened by the might of the United States. To recognize how radical this missionary theology would have sounded to many white citizens of the United States, particularly to those settlers waiting to take Cherokee land as soon as it was vacated, one need only think of the theology implicit in the soon-to-be-proclaimed doctrine of Manifest Destiny, already incipient in American political realities. From William Bradford and Plymouth Plantation to Andrew Jackson and beyond, white Christians would say quite directly that God had ordained for them to take over the North American continent, that God had prepared the land for their arrival, and that their rights to the New World paralleled the rights God gave to the children of Israel, to whom Christ Jesus had made them the rightful heirs.

The colonists saw their journey to the shores of the New World and from those shores on to the frontier, wherever that frontier might lead, as paralleling the migration of Abraham to the land where God directed, or the exodus of the Hebrew slaves into the promised land. Now America was their promised land. God could not intend the "pagan savages" to continue on the land, preachers in the settlers' churches taught, for the savages were not among the "chosen people" and were not subduing and dominating the earth as God had commanded in Genesis 1:28. The theology of most of white America and the theology of the missionaries differed so radically that chiefs of both the Creek and the Cherokee were reported to have questioned whether the other Christians were even reading the same Bible as the one the missionaries had translated. Chief Junaluska, a great

Eastern Cherokee warrior who saved the life of Andrew Jackson at the Battle of the Horseshoe Bend (a kindness he later regretted), made a typical comment upon hearing the first reading of the Gospel of Matthew in his own language: "Well, it seems to be a good book—strange that the white people are not better, after having had it so long" (Mooney 1992, 163).

The Bible as the missionaries presented it to the people did seem, for the most part, to be a good book. Evan Jones, more than the other missionaries, asked that the people accept Jesus but did not demand that they reject all of their traditional beliefs and practices. While most missionaries were not as tolerant of traditional Cherokee culture as Jones, all looked for elements of the peoples' old beliefs onto which Christianity could be grafted, hoping that in that way the new faith would take better root and flourish.

Those Protestant groups that had become successful by the 1830s owed their success in large part to their missionaries' having become a part of the communities in which they labored. Integrated into the peoples' lives, the missionaries felt that their homes were threatened by removal, just as the homes of the Indians were threatened. Thus Samuel Worcester maintained he was simply following his calling as a minister when he went to jail in Georgia rather than follow the new state ordinance that compelled all white people living in Cherokee territories to register with the state. The other missionaries preached on the civilly disobedient Daniel going to the lion's den and the apostles Paul and Silas going to jail to explain what Worcester was doing. Worcester's long imprisonment provided the Cherokees with the opportunity they needed to return to Justice Marshall's court.

In the lawsuit that Worcester brought on behalf of himself and the Cherokee Nation, *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), Marshall ruled in the missionary's behalf, saying that the "Cherokee Nation . . . is a distinct community, occupying its own territory, . . . in which the laws of Georgia can have no force, and which the citizens of Georgia have no right to enter, but with the assent of the Cherokees" (Perdue and Green, 1995). Thus the Supreme Court nullified all of Georgia's laws against the Cherokees and supported the long-standing doctrine of a national Indian policy, not a state-by-state policy.

The bringing of the suits, the support of the missionaries, and the decision of the court were all closely watched by Indian peoples and their supporters throughout the country. Marshall's ruling was welcomed with rejoicing and thanksgiving and was seen as validating the ideal of Christian democracy that the missionaries, both religious and cultural, had been preaching to the Indians. It supported the idea that red people and white people could live side by side on the land as children of the same great Father in Washington as well as the same great Father in Heaven. But even while the missionaries were leading their Indian converts in praising God for the

blessings of democracy, the great Father in Washington, President Andrew Jackson, the Indian fighter and champion of removal, was telling the states to ignore Justice Marshall's ruling.

The Double Tragedy of Cherokee Idealism: John Ross vs. John Ridge

Several small groups of Cherokee had removed to Indian Territory on their own, even before the lawsuits were settled, to avoid being forced to move later. But the failure of *Worcester v. Georgia* to secure Cherokee title to the lands led to the final split within the Cherokee nation. The group of Cherokee led by Major John Ridge, mostly mixed bloods and often called assimilationists, who had been most closely allied with Worcester and with the publication of the Cherokee *Phoenix* newspaper, became known as the Treaty Party. They argued that removal was now inevitable and that the best thing for the people would be to negotiate a favorable treaty and make the move on their own terms. Principal Chief John Ross, also a mixed-blood Cherokee, and also assimilated in many ways, who was closer to the Baptist missions and Evan Jones, continued to believe that the ideals of democracy would win out. The vast majority of the Cherokee people supported their chief and formed what would be called the Patriot Party.

Viewing the split as simply one between assimilationists and traditionalists ignores the complexity of the issues: cultural, political, and also spiritual. Both groups had accepted a part of the American dream, and yet both believed deeply in the preservation of their people. Both John Ridge and John Ross thought what they were doing would best ensure the survival of the Cherokee. Both were themselves wealthy plantation owners who served their nation politically because of their deep love for their people. John Ross was principal chief, while John Ridge was the eminent speaker of the Tribal Council. Both were considered by the whites to be pro-Christian progressives, truly "civilized" Indians.

For Ross, survival of the people meant survival on the land. For Ridge, survival meant survival intact as a people, in as healthy a condition as possible and with the resources needed to start a new life. On December 29, 1835, while Chief Ross was in Washington, D.C., trying to see the president, Major Ridge and other members of his party signed a treaty at the Cherokee capital of New Echota agreeing to move the Cherokee people to Indian Territory. The sale of lands without tribal consent, according to the Cherokee constitution adopted only a few years before, was punishable by death; Major Ridge hoped that he could persuade the rest of the people that the move would be their best chance for survival. Even as he signed he said, "Today I am signing my own death warrant."

Happenings in the Cherokee Nation were news all over the United States, especially in the nation's capital. John Ross traveled again to Washington and demanded that the president, by then Van

Buren, investigate the fraudulent treaty, presenting a petition to the Senate signed by 15,665 Cherokees—ostensibly every man, woman, and child who had not signed the Treaty of New Echota. Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote to Van Buren, saying, "A crime is projected that confounds our understandings by its magnitude, a crime that really deprives us, as well as the Cherokee, of a country." Emerson, along with other New England intellectuals, understood the philosophical importance of what was occurring and saw clearly that a juncture was about to be crossed from which the new nation could never return. Either equality under the law applied to all, or in reality it applied to none. Eminent statesmen including Henry Clay and Davy Crockett spoke passionately against ratification of the Treaty of New Echota. In the end the treaty was ratified by the U.S. Senate, but by only one vote.

After ratification, one group of about five hundred and another of nearly four hundred Cherokee set out west. But even as hope for a legal remedy was vanishing, the rest of the Cherokee remained on their land until they were rounded up by soldiers and forced into stockades to await removal. In 1839, after the removal was complete, the signers of the Treaty of New Echota were executed by assassination in Indian Territory, as they knew they would be. John Ridge died a villain and a traitor, while John Ross died years later in old age as a patriot and hero. Both men died believing in the ideals of democracy that were their blood heritage as Cherokee but that they had learned in their education as "civilized" Indians. Although only John Ross traveled the officially named Trail of Tears, the Ridges, like all who were removed, traveled their different trail with their own measure of grief, their progressive hope in the ideals of civilization and American democracy shattered.

Religious and Spiritual Implications of Removal

In focusing on the political intrigues of removal, its profound impact on the religious and spiritual lives and traditions of the peoples easily can be overlooked. As matrilineal and matrilocal peoples, the nations of the Eastern Woodlands, north and south, as well as of the Atlantic Coast, practiced spiritual traditions organized around the agricultural seasons. Like most Native American peoples, they conducted their ceremonies in long-revered sacred locations. These ancient religious traditions, unlike those of the Christian Euro-Americans now controlling the peoples' homelands, were not thought of as "portable." Whereas the Christian god had begun his relationship with his "chosen people" by commanding Abraham to migrate west to an unknown land, the creators of the Indian peoples had rooted each of them in a particular land and made corn grow there to sustain them. In their land they had birthed their children, buried their dead, and received their original instructions on how to live in the world. Removal from their traditional homelands

provoked for Indian peoples a profound spiritual crisis that served to make the obvious political and personal crises even more acutely felt, both by individuals and by each nation as a whole.

Although the Christian and pro-Christian groups in each tribe played key roles in the leadership of both proremoval and antiremoval parties, the majority of people in each tribe were religious traditionalists. Even many of the pro-Christian progressives accepted missionaries for what they could offer in education, not for what they brought in religion. Until removal, ceremony and ritual, as well as traditional healing arts, continued to be practiced much as they had been in the peoples' lands since time before memory.

Both Christian missionaries as well as traditional healers and ritual leaders accompanied the peoples on their various trails. In addition, by the time of removal each denomination had trained and ordained Native preachers to work alongside of the missionaries. Evan Jones, who with a handful of missionaries of other denominations stayed with the Cherokee while they were confined to internment camps awaiting removal, was gratified to report that "the Christians, the salt of the earth, are pretty generally distributed among the several detachments of prisoners" (McLoughlin 1994, 100). Many converts were won, Jones reported. The same was true among the Choctaw, where the Bible was read each night along the trail and hymns were sung as the people walked, led as often by Choctaws who had served as interpreters for the missionaries as by the few missionaries who remained with the Choctaw at removal (Noley 1998).

At the same time the Christians were finding a place of ministry in the midst of the removal tragedy, a revival of traditional religion was occurring. The ancient ceremonies and dances led by the *adonisgi* were as popular in the Cherokee camps as the Christian services of the missionary and Native preachers. As McLoughlin comments: "What was remarkable was the lack of friction between the two religious groups. Each allowed the other the consolations of the religion of his or her choice" (1994, 101).

Once Indian Territory was reached, however, the lack of sacred sites and the press of the tasks of reconstituting themselves as peoples gave advantage to the Christians in continuing the practices of their faith. Although they had not known it when they first believed, the Christians had in fact embraced a portable faith, one that had stories of removals, exiles, and migrations that could comfort them in their grief. Like the Jews in Babylon, the Native peoples who had been removed learned that they could still sing the creator's song in a new land.

The Impact of the Trail of Tears on Its Contemporary Survivors

Those who made it to Indian Territory knew they were the survivors. For reasons unknown, they were alive while many they loved had been buried along the Trail. As they raised children who

barely remembered another land, and as they birthed new children in new homes, those who survived taught their children that they too would be survivors. The experience of surviving the Trail continues to be formative on its descendants as parents continue to say to their children: "But we are survivors." Journalist Sarah Vowell explained on National Public Radio's *This American Life* that she knows she is alive only because her great-grandparents survived the Trail of Tears. Although she knows herself and her twin sister to be "typical American mutts" with blood of several nations, "only the Cherokee and the Swedish really mattered. . . . Here's what we knew about ourselves [as children]," she says: "Ellis Island. Trail of Tears. . . . Even the youngest child knows what tears mean" (Vowell 1998).

In 1987, the National Park Service designated 2,200 miles of land and water routes traveled by the Cherokee as a National Historic Trail. Since that time, the Trail has become something of a pilgrimage path for survivors. As they traveled the Trail in 1998, seeking to understand the stories they had been told as children, Sarah Vowell and her sister Amy experienced for themselves some of the conflicted feelings that beset their Cherokee ancestors in the 1830s. "The nausea we suffer standing on the broken promises at Ross's Landing are peculiar to a democracy, because in a democracy we're all responsible for everything our government does," Sarah explained. "The more I learn, the worse I feel, and the more hatred I feel toward this country that I still love, and therefore the more conflicted" (ibid.).

As Sarah Vowell's statement indicates, the conflicted feelings that divided John Ridge and John Ross continue to plague the survivors of the Trail into the contemporary age. Anyone who is today a survivor and an Indian is a citizen, unlike their ancestors who walked the Trail. Many, but still not most, survivors today are as educated as the people's leaders were at the time of removal. But the full-bloods and mixed bloods are still suspicious of each other. The racism that is the legacy of slavery often divides black Indians from white Indians and both from full-bloods. Those trying to revive long-forgotten or barely remembered religious and spiritual ceremonies are suspicious and resentful of Christian Indians who also want to be a part of tradition. The Identity Wars are not as bloody as the old feuds, but the pain may be even more intense because it does not produce an early death.

Portions of the removed tribes that fled from the Trail along the way, or who hid from its beginning, have gained strength and been re-recognized as Indian. They too are survivors, without a doubt, but their formative influences differ from those of Trail descendants; thus a new conflict within the peoples has been born.

When descendants of survivors walk the Historic Trail thinking they are tourists, often they realize, like Sarah and Amy Vowell, that without intending to

they have become pilgrims. They speak of not knowing they had such feelings within them, of wondering where the feelings came from and whether they have always been with them. Often they are angry and want to tell the story again and again. They wonder if the spirits of those who did not survive still linger on the Trail. They say they have become somehow "more Indian" (personal conversations of author with Historic Trail walkers, October 1998, Nashville, Tennessee). The historical event of the Trail of Tears concluded in 1839. But history has demonstrated that the Trail of Tears as an identity-forming event will continue as long as its survivors tell their stories.

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See also Beloved Women, Beloved Men, Beloved Towns; Missionization, Southeast; Oral Traditions, Southeast; Power, Southeast

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Tricksters

Tricksters are mythic characters found in every region of Native North America. Although their names, shapes, and specific meanings vary from culture to culture, tricksters are everywhere an important source of laughter. Trickster stories provide critical cultural teachings, including stories about the creation of the earth, the shape of the cosmos, as well as the origins of significant religious and ceremonial observances. Mixing comic trickster stories with sacred religious teachings may seem profane to those accustomed to the strict separation of religious from secular materials, but as Peggy Beck and Anna Lee Walters point out, "Most Native American sacred traditions have a common belief that humor is a necessary part of the sacred" (Beck, Walters, and Francisco 1977, 31). They observe that Native religious traditions are not caught up with questions of "good" and "evil" but are rather concerned with issues of balance and imbalance. Being too powerful or too serious, Beck and Walters note, could upset the balance of life in a community or environment. Humor, such as that provided by tricksters, is there to "teach us . . . not to take ourselves too seriously. This means, not to make ourselves too important" (ibid.). Overlooking the importance of humor in Native religious conceptions denigrates tricksters to the status of comic relief. Trickster stories provoke sacred laughter as they offer insight into human foibles and weaknesses, as well as providing (as all mythic stories must) opportunities to "envision the possibility of things not ordinarily seen or experienced" (ibid., 61).

