

such a Day you shall go abroad a sporting, and I will be the first Bird, or other Animal you shall meet, and will be your *Nagual*, and Companion at all Times, whereupon such Friendship was contracted between them, that when one of they dy'd the other did not survive, and they fancy'd that he who had no *Nagual* could not be rich.¹

The Abbé Muraullit² says of this belief among the Abnaki Indians of Canada, a tribe allied linguistically to the Menomini:

Comme toutes les autres nations sauvages, ils avoient une idée de la Divinité. Dieu, suivant eux, étoit un Grand-Esprit, qu'ils appeloient "Ketai Nišask." Ce Grand-Esprit résidoit sur une île du grand lac (l'Océan Atlantique). Ils avoient une grande confiance en sa protection. Ils croyoient que le meilleur moyen pour attirer sur eux cette protection, étoit de s'efforcer à devenir de braves guerriers et de bons chasseurs, étant persuadés que plus ils se rendoient remarquables en ces deux choses, plus ils devoient agréables aux yeux du Grand-Esprit.

Ils croyoient aussi à l'Esprit du Mal, qu'ils appeloient "Matai Nišask." Cet Esprit étoit très-puissant dans le monde. Ils pouvoient que les maladies, les accidents, les malheurs et tous les autres maux de ce genre venoient de lui. Comme ils craignoient beaucoup ces maux, l'Esprit du Mal étoit le principal objet de leur dévotion, et ils s'adressoient sans cesse à lui, le priant de ne leur faire aucun mal.

Ils croyoient, en outre, qu'il y avoit d'autres Esprits, d'un ordre supérieur à l'homme; que ces Esprits étoient toujours portés au bien, et qu'ils protégeoient l'homme contre l'Esprit du Mal; c'est pourquoi, ils leur demandoient protection.

CULT SOCIETIES

To present more intelligibly the ritualistic observances and pretensions of the several classes of shamans, the subject will be arranged under the following captions:

- I. Miti'wit, or Grand Medicine society;
- II. Tshi'saqua, or Juggler;
- III. Wá'beno, or Men of the Dawn, and
- IV. Dreamers' society.

MITÁ'WIT, OR GRAND MEDICINE SOCIETY

ORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIETY

In order to present clearly to the reader the status of the Miti'wit, or so-called "Grand Medicine society,"³ of the Menomini Indians of Wisconsin, it becomes necessary to refer briefly to the corresponding society and ritualistic ceremonies of the Ojibwa Indians of Minnesota. Among the latter are found four classes of mystery men, viz, (1) midá', or "medicine man," whose profession is incantation, exorcism of demons, and the administration of shamanic or magic remedies; (2) the je'ssakid, or juggler, who professes prophecy and antagonizes the evil charms of rivals; (3) the wá'beno, literally "easterner," or "daylight man," whose orgies are continued throughout the night only to ease

¹The General History of that Vast Continent and Islands of America, translated by Capt. John Stevens, London, 1726, vol. iv, pp. 128, 129.

²Histoire des Abenakis, Québec, 1806, pp. 18-19. It will be observed that the abbé falls into the prevailing misapprehension as to the conception of spiritually among the Indians.

³This term originates in the designation "la grande médecine," applied to this society by the Canadians and early French explorers.

at the approach of day, and who also professes ability to prepare lucky charms for the hunter and potent love powders for the disappointed lover; and (4) the mashikikewiniini, or herbalist, who professes knowledge of the properties of plants, and administers, as the name implies, "medicine broths" or decoctions and infusions. All of these, save the midá', practice their respective professions singly and alone, and therefore do not affiliate with others of like pretensions so as to constitute a regularly organized society, at the meetings of which the members hold ceremonial services for the instruction and initiation of candidates for membership.

The midá', on the contrary, are organized into a society termed the Midá'wiwin, which consists of an indefinite number of persons of both sexes, and is graded into four separate and distinct degrees. Admission to membership in the degrees of this society is a matter of great importance, and consequently of great difficulty. The male candidates are selected usually from among those who in their youth were designated for this distinction, which occurred at the period of "giving a name" by a selected midá' priest, who thus assumed the office of god-father. From that date until the age of puberty of the boy, his parents gather presents with which to defray the expenses of preliminary instruction by hired midá' priests, and the feasts to be given to all those who might attend the ceremonies of initiation, as well as to defray the personal services of the various medicine men directly assisting in the initiation. Frequently the collecting of skins and peltries and other goods that have to be purchased involves a candidate hopelessly in debt; but so great is the desire on the part of some Indians to become acknowledged medicine men that they will assume obligations that may require years of labor or hunting to liquidate; or, should they fail, then their relatives are expected to assume the responsibility thus incurred.

In this society, as maintained by the Ojibwa, are preserved the traditions relating to cosmogony and genesis of mankind, to the appearance on the earth of an anthropomorphic deity whose primary services consisted of interceding between Kí'tshi Ma'nido and the Indians, that the latter might be taught the means wherewith they might provide themselves with the good things of the earth and with the power of warding off disease and death, and who gave to the Indian also the various plants and instructed them how to prepare the objects necessary to be used for special purposes in specified ways. The being who thus originally instructed the Indians is called Mí'nabó'zho, and the method pursued by him is dramatically rehearsed at the initiation of a candidate into the society of the Midá'. By the Ojibwa this entire proceeding is firmly believed to be of a sacred or religious character.

There is another body among the Ojibwa termed the Ghost society, to which reference is necessary. When a child who has been set apart to be dedicated to the society of the Midá' dies before reaching the

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[EXCERPTS ONLY]

proper age to receive initiation, the father (or under certain circumstances the mother) announces the fact to the chief priests, when a meeting of the members is called and a feast prepared at the wigwam of the mourner. Dishes of food for the dead are set apart in a separate structure, after which the chief mourner is initiated into the society as a substitute for the deceased. Thus we find among the Ojibwa two distinct services, one for the initiation of members into the society of the *Midé*, the other a feast of the dead, designed to release his "shadow" and to permit it to depart to the land of mysteries, or the place of the setting sun.

It will be observed, then, that the membership of the *Midé* society is not limited to any particular number of persons; and that the ceremonies of the (Ghost society) are held at irregular intervals and never at the death of a member of the *Midé* society.

With this brief notice of the Ojibwa *Midé*'wiiwin, or Grand Medicine society, a description of the ceremonies as practiced by the Menomini Indians will be presented for the purpose of comparing with the preceding their version and dramatic rendering of a belief and practice which no doubt survives to a certain degree among the greater number of tribes embraced within the western group of the Algonquian linguistic family.

The *Mitii'*wit, or society of shamans, commonly termed the Grand Medicine society of the Menomini Indians, consists of men, women, and a few young boys and girls, who have been initiated into the mysteries of that organization, either directly or by proxy. Initiation of the person himself may be accomplished (1) by his being adopted by a member to fill a vacancy caused by death; or (2) when proof of eligibility has been furnished and the necessary presents and fees are delivered to the chief of the society to defray the expenses incurred in holding the ceremonies.

