

Chippewa Customs (Excerpt)

by Frances Densmore (1867-1957)

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CHIPPEWA CUSTOMS

BY
FRANCES DENSMORE



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FISH NETS

| | |
|--|--|
| asûb'----- | net, commonly understood to mean the net used for catching fish. |
| asûb'ikeyab'----- | twine for making fish nets. |
| name'asûb (<i>name</i> , sturgeon)----- | large-meshed net. |
| sûgwa'sûb----- | small-meshed net. |

MATS AND WEAVING

| | |
|---|--|
| ana'kûn----- | rush mats for floor. |
| apûk'we (<i>apûkwa</i> , "to lap on to")----- | bulrush mats for sides of dwelling. |
| namûng'----- | weaving needle. |
| aso'gabam----- | weaving cord. |
| mû'ekimûd----- | woven bag (container). |
| gijîki'mûckimûd (<i>gijîk</i> , cedar)----- | bag woven of bark. |
| okade'nigûn (<i>okad</i> , leg)----- | woven braid. |
| bi'nudabi'gûna'tig (<i>binudabi</i> , thread woven in and out; <i>gûn</i> , article or thing; <i>atig</i> , wood). | wooden frame on which braid was woven. |
| gi'jipizun' (<i>gijîp</i> implies "circling the belt (general term). waist"). | |

BASKETRY

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| wa'dabi'makûk'----- | basket. |
| ozî'sîgo'bimîc----- | willow used in basket making. |
| wîcko'bimûcko'si----- | sweet grass used in basket making. |

DYES

| | |
|--|---|
| adîs'igûn (<i>adîsige</i> , he or she dyes; <i>gûn</i> , dyestuff. article or thing). | |
| mîskwa'----- | red. |
| miskwa'dûsigûn'----- | red dye. |
| oza'wa----- | yellow. |
| ozawa'dûsigûn'----- | yellow dye. |
| mûkûde'----- | black (also used to designate gunpowder). |
| mûkûde'wasigûn'----- | black dye. |
| oza'wûn----- | blue or green. |
| ozawûc'kûcigûn----- | blue or green dye. |

TANNING

| | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| ase'kewîn (<i>aseke</i> , he or she tans; <i>wîn</i> , process of tanning. denoting action). | |
| ase'kwan, also bûckwe'igûn----- | tanned hide. |
| gica'kweigûn----- | scraper used in tanning. |
| apûkwa'igûn----- | log on which hide is scraped. |

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

| | |
|---|------------|
| dewe'igûn (<i>dewe</i> , throb; <i>gûn</i> , article)--- | drum. |
| mîtig'wakîk----- | Mide drum. |
| cicig'wan (<i>cicig</i> , rattlesnake)----- | rattle. |
| bîbîg'wûn (<i>bîbîge</i> , he plays)----- | flute. |

BEADWORK

- manido'mîñēs (*manido*, spirit; *mîñ*, seed bead.
or berry; *ēs*, diminutive).
manido'mîñēsikan'----- beadwork.
mûzina'bido'igûn (from *mûzinûbe*, he or woven beadwork.
she pictures).
kwackwac'kûndjimîñēs'ikan (*kwac*- "jumping pattern."
kwackûn, jumping).
wawa'ckigwa'sûwîn (*wag* is part of stem "zigzag pattern."
of word applied to things bent,
curved, or crooked).
ni'gigwa'sowûgwa'sûn (*nigig*, otter; *sûn* otter-tail pattern.
implies sewing).
kuku'kigwa'sûn----- pattern in squares.
wa'wiê'gwasun (*wawiê*, round)----- round pattern.
ajage'cigwa'sûn----- crawfish pattern.
anûng'egwa'sûn (*anûng*, star)----- star pattern.
mûzini'jiganûn' (from *mûzinûbe*, he or cut pattern.
she pictures).

MISCELLANEOUS

- gi'kîno'igûn (*gikîno* is modified stem of map, message, or record in picture
verb meaning "to mark"; *gûn*, ar- writing.
ticle or thing).
gawe'ûg----- porcupine quill work.
na'gûmo'wîn----- song (applied only to human beings, a
different term being used for the song
of birds).
ni'miwîn----- dance.

DWELLINGS

The principal types of dwellings were the wigwam, the peaked lodge, the bark house and the tipi. To these may be added a conical lodge of evergreen boughs for temporary use.

(a) *The wigwam*.—This term is commonly applied to the dome-shaped Algonquian dwelling which in early times extended from Canada to North Carolina. The word wigwam appears in English as early as 1634 (Wood, Wm., *New England's Prospect*, 65, 1634). It seems to have been used originally by the Abnaki, an Algonquian confederacy centering in the present State of Maine. The proper term in Chippewa is *wigwam*, from the root *wigiw*, "he dwells."²⁵ This term is applied by the Chippewa to any habitation. The type under present consideration is designated as a *waginogan*, from *wagin*, bent, *o* connective, and *gan*, dwelling. The materials entering into the structure of a wigwam were poles or saplings, birch bark, and bulrushes tied together with green basswood bark and basswood twine. The dwelling might be round or oval, and of any

²⁵ Cf. Article "Wigwam," *Handbook of American Indians*, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 951, 1910.