Tricksters around North America

The continental landmass we speak of as North America holds many geographic variations, ranging from wetlands to mountains to plains; no single word, definition, or idea captures the range and variety of geographic experiences in North America. So it is with the tricksters who are remembered in the words and imaginations of the Native people of the continent; no single idea or definition adequately captures the variety of tricksters found in different tribal traditions. Perhaps the most famous of Native tricksters is Coyote, who appears in the oral literatures of many Plains, Great Basin, Plateau, West Coast, and desert Southwestern tribal cultures. In other tribal cultures, tricksters have other forms. Raven, Bluejay, and Mink are found in the Pacific Northwest; Spider is found on the Plains (where the Lakota call him Iktomi and the Cheyenne call him Wihio); Hare or Rabbit is spoken of as a trickster

in Southeastern North America (where, combined with African trickster stories, he inspired the tales of B'rer Rabbit); Hare also features in the tales among the Native cultures in the Northeast, the Great Lakes, and Plains regions; elsewhere in the Northeast, Wolverine, Raccoon, Fox, and Turtle are the tricksters. While all of these tricksters have animal names, not every Native culture follows this practice. Tricksters such as the Nanabozho (or Waynaboozhoo, depending on the dialect of Ojibwe being spoken), Wakdjunkaga, Napi, the Old Man, Wisakedjak (anglicized as "Whiskey Jack"), and Glooscap are clearly presented as human in form.

When we think about tricksters and we encounter an animal name such as Raven or Coyote, we might tend to think that the trickster is literally that animal. That is not always so, though it may be. There is no hard and fast rule. An animal name is no guarantee of an animal form. Thus Coyote may be spoken of as an animal by one storyteller, as an animal in man's clothing by another, or as a man named for the animal by yet another—and all three storytellers may be from the same tribal culture. Likewise, though tricksters are almost always male, they may, if the situation demands it, become female, or a baby, or a tree stump. Generally speaking, tricksters throughout North America have the ability to shapeshift. The watchword with tricksters is fluidity. They can move fluidly between the states of animal and human, human and plant, as well as between male and female. Their fluidity also allows them to shift easily between spiritual and material realities; in this ability they reflect or inspire a medicine person's ability to effect the same kind of movement (see Grim 1983, 85–92). Tricksters move beyond all the boundaries that the material world imposes on humanity.

The power of this fluidity has led many non-Indian scholars to wonder if tricksters are best understood as men or as gods. In tribal expression, tricksters are an active presence in cultural life and are treated as neither men nor gods. (Early in the twentieth century, the anthropologist Clark Wissler wrote: "Whenever [I] asked if the Old Man [the trickster] was ever prayed to, the absurdity of the question provoked merriment" among his Blackfeet informants [Wissler and Duvall 1908, 9].) It is perhaps better to regard tricksters as spirits. The Ojibwe refer to their trickster, Nanabozho, as a manitou, a word that translates as "spirit" or "mystery." The Ojibwe ethnologist Basil Johnston notes that "manitou" refers "to realities other than the physical ones of rock, fire, water, air, wood, and flesh—to the unseen realities of individual beings and places and events that are beyond human understanding but are still clearly real" (Johnston 1995, xxi–xxii). Like Nanabozho, tricksters from other tribal traditions benefit from being conceived in terms of the "unseen realities" of mysteries and spirits.

A trickster then can be animal or human while simultaneously male but

sometimes female; a trickster is also a spirit that comes from realities other than the familiar reality of the material world, as well as being a mystery that is "beyond human understanding" yet is "still clearly real." All these things and more, tricksters express and help people imagine what is possible and desirable in the world.

Tricksters in Native Mythic Traditions

Mythic stories—stories full of power and teaching—suspend the familiar reality of the material world, in order to help Native people understand their responsibilities to the ongoing task of creation. Such stories are intrinsically religious, as they reflect on the sacred origins of the world. While trickster stories often seem foolish or whimsical, they too offer important religious or ethical lessons. To understand how a story about the Cheyenne trickster losing his eyeballs contains religious instruction, we need to understand, generally speaking, that there are two types of stories in Native North America.

The first type of story is often spoken of as "mythological," and it offers the important narratives of origins. The second type of story is often referred to as "folklore" or "legend," and here are found tales of adventure and love as well as humorous anecdotes. Terms like "mythological," "folklore," and "legend" often implicitly judge a story, denigrating it as somehow false or unworthy of serious consideration (see Doty 1986, 6–9). A Native story about the battle at Little Big Horn might thus be referred to as a "legend" rather than as an oral history; likewise, a Native story conveying important cultural knowledge might be spoken of as "mythological" rather than as a sacred text. The terms "mythic" and "myth" should not be equated with "false," but rather should be recognized as positive terms that describe the sacred stories and teachings of a people.

Tribal cultures have their own means of distinguishing between these two significant types of stories. The Inuit people refer to stories as being either "old" or "young," as a means of distinguishing between the stories of a prehuman mythic age and the human era we now live in (Bierhorst 1985, 5). Old stories deal with creation and the events of sacred time, while young stories recount events and encounters from human experience. The ethnographer Wendy Wickwire explains the distinction between the two types of stories. Old stories, she writes, are those "which explain how and why the world and its creatures came to be. They come . . . from a prehuman mythological age when the [Native] people were not yet fully human, but partook of both animal and human characteristics" (Wickwire 1989, 16). Young stories, Wickwire writes, "come from the more recent period, the world as we know it today. . . . Some of these stories occurred long ago . . . before the white man, but after the time of the animal-people" (ibid.). While other tribal languages will use other words to distinguish between the types of stories, the

pattern of "old" stories and "young" generally holds across Native America.

These distinctions are crucial to understanding the religious significance of tricksters. Gregory Cajete observes that "stories about the time following creation [but before the human era] are filled with metaphorical tales about transgressions" against the order established in creation. He writes: "Unless one understands his/her place in the whole, there is always a tendency to move beyond, to glorify, to self-aggrandize" (Cajete 2000, 38). Tales of transgression are, in part, cautionary tales, examples of how *not* to behave—which returns us to tricksters.

Trickster stories are often lessons about transgression. When the Cheyenne trickster, Wihio, sees a man who can send his eyes out of his head high up into a tree and then call them back, he wants to learn the trick. The man teaches Wihio but warns him not to do it more than four times a day. Wihio disregards the man's warning, and on the fifth time his eyes do not come back. Punished for his transgression, Wihio is left blind. Shortly thereafter he receives two new eyes, one from a mouse, the other from a buffalo. "But the [buffalo] eye did not fit the socket; most of it was outside. The other was far inside. Thus he remained" (Thompson 1929, 63). We are left with an image of a curiously eyed trickster who, though punished for his misdeed, will not learn from his mistake and will proceed in other stories to transgress other warnings.

The purpose of such stories might seem merely cautionary—that is, from Wihio's example people learn not to misbehave and to heed the instructions offered by other members of the community. While the story has clear religious importance (offering, as it does, guidance to good ethical behavior by the example of what happens when Wihio misbehaves), to focus solely on the "moral" of the story is to overlook other crucial religious elements in such comic stories of transgression.

When the folklorist Barre Toelken asks about the foolish things Ma'ii (as Coyote is named in Diné) does, the Diné storyteller Yellowman answers, "If he did not do all those things, then those things would not be possible in the world" (Toelken and Scott 1981, 80). Toelken understands this to mean that Coyote is more "an enabler whose actions, good or bad, bring certain ideas and actions into the field of possibility" (ibid., 81). The stories about tricksters may be funny and offer simple and direct moral lessons, but they offer more as well. As Yellowman tells Toelken, "Many things about the story are funny, but the story is not funny. . . . Through the stories everything is made possible" (ibid., 80).

Trickster stories then are about possibility: indirectly or directly, tricksters make new things possible. In making things possible, trickster stories deal with the sacred powers of creation. Stories of creation—the "old" stories of a prehuman mythological era—"explain [the] origins of animals, or tribes, or objects, or

ceremonies, or the universe itself" (Thompson 1929, xvii). Just as they are present in the postcreation stories of transgression, tricksters also live in the stories of the creation times. For instance, the Crow people tell how the Creator began making the world with the help of some ducks, erecting mountains, creating grasses, plants, food, and humans and then encountered Cirape, the coyote. Cirape tells the Creator that he had done well in making this world, only there should be more animals than just ducks. The Creator agrees and calls all the other animals into being. Cirape the coyote then points out that the people the Creator has made are not living well and that they need tepees, bows and arrows, and fire to enrich their lives. While it is the Creator who makes these good things, it is Cirape who points out their necessity (Erdoes and Ortiz 1984, 88–93). The trickster is possessed of the natural reason to see what the world needs, and he makes it possible by helping the Creator realize what is missing.

Tricksters help create the world, inspire critical religious practices, and express an uninhibited, often immoral, sexuality, among their many other traits. This variety of abilities and characteristics may be found in differences between two tribal traditions. For instance, the Ojibwe people speak of how Waynaboozhoo created this world from a grain of earth after the great flood (Benton-Banai 1988, 29–35); the Crow people tell of a time when Old Man Coyote disguised his penis as a strawberry in the hope that some young woman would, in her berrying, satisfy him with the touch of her hand (Erdoes and Ortiz 1984, 314). While such variations in behaviors between tricksters from differing traditions might be expected, it is even more crucial to note what might not be expected. That is, tricksters may exhibit this range of characteristics—from the generosity of creation to the obscene pranks of an adolescent—within a single tribal tradition. The Blackfeet people tell how Napi (also known as the Old Man) created the earth, established social roles for men and women, and made the mountains of the Blackfeet homeland on the Northern Plains (Wissler and Duvall 1908, 19–23). His power though is seductive, and he becomes obsessed with using it to get food and entice women. Eventually the people abandon Napi, and he turns into a lone pine tree that can still be seen, according to Percy Bullchild, on the bank of the Highwood River in Alberta, Canada (ibid., 25–39; Bullchild 1985, 127–228).

While many Native cultural traditions allow their tricksters ambiguously to be both creator and transgressor (as is the case with Napi), other traditions will make a distinction between two types of tricksters. Thus there may be, as Bierhorst notes, "two kinds of Coyote or two kinds of Spider." For example, the Cheyenne tell tales of "low comedy and violence" about Wihio (the spider or wise one), while in their stories of creation and origin Heammawihio (wise one above) is spoken of. In other Native cultures "there is a tendency to give the

trickster a companion, so that we have stories about Coyote and Skunk, Coyote and Wolf, or Coyote and Fox" as a means of distinguishing between the admirable character and the less than worthy one (Bierhorst 1985, 14).

The Problem with "Trickster"

Using the word "trickster" to describe Native mythic characters raises a problem. Trickster is a non-Native word, and it carries many connotations, some of which are less than flattering. These unflattering connotations come out of the emphasis that the word "trickster" puts on "trick." As a word, "trick" carries with it associations of deceit, cheating, duplicity, and treachery that describes the actions of the trickster characters in many stories. Furthermore, as the linguist Edward Sapir points out, the suffix "-ster" is a structural feature of language that no longer has a "productive life," and, he states, "it cannot be said to really exist at all" in modern English (Sapir 1921, 141). The suffix "-ster" then suggests an archaic remnant from an era that has now passed into irrelevance (or perhaps an attachment to some outmoded and irrelevant values, as is the case with a word like "hipster"). In the history of Native and white relations, Native cultural values, including those of a religious or spiritual nature, have often been assumed by non-Natives to be outmoded, irrelevant, and archaic. In its etymology the word "trickster" connotes this sense of archaic and outmoded, and, placed in the context of Native-white relations, we have to wonder if the word "trickster" connotes a denigration of these powerful Native cultural figures.

The nineteenth-century anthropologist Daniel Brinton has been credited as the first to use the word "tricksters" to describe this category of characters found within Native mythic traditions (Gill and Sullivan 1992, 308). While there is no evidence to suggest that Brinton had these belittling connotations in mind when he used the word, his analysis of the Algonkin trickster, Michabo, clearly shows that he regarded "tricksters" as something less than edifying. In his analysis, Brinton argues that Michabo began as a "Great God of Light" but that, over time, the Algonkin people lost this meaning and the stories of Michabo devolved into the vulgar tales of the trickster (Brinton 1868, 161–169).

Recognizing such connotations as a shortcoming in the word, many scholars have sought to honor the trickster's creative power by referring to him as a Culture Hero or Transformer. A Culture Hero is a figure "who inhabits the earth throughout the myth age, preparing it for the day-to-day needs of humans" (Bierhorst 1985, 15). A Transformer is a hero who, as the name suggests, transforms the beings of the myth age into the useful creatures and objects of this world. The activities of Culture Heroes and Transformers are also activities that tricksters engage in, but these names fail to embrace the full range of situations that tricksters create, leading some scholars

to redress the problem by stringing the words together in awkward, though perhaps accurate, hyphenated collages such as Trickster-Transformer or Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero.

In recent years, Native writers and scholars such as Tomson Highway and Gerald Vizenor have engaged in an effort to reclaim tricksters from such rigid categorical definitions. They assert that tricksters are meaningful only when approached from the perspective of Native cultures. Their work suggests that the word "trickster" is neither denigrating nor descriptive, and so debates about its meaning (or about what best to call these characters) distract from the trickster stories, which Highway asserts are "the core of Indian culture" (Highway 1989, 13). Vizenor's work suggests that as long as all attempts at finding a definite categorical meaning of "trickster" are suspended, trickster stories will liberate people to a fuller realization of what Native cultures mean and simultaneously liberate the word "trickster" from denigrating connotations (see Vizenor 1989, 187–211). According to Native intellectuals such as Vizenor and Highway, "tricksters," as a word, should not be understood as an anthropological category (like "Culture Hero" or "Transformer") but as an idea or a spirit in the stories that tells Native people who they are, where they came from, and how they should live. Everyone who engages tricksters in this spirit comes to a richer appreciation of what Native cultures value.

Contradictions

The characteristics of tricksters, ranging from the greatest kind of benevolence to the basest kind of "vile pranks" (Wissler and Duvall 1908, 11), strike many non-Native peoples as contradictions. Such seeming contradictions struck many early European writers as evidence that Native peoples had a debased and degenerate religion (see Le Jeune 1954, 52). Later, non-Native scholars latched on to such contradictions, arguing that they are conundrums that can be resolved—made logical and rational—through the careful application of various linguistic, psychological, and anthropological theories (see Brinton 1868; Jung 1956; and Radin 1956). The problem with such responses—no matter how benign the intent—is that in settling on an emphatic definition of what tricksters should be, they undo what tricksters are. Looked at logically tricksters are nefariously illogical and contradictory in their nature, and, paradoxically, it is their very contradictions that make them so potent in Native cultural traditions. Tricksters are an unseen reality that is clearly real. Embodied in the words and stories of the Native peoples of North America, tricksters return the people to the sacred times of creation and remind them what may happen when the order of creation is transgressed. Unseen realities, creation, transformation, transgression, and compassion are subjects that all great religious traditions explore. Native tricksters stand in the middle of all these noble abstractions, arousing the laugh-

ter that reminds everyone that humor is a sacred thing.

