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THE NORTHERN ARAPAHO FLAT PIPE, AND THE CEREMONY OF COVERING THE PIPE.

JOHN G. CARTER.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

Washington, D.C.

November 23, 1936.

Mr. M.W. Stirling,
Chief of Bureau of American Ethnology,
Smithsonian Institution,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Stirling:

Accompanying this letter is a report on the Flat Pipe of the northern band of the Arapaho Indians.

The ceremony observed took place at Ethete, Wyoming, on the Wind River Indian Reservation, July 23 of this year.

It is believed that this paper embodies the first eye witness description of the Flat Pipe by a white man, and the first eye witness account of a ceremony held in honor of this Pipe.

Very truly yours,

John G. Carter.
THE NORTHERN ARAPAHO FLAT PIPE, AND THE CEREMONY OF COVERING THE PIPE.

JOHN G. CARTER.

INTRODUCTION.

The Flat Pipe (seicha, Mooney, 959; saaitca, Kroeber, 308) is the tribal medicine of the Arapaho, and its keeper is always a member of the northern band of that tribe. The word medicine, as here employed, is the word which white men have applied to those objects or ceremonies of the north American Indian which either contain in themselves, or produce by their performance supernatural power. This supernatural power is sought and applied by the Indian not only to the purpose of healing the sick, but also to obtain control of natural forces, success in hunting, good luck, strength, long life, and safety and victory in the hour of battle. The Flat Pipe in the Arapaho mythology is really the creator, and is held by the Arapaho in greater veneration than the sun. (Dorsey and Kroeber, 3). Its present custodian - 1938 - is Oscar White, a full blood Arapaho Indian, who lives on the Wind River Reservation at Ethete, Wyoming.


The outlines of the creation myth, in which Flat Pipe takes a prominent part, are known. This myth is in the custody of the pipe keeper. No white man has ever recorded the myth in its entirety. Fragments of the myth have been obtained from Arapaho who have heard it, and know it but imperfectly. These fragments are sometimes contradictory in their details. Those who know the myth, or who have heard it, are forbidden
The following letter was received from the Chief Clerk of the Shoshoni Indian Agency, Fort Washakie, Wyoming:

Fort Washakie, Wyoming. 
June 26, 1937.

My dear Mr. Carter:

Your old friend Oscar White passed to his happy reward February 16 last. (1937) His daughter, Hannah Brown, has the medal sent by you to her father. She told me they prize it highly and would keep it among members of their family. She also has the Arapaho peace pipe. It has not been determined as yet who will be chosen as permanent keeper of the sacred emblem. Mrs. Brown did say that Luke Smith, stepson of Oscar White, was a likely candidate.

You wish to know if "the peace pipe was exposed at some time during the Arapaho sun dance". The answer is, no. My source of information is: Mr. Friday, Mr. Whitman, Hannah Brown and Domic Oldman, all important members of the Arapaho tribe.

The Stones were very happy to get your message of friendship, as were the Greens and Mrs. Haas, and others mentioned. It was a real pleasure to know your very pleasant wife and daughter, and I enjoyed so much my time with you. May we look forward to another happy meeting.

Sincerely,

Harlow Burt.

During a visit to Washington in July, 1937, Robert Friday stated that Luke Smith had succeeded Oscar White as keeper of the Flat Pipe.

IT WILL BE NOTED IN THE FOLLOWING THAT THE RITUAL FollowS CLOSELY THE CREATION MYTH. THE RITUAL DRAMATIZES THE CREATION MYTH.

Field Columbian Museum, Publication 75, Anthropological Series, Vol. IV.

The Arapaho Sun Dance, by George A. Dorsey, Chicago, June, 1903.

(191) XV. - Sun Dance Myths, ORIGIN MYTH. (Southern Arapaho, Oklahoma.)

At one time there was a deluge on the face of the earth. A man with something in his arms was seen for four days and nights walking around on the water.

One time, as he was wandering and thinking of this solitary habitation and also planning secretly how he could preserve his pipe, which was somewhat flat, he said, weeping, "Here I am alone with my (192) pipe. What shall I do to save it? For I do love it; besides, it is my sole companion." At times this man would fast in order to know what was best to be done, or to get an idea of something. During fasting he gradually got acquainted with small objects. For six days he walked around on the surface, carrying the Flat-Pipe on his left arm, weeping at the top of his voice.

On the evening of the sixth day, after he had fasted, he said, looking around as far as his eyes could reach: "This Flat-Pipe is just and upright and a good counselor. I do wish that there would be a land where I could keep it holy and reverently. Yes, to have a true and peaceable companion excels, therefore a good piece of land is necessary. Since I have been fasting with this Flat-Pipe, I have come to the definite conclusion that for its safety to the end, instead of being alone, there should be an earth with inhabitants, creatures of every description. I hope this desire may become a reality." That night he again walked around on the water in
to tell it. (Kroeber, 309). In outline the myth recites that in the beginning there was nothing but water. Some say that a man, and his wife and son, with the Flat Pipe, supported on its stand of four poles, floated alone on the water, and that "the grandfather" took pity on them. Others say that a man walked alone on the water, carrying the Flat Pipe, and sought land on which to rest his pipe. In this situation the man, or the grandfather, the fragments contradict each other, sent animals down into the water to bring up land from the bottom, with which to make the earth. The turtle finally succeeds in bringing up enough earth, and with this the man, or the grandfather makes the land. The mountains, rivers, trees and grass, the animals, and finally man are all made by this first being. The Arapaho are made, and the maker gives the Flat Pipe to the Arapaho. The myth implies that either the world was made at the Flat Pipe's request, or because of the Flat Pipe, and in order to provide a place on which the Flat Pipe could rest. (Dorsey and Kroeber, Field Colum. Mus. Pub. anthr. ser. V, pp. 1-6; Dorsey, Field Colum. Mus. Pub. anthr. ser. IV, pp. 161-313).

In 1892 Mooney was refused permission to see the Flat Pipe. (Mooney, 961). In 1900 Kroeber observed the Flat Pipe bundle hung from its stand of four poles in the northern Arapaho sun dance lodge. At the time of Kroeber's observation it was said that the Flat Pipe was removed from its bundle and was in the keeping of the pledger of the sun dance, or in the back of the lodge behind the pledger, and that the Pipe was taken back to the bundle by the keeper at the end of the sun dance. (Kroeber, 391-3; 396-300). But it is also stated on reliable authority that the Pipe remains in its bundle during the sun dance. (Friday).* The Flat Pipe has been seen by Dr. John Roberts. Weasel Bear was its keeper at that time. (Mooney, 961; Friday). Mr. Hastings, a missionary, gave the feast for the Pipe, and with his wife and daughter saw the Pipe. It is believed that a Dr. Brown saw the Pipe, but informant is
deep thought and at time wept for good results. The water was calm and
there was a gentle breeze from all directions.

On the morning of the seventh day he came to a resting-place on the
water. "Well! There should be an earth for this Flat-Pipe to live on. He
is my sole companion, who has been just and upright with me; therefore, I
shall see if it can be done," said he, bracing up, and with much spirit
and command.

So he stood off to a place in the northwest, carrying his Flat-Pipe and
coughing a little to clear his throat, with a loud voice (as Hoochen does
when announcing the lodge): "Heā - ! People! Heā - ! People! Heā - ! People!
Come, all of you! Come and make an attempt to search for earth!" He then
walked off to another place, lifted up his head a little, looking very far,
took a deep breath of air and cried with a loud voice, "Heā - ! Heā - !
Heā - ! Come all of you! Come over and make an attempt to search for earth!"
This was the announcement to the northeast to beings (birds and animals).
Again he walked to the southeast, coughing a little to clear his throat,
stopped, standing firmly, and lifted up his head and looked a great distance,
took a deep breath and cried with a loud voice, "Heā - ! Heā - ! Heā - !
Come, all of you! Come over and make an attempt to search for earth!"

After each announcement at the places specified, there were returns of
"thanks" from the distant waters. "May they come with great blessing and
peace and good-will!" said he, as he walked off to the southwest. He stopped,
took a solid stand (like a foundation), coughed a little to clear his throat,
lifted his head, drawing in a deep
(193) breath, and cried with a loud voice, "Heā - ! Heā - ! Heā - ! Come,
all of you! Come over and make an attempt to search for earth!" and he
returned to his original place.

Then the man said, "Let there be, at a short distance from me, seven
cottonwood trees of medium height and size!" at the same time taking a deep
breath, and looking off over the water. After he had thus commanded, there
were seven cottonwood trees standing upright, being healthy in appearance.