Although initiation by proxy is rare, yet it may occur when a very sick young person is brought to the ceremonial structure for restoration to health. This is done only as a last resort, and after the usual attendance of shamans with their incantations and exorcisms has proved futile. The aid of *Mashii'* *Ma'uido* is thus sought, and as the sick child may be carried in the arms of one already a *mitii'*, it is soon deposited in the arms of one of the family, while the person who carried it continues to take the part of a new candidate, notwithstanding the fact that he already possesses the secrets. Should the patient recover health, he or she is thenceforth regarded as a regularly initiated member, although subsequent instruction is necessary to a better understanding of the pretensions of the society. It is customary on the death of a member of the society for the head of the family of the deceased, if he be a *mitii'*, or the nearest *mitii'* relation or friend, to approach the corpse at burial and to address it. The chief mourner, looking down upon the casket containing the remains, says: "Go,

my brother [or substituting the term of relationship], follow the sun to the place prepared for the shades of the dead, where you will see the fire built by *Na'q'pote*; that will light your course beyond the sun's path. Abide there until the proper time [a certain period of a summer month is usually named], when I shall give a feast and bring a substitute to occupy your place; then shall *Na'q'pote* permit you to return to observe the fulfillment of my promise. Go!" The grave box is then placed over the coffin, the medicine stick erected before it, and a piece of cloth or a board is also placed before the grave box, on which is deposited from time to time small quantities of tobacco.

At the return of summer the person who has made the promise of procuring a substitute prepares himself by bringing together the presents necessary to be delivered as fees, and collecting food for the attendants and visitors. A favorite member of the family, a relation, or even a dear friend, may receive the honor of an invitation to become the candidate. In the meantime the furnisher of the feast, i. e., the person who is to procure the candidate, makes known to the chief officiating members of the society his choice, with the desire that a meeting time for initiatory purposes be decided upon, to be held at some time in the near future. The chiefs receive this communication and deliberate, meditating on the course to follow and selecting several groups of assistants to aid in the ceremonies. The candidate, in the meantime, is instructed in the mysteries of the remedies known to his instructor. Each remedy must be paid for separately, as no two preparations, or roots, or other substances are classed together as one; furthermore, the knowledge relating to different remedies is possessed by different medicine men, each of whom will dispose of the properties and uses thereof for a consideration only.

Although four annual ceremonies of the Grand Medicine society were held near Keshena, Wisconsin, in the years 1890, 1891, 1892, and 1893, the first will be described only insofar as it pertains to the mode of adopting a member to fill a vacancy caused by death; and to make the description more intelligible it may be of importance to state under what circumstances the writer's admission into the *Mitii'*wit was obtained.

CEREMONIES OF 1890

Having obtained during the years 1887-1890, from the Ojibwa Indians at Red Lake and White Earth, Minnesota, complete instruction in the secrets and ceremonies of the *Midé*'wiiwin, or Grand Medicine society, the information of this unique occurrence had spread southward into Wisconsin, as far as the Menomini reservation. In the winter of 1889-90, a number of these Ojibwa shamans went to Washington in the interest of their tribe, and it happened that a small delegation of Menomini Indians from Keshena, Wisconsin, also visited the capital on a like errand. These two delegations were furthermore quartered at the same house, so that the object of my constant visits to,

and consultations with, the Ojibwa soon became known to the Menomini, who at once manifested great interest, as they themselves were members of the society of shamans. The Ojibwa then informed the Menomini of what had been done with reference to the preservation of the traditions and ritual of the Ojibwa society, and suggested to the former the propriety of having the Government publish the Menomini version of the Grand Medicine ceremonies, thus preserving for future generations their ancient beliefs and practices concerning the origin of the Indians, the history of the services of Mä'näbūsh, and the institution and initiatory ceremonies of the Mitä'wit, or Grand Medicine society.

Three members of the Menomini delegation were chiefs of the society, and as such were competent to decide whether it would be appropriate and in accordance with their ancient custom to permit the admission into the society of a white man and stranger. After protracted deliberation, I was informed that in so far as they were personally concerned they very much desired that a visit be made to Keshena, where a council of the chief shamans would be called for the purpose of presenting for their approbation the subject of making public the so-called secret or mystic ceremonies. The visit to the reservation was made during the spring of 1890, when a meeting of the council was called by Nio'pet and Ni'aqtawá'pomi, at which the chief representatives of the society unanimously agreed that I should be received at the next regular meeting. Then, when once within the sacred structure, I might without fear of misfortune ask any questions that I might desire, and receive explanation so far as lay in the power of the chief mitä'wok.

When a meeting of the society is desired, either for the benefit of the sick or for regular initiation, the proceedings are as follows: A consultation is held, as to the designation of the four chief medicine men, the selection of a second set of four, and also a third set, each of which groups have special duties to perform during the ceremonies. Two general assistants or ushers are also chosen, whose duties consist in the proper arrangement of the interior of the structure and accessories, the proper location on a ridge pole of the presents, especially the blankets, pieces of calico, mats, etc., which form part of the gifts made by or for the candidate as the price of his admission. A location for the erection of the mitä'wikō'mik¹ is also decided upon, and the women members of the society—usually the wives of the chief officiating medicine men—who are to erect the structure and to prepare the feasts, are also designated.

These preliminary arrangements being completed, the "giver of the feast" presents to the chief medicine man several gifts of tobacco, which are divided into small heaps, and then immediately sent by a

¹From "mitä'", a member of the society or fraternity of the Mitä'wit; and "wikō'mik," a corruption of the word wig'wam—from "wigwas," bark—a structure or lodge of bark. Though now built of poles, mats, etc., the original covering was no doubt of bark, thus giving rise to this designation, "wigwam," for all bark habitations.



BUILDING OF MEDICINE LODGE

courier to members of the society, one heap to each member. The runner, on his arrival, places the tobacco before the person for whom it is intended; he, being aware of the purpose of the visitor, merely says, "When and where?" The courier then informs the miti'as as to the day and place of the ceremony, and after a short rest departs to fulfill his mission. In the meantime the medicine men have adjourned, each to attend to his own duties in so far as his individual services will be demanded, and to consult with the second and third sets or groups of medicine men designated to assist at the initiation.

It is customary, when an Indian is to be initiated to fill a vacancy caused by death, for the medicine wikō'mik to be erected a short distance east of the grave of the deceased member, so that the members of the society may be enabled to march westward when visiting the

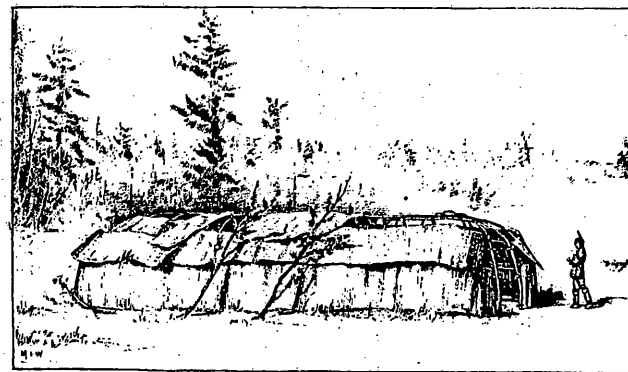


FIG. 6.—Ceremonial structure of 1890.

grave, thus following the direction named in the ritual as followed by Na'q'pote when his shade went in the direction of the setting sun, where the world is cut off.

