

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS
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OF NATURAL HISTORY

VOL. XIII, PART II

ASSOCIATIONS AND CEREMONIES OF THE MENOMINI INDIANS

BY

ALANSON SKINNER

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INTRODUCTION.

The dance associations of the Menomini belong for the most part in a different category from those of the prairie tribes. No military societies exist, and there is no evidence that there ever were any. Traces of Plains influence are not wanting, however, for in the ceremonies of the dreamers, we find hints of the Omaha dance, and the wabano cult has its analogies to the hot dance and the Dakota heyoka. The buffalo dance, however, while widely diffused on the Plains, was known at least as far east as the Seneca. On the other hand, we find that the societies and cults of the Menomini coincide with the pattern common in the general region in which they dwell. This pattern is not so clean cut as that of the Plains, although it resembles the cults of the Dakota. The associations lack a definite plan and the numbers and functions of the officers are hazy. If we except the medicine lodge, which is to be described in a separate paper, only the dream dance company can be considered as a definitely organized society with a staff of permanent officers, but here we are confronted with Plains influence. The others are associations of persons usually bound together by the possession of similar supernatural revelations without definite leadership and sometimes never meeting for ceremonial purposes.

The chief function of most Menomini associations is dancing, always with a religious motive, but, while there are no purely social clubs, *per se*, there is always great social activity during the performance of the public rites of the dreamers. At such times members and non-members gather for miles at the ceremonial ground, and social dances, gambling, and visits fill up the time between performances.

Not only are Menomini associations all according to pattern, but there are none, if we except the apparently original thunder cult, not found among the neighboring tribes of the same area. At first glance, the witches' society seems to show elements of novelty, but after all the only new feature is the gathering of the members into a club. Their practices are identical with those of the Ojibway,¹ and very close to those of the Winnebago, Sauk, Fox, Potawatomi, and even more eastern Algonkin and the Iroquois.

¹ See Warren, William W., "History of the Ojibways, based upon Traditions and Oral Statements" (Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society, vol. 5, St. Paul, 1885), 109.

Of the dances and ceremonies not performed by associations less can be said at the present time, since so little is known of other Central Algonkin rites. Not all the dances described are religious in purport, some are purely social. It is of interest to note that one dance is called after the Shawnee, and was traditionally obtained from that tribe when they dwelt on or near Lake Shawano near the present Menomini Reservation in Wisconsin.

The data presented here were obtained at Keshena, Wisconsin, between 1909-1913, inclusive, from Jane and Antoine Cipikau, Peter Fish, Mary Corn, John Perote, Pit'wäskûm and his wife, Nai'ätowapikineu, Kesoápomesão, 'Ksewátosa, Thomas Hog, and Niopet. Mr. John V. Satterlee acted as interpreter and occasionally gave information. He also collected many specimens, and gathered much data by himself. It is to Mr. Satterlee's unfailing interest that the best part of this work is due.

July, 1915.

SOCIETIES.

THE SOCIETY OF DREAMERS.

The society of dreamers (nemowúk, or more properly, nimihétiwináni-wúk, "dancing men") while a relatively modern organization among the Menomini, has risen to a place of prominence only second to that of the medicine lodge; indeed, some Indians consider it more important. It is a rival of the medicine lodge, and, although there are no rules to that effect, many Indians do not care to belong to both.

The history of the society is fuller than usual for not only has it attracted the attention of everyone who has written on the ethnology of the tribe, but its non-esoteric nature makes it comparatively easy to study. The Rev. Clay Macauley published an account of the society as he had observed it in 1880¹ which must have been within twenty years or less of its introduction to the tribe. In 1893, Hoffman described the society in more detail.² Comparing Hoffman's data with that obtained by the writer in 1909-13, and Barrett in 1910,³ it will be seen that a considerable change in the organization has taken place. In his paper on the society Hoffman notes the following officers, and gives (159) a diagram showing their respective position in the dance circle.

1 chief or drum keeper	4 singers
1 speaker	4 female singers
1 chief of the youths	1 pipe bearer to male singers
4 braves	1 drum drier
1 assistant to the braves	

Of these, the leaders of the braves and female singers bore the title "Wounded Drum Leg." Two sets of appurtenances, consisting of five pieces: three "chiefs drums" and two "braves drums," were then owned by the society.

This list will be found to correspond closely with the list of officers and paraphernalia obtained by the writer from the Iowa⁴ and alleged by them

¹ Quoted by Hoffman, Walter James, "The Menomini Indians," (Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, part 1, Washington, 1896), 160.

² Hoffman, *ibid.*, 157.

³ Barrett, S. A., "The Dream Dance of the Chippewa and Menominee Indians of Northern Wisconsin" (Bulletin, Public Museum of Milwaukee, vol. 1, art. 4, Milwaukee, 1911).

⁴ See this series, vol. 11, 721-2.

to be identical with the roll of the society among the Prairie Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox, and Kickapoo. If this be the case, then in Hoffman's time the organization still adhered to the rules laid down by the Prairie Potawatomi missionaries who are said to have come from Kansas to introduce the society to the Menomini and Ojibway.

When Barrett and the writer made their observations, however, much of the former formality of the society had been lost, and it had fallen into the loose pattern of all Menomini societies, save the medicine lodge. There was no longer any discrimination between chiefs' and braves' drums. Many of the officers had disappeared. The number of braves and singers was indefinite and apparently unlimited. There was no special speaker. All that remained of the older organization was:—

1 leader or drum keeper	x male singers
4 (?) braves	x female singers
1 braves pipe bearer	

Moreover, the society had broken up into a large number of local chapters, each apparently having all these officers. Except that they had no names the chapters resembled the subdivisions of the Plains helucka. These chapters had two principal outdoor meeting grounds, one at Zoar in the western part of the reservation, the other near the eastern end, not far from Keshena. At these grounds all the chapters near at hand were accustomed to meet and from one to four would gather at one time.¹ When several met and each had its full quota of officers (in the abbreviated roll) present, each dance and song was repeated by each company, on its own drum, in turn, but feasts and other rites were held in common. In 1913, however, an incident occurred which resulted in the sudden stiffening of the rules and perhaps reorganization of the society according to the old system.

According to information received from James R. Murie, the Pawnee, themselves users of peyote, but conservative, had long noted with alarm the fact that other peyote-using tribes were abandoning old customs as a part of their new drug-sustained religion. Accordingly, they sent delegates to other tribes, urging them not to discard old religious practices, but to adhere to them in addition to the new propaganda. This new doctrine reached the Winnebago of Nebraska, and eventually their kindred in Wisconsin. The result was a general religious revival among the Wisconsin tribes in touch with the Winnebago. A band of these people residing near Wittenberg, Wisconsin, who had in former years received a dream drum from the Menomini, hastened to visit Keshena and, at the dancing ground,

¹ There were three chapters near Keshena and one at the 'pagan' settlement on the Military Road which commonly met at Keshena. I do not know how many gathered at Zoar.

reinstructed the Menomini, who, by the way, had no peyote users whatever, in the rules of the dreamers. The Winnebago visitors remained a number of days at Keshena, where the writer visited them, and were undoubtedly the cause of strongly renewed religious activity and conservatism. There is no doubt in the writer's mind, from what he saw, that the Menomini at once proceeded to reorganize the dreamers according to the old rules, but as they were then strongly under the new stimulus of conservatism, no information could be obtained.

One point of difference observed by the writer between the dream dance of the Menomini and Winnebago as opposed to that of other tribes is that these two tribes make no use of the cross as a religious symbol, whereas in the dance grounds of the Iowa, Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, and Ojibway, a large wooden cross is a prominent feature. Among the Iowa, at least, the cross is an introduced Christian feature.

Having sketched the historical side of our data, it remains to present the myth of the society's origin, and an objective account of the ceremonies as seen by the writer.

Many years ago, during a war between the Indians and the whites, the natives were driven out of their country. A young girl became separated from the rest of her party and secreted herself in the bushes until dark, when she made her way to a river and hid under an overhanging bank. There she remained for eight days. All that time she had nothing to eat and saw no one.

As she fasted with a downcast heart, a spirit came to her in her hiding place, and called to her in her own language: "Poor little girl. Come out and eat. It is time for you to break your fast. Do not be afraid, I am going to give you happiness because your people have been expelled from their country, and because of your suffering you have won my pity. Now your troubles are at an end. Go and join the enemy, but say nothing. Go to their table, help yourself, and no one shall see that you are not one of them. Then come away and you shall find your friends. You shall travel through the thick forests and over open plains, even among the white people, but fear nothing. Look straight ahead and not backwards or downwards. Even though the white people pass so closely in front of you as almost to touch you, do not fear, for they shall not see you."

"When you arrive among your people once more, eat and be satisfied. Then you may all escape through the prairies and the woods, through the ranks of the enemy, and you shall never be seen, for I shall protect you. When they have all reached safety I want you to tell them that I sent you to give them power and strength. Instruct them to make a little drum (the drum has grown bigger since) to decorate it, and elevate it above the ground, for as it came from the heavens, so it must stay above the earth. Then your people are to beat upon it whenever you desire my aid; and, as your prayers arise to my ears with the sound of the drum, I shall grant your heart's desire."

"When you feel sad at heart, or sick, or fear war, or desire victory in battle, tell it to the drum, which you shall call your grandfather, and give it a present of tobacco, and your words shall be wafted to me. You shall receive help every time you use it,

but you must not beat upon it without cause. You shall have joy and success in all your undertakings. Tobacco must be used to make the spirit of the drum, your grandfather, happy, and love and friendship shall rule among its users.

"No worthy man shall be prevented from taking part in these rites, and those who participate must live clean and honest lives, cease drinking, be sober, and follow the rules I have laid down for you. All that has been taken away from you shall be given back. You have done wrong to neglect your fields and gardens, you must plant corn, and pumpkins, and squashes to keep you alive. You must never neglect the drum, your grandfather, and you must use it at intervals in remembrance of me. Now, go where your people are, and tell them of my instructions, and cause them to spread the news throughout all the Indian nations, that they too may receive my help."

On the evening of June 13, 1910, and the following morning, the writer attended two meetings of this society in a log cabin at the Indian settlement of Zoar, about four miles west of Niopet, on the Menomini Reservation in Shawano County, Wisconsin. The dances were given in order to invoke the aid of the guardian of the drum for a sick child, and were held in the room where the child lay. The drum, like all the others seen afterwards by the writer, was of very large size, probably three feet or more in diameter and two feet deep. It was painted on both heads, each parchment being half red and half blue. The sides were richly ornamented with beads, and coins were suspended from its covering of red cloth. At intervals beaded badges representing men or spirits were fastened to the rim.

The drum was placed on the floor in the middle of the room and surrounded by men called "elder brothers" (O'nasemätwük) who beat upon it with sticks wrapped with beads and otter fur. The dancers stood on one side of the room, while the women sat on the floor opposite them, with their hands over their mouths. Although present and partakers in the later general distribution of tobacco, they took no part in the rites until the last song, when they joined in the chorus. The number of "elder brothers" or drummers and dancers at this ceremony seemed to be unlimited. The dancers were called Nänäwetauwük or "Brave Warriors."¹

I was informed that the sound of the drum served to frighten away the evil spirit which troubled the sick child.

The ceremonies commenced with a speech and an offering of tobacco to the drum by Chief Wi'úskisit ("The Good"), who explained the reason for the ceremony, and prayed that the drum would carry his words to its guardian. When he had finished, the elder brothers pounded upon the drum, chanting the prayer to the tune of their blows, while the chief and the other

¹ Possibly a perversion of the original use of the title which was formerly applied only to those who had received war honors and who afterwards served as police. However, these members may originally have been braves and entitled to the name. See p. 22.

brave warriors present danced and sang, but remained stationary. At the conclusion of the song there was a pause, signalized by four loud strokes of the drumsticks during which all rested for a few moments before beginning again. The end of each verse was marked by a lowering of the singers' voices.

During the lulls, the various "brave warriors" stepped forward and made presents of tobacco or money to the drum, at the same time begging it to intercede for them with its guardian and obtain certain blessings or favors. The speeches were something on this order, "Our grandfather, I bring you tobacco." (Laying it before the drum). "Take it and hear my words. Grant that the ill health of the little one for whom we are rousing thee tonight may be driven away by the noise of the drum, as smoke is carried off by the wind."