Carter Meland

See also Clowns and Clowning; Emergence Narratives; Literature, Religion in Contemporary American Indian Literature; Oral Traditions

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Tuunrilría

See Angalkuq

V

Vision Quest Rites

The concept of the "vision quest" has long been identified with the peoples of the Great Plains, where the rite of seeking special dreams is an old traditional practice. However, many communities outside the Plains have also practiced dream-seeking rites, such as most Native communities of the northeastern and central Canadian woodlands, the South, the West and Northwest coast, as well as the northwest-central Plateau area. Only among the Southwest Pueblo people and Diné (Navajo) is vision seeking less central (though dreams are still noted and regarded as important). In the 1920s, the anthropologist Ruth Benedict (1922, 1923) wrote several descriptive articles on dream seeking, as a result of which the concept of the "vision quest" was popularized. Subsequently the term "vision quest" has tended to overwrite the fact that every Native community has its own terms and language for the rites involved. These Native language terms rarely refer to a "quest" and most often refer to prayer and to supplications made by the seeker—for example, as the Lakota term for the rite, *hanblecheya* ("crying for a dream") or the Omaha term, *nozhinzhon,* which means "to stand sleeping."

The traditional Omaha rite was carried out, as it was in a majority of other Native communities, at adolescence when the mind of the child "had become white"—that is, clear, pure, and open to the spirit world and "able to know suffering." The rite was carried out in the spring. The face of the young man was covered with white clay, as a symbol of the creation, and a special fasting prayer was taught: "Wakonda, here in poverty I stand." The seeker had to fast for as many days as he stood praying outside of the village away from the people. He would repeat the prayer and appeal to the greater (Wakonda) and lesser (sun, moon, stars, animals and so on) powers for a visionary dream. Out of *i'thaethe,* "compassion or pity" for the innocence and sincerity of the faster, a spirit power would appear while the seeker was

Teton Sioux man performing vision Cry Ceremony through fasting and chanting to the Great Mystery, 1907. Edward Curtis. (Library of Congress)

nozhinzhon. The visionary would then receive a gift of power in the form of a dream rite, a song, a certain medicine, or specific actions (or prohibitions) to be done to solicit the power of the dream. Then the faster would return to the village, rest for four days, then seek an older man whose vision experience was similar to receive instructions on how to develop the power given in the dream (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911, 128–131).

The basic purpose of this rite among most Native peoples is for a seeker to experience a certain type of dream, one that is recognized as powerful and useful to the dreamer beyond the normal dreams of ordinary sleep. The majority of dreams in ordinary sleep are not usually classified as dreams of power, because dreams of power are regarded as enhancing human abilities and success in the world. Dreams of power may come in a spontaneous manner, but more often they are sought in various types of fasting and ritual. The contents of such dreams are not predetermined or prescribed in specificity, but they are interpreted within the context of the community and worldview of the dreamer (see "Dreams and Visions," this volume). Each Native community has its own criteria for determining the value and significance of a powerful dream based on the experience of successful elder dreamers and ritual leaders. Overall, dreams are highly valued, and vivid, powerful dreams have long been regarded as a primary means of communication with the spiritual world. Dreamers who have such "big" dreams often become spiritual leaders, teachers, and advisers to the people of their communities; often their spiritual role is defined by the dream.

As Benedict notes, the vision fasting rite is commonly described as a ritual that marked the transition to a new maturity and social identity based on the contents of the dream or vision. Among the Plateau Salish, the Winnebago, and central Algonkin nations such as the Shawnee and Kickapoo, children as young as five to seven years of age would train for the more rigorous prayer-fasts

and might have a vision during, or they might fast periodically until marriage, which often ended the dream seeking period. Among many Plains groups, conversely, men and women might seek visions throughout their entire lifetimes, and some Northern Plains peoples such as the Cheyenne and Lakota used extreme means of self-inflicted pain (like piercing) and suffering to summon a pitying dream spirit. Benedict also makes an important distinction—namely, that the vision fasting rites were not always based on the search for a specific "guardian spirit," by which she means an animal or other spirit guide or helper (1922, 2–3, 13–14). Acquiring such a helping spirit was not regarded as the most powerful form of dream or vision; the "big dream" was most respected and sought after to attain spiritual knowledge and techniques for healing, war, hunting, or spiritual guidance that would benefit the life of the community in times of crisis or need. The vision experience cannot be accurately reduced to a search for an animal guide or helping spirit, and, in fact, the more significant visions have no mention of acquiring such a spirit (Benedict 1923, 29). Instead, the visionary receives guidance or instructions that may be unique for a particular practice and may not involve calling upon any individual spirit but only following the dream instructions. Conversely, "guardian spirits" may be acquired without dreams or visions through inheritance, purchase, or ritual transfer.

Later writings on the dream fast have described a richness in ritual practice, preparation, and interpretation that far exceeds any one ideal model or example. One debate on the subject has been over the significance of the fasting rite as producing dreams and visions that conform to a particular "culture pattern" (ibid., 41–43). While early anthropology was preoccupied with reducing complex religious phenomena to manageable schemata, the actual ethnography of vision seeking does not simply show conformity to specific cultural patterns. Such a reduction not only masks the complexity of the phenomena but also conceals visionary differences and diversity within a single culture. Dreams do not simply conform; they lead to creative transformations and innovation in culture as primary direction and guidance from the highest sources of religious empowerment (Albers and Parker 1971, 208). Vision seeking is not an isolated pattern within a general cultural milieu, but a specific religious activity closely linked to aspects of cosmology, ritual, shamanic roles, leadership, kinship, and social identity with significant degrees of variability. Understanding the dream-seeking rite also requires a thorough knowledge of the worldview and practices of the seeker's religious community.

Visions are a primary source for cultural innovation as recorded from the very earliest ethnographies into the present and are by no means simply a mechanism for maintaining a static culture. Because dreams were regarded as a form

of communication with primary sources of spiritual knowledge and empowerment, they became a natural basis for cultural innovation and change. The vision seeking rite was often a means for confirming an existing social role, or claims to various types of power, or membership in ritual groups, such as dream societies. However, "big dreams" were often sent for the good of the community and prescribed change and innovation in cultural and religious practices, or in meeting and adapting to cultural oppression such as during colonialization (Irwin 1994, 189, passim). Successful visionaries often introduced radical changes and new directions based on visions, such as those of the Seneca visionary Handsome Lake or Kenekuk, the Kickapoo visionary leader. Changes in ritual or the sponsorship of rituals, or bringing back old rituals, new technologies, the discovery of sacred places, and so on were all based in visionary experiences. A failure to dream or to have visions in fasting rites was interpreted as a lack of creative power and an inhibition of social development; unsuccessful dreamers were seen as "ordinary people" rather than outstanding leaders or spiritual teachers (Irwin 2000).

Vision seeking is also not reducible to a fixed ritual pattern. Rituals of vision seeking are highly diverse, some very structured with careful directions by highly qualified advisers, others more spontaneous and often with no direct supervision by elders or religious professionals. Further, visions that occur spontaneously often signify to the community a special election by spirits and therefore might hold an outstanding value in the life of the individual. The Lakota holy man Black Elk had several spontaneous visions, including a great vision at the age of twelve without fasting or seeking a vision; later, when he fasted for a vision, his great vision was repeated (DeMallie 1984, 11–124). This vision was then the template for his healing and medicine work. Many traditions of dream seeking for women are far less structured than those for men. Women fasted for visions during quiet seclusion for menstruation, while mourning for their dead relatives, or when grief stricken because of the loss of a child or mate, as well as in times of famine or difficulty when separated from the community. Women visionaries are often founders of sacred rites, and a majority of these were based in spontaneous visionary encounters rather than in visions obtained during structured rites. Many groups did have structured rites for women, often near the family dwelling, in the gardens, or while sleeping on the drying racks for corn and squash. Nevertheless, spontaneous visions are more common for women in the general ethnography than for men (Irwin 1994, 83–97; Irwin 2001).

A typical contemporary and pantribal vision fasting rite, for both men and women, usually begins by gaining the permission of a medicine person or other elder to supervise the rite through an offering of tobacco or other gifts.

Closely resembling some Plains Nation traditions, the one to fast is often required to make a series of tobacco ties, each made of a small 6 by 6 inch piece of colored cloth tied up to enclose tobacco and other contents, while the maker prays for a successful vision as he or she makes each one. Often hundreds of these are made, in four colors, and then are tied in a long string—long enough to create a circle on the ground in which the faster will carry out the fasting rite. After all the preliminary rites have been preformed, the faster and the guide, often with some singers, will take a sweat in a special lodge, usually before or at dawn. The faster, purified, will then be taken to a high butte where he or she will lay down the tobacco tie circle (about 6 to 8 feet in diameter, with the four directions marked by small, 2-foot red painted forked sticks) under the supervision of the medicine person. Then, often carrying a pipe, he or she will enter the circle with minimal clothing on, with a blanket but no food or water, and then spend four days and nights fasting and praying for a vision. After the fast ends, the medicine person will escort the faster back to the sweatlodge, and another sweat will be taken during which the faster will narrate his or her vision observations, experiences, and impressions during the fast. Often the medicine person will then interpret the vision or possibly tell the faster to wait for more dreams. Such a fasting rite is considered a preliminary rite to the Sun Dance in some Plains groups. A classic description of the Lakota *hanblecheya* rite was recorded by Walker in the 1890s (see DeMallie and Jahner 1980, 129–132).

The visions given in the rites of fasting are highly variable. Often they have a material or symbolic content that results in the visionary's fashioning ritual objects as seen in the vision. This includes feather fans, rattles, hoops, shields, paint, various animal or plant items, and often, in the Plains traditions, a pipe and tobacco, as well as specific herbs or medicine used in carrying out the vision ritual. The dream is thus encoded into various symbolic forms that are considered to be directly connected to the sacred powers of the vision. The vision forms may be painted on walls or teepees, on the body, on horses, or carved in wood or stone as in the Northwest; certain objects, such as crystals, may be embedded in the physical body of the visionary by the dream spirits, as among the California Shasta. Often the dream spirits are thought to reside in the body and to leave it only at death. The various objects, or their representations, are then collected and placed into a bundle and kept by the visionary to be opened only on special occasions for the performance of the vision rite. These rites have traditionally been rites of healing, hunting, fishing, war, or planting and care of sacred gardens. In contemporary times, these rites have been more oriented to community healing and empowerment. Usually there is a set of songs given, and these are generally sung when the ritual is performed. The vision is only rarely

narrated, and there is a belief that telling the vision will exhaust or give away the power. Sometimes the rites are communal ceremonies and other times they are individual practices, but both are usually for the good of the community (Irwin 1994, 211–236). Some powers of the visionary world can be harmful, and those dream rites are kept secret and rarely discussed or even mentioned.

Most vision seeking results in a demonstration of the power or gift of the dream that was given. Often this demonstration is not given for many years as the visionary continues to seek additional dreams or a deeper core of the vision and its relationship to the ritual and social life of the community before enacting it. Alternatively, a vision may be a specific call for a change in ritual patterns or for initiating new cycles of ritual. As a call for ritual or as ritual changes, the dream or vision is more often spontaneous, whereas the vision of a specific, individual practice is more often part of a vision seeking rite. In some traditions there is a period of waiting, often signified by four dreams that further empower the individual. Or the visionary may not understand how to enact the vision and may wait for further instructions. When the visionary reaches maturity, he or she will then announce to the community the rite or demonstration. A special time will be chosen, and the individual will then perform the dream rite, opening the bundle and singing the appropriate songs while performing actions seen in the vision, with the expectation that he or she will demonstrate some unusual or remarkable ability that comes only through the vision. Failure to produce this demonstration will discredit the vision. Only when the person can truly demonstrate the power of the dream is it considered real and valid (ibid., 163–184).

A contemporary interpretative concern has been to highlight the alternative paradigm of knowledge that the vision seeking rite has institutionalized. In Native theory, visions are based in an epistemology that maintains clear connections between the dreaming and waking states, and vision seeking is seen as a means for increasing contact with tangible sources of both spiritual and practical knowledge. Vision questing is not, therefore, interpreted by Indian people in terms of psychological or psychophysiognomic responses to stress, sensory deprivation, changes in body chemistry, and the like, as is usually the case in Western interpretations of these phenomena. In the Native context, vision fasting is seen as a means to access various planes of reality, through sacred vision sites, which requires a special capacity to enter the dreaming state. Understanding vision quest rites also requires grasping the epistemology of dreaming, as well as the discourse frames for interpretation within the religious context of the vision seeker, as well as the preformative genres that provide a social arena for the enactment of the dream or vision (Tedlock 1987, 23–25). Vision seeking is inseparable from a reli-

gious cosmology and theories of knowledge that ground the vision seeking rite and the dream experience in the narrative landscape of the visionary. This epistemology necessarily includes concepts of personhood, self, social roles, and communal responsibilities—all of which are linked to the vision seeking process. It also includes a wide range of visionary states, paranormal abilities, out-of-body narratives, and various types of trance or altered states of awareness. Native traditions have a rich phenomenology of the vision rite, its symbolism, social application, and semiotic context that is inseparable from the interpretation of the vision or dream.

In contemporary Native culture, vision seeking is still widely practiced in many communities, particularly among the north-central Plains peoples. While often part of traditional practices, it is also linked to the general development of an increasing ecumenical Native spirituality in which certain rites, such as the sweatlodge and Sun Dance, have been borrowed and readapted within many communities other than the Plains as a means for affirming Native spiritual identity. This is true for women as well as for men (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995). Unfortunately, many non-Native people have also appropriated the vision fasting rite and offer it as a token experience to non-Natives without proper training or understanding of the deep connection of the fast to the larger religious context of traditional Native communities. This decontextualized, usually stereotyped borrowing has resulted in a "spirituality for sale" mentality that pays little or no attention to the authentic practice and its role in community life and development (Jocks 2000). In most cases the vision fast has been a means for strengthening communal ties to a sacred view of the world, in Native language and in the context of a rich and complex spirituality. It has never been seen as an isolated, separate practice, remote from community, but always taken as a means for deeper engagement with the full complexity of communal religious life.

Lee Irwin

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Nez Perce; Ceremony and Ritual, Northwest; Ceremony and Ritual, Southeast; Datura; Dreamers and Prophets; Dreams and Visions; Female Spirituality; Kinship; Native American Church, Peyote Movement; New Age Appropriation; Power, Northwest Coast; Power Places, Great Basin; Power, Plains; Power, Southeast; Sweatlodge; Warfare, Religious Aspects

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Warfare, Religious Aspects

Since the publication of Prussian general Carl von Clausewitz's famous treatise in 1832 entitled *Vom Kreig,* or *On War,* making war has been considered a political rather than a religious act. Historically, however, more wars have been fought for religious beliefs and institutions than for any other cause. Indeed, warfare was, particularly in the Western mind, thought of as a category of religious obligation. The Western conception of the "just war" was often explained in terms of religious conviction and the adherence to a specific creed.