The medicine lodge (ceremonial structure) termed miti'wikō'mik, or miti'wi'kiōp, is erected by the medicine women detailed for the purpose, and is constructed on the following plan: A piece of level ground is sought at a convenient location east of the grave, when long poles, from 2 to 3 inches thick at the base, are planted at irregular intervals along the sides of an oblong. The length of the structure is usually 60 or 70 feet, and its width about 20 feet. The poles are then brought together at the top so as to form an archway, and secured by strands of basswood bark. Plate v represents the skeleton framework of the end of the structure. Mats made of rushes are then placed along the sides, the lower row touching the earth, and a second row placed above

them, but projecting slightly over the tops of the lower ones so as to shed rain. Other mats, pieces of birch bark, and even pieces of canvas, are then placed across the top to shade the interior or to keep out the rain. The mats, a detailed description of which will be given later, are usually a yard wide, and vary from 6 to 12 feet in length.

The exterior of the medicine *wikō'mik* erected in 1890 is represented in figure 5. At this ceremony *Shu'nien* was recognized as chief officiating shaman, the application for membership having been first made to him, and he in turn having selected his three chief assistants, all of whom, after due deliberation, decided on the order of ceremony. After the *wikō'mik* was erected, branches of cedar were placed on the ground around the interior, though near the wall, and on these were placed mats of rush leaves to serve as seats for the attendants. The gifts presented by the candidate, or his sponsor, were suspended from the long poles placed lengthwise a short distance beneath the top center of the arched inclosure. At various places lanterns also were suspended to furnish light during the night service. The large mat on which the candidate was finally obliged to kneel was spread on the ground about 20 feet from the western exit and along the middle line of the interior, while the space along each side, immediately before the seat mats around the interior, formed the pathway invariably followed by the officiating medicine men and the attending members of the society (see plate VI).

It is customary to hold meetings on Saturday afternoon, beginning at the approach of sunset and continuing uninterruptedly until the next day at sunset. Formerly no special day was selected, but since many of the Indians have become farmers, Sunday is thus employed so that as little time as possible may be lost from their labor.

By Saturday afternoon, on the occasion described, the vicinity of the *mitā'wikō'mik* became a scene of great animation. Wagons bearing the families, tents, and cooking utensils of members of the society began to arrive from various directions. The young men and boys came on horseback, clad in their best and gaudiest attire; children ran hither and thither while chasing one another in play; and the scene was occasionally enlivened by a rush toward a particular spot to witness or to stop a dog fight, as numerous and various specimens of gaunt, snarling curs had congregated from all parts of the reservation.

The members of the society were yet in their hastily erected lodges preparing themselves for public exhibition; but as the sun began to sink, eight of the most prominent members of the society, together with the chief mourner or giver of the feast and his family and relations, proceeded westward to the grave, distant about 200 yards, around which they formed a circle, while *Shu'nien* stepped nearer toward the head of the grave box, and produced the *mī'tshida'qōkwān*, or ceremonial baton. This is a round piece of pine or other soft wood, an inch thick and 30 inches long, with one end slightly pointed so as to



INTERIOR OF CEREMONIAL STRUCTURE OF 1890

PHOTO BY HOFFMAN.

admit of being easily thrust in the ground. The baton is ornamented by having cuts made around it near the top, the shavings being allowed to remain attached at one end but projecting slightly from the stick so as to resemble miniature plumes. About 6 inches below the top cluster is another, as also further down the baton, until three or four clusters have been made. At the base of each cluster of cuts a band of vermilion an inch wide, encircles the stick. Figure 6 represents the general form of the baton.

Shu'nieu, after taking the baton at the sharpened end, struck the grave box with the other end, and spoke as follows:

"There were two brothers, Mi'nübñsh and Na'qpoté, the Wolf. Mi'nübñsh lived to mourn for Na'qpoté, who was destroyed by the evil underground beings, but who now abides in Tshi'pau'qki, the final resting place, where he awaits the arrival of the shades of the dead. The dance to be held at the bottom of the hill is held for Na'qpoté, that he may return and transport the shade of this dead one to the mitä'wikö'mik, where we shall have our ceremonies this night. All the aged whiteheads are invited to it. While Mi'nübñsh was still on this earth he said that he should build a fire in the northwest, at which the Indians would always be enabled to obtain warmth for themselves, their children, and their successors. He said that afterward he should go to the place of the rising sun, there to abide always and to watch over the welfare of the Indians. He said if the Indians desired to hold a meeting of the Mitä'wit, that they must first have a feast at the head of the grave. We will now sit and eat."

The mitä' women, assisted by relatives of the deceased, then spread a tablecloth upon the ground, and deposited thereon various kinds of meats, vegetables, bread, and pastry—quite a contrast to the primitive method pursued before the adoption of linen tablecloths, china, and silver-plated knives, forks, and spoons. All the invited guests partook of the food placed before them, but nothing was so eagerly sought after as the green cucumbers, which were peeled and eaten raw.

After the feast, Shu'nieu, the chief priest and master of ceremonies, again took the ceremonial baton, and handing it to one of his assistants, requested him to make an address. The speaker first struck the grave box, and during the time of his remarks frequently struck the box, as if to emphasize his words. The addresses made by him and his three successors related to exploits performed by them at various times, particularly during the civil war, when most of them had



FIG. 6.—Ceremonial baton.

served as soldiers in the Union army. This digression was prompted because the deceased had been one of their comrades.

Shu'nien, in the meantime, had taken the grave post—which had been previously erected before the grave box—and painted a band of vermilion around the top, a band as broad as a finger, and five crosses on one of the flat sides to denote the number of addresses made at the grave; while on the reverse were four transverse bars and three crosses, denoting that the deceased had performed eight noteworthy exploits during his life. On the grave post were incised the outlines of animals, totemic in character; over each of these some of the animals were again drawn in vermilion, though with another band, as the dotted and shaded lines in the accompanying illustration (figure 7) show. The general appearance of the grave box, with the baton, the grave post, the board with the offering of tobacco, and the stick ornamented with a white cloth, is shown in figure 8. The adjoining grave boxes are those of relations of the deceased, for whose benefit the feast was here given.

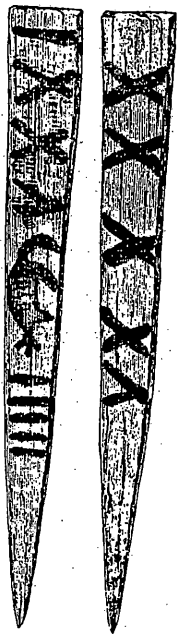


FIG. 7.—Grave post.

By the time the speaking had concluded the sun had gone below the horizon, and Shu'nien suggested returning toward the medicine wikō'mik, the persons present falling into line two by two. The procession marched slowly down the hill toward the east, and passing toward the south side of the structure to the main or eastern entrance, where only Shu'nien and his three chief assistants, the four highest officiating mitā' for this ceremony, entered the inclosure and took seats on the northern side, though near the eastern entrance. Figure 9, representing the ground plan of the medicine wikō'mik, will serve to illustrate the respective positions of the several persons officiating, as well as those of the candidate, visitors, etc.

