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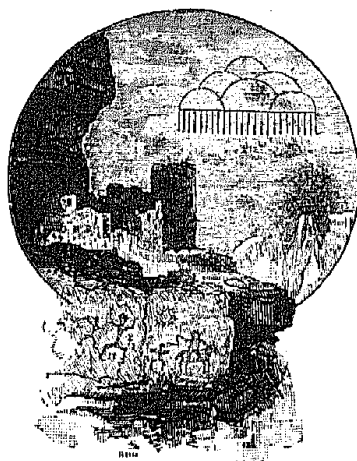
TO THE

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# THE MIDĒ'WIWIN OR "GRAND MEDICINE SOCIETY" OF THE OJIBWAY.

BY W. J. HOFFMAN.

## INTRODUCTION.

The Ojibwa is one of the largest tribes of the United States, and it is scattered over a considerable area, from the Province of Ontario, on the east, to the Red River of the North, on the west, and from Manitoba southward through the States of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan. This tribe is, strictly speaking, a timber people, and in its westward migration or dispersion has never passed beyond the limit of the timber growth which so remarkably divides the State of Minnesota into two parts possessing distinct physical features. The western portion of this State is a gently undulating prairie which sweeps away to the Rocky Mountains, while the eastern portion is heavily timbered. The dividing line, at or near the meridian of  $95^{\circ} 50'$  west longitude, extends due north and south, and at a point about 75 miles south of the northern boundary the timber line trends toward the northwest, crossing the State line,  $49^{\circ}$  north latitude, at about  $97^{\circ} 10'$  west longitude.

Minnesota contains many thousand lakes of various sizes, some of which are connected by fine water courses, while others are entirely isolated. The wooded country is undulating, the elevated portions being covered chiefly with pine, fir, spruce, and other coniferous trees, and the lowest depressions being occupied by lakes, ponds, or marshes, around which occur the tamarack, willow, and other trees which thrive in moist ground, while the regions between these extremes are covered with oak, poplar, ash, birch, maple, and many other varieties of trees and shrubs.

Wild fowl, game, and fish are still abundant, and until recently have furnished to the Indians the chief source of subsistence.

Tribal organization according to the totemic system is practically broken up, as the Indians are generally located upon or near the several reservations set apart for them by the General Government, where they have been under more or less restraint by the United States Indian agents and the missionaries. Representatives of various totems or gentes may therefore be found upon a single reservation,

where they continue to adhere to traditional customs and beliefs, thus presenting an interesting field for ethnologic research.

The present distribution of the Ojibwa in Minnesota and Wisconsin is indicated upon the accompanying map, Pl. II. In the southern portion many of these people have adopted civilized pursuits, but throughout the northern and northwestern part many bands continue to adhere to their primitive methods and are commonly designated "wild Indians." The habitations of many of the latter are rude and primitive. The bands on the northeast shore of Red Lake, as well as a few others farther east, have occupied these isolated sites for an uninterrupted period of about three centuries, as is affirmed by the chief men of the several villages and corroborated by other traditional evidence.

Father Claude Allouëz, upon his arrival in 1666 at Shagawaumikong, or La Pointe, found the Ojibwa preparing to attack the Sioux. The settlement at this point was an extensive one, and in traditions pertaining to the "Grand Medicine Society" frequent allusion is made to the fact that at this place the rites were practiced in their greatest purity.

Mr. Warren, in his *History of the Ojibwa Indians*,<sup>1</sup> bases his belief upon traditional evidence that the Ojibwa first had knowledge of the whites in 1612. Early in the seventeenth century the French missionaries met with various tribes of the Algonkian linguistic stock, as well as with bands or subtribes of the Ojibwa Indians. One of the latter, inhabiting the vicinity of Sault Ste. Marie, is frequently mentioned in the Jesuit Relations as the Saulteurs. This term was applied to all those people who lived at the Falls, but from other statements it is clear that the Ojibwa formed the most important body in that vicinity. La Hontan speaks of the "Outchepoues, alias Sauteurs," as good warriors. The name Saulteur survives at this day and is applied to a division of the tribe.

According to statements made by numerous Ojibwa chiefs of importance the tribe began its westward dispersion from La Pointe and Fond du Lac at least two hundred and fifty years ago, some of the bands penetrating the swampy country of northern Minnesota, while others went westward and southwestward. According to a statement<sup>2</sup> of the location of the tribes of Lake Superior, made at Mackinaw in 1736, the Sioux then occupied the southern and northern extremities of that lake. It is possible, however, that the northern bands of the Ojibwa may have penetrated the region adjacent to the Pigeon River and passed west to near their present location, thus avoiding their enemies who occupied the lake shore south of them.

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<sup>1</sup> Coll. Minn. Hist. Soc., 1885, vol. 5, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> Reproduced from the ninth volume of the New York Colonial Documents, pp. 1054, 1055.

From recent investigations among a number of tribes of the Algonkian linguistic division it is found that the traditions and practices pertaining to the Midē'wiwin, Society of the Midē' or Shamans, popularly designated as the "Grand Medicine Society," prevailed generally, and the rites are still practiced at irregular intervals, though in slightly different forms in various localities.

In the reports of early travelers and missionaries no special mention is made of the Midē', the Jes'sakkīd', or the Wâbĕnō', but the term sorcerer or juggler is generally employed to designate that class of persons who professed the power of prophecy, and who practiced incantation and administered medicinal preparations. Constant reference is made to the opposition of these personages to the introduction of Christianity. In the light of recent investigation the cause of this antagonism is seen to lie in the fact that the traditions of Indian genesis and cosmogony and the ritual of initiation into the Society of the Midē' constitute what is to them a religion, even more powerful and impressive than the Christian religion is to the average civilized man. This opposition still exists among the leading classes of a number of the Algonkian tribes, and especially among the Ojibwa, many bands of whom have been more or less isolated and beyond convenient reach of the Church. The purposes of the society are twofold; first, to preserve the traditions just mentioned, and second, to give a certain class of ambitious men and women sufficient influence through their acknowledged power of exorcism and necromancy to lead a comfortable life at the expense of the credulous. The persons admitted into the society are firmly believed to possess the power of communing with various supernatural beings—manidos—and in order that certain desires may be realized they are sought after and consulted. The purpose of the present paper is to give an account of this society and of the ceremony of initiation as studied and observed at White Earth, Minnesota, in 1889. Before proceeding to this, however, it may be of interest to consider a few statements made by early travelers respecting the "sorcerers or jugglers" and the methods of medication.

In referring to the practices of the Algonkian tribes of the Northwest, La Hontan<sup>1</sup> says:

When they are sick, they only drink Broth, and eat sparingly; and if they have the good luck to fall asleep, they think themselves cur'd: They have told me frequently, that sleeping and sweating would cure the most stubborn Diseases in the World. When they are so weak that they cannot get out of Bed, their Relations come and dance and make merry before 'em, in order to divert 'em. To conclude, when they are ill, they are always visited by a sort of Quacks, (*Jongleurs*); of whom 't will now be proper to subjoin two or three Words by the bye.

A *Jongleur* is a sort of *Physician*, or rather a *Quack*, who being once cur'd of some dangerous Distemper, has the Presumption and Folly to fancy that he is immortal, and possessed of the Power of curing all Diseases, by speaking to the Good and Evil Spirits. Now though every Body rallies upon these Fellows when

<sup>1</sup> New Voyages to North America, London, 1703, vol. 2, pp. 47, 48.

they are absent, and looks upon 'em as Fools that have lost their Senses by some violent Distemper, yet they allow 'em to visit the Sick; whether it be to divert 'em with their Idle Stories, or to have an Opportunity of seeing them rave, skip about, cry, houl, and make Grimaces and Wry Faces, as if they were possess'd. When all the Bustle is over, they demand a Feast of a Stag and some large Trouts for the Company, who are thus regal'd at once with Diversion and Good Cheer.

When the Quack comes to visit the Patient, he examines him very carefully; *If the Evil Spirit be here, says he, we shall quickly dislodge him.* This said, he withdraws by himself to a little Tent made on purpose, where he dances, and sings howling like an Owl; (which gives the Jesuits Occasion to say, *That the Devil converses with 'em.*) After he has made an end of this Quack Jargon, he comes and rubs the Patient in some part of his Body, and pulling some little Bones out of his Mouth, acquaints the Patient, *That these very Bones came out of his Body; that he ought to pluck up a good heart, in regard that his Distemper is but a Trifle; and in fine, that in order to accelerate the Cure, 't will be convenient to send his own and his Relations Slaves to shoot Ells, Deer, &c., to the end they may all eat of that sort of Meat, upon which his Cure does absolutely depend.*

Commonly these Quacks bring 'em some Juices of Plants, which are a sort of Purges, and are called *Muskileik*.

Hennepin, in "A Continuation of the New Discovery," etc.,<sup>1</sup> speaks of the religion and sorcerers of the tribes of the St. Lawrence and those living about the Great Lakes as follows:

We have been all too sadly convinced, that almost all the Salvages in general have no notion of a God, and that they are not able to comprehend the most ordinary Arguments on that Subject; others will have a Spirit that commands, say they, in the Air. Some among 'em look upon the Skie as a kind of Divinity; others as an *Otkon* or *Manitou*, either Good or Evil.

These People admit of some sort of Genius in all things; they all believe there is a Master of Life, as they call him, but hereof they make various applications; some of them have a lean Raven, which they carry always along with them, and which they say is the Master of their Life; others have an Owl, and some again a Bone, a Sea-Shell, or some such thing;

There is no Nation among 'em which has not a sort of Juglers or Conjuerers, which some look upon to be Wizards, but in my Opinion there is no Great reason to believe 'em such, or to think that their Practice favours any thing of a Communication with the Devil.

These Impostors cause themselves to be revered as Prophets which fore-tell Futurity. They will needs be look'd upon to have an unlimited Power. They boast of being able to makè it Wet or Dry; to cause a Calm or a Storm; to render Land Fruitful or Barren; and, in a Word to make Hunters Fortunate or Unfortunate. They also pretend to Physick, and to apply Medicines, but which are such, for the most part as have little Virtue at all in 'em, especially to Cure that Distemper which they pretend to.

It is impossible to imagine, the horrible Howlings and strange Contortions that those Jugglers make of their Bodies, when they are disposing themselves to Conjure, or raise their Enchantments.

Marquette, who visited the Miami, Mascontin and Kickapoo Indians in 1673, after referring to the Indian herbalist, mentions also the ceremony of the "calumet dance," as follows:

They have Physicians amongst them, towards whom they are very liberal when they are sick, thinking that the Operation of the Remedies they take, is proportional to the Presents they make unto those who have prescrib'd them.

<sup>1</sup>London, 1689, p. 59, et. seq.

In connection with this, reference is made by Marquette to a certain class of individuals among the Illinois and Dakota, who were compelled to wear women's clothes, and who were debarred many privileges, but were permitted to "assist at all the Superstitions of their *Juglers*, and their solemn Dances in honor of the *Calumet*, in which they may sing, but it is not lawful for them to dance. They are call'd to their Councils, and nothing is determin'd without their Advice; for, because of their extraordinary way of Living, they are look'd upon as *Manitous*, or at least for great and incomparable Genius's."

That the calumet was brought into requisition upon all occasions of interest is learned from the following statement, in which the same writer declares that it is "the most mysterious thing in the World. The Sceptres of our Kings are not so much respected; for the Savages have such a Deference for this Pipe, that one may call it *The God of Peace and War, and the Arbiter of Life and Death*. Their *Calumet of Peace* is different from the *Calumet of War*; They make use of the former to seal their Alliances and Treaties, to travel with safety, and receive Strangers; and the other is to proclaim War."

This reverence for the calumet is shown by the manner in which it is used at dances, in the ceremony of smoking, etc., indicating a religious devoutness approaching that recently observed among various Algonkian tribes in connection with the ceremonies of the *Midē'wiwin*. When the calumet dance was held, the Illinois appear to have resorted to the houses in the winter and to the groves in the summer. The above-named authority continues in this connection:

They chuse for that purpose a set Place among Trees, to shelter themselves against the Heat of the Sun, and lay in the middle a large Matt, as a Carpet, to lay upon the God of the Chief of the Company, who gave the Ball; for every one has his peculiar God, whom they call *Manitooa*. It is sometime a Stone, a Bird, a Serpent, or anything else that they dream of in their Sleep; for they think this *Manitooa* will prosper their Wants, as Fishing, Hunting, and other Enterprizes. To the Right of their *Manitooa* they place the *Calumet*, their Great Deity, making round about it a Kind of Trophy with their Arms, viz. their Clubs, Axes, Bows, Quivers, and Arrows. \* \* \* Every Body sits down afterwards, round about, as they come, having first of all saluted the *Manitooa*, which they do in blowing the Smoak of their Tobacco upon it, which is as much as offering to it Frankincense. \* \* \* This *Preludium* being over, he who is to begin the Dance appears in the middle of the Assembly, and having taken the *Calumet*, presents it to the Sun, as if he wou'd invite him to smoke. Then he moves it into an infinite Number of Postures sometimes laying it near the Ground, then stretching its Wings, as if he wou'd make it fly, and then presents it to the Spectators, who smoke with it one after another, dancing all the while. This is the first Scene of this famous Ball.

The infinite number of postures assumed in offering the pipe appear as significant as the "smoke ceremonies" mentioned in connection with the preparatory instruction of the candidate previous to his initiation into the *Midē'wiwin*.

In his remarks on the religion of the Indians and the practices of the sorcerers, Hennepin says:

As for their Opinion concerning the Earth, they make use of a Name of a certain *Genius*, whom they call *Micaboche*, who has cover'd the whole Earth with water (as they imagine) and relate innumerable fabulous Tales, some of which have a kind of Analogy with the Universal Deluge. These Barbarians believe that there are certain Spirits in the Air, between Heaven and Earth, who have a power to foretell future Events, and others who play the part of Physicians, curing all sorts of Distempers. Upon which account, it happens, that these *Savages* are very Superstitious, and consult their Oracles with a great deal of exactness. One of these Masters-Jugglers who pass for Sorcerers among them, one day caus'd a Hut to be erected with ten thick Stakes, which he fix'd very deep in the Ground, and then made a horrible noise to Consult the Spirits, to know whether abundance of Snow wou'd fall ere long, that they might have good game in the Hunting of Elks and Beavers: Afterward he bawl'd out aloud from the bottom of the Hut, that he saw many Herds of Elks, which were as yet at a very great distance, but that they drew near within seven or eight Leagues of their Huts, which caus'd a great deal of joy among those poor deluded Wretches.

That this statement refers to one or more tribes of the Algonkian linguistic stock is evident, not only because of the reference to the sorcerers and their peculiar methods of procedure, but also that the name of *Micaboche*, an Algonkian divinity, appears. This Spirit, who acted as an intercessor between *Ki'tshi Man'idō* (Great Spirit) and the Indians, is known among the Ojibwa as *Mi'nabō'zho*; but to this full reference will be made further on in connection with the Myth of the origin of the *Midē'wiwin*. The tradition of *Nokomis* (the earth) and the birth of *Manabush* (the *Mi'nabō'zho* of the *Menomoni*) and his brother, the Wolf, that pertaining to the re-creation of the world, and fragments of other myths, are thrown together and in a mangled form presented by Hennepin in the following words:

Some *Salvages* which live at the upper end of the River *St. Lawrence*, do relate a pretty diverting Story. They hold almost the same opinion with the former [the *Iroquois*], that a Woman came down from Heaven, and remained for some while fluttering in the Air, not finding Ground whereupon to put her Foot. But that the Fishes moved with Compassion for her, immediately held a Consultation to deliberate which of them should receive her. The Tortoise very officiously offered its Back on the Surface of the Water. The Woman came to rest upon it, and fixed herself there. Afterwards the Filthiness and Dirt of the Sea gathering together about the Tortoise, there was formed by little and little that vast Tract of Land, which we now call *America*.

They add that this Woman grew weary of her Solitude, wanting some body for to keep her Company, that so she might spend her time more pleasantly. Melancholy and Sadness having seiz'd upon her Spirits, she fell asleep, and a Spirit descended from above, and finding her in that Condition approach'd and knew her unperceptibly. From which Approach she conceived two Children, which came forth out of one of her Ribs. But these two Brothers could never afterwards agree together. One of them was a better Huntsman than the other; they quarreled every day; and their Disputes grew so high at last, that one could not bear with the other. One especially being of a very wild Temper, hated mortally his Brother who was of a milder Constitution, who being no longer able to endure the Pranks of the other,

he resolved at last to part from him. He retired then into Heaven, whence, for a Mark of his just Resentment, he causeth at several times his Thunder to rore over the Head of his unfortunate Brother.