He then returned to his original place, when there came forth birds of
every kind with songs of praises, and reptiles of every kind, at the same
time enjoying themselves in being assembled. They lighted on the tops of
the trees, chirping and fluttering in the branches. The reptiles, of course,
swam to the gathering, and they, too, uttered their voices of gratitude.

"Now listen to me attentively and think of it seriously," said he, moving
a little and with a great deal of dignity. "Since you have come from different
quarters of the horizon, it is probable that some of you might know where the
land is located. I am unable to locate it, nor have I any idea of the land.
So please, I do wish all of you would inform me of any piece of land that
you may know of, so I can be satisfied," said he, looking up toward the
trees and around him.

"Say, I think I know exactly where it is, for I have heard about it" said
the turtle. "Keep quiet," said he, slightly touching him at the knee.

The birds were chirping on the branches relative to the question and the
reptiles were in solemn thought and occasionally made sharp noises among them.

Finally, there came an answer from the turtle, that he had heard of it
beneath the deep waters. The others of greater faculty did not have any idea
of the land being under the waters, so they were greatly astonished at the
turtle's answer. All expressed their full gratitude to the turtle.

"Now listen to me! Who can dive in the water and search for the bottom of
it? I am sure that some of you are able to accomplish the task, for you
have the strength," said he, looking around the interesting crowd. "Say! I
will dive first and try to find the bottom," said a little fowl (a bird with
long, slender bill, rather short body, long, thin legs, with feathers white
from neck to stomach.) "Oh, pshaw! I can beat him in diving," said another
water-fowl. "Say, partner, be quiet, let him do it himself; they selected
him to do the task," said another water-fowl, wiggling briskly. So the first
little water-fowl advanced for orders. The owner of the Flat-
(194) Pipe then said with a loud voice, "You may all know that Turnstone

(Opposite p. 4.)
not sure of this. Dr. Tyler, formerly missionary in charge of the
Episcopal mission at Ethete, Wyoming, saw the Pipe (Friday); and was
permitted to lift and handle it. (Fontenelle). Mr. Roy H. Balcom, of
New York, and Dr. Corey saw the Pipe and gave the feast for the Pipe.
(Friday). A careful search has been made of the card index catalogues
Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, in order to ascertain if any of the
above named have published papers on the Flat Pipe, and no reference
to any such publications have been found. If there be any oversight in
giving credit, where credit is due, in regard to papers published on
the Flat Pipe, the oversight is regretted.

The writer is informed that he is the first white man to take the
part of "he who covers the pipe" in the ceremony here described, (Friday),
and it is to be noted that when reference is made to "he who covers
the pipe" in this paper, the reference is to the author of this paper,
and all matters here related, and not credited to others, fell directly
under his observation.

The following persons have been of the greatest assistance in giving
information in regard to the Flat Pipe, and in making it possible to see
the Pipe and take part in the ceremony of covering the Pipe: Robert
Friday, a full blood Arapaho, and chairman of the Arapaho tribal council;
Mrs. Robert Friday; Dr. John Roberts, missionary of the Episcopal church
among the Arapaho and Shoshoni since 1882, and still actively engaged in
that work among them; Shave Head, a full blood Arapaho Indian; Oscar White,
keeper of the Flat Pipe; Luke Smith, assistant keeper of the Flat Pipe;
Victor Fontenelle, an Omaha Indian, private secretary to the Superintend-
ent of the Reservation; and Forrest R. Stone, Superintendent of the Wind
River Reservation, who gave most valuable help and assistance in making
contacts with and gaining the confidence and good will of Arapaho Indians.
will now dive in search of the bottom of the ocean, for our benefit." The people (animals and others), were standing with anxiety to see the results. So the bird straightened its head, fluttered its wings and dived, leaving circular ripples on the surface. All the rest were of course delighted to see the first attempt, and really put confidence in the bird for good results. Just after the sun had risen, this little water-fowl was seen floating on the surface near the gathering. "Well! Well! Here comes the errand boy, and now we shall hear the report," said the man, moving his head a little. "I cannot find a trace of it. It is quite deep, therefore I could not go farther," said the bird, breathing just a little, as its stomach was well loaded. "You may all know that he has returned and reported that the water is very deep, and he saw no trace of the land," said the man. It being a very important undertaking, there was quite a dispute among the people for another errand or messenger (this means that a man is appointed for an important duty). Finally there came forth two water-fowls, with the same features and size, and took a proud stand before the owner of the pipe. "That is the way to feel, and in the long run you will accomplish a great task," said the man to the young men (water-fowls). "Now it is my duty to give notice. You people may know that these two young men will now dive in search of the bottom. Let us all be united in our prayers for their success," said he, in manly voice and with great gesture. So they took deep breaths and dived, leaving ripples on the surface. For two days these two young men were absent. Just after the sun had risen the young men came up, floating on the surface. "Well, here come those young braves, and now we shall know this day the results," said the man. "We cannot see any signs of land. The water is very deep," said the fowls. These fowls were both exhausted, and their stomachs were quite full of water.

"You all may hear that these two young men have returned and reported that there are no signs of land and the water is still very deep," said he, coughing a little to attract attention, and at the same time looking around the people. Many others ventured to undertake the perilous task, but careful selections were made. After due consideration among the people, three water-fowls, among which was the kingfisher, were appointed, who came forth and stood proudly before the man. "Yes, boys, if you continue with your energy, great joy may follow. I am feeling very proud of your ambition," said the man, smacking his lips together. "You may all know that three young men will now dive in search of land," said he, with much spirit (185) and clear voice. "The people were in their respective places conversing, and were in deep thought with the young men. The birds of every species had begun to build their nests in the cottonwood trees, and others made homes in such a way around the man. These three water-fowls then dived, leaving ripples on the surface and were absent for three days. Just after the sun had risen there came out to the surface from below these water-fowls. Each made an effort to become conscious by breathing all the air that surrounded them. "Well! Well! Here they come, finally, and now we shall hear the report, so please tell me what encouraging news you have," said the man. "We cannot find any signs of land, for we have gone to a considerable depth, and still the water gets deeper," said they, in weak voices.

"You may all know that these young men have arrived and reported that they have seen no sign of land, and the water gets deeper," said the man, turning his face to the interested crowd. All the people dropped their heads in deep thought, and conversed freely relative to the great task. After considerable argument among them, there came forth the otter, beaver, packed bird, and garter snake, who stood before the man. These people had been appointed and ordered to come forward. "Good! Good! It is the desire that great deeds may be done by some young people. There is no reason why you cannot do much good to your people," said he, as he carefully moved his Flat-Pipe and looked all around with sympathetic appearance. "You may all know that our young men will now dive in search for land for our benefit," said he, swallowing his saliva, which gave a sound as though a stone were

(Opposite p. 5.)
Robert Friday visited Washington, D.C. as a Delegate from the Northern Arapaho tribe of the Shoshoni, or Fort Washakie (Wind River) Indian Reservation in Wyoming, during the month of July, 1937. While here he informed me again that the Flat Pipe Bundle was never opened, but only exposed during the Arapaho Sun Dance; he rechecked some of my article on the Flat Pipe Ceremony, and in regard to the so called split between the northern and southern Arapaho volunteered the following information: That the old men of the northern Arapaho had told him that the northern and southern Arapaho never were one tribe; that the southern Arapaho originally spoke a different language than the northern Arapaho, and this was the case when the northern Arapaho first met the so called southern Arapaho. That at the time of the first meeting of the northern Arapaho and the southern tribe, the southern tribe were living far to the south, and the northern Arapaho were on or about the headwaters of the Platte. That the northern Arapaho obtained good lodge poles in their country that these southern Indians stood much in need of, and the southern tribe had horses which were in demand among the northern Arapaho. That the northern Arapaho traded lodge poles for horses with the southern tribe in the vicinity of old Fort Dodge, and that gradually the southern tribe, by this trade acquired the language of the northern Arapaho, and then became known to white men as the southern Arapaho, despite the fact that they were not Arapaho originally.

The Gros Ventres of Fort Belknap, Montana, (Atsina), admit that they broke off from the northern Arapaho a long time ago (Buckman; Maine; Victor Brockie), but they do not know the reason of the break, its time, nor the place it occurred.

The northern and southern Arapaho, and the Gros ventres, (Atsina), now speak the same language, and can understand each other. The Gros Ventre is much more highly inflected than the northern Arapaho (Friday).