At such gatherings it is customary for each individual to dress as elaborately as his circumstances will permit. The head is adorned with a turban made of a silken handkerchief, a hat, feathers, or even a turban consisting of a native-made woolen waist scarf. Bead bags, measuring from 10 to 12 inches in length and from 12 to 16 inches in width, with a shoulder strap or baldric across the opposite shoulder, are worn on the hip or side; frequently two or three are worn by the same mitā', and even as many as a dozen have been seen on a single individual. There are also amulets, worn above the elbows, which consist of strands of beaded work, metal bands or skunk skins, white bracelets of shells,

buckskin, or metal also are worn. About the waist is a long varicolored scarf of native manufacture, and in addition some persons wear beaded belts, or belts of saddler's leather adorned with brass tacks. The legs are decorated with garters, varying from 2 to 3 inches in width and

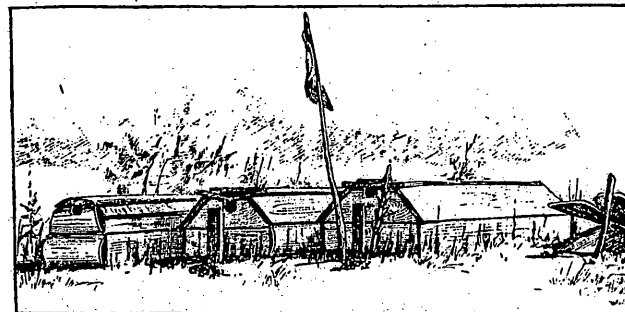


FIG. 8.—Graves where feast was held.

from 12 to 15 inches in length, the ends terminating in woolen strings of various colors. The moccasins are sometimes neatly embroidered.

The chief article of value, however, is the medicine sack, in which are carried several small sacred articles, and particularly the konā'panik,

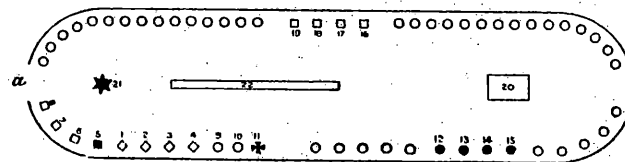


FIG. 9.—Diagram of medicine lodge of 1866.

a, The eastern or main entrance; b, the western exit; 1, Niō'pet, fourth or lowest of the first four; 2, Ak'winānd Mo'shūlāt, second or next lowest; 3, Shō'min, third or next to chief; 4, Shu'nien, chief and leader of ceremonies; 5, candidate, Nā'tshū'lykōs ("Ho who bullies"); 6, 7, 8, medicine women, relations of the candidate; 9, seat occupied by the writer; 10, seat occupied by the interpreter; 11, usher and general assistant; 12, 13, 14, 15, second group of assistant medicine men; 16, 17, 18, 19, third group of medicine men, detailed to assist in initiation; 20, seat on which candidate kneels when he is to be "shot" with the konā'panik or magic shell; 21, the place of the fire; 22, place of presents suspended from a pole. The remaining spaces around the interior of the enclosure, indicated by small circles, are occupied by the members of the society and visiting medicine men who may be known and entitled to admission.

or shell, used in shooting at the candidate and in conveying sacred or mystic influence to a patient. The medicine sack or bag, together with the several articles of dress above named, are fully described and illustrated in connection with art work and ornamentation.

In addition to adornment of the body by means of various kinds of apparel, beaded and ornamented with metal, feathers, etc, facial

decoration is indulged in liberally. At present there is no special rule governing the arrangement of color designs employed, though formerly, when the society still conferred four degrees, there were distinctive arrangements of color to designate the several degrees by which the rank of the various members could readily be identified. The colors employed were earthy pigments, generally obtained at trading establishments. The *miti'* who had received but one initiation into the society was allowed, as well as expected, to adorn his face by making a white stripe horizontally across the forehead, a band of white clay of a finger's width, and extending outward as far as the outer angle of each eye. In addition, a spot of green about an inch in diameter was placed upon the middle of the breast.

Those having received two degrees were usually honored by their preceptor by being permitted to adopt the facial decoration of the latter; this consisted of a fanciful application to the face of red ocher, or vermilion, and one spot of green beneath each eye.

The third degree *miti'* placed a stripe of green so as to extend horizontally outward from the corners of the mouth.

To distinguish a *miti'* of the highest rank, one of the fourth degree, the chin was colored with green paint.

These arrangements were the generic and specific features in color decoration, but slight additions thereto were made, to such an extent only, however, as not to intrude upon or to obscure the typical decorations characteristic of the several grades.

No regularity of color arrangement, in so far as it relates to rank, is now found. No two faces presented any similarity at the meeting under consideration, the greater number of the members having simply besmeared their cheeks, the chin, or other parts of the face, with vermilion, with here and there a stripe of blue, red, or green. One would have his face colored yellow with ocher or chrome yellow, with a stripe of red running outward from each side of the mouth. Another would have three lines of red passing down over the chin, a central line with one nearer the outer corners of the mouth, between which lines were others of dark blue. Another had black spots the size of a dime on a red forehead; while still another, who had recently lost a near relation, had his cheeks and forehead blackened with ashes.

One young man displayed rather more than ordinary taste in the decoration of his face; there being a stripe across each cheek from the nose to near the ears, curving slightly upward, consisting of alternate squares of vermilion and white, the squares being about three-fourths of an inch across and bordered with black. A row of spots also extended from the upper lip outward toward the ears, each spot being as large as a dime; those nearest the mouth were red, the next two white with a bar sinister in blue, and the last ones red. While scarcely beautiful, these facial paintings of the men were very striking.

The facial decorations of the women members of the society were not so elaborate, their chief form consisting mainly of reddened cheeks,

with a spot of blue on the forehead, or a vertical stripe or two across the chin.

When the four medicine men had taken their proper stations and were seated on the mats, the usher brought the goods that had been furnished by the candidate and placed them before Nio'pet, the easternmost of the four. The medicine drum was then also placed before Nio'pet, who removed the drum head, wet it, and after putting some water into the drum—to the depth of perhaps 2 inches—he replaced the drum head and tightened it down by means of a cloth-covered iron hoop. Figure 10 represents the drum and drumstick.

The *miti'* drum differs from that ordinarily used in dances; it consists of a cylindrical piece of wood carefully hollowed out, about 16 inches high by 12 inches in diameter at the base, gently narrowing toward the top. A piece of rawhide is permanently attached across the bottom, while the top piece is secured only by means of the iron hoop fitting over it and around the drum. About a quart of water is poured into the drum, and after the drumhead has been thoroughly softened by soaking, it is tightly stretched across the top and secured by the hoop.

The drumstick used with the drum consists of a piece of wood curved downward and forward at the front end, so that the point of percussion is but little larger than the tip of the finger. On account of the water in the bottom of the drum, the sound, when one is near by, is merely a series of dull thuds; but on a still night it is audible for the distance of a mile or more.

While the *miti'* was using the drum, the two seated next accompanied him with rattles, one consisting of a round tin box, the other of a hollow gourd, each with a stick passing through it lengthwise



FIG. 10.—Medicine drum and stick.

to serve as a handle. These were partly filled with grains of corn to produce a rattling sound. (Figure 11 represents one of the two specimens procured and now in the United States National Museum.) Other members are admitted at this stage of the ceremony, but as my visit to the meeting was made at the request of some of the *mitä'* and by virtue of my affiliation with the Ojibwa society, I was invited to sit at the right of the chief priest.