In a broad overview, pre-Colombian Native American warfare had its religious aspects, but for the most part it was not viewed as a creedal conflict. Native Americans were not usually out to change or destroy an enemy's religious precepts or to further a particular ideology. War in Native North America had many ceremonial implications to be sure, and it was certainly more of an individual spiritual experience than a state-sponsored institution. Native Americans fought for economic gain, to take captives, to give valued status to young men, and to guard territorial boundaries. The Native peoples of North America also fought to satisfy certain religious responsibilities and to maintain a healthy relationship with the spirit world.

One of the best examples of making war for the sake of fulfilling religious obligations was the so-called Flower War of the Aztec empire of central Mexico. The Aztecs had created an empire, using war as a political tool. Once they had established both political efficacy and religious orthodoxy, the Aztecs constructed a hegemonic-tributary imperial system as opposed to one that was based on military occupation or the plantation of colonies. Non-Aztecs forced into the Aztec empire paid tribute to the central government but for the most part were not deliberately colonized.

The Aztec Flower War was fought to obtain captives for ritual execution and sacrifice to the Aztec deities. After ritual

Piegan man in a war bonnet, holding a feathered coup-stick, 1910. (Edward Curtis/ Library of Congress)

purification, an Aztec army issued a challenge to and took the field against a traditional enemy that had not yet been incorporated into the empire. Aztec military culture—indeed the military culture of all of central Mexico—emphasized taking prisoners over killing the enemy. The principal hand-to-hand weapon, for example, was a flat club lined with obsidian blades. This swordlike weapon was designed to inflict shallow wounds or to incapacitate a foe without killing. The most honored Aztec warriors were those who had captured the most prisoners in combat.

One form of Aztec ritual sacrifice emphasized the spiritual relationship between combatants, captives, and captors. A captive was adopted by his captor and taken in as a favored son for a period of about a year. The captive knew full well that he was to become a victim of ritual sacrifice—he was shown where and told how he would die—yet he stayed on with his adoptive family. After a year the son/captive was taken to the temple of the war god, tethered to a raised platform, and forced to fight representatives from the various Aztec regiments. The victim was armed with a feathered war club, while his opponents carried their usual obsidian-bladed swords. He was never killed outright but wounded over and over again with cuts from the extremely sharp obsidian blades until finally he dropped from exhaustion and loss of blood. He was sacrificed in this condition and his body flayed. The captor, who was an important witness to the ritual slaying and attended the ceremonies, was given the victim's skin, which he wore on his own person until it literally rotted away.

The macabre but intensely religious act of human sacrifice was not limited to the Aztecs. Several of the Native nations of the eastern woodlands practiced what has been called "mourning war." Among these peoples grief was understood to be a disruptive and nearly uncontrollable force. The mourning wars amounted to the raiding of traditional enemies in order to replace dead relatives, physically and spiritually. The Native nations of the Haudenosaunee, or League of the

Iroquois, practiced this type of warfare in its purest form.

A widow or clan mother who sought to replace a deceased relative usually instigated the mourning war. An experienced war leader might then raise a party of warriors to raid a traditional enemy. If the raid were successful the party would return with a few captives to be handed over to the women of the clan who had sustained the loss of a loved one. The women, in turn, would decide whether a captive was a suitable replacement for the deceased. Children and female captives were most often adopted into a clan. The clan took on the responsibility of assuming the cost of an adoption ceremony, providing for the welfare of and eventually assimilating the captive. Indeed, the constitution of the Haudenosaunee provided unambiguous directions for the adoption of captives. Quite often the adopted captive would take on all of the honors and titles of the deceased person being replaced. Gender was not especially important in the adoption ritual, and consequently young female replacements might even receive male names or war honors that had been awarded to a dead clansman.

Adult male captives, although often adopted, were occasionally tortured, slain, and ritually cannibalized in an act of spiritual substitution or sacrifice. The victim, like those of the Aztec sacrifices described above, was often a complicit partner in the entire process. While being tortured by the women, armed usually with burning torches or sharp sticks, the victim defiantly sang songs and downplayed the women's attempts to cause him pain. When the victim grew weary or collapsed from blood loss or pain, the women spoke to him in kinship terms—brother, son, grandson—and gave him water and food to revive his strength. Finally, when the captive could endure no more, he was killed. If he had been especially brave in his defiance of their efforts, parts of his body would be cooked and eaten so that his captors could literally ingest his spiritual essence.

Ultimately, the sacrifice was a victory for both captors and captive. The captive had demonstrated extreme courage and had gained a spiritual triumph. The captors, on the other hand, had demonstrated ascendancy over traditional enemies and had shared this triumph with those who had directly participated in the raid that resulted in the enemy's defeat. Clan grief had been diverted and even assuaged. Overall, the mourning war was a deeply religious act that counteracted the deleterious effects of grief, renewed the bonds of kinship, restored order, and maintained beneficial relations with the spirit world.

In one form or another, virtually all Native nations practiced mourning war. The widespread "scalp dance" was usually performed by Native women who either paraded with war trophies or used enemy scalps literally to "dry their tears." In raids, Apaches habitually took captives to replace lost relatives. On the Great Plains, numerous Native nations

American veterans saluting during D-Day anniversary celebrations at Omaha Beach, Normandy, France.1994. (Owen Franken/Corbis)

engaged in the practice of "counting coup" in battle. Often associated with a system of graded war honors, counting coup took the form of a spiritual battle. It was widely understood that the acts of coup in battle were ranked in order. First and foremost was touching an enemy in battle with a special "coup stick," lance, bow, or even the hand. Of secondary importance was stealing an enemy's favorite horse, which might be tethered close to his tepee, or taking an enemy's shield or weapons, or running off a village's entire horse herd. The lowest form of coup was killing the enemy. The idea of humiliating the enemy, or "capturing his spirit" and leaving him alive to suffer his defeat, was certainly involved in this type of highly ritualized warfare.

But on occasions an enemy might be humiliated without even knowing it—thus reinforcing the notion that coup was "spiritual warfare." One of the most famous coup stories ever recorded concerned a Comanche warrior, who on a previous raid had stolen a Ute enemy's special blanket. One night this warrior, accompanied only by a young man to hold the horses, donned the blanket and strode into a Ute village. The Utes were involved in a hand game, and nearly the entire populace was in a par-

ticular place. The Comanche warrior went unnoticed and was able to move around secretly touching every Ute participating in or watching the hand game. He exited the encampment without incident and returned to his own village able to count more than fifty coups. His daring and stealth were honored, and the entire Comanche village from which he came viewed his exploit as a great defeat for the Utes. That the Utes themselves did not know of their defeat at the hand of a single Comanche warrior mattered not at all. By deception and courage their spirits had been captured.

Compared with that of most Western societies, life in a Native American society was nonconfrontational and markedly pacific. By definition a tribe is a society based on kinship. An ethos of cooperation and the give and take of well-defined relationships between each member of society are constantly reinforced through story, song, sacred history, ritual, language, and even economic practices. Violence was normally directed toward other groups, most notably traditional enemies. Having traditional foes in many ways strengthened the internal cooperative ethos of tribal groups and made war an act that was considered the very opposite

Female Diné army soldiers. Shiprock Navajo Fair, Shiprock New Mexico, 2004. (Marilyn "Angel" Wynn/Nativestock)

of normal behavior. Most Native peoples did not have a specific word for war as it is defined in the Western world. In the O'odham language, for example, war is the equivalent of chaos. In consequence, most Native peoples devised specific war ceremonies intended to convey individual warriors as well as entire societies from normality to abnormal circumstances and behaviors and back again.

Before a war expedition was undertaken, medicine people were called upon to perform purification and protection ceremonies to ensure the safe return of warriors. They were also consulted to interpret signs and omens regarding a forthcoming conflict. Special prayers and songs were used to call upon the spirits in order to guarantee the success of a war party. Cherokee warriors were secluded for a period of time, then took part in a series of dances intended to inspire them to victory. Upon their return from a successful raid or pitched battle, Cherokee warriors handed over captives or booty to their female relatives and again went into seclusion. When properly cleansed of the taint and trauma of battle, they often donned masks and danced in a victory celebration.

Like the Cherokees, most tribes devised ceremonies that honored returning warriors and attempted to heal them both physically and emotionally of the trauma of battle. Because conflict was viewed as an extraordinary and disruptive activity, it was often treated very much like any other serious illness. The Diné (Navajo) Enemy Way, for example, is usually a four- to seven-day ceremony during which a medicine man and his helpers utilize sand paintings, songs, and particular symbols to restore the individual warrior to health. Diné medicine, like Western medicine, functions to cure the body, mind, and spirit of the individual. But Diné medicine, like that of most other tribal forms, also seeks to restore the harmony of the individual's environment. In other words, Native American medicine, especially that connected with warfare, recognizes that an individual's trauma spreads across an entire community, disrupting the balance of life. Nearly every tribal society has a particular word to describe the goal of a balanced, orderly, harmonious existence within a particular landscape. Loosely translated, the terms mean the "peace," the "way," or the "path."

Each tribe's sacred history usually includes stories about how and why a ceremony to cure a particular illness is used. Most often, holy people, heroes, or the spirits give a ceremony to the people so that they will have the power to restore health and harmony to their particular world. The Diné Enemy Way ceremony is a recitation of the story of Monster Slayer, who slew the monsters of the world in order to provide a safe place for human beings to dwell. After he had accomplished that formidable task and had abused his special powers to do so, he fell ill. Another Holy Being recognized that Monster Slayer's illness had been brought on as a result of the death and

destruction he himself had wrought. The Holy Being devised the Enemy Way to purge Monster Slayer of the trauma of seeing so much death and to restore the beauty of the natural world. The teachings of the Diné sacred history are thus applied to certain curative processes, in this case warfare.

Although Native Americans went to war for many different reasons, they all recognized it as an extraordinary, perhaps even mysterious, event. Warriors often sought spiritual powers to aid them in combat; they also sought supernatural assistance in returning them to peace. War, among some peoples, may have been a spiritual experience or a way of serving the deities to ensure a prosperous and happy life. All Native peoples, however, understood that because war was a terrible and terrifying experience it absolutely required religious comprehension and sacred attention.

Tom Holm

See also Ceremony and Ritual, Diné; Oral Traditions, Pueblo; Oral Traditions, Western Plains; Power, Plains

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Whaling, Religious and Cultural Implications

Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth Whaling Traditions

Coastal peoples throughout the Pacific Northwest and the Arctic have relied heavily on success in whale hunting for their livelihood. Whaling traditions formed a central aspect of cultural life and religious practice, as well as subsistence materials. Complex ritual and ceremonial practices arose throughout the millennia to ensure communities success in their hunting endeavors. For all of these communities, success in the hunt is believed to be dependent upon a good relationship between the human community and the whales. Whales are not caught but rather give themselves willingly to a community that has earned their respect and affection through proper ritual preparations and respectful treatment of the whale after it is killed.

Today, many Native communities seek to continue their traditional whaling practices, arguing that they are central to their religious and cultural existence as a people. This has resulted in political protests and confrontations between

Native communities and some environmental groups. Native communities argue that such protestors do not understand the sacred nature of indigenous whaling, its religious and cultural significance, or the ritual practices that accompany it. In order to understand these cultural dynamics more fully, it is helpful to look at particular tribal traditions, as well as the religious and cultural traditions that structure their approach to whaling and their relationship with whales. This essay focuses on the whaling traditions of the Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth peoples of the Pacific Northwest coast.

The Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth peoples' traditional territory is in the central Northwest coast, the Makah in the Cape Flattery area at the northwestern tip of the Olympic Peninsula in Washington State, and the Nuu-chah-nulth on the west coast of Vancouver Island in British Columbia. The Makah refer to themselves as the Kwih-dich-chuh-ahtx, "People who live by the rocks and the seagulls." They received the name Makah from their Clallam neighbors, a word meaning "generous with food." The name was adopted by U.S. officials in the 1850s, and since then it has been used both internally and externally to refer to the tribe (Taylor 1974, 15).

The Nuu-chah-nulth were originally known as the Nootka (also spelled Nutka) people, a name given to them by Captain Cook in 1778. Although they are separated into specific tribal groups, they share linguistic and cultural ties and maintain a collectivity. In 1978 they changed their name to Nuu-chah-nulth, which means "all along the mountains." Topographically, the traditional territory of the Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth consists of steep and rocky terrain with mountain ranges—the Coast Range in British Columbia and the Cascades in Washington and Oregon—acting as natural dividers, cutting off those seafaring, maritime peoples from the inland hunter and gatherer societies. These natural boundaries surrounding the various indigenous groups resulted in a large number of small, autonomous, coastal indigenous societies (Kehoe 1981, 403–406).

The Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth are among the Wakashan-speaking peoples, sharing linguistic ties, cultural patterns, and a tradition of hunting whales. The Nootkan language is separated into three dialectic divisions: Nootka proper, spoken from Cape Cook to the east shore of Barclay Sound; Nitinat, used by the groups of Pacheena and Nitinat Lake; and Makah, spoken by the Cape Flattery people. These dialects seem to differ through a few fairly simple and consistent phonetic shifts, so that although they are at first mutually unintelligible, a person who speaks one form can soon understand the others and make himself understood (Drucker 1955, 16; Taylor 1974, 37). The Makah are the only tribe in the United States who have a right to hunt whales secured and affirmed in a treaty, signed in 1855. The Nuu-chah-nulth are presently negotiating a con-

A family views the body of a whale. Many Native communities seek to continue their traditional whaling practices, arguing that they are central to their religious and cultural existence as a people. This has resulted in political protests and confrontations between Native communities and some environmental groups. Neah Bay, Washington. 1999. (Anthony Bolante/Corbis Sygma)

temporary treaty with the government of Canada.

Archaeological discoveries in the Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth traditional territories provide material evidence that whaling has been central to the two groups' cultures for more than 2,000 years. An archaeological excavation in 1970 in Makah territory uncovered an ancient whaling village, reaffirming Makah's oral histories, in which they clearly had an entrenched whaling tradition. Whaling villages have been marked by shell middens in both Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth territories (Kirk 1991, 171). A Nuu-chah-nulth whaler's shrine was removed from their territory in 1904 and is now housed in the American Museum of Natural History. The shrine not only proves the existence of whaling among the Nuu-chah-nulth people but also shows the importance that was placed on the whaling tradition through spiritual rituals that were performed in these holy places. Nuu-chah-nulth artist Art Thompson says that the legends explain, document, and affirm the importance and centrality of the whale to both the Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth people.