At the conclusion of each prayer the "elder brothers" cried "Nûhau," in assent and took up the prayer, chanting it in time to the blows of their drumsticks.

Sometimes the supplicant had nothing to give, or prayed for some infirm person whose poverty was too great to permit the making of the customary donation. In this case the petitioner usually begged the drum to give him money out of its treasury to help the unfortunate. To these petitions the elder brothers cried out in assent and voted aid to the mendicant.

At intervals, the pipe was passed among the drummers, after having been filled and lighted by an attendant (*skaup'äwis*). When it was lighted the man who held it passed the stem about over the drum in order to permit it to partake also. It went from left to right about the circle, no one smoking it except the elder brothers. Plug and smoking tobacco were passed about among the others for their personal use. Towards the conclusion of the ceremony, the songs and prayers were directed to the overhead beings begging them to assist the drum.

On special occasions a feast is given before the drum is beaten, and occasionally on great days or holidays the rites are held in the open, in a circular enclosure, where the drum is placed in the middle, swung from four decorated supports. The enclosure seen by the writer at Zoar was surrounded by a low mound or embankment fifty or sixty feet in circumference and by about a foot or a foot and a half high, enclosing the circular dancing floor, and may some time prove an embarrassing problem for archaeological investigation.

When not in use the drum is kept in the house of the leader or "drum owner" and is guarded night and day, the house never being left alone while the drum is present. One drum seen by the writer was turned up on edge on a little stand, and covered with a specially made bag. Before it lay its sacred pipe and a boat-shaped wooden dish filled with tobacco.

The cover is never removed from the drum (unless for service) without a present of tobacco. To strike the drum without cause is a grave offense, and can only be atoned for by so costly a gift as a pony, or its equivalent. Such fines, and all presents, go to the treasury of the elder brothers, who expend the money in oil, tobacco, or ornaments for the drum, or to help out the needy of the tribe. When, as sometimes happens, two drums are owned by a lodge, usually only one is beaten, though both may be present at the ceremonies. In such cases money and gifts to one are divided equally between both.

Admission to the ranks of the *nimihéti-wināniwúk* is by invitation. When a man has appeared regularly at a number of meetings, and has proved his reverence and regard for the drum, he receives an invitation to join: — "Come tonight and bring tobacco. That will let you in, that is the greatest thing of all, tobacco."

At the appointed time the candidate appears outside the door of the cabin where the rites are being performed. Getting the eye of one of the ushers,¹ who go about seating the guests or passing tobacco, he sends in his tobacco to the leader. The chief takes the gift in his hand, and at the next pause in the song steps forward crying to the elder brothers, "Stop a while, my brave men, I have a talk to give you, and those who are here, in the presence of our grandfather, the drum.² This man (pointing) presents his tobacco in front of our grandfather. I have his tobacco in my hand. He wishes to join us and be a servant and a grandson of the drum. Let us ask him to come in, for we are commanded that no worthy man be refused." Then the members all cry out in assent.

At the ceremony for the sick girl, or shortly after, the writer was, unknown to himself at the time, taken into the association, and from that time forward has had the right to attend and participate in all the ceremonials of the society.

On Monday, July 17, 1911, preparations were made for a dream dance, one of the three annual public performances, in the open air at the regular dancing ground some three miles northwest of Keshena. The dance began on the 18th and though promptly notified the writer was unable to attend until the afternoon of the 19th.³

The dancing ground was circular, and within it were four round patches of grass, upon three of which reposed the great drums. Around each was a circle of drummers, and behind them a group of women. (Fig. 1.) The

¹ There are two men who hold this office.

² *Tāw'āhigūn* in contradistinction to all other varieties.

³ A few days previous to the ceremonies, tobacco is sent to all the members with the invitation: — "A dance will be given at such a place and you are invited to come."

latter took no part in the ceremony other than to hum the air through their noses, making a not unpleasing rhythmic undertone. A guard sat at the gate, and at his feet lay a handkerchief in which tobacco was deposited by all who entered. Dogs were driven away and not allowed to come in, formerly they were shot if they entered.¹ The rest of the dancers sat on a circular bench which rimmed the circumference of the ground. Directly opposite the gateway were the three drum holders, or chiefs, each of whom wore a dancing bustle of eagle feathers suspended from the rear of the belt like a tail. The *nänawétawûk*, or braves, were present, in charge of the function, each designated by an eagle feather worn in his hat.

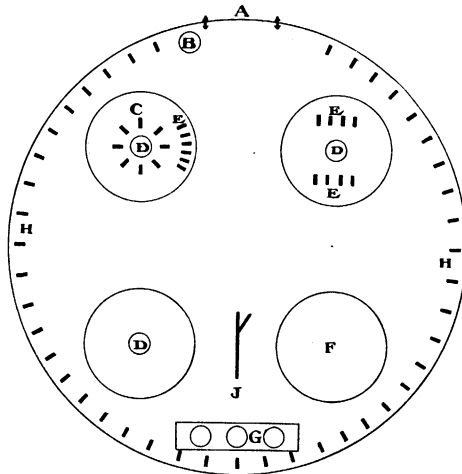


Fig. 1. Diagram of Dream Dance Grounds during Four Days Ceremony, *a*, Entrance to Enclosure; *b*, Guard; *c*, Drummers (only one drum is used at a time); *d, d, d*, Drums; *e*, Women; *f*, Empty place occupied by a drum on last day; *g*, Three leaders; *h*, Ordinary participants; *j*, Pole on which regalia are hung.

The drums were ornamented with beads, coins, etc. Four crooked wands pointing in the four directions supported each drum. The wands were wound with beads and otter fur, and tipped with swinging ribbons. The drumsticks were also otter-wound, and many of the dancers carried beaded or otter-wound wands which they waved. A few had war clubs. Some men had red paint on both cheeks. One old man had the upper part of his face daubed with yellow ocher, with small blue spots on his cheeks, others had four or five parallel horizontal one and one half inch stripes of red and black, or yellow and black, under each eye.

¹ Cf. Ojibway, Kohl, J. G., *Kitchi-Gami. Wanderings Round Lake Superior*. London, 1860, 38.

Two songs were sung at each drum, then the players moved to the next. The songs varied; one was for warriors alone, and these rose from their seats and danced over to the drum, where they danced in one place, or aided at the drum. Other songs were for various Indian tribes, for medicinemen, etc. Dancers passing a seated member entitled to join them would call out "Hau! Hau!" as an invitation to join, and often the performers postured in pairs, keeping time with one another. Different steps were used for each time, and different figures were performed by the members. Each dance concluded with a whoop. The chiefs had a dance all their own with a graceful skipping step. At intervals between the performance, persons so inclined were privileged to make speeches. A person who drops any object during the ceremony is not allowed to pick it up himself, but must hire a brave to do it for him.

The following afternoon the ceremony was much the same except that four drums were used. A new feature was a dance in which largess was given to the onlookers in expiation of some secret offense against the powers above. A song was struck up, "Hai! Hai! Hai ya! Hai ya!" whereupon a man danced out dragging a piece of calico. The other chief dancers circled about after him, whooping, and pointing to the object, making feints at it with weapons. After going once about the drum the entire party proceeded to the gate, led by the chief performer who threw the cloth outside where it was eagerly scrambled for. Two or three blankets and half a dollar in coin followed from various penitents. Among the Sauk and Fox it is customary to publicly divorce unfaithful wives at this time, and this was formerly the case with the Menomini, though the practice is not now followed. The usual form of procedure was to give a blanket away. The person accepting it also accepted the woman.

At the end of the performance, the four American flags at the gate were taken down. After two more songs the drums were carried out by their respective owners.

The writer did not attend the exercises of the dreamer's on the morning of the fourth day, but went over in the afternoon about two o'clock. As the rites of the last day are of the most solemn order, the door was closed by a stick set up in the center, guarded by *nānāwétawúk*. Admittance was by the left side of the stick on payment of tobacco, and exit on the right, also by payment.

Shortly after I took my place, the closing feast began. A dog, previously cut up and boiled was brought out into the center, where it was distributed by the master of ceremonies to each person in his or her own little dish brought for the occasion. The master of ceremonies then danced four times about the circle from left to right. At the fifth time he paused before

certain noteworthy members, warriors, drum owners, and others, dancing in place before them and gazing steadfastly at each. This was the highest honor: an invitation to eat the dog's head.¹

The master of ceremonies, a Potawatomi named Cu'nienésa or Little Silver, now led the chosen chiefs to the center where the dog's head lay. Each knelt on one knee, and a prayer was offered begging for long life from Minisinöhawätük, the red war god of the heavenly cylinder and his three companions.² After the chiefs had eaten they danced back to their places, and the master of ceremonies began a new rite. Taking a small piece of meat in his fingers, he danced up to each of the drummers and to several other notables, approaching each one and offering him the food four times before he actually placed it in his mouth. During this evolution each warrior imitated the feeding actions of his totem animal. Some flapped their arms and cawed like crows, others barked and protruded their tongues dog fashion, and so on down the list. When this was done, the common members cried, "Hau! Migw'êtc!"³ "Hau! Thanks!" and fell to.

When the dog meat and wild rice were finished, an oration and prayer over the skull of the dog followed. Then it was carried away by an attendant and the pipes, four in number, were passed. Next followed one song and a regular dance from each of the four drums, after which Cu'nienésa received a pole from Pakijisê, a nänawétâu, at the north end of the enclosure. He planted the pole himself with a short service, and a dance by the chief officers of the day, who wore their eagle feather dance bustles. Then the regalia were hung up on the pole and the leaders danced around four times. They then took up the bustles, put them on and danced four times more around the enclosure, circling about all four drums like two crossed 8's. At the end of this performance they took off their bustles and fastened them on others in the audience who now danced four times about the drums in the same way and returned. A dancer is not permitted to take off the dancing bustle himself but must pause before some one in the circle, either man or woman, even an outsider, and have that person remove it and carry it to the pole, after which a gift must be paid to him. The recipient must then cry, "Hau, migw'êtc!" In this act, and indeed in every case where one person is obliged to go to another part of the dance ground, he must circle from left to right, and after "hanging up the belt" or making a present, complete the circuit before sitting down.

¹ Referred to ceremonially as "Wabäsiþûn" or white raccoon. Those who wish to avoid eating the dog meat may hire a brave to do so for them.

² See p. 78.

³ As the ceremonial is of Potawatomi origin, the Ojibway and Potawatomi expression "Migw'êtc" is always used instead of the Menomini, "Wäw'änin."

No person is allowed to dance more than five dances with the bustle or belt on. Nätci'wiskau, an old man, after his first dance gave a blanket, but did not allow the recipient to take off his belt. He then continued dancing with a short stick in his hand for four numbers, arousing enthusiastic whoops and shouts of "Nätci'wiskau is brave! He is going to give a pony!" At the end of the last dance he gave the little stick to an old widow. This signified that he intended to give her a colt later; a large switch, big enough for a riding whip, would have signified a full grown horse. Shortly after, the ceremonies closed with the three leaders dancing four times around the circle and approaching the doorway four times in each direction of the compass, after which the drums were carried out.

THE WITCHES SOCIETY AND WITCHCRAFT.

The following data relative to the black art were obtained with difficulty. As far as our information goes, there are eight sorcerers in the tribe, who form a society known as kin'ubik-inäniwük, or serpent men, who are supposed to have obtained their powers from the mythical horned hairy snakes, or misi-kinu'bik.¹ This organization is divided into two companies of four each, using the owl and bear medicines respectively in their practices. Those who use the owl as their instrument are termed, sa^xkänäo, but the title of the bear's foot users was not learned. It is known to the tribe at large that the associates exist, but so carefully is this intelligence concealed that a well-known member of the mitäwin, or even a convert to Christianity, may be in secret a kinu'bik-inäni^u.

To accomplish the death of his enemy, the sorcerer needs the coöperation of his three associates and possibly the assistance of the members of the other division. The plotters gather in some secret nook, where the rites are performed. First, the leader opens his medicine bundle containing an owlskin and spreads out its contents before his colleagues. Then he takes a little piece of mä'nätcikwon root and chews it, holding the kon'äpämik shell "arrow" (a small cowrie shell) in one hand or in his mouth. He harangues the owlskin, commanding it to come to life, fly to the home of his enemy, and kill him with its magic arrow,² at the same time he motions with his hands in the direction he desires the owl to fly. The owl comes to life, and, imbued with the power of the horned snake, it flies off.