Sometime after the Spirit descended again on that Woman, and she conceived a Daughter, from whom (as the Salvages say) were propagated these numerous People, which do occupy now one of the greatest parts of the Universe.

It is evident that the narrator has sufficiently distorted the traditions to make them conform, as much as practicable, to the biblical story of the birth of Christ. No reference whatever is made in the Ojibwa or Menomoni myths to the conception of the Daughter of Nokomis (the earth) by a celestial visitant, but the reference is to one of the wind gods. Mi'nabō'zho became angered with the Ki'tshi Man'idō, and the latter, to appease his discontent, gave to Mi'nabō'zho the rite of the MidĒ'wiwin. The brother of Mi'nabō'zho was destroyed by the malevolent underground spirits and now rules the abode of shadows,—the "Land of the Midnight Sun."

Upon his arrival at the "Bay of Puans" (Green Bay, Wisconsin), Marquette found a village inhabited by three nations, viz: "Miami, Maskoutens, and Kikabeux." He says:

When I arriv'd there, I was very glad to see a great Cross set up in the middle of the Village, adorn'd with several White Skins, Red Girdles, Bows and Arrows, which that good People had offer'd to the Great *Manitou*, to return him their Thanks for the care he had taken of them during the Winter, and that he had granted them a prosperous Hunting. *Manitou*, is the Name they give in general to all Spirits whom they think to be above the Nature of Man.

Marquette was without doubt ignorant of the fact that the cross is the sacred post, and the symbol of the fourth degree of the MidĒ'wiwin, as will be fully explained in connection with that grade of the society. The erroneous conclusion that the cross was erected as an evidence of the adoption of Christianity, and possibly as a compliment to the visitor, was a natural one on the part of the priest, but this same symbol of the MidĒ' Society had probably been erected and bedecked with barbaric emblems and weapons months before anything was known of him.

The result of personal investigations among the Ojibwa, conducted during the years 1887, 1888 and 1889, are presented in the accompanying paper. The information was obtained from a number of the chief MidĒ' priests living at Red Lake and White Earth reservations, as well as from members of the society from other reservations, who visited the last named locality during the three years. Special mention of the peculiarity of the music recorded will be made at the proper place; and it may here be said that in no instance was the use of colors detected, in any birch-bark or other records or mnemonic songs, simply to heighten the artistic effect; though the reader would be led by an examination of the works of Schoolcraft to believe this to be a common practice. Col. Garrick Mallery, U. S. Army, in a paper read before the Anthropological Society of



Washington, District of Columbia, in 1888, says, regarding this subject:

The general character of his voluminous publications has not been such as to assure modern critics of his accuracy, and the wonderful minuteness, as well as comprehension, attributed by him to the Ojibwa hieroglyphs has been generally regarded of late with suspicion. It was considered in the Bureau of Ethnology an important duty to ascertain how much of truth existed in these remarkable accounts, and for that purpose its pictographic specialists, myself and Dr. W. J. Hoffman as assistant, were last summer directed to proceed to the most favorable points in the present habitat of the tribe, namely, the northern region of Minnesota and Wisconsin, to ascertain how much was yet to be discovered. \* \* \* The general results of the comparison of Schoolcraft's statements with what is now found shows that, in substance, he told the truth, but with much exaggeration and coloring. The word "coloring" is particularly appropriate, because, in his copious illustrations, various colors were used freely with apparent significance, whereas, in fact, the general rule in regard to the birch-bark rolls was that they were never colored at all; indeed, the bark was not adapted to coloration. The metaphorical coloring was also used by him in a manner which, to any thorough student of the Indian philosophy and religion, seems absurd. Metaphysical expressions are attached to some of the devices, or, as he calls them, symbols, which could never have been entertained by a people in the stage of culture of the Ojibwa.

#### SHAMANS.

There are extant among the Ojibwa Indians three classes of mystery men, termed respectively and in order of importance the Midĕ', the Jĕs'sakkĭd', and the Wĕbĕnĕ', but before proceeding to elaborate in detail the Society of the Midĕ', known as the Midĕ'wiwin, a brief description of the last two is necessary.

The term Wĕbĕnĕ' has been explained by various intelligent Indians as signifying "Men of the dawn," "Eastern men," etc. Their profession is not thoroughly understood, and their number is so extremely limited that but little information respecting them can be obtained. Schoolcraft,<sup>1</sup> in referring to the several classes of Shamans, says "there is a third form or rather modification of the medawin, \* \* \* the Wĕbĕnĕ'; a term denoting a kind of midnight orgies, which is regarded as a corruption of the Meda." This writer furthermore remarks<sup>2</sup> that "it is stated by judicious persons among themselves to be of modern origin. They regard it as a degraded form of the mysteries of the Meda."

From personal investigation it has been ascertained that a Wĕbĕnĕ' does not affiliate with others of his class so as to constitute a society, but indulges his pretensions individually. A Wĕbĕnĕ' is primarily prompted by dreams or visions which may occur during his youth, for which purpose he leaves his village to fast for an indefinite number of days. It is positively affirmed that evil man'idĕs favor his de-

<sup>1</sup> Information respecting the history, condition, and prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States. Philadelphia, 1851, vol. 1, p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 362.

sires, and apart from his general routine of furnishing "hunting medicine," "love powders," etc., he pretends also to practice medical magic. When a hunter has been successful through the supposed assistance of the Wābĕnŏ', he supplies the latter with part of the game, when, in giving a feast to his tutelary daimon, the Wābĕnŏ' will invite a number of friends, but all who desire to come are welcome. This feast is given at night; singing and dancing are boisterously indulged in, and the Wābĕnŏ', to sustain his reputation, entertains his visitors with a further exhibition of his skill. By the use of plants he is alleged to be enabled to take up and handle with impunity red-hot stones and burning brands, and without evincing the slightest discomfort it is said that he will bathe his hands in boiling water, or even boiling maple sirup. On account of such performances the general impression prevails among the Indians that the Wābĕnŏ' is a "dealer in fire," or "fire-handler." Such exhibitions always terminate at the approach of day. The number of these pretenders who are not members of the Midĕ'wiwin, is very limited; for instance, there are at present but two or three at White Earth Reservation and none at Leech Lake.

As a general rule, however, the Wābĕnŏ' will seek entrance into the Midĕ'wiwin when he becomes more of a specialist in the practice of medical magic, incantations, and the exorcism of malevolent man'idōs, especially such as cause disease.

The Jĕs'sakkĭd' is a seer and prophet; though commonly designated a "juggler," the Indians define him as a "revealer of hidden truths." There is no association whatever between the members of this profession, and each practices his art singly and alone whenever a demand is made and the fee presented. As there is no association, so there is no initiation by means of which one may become a Jĕs'sakkĭd'. The gift is believed to be given by the thunder god, or Animiki', and then only at long intervals and to a chosen few. The gift is received during youth, when the fast is undertaken and when visions appear to the individual. His renown depends upon his own audacity and the opinion of the tribe. He is said to possess the power to look into futurity; to become acquainted with the affairs and intentions of men; to prognosticate the success or misfortune of hunters and warriors, as well as other affairs of various individuals, and to call from any living human being the soul, or, more strictly speaking, the shadow, thus depriving the victim of reason, and even of life. His power consists in invoking and causing evil, while that of the Midĕ' is to avert it; he attempts at times to injure the Midĕ', but the latter, by the aid of his superior man'idōs, becomes aware of, and averts such premeditated injury. It sometimes happens that the demon possessing a patient is discovered, but the Midĕ' alone has the power to expel him. The exorcism of demons is one of the chief pretensions of this personage, and evil spirits are sometimes removed

by sucking them through tubes, and startling tales are told how the Jēs'sakkīd' can, in the twinkling of an eye, disengage himself of the most complicated tying of cords and ropes, etc. The lodge used by this class of men consists of four poles planted in the ground, forming a square of three or four feet and upward in diameter, around which are wrapped birch bark, robes, or canvas in such a way as to form an upright cylinder. Communion is held with the turtle, who is the most powerful man'idō of the Jēs'sakkīd', and through him, with numerous other malevolent man'idōs, especially the Animiki', or thunder-bird. When the prophet has seated himself within his lodge the structure begins to sway violently from side to side, loud thumping noises are heard within, denoting the arrival of man'idōs, and numerous voices and laughter are distinctly audible to those without. Questions may then be put to the prophet and, if everything be favorable, the response is not long in coming. In his notice of the Jēs'sakkīd', Schoolcraft affirms<sup>1</sup> that "while he thus exercises the functions of a prophet, he is also a member of the highest class of the fraternity of the Midâwin—a society of men who exercise the medical art on the principles of magic and incantations. The fact is that there is not the slightest connection between the practice of the Jēs'sakkīd' and that of the MidĒ'wiwin, and it is seldom, if at all, that a MidĒ' becomes a Jēs'sakkīd', although the latter sometimes gains admission into the MidĒ'wiwin, chiefly with the intention of strengthening his power with his tribe.

The number of individuals of this class who are not members of the MidĒ'wiwin is limited, though greater than that of the Wâbĕnō'. An idea of the proportion of numbers of the respective classes may be formed by taking the case of Menomoni Indians, who are in this respect upon the same plane as the Ojibwa. That tribe numbers about fifteen hundred, the MidĒ' Society consisting, in round numbers, of one hundred members, and among the entire population there are but two Wâbĕnō' and five Jēs'sakkīd'.

It is evident that neither the Wâbĕnō' nor the Jēs'sakkīd' confine themselves to the mnemonic songs which are employed during their ceremonial performances, or even prepare them to any extent. Such bark records as have been observed or recorded, even after most careful research and examination extending over the field seasons of three years, prove to have been the property of Wâbĕnō' and Jēs'sakkīd', who were also MidĒ'. It is probable that those who practice either of the first two forms of ceremonies and nothing else are familiar with and may employ for their own information certain mnemonic records; but they are limited to the characteristic formulæ of exorcism, as their practice varies and is subject to changes according to circumstances and the requirements and wants of the applicant when words are chanted to accord therewith.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., vol. 5, p. 423.

Some examples of songs used by Jēs'sakkīd', after they have become Midē', will be given in the description of the several degrees of the Midē'wiwin.

There is still another class of persons termed Mashkī'kīkō'winīnī, or herbalists, who are generally denominated "medicine men," as the Ojibwa word implies. Their calling is a simple one, and consists in knowing the mysterious properties of a variety of plants, herbs, roots, and berries, which are revealed upon application and for a fee. When there is an administration of a remedy for a given complaint, based upon true scientific principles, it is only in consequence of such practice having been acquired from the whites, as it has usually been the custom of the Catholic Fathers to utilize all ordinary and available remedies for the treatment of the common

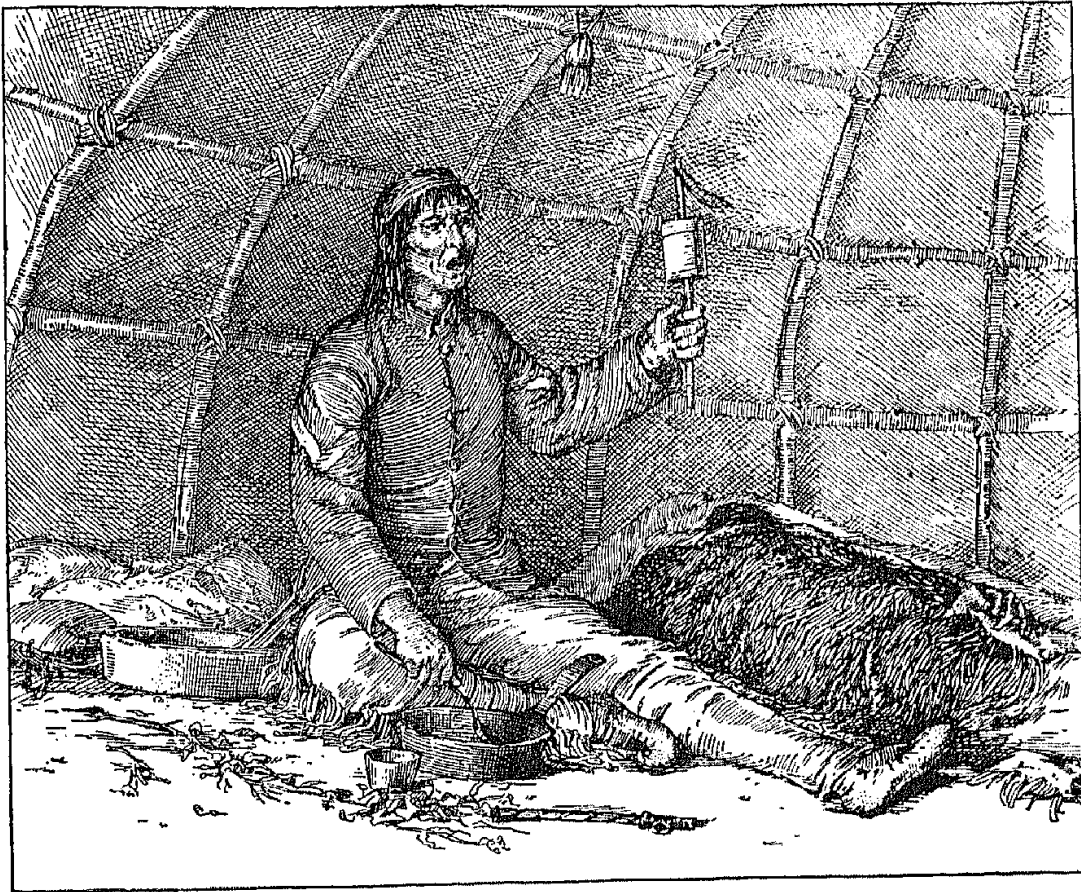


FIG. 1.—Herbalist preparing medicine and treating patient.

disorders of life. Although these herbalists are aware that certain plants or roots will produce a specified effect upon the human system, they attribute the benefit to the fact that such remedies are distasteful and injurious to the demons who are present in the system and to whom the disease is attributed. Many of these herbalists are found among women, also; and these, too, are generally members of the Midē'wiwin. In Fig. 1 is shown an herbalist preparing a mixture.

The origin of the MidĒ'wiwin or MidĒ' Society, commonly, though erroneously, termed Grand Medicine Society, is buried in obscurity. In the Jesuit Relations, as early as 1642, frequent reference is made to sorcerers, jugglers, and persons whose faith, influence, and practices are dependent upon the assistance of "Manitous," or mysterious spirits; though, as there is no discrimination made between these different professors of magic, it is difficult positively to determine which of the several classes were met with at that early day. It is probable that the Jĕs'sakkĭd', or juggler, and the MidĒ', or Shaman, were referred to.

The MidĒ', in the true sense of the word, is a Shaman, though he has by various authors been termed powwow, medicine man, priest, seer, prophet, etc. Among the Ojibwa the office is not hereditary; but among the Menomoni a curious custom exists, by which some one is selected to fill the vacancy one year after the death of a Shaman. Whether a similar practice prevailed among other tribes of the Algonkian linguistic stock can be ascertained only by similar research among the tribes constituting that stock.

Among the Ojibwa, however, a substitute is sometimes taken to fill the place of one who has been prepared to receive the first degree of the MidĒ'wiwin, or Society of the MidĒ', but who is removed by death before the proper initiation has been conferred. This occurs when a young man dies, in which case his father or mother may be accepted as a substitute. This will be explained in more detail under the caption of Dzhibai' MidĒ'wigĕn or "Ghost Lodge," a collateral branch of the MidĒ'wiwin.

