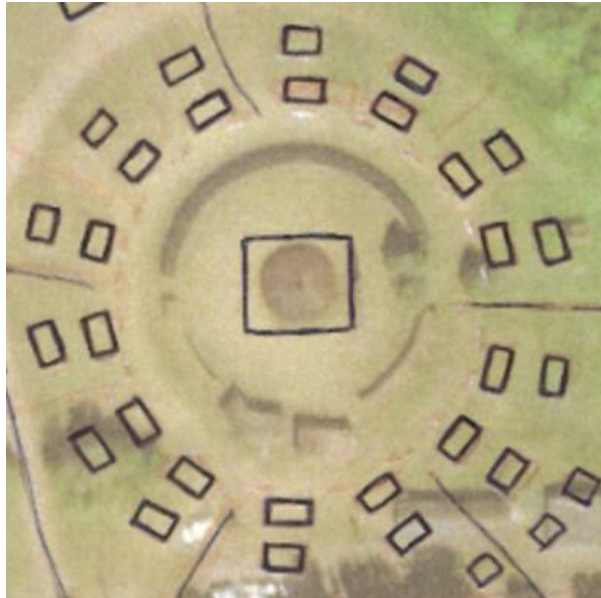


The Totemic Landscape

Exploring Chippewa Society



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Leif Selstad

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The Totemic Landscape

Totem is a Chippewa word. Yet totemism among the Chippewa has never been properly studied. This is because scholars were reluctant to acknowledge the identification of humans with animals. They used every conceptual ruse to avoid this topic, such as denying descent from animals, or claiming that totems represented relations between people. Most of all they would avoid naming animals, pike, crane, bear, wolf, etc., as this somehow would make them lose face as academics and moderns.

Hence this book goes straight to the point and states that a totem is a relation between a person and an animal, such as a pike, or some other creature. It explores totemism in the land of the Chippewa Indians, Ojibwaia. The starting point is the close relation between the Chippewa and their environment. A relation that is not abstract or utilitarian, but directly reflected in the social organization of the tribe, based on villages or local communities made up of distinct series of families or totem clans, a totemic organization. The book tries to uncover the many ways in which totemism is marked in the native landscape.

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What we see is a shadow of reality

- Plato

In general, the gentes' names reflect the fauna common in the region.

- Kinietz 1947

Preface

Totem is a Chippewa word. Yet totemism among the Chippewa has never been properly studied. This is because scholars were reluctant to acknowledge the identification of humans with animals. They used every conceptual ruse to avoid this topic, such as denying descent from animals, or claiming that totems represented relations between people. Most of all they would avoid naming animals, pike, crane, bear, wolf, deer, beaver, snake, eagle, marten, lynx, moose, hare, as this somehow would make them lose face as academics and moderns.

Hence this book goes straight to the point and states that a totem is a relation between a person and an animal, such as a pike, or some other creature. Any other approach to totemism is not valid, since it is a deception. Yet totemism is also a relation between people, or rather, a relation between people through animals or other beings. The simplest relation is between two people with the same totem, such as pike, since they are the same animals, expressed as being brothers or sisters. Then there is pike and crane, seemingly unrelated. But pike and crane both lay eggs, and so they are related, also like Br and Si. Pike and bear seems more distant, but if you are a pike and your Mo is a bear, then the bear is your Mo's kin, like your 'uncle' or MoBr. Similarly with every other totem; people find relations through their parents, grandparents and great-grandparents, and their offspring, establishing relations through every totem animal, wolf, deer, beaver, snake, eagle, marten, and so on.

This is totemism. And this is what this book is about, totemism in the land of the Chippewa Indians, Ojibwaia. The starting point is not modern academic hang-ups about identifying with animals, but the close relation between the Chippewa and their environment. A relation that is not abstract or utilitarian, but directly reflected in the social organization of the tribe, based on villages or local communities made up of distinct series of families or totem clans, a totemic organization.

In what follows the occurrence of this organization across the landscape is referred to. The intention initially was to ignore the hang-ups of white scholars, missionaries and others who have an impulse to deny totemism. But this intake was not possible, since the denial is hammered home by every writer (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 102). Totemism does not exist, or it is an illusion, a 'symbol', and so it can be dismissed. The task then becomes a scientific one, of negating the denial. In science, if something is said to be true, the test is to examine the opposite, that it is not true; and vice versa. If it is stated that totemism does not exist, then the test is to document the occurrence of totemism.

It seems incredible, but scholars writing about the Chippewa-Ojibwa usually start by claiming that the people had no organization, no regulations, no structure. For good measure they claim that people were individualistic, 'atomistic' and isolated (Lovisek et al. 1997). From there on they proceed to describe the fantastic organization of the Chippewa people, with kin groups, totem clans, villages, bands, chiefs and officials, a complicated religion and world-view, a fantastic mythology, and continent-wide trade relations and alliances. Then, having seemingly learned very little, they end up repeating the predetermined claim of no organization. As for totemism, most scholars ignored it.

Paradoxically, but not surprisingly, those who disclaim totemism also document its occurrence in numerous forms and instances. This is a topic that they do not support and want to deny,

and by doing so they have to document what the topic is. The approach is to note that there is something called totemism, that totem is a Chippewa word, and then make it seem as trivial and limited as possible, such as not naming any totem animals, bear, wolf, eagle, deer, hare and so on.

Yet when Chippewa people are asked about totems there will always be an animal associated with it. And so there will be lists of totems, lists of animals, rapidly growing to 50 or more, partridge, grouse, crane, loon, duck, goose, etc. Denial then becomes more cramped, assigning totems to the past or saying there is only a list with no content.

This book takes the opposite approach. Totemism is central to Chippewa society in its aboriginal state. In order to examine this, the book became longer than intended. At first the intention was to peruse some sources on totemism and traditional Chippewa social life. After a few weeks it became apparent that the work task was bigger. Hidden in the sources were details on totems and social relations that had to be included if anything like an extensive exploration was to be made. And then there was the Chippewa land itself, Ojibwaia, spread across a 1,000 miles, as one author wrote. The hundreds of communities show remarkable persistence and variation. No places seemed insignificant; no sources could be ignored. So then readers, your indulgence and forgiveness is asked, that shortness and readability had to go.

To make matters brief: It became an interesting though challenging work to uncover all the references to totems and animals and to see that they fill the social organization of the Chippewa and cover the landscape of Ojibwaia. The topic seems to be too far-reaching to be covered in one book. To all intents and purposes this is a preliminary study, that scratches at the material about totemism in Chippewa society. It is hoped that a fuller survey of the totemic landscape can be made in the future.

In this book a number of sources have been used, each deficient in itself, but together they help form a picture of prehistoric Chippewa society. There is no claim that this picture is complete. All that is written is tentative and explorative. Yet by sifting through each source, gradually a clearer view of Chippewa society emerges, not least in relation to totemism. At the same time it must be stated strongly that this is an initial exploration, and that our knowledge of Ojibwaia, the Chippewa homeland, is nowhere near complete until every source, historical, scholarly, mythical and other, has been looked into and made a part of the investigative corpus. A careful approach to the study of native life is still possible and awaits further contributions.

Countless people must be thanked for their assistance in my work. They include contacts in Oklahoma that cannot be named in full, including members of the Shawnee tribe, who, however, had no part in the musings that are presented. My former anthropology teacher at the University of Bergen, the late Georg Henriksen, must be noted, along with the late Bob Ryall, who fostered my interest in Native American societies. Another teacher, the late Reidar Grønhaug, advocated a holistic approach to science. My boss at the University of Stavanger, Dr. Trude Furunes, deserves thanks for allowing me to continue research at the university after retirement, and to use computer and writing facilities. I also need to thank my editor-publisher, John Didriksen at the University of Stavanger Publication Service. Former colleagues and friends in general need to be thanked. Finally my family must be recognized, in particular my sister Marit, who keeps me posted every week. Where would we be without family?

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Some conventions, abbreviations and quirks

Chippewa words and names are listed according to a phonemic alphabet based on the following sounds (in this order): p-t-k-ch-s-sh-m-n-y-w-V (vowel).

AD = after year 0
aka = also known as
BC = before year 0
Br, Brs = brother, brothers
c. = circa, roughly
Can. = Canada
Cr. = Creek (stream)
d. = died, dead
e.g. = example given, for example
cf. = confer, compare
Ch, Chn = child, children
'chiefly' = related to chiefs
Da, Das = daughter, daughters
DaLa = daughter-in-law
E = east
e.g. = example given, example
Fa, Fas = father, fathers
FaLa = father-in-law
gen. = generation(s)
GrFa = grandfather
GrMo = grandmother
GrPa, GrPas = grandparent, grandparents
hh. = household, households
hs. = house, houses
Hu, Hus = husband, husbands
ibid. = ibidem, same reference
i.e. = id est, that is to say
incl. = including, inclusive
Is. = Island
L. = Lake
Minn. = Minnesota
Mo, Mos = mother, mothers
N = north
Ont. = Ontario
op. cit. = opus citatum, last quoted work
p. = people
Pa, Pas = parent, parents
R., r. = River
S = south
So, Sos = son, sons
stepDa = stepdaughter
stepFa = stepfather
stepMo = stepmother

stepSo = stepson
US, USA = United States of America
vils. = villages
W = west
Wi, Wis = wife, wives
Wisc. = Wisconsin
yBr = younger brother
ySi = younger sister
yZi = younger sibling
Zi = sibling, brother or sister
ZiLa, ZiLas = sibling-in-law, siblings-in-law
etc.

Introduction

‘The Ojibwa is one of the largest tribes of the United States’ and Canada (Hoffman 1891). Yet few if any comprehensive studies of the Chippewa nation exist. This is a fate they share with other great tribes, such as the Dakota and Navaho. In fact, most of the indigenous peoples covering the world lack printed sources. As a Saami author phrased it, they are ‘people without history’. Uncovering the history of native people is crucial work that waits to be done.

The Chippewa homeland – Ojibwaia – ‘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 ‘abundant’ (Hoffman 1891). Perhaps it is the size and richness of their homeland that make white people less than eager to write about them or acknowledge their situation.

The ethnonym Chippewa, aka Ojibway, Ojibwe, Ojibwa etc., is said to mean: ‘to roast till puckered up’ (Hodge 1: 277). Or basically: roasting, in the sense of roasting meat on a stick. A poetic rendering is ‘people whose moccasins have puckered seams’ (Houston & King 1972).

The ‘tribal designation A-nish’-in-a’-bég, original people’, often written Anishinabe, supposedly covered the Chippewa ‘as well as the Ottawa, Patawatomí, and Menomoni peoples’ (Hoffman 1891: 166). The term Chippewa is used here to distinguish the people.

Various synonyms for the tribe included: Achipoés, An-ish-in-aub-ag, Baouichtigouin, Bedzietcho, Chebois, Chepowas, Chipiwa, Chippewaus, Chippoways, De-wa-ka-nha’, Dewoganna’s, Douwaganhas, Eskiaeronnon, Estiaghicks, Etchipoés, Gibbaways, Hahatonwan, Khahkhahtons, Né-a-ya-og’, Ne-ga-tcé, Ochipawa, Odjibewais, Ojibboai, Ontehibouse, Oshibwek, Ostiaghroones, Otchepose, Ouchibois, Outchipwais, Paouitagoung, Ra-ra-t’wans, Saulteurs, Saulteux, Sauteurs, Sotoos, Stiageghroano, Tschipeway, Uchipweys, Wah-kah-towah, etc. (Hodge 1: 280-1). It is noteworthy that the Handbook allows only 4 pages for the Chippewa tribe, and 1 ½ page is for tribal synonyms. The brief text mentions warfare, cannibalism, beliefs, burial, and an awkward section on ‘gentes’ – the word totemism is not mentioned.

There is a claim that Chippewa society was not studied (Selstad 2024a: 39). Scholars would not have a societal approach. Over time Densmore wrote about most aspects of Chippewa culture, but not extensively about social life (Densmore 1907, 1910, 1913, 1928, 1929). She wrote about matters such as marriage, but not about relations on the ground. Her material was textual and sound-based, not social and descriptive. Other contributors included Hallowell (1992), Hoffman (1891), Kinietz (1947), and more. They delved into many topics, but totemism was usually left unanalyzed.

Euro-American scholars had some explicit biases and ethnocentrism, such as Chippewa society being individualistic or ‘atomistic’ (Lovisek et al. 1997). These were programmatic statements made with little or no regard for native culture. All researchers were more or less

ethnocentric. One scholar opened her study by positing that the ‘individual’ and nuclear family were the only units in Chippewa society, based on her own background, while briefly mentioning a wider social context, such as neighbors and villages. This individualistic bias was repeated a dozen times on the first two pages, to drive it abundantly home (Landes 1938: 1-2). That such ideas had nothing to do with Chippewa society or the native ethos, geared at cooperation and community, is simply ignored.

It is highly significant that Chippewa life was ‘psychologized’ (Barnouw 1950; Hallowell 1992: viii-x). People were ‘atomistic’ and independent. This was because the scholars never tried to describe Chippewa society, a unit of more than one person. And more than all they avoided writing about totemism, a scholarly bias and taboo. Yes, totem is a Chippewa word, and totemism is a universal topic, found all over the world. Even so they would not write about it. This was not a blind spot, but a conceptual blindness or bias on the part of American and Canadian scholars. And the reasons were awkwardly simple: missions did not approve of totems, and society was a non-existent topic in parts of New World ideology. Canada is not a society, but a collection of psychology units – not to mention the USA.

Every society is made up of institutions. An institution is a ‘group of people united for a purpose’ (Mair 1972). In social science terms, an institution is a set of lasting relations between persons possessing certain statuses and roles, based on rights and duties and involving scarce resources. Classical examples are the family and small economic units. In Chippewa society kinship and totemism were basic areas or part-systems of institutional integration; they held the society together. All of this should become clear as the presentation progresses.

At this point an overview of the book may be provided:

The landscape or environment of Ojibwaia, the Chippewa homeland, will be presented. One part will be about the richness and wonder of nature, such as native animals. Another part will be about the Chippewa territory, each village, band and tribal division that occupied this wonderful landscape. This will be followed by a brief presentation of Chippewa prehistory and history. Of course, such a history could fill volumes, one for each band and district. There will be a brief chapter on the native economy and annual cycle of activities, closely attending the seasonal changes in the landscape.

One major part of the book is about kinship. As will be seen, Chippewa society was permeated by kinship, in the sense that everybody were related one way or other. Such relations would range from spouses and families to villages, bands and large-scale social networks, even intertribal ones.

Totemism is the main artefact and ideology that brings all of this together. This is where the presentation gets tricky. As noted, white scholars mostly ignored the topic of totemism or tried to make it seem insignificant. It then becomes a harrowing task to try to tease out the details of relevant information that together can provide an image of this all-important social fact. Yet such an analysis is necessary if any understanding of prehistoric Chippewa society is to be obtained. The village or local community will be presented as the main unit of totemic organization. Within this setting a number of lesser units and relations present themselves, such as totem clans, phratries, moieties and extra-community relations. Ideally every totemic relation should be documented, but this is as good as it gets.

Further on the realms of politics, religion, cultural elements and life courses will be looked into, as integral parts of a social life based on kin and totems. Finally an awkward and tentative attempt will be made to bring together the elements presented in a kind of synthesis or dynamic description, based on social fields and discourses (Grønhaug 1974; Foucault 1972). This is the least developed part of the book. Gaining an understanding of a society where almost every element has been obscured, not least by 'atomistic' scholars, is like trying to piece together a jumbo jet at the bottom of the ocean, only more difficult.

As noted, white scholars tended to ignore totemism or downplay its role in Chippewa society. It has to be clearly stated from the start that totemism was a vital part not only of the Chippewa social world but of nearly every tribe throughout America, and has to be studied extensively. To obscure matters further, authors would use a variety of words for totem, such as 'dodem', 'dodaim', 'family mark', etc., and several words for totem clan, like 'sib', 'gens', 'gentes' etc. While 'totem' and 'totem clan' are the norm in this book, other forms will be used as they appear, and the reader must be aware of this.

It is important to bear in mind that Chippewa society was consciously disrupted by white people in historic times. Through the early historical, colonial, settlement and state periods c. 1610-1975 the white majority had two objectives, to take the Chippewa's land and resources, and to eliminate Chippewa society and culture. Villages and bands were systematically broken up and placed on reservations or reserves c. 1790-1890, their land taken by white occupiers. The desperate history of Native Americans in trying to survive against invading Euro-American settlers and speculators is an endless story recounted in countless books (e.g., Brown 1970; Hagan 2003).

In one example, distinct bands were placed on the L'Anse Reservation in 1854, but the people of Ketikitekan village returned to their homes to survive, and had to buy their own land from the government! (Kinietz 1947: 21-22). In 1934 the government tried to make them relinquish their land in the name of 'Reorganization', but they refused, losing the support offered by the authorities. In turn, alcohol offered by whites became a threat (op. cit.:24). By 1947 Ketikitekan villagers could not hunt, because they were surrounded by whites, game grew scarce, and lumber companies forced them into wage labor (Kinietz 1947: 23). Neighboring whites had prejudice against Indians as 'outlaws', etc. (ibid.). The 'effects of white contact' were devastating (Kinietz 1947:26). Every white was a potential threat: mission bigots, officials and agents, settlers and land speculators, traders and alcohol providers, even teachers and doctors, who saw Indians with prejudiced eyes.

Disruption continues today (2025). The majority population continues to impact the natives negatively, trying to make them relinquish their language, culture and communities; to make the Indians 'disappear' (Gearing 1970: 23). This is in spite of some government support of Chippewa language instruction. Yet there are heavy forces working against cultural survival, with an overwhelming majority influence through language, modern developments etc. Whites who married into the tribe became a sort of social and cultural Trojan horse. They all contributed to a loss of native culture and belonging.

Hence it should, at least in theory, be impossible to return to an image of native Chippewa life. This can only be done by perusing the tidbits and details offered by documents, records and what is left of Chippewa society on the land. It is not possible to make a definitive or absolute outline of Chippewa existence. Hence the present work is provisional. Only by considering every bit of information, in a continuing process of examination or a quest for

knowledge, can native life be outlined. This is like assembling a 10,000 piece puzzle where each piece is either hidden or lost, and has to be re-assembled before the puzzle can be restored, partly or in full. Needless to say such a work is not completed in one year or ten, but will encompass the foreseeable future in the endeavor. This is a work of love. It will always be gratifying or humbling to learn how people lived in the past, and how this reflects on our present and future struggles. Again, the reader's indulgence is implored, as many obscure details and conflicting statements are brought together in a treatise that hopefully makes sense, but will be tentative and incomplete from the start.

The natural landscape and environment of Chippewa society

Needless to say the Chippewa homeland – Ojibwaia – is extremely rich. It was a land filled with forests, lakes and waterways. The climate was temperate-subarctic. The main growing season was May-September; highs could be 72°F or 23°C in the N and 92°F or 33°C in the S. Summer was June-August. The cold season spanned October-April; a low could be -20°F or -30°C. Fall was September-November. Winter was December-February. Spring was March-May. ‘Ojibwa’ reckoned seasonal change by ‘the arrival and departure of migrant birds, the seasonal habits of fur-bearing animals, and the yearly round of economic activities’ (Hallowell 1992: 43). The totemic landscape was everywhere.

The land was covered by forests, only in places converging into swamps and tundra far in the north. The forests consisted of deciduous and coniferous trees. A southern description includes: ‘white and yellow pine on the borders of the lakes; in some instances of cedar, fir, hemlock, and tamarack; and a little back of the lakes, of sugar maple, white maple, white and yellow birch, poplar, bass, and hemlock’ (Kinietz 1947: 21).

The close relation of people to the environment is emphasized. The ‘Ojibwa’ adapted to their ‘ecological’ environment in Canada (Hallowell 1992: 43). ‘The Chippewa are a timber people’ (Hodge 1: 278). Their living was based on the gathering or foraging of biological materials, hunting, fishing, and other activities (Densmore 1929: 9). Knowledge of ecology and nature was crucial to the Chippewa. People would ‘claim to have a name for each and every kind of bird inhabiting their country’, and for other creatures and elements as well (Cooke 1884: 242).

Every element of nature had a place. Plants will be presented in relation to medicines.

Most edible fish are known to the Chippewa: whitefish, sturgeon, pike, pickerel, trout, perch, cisco or tullibee, sunfish, eel, etc. Of reptiles and amphibians there are: toad, frog, salamander, lizard, snake, turtle, etc.

The Chippewa had names for more than 140 birds.

Bird names:

pipikiwisanse: sparrow-hawk

papase: hairy-woodpecker aka downy-woodpecker (cracking noise)

patashkansha: snipe aka wilsons-snipe

poteshiwish: black-snowbird

potawitompe: barn-owl (pôtawetomapi: stays where a fire started)

pikwakokweweshi: woodpecker; cuckoo (cf. ko’kowe’si)

pikwakoship: golden-eye-duck

pakweamo: red-headed-woodpecker (melanerpes) (breaks off pieces)

pashkantamo: evening-grosbeak (hesperiphona)

peshkwe: nighthawk (chordiles) (sound it makes)

pine: grouse or quail

piyank: goldfinch (astrigalinus)

pwanenseasikinak: yellow-headed-blackbird aka little-sioux-blackbird

takwakoship: ring-billed-blackhead-duck aka fall-duck

takwakwiwship: short-necked-duck aka wigeon or scaup

kipwanisi: goshawk (astur)
 kikipitikomeshi: red-bellied-nuthatch
 kakapishi: little-screech-owl (scops)
 kekek: hawk aka coopers-hawk or sharp-shinned-hawk
 kakoki: raven (corvus)
 kakokiship: cormorant aka double-crested-cormorant
 kokowesi: cuckoo (aka ko'kowe'si; cf. pikwakokweweshi)
 kichipatashkansha: woodcock (philohela)
 kichitakwakoship: redhead-duck aka canvasback-duck or big-fall-duck
 kichikichikaneshi: black-capped-chickadee
 kichishoshonipisi: swallow-tailed-kite/ (big-swallow)
 kichishinkipis: grebe aka horned-grebe, eared-grebe or big diver
 kichiwintikopineshi: shrike
 kichi-ansik-ship: american-sheldrake-duck aka merganser-duck
 koskoskonichi: song-sparrow aka whispering-bird (many species)
 kinikoneshi: hooded-sheldrake-duck aka sharp-billed-duck
 kinokwayawiship: pintail-duck aka longnecked-duck
 kinew: golden-eagle aka war-eagle
 kanawapimokisisweshin: least-bittern aka bittern
 kayosk: gull or tern
 kwinkwishi: jay aka canada-jay
 kwenkowia: whippoorwill (caprimulgus)
 chithowa: plover
 chichikanantaweshi: nuthatch aka white-bellied-nuthatch
 chiasikikinak: purple-grackle aka big-blackbird
 chianok: brown-thrush aka big-thrush
 cheinse: swainsons-hawk (buteo)
 ship aka shîp or shiship: duck
 shete: pelican
 shitwishkiwen: sandpiper aka pectoral-sandpiper
 sakatakaniship: green-winged-teal aka spunk-duck
 shikakopineshi: bobolink aka skunk-bird (white stripe)
 shoshoka: great-blue-heron
 saseka-misi'si: peacock aka splendid turkey
 shoshowanipineshi: swallow
 shantisi: blue-jay (cyanocitta)
 shinkipis: grebe aka thick-billed-grebe ('deformed', e.g., cannot walk)
 siamo: wood-duck (aix)
 mataikaniship: shoveller-duck
 matweankeship: golden-eye-duck
 mekatekekek: rough-legged-hawk aka black-hawk
 mekateship: black-mallard aka black-duck
 mekateshoshowanipi: purple-martin aka black-swallow
 mekatewanok: towhee-bunting aka black-thrush
 mikikikwane: fish-hawk
 mikisi: eagle aka bald-eagle
 mikisananissi: eagle-fighter aka small-blue-bird, thrush or shrike
 mishikekek: coopers-hawk
 maskosipineshi: marsh-wren aka swamp-sparrow
 maskotechichishitwishkiwen: killdeer (big-prairie-sandpiper)

maskote'si: canada-grouse (prairie-bird)
 meskwakikanishi: rose-breasted-grosbeak
 moshkawashi: american-bittern
 miskwanani'si: red-tailed-hawk
 misi'si: turkey
 meme: pileated-woodpecker (hylotomus)
 memitikoninkwekanesi: chimney-swift aka wooden-quill-bird (même'tekonân'kwekane'si)
 mamatwepineshi: catbird
 memiskotinimangeshi: red-winged-blackbird (agelæus) aka red-shouldered-bird
 manapisi: snow-goose aka small-swan
 manito-ship: scaup-duck (spirit-duck)
 mank: loon or 'brave' (mânkw)
 monominikeshi: rail aka sora-rail (rice bird)
 moninkwane: yellow-shafted-flicker
 nika: goose or Canada-goose
 nenokasi: ruby-throated-hummer
 wapakikak: whooping-crane aka white crane
 wapisi: swan (wâpi'si)
 wapishaskwe: (old-bald-eagle)
 wâpamimi: mourning-dove (zenaidura) (white-pigeon)
 wapanonkosi: snow-bunting (plectrophanes) (morning-star-bird)
 wapininiship: white-mallard
 wâpi-okokoko'o: snowy-owl
 watopipineshi: oriole aka willow-bird
 wakeyawiship: butterball-duck (shot-eater-duck)
 wintikopineshi: kingbird (tyrannus) aka flycatcher
 wenkitapine: ruffed-grouse/ (true-grouse)
 wenkitokokoko'o: barred-owl (strix) (true-owl)
 winonka: turkey-buzzard (wînân'kwe: dirty wing or feather)
 wewe: brant-goose (wenwen)
 wewipinkwanke: blue-winged-teal
 wewenkikano: great-gray-owl (ulula)
 wawanesa: whippoorwill/ wagtail
 opiche: robin
 apishkakoki: magpie (pica) (like-raven)
 apish-nika: white-fronted-goose/ (like-goose)
 otakinamaneshi: scarlet-tanager
 otamaweshi: small-white-bird
 otanamisakataweshi: house-wren aka winter-wren
 otowikewkokoko'o: great-horned-owl aka horned-owl ('otâwi'kêwa-koko'o)
 akikak: crane or sandhill-crane
 okokoko'o: owl aka long-eared-owl
 akashitasikinak: cowbird (small-blackbird)
 akosk: prairie-hen aka grouse or quail
 okishkimanisi: kingfisher (ceryle) (cut-point-crest-bird)
 okimapineshi: cedar-waxwing aka king-bird or chief-bird
 okani'se: pine-grosbeak (pinicola)
 osawansik-ship: red-breasted-sheldrake-duck aka yellow-sheldrake
 achikatek: coot aka american-coot
 ashitekoneshi: crossbill or crossed-bill-bird

osekipanwanishin: bohemian-waxwing or crested-bird
 ishkotepineshi: scarlet-tanager aka redbird or fire-bird
 assikinak: blackbird
 ashi-mank: (loon in winter) ('false-loon')
 osawapineshi: summer-yellowbird or warbler
 osawakikakocheweskiwen: golden-plover (yellow-crane-sandpiper)
 osowashkopineshi: bluebird (sialia)
 oshawano: black-throated-blue-warbler (dendræca)
 osawawapanongosi: shore-lark or yellow-snow-bunting
 amikoship: beaver-duck aka gadwall or canvasback
 omimi: pigeon or passenger-pigeon
 antek: crow (corvus) (renewal-migratory-bird)
 anok: thrush or olive-backed-thrush
 onokikinepikwesi: marsh-hunter (snake-hunter)
 ansik-ship: sheldrake-duck (ansik: duckweed)
 ininisi: (young-bald-eagle)
 ininiship: mallard-duck
 anwak: wilsons-thrush
 owesa, osawesa: bluebird -> osowashkopineshi
 Some English names:
 curlew (cf. snipe)
 old-bald-eagle: wâpîšaškwe
 rose-breasted-grosbeak (perhaps: meskwakikanishi)
 meadow-lark (rare; cf. thrush)
 hawk-owl (perhaps: kekeki-okokoko'o)
 phoebe (cf. flycatcher, shrike)
 vireo (Chippewa name missing; e.g., sparrow)
 woodpecker -> papase, pakweamo, meme
 NB: For distinctiveness in totemic lists alle names are hyphenated with small letters, e.g.,
 mallard-duck. Chippewa names are used here to indicate the native knowledge.

Every mammal found in the Chippewa forests had a name:

animal (awessi, awe'si) (fur-creature)
 bat (papakwânachin, apakwânâchin)
 lynx (besheu, bisîw, pisiw)
 bobcat or wildcat (essiban; pisiw)
 cougar or panther (mishipishi)
 coyote or prairie-wolf (pashkwatashi)
 wolf (myeengun, maingan, ma'inkan)
 eastern wolf (cf. wolf)
 dog (animosh)
 fox (wâkosh)
 bear (makwa; noka)
 raccoon (essipan)
 otter (nigig, nikikw)
 wolverine (swingwaage)
 marten (waubishashe, wabezhaze, wâbijeshi wâpisheshi)
 ermine (cf. weasel) (shinkos)
 weasel (shinkos)
 mink (shankweshi)

fisher (ochik, otchig)
 badger (missakakwidjish)
 skunk (shikakw) (mythical: aniwye)
 seal aka merman or water-spirit (nipenape)
 moose (mous, mousonee, mons, mosw)
 elk (cf. moose) (monsw)
 deer (wâwashkeshi)
 doe (noshesh)
 caribou or reindeer (ahdik, atik, atikw)
 bison or buffalo (pishiki)
 horn (eshkan)
 opossum (cf. badger) (ayâni)
 rabbit or hare (wâpôs)
 rabbit (wâbos, wâposw)
 hare (missâbos, mesâposw)
 jack-rabbit (misâpôs)
 porcupine (kâg, kâkw)
 beaver (ahmik, amik, amikw, 'âmekw)
 squirrel (agwingoss, atchitamo)
 grey-squirrel (misachitamo)
 red-squirrel (achitamo)
 flying-squirrel (shakashkântawe)
 groundhog aka woodchuck or marmot (akakochishi)
 chipmunk or ground-squirrel (cf. squirrel) (akonkos)
 mouse or vole (wawâpikonochi, wâwâpikanochin)
 shrew (cf. mouse)
 muskrat (wazhush, wajashk, washashk)
 woodrat (cf. rat)
 rat (cf. woodrat) (kichi-wawâpikonochi)
 mole or gopher (memôkiwitw)
 small-mole (kakupinkwekwe)
 large-small-mole (kichi-kakupinkwekwe)
 NB: Some varieties of spelling are indicated, since this often occurs, e.g., in scholars' reference to totems.

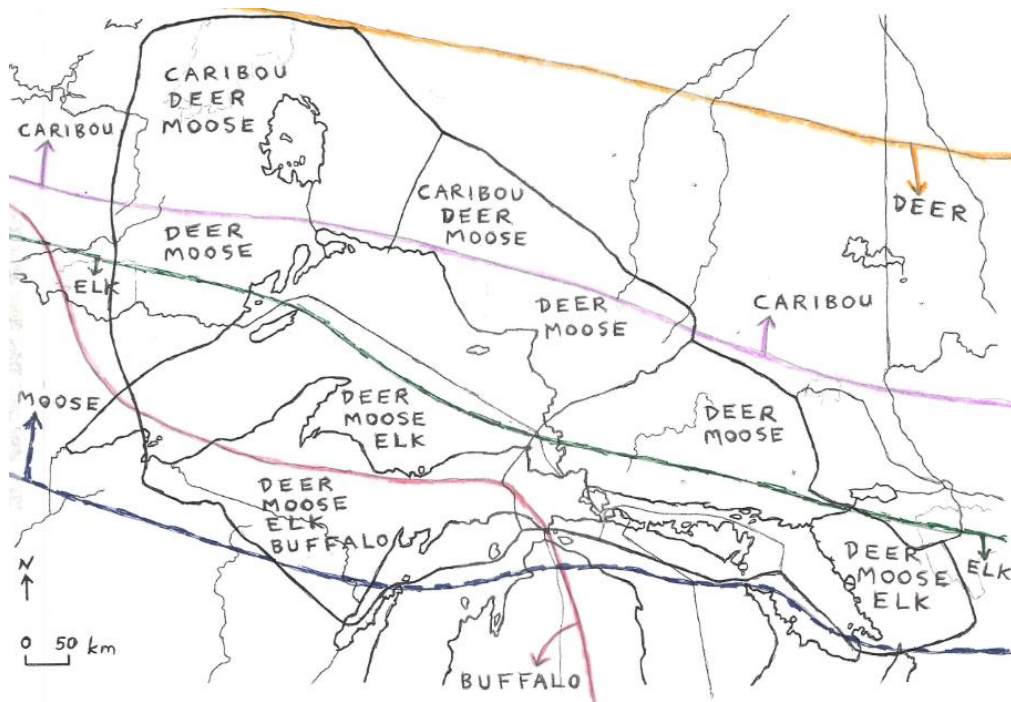
Mammals by Chippewa name:

papakwânachin, apakwânâchin: bat
 pishiki: bison or buffalo
 pashkwatashi: coyote or prairie-wolf
 pisiw, besheu, bisîw: lynx
 kakupinkwekwe: small mole
 kâg, kâkw: porcupine
 kichi-kakupinkwekwe: large small mole
 kichi-wawâpikonochi: rat, woodrat
 shikakw skunk (mythical: aniwye)
 shakashkântawe: flying-squirrel
 shinkos: ermine (cf. weasel)
 shinkos: weasel
 swingwaage: wolverine
 shankweshi: mink

makwa, noka: bear
 mous, mousonee, mons, mosw: moose
 missâbos, mesâposw, misâpôs: hare, jack-rabbit
 mishipishi: cougar or panther
 missakakwidjish: badger
 misachitamo: grey-squirrel
 memôkiwitw: mole or gopher
 mons, mosw, mous, mousonee: moose
 mons, monsw: elk
 myeengun, maingan, ma'inkan: wolf, eastern-wolf
 nipenape: seal aka merman or water-spirit
 noka -> makwa: bear
 nigig, nikikw: otter
 noshesh: doe
 wâpôs: rabbit or hare
 wâbos, wâposw: rabbit
 waubishashe, wabezhaze, wâbijeshi, wâpisheshi: marten
 wâkosh: fox
 wazhush, wajashk, washashk: muskrat
 wawâpikonochi, wâwâpikanochin: mouse, shrew or vole
 wâwashkeshi: deer
 apakwânâchin, papakwânachin: bat
 ahdik, 'atik, atikw: caribou or reindeer
 akakochishi: groundhog aka woodchuck or marmot
 akonkos: chipmunk or ground-squirrel (cf. squirrel)
 agwingoss, atchitamo: squirrel
 achitamo: red-squirrel
 ochik: fisher
 essiban: bobcat or wildcat
 essipan: raccoon
 eshkan: horn
 ahmik, amik, amikw, 'âmekw: beaver
 animosh: dog
 aniwye: mythical skunk
 ayâni: opossum (cf. badger)
 awessi, awe'si: fur-creature, animal
 (etc.)

Note that the 'corpus' of mammal names is far less than that for birds, with roughly 52 animals. Yet this would be ample for a social organization based on totems. Equally significantly, the animals provided a sufficiency of game for people to live on. In one view, among the South Chippewa, deer 'are not so plenty as further south' (Kinietz 1947: 21). Further N people subsisted on moose and caribou, supplemented with other game.

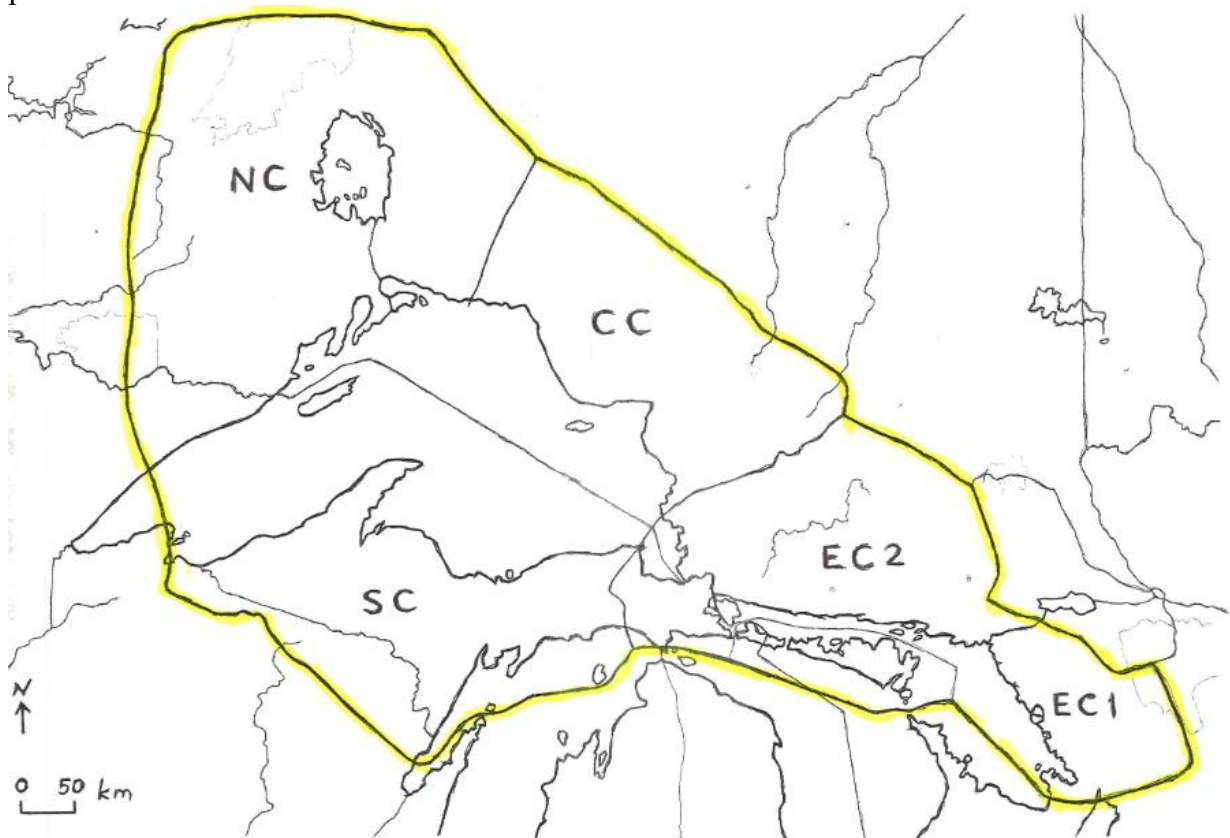
There were few species of large herbivorous game animals, but some overlap between the species:



Distribution of large herbivores in Ojibwaia

Note that there were at least two species of plant-eaters in every region, with the largest number in the S, deer, moose, elk and buffalo. The caribou would dominate in the far N.

At this point a tentative outline of the Chippewa homeland, bands and communities will be presented:



Ojibwaia – the Chippewa homeland (tentative)

EC 1 = East Chippewa 1/ Georgian Bay; EC 2 = East Chippewa 2/ Missisaga; CC = Central Chippewa; NC = North Chippewa; SC = South Chippewa

The approximate Chippewa territory c. 1500 AD held 50,000+ sq. mi., or 130,000+ km². The approximate population was 60,000+ people.

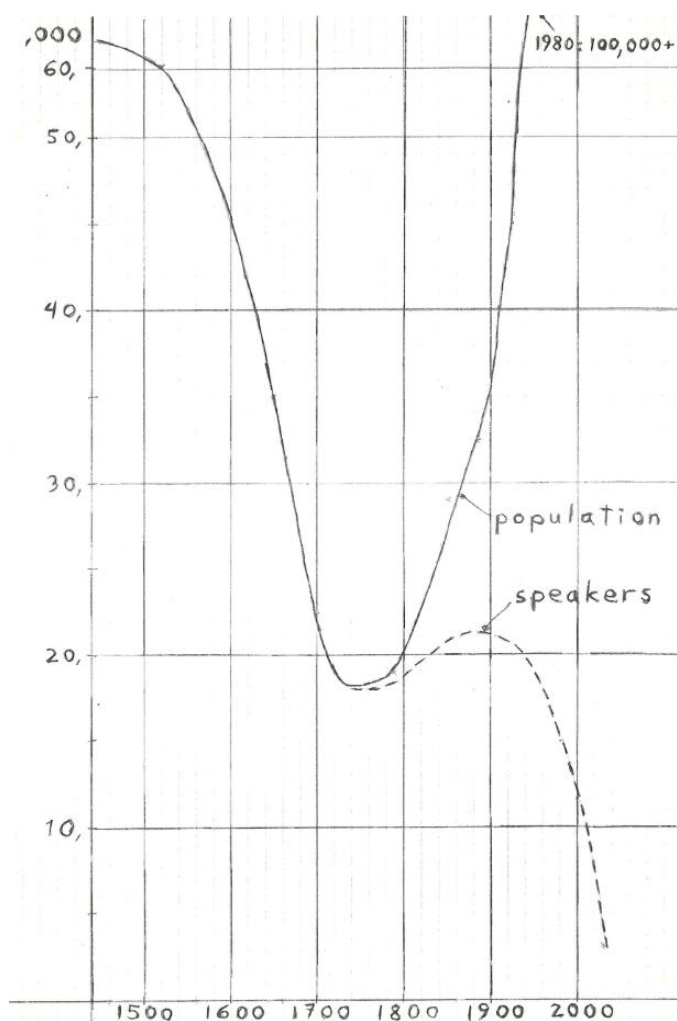
‘It is impossible to determine the past or present numbers of the Chippewa, as in former times only a small part of the tribe came in contact with the whites’ and ‘they are now so mixed with other tribes’ and whites ‘in many quarters that no separate returns are given’ (Hodge 1: 279).

The historic Chippewa population can be estimated at some points in time. In 1650 there were 35,000+ people, down from c. 60,000+. The tribe was so large and had so many ramifications that few early estimates are close to the truth. There may have been a tremendous population loss from European diseases and epidemics between 1520 and 1700 from 60,000+ to 20,-25,000 people. In 1764 there were c. 25,000+ people. By c. 1780 there were 18,-25,000 p., a low point. So the Chippewa population may have reached a low around 1785-1790 of c. 20,000 +/- 2,500 p. Around 1794 there were 17,-25,000 p. In 1800 the population could be 20,-30,000. Around 1843 c. 30,000+ p. were noted, and 1851 has 28,-30,000+ people.

A tricky census in 1884 gave 914 p. in Dakota, 5,885 in Minnesota, 3,656 in Wisconsin; in Michigan, 3,500 returned separately and 6,000 combined Chippewa and Ottawa, of whom perhaps one-third were Chippewa; in Kansas, 76 Chippewa and Munsee. In Canada the Chippewa of Ontario, including the Nipissing, numbered at the same time about 9,000, while in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories there were 17,129 Chippewa and Cree on reservations under the same agencies. A combined estimate in 1884 would give 16,500 p. in USA, and in Canada 16,000, for a total of 32,500 people.

The population then recovered. In 1900 there were 33,-40,000 people. In 1910 USA had 20,214 p., Canada 15,-20,000, for a total of 40,000+ p. The United States Indian Office Report for 1923 gave 22,599. In Canada there were probably somewhat less than 25,000, giving a total for the tribe of about 45,000 p. It must, however, be remembered that the population of Chippewa included thousands of so-called mixed-bloods, based on intermarriage with whites and the adoption of white members. The US Census of 1930 gives 21,549 p., with Canada holding 30,-35,000, totaling 52,-56,000 p., of who perhaps 40,-50,000 were native speakers, e.g., spoke Chippewa. In 1937 there was a total in the US of 26,457 p., in Canada 30,-40,000, for a total of 57,-66,000 p., including c. 40,-55,000 speakers. By 1962 there were 32,000 p. in USA, 45,000 in Can., totaling 77,000 p. and c. 35,-45,000 speakers.

In 1980 there were perhaps 100,000 people, of whom 30,-40,000 speakers. In 2010 as many as 330,000 people were counted; including 25,000 speakers in Canada and 7000 speakers in USA; though perhaps <32,000 speakers. The number of speakers was dropping fast. The actual number of Chippewa-Ojibwe speakers now (2025) may be <5,000 people, mostly people aged 70+ (born before 1955-60); USA <500, Can. <4000. The sad situation is that Chippewa may be ‘moribund’ as a spoken language (Crystal 2000: 21-25). As the language disappears, so will the knowledge of totemism and other native practices; though totem reckoning may carry on in some places or on the internet.

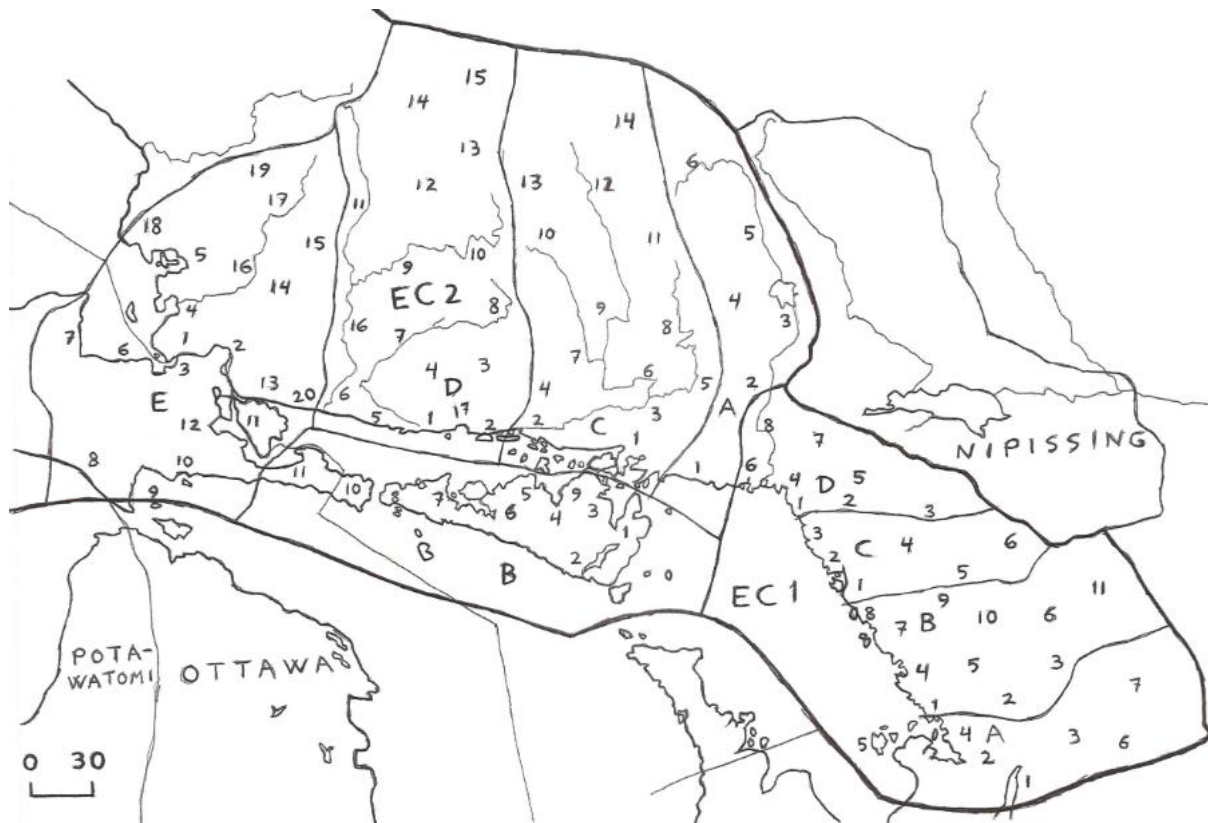


Chippewa population (minimal numbers)

In prehistoric times Ojibwaia was divided into 4-6 major regions or tribal divisions. Within these regions or divisions there could be all together c. 20-30 bands, and each band might include 3-10+ villages. The total number of villages or local communities could be 250-300. Each village might consist of 90-350+ people, with an average size of 170-200 residents. All of these are tentative figures, to get a grip on the scale and complexity of the tribal composition. Each local community held a territory of c. 100-400 sq.mi. or 260-1000 km², averaging 190 sq.mi. or 490 km². This would be an area of 15-20 x 20-50 km.

‘As the Chippewa were scattered over a region extending 1,000 m. from E. to W., they had a large number of villages, bands, and local divisions. Some of the bands bore the name of the village, lake, or river near which they resided, but these were grouped under larger divisions or subtribes which occupied certain fixed limits and were distinguished by marked differences’ (Hodge 1: 280). The elements in the tribal organization included: local communities or villages; local bands; regional bands or tribal divisions; and the tribe or nation. Beyond this there was an intertribal level that will be discussed later.

For simplicity 4 regions are identified: East Chippewa (EC) E of Sault Ste Marie; Central Chippewa (CC) E of the Lake Nipigon watershed; North Chippewa (NC) around and W of Lake Nipigon; and South Chippewa (SC) S of Lake Superior. The North Chippewa might be called western, but W has a connotation of passing away, so N seems preferable. In what follows a tentative attempt is made to indicate divisions, bands and villages.



East Chippewa

(EC) – division:

East Chippewa aka Eastern Chippewa or Ahawauk.

Historic designations include Mississauga or Southern Ojibwa (Schmalz 1991).

(EC1) – subdivision:

The Easternmost or Georgian Bay Chippewa: at least 30 villages.

Band A: South Georgian band, Waswa or Waubaushene: 7-8 vils.:

- 1 Mujikaning, Menchikaning or Rama (cf. Curve Lake)
- 2 Matchedash or Waubaushene
- 3 Black River
- 4 Port Severn (cf. Waubaushene)
- 5 Kichiminsink, Beausoleil or Christian Island
- 6 Gull River
- 7 Boshkung Lake
- (etc.)

Band B: South-Central Georgian band, or Atchoke: 10-12 vils.:

- 1 Musquash, Muskoka or Moose Deer Cr.
- 2 Lake Muskoka
- 3 Wahawin
- 4 Mitiko-sakink, Woods Bay or Moon R.; re: Moose Deer Point;
- 5 Wallace Bay
- 6 Hunters Bay
- 7 Wasauksink aka Parry Sound or Parry Island

- 8 Shebeshekong Bay or Dillon
- 9 Manitouwabing R.
- 10 Sequin Falls or Fall Lake
- 11 Oxtongue Lake or Smoke L. (cf. Golden L.)
- (etc.)

Band C: North-Central Georgian band, or Atchilikwan: 6-7 vils.:

- 1 Shawanaga
- 2 Georgian Inlet
- 3 Magnetawan
- 4 Wahwashkesh
- 5 Ahmic L. (beaver)
- 6 Lake Bernard
- (etc.)

Band D: North Georgian Band, Nikikwek or Otter Band: 8-9 vils.:

- 1 Henvey Inlet
- 2 Key River
- 3 Wauquimakog or Port Loring
- 4 Whistler Bay
- 5 Pickerel R.
- 6 Beaverstone R.
- 7 Jamot
- 8 Lower Wanapitei R.
- (etc.)

(EC2) – subdivision:

East-Central aka Sault or Missisaga Chippewa: at least 60 vils.

The Missisaga division was located to the E in the Chippewa nation. Missasauga was ‘the Eagle totemic division of the tribe’, e.g., identified by an overarching eagle totem (Hoffman 1891: 162).

Band A: Amikwa or Beaver Band: 6-7 vils.:

- 1 Wikwemikonk or Collins Inlet (Point Grondine Reserve 3) (cf. Mahzenazing R.)
- 2 Middle Wanapitei, Wahnapiatae or Sudbury
- 3 Wanapitei Lake or Skead
- 4 Capreol
- 5 Knight Creek
- 6 Barnet Cr.
- (etc.)

Band B: Manitoulin – mostly identified as Ottawa: 10-12 vils.

- 1 Manitowaning
- 2 Tehkummah
- 3 Shekwianta or Sheguiandah
- 4 Michigeeng
- 5 Kagawong
- 6 Poplar
- 7 Sheshekwanink or Shipahasink
- 8 Meldrum Bay

9 Aundeckomnicaning or Sucker Cr.
10 Cockburn Is. or Tolsmaville
11 Drummond Is.
(etc.)

Band C: Sagamok or Whitefish: 14-15 vils.:

1 Whitefish Falls or Lower Whitefish R.
2 Sagamok or Spanish R.
3 Lake Panache
4 River aux Sables (ermine or mink)
5 Vermilion R.
6 Stump Bay
7 Fleck Cr.
8 Onaping R.
9 Agnes R.
10 Upper Wakonassin R.
11 Onaping Lake
12 Dead R.
13 Ramsey L.
14 Westbrook Cr.
(etc.)

Band D: Missisaga or Mississauga proper: c. 15-20 vils.

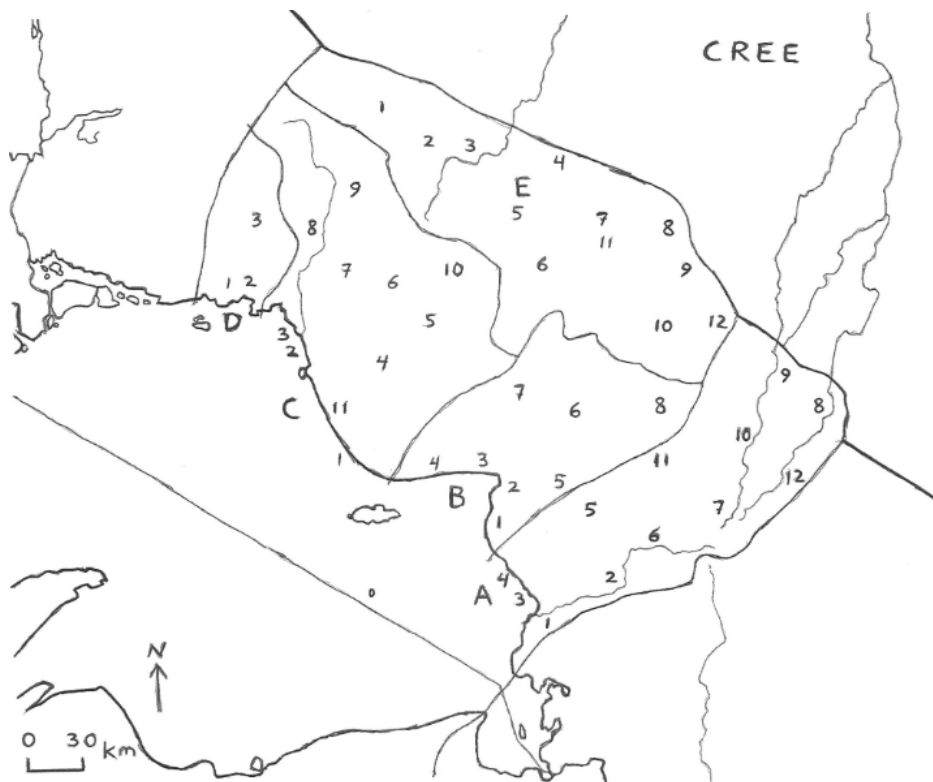
1 Mississauga or Miswesakink
2 Kenapashink, Genabajing, Snake or Serpent River
3 Quirke Lake
4 Matinenda L.
5 Sunset Beach
6 Phillips Bay
7 Endikai L.
8 Boland R.
9 Rimrock Cr.
10 Upper Bark L.
11 Aubinadong R.
12 Embarrass R.
13 Frechette L.
14 Wakami L.
15 Woman R.
16 Two Camp Cr.
17 Kipinkwesipi or Blind River
(etc.)

Band E: Sault Ste Marie aka Sault or Pawitakonk: 18-20 vils.:

Names include: St Mary's R., Saulteurs (later used further W); Pawitikwan, Baouichtigouin, Bow-e-ting, Bāwa'tigōwininiwūg, Pawa'tikoweniniwak etc., mentioned 1634-42. In a recent posting, the White Crane clan were the traditional hereditary chiefs of the Ojibwe at Sault Ste. Marie and Madeline Island. The central location of the Sault will be returned to later.

1 Pawitakonk or Sault Ste Marie
2 Kitikânsipi, Gitigânzibi or Garden R.
3 Opachiwana or Ashmun Cr.

- 4 Gaulais Bay (cf. Garden R.; cf. Opachiwana)
- 5 Whitefish Bay (cf. Patchawana)
- 6 Bay Mills
- 7 Tahquamenon
- 8 Brevoort
- 9 Mackinac
- 10 Hessel
- 11 St Joseph Is.
- 12 Muhuscong R.
- 13 Desbarats
- 14 Little Garden R.
- 15 Ranger Lake
- 16 East Gaulais R.
- 17 Chubb Cr.
- 18 Batchawana or Patchawana
- 19 Upper Batchawana
- 20 Thessalon
- (etc.)



Central Chippewa

(CC) – division:

Central Chippewa aka Marameg or Businause: perhaps 45-50 vils.

(CC1+CC2) – subdivision:

Southern Central Chippewa or Marameg:

Band A: Agawa or Montreal River: 10-14 vils.:

1 Montreal R.

- 2 Cow R.
- 3 Agawa Bay
- 4 Sand R.
- 5 Koski Lake
- 6 Pemache R.
- 7 E Chapleau
- 8 Shawmere R. or Mishionga Cr.
- 9 Kapuskasing or Nemegosenda R.
- 10 Alcorn L.
- 11 Chapleau: 5-8 clans;
- 12 Biggs Cr. or Brunswick House
(etc.)

Band B: Wawa or Michipicoten: 8-9 vils.

- 1 Old Woman R.
- 2 Michipicoten R. or Wawa
- 3 Makwa R. (bear)
- 4 Dog R.
- 5 Shikwamkwa R. or Hollingsworth
- 6 Dog Lake
- 7 Toolong Rapids or Magpie R.
- 8 Missinaibi (cf. Dog Lake)
(etc.)

(CC3+CC4) – subdivision:

Western Central Chippewa or Marameg:

Band C: Pic or Pukaskwa: 10-12 vils.:

- 1 Pukaskwa R.
- 2 Chigamiwinigum or White R.
- 3 Biigtigong or Pic R.
- 4 Lurch R.
- 5 Bremner
- 6 White Lake aka Pic Mobert or Netamisakamik: 14-17 clans;
- 7 Mobert Cr.
- 8 Kagiano R.
- 9 White Otter R.
- 10 Shabotik R.
(etc.)

Band D: Steel River: c. 3 vils.:

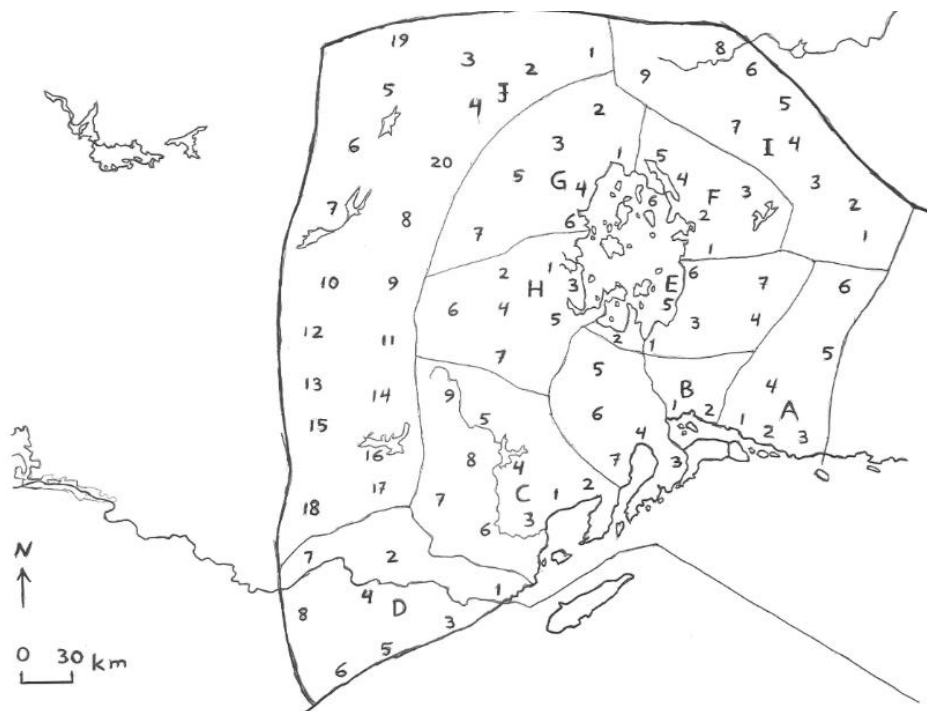
- 1 Steel R.
- 2 Little Pic R.
- 3 Killala Lake
(etc.)

(C5) – subdivision:

Inland Central Chippewa or Marameg:

Band E: Inland: Nagagami: 8-12 vils.

- 1 Nakawawok
- 2 Osawin R.
- 3 Nagagami
- 4 Nagagamisis R.
- 5 Shekak R.
- 6 Big Point
- 7 Pichogen R.
- 8 Caithness Cr.
- 9 Puskuta Cr.
- 10 Greenhill R.
- 11 Oba R.
- 12 Argolis
- (etc.)



North Chippewa

(NC) – division:

North Chippewa: at least 70 vils.

Aka Western or Northern Chippewa, Nipigon, Awause etc.

(NC1+NC2+NC3+NC4) – subdivision:

Coastal North Chippewa, Nipigon-Thunder Bay: 30 vils.

Band A: Gravel River: 6-7 vils.

1 Gravel R.

2 Pakwashink, Pawgwasheeng, Pays Plat or Rossport: from 4-7 to 9-14 clans; powwow ground has 7 stalls but room for 13-14;

3 Terrace Bay

4 Kamuck R.

5 Longlac or Long Lake: 5-7 clans, eagle, bear, wolf, beaver, marten, otter, etc.

6 Geraldton

(etc.)

Band B: Lower Nipigon: 7-8 vils.:

- 1 Nipigon
- 2 Jackfish R.
- 3 St Ignace Is.
- 4 Black Bay
- 5 Black Sturgeon R.
- 6 Wolf R.
- 7 Dorion

(etc.)

Band C: Thunder Bay: 9-10 vils.:

- 1 Wild Goose
- 2 Birch Beach
- 3 Thunder Bay
- 4 Dog Lake
- 5 Riviere des Iles
- 6 Whitefish R. or Gillies
- 7 Matawin R.
- 8 Oskondaga R.
- 9 Taman Lake or Muskeg Cr.

(etc.)

Band D: Grand Portage: 8-9 vils.:

- 1 Pigeon Bay
- 2 Weikwabinonaw R.
- 3 Reservation R.
- 4 South Lake
- 5 Cascade Falls, Cascade R. or Indian Camp Cr.
- 6 Cross R.
- 7 Saganaga L.
- 8 Brule L.

(etc.)

(NC5+NC6+NC7+NC8) – subdivision

Around Lake Nipigon

Band E: SE L. Nipigon: 7-8 vils.:

- 1 Pine Portage
- 2 McIntyre Bay
- 3 Pinkwineyashi or Macdiarmid
- 4 Upper Namewaminikan R.
- 5 Lion Bay or Blackwater R.
- 6 Namewaminikan R.
- 7 Partridge L.

(etc.)

Band F: NE L. Nipigon: 6-7 vils.:

- 1 North Wind R.

- 2 Onaman R. or Humboldt Bay
- 3 Onaman Lake
- 4 Ombabika R.
- 5 Little Jackfish R.
- 6 North Bay
- (etc.)

Band G: NW L. Nipigon: 7-8 vils.:

- 1 Windigo Bay
- 2 Pikitkoshi
- 3 Caribou Lake: 1978: 483 p.;
- 4 Whitesand R.
- 5 Wabakimi
- 6 Wabinosh R.
- 7 Obonga or Ottertooth Cr.
- (etc.)

Band H: SW L. Nipigon: 7-8 vils.:

- 1 Kiashke-sâkink or Gull Bay
- 2 Roaring R.
- 3 Lynx Harbour
- 4 Mooseland R.
- 5 Okimaw-sakink or Chief Bay
- 6 Grew R.
- 7 Sauerbrei Cr,
- (etc.)

(NC9+NC10) – subdivisions

Inland North Chippewa

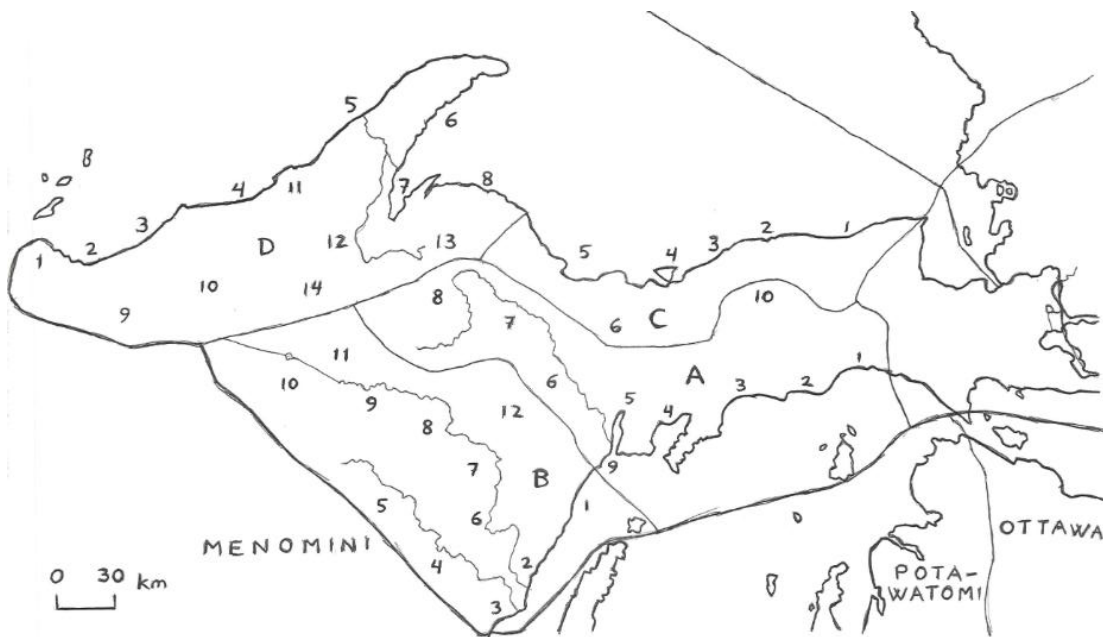
Band I: NE Inland North Chippewa: 9-10 vils.:

- 1 Kenogamisis R.
- 2 Murky Cr.
- 3 Kawashkagama R., Aroland or Rupert Falls
- 4 Kawkash Bay or Hanover Lake
- 5 Meta Cr.
- 6 Kapikotongwa R.
- 7 Powitik R.
- 8 Ogoki R. or Ottertail
- 9 Mojikit Lake
- (etc.)

Band J: NW Inland North Chippewa: c. 20 vils.:

- 1 Raymond R.
- 2 Wapakamink or Whitewater Lake
- 3 Palisade R. (cf. Osnaburg)
- 4 Wabakimi L. or Sturgeon Rapids
- 5 Savant Lake
- 6 Marchington R. (re: Saugeen – Kashaweogama: 6-8 totems)
- 7 North Arm of Sturgeon Lake

- 8 Hilltop Cr., Brightsand R.
- 9 Sparrow Cr., Brightsand R.
- 10 Mattawa Lake or Tannin (cf. English R.)
- 11 Wawang R.
- 12 Quorn or Tide R.
- 13 Scotch R. or English R.
- 14 Firesteel R. or Hay R.
- 15 Seine R.
- 16 Savanne or Lac des Mille Lacs
- 17 Kashabowie or Burchell L.
- 18 Kawa Bay
- 19 Cat Lake or Pishiw-sakaikan, W Ont.: 1972: 160 p.; 1978: 278 p.;
- 20 Kawaweogama L.



South Chippewa

(SC) – division:

South Chippewa aka Southern Chippewa or Noka: perhaps 40 vils. An old name for Chippewa in the S were Noquet, supposed to have spoken a separate language, but probably a dialect of Chippewa. Another regional name was 'Kechegummewininewug, on the S. shore of L. Superior' (Hodge 1). A modern center is the L'Anse Band, said to incorporate people from Sault Ste Marie to Land O'Lakes.

(SC1+SC2) – subdivision:

Southern South Chippewa:

Band A: Noquet: 10-11 vils.:

These people were engaged in the prehistoric copper trade, trading copper for salt and other goods. The Noke or Bear division supposedly was in Upper Michigan c. 1600-1670.

- 1 Lower Millecoquins R.
- 2 Milakokia R.
- 3 Manistique
- 4 Big Noquet

- 5 Little Noquet
- 6 Middle Escanaba R.
- 7 Black R.
- 8 Michigamme R.
- 9 Escanaba
- 10 Fox R.
- (etc.)

Band B: Mantouek or Snake Band: 10-14 vils.:

- 1 Big Cedar R.
- 2 Menominee
- 3 Lower Peshtigo R.
- 4 Middle Peshtigo R.
- 5 Upper Peshtigo R.
- 6 Wausaukee R.
- 7 Pemebonwon R.
- 8 Iron Mountain
- 9 Iron R.
- 10 Ketikitekon or Lac Vieux Desert
- 11 Paint R.
- 12 Sturgeon R.
- (etc.)

(SC3+SC4) – Northern South Chippewa

Band C: Marquette-Munising: 6-7 vils.:

- 1 Two Hearted R.
- 2 Grand Marais
- 3 Beaver Lake
- 4 Munising
- 5 Marquette
- 6 Sand R.
- (etc.)

Band D: L'Anse: c. 14 vils.:

- 1 Odanah
- 2 Montreal R.
- 3 Presque Isle R.
- 4 Ontonagon
- 5 Hancock or Copper Island: people were engaged in the ancient copper trade.
- 6 Keweenaw or Tobacco R.
- 7 L'Anse
- 8 Big Bay
- 9 Ironwood
- 10 Gogebic
- 11 Sleeping River
- 12 Upper Sturgeon R.
- 13 Lake Michigamme
- 14 Perch Lake
- (etc.)

Summary of tribal units:

1 tribe

4+ divisions

9-10 subdivisions

24+ bands

250+ villages, with a low estimate of 250 and a high of 300+ villages.

A closely related tribe or division was the Ottawa people, who are not included in this outline, though the Manitoulin band may be considered Ottawa.

The tribal and intertribal level of organization and alliances will be returned to. This also concerns tribal divisions and subdivisions. The subdivisions may also be referred to as regional bands, each comprising 2-5 local bands and 20-40 villages or local communities.

As noted there were at least 24 local bands. These were fairly well-established geographical units, each comprising c. 3-10+ villages. In recent history a group of villages or communities, such as around Rainy Lake and Rainy River, constituted a band (Landes 1937: 1). Such bands could be called 'water-groups of villages'; perhaps nipisiwiwin or 'otakamise (ibid.). The band was known to outsiders by a descriptive name, such as 'Rainy Lake people' or 'Red Lake People' (ibid.).

There were 10 'principal divisions' or bands in the United States; up from 6-8 in prehistoric times (Hodge 1). In Canada would be bands of the North or Nipigon division, Central or Marameg division, and the Missisaga-Georgian Bay division to the E. Detailed band lists are not available. Various 'settlements, bands, or divisions' within the United States were listed (Hodge 1). Unfortunately such random lists of bands and villages serve to confuse rather than clarify territorial matters.

Some historic bands and communities:

A phonemic-alphabetical list may help focus on some villages and bands; some population figures by year and a few known totems have been included:

Betonukeengainubejig; 'in N. Wisconsin' (Hodge 1);

Pokegama or Po'kekami;

Bigaanjigamiing, Pikanchikamink or Pikangikum, W Ontario: 1949: 342; 1970: 764; 1978: 1086;

Peguis or Bagoache, L. Winnipeg: 1949: 1266; 1970: 2060; 1978: 2534;

Paskantipewisipink, Brokenhead aka Scantebury, L. Winnipeg: 1949: 227; 1970: 434; 1978: 552;

Ponemah, Minn.;

Pawating,

Pawinkasisipink, Bawingassi-ziibing, Pauin Gassi or Family Lake, E of L Winnipeg; (cf. Mishi-baawitigong);

Kapetâkameki, Minn.

Ketikitegon/ Gatagetegauning, Lac Vieux Desert, Mich./Wisc.

Kawkawling,

Kechepukwaiwah,

Couchiching, Kojejewininewug or Fort Frances; 'on Rainy lake and r.' (Hodge 1);

Kechesebewininewug; on upper Mississippi;

Ketchewaundaugenink,

Kasabonika, N Ont.: 1972: 230 p.; 1978: 397 p.; 2024: 100+ hs.;
 Kishkawbawee,
 Gasakaskuatchimmekak;
 Kashaweogama, Curlew Lake or Saugeen, W. Ont.;
 Kahmetahwungaguma (cf. Rabbit Lake)
 Kinoshewishtikwanink, Ginooshewishtigwaaning or Jackhead, L. Winnipeg: 1949: 122;
 1970: 256; 1978: 360;
 Gamiskwakokawininiwak,
 Gawababiganikak,
 Cheboygan,
 Sabaskong, Lake of the Woods, Ont.: 1949: -- ; 1970: 229; 1978: 325;
 Shabwasing,
 Shakopatikong or Slate Falls, W Ont.;
 Sagkeeng, Fort Alexander, Manitoba, Can. (1871: 15 farms/ 25 enclosures/ 30 hs. = 160 p +
 170 Metis) (1872: 320 p.) (1873: 394 p.) (1876: 506 p.; 340 Metis, 160 Indian) (1910: 400
 Metis, 170 Ind.) (1934: 800 Metis, 300 Ind.) 1949: 962. (1960: 1670 p.: Metis majority 1250
 p.; Indian minority 420 p.) 1970: 2023. (1972: 185+ hs./ 2000 p.; Metis 400 Courchene; 350
 Fontaine; + 700 Metis; Indian minority 450-500 p.) 1978: 2620./ (1972: South Shore: 14
 'bunches' A-O; N: 10+ bunches with 2 to 15+ p.) (Lithman 1978).
 Sukaauguning (cf. Sagkeeng)
 Saginaw,
 Shakwamikong, Shaugwaumikong, Shaugawaumikong or La Pointe; also: Mo-ning-wun-a-
 kaun-ing or La Pointe Island (incl. Red Cliff);
 Sugwaundugah-wininewug; 'N. of L. Superior' (Hodge 1);
 Sachigo or Sachigo Lake, NW Ont.: 1972: 140 p.; 1978: 326 p.;
 Shishipasiwi-sakaikan, Duck L. or Barton L., W Ontario;
 Mattagami, E Ont.;
 Mattawan;
 Makandwewininiwag, Pillager Band, Pilleurs, headwaters of Mississippi, Minnesota. (Incl.
 Red Cedar (Cass) Lake; Turtle Portage; Lake Winnibigoshish; Leech Lake/ Bear Island/ Pin
 Point; Boy Lake; Upper Crow Wing; Wing River; Otter Tail)
 Mekadewagamitigweyawininiwak,
 Makatewakamishiwansink, O'Hanly aka Little Black River, S of Bloodvein, L Winnipeg:
 1949: 96; 1970: 194; 1978: 283;
 Mukmeduawininewug or Pillagers; 'on Leech lake' (Hodge 1);
 Mikinak wadshiwiniwak,
 Mukwa Narrows Manitoba, Can.
 Michikan or Bearskin Lake: 1972: 270 p.; 1978: 345 p.; 2024: 6-7 part settlements with from
 8-17 to 24-32 hs.; up to 10-14 totem clans;
 Mishi-baawitigong or Little Grand Rapids, Manitoba (incl. Pauingassi):1949: 413; 1970:
 733; 1978: 878;
 Mishtawayawininiwak,
 Mishkikokamank, Oshki-mishkikokamank, Osnaburg and New Osnaburg, W Ont.: 1972:
 300 p.; 1978: 862 p.;
 Miskwagamiwisagaigan,
 Mishi-sakahikaning, Misisagaikaniwininiwak or MacDowell L., W Ont.: 1972: 30 p.;
 Michilimackinac,
 Mamakwash, W Ont.: 4-8 hs.;
 Mememwiziibiing, Berens River, L. Winnipeg: 1949: 368; 1970: 719; 1978: 914; totems:
 Berens family: bear, wolf, moose (Hallowell 1992: 11-12).

Menitegow,
 Manigotagan, L. Winnipeg;
 Mânkwasâkink or Loon Bay, L. Winnipeg;
 Monsone, Northern Saulteaux or Moose band;
 Manamik, Bloodvein River, L. Winnipeg: 1949: 124; 1970: 339; 1978: 454;
 Munominikasheenhug; head 'of St Croix r.' (Hodge 1).
 Nabobish;
 Nipegon or Allenemipigons,
 Nopimink or Nopeming, E of L. Winnipeg;
 Nibowisibiwininiwak; in Saskatchewan;
 Nagonabe,
 Nekwakwani-sakaikan, Nequagon or Lac La Croix, US-Can. border;
 Nisachewan or The Dalles, W Ontario: 1949: 82; 1970: 89; 1978: 85;
 Namewinini, Nameuilni or Sturgeon band; in Ontario;
 Naotkamegwanning or Whitefish Bay, W Ont.;
 Wabigoon, W Ont.: 1949: 140; 1970: 129; 1978: 133;
 Webiquie, N Ont.: 1972: 330 p.;
 Wabauskang, Wabaskang, Ontario: 1949: 68; 1970: 67; 1978: 68;
 Wapasimonk, Whitedog, Swan Lake or Islington, W Ontario: 1949: 227; 1970: 622; 1978: 815;
 Wabashink or Ponema; a village at Red Lake;
 Wabasemowenenewak(?),
 Wapisiwisibiwininiwak, in lower Michigan;
 Wapametonk, Eabametoong or Fort Hope; with Cree: 1972: 450 p.; 1978: 1,904 p.;
 Wequadong,
 Weshikkakamiwileni, Oueschekgagamioulimy or Walpole Island;
 Wasagamack, Island Lake, E Manitoba: 1972: 381 p.; 1978: 590 p.;
 Wauswagiming,
 Wahsuhgunewininewug; 'head of Wisconsin r.' (Hodge 1);
 Waswarini or Ouasouarini,
 Winnebegoshishiwininiwak,
 Wanipigow, Hole River aka Hollow Water, L. Winnipeg: 1949: 170; 1970: 358; 1978: 464;
 Wanamakewajenenik,
 Wunnummin, NW Ont.: 1972: 225 p.; 1978: 284 p.; 2024: 100+ hs.;
 Weagamow or Round Lake, Ont.: 1972: 335 p.;
 Wiaquahhechegumeeng,
 Wawakapewin or Angling Lake, Ont.: 1972: 60 p., 4-5 clans; 1978: 170 p.; 2024: 15-17 hs., 6-8 clans;
 Obidgewong;
 Obazaadiikaang Poplar Hill, W Ontario;
 Obishikokaang, Lac Seul, W Ontario: 1949: 548; 1970: 1153; 1978: 1297;
 Obashkandagaang or Rat Portage, Ont.: 1949: 164; 1970: 310; 1978: 247;
 Atikaki, E of L. Winnipeg;
 Otusson,
 Otena/ Odanah/ Bad River: ('otêna = village) [S?]
 Ogoki aka Martin Falls or Marten Falls, N Ont.: 1972: 150 p.; 1978: 252 p.;
 'A'kamink, Aghaming, Wanipigow, Hole River or Hollow Water, L. Winnipeg: 1949: 170; 1970: 358; 1978: 464;
 Asubpeeschosesewagong, Grassy Narrows or English River, W Ont.: 1949: 242; 1970: 485; 1978: 590;

Azaadiwi-ziibing, Poplar River, Lake Winnipeg: 1949: 178; 1970: 392; 1978: 511;
 Ishkotekami, Lac du Flambeau, Wisc.
 Iskatewisakaikanink, Shoal Lake No. 39: 1949: 134; 1970: 187; 1978: 236;
 Iskatewisakaikanink, Shoal Lake No. 40: 1949: 170; 1970: 220; 1978: 243;
 Oschekkamegawenenewak,
 Omushkasug, 'N. W. side of L. Superior at the Canadian border' (Hodge 1);
 Omiimiiziibing or Pigeon R., L. Winnipeg (cf. Berens River)
 Ommunise,
 Anibiminanisibiwininiwak,
 Onepowesepewenenewak,
 Ontonagon,
 Angwassag,
 Animakiweshink, Northwest Angle No. 33: 1949: 70; 1970: 158; 1978: 192;
 Animakiweshink, Northwest Angle No. 37: 1949: 59; 1970: 85; 1978: 124;
 Non-native names:
 Alnwick, SE Ont.;
 Angling Lake -> Wawakapewin
 Bad River -> Otena
 Barton L. -> Shishipasiwi-sakaikan
 Bay du Noc;
 Bearskin Lake -> Michikan
 Beaver Islands;
 Berens River -> Mememwiziibiing
 Big Grassy: 1949: --; 1970: 212; 1978: 280;
 Big Island, Ont.: 1949: 113; 1970: 163; 1978: 207;
 Big Rock,
 Big Trout Lake, Ont.: 1978: 672 p.;
 Blackbird,
 Bloodvein River -> Manamik
 Bois Forte -> Nett Lake
 Brokenhead -> Paskantipewisipink
 Burnt Woods;
 Cape Croker, S. Ont.;
 Carroll Lake, W Ontario;
 Cass Lake, Minn.;
 Chemong, SE Ont.;
 Chetac Lake, near Lac Courte Oreilles
 Credit & New Credit, near Toronto;
 Crow Wing River;
 Curlew Lake -> Kashaweogama
 Curve Lake, SE Ont.;
 Dalles -> Nisachewan
 Deer Creek, Minn.;
 Deer Lake, W Ontario: 1972: 250 p.; 1978: 1,978 p.;
 Doki's Band;
 Eagle Lake, W Ont.: 1949: 85; 1970: 146; 1978: 163;
 English River -> Asubpeeschoseewagong
 Epinette (1744);
 Fairford: 1949: 321; 1970: 720; 1978: 921;
 Fond du Lac, Minn.;

Fort Alexander -> Sagkeeng
 Fort Hope -> Wapametonk
 Garden Hill, E Manitoba: 1970: 1,265 p.; 1978: 1,623 p.;
 Georgina Island, SE Ont.;
 Grassy Narrows, W Ont.: 1949: 242; 1970: 485; 1978: 590;
 Gull Lake,
 Hole River or Hollow Water -> Akamink
 Islington, W Ont.: 1949: 227; 1970: 622; 1978: 815;
 Jackhead -> Kinoshewishtikwanink
 Kettle & Stony Point, S Ont.;
 Kingfisher, NW Ontario: 1972: 125 p.; 1978: 231 p.;
 Knife Lake,
 Lansdowne House, N Ont.: 1972: 350 p.;
 La Pointe -> Shaugawaumikong
 Lac Courte Oreilles, or Ottawa Lake Men;
 Lac du Flambeau -> Ishkotekami
 Lac La Croix -> Nekwakwani-sakaikan
 Lac Seul -> Obishikokang
 Lake Saint Martin: 1949: 284; 1970: 581; 1978: 818;
 Leech Lake, Minn.;
 Little Black R. -> Makatewakamishiwansink
 Little Forks,
 Little Grand Rapids -> Mishi-baawitigong
 Long Lake,
 Loon Bay -> Mânkwâsâkink
 MacDowell L. -> Mishi-sakahikaning
 Menoquet's Village,
 Mille Lacs, Minn.;
 Mukwa Narrows -> Mukwa Narrows
 Muskrat Dam, N Ont.: 1972: 80 p.; 1978: 178 p.;
 Nett Lake or Bois Forte, Minn.;
 Northern Saulteaux -> Monsone
 North Spirit Lake, W Ont.;
 Northwest Angle -> Animakiweshink
 Odanah -> otena
 O'Hanly -> Makatewakamishiwansink
 Osnaburg & New Osnaburg -> Mishkikokamank
 Peshawbestown, S Mich.;
 Pic River in Manitoba;
 Pickle Lake, Ont.: 1972: 75 p.;
 Pigeon R. -> Omiimiiziibing
 Pikangikum -> Bigaanjigamiing
 Pillagers -> Mukmeduawininewug
 Poplar Hill -> Obazaadiikaang
 Poplar River -> Azaadiwi-ziibing
 Portage de Prairie;
 Rabbit Lake,
 Rat Portage, Ont.: 1949: 164; 1970: 310; 1978: 247;
 Reaum's Village,
 Red Cedar Lake,

Red Cliff, Wisc. (cf. La Pointe);
 Red Lake, Minn.;
 Red Lake, W Ont.;
 Red Sucker Lake, E Manitoba: 1970: 235 p.; 1978: 330 p.;
 Rice Lake, E Ont.;
 Rice River, L. Winnipeg;
 Roseau River: 1949: 328; 1970: 725; 1978: 953;
 Round Lake -> Weagamow
 St Croix, Minn.-Wisc.;
 St Francis Xavier;
 St Theresa Point, Island Lake, E Manitoba: 1970: 913 p.; 1978: 1,275 p.;
 Sandy Lake, W Ont.: from 4-5 clans to 1000+ p.; 1972: 700 p.;
 Sarnia;
 Saugeen, S Ontario;
 Saugeen -> Kashaweogama
 Scugog, SE Ont.;
 Shoal Lake -> Iskatewisakaikanink
 Sioux Lookout -> Obishikokaang
 Slate Falls -> Shakopatikongk
 Southern Saulteaux;
 Sturgeon -> Namewinini
 Swan L. -> Wapasimonk
 Thames River, S Ont.;
 Thunder Bay,
 Traverse Bay, L- Winnipeg;
 Trout Lake, W Ont.: 1972: 500 p.;
 Turtle Portage,
 Vermilion Lake, Minn.;
 Wabaskang Lake -> Wabauskang
 Walpole Island -> Weshikkakamiwileni
 Whitedog -> Wapasimonk
 White Earth, Minn.;
 Whitefish Bay -> Naotkamegwanning
 Winnibigoshish, Minn.;
 Winnipeg -> Akamink
 Whitefish Bay, Ont.: 1949: 175; 1970: 363; 1978: 516;
 Yellow Lake,
 (etc.) (cf. Steinbring 1978: 247).

A pictographic drawing and story of migrations or trails helps locate some bands. In such records, there was a route W to Ottawa Island; on to A'wiat'ang; on to Mi'shenama kinagung or Mackinaw; then Ne'mikung; Kiwe'winang'; Bawating or Sault Ste. Marie; Tshiwi'towi'; Nega'wadhé'i or Sand Mountain; northern shore of Lake Superior; Mi'nisa'wik aka Mi'nisa'bikking or Island of rocks; Kawa'sitshitwong or Foaming rapids; Mush'kisi'wi aka Mash'kisi'bi or Bad River; Shagawamikongk or Long-sand-bar-beneath-the-surface; Wikwe'da'wongga' or Sandy Bay; Nea'shiwikongk or Cliff Point; Neta'waya'sink or Little-point-of-sand-bar; A'nibi's or Little elm tree; Wi-kup'bi'mi'sh or Little-island-basswood; Makubi'mi'sh or Bear Island; Sha'geski'ke'dawan'ga; Ni'wigwas'sikongk or The place where bark is peeled; Ta'pakwe ikak aka Sa'apakwe'shkwaokongk or The-place-where-lodge-bark-is-obtained; Ne'uwesak'kude-ze'bi aka Ne'wisaku'desi'bi' or Point-deadwood-timber river;

A'nibikanzi''bi aka Ash'kiba'gisi'bi or Fish spawn River or Green-leaf River. The last-named locality is said to be Sandy Lake, Minnesota, where the Midé'wigan was finally located. From La Pointe (Moningwunakauning), as well as from Sandy Lake, the Ojibwa claim to have dispersed in bands over Minnesato, as well as into Wisconsin (Hoffman 1891).