The Gros Ventres, when driven north to the Slave Lakes with the Blackfoot, Blood and Piegan, by the Shoshoni, lived there near the Gros Ventre or Buffalo Belly Buttes on one of the Slave Lakes. The Hudson's Bay Company established a Fort du Prairie there, and hence these Indians became known as the Gros Ventres du Prairie. (The late Maj. Gen. Hugh L. Scott).
Robert Friday, who acted as negotiator, informant, sponsor, coach, instructor and interpreter in the ceremony here described, checked over the notes taken on the ceremony and on the Flat Pipe, and made corrections and additions where needed.

THE ARAPAHO.

The Arapaho are an important tribe of the Algonquin linguistic stock. Several hundred years ago this tribe were located in western Minnesota. According to their traditions they were then an agricultural and sedentary people. They gradually migrated south and west from their original habitat, allying themselves with the Cheyenne at the time of their migration. Early in the nineteenth century they acquired horses. Their migration, acquisition of horses, and their emergence into the buffalo country led them to abandon their agricultural habits and culture, and adopt the culture of the plains or buffalo hunting tribes. The reason for their migration is unknown. At an early period in this migration the first division of the Arapaho occurred, when a band, later known as the Gros Ventre of the Prairie, left the Arapaho, and subsequently allied themselves with the Piegan tribe of the Blackfoot nation. These Gros Ventre now reside on the Fort Belknap Reservation in north central Montana. The main body of the Arapaho journeyed on to the Black Hills, where they parted company with the Cheyenne, with whom, however, they continued ever after to have close alliance and friendship. The Arapaho then proceeded to the headwaters of the Missouri, but driven from that country by the Piegans and other Indians, they then found their way to the headwaters of the Platte, a part of the tribe ranging south to the headwaters of the Arkansas. In 1849 the great overland route, which followed the north Platte, permanently divided the buffalo into the northern and southern herds, and these herds were never again united. It is believed that this led to the last division of the Arapaho. That part of the tribe now known as the southern Arapaho, who now have a Reservation with the Cheyenne in Oklahoma, followed the southern herd along the Arkansas. That
dropped in the water, so these young men lifted their heads, raised their hands, uttered a word of prayer, then dived and were absent for four days. After the sun had risen these young men returned, each floating on the surface close to the gathering. "Well, here they come back, bearing good expressions. Now we get the best results to-day, for these men have excellent characters," said he, with signs of faith. All the people responded to the gathering to hear the news and there was tranquility in the crowd. "We cannot find any signs of land, although we went to a considerable depth," said they. "Yes, I think positively that there is no bottom, for I cannot feel the impulse for success," said the beaver, with signs of despair. At the above remark there was a great stir among the people, and the birds and water animals chatted with much emotion.

The people then selected men of greater strength for the next trial. Finally there came forth five young men well built, and stood before the man. In this party there was a black snake, two kinds of ducks, a goose, and a crane. "Yes, I have thought many times that an ambitious heart does more good than a poor one. You men are physically strong, and I hope that in spite of the perilous duty before you, you may succeed," said he, winking his eyes and glancing at the crowd. "You may all know that these young men will now dive for our benefit," said the man. So they all looked around, threw out their deep chests, wiggled, closed their eyes, and dived in search of land. The people, after seeing the water ripples left by them, wondered if they would be successful this time. For five days these short, but healthy-looking young men were absent from their companions. After the sun had risen these five young men had returned. Each one was floating on the surface, breathing rather hard from exhaustion. "Well! Well! Here they come, and we are sure to have a good report this time," said he, looking at his Flat-Pipe. "We cannot find any signs of land, although we went together and were gone very deep, still the water looked green," said they, looking very tired. Straightening himself, the man said, encouragingly to the people, "You may all know that these young men have returned and reported that they saw no speck of land, but that there is a continuous green appearance to the water." Again there was quite a stir among the people, and all conversed upon the subject. So finally, after they had a talk and decided, there came word from them that an appointment was uncertain this time, for all those who had strength and flight had failed.

"Say, can I make an attempt alone?" said the turtle, secretly to the man. "Hush! I want all of them to search for it," said he, in low voice. While the turtle had gone back to its place, which was close to the man, he advanced a little and said to the people, who were still talking and singing for better results, "Well! Since you all have failed to make good selections to-day, I think that on behalf of my Pipe and for ourselves, it is a wise proposition for all to seek for the land. So I want all of you to come forward and make a dive around me and bring a good report," said the man, in a clear and manly voice. So all the birds, reptiles, and others came close, with much delight, each expressing a desire to accomplish the task. "For the good welfare and prosperity of my Pipe, I pray you all to seek diligently for the land and I will await for the results," said he, looking at the turtle, which meant that the turtle was to remain with him. So every one then took deep breaths and glanced at each other. All at once they dived for the bottom of the water. After they had dived simultaneously, there were pretty ripples left on the surface; each (197) made a circular one. The man with the Pipe and the turtle were the only ones left to witness the return. For six days there was a deep calm over the water. During the absence of these animals, the man with the Pipe bowed his head and listened attentively, and winked his eyes softly, and at times coughed a little to attract the attention of the turtle. Some of them returned to the surface in one day, some in two days, some in three days, some in four days, some in five days, and a very few on the morning of the sixth day. The sun had risen and it was nearly noon when all had returned, when the man said to them, "You have been gone in search of land for days and nights and returned by parties, and since this is an important affair I would like to know if there is any prospect to-day," said he, as he straightened his position with the Pipe. There was no answer from any particular one, but all answered that (Opposite p. 6.)
part of the tribe now known as the northern Arapaho, who now reside on
the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming, remained with the northern herd
north of the Platte. The Arapaho recognize the northern tribe in Wyoming
as the mother tribe, and it is this tribe of the Arapaho who retained
custody of the tribal medicine known as the Flat Pipe. (Mooney, Bull. 30,
pp. 954-1023; Clark, Indian Sign Language, pp. 38-43; Strong, vol. 93, No.

POSITION OF FLAT PIPE AMONG ARAPAHO.

The Flat Pipe is looked upon by the Arapaho as an exceedingly holy
object, and is held in the highest possible veneration and respect. The
Christianized Arapaho refer to it as "the chariot of God," because, they
say, when a man looks upon the Pipe his "shadow" is at once transported
to "the home." By "shadow" is meant the soul or spirit, and "the home"
refers to the place where the Arapaho journey after death. (Roberts). In
the old days the Pipe was considered too holy to be carried on horseback
or travois. The keeper then carried the Pipe, wrapped in its bundle, with
the four poles which formed the stand for the bundle when at rest, and
proceeded afoot when the camp moved. (Mooney, 260; Roberts). As the
bundle is about two feet long, and the poles are about five feet long,
the keeper was obliged to walk slowly, and no great distance could be
covered in a day's march. When encamped the camp circle formed around the
keeper's lodge. When on the march the camp formed around the keeper, and
thus the people were kept close together. This was a good thing because
it kept them from straggling or scattering when moving through hostile
territory. (Roberts). The keeper, when the camp was on the march, walked
under guard. (Mooney, 260).

In the northern Arapaho sun dance lodge the Flat Pipe, wrapped in its
bundle, is brought into the lodge, and is there suspended from its stand
of four poles. (Kroeber, 291; Friday). The four poles are arranged like
there was no sign of land underneath. "I do not think that there is any
land underneath." "Yet, if there was land under the water one of us
would surely have found it, but there is none." Yet we may have gone by
a wrong course." "Maybe, we all came back a little distance from it."
These were sentences spoken by some of the thoughtful ones.

"Now, people, since you have failed to find the land underneath this
water, and in view of the fact that I have such a good companion and
desire to place it on solid earth, I wish to inform you that I will seek
for it, that Turtle will accompany me. I do hope all of you will remain
on this spot and await for our return. In the mean time you can enjoy
yourselves, and be on the lookout all the time. On the seventh day I want
all of you to be contented and patiently await for my return. Watch the
spots where we dive with good desires and faith." (This man knew where the
land was, for he was a part of it, but for the good he had called every
fowl of the air and animal in the water to search for it.) The people who
had gathered around him listened with respect and honor and each prayed with
great reverence. "Now, people, watch us carefully and bear in your minds to
watch patiently on the seventh day," said he, moving a little to one side.

So this man took his Flat-Pipe carefully from his left arm and embraced
himself with it, first to the left shoulder, then to the right shoulder,
then back to the left, then to the right, and lastly to his breast. At this
fifth time, the Flat-Pipe became his body, i.e., it adhered to him in the
center, having turned into a red-head duck. "Now, partner, get ready," said
he. "Come with me," said he, as he dived easily, the turtle doing the same.