As I shall have occasion to refer to the work of the late Mr. W. W. Warren, a few words respecting him will not be inappropriate. Mr. Warren was an Ojibwa mixed blood, of good education, and later a member of the legislature of Minnesota. His work, entitled "History of the Ojibwa Nation," was published in Vol. v of the Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1885, and edited by Dr. E. D. Neill. Mr. Warren's work is the result of the labor of a lifetime among his own people, and, had he lived, he would undoubtedly have added much to the historical material of which the printed volume chiefly consists. His manuscript was completed about the year 1852, and he died the following year. In speaking of the Society of the MidĒ',<sup>1</sup> he says:

The grand rite of Me-da-we-win (or, as we have learned to term it, "Grand Medicine," and the beliefs incorporated therein, are not yet fully understood by the whites. This important custom is still shrouded in mystery even to my own eyes, though I have taken much pains to inquire and made use of every advantage possessed by speaking their language perfectly, being related to them, possessing their friendship and intimate confidence has given me, and yet I frankly acknowledge that I stand as yet, as it were, on the threshold of the Me-da-we lodge. I believe, however, that I have obtained full as much and more general and true information

<sup>1</sup>Op. cit., pp. 65, 66.

on this matter than any other person who has written on the subject, not excepting a great and standard author, who, to the surprise of many who know the Ojibways well, has boldly asserted in one of his works that he has been regularly initiated into the mysteries of this rite, and is a member of the Me-da-we Society. This is certainly an assertion hard to believe in the Indian country; and when the old initiators or Indian priests are told of it they shake their heads in incredulity that a white man should ever have been allowed *in truth* to become a member of their Me-da-we lodge.

An entrance into the lodge itself, while the ceremonies are being enacted, has sometimes been granted through courtesy; though this does not initiate a person into the mysteries of the creed, nor does it make him a member of the Society.

These remarks pertaining to the pretensions of "a great and standard authority" have reference to Mr. Schoolcraft, who among numerous other assertions makes the following, in the first volume of his *Information Respecting the Indian Tribes of the United States*, Philadelphia, 1851, p. 361, viz:

I had observed the exhibitions of the Medawin, and the exactness and studious ceremony with which its rites were performed in 1820 in the region of Lake Superior; and determined to avail myself of the advantages of my official position, in 1822, when I returned as a Government agent for the tribes, to make further inquiries into its principles and mode of proceeding. And for this purpose I had its ceremonies repeated in my office, under the secrecy of closed doors, with every means of both correct interpretation and of recording the result. Prior to this transaction I had observed in the hands of an Indian of the Odjibwa tribe one of those symbolic tablets of pictorial notation which have been sometimes called "music boards," from the fact of their devices being sung off by the initiated of the Meda Society. This constituted the object of the explanations, which, in accordance with the positive requisitions of the leader of the society and three other initiates, was thus ceremoniously made.

This statement is followed by another,<sup>1</sup> in which Mr. Schoolcraft, in a foot-note, affirms:

Having in 1823 been myself admitted to the class of a Meda by the Chippewas, and taken the initiatory step of a SAGIMA and JESUKAID in each of the other fraternities, and studied their pictographic system with great care and good helps, I may speak with the more decision on the subject.

Mr. Schoolcraft presents a superficial outline of the initiatory ceremonies as conducted during his time, but as the description is meager, notwithstanding that there is every evidence that the ceremonies were conducted with more completeness and elaborate dramatization nearly three-quarters of a century ago than at the present day, I shall not burden this paper with useless repetition, but present the subject as conducted within the last three years.

Mr. Warren truly says:

In the Me-da-we rite is incorporated most that is ancient amongst them—songs and traditions that have descended not orally, but in hieroglyphs, for at least a long time of generations. In this rite is also perpetuated the purest and most ancient idioms of their language, which differs somewhat from that of the common everyday use.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., vol. 5, p. 71.

As the ritual of the MidĒ'wiwin is based to a considerable extent upon traditions pertaining to the cosmogony and genesis and to the thoughtful consideration by the Good Spirit for the Indian, it is looked upon by them as "their religion," as they themselves designate it.

In referring to the rapid changes occurring among many of the Western tribes of Indians, and the gradual discontinuance of aboriginal ceremonies and customs, Mr. Warren remarks<sup>1</sup> in reference to the Ojibwa:

Even among these a change is so rapidly taking place, caused by a close contact with the white race, that ten years hence it will be too late to save the traditions of their forefathers from total oblivion. And even now it is with great difficulty that genuine information can be obtained of them. Their aged men are fast falling into their graves, and they carry with them the records of the past history of their people; they are the initiators of the grand rite of religious belief which they believe the Great Spirit has granted to his red children to secure them long life on earth and life hereafter; and in the bosoms of these old men are locked up the original secrets of this their most ancient belief. \* \* \*

They fully believe, and it forms part of their religion, that the world has once been covered by a deluge, and that we are now living on what they term the "new earth." This idea is fully accounted for by their vague traditions; and in their Me-da-we-win or religion, hieroglyphs are used to denote this second earth.

Furthermore,

They fully believe that the red man mortally angered the Great Spirit which caused the deluge, and at the commencement of the new earth it was only through the medium and intercession of a powerful being, whom they denominate Man-ab-o-sho, that they were allowed to exist, and means were given them whereby to subsist and support life; and a code of religion was more lately bestowed on them, whereby they could commune with the offended Great Spirit, and ward off the approach and ravages of death.

It may be appropriate in this connection to present the description given by Rev. Peter Jones of the MidĒ' priests and priestesses. Mr. Jones was an educated Ojibwa Episcopal clergyman, and a member of the Missasauga—i. e., the Eagle totemic division of that tribe of Indians living in Canada. In his work<sup>2</sup> he states:

Each tribe has its medicine men and women—an order of priesthood consulted and employed in all times of sickness. These powwows are persons who are believed to have performed extraordinary cures, either by the application of roots and herbs or by incantations. When an Indian wishes to be initiated into the order of a powwow, in the first place he pays a large fee to the faculty. He is then taken into the woods, where he is taught the names and virtues of the various useful plants; next he is instructed how to chant the medicine song, and how to pray, which prayer is a vain repetition offered up to the Master of Life, or to some munedoo whom the afflicted imagine they have offended.

The powwows are held in high veneration by their deluded brethren; not so much for their knowledge of medicine as for the magical power which they are supposed to possess. It is for their interest to lead these credulous people to believe that they can at pleasure hold intercourse with the munedoos, who are ever ready to give them whatever information they require.

<sup>1</sup>Op. cit., p. 25. <sup>2</sup>History of the Ojibway Indians, London [1848(?)], pp. 143, 144.

The Ojibwa believe in a multiplicity of spirits, or man'idōs, which inhabit all space and every conspicuous object in nature. These man'idōs, in turn, are subservient to superior ones, either of a charitable and benevolent character or those which are malignant and aggressive. The chief or superior man'idō is termed Ki'tshi Man'idō—Great Spirit—approaching to a great extent the idea of the God of the Christian religion; the second in their estimation is Dzhc Man'idō, a benign being upon whom they look as the guardian spirit of the Midē'wiwin and through whose divine provision the sacred rites of the Midē'wiwin were granted to man. The Ani'miki or Thunder God is, if not the supreme, at least one of the greatest of the malignant man'idōs, and it is from him that the Jēs'sakkīd' are believed to obtain their powers of evil doing. There is one other, to whom special reference will be made, who abides in and rules the "place of shadows," the hereafter; he is known as Dzhibai' Man'idō—Shadow Spirit, or more commonly Ghost Spirit. The name of Ki'tshi Man'idō is never mentioned but with reverence, and thus only in connection with the rite of Midē'wiwin, or a sacred feast, and always after making an offering of tobacco.

The first important event in the life of an Ojibwa youth is his first fast. For this purpose he will leave his home for some secluded spot in the forest where he will continue to fast for an indefinite number of days; when reduced by abstinence from food he enters a hysterical or ecstatic state in which he may have visions and hallucinations. The spirits which the Ojibwa most desire to see in these dreams are those of mammals and birds, though any object, whether animate or inanimate, is considered a good omen. The object which first appears is adopted as the personal mystery, guardian spirit, or tutelary daimon of the entranced, and is never mentioned by him without first making a sacrifice. A small effigy of this man'idō is made, or its outline drawn upon a small piece of birch bark, which is carried suspended by a string around the neck, or if the wearer be a Midē' he carries it in his "medicine bag" or pinji'gosân. The future course of life of the faster is governed by his dream; and it sometimes occurs that because of giving an imaginary importance to the occurrence, such as beholding, during the trance some powerful man'idō or other object held in great reverence by the members of the Midē' Society, the faster first becomes impressed with the idea of becoming a Midē'. Thereupon he makes application to a prominent Midē' priest, and seeks his advice as to the necessary course to be pursued to attain his desire. If the Midē' priest considers with favor the application, he consults with his confrères and action is taken, and the questions of the requisite preliminary instructions, fees, and presents, etc., are formally discussed. If the Midē' priests are in accord with the desires of the applicant an instructor or preceptor is designated, to whom he must present him-



self and make an agreement as to the amount of preparatory information to be acquired and the fees and other presents to be given in return. These fees have nothing whatever to do with the presents which must be presented to the MidĒ' priests previous to his initiation as a member of the society, the latter being collected during the time that is devoted to preliminary instruction, which period usually extends over several years. Thus ample time is found for hunting, as skins and peltries, of which those not required as presents may be exchanged for blankets, tobacco, kettles, guns, etc., obtainable from the trader. Sometimes a number of years are spent in preparation for the first degree of the MidĒ'wiwin, and there are many who have impoverished themselves in the payment of fees and the preparation for the feast to which all visiting priests are also invited.

Should an Indian who is not prompted by a dream wish to join the society he expresses to the four chief officiating priests a desire to purchase a mī'gis, which is the sacred symbol of the society and consists of a small white shell, to which reference will be made further on. His application follows the same course as in the preceding instance, and the same course is pursued also when a Jĕs'sak-kīd' or a Wābĕnō' wishes to become a MidĒ'.

#### MIDĒ'WIWIN.

The MidĒ'wiwin—Society of the MidĒ' or Shamans—consists of an indefinite number of MidĒ' of both sexes. The society is graded into four separate and distinct degrees, although there is a general impression prevailing even among certain members that any degree beyond the first is practically a mere repetition. The greater power attained by one in making advancement depends upon the fact of his having submitted to "being shot at with the medicine sacks" in the hands of the officiating priests. This may be the case at this late day in certain localities, but from personal experience it has been learned that there is considerable variation in the dramatization of the ritual. One circumstance presents itself forcibly to the careful observer, and that is that the greater number of repetitions of the phrases chanted by the MidĒ' the greater is felt to be the amount of inspiration and power of the performance. This is true also of some of the lectures in which reiteration and prolongation in time of delivery aids very much in forcibly impressing the candidate and other observers with the importance and sacredness of the ceremony.

It has always been customary for the MidĒ' priests to preserve birch-bark records, bearing delicate incised lines to represent pictorially the ground plan of the number of degrees to which the owner is entitled. Such records or charts are sacred and are never exposed to the public view, being brought forward for inspection only when

an accepted candidate has paid his fee, and then only after necessary preparation by fasting and offerings of tobacco.

During the year 1887, while at Red Lake, Minnesota, I had the good fortune to discover the existence of an old birch-bark chart, which, according to the assurances of the chief and assistant MidĒ' priests, had never before been exhibited to a white man, nor even to an Indian unless he had become a regular candidate. This chart measures 7 feet  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length and 18 inches in width, and is made of five pieces of birch bark neatly and securely stitched together by means of thin, flat strands of bass wood. At each end are two thin strips of wood, secured transversely by wrapping and stitching with thin strands of bark, so as to prevent splitting and fraying of the ends of the record. Pl. III A, is a reproduction of the design referred to.

It had been in the keeping of Skwĕkō'mĭk, to whom it was intrusted at the death of his father-in-law, the latter, in turn, having received it in 1825 from Badā'san, the Grand Shaman and chief of the Winnibĕ'goshish Ojibwa.

It is affirmed that Badā'san had received the original from the Grand MidĒ' priest at La Pointe, Wisconsin, where, it is said, the MidĒ'wiwin was at that time held annually and the ceremonies conducted in strict accordance with ancient and traditional usage.

The present owner of this record has for many years used it in the preliminary instruction of candidates. Its value in this respect is very great, as it presents to the Indian a pictorial résumé of the traditional history of the origin of the MidĒ'wiwin, the positions occupied by the various guardian man'idos in the several degrees, and the order of procedure in study and progress of the candidate. On account of the isolation of the Red Lake Indians and their long continued, independent ceremonial observances, changes have gradually occurred so that there is considerable variation, both in the pictorial representation and the initiation, as compared with the records and ceremonials preserved at other reservations. The reason of this has already been given.

A detailed description of the above mentioned record will be presented further on in connection with two interesting variants which were subsequently obtained at White Earth, Minnesota. On account of the widely separated location of many of the different bands of the Ojibwa, and the establishment of independent MidĒ' societies, portions of the ritual which have been forgotten by one set may be found to survive at some other locality, though at the expense of some other fragments of tradition or ceremonial. No satisfactory account of the tradition of the origin of the Indians has been obtained, but such information as it was possible to procure will be submitted.

In all of their traditions pertaining to the early history of the tribe these people are termed A-nish'-in-â'-bĕg—original people—a term surviving also among the Ottawa, Patawatomí, and Menomoni, indicating that the tradition of their westward migration was extant prior to the final separation of these tribes, which is supposed to have occurred at Sault Ste. Marie.

Mi'nabō'zho (Great Rabbit), whose name occurs in connection with most of the sacred rites, was the servant of Dzhe Man'idō, the Good Spirit, and acted in the capacity of intercessor and mediator. It is generally supposed that it was to his good offices that the Indian owes life and the good things necessary to his health and subsistence.

The tradition of Mi'nabō'zho and the origin of the Midĕ'wiwin, as given in connection with the birch-bark record obtained at Red Lake (Pl. III A), is as follows:

When Mi'nabō'zho, the servant of Dzhe Man'idō, looked down upon the earth he beheld human beings, the Ani'shinâ'bĕg, the ancestors of the Ojibwa. They occupied the four quarters of the earth—the northeast, the southeast, the southwest, and the northwest. He saw how helpless they were, and desiring to give them the means of warding off the diseases with which they were constantly afflicted, and to provide them with animals and plants to serve as food and with other comforts, Mi'nabō'zho remained thoughtfully hovering over the center of the earth, endeavoring to devise some means of communicating with them, when he heard something laugh, and perceived a dark object appear upon the surface of the water to the west (No. 2). He could not recognize its form, and while watching it closely it slowly disappeared from view. It next appeared in the north (No. 3), and after a short lapse of time again disappeared. Mi'nabō'zho hoped it would again show itself upon the surface of the water, which it did in the east (No. 4). Then Mi'nabō'zho wished that it might approach him, so as to permit him to communicate with it. When it disappeared from view in the east and made its reappearance in the south (No. 1), Mi'nabō'zho asked it to come to the center of the earth that he might behold it. Again it disappeared from view, and after reappearing in the west Mi'nabō'zho observed it slowly approaching the center of the earth (i. e., the centre of the circle), when he descended and saw it was the Otter, now one of the sacred man'idōs of the Midĕ'wiwin. Then Mi'nabō'zho instructed the Otter in the mysteries of the Midĕ'wiwin, and gave him at the same time the sacred rattle to be used at the side of the sick; the sacred Midĕ' drum to be used during the ceremonial of initiation and at sacred feasts, and tobacco, to be employed in invocations and in making peace.

The place where Mi'nabō'zho descended was an island in the middle of a large body of water, and the Midĕ' who is feared by all the others is called Mini'sino'shkwe (He-who-lives-on-the-island). Then

Mi'nabō'zho built a Midē'wigân (sacred Midē' lodge), and taking his drum he beat upon it and sang a Midē' song, telling the Otter that Dzhe Man'idō had decided to help the Aníshinâ'bēg, that they might always have life and an abundance of food and other things necessary for their comfort. Mi'nabō'zho then took the Otter into the Midē'wigân and conferred upon him the secrets of the Midē'wiwin, and with his Midē' bag shot the sacred mī'gis into his body that he might have immortality and be able to confer these secrets to his kinsmen, the Aníshinâ'bēg.

The mī'gis is considered the sacred symbol of the Midē'wigân, and may consist of any small white shell, though the one believed to be similar to the one mentioned in the above tradition resembles the cowrie, and the ceremonies of initiation as carried out in the Midē'wiwin at this day are believed to be similar to those enacted by Mi'nabō'zho and the Otter. It is admitted by all the Midē' priests whom I have consulted that much of the information has been lost through the death of their aged predecessors, and they feel convinced that ultimately all of the sacred character of the work will be forgotten or lost through the adoption of new religions by the young people and the death of the Midē' priests, who, by the way, decline to accept Christian teachings, and are in consequence termed "pagans."