Given the extent and variety of locations the aboriginal Chippewa community seems hard to delineate. The 'Ojibwa were separated into ... bands' of 'about 300 persons' (Houston & King 1972). The figure 300 is interesting, because it falls between settlements and villages of 90-300+ people and local bands or wider communities of 300-1500+ people.

A village could well occupy the same local area 'for an uninterrupted period' of 'three centuries' or more (Hoffman 1891). Descriptions of villages are sparse: Houses are often clustered about a strip of Main Street (Barnouw 1950: 11). Before 1870 in Canada there were 'summer villages, consisting of about a dozen families', that 'split up in the fall' and 'during the winter months' into hunting camps (op. cit.: 15-16).

While scholars did not describe villages, they would mention a 'burial ground' placed next to a 'permanent village' (Densmore 1929: 76). At historic Leech Lake and Odanah 'the burial ground was in the middle of the camp circle' (ibid.). Obviously this was wrong, based on statements such as: 'An informant said that the camp circle at Leech Lake had its opening towards the lake, and she remembered passing alongside the graves as she went to the lake for water' (ibid.). This would not place the graves 'in the middle' of the village, but near a creek or water source.

A sweat lodge (matôto-ikan) was another fixture (Hilger 1951: 96): Scholars associated the sweat lodge with the Mitewiwin, where it was used. Yet sweat lodges were general features of villages. The lodge was small, fitting 4 men at a time; steam was provided by pouring water on hot rocks, kept for that purpose (Densmore 1929: 94-95). There could be 3+ sweat lodges in each village. Sweat baths (matotôson) served a curative and restorative purpose (Hilger 1951: 96).

Village life was peaceful. 'When everyone had retired and the camp was quiet an old man walked around the camp circle, passing in front of the dark tents. The man was a crier and he made the announcements for the next day' (Densmore 1929: 60).

Each village had roughly three winter camps where people stayed during the hunting season. Winter settlements contained an unknown number of families. During the winter people 'went to call on the neighbors or to hear the story tellers' (Densmore 1929: 29). In one account, people went traveling in winter. 'Every winter many women, along with the men, start, say in January, to visit the Indians of another village a hundred miles off, either travelling on foot and packing their loads, or' by 'sleighs; but in any case they camp out every night, about four or five times each way. They enjoy every minute of it, and look forward to it with the keenest pleasure' (Kinietz 1947: 41).

The prehistoric Chippewa adapted well to their environment. They developed a technology suited to their use. There were 'stone and bone tools; they used bowls and spoons made of wood' (Hallowell 1992: 18). There 'was simple cord-decorated pottery ... in several varieties' (ibid.). To moderns this might seem primitive, but the technology was carefully developed, sustainable and suitable for its use.

A glimpse at Chippewa prehistory and history

Native prehistory can be reconstructed in general terms. The ancestral Algonquians crossed the Bering Strait or land bridge c. 12,-10,000 BC. The Chippewa began inhabiting their homeland N of the Great Lakes once the ice-age ended c. 8,-7,000 BC. They joined the ranks of paleolithic large-game hunters, catching ‘mastodons’, ‘gigantic elk’, giant beaver, musk-ox and more c. 7,000-5,000 BC. The Chippewa had myths of extinct creatures, including ‘Great Mosquitoes’ and ‘giant animals’ (Hallowell 1992: 73). In the so-called Archaic period 5,000-1,000 BC a stable hunting existence was followed.

People ancestral to the Chippewa, Ottawa, Potawatomi and Menomini supposedly separated near Sault Ste Marie c. 2000 BC. But more likely this was basically a central location for the tribes, while they already had separated into different regions. By 1000 BC ancestral Central Algonquians lived around the shores of western Lake Superior, northern Lake Michigan and Lake Huron. The Chippewa would then hold their later homeland N and S of Lake Superior and N of Lake Huron along with Georgian Bay. The Chippewa consequently had a stable homeland for at least 3000 years, and practically from 8,000 BC.

During the so-called Woodland period c. 1000 BC – 800 AD a mature culture had developed, with gathering and nurturing of plants, and a sustainable use of animal resources, based on local settlements or villages with a totemic organization in the form of a series of totem clans. Language divided nature into animate and inanimate beings (Hallowell 1992: 61). Of manufactured objects, pipes were animate (ibid.). In nature almost everything is animate, including the sun, moon and wind (ibid.). A community focus was reflected by a subjecting of ‘me’ to ‘you’, e.g., ‘I give her’, *ninmîna*, ‘you give her’, *kimîna*, ‘I give you’, *kimînine*. This culture further matured and developed in the Late Woodland period 800-1600 AD, with growing external relations and alliances.

Everything changed with the arrival of white colonists from Europe. ‘Although strong in numbers and occupying an extensive territory, the Chippewa were never prominent in history, owing to their remoteness from the frontier during the period of the colonial wars. According to tradition they are part of an Algonquian body, including the Ottawa and Potawatomi, which separated into divisions when it reached Mackinaw in its westward movement, having come from some point N. or N. E. of Mackinaw’ (Hodge 1: 277). This was a white point of view, the Chippewa had always lived around the Great Lakes.

The Chippewa had their first direct contact with whites in 1612 (Hoffman 1891). Though indirect contact could predate 1590. Early Chippewa contact locations include La Pointe S of Lake Superior, which was abandoned in connection with epidemics and unrest in 1612. The people supposedly moved to the Sault and to W Lake Superior. The Sault was mentioned as *Baouichtigouin* in 1640. At ‘the w. end of L. Superior’ a whiteman met the Chippewa ‘in 1665-67’. Part of ‘the tribe resided n. of L. Superior’ around 1650; a band name was ‘*Maramég*’. On the N were people called ‘Cree and Maskegon’. Closely related toward the S was the Ottawa tribe (Hodge 1: 278). The ‘Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi have always formed a sort of loose confederacy’, known in the 1700s as ‘the Three Fires’ (Hodge 1: 278). ‘During the colonial period the Chippewa were remote from the frontier, but explorers’, traders ‘and missionaries came into contact with them at an early date’ (Densmore 1929: 6).

‘Near 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 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 southwestward, locating at favorable places throughout the timbered country’ during the period 1650-1850. The W Ojibwa may have had the otter as a leading totem, prominent in the Midewiwin. ‘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 Midé’wiwin, the northern or western 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 mi’gis’ or shell (Hoffman 1891).

In one version: ‘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 reflected from its glossy back. It next appeared on the great river which drains the waters of the Great Lakes. Next it appeared to the An-ish-in-aub-ag on the shores of the first great lake, e.g., Lake Huron. Again it sank from sight, and death daily visited the wigiwams of our forefathers till it appeared at Bow-e-ting or Sault Ste. Marie’; e.g., c. 1620-1645. ‘Once more it disappeared, and the An-ish-in-aub-ag was left in darkness and misery, till it appeared at Mo-ning-wun-a-kaun-ing, La Pointe Island, where it remained as part of the Me-da-we or Midewiwin’. This could be a S Chippewa perspective (Warren 1852). In effect it would track the influences of white trade and epidemics from the Atlantic to Lake Superior.

According to one tradition, while living on the shores of the great lakes people were suffering the ravages of sickness and death. ‘The Great Spirit, through Man-a-bo-sho’, the ‘uncle of the An-ish-in-aub-ag, granted them the Me-da-we rite, wherewith life is restored and prolonged. Our forefathers moved from the shores of the great water and proceeded westward’. This would indicate that a revitalization took place at some time following the onset of European epidemics c. 1630-1700, people fleeing further W and desperately seeking healing through the Midewiwin. In one account they went to Mo-ne-aung or Montreal; possibly confused with the Noquet or Michigan’s Upper Peninsula. Here the Me-da-we was practiced, as on the shores of Lake Huron and at Bow-e-ting, the outlet of Lake Superior. ‘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’ (Warren 1852). Perhaps people had some respite from white diseases S-W of Lake Superior c. 1700-1750. Obviously whites did reach them, in the form of fur traders, who interbred with the Chippewa from an early age, after 1620, but in particular after 1700, when Detroit was established. From here the traders would visit Lake Superior constantly.

A possible scenario is that the Chippewa experienced an early population decline c. 1600-1670; perhaps killing 50-67% of the population; dropping from 60,000+ to c. 21,-30,000 people. As the population approached 20,000 something happened. One scenario is that people started having more children, up from 3-4 to 5-8+ per family. Another aspect is white intermarriage, with 100-500 traders and whites each year consorting with the natives. There would be thousands of mixed blood children with some resistance to epidemics. From then on the population would increase to 30,000 by 1840, mostly part white. This would change the social ‘chemistry’ of the tribe. Totemic regulations of exogamy and child limitation were weakened.

A relative isolation may periodically have protected people from epidemics and allowed them to develop resistance over time. Though other factors might be involved, as noted. After an initial decline from 60,000 to <25,000 people the population would begin to stabilize. After a further drop to 18,-20,000 it would start recovering. It would reach 40,000 by 1910, with a strong white admixture.

In one account 'some of the Chippewa living s. of L. Superior in 1670-99, although relying chiefly on the chase, cultivated some maize, and were then at peace with the neighboring Sioux'. Perhaps there was a mix-up with 'wild rice (*Zizania aquatica*)'. About this period 'they first came into possession of firearms, and were pushing their way westward, alternately at peace and at war with the Sioux and in almost constant conflict with the Foxes. The French, in 1692, reestablished a trading post at Shaugawaumikong, now La Pointe', Wisc. (Hodge 1: 278).

Between 1600 and 1700 a technological change occurred. The Chippewa had earlier depended on tools made of stone, bone and wood. Metal implements brought by Europeans changed the material culture. People came to depend on metal goods, to the extent that they abandoned the former economy. A metal tool, such as an axe, was more efficient than a stone adze, frighteningly so. This would be a part of the dependence that people came to have on fur traders and other whites. They also found out about the use of metal weapons, such as guns wielded by the invading whites. The peaceful past was gone.

European colonization brought upheaval to America. Every tribe or people was affected as the native population dropped by 90+%. Some tribes were completely exterminated, like the Beothuc of Newfoundland. All the tribes were displaced. The Chippewa, along with some other tribes, like the Pueblos, managed to hold on to some of their areas and then expanded, migrated or were pushed by the colonizers into new areas. This development is usually misunderstood. The Europeans started the so-called 'beaver wars' c. 1635, equipping Indians, in particular the Iroquois, with guns in order to obtain furs, setting them on to make war against other tribes. By 1690 the Iroquois, decimated by epidemics, were on the defensive. The E Chippewa then moved into areas left desolated, such as SE Ontario. From here on a general expansion began. The Chippewa would adopt members of broken tribes, Algonkin, Huron, etc., and extend into the areas vacated by other tribes.

'In the beginning of the 18th century the Chippewa' drove 'the Foxes, already reduced by a war with the French, from N. Wisconsin'. 'They then turned against the Sioux, driving them across the Mississippi'. 'It was not until after 1736 that they obtained a foothold w. of L. Superior. While the main divisions of the tribe were thus extending their possessions in the w., others overran the peninsula between L. Huron and L. Erie, which had long been claimed by the Iroquois through conquest. The Iroquois were forced to withdraw, and the whole region was occupied by the Chippewa bands, most of whom are now known as Missisauga, although they still call themselves Ojibwa' (Hodge 1: 278).

'The Chippewa took part with the other tribes of the N. W. in all the wars against the frontier settlements to the close of the war of 1812. Those living within the United States made a treaty with the Government in 1815, and have since remained peaceful, all residing on reservations or allotted lands within their original' or historic 'territory in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North Dakota, with the exception of the small band of Swan Creek and Black River Chippewa, who sold their lands in s. Michigan in 1836 and are now

with the Munsee in Franklin co., Kans.’ ‘Chippewa warriors’ matched ‘in physical appearance the best formed of the N. W. Indians’. They ‘were uniformly friendly in their relations with the French’ (Hodge 1: 278).

Government control set in after 1820, with ‘treaties’ placing the tribe on reservations or reserves, headed by white representatives such as Indian agents and missionaries, violent exterminators of native culture (Densmore 1929: 7). The Mitewiwin, part of the Chippewa revival, was curtailed after 1850, and in turn had to be revived after 1930.

White trade, government and mission suppression of the Indians was harsh c. 1850-1970. A white scholar in 1930 was shocked to hear ‘that there were still un-Christianized Indians ... in the Pikangikum band’, since this seemed inconceivable (Hallowell 1992: 8). Chippewa life continued to be threatened into the 21st century. This is illustrated by the catastrophic loss of native languages. Restoring Indian culture is a work that has hardly begun.

The native economy

White scholars oversimplified native economic and social activities. 'The food quest was the main occupation of the Indians ... from time immemorial' (Kinietz 1947: 43). This was stated without any analysis of the time spent on different tasks. The scholar concedes that 'we have no account of what their prehistoric peaceful life might have been' (ibid.). Obviously life then would be focused on social activities, not food. There was a claim that summer camps were located on rivers and lakes mainly 'for the supply of fish' (Kinietz 1947: 44). This may refer specifically to fishing camps, perhaps on a phratry basis, three for each village. Though fishing, as will be shown, was a year-round activity involving larger and smaller groups, along with other economic tasks. The main summer residence was in villages or concentrated settlement areas.

While the economy was based on hunting, fishing, and gathering plants and natural resources, the activities were varied, ranging from gathering and storing food to creating trade goods and artefacts. In many ways the life of hunter-gatherers is too complex to be clearly described. The intricate forms of totemic relations will testify to this.

Starting with gathering or the collecting of plants and other resources, this activity was carried on year-round, but had its main season apart from the winter months. In early spring people produced maple sugar (*sinsipakwat*). The Chippewa land 'abounded in berries of many varieties' (Densmore 1929: 127). Gathering berries and fruits 'formed a summer industry of some importance' (ibid.). There were: cherry, chokecherry, cranberry, blueberry, juneberry, raspberry, strawberry, etc. (ibid.). 'Berries were being picked by the women and children' (Hallowell 1992: 9). Nuts were collected, such as acorns (Kinietz 1947: 63). 'The inside of several kinds of bark, such as hickory, black elm, black and white oak, acorns and beech-nuts, 'were eaten only by necessity' (Kinietz 1947: 59). In fall was the gathering of wild rice (*manomin*). This harvesting was done by groups of people, apparently a whole village. Edible roots and bulbs were found and even cultivated or nurtured, noted below. Such roots included: skibwa, perhaps wild potato or umbellifer roots, skuciden, a little scalloped root, and otape, 'a sectional root' eaten 'in times of scarcity' (Kinietz 1947: 63). Other plant resources included lichen, moss, ferns and more. 'Sphagnum moss', gathered 'because the Indians had discovered its highly absorbent and deodorant properties', was 'drying in the sun' at settlements (Hallowell 1992: 9).

Fish resources were another important economic element. Fishing was carried out 'almost the entire year'. In late winter there was fishing on the ice and when before it broke up. Through summer fishing was done with nets for whitefish, 'tullibeas' or cisco, sucker, etc. (Hallowell 1992: 9). Another 'special fishing season' was in 'autumn', to secure a 'supply of fish for winter use'; this was done by women with nets or seines (Densmore 1929: 125). Fishes caught included: whitefish, pike (*kenose*), trout, sucker, pickerel, sturgeon, eelpout, eel (*pimisi*), etc. (Kinietz 1947: 44-46, 50). 'Fishing, except in the coldest winter, was the work of women' using nets (Densmore 1929: 125). However, men seem to have fished regularly throughout the year (Kinietz 1947: 43-44). The fishing was done with lines, seines or nets, spears or gigs, arrows, and weirs, fish traps or dams (Densmore 1929: 125-6; Kinietz 1947: 44).

Fish traps made of poles could span a river and must have employed dozens of men, representing a whole village (Densmore 1929: 126). Nets were of varying sizes. Small ones were 'scoop nets' (Kinietz 1947: 44). Up to 10-12 canoes could each cast such nets, e.g., a village crew (*ibid.*). Smaller groups of 4-6 boats, phratry based, could be common, crewed by both men and women. One net for catching sturgeon was 6-7 meters long (*ibid.*). An 'average' or large fish net was 100 meters long, though probably shorter in the old days; hence a team of 8-15 people in 2-4 canoes might handle it (Densmore 1929: 154). The seines were quite long, and may have served a camp of 30-60+ people. Fishing might also be moiety based, engaging half a village of 50-100+ people.

'Every camp had a pole' for drying nets as well as racks for drying fish (Densmore 1929: 125). Fish dried on fish racks would indicate the employment of a large camp or village (*op. cit.*: pl. 20, p. 42). Dried fish, wrapped in 'parcels', would keep for months and ensured a stable food supply; same as dried meat (Kinietz 1947: 50). Fish was estimated to provide 50-75% of the food resources, though probably with some variation (*op. cit.*: 46). Another claim was that meat, from deer, moose, reindeer and bear, 'constitute the greater part of their food' (Kinietz 1947: 50). This leaves plant food, everything from edible bark and tubers to greens, berries and nuts, as well as honey, maple sugar and other plant products, forming a big part of the nourishment. 'Berries of all kinds and wild rice were substantial parts of the diet of the Chippewa' (Kinietz 1947: 57). 'The principal subsistence was supplied by wild rice and fish in the region of the Great Lakes' (Kinietz 1947: 59). One might say that fish, meat and plant foods all were 'substantial' parts of the diet, of varying proportions.

Hunting was another year-round activity. The principal game was deer, supplemented with moose, elk, bear, rabbit, beaver, muskrat, fox, wolf, etc. (Densmore 1929: 128; Hallowell 1992: 59; Kinietz 1947: 43, 47). In the N caribou would be caught. Boys were taught hunting from an early age, particularly of moose (Kinietz 1947: 47). In winter was the main hunting season. Of two species of bear, cinnamon or 'prairie bear' and 'brown bear', it was said the latter was rare (Densmore 1929: 131). Almost every meat was eaten, possibly excepting skunk and garfish (Kinietz 1947: 63). Hunting was done with bow and arrows (Densmore 1929: 129). 'A special arrow for hunting rabbits had the end tipped with the claw of a mud turtle' (*op. cit.*: 147).

Of particular significance were hunting fences, that took the cooperation of many people, such as a phratry, moiety or even a village. Deer were killed 'in the greatest number, by running a brush fence, sometimes to the distance of nine miles, between two rivers' (Kinietz 1947: 52). The 'whole line is taken up with Indians at equal distances' to kill deer along the fence (*op. cit.*: 51-52). The 'women took part in driving deer into the water where the men killed them' (*op. cit.*: 62). The composition of hunting groups or parties is poorly known; the basic group could include 3-7+ men. In so-called 'medicine hunting' the hunters carried 'sacks of medicine' to help them kill game (Kinietz 1947: 52-54). The sacks held roots, paint and tiny figures (*mesinenin*) of game animals (*op. cit.*: 54). Charms used for hunting luck included incomplete rabbit and deer fetuses, and rabbit fetuses (Hilger 1951: 120-1). 'Meeting an owl' or 'a fox' in the woods meant bad luck (*op. cit.*: 121). In historic times single families and individual men would trap for beaver and other fur animals (Kinietz 1947: 46). Yet in times of need larger groups would meet, e.g., phratries, since 'the lands were made for the use' of 'every one' (*op. cit.*: 47). 'Sometimes they hunt in large parties'. People encircled 'a certain extent of ground', 'making great noise', and animals enclosed were 'killed in their retreat' (Kinietz 1947: 52). In spring people in canoes would hunt deer 'in large parties', 'by torch light'; supposedly killing 200 deer 'in a night', but perhaps less (*ibid.*). It can be seen that

hunting was an activity that involved everybody in a village. Racks for drying venison and other meat would indicate a fairly large community, as with fish racks (Densmore 1929: 43-44).

Game was treated expertly; the carcass skinned and cut up, the meat covered with the hide and snow, before being brought to the camp and dried, smoked or prepared as food (Kinietz 1947: 51). Besides hunting skills, the hunters had to pay attention to the spiritual nature of their prey and the master spirits of animals, noted elsewhere. Cruelty was 'strictly forbidden' (Hallowell 1992: 62). Game had to be treated in prescribed ways. 'The bones of the muskrat and beaver' were 'returned to the water' (ibid.). A 'bear's carcass' was given a 'ceremonial treatment', noted elsewhere (ibid.). The spirit 'owner' may be compared to a niche, that had to be protected and cared for in various ways. 'To the Ojibwa hunter, his knowledge' of hunting and animals, 'and his relations with' their 'owners' form 'an integral' part of his 'orientation to the world in which he has to act' (Hallowell 1992: 63).

The extent to which Chippewa people cared for and nurtured animals is not known. One Red Lake informant c. 1930 noted seeing a bear cub being fostered by a bear clan family; it was 'well cared for' and treated like a member of the family (Hilger 1951: 154). Keeping the young of animals and birds may have been common, and is found in many tribes; as totem relatives they would be cared for. As adults they presumably returned to the forest, with the exception of dogs. Keeping wild animals as pets or family members would resemble early domestication. Perhaps this is how reindeer were domesticated in the Old World.

Hunting birds is less known, though a significant activity (Kinietz 1947: 50). Wild fowl would be captured near villages (ibid.). A variety of birds were caught: grouse, partridge, ptarmigan, pigeon, duck, geese, swans, etc. Some were taken with traps, others with nets, throwing sticks, bow and arrow, etc. The eggs of some birds were eaten. 'Turtle eggs ... were eaten in season' (Hilger 1951: 149).

Winter activities included trapping: rabbit or hare (wapos), muskrat (washushk), partridge (pine) (Densmore 1929: 129). Animals were captured for their furs, used for clothing, blankets, bedding, etc. Extensive trapping mainly was a modern activity. The fur animals trapped historically were: beaver, bear, otter, lynx, bobcat, fisher, marten, mink, fox, wolverine, muskrat, squirrel, etc. (Densmore 1929: 129; Kinietz 1947: 50). The industrial nature of this work was seen in 1804 when white traders refused to give fish nets to starving Indians, since they wanted them to 'hunt for furs', while 'the traders depended on their own use of nets to escape starvation' (Kinietz 1947: 45).

Magical elements were used for hunting medicine. 'Medicine hunting was the application of shaman's methods', such as the 'use of prayers, songs and medicines for success in hunting' (Kinietz 1947: 52). 'There is one subject, however, which first-degree Midé' seek enlightenment upon, and that is the preparation of the 'hunter's medicine' and the pictographic drawings employed in connection therewith. The compound is made of several plants, the leaves and roots of which are ground into powder'. Significantly this was a modern practice, used with guns and steel traps. 'The method generally employed to give to the hunter success is as follows: When anyone contemplates making a hunting trip, he first visits the Midé', giving him a present of tobacco' and 'promising to give him ... portions of the animal which he may procure. The Midé', if satisfied with the gift, produces his pipe and after making an offering to Ki'tshi Man'ido for aid in the preparation of his 'medicine', and to appease the anger of the man'ido who controls the class of animals desired, sings a song',

after which 'he will draw with a sharp-pointed bone or nail, upon a small piece of birch bark, the outline of the animal desired by the applicant. The place of the heart of the animal is indicated by a puncture upon which a small quantity of vermilion is carefully rubbed. One drawing would insure the death of two bears. In another example a variety of animals' were 'figured' and 'vermilion ... rubbed upon the heart of each. In some instances the representation of animal forms is drawn by the Midé ... directly upon sandy earth or a bed of ashes' (Hoffman 1891).

Hunting magic took many forms. There was a belief that preserving the bones of game animals, e.g., bear and deer, would restore the animal to be hunted again. In one story, 'Winabojo' threw a bone in front of him 'and it became a bear', ready to be hunted (Densmore 1929: 100).

It is possible that South Chippewa bands had some agriculture. If so it played a minor role in the economy. Yet there are indications that useful plants were cared for. This can be described as the nurturing and early domestication of plants. As noted each natural being had a master spirit, associated with a niche and the protection of species. In this way the spirit 'owner' may be linked to the gradual nurturing of plants and early forms of agriculture or horticulture, that may already have developed among the Chippewa by 1000 BC. Nurtured or shielded plants may have included wild rice and other seed plants, water lilies and other plants with bulbous roots, besides numerous other plants with edible leaves, stalks, berries and nuts. Berry patches and sugar groves were protected, perhaps an ancient practice.

There is a curious reference to 'potatoes', apparently wild potatoes, being 'raised'. This may refer to an ancient form of plant nurturing, in which plants with bulbous roots are shielded, planted, cared for and harvested near villages. 'A very good kind of potato is raised here, and the mode of preserving' it 'was entirely new to us. The potatoes, which are of an oblong shape, and not larger than a man's thumb, are partially boiled, and carefully peeled while hot, without breaking the pulp, and strung, like so many beads, upon a twine or tough thread of bark, and then hung in festoons on the ridge-pole of the wigwam, over the smoke of the fire, where they become thoroughly dry. This process renders the potato fit for transportation and use during the severest frost without injury. The squaws take great interest in preparing this article of food, which is about the only vegetable they pretend to cultivate' (Kinietz 1947: 21). This curious and somewhat prejudiced description may refer to a form of plant-nurturing or early cultivation preceding more extensive agriculture, pointing to advanced forms of plant gathering and harvesting. Unfortunately the plant is not properly identified, so whether this was native or introduced is not clear. What can be seen is that some plants provided food security even during winter, contrary to modern views of scarcity and starvation among hunter-gatherers. The Chippewa had a much fuller mastery of their environment than is usually considered.

'In times of scarcity' people 'had recourse to the Indian potato Nishenawbeeopin, produced by a species of pea vine in the bottoms and growing in the ground to the size of a walnut'; perhaps the same as above. Another plant, 'the Wattupopin or the root with which they sew their canoes, or the Wattup-potato as it is sometimes called', was also 'eaten during the summer along with other food' (Kinietz 1947: 59). It was indicated 'that the wild potato was either cultivated or encouraged by clearing fields' near Ketikitekon. 'Some of these roots called bear potatoes' grew 'in the woods about the village' in modern times, 'but no' modern 'use is made of them' (ibid.).

The nurturing and cultivation of plants was mainly conducted by women while men were employed in the 'woods' (Kinietz 1947: 25). The main tool presumably was the digging stick. Among few plants cultivated were tobacco (Hoffman 1891). The cultivation of maize or corn may have begun among the Southern Chippewa c. 1200 AD. Curiously or not so curiously gardening was discontinued in modern times, as agricultural products were obtained from the whites or the government (Kinietz 1947: 25). The main 'quest of food' reportedly was 'in the chase, or in fishing', a historical view (Densmore 1929: 7).

Food was stored in underground storage pits or caches, asansikowin (Hilger 1951: 149-150). The Chippewa made pottery or ceramic pots for cooking and storing food (Densmore 1929: 162-3). Precisely when this practice began is not known, but it hints at the nurturing and early cultivation of plants. The rims of pots were decorated in many ways, with 'imprints of roulette, twisted cord, woven fabric, sharp stick, or thumb nail', indicating well established patterns (ibid.). The pots would supplement bark and wood vessels (Houston & King 1972).

There were gender-based activities and chores. Women were prominent 'as processors of food, firewood, birchbark, skins, and furs', besides 'familial and kinship roles' (Hallowell 1992: 114). Women were taught to collect firewood and 'chop wood' from an early age; this may partly be a historical development. Women and men cooperated in building houses. The frames were put up by both genders, men tying down the roof and women fastening the walls, stitching them with spruce roots (Densmore 1929: 25; Hallowell 1992: 9). Probably the gender roles were fairly open (Densmore 1929: 25). Women made sheets of bark and mats for covering walls and roof (op. cit.: 61).

There were many developed crafts both for women and men. Virtually every product or tool used was crafted by hand. Canoe making was a specialized craft. Women engaged in 'scraping and tanning skins' and fur 'for making moccasins', other clothing and blankets (Hallowell 1992: 9). Some handcrafts will be noted elsewhere, like weaving, beadwork and carvings. Groups of women would cooperate in making fish nets, woven mats, basketry etc. They would build a separate house used for mat making and weaving (Densmore 1929: pl. 62). Yet how many cooperated in this craft project is not clear; this may have been on the phratry level, e.g., anywhere from 4-5 to 10-15 people working together.

There was an annual cycle of activities based on the seasons. In the fall stores of wild rice, maple sugar and other foods were put away to last through the winter (Densmore 1929: 119). In September-October there was duck-hunting (Landes 1938: 2). Women conducted 'fall fishing' until 'after the snow came; at the same time the men went hunting and trapping' (Densmore 1929: 123). Winter set in around October. Temperatures could drop to -12°F or -14°C; cold! (Kinietz 1949: 21). From October-November to March-April was the season of winter hunting (Landes 1938: 2). Winter was spent in hunting areas or 'game fields' (Densmore 1929: 120). One modern hunting party had 6 families or 'wigwams' placed in a circle or semi-circle; in prehistoric times there could be 8-10+ families or totem clans in a 'winter camp' (Densmore 1929: 120, 123). 'There was a big fire in the middle of the camp, and all the families did their cooking around this fire' or at the cooking fire of each house (op. cit.: 120). Meat was frozen or dried on racks; one such 'big rack' being near the center of the camp (Densmore 1929: 120). Big and small game included deer, moose or elk, caribou, bear, rabbit, partridges, etc. (op. cit.: 120-121). Supposedly the camp had a leader, ockabewis, serving as a caretaker, spokesperson or messenger, his arms 'painted with vermilion' (Densmore 1929: 121). Possibly he took care of or instructed the boys waiting to be initiated.

He would make fire some distance from camp for the men and boys going hunting (ibid.). Winter work included crafts, such as women making nettle-fiber fish nets (op. cit.: 122).

Toward the end of winter people went to the sugar camps to make maple sugar. Sugar-making took place in 'maple groves' around March-April (Landes 1938: 1). Apparently the sugar camp consisted of the same families as in the winter camp. This might vary from one village to another (Densmore 1929: 124). Sometimes a whole village could utilize one maple grove. Modern groves were noted with 100-500 trees; some nurturing took place (Landes 1937: 96-97). An 'offering' of 'first fruits' was made after making sugar and continued when harvesting plant and animal resources during the year (Densmore 1929: 124). In winter men made holes in the ice and speared 'lake trout and sturgeon' (Houston & King 1972). There also was fishing through the ice of pickerel etc. (Densmore 1929: 122). Fishing continued as the ice broke up (ibid.).

In spring people moved to the permanent location of the main village (Kinietz 1947: 50). Families would leave the hunting camps and gather at the village site around late May (Landes 1938: 1). This followed the end of 'the hunting season' and the seasonal abandonment of hunting camps (Kinietz 1947: 50). A village was mainly occupied in summer, though it might be visited at other seasons (op. cit.: 19). The same families as in the winter camp were there, in one case said to be 6, but no doubt other winter camps returned to the village, settling in a pattern of totem clans, phratries and moieties (Densmore 1929: 122). This was the time for gathering greens, nurturing patches and beds of useful plants, such as goosefoot, tubers, onions and nettles, and, in the south and in historic times, planting gardens (Densmore 1929: 122). A stick shaped like 'a crowbar' was used in digging plants, e.g., a digging stick (op. cit.: 124). 'The Chippewa' had 'squash and pumpkin before' the arrival of whites (Densmore 1929: 124). 'The camps extended along the lake shore, and each family had its own garden' (op. cit.: 122). Apparently 'each family had its own portion of the ground for its garden', indicating a communal field (op. cit.: 124). Possibly a village had houses both in rows along a shore or riverbank, and rows of houses in a circle nearby, occupied alternately, with the circle used for ceremonies and dances. Equally likely some villages had houses in a line, and others in a circle.

Spring resources included 'capturing waterfowl' (Houston & King 1972). During spring passenger pigeons were captured in nets. Women dominated village life, making mats, utensils and clothing, cooking and raising children, and gathering plants and materials in the vicinity (Densmore 1929: 123). Men spent their time in the woods and on water, hunting and fishing. In late summer or early autumn, specified as September, wild rice was gathered (Kinietz 1947: 58). In another source, August-September was when people moved to the rice beds (Landes 1938: 2). A wild rice lake could be shared by several villages: 'six or seven hundred people ... in temporary wigwams' came 'to gather wild rice' (Kinietz 1947: 58). White scholars would habitually assign gathering activities to women. Yet one account saw wild rice harvested by men, 'two men in each canoe' (op. cit.: 57). This led one scholar to express 'surprise', since 'few Christian men would deign to join the women'; without reflecting on the obvious gender bias (op. cit.: 58). That Christians oppress women does not make this a universal practice. Plant foods, such as berries and wild potatoes, were dried and stored for winter. In fall, as cold weather set in, people prepared for a new season in the winter camps. This would conclude the annual cycle and start a new one.

Chippewa economic life was marked by a cooperation of men and women, the man 'taking the heavier part' (Densmore 1929: 6). Village or community life was based on sharing

resources and products; this would be the case also in modern times, such as welfare payouts (Kinietz 1947: 65). At the same time there were fairly complex arrangements of hunting and fishing camps, gathering natural resources, trade and other activities. Unfortunately much of this activity is poorly known.

What we can say is that people engaged in trade and travels. The means of transportation included boats or canoes in summer, and sleds or snowshoes in winter. The main transport was on foot. 'As the Chippewa lived along the lakes and watercourses their summer transportation was by canoes' (Densmore 1929: 135). 'Like the Ottawa, they were expert in the use of the canoe, and in their early history depended largely on fish for food' (Hodge 1: 279). The sizes of canoes are not well known, though they might be as small as 2 meters. An ordinary canoe, *chiman*, was 'family' size with 2 paddles, a man in front and a woman in the stern (Densmore 1929: 135). 'The ordinary length was three double arm spreads', roughly 5 meters, and 0.9 meters wide, holding 6-7 people (op. cit.: 150). The largest canoes held 'more than 10 persons' (ibid.). 'It was said that Winabojo taught them to make canoes, as well as bows, arrows, and all other useful articles' (ibid.). Being a 'canoe maker' was a trained occupation, with at least one in each village (ibid.).

In addition to water routes a network of trails and paths connected villages and bands. These trails were used for hunting, visits and 'overland transportation' (Kinietz 1947: 17). Among the South Chippewa there were trails running E-W from Sault Ste Marie to the Menomini land and Lac du Flambeau, and N-S from Keewenaw and Lake Superior to Lake Michigan (op. cit.: 18). While lakes and major waterways were convenient, in the inland people relied on trail routes. Winter snow eased transportation and travel. The sled or toboggan, *otâpân*, was drawn by c. 3 dogs or by 1-3 men (Densmore 1929: 135-6). Supposedly dogs 'were able to go 40 or 50 miles', 65-80 km, 'a day' (op. cit.: 135). Presumably trips generally were shorter, 2-30 km. Transport would often be by snowshoes or on foot.

A village would control all resources in its territory. Most natural resources were shared on a phratry, moiety or totem clan basis, with the village or community as the overseer. Tools and artefacts made and possessed by the individual were personal property. A critical question for scholars was, if the local territory was held by a community or village, how were rights distributed among people, so-called usufruct or use rights. There supposedly was 'no tradition' of 'any allotment system' by 'chiefs' or 'leading men' (Hallowell 1992: 46). This clearly was false. As will be noted later, a village was led by a chief, assistant chiefs and a council of totem clan elders who together would have no trouble assigning hunting and fishing grounds to phratry- and clan-based user groups. Furthermore, since villages were permanently located in a local territory, most groups would have a stable use of their areas, such as winter hunting camps that were reoccupied each fall.

One scholar had a curious emphasis on 'property' and wealth, spending nearly half her book on this topic, including the dominant final chapter (Landes 1937: 87-144). This was in spite of Ojibwa people sharing food and resources, and property being of little concern. This appears to be a typical ethnocentric scholar's bias, since property mattered in her culture. She predictably claimed that all property belonged to 'individuals' (Landes 1937: 87). Then she made a complex classification of property 'customs' (op. cit.: 87-88). The bias included: 'no obligation to share with anyone'; no group property; willed inheritance; land acquired 'through preemption'; etc.; which all seems irrelevant (ibid.). All her claims related to the practice of white intervention and control, such as the fur trade (Landes 1937: 90). If people hunted together she thought they were 'compelled' to do so from 'the fear of bad medicine';

actually such communal hunting was the old practice (ibid.). The author admitted that 'families hunt in contiguous areas' (Landes 1937: 90). Beyond this the musings on 'property' seem senseless.

Trade was another matter. Here actual economic resources were exchanged. People constantly exchanged resources, both locally and on trading trips. 'If a family had more than enough for their needs, they frequently made gifts or exchanged with others in a friendly manner' (Densmore 1929: 137). People 'exchange gifts informally ... and irregularly. This is optional, and done' when 'there is a food surplus' or 'upon distant visits. The recipient is placed under no specific obligation, but only under the generalized one of behaving kindly to the donor. No one refuses a gift, and nothing is entailed by the acceptance'; not quite true, since gifts foster obligations and relationships. Gifts of foods, drink and tobacco are offered 'to a friend' or visitor, 'and this offering is ... a reminder of the friendly relationship. Non-perishable gifts are keepsakes' (Landes 1937: 142). People did not 'dicker' about exact returns, but still had knowledge of the value of goods. A claim that they did not put a 'price' on 'commodities' before modern traders arrived is not correct, since all goods had an exchange value (Densmore 1929: 137). Meat was distributed among families. One practice indicative of matriliney is that men provided meat for their PaLas, such as moose and deer. Bear, beaver and sturgeon were not shared because of related ceremonies and taboos (Landes 1937: 28-29).

In each village there would be an exchange of goods and food in the form of redistribution. This typically consisted in the local chiefs gathering a surplus of food stuffs and trade goods and handing it out to families in need, visitors and others. To what extent this was practiced among the Chippewa is poorly known. In modern times such distribution came under the control of the government and traders. What can be imagined is that a portion of food resources and trade goods was delivered to the chief, who then through his discretion but also training handed supplies out to people as the need arose. This was also his modern role when goods and resources were distributed at annuity payments.

Then there was proper trade, the long-range exchange of goods. Thousands of people would be engaged in trade networks and exchange, in historic as well as prehistoric times (Densmore 1929: 138). Trade meetings could be held on islands, as a sort of neutral ground. It is possible that pictographs were used in trading, showing goods and the number of people, reminiscent of early forms of writing (Densmore 1929: 141). A typical trade party might consist of 25-30 men. They would represent roughly half a village of 200-300 people, indicating that trade parties represented local moieties. A South Chippewa trade party might travel 400+ km in canoes, roughly to Chicago, while another party might visit Lake Huron, possibly as far as Bruce Peninsula. The goods brought could be: maple sugar, furs, etc. One famous article would be: copper plates, produced near Lake Superior and traded as far as the Southeast. Goods obtained in return were: salt, shells, mica, etc. More special goods could be: pipestone, tobacco, etc. The salt could be obtained from the Shawnee in Ohio, famed as salt-makers, with maple sugar offered in return as a type of seasoning. Probably the range of trade goods was greater than is known. Tribal and intertribal trade played a role in alliance making, and was an ancient activity. Again little is known, so this will be another social aspect that needs inquiry.

All in all it can be said that the Chippewa had a full economy, ranging from seasonal activities of hunting, fishing and gathering to forms of exchange, both local and long-range. Perhaps they even had a currency, in the form of shells or beads. The strongest implication of

productive forms is the wider repercussions of economic production in other areas of social life, from kinship to totemism, as will be presented below.

A world of kinship

Kinship permeated Chippewa society. It was said that every person was reckoned as kin. Yet scholars had difficulty understanding the native kinship system. They had a biased and ethnocentric view of kinship as endogamous, i.e., marrying close kin, while Chippewa kinship was exogamous, e.g., marrying kin was forbidden. Scholars could not grasp how a kin-based society could forbid close kin to marry, so they constantly argued against the native's view. This makes it extra precarious and critical to gain an unbiased view of kin relations. Every detail that can be learned about kinship has to be assessed.

Starting with an area of less controversy, houses and households, it was generally agreed that Chippewa families occupied houses together. Though here too there was controversy and variation, such as in the case of multifamily and multigenerational housing. Even house types caused confusion. Houses, aka wigwams, *wîkiwâm*, 'were made of birch bark or of grass mats. Poles were first planted in the ground in a circle, the tops bent together and tied, and the bark or mats thrown over them, leaving a smoke hole at the top' (Hodge 1: 279). In a village, houses might be oblong, c. 15x30 ft. A bark-covered tepee, c. 15 ft across, was used in temporary camps (Kinietz 1947: 29).

In historic times house types were influenced by French and English housing, leading to a confusing terminology. The basic wigwam has been noted, 15x30 ft. Next, the *wáginogan*, *wâkinokan* or 'bent (poles) dwelling' was a 'hemispherical' dwelling. Outside it were racks for drying meat and fish (Hallowell 1992: 47). Third, the *cabandawan*, *cäbandawan* or *shapantawan* was a 'longhouse' or multifamily-type dwelling. It had more than one entrance and hearth. One scholar thought these would be used in 'the past' by an 'extended family', though when, where and how is unclear. There were usually 2 fires and entrances, and a size of c. 20-25x40-60 ft. This was referred to in a myth of several Brs married to Sis who enlarged the house to have room; probably a supernatural dwelling (Hallowell 1992: 49).

Modern houses included the log house, *wakaiigan*, the main house-type after 1873 (Hallowell 1992: 100). Next came *napagigamik*, *napakikamik* or 'flat (roof) house', a basic log cabin (op. cit.: 47). Third, *pi'kogan*, *pi'kokan* or conical bark teepee. It had a bark cover, *wigwásapakwe*, and was occupied in summer or throughout the year (ibid.). Fourth, *mi'ti'gó'kiwam*, *mitikokiwam* or wooden tent aka bark tent, conical and covered with moss, *äsakamik*, used in winter (ibid.). Fifth, *cingúbigan*, *shinkopikan* or 'brush tent', conical and erected for temporary use when traveling-hunting in winter. A final type was the *pagwanígamik* or canvas tent (ibid.). Some houses would be for the permanent village, others for temporary or hunting shelters; though in modern times all house forms might appear in a reserve community (Hallowell 1992: 47).

Besides dwellings there were houses such as a sweat lodge (Hallowell 1992: 105), and various practical and ceremonial houses. These included the Mide lodge, *midewígamik*, the seer's lodge, *wabanowígamik*, a ghost lodge for funerals, various storage facilities, and more. What is important to note is the difference between shape and use. Scholars might try to determine use by shape, e.g., positing the 'longhouse' as the main dwelling, based on an imagined Iroquois type, as if this would fit the Chippewa. If long lodges were used they may have been reserved for elders and visitors, occupying the front row in the line of houses, perhaps in the

form of double clans, where a pair of elders represented two sides of the same clan, distinguished by qualifiers such as white-black, big-small, etc. (Selstad 2024a: 99).

The composition of families and households would vary. Some suggestions of seating arrangements and household composition are as follows: - girls slept on the side of the Mo; - boys slept on side of Fa. This may have varied, in particular in generationally and laterally extended families. Of interest is the separate beds of spouses, that may have contributed to child limitation.

The household composition of local communities is poorly known. In a 1932 Berens River sample, of c. 50 households there were: - no 1-person hh.; - of 2-person hh. 16 had man-woman couples; - other 2-person hh. were: widow-son, widower-child, woman-old Fa, 2 widowed Sis, 2 half-Brs, and spinster+Br; - 3-person hh. were: married couple + child; 3 boys; and 3 spinster Sis; - 4-persons hh.: some 'single-family' ones; old couple + Da + GrSo; old couple + 2 orphans; woman + 3 children; Pas + newly married Da & Hu; Pas + married So & Wi; - hh. with 5-9 persons are not listed; - one 10-person hh. included: 3 dwellings housing a single family (parents + Chn); - two 11-person hh. were: 2 dwellings with 1 single family; and 1 composite hh. of: chief, Wi, 5 Da, Da+3 Chn, e.g., 2 hh. of 7+4 people (Hallowell 1992: 107-9).

For comparison, Ketikitekon in 1940 had c. 17 households or extended families: 2 hh. with 1 person (GrMo, old man); 2 hh. with 2 persons: (1 generation, 2 generations); 1 hh. with 3 persons (2 gen.); 1 hh. with 4 persons (2 gen.); 6 hh. with 5 persons (2 with 3 gen., 4 with 2 gen.); 2 hh. with 6 persons (3 gen., 2 gen.), 1 hh. with 7 persons (2 gen.); 2 hh. with 8 persons (2 with 3 gen.). The author reduced this to 14 households by combining single person households with others of 4 and 5 persons, raised to 5 and 6; and combining 2 hh. of 2 persons to make another of 4 persons (3 gen.) (Kinietz 1947: 246-7). This might approximate a traditional village structure of 14 families or totem clans, as will be noted later. Note that single person households were rare, and these were usually combined with other households as associated members, which may have been a traditional practice.

The marriage issue

People married by inclination, but with relatives' 'consent' (Landes 1937: 53). This had to do with exogamy, a crux for American scholars, as will be amply shown. White scholars thought a Wi moved in with her Hu's family, so called patriliney, and this may have been imagined by native men, but the opposite was often the case. One indication of matrilineal kinship was that men stayed with their wife's family, e.g., matrilocal residence. One 'or more grandparents were usually in every household' or totem clan. 'A man usually lived with his wife's family, hence the old people were her parents' (Densmore 1929: 60). Most likely there was both matrilocality and patrilocality; men might live with their wife's family and women with their husband's.

Most marriages were monogamous. Polygamy was accepted, usually by a man having more than one wife. Apparently 'polygamy was common' or occasionally occurred (Hodge 1: 279). This was an issue that white scholars eagerly recognized from their own culture, e.g., mistresses and bigamy. As noted a man could have two wives, and in rare cases more than two. In historic times polygamy was curtailed by white officials and missions (Hallowell

1992: 57). A compilation of 200 marriages in Manitoba included 8 polygamous unions, of which 6 were between a man and 'genetic sisters as wives' (Hallowell 1992: 51, 57). One apparently white Chippewa, Shenawakwaskank, had 20 Chn by 6 Wis, none Sis, but 3 of the same clan (op. cit.: 57). One 'Sturgeon Clan' man had 2 Wis from 'different clans' (ibid.). Women might have several husbands, though this has not been well recorded. Native marriage forms included 'the levirate, sororate, and sororal polygyny' or polygamy (Hallowell 1992: 57). The 'gens enforces levirate and sororate marriage upon the surviving spouse'. 'Levirate and sororate marriage is not ... observed today'; 'these marriages are in many cases impossible because the Government has forbidden polygyny and divorce' (Landes 1937: 35-36). Levirate meant that a widow married her deceased Hu's Br, which was infrequent (Hallowell 1992: 57). In historic times the sororate, a widower marrying his deceased Wi's Si, was also rare (Hallowell 1992: 57).

One question is if there was Br-Si exchange, men marrying each other's Sis. Probably this was not common. One modern case supposedly had 6 'genetic brothers' married to 6 'sisters'; perhaps mostly white (Hallowell 1992: 66).

Marriage and exogamy

Chippewa kin groups were exogamous. People were not allowed to marry kinfolk. They had to marry unrelated people, a practice called exogamy. This in turn related to totemism: 'intermarriages never take place between persons of the same symbol or family', e.g., totem designation. Marrying someone with the same totem, 'even should they belong to different and distinct tribes', was forbidden, 'as they consider one another related by the closest ties of blood and call one another by the nearest terms of consanguinity', e.g., Br and Si (Hallowell 1992; Hilger 1951: 155). The basic restriction was totem clan exogamy, but limitations reached even further. Since kin was off-limits, the rules of exogamy presumably were extended to phratries, groups of similar totem clans, and moieties, the two sides of a village or settlement. Even a whole village or local community could be exogamous, since people are not allowed to marry kin either on the Fa's or Mo's side, ruling out most local totem clans. Such local exogamy lasted into modern times. A 'girl' at Mishi-pawitikonk in 1932 'said she would never marry an Indian of her own band' (Hallowell 1992: 51).

'Certain dodem names are linked with others, and the totemites of the different names consider themselves all siblings, and from one exogamous group or phratry. This further restricts the size of the marriageable group. Linked dodems' were called 'same dodem with different names'. This term 'is also applied to those children of one mother who have different fathers of different dodems. It is said of such children': 'These people have the same dodem with different names'; pakanisi, 'different', wisoak, 'names' (Landes 1937: 36). Note that there is no reference to totems, only personal names. 'These linked gentes, or the phratry that they compose, have no other decided function than exogamy'; presumably wrong. Drawing 'an analogy with ... sibling behavior, the linked totemites' are 'kind' to 'one another' and may give 'gifts on such occasions as birth and the re-instatement ceremony of the spouse of a deceased totemite of one of the phratry' (Landes 1937: 36). 'As with the single dodems, there are endophratric marriages, although the moral sentiments are vigorous and even little girls are drilled to know that it is forbidden to flirt with little boys of the phratry' (Landes 1937: 36). Unfortunately the author fails to name the totems in a phratry; scholars typically avoided naming animals, such as bear and wolf, a damaging hangup when discussing totems.

Scholars could not come to terms with the rules of exogamy. In the strictest sense marriage was not allowed with a person sharing the totem of a Fa, Mo or GrPa. This may not seem too restrictive, but exogamy was extended to similar totems in a phratry. If a Fa was a sturgeon, then every fish was off limits. If the Mo was bear, then every carnivore was off limits, or at least the mustelids. This left the birds, but one or both GrMos were bound to have bird totems. It then became real tricky to find a spouse with a suitable totem. Perhaps birds of prey would be acceptable, or maybe herbivores like deer or muskrat. The need to keep totems secret was strengthened by exogamy. Imagine that an old woman finds out that her grandson wants to marry a hawk girl, which happens to be her own totem. The girl may be totally unrelated, from a distant village. For the sake of the young couple she may choose not to mention her totem. These kinds of considerations and dilemmas would be lost on most scholars, who struggled to come to terms with why young people could not marry, as whites practiced endogamy.

‘Insofar as the gens functions to regulate marriage, its manner of doing this coincides with the manner in which the kinship system regulates marriage, only the categories are much more limited and their application much more extended. The terms used to distinguish persons of one’s own gens are those of the kinship system, but taken only from Ego’s generation. Hence sib-mates are ‘sibling’; all others’ are ‘sibling-in-law (or) cross-cousin’; here the scholar unites the terms by using a parenthesis between them (Landes 1937: 38). This allows her to conflate ZiLa and ‘cousin’, two distinct terms, even though cousin marriage is prohibited. She then can construct 2 categories: ‘the population consists of just one generation made up of two intermarrying groups’ (ibid.). Actually there are no intermarrying groups, since exogamy will extend to almost every clan through kin relations up to and above GrPas and their relations. A son, FaFa and FaFaFa will have to find wives from completely different totems. Instead of intermarrying groups there are intermarrying villages, what is referred to as a ‘connubium’, a regional field of local communities between which marriages are entered into, perhaps comprising 900-1500 people (Lévi-Strauss 1969). Even in such a large group most partners will be off limits, due to totem and kin exogamy.

The scholar adds something significant: ‘If the dodem ties of a stranger are unknown, he is treated as though his relationship ties are unknown: he is simply ignored until his social attachments are discovered and conventional behavior thereby made feasible’ (Landes 1937: 38). This secrecy would be crucial to a person looking for a spouse in villages where virtually everybody are reckoned as kin. Here it must be added that precisely how strict and how extensive exogamy rules were is not known. In modern times, as historic depopulation set in, finding an eligible spouse became near impossible, and two things happened. Firstly, people began marrying whites, and secondly, the exogamy rules were relaxed, partly through the revitalizing movement of the Midewiwin c. 1750-1800, that toned down the emphasis on totems and introduced deity-based names instead, in a way adjusting to white beliefs. Still, traditional people clearly found it hard to find eligible spouses as late as 1940 and probably later as well.

Rules of exogamy served as a way to extend relationships. Exogamy created bonds between villages. Apparently BrLas and SiLas in different villages would exchange gifts, such as skins and rice; this was a part of the old economy (Landes 1937: 25). Exogamy referred to all kin. One scholar noted that 7 generations ‘are terminologically distinguished’; e.g., GrGrFa-GrGrCh (op. cit.: 6). This would be a bit much, e.g., 6th cousins; most likely 4-5 generations

would be involved, such as a young person being told by a GrPa about the relatives of that GrPa's GrPa, whose descendants would be off-limit in marriage.

Based on white influences there was a switch from 'exogamous' to local 'endogamous' marriages by 1932 on Berens River; though 'interband marriages' still counted at least 35-50% (Hallowell 1992: 51). Modern informants were influenced by white endogamy. They still noted that people with the same totem were not allowed to marry, but thought that it was acceptable to 'marry a member of your mother's dō'dām' (Hilger 1951: 155). People who were mostly white or were surrounded by whites abandoned exogamy and became endogamous. 'Cross-cousin marriage' or 'the union of the children of a brother and sister' supposedly was 'common' at Parry Island, gratifying the views of white scholars (Hilger 1951: 155). Endogamy was an obsession with whites. One woman claimed that the 'Ojibwa' prefer 'cross-cousin marriage', such as when a Br and Si 'propose' to marry their Chn (Landes 1938). This was contradicted in another report. Marrying a 'cross-cousin' was prohibited at Manitou Rapids (Landes 1937: 5). Supposedly people at Buffalo Point, Manitoba, practiced cousin marriage; though probably false (ibid.). The scholar, in a perverse submission to theory, claimed that people at Manitou Rapids followed the 'function' or model of cross-cousin marriage, although it was forbidden (ibid.).

The same scholar tried to discuss marriage with 'cross-relatives' as a substitute word for the theoretical 'cross-cousin' fantasy (Landes 1937: 18). Unfortunately she tried to do this without including totemic exogamy. A 'legendary tale' of same-gender marriage is noted, the 'love of two male cross-cousins'; apparently the female scholar thought this fit the fiction of cross-cousin marriage, at a time when homosexuality was criminalized (op. cit.: 20). It would be curious to know if the Chippewa reacted to this marriage because it was between cousins or between men, perhaps the former, since this broke the rules of exogamy.

More pertinent is an observation that people are 'related by sib ties, and especially by sib exogamy'(!) (Landes 1937: 5). This is a curious observation from a white scholar, that 'exogamy' relates people, which is exactly what it does. People are related to clans with different totems, that they are not allowed to marry. A missionary reluctantly admitted that 'cross-cousin marriage' was not practiced 'in this study' (Hilger 1951: 156). 'Informants were emphatic in their denial of such a custom'; even though she clearly pressed them hard (ibid.). An old man at 'Lac Courte Orielle', apparently mainly white, said: 'In the olden days, that was strictly against the customs of the Chippewa'; 'never was it heard that the children of a sister married the children of her brother'; his formal diction was aimed to get through to the missionaries (ibid.). Another old man tried to state the obvious: the children of a Br and Si were close relatives (ibid.). A 'very old woman' at Red Lake emphasized that a Br's and Si's Chn had 'a sacred relationship' and 'never' would be allowed to marry (ibid.). All of this would be beyond the grasp of white scholars.

The scholars had no clear concept of exogamy, or how extensive it was. It was guessed that 'it was lawful' for 'the children of a brother and a sister' to 'marry each other if they did not have the same totem' (Kinietz 1947: 70). This referred to Euro-American endogamy, where it is 'lawful' for close kin to marry. 'But two people of the same totem could not marry lawfully even if they were in no other way connected' (ibid.). 'The gens functions chiefly as an exogamous mechanism' (Landes 1937: 35). 'Those of the same dodem name cannot marry, but must regard one another as siblings' (ibid.). 'But there' is no idea that 'they must have sprung from one ancestor', nor such an idea when using 'kinship terms'. When 'the ethnologist presses the point', e.g., forcing her Euro-American views of genealogies and

descriptive kinship, the informants would protest that this 'is not native' (Landes 1939: 35). The Ojibwa extended totem exogamy to all other tribes (ibid.).

A biased scholar claimed that 'marriage between cross-cousins was practiced in remote locations in modern times, though marriage with 'consanguineal relatives' was generally forbidden (Landes 1937: 55). Yet a ban on marriage with relatives continued in most places. Along Rainy River there was 'a blanket tabu on marriage between relatives' (ibid.). The author still insisted on cousin marriage, and saw the marriage 'tabu' as aberrant (ibid.). The Minnesota Ojibwa, 'at Red Lake, Cass Lake, Leech Lake', 'also have no cross-cousin marriage'. They 'do not make the terminological identifications with the marriage' (Landes 1937: 55). This would mean that they did not associate cousin terms with marriage, as would no other Chippewa, since ZiLas have distinct terms. The biased author thus spent 20 pages arguing for endogamy under the heading 'Exogamy'. Marriage 'between all relatives is forbidden', 'because the blood is too thick' (ibid.). This held for 'own' and 'distant' 'cross-cousins, and extends through the fourth generation of descent from the ultimate source of reckoning', e.g., 3rd cousins cannot marry (Landes 1937: 55-56).

In one case c. 1900 a girl, Maggie, was forbidden to marry her 'sweetheart' by her Mo, because he was her FaFaMoSiSoSiSo, e.g., her 'cousin'; this was in spite of white intermarriage in the families (Landes 1937: 56). The author ignored totemism in such reckoning, but both the girl and her boyfriend's Mo were Sturgeon, which no doubt prohibited the marriage (ibid.). In a related case a man married his MoBrDa, which was 'objected' to but not prevented; here the totems would be different, but the scholar ignored this element. Instead she claimed that 'it was desirable for' a MoLa and ChLa to 'be gens-mates', no doubt wishful thinking (Landes 1937: 57). The scholar, bent on endogamy, called the Mo's prohibition 'spacious', since she could not imagine exogamy (ibid.). Even so she noted that 'by dodem, marriage between two lines' may 'be postponed forever'; a case for local exogamy (ibid.). It is curious that every argument for endogamy is followed by an example of exogamy; a sort of schizoid logic.

The next case was of a man who c. 1920 married his MoFaMoSiDaDa, e.g., his 'cousin'. The scholar indignantly protested that this was the same as the Maggie case above, as if she could decide what was allowed or not; and implicitly identifying this with endogamy (Landes 1937: 58). Natives 'laughed' at close marriages that broke the exogamy rules, while the scholar searched for endogamy to prove herself right and the natives wrong (ibid.). She hysterically wanted two 'brothers' to call each other 'parents-in-law', since their children had married; their wives called each other 'sister-in-law', but she thought they should be 'sisters' (Landes 1937: 58). The author made a great point of criticizing native relationship usage to prove endogamy (op. cit.: 58-59). 'One infamous cross-cousin marriage at Emo was' between a 'Mide doctor' and his 'own' relative; yet 'the marriage persisted', much to the scholar's delight (Landes 1937: 59). Every paragraph became a paradox. 'There is no doubt that the tabu on cross-cousin marriage exists'; but: 'breaches of the tabu had occurred' (ibid.). She was a broken record repeating itself over and over: exogamy – but endogamy. She pestered an informant for 'weeks' to make her admit 'breaches' of exogamy, e.g., endogamy (Landes 1937: 59). The scholar must have abused her informants terribly, brow-beating them. Strangely at the same time she managed to convey that kin marriage was forbidden among the Ojibwa. Only after Euro-Canadian control c. 1900 was the prohibition circumvented and endogamy established.

‘The exogamous rule is always broken by at least several in each locality, but the moral sentiment of the community is unfailingly shocked’. Formerly, ‘endototemic marriages were punished by death’. This was not the case in modern times. ‘Censure by ridicule was heaped upon the offending couple’, and ‘on their offspring’. Two ‘lynx totemites were married at Crow Portage’. The woman’s Fa and Br were ‘much ashamed’ because they were ‘brothers’ to the man’s family. ‘But others always referred to the offspring’ as ‘the little Lynxes’. ‘The phrase has a disgusted connotation similar’ to ‘vile little animals’ (Landes 1937: 35-36).

Some modern people would consider exogamy a ‘nuisance’ ‘because it keeps people from marrying when they want to’ (Landes 1937: 35). This would be a big issue in recent historic times, since depopulation would make it hard to find permissible partners, and people would then be forced to marry white people. The scholars, geared at endogamy, had no concept of this and mostly ignored the issue. In historic times conditions would gradually change, partly due to epidemics and depopulation, and partly due to white influences and intermarriage. By 1800 people with the same totem sometimes married ‘but always against the will of the parents, and the parties to such marriages were always despised by others for their action’ (Kinietz 1947: 70).

In native terms this amounted to incest, a breach of marriage taboos or ‘violations of clan exogamy’ (Hallowell 1992: 52). Whites, favoring endogamy, had a simple view of incest. At mostly white Berens River in 1930 this violation was common, with ‘several cases of father-daughter incest’, marriage to a stepDa, and ‘four cases’ of Mo-So incest (Hallowell 1992: 52). Native rules were ignored. Ojibwa people had a healthy view of in-marrying. They thought that marrying close relatives would produce children that were not ‘healthy’ (Landes 1937: 36). Probably white people knew this too. One missionary interviewed a caribou woman at Nett Lake who married a bullhead man, and asked why she did not marry a caribou man; the shocked woman was speechless and said she would not be so foolish as to marry ‘a man of my own’ totem (Hilger 1951: 155). The missionary did not understand.

No comprehensive records exist of the totems of spouses; some cases are:

fish: catfish ♂ = moose ♀; catfish ♂ = bear ♀; bullhead ♂ = duck ♀; bullhead ♂ = deer or caribou ♀; etc.

bird: woodpecker ♂ = snake ♀; loon ♂ = marten ♀; duck ♂ = bullhead ♀; duck ♂ = caribou ♀; crane ♂ = fox ♀; eagle ♂ = bear ♀; eagle ♂ = wolf ♀; etc.

animal: bear ♂ = catfish ♀; bear ♂ = duck ♀; bear ♂ = eagle ♀; bear ♂ = caribou ♀; lynx ♂ = bear ♀; caribou ♂ = bullhead ♀; caribou ♂ = sturgeon ♀; caribou ♂ = bear ♀; elk ♂ = blackbird ♀; moose ♂ = kingfisher ♀; moose ♂ = muskrat ♀; buffalo ♂ = bear ♀; etc.

- Apparently some animals were not allowed to marry, e.g., bear and wolf, though this might vary locally. The reason for including these examples is to hint at the complexity involved in choosing marriage partners, with more than 20 totems and many exogamic restrictions on marriage. – The bear-lynx marriages could be a modern breach of totem exogamy; likewise moose-muskrat (Landes 1937: 59-68).

The key word is ‘totem’; a person’s Pas, GrPas and GrGrPas had different totems, and all these in turn were off limits, as were their descendants, since they were relations. Put differently, a child would be close to the totems of its Pas, GrPas and even GrGrPas, and might carry a name similar to one or more of them. Hence it would be practically impossible to marry a first or even a second cousin, though at times a second or third cousin might be possible. The best option was to find a spouse in another village or band, since kin relations

would be less visible. Overall, totem and kin exogamy expanded the reach of Chippewa social relations enormously.

Kinship and descent

There was a view of Chippewa descent as being patrilineal, e.g., following the paternal line from Fa to So. ‘The totem descends invariably in the male line’; probably wrong (Densmore 1929: 10). ‘Membership in the gens’ or totem clan ‘was inherited through the father’, which was ‘familiar to Europeans’ (Kinietz 1947: 69). Whites such as missionaries influenced native views: ‘The dō'dām is invariably inherited from the father’ (Hilger 1951: 153). But such statements need modification. They reflect a white bias, and also a bias on the part of the mostly white informants. There might be a Chippewa view that a So belongs to the totem clan or family of his Fa. Yet there might also be a view that a Da belonged to the family of her Mo. Descent would depend on which of the children stays with their parents after marriage and throughout life. If a Da, then the descent is ‘matrilineal’, if a So it is ‘patrilineal’. It may be that Sos mainly stayed with their parents, making patriliney predominant, but this would depend on actual cases and statistics. The safest bet would be to say that Chippewa society was bilateral or ‘vari-lateral’, that parents could be succeeded by a So or Da, though possibly with a patrilineal trend. One book reflects the confusion. ‘Children usually inherited the clan totem of their fathers... Some of the Ojibwa bands... were matriarchal long ago, and Ojibwa women once held a more powerful role... Some clans were even matrilineal’ (Houston & King 1972).

It follows that familial succession could be patrilineal, matrilineal and bilateral. In historical times houses were ‘practically the only physical property inherited’; ‘generally ownership passes to the eldest son (Kinietz 1947: 33). ‘Primogeniture prevails over any rights of the widow, if the son is inclined to enforce it’ (ibid.). Reportedly a So could turn out his Mo if he inherited a house, at least if she remarried (ibid.). In prehistoric times the house represented a totem clan position, and this was passed on to a So or Da depending on circumstances (ibid.). If a couple had no So, a Da and SoLa might take over. If they were childless an adopted So or Da might take over. Even if a So was present, it is not certain that he would succeed his Pas. The main concern would be to secure a succession to each totem clan position in each village. How this played out on the ground is largely unknown. A tentative suggestion would be 50-50 So-Da succession.

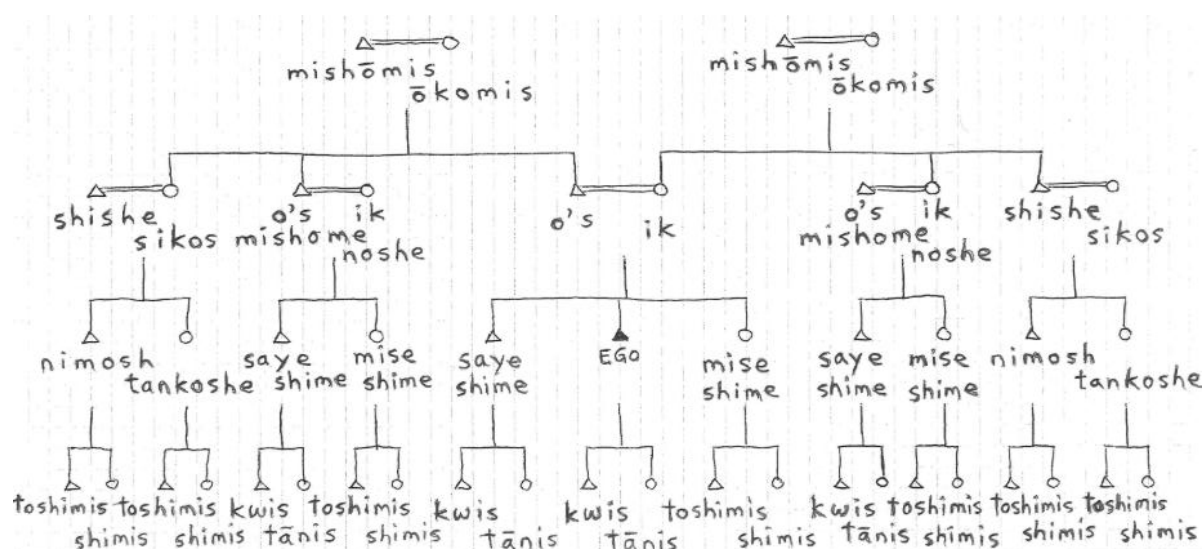
Chippewa kinship terminology

The Chippewa kinship terms are well known:

GrFa	mishômis
GrMo	ôkomis
Fa	o's
Mo	ik, nke
FaBr, stepFa	mishome
MoSi	noshe
stepMo	nwishe
FaSi	sikos

MoBr	shishe, shenis
Ego	nin
oBr	saye
oSi	mise
Zi	awema
yZi	shime
male cousin	nimosh
female cousin	tankoshe
So	kwis
Da	tānis
stepSo	tôshim
stepDa	tôshimikwem
Nephew	toshimis, toshim
Niece	shimis, toshimis
GrCh	ôshenh

- The obligatory pronoun has been left out for convenience.



Chippewa kinship terminology (pronoun not included)

The Ojibwa kinship terminology resembled the Iroquois classificatory type. This terminology was bilateral. One scholar confuses the kin terminology needlessly by introducing French and English kin terms and presenting everything in a rambling list of words; yet this was a way scholars used to avoid explaining classificatory kinship (Landes 1937: 7). Authors were unable to explain the terminology, and obscured it. Hence the approach of Morgan is basic, to specify each kin term across five generations as the only useful approach (Morgan 1877). GrFa and GrMo referred to the older generation and carried 'overtones of respect' (Hallowell 1992: 58). The second descending generation would all be GrChn, not shown in the chart.

Kin terms were extended to nature. Powerful beings could be referred to as grandfathers or grandmothers, both in nature and in dreams (Hallowell 1992: 59). Persons 'of the grandparent class ... bestowed names upon' all infants (op. cit.: 58). One scholar claimed 'the Ojibwa kinship pattern is of a well-known type', hence avoiding explanation (Hallowell 1992: 52). He then went on to confuse the topic, saying that 'three simple principles ... determine' the 'pattern' (ibid.). Supposedly these were: no terms for in-laws; a 'generational' reference; and 'contrasting' kin 'behavior'; e.g., he explained nothing (Hallowell 1992: 52-53). 'The children

of two brothers' or 'parallel cousins' 'always styled themselves brothers and sisters and so did their children and their children's children and so on down the generations; but the children of a brother and a sister did not' (Kinietz 1947: 70). An Ego would be Br or Si or 'cousin' to everybody in the same generation (Hallowell 1992: 53). Scholars would complicate this by distinguishing 'parallel cousins', those called Br or Si, and 'cross cousins', those called 'cousin', and next relating this to marriage, though both categories were equally close or distant in relation to exogamy (op. cit.: 53-54). One pertinent comment was that 'from the standpoint of any Ego ... all Ojibwa are kin of some sort' (Hallowell 1992: 52). Relations 'are structured in a social system coterminous with ... the Ojibwa as an ethnic group' as well as extending to other tribes (ibid.). Meaning that all people were reckoned as kin, though not whites in recent times.

Scholars enjoyed psychologizing kin terms. A Mo and Da were 'very close' (Densmore 1929: 61). Most such descriptions are useless unless placed in a social context, and are not included here.

One scholar's claim that there were 'no' affinal terms is false.

The Chippewa affinal terminology:

FaLa	sinis
MoLa	sikosis
Hu	nâpem, wîtikemâkan
Wi	wîw, wîtike
BrLa (♂ Ego)	ta
SiLa (♀ Ego)	tankwe
ZiLa (opposite gender)	înim
SoLa	ningwan
DaLa	sim
in-law (mutual)	tintawa

- Again the obligatory pronoun is left out.

The same scholar claimed that the 'parents' of 'ninamak' or ZiLas were classified as FaSi and MoBr, though the recorded terms were FaLa and MoLa, sinis and sikosis (Hallowell 1992: 56). The biased intention was to indicate so-called cross-cousin marriage while ignoring exogamy. One possible qualification is that in modern times the affinal terms may have been disused, as a consequence of historic depopulation and white encroachments. Once the number of potential spouses was reduced by 90%, and intermarriage with whites became common, along with a white emphasis on endogamy, the use of special terms for in-laws became obsolete. The Shawnee Indians had a similar experience, due to population loss, when a man complained that his in-laws called him 'brother', 'as if they did not want me to marry their sister'. By such historical upheavals a FaLa may end up being called 'uncle' or even 'father', without this being a traditional practice. Or the opposite would occur: cousin terms were replaced by in-law terms. One scholar frantically advocated 'bilateral cross-cousin marriage', though 'not more than 25 percent of the marriages' were between 'first cousins'; no doubt an exaggeration and a historical development (Hallowell 1992: 56). The 'only possible spouses were individuals chosen within the class of potential mates'; this much is true, but the limitations on this 'class' by kin references and totemic relations were ignored by the scholar and became weakened or overridden by the conditions of modern life (op. cit.: 57).

One scholar fabulated about kinship and totemism, claiming ‘that the gens categories conflict fundamentally with those of kinship’. Unlike ‘gens dogmas’, ‘kin obligations are never infringed by’ aligning them ‘with the gens obligations. The gens system and the kinship system’ are ‘defined’ in ‘mutual ignorance’; but ‘where the definitions clash, whether the relatives are consanguineal or affinal, the gens is simply ignored. The gens system is important chiefly in the lives of non-relatives, and binds such people together throughout the length and breadth of the Ojibwa-speaking groups’. (Landes 1937: 38). One woman called her SiSo by the proper kinship term, but her Hu called him ‘brother’ because ‘they have the same Bear dodem and are otherwise unrelated’. By the ‘gens system’ the woman should call her SiSo ‘brother-in-law’, e.g., a clan Br of her Hu (op. cit.: 38-39). She could call him ‘son’, since he belonged to the same totem as her Hu. The ‘conflict’ between kinship and totemism posited by the scholar is mostly conceptual, since both are relational and flexible systems. Yet the researcher makes a good anthropological observation by noting that there are choices involved in relationship terms.

There was further fabulation: ‘The habit of thinking in kinship terms impels the people to translate gens relations into extended family relations; and when this is carried through consistently, the gens organization suffers. It is obvious that the status of e.g. mother’s brother is one thing according to kinship definition’, and another ‘according to’ totemism. He is a ‘respect relative’, but also ‘a prospective mate amenable’ to ‘joking’; obviously wrong. ‘While these violations do not occur’, the hypothetical ‘difficulties’ may prompt people to apply ‘various kinship terms to gens-mates’ (Landes 1937: 40). Perhaps more pertinent was an afterthought: ‘These complications and reservations point also to the tacit native recognition that a gens includes different family lines, since not all gens-mates are so related that kinship terms are used’ (ibid.).

Kâkapeanakwat ‘was totemic’ ‘brother’ to a woman’s father, and ‘consequently’ to her; obviously wrong. But ‘she ignored this at her father’s request, and called him father’s brother’; obviously right. Hence her Chn called him ‘grandfather by dodem’, nimishômis niwîchitotêma. The woman and her Chn ‘jested with the old man just as they would’ with GrPas (Landes 1937: 40-41). ‘In other cases gens-mates are called niece’ or ‘nephew’, ‘mother’s brother’, ‘father’s sister’, etc. The author contrasts this with the academic fantasy that these are kin ‘categories of the group into which’ people marry, e.g., in-laws; ignoring the stress on exogamy and marriage restrictions. The scholar’s constant bias or prejudice is endogamy (op. cit.: 41). Some kin terms were: ‘father’s brother by dodem’ and reciprocal BrDa; ‘grandfather by dodem’ and reciprocal DaChn; etc. The author constantly tried to relate these terms to in-laws, in spite of exogamy rules (Landes 1937: 41).

The scholar constructs ‘anomalies’ for a ‘man speaking’: My ‘father’s brother by dodem’ has ‘a classificatory’ BrSo ‘of a different dodem who becomes’ my ‘brother’; e.g., two bird clans. ‘Brother’ marries ‘my fellow-totemite’, who becomes a ‘sister-in-law’; e.g., a modern breach of exogamy. My ‘daughter by sib’ becomes my ‘sister’s daughter’ or ‘daughter-in-law’; clearly wrong; perhaps this refers to a SiSoWi. If my ‘father’s brother by dodem’ has ‘a classificatory’ Si of a ‘different dodem’, she may be a FaSi. If she married ‘my gens-mate’ he would become my ‘mother’s brother’. ‘The same is true with respect to my wife’s step-father’ (Landes 1937: 41). The writer completely ignores that classificatory kinship is flexible and dynamic, as are totemic relations. The scholar here gets into a quandary over exogamy, classificatory kinship and totemism, trying to force everything into an ethnocentric Euro-American model of endogamy, with descriptive kinship and family names. The ethnocentric

bias is so strong that it overrides cultural differences, so that it is not possible to imagine how two unrelated bears can be Brs, as in a native view.

The use of English names and references does not ease the quandary: 'William Rogers' called 'John Garbo' his 'classificatory' BrSo; John married the SiDa of William; John called William 'brother-in-law' to foster 'the joking and drinking that had actually been going on between them'; the scholar is annoyed because this 'violates kinship' terms (Landes 1937: 42). But 'William is Bear dodem, and John is Caribou'; hence the joking was appropriate, regardless of the scholar's annoyance (ibid.). A man with an 'Eagle dodem' and another with 'Kingfisher' totem married 2 Sis and called each other BrLa; again the scholar is annoyed, since 'they should be brothers' (ibid.). One 'Whitefeather' had a FaBrWi who was a 'classificatory' MoSi; but joking and drinking with the FaBr-FaBrWi led to 'sibling-in-law' behavior, justified by Whitefeather since his Wi was of the same gens and also drank and joked; the scholar was flabbergasted! (ibid.). Apparently she had never heard of relatives 'joking and drinking'! 'Nathan' and a woman were 'siblings-in-law', 'aunt' and 'nephew', and 'namesakes', e.g., a namer-named relation (Landes 1937: 42).

In one interesting case, 'Tom Grey was William Rogers' gens-mate' or 'brother'. 'But William's wife called Tom, many years her senior', 'sister's son', and she called Tom's wife 'daughter-in-law'. One guess was that this was 'through namesake ties. William calls Tom's wife' 'sister-in-law', as should William's Wi (Landes 1937: 42-43). Calling an older man nephew would resemble a matrilineal terminology, though as in other examples the issue may involve drink and jokes.

'John Morris', William's 'gens-mate' or Br, called him 'brother-in-law', because William's Wi was John's classificatory Si; William in turn called John's wife SiLa or cousin, and William's Wi called John Br (Landes 1937: 43). This may exemplify the effects of historical depopulation, where potential spouses were few, leading to a situational use of consanguineous and affinal terms, the latter used sparingly; e.g., John would call William BrLa because the Wi was a Si. People 'do not feel that gens or kinship are violated by these apparently inconsistent usages'; the American scholar automatically interpreted this as endogamy, a 'small, closely intermarrying group' sharing 'any capricious kin or gens usage'. For pity's sake she added that 'the ideal framework is clearly envisaged', leaving blank if this was exogamic or, as she favored, endogamic (ibid.). What is frustrating is that white scholars with endogamic practices present kinship as if a change towards endogamy is normal while exogamy is aberrant; like placing a sled before the dogs.

Joking relations

As in American society, sex was a taboo subject among the Chippewa. 'Sex references' between siblings 'are tabued'. This 'shyness' is established by puberty. A woman's 'avoidance of her brother' is extended to 'all the relatives forbidden in marriage'. This taboo would allow settled women to cooperate with their male relatives. They 'may talk together', but 'they are not supposed to make sexual allusions'. The one exception to such rules is the license and sexual joking between in-laws of opposite gender, *înem* (Landes 1938: 17).

One significant aspect of kin relations was so-called joking relations or affinal joking, also called 'sweetheart' jokes (Hallowell 1992: 55). This was an anxious area of kinship, since

totem reckoning was involved; if a BrLa had the same totem as a distant relative, say a FaMoBrSoSo, e.g., ‘nephew’, then there might be teasing about the appropriateness of the marrying relationship. In addition, and more generally, the sexuality implicit in marriage could lead to much banter and teasing over gender or ‘sweetheart’ relations (ibid.). Old-school or puritan scholars might skip this subject, although joking relations were a part of family, totem clan and inter-clan relations. Other scholars would turn this into a psychological issue, such as ‘avoidance’, ‘permissiveness’, ‘embarrassment’ and ‘sex’, though mainly a part of general social relations (op. cit.: 54-55). In close relations sexual references are avoided (Hallowell 1992: 54). There was no sexual joking with a MoBr or ‘cousin’ (ibid.).

The one joking relation where intimate jokes were allowed, or even obligatory, was with a sibling-in-law of the opposite gender, e.g., *inimw*. This was the joking relationship. One scholar tried to twist this into a so-called cross cousin relation, but his only reference was to the term ‘*ninam*’ or *inim*, a ZiLa of the opposite gender (Hallowell 1992: 55). Translating this as ‘sweetheart’, the scholar indicated ‘freedom in speech’ as ‘potential spouses’, though people were already married (ibid.). Stepping up, the scholar noted that ‘this freedom inevitably had a sexual focus’ (ibid.). Sex ‘was the only common interest on which the relationship of nonsiblings could be patterned’ (ibid.). This would exclude hunting, arts, crafts, healing or politics, leaving only ‘sex’; another psychologization of native life (Hallowell 1992: 55). Precisely why a man could only have sex with his BrWi, *inim*, is mystifying; especially since there was no sexual license between ‘classificatory brothers’ and their wives, ‘*ninamak*’ or SiLas (op. cit.: 56). The joking relationship was a way to relieve tensions in close relations.

This allowed for a register of jokes; ‘the bawdiest’ allusions; ‘compulsive’ exchanges; exchanges ‘between men and women’; old people joking; etc. (Hallowell 1992: 55). Obviously not all of these would be of the ‘nonsibling’ or ‘cousin’ class; the scholar forgot that people joke constantly (Hallowell 1992: 55). Needless to say ‘avoidance’ and ‘sex’ is a Euro-American hangup, not native. Yet the presence of joking relations to defuse tensions between people and groups is an important observation, to be further noted in the case of totem clan joking later on.

As noted, in close relations sexual allusions were avoided. In one case a boy was upbraided for ‘half wrestling’ his Si, with the admonition: ‘she’s not kinam’; the scholar fancied this to mean cousin, but it means ‘your SiLa’ (Hallowell 1992: 55). The main application of joking was between BrLa-SiLa, ‘*ninamak*’ (op. cit.: 55-56). Men ‘and women in this relationship might become lovers before’ being married; probably a future ZiLa was meant; there are words for sweetheart, *inimôshe*, lover, *sâkîwet* or *sayakiwet*, and girl- or boyfriend (Hallowell 1992: 56). Once married ‘the permissive’ behavior between ‘*ninamak*’ was ‘limited to bawdy talk’ and ‘horseplay’ (ibid.). In one case a man came to a lodge on ‘a cold winter night’ and ‘snuggled up against’ his SiLa ‘under the rabbitskin blanket’; everybody laughed and he joked about being under the blanket with his ‘sweetheart’ or SiLa (Hallowell 1992: 55-56). Then there was more general joking and sexual banter between men and women. The puritan scholar was shocked when he took a photo of an old man with his legs spread and a ‘mission’ woman ‘made a gesture as if to unbutton’ the ‘man’s fly’; this was brushed away as a ‘kinam’ or *inem* joke (op. cit.: 56). A mostly white interpreter asked an old woman what side of the ‘wigwam’ she slept on, and then said ‘I’ll be around’. Asked if he had the strength to travel, he said the ‘older you get the stiffer the horn’. Two young girls even made a joke at the scholar; he was too embarrassed to write it down (op. cit.: 55).

It must be mentioned that jokes would enter into other kin relations and in social life in general, but then in more subdued or situational forms, not as a prerequisite. Supposedly cross-cousins may engage in 'rude joking', though it is not clear if this is between people of one gender or across genders. One scholar mixes cousin and in-law terms to avoid the issue, as if they were the same; yet a cousin cannot be an in-law (Landes 1937: 20-23). A 'stock' joke was to tell a person: 'Pull down your pants and hold the buttocks to the sun and ask it to dry you for four days'; implying that someone's ass smells (op. cit.: 24).

One scholar included curious 'tables' showing 'bragging' and 'joking' occasions between kin. The gist was that people could 'brag' about and 'jest' with all their kin to some degree.

A male could joke with his Fa, FaBr, MoBr, FaSiHu.

A female could joke with her Mo, FaSi, MoBrWi, and with their Das.

A male could joke with Brs and 'parallel cousins', e.g., Brs.

A female could joke with Sis.

It was possible to joke with a cousin's Ch.

A woman could joke with a SoLa 'when he jokes' her Da and also her GrCh of same sex.

A man could do the same with DaLa and same-sex GrCh.

Parents could brag about same-sex Zi and Ch as relatives.

Parents could 'brag' about their own Pas, and Ch could 'jest' with their GrPas.

Two BrLas could 'brag' and 'jest' each other, as could their Chn (Landes 1937: 29-30).

That a man would 'brag' about the Chn of his sister, was imagined to 'have a connection with sib functions, especially with its exclusion of the mother and her sister' (Landes 1937: 30).

Since many marriages were matrilineal, this would hardly apply. The psychologization of kin relations was a strange exercise in so-called functionalist studies. The somewhat hopeless compilation merely showed that people joked, which they do occasionally. The real difference would be the ZiLa of the opposite gender, inem, where joking was obligatory or prescribed.

The pervasiveness of kinship

Kinship permeated Chippewa society, including animals and the world at large. There were words for stepchildren, adoption, orphans, fictive and ritual kin. No-one fell outside the realm of kinship, not even a white person in early historical times. In fact, this may have been one factor that allowed whites to become dominant in native communities. Some extra terms are noted. An orphan is called kiwashise (Landes 1937: 16). 'Ceremonial adoption' was used by childless couples or to replace a lost child (op. cit.: 17). The adopted person is called by a kin term, son or Da, plus 'not', kâwin (ibid.). An adopted child continues to live in the home of his birth parents, but in the old days probably lived with and succeeded his or her adoptive parents (ibid.). An illegitimate child is kiminichakon or pakwatose. A main issue became to determine what totem he or she belonged to (Landes 1937: 18). Any young person could succeed the head of a family or totem clan, following the proper adoption or inclusion ceremonies.

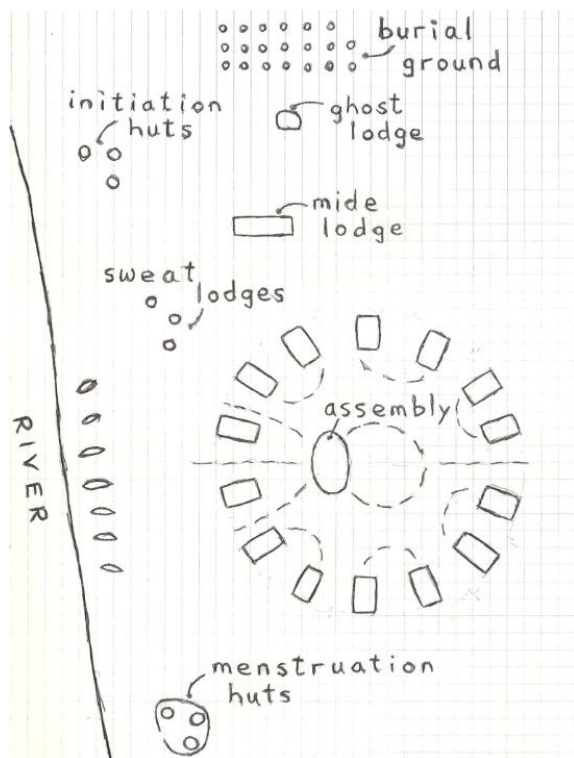
One scholar strangely claimed that: 'It is impossible formally to adopt people into the gens. Illegitimate children sometimes' enter informally. 'Ponemah people' remembered that in the 1800s a 'famous' man, Wisgkop or Sweet, 'formally endowed his adopted Dakota son with a new dodem, and the Dakota's descendants' carried on 'the dodem', Kingfisher. His 'adopted son' became 'Great Kingfisher'. 'Like the Bear quadruple dodem, the two Kingfishers' were seen as 'subdivisions' of one totem (Landes 1937: 37). As noted elsewhere, this would refer to

the situation in historical consolidated settlements, where unrelated families with the same totem were brought together but tried to distinguish each other. Everybody were related, but totems created a basic distinction or differentiation locally, in the makeup of villages or settlements.