There was a big ripple on the surface where they left, and the people
wondered at it. There were quite a good many comments
(188) exchanged among them, but at the same time all were in one thought.
For days and nights the red-head duck and turtle were gone, and there was a
deep calm over the water. Even among the birds and reptiles, etc., there
was tranquillity. They bowed their heads, listened attentively, and watched
the spots mentioned. The seventh day came, and in the early morning there
were no signs of their return. In spite of their having no signs that
morning, the birds who had built nests on the trees and others sang songs
of praises and exchanged words of cheer, prancing around and enjoying the
gentle breeze, and in general, peace prevailed. For a whole day they watched
with anxiety at the deserted spots, until just as about the sun to set in the
west, there came bubbles on the surface of the water. The people, seeing the
appearance of the water, gathered close together and gazed at one particular
spot. Finally there came out to the surface greater bubbles, after which the
red-head duck stuck his head out from the surface, shook it, and snorted a
little. Swimming gracefully before the rest, the duck gradually got back to
its original place, while at this time there came out another sign of bubbles
from them a turtle was seen floating on the surface with spread feet, looking
to the man.

The moment the red-head duck returned to its place on the water, there was
the man again, with the Pipe, awaiting the arrival of the turtle. This turtle
swimming to the man, granted a little from exhaustion, and stood near the man.
On their arrival there was great rejoicing and thanksgiving. Each brought a
small piece of clay for a specimen, but they went after it and brought it to
the people. (This has reference to the two sods in the Sun Dance lodge). The
owner of the Flat-Pipe then said to the turtle, "Come over and let me see how
much of the clay you have brought," at the same time opening its palms. This
man (Hinaway, Arapaho) gathered pieces of clay from the lines of the palms
of the red-head duck, just as from the human hand, for the duck was a part of
the human being. "Take mine my sides (at the feet or legs), and you can tell
better," said the turtle, stretching its legs. So this man gathered the
small pieces from the turtle, compared them, and found them of equal size
and weight.

The man then placed the two heaps of clay upon his pipe and spread it in
thin layers. Taking his pipe, he lifted it easily from him and held it to
let the clay get thoroughly dry. While he was
(189) holding his pipe in the air, he bowed his head reverently, and at the
the poles of a tipi or a lodge, and from the point where they are bound together near their tips the bundle is secured by a thong and hangs free. The pipe bundle, suspended from this stand, was sometimes placed in front of two or more of the sun dancers. (Kroeber, 293). Food was offered to the pipe bundle by the dancers in the sun dance lodge. (Kroeber, 296). The dancers also touched the pipe bundle and cried over it. (Kroeber, 299). All those wishing to do so make offerings to the Flat Pipe bundle in the sun dance lodge. But only offerings of felt cloth or of sun shells are exposed. (Mrs. Friday). It is supposed that this means that only these offerings are used to cover the pipe bundle, or to be exhibited as offerings. Offerings of cloth, other than felt, are retained by the keeper and may be given by him to the different members of his family for the women to make up into dresses. But this cloth, when so used, cannot be handled like ordinary cloth. All scraps left over from the making of these dresses must be wrapped up into a small wad or bundle, and the wad or bundle either burnt, or thrown into a stream of running water. Dresses or other garments made of this cloth, when worn out, cannot be disposed of in the same manner as ordinary clothing, but must be bundled up, and the bundle must be either burnt or cast into a running stream. (Mrs. Friday)

When a feast is prepared in honor of the Flat Pipe, the women who help prepare the feast, and carry the food to the tent or lodge in which the ceremony is given, feel amply compensated for their work, as they are permitted, at the proper time, to come into the place where the ceremony is occurring, and see the Flat Pipe and touch it with the sole of their bare right foot. They are also allowed to partake of some of the food, which is blessed, offered, and eaten in honor of the Pipe, and they feel amply rewarded for their work by the opportunity afforded them of obtaining these blessings. (Friday).

The person who gives the ceremony of covering the Pipe, is known as
same time looked at the clay to see if it was getting dry. Whenever he looked up to see the clay he would then bow his head, closing his eyes, for then he was in deep thought. Finally, the clay was perfectly dried and was very clean, it did not seem to blow away. This man then scraped it together into a heap and protected it from the wind.

"Now, people, listen to me. I want all of you to watch me. Wherever you shall be, remember that you saw me do this (that is, create the earth); whenever you shall undertake to do anything, remember this; and above all, remember me in everything," said this man.

"Please watch me closely that you may follow my footsteps aright," said he, straightening himself, together with his Flat-Pipe, and clearing his voice. So, facing to the southeast, the man then took a small heap of this dried clay and held it carefully. With manly voice he sang four songs which are similar to those used in the Rabbit-tipi and Offerings-lodge. (Sun Dance) "Now, people, you will please watch, and follow the course of this dried clay as far as your eyes can reach," said he. So this man with his right hand gave a diving motion, holding the clay at his finger tips and letting it go, saying, "See it go far!" The dry land was made in one big strip, which the people saw extended to a great distance.

Then he took another heap of this dried clay, faced the southwest, held the clay up in the air, carefully sang four songs with clear voice, and said with much spirit, "People, look at the course of this small heap of clay as far as your eyes can reach!" With his right hand he gave a diving motion, and the dry land was made in a big strip, which was clean and broad.

Again he took from the Flat-Pipe a small piece of clay and held it carefully in the air, singing four songs with great emotion. "People! I want all of you to watch the course of this small heap of clay as far as your eyes can reach," said he, breathing lightly. Facing to the northwest, he gave a diving motion which formed a big stretch of dry land. The land was clean and broad in its appearance.

Then he turned to the northeast and stood still for a little while, gathering the remainder of the dried clay. He again took the small heap of dried clay and held it carefully in the air. "Now all of you people, I want you to watch the course of this clay just as far as your eyes can reach," said he, winking a little. While he was holding it, he sang four songs with greater spirit and expression, and then with a diving motion of the hand he let it go. During the time that he was (200) performing this work, he would raise his hand in the air with his finger spread and pray with it (rub it on his forehead). Thus the earth was made.

He then sat down on the dry land and carefully laid his Flat-Pipe on the ground, facing the sunrise. The placing of the clay at the fifth time was made by the Flat-Pipe, and that is when he sat down.

After the earth was made with every living creature, there was great rejoicing and thanksgiving for some time. So great was the Flat-Pipe that all kinds of birds and animals came to it and saw it. This man who created the earth sat silently by his Flat-Pipe, and in deep thought.

At this time, this man awaited with his Flat-Pipe to complete the creation. So Turtle stepped up before him and said, "Since there is no one that will make the first choice, please take and accept me. I want to tell you that I am a harmless creature, slow to anger, have a quiet disposition, and am very charitable. Again, may I tell you that I want to represent the earth in such a way, and also that my name will mean, to cleanse the sick, to comfort the bereaved, and to paint." (The Arapaho term for turtle is, to paint - blood-egg, or blood-stain). All the others heard that the turtle had made the best choice of life, and this perhaps set them to thinking. Then said the man, "All you people have heard Turtle's remarks to-day, and I am glad that he has made a wise choice; it is very acceptable to me. And in view of the facts brought out for our benefit, his whole body shall represent the creation or earth with all things; that is to say, the markings on the back of Turtle shall represent a path, its four legs typifying the four Old Men or Watchmen; its legs or feet shall be somewhat red; by its shield are

(Opposite p. 8.)
"he who covers the pipe," or "he who worships the pipe," (Shave Head) and acquires considerable prestige and standing among the Arapaho by so doing. Very few Arapaho can give the ceremony, and comparatively few have done so. Robert Friday once gave the ceremony in order to obtain the recovery from illness of his daughter. (Friday). "He who covers the pipe" by giving this ceremony not only gains blessings of health, long life, good fortune and security for himself and his family, but also permits others to share in these blessings at his expense, since all who wish to do so may come forward at the proper time and touch the Pipe with the sole of their bare right foot, and thereby gain from the Pipe strength, and all of these other blessings. The food which is blessed and eaten in honor of the Pipe is also in great demand. The partaking of it is regarded in the same light as communion among Christians. (Friday). As an abundance of food is provided, and comparatively little is consumed at the ceremony, the remainder of the food is distributed to the village or carried home by those present at the ceremony. Thus the greatest number possible of the people may eat the blessed food, and when the ceremony is given a great number of people profit by it at no cost to themselves.