¹ The writer has adopted the Indian use of the term, witch, which they apply to both sexes.

² The kon'äpämik shell.

While the owl is on its errand, tobacco, food, and liquor are set before a box supposed to contain the warts of a horned snake and to it is addressed the following incantation to exhort it to use its baleful power.

Monapá? Monapá?	How is it? How is it?
Taasikit anoasnapag	What is the matter with that one lying dead
Mihikona, mihikona.	On the road lying, on the road lying.

Then follows a song to the owlskin:—

Osnotawaké, wiwiciániuv	We do hear him, the horned one.
Osnotawaké, wiwiciániuv	We do hear him, the horned one.

By this time the owl is off on his travels, and the sorcerers chant the following formula in chorus, repeating it twice:—

Konweyúk	No one sees us during the night as we see our
Kiniu koné nawon	accomplice at midnight.
Nontapa	
Asnawaka	
Kakonanaú	
Nontapa.	

When the owl returns, this song is given twice.

Kanauwapomékonau	He will see us
Kakonanaú	Our accomplice
Apasaniit kinubik.	Black snake.

Then twice, in imitation of the mourners for their victims,

Aeaano, paaitatinit.	Who is crying?
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Then comes a song in praise of the bag, which has fulfilled its promise.

Mesawaniú, natoton, yum akiú. All over I treat this earth.

When the sorcerer has killed his victim, his magic arrows still remain in the body and it is necessary for him to recover them. He waits until the fourth night after the funeral, when, at midnight, he goes to the sepulcher. Here, through the virtue of the horned serpent, he changes himself into a bear and walks four times around the grave. At the fourth circuit, the coffin rises to the surface. The sorcerer orders the coffin to open, the lid comes off, and the corpse revives, shrieking for help. Its remorseless tormentor tears out its vitals, heart, and lungs with his claws. The coffin sinks back into the grave, and the ghoul, transforming himself into a firefly, returns to his lair, where he leaves his ghastly booty till the following day, when he returns. He makes a small fire over which the lungs and heart of his victim are partially roasted, and then devours them, singing songs in behalf of his monstrous patron.

The witch bundle is dangerous to keep, for it becomes hungry and must be fed at least once a year on human flesh. In lieu of this the magician may secretly repair to the shore of a lonely lake, where tobacco, liquor, and blankets are sacrificed to the horned serpent. The circumstances and significance of the sorcerer's dream are sung to the accompaniment of a rattle or the small water drum, and the horned snakes are urged to appear and accept the offering. If the medicine is not satisfied, it is likely to attack some member of its owner's family, usually one of the children.

The bear's foot bag of a sorcerer belonging to this second division of the society was obtained. Its use is somewhat similar to that of the owl medicine, our information being as follows: Certain persons, who are very few in number, are gifted with evil powers by foul spirits in their dreams. Some are even told by Mä'näbus to keep a bear's paw, with the claws attached, to do harm to their fellow men. Such a person can take his charm and destroy an enemy by pointing it at him, as a bear would do in killing a foe. In this paw there are six dyed quills from various birds. The witch who holds a grudge against an enemy goes, especially at night, over a very long distance to destroy him. Taking one of these quills, which is filled with medicine, the sorcerer sings a song as he holds the quill in his hand. He immediately becomes the bird whose quill he holds, and flies with the top speed of that fowl for a distance, but the enchanted nature of the exertion soon tires him and he has to come to earth, assume his natural form, take another quill, and become a different bird, and so on, until the spot is reached. The victim is then destroyed by the magic paw, and the sorcerer returns by the same method, having been seen by no one. The sorcerer, disguised as a bear, then secures the vitals of the corpse in the same manner as do the sa³känöwük.

With these trophies, the sorcerer shambles off to his den, leaving the mangled corpse behind. Arrived at his abode, the bear-man gets out and opens up his sorcerer's bundle, then he builds a little fire and half roasts the human flesh that he has just secured. Then he burns tobacco, and makes a speech to the bundle, offering it the meat. At the conclusion of these rites, he eats the flesh himself, as a proxy for the bundle, or rather the evil power whose tokens lie in the bundle. These are, the mi'sikin'ubikuk, or horned hairy snakes, the toad, the "blow" snake (*Heterodon platyrhinus*), the weasel, the fox, the dog, the swift lizard, the spider, the turkey, and others, including the bear, who is also a powerful good medicine when properly invoked and used.

In addition to the mere bear's foot, some very powerful sorcerers make use of an entire bearskin which they put on before attacking their victim. The owner of such a skin keeps a medicine bundle furnished with all manner

of evil medicines, particularly a bandolier or shoulder strap fastened to which are little bags or pouches, containing such venomous things as dried black spiders, black lizards, toads, snakes, flying squirrels, weasels, and sly, swift creeping animals. This may be worn alone by the owner over the naked body in his midnight raids. Such a wretch often keeps an image of his victim in a glass box, from which nothing can escape. Witches of this sort also travel in the shape of a ball of fire, as well as animals. They chew up some of their medicines and spray them from their mouths over their bodies, and then change shape. They are exceedingly foul smelling, because the chief power of their medicine is the flesh of the horned snake, which is terribly offensive. However, this does not disturb the witches, but only those who come in contact with them. If a person meets a witch and has no rattlesnake medicine¹ to guard him, he will faint unless he thrusts his forefinger full length into the ground and then pops it into his mouth. If an ordinary man desires to obtain the aid of a kin'ubiki'nāni to destroy an enemy, he must pay an enormous price. A woman must allow the sorcerer to cohabit with her in recompense.

WITCH MEDICINES.

Origin of an Owl Witch Bundle. The owl medicine now in the Museum, was first owned by one Watcisanokesakomá, who obtained it in the following manner:—

When a young lad he fasted and prayed for a prophetic dream according to the custom of Menomini youths. In spite of all his endeavors to obtain the aid of the good manitous, Misikinubik, the "black horned hairy snake," persistently appeared to him offering him the powers of sorcery, until at last the lad was obliged to accept his tender.

The horned snake told the youth that he would not receive the power until he had reached the age of forty, at which time Watcisit was to sacrifice his two daughters to the wicked serpent. The lad agreed to this proposition, so that he might use his gift during his father's lifetime. When the appointed time arrived, Watcisit was well prepared to receive the promised powers. He had devoted his time to learning the uses of all the evil roots and herbs and the songs and formulæ which render them effective.

One fine day, when there were no clouds in the sky behind which the thunderers might lurk to slay his patron, Watcisanokesakomá made a large bundle of valuable cloths, liquor, tobacco, and other pleasing things. He took his two daughters, now grown to young womanhood, combed their hair, painted their faces, and adorned them with their finest beads. The maidens innocently followed their father to the

¹ Dried rattlesnake skins are sometimes kept as a safeguard against witches.

banks of a secluded lake. Here *Wacisitanokesakomâ* stopped, opened his bundle, and recited the circumstances of his terrible dream, inviting the serpent to come out according to his promise. While he performed these incantations his daughters sat beside him, ignorant of what was in store for them. At last their father placed them on a raft and set them adrift. As he chanted, the water of the lake rushed round and round in a whirlpool, frothing and foaming, and the two girls were drawn down by the monster.

By and by the waters became calm, and *Wacisitanokesakomâ* knew that his daughters were in the serpent's lodge. A little later the monster appeared and swam ashore, where he lay perfectly quiet. *Wacisitanokesakomâ* took his magic knife¹ and approached the snake, although its smell was enough to knock him down, intending to cut off some of its flesh to use in his conjurations. As he examined the monster he noticed it had a great many bad parts that looked like warts, and these quivered as he drew near, as though the snake desired him to take them. So he cut off some that grew near the monster's bowels, and caught a little blood. When he had done this, *Wacisitanokesakomâ* said to the snake, "Now I am rewarded, everything has come to pass as it was promised me in my dream. I shall fulfill all my vows to you, and once a year, I shall feed you, in return for the use of your power in enchanting my enemies."

After the demise of *Wacisitanokesakomâ*, the bag became the property of *Otcipwas*, an Ojibway, who in return sold it to a Menomini named *Manasanonesiu*. These men, and all its subsequent users were those who had had supernatural relations with the horned snake. *Manasanonesiu* sold the medicine to *Sunien*, who gave eight ornamented costumes, a quantity of wampum, ponies, and blankets, for the serpent's warts alone. When he received the medicine *Sunien* was charged never to use it until he should discover his first gray hairs. He first bewitched a woman, crippling her so that she could not walk. He allowed her to recover partially and then killed her.

The rule of the charm is, before it can be used on any one, that person must first have offended the owner four times. The sorcerer may cast a spell on his victim at once, but it is considered better to wait from one to four years after the last offence, so that the sufferer will not suspect by whom he is afflicted, and so, forewarned, attempt to fight the spell.

The medicine is composed of the skin of a great horned owl, containing:—

- a. Warts of the horned serpent (iron pyrites?)
- b. Two bunches of colored feathers. These are occasionally worn on the head to solicit the aid of the serpent. These feathers are obtained by the snake men in a curious way. The horned serpents have monstrous cats as servants. They live in decayed stumps that are full of holes, and their bedding is colored down and feathers. Sometimes loud reports like rifle shots come from the tree. The snake man, on hearing these sounds, searches out their source and demands some of the colored feathers of the

¹ Wooden knives made of cedar are supposed to be the only weapons that can cut a horned snake. *Mâ'nâbus* was the originator. I have collected such knives from witches.

cat, which is obliged to grant his request. The Winnebago have the same belief, according to members of that tribe who have been questioned.

- c. A small bag of woven beads, with a design representing the thunderers and women on one side, and geometrical figures on the other. It contains:—
1. A tiny cowrie shell. The *konapamik*, without which no medicine bag is complete. It is the "medicine arrow" of the sorcerer.
 2. *Manaticikon* root. Used in magic manipulation of the bag.
 3. *Opasaticikon* or *sakanaticikon* root, "reviver of life" for those who have been poisoned by the sorcerer. The two mixed together, make a strong emetic.
 4. *Nasakon*, a green powder of grass or leaves. A pinch of this laid on burning coals causes a smudge which is inhaled through the nose. It clears the brain, and averts the ill effects of sorcerers' poisons.
- d. A "reviving medicine" made of powdered roots. A pinch of this medicine taken on the point of a knife blade and mixed with water is swallowed with a tiny bead to overcome the effect of the charms and poison.
- e. Two striped quills of the horned owl, colored blue and red with white stripes, called *nosawonatakuk* or *feast feathers*. Sent with tobacco to fellow snake men to call them to a feast.

The writer also secured another owl bundle. This consisted of an owl-skin, wrapped up with medicines and invitation sticks and quills, and a carved wooden image of an owl, to be set up on a stick and worshipped when the bundle is opened by the sorcerer and his crew. Early writers refer to the use of these images of animals and birds by Algonkin sorcerers, particularly among the Ojibway, but none have ever been collected before to my knowledge.

The rites commence with a prayer to the chief of the underground bears and the ordinary black bear, his earthly delegate. The post represents the tree the bear climbs on and is called *mitceowac*. The sacrifice brings good luck and long life to the participators, but is somehow connected with the preceding evil bundle. It was, however, impossible to worm this part of the information out of the owner. When the prayers are over, game or other food is offered the owl image, and these songs are sung:—

Wiwicmianiuw usnia
Wiwicmianiuw kihewena
 "The owl, because he is seen."

The next song is a "killing" song, for destroying men or animals:—

Uskewesimúk pim'atisit
"Killing living beings"

If animals are to be killed, the word mon'atuwúk, "animals" is substituted.

Besides the owl medicines two bear's foot charms were secured by the writer. Both of these were purchased from old women and are similar to each other in contents and appearance. In these bags are dyed quills called "servants of the bag" that are sent with tobacco to invite members of the cult to meetings, or to the bi-annual feasts given by the owner of the bag to his patrons of the underworld, the horned snakes, toads, "swift" lizards, bears, foxes, and dogs. At these spring and fall feasts, food, tobacco, and maple sugar (of which bears are particularly fond) are consumed amid speeches and singing. Another use of the quills is as charms by means of which the witch may change herself into the various species of birds from which the feathers have been taken, and thus fly unseen to the abode of her victim as described on p. 184. This medicine is sometimes used in public places, even at ceremonials of the mi'täwin society, but it is kept carefully concealed from the view of any bystanders.