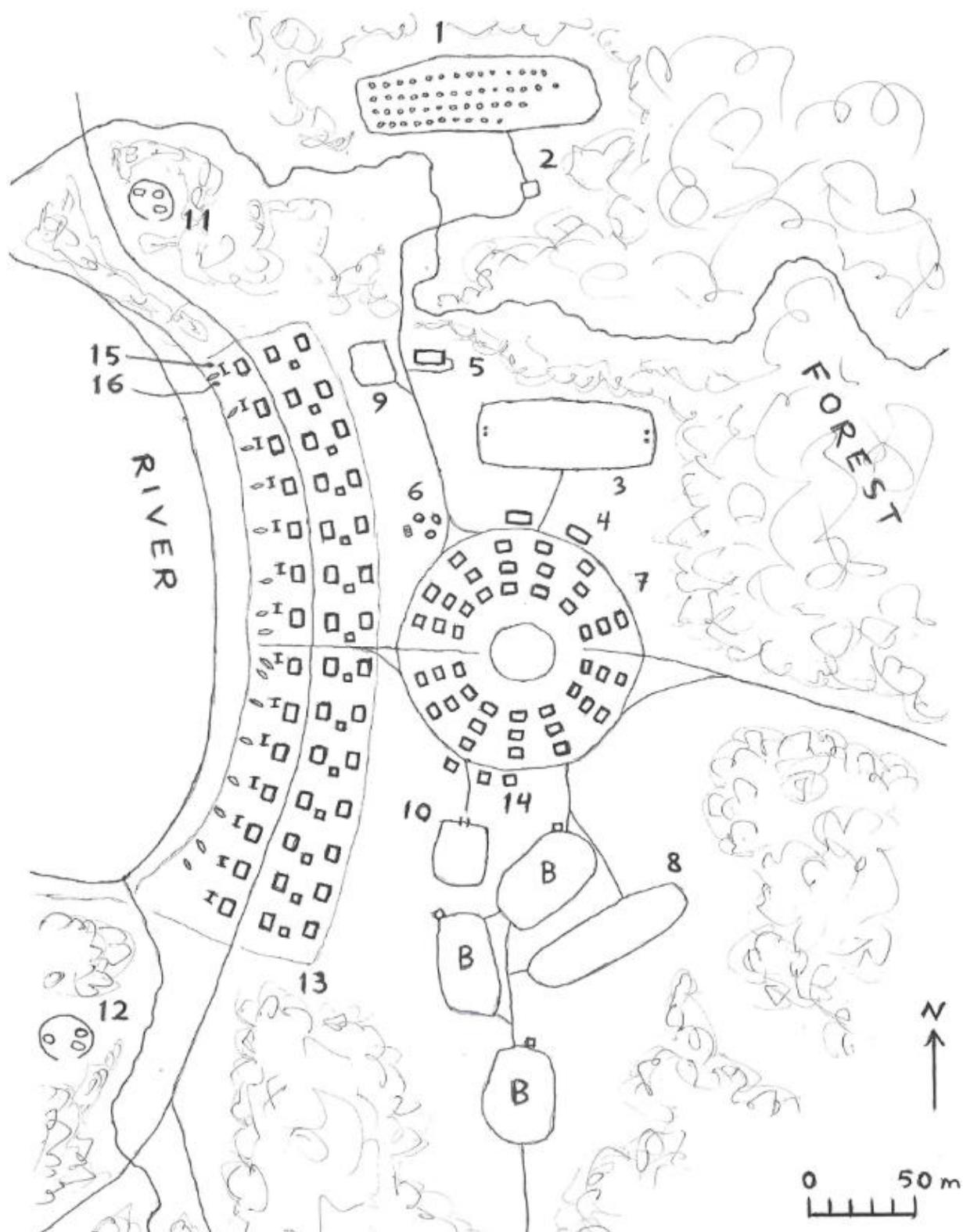
Chippewa settlement patterns and villages

The settlement pattern of Chippewa people involved summer settlements or villages, winter hunting camps or phratry camps, fishing camps and more incidental habitations, with local variations. The distribution of larger bands and districts has been presented earlier.

Scholars were confused about local communities. 'The village was the largest social unit', or rather, the basic social unit (Landes 1937: 1). The main and major settlement unit was the summer community or village. This settlement, also termed 'summer fishing settlements', i.e., a village, was reoccupied every spring around April-May when the people from several 'hunting groups', perhaps 3 such groups, moved to the summer location near a river or lake (Hallowell 1992: 44). As will be noted 'fishing' might be conducted near the village, but also in fishing camps of varying sizes and locations. The concentrated summer settlement 'was still the basic pattern' in modern times (ibid.). Based on the size of hunting camp territories, a village could possess a local area of 500-900+ km² or 200-350+ sq. mi. A village was permanently located in its local area that was divided into phratry-based hunting territories, possibly 3 in number. A 'seasonal return to the same hunting tract assumes considerable stability in the' local 'population', e.g., a village or local community (op. cit.: 45). Euro-American scholars were surprised to discover that in summer 'Indians' gathered in 'the largest numbers' to share 'opportunities for social organization on a wider scale', as if unaware that people lived in local societies or villages (Hallowell 1992: 48). In historic times, following colonial pressure and depopulation, when people were forced W into new areas, communities would maintain this pattern of a central or village location surrounded by hunting territories. Modern scholars fruitlessly have attributed hunting territories 'to the influence of the fur trade', since they cannot imagine a community-held territory (op. cit.: 46).

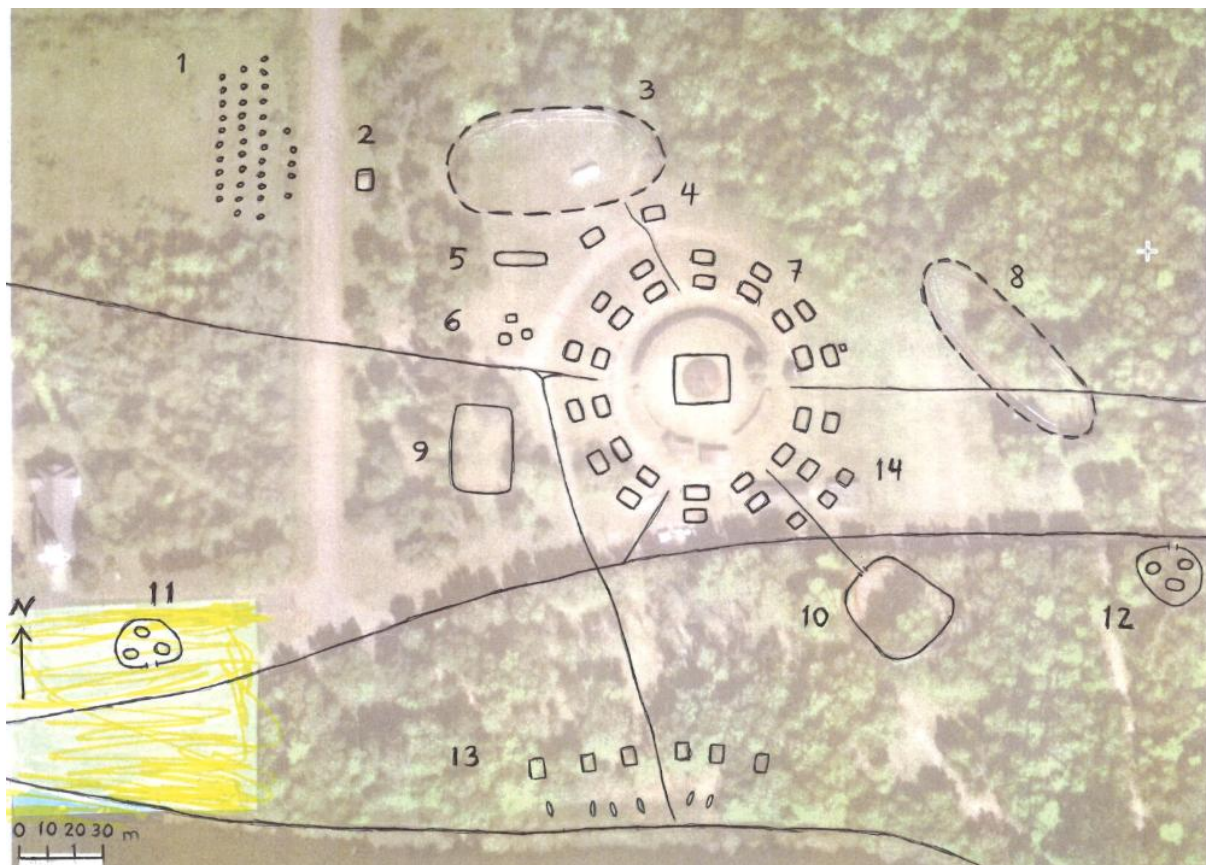


Some features of a conceptual Chippewa village



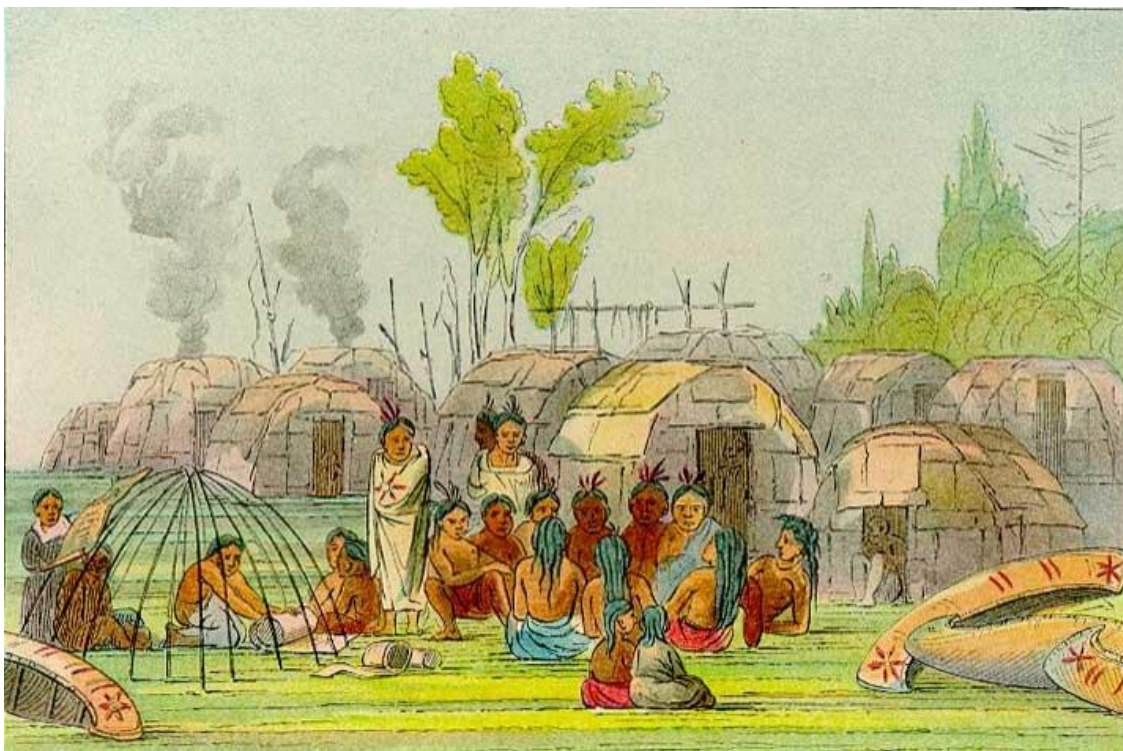
A tentative prehistoric Chippewa village (based on Michipicoten)

1 = burial ground; 2 = ghost lodge; 3 = ball ground; 4 = two moiety lodges; 5 = mide lodge; 6 = sweat lodges; 7 = houses around plaza or dance ground; 8 = winter games or snow snake; 9 = wrestling or sports arena; 10 = dice or gambling arena; 11 = initiation huts; 12 = menstruation huts; 13 = house rows; 14 = three phratry lodges; 15 = fish rack; 16 = canoe; B = berry patch or plant nursery

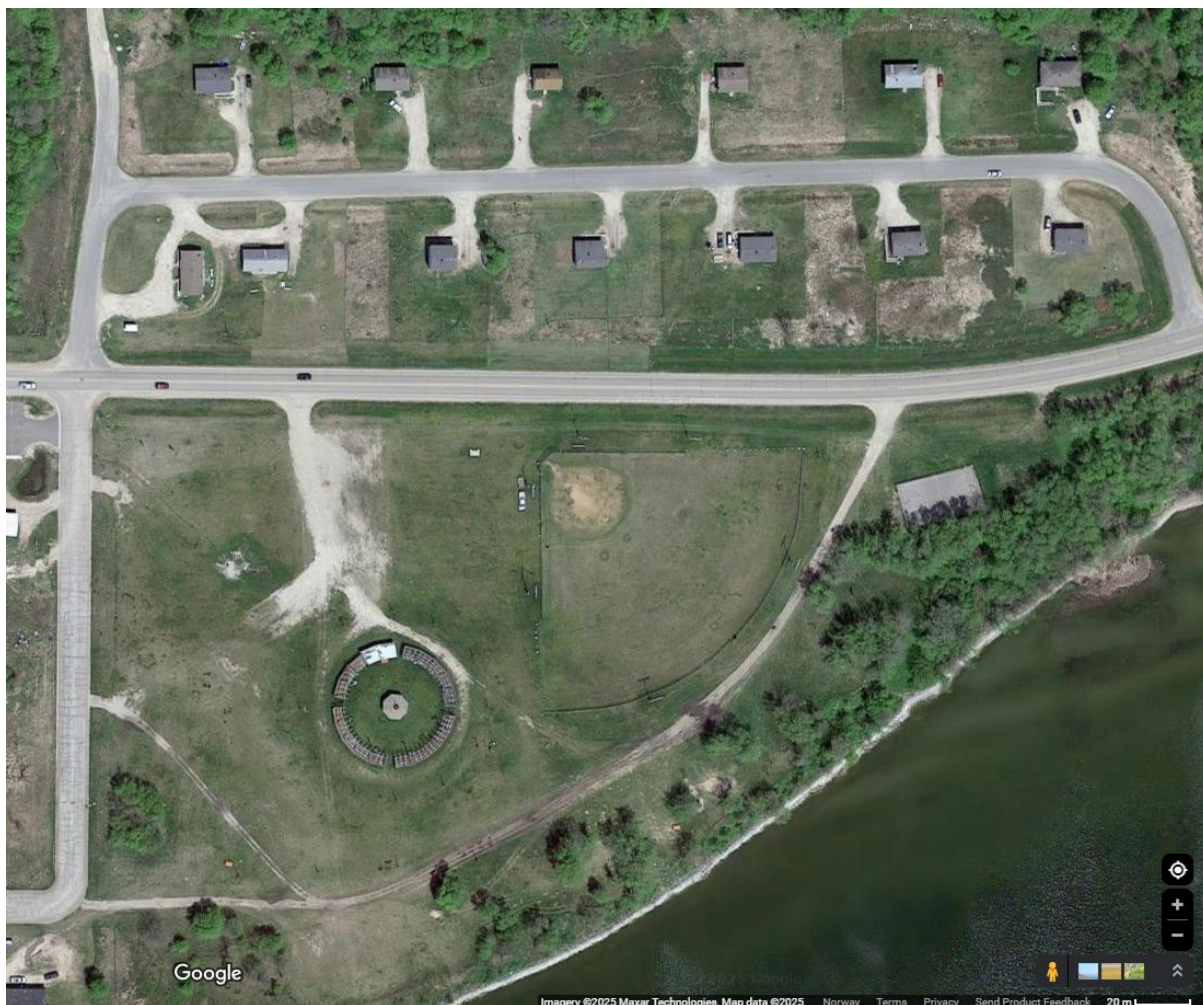


A 'classic' Chippewa village (based on Odanah, e.g., otena, 'village')

1 = burial ground; 2 = ghost lodge; 3 = ball ground; 4 = two moiety lodges; 5 = mide lodge; 6 = sweat lodges; 7 = houses around powwow ground; 8 = winter games & snow snake; 9 = wrestling arena; 10 = dice & gambling; 11 = initiation huts; 12 = menstrual huts; 13 = houses & canoes along river (could number 14+); 14 = three phratry lodges



Chippewa village c. 1830 – unclear shape, perhaps 10-12 houses in 2 lines around a plaza.



Ponema – a modern Chippewa village (Google Maps)



Part of Ketikitekan (N is up) (Acme Mapper 2.2)

At the modern Ke'tikitekan dance ground there are 5 camps, but room for 12-14.

Some modern communities:

(EC)

Rama.

(CC)

Michipicoten: totems: fish; bird; magpie (river); bear; etc.

(NC)

Pikangikum-Little Grand Rapids region: 18 'clusters', size 10 to 50 p., average 26 p.

Pikangikum/ Lake Pikangikum/ Pikanjikamink: 1932: 122 p./ (3 'settlements')/ (6 clans)/ c. 31 houses (19 summer houses) in 5 'clusters' of 10, 7, 4, 4 and 5 houses/ average 24 p./ 4 p. per house. The clusters probably represent 4-5 formerly distinct settlements or villages; a first settlement c. 1840 may have held 5-8 houses or totem clans in a row. There were 61% Fa-So groups, 52% Mo-Da groups (Hallowell 1992).

Poplar Narrows/ Poplar Hill/ Obazaadiikaang: 1932: 64 p./ 2 'clusters'.

Duck Lake/ Barton Lake/ Sheshepaeseewee/ Sahkaheekahn: 1932: 50 p./ 1 'cluster'/ 5-8 totem clans.

Little Grand Rapids/ Mishibaawitigong: (2 'settlements')/ (7 clans)/ 10 'clusters'/ average 20 p./ total 200 p.

One scholar thought the 'clusters' represent 'winter hunting groups' as well as 'the primary functioning units' of the Ojibwa, not realizing that such 'units' were the villages of which the 'clusters' were a part (Hallowell 1992: 49).

Berens River: (1 'settlement')/ (6 clans); 1883: 33 log houses;

Sagkeeng, Fort Alexander, Manitoba, Can. (1871: 15 farms/ 30 hs. = 160 p.) (1972: South Shore: 14 'bunches', each with 2-7 adult representatives, except the leading 'bunch' with 9) (Lithman 1978). There is some resemblance here to an aboriginal situation with 12-14 totem clans.

Mouth of Rainy River: c. 6 families.

Rainy River/ Emo/ Manitou Rapids/ Manitoo-baawidigoong/ Canada border: (studied by Landes 1932-39 – see totem list below).

Lac Courte Oreilles, Wisc.: (chiefs: 1950: Mike Wolf; 1920: Peter Wolf; 1890: MoBr, Gengwawa or George; 1860: Bagowas aka Aquewanse.)/ totems: fish, hawk, wolf, etc.

(SC)

Ketikitekon: 1940: 14-17 households; 1948: '16 fullblooded families, all members of the Mīdē'wiwin' (Hilger 1951: 151). The families would include people of white descent.

Other, temporary or part communities



Ojibway camp (Internet)

Winter hunting camps or phratry camps are poorly known, as are fishing camps. In a 'local area' were 'different winter hunting groups and groups that during open water camped at established fishing places' (Hallowell 1992: 37). Considering the seasonal hunting camps

first, they may have held 8-12 huts with 30-60+ people in a forested valley near a brook or branch of the village watercourse. This was also referred to as a 'winter hunting group', supposedly occupied from October to March or April (op. cit.: 44). From here people could visit minor shelters and lean-tos when hunting and trapping. One scholar noted '32 winter hunting groups' around 1930 averaging 16 people (Hallowell 1992: 44). The larger groups might hold 30-50 people. Winter camps were composed of 'extended' families (ibid.).

An indication of phratry links was the association 'of at least two married couples' in each camp, e.g., double clans (ibid.). Roughly half of the camps were 'patrilocal', supposed to be 'typical', but the other half was 'matrilocal', with some cases of 'both sons and sons-in-law' being present; e.g., a bilateral pattern (Hallowell 1992: 44). Modern informants would refer to different relatives on a hunting ground, Br, BrLa, So, SoLa, Fa, GrFa, FaFa, MoFa, GrSo, FaLa, MoLa's stepFa, etc. (Landes 1937: 91-94). In one modern case 5-6 'families' occupied a winter camp (op. cit.: 93). One man was told not to hunt or trap on his Mo's 'Brs' or 'cousins' ground, apparently in a different phratry or winter camp (op. cit.: 91). What is missing from these accounts is the totemic affiliation of hunters. It can be assumed that winter camps were based on phratries with similar totems.

In winter there was 'a center camp' and 'outposts', the one housing the families and the minor camps housing hunters during hunting and trapping excursions (Landes 1937: 92). 'There was no recollection' of 'the organized moose or antelope drives' reported 'from neighboring regions' (op. cit.: 95). These would become obsolete with the advent of guns.

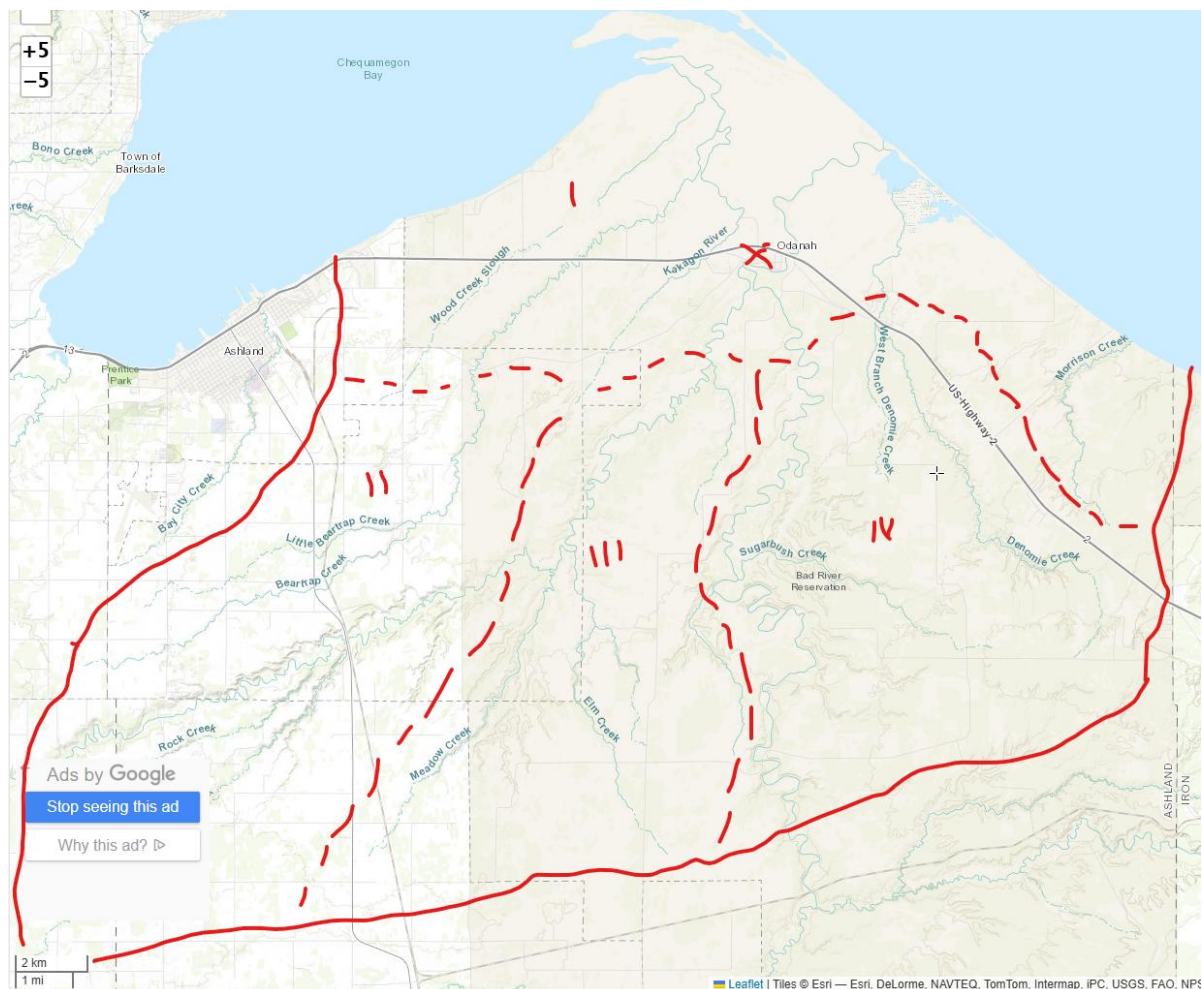
Scholars fabulated about 'hunting territories' and a 'hunting territory system' (Hallowell 1992: 44-45). Each 'winter hunting group' or hunting camp was associated with 'a delimited tract of land' (ibid.). Near Berens River 'these tracts averaged' 93 sq. mi. or 241 km² (Hallowell 1992: 45). In prehistoric times this could be 200-300+ km² or 75-110+ sq. mi. One modern trapping district measured 80 km² or 30 sq. mi.; in prehistoric times it would be larger (Landes 1937: 92). The 'same' winter camp returned 'to the same tract' every year (Hallowell 1992: 45). 'Rights to these tracts were recognized and trespass was resented' (ibid.). 'Their approximate boundaries could be easily traced', e.g., by watersheds (ibid.). 'Recognized rights focused upon usufruct' or 'customary use' (ibid.). 'The size of a tract depended upon the number of hunters, or rather, it was a part of a village territory divided between hunting camps or phratries (ibid.). A So or SoLa 'might continue hunting in the same territory' after an elder's death, e.g., as local totem clan members in a phratry of totem clans (ibid.). There might be an emphasis on patrilineal succession among the men hunting together as a phratry group, though as noted the bilateral tendency was strong. While the 'emic' ideal was patrilineal, the 'etic' appearance was bilateral (Hallowell 1992: 45).

One scholar noted that the winter camps had permanent hunting territories. 'It is always clear what land is being used' (Landes 1937: 90). 'Besides, people often announce their fall grounds during rice-making time, when many people are sure to be gathered at one spot' (ibid.). The whole village would know where the 3 main winter camps were located, some 8-15 km from the village.

Hunting and trapping was closely organized and sustainably managed. 'The trapping grounds are carefully tended in that portions are left idle each year' (Landes 1937: 90). People knew 'the precise number of beaver houses' in the hunting territory. Hunting was organized 'in view of the next year's increase', e.g., that female animals were spared to bring forth a sustainable

number of offspring (ibid.). Unfortunately white people destroyed the possibility to hunt in modern times, except in the ‘hinterland’ far from villages (Landes 1937: 91).

The fishing camps are poorly known. ‘When the ice broke up’, or slightly before, the winter camps moved ‘to traditional places where fishing was good’; supposedly this was at the summer village, but there might be separate fishing locations occupied by more or less people (Hallowell 1992: 44). They could be phratry or moiety based, or comprising just 1-2 totem clans or families. A fishing camp might then consist of anywhere from 5 to 200 people, in the latter case when a whole village went fishing. It was noted that ‘villagers fish within definite areas’, e.g., within their territory along rivers and lakes (Landes 1937: 96). ‘Several families moved together if they happened to be together’; not very clarifying (op. cit.: 98).



A theoretical Otena village territory (Acme Mapper 2.2): ‘x’ = village; I = fishing and communal territory; II = phratry hunting territory, e.g., mammals; III = hunting territory, e.g., birds; IV = hunting territory, e.g., fish. – In each sub-area hunting and fishing camps can be envisioned, plus a communal area for sugar camps on ‘Sugarbush Creek’.

It is necessary to have an idea of the villages and their territory. This can best be envisaged by identifying a central location on a map and a surrounding territory stretching some 20 miles along roughly 3 branches of streams and rivers. The reason why such envisaging is necessary is because of scholars’ propensity to minimize the organization and extent of local communities. Yet a glance at a map will show that decisive territories can be found, and

these would cumulatively cover the entire homeland, Ojibwaia. There were no unpopulated areas. The local maps will show how local groups were distributed, with a central village location, usually near a river or shore, and c. 3 hunting phratry-based camps spread on watercourse branches. This is where totemism enters as an organizing principle in social life. Each hunting camp were made up of c. 4 totem clans, and these would combine to form the village settlement of c. 12-14 clans. Note that this is a tentative description. There is no finality to any of the local descriptions. But without a conception of how local communities or villages were organized, a wider grasp of Chippewa society is not possible. The description has to start with the local area, the village, and its distinct and decisive series of totem clans.

Totems and totemism

Totem is a Chippewa word; it refers to descent from animals. Yet scholars were loath to accept this. Instead they would refer to a 'badge' or vague 'relations'. Totem (tôtema) means relation; scholars relate this to people, that a totem is a relation between people. Yet ma'kwa nin'tôtema means 'the bear is my relation'. Scholars and missionaries were unable to fathom this, so they would conjure another person into the equation. Scholars then glibly repeat that totem means a relation between people. Hence they can gloss over or deny that an animal or natural phenomenon is involved. 'I'm a bear' would then mean being related to someone else in some way through a bear, ignoring the direct totemic identity. In one version: 'The word totem is irregularly derived from the term ototeman of the Chippewa and cognate Algonquian dialects. The stem of this word is ote, signifying a consanguine relationship. Groups of persons having a blood relationship were designated by the name of an animal which, by common usage, came to be called' their 'dodem animal' (Densmore 1929: 9). Also: 'the Algics as a body are divided into several grand families or clans, each of which is known and perpetuated by a symbol of some bird, animal, fish, or reptile which they denominate the Totem or Do-daim' (ibid.).

'The Ojibwa are organized into gentes, each of which is named after some bird, fish, or animal' (Landes 1937: 31). Words like 'named', 'badge' or 'symbol' help to obscure the intimate animal-human relationship and descent. One missionary repeated this: 'Each gentes' is 'designated' by 'the symbol of some animal' (Hilger 1951: 154). 'The eponym is called do'dem, or do'dä.m'. Persons 'having the same eponym call one another' 'my dodem', ndodem. 'In the same way the living eponymous creature' is called 'my dodem', but 'it is not conceived of as the archetype of the gens eponym'. 'The eponymous creature is killed and used without any mystical associations'. 'The total disappearance of the caribou in southern Canada, for example', has not 'disturbed the people of the caribou gens. The name of the gens' is 'just a name'. The scholar made one qualification, 'that the Sarnia Ojibwa think of the eponym' or totem 'mystically'. Another view was that 'totemites and eponym share physical, mental and social traits' (Landes 1937: 31). As can be seen white observers tried to avoid any reference to a physical relationship or descent between animals and humans, which is the core meaning of tôtema.

The Chippewa word 'totem' is written in many ways; in many cases scholars, even Chippewa, would try to hide the meaning of the word or obscure it in various ways, such as to avoid a reference to animals or natural beings. This was based on mission repression and white control. Yet others were not so squeamish, puritan or bigoted. Some word forms included: dodaimin or totem (Kinietz 1947: 246); dodem (Densmore 1929: 9); ototeman (Densmore 1929: 9); etc.

One mission dictionary had: 'Family-mark, odem'; 'N.B. odem, or, otem means only his parents, relations. In Cree, ototema, his relation.' The writer indicates no animals. But in the Chippewa section it says: 'Odem; nind odem. My Indian family-mark; as: Makwa, bear; amik, beaver; migisi, eagle, etc.' Suddenly the animals appear. 'Odôdeminan, (nind). I have him (her, it) for my family-mark; p[lural]. wedodemid.' 'Makwâ nind ododeminan; the bear is my family-mark. Migisiwan od ododeminan; the eagle is his family-mark' (Baraga 1992: 96, 314, 316). That the animals are relations is yet concealed; even though 'odem' means relation, when referring to animals it must be modified to mean 'family-mark' or 'badge'. This is even

if 'odem' always refers to natural beings; the scholars simply avoid explicating this relation. A simple statement, *makwa nin* or 'I am a bear', would not be acceptable to the mission author and by extension to other scholars, even though this is the totemic reference. By extension scholars try to avoid references to totemism all together, and especially to animals. Even though totem is a Chippewa word, and a famous one at that, scholars seldom refer to the topic or mention it in passing as an extraneous or esoteric topic. Totemism and totems are a major aspect of Chippewa society, yet scholars manage to hide it. It is like the Catholic church in France banning the existence of Neanderthals, which thwarted the study of prehistoric humans; missionaries and scholars in general gave the same treatment to totemism. The topic is censored and muted.

Still authors might mention totemism in passing: There were 'clan totems' of 'Eagle, Bear, Snake and others' (Houston & King 1972). 'The crane was their family totem' (Bleeker 1955). Scholars would either skip the topic of totemism, or make perfunctory outlines with many misgivings, reservations and non-explanations. 'Chippewa society was not highly organized. The tribe as a whole had no organization at all. There was no head of the whole tribe and no rankings within the tribe' (Kinietz 1947: 69). Clan ties 'provided intergroup linkages' without any 'supragroup organization' or 'leadership' (Hallowell 1992: 49). This was a basic modern bias that basically ignored people's attempts to organize their decimated communities in the face of white oppression. This would be an a priori bias against the tribe, extended by white scholars to most Indian nations. As noted the prehistoric Chippewa nation held some 60,000 people in c. 24 regional bands with 200-300 villages or communities.

At some point it becomes necessary to start the study of totemism afresh while putting modern bias aside. First of all, a totem is a relationship between a person and a natural being, usually an animal, such as a bear, wolf or deer. 'I am a bear' meant that a person saw him- or herself as related to bears, ultimately through descent. This was where white scholars became silent; descent from animals was not an option. By extension they tried any other approach to account for totemism, including silence, to get around the issue of an animal-person identity. One approach was to always refer to totems as abstract, without naming any animals. Most approaches were ethnocentric or Euro-centric, trying to come up with European parallels, such as Scottish clans, though reckoned by 'genealogies' and not totems. Bias, stereotypes and prejudice prevailed over reporting about totems.

Having a totem was crucial in Chippewa society; without a totem people could not enter social relationships. Scholars tried to minimize the significance of totemism, and apparently found support in modern change. By 1935 'the Ojibwa do not appear to care particularly whether or not they 'own' a dodem; but such was not the case even a generation ago'. One man 'claimed to be a Bullhead' as a denial of 'the white paternity recognized by the community. In this case it seems that claiming a dodem was tantamount to insisting on legitimacy'. There was 'current gossip' that 2 Sos of a woman and her Da 'were illegitimately fathered by white men'; but the Sos claimed 'the dodem' of their Mos native husbands (Landes 1937: 38). In another case a man had a white stepFa, but insisted on keeping 'the Sturgeon dodem' of his 'Indian father', being recognized as a son of both (ibid.). Further cases included sons of whitemen and totem-less Cree who insisted on having an Ojibwa totem, following all the taboos. Clearly, in social life, having a totem was crucial also in 1935.

Totem clan origin stories

Each totem clan had an origin story. Actually there would be hundreds of origin stories for each totem clan, since each local clan had its own story. The myth usually referred to a marriage between an animal and a human, their offspring becoming the progenitors of the clan; hence termed a clan origin story. Unfortunately such stories are poorly known.

Chippewa tales were influenced by a white ethos, with an emphasis on heroes and adventure. One biased scholar noted that men marry 'animal' wives who are not 'really' animals, though stating that animals were persons in the Ojibwa ethos (Hallowell 1992: 67). As will be noted elsewhere, stories about totem clans were subdued by missions, officials and other whites. Yet every local family or totem clan would have a story of its origin, comparable to and contrasting with the other totem clans forming the organization of a village or settlement.

Some totem clan origin stories, both original and recent variants, will be:

In one story people turn into snakes, rather than snakes becoming human, a reversal of the totem tale pointing away from animal ancestry (Laidlaw 1915: 19-20). The origin would be about a person marrying a snake and originating the snake totem clan, though whether a man or a woman is not clear, possible the latter. A woman 'visited a man who lived in a tree', who was a snake; in the story people decided to kill her, which is a European twist (Laidlaw 1915: 6).

The turtle clan would have many stories. One turtle clan origin story had the 'Great Turtle', 'Mikinak', marry 'a human being' (Hallowell 1992: 67).

Other origin stories are poorly known. A man married a woman who was a skunk and they had children. In the modern version he chased them away, but relented and followed them, only to discover that they had turned into skunks. After this the man married a human and had children, telling them to 'never eat skunks, because your brother is a skunk'. This could be a historic way of avoiding animal descent while keeping them as ancestors (Internet).

Bear wives are a fairly common story, though Chippewa versions are not known. Every wolf clan would have its origin tale; marrying a wolf is an adventure. In one story a hungry boy 'became part wolf'; perhaps another European twist (Laidlaw 1915: 7). There would be a lynx clan origin story, besides other lynx stories. Apparently the muskrat clan took pride in their origin. The muskrat became the originator of the earth, through its part in the earth diver story (Internet). Similar tales can be posited for each totem, some short and some long.

There is a modern and curious claim that totem clans have no origin stories: 'There are no origin tales regarding the gens or the dodem, nor any interest in the subject. Simply, they have always been. One or two trivial ideas come out after persistent questioning. Thus: at the beginning of the Indian times, there were fourteen (domestic) families, and to the head of each 'God' 'gave an eponymous name. So the descendants kept their respective paternal eponyms'; this actually may be a significant reference to a village totem clan organization, with roughly 14 clans in many villages (Landes 1937: 31). 'Another vague account' mentioned 'a kind of inspector' who 'visited a camp of Indians'. They 'showed him their dodems'. He told them that ... the different bird dodems' were 'brothers'. But when a 'man came along with the American eagle in his hand', the inspector said 'that the bird came from the white men, therefore he could not be related to any Indian dodem, since he must have had a white father', e.g., in reference to US-Canadian rivalry during treaty making. The scholar

naively added 'that dodems ... existed previous to the incident', and that it 'accounted' for 'half-breeds' (ibid.). Note that the scholar uses the idiosyncratic spelling 'dodem' instead of the synonymous and better known totem, a conscious choice to avoid the topic of totemism.

'A third story' seemed 'a bit more specific. It explains the sub-divisions of the bear dodem: There are four different bear groups, all called bear'. 'One group claims the head of the dodem creature; another the hind legs; another the body'; and 'another the entire animal. The latter' is the 'strongest' as 'it is supposed to carry the deciding voice in bear-people councils'. In one story 'four brothers came across a live bear. They wanted to kill him, and each claimed a part', e.g., the head, the legs and the body; but 'the fourth said he would take the whole bear. The descendants of these brothers now have these respective portions as their dodems' (Landes 1937: 31-32). Apparently this occurred after villages were decimated, when several remnants ultimately joined in one village. People remembered clans with the same totem after the fusion, and tried to distinguish them. Similar accounts would be made of other mixed clans, such as turtles, kingfishers and eagles (Landes 1937: 32).

It seems apparent that totem origin stories were suppressed early on, by a combination of factors: early depopulation c. 1600-1700; ridicule from whites such as traders c. 1640-1850; mission denunciation c. 1650-1900; and the Midewiwin revival c. 1760-1810. This revival may have been influenced by missions, since it replaced totems with 'god(s)'. After the period c. 1760-1825 it became less common to speak of totem origins. Most likely this then became a secret subject, mentioned only locally and in (some) families, while others adopted a 'new' version of totems 'assigned' by 'strangers' or Midewiwin emissaries. 'It seems that one can get as many' origin 'tales of this kind as there are informants questioned, and no one person will recognize the tale told by another. The only idea about the dodem that has a wide currency' is: 'It is just an old saying from the old days' (Landes 1937: 32). This obviously is a modern view, based on white prejudice against totemism. Overall it is peculiar that clan stories vanished; and they did not. There are still stories that were told, and in prehistoric times no doubt every local totem clan cherished its tale of origin, involving the marriage of a human and an animal, and their totem offspring, e.g., 'my son is a bear'.

Totem clan rituals

'The Chippewa gentes had no special rituals. No songs in the midewiwin or other ceremonies were gens property. The only real function that one can detect for this social grouping is the demarcation of relationship' (Kinietz 1947: 77). Obviously this is wrong. Rituals were a part of life in a totem clan. This included life rituals, such as birth, naming, adolescence, initiation, vision quest, courting, marriage, bride service, funerals, etc. Next there were totem related rituals, such as collecting and storing totem charms and fetishes, and certain feasts and dances, such as clan feasts, that are poorly documented. One scholar noted the use of symbols. The 'totem' was 'included among the hieroglyphics with which messages were conveyed' (Kinietz 1947: 77). Then the same scholar reduces the topic of totemism to such symbols. 'Everyone was expected to have a totem but it did not make any difference which one' (ibid.). 'The creation of the Chicken gens' for 'the offspring of white men' supposedly evidenced this (ibid.). Everybody was expected to have a totem, and depictions of Indians without a totem applied to unknown enemies (ibid.). Yet it is a logical fallacy to think that since totems were symbolized this was their only application. Totems were universal because they were basic to a person's identity and social life. White scholars would ignore this, but this did not remove

the relevance. In a village each totem clan would have its feasts and dances, as part of a cycle involving all local clans in mutual performances.

Totem solidarity and reciprocity

‘All members with the same totem regarded themselves as related even though of different villages or different tribes’ (Kinietz 1947: 69). To white people this was incomprehensible and was reduced to ‘genealogies’. A silly Scotsman claimed that when ‘strangers’ had ‘the same totem’ they would ‘trace their genealogy, at which they even beat his countrymen, the Highlanders’, and became ‘cousin’, ‘uncle’ or ‘grandfather’, ‘although the grandfather might often be the younger of the two’ (op. cit.: 69-70). These clearly were not conventional ‘genealogies’ but a reckoning of totems animals. If two men had the same totem, such as a bear, they would be Brs, or Fa-So if there was a generational difference. If someone had the same totem as the GrFa of the other, say a wolf, he might be reckoned as a GrFa, though more likely as a ‘cousin’. It was the identification with animals that united people, not ‘genealogies’ in the European sense.

‘When people of the same gens, and phratry, ‘siblings’ on a gens basis, know one another well, and are otherwise unrelated, they address one another as ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ in full kin fashion. When they do not know one another well, they address one another as ‘my dodem’, ndodem, and behave like ‘distant siblings’. When fellow-totemites are related, the kinship term appropriate to the relationship is used’ (Landes 1937: 39). ‘The ties of the totem were considered so strong that if a quarrel should happen between a person with the same totem as a bystander and a cousin or other near relative of the latter but with a different mark, the bystander would side with the person with the same totem whom perhaps he had never seen before’ (Kinietz 1947: 70). This observation of totem solidarity across bands and tribes has been recorded across America. At the same time kin relations and local belonging would have priority. The study of totemism has to start at another level, with individuals in a community.

Totems and village organization

Scholars were not able to see totemism as a part of local organization, since they ignored the relation between people and animals. Instead they focused on individual or psychological aspects, such as exogamy and taboo (Frazer 1910). The Chippewa apparently did not conform to such reductive views. ‘There was no appearance of any obligation on the part of the Indian to the animal from which he derived his totem. He could kill it or eat it’. References to eating a totem animal are rare. But ‘the complete absence in all reports of a restriction on eating one’s totem animal’, indicates ‘that no such tabu existed’ (Kinietz 1974: 76). One missionary hysterically claimed that this showed no relation: Totem animals were ‘not considered sacred’ and were ‘killed, skinned and eaten’ (Hilger 1992: 154). This was not quite the case. The issue was one of showing respect to living beings, in particular a totem animal, so that killing or eating it was surrounded by prayers and other forms of consideration. Even more so if people in another clan treated one’s totem animal disrespectfully. Totems ensured that people paid respect to animals and nature. The issue of exogamy has been dealt with elsewhere, but the relations between different totems would always be relevant.

In order to understand totems and totemism it is necessary to start with local life. The village was the basic unit in social life, made up of a certain number of totem clans, c. 12-14, though ranging from as few as 3 to 20 or more totem clans in each village community. Sorting out the local totem clans or families is the first task in disentangling and reconstructing what is known about the late prehistoric or early historic Chippewa tribe c. 1500-1600 AD.

One biased scholar claimed that the 'social organization of the Chippewa was not very complex but what distinctions there were, principally revolved around the gentes' or totem clans (Kinietz 1947: 69). 'Villages were usually predominately of one gens, intratribal wars were mostly along gens lines' (Kinietz 1947: 69). The one relevant detail in these statements is that villages consisted of totem clans. Everything else, 'not very complex', 'predominately' one clan, and 'intratribal wars' is a preconceived bias and has to be squashed. The main point is that the village makeup, consisting of a series of totem clans, is the place to start investigating the social organization of the Chippewa tribe.

Ideally the early historic totem clan composition of each village or community should be documented as far as possible, both genealogically and on the ground, such as who lived in each house and each village in Ojibwaia, and then the analysis or synthesis can proceed from there. At first and second glance this seems unfeasible, but until an effort is made to record Chippewa society or its political geography the unfeasibility will be in abeyance. Curiously one scholar enters into this work when providing a census of Ke'tikitikan, listing the totem of each individual in each family, directly refuting his bias of 'one' clan (Kinietz 1947: 246-7).

'Totems were the marks of the gentes and were called the equivalent of surnames by the early white writers' (Kinietz 1947: 69). This is a non-explanation, aimed at obscuring the issue of totemism. 'I am a bear' is not equivalent to 'I am a Jones'. Totems form complementary series, if there is a bear there will be a wolf, eagle, deer, etc. Not so with surnames, if there is a Jones there may be a Smith, but there is no need for a Kinietz; there are no series and no natural-ecological connections. A totem is first of all connected to a species, say a bear, and secondly to other totems and other species, say a wolf.

In spite of their bias, scholars stumbled upon information about totems. One informant said 'she always liked' to eat 'kenose, the pike, although it is her totem, and she never heard that she should not eat it' (Kinietz 1947: 63). The silly scholar did not follow up on this, since his topic was food. As noted, with proper rituals and respect natural resources can be used. The significance of totemism remains.

The listing of totems

Typically, when a scholar could not understand or would not report totemism, s/he resorted to listing totems without further analysis, usually copied from older writers. Partly this had to do with the lasting white opposition to totemism, ranging from missionaries and officials to settlers, that over time would weaken and even obliterate totemic systems. Partly it had to do with the early historic epidemics and depopulation of the Chippewa tribe, leading to a loss and consolidation of totem clans, with a need for reorganization that was hard to accomplish, not least in the face of white opposition. And partly the scholarly dislike coupled with a native reluctance to talk about totems led to a silencing of the topic and a corresponding dearth of

sources. There were no censuses by totem, as could be found among the Fox, Omaha and other tribes.

‘Authors differ as to the names and number of the Chippewa gentes’ or totem clans, ‘which range all the way from 11 to 23’; sometimes even less, sometimes many more (Hodge 1: 279). There are indications that the ideal number of totem clans in a Chippewa community or village was 12, or 12-14, including two chiefly clans. Examples could be: 12 sections in a cradle charm (Densmore 1929: pl. 24); 12 houses in a settlement; ‘fourteen (domestic) families’ (Landes 1937: 31); etc.

Of the hundreds of species of animals besides other phenomena many are not known as totems, though appearing among the Chippewa as food and for other purposes. Some potential totem animals not recorded are: perch; sunfish; lizard (okikatânakwe); red-lizard (kwiwisens); partridge (pine); crow (antek); skunk; coyote or prairie-wolf (pashkwatashi); muskrat (washushk); woodchuck aka groundhog, marmot or woodrat; etc.

Chippewa totem lists included:

Fishes etc.: (10+) fish (gigo, kikô, name-); pike or pickerel (kenozhe, kinoga, kinoshe); whitefish (udekumaig, atikameg, atikamekw); catfish (manamaig, mânameg, mânamekw); carp (namabin, namebin, namepin); sucker (cf. carp); sturgeon (nama, namê (pl. namêwag)); bullhead aka burbot or monkfish (ahwahsissa, awâssissi, awâsisi); mussel (ess, ens); seal (cf. merman) (nebaunabay, nibinabe); etc.

Reptiles etc.: (9+) turtle or tortoise (makinak); mud-turtle (mesheka, mishike); snapping-turtle (mikonoh, mikkinâk); little-turtle or red-barred-turtle (meskwadare, miskwâdessi, miskwâte’si); snake (kenabig, ginébig, kinêpikw); rattlesnake (jishigwe, shishikwe); water-snake (mussundummo, omissandamo); grasshopper (papakine); spider (assabikeshi); etc.

Birds: (33+) bird (bineshi, pineshi); grouse or woodcock (pâkaâkwe, padjâshkaaji); pigeon (omimi); finch or sparrow (pashkandamo); swallow (jashâwanibissi, shâshâwanipi’si); woodpecker (several kinds: meme (cf. pigeon), papase, pakweamo); loon (mong, mang, mânkw, ahahweh); duck (sheshebe, jishib, shi’shîp); mallard-duck (ininiship); pigeon-tail-duck or teal (ahahweh, aawe, a’awe); snipe (chueskweskewa, tchitchwiskiwe, chichwiskiwe); curlew or water-fowl (padashkaanji, patashkanje); cormorant or raven-duck (kâgâgishib, kâkâkiship); goose (nekah, nika); swan (witwa, wâbisi, wâpisi); heron (mooshkaooze, môshkaweshi); bittern (moshkawashi); crane (ojeejok, adjidjâd, achichât, achicha-, businausee); gull (gyaushk, gaiashk, kayashk); pelican (shede); raven (kagagi, kagâgi, kakâki); eagle (gi-neu, kinew, binessi, migisi, mîke’si); bald-eagle (omegeeze, migisi, mîke’si); hawk (ke-kek, kekeki, binessi, gibwânasi); sparrow-hawk (pepegewizzains, pipiwige, pipigiwizance, kekeki), pigeon-hawk (kakake, kekeki); goshawk or kite (gibwanisi, gibwânasi, kipwânesi); falcon (tchâins); owl (kokoko); great-owl (wewendjigano, wêwenchikano); buzzard (winange, wînânke); etc.

Animals: (24+) animal (awessi, awe’si (fur-creature)); bear (makwa, noka); badger (missakakwidjish); wolverine (swingwaage); raccoon (essikan); marten (waubishashe, wabezhaze, wâbijeshi, wâpisheshi); otter (nigig, nikikw), wolf (myeengun, maingan, ma’inkan); fox (wâkosh); dog (animosh); lynx (besheu, bisîw, pisiw); deer (wâwashkeshi); caribou or reindeer (ahdik, atik, a’tikw), moose (mous, mousonee, mons, mosw); elk (cf. moose); horse (cf. moose) (bebejigogonji, pepeshikokanshi); cow (cf. moose) (pijiki); beaver (ahmik, amik, amikw); muskrat (wazhush, wajashk, washashk); squirrel (agwingoss, atchitamo); ground-squirrel (cf. squirrel); rabbit (wâbos, wâposw); hare (missâbos, mesâposw); porcupine (kâg, kâkw); horn (eshkan); etc.

Other: (24+) whiteman; merman (cf. seal) (nebaunaubay, nibinabe); knife (môkomân); rope (biminakwân); money (joniia, shoniya); tree (mitig); forked-tree (nassawa-mitig); earth (akki, a'ki); stone or rock (assin); mountain or hill (wadjiw, wachiwe); water (nibi, nepi); water-monster; underwater-lynx; cloud (anakwad); rain (gimiwan); mist (awân); wind (nôten); south (jawan, shâwanw); light (wâsseia); thunder or thunderbird (animiki); lightning (wâssamowin); sky or day (gijig, kishik); star (anâng, anânkw); sun (gisiss); moon (tibigisiss); etc.

Among the Chippewa, personal names hint at dual clans, such as White Crane, Black Hawk, White Bear, Black Bear, etc. Suggested phratry arrangements could be: bird-animal-fish, bird-fish-animal, or fish-bird-animal. Though a more complex arrangement would be: egg-layers (fishes and birds), carnivores (bear, wolf, etc.), herbivores (deer, beaver, etc.), and other beings (wind, sun, etc.)

Some particular lists

In what follows some fairly random but particular lists of totems clans from different parts of Ojibwaia will be noted.

(EC)

While lists are lacking in the east, some chiefly or family totems were: turtle, catfish, blackbird, redbird, duck, eagle, golden eagle, bear, deer, beaver, porcupine, hill, cloud, etc. (Schmalz 1991).

(CC)

Some 'Maskegon' or Cree groups were 'Reindeer, Lynx, and Pike (Pickerel)', 'which went to the N. of L. Superior when the tribe moved W. from Sault Ste Marie', or lived there since prehistoric times (Hodge 1: 279). These would be tribal bands with totemic designations, rather than totem-clans. Yet it can be conceived that villages contained these and other totems.

(NC)

N of Lake Superior several totems were noted. The totems 'of the Chippewa in the Nipigon region' around 1804 were listed 'as twelve: the Moose, Reindeer, Bear, Pelican, Loon, Kingfisher, Eagle, Sturgeon, Pike, Sucker, Barbue, and Rattlesnake' (Kinietz 1947: 70).

Around 1810 a list, mainly from the N-W, gave 18 totems 'for the Ottawa and the Chippewa', though 'many more might be enumerated': 'Muk-kwaw, Bear; Ke-no- zha, Pickerel; Ad-dik-kun-maig, Whitefish; Moons, Moose; Ad-dik, Reindeer; Mahng, Loon; Me-giz-ze, White headed eagle; Ka-kaik, Henhawk; Pe-pe-ge-wiz-zains, Sparrow Hawk; Ah-meek, Beaver; Mus-sun-dum-mo, Water snake; Forked tree; Go-oshk, Gull; Ad-je-jawk, Crane; Nah-ma-bin, Sucker; Pe-zhew, Wildcat; Ah-wa-sis-se, Small cat fish; and She-she-gwun, Rattle snake' (Kinietz 1947: 70-71).

A list of 21 totems around 1835 had: 'Uj-e-juak, Crane; Man-um-aig, Catfish; Mong, Loon; Muk-wah, Bear; Waub-ish-ash-e, Marten; Adiick, Rein Deer; Mah-een-gun, Wolf; Ne-baun-aub-ay, Merman; Ke-noushay, Pike; Be-sheu, Lynx; Me-gizzee, Eagle; Che-she-gwa, Rattlesnake; Mous, Moose; Muk-ud-a-shib, Black Duck or Cormorant; Ne-kah, Goose;

Numa-bin, Sucker; Numa, Sturgeon; Ude-kumaig, White Fish; Amik, Beaver; Gy-aushk, Gull; Kakaik, Hawk' (Kinietz 1947: 70-71).

Other totems in the western area could be: fish, blackbird, redbird, mallard duck, hawk, eagle, owl, lynx, bear, dog, buffalo, beaver, earth, ice, cloud, thunderbird, etc. (Landes 1938).

(SC)

In 1925 'ten totems' were found 'near Odanah': 'Marten, Loon, Eagle, Bull Head, Bear, Sturgeon, Great Lynx, Crane, Lynx, and Chicken' (Kinietz 1947: 71).

A petition in 1849 had: catfish, crane, bear, marten, and perhaps rabbit (Schoolcraft 1: pl. 60). An 'accompanying' pictograph showed village totems at 'Trout Lake', Wisconsin, listing local men by clan as: brant-duck, brant-duck, bear-tail, catfish, sturgeon, teal-duck, bear-tail, bear-tail, bear-tail, catfish, bear and loon; incidental mention was of pelican and fox (Schoolcraft 1: 418). Then there was a pictograph from 'Ontonagon', Michigan, with 5 eagles and a catfish, and another picture with people at Wisconsin River, noting pigeon-hawk, bear-tail, perhaps woodchuck, bear, southern-bird, goose or heron, otter, marten, turtle, cormorant (Schoolcraft 1: 419). Finally one pictograph represented people from Lac Vieux Desert: eagle chief, eagle, elk, teal-duck, bear, catfish, sky (Schoolcraft 1: 419-420).

Around 1940 'six totems' were 'represented at Lac Vieux Desert' or Ketikitekon: 'Nebanabay, Merman; Mukwa, Bear; Mannameg, Catfish; Meg-gizi, Eagle; Waubizisi, Marten; Bakwiakquin, Chicken; Adijak, Crane; and Aiyanwi, large fowl of some kind', perhaps Teal; also Wildcat was noted (Kinietz 1947: 71). There are indications that European epidemics reduced the Ketikitekon totems to 4-5, which through consolidation and additions gradually grew to 8-9, and might grow to a full 12-14 over time, as indicated by the number of houses, but with totemism weakening by 1947.

Non-specific lists

People, not least whites among the Chippewa, would try to hone down the number of clans to a manageable number, such as 21. Of these, 5-6 were said to be original; awause, businause, ahahwauk, noka, monson, and perhaps waubishashe; later given as: 'crane, catfish, bear, marten, wolf, and loon' (Densmore 1929: 10). Those 6 supposedly 'comprise' 80% of the tribe. This would depend on which part of the wide-reaching Chippewa nation one was in. More interesting is a native pairing of clans. Bear and marten, crane and eagle, sturgeon and catfish were paired off in native statements. These neatly fit into a phratry pattern, and probably one of moieties as well: (1) bear, crane, sturgeon, and (2) marten, eagle, catfish (ibid.).

One list in particular was quoted by scholars, apparently because it was made by a white Chippewa. Hence a closer look at this source must be made (Warren 1885: 41-53):

'Totemic division of the O-jib-ways'. 'This stock comprises a large group of tribes'. This 'division' or 'sub-division' was associated with 'long and wide separations and non-intercourse'. A distinction of 'blood and kindred' is based on 'what they call the Totemic System, and dates back to the time ... when the Earth was new'. Each family 'is known by a badge or symbol, taken from nature; being generally a quadruped, bird, fish, or reptile'. 'The badge', aka 'Dodaim' or 'Totem', 'descends invariably in the male line; marriage is strictly forbidden between individuals of the same symbol. This is one of the greatest sins that

can be committed in the Ojibway code of moral laws, and tradition says that in former times it was punishable with death'. 'In the present somewhat degenerated times', e.g., after 1850, 'when persons of the same Totem intermarry', 'which even now very seldom occurs', 'they become objects of reproach. It is an offence equivalent among the whites to the sin of a man marrying his own sister'. 'In this manner is the blood relationship strictly preserved among the several clans in each tribe, and is made to extend amongst the different tribes, still perpetuating this ancient custom'. 'An individual' belonging to any 'tribe, as for instance, the Ojibway, is a close blood relation to all other Indians of the same Totem, both in his own and all other tribes, though he ... knows not even of their existence'. The author could not 'state that the Totemic System is as rigidly kept up among other tribes of the Algonquins, as it is among the Ojibways, Ottaways, and Potta-wat-om-ies'.

The writer duly noted that 'the Totemic division' was 'more important and worthy of' consideration than what 'standard authors' mentioned. 'The Ojibways acknowledge in their secret beliefs, and teachings to each successive generation, five original Totems'; no doubt a recent view following epidemic depopulation. 'When the Earth was new, the An-ish-in-aub-ag lived, congregated on the shores of a great salt water'; presumably the northern Great Lakes. Six beings appeared. One would not look at people, and when he did the person 'fell dead'. This could refer to the missionaries who brought epidemics to the Great Lakes after c. 1613, killing most people. From the others, e.g., survivors of the epidemics, 'originate the five great clans or Totems', known 'by the general terms of A-waus-e, Bus-in-aus-e, Ah-ah-wauk, Noka, and Monsone, or Waub-ish-ash-e. These are cognomens which are used only in connection with the Totemic system'. 'Though, according to this tradition, there were but five totems', by 1850 'the Ojibway tribe' consisted 'of no less than fifteen or twenty' totem designations: 1. Uj-e-jauk, Crane. 2. Man-um-aig, Catfish. 3. Mong, Loon. 4. Muk-wah, Bear. 6. Waub-ish-ash-e, Marten. 6. Addick, Rein Deer. 7. Mah-een-gun, Wolf. 8. Ne-baun-aub-ay, Merman. 9. Ke-noushay, Pike. 10. Be-sheu, Lynx. 11. Me-gizzee, Eagle. 12. Che-she-gwa, Rattlesnake. 13. Mous, Moose. 14. Muk-ad-a-shib, Black Duck or Cormorant. 15. Ne-kah, Goose. 16. Numa-bin, Sucker. 17. Numa, Sturgeon. 18. Ude-kumaig, White Fish. 19. Amik, Beaver. 20. Gy-aushk, Gull. 21. Ka-kaik, Hawk'. This 'list' showed 'every badge that is known as a family totem among the Ojibways throughout their widespread villages and bands'; apparently just a partial list of totems W and S of Lake Superior.

'The crane, catfish, bear, marten, wolf, and loon, are the principal families, not only in a civil point of view, but in numbers, as they comprise eight-tenths of the whole tribe'; this would be a local or personal view of the white Chippewa author. His views were not based on research, but on personal acquaintances, many of them whites. 'Many of these Totems are not known to the tribe in general, and the writer has learned them only through close' or personal 'inquiry. Among these may be named the goose, beaver, sucker, sturgeon, gull, hawk, cormorant, and white-fish totems. They are only known on the remotest northern boundaries of the Ojibway country, among the Musk-keeg-oes' and 'Bois Forts'. The author easily made the 'old men of the Ojibways', his acquaintances, 'affirm that all these different badges are only subdivisions of the five great original totems of the An-ish-in-aub-ag, who have assumed separate minor badges, without losing sight or remembrance of the main stock or family to which they belong. These divisions have been gradually taking place, caused in the same manner as the division into distinct tribes. They are easily classed under the five great heads' he listed. The author, part of a white family, had no idea what a totem clan was, and like other whites and scholars alike conflated them with large groups such as tribal bands. Yet there is some relevance to his notes. The badly depopulated villages and communities had started to

consolidate and reorganize after 1800, and gradually grew from 4-5 surviving clans to a fuller series of 12-14+ local totem clans, similar to the prehistoric situation.

From here on the white Chippewa author referred to stories about local and regional bands of the Chippewa nation, that he somehow reduced to totemism. These stories, with misgivings, are included in relation to wider bands and districts presented farther below, that had geographic or 'totem' names without being totem clans in the narrow or local sense.

'The other badges or totemic symbols' were 'inconsiderable families', 'branches of the principal clans', as noted by the white Chippewa. He obviously had no idea about the totemic organization of local communities or villages. 'It will be difficult, till a minute insight is obtained into the totemic history and organization of all the Algonic tribes, to decide fully the number of generic or grand Totems which are recognized among them, and the numeric strength of each'. This was so true, and showed how little he and other writers knew about Chippewa totemism.

'This subject is deserving of close research and study'. Totemism provided 'a most important link in solving the deep mystery which covers' the Chippewa 'origin' and society. The white Chippewa went all in and compared 'the totemic division of the Algonics' with Hebrew 'tribes'; moving from myths to mission bigotry. 'And the remarkable purity with which the system has been kept up for ages, finds no other parallel in the history of mankind'. Yes, as long as the focus is on Chippewa society and not Old World fantasy.

One female missionary reluctantly and arbitrarily noted some totems in Wisconsin-Minnesota, those of her roughly 96 informants, 'both men and women'. These included a fish, pickerel, sturgeon, bullhead, bird, kingfisher, martin, loon, crane, eagle, bear, marten, mink, wolf, lynx, wild cat, lion or panther, deer or caribou, rabbit, thunder, etc. (Hilger 1951: x, 153-5). Unfortunately she did not provide any corresponding data on native names; unless 'Amos Big Bird' was bird and 'Big Bear' was bear; another suggestive name is Sadie Rabbit (Hilger 1951: xiii). That totems should be correlated with individuals never crossed her mind. Notably she did not correlate names such as 'Hill' and 'Cloud' with totems (Hilger 1951: xiii).

Comparing lists of totems

It seems clear that a search for totems across Ojibwaia might give a number of 100+ designations, adding one more reason for scholars to avoid this investigative work. An Indian agent at Mackinac around 1825 noted 'that there was scarcely a beast, bird, fish, or reptile or even a particular part of any of these', that 'did not have some band of Indians named after it'; such parts, e.g., bear paw, would refer to an animal totem, e.g., bear (Kinietz 1947: 74). The agent, in typical fashion, did not distinguish between levels of organization, such as totem clans and regional bands.

One scholar heroically but randomly compared 5 lists, finding similarities (Kinietz 1947: 72). This is a fruitful approach. Below, totemic references and lists from 4 Chippewa regions are presented:

East Chippewa	Central Chippewa	North Chippewa 1	N. Chippewa 2	South Chippewa
snake,		rattlesnake,	rattlesnake,	turtle
	fish,	fish,	water snake,	
			whitefish,	
		sturgeon,	sturgeon,	sturgeon
catfish,		pike or pickerel,	pike or pickerel,	catfish or bullhead,
			catfish,	
			carp or small catfish,	
		sucker,	sucker,	
		flatfish or brill,		
			seal or merman,	seal or merman,
	bird,			
blackbird,		blackbird,		
redbird,				southern-bird,
		kingfisher,		
duck,		mallard duck,		fowl or chicken,
				teal duck,
		loon,	goose,	goose or brant,
			loon,	loon,
			gull,	
			cormorant,	cormorant,
	heron,			heron,
		pelican,		pelican,
			crane,	crane,
	hawk,		hawk,	
			chicken hawk,	
	falcon,		falcon or sparrow hawk;	pigeon-hawk,
eagle,	eagle,	eagle,	eagle,	eagle,
golden eagle,				
			bald eagle,	
		owl,		
bear,	bear,	bear,	bear,	bear,
	marten,		marten,	marten,
	otter,			otter,
	wolf,		wolf,	
		dog,		fox,
		lynx,	lynx or wildcat,	lynx or wildcat,
				panther,
deer,	deer,			
	caribou or reindeer,	reindeer,	reindeer,	
		moose,	moose,	
			buffalo,	elk,
beaver,	beaver,	beaver,	beaver,	
				woodchuck or bear-tail,
	hare,		rabbit,	rabbit,
porcupine,				
			forked tree;	

	earth,	
hill,		
	ice,	
cloud,	cloud,	sky,
	thunderbird,	

What can be seen from these lists is that they are partial, presumably marked by historic depopulation, but with similarities and perhaps interesting differences. All totems are distributive. 'In general, the gentes names reflect the fauna common in the region. The Reindeer and Pelican totems, for instance, are reported only from the district beyond Lake Superior where these animals are known' (Kinietz 1947: 73). 'There are two prominent exceptions to this rule, the Merman and the Chicken totems' (ibid.).

The scholar enters into lengthy speculation about exceptional totems. The term Merman or water-spirit may refer to seals formerly found around the Great Lakes. In a modern myth, 'Nebanabe frequent the high cliffs along the Brule River for the purpose of sunning themselves'; typical seal behavior (Kinietz 1947: 73). In historic times the creature became mythical, said to help hunters and warriors, and so the term Merman was coined.

The Chicken totem was alleged to reflect the historic intermarriage of white men with Indian women. For 'the very common white man-Indian woman union' there 'was no place in the totemic arrangements. In order that these children' had a place 'in the gentes system, the Chicken totem was created. Possession of this totem signifies that the individual' has 'white blood' (Kinietz 1947: 73). Yet chicken or hen may be a related form of partridge, grouse, quail, woodcock or fowl. The scholar concedes that membership 'in gentes with other totems does not mean full Indian blood'. 'A person with the Bear totem, for example, might be practically white and, contrariwise, a person with the Chicken totem might have less than a sixty-fourth of white blood' (ibid.). The scholar spent most space discussing white descent, understandable since modern tribal members are mostly white, but not helpful in relation to totemism.

One or more totems may have passed from view. Historically the wolf totem lost support, no doubt due to white efforts to exterminate this wonderful animal. It was not recorded E of Lake Winnipeg (Hallowell 1992: 24).

One similarity in the lists is that all major groups of animals are represented in each region. This includes reptiles and fish with 13 exemplars, birds with 20 exemplars, animals or mammals with 15 exemplars, and 6 objects or phenomena. Less complete is the South Chippewa list, where reptiles, and herbivores, such as deer and rodents, are lacking. No doubt this is because these are partial lists, not because snake, deer and rabbit are not useful totems. Of interest is the similar extent of 3 phratry-like groups, animals with scales, animals with feathers, and animals with fur, or fish-bird-animal. This is the overarching system found among some Algonquian tribes, such as Mahican and Delaware. Some other tribes have variant configurations, such as the Shawnee, with egg-laying, carnivore and herbivore animals; fish+bird, bear+wolf, deer+rabbit (Voegelin & Voegelin 1935). Whether the Chippewa had a Delaware-like or Shawnee-like clan distribution is open to inquiry. Conceivably some villages had a fish-bird-animal order, sometimes seen as basic, and others had egg-laying, herbivore and carnivore phratries. An even more composite system with fish, bird, carnivore and herbivore phratries is conceivable, though unknown. Most likely each

Chippewa village had 3 phratries plus 1-2 chiefly clans, first and second chief, neatly arranged into house rows along a shore or around a plaza.

Totem and clan

The diversity of totems and totem identities were baffling to scholars, in particular as they resisted the topic. The scholars wanted to say that each locality had one totem, not named, end of. Instead totemism reached from between individuals to the tribe or nation and beyond. For good measure individuals could have several totems and totem-like identities, such as visions, noted elsewhere. Different social levels included the individual or person, family or totem clan, phratry, moiety, village or community, local band, regional band, tribal division, tribe, confederacy, etc.

Starting with the clan, this was yet another mystery to white scholars. They thought of something totally irrelevant, such as the Scottish clan, McDonald, McCoy and McNeal. This provoked an image of the clan as extra-local, the McRabbits. But clans in different villages were genealogically unrelated. Two rabbit men were Brs because they identified as rabbits, and so would every person where rabbits were found and to whom they served as totems or relations.

The local clan, the totem clan, was distinct from similar clans in other places. One example of this is the exclusivity of totem clans. While rabbits were Brs, a rabbit could not move to another village and take up residence, if there already was a rabbit clan. Only local clans had the right to reside in a village. There might be thousands of wolves across Ojibwaia, but only the local wolf clan had a right of residence, and no other wolves could settle there without permission. And such permission would rarely be given, since that would entail an extra pressure on the environment and a competition over resources.

Hence the totem clan was strictly local, but had sister clans everywhere. Basically the clan consisted of a family, GrPas, Pas and Chn living together in 1-3 houses as a part of the village circle or line(s) of houses. In the family each member had his or her own totem(s). Somehow white scholars did not find this self-evident and thought it needed explaining. Scholars would habitually link totems to an assumed patrilineal descent, already noted. 'The wife never took her husband's mark but retained that of her family, and the children of both sexes took that of their father' (Kinietz 1947: 70). 'The name passes from father to children' (Landes 1937: 31). This sounds straightforward but is not.

One scholar thought that 'gentes' are 'not localized, whether as villages or within the village' (Landes 1937: 33). The first part is acceptable, there were no clan-based villages, except in the sense that a chief, say a sturgeon, would claim the community as 'his' village, ignoring the other totems. The second part is wrong, totem clans would definitely and necessarily be 'localized' within a village; both in the general sense that every residence is 'localized', and in the particular sense of a totemic organization, that totem clans would be located in a particular order relative to each other around a plaza or along a shoreline. In a historical, reduced village this order would be upset, but families would still be 'localized' relative to each other. The scholar then qualifies her statement: 'Gens localization was familiar in the culture area' (Landes 1937: 33). More specifically, the 'localization' was upset by historical depopulation

and colonial displacements. 'Residence follows kinship attachments'; apparently meaning that Chn succeeded Pas, as indicated under kinship (Landes 1937: 33).

It was assumed the 'Canadian Ojibwa' showed a 'nearly complete absence of gens possessions, whether personal names or medicine bundles'; obviously false. There was 'a reinstatement ceremony for the spouse of a deceased totemite, but this' was phrased 'in kinship terms', yet obviously totem clan related. 'A representation of the dodem is blazed along a trail to indicate the individuals composing a party, and it is carved upside down on a wooden marker at the head of a grave. There is said formerly to have been some gens representation in bead work, the designs of which to-day are only secular' (Landes 1937: 38).

Each person had his or her own totem, mostly obtained after birth through a name associated with a totem dream. Mâchikâpawi, Start Standing, would be related to a dream of an animal standing up, such as a grouse rising from its nest. The dream could be more or less detailed, such as the grouse suddenly perceiving danger and fleeing from its nest to protect its eggs by drawing a predator away. The complexity of this manner of bestowing names, noted elsewhere, is obvious. Few people are present at the naming, and over time only the individual knows the meaning of his or her name and the totem dream, since others will pass away or forget. A name is seldom told, since nicknames or positional names are more common, e.g., Okima'kwe, Chief Woman; hence other people cannot be sure of a person's totem. If they hear the name Start Standing they may guess that it is a wolf, a deer or any other animal capable of standing. Only the person named knows the totem, what his or her animal is. A further complication is that a person may dream of another animal, such as in a vision quest, and adopt that as her totem. The quail may be replaced by an eagle or even a thunderbird, or some other creature or being.

Now consider that the totem clan is wolf, based on the totem of the leading family member. All family members will be associated with the wolf clan in the village. If the leading member passes away, another member takes up that position. Start Standing then becomes a wolf, perhaps with a new name, Mâchipa'to, Start Running, because wolves run. This would then be a case of patrilineal succession, since Start Standing is a male name. If the name was Mâchikâpaw'kwe, Start Standing Woman, the succession would be matrilineal, or patri-matrilineal if she succeeded her Fa as totem clan leader. The complexity is obvious, but also simple. Totem clans took their significance as a part of the village circle, a series of totem clans. The wolf clan would always be wolf, based on its position in the circle or line of houses. If the clan leader was named Mayâw'se, Straight Flying, or Mâchâta'ke, Start Swimming, the totem could still be wolf based on the position in the village. The system was inflexible and flexible at the same time. It was inflexible in that a village had a certain series of totem clans. And it was flexible in that only the individual knew his or her personal totem. All of this was impossible to comprehend for scholars, who barely broached the topic, but is crucial for understanding the workings of local totemism.

A totem clan would then consist of a family, also known as a descent group, occupying 1-3 houses located within rows or concentric circles around a village plaza or facing a river or shoreline. In the front row would be the house of the clan leaders, such as the senior member, a GrFa or GrMo, or, in cases of double clans, where a clan consisted of not one but two descent groups, of GrPas. The second row would consist of Pas and Chn, occasionally supplemented with a third row holding newly married Chn or a younger sibling of a Pa. In cases of double descent groups each family's leader was differentiated by a qualifier, such as Black Wolf and White Wolf, or Big Bear and Little Bear. This would depend on the size of the

village and its territory. Since the prehistoric Chippewa practiced child limitation, with a range of 0-1 to 3-4 Chn per woman, a descent group or totem clan might average 10-13 members in each village. With double clans the size would be c. 20-25 people. In most cases 12-14 clans would be suitable, or less, as few as 3-6 clans, if resources were limited. Only where rich resources occurred, such as at the junction of major rivers or ample valleys near lakes, would double clans be suitable or sustainable. At exceptional localities, such as Pawatekwan or Sault Ste. Marie, the residential situation would be more complex, perhaps including 2-3 villages spanning the river and a shared ceremonial and political meeting ground. In such a case each village need not have more than single or double totem clans, 12-14, even though the combined local population could be 600-900+ people; a Chippewa metropolis. It would take a survey of every local area, lakeside, river and branch from Rainy Lake to Baie Georgienne to estimate the suitable number of totem clans for each community, combined with a scrutiny of historical records.

The composition of phratries

‘The Awausee phratry includes the Catfish, Merman, Sturgeon, Pike (Pickerel), Whitefish, and Sucker gentes – all the Fish gentes’. ‘The Businausee phratry includes the Crane and Eagle gentes’, businausee, ‘echo-maker’, being ‘a name for the crane’. ‘The Ahahweh phratry includes the Loon, Goose, and Cormorant gentes, ahahweh being a name for the loon, though the Loon gens is called Mong’. ‘Ahahweh’ is also called the ‘Duck’ clan (Hodge 1: 279).

‘The Noka (No-‘ke, Bear) phratry included the Bear gentes, of which there were formerly several named from different parts of the bear’s body; but these are now consolidated and no differences are recognized excepting between the common and the grizzly bears. The Mousonee phratry includes the Marten, Moose, and Reindeer gentes. Mousonee seems to be the proper name of the phratry, though it is also called Waubishashe, from the important Marten gens which is said to have sprung from the incorporated remnant of the Mundua’ (Hodge 1: 279). The use of different names for the same totem may indicate the presence of families from consolidated remnants of villages with the same totem, who wish to mark a difference. Morgan listed ‘mud turtle’, ‘snapping turtle’ and ‘little turtle’, perhaps the result of reduced villages or bands consolidating (Morgan 1877). These were examples of historical developments, noted earlier.

While scholars would see phratries as composed of related totem animals, such as species of birds, a phratry primarily has to be understood in a local context. Some totem clans go together, in particular when occupying a winter camp. But the composition may vary, and it is not certain that all birds go one place and all mammals another. Within the local series of totem clans there are groups that can be differentiated on the basis of similar totems. Birds provide one series of similarities, fishes another, land animals a third. A village will embrace groups that cooperate at certain points, that include more than one totem clan, but not embracing the whole village, and in this context a phratry subdivision is serviceable.

Phratries then have to be approached from two angles. One is the similarity of totem animals. Another is the subdivision of a village or community into cooperating or solidaric groups, such as seasonal hunting or fishing camps. If all the families in a camp have similar totems, say fishes, this helps them identify while engaged in tasks, and differentiate against other camps engaged in similar seasonal activities, but embracing birds or animals instead.

There are hints of sub-phratries, e.g., a phratry divided into 2-3 parts (Warren 1885). An example would be a separation of birds of prey and other birds. Yet the division may have been between large or impressive birds and other birds. In one case bald eagle and crane may have formed a unit, while loon, duck, goose and cormorant formed another. Similar subdivisions concerned other animals. This could be where marten, moose and caribou formed a unit against bear alone, perhaps because bear would predate on them. The fish totems could form a sub-unit contrasting with turtle and snake. How this played out in a village is not known.

It goes without saying that identifying phratries is difficult, not least because local information is lacking. But there is an extra difficulty in the form of so-called crossing relations. While a phratry comprises similar beings or animals, e.g., carnivores, there also is a contrast that leads to distinctions. A bear contrasts with a marten; a wolf contrasts with a fox. Typically a village or community becomes divided into two sides, called moieties, and these sides are based on phratry contrasts. The bear will be on one side of the village, the marten on the other. A wolf will be on one side, the fox opposite. And even more challenging, the opposition is contra-punctual. If bear and wolf is found on one side of the village circle, then marten and fox will be directly opposite its partner. More complex still, the opposition can be parallel or diametrical. In a parallel system bear will be opposite marten and wolf opposite fox, in that order. In a diametrical arrangement the bear and wolf will be opposite the fox and badger in reverse order, and so on around the circle, so that a totem clan will have to look for its partner diametrically opposite its own location. A totem in the NE sector, say wolf, will have to look for its partner in the SW sector, say fox. As if this is not finicky enough, countless permutations are possible, a wolf can be substituted by a coyote, dog or panther, and a fox can be substituted by a lynx or bobcat. Yet the whole system boils down to a finite series of c. 12-14 totem clans made up of c. 3 phratries comprised of c. 4 totem clans each, 2 on either side of the village, whether a line or circle.

The only way to investigate such a system is to identify all the totem clans in the village and locate them according to village sides and partners. Unfortunately this has never been done among the Chippewa. One scholar comes close when listing each individual's totem and family, but unfortunately without locating their homes on the ground (Kinietz 1947: 246-7). Beyond this the issue of clans, phratries and moieties will have to be conjectural, such as the numerous lists of totems presented by more or less perceptive writers.

One researcher made a rare attempt to identify phratries at Manitou Rapids. 'One cannot get consistent statements regarding the names of the linked sibs. Two separate listings' were given. One had 'a bird phratry of Eagle, Loon, Duck, Crane. A second phratry consists of Moose, Mink, and Marten. A third consists of Sturgeon and Bullhead' or 'catfish', 'and a fourth consists of Lynx and Bear'. A mostly white member of the 'Fish phratry' thought that most totems 'go alone' without a phratry, including 'Bear, Eagle, Duck, Kingfisher, Muskrat, and Caribou', while 'Lynx and Crane compose one phratry' (Landes 1937: 36-37). Apparently the second list is an enumeration of local totem clans, not phratries. The notion could be that there were (1) chiefly clans, crane and duck, (2) egg-laying clans, loon, eagle, sturgeon, bullhead, (3) meat-eating clans, bear, marten, wolf, lynx, and (4) plant-eating clans, deer, moose, muskrat and hare. This is one suggestion of how a phratry system might appear.

The mysterious moiety

A Chippewa village would be divided into two sides or moieties, such as the N and S sides of a village or camp circle. Unfortunately little is known about the native moieties, as scholars avoided the whole topic of totemic organization. Precisely how moieties were distinguished is not known. Potential contrasting designations could be: upper-lower, hill-beach, north-south, black-white, beak or okosh and nail or oshkash, etc. The latter would correspond to Sauk moiety names, kishko and oshkasha (Selstad 2024a: 102).

Based on what little is known, a distribution could be as follows: Moiety B: (second chief), turtle or fish, fowl, bear, wolf, deer, beaver or squirrel. Moiety A: (first chief), rabbit or hare, elk or moose, wildcat or lynx, marten, eagle or hawk, snake. Needless to say there could be countless variations of such a pattern, depending on how each village was organized. Since few village patterns have been described local variations and adaptations will have to await further research by interested persons. Above all this depends on a yet missing recognition of totemism as an area of study by scholars and others.

What is generally known is that a moiety played a role in many situations where teams were involved. A typical example would be games, such as lacrosse. But many other activities, ranging from council meetings and trade to funerals and ceremonies, involved contrasting roles and situations where moieties might find room. It is curious to note that at known funerals, though the material is meagre, the conductor had a contrasting totem to the deceased, e.g., eagle-caribou, though whether this was related to moieties is uncertain. Another moiety occasion could be when a village sent trade parties in two directions, such as from Escanaba to Marquette and Green Bay.

The village totem organization

Every local community, settlement or village had a set series of totem clans, each associated with one local family or descent group, that together comprised the local community and managed all resources in the local area or village territory in a sustainable manner. Precisely how this organization appeared on the ground would vary depending on the available territory and resources, but 12-14 totems locally may have been common, situated in rows along a bank or around a village plaza. At ‘the beginning of the Indian times, there were fourteen ... families’, and ‘the head of each’ held ‘an eponymous name’ or totem (Landes 1937: 31). This is a strangely definitive statement, though made c. 1935. As noted, the memory of former village sizes and clan composition would linger, and a series of 12 clans plus 2 chiefly families may have been remembered throughout history.

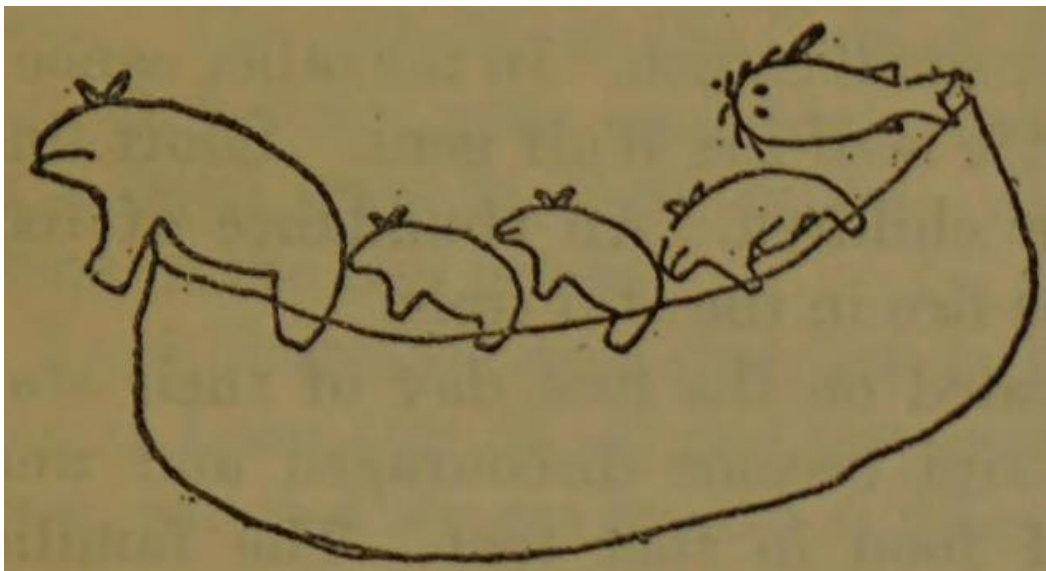
During historic times every village was diminished by 90% or more c. 1540-1890. Remnant villages would consolidate in a union or fusion, so that historic communities could consist of the remains of 3-4 or more former independent villages. In spite of this a former complete and undisturbed village existence would be kept in mind; generally with remorse; and people would try to recreate the former order. But white scholars saw only the diminished communities. ‘The same dodem names are not found uniformly in all localities. In some places there is a complete absence of some names that may be found more or less abundantly elsewhere. Thus, there is a large number of Ducks at Emo with none at all ninety miles south at Ponemah. Wolf appears at the latter place but not at Emo. Snake is at neither of these

places, but appears further north at Lake of the Woods around Kenora' (Landes 1937: 32). Yet the scholars also got an impression of the greater whole. The same source as above listed 15+ totems at 'Emo' or Manitou Rapids, noted below.