The service, which continued from the time of the meeting at the grave until daylight of the following morning, was for the benefit of the shade of the dead, which had been permitted by *Na'q'pote* to return and to be present within the *mitä'wikö'mik*. At daybreak, however, the shade is free to return to its last abode, but it is believed to make a last visit to the same spot four years later.



FIG. 11.—Gourd rattle.

After the procession arrived at the medicine *wikö'mik*, only the four highest officiating medicine men reverentially entered, and, after taking the seats reserved for them, produced their pipes and tobacco. A ceremonial smoke was then indulged in by blowing a mouthful of smoke toward the east, another toward the south, one toward the west, one toward the north, and another toward the sky, the abode of *Mashü' Ma'nido*, or the Great Mystery. Smoking continued, then, until the pipes went out, when *Nio'pet*, sitting at the eastern extremity of the row of four, and recognized, during these ceremonies only, as the fourth in rank, began the ceremonies. Looking about him to see that his associates were ready to proceed, he remarked to each of the three, in succession, "*Nika'ni, nika'ni, nika'ni, kanö'*" (my colleagues, my colleagues, my colleagues); to which the others responded in like manner. Then he took the drumstick, and giving the drum several soft though rapid taps, to call attention, the two sitting to his right assisting in gently shaking the rattle, the medicine man softly chanted the following words:

"My grandson will now be placed on the correct path. It gives me pleasure to see the goods before me, which have been brought here as an evidence of the good will of my grandson, and his desire to become instructed in the way to go through life. I can hear beneath the ground the approach of our enemies, the *änä'maqk'ä*, who destroyed the brother of *Mä'näbüsh*, and who now would wish to oppose our proceedings, but *Mä'näbüsh* said: 'Whenever you are in trouble, place some tobacco aside for me, and when the odor of your smoke ascends I shall help you.' Therefore, we have before us some tobacco to be offered to *Mä'näbüsh*, that he may be present at the meeting and fill us with contentment."

When this recitation was ended, all uttered rapidly the words, "*Hö, hö, hö, hö, hö,*" while the drum was pushed toward the right, to the next medicine man, *Ä'kwinä'mi Mo'sihät*, the rattles being now used by *Shö'min* and *Shu'nien*. The attendant usher also came forward from his station, down toward the middle of the northern side of the inclosure, and placed the goods and presents before the drummer, who, after saying to each of his companions, "*Nika'ni, nika'ni, nika'ni, kanö'*," began gently to tap the drum, and gradually reciting his words they blended into a chant and finally into rapid utterances, as follows:

"The shades are looking toward us and are watching our procedure, as we are looking toward them for their approbation. They favor our work and will not oppose us. Our fathers have always done thus before us, and they did well, because they had been instructed by *Mä'näbüsh* to do so. Therefore we too follow our fathers in obeying the injunctions of *Mä'näbüsh*, that all may be well with us." As this recitative chant was concluded, the other medicine men uttered the same interjectional words, "*Hö, hö, hö, hö, hö,*"

The chant appears brief; but the peculiar manner of its delivery, by duplicating the phrases, and by some interjected meaningless notes, to give emphasis and to fill up the measure of drum beats, caused it to be more prolonged than one would suppose possible. As usual, everything was done with apparent premeditation and studied delay, to make it as impressive as possible to those not members of the society.

The drum and goods were then pushed along to a spot before the third singer, *Shö'min*, who in turn handed his rattle to *Nio'pet*, *Shu'nien* still retaining his, while *Ä'kwinä'mi*, who had just completed his chant, rested. *Shu'nien* also saluted his conferees with the words, "*Nika'ni, nika'ni, nika'ni, kanö'*," then began to drum very gently, and soon to chant the following:

"In teaching the one who desires to become a *mitä'* to follow the right path, we are ourselves following the directions given to us by the Great Mystery. He caused the Mystery [*Mä'näbüsh*] to come and to erect a *mitä'wikö'mik*, where we should receive instructions, and where, also, others might receive it from us. The old whiteheads received instruction in this manner, and we, as their children, received our information from them. Therefore, we now teach the true way of life. We do that even today." As before, the three other medicine men uttered the words, "*Hö, hö, hö, hö, hö,*" as an intimation of approbation and concurrence with the thoughts expressed, while the drum and goods were placed before *Shu'nien*, who, though the last of the four, was the chief officiating medicine man for the time. Gently tapping the drum, he began uttering and continuing more and more rapidly, in a spasmodic or disconnected manner, the following words, the phrases gradually assuming the nature of a chant:

"Long ago the grand medicine was observed with more care and reverence than it is now. The sun was bright when the whiteheads

assembled, but now it is dark, and I can not see the reason. Children were better taught to respect the truth and to be honest. Once a man came to me in search of his children. They had become lost to him, and he was unable to find them. But I could see the children, far, far away, and I told the father that I could see his children, but that there was a great fire raging between them and me, and that they were beyond reach. He could not recover them. Therefore, teach your children that they may not stray beyond your control and find themselves separated from you by the barrier of fire from which it is impossible to rescue them. Teach them also to be honest; do not permit them to learn to lie and to steal."

At the conclusion of this recitation the companions of Shu'nien gave exclamations of approbation by rapidly uttering, "Hō, hō, hō, hō, hō." The usher then came forward, gathered up the goods, and carried them



FIG. 12.—Presents suspended from pole.

toward the middle of the eastern half of the inclosure, where, with the assistance of some friends of the candidate, he suspended the blanket, cloth, calico, mats, etc., from the longitudinal ridge pole, placed a short distance below the roof arch for this purpose (Figure 12).

In the meantime the singers had again produced their pipes to take a smoke. Other members of the society who were to take active part in the ceremonies now entered the inclosure at the eastern door. All who were permitted to enter at this stage of the ceremonies had dressed themselves as became their station, and in entering passed along the right side of the inclosure nearest the mats occupied by the four medicine men, and as they passed by them each held his right hand toward the seated figures, the back of the hand toward the person addressed, and saluted him by designating him by the proper term of relationship; or, if no such connection existed, then by "my elder brother," "my younger brother," as the relative ages of the speaker and the person addressed may have been. The person thus addressed bowed his head and responded by saying, "Hau'kii" (it is well), and when each of

the four had responded those who had passed went to their places and before seating themselves looked around the inclosure, as if addressing a number of invisible persons present; and said, "Nika'ni, nika'ni, nika'ni, kanē?" to which the others again responded, "Hau'kii." Each visitor then seated himself and took a ceremonial smoke. He took his seat, as did all subsequent visitors, either on one or the other side of the structure, according to the plurality of which he was a member.

It has already been stated that a second group of four medicine men had been selected to assist in the ceremonies of initiation; and these, having by this time dressed themselves in their ornamented head-dresses, with beaded medicine bags suspended at their sides, and with beaded garters and other ornaments adorning their persons, now appeared at the eastern entrance, entering in single file, keeping step to a forward dancing movement, which consisted of quick hops on the right and left foot alternately. These medicine men were Ni'aqtawā'pomi, Mai'ākinē'u, Na'qpatii, and Kimē'an. All of them had gourd or tin rattles, with which to accompany the singer. The four passed along before the others, who were already seated, holding their hands toward the latter, and saluting them by expressing such terms of relationship as existed, or by terming one an elder brother or a younger brother, as their relative ages demanded. They then continued their dancing step down on the right side to the west, where they gradually turned to their left side so as to return on the opposite (southern) side of the inclosure to the inside of the eastern entrance, where they halted and faced westward. The leader, Ni'aqtawā'pomi, then began to keep time with his rattle, addressing those present by saying, "Nika'ni, nika'ni, nika'ni, kanē?"; whereupon all present responded by saying, "Hau'kii," when he began to chant the words:

"I am glad you are all working at that, of which the old medicine men taught me. It puts back my thoughts to bygone years, when I was young and just about to be made a member of this society. This is the way all of you feel at realizing how the many winters have whitened our hair."