Placed at the door of the wigwam this medicine will prevent the entrance of any other witch, and, unlike the owl, it can be used for perfectly legitimate purposes, such as the healing of the sick, when properly manipulated. It is therefore, not an absolute proof of guilt to be found with a bear's foot in one's possession. The contents of these bags consist of roots, especially a rare species called "devil's root," herbs, cowrie shell arrows, and various medicines. Bundles of these important medicines were in the bears' feet, but were removed by the sorceresses on their purchase.

Methods of Destroying Enemies. Just as the Salem witches destroyed their victims, the Menomini witches make dolls of wood or grass, which they name, hold up, and touch with a little red medicine on one end of a stick. "Let this be So-and-so, may his foot (or whatever organ is to be attacked) wither and die" (touching it). Or, "May he be shot in the heart such a day," or, "May he hopelessly love So-and-so."

A witch tries to obtain a portion of the body of his victim, a finger nail paring, a hair, or even a bit of his clothes, or in default of this the sorcerer makes an imitation finger or toe nail, etc. This is soaked in water until soft, then it is taken out, and placed on the sorcerer's finger which is pointed in the direction of the victim and the following formula is repeated: "Well, this is So-and-so. This is my medicine nail. Go to him, go into his finger nail, and make him ill." The sorcerer then blows on the charm, and the spell is cast on the victim even though he be a great distance away.

Another means of revenge is to place a paring of the victim's nail, or a hair or a bit of his garment in a bag containing horned snake medicine, bend down a sapling and tie it to the top, letting the little tree spring back again. Then as the wind blows it about, so will the victim vacillate in his mind until at last he is insane.

Love Medicines. There are many varieties of love medicines, some say eighteen, which, while made and used by ordinary persons at times, are generally considered the peculiar perquisites of witches.

Wikipinúkûn (Tied up in it). The chief ingredient of this powerful potion is blood drawn from the vulva of an amorous woman. This is added to a certain variety of root, pulverized, and is given in food. It steals a man's mind away so that he will follow the woman who drugs him as a dog follows its master. This medicine is used only by women. It may not be kept with other medicines and must be used at once after making.

Túkosiwâwûs (Roots drawing each other). In certain places in the forest the plant which the Indians use for this compound is found. It is probably the "man in the ground," or "big Indian." The roots are thought to be of both sexes, so the shaman finds a "male" and a "female" plant and traces a line in the ground from one to the other. Tobacco is offered them and the male root is told to visit the female. If the right songs have been sung and the proper incantation made, the two roots will come together over night. They are gathered next day, dried, and ground together.

This powder is commonly placed in a little bag between two dolls, carved to represent the user and the object of his or her affections, and named for them. A hair, a paring, or a bit of cloth from the garment of the one desired is placed in the little bag, and the whole tied up. The tighter they are tied, the more powerful is the charm. Sometimes it is too strong and the string has to be loosened or the victim will go crazy or die. The affair can be ended by untying the bag and taking out the hair, but as this is apt to cause so violent a revulsion that the victim will become demented, it is best to do so gradually.

In manipulating this charm the two dolls named are set up facing each other about three feet apart, while the roots are being pulverized, and the songs sung. The dolls will come together during the song.

Misiki'nubik osakuk, "horned hairy snake, his scales." These can be used in any love potion, but are extremely dangerous, for they will make a person die of love if not carefully used. They make anyone foolishly passionate. All the so-called "horned snake scales" I have seen seem to be bits of mica.

Musininisê, "the doll." A wooden doll is sometimes used. It is made to represent a female and is named for the girl desired. Some *uké'mauwas* or other red powder medicine is taken on the end of a little stick and touched to the doll's heart. "I want to see you and love you," says the swain, "and

you will find yourself unable to refuse my solicitations." The youth then puts a daub of the paint on his face and passes the girl's lodge. The power of the charm is such that she is constrained to follow him, even without food, wherever he goes.

There is a special love bag in the nature of a petcikûnau, or medicine bundle. With this the medicine is so strong it is better to tie the hair of the victim outside to make the charm milder.

All these medicines are of particular use on men or women who have openly flouted, abused, or despised their lovers. They can cause a complete reversal of tactics, and the victim is unaware of the cause. It sometimes happens that a youth and a maiden try simultaneously to capture the affections of the other. In this case the one employing the strongest power wins.

Witches and evil sorcerers also keep lover's flutes with their appropriate medicines ready for hire. Some flutes have been famous for their power over the affections of girls.

Uke'mauwas, "kingly medicine." This is another favorite potion. It gives the owner not only command over affection, but second sight and the ability to read minds. It brings gifts and fortune, secures credit at stores and luck in gambling and games. It must never be sold at a low price, for the powers would be offended. The owner's satisfaction in this respect is only secondary. This charm is even known to the Plains-Ojibway of Manitoba, among whom I have seen it. They give it the same name.

The following formula for digging medicine roots is one given by Mä'näbus. The address is made to the plant, before giving the tobacco offering, "Great medicine, you were put here for the use of mankind by the powers. I have come to dig you up, and I place tobacco here so that you may be satisfied and surrender your powers to me." Tobacco is then flung in the excavation. The Potawatomi have a similar custom.

Method of Using Medicines. A man entirely cognizant of a medicine, and its use, does not always need actually to have it with him. When he needs it he has only to think of it and sing its song to have it at his service.

A medicine which can be used for any one of several purposes at the start must be continued in the use to which it is first put, or it will turn against the owner. That is, a medicine good for love, hunting, luck in games, etc., must only be used for one of these purposes, it is not interchangeable after its use has begun.

Buying medicines singly is a very expensive process, as each separate root or herb must be well paid for. The instructor takes the purchaser out in the fields or forest and shows him the living plant. The buyer now owns the right to sell his knowledge. Often a horse will be given for four medicines, each one "paying for a leg."

CULTS.

DOCTORS' CULTS.

THE WÁBANO.

The wabánowúk (singular, wábano) form a group of disassociated shamans who resemble the Siouan heyoka in their practices, especially with regard to immunity from fire or boiling water. Like the je'sakosúk, the wabánowúk are found among the neighboring Potawatomi, Ottawa, Ojibway, and Cree as well as the Menomini.

A wabano is usually one who has dreamed of wapanänä, the morning-star, but those who are most powerful are men who have derived their power from the sun. The two most famous wabánowúk on the Menomini Reserve are Kowápämiuv (Watching), an old Ottawa, and Cómin (Grape), a Menomini, both of whom are sun dreamers, and wear about their necks huge brass or copper rings representing the sun's rays. It is said that witches' arrows, when shot at a person wearing such ornaments, stick to the metal and fail of their mark. The wabánowúk are the best seers and clairvoyants known to the Indians.

The Menomini belief is that wábano, or wapanänä, the Morningstar, is a god. Just at dawn he stands master of the day. He has an enormous mouth, and when the world is in danger he opens it and takes in the whole earth with all its inhabitants to guard it. It is such a great task, and the powers of the earth are so strong, that it makes his mouth bleed at the corners.

Men who dream of wapanänä can predict happenings four years before they are due. They can see anything that is lost as clearly as if they stood on the ice and it lay near.

The best known functions of the wabano are, however, entirely of a spectacular nature. At intervals it is customary to give a public performance and exhibition of their power. At such times the wabano provides a feast of deer or bear meat for his guests, and, after the proper ceremony and songs, he chews up certain medicines and sprays them on his hands and arms. He then has ability to handle fire, or plunge his naked arms into boiling water or maple syrup. He will hold up one finger, and, as he dances in a circle it will appear to blaze. He is also said to be able to eat fire and to blow it from his mouth. Sometimes a wabano will spray his whole body

with morningstar medicine and then apparently setting himself on fire, dance about blazing; yet he is never burnt. Often a wabano will hold a glowing brand in each hand, and never be scorched. There are many wabano songs all of which are considered brave.

There is a certain indefinite connection of the wabano with war which I have never been able to fully understand.

On an old wabano drum purchased of Nai'ä'towápikineu, the following symbolical paintings were noted. Obverse, red mark symbolizing the abstract quality of purity, as exemplified by the life of the owner of the drum. Reverse painted half red and half black. Nai'ä'towápikineu said that red meant dawn, day, joy, summer, life; black, night, sorrow, mourning, winter, death; the two together, life. I have often heard this explanation from other Menomini.

THE JÉ'SAKO.

The je'sakosúk form a class of medicinemen by themselves, yet they are not associated, like the members of the mitäwin. The following data were largely obtained from Louis Pämönit, who had recently employed a je'sako (1913) and was familiar with their methods and traditions.

The je'sako acquires his power during the puberty fast and it was only rarely that a person was thus endowed. Those who are faithful in the performance of the rites may receive a premonitory sign from one of the powers above, or below, or in rare cases from all four powers in either division, or even from both. The gods who appear are the heads of the tiers of the world themselves. Their work is never entrusted to messengers. The faster then receives the right to cure the sick, and the necessary articles of his trade.

According to the number of dieties patronizing the would-be je'sako, he makes from one to eight bone tubes to carry as the badge of his profession. With the right to use these bones, the je'sako also receives certain medicines to use when he swallows them to obtain power, others to take when he vomits them forth, and apisétcikûn, or "reviver," to restore him after the performance.

When a person is ill and wishes to know the cause, or when a pony or some article is lost or missing, presents and tobacco are brought to the je'sako with a request for assistance. If the presents seem sufficient, the medicineman accepts, and agrees to build a je'sakan, or conjuror's lodge or if he has received power from several gods, a number of these huts equivalent to the number of his patrons, are erected, even as many as eight being sometimes set up.

The je'sakan is built in the following manner. Four poles are cut by the physician or his attendant, and a "clean" spot is selected in the woods. The poles are set up in rectangular fashion, being driven deep in the ground and are brought close together at the top. Some use five stakes, to give the lodge a round appearance. Twigs are then bent around them and lashed firmly to the poles with basswood string. Bark, bulrush, or reed mats, are used to cover the framework, making a tall tapering or conical lodge. No holes are left excepting at the apex, and the performers must climb in through the top or crawl in at the bottom.

In the evening, just about sundown, the performer's clients appear, bringing liquor for him to use; partly to pour libations to the gods, and



Fig. 2. Framework of a Je'sakan. Photographed by the Milwaukee Public Museum.

partly to drink in order that he may acquire the proper frenzy. In former times, before the introduction of ardent spirits, it is said to have been harder for a man to place himself *en rapport* with the mysteries.

The clients now build a tiny fire not far away, and squat round it while the je'sako makes a speech and prayer, giving their tobacco to the gods, at the conclusion of which observance, he enters one of the lodges. The clients meanwhile indulge in a ceremonial smoke in honor of the powers, and in order to assist the performer.

Once inside the little tent the je'sako begins to pray and sing, mean-

while shaking a hide-covered circular rattle, resembling a tiny drum of the tambourine variety. This continues for some time, until the gods hear him reminding them of their promise to come to him when necessary, and he gives them the reason why he invites their presence, reciting his clients' troubles.

At last, the wind begins to blow, although it may be a calm evening. This is regarded as a good sign, for the breeze heralds the powers. The je'sako loudly greets each power as it appears, until all with whom he has dealings are present. It is thought that most of them seat themselves on the topmost ring of twigs about the lodge frame, but a few always are seated on the floor in a circle. When the gods are all thus assembled, they partake of the liquor, in company with the je'sako himself. The latter is careful not to become drunk, but only exhilarated. Some of the liquor is shoved out from under the tent for the audience to take, that they may enter into the spirit of the occasion.

Now the conference begins, the je'sako talks to the gods through the medium of the turtle, mikanâ, who speaks Ojibway. The listeners outside can hear the conversation distinctly. The various powers mumble and grumble in a way only intelligible to the turtle, and the conjuror. Often the conjuror is unable to follow the discourse and is obliged to fall back on his reptilian interpreter. Sometimes the crow can be heard joining in, whereupon the listeners outside cry, "Hé! our grandfather is here!" If the je'sako is using more than one lodge, he proceeds from one to another at intervals.