My instructor and interpreter of the Red Lake chart added other information in explanation of the various characters represented thereon, which I present herewith. The large circle at the right side of the chart denotes the earth as beheld by Mi'nabō'zho, while the Otter appeared at the square projections at Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4; the semicircular appendages between these are the four quarters of the earth, which are inhabited by the Aníshinâ'bēg, Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8. Nos. 9 and 10 represent two of the numerous malignant man'idōs, who endeavor to prevent entrance into the sacred structure and mysteries of the Midē'wiwin. The oblong squares, Nos. 11 and 12, represent the outline of the first degree of the society, the inner corresponding lines being the course traversed during initiation. The entrance to the lodge is directed toward the east, the western exit indicating the course toward the next higher degree. The four human forms at Nos. 13, 14, 15, and 16 are the four officiating Midē' priests whose services are always demanded at an initiation. Each is represented as having a rattle. Nos. 17, 18, and 19 indicate the cedar trees, one of each of this species being planted near the outer angles of a Midē' lodge. No. 20 represents the ground. The outline of the bear at No. 21 represents the Makwa' Man'idō, or Bear Spirit, one of the sacred Midē' man'idōs, to which the candidate must pray and make offerings of tobacco, that he may compel the malevolent spirits to draw away from the entrance to the Midē'wigân, which is shown in No. 28. Nos. 23 and 24 represent the sacred drum which

the candidate must use when chanting the prayers, and two offerings must be made, as indicated by the number two.

After the candidate has been admitted to one degree, and is prepared to advance to the second, he offers three feasts, and chants three prayers to the Makwa' Man'idō, or Bear Spirit (No. 22), the entrance (No. 29) to that degree may be opened to him. The feasts and chants are indicated by the three drums shown at Nos. 26, and 27.

Nos. 30, 31, 32, 33, and 34 are five Serpent Spirits, evil men who oppose a Midē's progress, though after the feasting and prayers directed to the Makwa' Man'idō have by him been deemed sufficient the four smaller Serpent Spirits move to either side of the entrance between the two degrees, while the larger serpent (No. 32) raises its body in the middle so as to form an arch, beneath which passes the candidate on his way to the second degree.

Nos. 35, 36, 46, and 47 are four malignant Bear Spirits, who guard the entrance and exit to the second degree, the doors of which are shown at Nos. 37 and 49. The form of this lodge (No. 38) is like the first degree; but while the seven Midē' priests at Nos. 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, and 45 simply indicate that the number of Midē' assisting at the second initiation are of a higher and more sacred class of person than in the first degree, the number designated having reference to quality and intensity rather than to the actual number of assistants as specifically shown at the top of the first degree structure.

When the Midē' is of the second degree, he receives from the Makwa' Man'idō supernatural powers as shown in No. 48. The lines extending upward from the eyes signify that he can look into the future; from the ears, that he can hear what is transpiring at a great distance; from the hands, that he can touch for good or for evil friends and enemies at a distance, however remote; while the lines extending from the feet denote his ability to traverse all space in the accomplishment of his desires or duties. The small disk upon the breast of the figure denotes that a Midē' of this degree has several times had the m'gis—life—"shot into his body," the increased size of the spot signifying amount or quantity of influence obtained thereby.

No. 50 represents a Mi'tsha Midē' or Bad Midē', one who employs his powers for evil purposes. He has the power of assuming the form of any animal, in which guise he may destroy the life of his victim, immediately after which he resumes his human form and appears innocent of any crime. His services are sought by persons who wish to encompass the destruction of enemies or rivals, at whatever remote a locality the intended victim may be at the time. The illustration representing the modus operandi of his performance is reproduced and explained in Fig. 24, page 238.

Persons possessed of this power are sometimes termed witch-doctors. Special reference to whom is made elsewhere. The illustration,

50, represents such an individual in his disguise of a bear, the characters at Nos. 51 and 52 denoting footprints of a bear made by him, impressions of which are sometimes found in the vicinity of lodges occupied by his intended victims. The trees shown upon either side of No. 50 signify a forest, the location usually sought by bad Midē' and witches.

If a second degree Midē' succeeds in his desire to become a member of the third degree, he proceeds in a manner similar to that before described; he gives feasts to the instructing and four officiating Midē', and offers prayers to Dzhe Man'idō for favor and success. No. 53 denotes that the candidate now personates the bear—not one of the malignant man'idōs, but one of the sacred man'idōs who are believed to be present during the ceremonials of initiation of the second degree. He is seated before his sacred drum, and when the proper time arrives the Serpent Man'idō (No. 54)—who has until this opposed his advancement—now arches its body, and beneath it he crawls and advances toward the door (No. 55) of the third degree (No. 56) of the Midē'wiwin, where he encounters two (Nos. 57 and 58) of the four Panther Spirits, the guardians of this degree.

Nos. 61 to 76 indicate midē' spirits who inhabit the structure of this degree, and the number of human forms in excess of those shown in connection with the second degree indicates a correspondingly higher and more sacred character. When an Indian has passed this initiation he becomes very skillful in his profession of a Midē'. The powers which he possessed in the second degree may become augmented. He is represented in No. 77 with arms extended, and with lines crossing his body and arms denoting darkness and obscurity, which signifies his ability to grasp from the invisible world the knowledge and means to accomplish extraordinary deeds. He feels more confident of prompt response and assistance from the sacred man'idōs and his knowledge of them becomes more widely extended.

Nos. 59 and 60 are two of the four Panther Spirits who are the special guardians of the third degree lodge.

To enter the fourth and highest degree of the society requires a greater number of feasts than before, and the candidate, who continues to personate the Bear Spirit, again uses his sacred drum, as he is shown sitting before it in No. 78, and chants more prayers to Dzhe Man'idō for his favor. This degree is guarded by the greatest number and the most powerful of malevolent spirits, who make a last effort to prevent a candidate's entrance at the door (No. 79) of the fourth degree structure (No. 80). The chief opponents to be overcome, through the assistance of Dzhe Man'idō, are two Panther Spirits (Nos. 81 and 82) at the eastern entrance, and two Bear Spirits (Nos. 83 and 84) at the western exit. Other bad spirits are about the structure, who frequently gain possession and are then enabled to make strong and prolonged resistance to the candidate's entrance.

The chiefs of this group of malevolent beings are Bears (Nos. 88 and 96), the Panther (No. 91), the Lynx (No. 97), and many others whose names they have forgotten, their positions being indicated at Nos. 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, and 95, all but the last resembling characters ordinarily employed to designate serpents.

The power with which it is possible to become endowed after passing through the fourth degree is expressed by the outline of a human figure (No. 98), upon which are a number of spots indicating that the body is covered with the mī'gis or sacred shells, symbolical of the Midē'wiwin. These spots designate the places where the Midē'priests, during the initiation, shot into his body the mī'gis and the lines connecting them in order that all the functions of the several corresponding parts or organs of the body may be exercised.

The ideal fourth degree Midē' is presumed to be in a position to accomplish the greatest feats in necromancy and magic. He is not only endowed with the power of reading the thoughts and intentions of others, as is pictorially indicated by the mī'gis spot upon the top of the head, but to call forth the shadow (soul) and retain it within his grasp at pleasure. At this stage of his pretensions, he is encroaching upon the prerogatives of the Jēs'sakkīd', and is then recognized as one, as he usually performs within the Jēs'sakkân or Jēs'sakkīd' lodge, commonly designated "the Jugglery."

The ten small circular objects upon the upper part of the record may have been some personal marks of the original owner; their import was not known to my informants and they do not refer to any portion of the history or ceremonies or the Midē'wiwin.

Extending toward the left from the end of the fourth degree inclosure is an angular pathway (No. 99), which represents the course to be followed by the Midē' after he has attained this high distinction. On account of his position his path is often beset with dangers, as indicated by the right angles, and temptations which may lead him astray; the points at which he may possibly deviate from the true course of propriety are designated by projections branching off obliquely toward the right and left (No. 100). The ovoid figure (No. 101) at the end of this path is termed Wai-ĕk'-ma-yök'—End of the road—and is alluded to in the ritual, as will be observed hereafter, as the end of the world, i. e., the end of the individual's existence. The number of vertical strokes (No. 102) within the ovoid figure signify the original owner to have been a fourth degree Midē' for a period of 14 years.

The outline of the Midē'wigân (No. 103) not only denotes that the same individual was a member of the Midē'wiwin, but the thirteen vertical strokes shown in Nos. 104 and 105 indicate that he was chief Midē' priest of the society for that number of years.

The outline of a Midē'wigân as shown at No. 106, with the place upon the interior designating the location of the sacred post (No.

107) and the stone (No. 108) against which the sick are placed during the time of treatment, signifies the owner to have practiced his calling of the exorcism of demons. But that he also visited the sick beyond the acknowledged jurisdiction of the society in which he resided, is indicated by the path (No. 109) leading around the sacred inclosure.

Upon that portion of the chart immediately above the fourth degree lodge is shown the outline of a Midē'wiwin (No. 110), with a path (No. 114), leading toward the west to a circle (No. 111), within which is another similar structure (No. 112) whose longest diameter is at right angles to the path, signifying that it is built so that its entrance is at the north. This is the Dzhibai' Midē'wigân or Ghost Lodge.

Around the interior of the circle are small V-shaped characters denoting the places occupied by the spirits of the departed, who are presided over by the Dzhibai' Midē', literally Shadow Midē'.

No. 113 represents the Kō-kó-kō-ō' (Owl) passing from the Midē'wigân to the Land of the Setting Sun, the place of the dead, upon the road of the dead, indicated by the pathway at No. 114. This man'idō is personated by a candidate for the first degree of the Midē'wiwin when giving a feast to the dead in honor of the shadow of him who had been dedicated to the Midē'wiwin and whose place is now to be taken by the giver of the feast.

Upon the back of the Midē' record, above described, is the personal record of the original owner, as shown in Pl. III B. Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 represent the four degrees of the society into which he has been initiated, or, to use the phraseology of an Ojibwa, "through which he has gone." This "passing through" is further illustrated by the bear tracks, he having personated the Makwa' Man'idō or Bear Spirit, considered to be the highest and most powerful of the guardian spirits of the fourth degree wigwam.

The illustration presented in Pl. III C represents the outlines of a birch-bark record (reduced to one-third) found among the effects of a lately deceased Midē' from Leech Lake, Minnesota. This record, together with a number of other curious articles, composed the outfit of the Midē', but the Rev. James A. Gilfillan of White Earth, through whose courtesy I was permitted to examine the objects, could give me no information concerning their use. Since that time, however, I have had an opportunity of consulting with one of the chief priests of the Leech Lake Society, through whom I have obtained some interesting data concerning them.

The chart represents the owner to have been a Midē' of the second degree, as indicated by the two outlines of the respective structures at Nos. 1 and 2, the place of the sacred posts being marked at Nos. 3 and 4. Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8 are Midē' priests holding their Midē' bags as in the ceremony of initiation. The disks represented at Nos.



9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 denote the sacred drum, which may be used by him during his initiation, while Nos. 14, 15, 16, and 17 denote that he was one of the four officiating priests of the MidĒ'wigân at his place of residence. Each of these figures is represented as holding their sacred bags as during the ceremonies. No. 18 denotes the path he has been pursuing since he became a MidĒ', while at Nos. 19 and 20 diverging lines signify that his course is beset with temptations and enemies, as referred to in the description of the Red Lake chart, Pl. III A.

The remaining objects found among the effects of the MidĒ' referred to will be described and figured hereafter.

The diagram represented on Pl. IV is a reduced copy of a record made by Sikas'sigĕ, a Mille Lacs Ojibwa MidĒ' of the second degree, now resident at White Earth.

The chart illustrating pictorially the general plan of the several degrees is a copy of a record in the possession of the chief MidĒ' at Mille Lacs in 1830, at which time Sikas'sigĕ, at the age of 10 years, received his first degree. For a number of years thereafter Sikas'sigĕ received continued instruction from his father Baiĕ'dzhĕk, and although he never publicly received advancement beyond the second degree of the society, his wife became a fourth degree priestess, at whose initiation he was permitted to be present.

Since his residence at White Earth Sikas'sigĕ has become one of the officiating priests of the society at that place. One version given by him of the origin of the Indians is presented in the following tradition, a pictorial representation having also been prepared of which Pl. V is a reduced copy:

In the beginning, Dzhe Man'idō (No. 1), made the MidĒ' Man'idōs. He first created two men (Nos. 2 and 3), and two women (Nos. 4 and 5); but they had no power of thought or reason. Then Dzhe Man'idō (No. 1) made them rational beings. He took them in his hands so that they should multiply; he paired them, and from this sprung the Indians. When there were people he placed them upon the earth, but he soon observed that they were subject to sickness, misery, and death, and that unless he provided them with the Sacred Medicine they would soon become extinct.

Between the position occupied by Dzhe Man'idō and the earth were four lesser spirits (Nos. 6, 7, 8, and 9) with whom Dzhe Man'idō decided to commune, and to impart to them the mysteries by which the Indians could be benefited. So he first spoke to a spirit at No. 6, and told him all he had to say, who in turn communicated the same information to No. 7, and he in turn to No. 8, who also communed with No. 9. They all met in council, and determined to call in the four wind gods at Nos. 10, 11, 12, and 13. After consulting as to what would be best for the comfort and welfare of the Indians, these spirits agreed to ask Dzhe Man'idō to communicate the Mystery of the Sacred Medicine to the people.

Dzhe Man'idō then went to the Sun Spirit (No. 14) and asked him to go to the earth and instruct the people as had been decided upon by the council. The Sun Spirit, in the form of a little boy, went to the earth and lived with a woman (No. 15) who had a little boy of her own.

This family went away in the autumn to hunt, and during the winter this woman's

son died. The parents were so much distressed that they decided to return to the village and bury the body there; so they made preparations to return, and as they traveled along, they would each evening erect several poles upon which the body was placed to prevent the wild beasts from devouring it. When the dead boy was thus hanging upon the poles, the adopted child—who was the Sun Spirit—would play about the camp and amuse himself, and finally told his adopted father he pitied him, and his mother, for their sorrow. The adopted son said he could bring his dead brother to life, whereupon the parents expressed great surprise and desired to know how that could be accomplished.

The adopted boy then had the party hasten to the village, when he said, "Get the women to make a wig'iwam of bark (No. 16), put the dead boy in a covering of birch bark and place the body on the ground in the middle of the wig'iwam. On the next morning after this had been done, the family and friends went into this lodge and seated themselves around the corpse.

When they had all been sitting quietly for some time, they saw through the doorway the approach of a bear (No. 17) which gradually came towards the wig'iwam, entered it, and placed itself before the dead body and said hũ, hũ, hũ, hũ, when he passed around it towards the left side, with a trembling motion, and as he did so, the body began quivering, and the quivering increased as the bear continued until he had passed around four times, when the body came to life again and stood up. Then the bear called to the father, who was sitting in the distant right-hand corner of the wig'iwam, and addressed to him the following words:

Nōs ka-wī'-na ni'-shi-na'-bi wis-sī' a'-ya-wī'-an man'-i-dō nin-gī'-sis. Be-mai'-a-  
My father is not an Indian not you are a spirit son. Inso-  
mī'-nik ni'-dzhī man'-i-dō mī'-a-zhī'-gwa tshī'-gī'-a'-we-ân'. Nōs a-zhī'-gwa a-sē'-ma  
much my fellow spirit now as you are. My father now tobacco  
tshī'-a-tō'-yēk. A'-mī'-kūn'-dem mi-ē'-ta â'-wi-dink' dzhi-gōsh'-kwi-tōt' wen'-dzhi-  
you shall put. He speaks of . only once to be able to do it why he  
bi-mâ'-di-zid'-o-ma' a-gâ'-wa bi-mâ'-dī-zīd'-mi-o-ma'; ní-dzhī man'-i-dō mī'-a-zhī'-gwa  
shall live here now that he scarcely lives; my fellow spirit now I shall go  
tshī'-gī'-wē'-ân.  
home.

The little bear boy (No. 17) was the one who did this. He then remained among the Indians (No. 18) and taught them the mysteries of the Grand Medicine (No. 19); and, after he had finished, he told his adopted father that as his mission had been fulfilled he was to return to his kindred spirits, for the Indians would have no need to fear sickness as they now possessed the Grand Medicine which would enable them to live. He also said that his spirit could bring a body to life but once, and he would now return to the sun from which they would feel his influence.

This is called Kwí-wī-sēns' wē-dī'-shī-tshī gē-wī-nīp—"Little-boy-his-work."