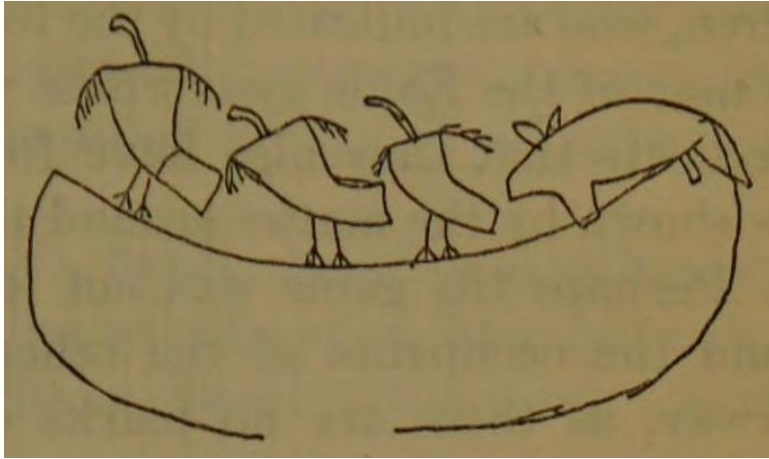
Village totem drawings

'The totem, dodaimin or ododem as it is variously called, was used in hieroglyphics to designate the individual' (Kinietz 1947: 69). Totem pictures were painted on the covering of a door: bear, wolf, etc. (Densmore 1929: 82). The relation of an image to a person was 'a secret' (op. cit.: 82, 83). The scholar tended to see only the quality of an animal, not the species, e.g., the strength of a bear (Densmore 1929: 82). Hieroglyphic symbols included: turtle; snake; bird; hawk; eagle; animal; bear; wolf; men; objects; rain; star; sun; moon; days; direction; numbers; sometimes representing 'progressive action' (op. cit.: 174). Progression could be indicated by a line and by a repetition of figures.

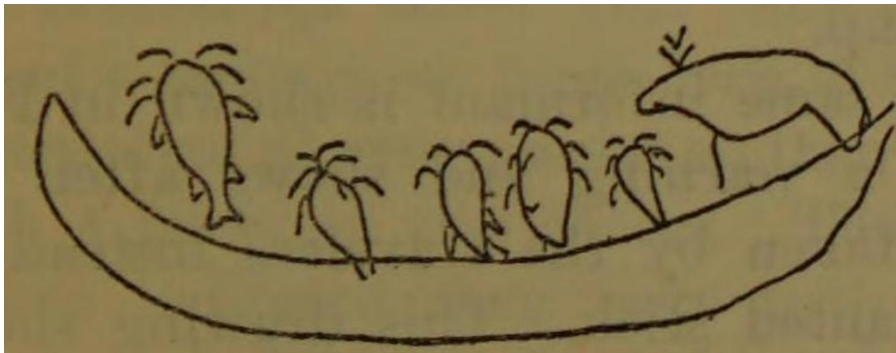
Of particular interest are drawings of totem animals in canoes, since they indicate totemism in practice, such as on travel. The full corpus of totem representations is lost, but some drawings are found. 'Thus a family in a canoe would be represented by the father's gens animal at the front of the canoe, the mother's gens animal in the stern of the canoe, and between them would be the children as 'small representations of the father's gens animal' (Densmore 1929: 176). 'Such a group would identify a family' as a part of a community or village (ibid.). One document showed a Chippewa village moving its location c. 1840, each family traveling in a separate canoe.



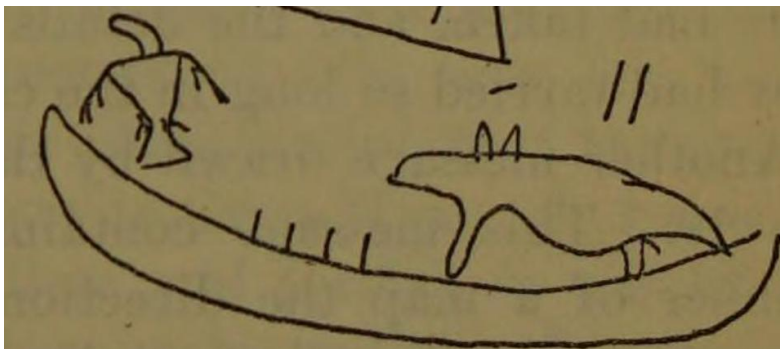
One canoe held 'a family in which the father is of the Bear gens and the mother of the Catfish gens, having three children' shown as little bears (Densmore 1929: 176-7).



One canoe held 'a family in which the father is of the Eagle gens and the mother the Bear gens, having two children' as little eagles (Densmore 1929: 176-7).



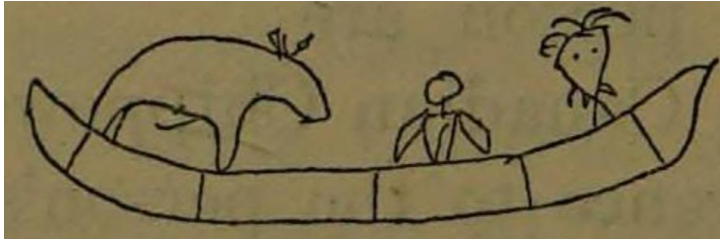
Canoe with a family of catfish Fa, moose Mo and catfish Chn (Densmore 1929: 177).



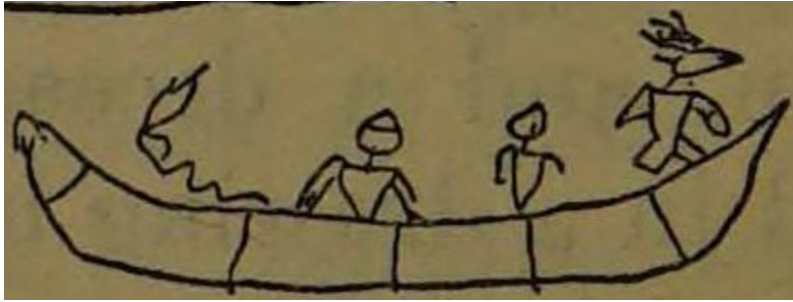
Canoe with family of eagle Fa, wolf Mo and 4 Chn (Densmore 1929: 177).



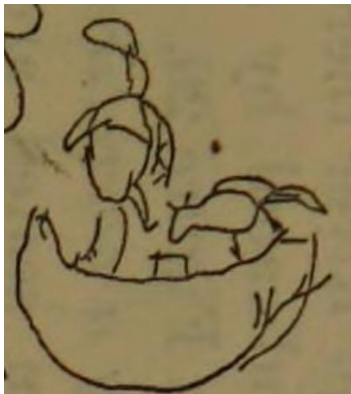
One canoe had a lone wolf (Densmore 1929: 178).



One canoe had a bear woman, a catfish man, and perhaps a partridge GrMo (Densmore 1929: 178).



Then there was a canoe with a snake woman, a woodpecker man and 2 Chn (Densmore 1929: 178).



And there was a canoe with a crane or pelican man, a wolf or fox woman, and a tiny bear, possibly a GrMo (Densmore 1929: 179).



One drawing showed a bear man, a catfish woman and 4 Chn (Densmore 1929: 179).



On one map was shown an eagle Mo, her bear Da and 4 Chn (Densmore 1929: 181). The map showed the story of a smallpox epidemic around 1790-1800 at Leech Lake, which a boy carried to Weshkokakon village on Lake Winnibigoshish, from where people fled in a panic, including the family above. At Sandy Lake people fled when they heard of the epidemic; all floated down the Mississippi and set up a sick-camp at Pine River. Nânîpawi, Standing Still, a medicine man, got sick. He crawled into the water saying he ‘turned into a great snake with horns’, asking people to rub against him to get well. This cured many people, ‘but almost all the others died’ (op. cit.: 180-2). In a similar historical epidemic a woman went into Lake Superior, turned into a great turtle, and those who rubbed against her got cured (Densmore 1929: 183).

The existing bark scrolls provide basic information on Chippewa totems. These would include: turtle, catfish, snake, partridge, woodpecker, crane, pelican, eagle, bear, otter, marten, wolf, fox, lynx or wildcat, deer, moose, beaver, rabbit or hare, thunderbird, etc. Comprehensive information on totemism might be obtained if all birch scrolls were documented.

Information on historic totem compositions

Aside from pictographic records there are a few more or less complete records of local totems in published sources. Below, three of these are included to provide illustrations of how community-based totemic organizations may be investigated. These will be followed by three more pictographic records that curiously seem to reflect local totemic compositions. The material is limited; 6-7 out of 200+ villages are partially known in terms of totems. But the idea is that even this small sample should provide an awareness of how persistent and overwhelming the totemic outlook of Chippewa society has been – an area of investigation largely unexplored.

Mememiwisîpink or Berens River

One peculiar scholar analyzes totems E of Lake Winnipeg as ‘lineages’ based on ‘genealogies’, rather than as clan animals found across a region (Hallowell 1992: 22). He discovered ‘that a clan might consist of more than one lineage’, not realizing that the relation was with an animal or creature found in the region (ibid.). ‘The Moose clan, for example, was found to include two lineages’; this would be like saying that there was one moose in Manitoba and one moose in Ontario (ibid.). ‘The Pelicans comprised a number of unconnected lineages’; obviously (Hallowell 1992: 24). By using this so-called ‘genealogical’

method most totem clans were not identified, only those that had ‘lineages’ in the Euro-American sense. The document hints at different totem clan compositions at old villages, such as the fish totem being represented by catfish at Bloodvein, bullhead at Berens, and sturgeon at Poplar, all rivers E of Lake Winnipeg (op. cit.: 23). For birds there was pigeon at Bloodvein, pelican at Berens, kingfisher at Little Grand River, and loon at Pikangikum (ibid.). All the fishes would be Brs, as would the birds, and for that matter fishes and birds, since they lay eggs. No doubt there would be similar variations for mammals, such as moose at Berens and caribou at Deer Lake, not to mention bear, mink, marten and fisher, but these were not recorded. As an aside the scholar identifies one male name, Shenawakweskank, with a totem, moose, something authors rarely did (Hallowell 1992: 24). By this ‘genealogical’ method 7-8 out of 20+ local totems were identified. Apparently the ‘genealogies’ document totems left after earlier decimations, namely sturgeon, bullhead, pelican, bear and moose. All of these may be associated with white people, e.g., the offspring of traders c.1750-1800. They may also represent wider groups such as phratries, ‘mammal, fish, and bird’ (op. cit.: 22-24).

Totems E of Lake Winnipeg (Hallowell 1992: 22-25):

1. *hill
2. sturgeon or *catfish
3. pelican, kingfisher, loon or duck
4. bear
5. *wolf
6. caribou
7. *squirrel or *beaver
8. bullhead
9. *hawk
10. *mink
11. *fox or *lynx
12. moose
13. *hare
14. *fir

* = not registered; catfish or Manamik is found at Bloodvein River.

Manitopawitekonk or Manitou Rapids

As noted, one scholar listed 15+ totems or ‘dodems’ at ‘Emo’ or Manitou Rapids:

- (1) Caribou, atik
- (2) Moose, mons
- (3) Duck, shîshîp
- (4) Loon, mânkw
- (5) Lynx, pishîw, spelled ‘bijü^w’
- (6) Bear, ma’kwa
- (7) Eagle, mîkisi, spelled ‘migr^e’zi’
- (8) Marten, wâpishêshi
- (9) Muskrat, washashk
- (10) Crane, ochichak
- (11) Sturgeon, name
- (12) Bullhead (or catfish) awasisi
- (13) Mink, shankwêshi

(14) Otter, ni'kik

(15) Kingfisher, okishkimanisi

It was added that: 'The numbering does not connote ranking' (Landes 1937: 32-33).

In a version based on a fish-bird-animal order this would be:

- fish:

1 sturgeon

2 bullhead

3 catfish

- bird:

4 kingfisher

5 loon

6 duck

7 crane

8 hawk

9 eagle

- animal:

10 bear

11 marten

12 otter

13 mink

14 lynx

15 caribou

16 moose

17 muskrat

Here totems from local street names are added. Absent are animals such as turtle, snake, wolf, fox, deer, and hare or rabbit, that would have filled or complemented the list. In one statement birds were reckoned as the 'same Duck dodem'; e.g., there would be a basic bird clan, perhaps divided into bird or duck and hawk or eagle (Landes 1937).

The basic pattern seems to be of 14 clans:

(chief 2: duck)

bullhead

duck

bear

wolf

deer

muskrat

sturgeon

hawk or eagle

marten

lynx

moose

rabbit

(chief 1: sturgeon)

In the old days this could be the order of totem clans along the river, neatly placed in row(s).

For good measure, the scholar, besides weirdly transcribing certain words copied from a linguist, differentiates certain clans, presumably a result of former decimation, consolidation and re-combination. For the bear clan, 'mak kwa'', it was noted that this was 'the black bear', differentiated by 'only three parts', or rather, as many as three varieties: hind legs, body and 'the whole bear' (Landes 1937: 32). For good measure, the mide bear, brown or grizzly bear,

and white bear were indicated, 'bears whose habitat is much farther north' (ibid.). The scholar does not realize that the colors black-white provide symbolic distinctions. A case would be dual clans, a clan with two families distinguished by qualifiers, e.g., black-white or small-big. Dual totem clans are otherwise poorly attested among the Chippewa, but may have been common. 'A comparable distinction exists among the eagles, where the common or bald eagle is the sib eponym, and the golden eagle is identified with the Thunderbird or any other supernatural eagle who appears in dreams' (Landes 1937: 32). Hawk and eagle would appear as the same totem, birds of prey.

A man of the 'Fish phratry' when asked about phratries, simply listed the local totems, 'Bear, Eagle, Duck, Kingfisher, Muskrat', 'Caribou', 'Lynx and Crane' (Landes 1937: 36-37). This would be an enumeration of local totem clans, e.g., fish, eagle, bear, muskrat, duck-kingfisher, lynx, caribou, and crane, or similar. In aboriginal times the list could be: (*sturgeon), fish, *hawk-eagle, bear, *wolf, *deer, muskrat, *snake, duck-kingfisher, *marten, lynx, caribou-*moose, *rabbit, and (crane); with added totems asterisked (*).

'The bands' or 'aboriginal' but reduced 'villages' of 'the Manitou Reserve' had a varied composition. 'Manitou Band #1' had 4 muskrat women, 6 bullhead women 'from the States', 'many' caribou men and women, 'many' bear men and women, 5 duck men and 1 woman, 4 lynx women, 2 sturgeon women and 3 men; roughly 6 totems (Landes 1937: 33). The female scholar here apologizes about women being 'listed' as totem representatives, as if only men should represent clans (ibid.). There was a strong male bias in Euro-American anthropology, a 'muting' of women, that had nothing to do with Chippewa culture but influenced even female scholars' views (Ardener 1972). 'Manitou Band #2' had bear, caribou, muskrat, lynx. Hungry Hall Band #1 counted duck, sturgeon, caribou, bullhead. Hungry Hall Band #2 had bullhead, duck. Little Fork had bear, lynx, caribou. Long Sioux #1: caribou, bear, eagle, muskrat, marten. And Long Sioux #2 included caribou, bear, lynx, bullhead. Each locality could represent a reduced or fragmented village.

This was crucial information; if the totem composition of every band was mapped on the ground, a fascinating outline of Chippewa totemism would emerge. Needless to say such an undertaking has never been made, though Landes somehow made a beginning. The scholar also mentioned how people changed residences through intervillage marriages, more or less forced removals and other vicissitudes, which would complicate the situation. One informant was associated with at least 4 totems, duck, caribou, bear, and her own bullhead (Landes 1937: 33). Something similar was indicated for Berens River by another scholar, but far more sketchy (Hallowell 1992). The scholar tried to explain the shifting totem structures in 'circumstantial terms', e.g., individual moves, such as a 'male Duck' moving to Ponemah, and a 'female Caribou' 'eloping' to Red Lake (Landes 1937: 34). Epidemic 'death easily wipes out the gens lines of a locality'; a deeply historic condition. A modern case was 'tuberculosis' wiping out 'a goodly Bear contingent' at Little Fork, killing 10+ clan members (ibid.). One modern condition was that agriculture and official support allowed kin groups to expand locally, such as 'six Bear sons', 3 sturgeon men, 10+ caribou men etc. near Emo (Landes 1937: 34-35). One woman 'reared six Bear sons', 'considerably swelling the number of Bears'; a bear invasion. This would be contrary to prehistoric conditions, when local resources had to be protected by a clearly limited totem clan system, with no more than 1-2 families per totem. At the same time it is interesting to read how comfortable a scholar gets in writing about 'Bears', 'Sturgeon' and 'Caribou', seemingly without reflecting that she is spanning the animal-human realm that she and other scholars insistently tried to ignore.

Ke'tekitekan or Lax Vieux Desert

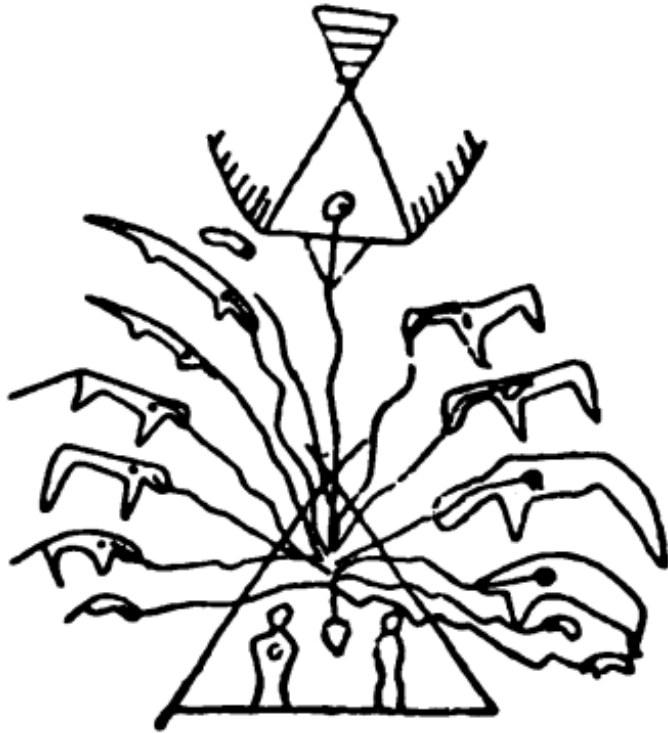
One interesting census, already alluded to, reported 14 families or totem clans in Ketikitekon c. 1937:

1. Mukwa: Bear or White Bear (Williams; chief). Also: Seal and Fowl.
2. Mannameg: Catfish (Scott). Also: Bear and Hawk.
3. Bakwiakquin: Fowl aka Woodpecker or Teal-Duck (Brunk). Also: White Bear.
4. Mukwa 2: Bear or Black Bear (Ackley). Also: Fowl.
5. Kisheway: Wolf? (Kisheway). Also: Ottawa, Bear and Fowl.
6. Mukwa 3: Bear or Deer? (White). Also: Seal.
7. Mannameg 2: Catfish or Beaver? (McGeshick). Also: Fowl.
8. Nebana Bay: Seal or Fish (Pete): Also: Catfish or Fowl.
9. Meggizi: Eagle or Hawk (Edwards, Pine). Also: Fowl or Partridge.
10. Waubizisi: Marten or Crane? (Pine, Meggizi). Also: Eagle and Fowl.
11. [Bisiw]: Wildcat or Wolf (Wildcat). Also: Bear and Fowl.
12. Mannameg 3: Catfish or Elk? (McGeshick). Also: Bear.
13. Bakwiakquin 2: Fowl or Rabbit? Also: Bear.
14. Nebana Bay 2: Seal or Chief (Pete; 2nd or 1st chief). Also: Fowl (Kinietz 1947: 246-7).

In this rendering some totems have been added to provide a traditional totemic outlook. In 1849 mention was made of: catfish, teal-duck, eagle, bear and elk; missing in 1937 was elk, for obvious reasons (Schoolcraft 1: 419-20). Presumably the local band population was reduced to 4-5 totem clans in early historic times, the result of epidemics; by 1937 the village had 6 totems, roughly half the original number: Catfish, Fowl, Bear, Seal, Eagle and Marten; a fish-bird-animal pattern. Other totems hinted at included: Fish, Partridge (Pine), Goose, Crane, Hawk, Wildcat, and more. To 'fill in' the 14 totems, prominent creatures such as Wolf, Deer, Elk, Beaver and Rabbit have been provided. Some of these, like Elk, would be gone from the local fauna. Needless to say this suggested reconstruction is hypothetical. Such a tentative reconstruction is meant to point back to prehistoric and pre-epidemic times, while reflecting modern conditions. For instance, it is worth noting that nearly all the families have different last names, Williams, Brunk, Scott, Ackley, La Belle, Pete, Pine, Johnnie, McGeshick, Edwards, White, Cadotte, and Polar; the exceptions being McGeshick, assigned to the Catfish clan, and Pete, assigned to the Seal or Merman clan. Yet the exceptions need not be assigned to the same clan, a Catfish could be a Beaver, and a Pete could be Chief. Unlike English names, totems refer to a relation; a Baker is not a baker, but a Wolf is always part of a complementary relation e.g. to Bear, Wildcat, Deer, and so on. That one family is dominant is a white perspective, while totems are complementary parts in a series without a preordained hierarchy.

A shaman's totem lists

Three exciting bark drawings have been published that show jugglers' tents and serve as a kind of advertisement to totem clans in different villagers (Hoffman 1891: 252-3). All totem identifications below are tentative. The readers are asked to make their own interpretations of the drawings.

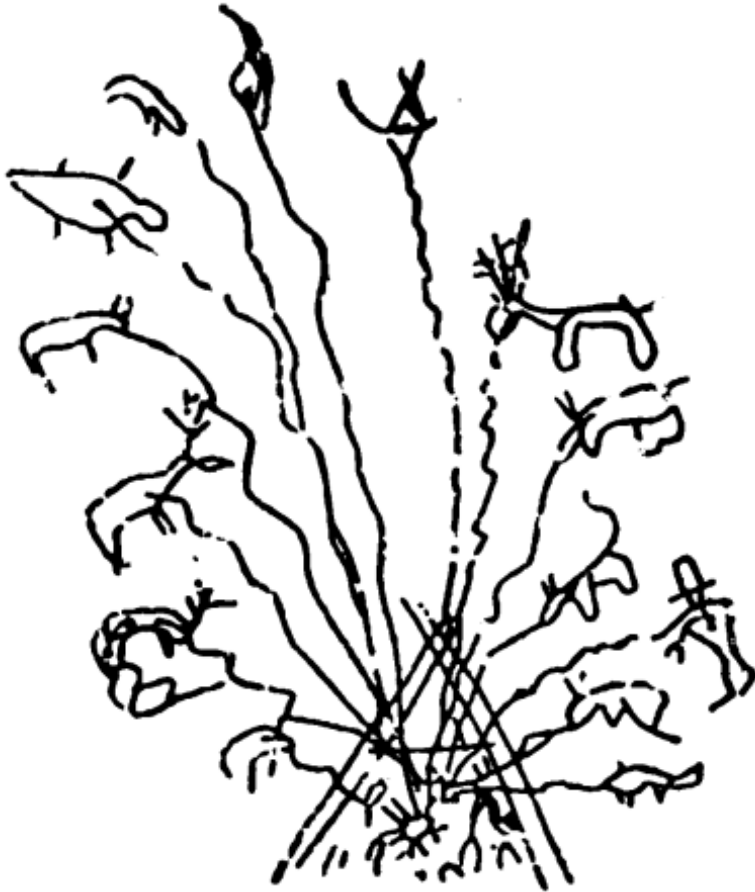


The first drawing shows animals invoked by the shaman. These are here thought as representations of local totems. Clockwise they may be: muskrat, fox, bobcat, panther, marten or weasel, beaver, bullhead, thunderbird, horse, bear, moose, buffalo, grouse, seal, plus turtle inside the tent.

In a village the order by phratry could be:

seal,
 turtle,
 bullhead,
 thunderbird,
 grouse,
 bear,
 marten or weasel,
 fox,
 bobcat,
 panther,
 buffalo,
 moose,
 horse,
 beaver.
 muskrat,

The first and last totems may be chiefs, muskrat and seal.



The second drawing shows potential totems clockwise: hawk, catfish, elk, buffalo, beaver, otter, kingfisher, trout, deer, bear, panther, whiteman, rabbit, muskrat, plus turtle inside.

Inside a village this could be:

catfish,
 turtle,
 trout,
 hawk,
 kingfisher,
 bear,
 otter,
 panther,
 deer,
 elk,
 buffalo,
 beaver,
 muskrat,
 rabbit,
 whiteman.

Potential chiefs could be hawk and muskrat.



The third drawing has, clockwise: deer, panther, marten, beaver, buffalo, woodchuck, fox, thunderbird, deer, elk, bear, rabbit, plus turtle, dogs and perhaps a chicken inside.

In a village:

fish,
 turtle,
 thunderbird,
 chicken,
 bear,
 marten,
 fox,
 dog,
 panther,
 deer,
 elk,
 buffalo,
 beaver,
 woodchuck,
 rabbit.

Potential chiefs are deer and rabbit.

A summary of village totem organizations

That villages were composed of a series or complement of totem clans is indicated by native informants who seek out their own clan in other villages, even if the place was unknown. One bear woman at Red Lake went to a village 5 miles away to attend a wake. While there she said: 'I want to see my clan; where is it?' The local bear family had adopted a bear cub, and she teased her friend who got bitten: 'You're not of his clan' (Hilger 1951: 154). Probably people of any totem would habitually look for their totem clan in other villages; a bear woman would visit a bear family, a deer man a deer family, and so on. No doubt visitors would be asked about their totems, though very discreetly, and then shown to the house of that totem clan in the village. To white observers this would be unknown; hence such references are rare.

What is important to note is that every family represents a distinct totem clan. It is not the case that one family dominates the clan structure, though they might claim to do so. Historically, few local clans survived due to epidemics and depopulation, yet the tendency was to reconstruct a local organization with 12-14 independent totem clans, each represented by a family. Since every family member has his or her own totem, placing each family by totem is tricky; this is as it should be. Further, the source does not provide native names, only English names, like John and Jack, which is not very informative. In view of this, it is all the more interesting when the totem of each individual is provided, since people would keep this confidential. Perhaps there was a compromise: people agreed to name their totem without giving their Indian name; like giving half of their bank code (Kinietz 1947: 246-7). Even so it is strange that the Indian names were not collected at the same time (ibid.).

Based on the highly variable material a local totemic organization can be suggested:

(chief 2)
sturgeon
eagle
bear
wolf
deer
beaver
pike
grouse
marten
wildcat
elk or moose
rabbit or hare
(chief 1)

As an alternative the following organization might appear:

(chief 2)
snake
sturgeon
eagle
crane
bear
deer
pike
whitefish

hawk
heron
wolf
rabbit
(chief 1)

These are not definitive lists. The only definitive list is a survey of every totem in each locality for as far back as sources can be found, without prejudice or fabrication. This would be a painstaking and delicate effort, fraught with practical and ethical questions. Perhaps secret information should not be divulged. But everything is better than belittlement and denial. We need more knowledge about the world, not less. So what little is known will stand for now.

The relations between totem clans

The totem clans in a village formed a system, a totemic organization. Basically, there was a finite series of clans in each locality. The relations between totems were tied up with every aspect of local social life, from neighborliness and hospitality to economic, political and ritual activities.

One scholar consistently tried to downplay the role of totem clans: 'There is no ranking of the gentes, and they have no specialized functions' (Landes 1937: 37). Needless to say the totem clans were the building blocks of the village, as extended families, places for raising children, family work units, a base for elders, etc. Rather than 'ranking' there would be a positioning of the clans around a plaza or dance arena, as well as leading clans for the first and second chiefs. The scholar went on to claim that 'the northern Ojibwa' were 'the farthest outpost' of the Algonquian 'culture area', while they really were central to the world of totemism in North America (Landes 1937: 37).

At one point the author reluctantly tried to modify her bias: 'But apparently at one time among certain of the southern Ojibwa' and other Chippewa, 'gentes performed ... varied and elaborate functions', such as ceremonies, council elders, etc. (Landes 1937: 52). Then she returned to her adamant style: The 'functions of the Ojibwa gens are carried out by families, not by officials'; 'the responsibility for these functions remains always with these families' (Landes 1937: 52). This was after she had discussed hospitality, visits to clan-mates in distant villages, elaborate and misconstrued mourning rites, and other engagements of totem clans in Chippewa society. She simply could not get away from her ethnocentric view of society as 'atomistic' (Lovisek et al. 1997). In actuality a totem clan was ultra-social, involved in a local organization based on a finite series of relational and complementary clans. A totem clan cannot be viewed in isolation, and it cannot be separated from the many 'functions' or activities it performed.

Joking between totem clans

One often cited example of interrelations between clans are jokes. People with different totems would joke each other frequently. This was a way to defuse frustrations and create a

jocular atmosphere. 'Among other Algonquian tribes, clan membership was the basis for a joking relationship. Individuals were assumed to have the attributes of their totem animals and these were humorously pointed out' (Kinietz 1947: 76). One conjecture was that the Chippewa had not developed 'the joking technique' (ibid.). This was in spite of recorded jokes about fish men being bald, cranes having loud voices, and bear men having coarse hair (ibid.). These were typical clan jokes. No doubt there was a battery of jokes relating to totem animals, such as turtles having short legs, eagles not flying at night, wolves being hungry, deer having long necks, etc. This led the same scholar to concede that people 'joked among themselves about their various totem animals' (Kinietz 1947: 77). He even heard a modern joke, that 'the English might drive' people 'back into the United States' if their 'totem was the Eagle' (ibid.). No doubt this was a reference to historic US-Canadian Indian treaty making.

The same scholar who denied 'specialized functions' of totem clans, went into a lengthy presentation of clan joking, an endless topic among native people: 'Fellow-totemites, like siblings, must 'respect' one another'; tapantentan. 'As in the cross-cousin relation, when they come in contact with people outside of their phratry, they are supposed to joke by 'praising' themselves', mamikwas, 'and belittling the dodem eponyms of the others', papitamowe, 'as well as by indulging in the kind of humor common between cross-cousins. Totemic self-praise consists in 'bragging' about the eponym, especially if it is recently killed game'. Thus, 'it is fat, not skin and bone, or stinking, like your dodem'. The 'totemites' are 'bragged' about 'for their desirable qualities: he is brave, whereas you are timid'. The 'joking' sometimes 'involves the eat-all feast so common among the northern Algonkians. When hunters are out alone, and want to pass the time away, some of them will play this joke, as they did at Lake of the Woods in 1901. One man had the Bullhead dodem. When he was sleeping, some other-totemite hung the bullhead up-side down over his head'; symbolic of death, 'ashitakone. 'When he awoke and discovered this, he got mad (in jest)'. He got 'his close relatives and fellow totemites' to 'collect a lot of big game, or a lot of big bullheads, to cook and make the joker eat it all so as to show how much power the bullhead dodem has. In the meantime his party tried to learn which dodem was the aggressor. This was not difficult as they boasted about their deed. During the eat-all preparations, and at the feast itself, there was much totemic joking and self-praising. The offended hosts did not eat, but mounted a taunting guard over the aggressive ones. These latter in mockery called upon their guardian spirits for power to get through the eating of the food' (Landes 1937: 39-40). Apparently the jested person is called 'ashitakotawa, pl. 'ashitakotatiwak (op. cit.: 40). People 'related to Ego will not play the joke on him'. But his WiBr 'might do this, as at Emo where relatives may not marry' (ibid.).

'Sib joking' is 'expressed in certain traditional epithets referring to other-totemites. Thus, one not of the Moose dodem' may call these people 'little Marten', wâpisheshis; but omôsoni, 'the usual term for moose, can also be said' (Landes 1937: 40). Some epithets included: 'Marten' called onâwanteko, tree-pursuit; 'Bullhead and Catfish' called opekani, quiet, or pakâni, 'nut'; 'Sturgeon' called namewisâki, fish oil; 'Bear' is makomites or makwa-pemite, bear fat; 'Duck' is shishipinako, connoting 'the bird phratry', e.g., duck-like; 'Caribou' is 'oshe'takami, body in water; 'Lynx' is nâwantako, brush-feeder (Landes 1937: 40). Apparently these are not general jokes, but hidden forms of totem names, like 'businause', 'echo-maker'. In this way the secrecy of totems could be maintained, whether joking or in earnest.

Clan stories and animal myths

Of significance to clan relations were clan stories aka animal tales. These typically involved animal protagonists and antagonists, e.g., rabbit and fox (Harris 1908). Unfortunately scholars paid little attention to animal stories, favoring human protagonists. The topic can only be broached at this point.

Some of the known animal stories include:

Turtle and Otter: A turtle or tortoise covered his back with bark to fend off an otter; impressed, the creator let him grow a permanent shell for protection (Internet).
Fish, reptile and water creature stories included: origin of snakes; giant pike; seal rock; etc.

Bird stories included: loon, eagle, etc.

A bird, the grebe or hell-diver, tricked the winter into believing it was getting warm by building a fire nearby, thus instituting spring (Internet).

One circumpolar story was: How the bear lost his tail. In a Chippewa version, a bear came upon an otter with a pile of fish. The otter told him he could catch fish by sticking his tail through the ice and pulling hard. When the bear pulled the tail had frozen, and he was left with a stump (Internet).

Bear (muh-kwah), Wild Cat (pezheh) and Big Strugeon (kitché nūh mah). In this story the bear caught sturgeon at Nottawasaga River. When the wildcat or lynx tried to do the same, his sharp claws got stuck in a big sturgeon that pulled him into the water 'and drowned' the wildcat (Laidlaw 1915: 5-6).

In one contrived story, apparently a hunter's jib, a bear jumped a deer from a tree and killed him. When a lynx tried to do the same the deer rubbed him against a branch and both died, later to be found by a lucky hunter; e.g., killing two birds with no stone. A possible totemic reference is the names of the actors, Black Bear, Little Lynx and Big Buck (Laidlaw 1915: 13).

Mink and Pike: The mink got the pike and another fish, a muskie or muskellunge, to fight by claiming they said bad things about each other, such as being 'wall-eyed' and saw-toothed. When they fought the mink caught the both. In turn the mink was fooled, when someone replaced the fish eggs with small rocks and he scrambled his teeth (Internet).

Other noted stories were: lynx out hunting; a story of seven deer; etc. Wolf stories are not well known, though there may be one in which the wolf catches geese by asking them to dance with their eyes closed.

Beaver (ah-mic) and Muskrat (wah-zesk): The muskrat wanted to switch tails. But when the beaver agreed the muskrat soon wanted to switch back, because the tail the beaver got was better for swimming. When the beaver refused the muskrat 'cried till his eyes grew small' (Laidlaw 1915: 5).

Another story was called: Muskrat warns the beaver.

There was a story in which beaver bragged about his bushy tail to muskrat. Then a tree fell on it and it became flat, thus allowing muskrat to get his own back. This was typical clan joking and banter (Internet).

Porcupine and Bear: A porcupine pursued by a bear covered his back with hawthorn branches to get away. The creator was impressed by his 'trick', and let him grow quills to defend himself (Internet).

There were rabbit stories such as: Rabbit, Lynx and Fisher; etc.

Another form of totem stories, clan origin myths, have already been noted. The full range of animal stories is not known, and the few examples noted here are meant to indicate the range and creativity of such stories, generally identified with totems.

Relations between totem clans in phratries and moieties

The main area of activity involving a phratry, would be economic activities such as hunting and fishing. Unfortunately little is known about the composition of Chippewa hunting camps and the organization of hunting, at least in relation to the prehistoric social organization. The main season of phratry-based activities would be in winter, when people occupied hunting camps.

One indication of economic activity within a phratry is the sharing of resources. 'It is said that formerly gens-mates and phratry-mates exchanged gifts' (Landes 1937: 43). The scholar here adds yet another unclear statement: 'This behavior has nothing specifically to do with gens injunctions, for if gifts are given it is to all acquaintances of any category' (ibid.). Possibly the meaning is that resources are shared. Why this is not a 'gens injunction' may simply be that the scholar beforehand made a programmatic statement that 'gentes' have no 'functions', hence each function, whether about food, sharing, marriage etc. in turn has to be denied; a case of determinism. 'Your dodem is your nearest friend', therefore 'you show him kindnesses' (ibid.). 'If unrelated totemites make gifts, it is generally on the occasion of a visit to a foreign place' (ibid.).

Moiety activities are both less known and better known than phratries. The better known aspect concerns the organization into two teams, such as at games and competitions. The less known aspects are the mobilization of moieties on social and ceremonial occasions, ranging from political assemblies to funerals and other tasks, including trade expeditions. The two chiefs in a village seem to have come from opposite moieties.

The wider spheres of totemism

Villages 'have strong local sentiments', such as 'hostility' or a sense of solidarity against other villages (Landes 1937: 4). But the villages in a band would show solidarity against other bands, regional bands against other regions, the tribe against other tribes, etc. Different villages had the same general composition of totem clans. This was misconstrued as the 'same family line' found 'in a considerable number of different villages' (Landes 1937: 4). Rather than the same 'line' there would be similar series of complementary totems found in each village. Through these 'kinship bonds' or totemic arrangements villages 'felt a mutual sympathy' (ibid.).

The signs provided by natural creatures and phenomena would permeate Chippewa social life. A village would be associated with the totem of its chief, alongside its geographical name and perhaps the name of the chief. Local bands, regional bands and tribal divisions would all be associated with the totems of their leaders. This apparently extended to the tribal level. One Indian agent around 1825 'implied that there was a ranking of the different totems' without clarifying 'the arrangement. He gave the names of only two totems, the bear and the eagle', as being 'first and second in rank' (Kinietz 1947: 74). This might be on the tribal level, the bear serving as a totem or national badge for the Chippewa people, seconded by the eagle as an assistant leader or second chief. A parallel case would be Russia and USA, bear and eagle, each with first and second leaders. This level of organization would be far removed from individual totems, but scholars had limited views on wider levels of organization, since they saw the individual as the only imagined unit. The history of tribal and intertribal organizations is poorly known. Hence all references by agents and others to totems must be carefully assessed in terms of context and level, whether this is an individual human being or an entire nation, or somewhere in between.

Bands could be identified by totems: The Weagamow Lake band were 'Cranes'; part of the Sandy Lake band were 'Suckers'; and the Nakawewuck bands N of Lake Superiors had totems like sturgeon and hare (Rogers & Taylor 1978: 233). The authors thought some bands 'were named after the leader of the core family' (ibid.).

At this point the hearsay musings of a white Chippewa author, alluded to above, are included (Warren 1885):

(EC)

Stories of the East Chippewa, their bands and leaders are lacking. Apparently birds were prominent. Blackbird might be a chiefly totem in the region. Within the complexity of bands chiefs could have any totem, Snake, Hawk, Bear, etc. (Schmalz 1991).

(CC)

Among the Central Chippewa the crane could be a leading totem. At the same time the moose might be a chiefly totem, perhaps in the north. 'Under the generic term of Mous-o-neeg, the families of the Marten, Moose, and Reindeer totems are included' (Warren 1885). This would relate to local bands forming a regional band, where the 'totem' was a geographic designation, e.g., Moosonee. 'Aish-ke-bug-e-coshe, the old Pillager chief', made a story where: 'the Moose totem' or region, 'Mous-o-neeg, 'many centuries ago' was populous (Warren 1885). 'They lived' in 'one great village' or region, 'warlike and quarrelsome'. They made war on 'the Marten totem' or region. The 'Martens called together the different clans' or bands 'of the tribe to council, and called on them for help and protection. A general league was made between the different totems' or bands, 'and it was determined' to attack 'the Moose' region. As a ruse a long 'council lodge' was built to receive the 'Mous-o-neeg' band. The framework of this lodge consisted of poles planted 'deep in the ground', and covered with 'dried grass'. The Moose region people were invited to a feast. 'The Mous-o-neeg entered' the lodge and the 'doors at each end' were 'closed and fastened'. The Marten people then set fire to the 'covering of grass', and the Moose men were all burned to death or 'shot through the narrow openings' in the lodge. 'Their women and children were captured by the Marten family'. 'In this manner the close consanguinity of these two Totems commenced', until they were 'considered as one family'. This obviously was a European story.

(NC)

North Chippewa bands are hard to trace in historic times. 'The Reindeer family' or regional band, which is a branch of the Mous-o-neeg, are few in number, and they reside mostly on the north coast of Lake Superior' (Warren 1885). This obviously refers to the range of caribou. 'The celebrated Ojibway war-leader Waub-o-jeeg' or 'White Fisher' around 1820 'was a member of this family' or band, noted at 'Grand Portage', 'Pigeon River' and 'La Pointe' or 'Shag-a-waum-ik-ong', with 'his father', Ma-moug-e-se-do or 'Big-foot' c. 1780 (Warren 1885). Apparently the chiefs were not caribou.

Some historic North Chippewa bands had bald-headed leaders, perhaps white. One was 'Aish-ke-bug-e-coshe' or Blue Nails, 'chief of the Pillager and Northern Ojibways' (Hallowell 1992). He claimed to be 'the present living recognized head of the great A-waus-e family'; a typical self-centered view. He through his 'clan claim the Me-she-num-aig-way', 'immense fish', which was 'the Leviathan mentioned in the Bible'; a typical old man's conflation of his own identity with the world. 'This being' was 'one of the Spirits recognized in their grand Me-da-we rite', e.g., a part of a historical revival. 'This clan comprises the several branches who claim the Catfish, Merman, Sturgeon, Pike, Whitefish, and Sucker Totems, and in fact, all the totems of the fish species'. 'This family' or phratry-like totem group were 'noted for being long lived, and for the scantiness and fineness of their hair, especially in old age; if you see an old Indian ... with a bald head, you may be certain that he is an A-waus-e'. Curiously this resonates with views, such as among the Shawnee, that white people were assigned to the fish totem, since they came from the sea.

A curious story seems to confirm the identity of fishes with white people: 'Tradition says that many generations ago, all the different clans' or regional bands 'of the tribe, with the exception of the Ah-ah-wank', loon or duck, 'formed a league and made war on the Aw-aus-e with the intent to exterminate them. But the Aw-aus-e family proved too strong for their united brethren and prevailed against their efforts, and ever since this event, they have claimed a certain pre-eminence over them in the councils of the tribe. They also claim, that of the six beings who emerged from the great water, and originated the Totems, their progenitor was the first who appeared, and was leader of the others'. Here the genocidal wars of the white colonists against the Indians c. 1710-1814 are turned into internal affairs in the Chippewa tribe. The 'six beings' may well be colonial powers, French, Dutch, English, Spanish, Scandinavian and Scots-Irish, that white Chippewa leaders turned into totems. For good measure, Indian agents and treaty makers were turned into clan members as well, since they had 'pre-eminence' at 'councils'.

Of 9,000 'of the Ojibways' residing 'within the limits of the United States, about the shores of Lake Superior and the headwaters of the Mississippi' c. 1850, 'full' 1,000 belonged 'to the Aw-aus-e family' (Warren 1885). This would give a proportion of white people at 11%, not counting whites in other parts of the tribe, such as the supposedly white 'Chicken' clan, or Horse, Pig and Sheep, not to mention Bear, Wolf, Crane etc. It is significant that whites seemed to slide straight into local totem clans, though this is rarely described.

There were more whites in the west and south. 'The Bus-in-as-see, or Crane family, are also numerous, and form an important element of the Ojibway tribe. They reside mostly on the south shores of Lake Superior and toward the east in the Canadas, though they have representatives scattered in every spot where the Ojibways have set foot and lighted their

fires' (Warren 1885). Again no distinction is made between a local family or totem clan, and larger bands or regional divisions of the tribe. The reference seems to be the regional distribution of whooping cranes and other large birds. 'The literal meaning of their totemic name' is 'Echo-maker', 'derived from the word Bus-wa-wag', 'Echo', 'and pertaining to the loud, clear, and far reaching cry of the Crane. This clan are noted as possessing ... a loud, ringing voice, and are the acknowledged orators of the tribe; in former times, when different tribes met in councils, they acted as interpreters of the wishes of their tribe. They claim, with some apparent justice, the chieftainship over the other clans of the Ojibways. The late lamented chief Shin-ga-ba-wos-sin, who resided at Sault Ste. Marie, belonged to this family'. In the 'treaty at Prairie du Chien in 1825, he was the acknowledged head chief of his tribe, and signed his name to that treaty as such'. Ah-mous or Little Bee, son of the late chief of Lac du Flambeau', Waub-ish-gaug-aug-e or White Crow, by 1850 was 'considered as head or principal chief of this family' (Warren 1885). 'The old war chief' Ba-be-sig-aun-dib-ay or Curly Head, 'who died' on returning 'from the Treaty' of 1825, 'was also a Bus-in-aus-e', and represented his band among those who 'struggled' with the 'Dakotas' across 'the Mississippi'. Hole-in-the-day 1st, 'and his brother' Song-uk-um-ig or Strong ground, 'inherited his chieftainship, as he died childless. 'Weesh-e-da-mo, son of' Aissaner or Little Clam, former 'British Ojibway chief of Red River', was 'also a member of this family', a US-approved 'chief of the Pembina' band (Warren 1885). Probably the chiefs were of white descent, so-called treaty chiefs. This contributed to 'the importance of this family, and its wide extended influence over the tribe'. Wherever they appeared 'they have been recognized as chieftains' (Warren 1885). 'They also boast the names of Keesh-ke-mun, chief' of 'Lac du Flambeau', 'Che-suh-yauh and Waub-ij-e-jauk' or 'White Crane, of La Pointe', 'noted chiefs' during 'intercourse with the white race' (Warren 1885). 'The small clans who use the eagle as their Totem or badge, are a branch of the Bus-in-aus-e' (Warren 1885).

'The Ah-ah-wauk, or loon totem, also form an important body in the Ojibway tribe; in fact, they also claim to be the chief or royal family, and one of their arguments to prove this position is that nature has placed a collar' or 'around the neck of the loon, which resembles the royal megis, or wampum, about the neck of a chief, which forms the badge of his honor. This dignity, however, is denied by the Cranes and other totems, who aver that the principal chiefs of the Ah-ah-wauk are descended from individuals who were on a certain occasion made chiefs by the French at Quebec'. 'This family do not lack in chiefs who have acted a prominent part in the affairs of the tribe' (Warren 1885). 'Ke-che-waish-keen' or 'Great Buffalo', 'chief of the La Pointe band, and principal chief of all the Lake Superior and Wisconsin bands, is the acknowledged head of this clan, and his importance as an individual in the tribe, strengthens the position of the Ah-ah-wauk. The chief of Sandy Lake on the upper Mississippi is also of this family. The Goose and Cormorant Totems are its subdivisions', e.g., bird totems (Warren 1885).

'The Mah-een-gun, or Wolf totem family' or category, were 'few in number' c. 1850, residing 'mostly on the St. Croix River and at Mille Lac. They are looked upon by the tribe in general with much respect. The Ojibways of this totem derive their origin on the paternal side from the Dakotas. Na-guon-abe, the civil chief of Mille Lac, may be considered the principal man of this family'. Mun-o-min-ik-a-she or Rice-maker, who by 1850 'removed from the St. Croix to Mille Lac with his band, is a man of considerable importance amongst his fellows' (Warren 1885). Needless to say there was no unified 'Wolf totem family', wolves being found all over North America and serving as a totem for individuals and families in widely scattered locations. The name 'Rice-maker' may indicate a vegetable totem, rather than a wolf.

‘The Waub-ish-a-she, or Marten family’, formed ‘a numerous body in the tribe’ c. 1850, and was ‘one of the leading clans’ or regional bands. ‘Tradition says that they are sprung from the remnant captives of a fierce and warlike tribe’ that was ‘exterminated’, called ‘Mun-dua’. ‘The chiefs Waub-ish-ash’ or ‘the Marten’, ‘of Chippeway River’, Shin-goob or Balsam, and Nug-aun-ub or ‘Sitting-ahead’, of Fond du Lac, by 1850 were ‘the principal men of the clan. The celebrated Ke-che-waub-ish-ash, of Sandy Lake, Sha-wa-ke-shig, of Leech Lake, and’ Muk-ud-a-shib or Black Duck, ‘of Red River, were members of this family’ or totem. They took part in driving the Dakotas ‘westward’ and died in skirmishes at Elk River, Rum River and on the prairies (Warren 1885). Note that the chiefs were bear, hawk, black duck or cormorant, as well as Marten.

(SC)

‘The No-ka or Bear family are more numerous than any of the other clans of the Ojibways, forming fully one-sixth of the entire tribe’ (Warren 1885). By 1850 this would imply a considerable white component, perhaps accounting for 90% of the totem ancestry; many Europeans are named after bears. ‘In former times this numerous body was subdivided’ into units named for bear parts, head, foot, ribs, etc. (Warren 1885). These are ‘united under one head’, e.g., bear, and the only difference ‘recognized’ in 1850 was ‘the common and grizzly bear’, e.g., from textbooks (Warren 1885). Bears were ‘acknowledged war chiefs and warriors’, ‘keepers of the war-pipe and war-club’, and ‘bulwarks of the tribe against its enemies’ (Warren 1885). It was imagined that members of ‘the Bear clan resemble the animal that forms their Totem’; ‘ill-tempered’; ‘fond of fighting’; keeping ‘the tribe in difficulty and war with other tribes’ (Warren 1885). This would be imagined lore, mostly Euro-American. The author, a white Chippewa, ‘observed’ that bears have ‘a long, thick, coarse head of the blackest hair, which seldom becomes thin or white in old age. Young Hole-in-the-day’, son on the first, a ‘recognized chief’ of c. 1200 ‘Ojibways of the Mississippi’ in 1852 was ‘the most noted man of the No-ka family’. Ka-kaik or ‘the Hawk’ of ‘Chippeway River’, and Be-she-ke or Buffalo ‘of Leech Lake’, had ‘extolled influence as war chiefs’ (Warren 1885). Apparently none of the noted chiefs had a bear totem, but totems such as eagle, hawk, buffalo or bison; though doubtless there were bear chiefs as well.

The topic of white ancestry

Scholars got occupied with the historical issue of white people living in the Chippewa tribe, often writing in ambiguous ways. Most or all Chippewa were of white descent by 1900, some more, some less; some wholly white. The scholars would generally try to make these fit into an ‘Indian’ mold, such as suggesting an Indian ancestry for Scottish men. They would also try to limit the white ancestry e.g. in relation to totems. ‘Since white fathers held no membership in any gentes, their children were said to belong to the eagle’ totem, since it ‘symbolized the United States’, e.g., since 1783 (Hilger 1951: 154). As noted, others would identify the white people’s totem as Chicken, others as fish, eagle, bear, etc. Obviously any totem could be white, since traders and others married into any totem clan. Examples could be: fish, frog, sturgeon, bullhead, crane, pelican, hawk, eagle, bear, dog, moose, horse, mouse, rabbit, hill, etc. Yet white people were generally seen as external and excluded from local life, such as the Midewiwin. After all, whites tried to eliminate Chippewa society. This opposition would linger. ‘I can’t be a member of a dō’dām’ because ‘my father’s father was a white man’ (Hilger 1951: 154). White blood would lead to a distancing from native culture.

Modern totemic change

The white opposition to totemism was overwhelming. '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' (Hoffman 1891). Obviously people 'of various totems or gentes' had always lived in a 'single' community.

Some totems were noted in Mide ceremonies. 'Wi-so-mi-ko-wé', an 'original maker' of mnemonic songs, 'was of the Beaver totem or gens'. Other elements included: Turtle Man'ido, otter skin, crane, bear, white bear of fire, crow's skin as thunderbird substitute, buffalo, Thunder bird, serpent, tortoise, sun, a bird, panther, the Owl Manido, etc. But overall a totemic affiliation seems to be played down in the Midewiwin ceremonies, seemingly a historical development.

In historic times the number of local totem clans was reduced from c. 14 to c. 5 in most villages; a reduction of 64%. In other places the number of surviving families or totem clans could be reduced to 4 or less. This would reflect a historic population loss of 65-99%. E.g., some villages retained up to 35% of their population, perhaps after a fusion with other reduced villages, while some places were desolated.

In one modern view the 'Ojibways' had 'five original Totems', following recent 'Medas' or mite 'priest' views (Densmore 1929: 10). This was following historic depopulation and a native revivalism based on the mitewiwin medicine lodge c. 1780. A hint at depopulation is that there were 6 totems, but one was 'sent back', e.g., died off (ibid.). The earlier number of totems would be higher, say 14. Note that the 5-6 'Totems' were vague terms: 'Awaus-e' could be any fish or reptile, 'Bus-in-aus-e' was any large bird, 'Ah-ah-wank' smaller birds, 'Noka' a bear and similar animals, 'Monsone or Waub-ish-ash-e' any other animal, apparently including two groups, 'Monsone' with moose and deer, and 'Waub-ish-ash-e' with marten and other animals. That is to say, the reduced set of 5-6 totems included a reference to earlier existing totem clans. Among the South Chippewa the totems of catfish, loon, crane, bear, marten and wolf survived as 'principal families' in 'numbers', supposed to be 80% of the people in 1880; supplemented by pike, sucker, sturgeon, whitefish, 'merman' or seal, snake or rattlesnake, duck, black duck or cormorant, goose, gull, eagle, hawk, lynx, deer or reindeer, moose or elk, beaver, and other totems. This would indicate that even though the local totemic organization had been reduced to 5-6 totem clans, at least 20-25 totems were still recognized in 1880.

A consolidation or fusion of settlements seems to have continued with the establishment of reservations or reserves after c. 1830. E.g., at Berens River c. 1910 there were c. 55 houses, but divided into 6-8 settlement areas or villages; the earliest known settlement may have had only 4-6 houses c. 1830, decimated by an epidemic; in 1910 the villages had 6-10 houses each along the river; besides there were no less than 3 missions, cultural exterminators. Apparently

the communities that settled on the reserve moved here from locations to the N, W, S and E (Hallowell 1992: 23, 34).

Totemism was countermanded by white agents. Those recognized among the South Chippewa c. 1910 were 'bear and marten' as the 'most aristocratic' of the 'animal clans', while 'crane and eagle' were prominent 'bird clans', and fish clans included 'a few of the sturgeon clan' and 'the catfish clan' as 'very numerous'. While opposed to animal totems, whites had not found a way to eradicate them, and a full range of totemic references still existed, presumably including wolf, lynx, deer, moose or horse, beaver, hare or rabbit, and other totems as well. They were simply rendered invisible to scholars, who sadly avoided the topic.

A brief summary on totemism

The intention in this rambling chapter has been to explore sources dealing with Chippewa totemism, whether briefly or at length. Hopefully the material speaks for itself; or maybe it does not. Chippewa communities and bands had awe-inspiring totemic structures that bound people together in a symbiotic and largely sustainable relationship with the environment. People took care not to deplete or damage their living surroundings and the resources they relied on. Over the centuries and millennia, ever since the people settled north of the Great Lakes after the Ice Age, they developed durable and persistent communities based on a totemic organization. The levels that are indicated are first of all the village, its moieties, phratries and series of totem clan. Beyond this are the wider world, with local bands, regional bands, tribal divisions and the tribal nation as a whole, the people of Ojibwaia. At a farther remove are other tribes and tribal confederacies, a social universe spanning most of the area E of the Rockies from the Polar Circle to the Gulf of Mexico. Throughout this vast and amazing region people were united through the ideology of totemism. Yet scholars have mostly ignored totemism, partly through misapplied puritanism, bias, prejudice and mission repression, and partly through ignorance, a lack of knowledge. That people kept totems secret did not help the scholars in their half-hearted efforts.

The first and main area of totemic organization and application was the local community or village. An attempt has been made to hint at and recover prehistoric forms of settlement. The following has been suggested as a possible common form of local organization:

(chief 2, e.g., turtle)

catfish

duck

bear

wolf

deer

beaver

sturgeon

eagle

marten

lynx

moose

hare

(chief 1, e.g., crane)

As will be noted all such reconstructions are tentative. What can be said with certainty is that totemism provided a template for a local organization. What can also be said is that Chippewa totemism has been mostly ignored and repressed, sadly also by scholars who should have known better. So the thoughts presented here are introductory. Others will have to pick up on the challenging task of diving into the ancient and complex organization of Chippewa society.

This area of exploration has wider implications. Totemism is found all over the world, and everywhere it has been ignored or repressed. Most dreadfully, totemic societies have often been exterminated, also in Canada. The worst atrocities of missionaries may have been the killing of Indian children, but they also tried to eradicate totemic communities, closely assisted by the government. Not because totemism was a threat, but because it challenged a worldview that was individualistic and bigoted. Put bluntly, totemism is about the past, and if we do not learn about the past we will have no way to appreciate the world around us.

On a lighter note, totemism can be viewed from several viewpoints. One perspective concerns the local community or village, which has been emphasized here, with a finite series of totem clans around a plaza or along a lake or river bank. Another viewpoint is that of the individual person, who received a beautiful name based on a totem dream and learned to live with the complexity of totemism through life, a subject to be returned to. Thirdly there is the wider social and political landscape, represented by chiefs who have left a mark on the early and later historical outlook in America, soon to be returned to. Finally there is the totemic landscape itself, the natural and human environment of the Great Lakes that await further exploration.

Chiefly rule

The political traditions of the Chippewa people is yet another hidden subject. As noted, American scholars had difficulty describing social life involving more than one person. While many of the observed activities were social, the perspective was mainly individual, such as what implement a participant in a game used. Of 'chiefs' it was thought that this was a 'political officer' executing the 'will' of the people and upholding 'customs, traditions, and religion'; quaintly called 'the common weal' (Densmore 1929: 131). There were 'chief men' in all 'of the several villages' of the Chippewa (Hoffman 1891).

A local 'band' or community 'was headed by a chief who was assisted by subchiefs' (Hilger 1951: 150). A chief's or chiefly position was 'hereditary', though this was not clear to scholars (Densmore 1929: 131). 'The chief of each village was ordinarily succeeded by his son although a brother was also eligible' (Kinietz 1947: 16). There would be other options, such as adoption and a nephew. Men and women 'of good repute' could become 'chiefs because of merit' (Hilger 1951: 151). Both 'chiefs and subchiefs received their positions normally through inheritance' (op. cit.: 150). Also women could be chiefs. 'The new chief did not achieve chieftainship by birth alone', s/he 'had to meet with the approval of the majority of the villagers' or representatives of totem clans (Kinietz 1947: 16). During historic epidemics people were 'rewarded with chieftainship' through showing 'courage' or simply surviving (Hilger 1951: 151).

Canada supported 'hereditary chieftains' or chiefs (Landes 1937: 2). A chief was called ogima, but one under the government became ogima-Kan, approved chief (op. cit: 3). At 'Manitou Reserve' c. 1930 chief Namepok or Sturgeon was government supported. He had inherited the title from his Fa, but people instead supported his Br who had a Midewiwin or 'Grand Medicine' connection (Landes 1937: 3). There was a 'soldier' chief, shimâkenishi, an attendant, oshkapewis, and other roles (ibid.). In the USA chiefs became government appointed puppets, and later were elected. People became chiefs because the President gave them medals, so-called medal chiefs (Hilger 1951: 151). Yet hereditary chiefs continued after 1900. 'At Sucker Creek' Abotossaway was followed by two sons in turn; perhaps Bear chiefs. At Ketikitikon there was a line of Catfish chiefs, followed by Bear and Seal in 1940; unfortunately only English names are provided (Kinietz 1947: 84).

'Chiefs were to all intents and purposes gens chiefs, and as the gentes were exogamous, marriages and family alliances were determined by the gentes' (Kinietz 1947: 69). Put differently: A chief, like other people, had a totem, and this placed him or her within the complementary series of local clans, where his or her totem clans had a leading position, as the first placed among equals.

There was training to be a chief. A chief's son 'was treated like other children', but 'was expected to grow up to be a man of good character and good sense' (Hilger 1951: 152). Presumably this meant more or less intensive instruction in history, myths, laws, etc., and attending councils with Fa or superiors after puberty. 'A chief's main duties were to preside at council meetings', 'making decisions regarding the general welfare of the tribe', 'settling small disputes', and 'representing the band' or tribe 'at large gatherings of many tribes' (ibid.). This corresponds to a political culture covering eastern North America, best known from the Iroquois. Yet much still remains to be found out about Native American politics.

‘The village chief was the head man of the village’ (Kinietz 1947: 77). This much is reasonable. ‘His position was hereditary for indeed the majority of his subjects were his relatives’ (ibid.). Here the reasonable analysis ends. ‘Most of the villages were in reality only extended families’ (ibid.). This is a simplification that is right and wrong at the same time. A village was constituted of a series of totem clans, such as 12-14 clans around a plaza. These clans were related in the sense that people had relatives with different totems. A wolf girl could have a wolf Fa, partridge Mo, deer FaMo, bear MoMo, duck FaBrHu, fish MoBrWi, etc. All these would be her relatives, fathers, mothers, grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins. Hence all the totems would be her ‘relatives’, even if not one of her close relations came from her village. If the chief was an eagle, he would be her uncle, a classificatory ‘MoBr’, since her Mo was a bird. But there need be no discernable kinship between the chief and the wolf girl; they just happened to belong to different totem clans in the village. Through marriage they entered a web of totem clans in other villages, Everywhere the wolf, partridge, eagle etc. would be the girl’s relatives, just as the chief would have the eagle, bear, marten etc. as his relatives through his parents, grandparents, spouse, in-laws and other relatives. His network of totem kin was endless.

To say that these were ‘only extended relatives’ would be a mistake, intentionally so. ‘The authority of the chief seems to have been more that of the head of the family than that of any other social grouping’ (Kinietz 1947: 77-78). This brings to mind European kings seen as ‘fathers’ of their country. But the term family ‘head’ is consciously misleading. The hidden implication is that a village was a family group with one totem, and that the clan was a territorial unit, which was never the case. Yet the received idea of a ‘clan’ community, from more or less suspect scholars ranging from Morgan to Engels and Lenin, was so enticing to a western mind that it was inserted in devious ways. It was also inserted into native minds, so that people would believe that their clan was the only rightful clan in the village, though every other clan would deny this, and the village was only held together by the series of totem clans that made up its totemic organization. If, on the other hand, a more general view is taken, that the chief had a protective caretaker role in the village, then the parental metaphor may have some relevance.

Scholars would erratically assume that since the chief had a ‘gens’ or clan, and since he represented the village, then his was the only clan in the village. This would be like saying that if the mayor of a city was called Mayor, then all the residents were called Mayor. Obviously each family or totem clan had its own totem, and the chief represented them all in political matters, his or her totem being associated with his or her role and by extension with the village. If this sounds confusing it can be reiterated that: Each village had c. 12-14 totem clans, and 1+ of those totem clans contained a local representative called a chief.

In one example a historic chief’s band c. 1840 ‘comprised about 100 persons of various totems’; whether this was men or people in general is not clear (Densmore 1929: 131). It was ‘said that some totemic groups were larger than others, but that none were considered better than the rest’ (op. cit.: 131-2): The scholar had little idea of what this meant. Some general views were ‘that a chief was respected for his personal characteristics’ (op. cit.: 131). ‘The duties of a chief included presiding at councils of the band’ or village, making decisions that concerned ‘general welfare’, settling ‘disputes’, etc. (Densmore 1929: 132). ‘He represented the band’ at tribal or intertribal councils (ibid.).

The political organization of a prehistoric village was complex. There could be 5-6 leading roles, and 5-6 assistant roles. In historic times, due to epidemics and depopulation, and colonial warfare, this would change. 'There might be a war leader as well but usually the village chief was also the leading warrior. If he was not, he might serve under such a war chief on an expedition as an ordinary warrior. In the village, however, theoretically there was no division of authority. The political organization of the Chippewa was not highly formalized. The war leader had no recognized function in village life but undoubtedly wielded considerable influence in village affairs. Shamans, too, had no de jure authority in everyday matters but the de facto situation was different' (Kinietz 1947: 78).

A white observer c. 1804 observed 'the political organization of the 'Sauteux in the Nipigon region' (Kinietz 1947: 79). Such observations included basic prejudice; 'no regular system of government'; 'petty chiefs'; 'no established laws'; etc. (ibid.). But the chief's 'dignity is hereditary', based on their 'particular tribe or relations'. Chiefs were met with 'confidence and respect' (ibid.). Instances 'of mutiny or disobedience to orders' were 'very rare'. The chiefs were seen as 'Fathers' to their followers; obviously a white view (ibid.). 'The chiefs never act as judges or legislators without the general consent of their young men or vassals, and are, therefore, not responsible for any public misfortune which might happen through mismanagement in national affairs. Their province is to preside at their public assemblies, to advise the young men and regulate matters respecting the war' and public affairs (Kinietz 1947: 79). The biased observer in 1804 saw the extensive chiefly duties as 'the narrow limits of their prerogatives, and yet they have as elevated ideas of their own importance as the most absolute monarch who ever wielded a sceptre' (ibid.). 'They have nothing particular in their dress to distinguish them from the vulgar, except a wampum belt, worn only on great occasions, and a silver medal', anciently a gorget with a totem or village mark. 'This sacred pledge of distinction is always worn about the neck, and carefully transmitted from father to son' (Kinietz 1947: 79).

'The chieftainship' at modern Ketikitekon allegedly was 'very feeble' (Kinietz 1947: 78). This would be a historic condition. Actually the chieftaincy remained hereditary at Ketikitekon; Chief Silver Scott, 'a subchief', was noted c. 1875 (Hilger 1951: 151). 'Of course there were frequently villages where, through blood relationship or simply good understanding, the village chief, the war chief, and the shaman or shamans might work together. Rather close cooperation was necessary for many situations and these different functionaries would have to get along if each were to continue in office' (Kinietz 1947: 78). While 'blood relationship' is an ethnocentrism, cooperation was a necessity in village life.

Whites had no way of understanding native leadership, since they only thought in terms of hierarchies. Chiefs 'had no absolute authority. Obedience was voluntary yet usually given by all through the confidence placed in the chief. The 'chiefs had simply the right of proposing what they might deem to be for the good of the tribe' (Kinietz 1947: 81). The contradictions are rampant; chiefs lacked authority but commanded obedience; they could 'simply' make propositions but held the power to make decisions 'for the good of the tribe'. Indian leaders wielded power through community support and political contacts, and their authority was quite as strong as state bureaucrats, though scholars did not fathom this.

Some political roles

Political roles included a second chief. Every chief needed a second man, and these in turn needed assistants. The role of second chief, usually called war chief, though that implied different roles, is poorly known among the Chippewa. Apparently the second or vice-chief always belonged to a separate totem. If the first chief was a Bear, the second chief could be an Eagle. If the first chief was an Eagle, the second chief could be a Snake. And so on. Unfortunately the composition of first, second and assistant chiefs, along with other leading village roles, is poorly documented. Whites identified the 'war chief' with war. While this was a colonial condition, as white troops attacked the Indians, in prehistoric times Ojibwaia was at peace, and the war chief seconded the first or peace chief on matters of peace, conflicts and alliances. 'The war chieftainship was attained' through 'success in leading a war party' (Kiniets 1947: 81). While this might apply to men leading small war parties in historic times, the aboriginal role was more settled. The role of second chief 'descended from father to son when the son' secured 'the confidence of people', much like the first chief. The house or totem clan of the war chief was N of the first chief W of the plaza. The totem followed the house, such as Eagle or Snake.

The historical war chief, chieftain or war leader was a separate role that became prominent in historic times c. 1650-1850, after the tribe was depopulated and pushed west by colonists, coming into conflict with the Dakota and others, and not least when fighting Anglo-American troops c. 1750-1814. There would be war leaders in prehistoric times, but these would be young men leading others, usually in groups of 5-10 people, on long trips to visit and possibly fight with distant people, but also to establish contacts. They were not necessarily condoned, but seen as hotheads who wanted action. The historic war chief was partly modeled on the old second chief, but also on the hothead leader, only on a much greater scale and becoming a colonial and early modern figure. 'While the war chiefs usually were subsidiary to the civil chiefs in the village, yet they might sometimes take over the civil chieftainship, too' (Kinietz 1947: 81). This was part of the historical role and the elevation of war leaders by whites, starting with Washington.

Woman chiefs are poorly known. This was because scholars usually ignored the presence of woman chiefs. Yet in 1880-90 there were 3 major female chiefs, or 'women of hereditary right' who 'acted as leaders of their respective bands', reluctantly acknowledged by US officials 'at the request of the' other 'chiefs' (Hilger 1951: 153). There would be a main chief woman ('okima'kwe) and a second or war chief woman (mayâw'sêwi'kwe). White observers would ignore these, dismissing them as a 'chief's wife', though clearly these were separate roles. Probably the female roles shadowed those of men, with women chiefs, assistants, messengers, women hunting camp leaders, female shamans or healers, and so on. They simply do not appear in the male-dominated white sources.

Various sub-leaders are noted. The first and second chief would represent the two sides of the village, the moieties, and the village as a whole. Another set of leaders, more or less formalized, would be the managers of hunting camps, oshkapewis, that could be phratry based. There could then be 3 phratry leaders or hunting camp chiefs in each village. These minor leaders could be involved in the initiation of boys into hunting and the vision quest. There might be similar women leaders who headed the initiation of girls to womanhood, perhaps including a vision quest; or girls might join boys in such a quest.

The system of chiefs, with village, band and tribal chiefs, first and second chiefs, and other positions, were mostly unknown to scholars. 'Associated with the chief' were two 'head men' who 'acted as his protectors'; they supposedly 'were selected from among the warriors'; if 'warriors' meant 'men' this could be partly true (Densmore 1929: 132). The third man could be a substitute chief, perhaps a messenger, or possibly a phratry leader; though confusion with the two main chiefs could be involved.

A ceremonial assistant was indicated. 'Next in rank after the war chiefs was the pipe bearer or Oshoka-ba-wis' aka oshkabewiss or 'oshkapewîs. This 'new sitter' apparently was an attendant or 'Waiter', whose task basically was to escort a chief. In modern time his 'duties were said to be officiating in all public councils, making known the wishes of his chief, and distributing among his fellows the presents which traders occasionally gave to the chief' to propitiate people (Kinietz 1947: 81). His role then was conflated with that of 'the michinawois, assistant or messenger', below (ibid.).

An assistant leader was a prominent role variously referred to as an assistant chief, steward, manager or simply assistant, mijinawe or mishinawe. Little is known about this role, that perhaps was lost in modern times; this person also could be a messenger, crier, or enter into other roles, even acting as chief. Yet apparently the term survived on the reservations or reserves, in the sense of 'administrator' or 'manager'; including the words mishinawew, to be a steward, and mishinawewîwin, 'stewardship', administration (Baraga 1991: 236). As noted c. 1804: 'The next in rank' to the chiefs 'are the Michinawois, who act as secretaries or ambassadors on great public occasions' (Kinietz 1947: 80). The stewards learned all the rules of chieftaincy and the political system; they were the bureaucrats of the Chippewa. Evidently he or she had the task of announcing decisions and bearing the brunt of public responses, as the chief was shielded from criticism.

A modern role is that of 'leader' or 'conductor', nikanisiminan, who was activated when something needed to be done (Landes 1937: 2). Other modern roles included a judge, tipakoniwewinini, a policeman, takoniwewinini, etc. (op. cit.: 3).

There were roles involving people performing speeches, prayers, and conveying messages. He could be the third man alluded to above. In a village all such roles could be held by one person. In a historic village the chief might be the only person in a confirmed leadership role, performing all the duties of leadership and speech making. Some modern communities might not have a recognized leader, or the leader was subject to white agents. Yet as indicated above, a prehistoric village could foster a battery of public and specialized roles.

There was a speaker or crier in each village. Every evening and morning a man 'walked around the camp circle' making announcements. He announced 'whether the people would go hunting or what would be done in the camp. He also gave good advice to the young people who were taught to respect him and obey his words'. The crier embodied 'the excellent principles he uttered'. 'He usually announced that it was time for the young men who were calling upon the young maidens to go home'. Without names he shamed people for episodes; 'that the young people must not steal'; that they should be sober, smoke sparingly, never disrespect women, etc. Women were not to quarrel, keep peace, not talk bad, etc.; some of this may be historic developments (Densmore 1929: 60).

In recent times there 'was no institutionalized orator. The chief was his own spokesman if he had the ability but many had specially qualified deputies for this purpose. The most renowned

orators in historic times happened to be chiefs. It is possible ... that occasionally speaking prowess was responsible for a man becoming a chief' (Kinietz 82-83). Or an orator might act as a de-facto chief.

The messenger was another developed role in villages and organizations. 'From ten days to two weeks before the day of a Mitewiwin initiation, the chief Midé' priest sends out to all the members invitations, which consist of sticks one-fourth of an inch thick and 6 or 7 inches long. The courier is charged with giving to the person invited explicit information as to the day of the ceremony and the locality where it is to be held. Sometimes these sticks have bands of color painted around one end, usually green, sometimes red, though both colors may be employed, the two ends being thus tinted. The person invited is obliged to bring with him his invitation stick. The number of sticks upon the floor are counted, on the morning of the day of initiation, and the number of those present to attend the ceremonies is known before the initiation begins' (Hoffman 1891). Messengers would perform similar tasks between villages and at tribal councils.

At least one shaman or healer was present in every community. Each village would have a shaman, healer or medicine person. Three or more such roles were distinguished, juggler, sorcerer or wapeno, and healer or mite. Yet all these roles might be held by one person. Women as well as men could fill the roles as healers or shamans. At modern Ketikitekon there was 'close friendship and cooperation between the shaman and the chief' (Kinietz 1947: 78). The shaman served 'as an assistant or second chief to' the chief (ibid.). The chief, in turn, was 'assistant shaman' (ibid.). Such mixing of roles was common; as noted, a modern chief could hold all leading roles. 'This overlapping of civil and religious functions makes for a harmonious administration' (ibid.). But there might also be competition and conflict over roles. 'There is no way of telling how frequently such a combination occurred in prehistoric times or even early historic days' (ibid.). The shaman's views and opinions had an impact on decisions. A man could become chief through a 'knowledge of medicine', such as medicines 'that caused death' (Kinietz 1947: 78). This would be an equivalent of the evil ruler; yet a person could not be chief without the general support of people. In modern times the 'medicine man' was 'the most important person' in Ontario-Manitoba villages (Landes 1937: 1-2). This was because he could enlist the help of 'the supernatural', but more likely because the whites had disrupted village councils and ceremonies (ibid.). The shaman could carry on native practices that were otherwise lost or suppressed, and became a symbol of identity and power to the oppressed minority.

The world of counciling

Band and village councils are noted, but rarely described (Densmore 1929: 132). The council was the 'smoking place' where men assembled led by 'elders' or old men (Landes 1937: 2). This may point back to a time when a council house was built near the village plaza. The village council would consist of elders or representatives from the 12 or so local totem clans plus the chief and second chief; other roles could be a chief's assistant, crier or messenger, and others, fewer or more people depending on the village. In historic times there were local 'councils consisting of all men and women past puberty' (Hilger 1951: 152). 'Women not only expressed their opinions at council meetings, but were often called upon for information' (op. cit.: 153).



Chippewa council house c. 1900 at Mille Lacs (Smithsonian Institution)

‘At a large council’, e.g., in historical times on a reservation, ‘the men of a band always sat near their chief’; they would represent a village or two. In old times a major council would consist of the chiefs from different villages and bands, plus a few others, such as messengers (Densmore 1929: 132).

One observation in 1822 was of ‘a particular body of counsellors, men of proven courage and conduct in war and in the chase, generally the heads of families. There were seldom more than seven of these’ (Kinietz 1947: 81). This was crucial information, since it pointed to the composition of village councils. As noted most villages had been reduced through European epidemics to 10-40% of their former population. Even by fusing with other village remnants, an early historic village would rarely have more than 40% of its original numbers, as new diseases struck constantly, amounting to around 4-6 totem clans. A consolidation set in by 1780, as people married whites and began to have more children. The number of 7 ‘counsellors’ or elders, representing local totem clans, could indicate an early stage in this new growth. Over time a village could reach the pre-epidemic number of c. 12-14 totem clans or families, and then exceeding this as the totem system was weakened by white intervention and control. The number of councilors or representatives would grow accordingly. In prehistoric times a village council would consist of ‘counsellors’ or elders from each of the local totem clans or families, whether 12-14 or another number.

All indications are that the Chippewa had a strong political culture of councils, representatives and voice from among the residents and people present. Unfortunately much of this culture is poorly known, since it was overridden by the external interference and control of colonial and state officials and agents, including the military. Native voices were no longer heard, until some self-government returned after 1945.

The main season for holding councils was in summer, though meetings could take place year-round. In historic times whites would prevent such councils, or be present to dominate them. Later, on reserves, there were ‘two assemblies’ held ‘in the spring and fall’ (Kinietz 1947: 83). In prehistoric times the council season may have started with spring ceremonials following the winter hunt, when local counciling took place. This would be in June in the N and May in the S of Ojibwaia. During summer there would be sequences of councils held from villages

and bands up to the tribal and intertribal level. Finally, fall ceremonials and attendant councils would conclude the season of assemblies. Yet occasional meetings may well have occurred in winter, when snow and ice facilitated travel.

A rich political tradition of representative councils and institutions ranging from villages and bands to tribal and intertribal confederacies or unions have been reported from all over North America, yet has rarely been analyzed. The Chippewa tradition of counciling forms one piece of this tapestry. 'Councils were frequently called to deliberate upon all matters touching the tribe. In these councils tobacco was cut up, mixed with' the 'Indian smoking weed' or kinnikinnick and 'passed around the assembly. The chief then stated his opinion of the proposals after which the others could state theirs. The chief's pronouncement at the end of the meeting or on the following day usually was an expression of the will of the majority'. The Ketikitan chief said that 'councils would occasionally be called by the chief to deliberate on matters in which he wished to determine the will of the village, but then the chief went ahead and did what he thought best in view of these expressions of opinion. All the older people of the village could take part in these councils. In the old days', the chief said, 'a young man had to' be 25-26 'years old before he was considered able to manage his own affairs and also, presumably, to speak in council' (Kinietz 1947: 82).

The rich political traditions, of convening a council, with ball games, dances and feast, smoking the ceremonial pipe, bringing presents and wampum for the speeches, and a day or two of preparations, followed by days of speeches and negotiations, and terminated by a day or two of closing ceremonies, could rival any senate around the world. Finding the bark scrolls of a confederative council would be a god-send.

The topics presented 'to deliberate upon' at a council is a crucial matter, but again the information is meagre. Councils used to be held every year to discuss community and political matters (Landes 1937: 2). Such matters included organizing the boys' puberty fast, passing sentences including death or expulsion, etc. (ibid.). The council would reach 'some general agreement' that people would abide by (ibid.). As noted, a chief's concerns were leadership at councils, decisions over 'welfare', settling disputes and entering large scale 'gatherings of many tribes' (Hilger 1951: 152). The policies would be formed from there. From other tribes it is known that matters could span from minor conflicts and episodes of violence, to trade, visits, land disputes, alliances and matters of war and peace. If there was a Chippewa-Ojibwa tribal center at the Sault, the confederated council there could decide to send delegates to other tribal centers, such as in Huronia, at Onondaga, on the Mississinewa, and even far to the south at present Spiro. The message of such delegations would always be the same, one of maintaining peace and establishing peaceful relations, such as through trade and visiting. Yet the impact was crucial, maintaining peaceful contact among giant intertribal alliances across eastern North America, and thus relieving people of the threat of war. Perhaps the ancient Chippewa council also had peaceful diplomatic relations with the 7-tribe Dakota confederacy before 1630; a diplomacy that only was broken when European colonists and epidemics reached the north.

Leadership was not all about peace; there also were conflicts to handle. Ostracism supposedly played a role in decision making. 'Any dissension' could end 'in the departure of the dissenters. Hence it' was 'obvious how a certain policy would be continued' (Kinietz 1947). Yet this would not be ostracism in the conventional sense, but rather the 'fission' and 'fusion' of historically consolidated villages, where newcomers might feel their interests were not adhered to. This could be put fairly strongly, that dissension and disruption set in following

the Euro-American colonial and state expansion, with 1607-1608 as landmark years. Before and after this onset was like day and night. Or at least, disruption, conflicts and warfare became common during the colonial and early state eras, c. 1700-1865.

The topic of political transmission and continuity

The transmission of power in Chippewa society is another poorly known subject. 'The succession of chiefs was not absolutely hereditary'; this would be in white terms (Kinietz 1947: 79). 'Pre-eminence in wisdom, hunting or war was required of a successor. There was no established council to consider such matters. The elders of the village all attended if they wished and the young warriors as well. Virtual unanimity was essential for the continuance of harmony. The sons of a chief were the first choice as candidates, with his brothers as second choice. There were no female chiefs'; clearly wrong. 'The eldest son was not necessarily the successor, although most frequently so. A younger brother might be deemed better qualified or be better liked in which case he was named' (op. cit.: 79-80). Some of this seems reasonable, while some is blatantly wrong. That there 'was no established council' is wrong, since the 'elders of the village all attended' and constituted a council. That 'unanimity was essential' is reasonable, since the decision affected the whole village or band. Also a general succession by a So or Br is clear. But the statement that there were no female chiefs is obviously wrong, based on white bias, since women chiefs, 'okima'kwe, are well recorded.

The chief held a special position in the village, occupying a house at the west of the plaza or near the center of the house rows. This was the location of the chief's totem clan or descent group, holding the chief's totem, such as bear. The head of this totem clan or house would serve as chief. It then follows that when a chief passed away someone else would occupy the house and become the new chief, quite likely a So, but possibly a Da, DaSo, SoSo or yoBr, all able to take over the house and the totem position, but the yoBr perhaps least likely to come into the house and occupy it. Of course an unrelated person could become chief, such as the adopted child of a chief. The main requirement was that the successor belonged to or was adopted into the chief's clan, e.g., bear.

A few qualifications must be made. In some cases no successor was ready when a chief passed away. Then some other person, such as an assistant or second chief, might become a temporary or substitute first chief. The person would occupy this role for some years until a successor was ready and approved. 'The michinawois' were 'assistants or messengers. In this role they learned the rules for being capable chiefs and were frequently chosen as successors even though there was no blood relationship to the previous chief. Usually, however, these men were the sons, brothers, or close friends of the chief so it was the same line of authority that was maintained. There was probably always someone groomed by the chief to be his successor but, no doubt, death through war or disease often disrupted these plans' (Kinietz 1947: 80). The scholar here skirted the topic of heredity by equating 'sons' and 'friend'.

Another qualification is the historical situation, in which most people died from Old World epidemics. This might particularly affect the chiefly clans in each village, who maintained alliances and contacts abroad. With less than 50% of the people surviving in any village, and often less than 10%, maintaining a chiefly organization would be almost impossible, and radical measures had to be adopted to maintain the social structure. One measure was for former villages to coalesce or 'fusion'. The surviving members of 2+ villages would unite to

consolidate their numbers. This would affect every part of local life from totem composition to territorial rights. The united remnants would have to decide who should have the position of chief, second chief, etc. People early on began intermarrying with whites, mostly white traders who may have showed up after 1620 and got native families besides their French wives in *pais bas*. It is known that many chiefs were of white descent, such as the balding Blue Nails. All this would change the intricate political system of the Chippewa irrevocably.

‘Sometimes the chosen candidate declined the office and another had to be elected. The reasons’ could ‘be aversion for poverty and responsibility. For the chief was almost always the poorest man of the village. Every-one in need came to him for help and he was the official host to visitors to the village. Consequently, some men declined the title and its honor and considered themselves better off’ (Kinietz 1947: 80). Here fiction meets history. That chiefs were poor was a common white bias. Needless to say he or she was the richest in the village, since they could call on others to help out with common tasks, including supplying food to visitors and people in need. A chief would be poor who could not commandeer help from villagers, which was a historical condition after whites controlled trade goods and other resources. Then the chief would rely on white support, a tricky situation, unless he was white himself.

‘Such cases’ of refusing a chieftaincy ‘were probably few in comparison with those wherein the rejected candidates considered themselves deserving of the position and resentful at their failure to obtain it’ (Kinietz 1947: 80). Around 1800, Ke-che-ne-zuh-yank ‘at La Pointe’ was ‘succeeded by his eldest son, A-ke-gui-ow, while the younger’, She-da-wish, led people to Wisconsin River and had a son, Keesh-ke-mun, who ‘succeeded him as chief at Lac du Flambeau’ (ibid.). The political system was robust and carried on, to a large extent, even through times of dramatic upheavals.

Some notes on conflicts and peacemaking

Since scholars had no idea about political relations or relations in general, they reduced politics to warfare and violence (Densmore 1929: 132). ‘It was a custom’ to get revenge or ‘avenge’ a ‘murdered man’ by ‘killing the murderer’; probably not true (Densmore 1929: 132). Instead they ‘could adopt the murderer into their family’; a totally different approach (Densmore 1929: 132). A third approach would be to expel the killer from the community, either permanently or for some time. Probably the common approach was to negotiate a settlement between the killer’s and victim’s family. Violence in general was abhorred, since it disrupted village life. In modern times this would change, as whites controlled the reservations and guns were common.

The white impact on native leadership was instant. ‘From the very earliest times, traders and government agents attempted to’ control ‘the chiefs’ (Kinietz 1947: 83). Control was obtained through presents, missions, military force, forced land cessions, Indian agents, etc. (ibid.). The whites in control would ‘establish a pliant man as chief’ since a ‘hereditary’ leader was hard ‘to win over’ (ibid.). This instituted ‘treaty chiefs’ or puppet leaders, leading up to the New Deal’s ban on chiefs and government-controlled business committees, until self-government was allowed c. 1990.

As for warfare, it was almost unknown in prehistoric times. A village could not attack another village, since that would threaten its own residents; total disruption would result. An indication that war was unknown, was that 'a signal of danger to the village' was given 'by a warrior' playing a 'flute'; probably this was told to the scholar as a joke, to test her gullibility, alluding to the bugles played by white troops (Densmore 1929: 132). Probably there was no warning call or call to war, except for spontaneous shouts of warning if such an unlikely event took place. Informants were annoyed by the scholar's hangup about warfare, and tested her gullibility, saying they killed the Sioux with bombs, a white practice (Densmore 1929: 133-4). Needless to say she believed everything. What little warfare took place might be in the form of traveling far away on expeditions and getting into skirmishes with distant tribes. Such conduct was not generally approved, and must be seen in relation to more peaceful forms of travel, such as trading expeditions, political alliances and courtship. Only in historic times, following European disruption of the natives, would tragic wars occur with the Sioux in the west (op. cit.: 133). Such tragic warfare, based on historic upheavals, could not be explained, and was attributed to trivial causes such as the killing of a woman, resulting in decades of war (ibid.). A lack of social approval was indicated by war dances held in isolation, with few ceremonies. As a kind of protest women walked or paddled in front of the men when setting out and returning, reluctantly giving way. If the men returned with scalps, these were unceremoniously given to the 'wives or mothers' of men lost in war; a poor consolation (Densmore 1929: 134-5).

Chippewa society was geared at peace. There were peaceful relations between villages, almost by necessity, since fighting would be mutually disruptive. Peace and alliance was fostered by frequent visits to neighboring villages and bands for purposes of trade, marriage and political talks. Alliance building would extend to bands, geographic divisions, and probably the Chippewa nation as a whole.

Not least there were peaceful relations outside the nation, first with closely allied tribes such as the Ottawa and Potawatomi, and next with other alliances such as the Huron to the east, the Fire Nation to the south, that included Menomini and Winnebago, and the Cheyenne-Arapaho to the west. Relations with the Cree to the north might be more fragmented, as there were greater distances between communities, yet generally peaceful and even closely allied.

'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' (Hoffman 1891: 153). The 'calumet' or pipe generally was a peace symbol; the war usage was aberrant.