Through the powerful beings whom he has assembled, the je'sako learns, perhaps, that the patient is slightly sick and the proper medicine required for his restoration is mentioned. Again, however, he may be told, "This person is so far gone that his shade (o'tâtcikûn) is ready to leave his body and journey to the Hereafter!" The je'sako then beseeches the gods to have mercy and prolong his patient's life. To this they sometimes agree, and, under such circumstances the je'sako tells his clients that it is necessary to coax the patient's soul back into his body. This is accomplished by whistling on a wooden tube. The departing soul hears the sound, and is lured into approaching, when it is sucked into the whistle by the je'sako, who imprisons it by stopping up both ends of the tube. (This practice is, so far as I know, unique in North America, but has a parallel in Malaysia.) Some informants claim that this work is done only by a sort of conjuror called tcipinini (p. 200) and that the je'sako sends the spirit known as the "wandering man" (p. 83) after the ghost to bring it back.

The je'sako now triumphantly tells the people that he has secured the shade, and proceeds to apply to the tube the proper medicines to pacify it

and keep it there. The je'sako then delivers the receptacle to his clients, ordering them to fasten it to the patient's breast over his heart, and keep it there for four days so that it may return to his body. For this length of time the patient is to lie quiet, and no one in the encampment is permitted to make any loud noise, whooping particularly is forbidden, lest the almost recovered shade be frightened away to the place where it had already started to go.

Sometimes the je'sako may learn that his patient has been shot with the arrow of a witch. If this is the case he comes out of the je'sakan, and goes to the place where the sufferer lies. When in the presence of the sick person he begins to chant to the time of his skin rattle, and soon, by gazing at the person lying before him the doctor is able to locate the trouble. He then swallows the okanúk bones, kneels beside the patient, blows on the affected spot, and taps on it with a bone tube in a fashion similar to that of a woodpecker rapping on a tree.

During this performance he sings. At the conclusion of the song he stoops over, applies the tube, and sucks out the cause of the trouble. The evil power concentrated therein may be so strong that it knocks the performer over flat on his back and racks his patient with pain.

When at last the je'sako recovers he swallows the bone tube with which he did the sucking, and then proceeds to vomit up all the bones and the evil matter that he has supposedly sucked from the sick person. He then calls all his clients to look, and from the midst of the mess he produces a quill, a baby's finger nail, a fly, a worm, or some other object which he proclaims was used by the witch as an arrow to convey the poison into the patient's body. The je'sako then orders his clients to snatch out the witch arrow and place it in a medicine designed to hold it.

The je'sako then inquires of the patient whether he wishes the arrow burnt and destroyed, or whether he would prefer to hurl it back at its sender. In case the second alternative is chosen, if the culprit is a witch of only moderate accomplishments, the result is fatal, but a powerful sorcerer can pull out the arrow from himself.

On other occasions when witchcraft is suspected, the je'sako will build his lodge or lodges, assemble the gods, and inquire of mikanâ who is causing the trouble. Mikanâ, in turn, will ask all the gods, and they will reply, "So-and-so" (mentioning some particular old man or old woman) who has been offended by the patient. In such a case the turtle will speak so plainly that even the outsiders can hear and understand. The je'sako next demands: "What is this one's intention, to kill our friend? Can't you fetch the witch's shade here?"

If the gods consent to this a great wind arises and they vanish. During

their absence the conjuror shakes the lodge violently and leaps up and down inside to imitate the action of a storm. Presently the gods return, and are heard shouting, "Here she is." "Well," orders the conjuror, "revive her," for the old woman or man is as one in a stupor. In a few moments the outsiders hear the voice of the witch answering the questions of the gods. "What will you do now that we've caught you and brought you here in this je'sakan? Will you cure your victim and let him go?"

If the witch has the temerity to refuse, her shade is stabbed to death then and there by the je'sako, who uses a cedar knife for the purpose, and the Indians afterwards find the mutilated body of the criminal in her own lodge, which may be miles away. If, on the other hand, the witch agrees to cure her victim she is released, and either goes personally and in secret to cure the patient or hires another person to perform the deed. The witnesses of the performance in the je'sakan never speak of what they have seen or heard.

It is related that a famous je'sako named Mekwûn (feather) used a mirror instead of a bone to pull out witch's arrows, and therefore he did not have to go through the violent physical exertion of swallowing and vomiting. Mirrors are said to have been used only by extraordinarily powerful conjurors.

When a je'sako has removed a witch's arrow he gives orders to his clients as to what medicines they are to use on the patients and orders silence in the village for four days. If the patient does not recover before the four days are up, then the case is indeed hopeless, for it is beyond the je'sako's power. According to my informants the patient should be successively better, able to sit up, able to walk, and well by the fourth day. The je'sako visits his patient or asks for him daily during this time.

A je'sako is able to see what medicines his clients are carrying on their persons when they come to him, and everything about them. If while the performance in the lodges is going on, a newcomer appears and asks himself in his heart, "I wonder who is doing this?" the je'sako will answer at once aloud, to the utter confusion of the stranger.

A je'sako can often tell instantly where lost or stolen articles are, but he will never tell who the culprit is, in the latter case. Sometimes, however, the je'sako is obliged to consult the gods as to the whereabouts of vanished things, and this he does in the same way that he proceeds to cure the sick.

There is a special type of je'sako who only carries medicines and okanûk bones and does not build a lodge nor does he always have to swallow bones. Such men can diagnose a case at once. Such a medicineman is called, tip'apeo, or, akuhekão tip'apeo. The term for the act of blowing on the patient is designated potawaniã, and akuhuniawão means, "he sucked it out."

Witches do not always throw their arrows with murderous intent. Sometimes they do so merely to test the medicine power of their victims, sometimes a witch who is friendly with a je'sako will hurl an arrow into some innocent third party just to give the latter a chance to earn his fee. Others have powerful medicines, which, if they are not tried out on a third party from time to time will turn on their owner, who is therefore obliged to attack others in self defense. Occasionally, it is said, witches work unconsciously. A man may be a member of the mitäwin, and either a je'sako or wabano, or both, as well, or he may belong to all of these groups.

MIT'ÄWAPE AND TEPÁPEWÛK.

Related to the je'sakowûk and tepápewûk are the mitäwape, who differ only in possessing lesser powers. They have the ability to draw or suck out disease sent by sorcerers by means of a bone sucking tube. A member is known as mitä'wäpeo akuúhekao (the mitäo who draws out disease). The function of the association is to combat the activities of the witch society. There are quite a number of this cult still residing among the Menomini, more indeed than of the je'sakowûk. The following notes were gathered from James Blackcloud, who is one of this order.

The origin myth of this doctor's cult is as follows: —

In the beginning Mä'näbus was fasting and dreaming for power to heal the sick. It seemed to him in his vision as though he went south for a long time. At length he saw a round mat wigwam, he approached and entered it. As he came in he saw a very old woman sitting on one side, while on the ground opposite her lay a sick man. The old woman quickly became aware of his presence, "You have come here through my desire and power to have you, and you came for a reason. I am going to give you something. I want you to bend your head over this sick man. That is the way I do, I want you to do the same."

Then Mä'näbus looked at the sick man, and as he gazed the man's flesh seemed to dissolve and he looked through him as though he were a skeleton, and yet the sufferer was alive.

"Now, I want you to cure him, blow on him the way I do," said the old woman, "and I shall give you great powers. Blow on him, my grandson and cure him."

"Now how can I cure this man? I have neither the power nor right to do it," said Mä'näbus in his heart, for he did not believe what the old woman said, and had no faith in his own ability. The old woman knew what he was thinking about, for she said presently, "Don't be afraid, my grandson, it is through my power that you came here in the first place, now let me see what you can do for the sick man. I had you come here in order to show you how much you could do."

This time Mä'näbus obeyed her commands, and kneeling down he blew upon the skeleton. At once all the ailments that afflicted it appeared before Mä'näbus's

eyes as plainly as possible. At the same time, although he thought he had seen everything in the room, Mä'näbus discovered a little bowl of water by his side where he was sure there had been none a moment before. He looked into the dish and in it lay five bones. As he gazed at them he knew at once just what birds they had come from and from what parts of the birds.

Then the old woman said, "Grandson, be very careful, those bones are one of the gifts I have prepared for you. Now commence your act. You have seen the bones, now take four of them and swallow them, then bend your head over the skeleton.

Mä'näbus did as he was bid and then the old woman told him to select a rattle from among the many which hung on the wall. Mä'näbus was at loss which to take. They were all alike of deerskin, painted longitudinally (one half red and the other black), but some were brand new, fine, and handsome, while others were old, homely, and full of holes.

Finally, Mä'näbus took one of the old ones, it seemed as though something impelled him to do so. Then he began to sing, and drinking some of the magic water from the bowl, he took the fifth bone in his hand and went to the skeleton. Then he saw the flesh on the skeleton and all of its vital organs, as he sat there shaking his rattle and singing. He saw the exact location of each disease. Marking the worst one with his forefinger, he took the fifth bone, which was a tube and sucked the evil out, so he proceeded with all the other diseases in turn and thus absorbed them all into his own body. When he had finished it seemed that he had taken and tasted of all the ills that afflict mankind. It had been a feat of greater magic even than he thought. Then Mä'näbus drank all the water that was left in the bowl, after which he sat down, as he had finished.

"Well, grandchild," said the old woman, "you have even beaten me, you have done so well. But I am satisfied, since you came here through my desire and at my request. Though I myself could have done it long ago, I left the work for you to try. You deserved to win and when I tested you by asking you to choose one of the medicine rattles from among those hanging on the wall; you were not too proud to take an old and homely one, though you could not have known that it contained the power of ages. There have been other men who have tried their fortune, but they always took new and handsome rattles and so they failed to succeed, on account of their pride. This power to heal is my gift to mankind, through you, forever."

At this juncture the skeleton began to wriggle and get up. "Now go," said the old woman, "your work is over, go back and do for mankind what you have done here." As Mä'näbus gazed at her he saw the old woman slowly change from human form to a huge toad, and as he stared, he saw her suck into her mouth the great flies that buzzed about the room.

"Grandchild," said the old toad, "Do you see what I am doing?" As Mä'näbus continued to stare he saw that the flies were really all diseases that afflict men. "As I draw these flies into my body," said she, "so will you draw the diseases of men into your body. Now go, you have all the power I can give you," she said, and vanished.

Nowadays, men who have had this power delivered to them in visions are able to doctor in this way. When called to a bedside by a request accompanied with tobacco, although he can diagnose from where he is, the

mitäwäpeo akuûhekao swallows the four bones,¹ and taking some water in a dish in which he places the sucking tube, and approaching the sick person begins to sing to his guardian and rattle his deer hoof rattle. As he sings he begins to see the diseases that trouble the patient. He blows upon one and covering it with his forefinger he gets down on all fours and takes the bone tube which he places over the spot and commences to suck out the trouble. When it is removed, the shaman cries, "I'm nearly gone, I'm stunned," and swoons.

When he has finished he replaces the tube in the bowl of water and the four bones and all the other things he has swallowed. The trouble that was afflicting the patient will appear in the shape of needles or quills, arrows of some evil sorcerer, or even worms, or frogs, sent there by some witch to torture the sick person. Those are sometimes alive, but are usually dead. When these have been exhibited to the patient and all the bystanders, the doctor takes up the bone tube and sucks back the loathsome mess into his own body. It will have no effect on him, in spite of the evil charms it contains, because the spirit of the mud-turtle (with which all such doctors are endowed, and which lives in their bodies)² will take them away to some place where they will never again be heard of. Sometimes, however, the offending "arrow" of the sorcerer is retained and shot back at him.

The song of the doctor as he first gazes at the patient begins: —

Ma'uwani häwätûkuk nisawanimekût
All of the gods have had mercy on me.

Members of this company are known by their songs which they sing at meetings of the mitäwin.

A practice related to the functions of the je'sako and mitäwape is that of "putting on a drawing out bandage," (ukupitcekäo). All ordinary seers have the ability to diagnose the witch's attack, and they prescribe the services of some one who knows how to apply the drawing out bandage. These persons, in return for a present, will pound up their medicines, apply them to the afflicted spot, smoke a pipe, and the patient becomes well by the time the pipe is smoked. When a person's legs have been bewitched so that they grow crooked, the doctor can cure them in the same way in less than an hour of our time. When the bandage has been removed, a bristle, a quill, a worm, or some other evil thing, the arrow of the witch, is found in the bandage, and this the doctor puts in a bottle of medicine to

¹ Some informants declare that the shaman first sings and invokes his guardian, before swallowing the enchanted bones, then rests and announces the cause of the disease. Next he gets on his hands and knees and sucks out the trouble while a bystander manipulates the rattle.