It is said that during the tenure of the last keeper, before Oscar White, that the Pipe sealed itself up. When the former keeper had occasion to open the bundle and expose the Pipe, he found the bowl of the Pipe sealed with a tallow plug. This, the keeper declared, had been done by the Pipe, and not by him, for the reason that the people had become so wicked that the Pipe refused to permit itself to be smoked any longer by them. The keeper also declared that when the people improved their conduct, at some future time, the Pipe would unseal itself. (Friday).

Prior to the time that the Pipe was sealed it could be smoked. But the ceremony of smoking the Flat Pipe could only be gone through with at night. (Friday). Dr. Roberts, who evidently saw the Pipe after it had
represented mountain ranges and rivers. Look at Turtle closely, and you will see that it contains the fulfillment of the desires requested." So the turtle was placed with Flat-Pipe.

Then said Kit-Fox, standing conspicuous in solemn attitude: "Since I am very pretty and charming, and have very quick actions, and since my fur is soft, I desire to place myself next to Flat-Pipe — may it be acceptable to you. I wish to live long on the earth, and that people may respect and honor me. If the people should take my body and offer it for their sacrifices to you, I request that, if it be pleasing to you, you may look upon them and give them four hills or divides of life." "All of you people have heard Kit-Fox's choice, and it is a very good one and touching," said the man. So the body was placed along the side of the Flat-Pipe.

Said Otter-Weed (Yiyanakashi, Fourth-Day-Lodge): "Well, I am very anxious to be a partner with the Flat-Pipe, although I am a (301) low creature. Nevertheless I desire to be used by him as a cleaning or packing stick, for my whole body is solid, even at my joints. I wish to say further, I am very quiet and amicable in company; besides, I am very genial and good-natured." "All of you people have heard of the desire of Otter-Weed. You have heard his remarks, which are very good and acceptable to me," said the man. So Otter-Weed was then placed with the Flat-Pipe.

Now Cat-Tail, or Tallow-Weed, said: "Well, how about me? You may know that my entire body is solid and of a healthy glow, besides bearing a soft and generous heart. I am very fond of company and ready to take the last of everything (that is the reason why the cat-tail stands a little distance from the spring), and in all, kind to others." "All you people have heard Cat-tail's remarks, which are very good and acceptable to me. Although there is one already, it can be permitted for good," said the man. So Tallow-Weed was then placed together with Otter-Weed.

Then said White-Buffalo: "Well, I cannot help but show myself, for I am meek and humble. Please take and accept my request that I may live long in happiness and prosperity. You may know that I am very quiet and peaceable, besides, have a benevolent disposition. Now in order that I may never be forgotten - and furthermore, I desire to be useful in every way - I want to ask that my body may be utilized as a robe; that in urgent cases I desire to be provident; that if people take my body for sacrifice they may be pleased to remember me, and give four hills of life; that my body can at any time be used in making a cap, belt, arm bands, knee-bands, pairs of moccasins; and above all, I wish that I may be used on all occasions." (This animal made a good selection or choice for the future, and since that time, its body has become quite useful among the Indians.) "You all have heard distinctly the kindly remarks of White-Buffalo. As far as I can see, his desires are very good and acceptable to me," said the man, looking at his Flat-Pipe. So the white-buffalo robe was then placed with the Flat-Pipe.

Said the eagle: "Well, I wish to be included in this affair, for which I come to give to the Flat-Pipe two of my wing-feathers - the very last one at the shoulder - and hope sincerely that they will be accepted. You see yourself, man, that my body (feathers) is pure and holy. Therefore, I desire that my two corner wing-feathers be used as 'combs,' so that my father (Flat-Pipe) can scratch his head with them instead of with his fingers," said the eagle. "All of you have heard those wise remarks of the eagle, which are good and plain, and (303) acceptable to me," said the man. So the eagle wing feathers were then placed with the Flat-Pipe.

Then said Garter-Snake (Henegei, At-the-Arrow), as he looked up with tears in his eyes and with pitiable appearance: "Having thought the former choices over and over, I cannot help but make this plea, which I do hope may be pleasing and acceptable to all. Furthermore, I am very low in spirit, and I desire to place myself away from harm and violence. You may know that I am very innocent and delicate in every way. I have a very faithful disposition and am energetic in my ways and reverent toward my neighbors. So, on behalf of these people, I want to make this proposition openly, and with a view to the future welfare of all, that instead of fasting seven days for the accomplishment, the time of fasting and offering of prayers be
been sealed, states that it appears to have been sealed with a pebble, and that the opening of the bowl which is covered by the seal is about the size of a half dollar.

The myth of the origin of the Pipe; of the creation of the earth; information about the contents of the bowl of the Pipe, which holds among other things a grain of corn; the formula for making the incense, as well as the powder with which the woman helper blesses the food; information about the ear of corn in the Pipe bundle, and the turtle, which is part of the Pipe equipment; the history of the different wrappings which make up the Pipe bundle; and all other matters relating to the Pipe and its ceremonies can be told only at night. It takes three nights for the keeper to impart information in regard to the creation, and the origin and history of the Pipe. One who wishes to receive this information must make a suitable present to the keeper, and abstain from food and water for the three days and three nights period during which he is receiving the information. He may rest during the day, and receives the information only at night. The last night is the most severe, for it takes the keeper the entire night to get through with all that he has to tell. (Friday).

REQUIREMENTS FOR OPENING THE FLAT PIPE BUNDLE.

By opening the Flat Pipe bundle is meant having the proper ceremony performed whereby the bundle containing the Flat Pipe is unwrapped and the Pipe exposed to view. Anyone who is able to meet the general requirements, make the necessary gifts, and give the feast, may have the ceremony performed and the bundle opened. First of all it is necessary to believe in the Flat Pipe. (Friday). Then it is necessary to procure a yard or more of red or blue felt cloth, of a certain quality with which to "cover the pipe." As cloth of this kind is no longer carried by the traders, or in the local stores, this is difficult. In the ceremony here described the cloth required had to
limited to four days. Furthermore it will be easier all around and more care
and greater respect will be paid to the Flat-Pipe. I also request that I may
be given what is necessary for all concerned, and that I shall bear all things
for the universe; I repeat again that I desire to be located away from harm,
and be a circumference of the earth. Please accept my earnest plea, to the
end that I may survive through eternity." "All the people have heard the
remarkable request of Garter-Snake, relative to future prospects, which
are good and promising. They meet with my approval, for they contain ben-
eficial ideas and at the same time point to solid matters which eventually
shall be our temporal blessings," said the man, as he took a good glance at
the earth and its people. Garter-Snake was then placed with the Flat-Pipe.
During the time that this young man, Garter-Snake, was asking for future
blessings, there was great silence, and when he got through, they responded in
unison, with prayers, asking that his wishes be granted. The young man, Garter-
Snake, had gone for four days in search of land, and failed to get to it, but
seeing that this "fast" of seven days meant good things, he decided to request
the method, which was granted.

"Now, people, I wish to tell you that I am quite finished with my work, so
I wish you would wait patiently until I get ready, so that you can see for
yourselves," said the man. So he took the corner wing-feather of the eagle
(hathil, onward, or chief weapon) and pointing it toward the southeast he
motioned it toward the west, thus forming mountain ranges. "This is the way
the rivers should run," said he. He then motioned the feather several times
to the east. He then motioned again with the feather, making the rivers to
run westward. After this act, because of the mountains, there were beautiful
landscapes, and because of the rivers, fertile valleys with trees having
(203) green foliage, and in fact the earth was clothed with an abundance of
grass. After he saw what he had made, he was much pleased with the appearance.

While this man was preparing for another important matter, there came
Nih'â'ân with a staff. The people knew him and called him Nih'ân, Bitter-
Man, from the fact that he reached the gathering toward the last part of the
creation, carrying a cane, such as a leader uses.

"Well, I have just arrived, for I didn't hear of the gathering. Never-
theless I am glad to be here. Is the creation of the earth with all the
essential parts finished? If not, I would like to make a plea, although all
things may have been mentioned," said he, still panting and in restless
attitude. "Oh, no, the gathering is not over yet, and I am still placing
objects for guidance in the future," said the man. "Say, Man, can I have a
word in the matter, subject to your approval?" said Nih'ân. "It will be
all right to give your views, but everything is taken or occupied," said the
man. At this time the man repeated what position each man had chosen, his
usefulness, etc. Nih'ân, seeing this man doing wonderful acts with the
feather as a pointer, was fascinated with the power. When White-Man had just
arrived and stood resting on his staff before the man, he was asked of the
article and its meaning. "This is my staff (hagadâ, payment for service), it
is made of the cat's tail, only I have bent it at the top for a handle," said
White-Man, taking occasional breaths through his nostrils. "Well, since
others have made their choices, and no doubt they are worthy, but being quite
late, I want to tell you that my sincere desire would be to have the under-
standing, intelligence, and wisdom to make and think of things, and that I
desire to have a share of this land which has recently been made," said he,
looking around with sharp eyes and signs of energy. "I saw you motioning
the mountains and rivers with that wing-feather, and those things were actually
made. In view of the fact that I desire the ability of doing things, may I
lift my staff and motion for mountains and rivers?" said Nih'ân. "All of
you may know that Nih'ân has arrived and makes the earnest plea for
wisdom and a share of this land. We are aiming for the good and it is a
good proposition, so it meets with my approval," said the man. So Nih'ân
was told to make the motion for more mountains and rivers, if he
desired. Without further plea, he lifted his staff and motioned in every
direction, forming hills and creeks of all sizes. All the people stood
murmuring against him, for they were much amazed at the choice.