> I was told by my elders that our thunderbird headdresses used in our ceremonial dances are the most important things for our people. The thunderbird, the serpent, and the whale are significant symbols of our culture and are maintained in our songs, dances, and artistic expressions. The thunderbird used the serpent to catch the whale. He would wind the serpent around his waist and go out to sea to look for the whale. When he

> spotted a whale he took the serpent and threw it down at the whale, hitting and stunning it. This made it easier for the whale to be caught, because while it was stunned it remained floating on top of the water. The thunderbird took the whale and brought it to the people for all of them to eat. (Personal communication with Nuu-chah-nulth artist Art Thompson from the Diditaht tribe, November 28, 2001)

Whaling was clearly inherent to both tribes' cultural systems at the time of contact and was well documented by early explorers, Indian agents, and ethnologists. One of the first documentations of Nuu-chah-nulth whaling was in 1792 by explorer Jose Mozino, who also documented the physical and cultural similarities between the Nuu-chah-nulth and Makah peoples (Mozino 1991). The tradition noticeably set the Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth apart from the other tribes along the coast, as they were the only groups that whaled. There is evidence that other tribal groups (Quileute, Quinault, Clallam, and Chemakum) along the Olympic Peninsula did whale, but it was believed that they learned the art from their Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth neighbors. Writers have theorized about the peculiarity of Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth whaling and why they were the only tribes in the area that whaled. Archaeological evidence led anthropologist Philip Drucker to suggest a linkage between the Nuu-chah-nulth whaling complex and Eskimo-Aleut whaling in Alaska—that at one time there had been close contact between the two cultures, even though today they are separated by hundreds of miles (Drucker 1955, 198–206). Boas and Lantis also found striking similarities in the ritual aspects of the Nuu-chah-nulth, Makah, and Alaskan whale cults, leading them to suggest a connection between those indigenous societies (Lantis 1938).

Whaling was an important component of Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth cultures and was entwined in the complex web of social interactions that constructed their identities. Whaling served important social, subsistence, and ritual functions. "The unity and interaction of the various activities surrounding whaling worked to form an elaborate and interconnected mesh of economic, ritual and redistribution prerogatives" (Reaveley 1998, 3). Whalers underwent months of cleansing and purification before the whale hunt commenced. To become successful whalers these men needed to go through a rigorous and lengthy training period that included fasting, swimming, and purification. The whalers abstained from their normal food, abstained from sexual intercourse, and in most cases lived apart from their wives during their whaling preparation. They ceremonially washed their bodies during the morning, afternoon, and evening and rubbed their skin with twigs. "It was during whaling rituals that chiefs implored supernaturals for assistance in the hunts" (Jonaitis 1999, 5; Jewitt 1996, 130–131).

"The belief that human beings could get power from individual entities in the

nonhuman world underlay much of the belief system of the Northwest Coast" (Suttles 1990, 4). The guardian-spirit complex was integral to many of the tribal cultures along the coast. The practice of abstinence, fasting, bathing, and rubbing was needed to seek out the "guiding and protecting spirit" that the Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth called *tumanos* (Gunther 1942, 66). The guardian spirit is also spelled *tamanawas,* which is the Chinook jargon word that is used to describe the supernatural. Many ceremonies in Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth cultures included the spiritual quest of obtaining a guardian spirit.

> For success in hunting, fishing, and other pursuits, or for health and long life, Nuu-chah-nulth men and women sought to obtain spirit power through prayer and through special preparations, usually *uusimch* (a cleansing, bathing ritual). This could involve fasting, continence, bathing in cold water, cleansing oneself with bundles of twigs and plants, singing, and more. Each family had its own set of inherited ritual practices and sacred places that are closely held family secrets. (Huu-ay-aht First Nations 2000, 41–42)

It was believed that the intense purification rituals were needed to attain a guardian spirit, and that the individual would be "protected from harm by his ritual purity" (Drucker 1965, 86). The most important and significant religious observances were connected to the Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth whaling tradition. The guardian spirit was considered a strong spiritual power that the whaler sought out during his strenuous months of whaling preparation. If the preparation were done properly, the whaler would secure a guardian spirit that would not only protect him and his crew during the hunt but also make the hunt successful (Densmore 1972, 47). The whaler, the one who actually harpooned the whale, was a person of high rank and status, inheriting his chief's position from his father's lineage. Thus whaling was strictly an inherited privilege, and it was seen as one of a "noblest calling" (Arima and Dewhirst 1990, 395).

In Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth cultures "intermediate spirits" were believed to "guard the destinies of individuals," and they manifested themselves through visions, signs, and dreams (Swan 1964, 61). The great Mowachaht (Nuu-chah-nulth) chief Maquinna was believed to have received his "valuable secret knowledge about whaling" from a guardian spirit (Drucker 1965, 134).

During his time held captive by the Nuu-chah-nulth, British sailor John Jewitt observed Maquinna's whaling preparation. He noted how in the months leading up to the hunt Maquinna continually said prayers "to his God" asking him for success in the upcoming whale hunt. Jewitt noted how Maquinna, as well as the whaling crew, observed a fast a week before whaling commenced. They would daily bathe, "singing and rubbing their bodies, limbs and faces with bushes" (Jonaitis 1999, 8).

The Southeast

The Southeast culture area is a region north of the Gulf of Mexico and south of the Middle Atlantic–Midwest region, extending from the Atlantic coast west to what is now central Texas. Semitropical in nature, the area is humid and wet. The terrain and vegetation of the Southeast culture area consists of a coastal plain along the Atlantic Ocean and Gulf of Mexico, with saltwater marshes, grasses, and large stands of cypress. Rich soil can be found in what are now Alabama and Mississippi, as well as along the Mississippi River floodplain. The region also includes the vast swamplands, hills, and the high grass of the Everglades in present-day Florida, as well as mountains of the southern Appalachian chain. At the time of early contacts between Native Americans and Europeans, much of the region was woodland, with southern pine near the coasts and more broadleaf trees further inland.

European incursion, initiated by the French from the Mississippi Valley, then the Spanish after the eighteenth century, found a region of the United States that was bordered by the Atlantic Ocean, the Gulf of Mexico, the Trinity River, and the Ohio River. The cultures of this region include the Catawba, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Cherokee, and Seminole Nations. Influenced by the earlier Mississippian cultures, characterized by monumental mound building and corn cultivation, later tribal groups tended toward sedentary village-based cultures, regional trade, diplomatic systems, and religious traditions that supported the agrarian lifestyle. Much of this lifeway is characterized by sacred activities oriented toward seasonal plant growth patterns.

One example of such sacred activity is the renewal festival, an annual ceremony oriented toward fertility of the soil in the coming year, recognition of the passing of the annual celestial cycle, and especially thanksgiving for the bounty of the previous year. Like many regional ceremonies throughout Native America, these festivals played important diplomatic roles because status issues were an important part of the process of planning and celebrating these festivals. The festivals provided opportunities for young people to meet potential mates outside their familial lineage group.

continues

The Southeast (continued)

In addition to agricultural production of corn, beans, and squash, precontact Southeastern tribal groups hunted game to augment the plant foods in their diet, and this practice also gave rise to certain rituals. Hunters all over Indian country are aware of the sacred nature of their endeavor, and this is certainly true among the peoples of the Southeastern United States. The propitiation of animal spirits and the need for respectful treatment of the physical beings associated with them require hunters to hunt in a respectful way; failure to do so runs the risk of going hungry.

Another aspect common throughout the region is the important role that games play in both the leisure and religious realms. Most notable among these is the ball game, in which a small leather ball is thrown, kicked, or advanced with playing sticks (depending on the tribal area) by two teams intending to score by advancing the ball past the opponent's goal, as in a combination of field hockey, soccer, and American football. This game has sacred as well as entertainment value.

Many traditions have similar regional manifestations, owing to the relatively unified early cultures extant before European inculcation, far too many for this brief introduction. Suffice it to say that, although the tribal cultures that call the Southeastern United States their place of origin differ greatly one from another, the tendency to maintain similar traits such as sedentary village life, clan and sacred society membership, and regular, important religious festivals remind the student of these cultures that the tribal differentiation which is now of great import in these communities developed out of a regionally aware collection of autonomous villages with much intervillage interaction and intellectual discourse prior to the arrival of Europeans.

The village served as the primary form of social organization among Indians of the Southeast prior to contact, and political organization also began at the village level. The people governed the affairs of a specific area, and village leaders, often led by a headman, met regularly to discuss matters of import to the entire community, such as the cultivation of fields owned by the community, or providing for defense of the village.

continues

The Southeast (continued)

Some Southeast tribes are organized into chiefdoms, defined as a society with an ultimate ruler with social rank often determined by birth. Some earlier Southeast chiefdoms encompassed many villages, and these tended to have powerful priesthoods, leading to stratification in those societies. The Natchez, Chickasaw, and the Creek Confederacy had well-developed hierarchies until the Euro-American political system undermined the authorities within them. Other Southeastern tribes such as the Cherokee and Choctaw, tended to be more democratic in their political organization and were less likely to be inundated with efforts by religio-political American authorities. Today, the village orientation continues in the region, albeit within the imposed Indian Reorganization Act (1934) system.

Astronomy played a significant role in whaling preparation. It was believed that the supernatural power came to a whaler "with the changing year," so strict observances were made in regard to the phases of the moon in determining when the training would commence (Curtis, in Waterman 1920, 40). According to Sapir the training period would begin "when the moon is waxing," thus being carried out during the winter months (Sapir 1991, 312). Drucker noted how the Mowachaht whaler would bathe nightly for "eight waxing moons" (Jonaitis 1999, 5). The whale hunt would begin with the sighting of the first new moon in May (Waterman 1920, 40).

Anthropologist Edward Curtis's research on the Nuu-chah-nulth in the early 1900s provided extensive details on the rituals and religious observances attached to their whaling tradition and how the whalers believed they needed to possess this "medicine" or "spiritual" power in order to whale. Curtis noted that to obtain this medicine the whaler would go out in the early morning and bathe in a freshwater lake or pond. He submerged himself four times and after each time rubbed himself with hemlock (ibid., 39). The bathing in cold water and scrubbing with hemlock were used to cleanse the whaler's body of human odor, which, it was believed, "the spirits found most unpleasant" (Jonaitis 1999, 5). He would begin on his left side, vigorously rubbing his body with the branches, sometimes drawing blood. When the branches eventually wore away the whaler would go ashore and take new branches to begin the same process on the right side of his body (Waterman 1920, 38). *"Osimch,"* ritual bathing, was done by many coastal people throughout the year to gain luck and general well-being. However, for whaling

preparation, *osimch* was more rigorously performed and for longer periods at a time (Arima 1983, 10).

The whaler's rituals included imitative elements, performing certain movements in the water as if copying a whale. As the whaler emerged he emulated the whale by blowing mouthfuls of water toward the center of the lake or pond. The whaler's movements were always "quiet and slow," believing that his actions would induce the whale to act in the same way (Waterman 1920, 39). The whalers had secret sites and shrines where they performed their special rituals asking the supernatural for power and assistance in capturing a whale. The rituals and sites were closely guarded family secrets. Despite that, in 1905 a whaling shrine from the Nuu-chah-nulth village of the Mowachaht people was removed from their territory by anthropologist Franz Boas and placed in the American Museum of Natural History (Jonaitis 1999). Families also held rights to specific plants that were used in the cleansing rituals and to certain songs and prayers. Even the techniques utilized by the whalers were connected to the spirit world. It was understood that "certain spirits had instructed an ancestor on the proper rituals to be conducted in a specific secret location," and those methods would be closely followed by the next generation of whalers (ibid., 8).

Prayers were made at night asking the "four chiefs" (the Moon Chief, the Mountain Chief, the Sea Chief, and the South Chief) for luck, success, and guidance during the whale hunt (Jonaitis 1999, 8). The chiefs were also known by the names the Above Chief, Horizon Chief, Land Chief, and Undersea Chief. They also prayed to the whale, this taking place before and during the whale hunt and after the whale was caught and killed. Much emphasis was placed on the prayers and the seeking of the *tumanos,* as it was implicit that the whaler had to "have more than human strength" to capture a whale. During the hunt the whalers in the canoes chanted in the attempt to lure the whale to the shore and to their canoes. Once speared, the whale headed toward the open sea. But, if the whaler had obtained a good *tumanos* and had sung his songs correctly, the whale would calmly turn around and go toward the shore (Densmore 1972, 48).

It was believed that if a canoe capsized or was damaged by the whale, the whaler and his "crew had failed in their preparatory offices" (Sproat 1868, 227). Anthropologist Philip Drucker interviewed one of the last Nuu-chah-nulth whalers, Aliyu, from the Ahousaht village. Aliyu told Drucker that the loss of a whale during the hunt was seen as being directly caused by the "laxness" of the crewmembers in observing the ritual preparation. But a whaler's success "was regarded as proof that he acquired a powerful guardian spirit" to help him capture the whale, and, that from there on he would be "endowed with supernatural power" (Colson 1953, 5). Drucker noted how ritual behavior "was considered essential for all sea hunting . . . but because of the

importance of whaling in native eyes its ceremonial requirements were more elaborate and more rigid than those for any other quest" (Drucker 1936, 47).

"Although all crew members were subject to many taboos and intense training, it was only the whaler and his wife who went through the complicated ritual of ceremonial bathing designed to influence the whale spirit and to induce the whales to allow themselves to be captured" (Province of British Columbia 1966, 35). The whaler's wife was intricately involved in the whale hunt and followed preparation and rituals similar to that of her husband. During the whaling season the whaler and his wife abstained from sexual intercourse and slept away from each other. If the wife was menstruating during the hunt, she could not touch any of the whaling equipment.

The wife also underwent months of preparation before the hunt and followed strict taboos during the hunt to ensure the success and safety of her husband. The wife "had to observe great care in her actions because of the underlying concept of imitative magic"—meaning that her behavior affected her husband and his ability to catch a whale, and also affected the whale he was hunting (Lantis 1938, 461). Curtis described one of the rituals performed by the whaler's wife during the preparation period: she held a rope tied to her husband's waist, which represented the harpoon line. As the man sang whaling songs he would walk slowly around the woman. In turn the woman sang during the ritual, repeating over and over again, "This is the way the whale will act" (Waterman 1920, 39; and Curtis 1970).

After the whaler left the shore to pursue the whale, the wife would return to her home, lie down in a dark room, and stay very still. "A significant symbolic connection existed between the whale and the 'noblewoman' in that during a hunt the harpooner's wife would *actually* become the whale" (Drucker in Jonaitis 1999, 8). If she moved it would make the whale unruly and difficult to catch. The wife was not allowed to comb her hair because it was thought that if the comb broke it would cause the husband's whaling harpoon line to snap. She was not allowed to eat or drink anything until 2:00 p.m. the following day (Gunther 1942, 67–68). Many of the whaling songs focused on the position and importance of the wife in the Nuu-chah-nulth and Makah whale cult, and some even suggest that "the wife really is the power" that brings in the whale because of its attraction to her (Lantis 1938, 461). Drucker suggested that the wife exerted a "special influence over the whale" and could "call it" to the shore (Drucker 1936). Elder Stanley Sam says that this aspect of the whaling custom displays the "power of our spirituality" by showing how the whaler's and his wife's power were intrinsically connected (Nuu-chah-nulth Elder's Whaling Workshop, Campbell River, B.C., December 4–5, 1998).