From subsequent information it was learned that the line No. 22 denotes the earth, and that, being considered as one step in the course of initiation into the Midē'wiwin, three others must be taken before a candidate can be admitted. These steps, or rests, as they are denominated (Nos. 23, 24, and 25), are typified by four distinct gifts of goods, which must be remitted to the Midē' priests before the ceremony can take place.

Nos. 18 and 19 are repetitions of the figures alluded to in the tradition (Nos. 16 and 17) to signify that the candidate must personate the Makwa' Man'idō—Bear Spirit—when entering the Midē'wiwin (No. 19). No. 20 is the Midē' Man'idō as Ki'tshi Man'idō is termed

by the Midĕ' priests. The presence of horns attached to the head is a common symbol of superior power found in connection with the figures of human and divine forms in many Midĕ' songs and other mnemonic records. No. 21 represents the earth's surface, similar to that designated at No. 22.

Upon comparing the preceding tradition of the creation of the Indians with the following, which pertains to the descent to earth of Mi'nabō'zho, there appears to be some discrepancy, which could not be explained by Sikas'sigĕ, because he had forgotten the exact sequence of events; but from information derived from other Midĕ' it is evident that there have been joined together two myths, the intervening circumstances being part of the tradition given below in connection with the narrative relating to the chart on Pl. III A.

This chart, which was in possession of the Mille Lacs chief Baiĕ'-dzhĕk, was copied by him from that belonging to his preceptor at La Pointe about the year 1800, and although the traditions given by Sikas'sigĕ is similar to the one surviving at Red Lake, the diagram is an interesting variant for the reason that there is a greater amount of detail in the delineation of objects mentioned in the tradition.

By referring to Pl. IV it will be noted that the circle, No. 1, resembles the corresponding circle at the beginning of the record on Pl. III, A, with this difference, that the four quarters of the globe inhabited by the Ani shinā'bĕg are not designated between the cardinal points at which the Otter appeared, and also that the central island, only alluded to there (Pl. III A), is here inserted.

The correct manner of arranging the two pictorial records, Pls. III A and IV, is by placing the outline of the earth's surface (Pl. V, No. 21) upon the island indicated in Pl. IV, No. 6, so that the former stands vertically and at right angles to the latter; for the reason that the first half of the tradition pertains to the consultation held between

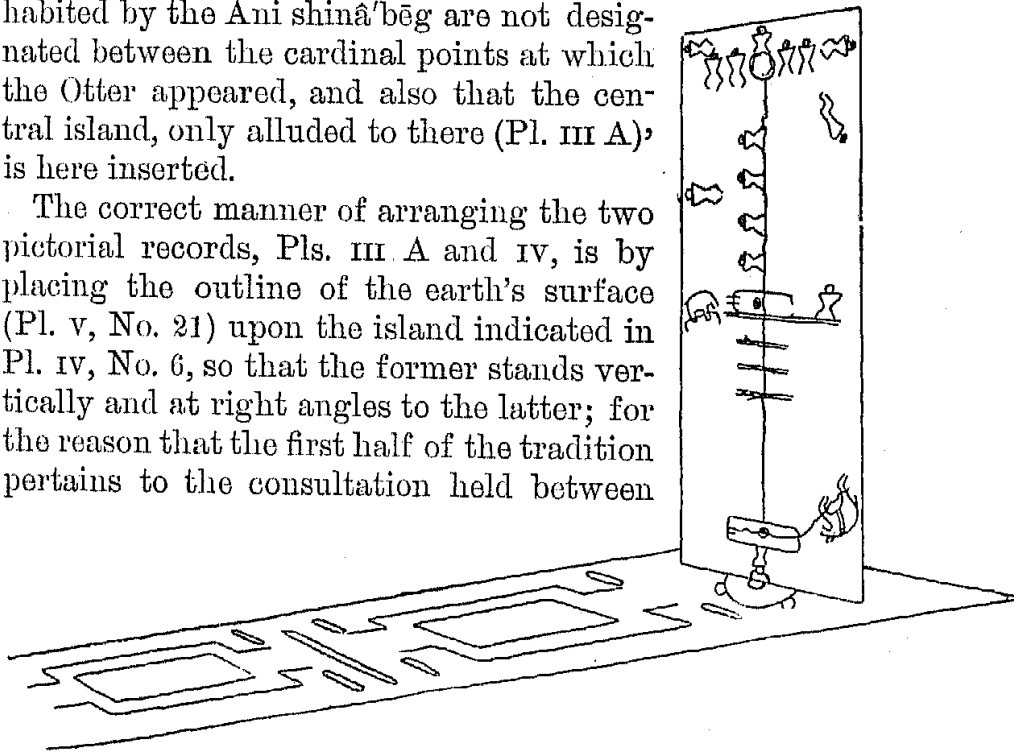


FIG. 2.—Sikas'sigĕ's combined charts, showing descent of Min'abō'zho.

Ki'tshi Man'idō and the four lesser spirits which is believed to have occurred above the earth's surface. According to Sikas'sigĕ the two charts should be joined as suggested in the accompanying illustration, Fig. 2.

Sikas'sig'ë's explanation of the Mille Lacs chart (Pl. IV) is substantially as follows :

When Mi'nabō'zho descended to the earth to give to the Ani'shinā'bēg the Midē'wiwin, he left with them this chart, Midē'wigwas'. Ki'tshi Man'idō saw that his people on earth were without the means of protecting themselves against disease and death, so he sent Mi'nabō'zho to give to them the sacred gift. Mi'nabō'zho appeared over the waters and while reflecting in what manner he should be able to communicate with the people, he heard something laugh, just as an otter sometimes cries out. He saw something black appear upon the waters in the west (No. 2) which immediately disappeared beneath the surface again. Then it came up at the northern horizon (No. 3), which pleased Mi'nabō'zho, as he thought he now had some one through whom he might convey the information with which he had been charged by Ki'tshi Man'idō. When the black object disappeared beneath the waters at the north to reappear in the east (No. 4), Mi'nabō'zho desired it would come to him in the middle of the waters, but it disappeared to make its reappearance in the south (No. 5), where it again sank out of sight to reappear in the west (No. 2), when Mi'nabō'zho asked it to approach the center where there was an island (No. 6), which it did. This did Ni'gīk, the Otter, and for this reason he is given charge of the first degree of the Midē'wiwin (Nos. 35 and 36) where his spirit always abides during initiation and when healing the sick.

Then Ni'gīk asked Mi'nabō'zho, "Why do you come to this place?" When the latter said, "I have pity on the Ani'shinā'bēg and wish to give them life; Ki'tshi Man'idō gave me the power to confer upon them the means of protecting themselves against sickness and death, and through you I will give them the Midē'wiwin, and teach them the sacred rites."

Then Mi'nabō'zho built a Midē'wigān in which he instructed the Otter in all the mysteries of the Midē'wiwin. The Otter sat before the door of the Midē'wigān four days (Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10), sunning himself, after which time he approached the entrance (No. 14), where his progress was arrested (No. 11) by seeing two bad spirits (Nos. 12 and 13) guarding it. Through the powers possessed by Mi'nabō'zho he was enabled to pass these; when he entered the sacred lodge (No. 15), the first object he beheld being the sacred stone (No. 16) against which those who were sick were to be seated, or laid, when undergoing the ceremonial of restoring them to health. He next saw a post (No. 17) painted red with a green band around the top. A sick man would also have to pray

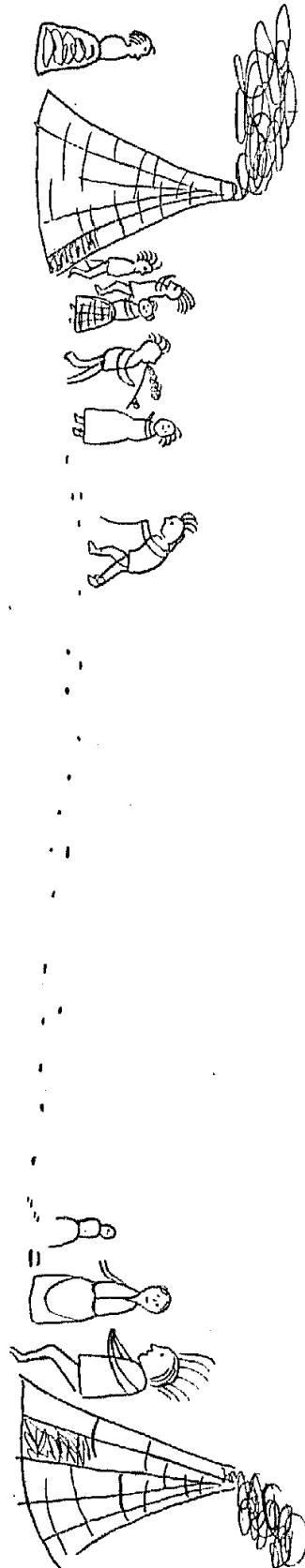


FIG. 3.—Origin of Ginseng.

to the stone and to the post, when he is within the MidĒ'wigân, because within them would be the MidĒ' spirits whose help he invoked. The Otter was then taken to the middle of the MidĒ'wigân where he picked up the mġgis (No. 18) from among a heap of sacred objects which form part of the gifts given by Ki'tshi Man'idō. The eight man'idōs around the midĒ'wigân (Nos. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, and 26) were also sent by Ki'tshi Man'idō to guard the lodge against the entrance of bad spirits.

A life is represented by the line No. 27, the signification of the short lines (Nos. 28, 29, 30, and 31) denoting that the course of human progress is beset by temptations and trials which may be the cause of one's departure from such course of conduct as is deemed proper, and the beliefs taught by the MidĒ'. When one arrives at middle age (No. 32) his course for the remaining period of life is usually without any special events, as indicated by the plain line No. 27, extending from middle age (No. 32) to the end of one's existence (No. 33). The short lines at Nos. 28, 29, 30, and 31, indicating departure from the path of propriety, terminate in rounded spots and signify, literally, "lecture places," because when a MidĒ' feels himself failing in duty or vacillating in faith he must renew professions by giving a feast and lecturing to his confreres, thus regaining his strength to resist evil doing—such as making use of his powers in harming his kinsmen, teaching that which was not given him by Ki'tshi Man'idō through Mi'nabō'zho, etc. His heart must be cleansed and his tongue guarded.

To resume the tradition of the course pursued by the Otter, Sikas'sigĕ said:

The Otter then went round the interior of the MidĒ'wigân (No. 34), and finally seated himself in the west, where Mi'nabō'zho shot into his body the sacred mġgis, which was in his MidĒ' bag. Then Mi'nabō'zho said, "This is your lodge and you shall own it always (Nos. 35 and 36), and eight MidĒ' Man'idōs (Nos. 19-26) shall guard it during the night."

The Otter was taken to the entrance (No. 37) of the second degree structure (No. 38), which he saw was guarded by two evil man'idōs (Nos. 39 and 40), who opposed his progress, but who were driven away by Mi'nabō'zho. When the Otter entered at the door he beheld the sacred stone (No. 41) and two posts (Nos. 42, 43), the one nearest to him being painted red with a green band around the top, and another at the middle, with a bunch of little feathers upon the top. The other post (No. 43) was painted red, with only a band of green at the top, similar to the first degree post. Nos. 44 and 45 are the places where sacred objects and gifts are placed. This degree of the MidĒ'wiwin is guarded at night by twelve MidĒ' Man'idōs (Nos. 46 to 57) placed there by Ki'tshi Man'idō, and the degree is owned by the Thunder Bird as shown in Nos. 58, 59.

The circles (Nos. 60, 61, and 62) at either end of the outline of the structure denoting the degree and beneath it are connected by a line (No. 63) as in the preceding degree, and are a mere repetition to denote the course of conduct to be pursued by the MidĒ'. The points (Nos. 64, 65, 66, and 67), at the termini of the shorter lines, also refer to the feasts and lectures to be given in case of need.

To continue the informant's tradition:

When the Otter had passed around the interior of the Midē'wigân four times, he seated himself in the west and faced the degree post, when Mí'nabō'zho again shot into his body the mī'gis, which gave him renewed life. Then the Otter was told to take a "sweat bath" once each day for four successive days, so as to prepare for the next degree. (This number is indicated at the rounded spots at Nos. 68, 69, 70, and 71.)

The third degree of the Midē'wiwin (No. 72) is guarded during the day by two Midē' spirits (Nos. 73, 74) near the eastern entrance, and by the Makwa' Man'idō within the inclosure (Nos. 75 and 76), and at night by eighteen Midē' Man'idōs (Nos. 77 to 94), placed there by Kí'tshi Man'idō. When the Otter approached the entrance (No. 95) he was again arrested in his progress by two evil man'idōs (Nos. 96 and 97), who opposed his admission, but Mí'nibō'zho overcame them and the Otter entered. Just inside of the door, and on each side, the Otter saw a post (Nos. 98 and 99), and at the western door or exit two corresponding posts (Nos. 100 and 101). These symbolized the four legs of the Makwa' Man'idō, or Bear Spirit, who is the guardian by day and the owner of the third degree. The Otter then observed the sacred stone (No. 102) and the two heaps of sacred objects (Nos. 103 and 104) which Mí'nabō'zho had deposited, and three degree posts (Nos. 105, 106, and 107), the first of which (No. 105) was a plain cedar post with the bark upon it, but sharpened at the top; the second (No. 106), a red post with a green band round the top and one about the middle, as in the second degree; and the third a cross (No. 107) painted red, each of the tips painted green. [The vertical line No. 108 was said to have no relation to anything connected with the tradition.] After the Otter had observed the interior of the Midē'wigân he again made four circuits, after which he took his station in the west, where he seated himself, facing the sacred degree posts. Then Mí'nabō'zho, for the third time, shot into his body the mī'gis, thus adding to the powers which he already possessed, after which he was to prepare for the fourth degree of the Midē'wiwin.

Other objects appearing upon the chart were subsequently explained as follows:

The four trees (Nos. 109, 110, 111, and 112), one of which is planted at each of the four corners of the Midē'wigân, are usually cedar, though pine may be taken as a substitute when the former can not be had. The repetition of the circles Nos. 113, 114, and 115 and connecting line No. 116, with the short lines at Nos. 117, 118, 119, and 120, have the same signification as in the preceding two degrees.

After the Otter had received the third degree he prepared himself for the fourth, and highest, by taking a steam bath once a day for four successive days (Nos. 121, 122, 123, and 124). Then, as he proceeded toward the Midē'wigân he came to a wig'iwam made of brush (No. 179), which was the nest of Makwa' Man'idō, the Bear Spirit, who guarded the four doors of the sacred structure.

The four rows of spots have reference to the four entrances of the Midē'wigân of the fourth degree. The signification of the spots near the larger circle, just beneath the "Bear's nest" could not be explained by Sikas'sigē, but the row of spots (No. 117) along the horizontal line leading to the entrance of the inclosure were denominated steps, or stages of progress, equal to as many days—one spot denoting one day—which must elapse before the Otter was permitted to view the entrance.

When the Otter approached the fourth degree (No. 118) he came to a short post

(No. 119) in which there was a small aperture. The post was painted green on the side from which he approached and red upon the side toward the MidĒ'wigân [see Fig. 4.] But before he was permitted to look through

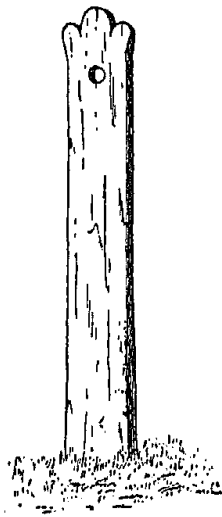


FIG. 4.—Peep-hole post.

it he rested and invoked the favor of Ki'tshi Man'idō, that the evil man'idōs might be expelled from his path. Then, when the Otter looked through the post, he saw that the interior of the inclosure was filled with MidĒ' Man'idos, ready to receive him and to attend during his initiation. The two MidĒ' Man'idos at the outside of the eastern entrance (Nos. 120 and 121) compelled the evil man'idōs (Nos. 122 and 123) to depart and permit the Otter to enter at the door (No. 124). Then the Otter beheld the sacred stone (No. 125) and the five heaps of sacred objects which Mina-bō'zho had deposited (Nos. 126, 127, 128, 129, and 130) near the four degree posts (Nos. 131, 132, 133, and 134). According to their importance, the first was painted red, with a green band about the top; the second was painted red, with two green bands, one at the top and another at the middle; the third consisted of a cross painted red, with the tips of the arms and the top of the post painted green; while the fourth was a square post, the side toward the east being

painted white, that toward the south green, that toward the west red, and that toward the north black.