(Opposite p. 10.)
be purchased at second hand. In addition to the felt cloth five sun shells should be procured. These are circular or oval discs, cut from some shell with a pink inner surface, and were formerly much in demand for ear rings. They are no longer carried by the traders, or in local stores, and could not be obtained for this particular ceremony. Finally it is necessary for "he who covers the pipe" to provide a feast. The feast must consist of at least five dishes, and the more varieties of food furnished in addition to this, the better the feast is considered to be, according to Arapaho standards in regard to this kind of a ceremony. The quantity of the food does not appear to matter so much. It is the variety of the foods furnished that counts. (Friday). Women must be found who will purchase, prepare and carry the food to the tent or lodge where the ceremony is given. "He who covers the pipe" must procure a pipe and have it filled with the proper mixture of kinnikinick and tobacco. This is the pipe he will carry, with the cloth offering wrapped around its stem, to the tent where the ceremony is to take place. A second pipe must be procured, with a bag containing the proper mixture of ot tobacco and kinnikinick, for sociable smoking during the ceremony, and this pipe and tobacco must be carried to the place of the ceremony also. In the present ceremony the absence of the five sun shells was compensated for by fastening a bill of modest denomination to the felt cloth offering, in the place where the shells would have been fastened, had they been obtainable.

In the present ceremony all of the preliminary purchases of food, and the procuring of women assistants, cloth, pipes and tobacco, and all the negotiations connected with the ceremony were placed in the hands of Robert Friday and Mrs. Friday, who handled everything in the most satisfactory manner. The actual money cost is very moderate. In fact money by itself will get a person nowhere in regard to the Flat Pipe. The proper forms and ceremonies must be gone through and
"Now, people, I want all of you to watch and listen to me that you may do these things in your favor and to lighten your footsteps. On behalf of my Flat-Pipe, I want to say that there will be four paints scattered and be sure that you know them perfectly," said he, as he glanced at the Flat-Pipe. So this man then took up a small heap of earth and said, with strong voice, "This shall be the black paint (wahtapa, dark blood)," throwing it with a diving motion of the hand, thus locating one Old-Man. Taking another small heap of earth, he said with strong voice, "This shall be a yellow paint (nehwana, growing blood)," throwing it with diving motion of the hand, thus locating another Old-Man. Taking another small heap of earth, he said with strong voice, "This shall be the red paint (hinawu, man's blood)," throwing it with a diving motion of the hand, thus locating another Old-Man. Taking another small heap of earth, he said, with a strong voice, "This shall be the green paint (nagawthinash, eagle-feather arm)," throwing it with a diving motion of the hand, thus locating the fourth Old-Man. At the same time the paints were placed at these cardinal points; thus were night, day, summer, and winter announced.

"Now, people, come closer and see how I am going to do for your sake," said he to all around, so he took up some cottonwood pith (thoksaa, boiling-hide, an expression for brittle), and threw it into the water. This pith of course sank into the water when thrown, but came up quickly to the surface of the water. "This is the way of you people shall live on this earth," said the man, in solemn voice. All the people saw it come up to the surface and thanked him for the decision, but there was no answer from Nh’a ga. Nh’a ga, stepping closer to the man, requested that he might say a word relative to the life hereafter. "Well, let me know what your ideas are for life hereafter, and the people can hear you plainly," said the man, looking down at the ground with sympathetic expression. "Say, the earth is not very large. I think, that if we should increase rapidly, there would be no room for the rest, therefore another proposition might be better," said Nh’a ga, with eyes rolling briskly. "Well, let us hear the proposition, and we will think about it," said the man. So Nh’a ga got a pebble, and threw it into the water, and it sank for good. "That is the way life should be hereafter," said he. "All you people have heard distinctly of Nh’a ga's remarks relative to the life, and it is a plain one," said he, with low but manly voice.

"Now, since you have requested a share of this earth, I shall make another one at another place for you. Beyond this there will be an ocean, which will separate us," said the man. So this man took a handful of earth and threw it hard across the ocean and said, "Wherever this earth shall light let there be an earth like this one for Nh’a ga!" still sitting with his Flat-Pipe. The people conversed with each other in one tongue, i.e., the various kinds of birds and water animals upon the new earth. (Then follows an account of the origin of the Southern Arapaho fetish, The Wheel, and the origin of the Sun Dance.) (Myth probably by Cleaver Warden, E. Arapaho.)


(1) Origin Myth (Fragmentary). By Hawken, E. Arapaho, to Dorsey.

In the first place there was nothing but water, except the water-fowls; and the Grand-father saw that there was a Father (flat pipe) of the Indians floating on the water, on the four sticks (tripod). Knowing that the person floating on the water was fasting and weeping and crying, and seeing that he was really fasting for the good, the Grandfather took mercy on him. So the Father floating on the water, and who was fasting on this tripod, called all the water-fowls, and so they all came.

"Now," says this man, "I want some of you who can do the work of diving to come and search for the bottom of the sea and see if you can find dirt." So they all came in rotation according to their size. And they dived and came out dead. It took some days for these birds to dive. Finally it was the turn of the duck, who was somewhat timid about doing this work, and he said, "I guess I will try my luck and see if I can do this work." So the duck dived

(Opposite p. 11.)
the proper gifts provided. Otherwise the bundle containing the Flat Pipe remains closed. The matter has to be conducted Arapaho fashion, or not at all. And even if all the proper gifts can be procured, and the feast provided, it is useless to attempt to see the Pipe unless the confidence, goodwill and active support of the Arapaho concerned is not first obtained. Arapaho friends, well wishers and active supporters are a primary essential. The three things necessary to open the Pipe bundle are therefore: the confidence and help of certain Arapaho; the necessary gifts; and to do it their way.

THE PIPE COVERING CEREMONY AND FEAST IN HONOR OF THE PIPE.

Preliminary Ceremonies.

At the camp of Oscar White, the Pipe keeper, a wall tent has been set up for the ceremony. The door of the tent faces east. Prior to this it is understood that the keeper and his party have taken a sweat bath. Such a sweat bath requires that seven dippers full of water be thrown on the hot stones in the sweat lodge. (Shave Head). Luke Smith, assistant keeper, stepson of Oscar White, and his successor in office (Friday) now goes to Oscar White's dwelling, there removes the Pipe bundle and the four poles which support the bundle, and carries these to the tent prepared for the ceremony. Luke Smith is the only person who is authorized to carry the Pipe bundle and the four poles which are used for its stand. (Friday). Oscar White appears to be an old man, and rather feeble.