One political tool was the sacred bundle, used to express unity or identity and to build alliances. There were several kinds of bundles. Individual bundles included a 'spirit bundle' containing a lock of hair as a memento of a deceased relative, usually a child's kept by a Mo (Densmore 1929: 77). One was a: 'Medicine-bag, pindjigossan' or pinchikosan (Baraga 1992: 168). 'After a successful fast and vision quest, a person 'invariably carried with him' or her 'some token' of the guardian spirit (Hilger 1951: 45). It was wrapped in skin and 'tucked in a small buckskin bag' along with other objects, charms and tokens, such as: a feather, claw, piece of skin, bird's head, etc. (ibid.). This became a personal medicine bag aka medicine bundle or pinchikosan (ibid.). Noted as hunting charms were 'foetal inclusions' of rabbit, pitawiwapos, and deer, pitawiwawashkesi; apparently incomplete fetuses sometimes found in animals (Hilger 1951: 120). Medicine bags appeared in the mitewiwin, called Midewayan.

This was a 'bag carried by a member of the Midewiwin'. It would contain many fetishes and minor sacks or bags: wild-cat, mink, weasel, otter, owl, rattlesnake, shell, etc.

When it comes to large tribal and intertribal sacred bundles, little is known. White scholars had little appreciation; 'principal treasures of the villagers were heirlooms such as medicine bags, pipes and other non-utilitarian objects' (Kinietz 1947: 26). The use of tribal bundles among the Chippewa would require further research. From other tribes it is known that sacred bundles were all-important symbols of unity and power, comparable to the British crown-jewels. Sadly most tribal bundles were destroyed by missionaries and ethnologists before 1920, removing the national tokens of native tribes. If there was a Chippewa bundle it would contain elements such as: pipe, eagle feathers, otter skins and much more. Even if the bundle is not known, it would represent people's strong sense of being Chippewa.

Tribal and intertribal politics

What is known is that the tribal realm consisted of many levels of organization. Starting with communities, settlements and villages of 100-300+ people, there were local bands of 2-4+ villages or 400-1200+ people, large bands comprising 2-5 smaller bands or 1500-5000+ people, tribal divisions of 4-5+ large bands or 10,-30,000+ people, and finally the tribe as a whole comprising at least 4 regional divisions with 60,000+ people. Beyond this lay the intertribal realm. The Chippewa were surrounded by 3-4 known intertribal units, the Huron confederacy, the fabled Fire Nation, the Cheyenne-Arapaho and the Dakota-Sioux union to the W. The Chippewa nation itself would be referred to as a 'confederacy', with confederate leaders or 'principal chiefs' (Kinietz 1947: 20).

From the basic level of villages or communities made up of a set of totem clans, the perspective can be expanded to chiefs from different communities, say 4-5, who represented a band, and band leaders who got together in a district or sub-tribe, who in turn got together in 4-5 tribal divisions who made up the Chippewa nation, and beyond this there were similarly constituted tribal alliances mainly with the Ottawa and Potawatomi nations, and with other tribal confederacies, such as the Menomini and their Fire Nation alliance.

Of course the modern bias is that no such alliances existed, and the wider organization of the Chippewa tribe is illusory. Yet science is based on negation, meaning that any scrap of information has to be unearthed to show that the Chippewa had a tribal organization. The confederative practices of Indian nations are gradually emerging, starting with tribes such as Iroquois and Huron, the wide-flung Fire Nation in the Ohio and Mississippi valley, and extending to tribal centers in Alabama, Oklahoma and elsewhere. The Chippewa joined such intertribal councils by 1550, leaving a gap of 200 years before the Indian nations around the Great Lakes were shattered by European colonial wars and epidemics. The 'people held sacred meetings' at 'Sault Ste. Marie' (Houston & King 1972). This gave rise to one of the names of the tribe, Saulteurs, 'People of the Falls or Rapids' (Hallowell 1992: 5). If historical myths are to be relied on, the Chippewa nation had an ancient center at present Sault Ste. Marie or Pawate'kwan, where tribal members counceled. White scholars tend to interpret all such central locations as migration stories, since there was movement to and from the center. But obviously the Chippewa lived all over their native territory long before Pawate'kwan became a mytho-political center. They were surrounded by intertribal confederacies with

grand ceremonies, such as the fabled Fire Nation council ground at Mississinewa River, so it would be strange if Chippewa leaders did not meet in similar gatherings.

Whether this was a democratic assembly is another matter. The representation in all intertribal assemblies was local, with representatives from villages and bands gathering at a central location. Curiously the US union is similar, as representatives are chosen not by individuals but by states. But scholars would probably not say that there is no organization in the USA, beyond the individual. To see if the Chippewa had a tribal organization or not, first every piece of information pointing back to prehistoric times have to be assembled and assessed. Before such research is done any strong claim will be biased.

There is a time dimension involved. Most tribal alliances are ‘recent’, in the sense that they appeared in the period c. 1000-1500 AD. Some may have been older, but inevitable demographic and social changes would obscure the precedents. If the Chippewa did have a tribal center at Pawatikonk or the Sault, this could develop late in prehistory c. 1500-1550, and faced destruction equally rapidly when European epidemics set in c. 1600-1660. Three or more village-like settlements could spread along the Sault, housing 600-900 people, with a meeting ground in the center, near today’s Huron Street, having features such as housing for representatives, a meeting ground, council house, lacrosse field, etc. The combined area would exceed 200,000 sq. meters or 50 acres along the river, and presumably none of this area has been excavated or examined in any way. Yet the possibility remains to uncover parts of old meeting grounds and structures. Today the Sault is a dreary Canadian town, but once it may have been a fabulous center.

The organization of the Chippewa nation in prehistoric and early historic times remains poorly known. It is known that there always were ‘numerous Ojibwa chiefs of importance’ who kept informed on tribal politics and the history of alliances and confederation. In historic times the chiefs kept track of the tribe’s ‘westward dispersion from La Pointe and Fond du Lac’ around 1640, reaching ‘northern Minnesota’ (Hoffman 1891). There are references to ‘the principal chiefs of the Chippewa confederacy’ (Kinietz 1947: 20). Who they were and how they operated is one more enigma. A tribal totem could be bear or eagle – unknown which.

What is known from history is a close alliance between the Chippewa and neighboring tribes. How extensive the alliance was at any point in time is not clear. Potential allies, E to W, were Algonkin, Nipissing, Chippewa, Ottawa, Potawatomi and Menomini, the last two also appearing in the southern Fire Nation. Historically the Chippewa, Ottawa and Potawatomi constituted a union, known as the Three Fires of Canada (Houston & King 1972). In prehistory, the Chippewa, Nipissing and Ottawa must have been close; perhaps also known as ‘three fires’ (ibid.). Relations with the Cree people are obscured by the turmoil and epidemics brought from Europe after 1540. What is known is that the tribes have always been close.

Chippewa laws and regulations

That the Chippewa had no laws, ‘established’ or otherwise, of course is wrong (Kinietz 1947: 79, 84). One author guessed at the ‘golden rule’ or general quiet, and ‘might makes right’; a biased view (ibid.). There were quite extensive rules and regulations, e.g., laws, *têpâkonikêwin*. These would relate to everything from economic activities such as hunting

and the treatment of game and plants, to interpersonal relations such as respect towards humans and animals, and criminal offences. The battery of laws and regulations was extensive, with a complex nomenclature. Yet white observers would mostly ignore this.

White observers would be obsessed with violence, e.g., murder. In aboriginal days murder was mostly unheard of, since all villagers were related through their totems. A common punishment could be ostracism and expulsion, which would be a virtual death sentence. The matter was left to 'the nearest relatives of the deceased who seldom failed' to punish the murderer or his relatives, if he escaped (Kinietz 1947: 84). Murder was a rare tragedy solved by the killer leaving or receiving people's pity, *kitima*. Prejudiced whites claimed the only rule was retaliation, 'an eye for an eye', a primitive Christian rule (*ibid.*). Chippewa rules were more discerning, such as a stress on keeping peace. The 'chief and other leading men would try to settle the difficulty without more bloodshed' (Kinietz 1947: 85). Even between villages the chiefs 'would counsel discretion'. As a last resort the 'culprit' might be turned over to the stricken party asking for pity; far beyond Biblical cruelty (*ibid.*). In one historic account a man offered the offended party to kill him, and they let him go; unfathomable to a white observer (*ibid.*). In 'the old days murder' was 'punished' by 'adopting the murderer'; again unfathomable, but logical; he would have to take the place of the person he killed (Kinietz 1947).

'Other crimes were robbing of all grades and rapes' (Kinietz 1949: 85). These were different offences. Robbery would be unknown, since people lived in the same village and had little to rob. Maybe petty theft was meant, which could be easily solved by returning the stolen item or reaching a settlement. Rape was more complicated, as it is in American society, where most rapes go unpunished. In Chippewa society rape would be rare, considering that all totems were related, but would be a serious incident when it occurred, with difficult repercussions that it took time to settle. As one woman said, in the old days 'nothing happened', 'no murders, no thefts, etc.' (op. cit.: 86). There were 'no loans or debts among' people (*ibid.*). Adultery was a serious breach, involving kin relations. A man might kill 'an unfaithful wife'; though probably this almost never happen, since he would be related to her people through their totems, and killing your own people is never smart (*ibid.*).

White bias led scholars to focus on violence. 'Murder usually resulted in a feud'; but this would not happen under native conditions and mostly was an Old Word importation. Instead, 'presents and the smoking of a peace pipe settled things'; far more amenable (Kinietz 1947: 86). There 'was no set punishment'; or rather, the punishment was far more delicate and judicial than white observers knew, ranging from a talking to and shaming, to ostracism, expulsion, and complex rules of settlement such as adoption, repayment through service or assistance, and numerous other rules and regulations uncommon in white society; though appearing in late modernity as ombudsman mediation, community service, and negotiated settlements (*ibid.*).

A brief summary of native politics

The Chippewa political system was geared toward maintaining peace, both locally and tribally. That chiefs wore insignia such as wampum and gorgets, later medals, indicate the wider sphere of political relations. Not least this concerns the use of wampum and wampum belts, basic to North American political alliances. Closely associated was paraphernalia such

as sacred bundles or bags, that contained the paraphernalia or insignia of political units ranging from villages to intertribal unions, and pointing back to the primordial practice of carrying bags with protective charms or fetishes. A tribal bundle can be compared to the Declaration of Independence, a national treasure held in Washington, and closely guarded. Yet white observers had little reverence for Chippewa political or sacred symbols.

What is remarkable is the complexity of the Chippewa political and administrative organization. The scholars' claim of no organization come up against a system with chiefs, second chiefs, assistant chiefs, speakers, interpreters, messengers, camp leaders or administrators, 'oshkapewis, and totem clan elders, all participating in village councils and assemblies. Then there was a corresponding range of women leaders, such as the woman chief, 'okima'kwe, assistants and spokeswomen. Beyond the local arenas was the realm of band and tribal leadership, that as noted is poorly known. Major events were organized, with impressive lacrosse games, pipe ceremonies, the eagle or peace dance, and other aspects of large-scale political assemblies that may have been held at Sault Ste Marie.

In this work the totemic angle is at the front. Totems are mostly significant on the local level, by integrating villages in a series of totemic clans. These clans in turn have representatives in the village council, headed by two chiefs. Neighboring villages had frequent contacts, both social and political. From here on matters become complicated, since little is known about the band, tribal and intertribal levels of organization among the Chippewa. One simple question would be if the Chippewa had a tribal totems, often found among other tribes. Even here our knowledge is scarce. One suggestion is that the tribe was represented by the bear totem. This might be questioned by informants, but the topic would be of interest in intertribal relations. That the Chippewa were involved in far-reaching political alliances seems clear.

Most political domains are under-investigated. This includes laws and a complicated system of negotiations and settlements. Another aspect is political stability. The Chippewa had hereditary chiefs, but white scholars would question this. A totally fresh approach is needed, where the elements of the political system are considered before the researcher decides to ignore it. As with totemism, there is much to learn about native politics that has never been properly considered. Perhaps the most significant observation is that the Chippewa are a nation, not a minority to be ruled over. One suggestion would be to set up a new Ojibwaia capitol at the Sault.

Chippewa religion

Chippewa beliefs and values are a poorly known subject. This may seem a strange claim in view of the many writings on Chippewa healing and mythology, not to mention the manitous. But the nature-based beliefs of the people, the close relations of people with natural beings, not least in the form of totems, are mostly ignored by white authors who feel more comfortable with person-based ontologies, the individual. It must be remembered that Euro-American religion is repressive, exemplified by racist missions. These repressive agents habitually claimed that Indians had no religion, while disrupting the exercise of native religious beliefs (Kinietz 1947: 152).

The native belief system encompassed the universe and a 'Supreme Being' (Kinietz 1947: 151). The supernatural permeates everything. 'Like most other tribes they believe that a mysterious power dwells in all objects, animate and inanimate. Such objects' or spirits 'are manitus, which are ever wakeful and quick to hear everything in the summer, but in winter, after snow falls, are in a torpid state'; or rather, nature rests (Hodge 1: 279).

From various sources it is clear that people saw divinity in their surroundings. The Ojibwa believe in a multiplicity of spirits, or manitos, which inhabit all space and every conspicuous object in nature. These 'manidos', in turn, are subservient to superior ones, either of a charitable and benevolent character or those which are malignant and aggressive (Hoffman 1891).

There were some prominent supernatural beings (Hoffman 1891). These included the sun (Divinity, Master of Life), moon (Divinity, Otkon), good spirit (Good Manitou, God, Air, Sky), bad spirit (Evil Manitou), earth, Manabosho, living creatures, plants and more. All of these could be summed up by the word manito, a sacred or supernatural spirit. This was 'the national religion', a worship of the divine spirits or 'Manitou' (Kinietz 1947: 152).

The 'Supreme Being' was benevolent and distant; a god of 'benevolence and pity'; he or she was 'the Creator of all things', a creative force (Kinietz 1947: 151-2; cf. Johnston 1995). 'The chief or superior manido is Kitshi Manido' aka 'Kijai Manitou' or kichimanito, the 'Great Spirit' aka 'master of Life' or 'Great Transcendental Spirit'. This was 'approaching to a great extent the idea of God' (Hoffman 1891: 163; Hallowell 1992: 72). Other names were 'k'tu manitu', 'kadabendijiget' or katapentishiket, a spiritual 'owner' or 'master' (Hallowell 1992: 72). The 'High God' was 'the controller of the universe' (ibid.). This 'High God' or 'Gitchi Manitu' 'stands apart' from other spirits. Humans were 'not accountable to this being'; probably a misconception (ibid.). He was the creator and embodiment of the universe, the sky and the firmament, including the portion of the earth where white people came from (Kinietz 1947: 152). 'The name of Ki'tshi Man'ido is never mentioned but with reverence', historically 'in connection with the rite of Midé'wiwin, or a sacred feast, and always after making an offering of tobacco' (Hoffman 1891: 163).

The sun would be the closest representation of the Great Spirit or kichimanito. 'The Sun and the Moon. Kijai Manitou, or The Master of Life, rules the universe by Michinawois or agents; two of the most considerable carry the sun and the moon around the earth', and 'consist of metal', e.g., a white perspective (Kinietz 1947: 154).

The moon was a 'Divinity', perhaps seen as Wâpôs'kwe, an old woman and partner to the sun (Hoffman 1891). The precise position of the moon in the spiritual universe is not well known, though she may have had a prominent position in prehistoric times.

The 'Earth' was a 'God' called Mesâkameko'kwe, 'All-earth-woman', called 'the great-grand-mother of all', or Mother Earth (Kinietz 1947: 55). 'Indians never dig up' roots or medicines 'without at the same time depositing' an 'offering to Me-suk-kum-mik O-kwi' (ibid.).

'The Good Spirit, Dzhe Manido, is a benign being', a historic 'guardian spirit of the Midéwiwin' and provider of 'the sacred rites of the Midéwiwin' (Hoffman 1891). This would be another 'Master of Life' (Kinietz 1947: 153). In 1822 it was said 'that all good works proceeded from Keshaymaneto' or the 'Good Spirit', in contrast to the 'Bad Spirit' (op. cit.: 164). In modern times the Good and Great spirits were conflated, along with other gods, based on white influences (ibid.).

The Evil Spirit or 'Bad Spirit', Machimanito aka 'Matchi Manitou', is less known (Kinietz 1947: 153). 'He is the author of all evil, but subject to the control of Kijai Manitou' (ibid.). He supposedly was offered 'propitiation' or mollifying 'sacrifices', though none such are known (Kinietz 1947: 151-2). It 'is thought good policy to smooth his anger by singing and beating the drum' (op. cit.: 153). Racist missionaries would assign all Indian worship to the 'devil', and white scholars somehow accepted this (op. cit.: 151). To the Indians this must seem opposite, that missions were demonic places filled with evil. Indians wisely kept their beliefs hidden from whites; over time this would lead to a religious loss (op. cit.: 152). One spirit, who abides in and rules the 'place of shadows', is known as 'Dzhibai' Man'ido', 'Shadow Spirit' or 'Ghost Spirit' (Hoffman 1891).

The 'Ani'miki' or 'Thunder God' was seen as a bird, the thunderbird (Kinietz 1947: 154). Thunder was 'an inferior deity', 'powerful and dangerous' (ibid.). This was, 'if not the supreme, at least one of the greatest of the malignant manidos, and it is from him that the Jês'sakkid', če'sakit or juggler, 'are believed to obtain their powers' (Hoffman 1891). The winds were seen as spirits aka manitous or deities (Hallowell 1992: 64). The 4 directions, W, N, E and S, were prominent in ceremonies and in relation to the village circle.

One 'Genius' or human-like god was 'Micaboche', aka Manabush, Mi'nabō'zho or Menâposhe, Manabozho, Nanabush, Nanibush, etc., 'who has cover'd the whole Earth with water' and appeared in 'innumerable fabulous Tales, some of which have a kind of Analogy with the Universal Deluge', e.g., the earth diver myth (Hoffman 1891: 154). Minaboo'zho aka 'Great Rabbit', whose name occurs in connection with most of the sacred rites, was the servant or child of 'Dzhe Man'ido', 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' (Hoffman 1891). 'Winabojo in the mind of the old Indian was the master of life' (Densmore 1929: 97). He 'endowed' all beings with life and taught each how to survive – in the form of 'ruses' (ibid.). 'Nanabozho' is the personification of life (Densmore 1929: 98). He would be yet another 'Master of Life' (Kinietz 1947: 153). He was 'second in rank to the Supreme Being' (op. cit.: 159). In mythology Manabosho appears as a trickster aka culture hero or 'buffoon', confusing white observers (ibid.). An associated name was 'Wiskendjac', 'Creator of all the Indian tribes' and 'the country they inhabit' (Kinietz 1947: 153). 'Wisekedjak' aka wi'se'kenchak or wisakenchak made the land in the earth diver myth (Hallowell 1992: 71).

Divinity also would extend to human beings after they were created (Kinietz 1947: 151). The spirits of the dead or ghosts, *chîpe*, were recognized as 'subordinate deities' (op. cit.: 164).

'Natural features, from mountains to rocks, may be the dwelling place of a deity' or spirit (Kinietz 1947: 151). In the water lived a giant serpent, a fabled monster (Houston & King 1972). Also trees and plants could be spirits (Kinietz 1947: 151).

Every 'species of animal has a supervisory supernatural power behind it', often called a master spirit or animal master (Kinietz 1947: 151). 'All species' of 'animals and plants' are 'under the control' of 'bosses' or 'owners' (Hallowell 1992: 62). There was an 'owner' for: bear, beaver, trees, birch tree, etc. It was only by permission of an 'owner that an animal could be killed or wood, plants and medicines collected (ibid.). Hence it was necessary to treat all animals and natural beings 'in a proper manner' (ibid.). The master spirits had no name, though 'bear boss', 'okima-ma'kwa, etc., might suffice (ibid.). They were generally addressed as 'our grandfathers' (Hallowell 1992: 65). There were 'animals of exceptionally large size'; 'Big Turtles' aka 'Great Turtle' or 'Mikinak', 'Big Snakes' with deer's heads, 'Great Frogs', e.g., dinosaur tracks in Lake Winnipeg, 'Thunder Birds', etc. (op. cit.: 61).

Most or all spirits could be used as protective beings in vision quests, as inferior gods, 'mediators', 'patrons', 'protectors', 'Penates' or guardian spirits (Kinietz 1947: 154-5). These were 'selected from among beasts, birds or even inanimate objects, such as remarkable stones or trees, etc.' (ibid.). Guardian spirits could take the form of 'wooden human figures, painted with vermilion', 'carefully' kept 'in a wooden box, wrapped up in swansdown and kept in their medicine bag. This precious bag is particularly consecrated to the Manitou, and is supposed' to 'contain' the 'spirit of the Divinity' (Kinietz 1947: 155). Protective spirits included: fish, snake, bird, hummingbird, kingfisher, robin, crow, duck, goose, swan, bald eagle, bat, mammal, bear, marten, otter, mink, wolf, lynx, deer, caribou, moose, buffalo or pishiki, rabbit, rock, cloud, sky, 'gods at the north, east, west, and south', thunder or thunderbird, skeleton, village, culture hero, moon, sun, great spirit, etc. (Kinietz 1947: 155; Hilger 1951: 45-47; Landes 1938: 7-9). One case was a man 'who never would kill a bear because he had adopted one of those animals as his patron'. Several would 'adopt the crow, and wear the skin of it, as a charm, about their heads' (Kinietz 1947: 155). 'All persons of note have their medicine bags and patrons, which they think highly necessary for the protection of their families', and kept shielded (ibid.).

The heavens

'Beliefs about the afterlife varied, but generally conformed with life on earth. In the sky people would beat the drum and dance at night' (Densmore 1929: 75). 'They believe in a future state and the immortality of the soul, and say that death is no evil, but a certain state that ensures a passage from this world to a better one, where good Indians will enjoy superior happiness. When life leaves the body, the soul immediately goes to the southward, to a delightful country stocked with the choicest game and all things necessary for the happiness of man, and where Kijai Manitou receives them on the banks of a beautiful river' (Kinietz 1947: 153).

'The Land of the Dead' or 'Land of Ghosts', 'djibaiaking' or *chîpayakink*, 'is located in the south' or W, accounting for a body placed 'facing' the S-W, feet first, with the head in the N-E; with variations (Hallowell 1992: 74). In the afterworld there is 'no winter', food is plenty, and 'no one is sick'; all is spiritual, a mortal visiting the afterworld, e.g., the Orpheus theme, discovered that the food he was offered could not be eaten; it was made of rotten, 'phosphorescent wood', ghost wood or *chîpayâtik*, inedible to mortals (op. cit.: 74-75). Christian lore had entered native beliefs by 1800, such as a God who 'judges' people, wicked people who go to the Devil, and a hell found 'under the earth' (Kinietz 1947: 153). 'Before they arrive' at the 'desired Paradise, many precautions must be observed. They must cross the river on a single pole, laid across as a bridge', where the 'wicked' 'fall in the river' and is swept to 'dreary regions', held by the 'Bad Spirit' (op. cit.: 153-4). As will be noted under burials, 'souls' are provided with 'provisions and other necessities for their journey to Paradise', a 4-day trip (Kinietz 1947: 154). 'The place they will go to after death' was with 'the good spirit, Ketchi-maneto' (op. cit.: 164). There were different kinds of souls. 'The real soul goes' to the 'happy hunting ground'. The spirit of a dead child 'may reenter the body of its mother' to be reborn. Souls could 'go into the shape of animals, possibly a deer'. These could be one or several souls, like 'Manabozho' had in 'changing his shape', or perhaps schizophrenia (op. cit.: 165).

'They believed that the earth will in the end be destroyed and that there will be a day of judgment'; or rather, a few people would remain to continue existence. 'The destruction of the earth was expected to be by fire' (Kinietz 1947: 164). Interestingly this is a belief found in other Indian tribes, such as the Shawnee.

Offerings and sacrifice

Offerings were a way to pacify the spiritual forces in nature. They could include tobacco, plants, skins, parts of animals, food, etc. Offerings could be made while hunting, during burials, at ceremonies etc. Sacrifices and offerings are poorly known, since whites disapproved. 'The commonest recipients of offerings were local gods or spirits. Practically every lake, river, rapid, mountain or other feature of the landscape had a spirit controlling its behavior. To these spirits were made offerings, usually of tobacco, to insure safe passage or success in the endeavor of the passerby in whatever it might be, hunting, trapping, etc. The qualities of these local gods were usually known only to the habitués of the region but strangers portaging around a rapids and encountering a rock with tobacco deposited on it recognized the reason and made similar deposits' (Kinietz 1947: 160-1).

Many offerings were made to spiritual locations and symbols in nature, such as particular rocks, hills, river crossings, etc. Ketikitekon 'has its particular spirit who resides in the hill on the east side of the lake. On the shore there are' two big rocks 25 ft apart. The belief 'is that there is a hole' to 'the top of the hill. In travelling across the lake, people always used to leave tobacco on these rocks. As long as they did so, there were never any drownings'. Recently 'there was a drowning' due to 'the neglect of this custom'. This is the 'god of the lake', who appears as a human. An 'old woman' was married to him and could 'make maple sugar on the hill' (Kinietz 1947: 161).

'There are other gods living in a high cliff toward the west end of the lake. These are called Memegwissiwuk and are in the shape of little boys. One time in a fog a man met two of them

in a boat'. 'On the top of the cliff there are some beautiful little white stones'. 'These are the usual abodes of these gods. They can be used as ornaments but the Indians never take more than one stone' (Kinietz 1947: 161-2). A flat stone outside the chief's house 'is regarded as a medicine stone', and 'mentioned in the midewiwin ceremonies' as a sacred stone. 'Tobacco offerings' are 'placed on its surface' (Kinietz 1947: 162).

'Offerings were not made directly to the gods'; 'everything was given to the head god and he in turn notified the others of the east, west, south and north and those below the earth. The order of gods was first the head god, then the sun, the four directions and the subordinates'; this emphasis on the 'head god' might be a Christian impact (Kinietz 1947: 162). In practice people would supplicate a manitou directly and make offerings, such as 'to the god of the lake'. Christian influences would affect views of the Supreme Being, hell, the Devil, etc. (op. cit.: 163).

Tree sacrifices were common. Offerings could be hung on trees. Some sacrifices were called: metai-sas-sah-ge-ge-witch-e-gun or puk-ketch-e-gun-nun, a friendly offering; sah-sah-ge-witch-e-gun, a war offering (Kinietz 1947: 159). Articles sacrificed could be tobacco, food, clothing or skins, rocks or whatever was at hand.

Tobacco was used in the pipe ceremony (Hoffman 1891). Tobacco was an important sacrifice, since it was used during prayers and ceremonies. The smoke could be seen as a messenger to the spirits or manito.

Some offerings were made to the spirits of the dead, such as food and tobacco at a grave. Similar offerings might be made to a fire place. Food and tobacco may be thrown 'in the fire' as an offering 'to the spirits of the dead', not necessarily to 'any particular person' but as a commemoration (Hallowell 1992: 76).

Magic and the supernatural

Religion is not a clear-cut area of social life. Anthropologists and other social scientists respond to this by substituting the term religion with words such as 'belief', 'value' and 'code'. There are implicit conflicts between more or less innocuous beliefs and convictions that may have drastic consequences. Religion had a mysterious, dangerous and dark side. This would include magic, sorcery and witchcraft beliefs.

'The Chippewa, more than many other tribes, believed in the use' of 'charms' (Densmore 1929: 197). Personal fetishes, amulets or talismans were many. They could be parts of animals or birds, or natural or manufactured objects, like fish, shell, raven, owl, wolf, rabbit, bone, rock, etc. (Hoffman 1891). There was a rabbit or hare charm, pitawiwapos. A love charm had 'boy and girl figures on a rabbit foot base' (Kinietz 1947: 66). Entities noted included: herbs, serpent or snake, etc. Love magic was made from menstrual blood (Hoffman 1891: 258).

The Mite were occasionally linked to witchcraft. The powwows or powerful men 'always unite witchcraft with the application of their medicines'. 'Witches and wizards are persons supposed to possess the agency of familiar spirits from whom they receive power to inflict diseases on their enemies, prevent good luck of the hunter and the success of the warrior. They are believed to fly invisibly at pleasure from place to place; to turn themselves into

bears, wolves, foxes, owls, bats, and snakes. Such metamorphoses they pretend to accomplish by putting on the skins of these animals. Many receive the name of witches without making any pretensions to the art' (Hoffman 1891: 237).

At Berens River there was 'a widespread belief' that 'sorcerers can transform themselves into bears' at night; called 'bear walkers'. In one account a man heard a bear and told it to go away, which it did; supposed to be a sorcerer (Hallowell 1992: 67). 'The soul might become detached from the body previous to death', 'and yet not depart far from it until long afterward. It was this dissociation that permitted them to learn of the route to the afterworld, but souls of persons in a trance or lethargy were not permitted to cross the stream guarding the place of spirits'. A 'sick person' was told not to move about since 'his shadow' or soul 'was not well settled down' and might be lost (Kinietz 1947: 164-5).

Prayers

Surprisingly little is known about the sacred Chippewa prayers. What is known is that prayers spanned from individual supplications to ceremonial speeches (Kinietz 1947: 151). 'Most of the supplications of the Indians are directed at' spiritual 'beings responsible for affairs affecting their daily life' (Kinietz 1947: 151). Prayers were concerned with animals and plants, protecting health, and other issues. One general feature was a supplication for pity or protection from the manito. Every natural or supernatural being could be asked for pity or protection, such as a bear. It is curious that Chippewa prayers are not properly known. A major reason would be white and mission oppression. One way of getting around the dearth of information is to point out that most ceremonies had an elements of prayer. A dance performance could be seen as a prayer in itself, embracing much of ceremonial life, which is the next topic.

Dances and ceremonial life

Ceremonies, rituals and dances formed a significant but largely undescribed part of Chippewa life. The ritual specialist would occupy a combined role of healer, shaman and priest. In historic times this role was filled by the Mide priesthood (Hoffman 1891). Biased white observers claimed there were 'no public priests nor any particular form of worship', at a time when the Midewiwin formed a strong influence on native communities (Kinietz 1947: 152). In prehistoric times there would be leaders for every dance and ceremony. Even in modern times ceremonial performances would play a significant role in local life.

A popular dance attire was a roach with moose, deer and porcupine hair (Densmore 1929: 161). A report in 1822 claimed that people 'intermingled in all their dances', 'man and wife' danced 'together, the single men together and the single women together' (Kinietz 1947: 92). Probably the participation in dances was more complex and depended on the occasion.

From a general perspective native dances are poorly known. Mention is made of social dances, Midewiwin dances, etc. (Densmore 1929: 197). As with other topics, totemic references are carefully avoided by the scholars and probably also by the informants.

A list of dances:

Fish Dance.
Snake Dance.
Eagle Dance.
Bear Dance.
Wolf Dance; see Begging Dance.
Dog Dance, Un-nim-mouche-ou-ka.
Deer Dance.
Elk or horse dance.
Buffalo Dance, Pechikkey-au-ka.
Beaver Dance.
Rabbit Dance.
Chief Dance.
War Dance or Pipe Dance, aka O Poigun-onimi.
Scalp dance.
Woman's dance aka 'squaw dance'.
Corn Dance.
Pipe or Calumet Dance, O Poigun-onimi aka 'opwâkanonimi.
Side Dance.
Powwow Dance, aninisinabenemediwin.
Heathen dance.
Dream Dance.
Common dance.
Drum Dance.
Medicine Dance aka Mide or Midewiwin dance, Metay-win-ou-ka.
Begging Dance, Sho-we-ne-meshin.
Adoption dance or ciwindum.
Dakota or Sioux Dance.
Fire Dance or Sorcerer dance, aka Wabeno-au-ka or wabeno-dance.

Sun Dance.

Etc. (e.g., Kinietz 1947: 92).

- Most of these dances have not been extensively described.

Dances and ceremonies would follow a more or less seasonal pattern.

Winter (pipon)

Unfortunately most of the winter celebrations are not recorded.

False face or mask dance.

Apparently the Chippewa had false face performances in late summer or fall, possibly into the winter. Mention is made of men wearing masks to scare children. One such mask, 'with a projecting stick for a nose', could be part of a ceremony (Densmore 1929: 59).

Begging Dance, Sho-we-ne-meshin.

This may have been held in fall or early winter. It could be the same as the Wolf Dance. 'The Begging Dance' was 'conducted by dancing to the Drum and Gourd, assisted by the singing of the women from door to door, and generally ends as soon as the master of the house shall have distributed something among them to eat and drink. They are always full painted and at the fancy of each' (Kinietz 1947: 95).

Dog Dance, Un-nim-mouche-ou-ka.

'In this dance', perhaps held in winter, 'the music and decorations are the same as in the fire dance. This dance is indicative of great distress from hunger and they all dance with their heads down as if depressed in spirits' (Kinietz 1947: 95). This also could be related to the Wolf Dance, perhaps a variety.

Snow snake (šošoman).

At an arena near the village people tried to slide a smooth stick, a snow snake, as far as possible. It would seem that throwing snow snakes was a community exercise, since the implements had totem marks allowing 'the owners' to 'claim their sticks when many fell near together' (Densmore 1929: 68).

Bear ceremony.

Some scholars claimed that the Chippewa took part in a circumpolar tradition called the bear cult. When a bear was killed, usually in mid or late winter, its 'carcass' had to be given a 'ceremonial treatment' (Hallowell 1992: 62). Unfortunately little is known about this ceremony. 'An offering of tobacco was made and a feast held, not for the animal itself but for the 'owner' of the bears, the master spirit (ibid.). The nose was cut off and hung on a pole; the skull was hung in a tree (ibid.). Dogs were not allowed to gnaw bear bones, and only men could eat the tongue and heart. If the animal was not treated properly, the 'owner' would make it impossible to catch more (ibid.). The 'use of an animal ... involved an obligation to the controller of the species' (Hallowell 1992: 62). Perhaps the 'controller' can be compared to a niche, which has to be looked after to protect a species; a bear needs a large habitat, so disturbing her involves intricate ceremonies.

Bear Dance.

A twisted white story noted 'a man, wrapped in a bear skin', jumping 'from hole to hole' to avoid being shot. Another account said that a young man would hide in a shallow ditch and was shot at 'with blank cartridges', acting like a bear. He would then jump out and dance

around. Finally the 'bear' was caught and placed in a lodge with an attendant, being set free after performing various 'rites'. Probably this was fiction or play, like hazing. A proper bear dance might involve people dancing while emulating bears, with or without skins (Kinietz 1947: 109-110).

Spring (sikwan)

In spring, when food was plentiful, there was 'feastings', in which 'the whole village' took part, including children and dogs (Kinietz 1947: 50-51). The reference may be to a spring ceremony in May-June, after people returned to their village. The feast lasted 'a few days', with 'large quantities' of food consumed (op. cit.: 51). Unfortunately the white sources were biased, seeing this as waste, with no details (ibid.). 'It was only at public feasts that they sat down to a meal... The men, women and children ate their share, and each individual was helped with his portion in a separate dish' (Kinietz 1947: 60). Presumably feasting took place throughout the year. People 'used to eat dog's flesh at feasts'; a hidden topic in historic times (op. cit.: 63). 'If invited to a feast, each person takes his own dish' or plate (op. cit.: 64).

The term 'first fruits' was used indiscriminately to indicate the first plant or animal food of the season; it might also refer to a boy's first hunt. This 'was a ritual after the killing of the first bear of the season, the first beaver, and the first of other animals, and on the harvest of blueberries, wild rice, wild potatoes', maple sugar, etc. (Kinietz 1947: 56). It involved a feast and a speech 'to manido' praying 'for safety, health, and long life' (Densmore 1929: 124).

A seasonal village ceremony may have been held in May-June, after the weather got warm. This would be related to the historical powwow, noted below. 'At their public assemblies, their chiefs or old men officiate as priests; they address' the 'Master of Life' in 'long and eloquent speeches, thank him for the blessings they enjoy, and implore his protection against the malice of their enemies. Songs and hymns, composed upon sacred subjects, are then sung, accompanied with the drum and rattle, and the service generally concludes with the distribution of a feast and several rounds of smoking. When performing this last part of the ceremony, it is necessary, before smoking, to incline the stem of the pipe towards the south, no doubt as an offering to Kijai Manitou, who is supposed to reside in that part of the heavens, then towards the earth, the rising and setting of the sun, after which the performer smokes a few whiffs and gives the stem to the next person' (Kinietz 1947: 156). Unfortunately the sources rarely refer to the exact dates of ceremonies being held.

Snake Dance.

This dance may have been held in spring or summer, though little is known about it. One dubious scholar claimed that people would 'strip naked' 'in the dark', 'rubbing against one another to the beat of a drum', associating this with 'peyote'; no doubt a biased view based on mission influences (Landes 1938: 50).

Summer (nipin)

A dance area could be enclosed by a structure or brush fence. A 'log dance house' began to be erected in historic times (Densmore 1929: pl. 5). Such dance houses would become prominent features of modern Chippewa villages. At Pikangikum in July 1932 there 'was frequent dancing on specially prepared ground' and in a dance house for the 'Wabanowiwin' (Hallowell 1992: 9). The 'Wabano pavilion' could be 20x70 ft (op. cit.: 75). 'At night the beat of a water-drum often reverberated' (op. cit.: 9-10). In summer 'sweethearts' met at

ceremonies, dances, and on other occasions', indicating that this season provided occasions for men and women to meet (Hallowell 1992: 56).

Fire Dance, Wabeno-au-ka aka 'Wabanowiwin'.

This could be held in summer, as in July 1932 (Hallowell 1992: 9). As noted c. 1804 'this dance derived its name from the actors in it dancing actually on the embers, and sometimes putting fire in their mouths and grinding it to ashes. There was the usual music with this dance and decorations of all sorts. The Indian name of this dance, Wabeno-au-ka, indicates that only wabenos took part'. By 1947 the dance was 'recalled' but unknown. It was thought 'that an infusion of yarrow was one of the devices used by wabenos to protect their skin against the hot objects they handled', 'in modern times' used 'in treating burns' (Kinietz 1947: 95).

Medicine Dance or Midewiwin dance, Metay-win-ou-ka.

This was also called a medicine ceremony. Apparently this was held in summer, June-August. 'When the midewiwin was given only once a year at a gathering of great numbers of the tribe, there were several mides participating' (Kinietz 1947: 207). Dates at Ketikitekon included August 10 or 11, 1939, June 2-9 or 10 and July 2, 1940 (op. cit.: 99, 194, 198). As noted the origin may be historical, in response to epidemics and depopulation, leading to a millennial movement of nativism c. 1750-80. 'Midewiwin is thanksgiving for past health – the borrowing of life from the gods' (op. cit.: 179). 'The sixth dance listed' in 1822 'was termed the greatest of all their dances', e.g., a part of the historic revitalization. 'It is a religious and medicinal ceremony, with dancing playing such a minor part that its common name is a misnomer. There is so much ritual and myth involved with the medicine dance or midewiwin that it is 'treated separately' under healing (Kinietz 1947: 95-96). The 'midewiwin or medicine dance' served 'as a curing device', a 'means of recovering health', and 'a thanksgiving for the continuance of health'. The 'midewiwin among the Chippewa' would 'best' exemplify 'the relation of man to the supernatural forces'; making it a target of missions and white agents (op. cit.: 174). 'Dogs are always chosen for the feast' (Haines 1888: 368). There was a native cross with offerings of skins and cloth; associated with tree offerings, in gratitude of divine favors (Kinietz 1947: 174).

At Ketikitekon in 1940 the Midewiwin dance was held openly, but white people were not allowed to attend (Kinietz 1947: 187). It was held in a medicine lodge 70x12 ft (op. cit.: 188-9). The power 'of the ceremony is symbolized by the megis, a small sea shell, *cyprea moneta*' (op. cit.: 187). The evening before there was a feast, and people were invited (op. cit.: 189). The first morning there was another feast (Kinietz 1947: 191). 'After the feast the mide goes around and talks to everyone telling them that they are sitting with the gods. He gives each one a megis. The megis for the first degree has a yellowish back, for all succeeding degrees it is sort of bluish. Each person keeps the megis he is given. He may have several of them and when he gets old enough to give the dance he may pass them on to others' (ibid.). Most action is at the E side. There are wooden figures 'shaped like a carrot' depicting 8 gods plus 4 on door posts, in all 12 gods, probably totemic (Kinietz 1947: 192-3). 'There are twelve gods present at each meeting of the midewiwin. The one outside of each door is its guardian', perhaps a bear or snake.

Creatures mentioned included: snake, turkey, owl, bear, otter, mink, weasel, skunk, fox, squirrel, etc. Others could be: turtle, fish, hawk, wolf, lynx, deer, moose, rabbit or hare, etc. Twelve of these would be the 'gods' or totem animals. 'The one outside of the East door has to be placated before entering the lodge' (Kinietz 1947: 193, 200). White observers remained ignorant of events: 'I was able to observe nothing'; 'usually only the women' danced; it was

like 'services conducted in Latin' (op. cit.: 193, 204). 'Dancing' is 'clockwise', E-S-W-N-E (Hallowell 1992: 74). There was some instruction of candidates behind a partition of blankets. 'The candidate is given instructions about the various gods and what to do in the ceremony. He is told to consider his life, what it has been, and what it should be in the future'. There were instructions drawn in the sand, 'which do not amount to much' (Kinietz 1947: 192).

Here a crucial element is mentioned: 'A medicine skin or goskibidagan is given to the candidate for every performance'. There are 12 different skins used. 'Their ascending order is: otter, mink, owl, snakeskin, bear paw, cub hide, grizzly claw, part of a big bear hide, skin and feathers' from 'a turkey, grey squirrel, and weasel. If it is necessary to hold the midewiwin more than twelve times, any of these skins may be used a second time. Sometimes people have acquired other skins', e.g., skunk, fox, 'pine snake', etc. 'A person attending a performance carries a medicine skin that he has acquired when he gave the ceremony. Usually it is the last one obtained but sometimes he has a favorite'. An individual 'past seventy' may carry 'an owl skin' and children of 5-6 'a grizzly claw. When the medicine skin' is not used it is 'tucked behind' the 'framework of the lodge' (Kinietz 1947: 207). Totemic symbolism would be involved, though somehow subdued in their expression.

'When the people return for the afternoon ceremony the blanket partition is taken down. The blankets and other gifts are hung on a pole suspended horizontally lengthwise of the lodge from the top of the framework at the east end. The people go around the outside of the lodge silently four times in single file', either counterclockwise or clockwise, and then once before entering (Kinietz 1947: 195). There are offerings and a feast (ibid.). People hold the megis in the mouth, spit it out, and put it in their medicine bag (op. cit.: 196). The candidate, lying down, is shot with the megis (op. cit.: 186). Finally presents are distributed and people leave (Kinietz 1947: 197).

War Dance.

The so-called 'war dance' attracted white attention; though a historical phenomenon. This belonged to the summer season of dancing. It could also be called a social dance or a summer dance. The war dance, aka menisenowikontewin or 'War feast', was noted as held before a group of men set out to go war. War parties would be small, 2-12 men (Haines 1888: 369). Paraphernalia included a war drum 'and a turtle shell' (Densmore 1929: 134). An indication that this was a recent practice and somehow not approved, was that a war dance was held in isolation. 'None were allowed near except those who were to go with the warriors' (ibid.). There is reference to 'scalp dances', apparently a part of a war dance at the return of a war party, and possibly a historic development (op. cit.: 135).

The war dance included many rituals, dances and feasts, mostly social and peaceful. Whites in 1804-1822 and later were only focused on one thing, which was a war performance, also known as 'striking the post'. In 'the commencement of the war dance, the foreman' or first dancer 'struck against a post or a tree with a war club or tomahawk and told how many foes he had killed or taken previously, and so on with every one present who had taken a scalp or secured a prisoner' (Kinietz 1947: 92). A 'war dance' performance in 1804 gave 'a representation of the different manoeuvres of discovering, attacking and scalping an enemy. The performer begins with a dagger' or 'weapon, which he flourishes ... while dancing'; he 'hops along for some time' with 'caution', 'squats down suddenly on his hams behind his weapon', feigns motions with 'a gun', running and 'striking' an enemy. He even pretended 'to make a circular incision' as if scalping, before finishing with 'the whoop and dances around the circle'. Apparently most performances were stylized, paying 'attention' to 'the measure

and cadence of the music' (op. cit.: 92-93). 'As the man describes how' he killed 'the enemy', 'the drum gives a sympathetic tap' (op. cit.: 97). 'This ceremony was concluded with a feast', without 'music or singing' (op. cit.: 92).

'Occasions for participation in the war dance as a martial celebration are now past, but there is still a dance with the same name at Lac Vieux Desert' in 1940. 'It is now partly social and partly medicinal in purpose. The medicine man prescribes a war dance for the benefit of his patient and people are always glad to oblige. Food and drink or at least drink are usually offered the dancers. The flat two-headed drum, *gaywaygans*, is used exclusively on these occasions'. 'These dances are almost always held at night and indoors'. 'The dancers include men, women, and children. Movement in the dance are very individual, some dance in one spot, others move around clockwise. The Great Spirit is addressed on occasion and there is also smoking of the peace pipe' (Kinietz 1947).

An 1804 observer 'distinguished between the war dance and' the 'grand calumet dance', while the 1822 report 'used the names war dance and pipe dance' together (Kinietz 1947: 93). Presumably the calumet dance was a more solemn event, e.g., at major councils.

Chief Dance or *okima* dance.

Apparently this was poorly known and not performed much (Landes 1937: 111). 'Spring and fall are the conventional times for holding this dance' (ibid.). It could be considered to be a clan dance, since the chief represented a totem clan in the village. All such dances appear to have been abandoned in historic times.

Calumet Dance or pipe dance.

'The Grand Calumet dance is only performed on some extraordinary occasion; in fact, all the northern tribes, especially the *Maskegons* and those about *Lac Lapluie* and *River Ouinipic* seem to have entirely neglected it, but the *Pilleurs* and their southerly neighbours take great merit in their superior knowledge of this dance' (Kinietz 1947: 93). 'The dancer is provided with a rattle in his right hand and war pipe stem' or rather peace pipe, 'in his left. This stem' is 'ornamented with feathers of different colours, small locks of hair and bits of riband suspended from it at equal distance near the extremity. The tail feathers of the *kiniew* are fixed in such a manner as to form a beautiful section of a circle, which falls down, and whose radius forms an acute angle to the end of the stem' (ibid.). 'He holds the stem in a horizontal position, keeping exact time with the song and drum, shaking his rattle in every direction, and working himself up by degrees into many strange and uncommon postures, stamping furiously along, with his body sometimes parallel to the ground, twisting ... and turning' while 'keeping time with the music. At intervals, he brandishes his stem or rattle towards some spectators in such quick and masterly a manner as' to surprise 'a mere stranger' or white onlooker. 'The performer finishes by presenting his implements to another person, which is always considered a compliment, and in this manner the dance continues so long as there are parties willing to join' (op. cit.: 93-94). Following historic depopulation 'all the bands did not give equal attention to the calumet dance', leading to confusion about its peaceful intent (Kinietz 1947: 94).

Common Dance.

'The common dance, in which both sexes join ... is performed in the following manner: the body is kept a little inclined forward, the feet close together, with the knees bent, the arms and hands quite close to the sides, and the elbows projecting backward. In this posture, they hop in all directions, sometimes on both feet at once, and at other times raising each foot alternately.

One or two begin the dance, others soon join, and a motley group of men and women are formed, without any regard to numbers, having neither variety in their steps or figures'. 'The graceful movements of the body' focus on 'keeping time to the music by stamping' on 'the ground and swinging their shoulders and their hands close to their bodies' (Kinietz 1947: 96-97). This would be an early version of the powwow, described below.

Drum Dance.

When a new drum was made, such as for the powwow, there was a 2-day dance. The drum was painted red, blue and yellow. 'The yellow is said to represent the path of the sun; the red, the southern or lower part of the sky; and the blue, the upper or northern part'. These were also the colors used by powwow participants (Kinietz 1947: 106-7). Paraphernalia may have included a 'snowy owl wing' (Hallowell 1992: 83). A drum dance pavilion could have a diameter of 12-14 m or 40-46 ft, similar to a powwow dance-house (Hallowell 1992: 78).

Woman's Dance or 'squaw dance'.

This was generally ignored by male scholars. In modern times this was held 'at the time of the commercial powwow' (Hilger 1951: 113; Landes 1937: 113-4). In this dance women 'chose their partners for each occasion'; each couple exchanged gifts, e.g., horse and beaded-bag; these dances sometimes lasted 10-14 days around 1890 (ibid.). That is to say, many different dances were included, such as a Chicken Dance.

Heathen dance.

This obviously was a name coined by missionaries, destroyers of native culture. Words used to denounce these dances included 'heathen', 'the beating of the drum', 'opposites' to Christians, 'throbbing of the drum', 'drinking' blood, 'bare' chest, 'beads adorn their bodies', 'skunk skins', 'deviltry on hand', etc. (Kinietz 1947: 97). This would be mission lore, fictive and demeaning. Curiously the mission denounced hair 'stiff with pomatum', thus including white heathens. 'The drummers sit in the center, chanting; the men start up, and dance round them'; some 'motions' were of killing 'and scalping an enemy', e.g., from the war dance (ibid.). 'Then there is an interval or rest'. 'Next some man dressed in ancient Indian garb, nearly naked, painted, with feathers in his hair and a tomahawk in his hand, gets into the arena and makes an address'; supposedly about 'killing' enemies. Another 'orator' would talk about serious matters such as a native 'grievance', 'or some important project that is on hand. At the dances all important things are discussed'. 'The dance is the arena where they strive to outshine each other in eloquence', and 'bid for popular favor' (op. cit.: 97-98). This would indicate the relation of dances to practices of counciling. Presents were given away and exchanged.

Eagle Dance.

There would be dances and ceremonies associated with local and tribal councils, though most of these are poorly known. The 'eagle-dance' was noted in 1832 (Hilger 1951: 113). This may have been associated with the pipe dance and councils, but the details are missing.

Beaver Dance.

A ceremony with a 'beaver head-dress' was noted (Densmore 1907). Danced in a house around a pole, the men moved slowly with their backs to the pole, women outside them facing forward. This may have been an old clan ceremony.

Rabbit Dance.

One mention of a Rabbit Dance was a 2-step received from the Dakotas c. 1900, called a 'sweetheart dance' (Landes 1937: 24). In prehistoric times a rabbit dance could be a part of a cycle of totem clan dances.

Dream Dance.

This attained its modern form dated to 1880-90 'among the Chippewa of Wisconsin and Minnesota', reminiscent of 'the Ghost Dance of the Plains'. One observer thought such dances 'derived from older ... messiah movements inspired by earlier prophets' (Kinietz 1947: 96). It was supposed to inspire the Powwow Dance. 'The Dream Dance or Powwow was based on old dance forms perhaps like' one called the 'common dance' (ibid.). An older dream feast or 'real' feast, wêñchita-wikontewin, could 'be held at any time', based on someone's dreams (Haines 1888: 369).

Dakota or Sioux Dance.

The 'Sioux dance' was thought to be introduced in 1889, similar to the Dream Dance (Kinietz 1947: 98).

Fall (takwakik)

The 'harvest of the wild rice' in September was attended 'by a ceremony of thanksgiving before any of the new crop was used' (Kinietz 1947: 68). This may have been part of a general fall ceremony or dance, before people prepared to leave the village for the hunting camps. In modern times this 'harvest festival' was 'of course' dropped after white pressure (ibid.).

The fall or late summer ceremonies are in general poorly known. What is referred to as 'first fruit' feasts, spread out across the year, may have been prominent in fall, e.g., celebrating the rice harvest. 'A great Ojibwa feast was held during each autumn (Houston & King 1972). This was when people had dried and stored plant food, in particular wild rice, for the winter ahead. Also the approach of the hunting season was celebrated. People prepared to move to the winter camp. Unfortunately little is known about this fall ceremony. 'It was a celebration with singing and dancing' (Houston & King 1972). Before leaving the village the graveyard was visited and tended. 'Food was burned and offered to the shades of the dead' (ibid.).

Buffalo Dance.

This may have been held in late summer or early fall. 'In the Buffalo Dance, 10, 15, or 20 Indians, or 100 will come together, armed with different arms of defense, painted' in 'variety, wearing Buffalo Horns and Heads, and every other kind of skin', 'surmounted by bells round their heads, knees, and ankles and feathers. Habited in this way they dance to the sound of the drum and rattle, the whole, men and women, keeping time with their voices. After dancing a certain time, the dancers will form a ring by setting down each man on his heels, when the foreman, at the tap of the drum will start off as if to alarm the flock, by crying out Boo, hoo, hoo. Three persons going round the circle, as if to keep them together, or in the herd, and by repeating this ceremony until their strength or inclination fail them, this dance ends' (Kinietz 1947: 94-95).

Games resembling gambling took place in fall, and could engage people for days, perhaps mostly men (Kinietz 1947: 58-59). One game that may have been played in fall was the bowl and dice game aka dice. 'A large wooden dish is provided in which they put a certain number of thin circular bones' or dice, one side black and the other white. Men and women would

play, sitting in a circle. 'The game begins by a person taking hold of the dish in a horizontal position and striking it gently on a blanket' on the 'floor', and 'by making the' dice 'bounce into the air, they fall and settle in the dish, and all which fall their black faces uppermost count'. The bowl goes by turns 'around the circle. The holder at each stroke' utters 'to ensure good luck'. Though the luck varied, people played with 'patience and good humour', unlike white gamblers (Kinietz 1947: 89).

As part of the fall ceremonies, in addition to bowl and dice, the moccasin game was played. Around 1800, late 'in the fall', people 'went to Ke-nu-kau-ne-she-way- bo-ant'. While there they took part 'in gambling'. 'One of the games' was 'that of the moccasin', played 'in small parties', e.g., 3-4 on each side. Others formed 'interested spectators'. Three or four moccasins were used, one holding a hidden object, and the player had to guess which moccasin. For distraction the opponent could shout 'way-hi' 'all the time'. There could also be 'a singing and drumming accompaniment'. The player wins by choosing the moccasins that do not have an object. The stake could be an ornament, 'a beaver skin', 'a blanket', etc. A gambling session could sometimes last 3 days. 'Boys began to play at a very early age and even the women gambled but not nearly as incessantly as the men' (Kinietz 1947: 90-91). One scholar noted that older men played against younger men in the moccasin game (Landes 1937: 108)

As noted false face ceremonies perhaps led into the winter season.

The Powwow Dance

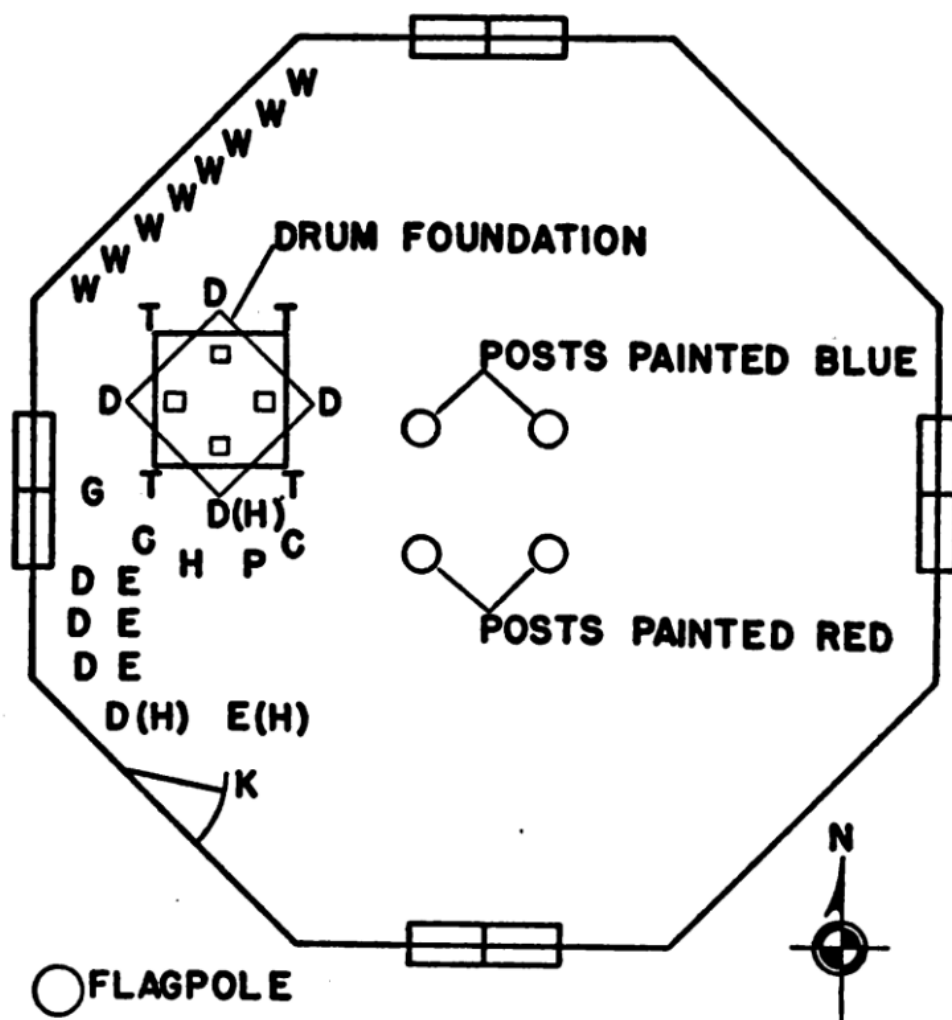
The most prominent dance in modern times during any part of the year would be the Powwow Dance aka Pow-wow, anisinabenemediwin. It was usually held in summer. 'Before the introduction of the Pow-wow, the Ojibwa had ... no permanent or specialized dancing halls. Their custom had been to throw up a temporary long tent, of the same design on all occasions', similar to ones at Midewiwin and okima dances (Landes 1937: 114). The Indians at Ketikitekon 'periodically celebrate a dance they call anisinabenemediwin or Powwow Dance. This ceremony is also a religious affair but is not as intricately connected with the ancient practices and traditions as the medicine dance. It is considered to be much more social by the Indians. Many features of the dance are according to old patterns'. Supposedly one inspiration was the Dream Dance in 1880-90; but dances are generically social in nature (Kinietz 1947: 96).

'The giving away of property by dancers is a very important element in the powwow'. The 'heathen dance' described by a missionary 'included this trait' (Kinietz 1947: 97). In the dance, 'in order to gain the reputation of great men, they give away their property to each other, a horse, a blanket, a gun, anything they have. The man, as he goes capering round the ring and whooping', 'suddenly sticks a rod in the ground before another man. That is the pledge of a horse that he gives to that man', and 'all the others look on him with admiration'. The 'dance works on them to give away all they have'. This was 'one reason why they keep up the dance , to get presents'; in spite of the missionary cursing them (op. cit.: 98).

There is a comprehensive description of the powwow at Ke'tikitekon c. 1940:

The 'powwow was started' 30-35 'years ago', i.e., 1910-1917, 'with the gift of a drum made at Odanah'. In a mini-revival, 'officers were appointed', each was 'given his song' and

‘seating order’; there also was ‘a book of hieroglyphics showing these things’, that later was lost. ‘The drum corps was then established and a dance hall built. Previous to that time dances had been held in an outdoor ring of approximately the same size as the hall’. ‘Such a ring is still visible on Cow Island where the village was located’ c. 1885. ‘When first built there was no roof on the hexagonal structure. It was merely a wall of upright logs’, 6 ft six high and 40 ft between parallel sides. The roof was added’ c. 1930-40 (Kinietz 1947: 98).



Ke'tikitekon dancehall c. 1940 (Kinietz 1947: 100)

Explanation: E - Elders; E (H) - Head Elder; D - Drummers or Dancing Masters; D (H) - Head Drummer; T - Drum Tenders; W - Women Elders; C - Couriers; K - Doorkeeper; P - Pipekeeper; H - Keeper of large drumstick; G - Head man (George Edwards) (Kinietz 1947: 100). Unfortunately native names are not provided.

‘The Indians stated that the powwow is always held after the midewiwin. However, it was not held immediately after the meeting of the midewiwin of August 10, 1939, the session of’ June 2-10, 1940, ‘or that held on July 2, 1940’. ‘Numerous reasons were given for the delays but the principal one’ was a ban on ‘drinking’ at ‘the powwow’, so people ‘caught up on’ drinking ‘beforehand and the tapering off process is seldom simultaneous. Consequently, consideration of the preliminaries did not get under way’ (Kinietz 1947: 99).

‘The participants in the powwow are almost all charged with specific duties. The head man, over the elders and all, is’ George Edwards (fowl). ‘He makes the appointments, tells every

one where to sit and what to do. He was elected' 7-8 'years ago to replace John Benaisee' (fowl). 'There are four elders of the drum corps, all males. This group is superior to the other groups'. John Pete (seal) 'is the chief and asks the others to help him, but always the same three', John Thomas (wildcat), Julius Kishaway (wildcat), and Walter Weyman (bear). 'If John is absent any one of these may act as chief'. 'There are four dancing masters, all male', Tory Williams (bear), the head, Patty Pete (seal), Frank Brunk (fowl), and Joe Pete (seal). Lucy Pete-Williams (seal) 'is the head of a group' of 8 women. 'The others are' Anna Williams?-Scott (bear), Sarah Polar-Weyman (fowl), Susie Polar-Scott (fowl), Josie LaBelle-Ackley (fowl), Martha Polar-Brunk (fowl), Jennie Scott (marten), and Martha Pine-Edwards (eagle). The last is almost the same as head'. 'All of these three groups are given in the order of seating. The order starts at the left of the door and continues around from the south to the west, to the north, to the east and back to the south' (Kinietz 1947: 99). Totems have been added from the census, since they are more significant than the English names favored by the white author (Kinietz 1947: 246-7). The order indicated, S-W-N-E-S, may be fairly standard for reckoning totem clans; or W-N-E-S-W.

Other participants noted were: 'Drum tenders or drum heaters. There are four men designated to heat the drum any time it is used and also to move the drum from one house to another. These are Dan McGeshick (catfish), the head, Dick Johnny (bear), Henry Polar (fowl), and Denis Polar (fowl) of Sokaogon, 'Mole Lake'. 'Both dancing masters and drum tenders beat the drum'. 'Couriers. There are two couriers or errand boys. Head one wears a feather decorated beaded belt that looks like a skirt. George Pine (eagle) is the head courier. Clement Scott (catfish) is the other'. 'Doorkeeper. Ben Scott (catfish) is the doorkeeper. There are usually two but when the other died, he was never replaced. The other is the clean-up man'. Harvey White (bear) 'keeps the large drumstick and is sort of head of drum corps. He sits next to the head drummer'. John Ackley (bear) 'tends to peace pipe, passes tobacco, etc. He sits next to Harvey' (Kinietz 1947: 100-101).

Based on the seating a tentative old clan order could be: (second leader: bear); seal; fowl; bear; wildcat; deer; beaver; catfish; eagle; marten; wolf; elk; rabbit; (first leader: seal); or some such arrangement. That seating arrangements were carefully formed seems clear.

A note was made on costumes and paint: 'In the dance all wear some kind of feather headdress. Ben Scott's, for instance, included 'the crown of a felt hat' and 'turkey feathers'. 'The bird whose feathers are particularly prized is the gineu' or eagle. 'To get its feathers, they kill a deer and leave it out. The bird comes down to eat' and 'usually drops some feathers'; valued at 1\$ each. 'The faces of the dancers are usually painted with red, blue, and yellow paint'; 'the whim of the moment dictates how the paint is applied' (Kinietz 1947: 105-6).

'The preliminaries. When the time approaches for a powwow, the matter is talked over by the elders and the time set for a meeting to discuss plans. Others are present at this meeting'. 'The drum, called the tribal drum, is present at the meeting'. 'There is no feast at this time. They dance and make speeches. This meeting is usually held at night in the community house. The head elder tells the people that the drum' and 'food will be brought in. The dance used to start very early in the morning but now it is often ten or eleven o'clock before they all get together'. The 8 women elders 'tend to the cooking for feasts. They ask others to help them but it is their responsibility to see that it gets done' (Kinietz 1947: 101).

'The first day. In the morning the flag is raised' outside 'the dance hall to indicate that there is to be a dance that day'; a 'United States flag'. 'All the people come in. The drum is there.

Food is put on the table just inside of door. Food is taken by each one back to his place on one of the benches around the walls'; apparently each family or totem clan had its bench, in the old days perhaps a lean-to or shelter near the totem clan house. 'Ordinarily a head speaker does the speaking before the feast. Big John died some years ago and no substitution has been made. John Pete has been desired to take this office but he cannot while he is head elder. He cannot hold two offices at once. He performs most of the duties, however. His speech is mostly supplication to God in thanks for benefits received in the medicine dance, health, long life, etc. At the conclusion, he admonishes people that now they will eat with the drum. The drum is uncovered'. 'The head speaker must be some one who can talk real good and sharp'. 'Every one who attends brings tobacco, if not a package at least a little wrapped up. This is given to George Edwards, the head man. The drum pipe is kept in a wooden box' with tobacco and kinnikinnick. 'There are' 3 peace pipes 'used in the ceremony', a drum pipe, head elder's pipe and head courier's pipe; also a 4th or women's pipe. 'The speaker in his speech at the opening of the ceremony designates the number of times during the day that they will have a smoke. Each smoke is considered an offering to the gods. There are always four smokes during the day. All three pipes are used each time. The head courier passes his pipe to his assistant. The head elder passes his pipe to the other elders. John Ackley, the pipe keeper, passes his pipe to George Edwards first, then to every one else except the couriers, elders, and women. The women do not smoke these pipes but have to bring their own'. 'The pipe is lighted'; 'held over' the head and turned N-E-S-W; before passing 'to the men around the hall'. Then 'the tobacco box is passed to the women'. 'A feast follows the passing of the pipes and tobacco. There are three feasts all told'; morning, noonday and night 'feast. Even if the ceremony does not get under way until' 1:30-2 PM 'it is still called the noonday feast. The four smokes are divided between the morning and the afternoon' (Kinietz 1947: 101-102).

'The first four songs and dances relate to thanksgiving to a god' or gods 'through the medium of the drum. These are interspersed with talks by the head elder or the head drummer' about 'thanks-giving. Eight or ten songs and dances further are given before' the noonday feast. 'After the first four songs, there are others designated to certain officers, such as the head elder, the head courier, etc.' 'The dancing consists of a bobbing sidewise shuffle, sometimes in one place but usually around the hall, either clockwise or counter-clockwise. On some of these special songs only the individual honored dances. For the others as many dance as wish'. 'Any male can dance and any of the men may be called to beat the drum. The drummers are relieved often'. 'The women do not dance'; a strange claim, but perhaps based on Midewiwin influence and white impacts; also some informant misogyny is involved. 'They do not really sing either but assist in the music by humming'. 'Some of the women are always at home cooking or going home to tend to the cooking during the songs and dances'. 'When the food is brought in for the noonday feast, one of the kettles is placed on the ground near the table. The head courier, during singing and drumming, comes up to the kettle, takes a handful of the food', and throws it N-E-S-W. 'This is an offering to the gods of the four cardinal points'. 'The noonday feast then follow; the 'speaker says a few words to the gods'; followed by 'more dances and songs devoted to officers'. 'The speaker talks before the night meal'. 'More songs and dances follow the night meal until people begin to get tired, then the speaker announces a cessation until the next day'. At the finish was 'a special song for the head heater'; one drum heater 'stays in the hall all night' (Kinietz 1947: 102-3).

'The second day' duplicated the first day with a morning ritual etc. 'The afternoon dances are started as usual by the speaker making a speech, admonishing the people as to what the dances mean, to give gifts not only for the recipient but that they are offering to manido in thanksgiving'. 'The head drummer has a song. He dances alone for some time. He then goes

around and others get up and follow him. He has presents with him which he gives to various people who get up and follow him'. Others may be called to lead dances. 'Even women may be called upon to lead dances and also to receive presents'; the misogynist adding: 'They do not dance ... but simply march around'. There is an evening feast, evening songs and dances, concluded by the 'head heater' (Kinietz 1947: 104).

'In a four day ceremony, the presents are not given until the afternoon of the third day'. 'At the last noon meal', 'either second or fourth day, according to the length of the ceremony', 'the head courier invites people to come and get particular dishes that he knows certain individuals like. These may be deer or pig head, ribs, etc. Only meat is served at this feast. He goes and touches these people with the tail of the feathers on his belt and invites them to come over to the table. When the meal is over, the courier dances ... around the hall, then goes to some one such as the head drummer and taking off his belt or skirt puts it on him. This one dances' for a while, 'comes back and gives a present to the head courier' who 'takes the skirt off him. He can not take it off himself, only the head courier can handle the belt or skirt'. This belt-dance sequence was repeated for others. 'They know who can afford to give presents and select these people to dance. Even a little baby may be designated. The feathers are rubbed on him and someone dances for him. Presents may not be extensive. A little tobacco will do. Ponies, harness, and carts used to be given'. 'The last person to dance receives no present. He is the goat. The head courier' finally dances and 'mimics a bird. That is what the skirt represents: he is always flying around. The people crowd in towards the center of the hall and he dances around outside of them and after the fourth round he goes out the door. When he goes out, the drum stops and the dance is over. All subsequent dancing is done elsewhere, not in the hall'. 'The people all file out. The drum is carried out'. 'Maybe the people will retire to the community hall or some other place and dance all night'. 'This is particularly the case when there are people from away, sort of a thanks and farewell dance'. 'There used to be one day of powwow for each day of midewiwin which preceded it. The time was shortened to four'. 'It is now hard to get people to have a two day dance. There is always an even number of days devoted to the dance which is often given seasonally. It does not necessarily follow a midewiwin directly, particularly in winter. There have sometimes been two powwows in the winter when the last midewiwin was in the fall. It has been about six years since there was a four day dance' (Kinietz 1947: 104-5).

The powwow shows the complex relations in local life, often ignored by white scholars. What is missing in the description are the names of dances, that may have a totemic significance, like relations in general. Possibly the Midewiwin nativism would tone down this aspect; coupled with scholar and informant reluctance to mention totemism, this meant that the dances at the powwow were left unnamed. In some places the powwow was Midewiwin-inspired, in others it was opposed to the Midewiwin, and at Ke'tikitekon it was considered 'a social ceremony' (Kinietz 1947: 108).

Some other dances

Adoption dance or Ciwindum.

An adoption dance might appear at a 'Grand Festival' noted c. 1804. A 'large lodge was erected at a small distance from the camp, from which the women and children' were 'excluded. In the middle of the lodge was an oval' hearth. 'A small place' back 'of the lodge' and 'opposite the door, was reserved as a repository for their medicine bags and idols. Those

sacred bags consisted of bear, beaver, otter, fisher and marten skins stuffed up so as to give them life appearance and ornamented with feathers, porcupine quills, etc.' A semicircular fence of 'ornamented' sticks surrounded the 'medecine bags', placed 'in a row, in front of which was placed a large stone daubed with vermilion and surrounded with small wooden images of men, serpents and birds'. Participants were 'invited to attend, by means of a painted quill presented' by 'the Michinawois'. They took their seats 'around the hearth; the chief Michinawois and a few old men sat next to the sacred medecine bags, and collected' people's pipes. The 'principal men were distinguished by a bunch of swansdown powdered with vermilion' on 'the forehead'. The ceremony lasted all night. At the start the 'Michinawois' offered pipes to smoke. This was followed by 'songs accompanied with drums and rattles', joined by 'the women and children' outside. 'Smoking and singing were alternately repeated'. There was 'a feast' of 'wild rice, pounded meat, bear's fat and sugar', hand-fed to participants. Near daylight 'a young man' who 'had killed his brother' when drunk, entered the lodge and danced. He was joined by the chief, and wept, seeming worn out. Then 'the chief sat down', 'and the young man retired from the lodge'. This was followed by 'smoking' and 'songs', and 'another feast' that 'concluded the ceremony'. After a final speech by the chief 'the company dispersed' (Kinietz 1947: 156-8). Around 'Manitoulin' in 1940 people remembered only one dance, 'the ciwindum which they still put on occasionally when they wish to give an Indian name to someone. They all dance, any number, in a circle clockwise. There is only singing, no drum' (Kinietz 1947: 108).

Sun Dance.

This was received around 1895, and carried on occasionally (Landes 1937: 110-1). Well known among the Sioux, a description is left out here.

Star Dance

Apparently this was a dance invented by a woman c. 1910; possibly inspired by the Sun Dance (Landes 1937: 111). It included 80 songs. Then the woman discontinued it about 1924 (ibid.).

By 1940 native dances were all but unknown in Canada. This was due to mission, school and government influences. The mission schools is one of the darkest chapters in Canadian history, Catholic and other mission schools whipping the Indian out of children and burying many in hidden graves.

It can be assumed that the Chippewa had dances representing all the totem clans in a village and other beings. Following depopulation and the Midewiwin revival, most such totem dances were lost. The series of dances could include: Fish; Crane; Bear; Wolf; Dog; Deer; Buffalo; Hare; Man; Woman; Pipe; Drum; Snow; Fire; etc. As with totemism in general, it would take a sifting of every source to document the different dances. What can be seen is that an active ceremonial life and dancing is carried on in the Powwow and at the dance house.

Some taboos

The Chippewa had many taboos. If a woman stepped over fallen game the meat became 'unclean' and could not be eaten (Densmore 1929: 85). No-one 'ever points to the sun or the abode of any other god with the forefinger, always with the thumb of a semi-clenched fist' (Kinietz 1947: 198). During pregnancy a couple could not eat turtle (Hilger 1951: 6). In

addition, a pregnant woman could not eat animal heads or tails, lynx, eggs, porcupine, rabbit, raspberries, etc. (op. cit.: 7). There would be taboos associated with almost every animal, plant or resource utilized by people, e.g., not feeding dogs bear bones. A listing of such taboos will not be given here. It can be assumed that many taboos would directly reflect on totem clans and people having certain animals as their totems. Apparently this connection was weakened in historic times as various factors, already noted, diminished the role of totemism in daily life.

A brief summary of religion and ceremonies

Getting a grip on Chippewa beliefs is not easy. On the one hand native beliefs have been both reviled and fictionalized in accounts of manitous, Manabosho and other elements. On the other hand people's beliefs as a lived practice, as 'value and code', are scarcely noted, and are perhaps most prominently represented today in the Powwow, where dogma are played down while people participate in common ceremonies and dances.

This renders religion a difficult topic to address. There are many views, twisted and fixed minds that would turn ceremonies into anything from 'devil' worship to mysterious realities. White people's views, notably missions, have constantly worked on and come into conflict with community celebrations. The Midewiwin, to be noted below, may have come about as a result of such impacts, as well as historical events such as epidemics, depopulation and a need for renewal and revival. It is wise to remember that 'value and code' is an open concept, that allows people with different interests and views to enter into dances and other celebratory events.

Perhaps the best approach is to consider the close relation of people to their surroundings. Divine beings, such as the sun, can easily be distorted, e.g., as 'distant', As people move through the seasons, from bowl and dice games in early fall to bear ceremonies in winter and social dances in the summer, the closeness of the participants to the surroundings and to each other become apparent. On almost every occasion totemism would play a role, such as in the names of dances or the location of people at the dance arena.

The universe of Chippewa culture

It goes without saying that culture is a complex phenomenon. It encompasses every expression that humans create, including future ones. The creative range is limitless and wonderful. Though much is unknown, some cultural elements in Chippewa society will be briefly presented.

Clothing and coiffure

Garments or clothing included: headgear, caps, coats, jacket or shirt (unviat), mittens, breech cloth, leggings, moccasins, etc. The string for the breech cloth was fastened with the wing bone of a swan (Kinietz 1947: 36). Women also wore a blouse, apron, skirt or petticoat, etc. Garments could be decorated with porcupine quills, beads, etc. (op. cit.: 35). Blankets made of rabbit and other skins were worn in winter; also rabbit skin coats (Hallowell 1992: 65). Beards were plucked with shells used as tweezers. Women wore two braids, men one in the back (Kinietz 1947: 37, 41). An eagle feather worn in the hair was a rare privilege (op. cit.: 37). Other bird feathers could be worn more freely (ibid.). A band or 'turban' of turkey feathers was noted, worn by a chief (Kinietz 1947: 40). If clothes carried totemic symbols this is not well known.

Food and meals

Food is a basic element of culture and wellbeing. 'The principal vegetable foods were wild rice, corn, and maple sugar' (Densmore 1929: 39). 'Wild ginger, bearberry, and mountain mint were used as seasonings' (ibid.). The Chippewa usually boiled the water they drank, adding leaves to make teas, including raspberry and wintergreen (ibid.). Plant foods included wild potatoes, acorns, etc. 'The flowers of the milkweed, the root of bulrushes, the sap of the basswood and aspen, and the moss from white pine' were among the foods (Densmore 1929: 40). Several berries and fruits were eaten. Food was stored 'in caches or pits dug near the village' (ibid.). As noted, fish, meat and plants provided the food source. Meat and fish could be 'roasted by means of a sharp stick'; one source of the tribal name (Kinietz 1947: 60).

The Chippewa had meals in the morning, afternoon and at night (Kinietz 1947: 58, 63). There could be 2-5 meals, depending on the availability of food (op. cit.: 63). Whites wrote with prejudice about meal customs. Some were positive, but most were negative. One wrote of 'a beautiful breakfast' with duck, wild rice and tea (op. cit.: 58). Others wrote of 'filthy' cooking and irregular meals day and night (op. cit.: 60). 'Sometimes the women ate with the men but generally after the men were satisfied' (ibid.). When receiving a full plate a person said, 'Oongh ondjita', 'Thank you' (Kinietz 1947: 61). 'Often one will get as delicious and well-cooked a meal as could be found anywhere' (op. cit.: 62).

Paint and tattoos

Paints were used for decoration. Face painting was common. Women mainly used red and black, vermilion and charcoal (Kinietz 1947: 38). Men used a variety of paints, though mostly red. The color symbolism included: white, black, blue, red, etc. Personal ornaments included neck gorgets, bead necklaces, armbands, garters, etc. Ears were perforated, the rims extended and decorated with copper, beads, etc. (op. cit.: 39).

People also practiced tattooing (Kinietz 1947: 38). Among others, women Mide could perform tattooing. Tattoos, *ashasowe*, were done with powdered charcoal or soot, the pricking instrument consisting of fish spines or sharp splinters. The marks were 'round spots of one-half to three-fourths of an inch', aimed at curing headaches or driving out evil. 'Such spots are usually found upon the temples, though an occasional one may be found on the forehead or over the nasal eminence'. 'When the pain extends over considerable space the tattoo marks are smaller, and are arranged in rows or continuous lines'. Such marks run 'over either or both cheeks' from the nose to the earlobe, showing 'that the tattooing was done for toothache or neuralgia'. There could also be tattooing of joints for neuralgia and strain (Kinietz 1947: 38, Landes 1937: 138). In the old days tattooing would be a form of body decoration, with a story to tell. Tattoo patterns included: snake, eagle, star, sun, 'and so forth' (Kinietz 1947: 39). They may have had a totemic significance.

A variety of games

There were many Chippewa games. Examples would be: Blindfold game or *kakipinkwewtaminowin*. Snake game or *kamakiwepinikowin*. Hand game or *oninchiwatatiwin* – this involved hiding objects in the hand.

Then there was the Dice game: *beg-ga-sah-nuk* or *pakesewin*. The native name was derived from *pakesan*, 'plum'. It was also called a plate or bowl game. In one version it was played with 5 round dice and 3 special dice called 'men', 'sun' and 'dog'. A dice or disk was painted white and black; a score was counted if the 'white' side is up – or perhaps the 'black' side. Another version had at least 9 dice. 'The keeping of the entire score is complicated' (Densmore 1929: 116; Kinietz 1947: 89-90). The game, as noted, may have been played in early fall.

Another known game was the Moccasin game: *ottogaywin* or *makesinatatiwin*. This was a betting game played by hiding objects in moccasins. The practice has been noted under fall ceremonies.

The stick game or *shemakiwepinikewin* could be related to lacrosse.

Lacrosse or *pâkatowe* is a well-known game. Various spellings have *la crosse*, stick game, hurdle, *baggatoway*, *baaga'adowewin* or *pâkatowêwin*. This was a 'favorite' Chippewa game, which is significant, since it is found across much of North America and anciently played a role in establishing political alliances and intertribal relations. The game is played with net sticks, a leather ball, players in breech cloth, and a field reaching 'half a mile' (Kinietz 1947: 87). The ball could be made of wood covered with deerskin (Densmore 1929). The players were 'young men' but also 'men advanced in life' (Kinietz 1947: 87). There were 'two equal

parties' and two goals (ibid.). 'The best of three beats wins the game', with a 'prize' to the 'victors' (ibid.). Such games could be between villages, and there could be a rematch with 'the whole village' (ibid.). The implication is that women got involved.

Women's hockey was prominent. This was a distinct game called 'Women's Hurdle', also known as shinny, showing that games and sports were not restricted to men (Kinietz 1947: 88). The game was played with sticks and a double-ball connected by a cord (ibid.). The game was important as a show of gender equality, though sexist white males put it down as 'a farse' (ibid.). Needless to say Chippewa society was far ahead of Euro-American society in terms of women's power.

'Girls and women play' the 'same games as men', except playing 'squaw hockey' instead of lacrosse (Landes 1938: 22). Women play against women, but 'in the summer women of the village occasionally play the men of the village. In the summer too, the team of one village challenges the team of another; this arrangement is confined largely to the men'. At times 'a group of young men' play a team of older men, 'or the lodges from one end of the village opposed to lodges at the other end' (ibid.). This would conform to a moiety arrangement.



A winter game of lacrosse (Internet)

Both genders participated in foot-races. 'Women runners and hockey players are cheered by men'. Women athletes developed a 'sneering' attitude and were envied by the losers. Such behavior was unacceptable 'in any other relationship', where deference or attention is a rule (Landes 1938: 22-23). The scholar perhaps liked the competitiveness because of its lesbian connotations, which was a severe taboo in American culture (Landes 1938). At the same time she was careful to deny 'homosexual tendencies' (op. cit.: 62). 'The venomous resentment that attends women's athletic games is matched by the fury and brutality of men's lacrosse' (Landes 1938: 26).

'Athletic games, besides la crosse', were wrestling, running races, breaking a beaver's thigh bone, etc. (Kinietz 1947: 91). Here might be included canoe races, jumping and lifting competitions, archery, snow-snake, and much more. All of these games were stopped by the whites, mostly the missions. By 1940 the native games were not practiced. Old people

remembered the moccasin game, ball play, running and shooting matches, etc. 'None of them are played now' (Kinietz 1947: 91). Instead white people's games were introduced, baseball and basketball, not the same thing, since all spontaneity and mystery is absent; cricket anyone? White bigots prevented native sports along with other activities.

Time, calculation and know-how

There were different modes of counting and keeping track of information. Strings and knots could be used to keep track of goods and events (Densmore 1929: 173). Chippewa measures were thumb, hand, and arm, corresponding to inch, foot and yard; while other measures were a handful or a 'swallow', and a day's walk (op. cit.: 137). A 'hand spread' was the 'span from the thumb to the end of the middle finger', used in building canoes (op. cit.: 151). Also there were particular modes of tracking time.

The knowledge of nature and climate was extensive. Directions were determined by the 4 winds, N, S, E and W. People found 'directional orientation' by 'the North Star' and 'the movements of the Sun' (Hallowell 1992: 74). Knowledge of the stars included: bear head; bear back; etc. The celestial directions were reflected in the orientation of ceremonial or social structures, such as the 'Wabano' and 'Midewiwin' lodges and villages in general (ibid.).

The Chippewa calendar:

Fall – takwâki.

September – manomini-kisis.

October – pinâkwi-kisis.

November – kaskatino-kisis; Freezing-Over Moon (Hallowell 1992: 43).

Winter – pipôn.

December – manitokisisions.

January – manitokisis, kichimanitokisis.

February – namepini-kisis.

Spring – sikwan or minôkami.

March – 'onapani-kisis.

April – pepokwetakimink-kisis; or Goose Moon (Hallowell 1992: 43).

May – wâpikoni-kisis; or Loon Moon (Hallowell 1992: 43).

Summer – nipin.

June – 'ote'imini-kisis.

July – miskwimini-kisis.

August – min-kisis, mînikisis. (Baraga 1992).

Other names for the months included: April or sugar-boiling, October or falling leaf, etc. 'A record of time was kept by notches in a stick' (Densmore 1929: 173). This might be a record of time concerning an 'event', or it might represent a year (ibid.). The Chippewa had calendar sticks. These were sticks long enough to last a year with a notch for each day, starting at the new moon with a 'big notch' (op. cit.: 119). A 'large notch being made for the day of a new moon and smaller notches for the intervening days' (op. cit.: 173).

Fire-making was a basic technology with strong cultural implications. Without fire life in the north could not be sustained. The ancient origin of fire was attributed to the main gods, the Great Spirit, thunder and lightning. In historic times it was attributed to the Midewiwin,

indicating how this was a nativistic movement, that would replace the ancient totemic system after the depopulation from European epidemics (Densmore 1929: 142). Fire was the ‘greatest wonder’ given to people ‘for warmth and for cooking’ (ibid.). There was medicine protecting against burns, perhaps plantago or yarrow. Fire tools included: flint and ‘punk’, and a fire-bow (ibid.). ‘Fire was the first and best tool that the Indians had’ (Densmore 1929: 143). Supposedly the Chippewa used signal fires (ibid.).

Language as a cultural tool

The Chippewa language is known for being expressive and complex. This makes it difficult to learn but fascinating to study. An example is: *nindondamitakas*, or simplified, *nintontamitakas*, I pretend to work (Baraga 1992: 328). This word is made up of at least 6 morphemes or elements, and none of them are synonymous with the English words. E.g., *ni-* is 1p. or first person (I, me, my, mine, we, us, our, ours – who said English is easy); *-n-* is a connective, like ‘that’, *-t-* is another connective, separating the vowel-nasals *-in-* and *-on-*; *-ontami-* is a composite word, *-ont-a-m-i-*, meaning ‘excessive’ or ‘great effort’, *-ta-* is an object marker, and *-kas* implies simulation or appearance; ‘I great effort simulate’. Note that this is one word, a synthetic sentence, where elements are forged together. It goes without saying that such expressions could not be made in English, though ‘shirking’ might be close. This entails that Chippewa texts are not like English texts, and have to be read with discernment.

On the surface Chippewa is straightforward. There are 4 vowels with 3 grades, short, long and nasal, *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *î*, *ê*, *â*, *ô*, *in*, *en*, *an*, *on*. Unfortunately linguists fail to register this, since such contrasts are not found in English. There are 11 consonants, *p*, *t*, *k*, *ch*, *s*, *sh*, *m*, *n*, *y*, *w*, *’/h*. Again linguists do not recognize this simplicity, as it is unknown in English, where *sh*, *g*, *z*, *zh* etc. may represent the same sound. Hence Chippewa writing is complicated by the confusing practices of English speakers. Unfortunately this leads over into language teaching, where children today do not learn to speak Chippewa, a beautiful language. This beauty is represented by an extensive mythology and oral texts, only parts of which is known.