Then the singer, accompanied by his three assistants, renewed his dancing along the path to the western end of the mita'wikō'mik, where they halted and, facing eastward, Ni'aqtawā'pomi continued his chant:

"Take pity on your poor, is what the old people always told me to do; that I now say to those within the hearing of my voice; my son, you will be happy when you dance with the dead today."

At the conclusion of this chant the four medicine men again started on their dancing step to make the circuit of the interior of the inclosure, but as they approached the east, the one who first chanted quietly stepped to the rear of the line, leaving the second one, Mai'ākinē'u, to become the leader, and as they took their former position at the eastern entrance, facing westward, he also addressed those present with the

terms of kinship or friendship to which each was entitled, after which he also saluted his colleagues by saying, "Nika'ni, nika'ni, nika'ni, kane'," to which they responded, "Hau'kü." Mai'äkiné'u then began to chant in a recitative manner the following words:

"It is good for you and for us to follow the injunctions of Mi'näbñsh, and to gather about within the mitä'wikö'mik. The old people before us have spoken about the benefits to be gained by gathering here, and I also call to your attention the good that is to be derived by our meeting here. I have now spoken about what the whiteheads have told me. I have thanked them for their words to me."

Then the procession of the four medicine men again started off on its dancing around the inclosure, as before, to the west, where they stopped and faced eastward. Mai'äkiné'u again sang the foregoing words, after which the four started along the southern path eastward, during which movement the last singer dropped to the rear, thus leaving Na'qpätü as the leader, and the one to chant next. By this time they had reached the eastern part of the inclosure and, facing westward, Na'qpätü saluted those present with the appropriate terms of relationship, and then addressing his colleagues, as his predecessors had done, began his chant, as follows:

"Our old customs appear well; the words that are spoken sound well. This is the Great Mystery's home. The practices which our old parents taught are beautiful in my eyes. The sky used to be bright, but now it is dark." Then the singer, followed by the three beside him, again danced toward the west, where they stopped, and, facing westward, Na'qpätü continued:

"Mi'näbñsh told our parents to do as we are now doing. Hereafter the Indians will continue to follow our footsteps and teachings, as we are following the way of those before us. The sky has four openings, for which we must look. The openings are the places we much look for and ask the Great Mystery to close, for this rain interferes with our work."

The frequent references to "dark sky" and "openings" in the sky, were because of the rain which had begun to fall shortly after the beginning of the ceremonies.

At the conclusion of the above chant, the medicine men again made the entire circuit of the inclosure, dancing all the way, but as they approached the east again, the singer fell to the rear, thus causing Kimé'an, the fourth and last, to become the leader and to chant the next song. Saluting those present with appropriate kinship terms, he also addressed his colleagues, as the others had done, then chanted these words:

"We have now arrived at that part of the dance when all the medicine men may enter the mitä'wikö'mik. Let them be notified that we shall be pleased to see them seated with us, and partake of the ceremony which Mi'näbñsh enjoined upon us to continue. We shall be able to induce the Great Mystery to help us, so that the sun may not remain obscured."

Immediately on the completion of this recitation, the four medicine men again made the tour of the inclosure along the northern side, and when at the western extremity they stopped, faced eastward, and Kimé'an repeated his song. Then the party went to the eastern part and, facing westward, listened to the word "Hau'kü" uttered by the chief medicine men who were seated at the northeastern corner. Then the second group of medicine men, those who had lately ceased chanting, walked along the northern path toward the west to the seats reserved for them (marked 12, 13, 14, and 15, in figure 9).

Ceremonial smoking was now indulged in for a considerable time, during which the members of the society and visiting medicine men entered the inclosure and took seats according to the phratry to which they belonged, or according to the office to be filled during the ceremonies. Each one saluted those already seated, in succession, as he went along the right side path to a seat. The candidate also came into the structure, accompanied by his nearest relation, or friends as well, also the member of the society who made the promise of giving a feast at the grave of the deceased. The candidate took a seat next to Nio'pet, on the left, while the candidate's friend sat at the left side of the latter. A third group of four medicine men, who also had been selected to assist in the ceremonies, now entered, and, after passing around and saluting each one in succession, went to the western side of the inclosure, where they took seats midway between the center and the eastern door (at the places marked 16, 17, 18, and 19, figure 9). These men were Shüwaq'ka, Wish-n'oqkwöt', Waba'shä'ü', and Kowapamü'. The medicine women who also had been selected to assist, both in the erection or superintendence of the ceremonial structure, in the preparation of the feast, and in the ceremony of initiation, were located thus: Su'suss at the southeastern angle of the inclosure and Pi'shäniñ'uqkñ' at the northwestern angle.

Each member had his medicine bag, usually consisting of the skin of an animal, such as the mink, beaver, otter, or weasel, though a bear's

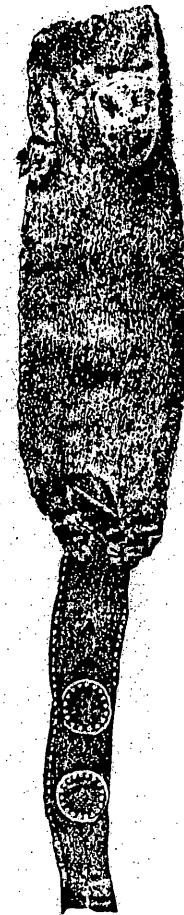


FIG. 13.—Otter-skin medicine bag.

paw may be used for the same purpose; or, perhaps, a panther paw pouch, a snake skin, or any other material which may have been presented as a gift at an initiation, or dreamed of by the medicine man subsequently to his being admitted to membership. (See figure 13. This subject is described more fully in connection with beadwork and ornamentation.) The audience became large and interesting, not only because of the large number of members, but on account of the crowd of people gathered about the medicine *wikō'mik*, who peeped through every available crevice and opening in the mats covering the framework of the lodge.

The following list comprises the names of the male and female members of the *Mitā'wit*, with the signification of nearly all of them, as furnished by the chiefs of the society at the annual meetings held in July, 1890, August, 1891, August, 1892, and August, 1893, as well as at a conference with the chief *mitā'wok* held during the months of February and March, 1892, at Washington:

Males.