The stand of four poles, with the bundle attached, is lashed securely by Luke Smith to the west tent pole of the tent where the ceremony is to take place. The poles are placed flat against the west wall of the tent so as not to be in the way. The bundle is hung free from the point of intersection near the ends of the two pairs of poles, whose butts rest on the ground to the north and south of the west tent pole. These poles are between the bundle and the west tent pole, and are secured to the tent pole at their point of intersection.
While the Pipe bundle is being placed in the tent, the party of "he who covers the pipe" is forming at the tent of Robert Friday, at which place the food for the feast has been prepared by Mrs. Friday and her women helpers. Friday moved in from his farm, ten miles distant, and borrowed a tent in Oscar White's camp for this ceremony. Mrs. Friday the day before the ceremony rode twenty miles to town in a wagon to make the necessary purchases of cloth and food, and she and her women helpers have been busy all morning preparing the feast. It is now a few minutes after eleven in the morning, and all is in readiness. **Procession of party of "he who covers the pipe" to tent of Flat Pipe.**

"He who covers the pipe" heads the procession. He carries a pipe with a catlinite bowl, filled with a mixture of tobacco and kinnikinick. Around the wooden stem of this pipe is carefully wrapped the yard of blue felt cloth, which had previously been folded to a convenient size. On the inner side of this cloth, next to the pipe stem, has been pinned an offering, in lieu of the five sun shells which should have been placed there, but which could not be obtained. The pipe is held with the right hand forward under the bowl, the bowl being held forward, away from the body, and slanted slightly downward. It is about level with the pit of the stomach. The left hand holds the stem, back near the mouthpiece. The hands are outside the wrapping of the pipe, and holding the wrapping in place around the pipe. The stem of the pipe is slanted to the left of the body, and is held close to the body. On the left of "he who covers the pipe", and about a foot behind him, stands Robert Friday, who carries a pipe with a black stone bowl, and with it a bag containing a mixture of tobacco and kinnikinick. Following these two are the wife and daughter of "he who covers the pipe" who are followed in turn by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Elkin, Vic. Fontenelle, and then by Mrs. Friday and ten women who carry the food for the feast in pots, kettles, pans and buckets. All the party are bare headed, and stand
together in close formation. Friday's tent is south and west of the
tent where the ceremony is to take place, and distant from it about
one hundred yards. The party of "he who covers the pipe" now advances
slowly toward the tent prepared for the ceremony. The heads of the
two leaders of the party are bowed. The pipe carried by "he who
covers the pipe" is held carefully by him in the manner before described,
until the moment of its surrender to the pipe keeper. While the party
is slowly advancing, Oscar White proceeds to a point in the rear of
the tent where the ceremony is to take place, and standing there summons
by name the persons designated as helpers by him, in a loud voice. On
arriving near the tent, at a point close to its southeast corner, the
party of "he who covers the pipe" halts. They remain in that position
for a few minutes, while the keeper of the Flat Pipe, his helpers and
assistants take their place inside the tent. When all is ready, a voice
calls from the tent for the party to come in. The party now advances to
the entrance of the tent, turns west, and enters the tent, and crosses
to where the Pipe keeper is seated before the suspended bundle. The
Pipe keeper faces east. Standing directly in front of the keeper, "he
who covers the pipe" shifts the position of the pipe he carries, with-
out, however, disturbing the cloth wrapping which is around the pipe.
The stem of the pipe is turned clockwise, and away from the body, until
the mouthpiece points downward toward the Pipe keeper, the bowl being
then next to the body of "he who covers the pipe." The pipe is then
passed slowly and carefully toward the keeper, the left hand forward and
under the stem near the mouthpiece, and the right hand nearest the
body and under the bowl of the pipe. The Pipe keeper takes the pipe from
"he who covers the pipe", without disturbing its cloth wrapping, then
removes the wrapping and places it behind him on his right, and lays
the pipe he has received across his knees, the bowl to the north. Mean-
time "he who covers the pipe" extends both of his hands over the head
of the Pipe keeper, the palms downward and fingers outstretched and close together. He does not touch the head of the Pipe keeper with his hands. In this position he bows his head and makes a silent prayer, in which Friday, who is standing at his left, joins. When "he who covers the pipe" raises his head and lowers his hands, the prayer is concluded, and the Pipe keeper signs to him, and the rest of his party to take seats along the south wall of the tent. All do so, taking the seats pointed out to them by the Pipe keeper. The women who carry the food bring it as far as the door of the tent, where it is then taken by Luke Smith, assistant keeper, and placed on the ground in the middle of the tent.

Along the south wall of the tent, all facing north, are seated the following: In the southwest corner of the tent is seated Pete White Plume, alternate keeper; on his right is seated Robert Friday, chairman of the Arapaho tribal council; on his right is "he who covers the pipe;" on his right is seated his wife, and on her right his daughter; on her right is Mrs. Elkin, and on her right is Mr. Elkin and on his right is seated Vic Fontenelle, who is at the southeast corner of the tent, next to the door. In this line all save Pete White Plume belong to the party of "he who covers the pipe." Seated along the north wall of the tent, and facing south are the following: In the northwest corner of the tent is Carry Shot Gun, helper; on his left is George White Antelope, helper; on his left is seated Pete L. Brown, helper; on Brown's left is a southern Arapaho visitor, whose name could not be ascertained; on the visitor's left is Easu Grasshopper, helper; and on his left, seated nearest to the door is Yellow Calf, helper. There are, in all, five helpers, and one southern Arapaho visitor. (Friday). The visitor came to Wind River with three bus loads of southern Arapaho who made a three day journey from Oklahoma to see the northern Arapaho sun dance. He is greatly pleased to be present here and see the Flat Pipe, which he had
SANDING OF PERSONS IN TENT WHERE THE CEREMONIES OF COVERING THE FLAT PIPE TAKES PLACE.

Position of food placed before lizzie white plume to be pressed.

Pipe brought in by "he who covers the pipe."

Flat pipe bundle containing the flat pipe.

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Lady of "he who covers the pipe."

and her helper: "Are the pipe?"

Assistant instructor: "He who covers the pipe."

Permutative, Roberto de la C, Caffer, N. Carter, R. Carter, Mr. Ehring, Mr. Erkin, Professor.

Helper:

Lizzie white plume.

Food

Door of East

Food

Smudge.

Pipe: Oscar white, Pipe.

Ass't. keeper


Helper: Walter.


Carry shotgun, geo. want to telescope, petel, brown no south in maple, pene, aeroplane, yellow coat.

NORTH
never hoped to see, and he takes occasion at the proper time in the
ceremony to express his appreciation and thanks to "he who covers the
pipe." Along the west wall of the tent, and facing east are: Oscar
White, keeper of the Flat Pipe, who is seated directly in front of
the west tent pole, and the Flat Pipe bundle; on his left is seated
Luke Smith, assistant keeper, and his stepson; on his right is seated
Lizzie White Plume, woman helper to the Pipe keeper. (Friday). There
are seventeen persons present altogether. Shave Head states that he and
his wife sometimes assist Oscar White in the Flat Pipe ceremonies, and
that Mrs. Yellow Bear, Oscar White's niece, often assists as woman
helper, and that Chester Yellow Bear sometimes takes the place occupied
in the present ceremony by Pete White Plume. Both Pete White Plume and
Chester Yellow Bear, who is not present at this ceremony, may be helpers.
Friday states that Lizzie White Plume is not related to Oscar White, but
was called in because of her knowledge and skill in conducting the part
of the ceremonies assigned to her. The fact that the assistant keeper,
Luke Smith, is related to Oscar White, and is to be his successor,
supports the statement (Mooney, 959) that this Pipe is handed down and
kept only in a certain family of the northern Arapaho. A diagram showing
the layout of the tent, and the positions of the various persons present
is here appended.

The blessing by the turtle.

When all are seated the keeper takes the pipe brought in to him by
"he who covers the pipe" from its place across his knees, and puts it
on the ground before him. It is laid, pointing north and south, the
bowl being to the north. The keeper then reaches into a bag at his right
hand, which is made of buckskin and painted red, and draws out a turtle.
The upper and lower shells of the turtle are painted red. The head of
the turtle projects slightly from the shell, as do the paws. The head
and the paws are of a hard, stony substance. The daughter of "he who
covers the pipe" observed that there seemed to be seeds inside the turtle shell, or else pebbles, as the turtle rattled when moved suddenly. The turtle appears to be an ordinary mud turtle. It is stated that this is the turtle who went down under the water to get the mud with which the earth was made in the beginning, according to the origin myth. (Friday). The turtle was not taken from the Pipe bundle, as has been noted. The Pipe bundle is not opened until later in the ceremony.

The turtle is passed from hand to hand, until it reaches Vic Fontenelle, who is seated at the southeast corner of the tent, near the door. Instructions are now given on how to handle the turtle, both by Oscar White, the keeper, and Luke Smith, his assistant. These instructions are interpreted by Robert Friday.