Symbolism and picture-writing

The connection between a symbol and its representation was considered as strong. Parts of an animal, such as a tuft of hair, could represent the whole animal; known as metonymy. A picture would capture the ‘essence’ of what it portrayed (Densmore 1929: 79). ‘To this belief was due the reluctance of the old-time Indian’ to being portrayed; a fairly wide-spread belief even in modern times (ibid.). This could hamper the drive to make pictures; yet this impulse would always be present and led to cultural achievements such as bark drawings and pictographs.

Symbolic elements took many forms, ranging from parts of animals used as charms or fetishes, to drawings on stone, bone, wood or bark. Most symbolism involved animals or natural beings, such as a bird carved on a pipe (Densmore 1929: 80).

'Dream symbols' or pictures could be totemic, though not seen as such by scholars (Densmore 1929: 82). Pictures and images included: turtle; snake or rope; hawk; thunderbird or eagle; bear; wolf; rain or rainbow; star; sun; moon; etc. (Densmore 1929: pl. 31). Brief mention was made of 'totem marks'. 'Each gens in the tribe had its mark representing the bird or animal for which the gens was named' (Densmore 1929: 176). 'Such marks appear in the messages outlined on birch bark or cedar' (ibid.). 'For a living person the outline of the animal or bird was erect, but for one deceased the mark was inverted' (ibid.). That totems were a part of most messages was largely ignored by scholars.

What is known is that the Chippewa used pictographs or picture writing extensively. This is the conveyance of thought through drawing pictures or signs on a surface (Densmore 1929: 174). Writing by pictographs was 'familiar to all the tribe' (op. cit.: 176). 'The materials used in pictography by the Chippewa were birch bark, cedar, ash, or other wood, and the perpendicular surface of rocks'; also fire ashes and dry soil; in short, any surface that allowed the drawing of pictures or signs (op. cit.: 174). Writing implements included sticks, bones, rocks, charcoal and paint (ibid.). 'The inner surface of birch bark was that most commonly used, but both sides of the birch-bark rolls' could be 'inscribed' (ibid.).

The Chippewa made sign writing on bark. This may be an ancient practice in the north. A known example is the fabled Walam Olum of the Lenape people. The practice is poorly known, partly because bark is a perishable material, but mainly because ethnocentric Europeans could not conceive of native writing. Known corpuses of writing included: Midewiwin; Winabojo; charms; etc. (Densmore 1929: 174). Largely unknown are: general myths; trade and travel records; maps; calendars; historical records; dreams and visions; etc. Extensive records may have existed that have not been preserved. This would be a loss not only to Chippewa history, but to Indian history in general. For instance, Chippewa pictographs would be a supplement to the Walam Olum, and an added proof of Indian writing systems.

One corpus involved travel or trade documents. 'Such a message, outlined with charcoal, was placed in the cleft of a stick' that pointed 'in the direction taken by the travelers', with a bunch of grass tied to the stick 'to attract attention' (Densmore 1929: 176). This testified to the safety Chippewa felt when traveling; they were accustomed to peace. Lines beside a tent indicated nights spent; short lines or small animals in a canoe indicated children; with adults drawn as large totem animals, as noted before (ibid.). Totems would be regularly indicated in such messages. If people got sick or passed away during travel, this was indicated by a reclining or inverted person (Densmore 1929: 177). The corpus of maps would show rivers, lakes, canoes, houses, villages and other features (op. cit.: 179). Maps were 'drawn on birch bark for the convenience of persons traveling', much like modern maps (ibid.).

One birch-bark roll had symbols such as: dog; bear tracks; sacred stone; sacred pole; water spirit or eel; beaver; hawk; water spirit aka big-fish or sturgeon; tree; owl; etc. Some associated containers and elements were: mide bag of otter, weasel, mink, wildcat, bear or rattlesnake skin, drum, poles, broom, sacred stones, eagle feathers, etc. (Densmore 1929: 90-93). The mide bags held: medicinal herbs; charms; migis or white-shell; owl-skin; stone bowl for food offerings; etc. (op. cit.: 93-94).

Scholars mainly associated birch-bark writing with historic Midewiwin rituals. 'The mnemonic songs are in nearly every instance incised upon birch bark by means of a sharp-pointed piece of bone or a nail. The inner surface of the bark is generally selected because it is

softer than the reverse. Bark for such purposes is peeled from the trunk during the spring months. The drawings are upon the outer or inner surface and deep and distinct. In a majority of songs the characters are drawn so as to be read from left to right, in some from right to left, and occasionally one is found to combine both styles, being truly boustrophic. The pictographic delineation of ideas is found to exist chiefly among the shamans, hunters, and travelers of the Ojibwa. The figures are more than simply mnemonic; they are ideographic, and frequently possess additional interest from several ideas expressed in combination' (Hoffman 1891: 287). 'The rolls of birch bark represent stories or sequences to the initiated Ojibwa. Long usage has induced some degree of ideography and symbolism' (op. cit.: 288). Songs were recorded as mnemonic pictographs (Densmore 1929: 95). The Midewiwin will be examined more closely in relation to medicine.

If all the pictographs and documents were collected they would provide a comprehensive documentation of the Chippewa nation; such an undertaking remains to be done.

Cosmology and mythology

The Chippewa had a rich mythology and corpus of stories. 'Ojibwa myths are considered to be true stories, not fiction' (Hallowell 1992: 65). One classification included: cosmology and creation; Winabojo or Nanabosho; adizoke aka winter stories or 'fairy stories'; etc. (Densmore 1929). Needless to say the verbal corpus was endless.

Of cosmology and creation it was noted that: 'Their creation myth is that common among the northern Algonquians'; e.g., Nanabozho and the earth-diver theme (Hodge 1: 279). The earth rests on the back of a turtle (Hoffman 1891: 154). 'It is a great island' (Hallowell 1992: 74). 'Under the earth is another land mass' or an 'underworld' (ibid.). The Sun passes through both worlds; there is day in the lower world when there is night on the earth above, e.g., in China (ibid.). 'Above the earth is Thunder Bird Land' or the sky (ibid.). The Good Spirit and Evil Spirit were brothers, who fell out for some reason, such as one of them being 'a better Huntsman than the other' (Hoffman 1891: 154). Mother Earth 'propagated these numerous People, which do occupy now one of the greatest parts of the Universe' (op. cit.: 155). At first people were naked and a messenger or camp leader, ockabe'wis, was sent to instruct them. The earth at first was called ša'sa; it was covered by a 'primal ocean' out of which the world was created from a piece of earth; the earth diver story (Densmore 1929: 97). 'They believe, as 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 the Me-da-we-win hieroglyphs are used to denote this second earth' (Hoffman 1891: 162).

Earth diver

The earth diver or flood story is widespread. One ancient element concerns the ebb and flow of the sea, also visible in the Great Lakes, and the people's fear of flooding when observing this. The ebb and flow was compared to a giant snake breathing, and when Manabosho shot the snake this led to the water bursting in a deluge. Then followed the earth diver story, where Manabosho built a raft and sent animals to dive for earth. In some versions a muskrat brought

dirt in its paw. 'It was Wisekedjak' who 'expanded the tiny bit of mud retrieved by Muskrat from the waters of the Great Deluge, until it reached the dimensions of the island earth' (Hallowell 1992: 71). From the speck of land the god then formed the whole earth, floating on the back of a large creature, usually said to be a turtle (Internet). Needless to say the story of the flood and the reclaimed or recreated earth could be embellished endlessly, and it still is, e.g., on the Internet. But the basic story remains the same. An eclectic version had that 'the red man 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' (Hoffman 1891: 162). Here there is Bible influence. In historic times this story was modified, since it partly conflicted with Bible lore; in one version the waters simply subsided and the divine beings disappeared.

The Manabosho stories

Stories about Manabosho comprise a whole literature, added to by modern writers, both Indian and white (Johnston 1995). Winabojo stories were mostly about humans, as a culture hero. He went away to another continent or island, and people were searching for their progenitor and his wisdom. In one story the people met Winabojo and was given his Da, but when they asked her to marry them she disappeared, and her wisdom vanished with her; perhaps a reflection on the historic situation of women (Densmore 1929: 100-101). In 'Winabojo's camping around' there is mention of: roots, cannibalism, water, pelicans, fish, pickerel, bark, etc. (op. cit.: 101-3). 'Winabojo's diving for wagger' has: berries, loons diving, hitting head on rock and nearly drowning (op. cit.: 103). In one story 'Wisekedjak' 'gave the weasel a white coat in winter' (Hallowell 1992: 73). It would seem that some of the Manabosho stories replaced older totem clan stories.

Stories about natural phenomena

There were stories about: the four winds; North Wind; etc. The 'order of birth of the four Winds' was E-S-W-N, reflected in pipe ceremonies, conveying 'a smoke offering' to the cosmos (Hallowell 1992: 74).

The 'adizoke' aka 'a'tisoke or winter stories were imaginative; that they also were totemic is mostly ignored (Densmore 1929: 103). 'The winter was the time for story-telling' (op. cit.: 29). Human interest accounts were of many kinds. There were 'heroes and beautiful maidens' (Houston & King 1972). Apparently the Chippewa had stories of a reluctant suitor, who goes through various troubles when he refuses a girl (Landes 1937: 72). The Chippewa had the 'vagina dentata' motif, that 'women once had toothed vaginas' (Hallowell 1992: 73). One story was of a young man who was rejected by a girl, and made a good-looking man of excrement; she fell for him, but in the spring he melted and turned into shit; the morality was not to fall for a 'Stinker' (Internet).

There were fabled beings. In one story Tcakábec, a small anthropomorphic being, caught the Sun in a trap, who was released when a mouse gnawed the trap (Hallowell 1992: 66). 'The legends speak of strange midgets' or dwarfs with enormous strength (Houston & King 1972). The 'memengwéciwak' gave a 'manão' power to cure (Hallowell 1992: 11-12). Possibly this referred to ancient people called Menkwe or Mingo.

Mention has been made of giant turtles, snakes, frogs, etc. The thunderbird was a 'giant man-bird' flying 'among towering thunderheads' (Houston & King 1972). Thunder is the flapping of its wings. Lightning is the flash of its blinking eye or an arrow from its mouth (Hallowell 1992: 61). The bird is 'hawklike' with a beak and feet 'like an eagle' (op. cit.: 62). One thunderbird had 'long red tail feathers' (op. cit.: 61). In the mythology the thunderbirds rid the world of dangerous creatures, such as 'Great Snakes'. In gratitude people smoke during thunder, turning the pipe in all directions, asking the thunder to 'go easily' and not frighten children (Hallowell 1992: 62). One scholar found 'a very high correlation' between bird migration and thunder, proving that thunderbirds migrate (ibid.). In one story a man married a thunderbird. His Brs killed her; she went to the sky followed by her Hu. They later return to earth with 9 sisters, e.g., totem clan originators. This is similar to stories found elsewhere about celestial marriages, e.g., Norway, Selkup, Shawnee, etc. (Hallowell 1992: 66). The number 9 may be historical, when few villages had more than 9 totem clans.

Most stories concerned animals and natural beings. The recitation of myths was 'taboo except on long winter evenings' (Hallowell 1992: 65). Stories were told by men and women; 'many old women were experts in this art' (Densmore 1929: 29). These stories could be acted out by an old person, with gestures and occasionally songs (Hallowell 1992: 65). Children 'become thoroughly familiar' with 'the myths'; yet the scholar avoids being specific (op. cit.: 66). One adizoke by Little Wolf had: city; boy and dog; boat and soldiers; rings and money; spirit bird; etc.; apparently a European tale (Densmore 1929: 104-6). Some stories, such as clan stories and animal stories, have been noted elsewhere. Most traditional stories were not recorded; probably informants did not want to talk to the biased scholars. At least as far as publications go, only a pittance of the thousands of stories have been recorded.

A major part of the corpus would be made up of stories about animals and totem clan progenitors. Animal protagonists and characters include: turtle; fish; pickerel; bird; loon; pelican; bald-eagle; bear; fisher; weasel; wolf; dog; mouse; etc. In one eccentric or esoteric story the fisher climbed through a hole in the sky and made it bigger by chewing and scratching, this way making the hole bigger and allowing warm weather to reach the earth, where it earlier had only been winter; the actors were fisher, squirrel, otter, lynx, wolverine, birds, sky people, etc. (Internet). Most of these stories have been included under the chapter on totemism.

Arts and handicraft

The Chippewa were artistic, though few old works are preserved. Depictions could be naturalistic, but often showed geometric designs, 'line' patterns (Densmore 1929: 183). Arts and crafts included weaving. Women wove belts and bands with intricate patterns (Densmore 1929: pl. 68, 71). Handcraft has also been noted elsewhere, such as making clothes and tools.

Decorative patterns included: 'sturgeon flesh'; snake or zigzag; turtle; eagle; otter-tail pattern; floral design; rose; curves; double-curve; serration; cross; triangle; diamond; star; and more, but any totemic relevance is not known. Lines and curves in beadwork might represent stylized aquatic-reptilian, aerial and terrestrial animals, e.g., a totemic reference (Densmore 1929: pl. 79-86). Four dots around a central dot might be a stylized animal (Densmore 1929: 186). 'The wild rose', 'o'kiniwâpikon, was 'a representative flower of the Chippewa, as it grows in profusion throughout their country' (ibid.).

Chippewa music was associated with dances and social occasions. Instruments included drums, rattles, flutes etc. (Densmore 1929: 107). A lullaby was: 'ba, ba, ba; we, we, we' (Hilger 1951: 25). Needless to say this is just scratching the surface of musical creativity. Every totem clans would have its songs, but most of these are unknown. The cultural life of the Chippewa remains to be explored. What sticks in the mind are the totemic drawings found on birch bark, such as a bear and a catfish in a canoe. The expressions are limitless.

Medicine and healing

Healing became a famed part of Chippewa culture, through the medicine society, Midewiwin, pointing back to ancient practices. Though the indications are that the Midewiwin was a historical development that came about as a result of and reaction to numerous European influences, epidemics, depopulation, and attempts to restore native existence. The Midewiwin became a rallying point for people to rebuild their lives after early Euro-American impacts roughly around 1720-1820. Among other things the rule against having more than 3-4 children was lifted, allowing the population to regain itself, but breaking with a locally sustainable totemic organization.

The Chippewa put all their cultural know-how into the Midewiwin revival. 'Physical ailments are believed by the Chippewa to be caused mostly by supernatural forces'. Often 'the services of a shaman or one who is in touch with the supernatural are necessary' to 'effect a cure. Supernatural spirits give the shaman this power and come to his aid when necessary' (Kinietz 1947: 167). 'Everyone and particularly the older people have some knowledge of medicine and treat cuts, colds, and similar easily recognizable ailments without recourse to a shaman'. Even medicine 'for easing childbirth may be thus prepared and administered'. It is necessary 'to placate the spirit of the plants' for the medicine to be effective (ibid.). Most 'older people' in Ketikitekon had 'some knowledge of medicine' but refused to disclose it to strangers. 'They would gladly prepare the medicine' but objected to 'gathering materials to satisfy' someone's 'curiosity'.

Healing and healers

'The ceremony of diagnosing an ailment consists of singing with a rattle and drum accompaniment. The shaman' then 'peers into a saucer of sugar water' and sees the ailment. 'While singing he has a dream' about 'the ailment. He sings of his guardian spirits that have given him the power to diagnose illnesses'. The 'shaman peers into' the dish of water several times to find 'the cause of the ailment', e.g., who caused it (Kinietz 1947: 169). 'After having the vision the shaman', while rattling, 'sucks up some of the water' and 'blows it on the patient' while sucking, to blow or suck what caused the sickness 'out of the patient's body'. An assistant would 'beat the drum'. Once treated the shaman gave the patient instructions, e.g., to give a 'war dance' or 'medicine dance' (ibid.). In a treatment a shaman would blow and suck 'alternately' to extract the illness, spitting out bloody saliva (op. cit.: 171-3).

Healing became a big issue among the Ojibwa in historic times, with many healer and shaman roles, probably because of epidemic decimation and related upheavals. 'There are extant among the Ojibwa Indians' at least 'three classes of mystery men', called 'in order of importance' Midē', Jes'sakkīd' and Wâbeno. The term sorcerer or juggler was used to indicate 'persons who professed the power of prophecy, and who practiced incantation and administered medicinal preparations'; other words used were conjurer or wizard (Hoffman 1891). Obviously several more or less neutral words could be used, such as healer, shaman, medicine-person or native doctor. What they had in common was that they referred to people engaged in physical and mental healing and wellness efforts. A suggested ratio of healers was 2 Wabeno to 5 Jessakid and 100 Mide (Hoffman 1891: 158).

‘Each tribe has its medicine men and women’, an ‘order of priesthood consulted and employed in all times of sickness. These powwows’ or healers ‘are persons who perform 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, a prayer formula 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; for their knowledge of medicine and the magical power which they are supposed to possess. They believe that they can communicate with the munedoods, who give them information or advice’ (Hoffman 1891: 162).

Methods of healing included diet, intake of fluids and medication, mostly plant based. Ailing people were required to rest; broken bones could be set; wounds dressed; and steam baths could remedy various forms of discomfort. ‘When they are sick, they only drink Broth’ or tea, ‘and eat sparingly’; people knew ‘that sleeping and sweating would cure the most stubborn Diseases in the World’. The white observers ridiculed this, but obviously it is true (Hoffman 1891).

Doctors were paid for their services, such as with provisions and goods. ‘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’ (Hoffman 1891). Of course people want to pay the people who cure them.

The basic shaman, medicine person or juggler roles

The Chippewa had a variety of healing roles, though all could be referred to as a medicine person or doctor, formerly called ‘medicine man’ (Hoffman 1891). One word was: nanantawiwewinini, ‘doctor man’ (Landes 1937: 120). The basic shaman or medicine person got his or her insight through dream visions and the practice of healing. He or she would operate locally in the home village or community, perhaps visiting other places if gaining a reputation.

There was ‘another class of persons’ termed Mashki’kiké’winini, ‘medicine man’ or ‘herbalists’. ‘Their calling consists in knowing the mysterious properties of a variety of plants, herbs, roots, and berries, which are revealed upon application and for a fee. The herbalists are aware that certain plants or roots will produce a specified effect upon the human system, and attribute the benefit to such remedies being distasteful and injurious to the demons to whom the disease is attributed. Many of these herbalists are found among women, also; and these, too, are generally members of the Midé’wiwin. Herbalists prepared a mixture of herbs’ as medicines (Hoffman 1891: 159). Medicine is maškiki: ‘herbs or other substances administered to the sick’ (Densmore 1929: 13). Plant medicines were a large part of the curers’ remedies. In many cases emetics, or emetic teas, would be used (Hoffman 1891). The knowledge of medicines was reserved for practitioners and kept secret from others.

Shamans and doctors were not only involved in physical healing, but in helping people come to terms with their lives. They could serve as 'Prophets' who 'fore-tell Futurity'. They were 'look'd upon to have an unlimited Power. They boast of being able to make 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' perform 'Physick' and 'apply Medicines', trying 'to Cure' a 'Distemper' (Hoffman 1891). That the healers could not 'Cure' diseases brought from Europe was not their fault – nor could white doctors. Menew or 'manão' was a 'curer' with power from 'memengwécíwak' (Hallowell 1992: 11-12).

The juggler, jessakid or chi'sakit

The JÉS'sakkid' is a seer and prophet; a 'juggler', or a 'revealer of hidden truths' (Hoffman 1891: 157). 'As there is no association, so there is no initiation by means of which one may become a JÉS'sakkid'. The gift is believed to be given by the thunder bird or god, Animiki, and then only at long intervals and to a chosen few. 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 manito of the JÉS'sakkid'. The juggler used a sucking tube (Hoffman 1891: 158).

The shaking tent was used by shamans to induce a sense of spiritual awe in people, which would focus attention on the healing or welfare situation. The 'shaking tent swayed after nightfall' in summer; 'the conjurer' spoke with 'voices of other than human beings' to people around the tent (Hallowell 1992: 10). 'This type of conjuring is often undertaken to secure information about the health or welfare' of persons whether close or distant (op. cit.: 68). 'The conjuror invokes' his helpers among the spirits, 'his pawaganak' aka pawakana or 'guardian spirits' (ibid.). One scholar noted 22+ 'species of mammals and fish' used as guardian spirits, but listing none except 'Mikinak', 'Memengweci' and 'Windigo' (Hallowell 1992: 68-70). Incidental mention is made of 'Moose' etc. (op. cit.: 72). Some drawings or advertisements of the juggler's services have already been presented, with animals indicated.

Some treatments were based on the placebo effect. This included the sucking shaman, who would suck at the skin of the patient and spit out an object, such as a small stone, which was then discarded, causing the person to feel better, since the sickness had been disposed of (Hoffman 1891). While whites would ridicule this, much healing is based on making the patient feel better. White doctors would do exactly the same, such as ending their consultation by giving a child a candy, claiming it would make her feel better, and it did.

Wabeno, the sorcerer or magician

The Wabeno were associated with 'dawn', who based their practice on visions and apparently operated at night, unlike 'the Meda', but offered similar services, like hunting, healing and love medicines. They were also fire jugglers, and they might join the Mide (Hoffman 1891: 156-7). One scholar was tickled when she got love medicine for free (Landis 1937: 136). Shamans served as 'Oracles' for hunting. '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 would 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' people (Hoffman 1891: 154).

The Mide role

The Mide were associated with the Midewiwin; aka shaman, healer, 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'; e.g., a succession of local healers (Hoffman 1891: 160). Probably this was to ensure the practice's endurance. 'Among the Ojibwa a substitute is sometimes taken to fill the place of one who has been prepared to receive the first degree of the Midé'wiwin, or Society of the Midé', but who died 'before the proper initiation' had 'been conferred. When a young man dies, his father or mother may be accepted as a substitute' (Hoffman 1891: 160).

Healers, in particular Mide practitioners, were carefully instructed. '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' about 'methods of medication' and related issues (Hoffman 1891).

As a juggling exercise instructors would expose the articles contained in their Midé' sacks and explain 'the merits and properties of each of the magic objects. The candidate for the first time learns of the manner of preparing effigies, etc., with which to present to the incredulous ocular demonstration of the genuineness and divine origin of the Midé'wiwin, or, as it is in this connection termed, religion. The first test is made by laying upon the floor of the wigiwam a string of four wooden beads each measuring about 1 inch in diameter. They are made to roll from side to side as if animated. Another Midé' produces a small wooden effigy of a man about 5 inches in height. The body has a small orifice running through it; the figure will perceptibly move up and down as if possessed of life. Another figure consists of one piece. One of the most astonishing tests consists in causing a Midé' sack to move upon the ground as if it were alive; e.g., the temporary retention within a bag of a small mammal' (Hoffman 1891).

Distinct facial decorations of Mide priests were established around 1830. For the 'first degree' this was a broad band of green across the forehead and a narrow stripe of vermilion across the face below the eyes. The second degree had 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. The third degree had red and white spots daubed all over the face. For the fourth degree two forms of decoration were admissible; first, vermilion, with a stripe of green extending diagonally across it from upper left temple to lower right cheek; second, red with two short, horizontal bars of green across the forehead (Hoffman 1891).

Then there was another form of facial decoration. The first degree would have one stripe of vermillion across the face. Second degree: One stripe as above, and another across the eye-lids, 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 eye downward, is painted green; four spots of vermillion are made on the forehead and four on 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 was not absolutely necessary, as the expense of the 'war bonnet' placed it beyond the reach of the greater number of persons (Hoffman 1891).

In one version the face paints included: one or two red stripes, upper half green and lower red, left half of face green with red spots (Densmore 1929: 93). Totemism may be implied: red or black may be the North moiety, green or white the South moiety, and 1-2-3+ spots or lines indicating phratries or totem clans. Such symbolism would be hidden by the general mitewiwin connection.

Presenting the Midewiwin society

The Midewiwin became a major Chippewa institution in historic times. As noted this was a native response to depopulation from Old World epidemics and white intervention, as well as to white impacts on native life. There is a curious parallel to Siberia, where shamans became the exponents of indigenous culture after Russian colonizers disrupted village ceremonies (Selstad 2024b).

'The Medewiwin, or grand medicine society', was 'a powerful organization of the Chippewa, which controlled the movements of the tribe' (Hodge 1: 279). More precisely, Midewiwin was a special organization involved in healing and social welfare activities. This was crucial to local wellbeing. Research 'among a number of tribes of the Algonkian linguistic division' showed 'that the traditions and practices pertaining to the Midē'wiwin, Society of the Midē' or Shamans', aka 'Grand Medicine Society', 'prevailed generally, and the rites' were 'still practiced at irregular intervals, though in slightly different forms in various localities' (Hoffman 1891). Kitshi Manido presented to Minabozho the rite of the Midewiwin to establish it on earth (op. cit.: 155). 'The origin of the Midē'wiwin or Midé' Society, commonly ... termed Grand Medicine Society, is shrouded in mystery (Hoffman 1891: 160). It was 'based on the Me-da-we lodge' (op. cit.: 161).

As will be noted there were 4 levels or degrees of initiation or instruction in the Midewiwin. Later this would be expanded to 8 degrees through elaborations and expansion. The Mitewiwenā became the main carrier of Chippewa culture, viciously counteracted by whites. As indicated, the Midewiwin originated or developed in early historic times c. 1740-1800 as a native response to white diseases and encroachments. The originator or propagator, vaguely called 'Mide manido', lived for 'about 100 years'; e.g., c. 1720-1800 (Densmore 1929: 87). The Midewiwin may have developed from an earlier practice of treating sick people in smaller healing or sweat lodges, that were gradually expanded as most people were struck by epidemics c. 1540-1765. By 1900 a mitewiwin could measure 200x13 ft or 60x4 m and hold 200+ people; it had 2 fires (op. cit.: 92). Curiously the modern practice is linked to 'temptations': sex, property, respect, mid-life crisis, mindlessness, fear of retribution and fear

of dying, suitably placed in decades from puberty to death, and probably based on mission prattle (op. cit.: 88-89).

‘In its earliest form, the midewiwin had many elements characteristic of secret societies. Membership was limited to carefully scrutinized candidates who could pay the high fees required’, e.g., trade goods (Kinietz 1947: 175). This is one more reason to think that the Midewiwin is a historical development, starting between 1680 and 1760. There were no diseases among the Chippewa in prehistoric times. People had ailments, such as sore backs and hurt knees, but all contagious diseases started with the Europeans after 1500 AD. Another indication or re-invention is that totemism was toned down in the Midewiwin, a mark of European influences. On the other hand, it is clear that the Midewiwin embraced ancient knowledge, found in many tribes. It may also have played a role in efforts at tribal consolidation and alliances. Perhaps it is best to say that *mitêwe* or medicine healing is ancient, dating back a thousand or more years, but that the nativistic movement of the *Mitêwêwena* was historical. This would also apply to white people’s and the missions’ opposition to the movement and its demise c. 1850-1930, and later rebirth.

‘The purposes’ of the Mitewiwin society ‘are twofold; first, to preserve’ the healing ‘traditions’, 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’ (Hoffman 1891). Clearly the ‘purposes’ were to offer healing and wellbeing to people ailing and others in need.

‘The Midéwiwin aka Society of the Midé’ or Shamans consists of an indefinite number of Midé’ 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 in making advancement depends upon having submitted’ to ‘being shot at with the medicine sacks’ in ‘the hands of the officiating priests. The Mide priests repeat phrases to increase the inspiration and power of the performance’ (Hoffman 1891: 164).

‘As the ritual of the Midé’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’ (Hoffman 1891: 162).

In historic times native healing would be violently opposed by white people, such as bigot missionaries who referred to healers as ‘Devil’ worshippers – the same missionaries who brought deadly epidemics to the Indians, killing thousands of people (Hoffman 1891). Midewiwin medicine and healing was more advanced than early European medicine.

A performance of the ‘Medawin’ in 1822 included ‘symbolic tablets of pictorial notation’ called ‘music boards’, since the ‘devices’ were ‘sung off by the initiated of the Meda Society. This constituted the object of the explanations, ceremoniously made by the leader of the society and three initiates’ (Hoffman 1891: 161). The ‘tablets’ were a pictographic system of writing on bark. ‘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 ... a long time’. In this rite ‘is also perpetuated the ... most ancient idioms of their language, which differs somewhat from that of the common everyday use (ibid.).

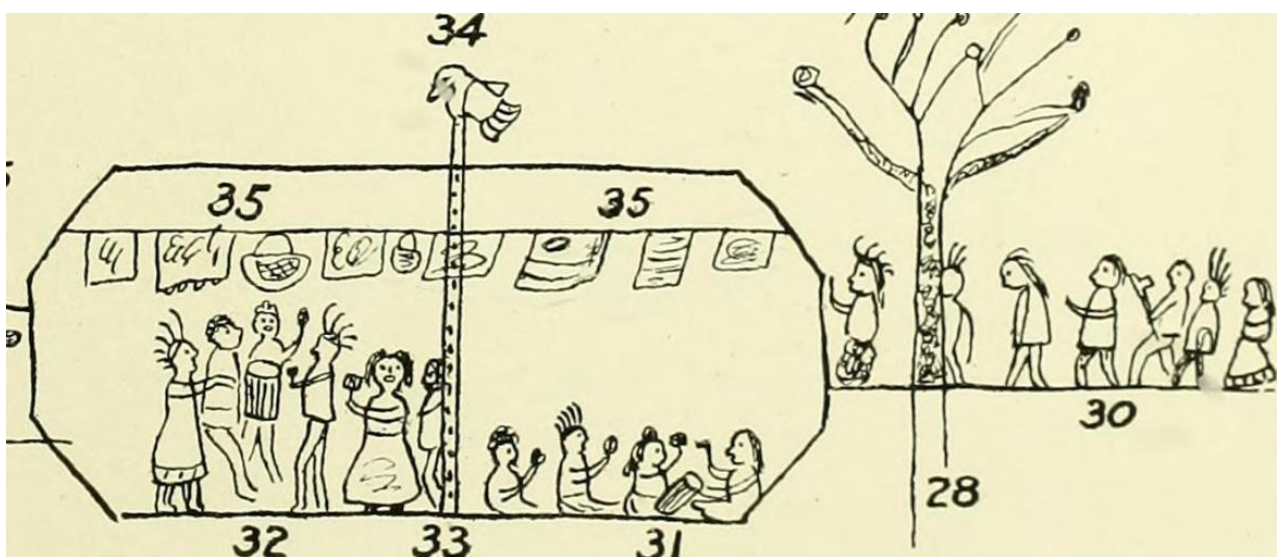
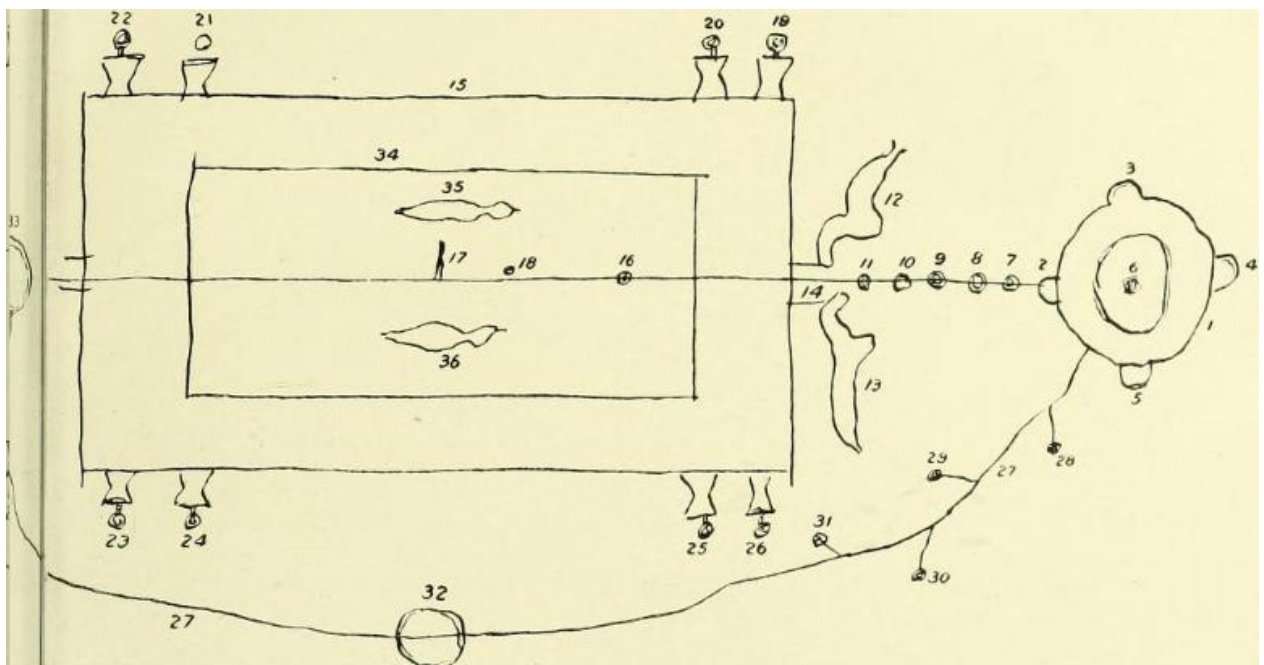
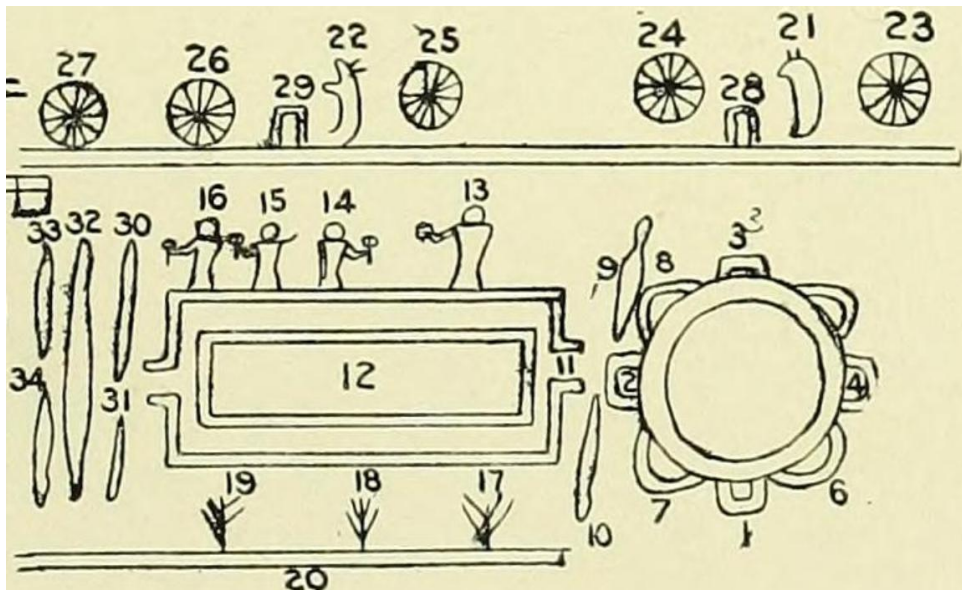
‘It has always been customary for the Midé’ priests to preserve birch-bark records, bearing delicate incised lines to represent pictorially the ground plan of the number of degrees to which the owner is entitled. Such records or charts are sacred and are never exposed to the public view, being brought forward for inspection only when an accepted candidate has paid his fee, and then only after necessary preparation by fasting and offerings of tobacco’ (Hoffman 1891: 164-5).

An old birch-bark chart kept by the chief and assistant Midé’ priests measured 7 feet 14 inches in length and 18 inches in width, made of five pieces of birch bark neatly and securely stitched together by means of thin, flat strands of bass wood. At each end were two thin strips of wood, so as to prevent the splitting and fraying of the ends of the record (Hoffman 1891: 165). In 1887 it was ‘kept by Skwéka’mik, to whom it was intrusted at the death’ of his FaLa, the latter having received it in 1825 from ‘Bada’san, the Grand Shaman and chief of the Winnibé’goshish Ojibwa’. Bada’san had received the original from the Grand Midé’ priest at La Pointe, Wisconsin, ‘where the Midé’wiwin was at that time held annually and the ceremonies conducted in strict accordance with ancient and traditional usage’ (Hoffman 1891: 165).

The chart or record was incredibly detailed, showing the procedures and participants of mitewiwin initiations. One story told of Minabo’zho and the origin of the Midé’wiwin, recorded on the birch-bark chart. ‘When Minabo’zho, the servant of Dzhe Man’ido, looked down upon the earth he beheld human beings, the Ani’shina’bég, the ancestors of the Ojibwa’. 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’nabo’zho remained thoughtfully hovering over the center of the earth, endeavoring to devise some means of communicating with them. He noted something on the water, an Otter, one of the sacred man’idos of the Midé’wiwin. Then Mi’nabo’zho instructed the Otter in the mysteries of the Midé’wiwin, and gave him paraphernalia and tobacco’ (Hoffman 1891: 166).

The otter aka great otter is ‘emblematical of one of the four Medicine Spirits who are believed to preside over the Midawe rites, and figures like the Megis, seashell or turtle in one origin story, appearing to the ancient An-ish-in-aub-ag from the depths of the great lakes’. Perhaps the otter relates to the western Ojibwa (Hoffman 1891).

‘The place where Mi’nabo’zho descended was an island’ in a great lake. The Midé’ who ‘is feared by all the others is called Mini’sino’shkwe, He-who-lives-on-the-island’. Here Mi’nabo’zho ‘built a Midé’wigan’ or ‘sacred Midé’ lodge’, ‘and taking his drum he sang a Midé’ song, telling the Otter that Dzhe Man’ido had decided to help the Anishina’bég, that they might always have life and an abundance of food and other things necessary for their comfort. Minabo’zho then took the Otter into the Midé’wigan and conferred upon him the secrets of the Midé’wiwin, and with his Midé’ bag shot the sacred mi’gis into his body that he might have immortality and be able to confer these secrets to his kinsmen, the Anishina’bég. The mi’gis is considered the sacred symbol of the Midé’ wigan, 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. The ceremonies of initiation carried out in the Midé’wiwin are believed to be similar to those enacted by Mi’nabo’zho and the Otter’ (Hoffman 1891).



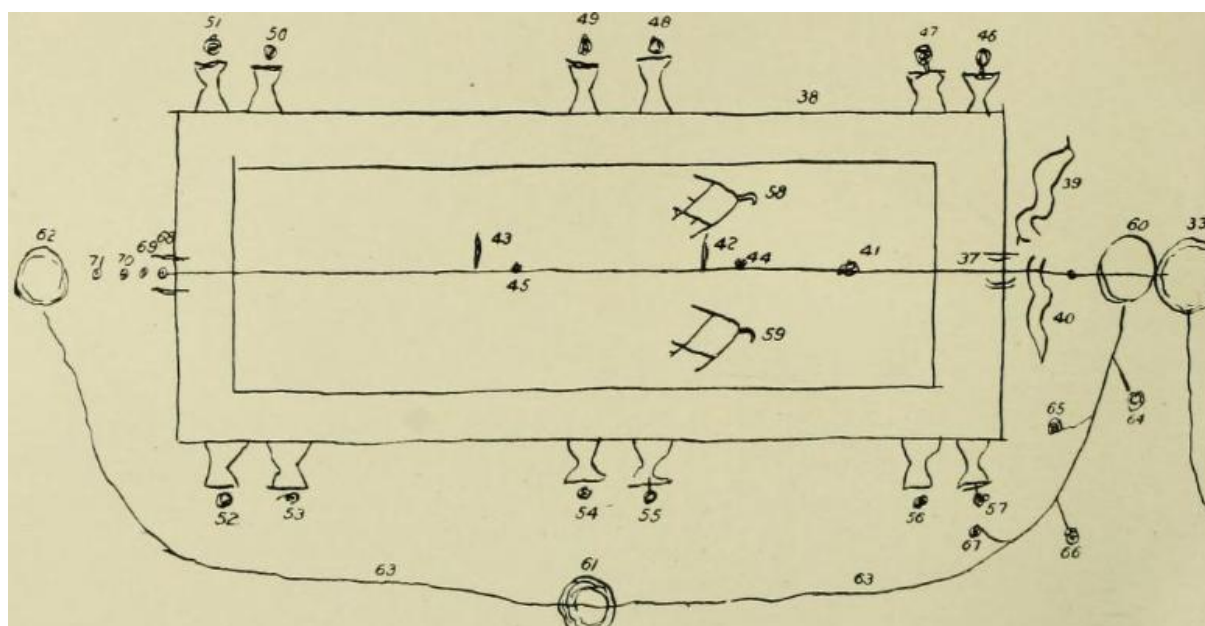
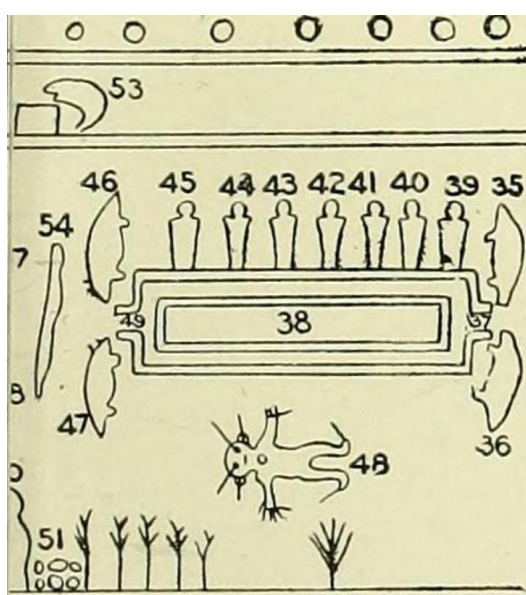
Midewiwin initiation, stage 1

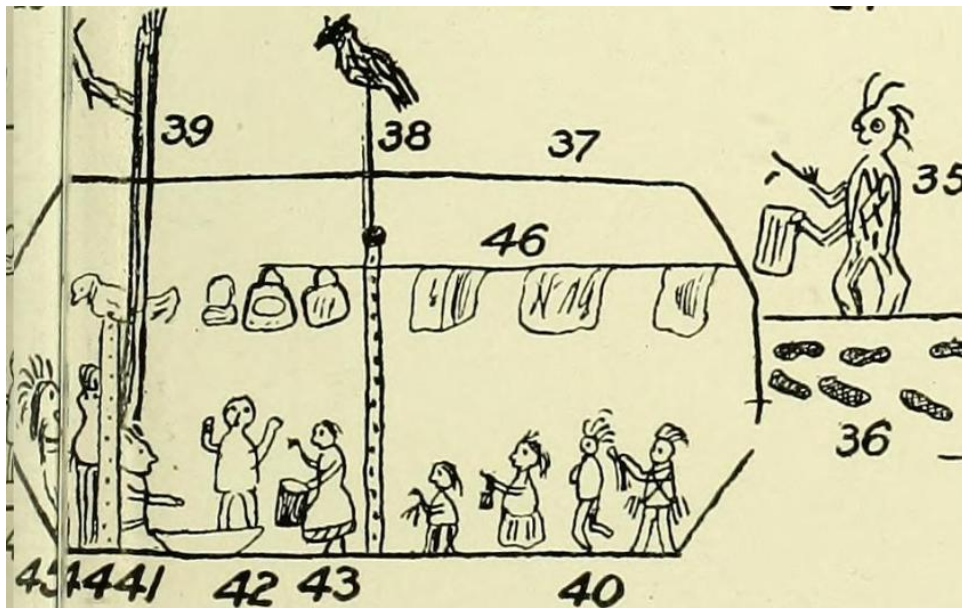
People entering the Midewiwin to become a mide practitioner went through 4 stages or initiations. These are represented on birch-bark scrolls. Various bark-scrolls would vary in detail about the proceedings. On one birch-bark chart a large circle at the right side denoted the earth 'as beheld by Mi'nabo'zho, 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 Ani'shina'bég, Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8. Nos. 9 and 10 represent two of the numerous malignant man'idós, who endeavor to prevent entrance into the sacred structure. 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 Midé' 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 Midé' lodge. No. 20 represents the ground. The outline of the bear at No. 21 represents the Makwa' Man 'ido, or Bear Spirit, one of the sacred Midé' man'idós, 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 Midé'wigan, 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' (Hoffman 1891).

In one version, when Minabo'zho 'descended to the earth to give to the Ani'shind'bég the Midé'wiwin, he left with them this chart, Midé'wigwas'. Ki'tshi Man'ido saw that his people on earth were without the means of protecting themselves against disease and death, so he sent Mi'nabo'zho to give to them the sacred gift. Minabo'zho noted something black upon the waters, Nigik, the Otter, in the west (No. 2) and N, E, S (Nos. 3, 4, 5). Minabo'zho asked it to approach the center where there was an island (No. 6), and gave Otter charge of the first degree of the Midéwiwin (Nos. 35 and 36) where his spirit always abides during initiation and when healing the sick... Then Minabozho built a Midé wigén in which he instructed the Otter in all the mysteries of the Midé'wiwin. The Otter sat before the door of the Midé'wigan four days (Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10), approached the entrance (No. 14), was stopped (No. 11) by two bad spirits (Nos. 12 and 13)' – resembling seals, 'entered the sacred lodge (No. 15), saw the sacred stone (No. 16) and a red post with a green band around the top (No. 17). Sick people prayed to these'. Also noted were: migis (No. 18), and 8 man'idós (Nos. 19-26). 'A life is represented by the line No. 27, with short lines (Nos. 28, 29, 30, and 31) denoting temptations and trials; at middle age (No. 32) his course for the remaining period of life is usually without any special events to the end of one's existence (No. 33). The short lines at Nos. 28, 29, 30, and 31 terminate in rounded spots and signify 'lecture places', because when a Midé' feels himself failing he must renew professions by giving a feast and lecturing to his confreres, thus regaining his strength to resist evil doing' (Hoffman 1891).

In one bark drawing, Ki'tshi Man'ido, with Midé' drum and song, was joined by other Manidos. The drawing showed: 'Abode of Ki'tshi Man'ido... God sits drumming surrounded by migis... Midé' Man'idós came to god in his Midé wigén... Eleven such Manidos appearing... In the Midé'wigan ... is shown also the sacred post ... upon which is perched Ko-ko'-ko-o', the Owl... The line traversing the structure ... represents the trail leading through it', while 'two rings ... indicate the spot where the presents are deposited and the sacred stone... When an Indian is prepared to receive the rights of initiation he prepares a

wig'iwam ... in which he takes a steam bath for four successive days. Officiating priests of the society are present, one of which 'made 'an offering of smoke, while the one to the right ... is drumming and singing. The four officiating priests are visible to either side of the candidate within the structure'. Four wig'iwams 'designate the village habitations. In the evening of the day preceding the initiation, the candidate ... visits his instructor ... to receive from him final directions. The candidate is ... carrying with him his pipe. His relatives follow and carry presents, some of which are suspended from the branches of the Midé' tree (No. 28). The instructor's wig'iwam is shown', with 'two spots' indicating 'two of the seats, occupied by instructor and pupil'. One figure 'has his left arm elevated, speaking to Kitshi Man'ido, while in his right hand he holds his Midé' drum. Upon the following morning the Midé' priests, with the candidate in advance (No. 30), approach and enter the Midé' wigan and the initiation begins. There are: drum (No.31), officiating priests (No. 32); post (No. 33) surmounted by Ko-ko'-k6-o', the Owl (No. 34). This degree is presided over and guarded by the Panther Man'ido' (Hoffman 1891).





Initiation, stage 2

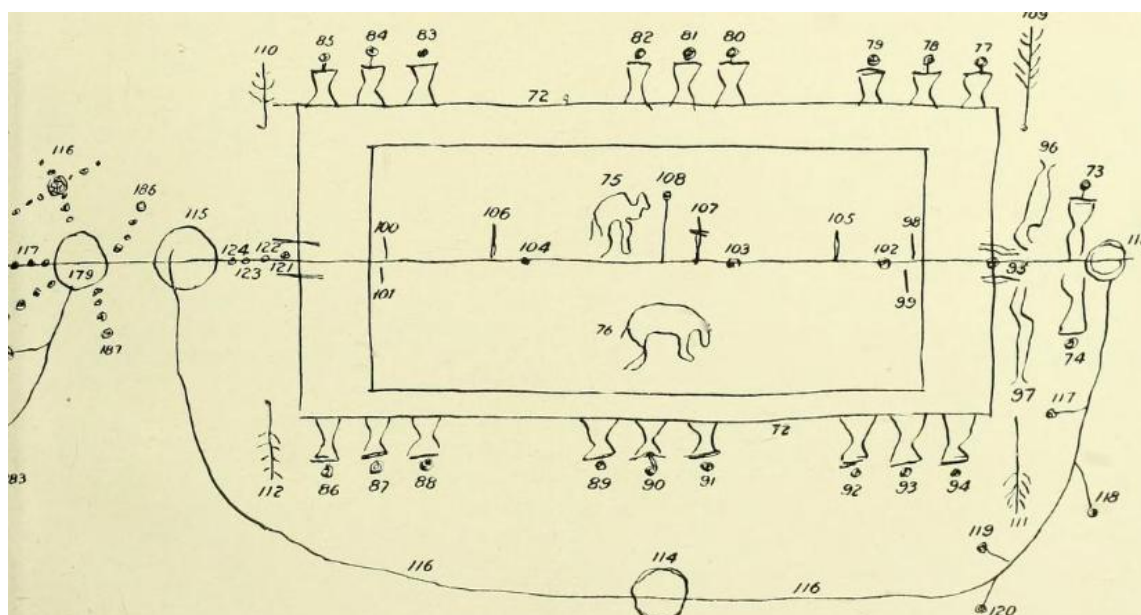
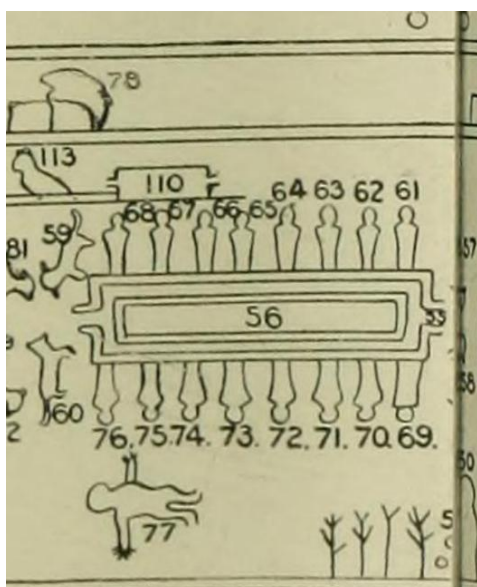
‘After the candidate has been admitted to one degree, and is prepared to advance to the second, he offers three feasts, and chants three prayers to the Makwa’ Man’ido, or Bear Spirit..., that the entrance ... to that degree may be opened to him. The feasts and chants are indicated’ by ‘three drums’. There were ‘five Serpent Spirits, evil man’idos who oppose a Midé’s progress, though after the feasting and prayers directed to the Makwa’ Man’ido have been deemed sufficient the Serpent Spirits allow the candidate to pass 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 at Nos. 37 and 49. The form of this lodge (No. 38) is like the preceding; but ... the seven Midé’ priests at Nos. 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, and 45 ... indicate that the number assisting at this second initiation are of a higher and more sacred class of personages’ (Hoffman 1891).

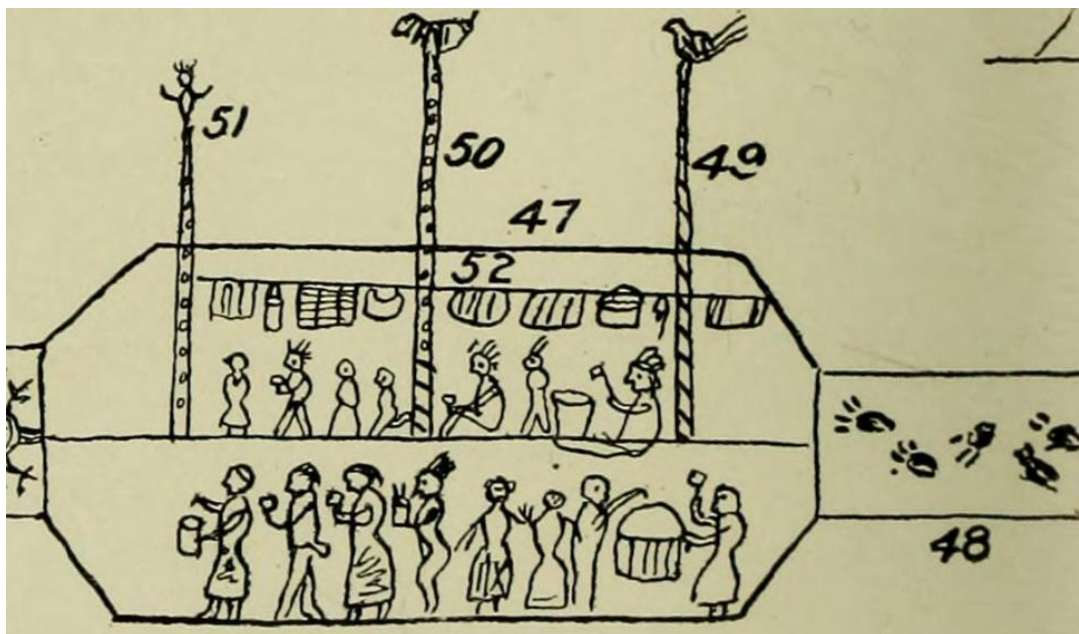
‘When the Midé’ is of the second degree, he receives from Dzhe Manido supernatural powers as shown in No. 48. The lines extending upward from the eyes signify that he can look into futurity; from the ears, that he can hear what is transpiring at a great distance; from the hands, that he can touch friends and enemies at a distance; while the lines extending from the feet denote his ability to traverse all space. The small disk upon the breast of the figure denotes that a Midé’ of this degree has several times had the mi’gis or life ‘shot into his body’, the increased size of the spot signifying the amount or quantity of influence obtained. No. 50 represents a Mi’tsha Midé’ or Bad Midé’, 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 people who wish to encompass the destruction of enemies or rivals, at however remote a locality. Persons possessed of this power are sometimes termed witches. The illustration, No. 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. The trees shown upon either side of No. 50 signify a forest, the location usually sought by bad Midé’ and witches’ (Hoffman 1891).

In one version, ‘Otter went round the interior of the Midé’ wigan..., and finally seated himself in the west, where Mi’nabo’zho shot into his body the sacred mi’gis, which was in his Midé’

bag. Then Mi'nabo'zho said, 'This is your lodge and you shall own it always' ..., eight Midé' Man'idos ... would guard it. Otter was taken to the entrance (No. 37) of the second degree structure (No. 38), guarded by two evil manidos (Nos. 39 and 40), the entered at the door and saw the sacred stone (No. 41) and two painted posts (Nos. 42, 43). Sacred objects and gifts were at Nos. 44 and 45. This degree of the Midé'wiwin is guarded at night by twelve Midé' Manidos (Nos. 46 to 57), 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 denote the degree, connected by a line (No. 63) as in the preceding degree. The points (Nos. 64, 65, 66, and 67) refer to the feasts and lectures to be given in case of need' (Hoffman 1891).

In another version, 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'ido, who is the guardian of the second degree and his footprints are shown in No. 36. There is a second degree inclosure (No. 37); two sacred posts (Nos. 38 and 39); musicians and attendants (No. 40); the kneeling candidate (No. 41); officiating priests (Nos. 42-45); and a horizontal pole with robes, blankets, and kettles (No. 46)' (Hoffman 1891).





Initiation, stage 3

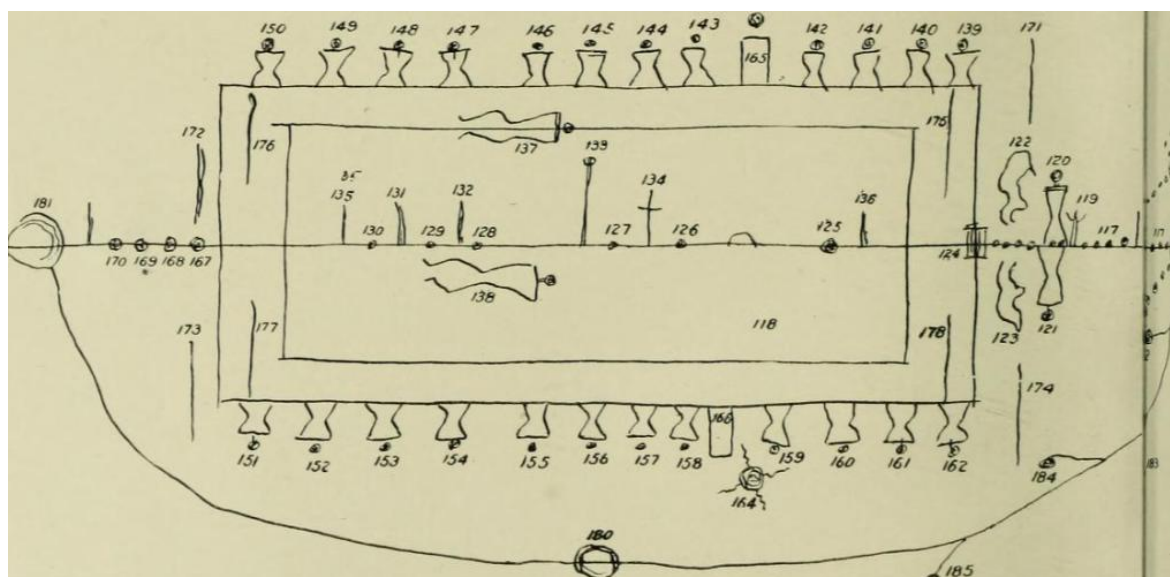
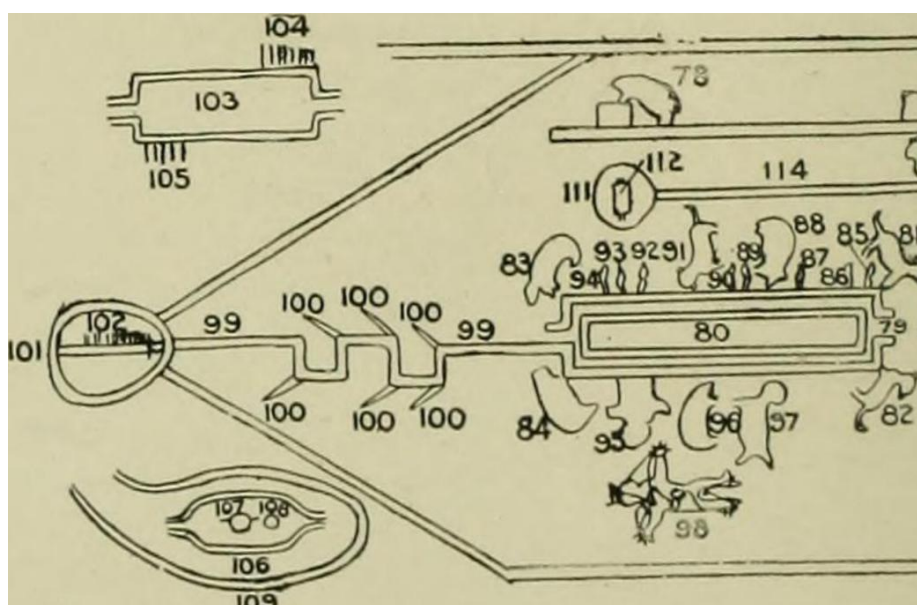
'If a second degree Midé' succeeds in his desire to become a member of the third degree, he proceeds in a manner similar to that before described; he gives feasts to the instructing and four officiating Midé', and offers prayers to Dzhe Man'idó for favor and success'. The 'candidate now personates the bear – not one of the malignant man'idos, but one of the sacred man'idos 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'idó ..., 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 Midé'wiwin, where he encounters two (Nos. 57 and 58) of the four Panther Spirits, the guardians of this degree. The two others are at Nos. 59 and 60' (Hoffman 1891).

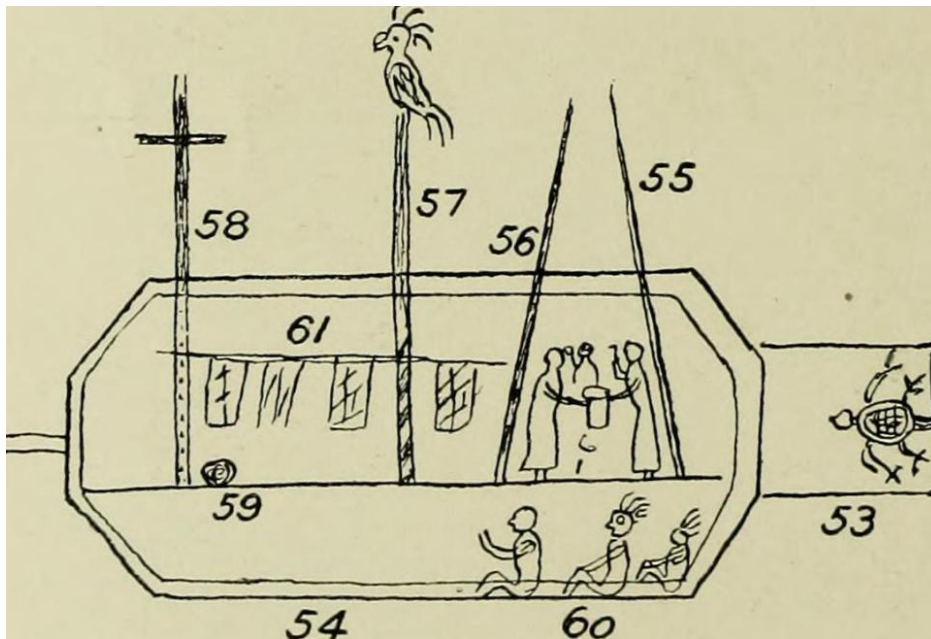
'Nos. 61 to 76 indicate midé' spirits who inhabit the structure of the third degree, and the number of human forms in excess of those shown in connection with the second degree indicates a correspondingly higher and more sacred character. When an Indian has passed this initiation he becomes very skillful in his profession of a Midé'. 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 assistance from the sacred man'idos and his knowledge of them becomes more widely extended' (Hoffman 1891).

In one version, after being 'shot with migis the Otter was told to take a 'sweat bath' once each day for four days, to prepare for the next degree'. 'The third degree of the Midéwiwin (No. 72) is guarded by two Midé' spirits (Nos. 73, 74) near the eastern entrance, and by the Makwa' Manido within the inclosure (Nos. 75 and 76), and at night by eighteen Midé' Man'idos (Nos. 77 to 94). At the entrance (No. 95) Otter faced by two evil man'idos (Nos. 96 and 97), entered the lodge, saw a post (Nos. 98 and 99), and at the western exit two corresponding posts (Nos. 100 and 101), These symbolized the four legs of the Makwa' Man'idó or Bear Spirit, the owner of the third degree. Noted were: sacred stone (No. 102), two heaps of sacred objects (Nos. 103 and 104), three degree posts (Nos. 105, 106, and 107),

the third a cross (No. 107) painted red, each of the tips painted green. In the the Midé'wigan, Otter made four circuits, sitting down in the W when Mi'nabo'zho, for the third time, shot into his body the migis, thus adding to his powers, after which he was to prepare for the fourth degree of the Midé wiwin. Objects included: four cedar or pine trees (Nos, 109, 110, 111, and 112), plus circles (Nos. 113, 114, and 115) and lines (Nos. 116, 117, 118, 119, and 120), with the same signification as in the preceding two degrees (Hoffman 1891).

Yet another version read that when a candidate 'is prepared to advance to the third degree (No. 47) he personates Makwa' Man'ido, who is the guardian of this degree, and whose tracks (No. 48) are visible. The assistants are visible drumming and dancing. There are three sacred posts, the first (No. 49) is black, and upon this is placed Ko-ko'-ko-o', the Owl; the second (No. 50) is painted with white clay and has the effigy of an owl; while the third (No. 51) is painted with vermillion, bearing the effigy of an Indian. Small wooden effigies of the human figure are used by the Midé' in their tests of the proof of the genuineness and sacredness of their religion. The horizontal rod (No. 52, 61) has suspended from it the blankets and other gifts' (Hoffman 1891).





Initiation, stage 4

'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, sitting before it..., and chants more prayers to Dzhe Man'id6 for his favor. This degree is guarded by the greatest number 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'id6, 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 make 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, 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' (Hoffman 1891).

'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 mi'gis or sacred shells, symbolical of the Midé'wiwin. These spots designate the places where the Midé' priests, during the initiation, shot into his body the mi'gis... The ideal fourth degree Midé' 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 mi'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 JÉS'sakkid', and is then recognized as one, as he usually performs within the JÉS'sakkaén or JÉS'sakkid' lodge', commonly designated 'the Jugglery' (Hoffman 1891).

'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 Midé' 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 ... (No. 100). The ovoid figure (No. 101) at the end of this path is termed Wai-ék'-ma-yok', End of the road, and is alluded to in the ritual 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 Midé' for a period of 14 years. The outline of the Midé'wigan (No. 103) and 'vertical strokes shown in Nos. 104 and 105 indicate that he was chief Midé' priest of the society' for 13 years. 'The outline of a Midé'wigan' 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' (Hoffman 1891).

'Upon that portion of the chart immediately above the fourth degree lodge is shown the outline of a Midé'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' Midé'wigan 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' Midé', literally Shadow Midé'. No. 113 represents the Ko-ko-ko-o' (Owl) passing from the Midé'wigan 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'ido is personated by a candidate for the first degree of the Midé'wiwin when giving a feast in honor of a dead person dedicated to the Midé'wiwin, whose place is now to be taken by the giver of the feast' (Hoffman 1891).

In another version, 'Otter got the third degree and prepared for the fourth, and highest, by taking a steam bath for four days ... Then, as he proceeded toward the Midé'wigan he came to a wigiwam made of brush ..., which was the nest of Makwa' Man'ido, 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 Midé'wigan of the fourth degree; the row of spots (No. 117) along the horizontal line indicated days needed to approach the entrance of the inclosure. Points included Otter's approach ..., a short post with a see-through hole (No. 119), two Midé' Man'idos (Nos. 120 and 121) chasing away evil man'idos (Nos. 122 and 123), allowing Otter to enter at the door (No. 124). There was a sacred stone (No. 125) and five heaps of sacred objects which Minabo'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 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. Two sets of sticks (Nos. 135 and 136) represent the legs of Makwa' Man'ido, Bear Spirit. Otter passed round inside the Midé'wigan, Mi'nabozho shot into his body the sacred mi'gis; the degree belongs to Kitshi Man'ido, the Great Spirit (Nos. 187 and 188). Midé' Man'idos (Nos. 139 to 162) guard the Midé'wigan. The Bear's nest (Nos. 163 and 164) just beyond the northern and southern doors (Nos. 165 and 166) are the places where Makwa' Man'ido guard the doors. Then the Otter made a wig'iwam and offered four prayers (Nos. 167, 168, 169, and 170) for the rites of the Midé'wiwin, which Ki'tshi Man'ido had given him. There were 8 cedar or pine trees (Nos. 171-178). The circles Nos. 179, 180, and 181, and the connecting line, as in the preceding degrees, signify the course of a Midé's life, that it

should be without fault... The short lines (Nos. 182, 183, 184, and 185) allude to temptations and misdoing. Three lines ..., consisting of four spots each, symbolize four bear nests and their respective approaches; it is obligatory for a candidate to enter these four doors on hands and knees in the concluding portion of the ceremony' (Hoffman 1891).

In still another version, the 'guardian of the fourth degree is Maka'no, the Turtle (No. 53), facing the entrance of the fourth degree (No. 54). There are four sacred posts (No. 55-58), painted, one with Ko-ko'-ko-o', the Owl; symbols are the migis, sacred stone (No. 59), and human figures (No. 60)' (Hoffman 1891).

The charts of the four initiations are included here both because they form a significant part of Chippewa culture, and for incidental totemic information. It can be seen that totems do not form a significant part of the charts, hinting at an underlying Christian influence. Yet animals appear in every stage of the initiations.

Further notes on the Mite initiation said that the candidate 'puts on his best clothing and such articles of beaded ornaments as he may possess. The preceptor and Midé' priests are also clad in their finest apparel, each wearing one or two beaded dancing bags at his side, secured by a band of beaded cloth crossing the opposite shoulder' (Hoffman 1891). The leading priest aimed 'the Midé' sack at the candidate's head, and as the mi'gis is supposed to be shot into it, he falls forward upon the ground, apparently lifeless. The Midé' then take up the sacks, each grasping his own as before, and as they pass around the inanimate body they touch it at various points, which causes the candidate' to 'return to life'. The chief priest then says to him, 'O'mishga'n', 'get up', which he does. 'The new member then goes to the pile of blankets, robes, and other gifts and divides them among the four officiating priests, reserving some of less value for the preceptor and his assistant; whereas tobacco is carried around to each person present'. 'After the feast, the older Midé' of high order, and possibly the officiating priests, recount the tradition of the Ani'shina'bég and the origin of the Midéwiwin, together with speeches relating to the benefits to be derived through a knowledge thereof, and sometimes, tales of individual success and exploits' (Hoffman 1891).

Mide women

Women could become Mide medicine healers as well as men. During an initiation, the 'Midé' women who have gathered without the lodge now begin to dance as the song is renewed'. 'Upon the ground before them are spread blankets and similar goods, which have been removed from the beams above, and upon which the candidate is to kneel' (Hoffman 1891). Women 'may take the degrees of the Midé'wiwin, but, so far as could be ascertained, their professions pertain chiefly to the treatment of women and children and to tattooing for the cure of headache and chronic neuralgia'. The female Midé' is 'usually present at the initiation of new members, but her duties are mainly to assist in the singing and to make herself generally useful in connection with the preparation of the medicine feast' (Hoffman 1891). Women concerned themselves with plant medicine and other forms of healing. They played a greater role in healing than indicated by the scholar.

Other pictograph records

Each Mide shaman kept birchbark records. 'Upon the back of' one 'Midé' record' is 'the personal record of the original owner'. Shown were 'the four degrees of the society into which he has been initiated', or as Ojibwa say, 'through which he has gone'. This 'passing through' was illustrated by 'bear tracks, he having personated the Makwa' Man'ido or Bear Spirit, considered to be the highest and most powerful of the guardian spirits of the fourth degree wigwam' (Hoffman 1891).

'One birch-bark record was found among the effects of a deceased Midé' from Leech Lake, Minnesota. This record, together with a number of other curious articles, composed the outfit of the Midé', was taken by a missionary of White Earth. One of the 'chief priests of the Leech Lake Society' later gave some information. This chart represents the owner to have been a Midé! of the second degree, indicated by two outlines of structures', with two 'sacred posts' marked. There also were 4 'Midé' priests holding their Midé' bags as in the ceremony of initiation. Five disks represented 'the sacred drum, which may be used by him during his initiation, while' 4 symbols 'denote that he was one of the four officiating priests of the Midé'wigan at his place of residence. Each of these figures is represented as holding their sacred bags as during the ceremonies. A line showed 'the path he has been pursuing since he became a Midé', while ... diverging lines signify that his course is beset with temptations and enemies' (Hoffman 1891).

Then there was a record made by Sikas'sigé, a Mille Lacs Ojibwa Midé' of the second degree, later resident at White Earth. The chart illustrating 'the several degrees is a copy of a record in the possession of the chief Midé' at Mille Laes in 1830, at which time Sikas'sigé, at the age of 10 years, received his first degree. For a number of years thereafter Sikas'sigé received continued instruction from his father Baiédzhék, 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'sigé became one of the officiating priests of the society at that place'. One version of the origin of the Indians was presented in a pictorial representation. 'In the beginning, Dzhe Man'ido ... made the Midé' Man'idós. He first created two men ..., and two women ...; but they had no power of thought or reason'. Then Dzhe Man'ido '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' (Hoffman 1891).

'Between the position occupied by Dzhe Man'ido and the earth were four lesser spirits ... to whom Dzhe Man'ido decided to impart the mysteries by which the Indians could be benefited. They all met in council, and determined to call in the four wind gods... These spirits agreed to ask Dzhe Man'ido to communicate the Mystery of the Sacred Medicine to the people. Dzhe Man'ido then went to the Sun Spirit ... and asked him to go to the earth and instruct the people. The Sun Spirit, in the form of a little boy, went to the earth and lived with a woman... He undertook to resuscitate her dead son. The adopted boy then had the party hasten to the village, when he said, 'Get the women to make a wig'iwam of bark ..., put the dead boy in a covering of birch bark and place the body on the ground in the middle of the wig'iwam'. He brought the dead son to life with the aid of a little bear boy... The boy said he would 'only once to be able to do it'. He then remained among the Indians ... and taught them the mysteries of the Grand Medicine ...; and, after he had finished, he returned to the sky, for

the Indians would have no need to fear sickness as they now possessed the Grand Medicine... This is called Kwi-wi-séns' wé-di-shi-tshi gé-wi-nip, 'Little-boy-his-work'. On this chart' a line 'denotes the earth, and three more steps were indicated..., including four distinct gifts of goods to the Midé' priests'. There were 'repetitions of the figures alluded to in the tradition ... to signify that the candidate must personate the Makwa' Man'ido or Bear Spirit when entering the Midé'wiwin'. The Midé' Man'ido was Ki'tshi Man'ido as 'termed by the Midé' priests. The presence of horns attached to the head is a common symbol of superior power'. A line 'represents the earth's surface' (Hoffman 1891).

One chart or mnemonic song listed sacred objects: No. 1: Mi'nabo'zho holding sacred Midé' sack, pin-ji'-gu-san'. Nos. 2 and 3: drummers. No. 4: women becoming members of the Midé'wiwin; holding Midé' sack made of a snakeskin. No. 5: 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'ido, but not held in so great veneration as the Tortoise. His tracks are visible in the Midé'wiwin. No. 7: the sacred Midé' sack or pin-ji-gu-san', which contains life, and can be used by the Midé' to prolong the life of a sick person. No. 8: a Dog, given by the Midé' Man'idés to Mi'naboo'zho as a companion; or given by Mi'nabo'zho to the Ani'shina'bég (Hoffman 1891).

Two extremely old birch-bark mnemonic songs were interpreted: 'By some of the Midé', Esh'gibo'ga takes the place of Mi'nabo'zho as having originally received the Midé'wiwin from Ki'tshi Man'ido, but it is believed that the word is a synonym or a substitute. Both are mnemonic songs pertaining to Mi'nabo'zho, or rather Eshgiba'ga, and do not form a part of the sacred records of the Midé'wiwin, but simply the pictographic representation of the possibilities and powers of the alleged religion. Noted were: No. 1, represents Esh'gibo'ga, the great uncle of the Ani'shina'bég, and receiver of the Midé wiwin. No. 2, the drum and drumsticks used by Esh'gibd'ga. No. 3, a bar or rest, denoting an interval of time before the song is resumed. No. 4, the pin-ji'-gu-san' or sacred Midé' sack. It consists of an otter skin, and is the migis or sacred symbol of the Midé'wigan. No. 5, a Midé' priest, the one who holds tho mi'gis while chanting the Midé' song. He is inspired, as indicated by the line extending from the heart to the mouth. No. 6, denotes that No. 5 is a member of the Midé'wiwin, perhaps indicating the wig'iwam of a Jéss'akkid', or jugglery. No. 7, is a woman, and signifies that women may also be admitted to the Midéwiwin. No. 8, a pause or rest. No. 9, a snake-skin pin-ji'-gu-san' possessing the power of giving life, indicated by lines. No. 10, a woman. No. 11, another illustration of the mi'gis. or otter. No. 12, a priestess who is inspired, as shown by the line extending from the heart to the mouth; empowered to cure with magic plants. No. 15, a Midé' priest. One picture denotes the power of curing by the use of magic plants; also showing bow and arrows' (Hoffman 1891).

'Initiation into the Midé'wiwin or Midé' Society' in 1890 was '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' (Hoffman 1891).

The Midewiwin lodge

‘The Midé’wigan’ aka Me-da-we-gaun, midewigan, mitewikan or ‘Midé’wig’iwam’, medicine lodge, or great or ‘Grand Medicine Lodge’ is ‘usually built in an open grove or clearing; measuring about 80 feet by 20’, also 100x15 ft or 70x12 ft, ‘extending east and west with the main entrance toward’ the E where ‘the sun rises’ (Hoffman 1891; Kinietz 1947: 175-6, 189). ‘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. On wooden rafters are laid branches with leaves, and pieces of bark, to shade the occupants from the rays of the sun’ (Hoffman 1891). The lodge ‘was but partially covered along the sides with green boughs of the balsam tree’ (Kinietz 1947: 176). Another lodge was covered with ‘cedar bark’ halfway or all the way along the sides; with birchbark on top (op. cit.: 189). ‘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 Midé’ 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 between the stone and the Midé’ 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’ (Hoffman 1891). ‘The lodge was full of men and women who sat in a row along both of its sides’ (Kinietz 1947: 176).

Surroundings of the lodge

‘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, 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’ or ‘pine’; ‘leaving a narrow opening on the side facing the Midé’wigan, which may be closed with an adjustable flap of bark or blankets. The space between the Midé’wigan 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’. There ‘also was a larger sweat lodge for the Mide priests’ (Hoffman 1891).

Some elements in the records

The 4 stages, levels or degrees of initiation as a mite in the mitewiwin are represented; also noted in the birchbark charts. These include consultations about entering and ritual acts,

drums, charms etc. There is mention of gourd rattle and grains or corn or other seeds. The mi'gis was a small white shell (*Cypraea moneta* L.); it could be of almost any species, but the cowrie was favored. The mi'gis shell was the sacred emblem of the Midé'wiwin. Then there was the Midé' sack, or pinji'gusan'; Midé' songs; preparation of medicines; mnemonic songs preserved upon birch bark; otter skin medicine or Mide sack. Pictured was a bear going to the Midé'wigan, and taking with him life to the Ani'shina'bég. The Bear Spirit was 'one of the guardians of the Midé wiwin'. A man shown walking was 'the Mide' Man'ido or Sacred Spirit'. He had power of making a clear sky, causing rain, and giving life to the sick. The initiate is blessed with a knowledge of plants and other sacred objects taken from the ground. Horns denote superiority of the singer (Hoffman 1891).

A Midé' sack could contain: birch-bark roll; figure of the Thunder god; figure of a buffalo; small boxes; love powder; hunter's medicine; plants; the skin of a small rodent, a ground squirrel; medicine sticks; etc. One bag included: a hawk-leg fetish. 'In this sack are carried the sacred objects belonging to its owner, such as colors for facial ornamentation, and magic red powder employed in the preparation of hunters' songs; effigies and other contrivances to prove to the incredulous the genuineness of the Midé' pretensions, sacred songs, amulets, and other small man'idos, abnormal productions to which they attach supernatural properties, invitation sticks, etc.' Then there was 'the leg of a Goshawk', believed 'to be a medium whereby the favor of the Great Thunderer, or Thunder God, might be invoked and his anger appeased' (Hoffman 1891).

The pictorial elements were overwhelming: steam baths; migis-shell; abode of Ki'tshi Man'ido; the sacred inclosure of the Midé'wigan; drifting snow; great bear spirit of the malevolent type; tobacco; spirit lodge; cloud; dancing; smoke offering to E, S, W, N, sky and earth; war paint; sitting in a circle; pity; sun; moon; cedar tree; mi'gis attached to arrow signifying swift and certain power and effect. There was the big tree in the center of the earth; the river as a 'water road'; the Midé' who 'likens himself to the water monster', and much more (Hoffman 1891: 227f). The landscape of images is easy to get lost in.

An array of birds and animals are referred to: loon, goshawk, owl, bear, otter, wolf, lynx, panther, buffalo, ground-squirrel, thunderbird, etc. (Hoffman 1891). But this is not a totemic listing. Most totems are lacking from the records, various fish, birds and animals that have no clear place in the initiations. The similarity is closer to church proceedings. This is not to say that Midewiwin ceremonies are copied from mission exemplars. It is more a historic contingency, that the totemic order found in precontact life is no longer there. Instead the focus is on healing and treatment, quite understandable considering the colonial cataclysms people went through between 1650 and 1850.

Plants and medicines

Healing is reflected in the amount of botanical and medicinal knowledge obtained by Mide practitioners and other healers. This knowledge was secret and closely guarded, since it was one advantage the medicine person had when dealing with patients, including whites. 'The information pertaining to the identification and preparation of the various vegetable substances is not imparted in regular order, only one plant or preparation, or perhaps two, being enlarged upon at a specified consultation. It may be that the candidate is taken into the woods where it is known that a specified plant or tree may be found, when a smoke offering is

made before the object is pulled out of the soil, and a small pinch of tobacco put into the hole in the ground from which it was taken. This is an offering to Noko'mis, the earth, the grandmother of mankind, for the benefits which are derived from her body where they were placed by Ki'tshi Manido'. 'In the following list are presented, as far as practicable, the botanical and common names of these'. 'Although the word Mashkikiwa'buⁿ, medicine broth, signifies liquid medical preparations, the term is usually employed in a general sense to pertain to the entire materia medica' (Hoffman 1891).

Plants by English name (cf. Hoffman 1891: 198-201):

anemone, 'hartshorn plant': wisogibok; used to attract fish (Densmore 1929: 110);
 aster: plant and root used to attract deer (Densmore 1929: 110);
 anemone, pennsylvania: pesikwadzhibwikokok;
 ash, black or water: agimak;
 aven: nebone'ankwe'ak, 'hair on one side';
 baneberry, red: odzibiké^{ns}, 'little root';
 bergamot, wild: moshkoswaⁿowi^{ns}, 'little elk's tail';
 birch, white: migwas;
 birch, yellow: wi'umis'sik; tea used as diuretic;
 calamus, together with sarsaparilla: used to attract fish.
 bloodroot (Kinietz 1947);
 boneset, with common milkweed; chewed roots used in deer call (Densmore 1929: 110);
 cattail, common: napogushk, 'flat grass';
 cedar, red: muskwa'wa'ak;
 cedar, white: gi'zhik, 'day';
 cherry, wild black: okwéwish; 'scabby bark';
 cherry, wild red: kusigwakuminok;
 choke cherry: sisaⁿwewinakaⁿsh;
 clubmoss leaves (Kinietz 1947);
 cottonwood: manasa'ti;
 culver's-root: wisogedzhiwik, 'bitter root';
 currant, indian: gussigwakamish;
 dock, curled: ozabetshiwik;
 dogbane; used as protective charm;
 dogwood; root used to attract muskrats (Densmore 1929: 110);
 dropseed, prairie: napogushku^{ns}, 'little flat grass';
 fir, balsam: ininandok; applied externally to sores and cuts;
 ginseng: washkubidzhibikakok; shté-na-bi-o-dzhi-bik
 ginseng, dwarf: nesowakok, 'three leafed';
 goldenrod flowers (solidago) (Kinietz 1947);
 gromwell, false; used as love medicine (Densmore 1929: 107);
 hawthorn, scarlet: oginik;
 hemlock: saga'iⁿwuⁿsh, 'raven tree';
 huckleberry: minun; 'one of the chief articles of trade';
 lead-plant (amorpha): we'abonagkak, 'that which turns white';
 lopseed: waiabishké^{no}'kok;
 maple, black sugar: ishigomeaush, 'sap-flows-fast';
 maple, striped: moⁿzomish, 'moose wood';
 maple, sugar: inninatik
 moonwort, ozagatigum;
 mugwort, white; used as antidote to 'bad medicine';

oak, red: wisugemitigomish, 'bitter acorn tree';
 oak, white: mitigomish;
 pea, veiny: minisinowûck; root used for wounds and protection (Densmore 1929: 107);
 pine, red; Norway pine: pokgwenagemok; resin used;
 pine, white: zhingwâk; resin used;
 plum, wild: boge'sanok;
 poplar, balsam: asadi;
 raspberry, black: makadé wiskwiminok, 'black blood berry';
 raspberry, wild red: miskwi minok, 'blood berry';
 rose, dwarf wild: oginiminagaⁿmos;
 rose, early white: oginik;
 savory (Kinietz 1947);
 seneca grass; leaves and stems used (Kinietz 1947);
 snakeroot, seneca: winis'sikeⁿs: for colds and protection on journey;
 'snake weed' -> spikenard
 spikenard, false: kinepigwosh, 'snake weed' or 'snake vine';
 spreng (arctostaphylos); used to attract game and as remedy for headache;
 spruce, black: amikwandok;
 spruce, white: sessegandok; the split roots, wadob, are used for sewing;
 stickweed: ozaga'tigomeⁿs, 'burr bush';
 strawberry, wild: 'ode iminne, 'heart berry';
 sumac, white: bokkwanibok;
 sunflower: pukitewukbokuⁿs;
 tamarack: moshkikiwadik;
 violet, canada: maskwiwidzhiwikokok;
 violet, downy yellow: ogitéwaguⁿs;
 walnut, black: paganok; pakana'kwa, 'nut wood';
 waterleaf: huⁿkitewagu'us;
 willow, hoary: sisigewemish;
 wormwood leaves (Kinietz 1947);

By native name:

pukitewukbokuⁿs: sunflower;
 boge'sanok: wild plum;
 paganok, pakana'kwa, 'nut wood': black walnut.
 pakanimichi-nonakek: hazelnut brush; used in fertility drink;
 pakwetichitekons: buttercup or waterlily in meadows; in fertility drink;
 bokkwanibok: white sumac;
 pokgwenagemok; red pine, norway pine;
 bossobozho, a river root 5-6 inches long, powdered; used for colds or anything internal (Kinietz 1947: 209);
 pesikwadzhibwikokok: pennsylvania anemone;
 pi-zhi-ki wi-i-sop: ox gall;
 pasenakwekok: used in fertility decoction with anisinapekwi-chipik;
 piakite' wikboku's': helianthus occidentalis, sunflower;
 go'-gi-mish; plant, 2 feet in height, black bark, clusters of small red flowers;
 kitshi'odeiminibok, 'big heart leaf';
 gi'zhik, 'day': white cedar;
 gus'sigwakamish: indian currant;
 kusigwa'kuminok: wild red cherry;

kine'bik waⁿsh'ko^s, 'snake weed';
 kinepikwashkw, kinéwigwoshk, 'snake weed' or 'snake vine': false spikenard;
 chîpepakw, tzhî-bé-gop, 'ghost leaf'; root's under-bark; mixed with go'gimish;
 chîpemokesin, dzhi-bai-é-mok-ke-zin, 'ghost moccasin'; puff-ball, e.g., round mushroom's
 spore-dust;
 shté-na-bi-o-dzhi-bik: ginseng;
 saga'iⁿwuⁿsh, 'raven tree': hemlock;
 shigwanau'isok, having small red berries;
 sé'sségandok: white spruce; the split roots, wadob', are used for sewing;
 sisi'gewe'mish: hoary willow;
 sisaⁿwewinakaⁿsh: choke cherry;
 zhingwak': white pine;
 mitigomish: white oak;
 mide-wigebik; a root; powdered; used for colds or anything internal (Kinietz 1947: 209).
 makadéwiskwiminok, 'black blood berry': black raspberry;
 migwas: white birch;
 ma-kwa' wi-i-sop: bear's gall;
 moshkikiwadik: tamarack;
 mashkokawash, swamp root;
 moshkos'waⁿowiⁿs, 'little elk's tail': wild bergamot;
 miskwi minok', 'blood berry', rubus strigosus: wild red raspberry;
 muskwa'wa'ak: red cedar;
 maskwi widzhi wiko'kok: canada violet;
 mo'zana'tik; the root is boiled and the decoction taken as a diuretic;
 manasati: cottonwood;
 moⁿzomish, 'moose wood': striped maple;
 minisinowûck: veiny pea; root used for dressing wounds and for protection (Densmore 1929: 107);
 minun: huckleberry;
 minéⁿsok; two species, one with red berries, the other with yellow ones;
 napogushk, 'flat grass': common cattail;
 napo'gushkuⁿs, 'little flat grass': prairie dropseed;
 ne'bone'ankwe'ak, 'hair on one side': aven;
 neskuminakinin, plant with a red berry, e.g., yew? This was a medicine for preventing
 childbirth in case of delicate or ill health or if a child was not wanted (Kinietz 1947: 131);
 nesowakok, 'three leafed': dwarf ginseng;
 namapin: sturgeon potato;
 namewash: catnip;
 né-wé: rattlesnake (crotalus durissus);
 wabosaminisok, 'rabbit berries';
 wipank: sweet flag;
 wisog'ibok: anemone, or hartshorn plant;
 wi'sogedzhiwik, 'bitter root': culver's root;
 washkubidzhibikakok, ginseng;
 wisugemitigomish, 'bitter acorn tree': red oak;
 winis'sikéⁿs': seneca snakeroor; for protection on journey;
 waia'bishkéno'kok: lopseed;
 we'abonagkak, 'that which turns white': lead plant (amorpha);
 wi'umis'sik: yellow birch;
 hutkite'wagits': waterleaf;

ode'imíné, 'heart berry': wild strawberry;
 ogítéwagu^{ns}: downy yellow violet;
 agimak: black or water ash;
 o'ginik: early wild rose, or scarlet hawthorn;
 oginiminagaⁿmos: dwarf wild rose;
 o-kwé'-mish, 'bitter black cherry';
 okwéwish, 'scabby bark': wild black cherry;
 odzibiké^{ns}, 'little root': red baneberry;
 o'zabetshiwik: curled dock;
 asadi: balsam poplar;
 ozagatigum: moonwort;
 ozaga'tigome^{ns}, 'burr bush': stickweed;
 ishigomeaush, 'sap-flows-fast': black sugar maple;
 amikwandok: black spruce;
 huⁿkitewagu^{'us}: waterleaf;
 anisinapekwi-cipik: used in fertility brew with pasenakwekok;
 inninatik: sugar maple;
 ininandok: balsam fir; applied externally to sores and cuts;

Non-vegetable:

rattlesnake poison: né-wé; concoction with strychnia can cause paralysis, perhaps learned from whites;
 bear's gall: ma-kwa' wi-i-sop;
 ox gall: pi-zhi-ki wi-i-sop;
 alum, pulverized (Kinietz 1947).