Prayers were also expressed during the hunt when the whale was har-

pooned. According to Curtis the whaler would speak to the whale, enticing it to give itself up to the whalers. This prayer was told to Curtis by a Yuquot (Nuu-chah-nulth) whaler:

> Whale, I have given you what you wish to get—my good harpoon. And now you have it. Please hold it with your strong hands. Do not let go. Whale, turn towards the fine beach . . . and you will be proud to see the young men come down . . . to see you; and the young men will say to one another: What a great whale he is! What a fat whale he is! What a strong whale he is! And you, whale, will be proud of all that you hear them say of your greatness. (Waterman 1920, 39)

When the whale was captured and killed it was brought ashore, with the whaler's wife being the first person to greet the whale. With her arms outstretched the wife "extended a special welcome to the animal's anthropomorphic spirit, which resides in its dorsal fin. In order to make that spirit feel at home, the dorsal fin was cut off first and treated to four days of ritual songs and prayers" (Jonaitis 1999, 9). Following this ceremony the whale was divided up among all the tribal members according to tribal rank and status, with the whaler retaining the prize parts of the carcass.

The Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth tribes stopped whaling in the 1920s as a result of the commercial whaling industry, which had depleted the whale stocks to near extinction. As a result international rules and regulations banned whaling, and the gray whale was placed on the Endangered Species List. In 1994, following its population increase, the gray whale was removed from the list, and the Makah (and a few years later the Nuu-chah-nulth) stated their intentions to resume their whaling practices. In 1999 the Makah captured and killed a 30-foot California gray whale. The whaling crew went through months of preparation, with spiritual observation still a main component of the contemporary whale hunt. The harpooner, Theron Parker, said that the crew was "spiritually in tune with everything and then we asked (the whale) to come home with us; and it did" (personal interview with Theron Parker, June 17, 2000).

It is evident from the documents and literature on Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth whaling that the guardian spirit complex was a central and important component of their whaling tradition. Ritual cleaning, purification, and specific taboos were all followed carefully so that the whaler could acquire a guardian spirit that would guide and protect him before and during the hunt. Even today, with the revival of Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth whaling practices, spirituality and guidance from the spirit world remain important elements of this tradition.

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See also First Food Ceremonies and Food Symbolism; First Salmon Rites; Fishing Rights and First Salmon Ceremony; Guardian Spirit Complex

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Winnemucca, Sarah (c. 1844–1891)

(Activist/orator/writer, Paiute)

Sarah Winnemucca (ca. 1844–1891) was a controversial Paiute activist, orator, and writer who worked to sustain tribal communities in the Great Basin amid increased pressure on American Indians to give up their traditional practices and beliefs. The results of her work were mixed. One of relatively few Paiute people during the mid-nineteenth century to be educated among whites, Winnemucca challenged corrupt Indian agents for their abuses of the reservation system and traveled widely (often dressed as an "Indian princess"), commanding large audiences with her lectures on Paiute culture and concerns. In 1883 she became one of the first Native American women to publish an autobiography, *Life among the Piutes.* Toward the end of her life, she started a school near Lovelock, Nevada. Unlike the government-run boarding schools that sought, in the infamous words of Carlisle School founder Richard Henry Pratt, to "kill the Indian and save the man," the Lovelock school proceeded from bilingual instruction and an emphasis on Paiute community. But Winnemucca has also angered many Paiute people, in her own day and since, especially for her work as a scout for the U.S. Army. The tribal museum at the Pyramid Lake Reservation tells visitors that, alongside all of her successes and contributions, Winnemucca may also have unwittingly abetted the forced removal of many Paiute people north to the Yakima Reservation in 1878.

Winnemucca's book appears more overtly concerned with Christianity than with traditional indigenous religious life. That is not surprising, since *Life among the Piutes* was geared toward (and, many believe, heavily edited by) white women reformers who called for the assimilation of indigenous peoples into Euro-American ways of life. Moreover, Winnemucca's own experience was a complicated blend of Native and Christian traditions. She makes several references to the Paiutes' belief in a power like God or Jesus, suggesting that she did not see Christianity and Paiute beliefs as mutually exclusive—as did U.S. policy of that time—but as mutually sustaining and continuous. This does not mean that she accepted Euro-American theology or institutions uncritically; on the contrary, she openly excoriated the hypocrisy she saw in self-professed Christian Indian agents and settlers. While many critics have assumed that Winnemucca was a

Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, as princess. (Nevada Historical Society)

straightforward assimilationist, asking for help in "improving" her race, it is also possible to understand her life and writing as insisting on Paiute self-determination and humanity. Like many Native Christian intellectuals of her day, she may have seen participation in Christian practice as a way to continue tribal community and belief.

The anthropologist Catherine Fowler has described earlier forms of Paiute spirituality as deeply personal, seldom ritualized in large groups or even discussed among family members, so it is possible that Winnemucca simply had little reason to detail such beliefs and practices in her book. Still, she does offer some insights into her family's religious experience and their syncretic embrace (or rejection) of given Christian practices. She begins her autobiography with a story told by her grandfather, Captain Truckee. In it, the original parents of humankind separate their four quarreling children, banishing the two "white" ones "across the mighty ocean"; "by-and-by the dark children grew into a large nation; and we believe it is the one we belong to, and that the nation that sprang from the white children will some time send some one to meet us and heal all the old troubles" (Winnemucca 1994, 7). The book's readers, in 1883, might well have interpreted this narrative as a panacea for the guilt of colonialism and justification for their "reform" agenda. At the same time, though, Winnemucca seems to be indicating a cosmology that encourages peaceable and reciprocal relations between groups, as well as radically underscoring the fact of Paiute nationhood.

Collective Paiute ritual in precontact times, as the historic record paints it, combined dance and prayer, the spiritual and the material. Winnemucca describes an antelope hunt, for example, as beginning in much sacred preparation and drumming by a group of women, men, and young boys. Her father was an antelope charmer, who had powers and dreams that gave him access to both material and spiritual sustenance for the group. Old Winnemucca, as he was called, had other dreams: he

reportedly predicted that dead Indians would one day be resurrected to eliminate the white people. Apocalyptic visions of this kind have helped drive many acts and movements of resistance among oppressed peoples. While Winnemucca's book does not make much of such visions, nor of shamanism or other Paiute curative and prophetic practices, such practices may well have informed her life and actions.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Jack Forbes has argued, the Paiutes and other indigenous people in Nevada shifted away from more military forms of resistance to those based more explicitly on religiosity. Wodziwob and Jack Wilson helped promulgate the Ghost Dance, giving many Native people an immediate and profound means of community regeneration. Peyotism has also sustained others in the region with its own healing and moral functions. And, true to Winnemucca's vision, many Paiutes and neighboring peoples have found in Christianity ways to continue their tribal beliefs and practices. Sarah Winnemucca is among the best-remembered nineteenth-century Paiute leaders largely because of her significant accomplishments, but also because she was one of the few to write and publish. A more fully balanced understanding of her role in Paiute religious and political life still needs to be supplemented by Paiute oral histories.

Siobhan Senier

See also Christianity, Indianization of; Female Spirituality

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Women's Cultural and Religious Roles, Great Lakes

Aboriginal Nations of the Great Lakes Area belong to a variety of Algonquin language–speaking groups: Ojibway, Potawatomi, Odawa, and Algonquin. Prior to contact, the Woodland Cree also utilized the northern Great Lakes. The southern shores of the Great Lakes were occupied by Iroquoian-speaking groups. The northern nations were nomadic, traveling in an area that provided seasonal hunting and gathering. Plants were available for food and medicine, and they hunted deer, moose, and birds. Women gathered plants, which were dried for teas and poultices. They also hunted for small game that was necessary when the men went on hunting trips

and were absent for a period of time. In northern groups, women were treated as equals in the pre-reserve period. In the southern nations living on the Great Lakes, Iroquoian women (who included Mohawks and Cayugas) of the original five nations possessed a high political status within their longhouses. They may not have been in the forefront of the community meetings, but they would advise their clan leaders from behind the scenes; their advice, especially that of the elder women, carried great weight. Women could also be dream interpreters and visionaries for their clans.

The religious structures of the hunting and horticultural groups were different because of the emphases on subsistence patterns. In the hunting-oriented northern groups, property was not owned. Families lived in small family groups in wigwams (birch bark, dome-shaped dwellings) and traveled often. Southern groups were matrilineal in their ownership of longhouses and in social/political structure. Maize, tobacco, beans, and squash were staples of the horticultural southern groups. Deer and birds were also hunted, but maize was considered a staple. Both northern and southern groups operated on a clan system signified by animal identifications that included the bear, eagle, wolf, deer, martens/otters, and sometimes a type of fish or another bird. Northern groups referred to the spirits of plants, rocks, animals, water, earth, and birds as spiritual entities or as manitous, or "other-than-human-persons." The manitou or spirit could be called upon for everyday tasks as well as for pivotal life events and dangerous activities such as war. For instance, one could ask for assistance with tasks that needed to be completed, such as securing a particular plant for medicine or catching fish or game for the family's meal.

The four sacred medicines of the Great Lakes are tobacco, cedar, sage, and sweet grass. These plants were grown or harvested by women in many areas of the region. Tobacco was a smaller and stouter plant than the commercial tobacco that is grown today. It did not grow well in the shorter summer season of the northern areas but was more plentiful within the Iroquoian groups, where it was cultivated and harvested. Cedar was available around the Great Lakes. It could be utilized to line the floor of a sweat or fasting lodge or boiled for its medicinal properties. Sage was a stocky plant and could be easily dried. Sweet grass grew on the shorelines of lakes and could be picked when still green and braided. The grass represented the hair of Mother Earth, which could be braided, dried, and burned. It has a sweet, pleasant aroma and typically was used for burning or hanging in the dwelling, rather than for tea or medicinal purposes.

All of these medicines would be dried and burned separately or all together to create an aromatic smoke or "smudge," which would be used to offer prayers to the Grandmothers and Grandfathers (human ancestors or manitous).

Smudging would involve burning one or more of the sacred medicines and "washing" or wafting the smoke over the head and then the upper and lower body to purify the body and mind and to ask for blessings or guidance. Depending on women's menstrual cycles, sometimes only sweet grass or female sage could be used if a woman was on her "moon time."

Berries were also an essential plant product for women and would be eaten or abstained from, depending on the type of berry and the growing season. For example, a feast might be held in early spring to recognize the importance of the strawberry. All nations of the Great Lakes recognized the importance of the strawberry as a source of food, and it was seen as having healing properties.

There are some precontact, plant-related activities that are still carried on today. For example, if a family member is ill or has died in a house, cedar branches are immersed in a pot of boiling water, and the branches are taken out of the water and brushed over the bed and curtains as a disinfectant. The oil in the cedar needles is dispersed from the branches onto surfaces. Although this is a practical hygienic activity, the practice is also considered a purifying ritual that usually only women perform. In addition, the use of flower motifs seems to be a common thread between all Great Lakes Aboriginal Nations. Flowers and plants seem to be accepted as having a decorative as well as a religious value, possessing "powers" to heal.

There were ceremonies that benefited both women and men. Both young women and men participated in puberty fasts. Each faster made a specific request for a vision for purpose in life, a spiritual name, and a guide, as well as for assistance with purpose and place within the community. Women and men took part in sweatlodges, which were built in a style similar to that of a home dwelling. A pit was dug in the middle of the structure, and red-hot stones were deposited into the pit. Water would be poured over the rocks, and the steam would rise, filling the structure. Participants would ask the spirits for assistance with health matters, a quest, or direction in life.

Women could also become leaders and spiritual visionaries. They regularly served not only as elders and teachers but also as medicine people. In this last role they often emphasized their skills as herbal healers in conjunction with the spiritual power attained through relationship with manitous or spirit helpers. In addition, given the desire, competence, and a legitimating vision, a woman could also go to war and receive the title of "brave."

Women's spiritual practices differed from those of men because of their ability to bear children and their menstrual cycles, and therefore the moon played an important role in the religious practices of women. Grandmother Moon is the overseer of the menstrual cycle, and women are empowered spiritually with the onset of menses. The connection between Mother Earth and Grandmother

Moon is especially powerful for women on account of their life-giving qualities. In northern groups, women were secluded at the onset of menses. They would be separated from the rest of the community and stay in a wigwam. The power of women's menstrual cycles is still misunderstood to the present day. Women are at their highest point of power at the time of their menstrual cycle, and they have the spiritual power to interfere with or draw power from men's ritual objects. Even today women are asked not to join a pipe ceremony in case the pipe bowl breaks or the spiritual balance and connection between the conductor and the ancestors is disconnected. This is not a case of "contamination" but rather a respect for women at their time of highest spiritual power. It is interesting to note that in most communities, approximately one-quarter of the women are on their "moon-time" during the same period each month. It is practical to consider that someone needed to look after the children if a ceremony were taking place. Also, because the women were secluded, they did not have to take care of their households while they were separated. It could be viewed as a time to recharge spiritually. Today women continue to refrain from certain activities during their menstrual periods. It is common, for example, for women to withdraw from powwow dances when on their moons.

The impact of the fur-trade and Christianity was pervasive in the Great Lakes. For the northern groups, the participation in the fur trade was extensive. Being nomadic, families would often travel with French fur traders. Later, Aboriginal women married fur traders and had children—hence the term "Metis," or mixed-blood children. During the reservation period men lost their roles as providers for their families, and many turned to alcohol. The hunting land-base was diminished, and men did not hunt and trap as extensively once they were living on reserves. Catholicism spread among the northern groups, while the Protestant faiths settled into the Iroquoian groups as a result of the influence of the English in the south. As more Aboriginal women became Catholic they gave up prior forms of birth control and started having large families, becoming more sedentary and attending church services. Traditional practices were repressed by Christianity and some were forgotten, but a few older people preserved the women's ceremonies, which have been recently revived.

Women have performed primarily the same societal and religious roles as they always have, from the prereservation period to the present. Typically women have borne children, and cared and provided for them. Overall, women from the Great Lakes area revered plants, in particular the ones that provided spiritual and medicinal qualities. Women were visionaries, herbalists, and sometimes warriors for their people. The primary difference in approaches to the spirits was determined by membership in either a hunter-gatherer or agricultural

group. Women were respected for their abilities in the prereservation period, lost some of their spiritual rituals during the last several decades, but are regaining their status as healers and visionaries in present-day society.

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See also Female Spirituality; Feminism and Tribalism; First Food Ceremonies and Food Symbolism; Herbalism; Menstruation and Menarche

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Women's Cultural and Religious Roles, Northern Athabascan

Northern Athabascan customs regarding gender emerge from religious theories specific to important women's life cycle events, including the beginning and end of menses, maternity, widowhood, and in the contemporary world, social hardships related to colonialism. Because the sub-Arctic environment rarely makes life easy for northern Athabascans, their natural world plays a dominant role in forming their spiritual thought and narrating gender roles.