<i>X'kwine'ni' Mō'sihāt'</i> Within-the-mouth.	<i>Nomihsh'</i> Fish.
<i>Xō'ni'ni'ngk'ō'sii'</i> Little Thunder.	<i>Okimish'</i> Younger-chiefs.
<i>Ā'pātākē'zhi'k'</i> Half-the-sky.	<i>Okwē'mawa'pech'ō'</i> Chief-of-the-swans.
<i>Aqk'pukā'shō'</i> Terrible-looking.	<i>Okw'ishw'ni'ō'</i> On-the-summit.
<i>Būi'wē'gah'</i> That-which-rattles.	<i>Pō'mō'ēt'</i> Flying-ly.
<i>Hō'hō'pesh'</i> Little-whoops.	<i>Pō'pō'ni'ē'ō'</i> Winter Hawk.
<i>Ih'kwā'ō'mā'</i> Breaking Day.	<i>P'p'wā'keshid'</i> Coming-suddenly.
<i>Ka'ā'ā'psh'ō'</i> One-who-cries.	<i>P'it'wīsh'kō'm'</i> Coming-with-a-sound.
<i>Kā'n'ā'mē'k' Kō'q'ā'</i> (Unknown).	<i>Shuk'ni'ngkwō'</i> Peeping-cloud.
<i>Kā'n'ā'mē'k' 2</i> (Unknown).	<i>Shā'pō'tōk'</i> Penetrating-sound.
<i>Kā'shē'kō'gka'ō'</i> One-who-carries-light.	<i>Sh'ō'ni'ā'</i> (Haplois, Fr.).
<i>Kaw'p'kt'</i> Rough-face.	<i>Sh'w'ā'nā'kē'zhi'k'</i> Southern-sky.
<i>Kē'n'ō'shō'</i> Eaglet.	<i>Sh'w'ā'ng'ka'</i> Yellow-wings.
<i>Kē'ō'shō'</i> Moon.	<i>Shō'ō'n'</i> Rain.
<i>Kē'ō'shō'wē'shāt'</i> The Moon!	<i>Shō'shō'</i> (Unknown).
<i>Kim'ō'n'</i> Rain.	<i>Shō'n'ēn'</i> Money (Silver).
<i>Kishō'wā'ō'shō'</i> Swift-little-hawk.	<i>Tā'mā' Kō'kō'sh'</i> Thomas Dog [fr.
<i>Kō'wā'pā'p'ō'</i> (Unknown).	<i>Tō'h' Kwā'sēt'</i> The-sound-of-the-thunder.
<i>Mā'n'kō'ō'</i> True Eagle. [goes.	<i>Wā'hā'kin'ō'</i> White Eagle.
<i>Mā'wō'h'kūt'</i> Making-a-sound-as-he-	<i>Wā'ō'ni'ō'</i> Easterner.
<i>Mh'g'ē'ni'ō'</i> Parliison.	<i>Wā'ō'ni'ō'ō'</i> White-dressed-skin.
<i>Mish'pā'wō'</i> A Walter.	<i>Wā'ō'ni'ō'ō'k'</i> White Fisher.
<i>Nā'ng'ō'tō'</i> Certain-one.	<i>Wā'mā'kē't'</i> With-bow-and-arrow.
<i>Nā'ng'ō'tō'pō'ni'</i> The-most-complacens.	<i>Wā'ō'ni'ō'ō'ni'</i> Tail-of-the-great-fish.
<i>Nā'mō'tā'm'</i> Tells-the-truth.	<i>Wā'ō'ni'ō'ō'ō'</i> Little-apex.
<i>Nā'ng'ō'ō'</i> Marksman.	<i>Wā'ō'ni'ō'ō'</i> (Unknown).
<i>Nā'shō'hō'paw'</i> Stands-in-the-dark.	<i>Wē'g'kū'shō'</i> Little-calamus.
<i>Nā'shō'hō'paw'</i> He-who-bullies.	<i>Wē'g'kū'shō'</i> Good-one.
<i>Nā'wā'ō'wō'shō'm'</i> Half-a-month.	<i>Wishō'ngkwō'</i> Dense-cloud.
<i>Nā'kō'ni'ō'</i> Foremost-man.	<i>Wishō'</i> (Unknown).
<i>Nio'pēt'</i> Four-in-a-den.	<i>Whō'h'wā'ō'</i> Going-for-somebody.

Females.

<i>Ang'ō'ik'</i> (Angelen).	<i>Dē'ō'wātā'mō'</i> (girl)..... Humbling Noise.
<i>Ā'pātākē'zhi'k'ō'</i> Half-a-day.	<i>Kā'k'k'itā'wā'm'</i> Everlasting-falls.
<i>Ā'wā'ni'ng'ō'</i> Fog.	<i>Kā'ō'ni'ng'ō'ō'</i> One-who-dances.

¹ Died during the winter of 1894-95.

² An Ojibwa word.

³ Word adopted from some other tribe; unknown.

⁴ The Moon.

⁵ Potawatomi words.

⁶ Corruption of a French name.

Females—Continued.

<i>Kō'ni'ngk'ō'm'</i> Little Eagle.	<i>N'p'ā'ni'ō'w'ō'</i> She-who-leads.
<i>Kō'ni'ngk'ō'm'</i> Little Eagle.	<i>N'p'ēt'</i> (girl)..... "Elizabeth."
<i>Kō'wā'ni'ng'ō'</i> The-silly.	<i>Ō'ā'ō'm'ō'ni'ng'ō'k'ō'</i> Vermilion-woman.
<i>Kō'wā'ni'ng'ō'</i> Moon-woman.	<i>P'ā'm'ā'k'ō'k'ō'</i> Scattering-clouds.
<i>Kō'wā'ni'ng'ō'</i> Moon-woman.	<i>P'ā'ni'ng'ō'w'ā'ng'ō'k'ō'</i> The-touching clouds.
<i>Kō'wā'ni'ng'ō'</i> Eagle-woman.	<i>P'ā'ni'ng'ō'w'ā'ng'ō'k'ō'</i> The-bird's-tail touching.
<i>Kō'wā'ni'ng'ō'</i> Little-she-eagle.	<i>P'ē'tō'ni'ng'ō'ō'</i> Bird-woman.
<i>Kō'wā'ni'ng'ō'</i> The-long-one.	<i>P'ē'tō'ni'ng'ō'ō'</i> Cathe-woman.
<i>Kō'wā'ni'ng'ō'</i> One-who-sheds-tears.	<i>P'ē'tō'ni'ng'ō'ō'</i> Approaching light.
<i>Kō'wā'ni'ng'ō'</i> Roaring-rapids.	<i>P'ē'tō'ni'ng'ō'ō'</i> That-which-grows.
<i>Kō'wā'ni'ng'ō'</i> Flying-clouds.	<i>Sā'ō'ō'ō'</i> (Unknown).
<i>Kō'wā'ni'ng'ō'</i> French-woman.	<i>Shō'w'ā'ng'ō'</i> Bent-in-the-river.
<i>Kō'wā'ni'ng'ō'</i> French-woman.	<i>Tō'k'k'ō'zhi'k'ō'</i> Day-woman.
<i>Kō'wā'ni'ng'ō'</i> French-woman.	<i>Tō'mō'</i> Gray-squirrel.
<i>Mā'hō'w'ō'ni'ng'ō'</i> Red-dawn.	<i>Tō'hō'ō'ō'</i> (French.)
<i>Mā'hō'w'ō'ni'ng'ō'</i> Sky-woman. [fr.	<i>Wā'ō'ni'ng'ō'ō'</i> Wabano-woman.
<i>Nā'g'ō'k'ō'ō'</i> Picks-blossom-off-the-	<i>Wā'ō'ni'ng'ō'ō'</i> Wabano-woman.
<i>Nā'g'ō'k'ō'ō'</i> Travels-alone.	<i>Wā'ō'ni'ng'ō'ō'</i> (Unknown).
<i>Nā'wātā'w'ō'ō'</i> She-who-picks-berries.	(girl).