One might ask why plants were not used as totems. No doubt they were, but then of the vision quest kind or on a personal level. On the main and basic organizational level, the village or local community, it was the limited and contrastive use of totems that counted. No doubt a water plant and a terrestrial plant could form a contrast, like water-lily and rose. But the visual contrast and series provided by animal species took precedence. This actually underscores the local community basis of totemic organizations. It is always the bird-fish-animal contrast that prevails. Though persons with plant and nature totems, like Clear Sky, might well rise to prominence in the wider political landscape. Some aspects of totemism remain hidden and await further scrutiny.

By and large the Midewiwin contains records and practices relating to much of Chippewa culture. At the same time it moves beyond and away from the old community organization based on totemism. In so doing, there is a weakening of native society while at the same time a stronger sense of cultural belonging and identity is reached. This paradox would have a bearing on the future of Chippewa society and perhaps served to undermine the strong totemic traditions in the tribe. Though precisely how this played out remains a poorly investigated subject.

The Chippewa ethos and life cycle

Ethos is here used in the sense of worldview. The Chippewa ethos was community based, though scholars focused on the individual. 'Human cultural adaptation always involves adjustment to a world in which man's interpretation of it is fed back into his adaptation to it' (Hallowell 1992: 60). This would be the case in modern societies where technological developments dominate people's lives. Chippewa society remained stable over the centuries and millennia, closely attuned to the environment and its sustainability. Yet here too there would be an interplay between environmental adaptation and sociocultural developments.

Language provided the Chippewa-Ojibwe with a common identity and belonging. A 'common linguistic and cultural heritage' was a 'unifying' factor that 'transcended the localized groups' of the Chippewa nation (Hallowell 1992: 50). The identity was strong. 'Although they have long been in friendly relations with the whites, Christianity has had but little effect on them, owing largely to the conservatism of the native medicine-men' (Hallowell 1992). Or rather, they retained a connection to their social and natural surroundings.

The cultural 'heritage included a common world-view and a system of values that' white society could not 'completely' obliterate by 1960 (Hallowell 1992: 50). 'Many facets of' the worldview 'still affected their lives' in modern times (ibid.). As an example, 'kinship terms' related people to family, 'other groups' and 'other than human persons', including 'spiritual beings', animals, trees and plants (Hallowell 1992: 50-51). Kinship 'provided the means of structuring their relations ... wherever they were' (op. cit.: 51). One scholar reluctantly noted that the 'cultural heritage included a clan system' (Hallowell 1992: 51). He reduced this system to 'lineages' and genealogies, not realizing that it concerned the local, regional and tribal social system (ibid.). Yet people 'could find members of their' totem 'clan in almost all of the settlements' (ibid.). The South Chippewa village of Ketikitekon gave 'an example of conservatism' (Kinietz 1947: 17). People maintained a cultural presence in modern times. They carried on relations both with each other and the natural world, in an intertwined existence.

In this work, totemism is referred to as an ideology or philosophy. Most early scholars wrote of it in terms of religion, taboo, animism and fetishism (Frazer 1910; cf. Lévi-Strauss 1963). But they not only missed the mark; they created prejudice against totemists, as in the case of missions. Totemism among the Chippewa was more like a philosophical outlook on life. People were a part of local totemic organizations with strong bonds to the surrounding environment. How people adapted to and coped with living in their beautiful northern landscape is at the core of understanding Chippewa life.

Hospitality and sociability

There were rules of hospitality, etiquette and friendliness. The Chippewa 'are a pleasant people' (Densmore 1929: 6). 'The Chippewa have a strong sense of humor and are fond of exchanging jokes among themselves' (ibid.). Basic etiquette included greetings and acquaintance. It is not clear if shaking hands was a native custom, though it may have been.

When two strangers with the same totem met 'they grab each other by the arm and say': 'Oh! you are my relative' (Hilger 1951: 155). The same courtesy might be extended to other strangers as well, since all were relatives, perhaps excepting whites.

General rules of behavior started at home. 'The master of the house was served first unless there was a stranger present, a character they always respected and for whom the first place and choice bits were always reserved, the mistress keeping sufficient in the kettle for herself and the rest of the family' (Kinietz 1947: 60).

It 'was the custom, on approaching a wigwam, to raise the blanket which hung over the doorway and to go in without asking permission or knocking'; this shocked whites who were used to privacy. 'Everyone seemed privileged to go in by day or night. If the inmates looked on the newcomer with favor, they said, when he raised the door and looked in', 'Nind ubimin, nind ubimin'. 'We are at home, we are at home'. 'This was a welcome, although nothing was thought amiss on either side if silence was preserved. If the master of the house wished to treat the newcomer with particular respect, he arose from his own seat opposite the door and, after smoothing out the mat and brushing away any dust, offered it to him' (Kinietz 1947: 31).

'The Ojibways are very hospitable indeed. The visitor is always fed, is given a share without question, so long as they have anything themselves. No matter if he be utterly lazy, never doing a stroke of work, or if he be a gambler and has just come from the game, he seems to have just as good a right to the food as any one who is there'. In modern times white visitors insisted on paying, disrupting the hospitality. Generally visitors were treated with 'great respect' (Kinietz 1947: 61). Such hospitality was found among most tribes, e.g., among the Shawnee, where visitors always are offered food.

'If unrelated totemites make gifts, it is generally on the occasion of a visit to a foreign place, when the guest' is piwite, 'a guest outside of his village', a strange visitor (Landes 1937: 43). 'Then it is a part of the general injunction of hospitality to gens-mates' to be generous. 'When people go to a strange place they are supposed to think': 'Oh, if I have no relatives there, I might find my gens-mates or my wife's gens-mates, and then I will be taken care of' (ibid.). The scholar was amazed to learn that this 'actually happens' in 'true' stories; her skepticism was shown by placing 'true' in parenthesis and claiming she 'never saw it'. The image of having totem relatives everywhere was unimaginable, since it was inconceivable among whites.

One woman 'of the Manitou Reserve' went to 'Ponemah', 'where she had several gens-mates. Not one offered her even a meal', she complained; though perhaps not 'true'. Kin relatives 'were kind to her'. A man 'visited at Ponemah', and shared the totem of his host's Wi, so he was treated well; her 'gens-mates' 'gossiped and joked with him'; then suddenly he was told 'to leave', a breach of hospitality rules. After this 'a classificatory relative was kind to him, the brother of a former wife' (Landes 1937: 43-44). The biased scholar thought this showed that clan solidarity did not exist, since she could not imagine it. Yet this was the 1930s, so help was tight for everybody. 'One incident occurred' showing 'that gens hospitality is sometimes offered' to 'forestall marriage' with 'a stranger'. An old woman 'disliked a visiting stranger who had his eye on her daughter. So she made a false claim that her daughter was a gens-mate of the stranger', hence a 'sibling' and forbidden in marriage. She then 'had to offer him formal hospitality, to make her point the stronger; but her daughter' avoided marriage (op. cit.: 44). This story tickled the scholar; it questioned hospitality, but also exogamy! That both exogamy and hospitality were mandatory customs, could then be ignored.

The cycle of life

The life cycle is prominent in scholarly accounts. 'To the individual the practices and beliefs affecting the individual are the most important'; society as such seemed irrelevant to the scholar (Kinietz 1947: 111). Since the individual is the main unit of American research, material on the person is overwhelming but uninformative, as the individual is not a unit in Chippewa society. Yet for pity's sake the material has to be perused. A complicating factor is the massive changes occurring in people's lives between 1500 AD and 1950 AD, usually treated as one transition, the individual before and now. That the past and present, native life and modern states, cannot be compared, is ignored.

Birth

The experience of birth was one of the 'major' life 'crises' (Kinietz 1947: 111). The 'birth customs' had seen 'little change' 'from prehistoric times to 1804'; not quite true (op. cit.: 112). There was a 'confinement' or birth lodge; local midwives; a more or less hard delivery; and a supposed quick recovery and return of mother and child to daily life (ibid.). Medicinal teas were administered to ease childbirth (Kinietz 1947: 113-4). Pregnant women walked around at night or the fetus would 'get too big' (op. cit.: 114). The afterbirth and parts of the umbilical cord were 'hung up' in a tree to avoid tampering (ibid.). Yet women were known to preserve 'the umbilical cord in a case' (Densmore 1929: 51). 'The mother is laid up about four days' (Kinietz 1947: 115).

Mention can be made of a belief in 'reincarnation', that seemed common (Hallowell 1992: 78). This depended on similarities between a child and a departed person, e.g., an infant born with 'a few gray hairs' (ibid.). A baby was thought to be 'reincarnated' if it was born a twin, had some gray hair, was born with teeth, had a 'marked ear', made somewhat intelligible sounds, etc. (Hilger 1951: 4). This was mixed with a belief in memories before birth (Hallowell 1992: 78-79). Old people 'who died long ago' could be 'born a second time' (op. cit.: 79). The sounds a baby makes after birth can be interpreted as a name; similar names might indicate 'reincarnation' (ibid.).

The birth of a child was a village event; affecting 'the whole village', 'especially the women'. The birthing position was holding onto a cross-pole while kneeling (Hilger 1951: 13). The 'sex and quality of the child' was announced to the Fa, who gave 'presents to the midwife' or nurse, *kâteniwi'kwe*. The baby was 'swaddled', cleaned with 'dry moss', and presented for nursing (Kinietz 1947: 112). 'Multiple births have always been very rare among the Indians'. Twins were 'the greatest number known' (op. cit.: 118). Here infanticide would be an issue; at multiple births people had to decide if one or two would live.

When a child was born the men fought over its possession or parentage. The victor, or social Fa, in anthropology called Pater, had the child carried with the words: 'We have caught the little bird' (Densmore 1929: 48). This would indicate that the soul of a baby was seen as a bird. Other men were given presents by the parents 'to secure the possession of the baby'. The scrimmage was said 'to make the child brave' or accustomed to scuffles from the day it was born (ibid.).

In prehistoric times and into historic times the Chippewa practiced child limitation. 'In the old days the Chippewa did not have large families'; 'the average was two or three children' (Densmore 1929: 48). This was crucial to the sustainability of communities and villages, that lasted for hundreds of years without taxing the carrying capacity of the environment. One missionary denied any artificial 'limitation of families', though she extolled sexual abstinence (Hilger 1951: 3). Yet people practiced abortions and infanticide (op. cit.: 10-11).

Childbirth entailed a strong mother-child bond. 'A mother had her child constantly with her'; 'the daily relation between mother and child' was close (Densmore 1929: 48). Each birth announced a new community member.

Naming

Little is known about the naming of Chippewa children, or names in general, though this was crucial to their social identity, not least in terms of totemism. Scholars were confused by the diversity of names: birth names; nicknames; positional names; and personal or incidental names (Densmore 1929: 52).

'The ceremony of giving a child a name was and still is considered very important' (Kinietz 1947: 115). Yet the naming ceremony is poorly known. Names were 'bestowed' by old people, 'the grandparent class' (Hallowell 1992: 58). What is known is that the person giving the name, the name-giver or 'namer', received the name in a dream through 'spirit power' (Densmore 1929: 52). The baby or person being named would receive a 'benefit from it' through the dream (ibid.). Specifically the dream would provide a name story for the individual. Unfortunately such name stories are little known; partly because such stories were closely associated with a person's identity and generally shielded and kept secret. In one awkward view a person 'could not transmit this acquired power to anyone else'; the name story was personal (ibid.). The dream story could not be passed on; obviously because this related to one naming; the scholar somehow saw this as a weakness, since the name 'power' could not be passed on. Actually this was its strength: the personal name provided a strong identity, somewhat like having a unique social security number or bank ID: you don't want to share it freely, especially with strangers.

Some notes on the naming ceremony are provided. The parents would choose an old person to name their child, confusingly called a 'namer' or 'namesake', i.e., a name-giver, wâtawasok aka wintawasok, wintawasowinini, male, or wintawaso'kwe, female (Densmore 1929: 53-54; Hilger 1951: 37). Another suggested word for 'namer' and 'named' is iyawen, perhaps body-maker, translated 'namesake' (Landes 1937: 117). There 'are no fixed rules as to the sex of the namer'; an old man or old woman could name a child regardless of gender (Hilger 1951: 38). 'Soon after the birth of a child its parents selected a person to name' it. 'This person was called a namer and usually gave to the child a name connected with his or her dream'. When the parents decided on a 'namer' they asked the person and a few others to a feast; the person chosen put some tobacco in the child's hand and said s/he would return later with a name for another feast. S/he asked those present to attend the naming and expressed 'appreciation of the honor conferred'; the name giving was to take place after some time, said to be 'several months' but perhaps a day or two (Densmore 1929: 53-55).

At Ketikitekon 'there is a feast preceding that at which the name is announced'. About 'a month after the birth of a child, its parents cook a meal and give a feast to which they invite ... mostly older people, perhaps' 6-8, 'not necessarily relatives but usually including some who are. The month wait is for the purpose of observing the characteristics of the child. The feast is given in the morning or by noon at the latest and is for the purpose of calling upon the gods to give the child desirable qualities. The speaker also thanks the gods for sending the infant to the earth. In saying this he touches the earth. The expression he uses in referring to the child' is 'one of their own kind', 'an Indian'. 'Tobacco is always used at this feast' (Kinietz 1947: 117).

'The namer' would provide 'food for' the upcoming naming feast; 'yet the main task was to dream a name'. The object was to provide a name and 'the transmission to the child of the benefit which he or she derived from their dream' (Densmore 1929: 53-55). 'A person gets the power of bestowing names through fasting but has to fast again for every name. The fast lasts according to the condition of the faster until the spirits talk to him'; e.g., a dream. 'A strong person might have to fast a long time'. One modern man denied 'himself tobacco and whiskey as well as food when he fasts. He said that his power is now about running out after eight namings' (Kinietz 1947: 117).

One scholar mixed up aspects of the naming process. At 'a naming feast' each guest extols 'his supernatural patron'. The guests give a symbolic gift to the baby, 'a tiny cane' symbolizing old age, 'a tiny gun' for hunting, or 'a queer-shaped stone' for 'mystic' power. 'At the same time, each intercessor gives the child a name', consisting of 'a cryptic phrase' representing a 'vision' or dream (Landes 1938: 2-3). Apparently the biased scholar thought that everybody at the naming feast gave the baby a name.

One white observer completely overlooked the dream basis of the name. He thought he was at a christening. When 'a child is to be baptized' or 'given a name' they 'make a grand feast. The father appoints' someone 'to stand as minister on this occasion. The ceremony is always delayed until a sufficient number of relatives or friends are assembled, the father then presents to the officiating minister a quantity' of food 'kept, perhaps several months, for the circumstance. These provisions are then immediately cooked, and the parson sends to invite every one in the place, except the children. The invitation is made by presenting you with a quill, without saying a single word'; those invited 'bring' their 'dish or plate'. 'On entering the festive wigwam, you place your dish before you and return the quill'; the attendant 'immediately takes the dishes and divides the meat' or food; 'the parson' would 'eat none of it'. 'During the feast' the 'parson makes a long harangue'. After 'this harangue' people 'are desired to do charity to the child and eat what is in your dish, because it is not yet able to eat for itself'. 'The parson sings and beats his drum during the whole meal, and then taking the child in his arms, he delivers an oration in which he wishes it all manner of happiness', 'and that it may live to wear gray hair and see its grand children. If the parson is an old man, he wishes the child to look at the sun at least as long as he did, and then sings another song in which he names it'. The 'feast must be eaten up and sometimes lasts several hours, during which the parson' will 'sing and beat the drum' (Kinietz 1947: 116).

Each 'child was given a personal name in a Naming Feast held not long after birth' (Hallowell 1992: 12). 'The naming of the child was done at a feast', wintawasowin (Hilger 1951: 38; Haines 1888: 369). The 'name was derived from a dream of the namer', who was 'an old man' or woman (Hallowell 1992: 12). 'With the name were transferred' 'blessings' 'which the namer had received from' spirit beings (op. cit.: 12-13). A 'personal name had a sacred quality

and was seldom used in daily life' (op. cit.: 13). At a naming some 5-6 persons could be present; presumably representing different totems (Densmore 1929: 53-54). 'At one such feast in 1930' 4 people aged 49-80 'were the invited guests' (Hilger 1951: 38). At another naming in 1940 'six old persons' were invited'; they sat on the floor 'in a circle' or semi-circle; the Mo gave the baby to the name-giver who named it (op. cit.: 39). Here the 'namer told his dream and for the first time made known the name of the child'; 'this name' expressed 'the substance or the story of his dream', the name story. As part of one dream another 'namer' said that the named female, Metweweshkwe or Sound-in-trees, must hang a dress on a tree every year, which was done until she was old. One naming example was Kakianakwat or Clear Sky, made after 'the namer had seen a clear sky in his dream'; the person would be blessed with 'fair skies'. 'If he had dreamed of an animal' he would speak of 'the power of that animal' (Densmore 1929: 53-55). The old person told the child to live long (Hilger 1951: 39). The 'grandfather' or grandmother 'called on' the 'powers in the spiritual world' to bless the name (ibid.). After the naming there was smoking of a pipe, a feast, and giving a token of 'the dream subject'; tokens noted were miniature gorgets, ornaments, knives, bows and arrows, etc. (op. cit.: 55).

At Ketikitekon, any time after the first 'feast but usually following closely they notify the speaker, when they have the goods, that they wish to give a name. There is no special time for this naming feast nor special guests except the speaker or namer. The best time for holding it is at noon but it may be held any time in the morning. The person who bestows a name derives his power through fasting. The name itself is the wish of the gods imparted to the speaker in a fasting dream. The speaker tells his dream at this second feast and announces the name. He makes his announcement by addressing himself to some elder while holding and caressing the child. The elder repeats the name and caress and hands the child to some one else who does likewise and so on around the assembly. The speaker receives no compensation except the feast and a gift of tobacco' (Kinietz 1947: 117). At the feast everything must be eaten, 'in imitation of hawks' that leave nothing behind (Haines 1888: 369). Both 'men and women could acquire the power of naming. Of all the reporters of the ceremony' only one white misogynist claimed 'that the duty never devolved upon women'. The biased observer 'usually cast a man in the role of speaker' (Kinietz 1947: 118).

What the scholars ignore is that names were totemic; this is partly due to scholar bias and partly to a move away from totemic names in modern times among the mostly white informants. It seems that the nativism of the Midewiwin c. 1700-1780 was influenced by missionaries. One outcome may have been a departure from generally totemic names to more 'celestial' ones, referring to Sky, Cloud, Wind, Sun, Day, etc.; though this might also be a way to hide totemic names from whites. Each child still obtained a totem when named.

A reluctant scholar wrote: 'All the people in the village' of Ketikitekon 'have Indian names but they are not generally used'. The 'preference' was 'English names. In the family the relationship terms are generally used. There is no clan reference in any of the names' (Kinietz 1947: 118). Incredibly the scholar ignored the Indian names, though noting the totem of each villager in a census! The 'native names were sacred and carried with them benefits for the child', but missionaries prevented people from naming their children (Hallowell 1992: 58).

As noted, the Midewiwin revival and other events c. 1800 may have led to children no longer being given names associated with their totems, but rather with 'spiritual' terms such as Cloud and Sky, perhaps in response to white and mission ridicule. But the child was at the same time noted as a member of the totem clan or family. Apparently the change in naming did not apply

to everybody; many people continued using totemic names, such as Meskwapi or 'Sits strong' for a bear and Mâchikâpawi or 'Starts standing' for a deer. Yet it became even more difficult than before to learn about people's totems, since many got unrelated personal names, and on top of that the names were secret, so people would use a nickname instead, with no totemic reference. So an enquirer would have to go through several layers of reference to learn a person's totemic affiliation. In old times this would be more straightforward, since a totem clan, say bear, was represented by an extended family that occupied a particular position in the row of village clans, so there was no point in being coy about one's totem. Yet a person would still have to search, since the arrangement of totem clans was not the same everywhere. A rough guess had to be made until matters became clear. In a historical, decimated, disturbed, consolidated and displaced village, figuring out people's totem would be hard, especially when names were kept secret and the totem was concealed. But this was how people wanted it to be, since the totem held crucial information about everything from hunting companions to exogamy and leadership.

One modern informant talked about getting the totem from the Fa, FaFa, 'and so on', 3-4 'generations back'. 'My dō'dām is the deer. The deer is smart and quick. When a deer wants to drink, he goes up the river a little way from where he crossed, because he won't drink the water that has washed his traces. The deer is my companion; I follow his life. I never need a compass to go through the woods, for I am able to find my way just like the deer' (Hilger 1951: 154). Perhaps this is a version of a naming dream; the name could be 'Going up', Ishpiminkose. Imagine having a thousand such stories printed in a book!

It is important to note that Chippewa names and name stories were unique. Each person had his or her own name story, placing them firmly within a totem category. A list of Chippewa names would run in the thousands. Yet scholars included few or none names in their accounts (Densmore 1929: 53-55; Kinietz 1947: 118).

At this point a list of personal names and totems are presented, taken from various documents and sources:

Fish:

Peshipawent (1811) (catfish)
Pinesi, Little Bird (1849) (merman or seal)
Kepewachinonk' (1840) ♀ (salmon)
Kakikechiwen (1889) (fish)
Kakikewoshi'kwe ♀ (fish)
Kichikawitawashi, The great sailor around a circle (1840) (fish)
Kawitapetank (1830) (catfish)
Shakanosh, English (1840) (fish)
Shikwame, A fish (1840) (fish)
Shikwanamekw, Soft fish (1840) (bullhead)
Nepwapens, Little Soup (1830) (catfish)
Mâchichiwon, Flowing away (1840) (fish)
Maya'amo, Going towards the sea (1840) (fish or seal)
Nepwapens, Little Soup (1830) (catfish)
Netawashi, Able or correct sailor (1840) (fish or seal)
Namepin, The sucker (1840) (sucker)
Namiwan, Fair Wind, John Owen b. 1858 d. 1944 (sturgeon)
Namewineni, Sturgeon (1840) (sucker or sturgeon)

Nawachiwan, Strong Stream (1840) (bullhead)
 Wêkimâwîkwan, Chief-feather (1849) (catfish)
 Akwotoshinsi (1850) (sunfish)
 Okwekan, Neck (1824) (sturgeon)
 Eshkipakekosi, Flat Mouth or Wide Mouth b. 1780 d. 1860 (fish)
 Ashikasi or 'asikas (1840) (bass)
 Askonensi (1840) (bass)
 Ashikweshi (1840) (bass)
 Eskwewsi'kwe (1840) ♀ (bass)
 Owesikwe, Mud fish (1840) ♀ (mud-fish)
 Asawanesi (1840) (sunfish)
 Owesikwe, Mud fish (1840) ♀ (mud-fish)
 Awasonsi (1840) (mud-fish)
 Awanonsa (1840) (fish?)

Turtle:

Pepekamikat (1817) (turtle)
 Papamakameko'kwe (1840-1850) (turtle)
 Tepiskakameko'kwe, Woman of the edge of the Earth (1840) ♀ (turtle)
 Kekwetose (1840) (turtle)
 Kekwetoseke, Woman who attempts (1840) (turtle)
 Shawanwakamek, Southern land (1840) (turtle)
 Meskwatesi, Little turtle (1840) (turtle)
 Napenakamekiskanka, Stands on one side of the earth (1840) (turtle)
 Netawakameskank, Able treader of the ground (1840) (turtle)
 Waseya d. 1921 (turtle)
 'Awanôshe (1840) (turtle?)

Snake:

Pokonewasin, Hole in the rock (1840) (snake)
 Senawina, The rattler (1840) (rattlesnake)
 Meshinawe, Rattlesnake (1840) (rattlesnake)
 Netawashino'kwe, Woman who knows how to sail (1840) (snake)
 Nawakweshika, Noon day (1840) (snake)
 Apen'shinwa (1840) (snake)
 Omo'kakens, Little Frog (1840) (frog)

Smaller bird:

Pepekiwisens, Winter king bird (1840) (snow-bird)
 Pekinaka, Winner (1849) (teal-duck)
 Pakwakikapawi'kwe, Woman comes in turning about (1840) ♀ (partridge)
 Pasekipinesi, Bird flying over (1840) (bird)
 Peshîkwanepi'kwe, Striped feathered woman ♀ (woodpecker)
 Pemiset, One who flies (1840) (partridge)
 Peminîpawi, He stands in sight (1840) (partridge)
 Pintekapawi (1897-1912) (partridge)
 Pwnsweguesic, Jay Bird (1817) (bird)
 Kâpiponîw'k'e (1840) ♀ (snow bunting)
 Kepewse, Last of the Hunters (1824) (blackbird or wolf)
 Ka'kaki (1840) (raven)

Kakakîkwane (1840) (raven)
 Kakakensa (1840) (raven)
 Kakakiwashi (1863) (raven)
 Kichinekaw (1781) (goose)
 Kisikkâpawi (1880) (fowl)
 Kenisteno, Cree (1849) (goose)
 Kinawanakwatw'kwe, Snow woman (1840) (snow bunting)
 Shikenak, Black Bird (1817) (blackbird)
 Sakiyans, Little Lover (1840) (plover)
 Shashawanowapis, Southern Bird (1840) (finch or redbird)
 Sankwewe, Jingling sound (1840) (woodpecker?)
 Mâtewêwashipakw, Sound of sailing through green leaves (1840) (duck)
 Matwewashi'k', Woman that makes a sound in sailing (1840) ♀ (loon)
 Mekatepinesi, Black Bird (1840) (blackbird)
 Mekatewkanshe, Black Hoof (1849) (goose)
 Makoshikan (1781) (chicken or fowl)
 Machikâpawenesi, Stands ready to start (1840) (partridge)
 Mechiki'kwewisha, Clownish woman (1840) ♀ (robin-bird)
 Meskopinesi, Red bird (1840) (redbird)
 Mânkonsi, Little Loon (1840) (loon)
 Mânkwesitensa, Little Loon foot (1840) (loon)
 Mayawese, Flies back (1840) (goose or pelican)
 Okimapinesi, Chief or King Bird (1840) (king-bird)
 Okimapinesi'kwe, The King bird woman (1840) ♀ (king-bird)
 Ochichak (c. 1830) (teal-duck)
 Eshkipekoshe (1840) (finch or bluebird)
 Osaweshkopinesi, Blue or Yellow Bird (1840) (yellow-bird)
 Osaweshipa, Yellow Duck (1840) (duck)
 Omemens, Little dove (1840) (pigeon)
 Ayapitwewêtanka (1840) (loon?)
 Ahawe, Loon (1830) (loon or duck)

Large bird:

Pitwewîkwanepi'kwe, Coming sounding woman (1840) ♀ (crane)
 Pemiwewîkwanepi, Sounding Feather (1840) (crane)
 Kepewkâpawi, George b. 1880 d. 1945 (He lands or comes ashore standing) (crane)
 Kichipinesi, Big Bird (1840) (swan)
 Shete, Pelican (1840) (pelican)
 Shate'kwe, Pelican woman (1840) (pelican)
 Sheteyense, Little Pelican 1840 (pelican)
 Mejakiyapenten, Sees through to the bottom, Mrs Niskigwun (1850) ♀ (heron or crane)
 Menoke'sika (1840) (crane)
 Nalamishkn, Thomas Joseph Swan b. 1870 (swan)
 Nintakwewekesik, Big sounder (1840) (crane)
 Wenitokopinesi, The giant bird (1840) (crane)
 Oshkapawis (1849) (crane)
 Enemîkwanepik' (1840) ♀ (crane)

Birds of prey:

Pepwamiwashi, Low thunder (1840) (hawk)

Pîtwêwake'sikw (1840) (hawk)
 Pemwewetanka (1867-1878) (hawk)
 Pemwewenkwepi'k, Sounding thunder bird woman (1840) ♀ (thunder-bird)
 Têtepâshôse, She flies low (1840) ♀ (vulture)
 Kakapisha (1824) (screech-owl)
 Kakikekiniw (1840) (eagle)
 Kekekwapî, Hawk sits (1840) (hawk)
 Kekekwashî (1840) (hawk)
 Kantikant (1830) (Ontonagon) (eagle)
 Kenowanse, Little war eagle (1840) (eagle)
 Kwekwekekisek, Turning sky (1840) (hawk)
 Shapokishekwashkank, Through the Sky (1840) (hawk or eagle)
 Shokakesik, Sounding sky (1840) (hawk)
 Mekatekekeki, Black Hawk b. 1800 d. 1860 (1840) (hawk)
 Mikisi (1900) (eagle)
 Mîkesinse, Little Eagle (1840) (eagle)
 Meskwâkwani (1870) (red-hawk)
 Mashkwasono, Elk's tail (1840) (eagle)
 Manitokinew, Spirit Hawk (1840) (hawk)
 Nipawse, Night Walker (1840) (owl)
 Netameskanka, The first that treads the ground (1840) (partridge)
 Wêkimâwîkwan, Chief Eagle (1824) (eagle)
 Wekimawiskanka, Stand in his honors (1840) (eagle)
 Onkwesak (1830) (eagle)
 Anchikinewa (1840) (hawk)
 Eniwiwakeskanka (1840) (hawk?)

Bear and mustelids:

Pekochekapimapi, Round belly sitting in a row (1840) (bear)
 Pakwa'kepi, Sits facing about (1840) (bear)
 Pakwanakishik, Hole in the day d. 1846 (bear)
 Pakwenchike, Bites off a piece (1840) (bear)
 Tetakwamapi'kwe, Sitting backwards and forwards (1840) ♀ (bear)
 Kekwetapi, Attempting to sit (1840) (bear)
 Kekwetapi'kwe (1840) ♀ (bear)
 Kechima'kwa, Big Bear (1880) (bear)
 Kichiwapishase (1835) (marten)
 Kichi-asepon, Big Raccoon (1840) (raccoon)
 Kaskiasiwe, One-that-can-climb (1840) (bear)
 Kwekwa'kepi, Turns around sitting (1840) (bear)
 Kiwesikense, Lost cub (1840) (bear)
 Chi'akepi, Sits moving (1840) (bear)
 Shopakamik, Through the ground (1840) (otter)
 Sakaweta, Leading out (1840) (badger)
 Shayapwapi ♀ (bear)
 Makomisetsens, Little Turtle (1849) (marten)
 Mekentwewi'kwe, Robber woman (1840) ♀ (badger)
 Makonsa, Cub (1840) (bear)
 Makwa (1840) (bear)
 Meskoma'kwa, Red bear (1840) (bear)

Meskawapi, Sits strong (1840) (bear)
 Mamawapi'kwe, Woman sitting all in a heap (1840) (bear)
 Manitoma'kwa, Spirit Bear (1840) (bear)
 Mayawapi'kwe, First sitting woman (1840) ♀ (bear)
 Neshwapi, Sits in two places (1840) (bear)
 Nawachiwanapi, Sits in the rapids (1840) (bear)
 Wapisheshi, Martin (1840) (marten)
 Wapisheshi'kwe, Martin woman (1840) ♀ (marten)
 Wikopenakwe (1800) ♀ (bear)
 Wêmitikwashi, Wooden Vessel, Frenchman (1849) (marten)
 Otagami, The Fox Indian (1842-1849) (bear)
 Okapekiseko'kwe, All day woman (1840) (otter?)
 Omashkosi, Little Elk (1849) (bear)
 Eniwakamekwapi (1840) (bear?)

Wolf and lynx:

Pêpâmwêwe (1840) (wolf)
 Pêpâmwêwêtanka (1840) (wildcat)
 Papnescha (1815) (wolf)
 Pîtosoke'kwe, Light coming woman (1840) ♀ (fox)
 Patwewetanka, Comes sounding (1840) (wildcat)
 Pakwachse b. 1815 d. 1875 (Lac Courte Oreilles) (wolf?)
 Pasigwitung, He who gets up (1824) (wildcat)
 Pemiwewetamo'kwe, Sounding woman (1840) ♀ (wildcat)
 Payapetwewetanka, Coming sound (1840) (panther)
 Paye'shikw (1840) (wolf)
 Tetakamose (1885-87) (panther)
 Tekameki'shikw, One end of the sky to the other (1840) (sky-panther)
 Kakwachisa (1840) (fox)
 Kishkitiye, Bob tail (1840) (wildcat)
 Koshakons, Cat (1840) (wildcat)
 Kenwatiye, Canada (1840) (panther)
 Kinwakos (1865) (fox)
 Kawatase (1840) (fox)
 Kiwose (1840) (wolf)
 Skinawe (1880) (wolf)
 Meskokonaye, Red dress (1840) (fox)
 Ma'inkwansa, Albert Little Wolf d. 1927 (wolf)
 Miyons, Cat (1840) (wildcat)
 Mayanose'kwe, Woman who leads a war party (1840) ♀ (fox)
 Meyawikapawi'k, Standing strongly (1880) ♀ (fox)
 Mowena, Made to cry (1840) (wolf)
 Ma'inkwense, Little wolf (1840) (wolf)
 Nitawawchi, Dexterous dodger (1824) (wolf or fox)
 Netawse, Good walker (1840) (fox)
 Wapisheshons, Little Lynx (1840) (lynx)
 Eniwewetanka (1840) (wildcat)

Deer-kind:

Pepamanakwat (1900) (caribou)

Tankiskon, Kick at him (1840) (elk or moose)
 Kepeko'sikk' (1840) ♀ (deer)
 Kawpisekenekin (1840) ♀? (buffalo)
 Kepewkâpawi (1840) (deer)
 Kekekopines (1900) (caribou)
 Kakikakapawi, George Copway b. 1818 d. 1869 (deer)
 Kekwechikâpawi, Attempting to stand (1840) (deer)
 Sakakamikapaw b. 1875 d. 1950 (moose or elk)
 Sakoshkotewe'kwe, Ascending on the prairie (1840) ♀ (elk or buffalo)
 Shakeshikank, The Heaviest (1840) (buffalo)
 Shenawakweskan b. 1790 d. 1850 (Lac Seul, Ont.) (moose)
 Sayakosi, Stands easy (1840) (deer)
 Mekawikâpawi, Change of position in standing (1840) (deer)
 Machimosw'kwe, Bad moose (1840) ♀ (moose)
 Moasogitick, Moose knee (1824) (moose)
 Meskonako'ke, Red woman (1840) ♀ (deer)
 Meskawikâpawi (1840) (moose)
 Meskawikâpawi'kwe (1840) ♀ (moose)
 Meshkawesi, Elk (1840) (elk)
 Moose (1840) (moose)
 Manitopishiki, Spirit Bull (1840) (buffalo or moose)
 Napena, Only one (1840) (deer)
 Nipenapek, Summer Reindeer (1840) ♀? (reindeer)
 Nipenatikw, Reindeer (1840) (reindeer)
 Napenikâpawi, Standing one side (1840) (moose)
 Napenikâpawi'kwe (1840) ♀ (deer)
 Netawikâpawi, Good stander (1840) (elk or moose)
 Nîshôkâpawi'kwe, Two Stander (1830) ♀ (deer)
 Waponikâpawi, White hair (1840) (elk)
 Anemi'kâpawi (1840) (deer)
 Eniwikâpawi (1840) (elk)
 Ayape (1840) (deer)

Rabbit and rodent:

Papakine, Grasshopper, Mary Razer (1900) ♀ (rabbit)
 Pêpâmasiw'kwe (1840) ♀ (squirrel)
 Potaquam (1817) (beaver)
 Padamikonce, The little singed beaver (1824) (beaver)
 Peskwatenonse, The distant mound (1840) (beaver)
 Pimechsika, Porcupine standing sideways b. 1820 d. 1891 (porcupine)
 Penquam (1817) (beaver)
 Peneshi (1849) (woodchuck)
 Kapitewash (1830) (bear-tail)
 Kepewenapik ♀ (hare)
 Kakonsi, Gah goons (1840) (porcupine)
 Kâkîwakameko'kwe (1840) (beaver)
 Kakewina b. 1858 d. 1919 (porcupine)
 Kakwayan (1840) (porcupine)
 Kiskanson (1840) (hare)
 Saposkanka, Going through underneath (1840) (hare)

Shoponte, Through from door to door (1840) (beaver)
 Shetemo, Pelican Excrement (1830) (woodchuck)
 Sakochiwepi'kwe, Woman coming over a hill (1840) (hare)
 Sakwantakawineni, The man who lives among the evergreens (1840) (hare)
 Mekwami, Icey (1840) (hare)
 Mekwamikwan'ke, Ice quill (1840) (porcupine)
 Meskwanikwapi, Red hair (1840) (squirrel?)
 Mêmeskwanawe, Red cheek (1840) (fox)
 Manates, Homely (1840) (rabbit)
 Mayawapitanka, Sitting first (1840) (hare)
 Netamene'kwe, First hair (1840) (hare)
 Nishotene, The twin (1840) (beaver)
 Nashine'kwe, Mrs Tom Skinaway b. 1860 d. 1930 ♀ (hare)
 Nânîpawî, Standing still b. 1760 d. 1820 (rabbit)
 Nenkapewen'kwe, Woman of the west (1840) ♀ (beaver)
 Nankwis (1793-1795) (beaver)
 Nânse, Squatting down (1840) (hare)
 Nawakamik (1840) (woodchuck or muskrat)
 Nawikweshkam, James Wabose (1820) (hare)
 Nawachipiko'kwe, Central rock woman, Mrs Wawiekumig d. 1923 ♀ (marmot?)
 Wahbose, Rabbit (1840) (rabbit)
 Waponi'kwe, White hair woman (1840) ♀ (hare?)
 Washashkw, Muskrat (1840) (muskrat)
 Wemikonapiew b. 1770 d. 1810 (beaver)
 'Âpetâsiwe (1860) (squirrel)
 Akwakosi'kwe (1840) ♀ (chipmunk or ground-squirrel)
 Ashowakamekwa (1840) (beaver)
 Ashwewena, Armor (1840) (porcupine)
 Enakawike (1840) (hare)
 Ayîtapî'kwe (1840) ♀ (rabbit)
 Ayasawoshi'kwe (1840) ♀ (beaver?)

Other:

Sheshowapwashi, Bent by the wind (1840) (tree)
 Chingwackonce, Little Pine b. 1776 (pine)
 Pesapekw, Striped rock (1840) (rock)
 Ah kee (1840) (earth)
 Nakanakwanke, First sounding thunder bird (1840) (thunderbird)
 Nemekass, Little Thunder (1795) (thunderbird)
 Wesawapitanka, Yellow Thunderer (1840) (thunderbird)
 Apwekweung (c. 1850) (thunderbird)
 Antweweweke'sika (1840) (thunderbird)
 Annimikence, Little Thunder (1824) (thunderbird)
 Anemikins (1840) (thunderbird)
 Anemikiwapi, Sits like thunder (1840) (thunderbird)
 Anemikiwîkwan (1840) (thunderbird)

It must be emphasized that this list is tentative, since scholars noted few if any names. As mentioned there are thousands of Chippewa names, all unique, so this list of c. 300 names is merely scratching at the surface. Unfortunately records of each person's life and relatives are

not available. The main idea has been to show some of the range of totemic names that is possible.

A name and its dream or name story would carry a person through life. But white scholars were eager to show that names were not constant, hence ignoring them. A note in 1804 'said that the Indians believed that a child uncommonly cross and fretful was displeased with its name and that they then' gave 'it another' (Kinietz 1947: 118). Probably name change was rare.

Proper names are used in addressing offspring; all others are addressed by kin terms out of consideration or 'pity'. If a child calls a person by a personal name, he is rebuked and told to use a kin term or say 'that man' or 'that woman' instead. 'But the child learns that a relative may be referred to by name if that is needed for clarity (Landes 1937: 14).

Missionaries would ridicule Indian names, and then got annoyed when people would not tell their name (Hilger 1951: 35-37). There was 'concealment of names'; no 'man or woman will tell his name' [sic]; another person might whisper the name e.g. to a store owner (op. cit.: 36-37). The scholar thought names were secret because they 'mean something' (op. cit.: 37). What this meaning was, and that people had totems, was ignored. A few names mentioned were: 'One-that-can-walk', maybe a deer; and 'One-that-can-climb', a bear; perhaps Kashkiasiwe (ibid.).

On white-controlled reservations totems were kept secret even from children after their naming. Some heard of their own totem only by chance. One person was 'about 3 years old' when told of her Fa's clan (Hilger 1951: 155). One girl aged 16 asked her parents about her totem, because 'the man who has asked to marry her wanted to know' (ibid.). Totems affected marriage: 'I knew always that I couldn't marry a loon' (ibid.). One child found out the hard way, somebody held up a bullhead saying 'this is your totem' (ibid.).

Incidental names, similar to nicknames, included a designation found during a youth's vision quest and initiation ceremony. Apparently this referred to a vision animal or being, and was not generally used as a name: it 'was seldom mentioned' (Densmore 1929: 52). A modern incidental name was a 'namesake' designation after a relative, no doubt a European practice; these would be associated with 'English names' (op. cit.: 52-53).

Nicknames served to protect a person's given name, since they were commonly used. Since personal names could not be freely told, 'nicknames and kinship terms were sufficient for personal communication' (Hallowell 1992: 13). 'The common name or nickname was that by which a Chippewa was known throughout his life' (Densmore 1929: 53). Such names need not be flattering; 'Little Money' had a round face; 'Stump' was short; etc. (Densmore 1929: 53). Some children's nicknames were Grasshopper, Little Twig, Oldest, Small, Younger, etc. (Hilger 1951: 35). In joking relations obscene or demeaning nicknames can be used, such as Kipoch, 'filthy genitals'; a practice also used by traders (Landes 1937: 14).

Positional names referred to a person's adult status representing a totem clan or village office. 'In old times a chief was sometimes known by the name of his gens or ododem (kinship group)' (Densmore 1929: 53). Note that the scholar avoids any mention of totem animals; this was a hangup of scholars, missionaries and whites in general, obscuring any understanding of Chippewa society. Examples of positional names could be: Blackbird, White Crane, Big Bear,

Black Elk, etc. Such names were meant to be used openly and publicly, unlike personal names.

Childhood

Babys before walking were called takapinâswan (Hilger 1951: ix). Small children were strapped to a cradle board, dikana'gon aka tikinâkan, most of the day except when 'let out for exercise' (Densmore 1929: 48; Kinietz 1947: 114). A baby was 'swaddled' or wrapped in skins and moss 'until it attains the age of a month or so', when it was placed on a cradle board or 'portable cradle', carried 'on their backs' (op. cit.: 112-3). In modern days a baby was placed on a cradle board after 3-4 days; but only kept there 'a few months' (op. cit.: 114-5). A cradle board measured 2.5 ft x 18" x ½"; with a headboard forming an arch over the child's head (Kinietz 1947: 113). Hammocks were used for small children (Densmore 1929: p. 50).

Children were breast fed for some years while the mother had milk, and gradually offered other food, starting with 'soft food' (Kinietz 1947: 115). People 'seldom weaned their young ones before' 3-4 years, though a new baby would have priority (op. cit.: 118). While the modern 'interval between births' was 'less than two years', in the old days 3 years may have been common (ibid.). Along with infanticide this would limit the family size to 3-4 children or less. Birth control was by medicine, e.g., masânashk, abortion, infanticide or nipôpa, interrupted coitus, lactation and abstinence. One woman 'kept her man away for three years' (Landes 1937: 54).

All children were treated affectionately. Children up until puberty were called apanochi; kwiwisens, boy; and e'kwêsens, girl (Hilger 1951: ix). 'Boys and girls were treated with equal care and affection'. In modern times illegitimate children 'were called Kiminichagon or child stolen. The mother always took care of' all children equally. A modern man might object 'to the presence in the home of children born before marriage', when the MoMo stepped in. 'Orphans are taken in by near relatives also, or by some one who has no children' (Kinietz 1947: 118-9). No doubt the whole village made sure that children were cared for. 'The attachment of parents to children and of the children to parents was very strong'. Such 'tenderness' 'ceased at a certain age. At 9-10 years children were no longer indulged', but 'were generally considered as companions' of the adults 'and deliberately joined in their conversations' (op. cit.: 119). In historic times indulgence could lead to insubordination, such as 'grown boys' who 'strike their father', calling him 'bad dog' or 'old woman', the ills of modern life (op. cit.: 119-120).

Education and training

Education among the Chippewa was a form of life-long learning. Biased whites did not see this: 'There was no system of education', other 'than to train them to hunting, etc.' (Kinietz 1947: 119). A child's education started even before it could talk and lasted until adulthood (Densmore 1929: 58). 'As soon as boys begin to run about, they are provided with bows and arrows', and learned 'by instinct' to hunt; which was 'the whole of their education and childhood diversion'; or a small part of it (Kinietz 1947: 119).

‘Children learn a good deal about relationship terms and obligations’ by playing with small animals. All ‘young mice’, grasshoppers or young birds are viewed ‘as potential spouses’, with ‘flirtatiousness and broad joking’ between the species. This would be a curious way of learning about totemism, which species can or cannot marry each other; of course ‘young mice’ are exogamous (Landes 1938: 20).

Children’s games are poorly known. One puritan scholar thought boys and girls never played together (Hallowell 1992: 54). Siblings ‘of opposite sex ... never participate in common pastimes’; a white hangup (*ibid.*). ‘Certain traditional games are played by boys; others are played by girls’; no doubt false (*ibid.*). The scholar’s intention was to indicate that the Chn of a Br and Si could marry, e.g., as in white society; as noted this would be a blatant breach of exogamy. Boys and girls would play together most of the time.

One scholar noted that boys and girls constantly play together, contradicting the more puritan scholars. ‘Before puberty’ children ‘play house’ together ‘regardless of age or sex’, ‘unsupervised by adults. In the summer they go off in bands to shoot birds with bow and arrow. The boys usually get the ‘game’ and return with it to the girls. The group then breaks up into ‘couples’ and ‘households’. Each boy takes a ‘spouse’, supposedly careful not to violate the marriage regulations of kin and sib, and the couple takes ‘children’, usually younger siblings of the boy or girl. Each girl cooks for her ‘husband and children’ over a fire. The ‘fires are near together, and the whole’ scene ‘parallels the adult village. After the meal, the couples ‘spoon’. They ‘practise the verbal and physical ribaldries’ or joking relations of the ‘prospective spouse’, picked up from their elders. ‘They return to their fire or to the bush to simulate retirement to the marital or the courting bed. There they indulge in a good deal of sexual experimentation. Intercourse is forbidden before marriage, especially for a girl, but it does take place’ ‘as long as nobody knows’. Play sex ‘is mimetic’, based on what they hear and see, and based on ‘curiosity aroused by the explicit sexual jesting’ between in-laws. Jokes include ‘stereotyped reference to the genitals’, and ‘lewd incidents in the Nenebush myth cycle which the older men tell constantly’ (Landes 1938: 21). Needless to say this was a far cry from the prudishness posted by other scholars. Apparently ‘playing house’ got very real, with ‘midwives’, ‘massage’, ‘vision quests’, ‘shamans’, ‘feuds’, ‘deaths’, kidnap and rape, gambling etc.; in short everything that adults do (*op. cit.*: 21-22). Other scholars may have interviewed old people, and ignored everything children did or what went on around them, since they had no wider concept of social life.

Punishments were mild. ‘Training’ was ‘accompanied’ with very little ‘punishment’; e.g., ‘a push or a cuff’, scolding, etc. (Kinietz 1947: 120). How this occurred in prehistoric times is not known; there may have been more severe punishments for disobedience and wrongdoings. This included ‘corporeal punishment’ (*ibid.*). There was an emphasis on gentleness, tact, and the ‘well-being of the child’ (Densmore 1929: 58). At the same time fear was ‘often used to induce obedience, but not to an extent which injured the child’ (*ibid.*). If children were not quiet at night the threat was that ‘the owl’ would get them; this would induce a fear of owls (Densmore 1929: 58-59). A man with a mask, ‘called the frightener’, was sent out at night to scare the children indoors (*op. cit.*: 59). Children were taught to keep silent when frightened, as a matter of survival. They were also told to think of something nice when going to bed to have good dreams, and to remember their dreams (*op. cit.*: 60).

Children’s education included respect for others, not to disturb old people, not to beg, and other precepts (Densmore 1929: 58). They were ‘instructed’ to ‘be kind to the poor and aged and to help those who were helpless’ (*op. cit.*: 121). Grandparents would get involved. ‘The

grandmother talked to the mother' and 'the grandfather' to the father about how to 'bring up' their children, girls and boys (op. cit.: 60). A Mo would tell her Da to get up 'early' and to be busy with her chores and handiwork. A Fa would tell his So not to 'run around' and to respect life; 'not to destroy bird's nests' as 'the birds were put here for the good of the earth' (op. cit.: 61).

If children got into a quarrel the parents were told not to take their side; instead they must 'bring them home and make them behave themselves'. The objective was to keep peace. 'Do not get into a quarrel with your neighbors because of the quarrels of the children' (Densmore 1929: 60). Children were taught 'what it is right to do', to 'live that way and get on well in the world' (ibid.). Everything from practical chores to games, mythology and forms of knowledge were taught to children (Densmore 1929: 61-68).

Topics taught to children were extensive. Hunting was basic; other topics were: traditions of the tribe; native history; known chiefs and people; rules of behavior; 'penalties for infractions'; native stories; religion; etc. (Kinietz 1947: 120). Children picked and dried flowers used in teas, and were told their medicinal value, and that plants 'were placed on the earth for the good of mankind' (Densmore 1929: 61). In practicing to hunt boys would start killing small animals, such as a 'little bird', and progress to 'larger and more significant' animals or fish: 'sturgeon, goose, beaver, moose, bear' (Landes 1938: 11). 'Each time' there was a 'celebration'. The 'father said over the boy', 'We wish to show our gratitude to the manido. We are proud that our boy killed the bird (or animal). May our boy have a long life and be blessed with hunting powers!' The mother, sisters and other relatives 'sit at this feast', sharing the 'sentiments of pride'. 'But nothing of the sort is ever done for' girls and women; no doubt false (op. cit.: 11-12). 'They never think about a girl except when they want to sleep with her', the biased scholar added. Yet 'women relatives, village neighbors' and 'visiting women' would come to commend a girl or woman doing crafts well, 'and to place orders' (op. cit.: 19). 'Excellence of handiwork finds also a negative recognition in the form of jealousies felt by other women' (ibid.). No doubt this also applied to good hunters.

Boys were taught to hunt; and apparently also girls. 'A feast was held when a boy killed his first game', such celebrations might go on a while (Densmore 1929: 72). This feast, also referred to as a 'first fruits' ritual, was called 'O-skin-ne-ge-tah-ga-win' aka 'oskinekitakewen' or 'boy's feast' (Kinietz 1947: 56).

One informant 'said that the boy or girl who caught' their 'first fish' or animal made 'a feast in offering' their 'thanksgiving to Manido' (Kinietz 1947: 64). 'The breast bone' or breast is favored 'to use in such a feast' (ibid.). At this feast the boy would invite 5-6 'old men', perhaps representing the totem clans in his phratry or hunting camp. They 'talked to the manido and made petitions concerning the boy and his family', e.g., for hunting luck (Densmore 1929: 72). The feast might also be limited to a boy's 'friends', with the 'most distinguished friend ... invited to preside' and partaking first of the food. Killing game became a competition or ambition, 'the younger the child ... the greater the promise' (Kinietz 1947: 57).

Adolescence and vision quest

Before and after puberty boys are prepared for maturity. This transition involved being sent out in the woods, fasting and seeking visions. 'The father taught the boy to prepare for this'

(Densmore 1929: 71). 'The parent, in the morning, offers the child the usual breakfast in one hand, and charcoals in the other; if the latter is accepted, the parent is gratified, and some commendations, or marks of favour, are bestowed on the child. To be able to continue long fasting, confers an enviable distinction'. They 'inculcate upon their children the necessity of remaining long without food'. Children might 'fast' 3, 5, 7, 8, 9 and 'even ten days; in all of which time they take only a little water'. 'During these fasts, they pay very particular attention to their dreams', to indicate their 'future life' (Kinietz 1947: 121, 127). 'The boy blackened his face with charcoal' and sought a secluded spot in the forest 'for his fast' (Densmore 1929: 71). In the northern forest a Fa would visit his boy to 'see if he was all right' (ibid.). That initiation rituals and vision quests were community events was not noted by scholars, since they overlooked the social aspect. The same concerns a girl's isolation and the menstrual huts.

In one version: 'When a young man arrives at the age' of 14-15, he 'imposes upon himself several days of the severest fasting'. He 'dresses in his best apparel', with 'paints', 'dyed quills, swan's down', etc. 'During his abstinence, the young man retires from the wigwam in the evening and sleeps in a lonely place'; 'whatever he happens to dream of during his abstinence becomes his belief and religion' (Kinietz 1947: 123). During a vision quest a power will 'pity' the adolescent and become a guardian spirit. 'In Ojibwa idiom', to 'pity' another 'is to adopt him and care for him as a parent or grandparent cares for a child' (Landes 1938: 6). After this he collected 'ingredients' for 'his conjuring or medicine bag', including 'roots, barks, weeds, grasses, dyed quills, swan's down' etc. 'For each of these he composes a song' to give them 'efficacy as a medicine' (Kinietz 1947: 123).

A modern informant guessed that 'children start fasting and blacking face' at age 4-6; too young. The 'real fasting' took place at 12-15. 'Spring or fall is the best time to fast'; when nature is 'dead' or dormant. They seek out a high place. 'Both boys and girls fast'. The fasting period gets longer over time. The goal is to have a 'dream'. 'One fasts to get hardened against sickness; to find out what is going to happen to him; and to see the manido that is going to take care of him. The more one dreams of different gods the stronger and the more power one gets' (Kinietz 1947: 124). The taboo against seeking a vision in summer was exemplified by a man who dreamed of a leaf, and in the fall the man died along with the leaf (op. cit.: 127).

'The Chippewa regard dreams as revelations, and some object which appears therein is often chosen as a tutelary deity' (Hodge 1: 279). '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'; he then enters a trance-like 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 manido 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 Midé he carries it in his 'medicine bag' or pinji' gosan' (Hoffman 1891: 163).

The vision quest concerned future prospects and success, e.g., as a hunter. Spirit helpers or 'manidos' were mostly good, but could be 'evil', when they might be refused (Kinietz 1947: 121). Without a 'guardian spirit (manito) no individual' could 'surmount the crises in his life' (Densmore 1929: 61). 'Dreaming of things above, as birds, clouds, the sky, etc. is considered

favourable' (Kinietz 1947: 121-2). In one case Niskikwan was instructed by his parents to seek a vision. He began fasting at 12 when at home. He fasted 10 days, 'not all at once'. In a dream he was carried by a bald eagle with an American flag (Densmore 1929: 61). Spirit helpers included: 'geese'; 'a bat'; 'mammals'; bear; etc. (Kinietz 1947: 122, 127). One vision involved a buffalo, pishiki, though not noted as a totem (Densmore 1929: 72). Also noted were: the sun as 'the leading manido'; 'Thunderers'; 'gods at the north, east, west, and south'; the moon; while 'Kicimanido is never' or rarely seen (Kinietz 1947: 124, 159). Almost everything could be a protector. 'The personal god or guardian spirit which every male and some females attempted to acquire at the time of puberty fasting might not be honored as a manitou by other people. Occasionally, however, a faster was visited in his vision by the sun, moon, thunderers or more rarely by the Great Spirit. The latter usually appeared in the shape of a well-formed man. 'It was believed that a person who was blessed with this vision was destined to live to a good old age and enjoy ease and plenty' (op. cit.: 159-60). 'The future course of life of the faster is governed by his dream'. It 'sometimes occurs that having a vision of some powerful manido' revered 'by the members of the Midé' Society', gives 'the faster' the 'idea of becoming a Midé'. This would lead to years of collecting goods, skins and peltries to pay for entry into the Midé'wiwin. Similar payments were extracted 'when a Jés'sakkid' or a Wabéno' wishes to become a Midé' (Hoffman 1891: 163-4). 'The deference paid the guardian spirit varied greatly. There was no institutionalized tabu against the killing of an animal if it happened to be one's personal manitou'. A person who 'did refrain from such killing might tip off another who could kill the animal', e.g., a bear. 'Occasional feasts might be offered the spirit of a person's dream. Some people may have paid little attention to their spirit helpers', except 'in moments of stress'. In contrast 'the shamans' were 'in constant communication with their manitous for their assistance in healing and working other wonders' (Kinietz 1947: 160).

Menstruation and girls' initiation

For women menstruation led to isolation. At 'maturity' a girl 'was required to isolate herself for four days and nights' (Densmore 1929: 70). In the 'old days' a girl 'was allowed absolutely no food during this period' (ibid.). This might be partly in parallel to a boy's vision quest and fasting. Apparently girls went on vision quests similar to boys. 'Rigorous and long continued fasting is enjoined upon young and unmarried persons, of both sexes, and they begin at a very early age' (Kinietz 1947: 121). A child 'may get a dream at six years of age, but usually the real fasting for a girl is at the time of the first menses', the quest lasting from age 12 to 15 (op. cit.: 125). During menstruation a girl 'was not allowed to scratch' her body 'with her hands, a stick being provided for that purpose' (Densmore 1929: 70). Near the village stood a few menstruation huts, presumably secluded or fenced in. A girl's Mo made her 'a little wigwam' for the period (ibid.). Many restrictions and taboos were in place for girls and young women; these would be eased later in life.

In one version: 'When a young woman finds herself come to a state of maturity, she retires to conceal herself'. She fasts while her female relatives search for her. 'When found, her mother will bring her some water', a pot, a birch dish and provisions. She stays isolated for 15-20 days, or 5-7. 'Nobody will join her', as her articles 'are considered as poisonous'. The pot 'and dish she afterwards keeps to herself for cooking and eating whenever her menses return, as they are otherwise unfit for use'. At each period 'she retires from the wigwam, makes a shade' or lodge 'for herself and there lives quite secluded for several days, and there is no fear

that any of the young men will go near her', although they otherwise 'ramble rather freely' (Kinietz 1947: 123).

A female informant said: 'Girls at puberty fasted for a helper. They fasted ten days. Some were in a separate hut and some in the open or in a sugar camp'. 'A girl's mother usually went to see her every day'. 'At the end of ten days she surely had a dream'. 'A growing girl like that should never touch her hair'. 'She should use a stick scratcher'. 'She should not eat game or fish' (Kinietz 1947: 127).

The beliefs remained in 1940: 'Men avoided girls and women that were at their catamenial periods. Those that touched her or anything that she had handled ... would become very sick. She even had to be careful about touching herself. Formerly such girls used sticks to scratch their heads or other parts of their bodies because using a comb or fingers might cause the hair to fall out. Scratching the body might cause the finger nails to drop off or raise blisters on the skin. This custom of using a scratcher has not been observed for fifty or sixty years'. 'All girls observed a complete fast until their mothers found their hideout in the woods'. 'When she is through fasting and the family has any meat, she must make a feast, particularly of tobacco, to be allowed to eat of it'. 'A girl must cleanse herself before giving a feast. She cannot bathe in the lake or her power would kill the wild rice. This power and the girl herself is called Manidowit' or 'godly'. 'This is because you have to stay away from her'. 'She must never burn her old clothes or she will burn her soul. She must hide them, not bury them. This custom is still practiced as well as the bathing restrictions' (Kinietz 1947: 125).

Around 1940 it was noted that: 'When a girl is through with her menses and can eat meat, there is a little ceremony. One of the officers of the drum council cuts the meat and puts it on a small forked stick he has whittled out and he puts it in her mouth. She must swallow it without chewing. He does not give her the meat in one motion but puts it in her mouth and then draws it out. He repeats this and it is only after putting it in and withdrawing it four times that he lets her have it. This proceeding is an offering to the four gods of the cardinal points. The same ceremony is observed after the death of a near relative'. Parents 'went through this after losing their baby last winter' (Kinietz 1947: 125-6). Seemingly this was a simulation of sexual intercourse; not acceptable to white scholars. Modern informants thought boys did not fast after puberty, nor girls after their first menstruation; apparently this was based on mission lore about sin (Hilger 1951: 43). Needless to say people might practice fasting and seek visions throughout their lives.

Initiation huts and menstruation huts

Each village may have held a few huts where boys underwent initiation. These would be 3-4 small, temporary huts occupied at periods during the year, perhaps mainly in fall. There are indications that the cabins were phratry based and managed by a leader, oshkapewis. Apparently the huts were placed in the opposite direction from women's seclusion area, though precise information is lacking. Initiation huts could also be placed near hunting camps.

Better known are menstruation huts, a few huts where women stayed during their periods. In modern times this seclusion was gradually diminished. Earlier there might be a secluded cluster of menstrual huts for village women. In one view, 'new' women after puberty 'visit one another in their isolated lodges'. They learn about their 'sexual eligibility' and 'adult

importance'. 'Older women', e.g. when menstruating, 'visit them', discuss their 'new state', 'teach them sewing skills', etc. (Landes 1938: 6). The menstrual lodges would be a little women's camp and training center for young women; also a free space where men are absent. One scholar claimed that 'young men' would 'rape' girls in menstrual lodges; highly dubious and ethnocentric (Landes 1938: 6). 'The married women, when come to a certain age, have a little more indulgence when in this situation; they may sleep in the wigwam and even pass the whole day in it, but they must go and cook out, and must not dare touch the victuals of their husbands, nor eat, nor drink out of the same vessel' (Kinietz 1947: 123). Around 1940 a Ketikitekon woman 'went outdoors to observe menstrual seclusion and she was the last one. Last winter' another woman went 'into the attic at her initial menses. She might have gone outdoors if it had been summer. They use separate dishes. Food is brought to them and they cook it themselves on their own fire. They usually stay seven or eight days'; similar to former times (op. cit.: 124-5).

Youth

Socialization and education continued for the young people. Again the men instructed sons and women daughters. One mother told her Da to get up early and be industrious. 'Do not run after a boy. If a young man wants to marry you, let him come here to see you and come here to live with you' (Densmore 1929: 60-61). 'Parents preached to the men and to their daughters to stay away from' sex, according to a missionary (Hilger 1951: 4). 'Mothers gave sex warnings to their daughters; and fathers discussed the subject with sons. At puberty a mother would say': 'Don't let a man get near you!' Keko kapeswapamikosi. Or simply, 'don't have sex', keko kikamânikosi (Landes 1937: 14).

Young men 'were entitled to all the rights as adults whenever they were equal to the chase as a grown Indian. This time arrived between the ages of' 15 and 25 (Kinietz 1947: 82). Modern 'informants at Manitoulin ... set the age at' 14-15 years (ibid.). Obviously there were stages; 'a boy was expected to be self-supporting around' 14-15 'but was not considered grown up until he had proven himself' around 20-25 (ibid.). This would include getting married around 22-25.

For young women there were similar stages, between the first menstruation, entering the women's world, and getting married around 18-20. One missionary attributed infertility to teenage 'intercourse' (Hilger 1951: 3).

Youth was marked by sexual freedom. Yet the general view was one of modesty. 'The young maidens of the Chippewa were closely guarded and were modest in their behavior toward the young men of the tribe' (Densmore 1929: 72). Yet a man could enter a family lodge, talk to the elders, go to 'where the young people lived, and talk with the girl', though 'she was not allowed to leave the lodge with him' (ibid.). This would depend somewhat on the attitude of the girl. 'If a young man came to call rather late in the evening', 'the mother or grandmother would rise and stir up the fire', fill her pipe and smoke (ibid.). 'The young men played' the 'courting flute', but a girl was not allowed to go outside (ibid.). Again this would depend on the girl's attitude. A young man could present a deer to the family as a courting present. If approved, the young man could stay and gradually entered into married relations.

There could be more than one suitor and more than one girl interested in a man. 'Jealousy among the young girls was a marked feature of Chippewa life' (Densmore 1929: 72). Girls would fight over men. A girl who 'flirted with several men' risked being abused by a gang (op. cit.: 72-73). As noted several men might fight over paternity when a child was born. How common this was is not clear; but a couple might not be considered truly married until a child or two were born.

Marriage

The strong marriage traditions of the Chippewa were exemplified by expectations. 'Marriage among the Chippewa was expected of every individual and there were few obstacles in the way of a young man desiring a wife' (Kinietz 1947: 128). It was based on a partnership of Hu and Wi, hunting and gathering, and other tasks (ibid.). Note that the restrictions imposed by totemic exogamy are ignored by the scholar.

A common age at first marriage would be 20-25 years for men and 16-20 for women (Kinietz 1947: 137). White observers would skew the age to 15 for boys and 14-15 or even 6-7 for girls, 'in order to be sure' of 'virginity'; obviously false, unless white men were involved (op. cit.: 128). 'Men were of marriageable age ... at about 20' (Hilger 1951: 156). If a youth 'was a good hunter' he might 'be given' a girl (ibid.). Women bore children around age 17-37, each having 2-3 children as a norm. A Red Lake man of 87 said he first was married at 25; 'my wife was 30'; at 37 he married a girl of 14 (Hilger 1951: 156-7). The Chippewa had a fairly accurate view of 'conception', that pregnancy was the result of intercourse, or in the words of a missionary, 'collaborations' (op. cit.: 4).

White reports on marriage were generally biased. Some mentioned courting, courtship, love songs, and lover flutes (Kinietz 1947: 128). Others imagined chastity, reputation, honor and distance; Old World lore (ibid.). 'Frequently the couple had never spoken' (ibid.). Missionaries noted constant control of a girl's 'morals' (Hilger 1951: 157). 'It was awful to see a boy and girl walk together'; e.g., mission lore (ibid.). One Mo told a missionary that she never let her Da of 16 and her boyfriend of 25 'out of sight', before adding: 'He is her lover all right' (ibid.). Marriage was 'usually arranged by the parents' (Kinietz 1947: 128). The pair's wishes might inspire 'the negotiations' (ibid.). 'If a man liked a girl he went to see her in the presence of her parents' and 'only in the daytime' (Hilger 1951: 157). 'If a young man was serious' he killed a deer 'and brought it to the lodge of the girl's parents', signaling that he would provide for the family (op. cit.: 158). 'The customary procedure' was for the Fa of the boy to offer presents to the Fa of the girl; 'the deal was closed' without asking the girl; e.g., the Middle East is evoked (Kinietz 1947: 128). In reality a proposal was often initiated by a girl and her Pas (Landes 1937: 72). Also the 'girl's parents' might bring 'presents to the boy's parents' (Kinietz 1947: 129). The presents could be refused and taken back, when the marriage was off (ibid.). Other white men thought 'marriages were arranged by the mothers'; 'a young man's mother was expected to negotiate for a wife' (ibid.). There were 'a large number of unions effected directly by boys and girls' (ibid.).

Most white reports were useless and ethnocentric, based on the white practice of endogamy, marrying close relatives. They failed to recognize that totemism was involved. People with the same totem could not marry; nor could a man marry a woman with his Mo's totem, a 'Si', or any other closely related totem. This was exogamy, the prohibition to marry kin with

related totems, that commonly led to a preference for marrying outside one's totem clan, phratry, moiety and even village or band. Parents 'used to take marriageable sons and daughters on visits to other villages to avoid making matches with relatives' (Kinietz 1947: 130-1). Abotossaway's son 'reported that they did not consider it right to marry in their own village. When the parents of a boy broached the subject of marriage to comparative strangers' there was talk of skills and prowess in hunting 'deer, caribou, etc.' 'The bride made mats and baskets and gave them to the groom's parents to prove her skill' (op. cit.: 131). Marrying strangers meant that girls could be forced into marriage in historic times. In some cases a girl 'did not know the man she married' (Hilger 1951: 158). 'He asked my parents for me before I had ever seen him... My mother made me marry him... He was a good man', but 'sickly' (op. cit.: 158-9). 'The girl's wishes regarding a man were usually taken into consideration' (op. cit.: 158). No doubt the historical situation with depopulation and displacement made marriage arrangements difficult.

Exogamy was not about 'courtship', 'chastity', 'negotiations' or 'elopement', all meaningless terms in Ojibwaia, but finding a spouse that was unrelated so as not to marry a close totem. 'There was only one important restriction on marriage and that was totemic exogamy. Cousins with different totems might marry' in modern times 'although this connection rated strong disapproval. Even 'non-relatives with the same totem were barred as possible mates. The certainty of censure from family and ridicule from friends and others was fairly effective enforcement. All of the modern informants claimed that marriage was prohibited between first cousins and most of them maintained that the prohibition extended to all degrees of blood relationship. In the old days the tabu on marriage within the totem was most scrupulously regarded'. One Ketikitekon man 'bemoaned the general disregard of old customs and particularly this tabu by recent generations. In checking the totems of all married couples in the village', there 'were only two cases of marriage between people with the same totem and one of these was in the Chicken totem', reckoned as white (Kinietz 1947: 130). The reasons why cousins were allowed to marry in modern times, was due to depopulation and a dearth of marriageable partners, in particular for men, coupled with white people favoring endogamy and in-breeding. 'When a marriage was arranged the relatives on both sides were notified'. This 'was so that they could then say anything they had to say and later would not try to make trouble in the family' (op. cit.: 131). By 'arranged' was meant checking the relatives and totems on each side. This was to avoid marrying relatives and ensure exogamy.

Marriage ceremony

Marriage was a central life ceremony. Whites had strongly biased views on the marriage celebration, led by missionaries. One claim was that the 'Chippewa had no marriage ceremony' (Hilger 1951: 159). 'The girl was taken to the lodge of the boy's parents'; 'seated on his bed'; sleeping together 'consummated the marriage'; e.g., Old Testament lore (Kinietz 1947: 129). 'There was no feast or further ceremony'; no doubt wrong (ibid.). One author noted that there 'were formerly some slight marriage formalities, but these are abandoned now' (Landes 1937: 72). In one view 'fathers arranged' the marriage details (ibid.). One scholar emphasized the 'giving of wealth' in solemnizing marriages; even listing a price, perhaps based on mission sales of girls (op. cit.: 73-74). The man's family would bring gifts to the woman's family (Landes 1937: 72). A 'marriage mat' was known, e.g., bringing the couple together on a mat to solemnize the occasion (ibid.). This included a feast and possibly an exchange of presents. There was also talk of 'a swinging tent in a tree' to bring the couple

together; quite romantic (Landes 1937: 72). Since marriage was between villages there must both be ceremonies and lasting relations. This became apparent in further white comments: 'As has already been mentioned there was no dance, feast' or 'ceremony' (Kinietz 1947: 131). Then an extensive ceremony is described: There was a feast and a speech. 'Both parties were given instructions on how they should act. These included a recounting of sexual tabus, which should have been already learned by this time. They were told there should be abstinence during menses otherwise the man would get sick. Some, they were told, died of violating this restriction. The girl should tell her husband if he did not recognize her period. They were also warned not to run around with others. They or at least the girl would be told of a medicine for easing childbirth. There was also a medicine for preventing childbirth in case of delicate or ill health or if a child was not wanted. This was an herb of a plant with a red berry, neskuminakinin'. 'These same instructions' were given in 1940 'but are not much heeded' (Kinietz 1947: 131).

Living together 'constituted marriage' (Kinietz 1947: 129). 'Marriage consisted of eating together and of sharing the fur robe used as bedding'; romance! (Hilger 1951: 159). More prosaically, a man moved to his PaLas' home with 'his belongings', usually 'for a year' (ibid.). After that they built a home nearby, separating 'from the home wigwam', pakanikwe (ibid.). Young people could run off together by 'elopement'; e.g., Middle Eastern lore (Kinietz 1947: 129). 'Elopement from a distasteful marriage' was 'fairly common' (ibid.).

In modern times marriage ceremonies are held, but are poorly known. 'Arrangements made by parents are now the exception rather than the rule'. 'The actual ceremonies' are 'informal' (Kinietz 1947: 136). Whites referred to native marriages as 'common law', weakening the marriage bond (Landes 1937: 73). Prejudice led people to seek suitors who 'look like mixed bloods' or white, 'are Christian, and flash a car' (Landes 1937: 75).

Residence and bride service

Post-marital residence was an issue. 'It was the usual custom for a girl to remain at home' after marriage (Densmore 1929: 73). White men noted 'that the newly married couple lived with the girl's parents for at least a year or until a child was born' (Kinietz 1947: 129). This was the custom of bride service: 'During this time the father-in-law' had a 'claim to all the produce of the boy's hunting' (ibid.). In modern times 'serving time after marriage' was disputed; one said 'a year'; another said 'no time' but with game presented (op. cit.: 129-130).

The scholars were confused. 'Genealogies show no stress on matrilocal, patrilocal, or independent residence. But informants are categorical: some say patrilocal and others say matrilocal' (Landes 1937: 76). One informant 'claimed that residence was patrilocal', but there was a 'nearly uniform occurrence of matrilocality in her family', favored by the scholar (ibid.). Paying lip service to male scholars, the author added that matrilocality was 'followed by temporary patrilocal residence', and then 'independent residence' near 'the paternal or maternal home'; all bases covered (ibid.).

'There was no hard and fast rule governing residence after the probationary period'. Abotossaway's son 'thought that the couple always lived in the village of the girl's parents although in their own house'. Another informant 'said the couple followed their own choice. Of all the marriages' in the 1940 Ketikitekon census 'there are only two between persons born

there. Not all the others involve one who was born there as in many cases both are from other villages'; an indication of local strengthening and consolidation (Kinietz 1947: 131-2). 'The young couple' might 'live with the woman's parents', 'build a lodge of their own', or 'occasionally, they might live with the husband's parents' (Densmore 1929: 73). One scholar had a curious view, based on case material, in which men were 'matrilocal', either staying with their Mo or MoLa, while women 'are fairly fixed', e.g., refusing to move (Landes 1937: 33). In one case c. 1800 a man left his Wi because her Fa wanted him to stay permanently (Kinietz 1947: 130). Between matrilocality, neolocality and patrilocality, totemic affiliation would be crucial, though scholars did not note this; either the Mo's or Fa's totemic clan was perpetuated; in one view mainly the Mo's, in other views mainly the Fa's. Even if Chippewa society was mainly patrilineal, a significant number of totemic transitions would be matrilineal; the main concern would be to maintain the complementary structure of totemic clans in each village. Some couples would not have Soss, or a Da or adopted child was favored to take over the house and the totemic clan position. In one South Chippewa case a chief and his wife 'built a wigwam' for their Da and SoLa 'near their own', where the 'young couple ... quietly took up their abode' (Densmore 1929: 73). This could be the norm, though in many cases a So and DaLa would take up residence. A totemic clan would consist of the abode of elders as well as that of a So and/or Da with spouse and GrChn, in 2-3 houses, with the elders in front.

One scholar tried to alleviate her confusion by randomly citing cases of patrilocal and matrilocal residence (Landes 1937: 76-79). There was the curious observation that men claimed that 'people live patrilocally', while they lived 'matrilocally'; a typical clash between imagined and actual conditions (op. cit.: 77). Mostly residence was a practical matter, about succession in local totemic clans and corresponding phratry involvement in winter camps, those who 'use the same hunting grounds' (op. cit.: 76-77).

Polygamy

Unlike totemism, polygamy was a big issue among white observers, since it reflected modern concerns. 'Polygyny has been made unlawful, but it is still practised in certain regions' (Landes 1938: 66). That this was a circumstantial or practical condition was usually overlooked. Authors could stretch over many pages raving over plural wives: 'A man had as many wives as he could support'; they 'all lived together in one wigwam'; 'there might be a good deal of jealousy'; 'there was no supremacy' among wives; 'there was generally only one wife'; a 'good hunter' had 2-3: one rumored chief 'had five wives' (Kinietz 1947: 132). A man could have 2-3 wives 'and all lived in the same lodge' (Densmore 1929: 73). All such statements were opposed: the rule was one wife; 'the first wife' had 'superiority' or presided over 'the others'; wives mostly shared a house or 'usually' had separate houses; there was 'harmony', no jealousy, and 'broils'; polygamy involved 2 wives, imagined as 3, 4, 5 etc.; co-wives could be Siss or unrelated (Kinietz 1947: 132-3). The 'reasons for maintaining' plural wives were 'alliances and the number of their children'; probably wrong; as well as sorcery or 'powerful medicine' (op. cit.: 132). Another reason was a man being 'an excellent provider', a good hunter or historically rich.

The FaLa would 'give' a rich man 'one or more of' his Das as a 'compliment'; a white view. In return the SoLa 'maintained' his FaLa 'as long as he lived' (ibid.). After 'polygamy' was 'forbidden', informants imagined 2, 3 or 'four wives', caught up in the white fantasy (Kinietz

1947: 133). A man might marry a stepDa (ibid.). 'Plural husbands were unknown'. 'In fact', 'one woman could not follow two different men on their hunting expeditions' and perform 'household tasks'; obviously wrong (ibid.). Historical polyandry was known to occur (Landes 1938: 75). But polygyny was more common. In one polygynous case one woman did the cooking and 'finally left' (Hilgen 1951: 161). The number of children in all marriages would be small, due to the totemic restrictions on population growth. 'A man might have' 2-3 wives, but only the 'head wife' had Chn or births were widely scattered (ibid.). In historic times after c. 1750-1830 this would change through white intermarriage, while polygamy was eventually stopped c. 1900. Polygamy was practiced until forbidden in Canada c. 1915 (Landes 1937: 3). 'In the winter of 1940-1941 one resident' of Ketikitekon 'got into trouble with the law when his wife at Lac du Flambeau reported him' having 'a young girl' for a second wife; the man was jailed not for bigamy but for abusing 'a minor' (Kinietz 1947: 136).

Divorce

Divorce or separation, pakêtiwin, was fairly common, though there were constraints. One limitation on marital separation, rarely noted, were the totemic restrictions on finding spouses. At divorce it would be difficult to find an eligible spouse; this would change in historic times when white intermarriage was common. Among 'modern informants' there were views that divorce seldom occurred. In the old days people married later, 'when they were more responsible' and 'stayed together better' (Kinietz 1947: 137). People stayed together and 'neither husband or wife ever abandoned the other' (op. cit.: 134). 'Very few men or women went through life without being married at least once' (op. cit.: 133). 'The simplicity which characterized marriage among the Chippewa was likewise to be found in divorce proceedings'. In the 1800s 'separation' was 'frequently initiated by either party without any public concern' (ibid.). As with marriage there would be negotiations and advice about divorce, e.g., over totem concerns. In 'the old days the parents and other relatives discussed a divorce and if they agreed that a separation was the best thing the couple were told not to bother each other again' (Kinietz 1947: 134). Patrilocality might lead to a woman leaving. At a separation or divorce a Wi 'went back to her own people'; though she might return to her Hu later (Densmore 1947: 73). Biased whites spoke of 'elopement', though people were free to leave their spouse. While matrilocality, also common, would see a man leaving. In 'the event of a divorce, the man kept the boys and the woman the girls'; 'each would take them home to his or her parents'; probably wrong (op. cit.: 133-4). 'The children would go with whichever parent was better able to take care of them. Either the man or woman might turn the children over to the grandparents who were always glad to get them' (op. cit.: 134). A 'woman always supported her children, usually without any help from the decamping father and very seldom initiated a divorce when it meant abandoning them' (Kinietz 1947: 134).

Sexual license

Presumably youth had considerable sexual freedom in the old days. Euro-American scholars were reticent about this topic. 'The ease with which marriages and divorces were accomplished and the sanction of polygamy would seem to be sufficient to remove the temptation or necessity of seeking extra-marital partners', yet this was common. Many people had 'a number of spouses' or partners 'before settling down with one', and 'illicit intercourse

and adultery were common. Each case was 'arranged by people 'involved'. 'There was no convention to cover them all, or to bring satisfaction to the aggrieved parties. If a girl had a child without being married, she or her parents might induce the father to marry her or contribute to the support of the child'. 'The girl who persisted in such affairs was usually called Wawaniseou' or wawânisew. 'No punishment was' involved; her reputation 'suffered' and 'her chances of getting married were affected'. Yet she was 'not looked down upon' at marriage (Kinietz 1947: 135). Modern informants resisted sexual freedom. If 'an unmarried woman' had 'children' it damaged her 'reputation' and limited the 'type of men who wanted to marry her' (ibid.). One female informant denied the 'existence of adultery or illegitimate children in the old days', though having 'a grand niece' with 'three illegitimate children by three different men ... because her mother would not let her get married' (ibid.). Native totemic constraints met modern Christian bigotry. Jealousy was constant and would 'occur whatever the age of the parties marrying'; perhaps exasperated by white men, such as one who followed 'his wife to the privy' (Kinietz 1947: 137). In a modern view 'adultery' was 'criminal' in 'the woman' and 'punished by the husband'. He might 'cut off her nose' or 'kill her', in turn bringing 'vengeance' on the Hu 'from her family' (op. cit.: 135-6). This would be a historic development. Adultery 'on the part of the husband was not considered criminal' (Kinietz 1947: 136). 'Doubtless many separations were the result of adultery ... without any violence taking place' (ibid.). There would be many reasons why couples could not live together.

Rape was a concern in Chippewa life. A euphemism for rapists was 'Little Crane Men', said to inhabit 'unknown' and 'feared regions'. Alone in the woods a girl was at risk, and men were obsessed about warning them to beware of 'the little men'. Mostly this was a matter of security, the 'scare' of something happening that could not be controlled or settled (Landes 1938: 30-31). Such random acts of rape and violence would be rare. One scholar obsessed over the supposed frequency of rape among the Ojibwa; exaggerating the issue (ibid.). Sexual abuse most often occurred in families, including incest and abuse of children. This too would be rare, and an occasion of concern, anger and retribution. Sexual misconduct would be an issue in native culture, in view of the rules of exogamy and incest. Any sexual encounter was potentially a breach of the rules.

Re-marriage and successive marriages

'Most informants had been married several times' (Hilger 1951: 161). Some had separated, others were widowed (ibid.). The same totemic constraints concerned a re-marriage, though rarely noted by white observers. At divorce, a Wi might seek out her old Hu rather than looking for another eligible spouse. Or time would be spent looking for available partners in other villages.

'When there was a separation by death, the deceased spouse was replaced by a brother or sister. The sister of a deceased wife had to be single to take her place as the wife' of her BrLa. This replacement of a wife 'happened immediately. With polygamy' a man 'could marry his brother's widow'. 'This man would raise his brother's children'. The 'first child he had by his brother's widow was considered as that of the deceased husband' even if born 3 years 'after his death'. 'The marriage of a man to his brother's widow ought not to take place until after her year of mourning'. 'The levirate' or marrying a HuBr was 'completely forgotten' by 1940, though 'the sororate or marriage' of a WiSi 'was recalled but not as a duty'. It 'operated only

if the man wished to remarry' without having to search for an eligible Wi (Kinietz 1947: 134-5). Going through the negotiations of totemic eligibility again, would favor the choice a HuBr or WiSi, or leave people to remain single as widow-widower.

By 1940 the 'levirate and sororate' would 'no longer function. Everyone in' Ketikitekon 'has been married at least once. Several have been married twice and one woman' was 'living with her fourth husband', a jealous one (Kinietz 1947: 137).

Bachelorhood and homosexuality

It can be estimated that c. 15-20% of adults stayed single all their life. People who stayed single were called bachelors, watikesik (Landes 1937: 54). Homosexual relations are poorly known, partly because of taboos and etiquette, and partly from white scholars avoiding the topic, with few exceptions. Homosexuality was kept secret or private, as with most sex activity (Landes 1937: 54). This subject will be addressed later on in relation to the berdache and lesbian relations.

Child-rearing and family life

From adulthood to middle-age family life was the norm. A man was inini, a woman i'kwe. In modern times women prepared 'meals' for their 'husbands' and did 'housekeeping'; while men carried water and chopped wood (Kinietz 1947: 138). In the old days roles may have been mixed, such as men cooking and women collecting firewood. Men would 'perform some of the household chores' (ibid.). As noted, child limitation was practiced. One woman stated that she did not 'live with my man as husband until the baby was able to walk', e.g., 1 – 1 ½ years; 'I slept alone' (Hilger 1951: 4). This would indicate a child spacing of 3 years. A pregnancy was reckoned as 'nine moons' or 'nine missed menstruations'; the 'old Indians reckoned everything by the moon' (ibid.).