The two sets of sticks (Nos. 135 and 136) near the eastern and western doors represent the legs of Makwa' Man'idō, the Bear Spirit. When the Otter had observed all these things he passed round the interior of the MidĒ'wigân four times, after which he seated himself in the west, facing the degree posts, when Mi'nabō'zho approached him and for the fourth time shot into his body the sacred mī'gis, which gave him life that will endure always. Then Mi'nabō'zho said to the Otter, "This degree belongs to Ki'tshi Man'ido, the Great Spirit (Nos. 137 and 138), who will always be present when you give the sacred rite to any of your people." At night the MidĒ' Man'idōs (Nos. 139 to 162) will guard the MidĒ'wigân, as they are sent by Ki'tshi Man'ido to do so. The Bear's nest (Nos. 163 and 164) just beyond the northern and southern doors (Nos. 165 and 166) of the MidĒ'wigân are the places where Makwa' Man'idō takes his station when guarding the doors.

Then the Otter made a wig'iwam and offered four prayers (Nos. 167, 168, 169, and 170) for the rites of the MidĒ'wiwin, which Ki'tshi Man'idō had given him.

The following supplemental explanations were added by Sikas'-sigĕ, viz: The four vertical lines at the outer angles of the lodge structure (Nos. 171, 172, 173, and 174), and four similar ones on the inner corners (Nos. 175, 176, 177, and 178), represent eight cedar trees planted there by the MidĒ' at the time of preparing the MidĒ'wigân for the reception of candidates. The circles Nos. 179, 180, and 181, and the connecting line, are a reproduction of similar ones shown in the three preceding degrees, and signify the course of a MidĒ's life—that it should be without fault and in strict accordance with the teachings of the MidĒ'wiwin. The short lines, terminating in circles Nos. 182, 183, 184, and 185, allude to temptations which beset the MidĒ's path, and he shall, when so tempted, offer at these points feasts and lectures, or, in other words, "professions of faith." The three lines Nos. 186, 187, and 188, consisting of four

spots each, which radiate from the larger circle at No. 179 and that before mentioned at No. 116, symbolize the four bear nests and their respective approaches, which are supposed to be placed opposite the four doors of the fourth degree; and it is obligatory, therefore, for a candidate to enter these four doors on hands and knees when appearing for his initiation and before he finally waits to receive the concluding portion of the ceremony.

The illustration presented in Fig. 5 is a reduced copy of a drawing made by Sikas'sigě to represent the migration of the Otter toward the west after he had received the rite of the Midē'wiwin. No. 1 refers to the circle upon the large chart on Pl. III A, No. 1, and signifies the earth's surface as before described. No. 2 in Fig. 5 is a line separating the history of the Midē'wiwin from that of the migration as follows: When the Otter had offered four prayers, as above mentioned, which fact is referred to by the spot No. 3, he disappeared beneath the surface of the water and went toward the west, whither the Anishinā'bēg followed him, and located at Ottawa Island (No. 4). Here they erected the Midē'wigân and lived for many years. Then the Otter again disappeared beneath the water, and in a short time reappeared at A'wiat'ang (No. 5), when the Midē'wigân was again erected and the sacred rites conducted in accordance with the teachings of Mi'nabō'zhō. Thus was an interrupted migration continued, the several resting places being given below in their proper order, at each of which the rites of the Midē'wiwin were conducted in all their purity. The next place to locate at was Mi'shenama'kinagung — Mackinaw

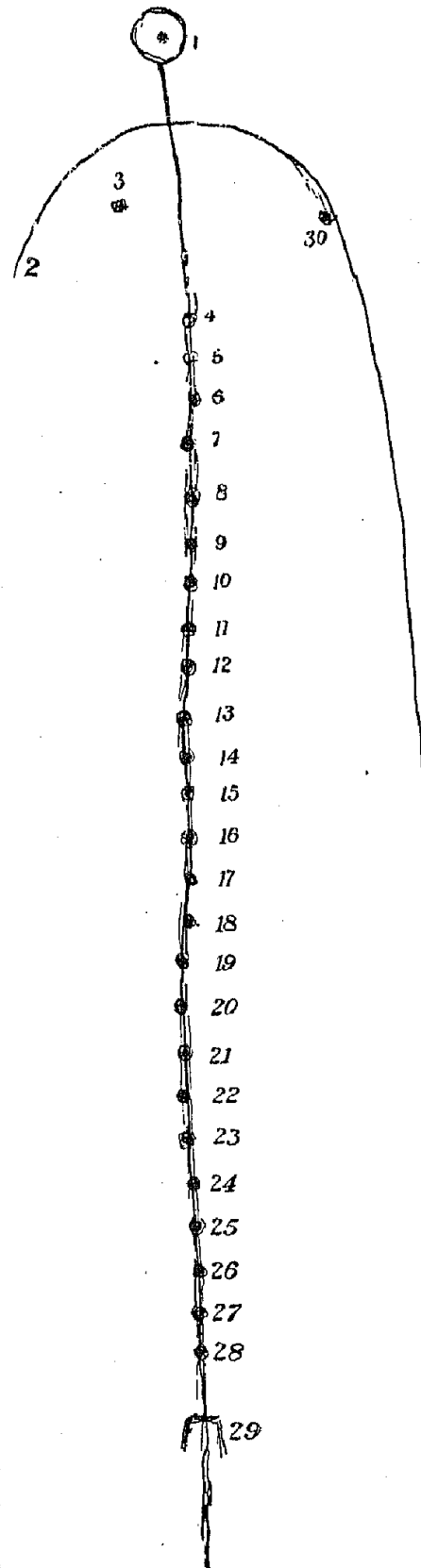


FIG. 5.—Migration of Anishinā'bēg.



(No. 6); then Ne'mikung (No. 7); Kiwe'winang' (No. 8); Bâwating—Sault Ste. Marie (No. 9); Tshiwit'owi' (No. 10); Nega'wadzhě'û—Sand Mountain (No. 11), northern shore of Lake Superior; Mi'nisa'wîk [Mi'nisa'bikkäng]—Island of rocks (No. 12); Kawa'sitshî-ûwongk—Foaming rapids (No. 13); Mush'kisi'wi [Mash'kisi'bi]—Bad River (No. 14); Shagawâmikongk—Long-sand-bar-beneath the-surface (No. 15); Wikwe'dâ"wonggâ"—Sandy Bay (No. 16); Neâ'shiwikongk—Cliff Point (No. 17); Netâ"waya"sink—Little point-of-sand-bar (No. 18); A"nibi"s—Little elm tree (No. 19); Wikup'bi"mi"sh—literally, Little-island-basswood (No. 20); Makubi"mi"sh—Bear Island (No. 21); Sha'geski'ke'dawan'ga (No. 22); Ni'wigwas'sikongk—The place where bark is peeled (No. 23); Ta'pakwe'îkak [Sa'apakwe'shkwaokongk]—The-place-where-lodge-bark-is-obtained (No. 24); Ne'uwesak'kudeze'bi [Ne'wisaku'desi'bi]—Point-dead-wood-timber river (No. 25); A"nibi'kanzi'bi [modern name, Âsh'kiba'gisi'bi], given respectively as Fish spawn River and Green leaf River (No. 26).

This last-named locality is said to be Sandy Lake, Minnesota, where the Otter appeared for the last time, and where the Midé'wigân was finally located. From La Pointe, as well as from Sandy Lake, the Ojibwa claim to have dispersed in bands over various portions of the territory, as well as into Wisconsin, which final separation into distinct bodies has been the chief cause of the gradual changes found to exist in the ceremonies of the Midé'wiwin.

According to Sikas'sigä, the above account of the initiation of the Otter, by Mi'nabo'zho, was adopted as the course of initiation by the Midé' priests of the Mille Lacs Society, when he himself received the first degree, 1830. At that time a specific method of facial decoration was pursued by the priests of the respective degrees (Pl. VI), each adopting that pertaining to the highest degree to which he was entitled, viz:

*First degree.*—A broad band of green across the forehead and a narrow stripe of vermilion across the face, just below the eyes.

*Second degree.*—A narrow stripe of vermilion across the temples, the eyelids, and the root of the nose, a short distance above which is a similar stripe of green, then another of vermilion, and above this again one of green.

*Third degree.*—Red and white spots are daubed all over the face, the spots being as large as can be made by the finger tips in applying the colors.

*Fourth degree.*—Two forms of decoration were admissible; for the first, the face was painted with vermilion, with a stripe of green extending diagonally across it from the upper part of the left temporal region to the lower part of the right cheek; for the second, the face was painted red with two short, horizontal parallel bars of

green across the forehead. Either of these was also employed as a sign of mourning by one whose son has been intended for the priesthood of the Midē'wiwin, but special reference to this will be given in connection with the ceremony of the Dzhibai' Midē'wigân, or Ghost Society.

On Pl. VIII is presented a reduced copy of the Midē' chart made by Ojibwa, a Midē' priest of the fourth degree and formerly a member of the society of the Sandy Lake band of the Mississippi Ojibwa. The illustration is copied from his own chart which he received in 1833 in imitation of that owned by his father, Me'toshi'-kō"sh; and this last had been received from Lake Superior, presumably La Pointe, many years before.

The illustration of the four degrees are here represented in profile, and shows higher artistic skill than the preceding copies from Red Lake, and Mille Lacs.

The information given by Ojibwa, regarding the characters is as follows:

When Ki'tshi Man'idō had decided to give to the Ani'shinâ'bēg the rites of the Midē'wiwin, he took his Midē' drum and sang, calling upon the other Man'idōs to join him and to hear what he was going to do. No. 1 represents the abode in the sky of Ki'tshi Man'idō, No. 2, indicating the god as he sits drumming, No. 3, the small spots surrounding the drum denoting the m'gis with which everything about him is covered. The Midē' Man'idōs came to him in his Midē'wigân (No. 4), eleven of which appear upon the inside of that structure, while the ten—all but himself—upon the outside (Nos. 5 to 14) are represented as descending to the earth, charged with the means of conferring upon the Ani'shinâ'bēg the sacred rite. In the Midē'wigân (No. 4) is shown also the sacred post (No. 15) upon which is perched Kō-ko'-kō-ō—the Owl (No. 16). The line traversing the structure, from side to side, represents the trail leading through it, while the two rings (Nos. 17 and 18) upon the right side of the post indicate respectively the spot where the presents are deposited and the sacred stone—this according to modern practices.

When an Indian is prepared to receive the rights of initiation he prepares a wig'iwam (No. 19) in which he takes a steam bath once each day for four successive days. The four baths and four days are indicated by the number of spots at the floor of the lodge, representing stones. The instructors, employed by him, and the officiating priests of the society are present, one of which (No. 20) may be observed upon the left of the wig'iwam in the act of making an offering of smoke, while the one to the right (No. 21) is drumming and singing. The four officiating priests are visible to either side of the candidate within the structure. The wig'iwams (Nos. 22, 23, 24, and 25) designate the village habitations.

In the evening of the day preceding the initiation, the candidate (No. 26) visits his instructor (No. 27) to receive from him final directions as to the part to be enacted upon the following day. The candidate is shown in the act of carrying with him his pipe, the offering of tobacco being the most acceptable of all gifts. His relatives follow and carry the goods and other presents, some of which are suspended from the branches of the Midē' tree (No. 28) near the entrance of the first degree structure. The instructor's wig'iwam is shown at No. 29, the two dark circular spots upon the floor showing two of the seats, occupied by instructor and pupil. The figure No. 27 has his left arm elevated, denoting that his conversation pertains to Ki'tshi Man'idō, while in his right hand he holds his Midē' drum. Upon the fol-

lowing morning the MidĒ' priests, with the candidate in advance (No. 30), approach and enter the MidĒ'wigān and the initiation begins. No. 31 is the place of the sacred drum and those who are detailed to employ the drum and rattles, while No. 32 indicates the officiating priests; No. 33 is the degree post, surmounted by Kō-ko'-kō-ō', the Owl (No. 34). The post is painted with vermilion, with small white spots all over its surface, emblematic of the mī'gis shell. The line (No. 35) extending along the upper portion of the inclosure represents the pole from which are suspended the robes, blankets, kettles, etc., which constitute the fee paid to the society for admission.

This degree is presided over and guarded by the Panther Man'idō.

When the candidate has been able to procure enough gifts to present to the society for the second degree, he takes his drum and offers chants (No. 35) to Ki'tshi Man'idō for success. Ki'tshi Man'idō himself is the guardian of the second degree and his footprints are shown in No. 36. No. 37 represents the second degree inclosure, and contains two sacred posts (Nos. 38 and 39), the first of which is the same as that of the first degree, the second being painted with white clay, bearing two bands of vermilion, one about the top and one near the middle. A small branch near the top is used, after the ceremony is over, to hang the tobacco pouch on. No. 40 represents the musicians and attendants; No. 41 the candidate upon his knees; while Nos. 42, 43, 44, and 45 pictures the officiating priests who surround him. The horizontal pole (No. 46) has presents of robes, blankets, and kettles suspended from it.

When a candidate is prepared to advance to the third degree (No. 47) he personates Makwa' Man'idō, who is the guardian of this degree, and whose tracks (No. 48) are visible. The assistants are visible upon the interior, drumming and dancing. There are three sacred posts, the first (No. 49) is black, and upon this is placed Kō-ko'-kō-ō'—the Owl; the second (No. 50) is painted with white clay and has upon the top the effigy of an owl; while the third (No. 51) is painted with vermilion, bearing upon the summit the effigy of an Indian. Small wooden effigies of the human figure are used by the MidĒ' in their tests of the proof of the genuineness and sacredness of their religion, which tests will be alluded to under another caption. The horizontal rod (No. 52), extending from one end of the structure to the other, has suspended from it the blankets and other gifts.

The guardian of the fourth degree is Maka'no—the Turtle—as he appears (No. 53) facing the entrance of the fourth degree (No. 54). Four sacred posts are planted in the fourth degree; the first (No. 55), being painted white upon the upper half and green upon the lower; the second (No. 56) similar; the third (No. 57) painted red, with a black spiral line extending from the top to the bottom, and upon which is placed Kō-ko'-kō-ō'—the Owl; and the fourth (No. 58), a cross, the arms and part of the trunk of which is white, with red spots—to designate the sacred mī'gis—the lower half of the trunk cut square, the face toward the east painted red, the south green, the west white, and the north black. The spot (No. 59) at the base of the cross signifies the place of the sacred stone, while the human figures (No. 60) designate the participants, some of whom are seated near the wall of the inclosure, whilst others are represented as beating the drum. Upon the horizontal pole (No. 61) are shown the blankets constituting gifts to the society.

The several specific methods of facial decoration employed (Pl. VII), according to Ojibwa's statement, are as follows:

*First degree.*—One stripe of vermilion across the face, from near the ears across the tip of the nose.

*Second degree.*—One stripe as above, and another across the eyelids, temples, and the root of the nose.

*Third degree.*—The upper half of the face is painted green and the lower half red.

*Fourth degree.*—The forehead and left side of the face, from the outer canthus of the eye downward, is painted green; four spots of vermilion are made with the tip of the finger upon the forehead and four upon the green surface of the left cheek. In addition to this, the plumes of the golden eagle, painted red, are worn upon the head and down the back. This form of decoration is not absolutely necessary, as the expense of the "war bonnet" places it beyond the reach of the greater number of persons.

Before proceeding further with the explanation of the Mide' records it may be of interest to quote the traditions relative to the migration of the Ani'shinâ'bég, as obtained by Mr. Warren previous to 1853. In his reference to observing the rites of initiation he heard one of the officiating priests deliver "a loud and spirited harangue," of which the following words<sup>1</sup> caught his attention:

Our forefathers were living on the great salt water toward the rising sun, the great Megis (seashell) showed itself above the surface of the great water and the rays of the sun for a long time period were reflected from its glossy back. It gave warmth and light to the An-ish-in-aub-ag (red race). All at once it sank into the deep, and for a time our ancestors were not blessed with its light. It rose to the surface and appeared again on the great river which drains the waters of the Great Lakes, and again for a long time it gave life to our forefathers and reflected back the rays of the sun. Again it disappeared from sight and it rose not till it appeared to the eyes of the An-ish-in-aub-ag on the shores of the first great lake. Again it sank from sight, and death daily visited the wigiwams of our forefathers till it showed its back and reflected the rays of the sun once more at Bow-e-ting (Sault Ste. Marie). Here it remained for a long time, but once more, and for the last time, it disappeared, and the An-ish-in-aub-ag was left in darkness and misery, till it floated and once more showed its bright back at Mo-ning-wun-a-kaun-ing (La Pointe Island), where it has ever since reflected back the rays of the sun and blessed our ancestors with life, light, and wisdom. Its rays reach the remotest village of the widespread Ojibways." As the old man delivered this talk he continued to display the shell, which he represented as an emblem of the great megis of which he was speaking.