The northern Athabascan region takes up a large portion of the land in the Alaskan and Canadian sub-Arctic. Except for the Dena'ina, northern Athabascan nations are landlocked, dependent on rivers and mountains for subsistence resources. Life, ever harsh in the precolonial era, has been rendered somewhat more comfortable by the use of contemporary technology, particularly in transportation; however, even in the twenty-first century people die of hypothermia and frostbite. Typical of Native North Americans, northern Athabascan cultures teach that all things in nature are alive and aware of each other, including the forces of wind and ice.

Traditional life in every northern Athabascan nation requires close working relations between men and women, boys and girls. Their subsistence resources used to require constant seasonal moving, from spring muskrat lakes to summer fish camps, then on to fall moose or caribou hunts, and finally to winter dwellings for midwinter celebrations. For precolonial northern Athabascans, this kind of life worked best when a brother and sister along with their respective spouses teamed together for those journeys, a custom emerging from a fluid matrix of matrilineal kinship relations. Housing forms varied with the type of activity, but all shared one common element—a single cramped room

for each nuclear family of five, and often far more, people. Rules regarding behavior between brothers and sisters were strictly enforced. Chief among them was absolutely no eye contact and minimal conversation between members of the opposite sex. These customs persevere among northern Athabascans of today, albeit in a more lenient form.

Life changes in women had a considerable impact on these small communities. For instance, blood flow during menses attracts predators, so women had to take precautions that kept the flow under control, disguised the odor, and protected their clothing from permanent damage. One of the consequences of these concerns was consignment of women to isolation huts in some cases, separate chambers in others. The entire family had to be conscious of the danger women in menses represent and respond accordingly.

Northern Athabascan religious traditions provided the logic by which people behaved toward women in menses. Theories about spiritual power follow gender lines. Women, because of their ability to become pregnant and give birth, as well as their power to attract destructive predators, are considered to have stronger spiritual power than men. By contrast, men's spiritual or medicine power, usually thought of as hunting luck and defined by the gift of prophetic dreaming to know where game will be at any given time, must be developed and sometimes never emerges. Women occasionally have the same kind of power or luck as men. A northern Athabascan tradition holds that women can destroy a man's luck by touching him or his hunting gear. Thus northern Athabascan women learned to avoid their brothers, fathers, uncles, and later their husbands during menses.

The end of menses, or menopause, heralds a time when women can safely develop and be known for their medicine powers. The traditional method involves the Athabascan religious traditions of dream interpretation. According to many sources, menopausal women often reveal dreams that indicate the strength of their hunting luck or other prophecies. If women knew they had such power earlier in their lives, they made use of it by learning the healing arts of northern Athabascans, especially midwifery. Other medicinal skills that both men and women learned were eye surgery, dental surgery, blood letting, bone setting, and herbal remedies. Those men and women whose medicinal skills are facilitated by medicine power are constantly sought for their expertise. Not surprisingly, precolonial women learned to identify, harvest, and prepare medications that helped alleviate menstrual cramps, morning sickness, nervous tension, and discomfort in childbirth. Some also learned which preparations could abort a fetus. All of these skills were highly prized in precolonial Alaska, and contemporary Athabascans recite stories about the healers in their families.

One of the most conflictual areas in northern Athabascan gender relations

arises from the rules about men's and women's work. The cultural ideals suggest that men were expected to hunt big game, while women were expected to raise the children, prepare food for immediate and long-term use, and prepare hides for clothing. The realities of the sub-Arctic climate, long-distance hunting trips either with or without the entire family, and uneven volumes of work have always made these ideals inefficient. Women must always be prepared to become widows. Likewise, children must also be prepared to be orphaned, and men must always be prepared to cook, sew, and raise their children alone. Nothing short of this works in extreme environments.

Conflicts arise between the ideal northern Athabascan paradigms and actual life circumstances, and they are perpetrated by the very religious traditions that provide comfort and information in other contexts. The overriding cultural norm of autonomy usually resolves the tension. Gwich'in author Velma Wallis, in her 1993 novel *Two Old Women,* provides a complex articulation of the conflictual roles older women play in a subsistence economy. The story features two elderly women who are cast out of their community because they no longer perform work. The spiritual underpinning to the abandonment of the elderly is an Athabascan theory that all people should be both self-sufficient as well as aware of how to receive guidance from spiritual sources. Otherwise they pose a hazard to the rest of the community. In *Two Old Women* the elders survived.

In the colonial era, northern Athabascan peoples face new forms of hardship such as alcoholism, drug abuse, domestic conflicts, and sexual abuse. Other problems particular to Canada's and Alaska's colonial histories have caused cultural and domestic upheaval in Athabascan communities. Primary among these is enforced mainstream education, which sometimes takes children away from their homes and communities for months and even years at a time. The consequences of these changes to women include the foundering of traditional cultural models of gendered behavior for motherhood, which are in direct conflict with very different behaviors seen in movies, heard in popular songs, and witnessed in cities. Circumstances are more harsh for mothers or women who are heads of their households. Athabascan women throughout the region desperately seek solutions. Northern Athabascan oral traditions provide models for women in times of upheaval. In many stories women are featured as very intelligent people, often medicine women, who are full participants in solving their own problems. One example occurs in an ancient Gwich'in Athabascan narrative, "She Who Is Ravished," as reported by Émile Petitot (1886) and the late Gwich'in elder Julia Peter.

Two key figures dominate the narrative. They are L'atpa-tsandia (also known as "celle que l'on ravit de part et d'autre,"

"she who is ravished," and the "Prize Woman") and her husband, Ko'ehdan ("l'homme sans feu," or the "man without fire"). Both of these mythic figures are common in Canadian Athabascan oral traditions. They fit into an ongoing discourse about starvation, interethnic warfare, and revenge. L'atpa-tsandia symbolizes Athabascan women of precolonial times who were captured, deemed by their Athabascan husbands to have been raped by the enemy, and taken to parts unknown. L'atpa-tsandia also symbolizes a far older theme that situated the Gwich'in in a continuum of interethnic warfare and trade with their northern neighbors, the Inuit (Inupiat in Alaska). Petitot also described her as "cette femme, quoique vieille, était parfaitment belle, c'est pourquoi on la pillait san cesse" ("this woman, no matter how old, was perfectly beautiful, that is why they pillaged her without end") (Petitot 1886, 51; translation by author). L'atpa-tsandia, thus, symbolizes something of immense value to both Gwich'in and Inuit—women of beauty as a source of strength and intelligence. In a twentieth-century version collected by Slobodin (1975) she is called "Prize Woman." As Slobodin (ibid., 293–299) reported, there are many Gwich'in accounts of women who were routinely taken captive by one or the other of the Gwich'in or Inuit and then restored to their alternate homes in the other community. Slobodin wasn't sure if the accounts were about actual people or merely the perpetuation of a cultural ideal about the importance of women in the northern indigenous trading partner complex. In any event, the way that L'atpa-tsandia is stereotyped fits into both Gwich'in ideals of paradigmatic, autonomous women as well as the Inuit custom of wife exchange.

Does "She Who Is Ravished" provide a model for northern Athabascan women in the contemporary world? Yes and no. The answer is yes for the Gwich'in women who tell the story often and praise each other for being able to act alone, make successful decisions without consulting others, and use their ingenuity to find ways out of bad situations. The answer is no in that not many northern Athabascan women know about the story, and even fewer relate the symbols inherent in the tale to contemporary situations. In terms of spirituality, traditional narratives like "She Who Is Ravished" are viewed as proof of survival skills, as well as evidence of how medicine men and women use their abilities to communicate, find others, and survive. However, stories like "She Who Is Ravished" provide little solace when viewing the body of a child who has died of a drug overdose or an alcohol-related accident, something that many contemporary Athabascan women find themselves doing all too often.

Where are the spiritual paradigms or solutions for contemporary malaise? Most Northern Athabascan women often find answers in prayer; others find them in music or other art forms. Many have remarked that Athabascan people seem to be intensely spiritual. Women as well as men have adopted Christian faiths and

traditions, often exploring various Christian denominations in an effort to find their own mode of spiritual thought. There are several northern Athabascan women who have become ministers, deacons, lay readers, as well as taking other positions of authority in Christian churches. Quite a few such women have also been known as traditional medicine women or healers. One Dena'ina Athabascan woman said about herself that she resolved the conflict by following her Russian Orthodox priest's advice. She had to accommodate both roles in her own way. In other words, in the contemporary religious environment of the sub-Arctic, neither the church nor the people in the community considered that either religious tradition excluded the other.

Northern Athabascan women in the contemporary world follow a spiritual path that is complex and without hardened rules. As caregivers, givers of life, and witnesses of cultural upheaval, most seek haven in a combination of traditional Athabascan religious values and those from other cultures.

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See also Female Spirituality; Feminism and Tribalism; Menstruation and Menarche; Missionization, Alaska; Scratching Sticks

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Women's Spirituality

See Female Spirituality

Women's Spirituality, Great Basin

See First Menses Site

Y

Yoeme (Yaqui) Deer Dance

The Yoeme Deer Dance is the central religious ceremonial dance performed by Yoeme boys or men. The Yoeme people reside in both northwestern Mexico and southern Arizona. The dance is accompanied by the music and songs of deer singers of this indigenous people, usually during all-night ceremonies called the *pahko*. According to oral histories, during ancient times prior to Spanish contact, the person known to the Yoeme as *Yevuku Yoleme,* or Wilderness Person, secretly learned this tradition from a father deer as he taught his own children. Since then, the Yoeme have used the ceremony as a spiritual way for deer hunters to ask for forgiveness from this special animal, whom the Yoeme often refer to as *saila,* or little brother, prior to hunting (Evers and Molina 1987). Despite the end of their reliance on deer hunting as a means of subsistence, deer dancing and singing continues throughout the year in contemporary Yoeme communities as a critical element of Yoeme ceremonial tradition, with a respite from public dancing and singing during the Catholic Lenten season.

While the deer songs and dances are often performed for their beauty in homes and other social settings, deer dancing and singing is performed for the most part during the *pahko*. Many Yoeme religious societies—such as the *pahkola* dancers and musicians, who are also usually men; the Cantora Society, the majority of whom are women who sing Catholic prayers in Spanish, Latin, and Yoeme; and the Matichini Society, a men's religious society whose members also dance to the musical accompaniment of the violin and guitar—as well as spectators and sponsors of the *pahko* join to create the communal ceremony in which deer dancing and singing take place. The *pahkola* dancers dance in tandem with the deer dancer. Acting as hosts, clowns, and historians, the *pahkola* dancers often mimic and poke fun at the deer, as well as entertaining the *pahko* audience (ibid.).

The deer dance is the physical representation of the animal that the Yoeme

Native American dancers perform a Deer Dance at a pueblo in Santa Fe, New Mexico, ca. 1980s–1990s. (Chris Rainier/Corbis)

fondly refer to as *Saila Maso,* little brother deer, "a term [that] emphasizes the kin relation Yoeme believe exists between themselves and the deer" (ibid., 47). The little brother deer, the Yoeme believe, comes to the people from a place of great spiritual power called the Seyewailo, or Flower World. The Seyewailo is always located in the east, beneath the dawn (Evers 1978). The little brother deer also emerges from a place of spiritual power located in the Sonoran Desert called the Yo Ania, or Enchanted World, "an ancient world, a mythic place outside historic time and space . . . yet present in the most immediate way" (Evers and Molina 1987, 62). With the dancing of the deer and the singing of the deer songs, the *ramada* ceremonial structure—with a reed cane roof and mesquite tree trunks for posts—is transformed into the Huya Ania, or Wilderness World, the place that surrounds the Yoeme villages in the Sonoran desert and that "encompasses a rich poetic and spiritual and human dimension" (ibid., 44). All of these worlds collectively form the spiritual worlds of the Sonoran desert, where Yoeme, like many Plains indigenous nations, travel to gain spiritual power by praying, fasting, or seeking spiritual guidance through meditation.

The deer dancer himself dances to honor all living things, especially those that provide the Yoeme with sustenance. The deer head he wears on his head and the hooves attached to the belt worn around his waist, or *rijutiam,* represent the thousands of deer who have died so that the Yoeme could live. The two gourd rattles filled with tiny pebbles represent the plant world that provides nourishment as well as medicines to the people. The moth cocoons attached to the dancers' ankles represent the insect world (Evers and Molina 1987). As Yoeme deer singer and teacher Felipe Molina narrates in the film *Seyewailo:* "Even though the moth is dead, he knows that his house is still occupied." A brightly colored fuchsia or red scarf decorated with embroidered flowers is gracefully wrapped around the antlers of the deer head to represent the Flower World as well as to bless the deer dancer. In the Yoeme tradition, flowers represent sacredness, spiritual power, and protection.

Together, the deer dancer and deer singers bring spiritual blessings from the Yo Ania, Huya Ania, and the Sea Ania of the desert world to the village ceremonies. But while the deer dancer embodies the deer spirit, the deer singers vocalize the deer's relationship with the natural world. Composed of usually three to four men and boys, the deer singer group verbalizes "the most ancient form" of the Yoeme language (ibid., 7). The deer songs tell of the different stages of the deer's life. The first series of songs to begin the *pahko,* that usually starts in the early to late afternoon, tell about the fawn who is just born and "does not have enchanted legs" (ibid., 101). After the "world turns" at midnight, the deer singers sing about the adult deer who has grown mature with "a crown of antlers" but is also playful and sways his antlers back and forth to the words of the songs (ibid., 160). During the early morning, the deer singers sing for the elder deer, the "flower person," who travels back to the "enchanted flower wilderness" of the Seyewailo (ibid., 123). In songs that reflect both the personal perspective of the deer's life as well as his surrounding environment, the deer singers sing both to the deer and for the deer. According to Yoeme elder and deer singer Miki Maso of the Rio Yaqui Valley, Sonora, Mexico, this is the way that the "Enchanted World speaks to itself" (Evers and Molina 1987). Thus, the deer dance and singing tradition is one way that the Yoeme actively relate and communicate with the natural and spiritual world.

The survival of this tradition in Yoeme communities of both Sonora, Mexico, and Southern Arizona, where about 25,000 and 10,000 Yoeme, respectively, reside, is astounding given the history of physical genocide and cultural ethnocide that the Yoeme people endured from the late 1890s to the beginning of the Mexican Revolution in 1911 (Spicer 1980). At the height of the Mexican government's campaign to clear the Yoeme traditional lands from indigenous resistance, about 6,000 Yoeme (or about one-fourth of the

population) were forcibly removed from their homes by relocation and forced labor, government-sponsored murder, and political persecution. In order to attain freedom hundreds of Yoeme fled north to Arizona Territory and into the surrounding Mexican populations (ibid.). The Yoeme came closest to realizing their dream of maintaining their homelands free of Mexican control in 1939, when Mexican president Lazaro Cardenas established the first "Indigenous Community" and set up protected boundaries by presidential decree for the Yoeme (ibid.).