Parenting would be the complement to child development, from birth via socializing to the marriage of offspring. Mothers preserved the umbilical cord in a case, and let a baby play with it, perhaps an indication of matriliney (Densmore 1929: 51). 'Family life is quite calm and happy' (Kinietz 1947: 138). The obstacle in modern times was alcohol abuse, leading to many tragedies; alcohol would be supplied by whites, starting with early historic fur traders (op. cit.: 138-142). No such problems would be found in prehistoric times, though plant intoxicants or hallucinogens may have existed.

Life 'in the different households' was 'fairly smooth and generally happy. The older children begin at an early age to assist in caring for the younger members of the family'. Children would take part 'in most activities', such as picking blueberries 'when the family moves to the berry grounds for a day or a week'. During 'the maple sugar season' the 'older children' assist. They also took part in fishing (Kinietz 1947: 142).

Old age and passing away

Old age is poorly known. The status of elder would also be one of totem clan leadership, whether male or female. Old people watched the young and taught the children, together with the middle generation of parents. The longevity of people in the old days is an open question. While white scholars would posit a low life expectancy, a native view would be different, that people could reach a 100 years or more. Generally old people were respected and considered as grandparents.

One of the major life rituals in Chippewa society took place at the passing away of a person. A death was such a significant event that its effects would linger for years and decades, as in relation to widows.

Burial customs

Death, burial and mourning was surrounded by extensive rituals. This was noted also by white observers. The 'manner of burying the dead of the Chippewas and the Ottawas' was complex (Kinietz 1947: 144). 'A person's departure from life among the Chippewa was attended' by 'elaborate ceremonies' for 'the purpose of assuring' his or her 'arrival' in the 'afterworld' and soothing the mourners (op. cit.: 142). The 'survivors also had in mind their own security' or peace of mind, 'for a spirit that was not treated just right might' haunt them (ibid.). 'The majority of deaths occurred in the residence' or surroundings 'and as the result of natural causes' (Kinietz 1947: 142-3). 'When death appeared inevitable the principal men assembled around the dying person with their medicine bags, drums, and rattles which they used to accompany the death song. This was to encourage the departing soul on his journey to the next world' (op. cit.: 143).

The ghost lodge

Apparently a ghost lodge was used for keeping the body in preparation for burial and during a wake. 'As soon as a person died he was washed, his hair braided, and his best clothing put on him' as well as 'bead work' (Densmore 1929: 73). The 'body was addressed by some friend of the deceased in a long speech in which he begged him to take courage and boldly pursue his journey to the great meadow, observing that all his departed friends and relations were anxiously waiting to receive him, and that his surviving friends would soon follow' (Kinietz 1947: 143). In a modern view the 'medicine man talked to the deceased telling him he was on his way to Eternity' (op. cit.: 144). 'Then they had a feast to which the friends and relatives were invited. There was a dish for the deceased and also a wooden dish of tobacco and matches for him' were 'placed on or near the body' at burial (ibid.).

There was a wake before burial. On Manitoulin Island friends 'and relatives sit up all night with the corpse before burial and about midnight have a dinner. This is to make the ghost happy for it is believed to be present. Prayers' and songs are made 'during the watch' (Kinietz 1947: 148). 'The body was kept one day' or night 'in the lodge and then buried. It was dressed in the best clothes of the deceased and with new moccasins over feet painted with vermilion' (Kinietz 1947: 143). In a modern view 'the chief or the medicine man was called to dress the

body' in 'a G-string' and new 'moccasins'. 'A new pair is put on the feet of every corpse' (ibid.). In another view, the 'body used to be kept four days. Many times during these four days they sing with the accompaniment of the kettle drum. The songs are those that the spirit uses on his way to the spirit land. There are many feasts in this period. The deceased is given a dish of food from every feast which some relative eats. Frequently some one makes a speech to the deceased. Nowadays the body may not be kept four days' (Kinietz 1947: 145). Perhaps 4 is a ceremonial number; one night may be the case. 'The property of a deceased person went to those who buried him', 'relatives or not'. It 'was customary to pass out all the deceased's effects among his friends'. This would be 'the surplus of a person's property after a distribution of cherished objects' to 'surviving relatives', such as 'medicine pouches' (op. cit.: 148).

Funeral and burial

'The body was wrapped in a new blanket, carried by the nearest relations to the grave, where it received a further wrapping of birch bark' tied with basswood cord (Densmore 1929: 75; Kinietz 1947: 143). A modern view had: 'A blanket or a mat was wrapped around the body and then birch or cedar bark. Now the body is taken out of the house through a window, head first, by selected older people. If the body was taken out through the usual door it would be inviting others to go too. In the old days a hole was made in the back of the lodge away from the door for the exit of the body' (op. cit.: 145).

One scholar has an interesting table of funeral directors:

At 'Manitou #1':

Deceased: Sam Namepok, Caribou. Director: Nawkamik, Eagle.

Deceased: Pat Namepok, Caribou. Director: Nawkamik, Eagle.

Deceased: George Hunter, Caribou. Director: Nawkamik, Eagle.

Deceased: Bob Bluesky, Eagle. Directors: Dan Hawk & Namepok, Caribou, MoBr & GrFa.

At 'Manitou #2:

Deceased: Dave Medicine's son, Bear. Director: Kepekâpaw, Caribou, of Manitou #1.

At 'Little Fork':

Deceased: John Bull, perhaps Buffalo. Director: Chief George, Bear, a MoBr (Landes 1937: 135).

What can be noted is that the person taking care of the burial had another totem affiliation than the deceased. It might be assumed that the director was from the opposite moiety of the deceased, but this is not clear.

In a modern burial: 'When the funeral procession is part way to the cemetery a chant is started so timed that it will be finished about the time they get to the grave. The body is laid along side of the grave. The speaker then talks to the deceased again. He says', 'You will notice your path from the grave to the west. You will notice the foot prints of your kin, your ancestors who went before you. At a path to the side you will hear someone calling you. Don't go. It is someone trying to steer you off. Follow the footsteps of your ancestors. Then you will come to a big river. You will see a log but it isn't a log but a reptile. You will hear someone call who is a grandfather who will take you across. If you offer him tobacco and ask him to take you across he will. Halfway across he stops on the edge of a precipice. Grandfather', 'a term used in addressing all spiritual helpers', 'will tell you to throw down whatever you are carrying', 'sickness, evil, etc. that you do not want to take to your relatives. Also make an

offering of tobacco to the spirits below to appease them. And as you get in sight of the city of the dead you are to sing the song chanted for you at the grave. You will also meet a courtier from the city. He will direct you to a midewigan in the center of the city. He will present you to the Supreme Being, who rules the land. You will present to him the tobacco given to you. He will accept this and send you on to your relatives' (Kinietz 1947: 145).

At burial a grave speech or prayer was made, telling the deceased to proceed 'on the road of souls' (Densmore 1929: 75). 'After this talk the body is lowered into the grave' (Kinietz 1947: 145). 'When a Chippewa died it was customary to place the body in a grave facing W., often in a sitting posture, or to scoop a shallow cavity in the earth and deposit the body therein on its back or side' (Hodge 1: 279). In another view: 'Burial was with the feet toward the west', 'the direction of the spirit's journey' (Densmore 1929: 75). 'Before the grave was closed', 'the nearest relative takes a lock of the deceased's hair which is then wrapped' in a bundle 'and kept for many years as a remembrance' (Kinietz 1947: 148-9). After the body was placed in the grave, everyone 'throws in a handful of dirt', a white custom, 'and starts to leave' (op. cit.: 145). The relatives and mourners 'danced' or passed 'around the open grave' before 'the grave was filled' (Densmore 1929: 75). 'The gravediggers finish filling in' after people leave. The modern grave is 6 ft deep 'but before the introduction of shovels it was only elbow deep for that was as far as they could dig easily. It is headed west. The grave diggers are any people who volunteer' (Kinietz 1947: 145). 'A feast' or ritual 'was held at the grave by relatives and friends of the deceased. Each person threw a small piece of meat into the fire'. Food and 'tobacco' was 'put through the hole in the head' of the grave 'house. These feasts' or rituals 'were held occasionally during the first year after death'. At Ketikitekon it was 'not customary to hold more than one feast at the grave, but food and tobacco are frequently put through the hole'. Other objects such as 'clothing' may be placed there for 'the spirit of the deceased' and later removed (op. cit.: 147-8).

Grave goods

'The corpse was painted and placed in a grave with some equipment to help in the journey to the other world' (Densmore 1929: 74). People were buried with 'ornaments' and beads. The 'Indians believed that articles of all kinds were transformed' as souls 'like themselves and hence the best apparel a person had was put on his body in order that he might make a decent appearance in the other world' (Kinietz 1947: 143). This could include a pot or dish and a spoon. Unreliable accounts noted weapons, 'axes, kettles and other articles in the grave' (ibid.). Grave goods noted were: beads, ornaments, shells, spoon, pot or dish, kettle, pipe, tobacco, smoking bag, medicine bag, drum, beads, knife, axe, hunting implements, snowshoes, paddle, canoe, etc. (ibid.). 'The medicine bag of the deceased was placed under his head' (ibid.). In modern times: 'Either a stone or a button was placed with the body to represent the megis. There was also an image of the last medicine pouch received by the deceased'. 'The real megis could not be buried with the body or the individual' would be 'partially restored by its power' (Kinietz 1947: 144). The 'graves of women' could be supplied with 'articles' such as: portage-collar, spoon, kettle or pot, spoon, moccasins, blanket, axe, etc. (ibid.). Modern informants noted the custom of 'grave furniture' or grave goods (ibid.). Yet 'the Christians' forbade all grave goods except 'some tobacco for the old men' (Kinietz 1947: 144).

Grave cover and grave house

The grave was covered 'with earth so as to form a small mound, over which boards, poles, or birch bark were placed' (Hodge 1: 279). 'Over a grave' was placed 'birch bark or rush mats with stones at the side' (Densmore 1929: 75). 'They either raised a pile of wood over the grave or enclosed it with a fence' (Kinietz 1947: 143). 'Before four days a house or cedar bark shelter with a hole left at the head is erected over the grave. Non-relatives should make this shelter' (op. cit.: 145-6). This could mean people from the opposite moiety. There would be 'low houses over the graves' covered with birch bark (Densmore 1929: 75). Perhaps this would later be covered with earth, forming a mound.

'The erection of a shelter over the grave' was a 'Chippewa' practice. 'Early forms of the shelter were sheets of birch bark weighed down with stones or earth and enclosures of logs'. In modern times 'houses of planks or squared timbers with shingled roofs have been erected'. This 'custom' has 'persisted even in communities' dominated by Christians. 'In the head end of the house' was a 'little opening' for an offering. At the other end of the grave house was a 'stick carrying the totem' (Kinietz 1947: 146-7). At the head of the grave a small post was erected on which was carved the totem of the deceased' (op. cit.: 143).

Food 'was always placed in a grave-house at the time of burial to provide the djibai with nourishment for the journey ahead' (Hallowell 1992: 75). 'Food was placed beside a grave, and for four nights a fire was kept burning to aid the spirit' (Densmore 1947: 75). After burial it was the custom 'to place a little food' at the grave 'from time to time' (Hallowell 1992: 75). 'It was to forestall raids on graves by sorcerers who had caused the deaths that a little fire was made on the grave every evening for four days. At the end of that time the spirit of the departed had reached the afterworld. The sorcerer' then 'succumbed to his own witchcraft' (Kinietz 1947: 147). Also later food 'was placed on the graves at any time' and eaten by needy people (Densmore 1929: 75). Outside the grave house was a spot to place offerings of food, such as maple sugar and berry dishes (ibid.). This food was daintily wrapped, and it was propitious to eat this food (ibid.).

Other burials

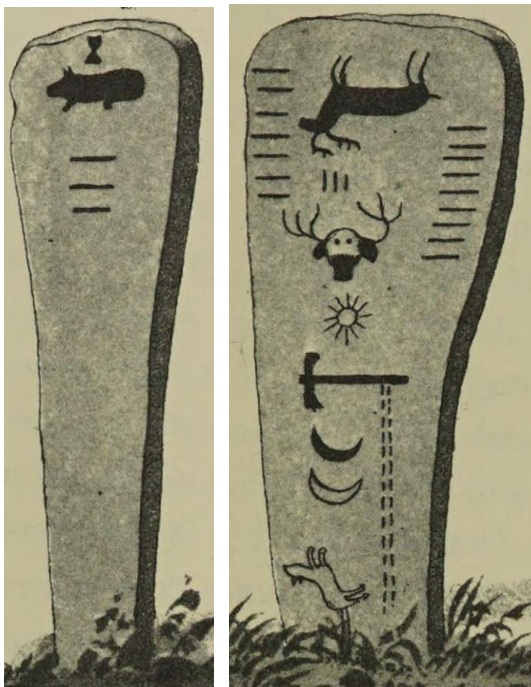
When the ground was frozen people 'practised scaffold burial, the corpse being inclosed in a box' (Hodge 1: 279). This may have been temporary until a burial site could be reached. Little was known of 'scaffold or tree burials'. Abotossaway's son heard of a body 'placed on a scaffold' so that 'foxes could not get at it'. One guess was that 'bedrock' on Manitoulin favored burial on scaffolds or rock ledges (Kinietz 1947: 146). Two older sources claimed that 'chiefs' were raised on 'scaffolds', probably Siouan (ibid.). Sometimes 'burial was accomplished by building a fire to thaw the ground' (Densmore 1929: 75). At times a person was buried 'inside the wigwam' before people 'took down the wigwam' and threw away 'the poles' (Densmore 1929: 76). This might be at a temporary site about to be abandoned. 'Cremation' and 'reinterment' was not known; though a corpse might be moved from a scaffold to a grave (Kinietz 1947: 147). A woman mentioned that a victim of witchcraft might be disinterred to see if the tongue and left little finger 'were missing' to prove 'sorcery' (ibid.).

Burial ground

‘A permanent village had its burial ground’ (Densmore 1929: 76). Graves and burial sites were arranged according to totems. A prominent element was totem grave posts.



Grave posts: Turtle chief. Catfish person. Crane, Shinkapawesin. Crane, Pepesakontipe.



Grave posts: Bear, hunter. Reindeer, Wâposhik.

These are remarkable monuments.

The Turtle chief d. c. 1830 'was of the tortoise totem, and has three marks of honor' or peaceful trips. The joined triangles on top, a 'closed cross', also known as the 'Lakota symbol', 'is an emblem of death', described as an 'earth-sky' union, the earth below and the sky above, e.g., a passage from life on earth to heaven (Schoolcraft 1: 356).

The Catfish person is recent.

The Crane chief, Shinkapawesin d. 1828 at 'Lake Superior', went on 6 expeditions and attended 3 treaty councils, with a pipe ceremony, receiving medals and passing on with a deer spouse (Schoolcraft 1: 357).

The Crane chief, Pepesakontipe d. c. 1835, went on many trips, and apparently fought or 'killed' 4 men. This was 'declared' by 'the funeral orator' at the 'interment', that he fought honorably. On each side of the post were 4 marks representing eagle feathers, while 8 marks on one edge indicated more or less warlike expeditions (Schoolcraft 1: 357).

The Bear man was a hunter who d. c. 1800 and went on 3 trips, said to be for war but possibly peaceful.

Wâposhik or White Fisher, a chief 'who died on Lake Superior, about 1793', belonged to the 'reindeer' totem, and his 'personal name' meant 'White Fisher, indicated by the animal below. Lines show his life course across light and dark nights, involvement in war and peace, becoming a village chief, facing a dangerous 'moose', and going on many trips, supposedly war-like but mostly peaceful, with 3 'wounds' or distinctions (Schoolcraft 1: 356).

'The ododem' or 'totem' 'is painted or drawn on a stick usually of cedar which is tucked in the ground at the head of the grave. The ododem is drawn with its head pointing down, which denotes death' (Kinietz 1947: 146). Such posts would be frequently noted, and were a significant part of totemic culture. 'Markers placed at graves bore the 'totem' of the deceased, the symbol being inverted, to indicate death' (Densmore 1929: 75). There were grave posts with birds on top, such as finch, loon, hawk, owl and more (Densmore 1929: pl. 29). 'Carved birds were seen on posts above the graves of Canadian Chippewa' (op. cit.: 76). These were interpreted as Midewiwin symbols, though perhaps totemic. As always the scholars would avoid the topic of totemism, hence little is known about the grave markers. Yet they provided crucial information. Markers depicted or noted seem to show: turtle, catfish, bird, finch, loon, duck, crane, hawk, owl, bear, lynx, reindeer or caribou, rabbit or hare, etc. A man 'passing a grave in a strange part of the country would pause to ascertain to what gens the person had belonged, and if it were his own gens he would ... leave an offering of food on the grave' (Densmore 1929: 75-76). One might say the graveyard shadowed the village, with graves placed in rows by totems (Densmore 1929: pl. 30). A burial ground might then be laid out in 3 rows, one for each phratry, and perhaps a separate row for chiefs. The care and concern shown at burials are evident.

Mourning period

The grave was 'visited for a short time in the daytime' for the first 2-4 days (Kinietz 1947: 148). Mourning would span from wailing, screams and self-mutilation to quiet grief

(Densmore 1929: 76). 'Relatives usually went to a grave at evening and wailed for a long time in a plaintive manner' (Densmore 1929: 76). Black paint might be worn, and the hair was cut and worn unbraided during mourning (op. cit.: 77). One biased scholar obsessed with disproving exogamy, noted that 'after-death mourning by the spouse and arrangements for remarriage are phrased in gens terms. Actually it is the immediate family which acts, and in so doing gens boundaries are often lost sight of' (Landes 1937: 44). That near relatives mourn a loved one is reasonable, but somehow she made this an issue of 'gens boundaries', as if more than a wife grieving disproved exogamy. 'Mourning for a lost relative continued for a year, unless shortened by the meda or by certain exploits in war' (Hodge 1: 279). 'The Ojibwa mourning', apart from 'compensation', e.g., in the case of murder, 'includes self-neglect, occasional self-mutilation, celibacy, discomforts such as poor food, and ritual offerings to the dead' (Landes 1937: 44). The mourning period of 'friends' lasted 3 months, when they 'divested themselves of finery and painted themselves black'. 'Graves of friends and relatives' were 'never passed within two years without leaving some mark of respect' or an offering. 'Furthermore, the graves were visited annually for the purpose of clearing away all rubbish that might have accumulated. A feast was held on these occasions'. Visits to the graves could last 30-40 years. 'These customs were in force when the Indians' went to hunting camps each year. In modern times grave visits lasted one year and grave yards or cemeteries were not tended; this might be to keep white looters away. As one whiteman observed, the 'weeds and underbrush' were 'so thick that it is impossible to photograph', making desecration difficult (Kinietz 1947: 150).

Re-marriage of widow or widower

'During the year of formal mourning, the widow or widower carries the dish of the deceased spouse and eats out of it'; this 'is called eating with the dead' (Kinietz 1947: 149). A widow must wait a year before remarrying (Densmore 1929: 77). 'The grave visits, food offerings placed on the grave, eating out of the dish of the deceased', and more, 'are features that mark the mourning for anyone. When a married person dies additional ceremonies and restrictions fall to the lot of the surviving spouse. The relict can not marry within the year. A man's brother might get goods together at the end of the year and offer them to the widow and if she wished she could marry him. Similarly a widower might be offered his wife's sister or cousin'. 'During the year of mourning the widow gives frequent feasts to the relatives and friends of her husband'. 'Formerly a widowed person painted only with charcoal, wore ragged and dirty clothes, and did not comb the hair in the period of deep mourning'. A 'person's behavior is expected to be rather subdued during this period' (Kinietz 1947: 149-50).

'The important gens-phrased rite is the reinstatement ceremony of the widowed spouse. When a man, for example, has died, his gens says that his wife' has 'destroyed' him, shiwanachiat, and 'that consequently she must compensate his gens-mates'; apparently this was a modern development based on colonial violence. This was different from a compensation for murder, which supposedly involved feuding (Landes 1937: 45). The mourning description 'holds as well for' deceased women, 'with appropriate change of sex for the main actor', e.g., a male (ibid.). Obviously the female scholar was interested in how a widow was treated, rather than a widower. 'The widow is thus 'indebted' to the gens of her deceased husband, and the members call her' nshikam, 'my debtor'; obviously false; shika means widow (ibid.). The biased scholar then made a rambling presentation about how the widow was a 'debtor' who must 'compensate' her husband's family, apparently reflecting ethnocentric views on

exogamy. Some elements were: A man could say *nshikam* to a *SiLa* ‘implying’ that he ‘owns’ her and had ‘sexual rights’; ‘the widow must’ collect ‘goods for repaying her creditors’, *kîwenike*; no lover or relative could aid; by paying ‘her bill’ she showed ‘respect’ to her *PaLas*; then she was ‘worthy of being ... married to a gens-mate of the deceased husband’ (Landes 1937: 45). Precisely why the scholar was obsessed with death and payment is not clear, but it may have something to do with her ethnic background.

For good measure she extended the 1-year ‘mourning period’ to ‘from two to four years’, when the widow lived alone, with no ‘jollities’, ‘loose hair’, ‘ashes’, ‘old clothes’, ‘a lock of Hu’s hair, and ‘a bundle of the wealth she assembles’; *winisisi-mânan-shkônîkâtêniwan*; *wiwekwe-pichikan* (Landes 1937: 45). The ‘wealth’ or ‘offering’ held clothes, beads, quills, mats, cup, towel, pipe – and of course silver and gold (*ibid.*). Money took ‘the place of the deceased’ (*ibid.*). Then the ‘wealth’ is handed over to the *FaLa* or *BrLa*, a big issue: who gets the money? Handing over the money is dwelt on; in particular how it is divided in the family (*op. cit.*: 45-47). Whatever happened to the widow was not an issue. For a man it was even worse, he might have to pay, *giwenige*, for 7 wives (Landes 1937: 47). All of this was pure fiction. A ‘mourner could *giwenige*’, e.g., return back, ‘without wealth, merely with good behavior’ (*ibid.*). Apparently the scholar did not believe her informants; ‘indebtedness’ must always be repaid (Landes 1937: 47). Interestingly she notes that the *Midewiwin* was involved in extracting money from widows, another indication of a historic and white-inspired revival, if this is ‘true’ (*op. cit.*: 47-48). A widow who ‘flirts’ would have his or her ear cut off; probably false (Landes 1937: 48). One French *Ojibwa*, Baptiste, remarried when his *Wi* died; then he became ill; a shaman who happened to be the dead *Wi*’s son went to see him, and ‘Baptiste shortly died’. If the shaman could stand for this, it would not be strange if people started paying the *Mide* people. Yet this would be a distinctly modern practice, like protection money in New York (*ibid.*).

Random cases were noted. One widow was burned to death for not paying (Landes 1937: 49). One widow was forced to marry her deceased Hu’s *Br*, Bob McGinnis, c. 1912, and later had to marry yet another McGinnis; possessive Scots (*ibid.*). Andy Williams at Bear’s Pass had to pay for another daughter (*ibid.*). The scholar’s key informant claimed to have paid \$8 for her Hu; in the meantime she had a son ‘with a Finn’, making her in ‘a hurry to pay’ (*ibid.*). Other cases: old woman ‘at Pinewood’ paid c. 1890; a man was ‘cut up’ c. 1885; a widow ‘at Lake of the Woods’ was extorted for money and ‘rebuked’ by her *FaLa* c. 1924; and a widower ‘at Lake of the Woods’ was robbed by his late *Wi*’s kin at a village of 300 people c. 1920 but not cut up ‘because of the Mounted Police’. In a recent incident ‘at Hungry Hall’ a late *Wi*’s *FaBr* ‘tore the nice new cover off’ a couple ‘in the sex embrace’. Around 1905 at *Shepeshkashink* a widow fell in love and was robbed by her late Hu’s *Br* at *Kenora*, while his *Wi*, her classificatory *Si*, stripped her. About 1930 ‘at *Emo*’ a man remarried ‘immediately’ after his *Wi* died from tuberculosis and was to be punished except for ‘Police surveillance’; nor could they punish his *Wi*, a ‘*Caribou*’ gens-mate (Landes 1937: 50-52). All this sounds like the mafia-era in New York; but the scholar took it seriously, reading any statement literally, and positing this as native culture, obviously false (*op. cit.*: 52). It is possible that the introduction of a mourning ‘payment’ c. 1850-1920 was a result of depopulation and problems in finding spouses, coupled with white influences among traders and in the *Midewiwin*; it is also known that missions sold Indian girls to settlers. But taking everything literally and at face value, like some scholars did, is a dangerous path to follow, as social media tend to show. People were free to remarry after a mourning period. The main challenge in prehistoric times, as noted, was to comply with totem exogamy.

The ghost feast or feast for the dead

There was a feast for the dead or ghost feast, *chîpi-nakawin*. At first, food was offered at a grave. This was called 'Offerings for the dead' or *chîpenakiwin*; which also was the name for an annual ghost feast (Hilger 1951: 83). The ceremony began with the feast at the funeral, and continued later over the years (Haines 1888: 370). Each person, 'before he begins to eat, cuts off a small piece of meat, which he casts into the fire'; the smoke invited the ghosts to eat with them (Haines 1888: 370). Offerings of food and tobacco at the fireplace was a regular part of the 'Feasts of the Dead' (Hallowell 1992: 76).

Among the South Chippewa there was a consoling ceremony once a year when widows were relieved from mourning; probably a ghost feast (Densmore 1929: 77). A lock of the deceased's hair in a 'bundle was offered the first meat and drink at their feasts'. 'Among some bands of Chippewa the effigy of a deceased person is continually honored by the addition' of ornaments. At Ketikitekon 'the effigy is not made until the end of the year of mourning', when it 'is placed in a bag along with the dish of the deceased and put away' (Kinietz 1947: 148-9). 'Then in the fall', perhaps October-November, or possibly in the spring, 'the family, relations, and friends have a feast some evening. If a girl died all the girls her age were called to an evening feast. If a boy, all the boys his age were invited'. 'Besides the feast', people 'go to the grave and hang gifts on a pole'.

An 'annual ceremony' was 'held north of the Berens River' (Hallowell 1992: 76-77). 'In this ceremony the dead were represented by wooden figures attached to a string inside a wigwam' (op. cit.: 77). 'When the drumming began, these figures would dance' (ibid.). On another occasion the '*djibaiyak*' or ghosts 'were invoked and seen to pass through the wigwam' (ibid.). Once 'the drum was used' to communicate 'with the spirits of the dead' (ibid.). Spirits of the dead 'could be of assistance' to people 'in times of crisis' (Hallowell 1992: 77). In prehistoric times this would be a totem clan feast, where members from other clans were invited to celebrate those who had passed away.

Heaven

It took 4 days after burial for 'the spirit' to reach 'the afterworld' (Kinietz 1947: 147). 'They imagined that the shade' or spirit, 'after the death of the body, followed a wide beaten path, leading toward the w., finally arriving in a country abounding in everything the Indian desires. It is a general belief among the northern Chippewa that the spirit often returns to visit the grave, so long as the body is not reduced to dust' (Hodge 1: 279). The 'vital part of man is as immortal as the' manitous (Hallowell 1992: 79). Living beings 'belong to the category of ancient and enduring' spirits 'because the world of Being itself has no beginning and no end, despite minor transformations in outward appearance' (ibid.). The afterlife in Ojibwaia was good, testifying to the fruitful existence of people in their homeland.

The issue of personality and identity

The personality and identity of Chippewa individuals is an unknown subject. American scholars would immediately compare them to white people, obstructing any knowledge of the native people. In addition psychological research was tritely racist (Barnouw 1950).

A peculiar area of concern were the so-called windigo beliefs. 'All the woodland people feared the Windigos, supernatural cannibals' auguring 'periods of suffering and starvation' (Houston & King 1972). They were cannibal monsters scaring children (Hallowell 1992: 33-35, 64). Their shape changed from small to giant, and they scared travelers (op. cit.: 65). Scholars turned this into a psychology issue, akin to hysteria and psychosis. People reportedly were afraid of cannibals. Supposedly some people 'practised cannibalism', though 'the Chippewa' generally 'looked upon cannibalism' with 'horror' (Hodge 1: 278). 'Sometimes human beings turn into cannibals'. They are 'feared' as windigo 'and often killed'. At Berens River in 1876 a woman was burned as a suspected cannibal or windigo (Hallowell 1992: 65).

Stimulants were not common among the Chippewa. The main stimulant was tobacco, usually smoked in pipes. 'Stone pipe bowls were in use among the Chippewa at an early date' (Densmore 1929: 143). Tobacco was usually mixed with other leaves, bearberry, aster etc. (op. cit.: 144). A common mixture was tobacco and red willow, known as kinnikinnick, e.g., 'mixture' (op. cit.: 122). Tobacco was difficult to obtain, hence the mixture mostly consisted of other plants (op. cit.: 145). Tobacco was 'a gift from the manido', strengthening agreements and certifying peace (ibid.). Its smoke was a celestial messenger.

It was said that people believed in 'dreams. They have the greatest faith in dreams, by which they imagine that the Deity informs them of future events, enjoins them certain penances and even inspires or encourages them in their most difficult and hazardous enterprises'. They considered that white people's invention of 'reading and writing has originally been acquired in a dream'. Dreams could affect a person's identity. In some cases men had an 'extraordinary dream' which 'affected' them 'to such a degree' as to 'adopt the dress and manners of the women', e.g., the berdache (Kinietz 1947: 155).

The berdache and gender switching

Gender roles can be bridged. Many 'unconventional girls and women' become 'occupationally hermaphroditic' when entering the activities 'of both men and women'. 'Men never take up women's work', or actually they did, known as berdache (Landes 1938: 20).

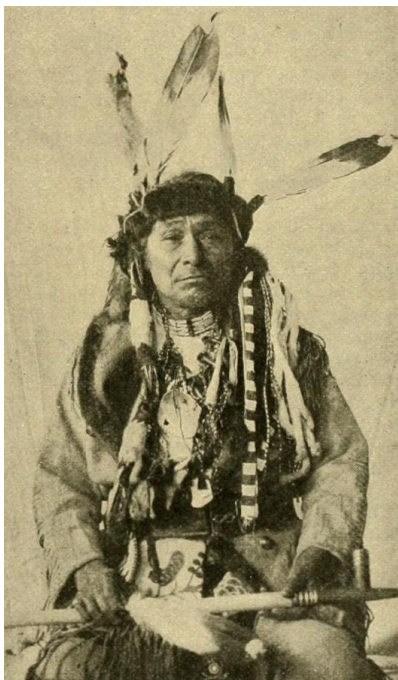
The so-called berdache role is little known. There were 'individuals' who 'were compelled to wear women's clothes' (Hoffman 1891). Around 1800 there were 'several instances of some of their men who, by virtue of some extraordinary dream, had been affected to such a degree as to abandon every custom characteristic of their sex and adopt the dress and manners of the women. They are never ridiculed or despised by the men on account of their new costumes, but are, on the contrary, respected as saints, or beings in some degree inspired by the Manitou, yet, in other respects, they are merely considered as women and are never allowed the

privileges refused the latter. It is really amusing to see stout strapping fellows of this order, nursing children, garnishing and making shoes, imitating the women in all their employments, even assuming the shrill tone of their voice, and walking with their toes inclined inwards' (Kinietz 1947: 155-6). As noted women could follow a similar path, following male practices, though perhaps not being openly lesbian. Misogynic white men had difficulties relating to transgender identities.

What can be said with certainty is that, living in stable communities, the prehistoric Chippewa had robust identities and a positive outlook on life. They lived in a land of natural beauty and surplus, with few threats or long-term obstructions. In a community they could follow a daily life that was mostly peaceful. This is emphasized here, because in modern times life would be different, people having to survive as an indigenous minority.



Ojibwa woman with war club (Internet)



Chippewa man (Hodge 1: 277)

Biographies and life stories

Chippewa life stories are poorly known. There are several reasons why this is so. In Euro-American society, i.e., among whites, life stories are straightforward. People grow up, marry, get a job, have Chn and GrChn, grow old and die. Drama and tragedy are side issues that color a story without changing the mold. In the case of historical Chippewa and Indian biographies this is different. They do not write the sources; they face bias and discrimination; and the tragedies are life-altering, even devastating. This, at least on the surface, renders native life stories far more challenging, even sensitive and restricted. It is not clear if a modern, or even a historical biography can be compared to a premodern or prehistoric life account, though somehow there must be a connection.

In prehistoric times life accounts were settled and peaceful. People grew up in villages that had existed for hundreds or thousands of years. Their lives were well defined in terms of totems, kinship and a settled family life. There would be extraordinary lives and dramatic events, but as with moderns these would be side-stories to the stable course of life.

One person relied on eliciting life material (Landes 1937, 1938; Lovisek et al. 1997). Yet how representative the stories were, and how they could be analyzed, remained unclear. One reason why life stories are significant, is because they offer cumulative sources on social life. While historiography is selective, family histories are inclusive. What follows are a few samples or stubs of native lives. One day there may be a whole literature of Chippewa-Ojibwa biographies, by band or generation.

Buffalo b. c. 1779 d. 1855

Early life histories are obscure. 'Buffalo' belonged to the Chequamegon-La Pointe-Madeline Island area. His suggested names include: Kechewaishke, Gichi-weshkiinh, 'Great-renewer', Peezhickee, Bizhiki, Great Chief Buffalo, Great Buffalo, Le Boeuf, etc. The names are confused with men called Bizhiki or Buffalo at St. Croix, a 'Beshekee' of the Pillager band, and a 'Waishikey' of the Sault. Buffalo's totem was said to be Loon. This was not clear; some guessed that crane was his clan. He was born at La Pointe on Madeline Island, a combined Chippewa village and Anglo-French trading center. His Pas are unknown; his Fa may have been a fur trader, his Mo Chippewa. One guess is that his Fa was Waubojeeg; or maybe Andaigweos jr. A Si or cousin was 'Ozhaguscodawayquay' or 'Susan Johnston', wife of 'fur-trader John Johnston', Mo of 'Jane Johnston' and MoLa of 'Henry Schoolcraft'. The white admixture would be strong.

His GrFa reportedly was 'Andaigweos' aka 'Aandegwiiyaas', 'Ou-daig-weos' or 'Crow's Meat' b. c. 1730 d. c. 1790, supposedly a loon, who became prominent at La Pointe. The GrGrFa was 'a Canadian Indian' from 'Sault Ste. Marie', perhaps a French trader. At the same time 'men of the Crane doodem held the positions of hereditary peace chiefs' at 'both Sault Ste. Marie and La Pointe'. 'By the 19th century', it was Buffalo's clan, 'the Loons, that was recognized as the principal chiefs at La Pointe'. 'The Cranes', led in Buffalo's time by 'Tagwagane, maintained that they were the hereditary chiefs'. How 'the Loons' became chiefs was unclear. A suggestion was skilled oratory; another was being 'a favorite' of traders and

officials; the latter perhaps is more decisive. Buffalo was ‘favored by British traders’, perhaps because of a trader affiliation and white ancestry.

‘When he was about 10, Kechewaishke and his parents moved from La Pointe to the vicinity of what is now Buffalo, New York, and lived there until he was about 12. The family relocated to the Mackinac Island area for a while before returning to La Pointe’. ‘In his youth, Kechewaishke was admired as a skilled hunter and athlete’. Possibly he went to school. It seems he took his name from the town of Buffalo.

After he returned to La Pointe he married. Buffalo had 5 wives and ‘numerous children’. It is significant that he adopted a white So, Benjamin Armstrong, who fought against the Dakota at the ‘Battle of Brule’ in 1842. Buffalo ‘practiced the Midewiwin religion’, but became a Catholic at death. In 1812, Buffalo ‘and a number of other young warriors from the La Pointe area abandoned the Midewiwin for a time to follow the teachings of the Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa. While en route to Prophetstown ... they were stopped by Michel Cadotte’, a French trader, who told them not to fight the Americans. Again there was a strong white connection.

Buffalo was ‘recognized as the principal chief of the Lake Superior Chippewa’ c. 1812-1855. He signed treaties with the US in 1825, 1826, 1837, 1842, 1847, and 1854. At the same time he was instrumental in resisting US efforts to remove the Ojibwa to the far west. He helped secure ‘permanent Indian reservations for his people near Lake Superior in what is now Wisconsin’. Buffalo contrasted himself to ‘Aysh-ke-bah-ke-ko-zhay and Hole in the Day, two Ojibwa chiefs’ who fought ‘against the Dakota Sioux people’; he never fought. ‘By the time the Ojibwa of Wisconsin and Minnesota started treaty negotiations with the US Government’, c. 1825, Buffalo was ‘recognized as one of the primary spokesmen for all the bands, not just for the Ojibwa from La Pointe’. In 1825, ‘Gitspee Waishkee’ or ‘La Boeuf’ signed ‘the First Treaty of Prairie du Chien’. In 1826 ‘Peezhickee’ of Lapointe signed the ‘Treaty of Fond du Lac’. Buffalo ‘praised the US officials’ and ‘asked for whiskey’ to pacify his young men. Schoolcraft upbraided Buffalo for not stopping the Chippewa-Dakota warfare. He retorted ‘that he was unable to stop the young men of Lac Courte Oreilles, St. Croix, Lac du Flambeau or other bands beyond La Pointe’. Buffalo added that ‘the U.S. government had not done enough to maintain peace among the tribes’, an understatement.

In the treaties of 1837 and 1842 the US wanted land and mineral concessions from the Chippewa. Buffalo signed as the US-backed ‘principal chief of all the Lake Superior Ojibwa’. His main interest was money for ‘the half-breeds’. Around 1837 Buffalo wrote a letter claiming the ‘Indians acted like children; they tried to cheat each other and got cheated themselves’. He in turn would not sell his land. But in 1842 ‘Gichi waishkey, 1st chief of La Pointe’, signed away the land. He later said he was forced to sign; the US agent ‘had refused to listen to any of the Ojibwa’s objections’. But he signed anyway. ‘The Ojibwa did obtain annuity payments’ at La Pointe, and ‘the right to hunt, fish, gather, and move across’ the land.

In 1848, Wisconsin achieved statehood; the whites wanted to remove all Indians and take their land. Buffalo ‘kept in constant contact with the other bands’ to resist removal. A callous President ‘signed the removal order’ in 1850. But Wisconsin got cold feet and did not carry it through. The President ordered the Indians in Wisconsin to move to Sandy Lake. The Indians set out on the journey, but returned to La Pointe when they saw the terrible conditions in which people began dying by the hundreds, known as the ‘Sandy Lake tragedy’. In 1852, Buffalo, Oshaga, Armstrong, and four others set out from La Pointe for Washington, D.C.

Indian agents and officials tried to stop them on the way, while citizens supported them. The next President in 1852, after meeting with Buffalo, 'overturned the order' of 1850 and let them stay in Wisconsin. Final treaties were made in 1854-55, to set up reservations, the La Pointe Band being placed at Bad River, with other reservations at Lac Courte Oreilles and Lac du Flambeau. 'A small tract of land was also set aside' for Buffalo and his family 'at Buffalo', a place called 'Miskwaabikong' or 'red rocks'. 'Many of the Catholic and mixed-blooded members of the La Pointe Band elected to settle' near Buffalo. In further squabbles over land, money, trade and US interests, Buffalo died in 1855.



Buffalo (c. 1779-1855)

One might see Buffalo as a hero or a treaty chief. What is clear is that he was surrounded by white people, traders and officials, from birth to death. He got lands set apart from the main Indian reservation at Bad Lands, and was surrounded by white Chippewa. In this he was a peculiar but also a common case, showing to what extent Ojibwaia had become a colonial domain after 1780.

George Copway b. 1818 d. 1859

George Copway or Kah-Ge-Ga-Gah-Bowh, b. 1818 d. 1869, wrote 'The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation' (1850). He was a Mississauga, born near Trenton, son of chief John Copway, who converted to Methodism in 1827. George attended the local mission school c. 1830. In 1834 he escorted a Methodist missionary to the Ojibwe near W Lake Superior. He helped with Bible translations at La Pointe. In 1838 he was sent to Illinois and trained as a missionary.

Copway became both a Methodist missionary and an 'advocate of indigenous peoples'; an impossible mix. In 1840, Copway married 'an English woman'. The Chn were George b. 1843 and Frances 'Minne-Ha-Ha' b. 1853. 'The couple' went to Canada in 1842, where Copway was a missionary at Saugeen and Rice Lake. 'He was elected vice-president of the Ojibwe General Council', and 'convicted of embezzlement by the Indian Department' in 1846. 'The Copways' then moved to New York City, where he wrote books and went on lecture tours in the USA and Europe. He advocated an Indian republic, and had a newspaper for 3 months, 'Copway's American Indian'.

In his works he noted the 'birch bark scrolls'. He repeatedly wrote about how Euro-Americans used alcohol to gain control of the Indians and their land. 'The introduction of spirituous liquors' was a 'disaster' destroying Indian youth and families. The 'white man'

through 'avarice' destroyed the people, 'every year lessening their numbers'. Soon he 'began drinking heavily and sank into debt', and in 1858 his English wife left him with their Da Frances. He tided by as a 'street healer' and 'Union army recruiter' before dying at Ypsilanti, Michigan, in 1869 (Wikipedia).

William Whipple Warren b. 1825 d. 1853

William Whipple Warren b. 1825 d. 1853 wrote the 'History of the Ojibway People' (1885). His parent were white Chippewa, Lyman Warren, a fur trader, and Mary Cadotte, the Da of a fur-trader. They stayed at a trade station, Madeline Island, near La Pointe, Wisconsin. His MoMo was Ikwesewe, Da of a 'White Crane' man. Because his Fa was white, William was considered an Ojibwe 'relative'. He reportedly learned about the Chippewa culture from his Mo. He went to mission schools at La Pointe and Mackinac Island. In 1836 he went to New York and studied at Clarkson Academy and the Oneida Institute, a mission college for Indians; no doubt a mixed experience.

In 1840 he returned to La Pointe. He sat with his Mo's Chippewa relatives and listened to stories. In 1842 he became an interpreter. He started collecting notes for an 'Ojibway' history. In 1843 Warren married Mathilda Aitken b. c. 1822, Da of a fur trader and 'Gin-gion-cumig-oke'. They had 4 Chn, Alfred b. 1844, Cordelia or Anna b. 1846, William b. 1848 and Madeline b. 1853. After Warren's death Mathilda married Louis Fontaine and settled on the White Earth Reservation.

In 1845 William moved from Wisconsin to Crow Wing in Minnesota, working for a fur trader, Rice. While in Minnesota he continued collecting notes for his history. 'In 1848 Rice had Warren answering survey questions' about the Winnebago and Chippewa. 'The survey had been sent' by Schoolcraft, 'an early ethnologist'. William met Schoolcraft, 'who gave the young man an additional sense of how important his work was'. He prepared a version of his Ojibway history for a newspaper in 1851. He worried 'that the culture was disappearing', He briefly served as a Minnesota legislator in 1851. Warren caught tuberculosis and died at 28 in 1853 (Wikipedia).

Josie Deer b. c. 1855 d. c. 1925

Josie of Lake of the Woods perhaps was a Deer. Her Pas 'got in with' an old couple, and she was promised to their So Feather. At the same time she fell in love with Lynx Cub. She was a good worker, 'doing all kinds of Indian fancy-work' (Landes 1938: 239). Eventually she married Feather. Lynx Cub felt bad, but he also got married. Josie had no Chn. Her Hu left her after 5 years. He married Mad Woman and had a Ch. Then the Ch died, and his Wi left him. Josie had remarried Glowing Man, but he already had a Wi, so she left him (op. cit.: 245). This was around 1885. Then Josie re-married Feather. His earlier Wi, Mad Woman, found out and attacked the pair, fatally stabbing Feather and injuring Josie. This gained Josie some sympathy. She went on to marry 'that other man', who already had 2 Chn (op. cit.: 247). They got a stable life together. 'She and her husband grew very old' and the 2 Chn married (ibid.). This meant that she had a stable life from her early 30s to her 70s,

John Pete b. c. 1866 d. c. 1945

John was of the merman or seal clan, Nebana Bay, and served as a scholar's informant (Kinietz 1947). He lived at Lac Vieux Desert. He served as a shaman and ceremonial leader, becoming a chief or second chief. By 1938 people were dependent on public welfare. At the same time John tried to uphold native life and ceremonies. He deplored the loss of Chippewa culture among the young people. In 1940 he belonged to a household with his nephew, Patty Pete, a seal b. 1918, and Patty's Wi, Elizabeth Brunk b. 1922, a fowl or Bakwiakquin (Kinietz 1947: 247).

Maggie Wilson b. c. 1880 d. c. 1950

Maggie was of Rainy River and was an informant (Landes 1937, 1938). Her totem clan was Bullhead (Landes 1937: 33). Her Fa was Benjamin Spence, So of an Ojibwa-Cree preacher. She remembered a happy childhood, boys and girls playing together (Landes 1938: 21). Memories included her first menstruation and vision quest. She was forbidden to marry a man of her Mo's totem, Sturgeon (Landes 1937: 55-57). Before marriage she belonged to the little Fork Band with her Pas (op. cit.: 33). She was made to marry an unknown man, perhaps a sickly man; a Duck. At her first marriage she belonged to the Hungry Hall band. As a widow she stayed in the Long Sioux Band with her Pas (ibid.). Later she married a Caribou, John Wilson, said to be an Ojibwa chief's son (Lovisek et al. 1997: 137). Then she joined the Manitou Rapids reserve (Landes 1937: 33). She had several Chn and GrChn. She had one illegitimate So, and paid a widow's fee to her late Hu's parents. She also adopted a white boy, b. c. 1925, contemptibly called 'little white man', onkanash, by her Chn.

By 1932 she was at the head of a family group including 2 Duck Sos, their Chn, a Duck Da, a Caribou Hu, Da, stepFa and half-Br, and a Bear SoLa with 7 Chn (ibid.). She was a good craftswoman, re-tanning skins and making 'excellent' beadwork (Landes 1938: 16, 19). Her craftwork was discovered by tourists, leading to some hostility by neighbors. She took care of her invalid Hu (op. cit.: 166). Later in life she was perhaps upbraided for being an informant. But she was competent and nice, and learned how to get by.

The biographies are complicated. They indicate the local basis of individual lives, and at the same time the impact of white society. People needed a local attachment to carry out their existence. A totemic affiliation kept the individuals in a local and tribal context throughout their lives. This is even more evident in older biographies, as indicated on totemic grave-posts. People traveled far and had adventures, but their local totemic anchoring remained and would support them through their lives. As with names, much remains to be explored and written about life stories. As such they become one more aspect of the totemic landscape of Ojibwaia.

Social arenas and social encounters

One place to learn about society is through the social arenas where people meet. Unfortunately this is not the main focus of American scholars, where the individual is central. There are few descriptions of social settings, not to mention of villages. One notable exception is the dance house at Ketikitekon (Kinietz 1947: 100). Complete descriptions of local communities are mostly lacking. Yet the social arenas and social interaction is where to start an analysis of social life, as lectures on fieldwork tend to show.

Social life in Chippewa society would focus on a series of well-defined arenas. In a village this would be houses, a plaza or ceremonial ground, ball-ground, sweat-lodges, the shore with canoes and fishing nets, and several other settings. The village as a whole was one arena. Everyone 'in the village knows what everyone else is doing' (Kinietz 1947: 139). This intensely social life is hard to grasp for moderns and must be kept in mind. A secluded setting for women would be the menstrual lodges. Men and boys would have a similar arena at the initiation huts. In winter the winter camps offered arenas such as houses, a common meeting ground around a central camp fire, and the nearby bush. Beyond this there would be hunting and trapping trips where people could occasionally meet and talk. Further afield there were the arenas of neighboring villages and distant council grounds. Everywhere an active social life was found.

Gossip

Women would engage in 'gossip', informal 'discussions and boasts', often critical of men and other women. Topics could be about men's inability to do women's tasks, one woman's 'poor' tanning, an angry old woman 'turned windigo', a girl 'kidnapped' in the bush, disapproval of a girl taught to hunt, marital problems and separations, etc. (Landes 1938: 11). One topic of gossip was about Wis leaving their Hus when he had a lover (Landes 1937: 54). There was mythical gossip stories, such as when an 'Evil Woman' mistook Nenebush for a porcupine and tried to strip him. Instead he raped her 'while she cried' 'How nice!', before he 'stripped' her, 'danced in front of her and made off with her dress' (Landes 1938: 11, 16). This is one of few recorded erotic myths, no doubt because male scholars were puritans. Gossip and prattle is a significant area of social life that is often overlooked. A corresponding practice among men would be badmouthing or cursing others.

Informal arenas, such as opportunities for gossip or talk, were more important to social life than is generally understood. One is the defusing of potential conflicts and keeping updated on events. Equally important would be the dissemination of information and agreements that could impact local relations, up to the level of leadership and inclusion. People's talk would be the equivalent to news channels in modern society, or postings on social media. No doubt totemic talk would form a large part of the communication, ranging from totem jokes to the claim to leadership by chiefs with various totems, cranes, bears and eagles. This would relate to the political history of the Chippewa, an unwritten chapter.

Ostracism and exclusion

Ostracism has been mentioned. It would relate to an important aspect of totemic organizations, the inclusion and exclusion of members. This can be seen as one of the critical aspects of such an ideology, where people might be excluded because they did not fit into the local totem clans or there was no room for them. Other causes of ostracism would be dissension, fights and internal violence. A 'dissenter' to the council and the village was subject to 'ostracism' (Landes 1937: 2). A 'persistent dissenter' could 'break away' and live 'isolated', a harsh punishment (ibid.). Excluding people from the local organization was a life and death issue, since people relied on the community for support and security. In a sense this was the reverse side of totemic sustainability, since a local community could not exceed its resources and had to limit the number of people involved in hunting and gathering (Powell 1881: 65). In modern times, as dissenters could not be expelled, ostracism would lead to factionalism and bad blood, as in white communities.

The wider social settings in Chippewa society

People were mobile to a surprising degree. This included transportation and travel by canoes in summer and dog sleds in winter. As noted, people might travel up to 50 miles per day. This would provide Chippewa people with an intertribal or international aspect to their lives. The large confederative council meetings at the Sault, Pawitakonk, can only be imagined. The same goes for trade and alliance visits to tribal centers throughout eastern North America. Imagining the chiefs and story tellers involved in transmitting tribal histories commemorated in records such as the birch bark scrolls and the Walam Olum of the Lenape is awe-inspiring. A discursive intake would be to look at the stories about tribal history and tribal leaders (Foucault 1972). An approach based on social fields would look at the routes and connections people participated in across America (Grønhaug 1974). Needless to say there is much to find out about the wider aspects of Chippewa existence, that will have to be left for now. Only to be mentioned is the pervasive philosophy of totemism that would inform almost every encounter, up to the leaders of tribal unions, such as a Chippewa bear, an Illinois 'hind' or a Miami crane. This is yet another realm of totemism that awaits exploration.

Shortcomings of research

Scholars should have enlightened all of these aspects of Chippewa society years ago. There were several reasons why this did not occur. One is the accessibility of sources. Researchers did not speak Chippewa, and informants were reluctant. Scholars were biased about Chippewa society. They were baffled and confused about native life. People lived in communities pointing back over thousands of years. Yet scholars saw only what they wanted to see, disruption and 'atomization' (Lovisek et al. 1997). They had no inkling what held the society together, in spite of spending years or decades in the field. They would note problems, alcoholism, poverty. 'A couple of the houses support aereals for battery operated radios' (Kinietz 1947: 26). Such items of wealth became a scholar's bias of deprivation. Ongoing social life became a prejudiced and ethnocentric view of insufficiency. Back in the 1940s people did not have electricity, it was a newfangled thing, yet to an ethnocentric scholar with a skewed look at a minority this appeared to be a problem.

Scholars writing about Chippewa society typically would end up describing material culture, canoes, snowshoes, baskets and so on (Densmore 1929; Kinietz 1947). It was as if their blindness to social life led them to only see physical objects on the ground, not people. Monolingualism, ethnocentrism and bigot missionaries breathing down their backs did not help. It was rather remarkable that white scholars could find out as much as they did.

Then there was the opposite approach, the ‘social science’ approach, that focused on social life but was equally prejudiced. A Swedish sociologist-anthropologist wrote about the proud Saulteaux band of Fort Alexander, Canada, but consciously chose to ignore all references to culture and language (Lithman 1978). He wrote about favored topics such as ethnic relations, income and white dominance. For sure these are contemporary issues, but a study ignoring native culture is basically useless. The natives are reduced to an impoverished and powerless minority, as in a white city or district (cf. Spindler & Spindler 1971).

Prejudice takes many forms. There is the outright racist and bigot. But there also are ‘benevolent oppressors’ who shout about the problems of ‘others’ without representing them in any other way than through self-propagation (Grønhaug 1975). This may sound harsh, but the idea is that personal views cannot replace a long-term, concerted effort to try to gain some insight into a society and what goes on in the social world as it appears. Instead of surfing the internet, there is a need to peruse as much documentation as possible about the topic at hand. Learning is a never-ending and cumulative process.

The inner and outer social fields in Chippewa society

In this final paragraph an attempt is made to show how Chippewa society was constituted. There was an inner domain or social field in native life. This focused on local life, the village, hunting and gathering, leadership and dances. One scholar noted that, for ‘indigenous peoples’ the ‘environment’ is about survival; or rather, living the good life (Crystal 2000: 61). ‘Their holistic thinking integrates concepts of environmental sustainability with concepts of community wellbeing and individual health’ (op. cit.: 62). Among the Chippewa this ‘sustainability’ is based on totemism. Concurrently ‘wellbeing’ and ‘health’ has been a persistent topic in Chippewa survival, particularly through the Midewiwin revival. People have tried to reconstitute their lives based on enduring images of local communities. Totemism somehow has survived amid this restructuring.

Next there was an outer domain or social field in Chippewa society that is poorly known. This is because it has been partly obscured by scholars’ focus on individualism or ‘atomism’, and partly from the historical turmoil that American Indians went through at the hands of European colonizers. This other field was oriented outward, and concerned external relations, trade, alliances and cultural and social impulses. It was dramatically impacted in historic times with the advent of white colonialism and domination. In a way the Midewiwin revival was an ‘internal’ outer domain, as it allowed people to respond to missionaries and other white abusers, but without challenging their gross domination. Perhaps this is changing today, as people become aware of what they have lost and gain some voice in reclaiming their past.

Conclusion

Totem is a Chippewa word, referring to a 'relation' between a human and an animal or a natural being, e.g., 'I am a bear'. Studies of Chippewa totemism and society in general are lacking. This book is an attempt to adjust that situation. While there are studies of some localities, like Berens River, Rainy River, Lac Vieux Desert and elsewhere, these contributions are marked by scholarly hangups and can be described as idiosyncratic. There is a need for a holistic approach that considers every aspect of native society past and present.

Most scholars' approaches have been biased, based on their own background. 'Ojibwa culture' is 'individualistic, 'atomistic' and 'conflict-ridden'; yet in spite of this it is based on 'co-operative and egalitarian social relations' (Cole 1995: 3). These relations spanned from village ownership of a local territory to alliances reaching from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. Not so 'atomistic'.

One scholar was rightfully though posthumously upbraided for inventing 'atomistic' Ojibwa, much to their detriment in terms of rights and recognition (Lovisek et al. 1997). She also fabricated data to fit her biased model (op. cit.: 133). She used the Franz Boas method of having assistants send her accounts that she published without checking or crediting them. At the same time it is frustrating that postmodern scholars only criticize the sources, without contributing anything new to help build theory. Explorations should be systematic.

The Chippewa occupied a grand homeland, Ojibwaia, with hundreds of villages. Their adaptation was one of hunting, fishing, gathering and incipient agriculture or nurturing of plants. At the same time they conducted trade that easily brought them in contact with distant tribes. Scholars were perplexed by their kinship system, as on the one hand they had a recognizable focus on close family, but on the other hand kinship was extended to all known people, even in unrelated tribes. There was exogamy, a crux, as scholars were used to endogamy, marrying close kin. Exogamy extended to all known relatives, basically everybody, who were off-limits to marry. This did not make sense, so scholars desperately tried to impose endogamy on the Chippewa, as did other whites, that they should marry their cousins. When informants denied this they were berated. The basic rule was to marry someone from another village and keep quiet about the issue of relatedness.

The underpinning philosophy or ideology was that of totemism. Every local community or village was constituted of a fairly set series of totem clans, organized in groups of similar totems or phratries, e.g., bird, fish or animal, and placing pairs of complementary clans in opposite moieties, e.g., bear or marten, wolf or lynx, deer or elk. This was the totemic organization. It would vary slightly between villages, and the total number of totems in the tribe would exceed 100, as each individual was expected to have his or her own totem, not always coinciding with that of the clan. A person was not allowed to marry someone with the same totem, seen as a close relative, contributing to restrictions in finding a spouse and tending towards local exogamy.

Yet totemism had a strength unlike any other known human ideology. It tied together people across enormous distances, as everybody in most of eastern North America, and basically covering all of the Americas, had totemic clans (Selstad 2024a). The Cree are a curious exception, but probably that nation, reduced by 90+% in historic times, used to have a totem

organization, that was broken up as bands became decimated and scattered. The same could have happened to the Chippewa, but they managed to hold on to their organization and even started reconstituting it in historic times, with exogamy and totemic solidarity. The ideological strength was that people could find relatives everywhere. As Chippewa informants pointed out, all bears were siblings, even if Menomini or Dakota.

This allowed for enduring political leadership. Chiefs were hereditary, and based on their totem they could rise to leadership even in intertribal organizations. No other known ideology could accomplish this. A modern might protest that a political affiliation, liberal, socialist or conservative, is international. But it is not universal. Trump is not high on liberals. In a totemic universe such differences would be overridden, as the totems appear everywhere, and they are all related.

Needless to say this is an overstatement. We know far too little about prehistoric totemism, or totemism overall, to say how it would stabilize a political system. What we can say is that the issue of totemism and local social organizations has been overlooked, leading to detrimental views of 'atomism' and an assumed lack of integration in native societies (Cole 1995; Lovisek et al. 1997). The strength of native society based on a totemic organization is downplayed.

The same applies to religion. There are universal aspects of native beliefs, such as a veneration of nature and a concern for the environment. The range of deities appear in sharp relief, headed by the Great Spirit, and with Manabosho closest to humans, a Chippewa messiah. And all around are the animal spirits that ensure a living environment, like the bear spirit. Such beliefs have been harshly shot down by missionaries and other meddlers. Yet a care for nature has become an issue in late modernity, when the environment is tottering on the brink of collapse. Perhaps the sacredness of nature is not a bad idea.

In the totemic universe of the Chippewa everything comes together. The basic unit is the local community or village. Here a distinct number of totem clans, stipulated as 12-14, though open to variation, would share a local territory that remained sustainable through a carefully orchestrated use by local clans, phratries and moieties. If bear cubs were scarce, then bears were not killed. Children received beautiful names with dream stories, totemic names that no other person could share, although names might sound identical. They went on vision quests that helped them find guardian spirits and a protective relation to their environment. As one person said, he would not get lost in the woods as he had a deer totem.

From here there were no limits to the totemic system. Villages had chiefs that were seals or mermen, crows, bears and muskrats. A bear woman could travel around the Great Lakes and find totem sisters everywhere. But there also were restrictions. In the worst case resources might fail, and villages would have no means of absorbing displaced members. Ostracism, expulsion, and in the last instance violence might be the result. Yet this could happen in any community faced with hardship. The general appearance was one of hospitality and sustainability.

This would run against the claims of scholars that there were no native conservationists (Martin 1978). On the contrary, Chippewa communities maintained themselves and their environment for millennia. A totemic organization was nature sensitive. Unfortunately this cannot be fully clarified, as a cataclysm of Old World colonialism, epidemics and violence wiped out 90% of the Native Americans before their social life could be documented. Their

way of life was overrun, leaving few answers and many questions about the nature of totemism.

The main issue is that Chippewa society has remained hidden and suppressed. Most modern residents around the Great Lakes have come into contact with the native communities directly or indirectly. Yet the native land remains unknown. Native history remains unwritten, at least to any full extent. And native lives become contingent on the dominant majority.

This leads to a sort of anti-conclusion in this book. We know far too little about the past and the variety of cultures that once existed. On the one hand it can be said that knowing the past is impossible, since we have no way of knowing how people felt and thought long ago – though some scholars claim to do so, and this book comes close to making the same pretension. On the other hand, the past remains unexplored to a much higher degree than we might think. If everything has been said, this certainly does not refer to Chippewa society.

Consider the Chippewa communities, from Georgian Bay to Lake Winnipeg. The sources and voices are all but unexplored. Even the one topic of totemism, based on a native word, remains largely unknown. Perhaps this is how it should be – people try to keep their totems hidden. But the records are so diverse and so fabulous, ranging from a moose and a catfish in a canoe to a loon called Buffalo, that there is a limitless possibility for exploration. And exploration is never pointless. The hope is that this book provides some food for thought on a topic in need of inquiry and reflection. The totemic landscape awaits exploration!

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A brief essay on Cree totemism



Leif Selstad

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front:
moose (aggieswire.usatoday.com)
a portion of Moose Factory (Bing Maps)

While exploring Chippewa totemism, a topic that is left generally unexplored by scholars, I came in touch with an equally uninvestigated subject, the question of Cree totemism. Since Cree and Chippewa are closely related nations, a closer look at totemic practices among the Cree seemed relevant. The following short essay is the outcome of this study. As usual I thank my colleagues and boss at the University of Stavanger for supporting my work in theory and practice after I retired. All statements made in this essay are my own opinions. It must be added that this work is tentative and hypothetical, since totemism in general and among the Cree in particular remains largely unexplored.

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Introductory

The Cree nation is one of the largest tribal groups in Canada. They cover an area from the Atlantic to the west of Hudson Bay. Their native language is classified as ‘Subarctic’ Central Algonquian (Rhodes & Todd 1978). Close linguistic neighbors include Algonkin and Ojibwa-Chippewa. One great mystery concerns the appearance of Cree totems and totemism.

It has to be stated from the outset that this little essay is tentative and exploratory, so the reader should reflect critically on the claims and polemics that are presented. One curious observation is that there are few studies of Cree society and culture. What exists is usually from a white perspective, such as the fur trade and trapping (Leacock 1954; Martin 1978). Studies covering the native view of life are lacking. An exception would be the closely related Naskapi (Henriksen 1973 & 2009).

For some reason scholars have decided that the Cree had no totems. ‘The gentile form of social organization appears to be wanting’ (Hodge 1: 361). Yet all indications are that they had a classical totemic organization in prehistoric times, i.e., before 1600. There is no other way to account for the size and integration of the Cree nation across their vast territory.

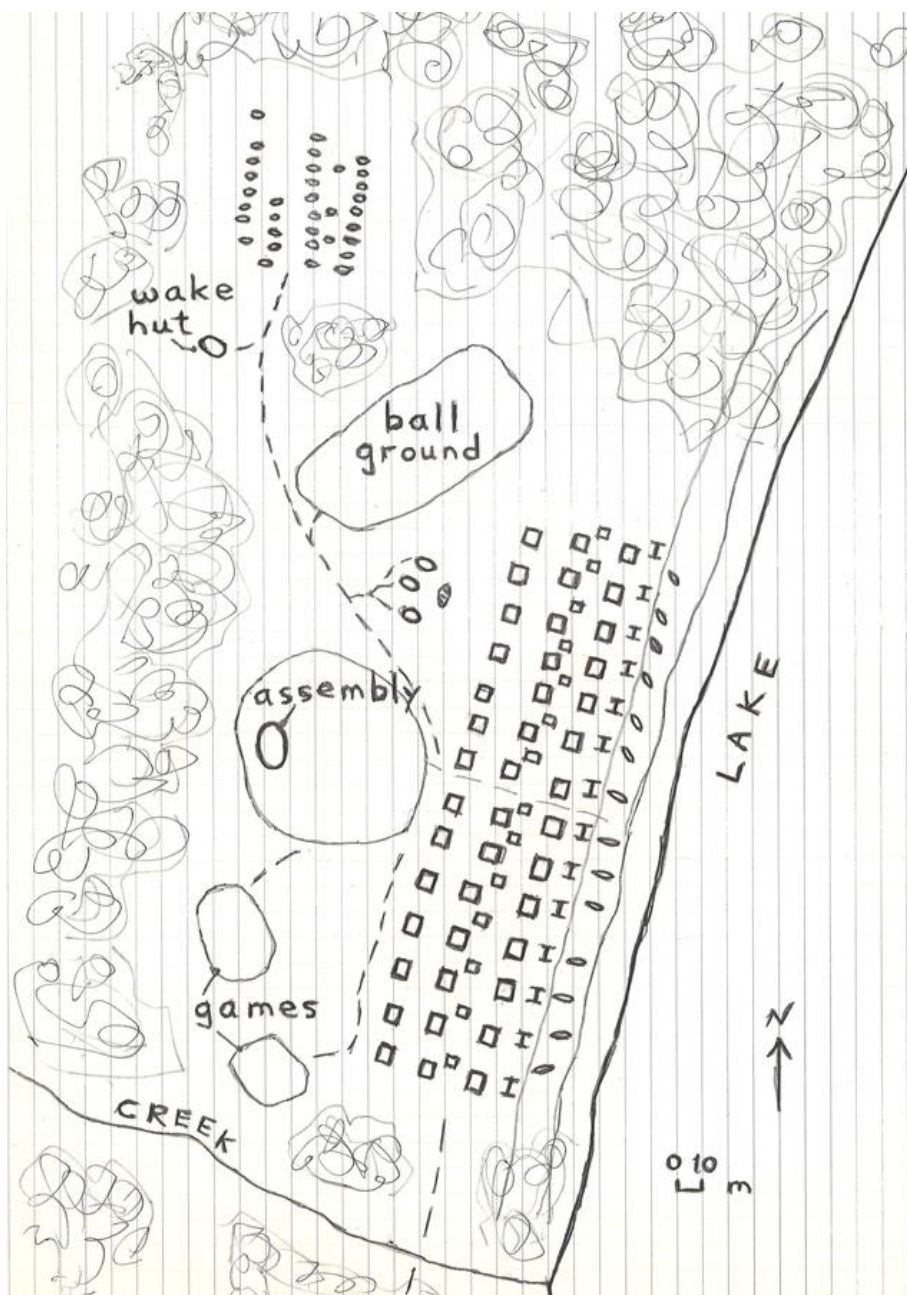
Hence this little essay. The starting premise is that the Cree had totems. That scholars said they did not is a ‘backward’ confirmation that they did. Totemism has been reported all over the world, and everywhere scholars have claimed it does not exist. Their view is based on an ethnocentric bias and prejudice, such as missionaries’ aversion to animism (Martin 1978: 57; Selstad 2024: 13). Ethnocentrism was rooted in unfamiliarity with totemic thought. ‘I am a bear’ somehow was not acceptable to scholars, so it was ignored as a topic.

The problem is obvious. Totemism permeated life in almost every native tribe and nation in North America. Yet it is ignored by scholars writing about native life, somehow claiming that their approach is exhaustive. It would be like writing a definitive study of USA or Canada without noting that there are governments in place – which hopefully there are. Totemism becomes a blind spot in native studies.

An approach to totemism would then be opposite to that of the scholars. People were eagles, bears and wolves, and proud to be so. Research into this topic among the Cree will have to start from scratch. The place to begin investigating this conundrum is to consider the local organization of the tribe’s members.

The local community

A prehistoric community or village among the Cree people can be envisioned to have had c. 12-14 totem clans or family groups with a central location near a river or lake and 3-4 subsidiary hunting camps in the woods. The community would encompass roughly 200 people. In the summer people would maintain the central location or village as their base while fishing and hunting in the local area, and visiting other communities for trading and celebrations. In winter people moved to the local hunting camps to obtain meat and skins for the rest of the year. Then in spring they would return to the central location to repeat the annual cycle. It was a beautiful life.



Tentative Cree village layout (based on Webequie or Wipekwi, Winisk Lake)

Some notes on the social organization and societal forms of the Cree must be added. People lived from hunting, trapping, fishing, fowling, gathering and some trade activities (Preston 1978: 201). The economy was based on sharing or 'generalized reciprocity' as well as redistribution and some trade (Henriksen 1973: 42). The kinship system was 'bilateral', that is, kinship was reckoned equally through mother and father (Martin 1978: 5). Political leadership was in the form of chiefs (Henriksen 1973: 44). Religious beliefs were 'animistic', meaning that deities included the sun, moon, mother earth and spirits in nature. Worship often took the form of 'feasting' or ritual meals, such as 'mokoshan' and 'eat-all' feasts (Henriksen 1973: 35-39; Martin 1978: 81). The culture and ethos was based on a rich oral tradition, including animal tales, and a reliance on personal knowledge and dreams (Henriksen 2009; Martin 1978: 70). Throughout life a close relation to other people and the natural environment was basic. Needless to say this sketch barely scratches at the surface of the intricate social system.

Describing local social life must be one of the most worthwhile tasks a social scientist can engage in, in particular a social anthropologist. Yet our knowledge of local institutions, such as among the Cree, is spotty.

What must be added is that there would be considerable variation in the size and makeup of communities, which shall not be entered into here. Suffice it to say that some villages were smaller, with 3-7 totem clans or 30-90 people, while other could be larger, reaching 400 or more inhabitants. Some communities also might have a more scattered distribution than in the (tentative) model above. There is still much to be learned about Cree local groups and history. Some aspects of the local organization are largely unknown and have been ignored by scholars and modern observers. In particular this concerns the local organization based on totemism. As noted, such an organization is usually denied.

The Euro-American impact

What happened seems clear. Before 1600 the Cree occupied a territory of 1,000,000 km², or 1,200,000 km² if the Naskapi are included. Their land was in present Quebec and Ontario, with the Naskapi in Labrador. A minimum population for such a territory would be 80,000 people. The population density would range between 0.04 and 0.2 people per km². A local community or village of 200 people would then occupy a territory of 1,000-1,800 km², or 20-30 x 40-60 km, to be traversed in 1-2 days from a central location. Summer villages were said to hold 150-400+ people (Morrison & Wilson 1986: 151).

Roughly 500 local communities would dot the landscape, further organized into bands, sub-tribes and tribes.

There were a number of such tribes, subtribes and bands. From east to west were the Montagnais, Naskapi and Cree. The Montagnais are left out at this point, while the Naskapi will be briefly referred to (Henriksen 1973, 2009). Tribal designations for the Cree included East Cree, Moosonee or Moose Cree, West Main Cree, Swampy or Muskegon Cree, East Swampy Cree, West Swampy Cree, Woods Cree and Plains Cree (Honigmann 1978: 218; Rhodes & Todd 1978: 53; Smith 1978: 257). Some major settlements included: Eastmain, Moose Factory, Attawapiskat, Weenusk, and Shamattawa.

After 1600 European colonists brought epidemics and maladies which took a terrible toll on the native population. In addition the whites, mostly fur traders, were exploitative. By 1776 the Cree were counted as 15,000 people, and much of the population had moved westward towards Manitoba, Saskatchewan and the Northwest Territories. Even if this estimate was low, and the population was at least 20,000, this would entail a loss of at least 75% of the populace in 170 years. Supposedly the population was further cut in half by epidemics in 1786, no doubt introduced by traders and missionaries, perhaps falling below 10,000 people, e.g., 12% of the original.

These people would be scattered across an enormous territory reaching 1.5 million km², amounting to a population density of less than 0.006 per km². A local community, reduced to c. 25 people, would have to cover an area of 1500 km², coverable but distended. One response apparently was to flee, to seek a more controllable area further west. Another response was to consolidate, to assemble in a few, larger communities made up of the remnants of 8-12 former communities. Such centers could be at Eastmain, Moosonee, Fort Albany, and more recently Great Whale River (Barger 1978).

This effectively meant that the stable old social organization based on totemism was broken up, as former communities based on 12-14 totem clans were reduced to a few families, and these families would have to intermarry with others in a consolidated village, making clan exogamy – a prohibition against marrying kin – virtually impossible. Without exogamy a system based on totemism was no longer feasible, since totemic distinctions were based on a lack of intermarriage in order to avoid population growth, increasing pressure on local resources and a loss of sustainability.

The survival of totemism

Still totemism would survive in reduced or residual forms. One form would be personal names. Even without a complete totemic organization, people would continue using old names with totemic implications. Chiefs would still be called Hawk, Bear, Lynx, etc. Suggested personal names include Petepanoweskame, Petekwake, Kapiyesiwat, Kakishiwe, Kakiwisteha, Kasseukanitshishish, Kaniuekutat, Kawaketos, Shinapiu, Meshkana, Minuskipiuhat ♀, Nachikapaw, Nawapukayus ♀, Yaskuttsus ♀, etc. (e.g., Henriksen 2009; Leacock 1954: 37; Internet). The names indicate a totemic affiliation such as duck, eagle, bear, wolf, lynx, caribou, wolf and hare. These are but a tiny sample of the thousands of names that existed. Children probably received totemic names at birth, though naming practices are not known, and would be overridden by meaningless Christian names in modern times. One other area of investigation – yet to be conducted – would be vision quests and dreams, that also might contain totemic elements.

A historic community might even maintain a basic totemic makeup, though local families were reduced. If 3-4 communities that had been reduced by Old World epidemics united into one community, and each had families with totemic traditions, people could try to reconstruct or reconstitute their old life. There would be totems such as fish, hawk, bear, caribou, moose and hare. Some totems might be missing, like lynx or beaver. But they could be reconstituted by adopting outsiders with such totems, or by turning a bear into a lynx through renaming. A person might well have two totems, as in the Norwegian name Ørnulf, Eagle-Wolf. Over time a village might be reconstructed with 12-14 totem clans, including a first and second chief.

Then outsiders would arrive. White people such as traders and in particular missionaries would be hostile to totemism. Also people from other bands might visit who had surrendered their totemic buildup. What this entails is that around 1800-1860 the totemic organization of the Cree Indians might be reconstituted, at least locally or on a band level – but at the same time it was threatened by external forces, particularly from whites.

The totemic system

Totemism tends to permeate a society and its communities, ranging from individuals' names to an overarching tribal organization. Some chiefs' names among the Cree include: Frog, Red Pheasant (grouse), Hawk, Big Bear, Skunk

(marten), Mountain Lion (lynx), Bobtail (lynx), Rabbit (hare), Little Pine, Arrow, Starblanket, etc. (Internet). It is possible to conceive how a local totemic organization might play out on the ground. Among the Naskapi, based on oral traditions, some totems could be: (sun or summer), fish, partridge, bear, wolf, caribou, squirrel, trout, hawk, wolverine, lynx, moose, hare, (moon or rock) (Henriksen 2009). A local totem organization among the Cree might be: (star), whitefish, grouse, bear, wolf, caribou, squirrel-beaver, trout, hawk, marten-wolverine, lynx-fox, moose, hare, (pine). Needless to say this is a tentative reconstruction, since analyses of names and local groups are lacking. Each local community or village would have its own totemic organization, that to a large extent was similar to its neighbors, but with a few variations. For instance, the lynx totem might in some cases be substituted with fox, another carnivore. Or hawk could be replaced with eagle. It would take detailed local research to determine what totems could be found in each community. Countless other totems would be found in the Cree nation, as each community would have a slightly different makeup in its totemic organization. Some such totems include swallow, loon, muskrat, mouse, porcupine and groundhog (e.g., Honigsmann 1978: 229; Kepin 2021; Smith 1978: 257).

The northern landscape would yield an array of potential totems: fish, pike, trout, perch, frog, toad (S), snake, lizard-salamander (S), bird, small-bird, sparrow-warbler, snowbird, chickadee-titmouse, swallow (S), blackbird-thrush, robin, killdeer (S), kingfisher (S), kingbird (S), flycatcher (S), grosbeak, woodpecker-flicker, nighthawk (S), jay, ptarmigan (N), grouse, crow (S), raven, gull-tern, rail (S), grebe (S), loon, snipe-plover, sandpiper, duck-teal, goose, heron-bittern (S), crane-swan, owl, snowy-owl, horned-owl, kite, falcon, hawk, eagle, animal, bear, black-bear, polar-bear (N), wolverine (N), marten, fisher (S), otter, mink, weasel, ermine, skunk (S), seal (N), wolf, dog, fox, arctic-fox (N), red-fox, lynx, caribou, deer (S), moose, squirrel, flying-squirrel (S), chipmunk (S), muskrat, beaver, porcupine, woodchuck (S), mouse, lemming (N), vole, mole (S), bat (S), hare, pine-tree, sun, moon, etc. (N = found mostly in the north; S = found mostly in the south). How many of these can be retrieved in the names of individuals and groups among the Cree remains to be discovered.

Totemism usually entails three kinds of social unit. One is the totem clan, basically a family who identify themselves with a certain natural being, such as a wolf. As noted, a village would be made up of a certain number of totem clans, such as 12-14. Second is a unit called a phratry, consisting of totem clans with closely related totems, such as carnivores, bear, marten, wolf and lynx, considered to be related through their behavior, and hence the clans are related. Often there are 3 phratries, following a pattern such as fish-bird-animal, or in the Cree case perhaps egg-layers (fish and birds), meat-eaters (bear, badger, wolf, lynx), and plant-eaters (caribou-deer, moose, beaver, hare). Third is the unit

called a moiety or local half, of which there are two, conventionally identified as north-south or upper-lower. Typical about moieties is that they cut across phratry lines, so that closely related animals, like bear and badger, will be found in opposite moieties. This creates a crisscrossing network of relations between totem clans, phratries and moieties in each local community. How this worked out among the Cree is generally unknown, since native totemism has not been studied. Yet what little is known hints at a classic organization of Cree communities into totem clans, phratries and moieties.

One modern Cree noted that: 'My parents did name me but I cannot reveal that name because names are sacred.' (Ogg 2016). This is a common totemic practice, since revealing one's name reveals the totem and hence one's kin. Of course this practice leaves the reader little wiser about names. One implication is that scholars easily give up: no name, no totem. A further implication is that knowledge about totemism implies work. One does not simply walk up to people and ask them about their totem (a faux pas the author unfortunately has done and learned from). It takes time to become acquainted with a culture and with the people who carry it along. Documenting totemic names and usages then becomes a long-term endeavor that must be carried out with circumspection. One place to start would be with tribal records and historical sources that one way or other tie people to their environment; what might be called 'local knowledge' (Geertz 1983). Every scrap of information has to be examined and carefully stored. This is the only way to make sure that the significance of totemism is not forgotten or overlooked.

Implications for human knowledge

What does it matter if Cree people were totemic or if 'gentes' were 'wanting'? It matters, first of all, because totemism is a largely unknown and uninvestigated form of human thought and organization. The few scholars who tried to investigate it wrote it off as either superstition or simply unintelligible (Frazer 1910; Lévi-Strauss 1963). And they never met a single totemist. Secondly, totemism was a global and virtually universal phenomenon in premodern times. It was found in every part of the globe, from Europe to Australia and from Africa to the Americas. Everywhere it was written off or ignored by the colonizers, either because they did not want to know about the natives, as in Canada, or because of prejudice, as among the Catholics in South America.

A global philosophy or ideology that had existed for 40,000 years and spanned the globe, was ignored because it did not fit into a Western frame of thought. For totemists this was just fine, since totems are generally kept secret. But for

human science it was a disaster. Ignoring totemism, or premodern ways of thought and social life, means that we have no way of understanding what it meant to live in a premodern or precolonial world. Some, like Trump, are happy with this ignorance. But every statement about other people will then be invalid, since we do not know about or understand their lives. And if we do not understand others we cannot understand ourselves. Our ignorance becomes us.

Thirdly, totemism as a philosophy or ideology speaks directly to us. A community with a totemic organization was composed of families or totem clans forming a series that was finite and complementary. There was a certain number of totem clans in each community, and they were organized in such a way that each clan had a partner or complementary clan, placed in an opposite moiety or local half, so that no clan could grow at the expense of other families. This allowed for a strangely sustainable form of social organization that resonates with today's desperate search for environmental sustainability.

This sustainability came at a cost. Outsiders could not enter a totemic village without being a part of the local clans. It was not enough to be a wolf to enter the local wolf clan. This was because each clan was a uniform and complementary unit that could not grow at the expense of other units. Superfluous members were expelled or ostracized (Powell 1881: 65). This may sound harsh, but ostracism is common in many communities that try to preserve resources and unity.

And the harshness was mainly imaginary, since a wolf would be received with open arms by the wolf clan and offered classic hospitality for some time – until the question of resources arose. If the local wolf clan did not have a son or daughter, as the case might be, the guest might well be adopted. The human aspect was never absent in a totemic community.

We simply do not know how totemism worked, or our knowledge is too fragmentary. Every new angle on investigating totemism will bring us closer to our past, and closer to our present, in terms of sustainability, chauvinism and other issues. At least, grasping the idea of totemism will help us reflect about the world.

Learning about local and global totemism

This was a lengthy digression. What has been implied is that Cree totemism fills one piece of the puzzle, a missing piece, in the work to come closer to an understanding of the human past and present. From here on the work should be

simple, but also complicated. It is to find out everything we can about the prevalence of totems and natural imagery in Cree society. Native names, chief's titles, animal stories, local groups, marriage, exogamy, the historical distribution and movement of local communities, the existence and breakdown of native institutions, everything becomes a part of learning about Cree society past and present. Nothing should be placed off limits, while care should be taken to make sure that ethical rules and considerations are engaged when exploring native life.

Consider the one element that totemic names were secret. People were not supposed to tell their names, at least not to strangers. Yet this is information we need to retrieve if knowledge about the past society is to be gained. Censuses, fieldnotes, mission records and ethnographic stories all have to be perused to gain knowledge. At the same time it has to be stressed that this is not meant to demean or disrespect native culture in any way. On the contrary such information is invaluable in trying to uncover the richness of indigenous life. Without knowing about the past we grow poor and ignorant, like a certain President.

How such a study should be conducted among the Cree is open to debate. There is the lingering question if totems were present or 'wanting'. Next it is necessary to have an archive where the tribal history can be collected, disseminated and preserved. Finally someone would have to pick up the courage to span the dramatic history from the present back to prehistoric times, and foreseeing the future as well, in a representation that would have to include all these difficult issues.

Maybe the claim presented here is wrong. Maybe the Cree got along fine without a totemic organization for thousands of years. Or perhaps the reconstruction is sound. That the Cree homeland was dotted with local communities comprising thousands of families, each with its totem, filling a beautiful universe of human-nature interrelations. This lasting relationship still remains to be explored.

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Appendix II

A list of Chippewa totems

animal (‘awe’si) <passim>
badger (misakakwichish) 19-20, 84, 94, 199
bald-eagle (mîke’si) 16-18, 84, 89, 94, 102, 136, 163, 208
bear (ma’kwa) <passim>
beaver (amikw) 2, 4, 18-20, 25, 29, 33, 37, 42, 44, 47-48, 53, 75, 78, 84-87, 89, 95, 99-100, 103-7, 110, 116-7, 136, 140, 142, 146, 148, 150, 153, 157, 160, 168, 201-2, 206
bird (pineshi) <passim>
bittern (moshkawashi) 16-17, 84
buffalo (pishiki) 19, 21, 59, 61, 86, 89, 104-6, 115-6, 136, 140, 147, 153, 185, 201, 208, 219, 229-231, 239
bullhead, burbot or monkfish (‘awâsisi) 61, 79, 84, 88-89, 94, 100-102, 104, 109, 115, 196-7, 203, 233
buzzard (wînânke) 17, 84
caribou or reindeer (‘a’tikw) 19-21, 31, 47-48, 50, 61, 66, 78, 84-85, 87-90, 93-95, 100-102, 109, 112-3, 116, 136, 200-1, 212, 219, 222-3, 225, 233
carp or sucker (namepin) 26, 39, 46, 84-87, 89, 93, 112-3, 116, 119, 196
catfish (mânamekw) 61, 84-87, 89, 93-94, 96-101, 103, 105, 109, 113, 119, 150, 164, 196-7, 222-3, 239
chicken (see: fowl)
chipmunk or ground-squirrel (cf. ‘akwinkos) 19-20, 84, 185, 202
cloud (‘anakwat) 85-86, 88, 90, 136, 185, 195
cormorant or raven-duck (kâkâkiship) 16, 84-87, 89, 93-94, 114-116
cow or ox (pishiki) (cf. moose) 28, 84, 149
crane (‘achichât, posinasi) 2, 4-5, 17, 26, 61, 79, 84-89, 93-94, 98-103, 107, 109, 112-117, 153, 198, 203, 216, 222-3, 229, 232, 234-5
crow (‘antekw) 18, 35, 61, 84, 114, 116, 136, 229, 238
curlew or water-fowl (patashkanshe) 18, 35, 51, 84
day (see: sky)
deer (wâwashkeshi) 2, 4-5, 20-21, 24, 37, 47, 49-50, 53, 58, 61, 79, 83-85, 88-90, 92, 94-95, 99, 100-101, 103, 105-7, 109-110, 116-7, 120, 129, 136-7, 140, 143, 150, 152-3, 156, 186, 196, 200, 203, 210-211, 223, 232, 237-8
dog (‘animosh) 20, 28, 30, 48, 52, 84, 86, 89, 94, 106, 115, 141-2, 153-4, 160, 163, 183, 204, 235
duck (shi’shîp) (cf. teal) 5, 15-18, 35, 48, 50, 61, 74, 84-87, 89, 93-95, 100-103, 109, 113, 115-7, 120, 136, 155, 197-8, 223, 233
eagle (kinew, mîke’si, pinesi) <passim>
earth (akki, a’ki) 49, 80, 85-87, 90, 134-8, 161-3, 171, 173, 182-3, 185-6, 194, 197, 202, 206, 221, 223
elk (monsw) (cf. moose) 20-21, 42, 47, 50, 61, 84, 86, 89, 95, 103, 105-6, 115-6, 150, 168, 199-201, 204, 237
falcon (châ’ins) 15, 84-85, 89
finch or sparrow (pashkantamo) 15, 84, 198, 223
fish (kiko, name-) <passim>
flying-squirrel (shakashkantawe) 19

forked-tree (nasawa-mitikw) 85, 89
 fowl and chicken (pakâkwens, pine-) 11, 48, 51, 81, 84, 86, 89-90, 95, 103, 106, 113, 115, 146, 149-150, 198, 212, 233
 fox or red fox (wâkosh) 18, 20, 33, 47-48, 61, 84, 86, 89, 94, 98-101, 104, 106, 110, 139, 143-4, 200, 202, 221
 grey fox (nekikwetakawâkosh) ---
 goose (neka, nika) 5, 17, 30, 84-87, 89, 93-94, 103, 114, 116, 136, 158, 198, 206
 goshawk or kite (kipwânesi) 16, 84, 185
 grasshopper (papakine) 84, 201, 203, 205
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