A few days after, anxious to learn the true meaning of this allegory, \* \* \* I requested him to explain to me the meaning of his Me-da-we harangue.

After filling his pipe and smoking of the tobacco I had presented he proceeded to give me the desired information, as follows:

"My grandson," said he, "the megis I spoke of means the Me-da-we religion. Our forefathers, many string of lives ago, lived on the shores of the great salt water in the east. Here, while they were suffering the ravages of sickness and death, the Great Spirit, at the intercession of Man-a-bo-sho, the great common uncle of the An-ish-in-aub-ag, granted them this rite, wherewith life is restored and prolonged. Our forefathers moved from the shores of the great water and proceeded westward.

"The Me-da-we lodge was pulled down, and it was not again erected till our forefathers again took a stand on the shores of the great river where Mo-ne-aung (Montreal) now stands.

"In the course of time this town was again deserted, and our forefathers, still

<sup>1</sup>Op. cit., p. 78 et seq.

proceeding westward, lit not their fires till they reached the shores of Lake Huron, where again the rites of the Me-da-we were practiced.

"Again these rites were forgotten, and the Me-da-we lodge was not built till the Ojibways found themselves congregated at Bow-e-ting (outlet of Lake Superior), where it remained for many winters. Still the Ojibways moved westward, and for the last time the Me-da-we lodge was erected on the island of La Pointe, and here, long before the pale face appeared among them, it was practiced in its purest and most original form. Many of our fathers lived the full term of life granted to mankind by the Great Spirit, and the forms of many old people were mingled with each rising generation. This, my grandson, is the meaning of the words you did not understand; they have been repeated to us by our fathers for many generations."

In the explanation of the chart obtained at Red Lake, together with the tradition, reference to the otter, as being the most sacred emblem of society, is also verified in a brief notice of a tradition by Mr. Warren,<sup>1</sup> as follows:

There is another tradition told by the old men of the Ojibway village of Fond du Lac, Lake Superior, which tells of their former residence on the shores of the great salt water. It is, however, so similar in character to the one I have related that its introduction here would only occupy unnecessary space. The only difference between the two traditions is that the otter, which is emblematical of one of the four Medicine Spirits who are believed to preside over the Midawe rites, is used in one in the same figurative manner as the seashell is used in the other, first appearing to the ancient An-ish-in-aub-ag from the depths of the great salt water, again on the river St. Lawrence, then on Lake Huron at Sault Ste. Marie, again at La Pointe, but lastly at Fond du Lac, or end of Lake Superior, where it is said to have forced the sand bank at the mouth of the St. Louis River. The place is still pointed out by the Indians where they believe the great otter broke through.

It is affirmed by the Indians that at Sault Ste. Marie some of the Ojibwa separated from the main body of that tribe and traversed the country along the northern shore of Lake Superior toward the west. These have since been known of as the "Bois Forts" (hardwood people or timber people), other bands being located at Pigeon River, Rainy Lake, etc. Another separation occurred at La Pointe, one party going toward Fond du Lac and westward to Red Lake, where they claim to have resided for more than three hundred years, while the remainder scattered from La Pointe westward and south-westward, locating at favorable places throughout the timbered country. This early dismemberment and long-continued separation of the Ojibwa nation accounts, to a considerable extent, for the several versions of the migration and the sacred emblems connected with the MidĒ'wiwin, the northern bands generally maintaining their faith in favor of the Otter as the guide, while the southern bodies are almost entirely supporters of the belief in the great mī'gis.

On account of the independent operations of the MidĒ' priests in the various settlements of the Ojibwa, and especially because of the slight intercourse between those of the northern and southern divisions of the nation, there has arisen a difference in the pictographic

<sup>1</sup>Op. cit., p. 81.

representation of the same general ideas, variants which are frequently not recognized by Midē' priests who are not members of the Midē'wiwin in which these mnemonic charts had their origin. As there are variants in the pictographic delineation of originally similar ideas, there are also corresponding variations in the traditions pertaining to them.

The tradition relating to Mi'nabō'zho and the sacred objects received from Ki'tshi Man'idō for the Ani'shinā'bēg is illustrated in Fig. 6, which is a reproduction of a chart preserved at White Earth.

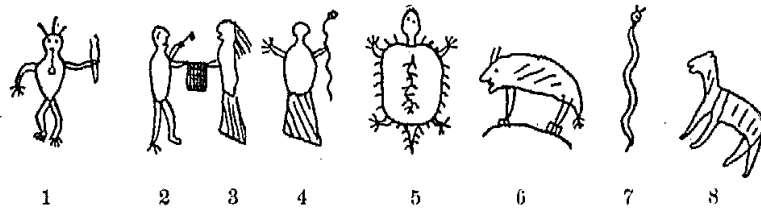


FIG. 6.—Birch-bark record, from White Earth.

The record is read from left to right. No. 1 represents Mi'nabō'zho, who says of the adjoining characters representing the members of the Midē'wiwin: "They are the ones, they are the ones, who put into my heart the life." Mi'nabō'zho holds in his left hand the sacred Midē' sack, or pin-ji'-gu-sân'. Nos. 2 and 3 represent the drummers. At the sound of the drum all the Midē' rise and become inspired, because Ki'tshi Man'idō is then present in the wig'iwam. No. 4 denotes that women also have the privilege of becoming members of the Midē'wiwin. The figure holds in the left hand the Midē' sack, made of a snake skin. No. 5 represents the Tortoise, the guardian spirit who was the giver of some of the sacred objects used in the rite. No. 6, the Bear, also a benevolent Man'idō, but not held in so great veneration as the Tortoise. His tracks are visible in the Midē'wiwin. No. 7, the sacred Midē' sack or pin-ji'-gu-sân', which contains life, and can be used by the Midē' to prolong the life of a sick person. No. 8 represents a Dog, given by the Midē' Man'idōs to Mi'nabō'zho as a companion.

Such was the interpretation given by the owner of the chart, but the informant was unconsciously in error, as has been ascertained not only from other Midē' priests consulted with regard to the true meaning, but also in the light of later information and research in the exemplification of the ritual of the Midē'wiwin.

Mi'nabō'zho did not receive the rite from any Midē' priests (Nos. 2 and 5), but from Ki'tshi Man'idō. Women are not mentioned in any of the earlier traditions of the origin of the society, neither was the dog given to Mi'nabō'zho, but Mi'nabō'zho gave it to the Ani'shin-ā'bēg.

The chart, therefore, turns out to be a mnemonic song similar to others to be noted hereafter, and the owner probably copied it from

a chart in the possession of a stranger MidĒ', and failed to learn its true signification, simply desiring it to add to his collection of sacred objects and to gain additional respect from his confrères and admirers.

Two similar and extremely old birch-bark mnemonic songs were found in the possession of a MidĒ' at Red Lake. The characters upon these are almost identical, one appearing to be a copy of the other. These are reproduced in Figs. 7 and 8. By some of the MidĒ' Esh'gibō'ga takes the place of Mi'nabō'zho as having originally received the MidĒ'wiwin from Ki'tshi Man'idō, but it is believed that the word is a synonym or a substitute based upon some reason to them inexplicable. These figures were obtained in 1887, and a brief explanation of them given in the *American Anthropologist*.<sup>1</sup> At that time I could obtain but little direct information from the owners of the records, but it has since been ascertained that both are mnemonic songs pertaining to Mi'nabō'zho, or rather Eshgibō'ga, and do not form a part of the sacred records of the MidĒ'wiwin, but simply the pictographic representation of the possibilities and powers of the alleged religion. The following explanation of Figs. 7 and 8 is re-

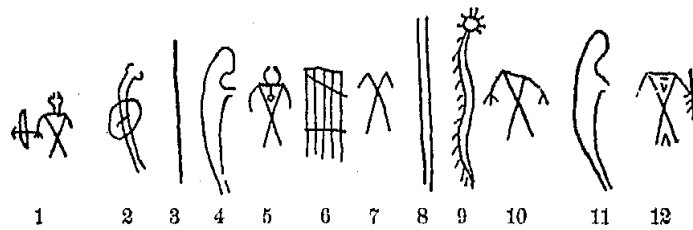


FIG. 7.—Birch-bark record, from Red Lake.

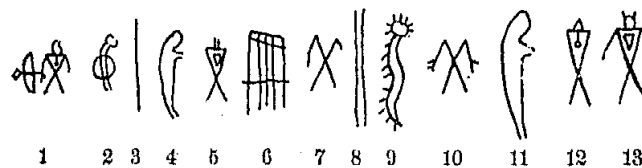


FIG. 8.—Birch-bark record, from Red Lake.

produced from the work just cited. A few annotations and corrections are added. The numbers apply equally to both illustrations:

- No. 1, represents Esh'gibō'ga, the great uncle of the Ani'shinā'bĕg, and receiver of the MidĒ'wiwin.
- No. 2, the drum and drumsticks used by Esh'gibō'ga.
- No. 3, a bar or rest, denoting an interval of time before the song is resumed.
- No. 4, the pin-ji'-gu-sân' or sacred MidĒ' sack. It consists of an otter skin, and is the mī'gis or sacred symbol of the MidĒ'wigân.
- No. 5, a MidĒ' priest, the one who holds the mī'gis while chanting the MidĒ' song in the MidĒ'wigân. He is inspired, as indicated by the line extending from the heart to the mouth.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 1, No. 3, 1888, p. 216, Figs. 2 and 3.

- No. 6, denotes that No. 5 is a member of the MidĒ'wiwin. This character, with the slight addition of lines extending upward from the straight top line, is usually employed by the more southern Ojibwa to denote the wig'iwam of a Jĕss'akkid', or jugglery.
- No. 7, is a woman, and signifies that women may also be admitted to the MidĒ'wiwin.
- No. 8, a pause or rest.
- No. 9, a snake-skin pin-ji'-gu-sân' possessing the power of giving life. This power is indicated by the lines radiating from the head, and the back of the skin.
- No. 10, represents a woman.
- No. 11, is another illustration of the mĭ'gis, or otter.
- No. 12, denotes a priestess who is inspired, as shown by the line extending from the heart to the mouth in Fig. 7, and simply showing the heart in Fig. 6. In the latter she is also empowered to cure with magic plants.
- No. 13, in Fig. 7, although representing a MidĒ' priest, no explanation was given.

Fig. 9 is presented as a variant of the characters shown in No. 1 of Figs. 7 and 8. The fact that this denotes the power of curing by the use of magic plants would appear to indicate an older and more appropriate form than the delineation of the bow and arrows, as well as being more in keeping with the general rendering of the tradition.



FIG. 9.  
Esh'gibō'ga.

#### MIDĒ'WIGĀN.

Initiation into the MidĒ'wiwin or MidĒ' Society is, at this time, performed during the latter part of summer. The ceremonies are performed in public, as the structure in which they are conducted is often loosely constructed of poles with intertwined branches and leaves, leaving the top almost entirely exposed, so that there is no difficulty in observing what may transpire within. Furthermore, the ritual is unintelligible to the uninitiated, and the important part of the necessary information is given to the candidate in a preceptor's wig'iwam.

To present intelligibly a description of the ceremonial of initiation as it occurred at White Earth, Minnesota, it will be necessary to first describe the structure in which it occurs, as well as the sweat lodge with which the candidate has also to do.

The MidĒ'wigān, i. e., MidĒ'wig'iwam, or, as it is generally designated "Grand Medicine Lodge," is usually built in an open grove or clearing; it is a structure measuring about 80 feet in length by 20 in width, extending east and west with the main entrance toward that point of the compass at which the sun rises. The walls consist of poles and saplings from 8 to 10 feet high, firmly planted in the ground, wattled with short branches and twigs with leaves. In the east and west walls are left open spaces, each about 4 feet wide,



used as entrances to the inclosure.

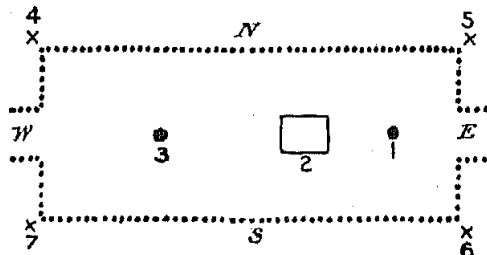


FIG. 10.—Diagram of Midē'wigân of the first degree.

From each side of the opening the wall-like structure extends at right angles to the end wall, appearing like a short hallway leading to the inclosure, and resembles double doors opened outward. Fig. 10 represents a ground plan of the Midē'wigân, while Fig. 11 shows an interior view. Saplings thrown across the top of the

structure serve as rafters, upon which are laid branches with leaves, and pieces of bark, to sufficiently shade the occupants from the rays of the sun. Several saplings extend across the inclosure near the top, while a few are attached to these so as to extend longitudinally, from either side of which presents of blankets, etc., may be suspended. About 10 feet from the main entrance a large flattened stone, measuring more than a foot in diameter, is placed upon the ground. This is used when subjecting to treatment a patient; and at a corresponding distance from the western door is planted the sacred Midē' post of cedar, that for the first degree being about 7 feet in height and 6 or 8 inches in diameter. It is painted red, with a band of green 4 inches wide around the top. Upon the post is fixed the stuffed body of an owl. Upon that part of the floor midway

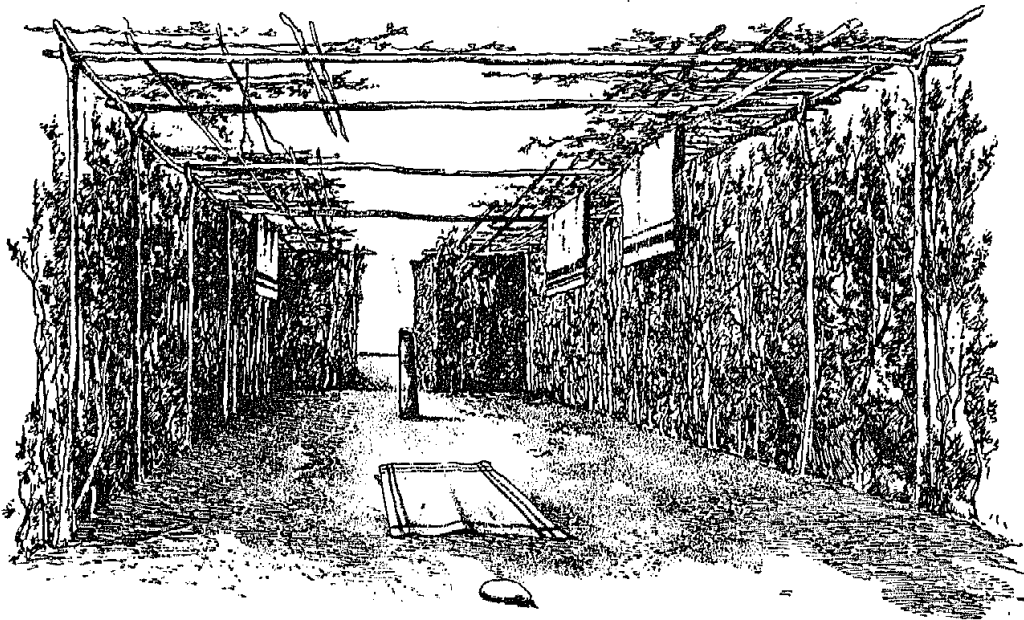


FIG. 11 —Interior of Midē'wigân.

between the stone and the Midē' post is spread a blanket, upon which the gifts and presents to the society are afterward deposited. A short distance from each of the outer angles of the structure are planted cedar or pine trees, each about 10 feet in height.

About a hundred yards east of the main entrance is constructed a wig'iwam or sweat lodge, to be used by the candidate, both to take his vapor baths and to receive final instructions from his preceptor.

This wig'iwam is dome-shaped measures about 10 feet in diameter and 6 feet high in the middle, with an opening at the top which can be readily covered with a piece of bark. The framework of the structure consists of saplings stuck into the ground, the tops being bent over to meet others from the opposite side. Other thin saplings are then lashed horizontally to the upright ones so as to appear like hoops, decreasing in size as the summit is reached. They are secured by using strands of basswood bark. The whole is then covered with pieces of birchbark—frequently the bark of the pine is used—leaving a narrow opening on the side facing the Midē'wigân, which may be closed with an adjustable flap of bark or blankets.