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See also Kachina and Clown Societies; Oral Traditions, Pueblo; Termination and Relocation

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Yuwipi Ceremony

Contemporary variants of the *yuwipi* ceremony are performed by the Lakota Sioux yuwipi *wica'sa,* or "yuwipi man," and there are still several yuwipi men residing at the Pine Ridge (Oglala division) and Rosebud (Sicangu, or Brule division) reservations in southwestern South Dakota. Recognized as *wica'sa wakan,* "sacred person[s]," yuwipi men are conjurers who consult their spirit helpers during nighttime yuwipi ceremonies held in darkened rooms to treat "Indian sickness," give family advice, and find lost persons and objects. Perhaps the oldest Lakota ritual apart from the sweatlodge and vision quest, the yuwipi (meaning "wrapped up," or "they wrap him up") refers to binding the yuwipi man at the beginning of the ceremony. Undoubtedly the most popular Lakota ceremony during the reservation period, yuwipi also flourished in the post–World War II era, although there are fewer yuwipi men today as compared to one hundred years ago. Similar divination rites were performed in nineteenth-century Plains communities by Crow men and women with ghost power, Kiowa owl doctors, and in Yankton conjuring ceremonies.

Exactly where yuwipi originated is the source of some debate. While some scholars claim that it is derived from the Shaking Tent ceremony performed by Woodland Algonkin-speaking peoples, and others suggest westward origins from the Algonquin Blackfoot and Arapaho, the genesis of the Oglala yuwipi at Pine Ridge traces historically to the old man Horn Chips, or Chips (1836–1916), who became Crazy Horse's brother through a pipe smoking ritual. Chips

gave Crazy Horse his protective medicine, a small *tunkan* ("stone") related to yuwipi powers that he carried under his left arm during combat. Chips had two sons connected to yuwipi: James Moves Camp (1869–1949) and Charles Chips (1873–1946). Without his father's help, the former received supernatural power through a vision quest, then assisted his younger brother, Charles, in obtaining his own vision. Their father, however, imparted personal power to his grandson, James's son Sam Moves Camp (1897–1973), who then passed it to his own grandsons, Sam Moves Camp, Jr. (b. 1948) and Richard Moves Camp (b. 1956). Charles Chips transferred power directly to his son Ellis Chips (b. 1909), who then passed it to his son Godfrey Chips (b. 1954). Throughout the years, the Chips/Moves Camp family has presided over yuwipi ceremonies in Wanblee and other eastern districts of Pine Ridge Reservation. Well-known yuwipi priests in recent times include the now-deceased George Plenty Wolf of the Pine Ridge community, who taught anthropologist William K. Powers about the ceremony (Powers 1984, xi), and Frank Andrew Fools Crow of Kyle, a very powerful yuwipi man who conducted yuwipi ceremonies for physician Thomas H. Lewis (1987, 179ff.). Fools Crow, Plenty Wolf, John Iron Rope, and other yuwipi men also worked closely with Jesuit scholar Paul B. Steinmetz.

Elderly Oglalas at the turn of the last century referred to the yuwipi men as Rock dreamers, in conjunction with the Oglala belief in *Inyan,* "Rock," as one of the four superior *Wakan Tanka* "big holy"—the totality of everything incomprehensible in the universe—with a material body; Sun, Sky, and Earth are the other three. Yuwipi also refers to small, spherical, translucent stones found near anthills that are imbued with sacred power because they come from the underworld, where everything is pure. These sacred stones each contain a *šicun* "spirit" that assists the yuwipi men, and are addressed in sacred language as *tunkasila* "grandfather," derived from *tunkan* "stone." During yuwipi "spirit meetings," or "seances" held in the darkness, the collective *tunkan wašicun,* "spirit of the stone," of the *yuwipi inyan,* "yuwipi stone," untie the bound yuwipi man and assist him in healing, foretelling the future, and finding lost objects. Nonbelievers attending ceremonies are struck by the stones. Prior to yuwipi ceremonies, 405 *canli wapahte,* "tobacco bundle," offerings are made by placing a pinch of tobacco in small one-inch-square cotton cloths and tied; the offerings represent the 405 different types of *šicun* in the universe, and those in attendance take the tobacco offerings to smoke with the other *šicun* of the universe.

Yuwipi stones are connected to the *tunkan* (hot rocks) used in the sweatlodge, as exemplified when Horn Chips—the Stone dreamer—performed divination rites during sweatlodge ceremonies by sending out his yuwipi stones to find lost objects or persons. Sweatlodges,

often conducted as independent rites without accompanying rituals, normally precede the *wapiya lowanpi,* or "curing sing," and the *wopila lowanpi,* or "thanksgiving sing," whereas they are not required for emergency sings such as the seldom-performed *okile lowanpi,* "hunting sing," to find stolen property—without identifying the thief—and the *Inktomi lowanpi,* "Spider sing," to acquire a *tunkan* invested by a *šicun.* Inktomi the Spider is related to yuwipi because Spider is the offspring of Inyan the Rock and *Wakinyan Oyate,* "Thunder-Beings," manifested in nature as Thunder and Lightning; hence the connection between yuwipi stones and Inktomi. Individuals seeking *tunkan* to carry for personal protection from harm and sickness often find smooth, circular stones near creek beds, then place them in specially made buckskin pouches, or they request the yuwipi man to find one for them. During the Spider sing, the stone is invested by a protective spirit, then named.

Yuwipi is also connected to the vision quest because the Rock dreamer experiences esoteric visions that are coherent only to another Rock dreamer, also referred to as the *iyeska,* "interpreter" or "medium," who understands spirits and communicates with them. Once a dream recipient realizes that his role in life is to become a yuwipi man, he begins an apprenticeship under a senior yuwipi *wica'sa,* although the information received in the vision—songs, prayers, and ritual items—specifically belongs to him. If the Rock dreamer's father was a yuwipi *wica'sa,* then his destiny is to "walk with the pipe," acquire his father's ritual paraphernalia, and undertake an apprenticeship; otherwise, a yuwipi man's regalia are burned or placed in his grave following death. Since yuwipi power derives from visions, a yuwipi *wica'sa* must constantly renew his power through the vision quest at least once a year. But more critically, to ensure his own well-being a yuwipi man must not offend the powerful *šicun.* Mishandling the sacred pipe made of "red stone" or catlinite, and proximity to menstruating women are particularly offensive to the spirits. Over the years, yuwipi men get weaker from the cumulative effects of giving their spirits away by naming stones, eventually losing their clientele to younger yuwipi men.

When the need arises, such as illness in the family, financial difficulties, or other family and personal troubles, contemporary Lakota find solace by smoking and praying with *cannunpa wakan,* the sacred pipe, to the Four Winds, the Sky, the Earth, and the Spotted Eagle that carries prayers to Wakantanka, the Great Spirit, Creator, and Provider. An individual desiring to sponsor a yuwipi ceremony solicits the yuwipi man with the sacred pipe—or cigarette—addressing him respectfully as *tunkasila,* "grandfather." If the yuwipi *wica'sa* decides to accept the case and conduct a yuwipi ritual, he takes the pipe and they smoke together with the stipulation that the sponsor must follow up with a *wopila lowanpi,* or thanksgiving feast, within a

year. The following is a generalized description of a yuwipi meeting for curing.

On the afternoon of the yuwipi ceremony, the sponsor arrives at the home of the yuwipi *wica'sa* with the requested items for the ceremony: cotton cloth, groceries, and meat from a slaughtered dog for the ensuing feast. While a fire is prepared to heat the hot rocks for the sweatlodge rite, the cotton cloth is cut into 405 one-inch-square tobacco bundles tied off with string, then attached to a longer string used to mark off the *hocoka,* "camp circle," or sacred space inside the yuwipi man's house. By sundown, when the sweatlodge rocks are white hot, the sponsor, yuwipi man, and several others depart into the sweatlodge while the women prepare the ritual meal and other men prepare the house—either a one-room house or one room in a large house—for the yuwipi ceremony by removing furniture, metal, glass, and objects representing Anglo culture and sealing off windows and entrances so that the inside is pitch black when the ceremony begins. Star quilts and pillows are set around the periphery of the room for singers and spectators, sage is placed on oversize furniture to appease the yuwipi spirits, and the space in the middle is left for the yuwipi altar.

Once the interior of the house is prepared, the participants enter the room through the east door, then assume their respective positions around the perimeter of the room: men on the south side, women on the north side, and singers on the west side. All attendees are given a sprig of sage to wear behind the right ear so the "spirits may know them" during the ceremony. Then the paraphernalia for the altar is brought in by an assistant, including four to seven three-pound coffee cans filled halfway to the top with earth, then topped off with colored cloth *wanunyanpi,* "offerings," affixed to willow canes, and the long string containing the 405 tobacco bundles. The cans are set up in the northwest, southwest, northeast, and southeast quadrants—in the four-can variant—then the *hocoka,* or ritual space, inside is delineated by winding the stringed tobacco bundles around the willow canes. While the ritual space is prepared, the yuwipi man enters and constructs an earthen altar in the center—often out of gopher or mole dirt—decorated with symbols of Sun, Moon, Thunder-Beings, and other sacred beings. Next to the earthen altar is a bed of sage, yuwipi rattles filled with 405 stones, tobacco, the sacred pipe and pipe bag, yuwipi stones, an eagle bone whistle, and other regalia connected to his vision.

After the lights have been turned off to test the darkness, a single light is turned on and the ceremony begins with the now shoeless and shirtless yuwipi man sitting in the middle of the ritual space facing west. First he explains his powers, then, accompanied by the *opagipi olowan,* "filling the pipe song," the yuwipi *wica'sa* fills the sacred pipe with seven pinches of tobacco for the Four Directions, Earth, Sky, and Spotted Eagle. When the pipe is filled with tobacco and

topped off with sage, the assistant and a singer wrap the yuwipi man in a star quilt, bind him with rope, and then lay him face down on the sage altar. Once that is done the light is turned off again, the room is plunged into darkness, and the singers and drummers sing the powerful *wicakicopi olowan,* "they call them song," to summon the spirits of the universe, followed by three *wocekiye olowan,* "prayer song[s]." The spirits usually arrive on the fourth song, making their appearance known by the sounds of shaking rattles, the striking of floor and walls, and *peta,* or blue sparks. The next set begins with another *wicakicopi olowan,* followed by an extensive conversation between the patient and other attendees; at this time the yuwipi man is consulting with his yuwipi spirits. A fourth song set features *wapiye olowan,* "curing song[s]," for patients seeking a cure by standing in the darkness with their backs to the altar while the rattles touch them. Following is the fifth song set of *cehohomni olowan,* "around the kettle song[s]," sung only when ritual dog meat is served following the meeting. Then two *wicayujujupi olowan,* "they untie him song[s]," are performed, succeeded by a dance song for the attendees, and another for the spirits to take the tobacco offerings. During the sixth set sparks emanate from the seven sage-adorned intersections of the rope binding the yuwipi man and from the tobacco bundle string around the circumference of the sacred space. Finally, the seventh set features two songs for the withdrawing spirits: *wanagi kiglapi olowan,* "spirits go home song," and the *inkiyapi olowan,* "quitting song."

Once the spirits have embarked on their journey to the west where they live between the Earth and Sky, the light is turned on, revealing a disheveled altar, although the yuwipi *wica'sa* is sitting in the middle of the altar with the star quilt, rope, and tobacco bundle placed neatly next to him. The packed pipe is smoked by all present, including women and children, who may merely touch the pipe if they so desire, then water is passed around for everyone to drink; upon receiving the pipe and water, each recipient utters *Mitakuye oyasin,* "All my relations." Afterward, the food is brought into the house by the women who prepared it, everyone eats, and any leftovers are taken home. The tobacco offerings are often given to the patient, and the star quilt that bound the yuwipi man is sometimes put over the patient's head while the patient inhales medicines. When the ritual meal concludes, the individual at the south side of the entryway says "*Mitakuye oyasin,*" followed in turn by the participants, then finally the yuwipi man, marking the end of the ceremony.

Even though variations of the yuwipi ceremony continue to this day, there is considerable controversy associated with the ritual. Not all Lakota condone the ritual, particularly those who have converted to Christianity following the teachings of the Christian clergy, who historically have condemned the ritual as satanic. Nevertheless, the yuwipi cere-

mony still represents the performance of ritual to unify the Lakota spiritually.

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See also Bundles, Sacred Bundle Traditions; Dreams and Visions; Power, Plains; Sweatlodge; Vision Quest Rites

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Indian Entities Recognized and Eligible to Receive Services from the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs

Absentee-Shawnee Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma
Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians of the Agua Caliente Indian Reservation, California
Ak Chin Indian Community of the Maricopa (Ak Chin) Indian Reservation, Arizona
Alabama-Coushatta Tribes of Texas
Alabama-Quassarte Tribal Town, Oklahoma
Alturas Indian Rancheria, California
Apache Tribe of Oklahoma
Arapahoe Tribe of the Wind River Reservation, Wyoming
Aroostook Band of Micmac Indians of Maine
Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes of the Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Montana
Augustine Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians of the Augustine Reservation, California

Bad River Band of the Lake Superior Tribe of Chippewa Indians of the
Bad River Reservation, Wisconsin
Bay Mills Indian Community, Michigan (previously listed as the Bay Mills Indian Community of the Sault Ste. Marie Band of Chippewa Indians, Bay Mills Reservation, Michigan)
Bear River Band of the Rohnerville Rancheria, California
Berry Creek Rancheria of Maidu Indians of California
Big Lagoon Rancheria, California
Big Pine Band of Owens Valley Paiute Shoshone Indians of the Big Pine Reservation, California
Big Sandy Rancheria of Mono Indians of California
Big Valley Band of Pomo Indians of the Big Valley Rancheria, California
Blackfeet Tribe of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation of Montana
Blue Lake Rancheria, California
Bridgeport Paiute Indian Colony of California
Buena Vista Rancheria of Me-Wuk Indians of California
Burns Paiute Tribe of the Burns Paiute Indian Colony of Oregon

Cabazon Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians of the Cabazon Reservation, California
Cachil DeHe Band of Wintun Indians of the Colusa Indian Community of the Colusa Rancheria, California
Caddo Indian Tribe of Oklahoma
Cahuilla Band of Mission Indians of the Cahuilla Reservation, California
Cahto Indian Tribe of the Laytonville Rancheria, California
California Valley Miwok Tribe, California (formerly the Sheep Ranch Rancheria of Me-Wuk Indians of California)
Campo Band of Diegueno Mission Indians of the Campo Indian Reservation, California
Capitan Grande Band of Diegueno Mission Indians of California:
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