² See notes on menstruation customs, p. 52.

weaken or kill it. The doctor always begs the patient not to tell who pulled out the arrow for fear of drawing the witch's wrath upon himself and these doctors have not power enough to withstand such an attack. If the witch tries again, the doctor repeats his performance.

It is said that sometimes these doctors work in groups of four. One will diagnose the case, another provide the medicine, a third will mix it, and the fourth apply it, then dividing the spoils.

TCIPI-N'INIWŪK.

This is a class of doctors who receive their power from Na^xpatão, the guardian of the dead. They act as mediums, and receive aid for the sick from the ghosts. Sometimes the shade of a person leaves his body and starts over the spirit road to the hereafter. A tcipinini is called in, who locates the lost soul on the trail, and advises with the dead how best to recall it and entice it into the body and so restore the patient to consciousness. The spirit is coaxed back and put into the head of the sick person where it belongs. For this purpose a reed whistle is usually used to call back the soul, which wanders near until sucked into the tube. Cat-tail down is then used to close the ends of the tube, which the tcipinini keeps four days before he is able to put it back. The songs, speeches, and medicine formulae accompanying this act are all given by Na^xpatão. It will be observed that the tcipinini infringes on the je'sako's province, but is a less important practitioner.

RELIGIOUS CULTS.

THUNDER CULT.

This society or cult possessed a drum of extraordinary size that was given to an old woman during a vision. It was manipulated by a society of four who had had similar dreams concerning the thunder and had four pipes, and was set up on supports something like a dreamer's drum. The pipes should have beaded ornaments representing the thunderers in human and bird form. It was used to avert great disasters, such as earthquakes, by means of its intercession with the great powers above. About four years ago the drum was either struck by lightning during a storm or else the jarring of thunder caused the tightly stretched rawhide to crack, which not only rendered the drum useless, but frightened the users so that the club broke up and was never reorganized. Before consenting to part with

the drum to the Museum the owner went into a trance trying to seek communication with the thunderers in regard to the matter so that he might better know whether to dispose of it or not. As they failed to appear to him he accepted their silence as a tacit consent. Again when the writer attempted to obtain the paraphernalia of the cult he refused to sell them until he could interview the thunderers in a trance. Some weeks after the initial offer, he appeared at the writer's camp, and agreed to part with the outfit, inasmuch as the thunderers had signified their approval.¹

The prayer with which this society opened its ceremony was as follows:— About our father the God Above, whom all worship, and none have seen; this song is in his praise, this true one. This is the way the words were given to the old lady who dreamed our drum. The Creator promised to help the whole world through the drum. The gods below helped also. Never shall this earth be destroyed, upset, or turned wrong.

Songs.

- 1 God himself has agreed to help this earth.
- 2 The earth shall never be destroyed.

Thunderbird Song.

- 1 The earth shall be protected by us.
- 2 The world shall never be destroyed.

There are other songs many of which are secret. The Thunder song comes from Wapinäm'äkiu, the leader of the thunderers.

THE BUFFALO DANCE CULT.

The buffalo dance, called, picäkiwi'siükwün (literally, "cooking for the buffalo") is given twice a year, in the spring and in the fall. Those who have had dreams of the bison are invited by the man in the neighborhood who has had the most important revelations, and who possesses one or more buffalo headdresses, received from his guardian.² He is the

¹ Owing to the sudden death of my informant, Thomas Hog, no further data were gathered.

² I have obtained two of these, once the property of Chief Oshkosh, and one from W'äsiükwünät, all of which are now in the Museum collection. The data here given were obtained largely from the late chief Niopet, son of Oshkosh, W'äsiükwünät, and Mr. Satterlee, who took part in the ceremonies as a boy.

leader and the only officer. A long tent, shaped like the mitäwikomik, or medicine lodge, is erected, and in it the guests assemble. A feast has meantime been prepared by the host, and this consists of vegetables, suitable for the buffalo to devour. Young squashes, corn, corn soup, dried sweet corn, wild rice, are furnished, but meat, never. Salt is used, as the buffalo are fond of that condiment. A dish of water sweetened with maple sugar is always added. These viands are placed in large wooden bowls ranged in a line down the center of the lodge. The host, with his buffalo bundle, or headdress exposed, sits at the western end of the structure. Before him are quantities of tobacco and kinnikinick all of which must be consumed on the spot in honor of the buffalo.

When all is ready, the host rises and says:— "I am not doing this for idle pleasure, but because I was so commanded in my dreams. You begin your dance. Let So-and-so and So-and-so, mentioning the names of several who have notable buffalo power, wear the headdress you see before me. Now let us commence."

The host then sits down and begins to pound on the water drum. The dancers who have been designated come forward and put on the headdresses. They then lead off, dancing up and down around the row of bowls, imitating the pawing, bellowing, and hooking, of the buffalo. At length, the leader pauses at the dish of maple water placed in front of the host. He grovels on all fours, goring the earth, bellowing, bleating, and snorting, and at last drinks, buffalo fashion, without touching the vessel with his hands. He then proceeds to the next dish of food, while his companions imitate him. The last one finishes the food and overturns the dish with his horns; underneath it has been placed a small quantity of tobacco, which is his perquisite. The other guests, meanwhile, eat their share with spoons from their own wooden bowls which they have brought with them, as is customary.

The buffalo headdress and a head band of buffalo skin (a substitute for another headdress) once the property of the famous Menomini chief, Oshkosh, and famous war medicines were collected for the Museum and have been noted. The story of the way in which Oshkosh received the right to wear them as related by his son, Niopet, who had the same dream, is as follows:—

Oshkosh was an orphan, and owed his early training to the care of an uncle. In common with all Menomini youths he fasted at intervals to obtain a prophetic vision. The reward of his devotion came when a manitou appeared to him and ordered him to repair to a certain spring.

The boy obeyed, and as he gazed from the rill out over the lake into which it flowed, he saw two bison rise from the water and swim toward him. He was not

surprised, because according to Menomini legend, the fountains of the earth are the doors by which all four-legged animals enter their mythical subterranean homes. They approached where he was standing, "We come in peace to give ourselves up to you. Do not be afraid of us. We show our mercy to you because it is well known to all the strong-powered beings that you are an orphan, alone in the great world, very poor and in distress. You have fasted long enough. You have pleased us so that we want to be your friends. Look us over. There, see, we that are your friends stand before you." At these words they came up out of the water of the spring and ascended the bank. The young man took heart at these friendly words and allowed the two animals to come close. He admired them greatly, for they were painted red and "clay color" (blue) and plumed with the feathers of many birds. Then they said, "We give you all of our powers to use. They shall protect you as they have protected us since we first received them from Mä'näbus. In the beginning he was given permission by the great creator to call all the beasts together. He took clay and painted himself, as novices are adorned when they are initiated into his medicine dance. Then he apportioned to each species of animal its power and the knowledge of roots and herbs, and we received our share."

As the buffaloes spoke Oshkosh fell into a doze, for he was weak from fasting. But they continued to talk to him. One of them said, "Through you I give my power to all Indians here on earth, and it is very strong. I assisted the Inämäkiwük, the thunderers, when first they gave their power to Watakwüna in the shape of the war bundle. When he was fasting on the coast of Lake Michigan the thunderers sent for him, and he and six other Indian helpers and advisers made two elm bark canoes and set out, four in one and three in the other. They paddled south through the dark fog for nine days until they came to a high rocky island, the abode of all the thunderers. There Watakwüna received his reward, the war bundle, the contents of which so stuns mankind and animals that it is scarcely necessary to shoot to obtain them. When the thunderer gave him the bundle he showed the Indians a pretty wapikin, or sacred tanned skin (foetus) and asked Watakwüna if he saw it. "Yes I do," he replied. "Well," said the thunderer, "you see as I place this burning coal on the center of the wapikin the skin shrivels up to the size of the palm of a man's hand. I do this to show you how I shall shorten the time on your return journey. Four days is all that it will take, and you will barely notice the time." On the return journey the Inämäkiwük caused the way to be clear, and the winds favorable and when the warrior reached home they made a sacrifice of large game and offered thanks to the thunderers, and all the herbs and roots and other powerful things that the bundles contain, as they had been instructed."¹

"Mä'näbus," continued the buffalo, "gives assistance to all Indians and helps them to be brave. I also add my power to all these others and to the war bundle. I give it to you to employ whenever you are in need of it, just as I went to Watakwüna in his sleep and instructed him in the secrets of all the sacred roots and herbs that are used in war."

Then the bodies of the buffalo dissolved and they appeared to Oshkosh as heads floating in the air. "Do you see me?" asked the buffalo that had been speaking. "If you do, look me full in the face, and you will observe that I speak the truth."

Then Oshkosh looked, and he saw that it was a double buffalo head, with gray hair intermingled with the natural brown. Then the head addressed Oshkosh, the

¹ Cf. p. 98 under War Customs.

dreamer, "I will now speak to you for the last time and inform you fully. Come up to me, Oshkosh, and hear me, for now we are going to give you power."

Then Oshkosh went and stood between the two buffalo, and they showed their strength. They turned their heads down and tore up the earth as though there had been nothing there. They got down on their knees and fought the ground, bellowing "Maa!" loud and tremulously. "Lie down, Oshkosh," they cried, "Roll over and over in order that our gift to you may be fulfilled."

Then Oshkosh obeyed, and he was turned into a buffalo. "Stand up now, we are going to teach you our dance," they said. So they danced in a circle, and as they pranced around, buffaloes appeared in great numbers, dancing in a great ring about them, running, leaping, and jumping, with their tails high in air.

As they danced, the virtue of the buffaloes went into Oshkosh, and he was powerful. The buffaloes composed many songs for different purposes, and these they taught to Oshkosh. They gave him two buffalo heads as talisman to carry into battle, and they taught him all the sacred medicines, roots, and herbs that are of use in war, or in the healing of diseases and how to manipulate them. They told him when and how to give feasts and ceremonies in their honor. A dog must be killed, singed, cooked and eaten as a sacrifice, and the participators were ordered to drum and sing to all the manitous and to offer tobacco to them, especially to the buffaloes.

They taught Oshkosh a chant to call them out of their spring should he need them, which is as follows:—

Mokätciwano naiopiskitcitom
napiskitcitom
napiskitcatom

Spring fountain from that place I shall appear.

Another song for the same purpose, of which the meaning is lost:—

Mokätciwano pisokatcitayon, wihi wihi¹ "mah"²
Spring fountain I appear "mah."

To cure disease or when in danger:—

Kinayawin sauya (repeat twice)
Picäki^a asenakosayon
You will see me now
Cow as I appear.

Another for the same purpose (each line sung twice):—

Makakakisa
Aiyoayawit katatu
Yearling buffalo
This is the one who our side will help.

A song sung to cure cramps or fits:—

Akomata newenük
Maiyenenon miskinita
Here are my horns
I give to you my heart.

¹ Wihi wihi, "mysterious magic words."

² Buffalo bleat.

The buffalo scraped their horns and several medicinal roots together to make *picäkiwas*, or "cow medicine" singing each line twice.

Neopit¹ also related the following further data concerning the buffalo medicine:—

When Oshkosh was dwelling on Lake Poygan in 1830 or '40 he went on a hunting trip and on his return was taken sick at Cattle Lake, near Portage, Wisconsin. After a day or two he died and was prepared for burial. A favorite aunt came to see him as he lay in state, and wept over his corpse, repeating the words of the buffalo that he had received in his sacred dream. Although he was cold and stiff the words had so much power that they caused him to open his eyes. Noticing this, the aunt directed that the buffalo heads and tails be brought to the place at once, and as soon as this was done she took some sacred herbs that Oshkosh had kept in or near them, pulverized them, and dissolved them in a bowl. She dipped up some of the brew in a tiny wooden spoon and forced it into his mouth, at the same time taking some more in her own mouth and spraying it over his face and body, rubbing it in at the same time with her hands and reciting the buffalo formula. Then she took a buffalo tail and dipped it into the liquid and shook it on Oshkosh's face, and brought him back to life. Others saw this, and said it was the power of the buffalo that brought him back to life.