The space between the Midē'wigân and the sweat lodge must be kept clear of other temporary shelters, which might be placed there by some of the numerous visitors attending the ceremonies.

#### FIRST DEGREE.

#### PREPARATORY INSTRUCTION.

When the candidate's application for reception into the Midē'wiwin has been received by one of the officiating priests, he calls upon the three assisting Midē', inviting them to visit him at his own wig'iwam at a specified time. When the conference takes place, tobacco, which has been previously furnished by the candidate, is distributed and a smoke offering made to Kítshi Man'idō, to propitiate his favor in the deliberations about to be undertaken. The host then explains the object of the meeting, and presents to his auditors an account of the candidate's previous life; he recounts the circumstances of his fast and dreams, and if the candidate is to take the place of a lately deceased son who had been prepared to receive the degree, the fact is mentioned, as under such circumstances the forms would be different from the ordinary method of reception into the society. The subject of presents and gifts to the individual members of the society, as well as those intended to be given as a fee to the officiating priests, is also discussed; and lastly, if all things are favorable to the applicant, the selection of an instructor or preceptor is made, this person being usually appointed from among these four priests.

When the conference is ended the favorable decision is announced to the applicant, who acknowledges his pleasure by remitting to each of the four priests gifts of tobacco. He is told what instructor would be most acceptable to them, when he repairs to the wig'iwam of the person designated and informs him of his wish and the decision of the Midē' council.

The designated preceptor arranges with his pupil to have certain days upon which the latter is to call and receive instruction and ac-

quire information. The question of remuneration being settled, tobacco is furnished at each sitting, as the MidĒ' never begins his lecture until after having made a smoke-offering, which is done by taking a whiff and pointing the stem to the east; then a whiff, directing the stem to the south; another whiff, directing the stem to the west; then a whiff and a similar gesture with the stem to the north; another whiff is taken slowly and with an expression of reverence, when the stem is pointed forward and upward as an offering to Ki'tshi Man'idō; and finally, after taking a similar whiff, the stem is pointed forward and downward toward the earth as an offering to Nokō'mis, the grandmother of the universe, and to those who have passed before. After these preliminaries, the candidate receives at each meeting only a small amount of information, because the longer the instruction is continued during the season before the meeting at which it is hoped the candidate may be admitted the greater will be the fees; and also, in order that the instruction may be looked upon with awe and reverence, most of the information imparted is frequently a mere repetition, the ideas being clothed in ambiguous phraseology. The MidĒ' drum (Fig. 12 *a*) differs from the drum commonly used in dances (Fig. 12 *b*) in the fact that it is cylindrical, consisting of an elongated kettle or wooden vessel, or perhaps a section of the hollow

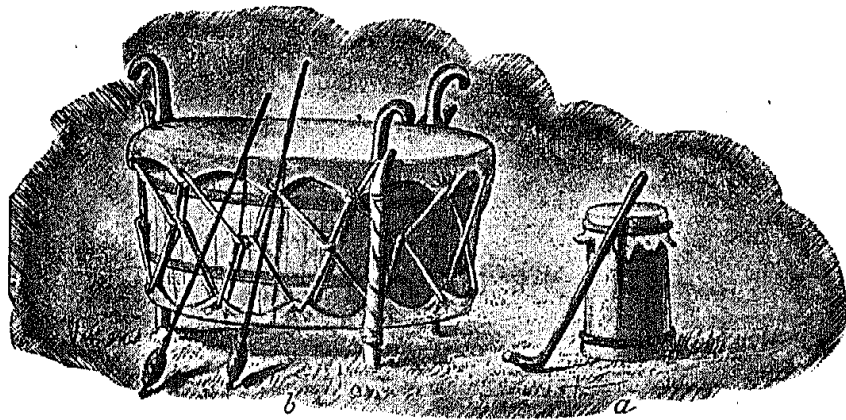


FIG. 12.—Ojibwa drums.

trunk of a tree about 10 inches in diameter and from 18 to 20 inches in length, over both ends of which rawhide is stretched while wet, so that upon drying the membrane becomes hard and tense, producing, when beaten, a very hard, loud tone, which may be heard at a great distance.

Frequently, however, water is put into the bottom of the drum and the drum-head stretched across the top in a wet state, which appears to intensify the sound very considerably.

The peculiar and special properties of the drum are described to the applicant; that it was at first the gift of Ki'tshi Man'idō, who gave it through the intercession of Mi'nabō'zho; that it is used to invoke the presence of the MidĒ' Man'idōs, or sacred spirits, when seek-

ing direction as to information desired, success, etc.; that it is to be employed at the side of the sick to assist in the expulsion or exorcism of evil man'idōs who may possess the body of the sufferer; and that it is to be used in the Midē'wigān during the initiation of new members or the advancement of a Midē' from a degree to a higher one.

The properties of the rattle are next enumerated and recounted, its origin is related, and its uses explained. It is used at the side of a patient and has even more power in the expulsion of evil demons than the drum. The rattle is also employed in some of the sacred songs as an accompaniment, to accentuate certain notes and words. There are two forms used, one consisting of a cylindrical tin box filled with grains of corn or other seeds (Fig. 13), the other being a hollow gourd also filled with seed (Fig. 14). In both of these the handle passes entirely through the rattle case.

In a similar manner the remaining gifts of Mi'nabō'zho are instanced and their properties extolled.

The mī'gis, a small white shell (*Cypræa moneta* L.) is next extracted from the Midē' sack, or pinji'gusān'. This is explained as being the sacred emblem of the Midē'wiwin, the reason therefor being given in the account of the several traditions presented in connection with Pls. III, IV, and VIII. This information is submitted in parts, so that the narrative of the history connected with either of the records is extended over a period of time to suit the preceptor's plans and purposes. The ceremony of shooting the mī'gis (see Fig. 15) is explained on page 192.

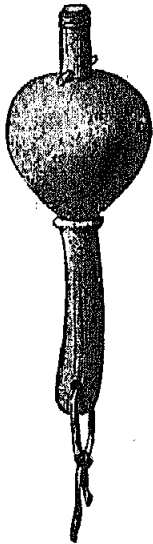


FIG. 14.  
Midē' rattle.

As time progresses the preceptor instructs his pupil in Midē' songs, i. e., he sings to him songs which form a part of his stock in trade, and which are alleged to be of service on special occasions, as when searching for medicinal plants, hunting, etc. The pupil thus acquires a comprehension of the method of preparing and reciting songs, which information is by him subsequently put to practical use in the composition and preparation of his own songs, the mnemonic characters employed being often rude copies of those observed upon the charts of his preceptor, but the arrangement thereof being original.

It is for this reason that a Midē' is seldom, if ever, able to recite correctly any songs but his own, although he may be fully aware of the character of the record and the particular class of service in which it may be employed. In support of this assertion several songs obtained at Red Lake and imperfectly explained by "Little Frenchman" and "Leading Feather," are reproduced in Pl. XXII, A B, page 292.



FIG. 13.  
Midē' rattle.

From among the various songs given by my preceptor are selected and presented herewith those recognized by him as being part of the ritual. The greater number of songs are mere repetitions of short phrases, and frequently but single words, to which are added meaningless sounds or syllables to aid in prolonging the musical tones, and repeated ad libitum in direct proportion to the degree of inspiration in which the singer imagines himself to have attained. These frequent outbursts of singing are not based upon connected mnemonic songs preserved upon birch bark, but they consist of



FIG 15.—Shooting the mi'gis.

fragments or selections of songs which have been memorized, the selections relating to the subject upon which the preceptor has been discoursing, and which undoubtedly prompts a rhythmic vocal equivalent. These songs are reproduced on Pl. ix, A, B, C. The initial mnemonic characters pertaining to each word or phrase of the original text are repeated below in regular order with translations in English, together with supplemental notes explanatory of the characters employed. The musical notation is not presented, as the singing consists of a monotonous repetition of four or five notes in a minor key; furthermore, a sufficiently clear idea of this may be formed by comparing some of the MidĒ' songs presented in connection with the ritual of initiation and preparation of medicines.

The first of the songs given herewith (Pl. ix, A) pertains to a request to Ki'tshi Man'idō that clear weather may be had for the

day of ceremonial, and also an affirmation to the candidate that the singer's words are a faithful rendering of his creed.

Each of the phrases is repeated before advancing to the next, as often as the singer desires and in proportion to the amount of reverence and awe with which he wishes to impress his hearer. There is usually a brief interval between each of the phrases, and a longer one at the appearance of a vertical line, denoting a rest or pause. One song may occupy, therefore, from fifteen minutes to half an hour.



Ki-ne'-na-wi'-in mani'-i-dō'-ye-win.

I rock you, you that are a spirit.

[A midē's head, the lines denoting voice or speech—i. e., singing of sacred things, as the loops or circles at the ends of each line indicate.]



Ki-zhik-ki-win'-da-mūn'.

The sky I tell you.

[The otter skin medicine sack, and arm reaching to procure something therefrom.]



O-we-nen', hwin'.

Who is it, who?

[The mī'gis shell, the sacred emblem of the Midē'wiwin.]



Wi'-dzhī-i-nan'.

The man helping me.

[A man walking, the Midē' Man'idō or Sacred Spirit.]



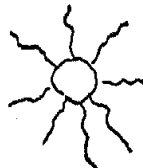
Nu-wa''-ni-ma'na nin-guīs'?

Have I told the truth to my son?

[The bear going to the Midē'wigan, and takes with him life to the Ani'shinā'bēg.]



Rest.



Ni'-nīn-dē', ē', ō', ya'.

My heart, I am there (in the fullness of my heart).

[My heart; knows all Midē' secrets, sensible one.]



A'-ni-na'-nēsh-mi'-ī-an ni'-na'-wī-tō'.

I follow with my arms.

[Arms extended to take up "medicine" or Midē' secrets.]



Man'-i-dō'-wi-an' nī-me'-shine'-mī'-an.

Knowledge comes from the heart, the heart reaches to sources of "medicine" in the earth.

[A Midē' whose heart's desires and knowledge extend to the secrets of the earth. The lines diverging toward the earth denote direction.]



We'-gi-kwō' Kě-mī'-nī-nan'.

From whence comes the rain?

[The power of making a clear sky, i. e., weather.]



Mi-shōk' kwōt', dzhe-man'-i-dō'-yan.

The sky, nevertheless, may be clear, Good Spirit.

[Giving life to the sick; Dzhe Man'idō handing it to the Midē'.]



Wi'-ka-ka-nūn'-ē-nan.

Very seldom I make this request of you.

[The Good Spirit filling the body of the supplicant with knowledge of secrets of the earth.]

In the following song (Pl. ix, B), the singer relates to the candidate the gratitude which he experiences for the favors derived from the Good Spirit; he has been blessed with knowledge of plants and other sacred objects taken from the ground, which knowledge has been derived by his having himself become a member of the Midē'-wiwin, and hence urges upon the candidate the great need of his also continuing in the course which he has thus far pursued.



Na-witsh'-tshi na-kūm'-i-en a-na'-pi-a'?

When I am out of hearing, where am I?

[The lines extending from the ears denote hearing; the arms directed toward the right and left, being the gesture of negation, usually made by throwing the hands outward and away from the front of the body.]



We'-nen-ne' en'-da-yan.

In my house, I see.

[Sight is indicated by the lines extending from the eyes; the horns denote superiority of the singer.]



Mo-kī'-yan-na'-a-witsh'-i-gūm'-mi.

When I rise it gives me life, and I take it.

[The arm reaches into the sky to receive the gifts which are handed down by the Good Spirit. The short transverse line across the forearm indicates the arch of the sky, this line being an abbreviation of the curve usually employed to designate the same idea.]



Wen'-dzhi-ba'-pi-a'.

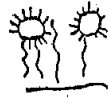
The reason why I am happy.

[Asking the Spirit for life, which is granted. The singer's body is filled with the heart enlarged, i. e., fullness of heart, the lines from the mouth denoting abundance of voice or grateful utterances—singing.]

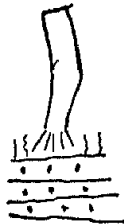
Rest.

Zha'-zha-bui'-ki-bi-nan' wig'-ě-wâm'.

The Spirit says there is plenty of "medicine" in the MidĒ wig'iwam.



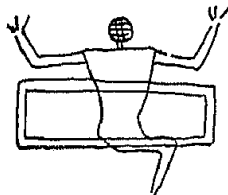
[Two superior spirits, Kī'tshi Man'idō and Dzhe Man'idō, whose bodies are surrounded by "lines of sacredness," tell the MidĒ where the mysterious remedies are to be found. The vertical waving lines are the lines indicating these communications; the horizontal line, at the bottom, is the earth's surface.]



Ya-hō'-hon-ni'-yō.

The Spirit placed medicine in the ground, let us take it.

[The arm of Kī'tshi Man'idō put into the ground sacred plants, etc., indicated by the spots at different horizons in the earth. The short vertical and waving lines denote sacredness of the objects.]



Nī-wo'-we-ni'-nan ki'-bi-do-na'.

I am holding this that I bring to you.

[The singer sits in the MidĒ wiwin, and offers the privilege of entrance, by initiation, to the hearer.]



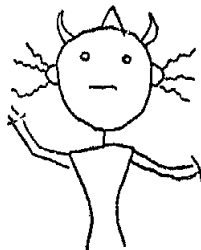
MidĒ nī-ka'-nāk kish'-o-wě'-ni-mī-ko'.

I have found favor in the eyes of my midĒ friends.

[The Good Spirit has put life into the body of the singer, as indicated by the two mysterious arms reaching towards his body, i. e., the heart, the seat of life.]

In the following song (Pl. ix, C), the preceptor appears to feel satisfied that the candidate is prepared to receive the initiation, and therefore tells him that the MidĒ Man'idō announces to him the assurance. The preceptor therefore encourages his pupil with promises of the fulfillment of his highest desires.

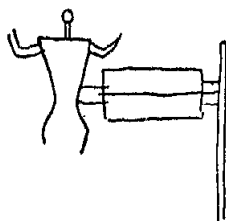




Ba'-dzhī-ke'-o gi'-mand ma-bis'-in-dâ'-ă.

I hear the spirit speaking to us.

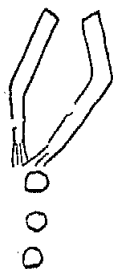
[The MidĒ' singer is of superior power, as designated by the horns and apex upon his head. The lines from the ears indicate hearing.]



Kwa-yăk'-in dī'-sha in-dâ'-ya<sup>n</sup>.

I am going into the medicine lodge.

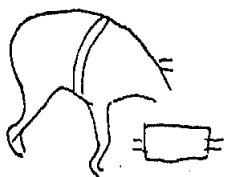
[The MidĒ' wigân is shown with a line through it to signify that he is going through it, as in the initiation.]



Kwe'-tshī-ko-wa'-ya ti'-na-man.

I am taking (gathering) medicine to make me live.

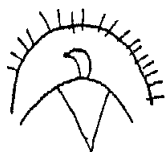
[The discs indicate sacred objects within reach of the speaker.]



O'-wi-yo'-in en'-do-ma mâk'-kwin-ĕn'-do-ma'.

I give you medicine, and a lodge, also.

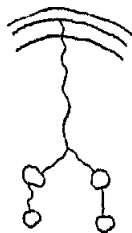
[The MidĒ', as the personator of Makwa' Man'idō, is empowered to offer this privilege to the candidate.]



O-wĕ'-nĕn bĕ-mī'-sĕt.

I am flying into my lodge.

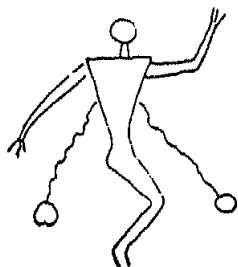
[Represents the Thunder-Bird, a deity flying into the arch of the sky. The short lines denote the (so-called spirit lines) abode of spirits or Man'idōs.]



Na-nī'-ne kwe-wĕ'-an.

The Spirit has dropped medicine from the sky where we can get it.

[The line from the sky, diverging to various points, indicates that the sacred objects occur in scattered places.]



Hĕ'-wōg, ĕ', ĕ'.

I have the medicine in my heart.

[The singer's body—i. e., heart—is filled with knowledge relating to sacred medicines from the earth.]