Darkness having come on, the usher and the medicine woman put more wood on the fires, built near each end of the inclosure, and also lit the lanterns suspended from the archway of the *wikō'mik* at various places. In a short time the candidate was called forward, to stand before the left-hand medicine man of the first group. The candidate's friends and family, to the number of eight, stood in a semicircle around the candidate and kept time to the chant and drumming by dancing in a shuffling manner, in the spot first taken by them.

Nio'pēt now chanted to the candidate, and the women in a few moments caught the monotonous air, if such it may be designated, and sang in a peculiar high-pitched voice, reminding one of the sound made by a bagpipe. The translation of Nio'pēt's chant is as follows:

"When Mā'nābūsh erected the *mitā'wikō'mik* he placed tobacco before the Great Mystery as an offering. Therefore it is always used as an offering when one seeks to become a member of the *Mitā'wit*."

These words were repeated, as before stated, and reiterated so that their delivery consumed from ten to fifteen minutes. The candidate at the conclusion of the song returned to his seat, as did also his friends.

A ceremonial smoke having been taken by most of those present, the drum was pushed along westward to the medicine man next to Nio'pēt, who was now accompanied by the rattle and by the other two performers to his right. When the drumming began the candidate and his friends again came forward and stood reverentially before the drummer, when the latter began to chant the following:

"You see how the *mitā'wikō'mik* is built; it is the same as that directed by the Great Mystery to be built by Mā'nābūsh for the Indians.

¹ Not related to preceding of same name.

² The slight difference in the spelling is due in this and in similar cases to individual peculiarity in pronunciation.

³ The women bearing these three similar names are not related.

⁴ Corruption of the French *je passe*.

⁵ Not related to the preceding of similar name.

It is strong, and gives life to those who meet within it. This is the northern side, and it was made by Mashā' Ma'nido. When you require strength you must meet within the walls of the structure."

Again the candidate and his friends retired to their seats, and another delay occurred, during which smoking and conversation in a low tone went on. In the meantime the drum was passed once more toward the right for the third of the chief medicine men to use with his chant, and when he began to tap the drum the candidate and his friends again came forward and formed a semicircle before the singer. His words (translated) were as follows:

"I am speaking of the southern side; it is not so strong as the other side. The strong side must always aid the weaker one. The goods and the tobacco that have been given for the feast will induce the mysteries to aid us to keep our strength while we continue to perform the ceremonies instituted by Mā'nībūsh at the desire of Mashā' Ma'nido."

The candidate and his friends again retired to their seats as the chant ended, while the drum was passed on to Shu'nien, whose turn came next. The character of the recitation was now changed, as reference to the presents and the benefits to be obtained by frequently gathering together were omitted, while the myth relating to the birth of Mā'nībūsh and his subsequent deeds in procuring for the Indian all the benefits which they enjoy was begun.

Shu'nien and the rest of his chief assistants now sat with heads bowed down, as if in deep meditation on the sacredness of the mitā'wok ritual, the most important part of which is the recitation by the singer of the myth as it had been handed down from the past.

After some water had again been poured into the drum and the head moistened, replaced, and tightly stretched, Shu'nien began gently to tap it, his eyes directed forward or upward, and at the moment of supposed inspiration began the chant, keeping time with the drumstick, and accompanied by the rattling of the three companion mitā'wok. The candidate presented himself before Shu'nien, standing there reverentially to listen to the recitation, while his friends and other medicine men and women, to the number of twelve, gathered about him. As before, these recitations were uttered at first in an earnest manner, gradually becoming more vehement and rapid, until the singer reached an apparently ecstatic condition. His eyes had a vacant, far-away look, the perspiration began to roll from his face and body, and the muscles of his neck and arm swelled out clear and distinct with excitement and muscular exertion, so that at the end of the chant the performer appeared thoroughly exhausted.

The most remarkable feature of all the chants was the repetition of phrases, each set of from four to six words being rapidly repeated all through that portion of the ritual recited by the first class of four mitā'wok. The original phraseology requires a much longer time than

is indicated by the translations, and as this duplication doubled the time, the several chants covered a period varying from twenty minutes to three-quarters of an hour. In the following translation the original phraseology has been followed as closely as possible, so as to maintain intelligible sequence without additional explanation.

After Shu'nien had tapped the drum sufficiently to attain the proper time to suit his chant, he began with the following traditional history of Menomini genesis:

"The daughter of Noko'mis, the Earth, is the mother of Mā'nībūsh, who is also the Fire. The Flint grew up out of Noko'mis, and was alone. Then the Flint made a bowl and dipped it into the earth; slowly the bowlful of earth became blood, and it began to change its form. So the blood was changed into Wabus, the Rabbit. The Rabbit grew into human form, and in time became a man, and thus was Mā'nībūsh formed. Mā'nībūsh was angry because he was alone on the earth; and because his enemies, the ānā'maqk'ŕi, who dwelt beneath the earth, were constantly annoying him and trying to destroy him.

"Then Mā'nībūsh shaped a piece of flint to make an ax, and while he was rubbing it on a rock he heard the rock make peculiar sounds, 'Kā kī', kē kī', kē kī', kē kī', gōss, gōss, gōss, gōss.' He soon understood what this signified, that he was alone on the earth and that he had neither father, mother, brother, nor sister. This is what the Flint said while Mā'nībūsh was rubbing it upon the rock.

"While he was meditating on this, he heard the sound of something approaching, and when he looked up he beheld Moqwa'ŕo, the Wolf, who said to Mā'nībūsh, 'Now you have a brother, for I too am alone; we shall live together and I shall hunt for you.' Mā'nībūsh replied, 'I am glad to see you, my brother. I shall change your form and make you like myself; and in a short time Moqwa'ŕo became as a man. Mā'nībūsh and his brother then moved away to the shore of a lake, where they built a wigwam. Mā'nībūsh told his brother that the ānā'maqk'ŕi dwelt beneath the water of the lake, and that he should never go into the water nor cross the ice.

"One day the brother of Mā'nībūsh was out hunting, and it was late in the day when he started to return to his wigwam. He found himself on the shore of the lake, just opposite to where the wigwam stood, and could easily see it; and as he did not want to make a long journey around by the lake shore, he hesitated awhile, but at last decided to cross over on the ice. When he reached the middle of the lake the ice broke, and the ānā'maqk'ŕi pulled him under, and he was drowned.

¹The Abenaki Indians of Canada, a tribe linguistically allied to the Menomini, also believe the first man and the first woman to have been created of a stone. The Abbé Muraud remarks: "Ils croient que le premier homme et la première femme sauvages furent créés d'une pierre; que le Grand-Esprit, non satisfait de ce premier couple, avait détruit ce premier couple, et en avait créé un autre d'un arbre; que ce second couple était presque aussi parfait que le Grand-Esprit, et que les sauvages en descendent."—*Histoire des Abenakis depuis 1665 jusqu'à nos jours*, Québec, 1866, pp. 10, 20.

²From Mashā', great; and wabus', rabbit.