Niopet added that in 1880 he had had sore eyes and called in a female seer to diagnose his ailment. She told him that the buffaloes were offended because he had neglected their ceremony. So he caused the ceremony to be performed and he was accordingly cured. Mr. Satterlee, in 1862, took part in a buffalo sacrifice feast given in behalf of a little girl who was burned, and who recovered because of it.

¹ Deceased, fall of 1912.

DANCES AND CEREMONIES.

HARVEST OR CROP DANCE.

This ceremony, now obsolete, was held in the fall. Tobacco was offered to the giver of the crops, and speeches of thanksgiving were made, with dances in honor of the powers above and below.

ALL ANIMALS DANCE.

An obsolete ceremony said to have been especially for the totem animals. It was intended to make them happy and contented so that they would continue their amicable relations with mankind and be easily obtained for food.

RAIN DANCE.

When a prolonged drouth sets in, it is thought that the thunderers are offended, since they have charge of the rain and hail, and it is their office to water and rake the earth that plant life may flourish. In order to regain the good will of these powerful gods, one of the leading bundle owners of the tribe hires men to gather game, (preferably deer or turtle meat) and prepare a feast. He causes a long lodge to be built, and sends a messenger with invitation quills and tobacco to the leading warriors of the tribe, particularly those who are bundle owners.

When the guests arrive, the kettles of food intended for the feast are brought into the lodge and placed in a group near the eastern door. The guests then enter, lead by the bundle owners and their assistants, the latter bearing the war bundles, little cedar boxes containing tiny wooden war clubs, the Brave feathers of their masters, and mats. On entering they go directly to the center of the lodge where the water drum is standing and there squat down, spread their mats and lay the bundles on them.

When this is done the ordinary guests are allowed to enter, and when all have come in the assistants arise and hang the war bundles from the ridge pole, about a yard apart. They then return to their seats. As soon as this is over the mikão, or bundle owner, nearest the door addresses the company:—

"I am speaking to the Great God Above who created all things and who made the Powers to be his servants. He placed them midway between him and the earth; these were the thunderers and the other great birds, who were made to guard the Indians on this Island.

"There are four points. In the north is a Great God looking to the center, Wäkim'owit, the king of all bears, he also is an assistant. In the east is Wabano, the morningstar, looking towards the center. In the center is the sun at noon, in the south is a great swan, or Wabiskiu. In the west are the thunderers, in several groups of different colors, red, black, and other shades. These are the servants that 'God' gave to water the earth, to bring the rain and the hail.

"We shall also sacrifice to the four tiers of the powers below, the powers on earth, the great snakes which are partially visible, then Matc Piséo, the Great Panther,¹ and next, greatest of all, Wai'äbskinit Äwäse, the Great White Bear.

"The Gods Above all came together for a council. The powers below knew of it, though they did not appear. The gods came to a decision, and left it to Mätc Hä'wätók to decide, who settled it as they wished, and so they have charge over the watering of the world and the protection of the people on the face of the earth.

"It was made a law that the Indians should offer them tobacco, and next in importance, something to eat. It was decreed that when this was done and the Indians came together and made the ceremony with sacrifices and dancing, their prayers and songs should be heard, and the thunderers should be pleased and should give their aid. It should have been done in the spring, but this time we have neglected it and it is too late, and so we have this drought as our punishment. Maybe the thunderers will not hear us, though we hope they will."²

At the conclusion of the speech comes a prayer to all powers, begging them to accept the tobacco and food:—

"You thunderers are our eldest brothers! Now we have asked you to come with your rain to water our gardens, freshen our lives, and ward off disease. We beg you not to bring with you your terrible hail and wind. You have four degrees of tempest, come with a moderate rain and not a deluge. Do not bring too much lightning. Grant this, that we may be happy till the next time of offering. This tobacco we offer you, you can see it before us. It is all for you."

Four servants then pass the tobacco to all present and return to their seats, in a row before the drum. The third in the line from the door then rises and goes to the drum, before which, in the place where the bundles were first put, are lying four long pipes. He lights them by means of flint and steel. The spark having been struck on a bit of punk, it is laid in the pipe bowl and the attendant twists the stem in the air until the tobacco is ignited. He then hands the pipe to one of the other servants, who offers it to the man who made the opening speech, and carries it down the line to the

¹ One power is here omitted, probably by mistake. The order of the Lower World is given as usual.

² This speech and the prayer following it are given as they were made by Késó'apomésäo (Wolf-looking-back) in 1912, and recorded by Mr. Satterlee.

left, presenting the mouthpiece to each leader. The process is now repeated with each of the other pipes until all are in motion. The second, third, and fourth pipes are offered to all the guests, and the last two are frequently presented to the onlookers to smoke.

At the conclusion of this rite the first speaker rises and chants a set of songs to the four direction gods, drumming accompaniments to his words. When he has finished, his attendant carries the drum around the lodge to the next man, who is the host, and so on, until each has sung, the same songs being repeated by each performer. When the drum has passed for the third time, the leader rises and tells how the ceremony came to be performed for the first time.

Omáskomakäo,¹ the first man to give such a function, was a great faster and learned much from the gods in his dreams. In his day the Menomini are said to have been not wholly mortals, but were powerful and like birds. Omáskomakäo's dream is recited, telling of the promise of the thunderers to help the Indians and form a league with them. In addition the story of Watakwûna and the first war bundle² is also repeated, emphasizing the use of these charms in war. Last of all, the speaker takes up their use in gaining rain, pointing to them and explaining once more the opening part of the ceremony. At the conclusion of this oration, each of the other leaders makes a similar speech, winding up by chanting an invocation to the tune of the drum.

When this is over the leader again invokes all powers to take part in the feast, referring especially to the *pièce de resistance*, a dog:—

“You have agreed that you will always accept this, as you thunderers have said that it was always agreeable to you, and when you have partaken of this white raccoon³ you can no longer refuse to hear your younger brothers. The bravest of the braves shall now eat first.”⁴

The man thus indicated then comes forward and dances, the other braves presently joining him. As they dance, they stoop, and without stopping, raise the feathers and put them on, seize the war clubs and brandish them, and drawing the thunder whistles from the bundles or the sacred feather boxes, blow on them to summon the thunderers. Each song and dance lasts for a specified time. The warriors circle the lodge and if the circuit is

¹ Omáskomakäo is one of the great historical heroes of this tribe.

² See this series, vol. 13, 98, under War Customs.

³ Wa'bäsipûn, or white raccoon, is a euphemism always used in referring to dog eaten ceremonially. It is said that this circumlocution is made in order not to offend those whose stomachs are weak.

⁴ In the 1912 ceremony, Wi'úskäsit, who has killed several enemies, went first. He is a descendant of a great war leader and is himself a bundle owner.

not completed when the song is over, they cease dancing and walk the rest of the way. Sometimes it takes two songs to get them all around.

This continues for some time, the drum meanwhile going from leader to leader, or to their assistants. When the warriors pass the kettles of food as they dance, they stoop, and without stopping, pretend to eat, although the kettles are covered, and many imitate the cries of the thunderbirds. At other times, they go through the killing of their enemies in pantomime. Toward the close of the performance the women join in the ceremony. At last there is a pause to rest, after which the host speaks again, inviting his guests to eat. Servants take the food and distribute it in the dishes of the guests, who all eat. Dogs are prohibited from eating the leavings.

A wild animal's head is cooked especially for the *nānawétawúk*, or braves, four of whom come forward and sit about the wooden bowl in which it is placed and eat it before the assembled multitude. At the conclusion of the feast all the bones are collected, carried out of the lodge towards the east, and buried.

Another pause comes after the feast and then more speeches and dancing in which all join with noise and whooping, until dark. At nightfall, the attendants gather up the feathers and clubs, return them to their receptacles, and roll them up in reed mats. They then pass round the last of the tobacco to the guests and members, that it may be taken away and consumed for the thunderers, a little being reserved for the host. The bundles are then taken down and packed up and the owners, their attendants, and the other guests pass out of the western door of the lodge.

In the early part of the summer of 1910 a severe drought caused the Menomini to become very much worried lest they had done something to anger the great powers above, so on July fifth, it was decided to give the rain dance. This ceremony, which the writer attended, was held in the long house used by the medicine lodge society near Keshena. The roof was partly covered with canvas, and partly with cut boughs. The late chief, Niopet, the owner of the ceremony, sat at one side near the middle, and his sacred bundle lay open in the center of the lodge. Beside it lay offerings of tobacco, and about it were grouped several war clubs of the angular type, while nearby on the ground stood dishes of food. Directly above the bundle hung five or six war bundles. These were present on account of their relationship to the thunderbirds, but as the ceremony was not a warlike one they were not opened. They were suspended from the ceiling because one of the stipulations under which the Menomini received the war bundles from the great powers above was that they should never be placed on the ground.

Directly beside the master of ceremonies was the water drum. The

action commenced with a speech by the master of ceremonies (Chief Niopet) explaining the reason for the meeting and concluded with a prayer for mercy to the thunderbirds and their masters, the great powers above.

As soon as this was finished, several men took up the prayer and chanted it, pounding on the drum in the meantime, while another man with a rattle made of a tomato can stuck on a stick, also kept time. The song was chanted with repetitions and then came a pause of several minutes after which the refrain was again taken up.

During the singing, the head men arose and took their war whistles from the bundles and started to dance, blowing the whistles at intervals to call the thunderbirds, each blast on the whistle being followed with war whoops and the brandishing of weapons by the entire party. As they danced around they were joined by others, several small boys even took part. After the men had circled the lodge several times, the women joined them following a short distance behind and dancing an entirely different step. There were some very small girls among them. The dancing and singing continued at intervals. Two pipes were filled from the tobacco offerings in the center of the lodge and passed simultaneously about from left to right by two men. The pipe was not passed to the women.

DOG OR BEGGARS' DANCE.

This performance (an'ämow'iwin) has its own songs and dance steps and is held early in the spring at the sugar camps, by order of Mä'näbus. During the night, when the workers are boiling sap, the dancers enter the camp grotesquely clad, wearing birchbark masks,¹ and begging sugar in imitation of dogs. One of my informants, Ks'ewatosa, stated that the host was obliged to give his unexpected guests presents of food or maple sugar, at the same time reciting the story of his bravest deed, that is, how he slew or scalped an enemy, or else a strange hunting, a love adventure, or a comical story.² The dancers receive the information either as important news or a joke, and the leader whoops four times at the conclusion of the tale in order that the gods in all the four tiers of heaven may hear. His assistants join in on the last cry.

Mr. Satterlee, however, says that the warrior who received the present was the one called upon to recite a deed, and gave the following example of a comical story. "I was hunting deer at night. I shot one and he fell wounded, I approached and stood over him, when lo and behold, he sprang

¹ One informant said only the leader wore a mask.

² This act is called päkätüm, or challenging.

up and ran off with me on his back. I was unable to escape until at last he fell dead and I got away."

The fun is concluded by the party dancing about the kettle of boiling sap to the beating of the tambourine drum. Tobacco or a bowl of corn soup may be given as presents to the dancers, but sometimes the syrup-makers play a trick on them by giving a large quantity of hot syrup which custom requires them to drink like water. Each dancer has his own dish, as dogs should always have their own. Food is never refused the dancers because they would, like famished dogs, take it anyway, for the wolf gave the dog the right to snatch food from men.¹

BRAVES DANCE.

This ceremony (*nānawetau wīcimûn*) is referred to at greater length under the section on war customs (p. 118) but deserves passing notice here. While supposed to have been performed only during or just after a war, it seems to have been used, in later times at least, in connection with the tobacco dance. During the dance, which was a victory celebration, the *mikāo* counted not only his own coups, but told how each enemy was slain. The leader, at least, wore the same garments he had on while at war. The braves followed their leader and acted out the procedure of the scouting, the night attack, battle, slaying, and scalping of the foe. One song, called a "whooping song," was described by *Keso'apomesāo* as "the proudest moment in the dance." This ceremony was followed by the scalp dance.

TOBACCO DANCE.