The turtle is first grasped with the left hand and is passed up the inner side of the right leg, from the ankle upward, and then up the body to the heart, and is pressed for a moment against the heart. Still grasped with the left hand, the turtle is then run up the right arm, from the wrist to the shoulder, and then across the body to a point over the heart, and is pressed for a moment against the heart, a second time. It is then moved across the forehead with a semicircular motion and is transferred to the right hand. Some of the Arapaho made this semicircular motion over their heads, and by some this motion was gone through after the turtle had been transferred from the left hand, the motion being done with the right hand. The turtle when grasped in the right hand is then passed up the left arm, from wrist to shoulder, and across the body to a point over the heart, and is pressed for a third time against the heart for a moment. The turtle is then passed up the inner side of the left leg, from the ankle upward, and then up the body to the heart, where it is pressed for a moment for the fourth time. The turtle is then taken in both hands, the head is bowed, and the head of the turtle is held close to the lips, and four deep inhalations are made. Some of those present, including the
keeper, held the turtle's head between their lips while making these four inhalations. When this has been concluded the turtle is passed with the right hand to the person directly on the left, who receives the turtle with his left hand, and in turn goes through the motions which have been described. The turtle thus travels clockwise around the tent, Vic Fontenelle, sitting south of the door and on the extreme east of the line along the south wall of the tent receiving it first, and Yellow Calf, sitting north of the door, and on the extreme east of the line along the north wall of the tent, receiving it last. This ceremony is in the nature of a blessing. (Friday). The purpose of the ceremony is probably to gain power and vital essence from this holy object. Painting of the party of "he who covers the pipe."

Luke Smith, assistant keeper, now rises from his place and leaves the tent, taking with him a paddle with which to carry live coals. He returns shortly with a live coal on the paddle, and places the coal in front of Oscar White, the keeper. The coal is placed between the catlinite pipe that lays before the keeper and the door, but within easy reach of the keeper. Just before the coal is brought in "he who covers the pipe" and all his party remove their shoes and stockings at the request of the keeper. They remain thus barefooted until almost the end of the ceremony.

Red paint, from a skin bag which is painted red, is now procured by Luke Smith and by Lizzie White Plume, the woman helper. They proceed to break off pieces of the red paint, and mix it with tallow between the palms of their hands. The turtle is meanwhile restored to the keeper, who puts it back in its bag on his right. The keeper now takes up a smaller bag from which he takes a pinch of a reddish powder between the thumb, index and middle finger of his right hand. The reddish powder is incense. The keeper makes five feints with the pinch of incense downward and over the catlinite pipe which lays before him. He then make five feints with the pinch of incense over the live coal which lays just beyond the pipe.
He deposits the incense upon the live coal. While doing this he recites a prayer in an undertone. It is to be noted that no prayer is said out loud throughout these ceremonies, and no songs are sung. Most prayers are uttered silently, or recited in an inaudible tone. The feints with the incense are said to be made to the four directions and to "above." (Friday). The incense is composed of cedar and castor among other ingredients, but all of the ingredients which go into the incense can only be learned by undergoing the three day fast, and hearing the story of the Pipe and all that appertains to it from the keeper during the three nights of the fast. (Friday).

As the smoke is arising from the incense Luke Smith, holding the paint which he has just mixed between the palms of his hands, and with the palms held close together, fingers extended and touching each other, extends his hands over the smoke of the incense. He first holds his hands with the back of the right hand down toward the smoke, and then the back of the left hand to the smoke. Again he holds the back of his right hand to the smoke, and again the back of his left hand. He then presents his hands to the smoke still held in their original position, but so that the sides with the little fingers are down toward the smoke. It will be observed that the usual four motions, and then a fifth, are gone through in passing the hands holding the newly mixed red paint through the incense. When Luke Smith has done this, Lizzie White Plume does likewise with the red paint which she has just mixed. They are now ready to paint "he who covers the pipe" and his party. Friday; "he who covers the pipe;" Elkin; and Vic Fontenelle are painted in turn by Luke Smith. The women of the party, consisting of the wife and daughter of "he who covers the pipe" and Mrs. Elkin, are painted by Lizzie White Plume.

The person to be painted sits close to the person who is applying the paint, and with feet extended. The painting begins with the feet.
NORTHERN ARAPAHO FLAT PIPE. CEREMONY OF COVERING THE PIPE. FACE PAINT DESIGN ON MEN AND WOMEN OF PARTY OF "HE WHO COVERS THE PIPE."
Five dots of paint are applied to the feet, with the ball of the thumb of the painter. The right foot is painted first and then the left foot. The first dot is applied to the instep; then near the arch; then the arch; then below the ankle; and finally the ankle. In the case of "he who covers the pipe" a stripe was run up the outside of the leg on the trousers. The hands and wrists are painted next. The painter grasps both hands of the person to be painted with both of his hands, and applies the spots of paint with the balls of his thumbs, simultaneously. A spot of red paint is applied to the palms of the hands; then to the fatty part at the base of the thumbs; then at a point between thumb and index finger; then on the backs of the hands near the wrists; and finally on the wrists. In the case of "he who covers the pipe" a line of red paint was run up each forearm on the outer side, and over the shirt and coat sleeves. Also a spot of paint was placed, in his case, above each breast upon the shirt. The face is painted next. With the men the chin is painted first; then two lines, drawn vertically down each cheek from below the eyes; above these lines a dot is placed just below each eye; and finally a horizontal line is drawn across the forehead.

The painter's hands are then placed on each side of the head, thus coloring the hair. The women receive three stripes, horizontally, across the forehead, and three vertical stripes down each cheek, but no paint is applied to the chin. The feet and hands of the women are painted in the same manner as that of the men, as far as could be observed. The painting is accompanied by no audible prayer, and the paint is laid on without any particular care or precision, but the job is done in a speedy and workmanlike manner. The women, who are painted by Lizzie White Plume near the southwest corner of the tent, retire directly to their places after being painted. The men, who are painted by Luke Smith near the northwest corner of the tent, after receiving the paint retire to their places, and in doing so pass between the incense coal
and the food which is placed in the center of the tent. Oscar White, the keeper, Luke Smith, assistant keeper, Lizzie White Plume, helper, and Pete White Plume, alternate keeper (Friday), are not painted and do not paint themselves. The five helpers and the southern Arapaho visitor, who sit in line along the north wall of the tent, paint themselves with red paint. No particular design was noted in their painting, but they did rub their chins with the paint, and their cheeks and hair. They do not paint their hands or feet. Those who have received the red paint from Luke Smith and Lizzie White Plume cannot partake of the feast, but are fed ceremonially in a manner later described. When "he who covers the pipe" and his party have all been painted, and have returned to their places, Oscar White and Luke Smith, through Robert Friday, as interpreter, warn those who have received the paint that they must not wash the paint off with water until the next day. Otherwise, they say, it will rain hard. Oscar White relates that once an Arapaho attended this ceremony, and did not heed the warning given him, and washed the sacred paint from his face with water, right after the ceremony. He was drowned in a cloud burst the next day. But, Oscar White added, it is proper to remove the paint, if desired, with vaseline, or some similar substance, and if done in that manner no harmful results will follow.

The paint is applied as a blessing to "he who covers the pipe" and his party, and it resembles the first earth which was brought up from under the water by the turtle when the world was created. (Friday). In the northern Arapaho sun dance the Pipe keeper was observed applying the first touches of the body paint to some of the dancers, and he followed somewhat the same method of painting as observed in this ceremony. (Kroeber, 394). Luke Smith and Lizzie White Plume were observed, in mixing the paint, spitting in the palms of their hands. Whether this act is ceremonial, as it is in the Rabbit tipi of the
southern Arapaho sun dance (Dorsey, Arapaho Sun Dance, cited supra) or is simply to hasten the mixing of the paint, could not be ascertained.

Sociable Smoking.

As before noted, in addition to the catlinite pipe brought in by "he who covers the pipe" which lays before the keeper, Friday has brought with him a pipe with a black stone bowl and a supply of tobacco mixed with kinnikinick in a bag. This pipe is used for sociable smoking, although certain ceremonial forms are followed in this smoking also. The pipe is passed stem up, the wowl forward and away from the body, and is passed with one hand. Sometimes the pipe is passed with the bowl toward the body, but the stem is always upward, and at an angle. The pipe is filled and lit by Friday, who passes it to the man on his left, who smokes, and the pipe is thus smoked down the line, following a clockwise direction, until it reaches Yellow Calf, who sits just north of the door. He smokes, and then the pipe is passed from hand to hand back to Friday, who fills and lights it again as often as is necessary. "He who covers the pipe" and his party do not join in this smoke. Lizzie White Plume smokes the pipe in her turn. Friday says that this smoking will continue until the supply of tobacco he has brought is exhausted. He has gauged the time of the ceremony and his supply of tobacco well, as his tobacco gives out just before the end of the ceremony. The smoking of this pipe continues throughout the meal, which is eaten later. This is the only occasion among the Arapaho where it is considered proper to smoke a pipe during the course of a meal. (Friday).

Blessing of the food.

Luke Smith now brings forward a dish, receptacle or pot containing some of each of the foods brought in for the feast, and places these before Lizzie White Plume, the helper. Lizzie White Plume obtains two can openers, which are taken from the bag which contains the turtle.