This is said to be a very ancient ceremony (*nā'nimau wakakit*) started by *Mā'nābus*. The dance is held in honor of a certain antique type of pipe once called *n'ā'nimau waka*, which was itself considered a "manitou" long ago. When *Mā'nābus* obtained tobacco from the old man who was appointed by the gods to guard it,² two other gods challenged *Mā'nābus* to dance with them. If he lost he was to give the tobacco to them; if

¹ This ceremony is to remind the people of the powers possessed by dogs, according to *K'sewatosa*, who added that the dance is really the property of the wolf and not the dog, who is secondary in consideration, and only the link between man and the wolf. The latter sent the dog to the Indians to be their servant, telling him to steal food for him. The dog, however, though he grabbed and stole food was satisfied to eat it himself, and so pleased with his surroundings that he never returned. That is the reason why wolves still kill dogs in the woods when they meet them, for the dog betrayed wolf's trust.

² A well known myth, to be published later.

they lost they were to give him the pipe. The gods won, and decreed that thereafter the ceremony should be held from time to time by mankind, and that it should be in the nature of a contest. It is usually danced alternately with the brave dances, and formerly was performed only by those who had earned a name in war. Now it is done by veterans of the Civil War. The dance is usually held in the open, because it was so done by the gods, but it is occasionally given indoors. Each dancer carries a little gourd rattle, and all try to outdo each other in their antics. Sometimes it is a contest between the Menomini and some other friendly tribe, such as the Potawatomi or Winnebago. The losers present the winners with gifts of clothing, or, more appropriately, red stone pipes. No feast accompanies the ceremony except when one tribe invites another to contest. The dance has its opening speech, and its own peculiar songs. This dance may be a degenerate phase of the calumet dance.

THE SHAWANO DANCE.

This sacred rite (Cawanokau, or Tcipai'icimun, ghost dance) is performed in honor of the dead, and is said to have been borrowed from the Shawnee at an ancient time when they lived near the Menomini. It is held a year or more after the death of some person, when the relatives prepare a feast and invite their neighbors to attend. When all is ready the host arises and addresses, Ona^xpatão, begging him to dismiss the spirit of the deceased and the shades of other dead to attend the celebration once more with the living. Men and women mingle freely in this dance. Before the function is entirely over the host again rises and speaks to 'Na^xpatão once more, saying: "You too are invited to join us, we desire you also to be here." It is thought that he responds and is also happy with those present.

At this ceremony while presents usually consisting of an entire new suit of Indian clothes and ornaments are given to one of the mourners, the following song is sung:—

Hawenikésaiyā	sonanékoséya	asawanokaiya.
Now we will have	a good time	at this ceremony. (Repeat)

CIRCULAR DANCE.

This dance (usikiütäsimûn) is performed by the braves who repeat their coups after taking part. Each one, when he has finished, raises his club and tells of his slain enemies, or in default of these, of a desperate combat with some animal.

WOMAN'S DANCE.

This ceremony has been recently introduced, since 1911, by the Winnebago. It is not a Menomini dance at all, but the evidences are that it will soon be. It is performed by a small group of women, who form a circle about a drum facing inward. Men are invited to join them and must give presents to their partners at its close. It is a purely social dance.

BEAR CEREMONY.

This ceremony is nearly obsolete. When a bear is killed, a feast is made to the sun, and a high stake, the upper part of which is painted red is stuck up in the ground, with a tanned deerskin, bearing upon its surface a drawing representing the sun, is tied to the top.¹ The host has to be a man who has dreamed of the sun and thus obtained war powers in consideration of such sacrifices.

Before the ceremony begins the host speaks to the sun, and reminds it of his dream, rehearsing the sun's promises made at that time. At intervals during his talk the host blows on a little whistle to attract the sun's attention. The neighbors are invited in to take part, and while they eat the bear's flesh, the head is dished up separately and given to the braves. When the skull is cleaned they make a hole in the right temple to take out the brains, which are devoured in their turn. After the braves have finished, the host ties the skull and lower jaw together, and thrusts broken cedar twigs into the nostrils. He hangs it up over the sacred place in his lodge for a little while, and later exposes it on a tree in the forest. I have found one such bleached skull in the woods near Keshena. The other bones are carefully kept unbroken and kept away from the dogs. They are bundled up, tobacco tied with them, and they are thrown into the river. So careful are the Indians to do this that they even chop a hole in the ice in the winter to put them in. The reason for this custom is the belief that the bear will come to life again and return to be re-caught if all his bones are together and well cared for. These customs seem to be a variant of Cree and Ojibway ideas, based on the same belief.²

¹ Cf. description in the "Jesuit Relations," quoted on p. 79.

² Cf. Skinner, this series, vol. 9, 69, 162.

THE INTRODUCTION OF PEYOTE.

While this paper was still in proof, Mr. W. E. Safford, Economic Botanist at Washington, D. C., brought to the writer's attention the fact that some Menomini Indians had recently been arrested and placed on trial for the use of peyote. Inasmuch as the arrest took place early in the spring of 1914, and the Menomini when last visited by the writer, during the fall of 1913, had not as yet a single convert to the peyote-sustained religion among them, this incident probably marks the initial appearance of the drug on the reserve, and is therefore of historical importance.

While little data on the ceremonial side are as yet obtainable, it is probable that the Winnebago Indians who inaugurated the peyote also introduced with it their society devoted to its use.¹

In a paper printed in the *Journal of Heredity* (Organ of the American Genetic Association), vol. VI, No. 7, p. 306, Dr. Safford quotes from the Mss. report of the case of the United States versus Nah-qua-tah-tuck, alias Mitchell Neck, in the archives of the Bureau of Chemistry, 1914, accused of furnishing intoxicants to certain Indians in violation of the law, as follows:

"On March 15, 1914, the accused brought a supply of the drug (Peyote) in a dress suit case to the house of an Indian family named Neconish (Ni-ga-nis), situated a short distance north of the village of Phlox, Wisconsin, near the western boundary of the Menomine Reservation, at which place there was a meeting of a religious nature. The drug had been received by parcel post from Aguilares, Texas. The participants first made a line about the house to keep out the evil spirits, and then invoked God, begging him to keep them from evil. The peyote was next distributed, and when it was eaten caused the partakers to see the evil things they had done and showed them the good things they ought to do.

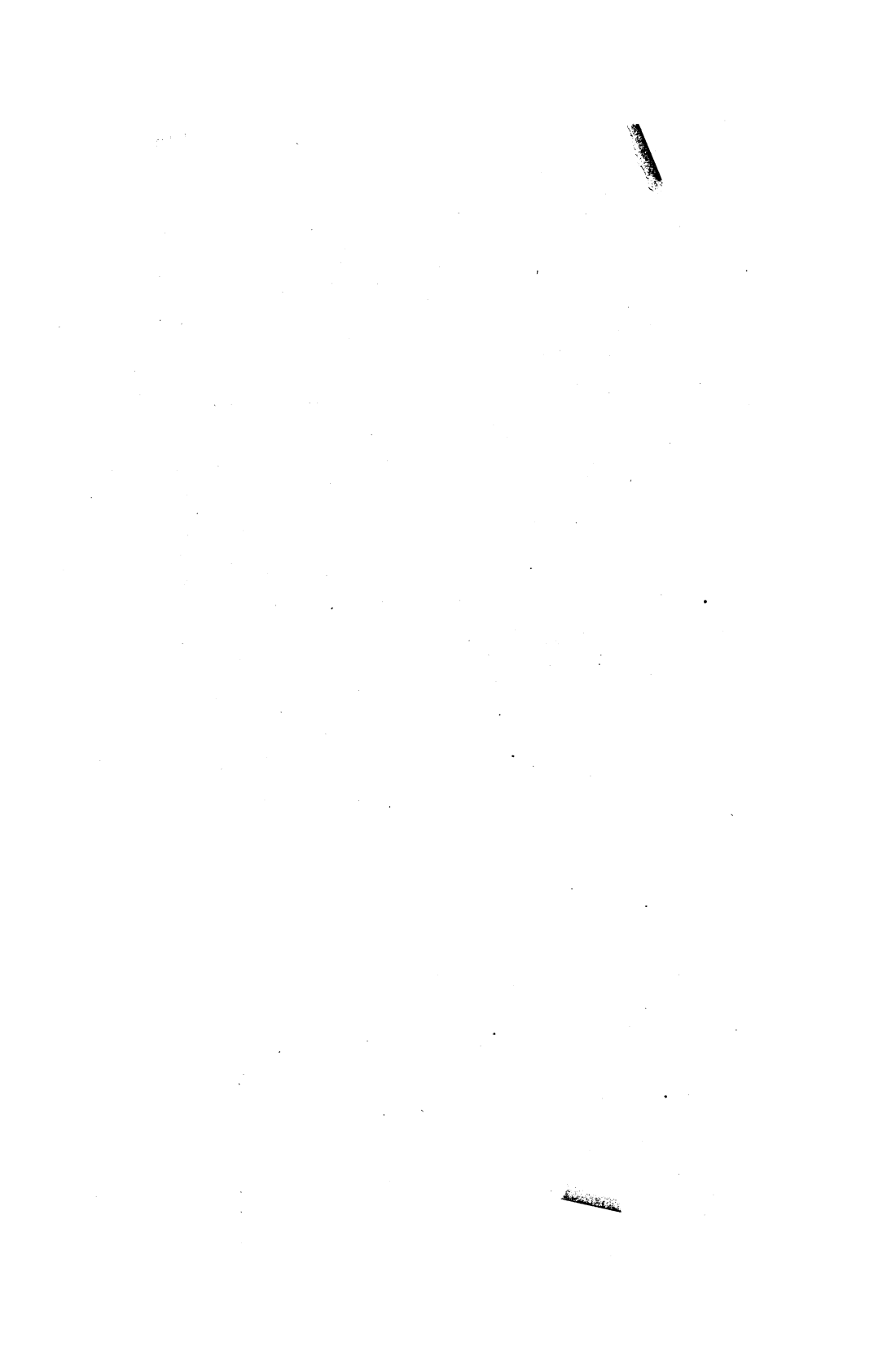
"The ceremony began about 9 o'clock in the evening. One witness testified that shortly after having eaten four buttons he could see pictures of various kinds when his eyes were shut. First he saw God, with a bleeding wound in his side. This vision vanished when he opened his eyes, but reappeared when he closed them again. Then he saw the devil with horns and tail, of the color of a negro. Then he saw bad things which he had done before, bottles of whiskey which he had drunk, a watermelon which he had stolen, and so many other things that it would take all day to tell about them. Then he saw a cross with all kinds of colors about it, white, red, green and blue. He was not made helpless. He stated that he could have walked had he wished to do so, but that he preferred to sit still and look at the pictures.

"Another witness testified that he ate the peyote so that his soul might go up to God. The witnesses who testified at this trial declared that the peyote helped them to lead better lives and to forsake alcoholic drinks. The defendant was acquitted on the ground that the meeting was one of a religious nature.

¹ Cf. with the Iowa, this series, vol 11, 724-728.

“Thomas Prescott (Winnebago) of Wittenberg, Wisconsin, testified that there is a regularly organized association among the Indians called the Peyote Society, also known as the Union Church Society, of which he had been a priest for seven years. In the weekly ceremonies of this society the peyote is either eaten or taken in the form of tea. In his opinion the effect of the peyote is to make better men of the Indians. Many of them were formerly common vagabonds, liable to commit all sorts of crimes when under the influence of alcohol. After becoming members of the peyote society, however, they gave up drink, established themselves in regular homes, and lived sober and industrious lives. In relating his personal experience he made the following statements:—

‘We boys, before we got this peyote, was regular drunkards; so when I was drunk I was lying on the road somewhere sometimes, and I got no home or nothing. Before I got this I did wrong and everything else. Now, since I got this peyote, it stopped me from drinking, and now, since I used this peyote, I have been sober, and today I am sober yet. . . . I see a good and a bad when I eat that peyote. When I eat that peyote then it teaches my heart; I know anything that is right and what is wrong. That is the way peyote works for good and works for God, and that is how we worship. . . . When I took this peyote I could see myself when I used to be drunk; I could see the bottles which used to have my whiskey and alcohol in; I could see myself lying drunk in the road. That is the way it shows us the bad and teaches us the good. . . . We could have our meetings without this peyote; but we see some more coming — a new person — he wants to use it — when he takes this peyote he believes God. That is why we use it for without this, why, they would not believe anybody.’



(Continued from 2d p. of cover.)

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