The second phase of an infant's physical care consisted in pinning it tightly in cloth.³³ (Pl. 23, *a*.) Its arms and legs were as closely confined as in the cradle board, but sometimes the hands and fingers were uncovered. This was cooler than the cradle board in hot weather and was the manner of preparing a child for sleep at night or for carrying in a shawl or blanket on its mother's back. In this wrapping, or even with the cradle board, it could be put inside the pack which its mother carried when the camp was moving. The outside of this pack was the roll of bulrush mats, and the blankets were rolled inside the mat. In case of a snowstorm the mother threw a shawl over the child's head. (See section on industrial year, p. 120.)

For convenience during the day a little hammock was made of a piece of blanket by passing a rope through each of two lengthwise

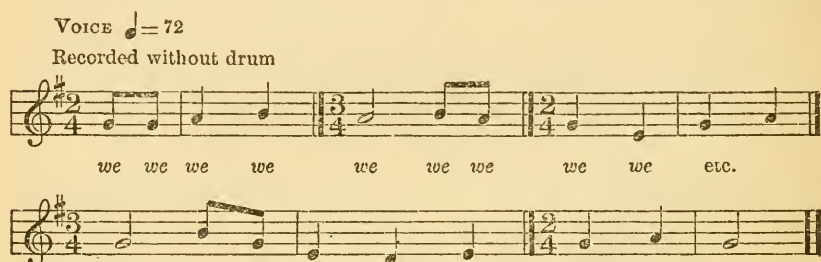


FIG. 7.—Lullaby.

folds and tying the ends to low tree branches or to objects in the lodge. Occasionally a cradle board was placed in such a hammock, but the baby was usually "pinned up" before it was put in the hammock. (Pl. 23, *b*.) The writer has seen this hammock in use in a house, in a tent, and under the trees. The mother sits beside the hammock and swings it to and fro as she sings this lullaby. (Fig. 7.) The syllables "*we, we*" are part of a word which means "swinging."

At an early age a child's head was encased in a close-fitting hood, soft deer hide being used for this purpose before cloth was available. The deer-hide hoods were made with a wide front which could be turned forward to serve as a shade for the child's eyes, the hide having sufficient texture to hold it in place. Two reasons were given for this custom. Gagewin said it was to accustom the child to a head covering so that when such a protection became necessary it would not pull it off. Other informants said it was to affect the shape of the baby's head, and for this reason the hood was carefully

³³ It is the belief of many Indians that a child will die if its picture is taken (see p. 79). The mother of this child said that she "was not superstitious," but the child died in a few months. The mother said later that she attached no blame to the taking of the picture.

and told him that his name would be "Bi'jiki." This is the word by which the old Chippewa designated the buffalo; in later years its meaning has been extended to domestic cattle, but in its use as a dream name it always indicates great strength and endurance. In relating this Mr. Skinaway called attention to his splendid physique and said he was well named. In the dream he received certain instructions which he had faithfully fulfilled.

A feast was held when a boy killed his first game. Henry Selkirk said that the first game he killed was a wild canary. He hung it up to wait until he had enough food to give a feast in honor of the event but it was so long before he had enough that the little bird dried up. In older times, when the tribal customs were strictly observed, he would have provided a simple repast, perhaps rice and dried blueberries, or corn, fish, or potatoes, and would have asked five or six old men to the feast. They would have "talked to the manido and made petitions concerning the boy and his family."

(j) *Courtship and marriage*.—The young maidens of the Chippewa were closely guarded and were modest in their behavior toward the young men of the tribe. If a young man wished to call upon a young woman he talked first with the older people who lived next to the door of the lodge. He might then proceed to the middle of the lodge, where the young people lived, and talk with the girl in a low tone, but she was not allowed to leave the lodge with him. If a young man came to call rather late in the evening when the fire had burned low, the mother or grandmother would rise and stir up the fire so that it burned brightly, then fill her pipe and sit up and smoke. The young man could continue his call, but was conscious of being watched. The young men played the "courting flute" in the evenings, but it was never permitted that a young girl leave the lodge in response to the flute.

If a young man's intentions were serious, he killed a deer or some other animal and brought it to the girl's parents. This was to indicate his ability and intention to provide well for his family. If the parents approved of the young man, they asked him to stay and share the feast. This was understood as an acceptance of his wish to marry their daughter, and he was allowed to come and go with more freedom than formerly.

Jealousy among the young girls was a marked feature of Chippewa life and frequently resulted in spirited fighting. The hair seems to have been the special point of attack, being ferociously pulled and frequently the braid being cut off with a knife. The clothing was torn, but "slapping" with the hand was not a method of this conflict. It was said that a girl who "flirted with several young men" was punished by them, an instance of this sort hap-

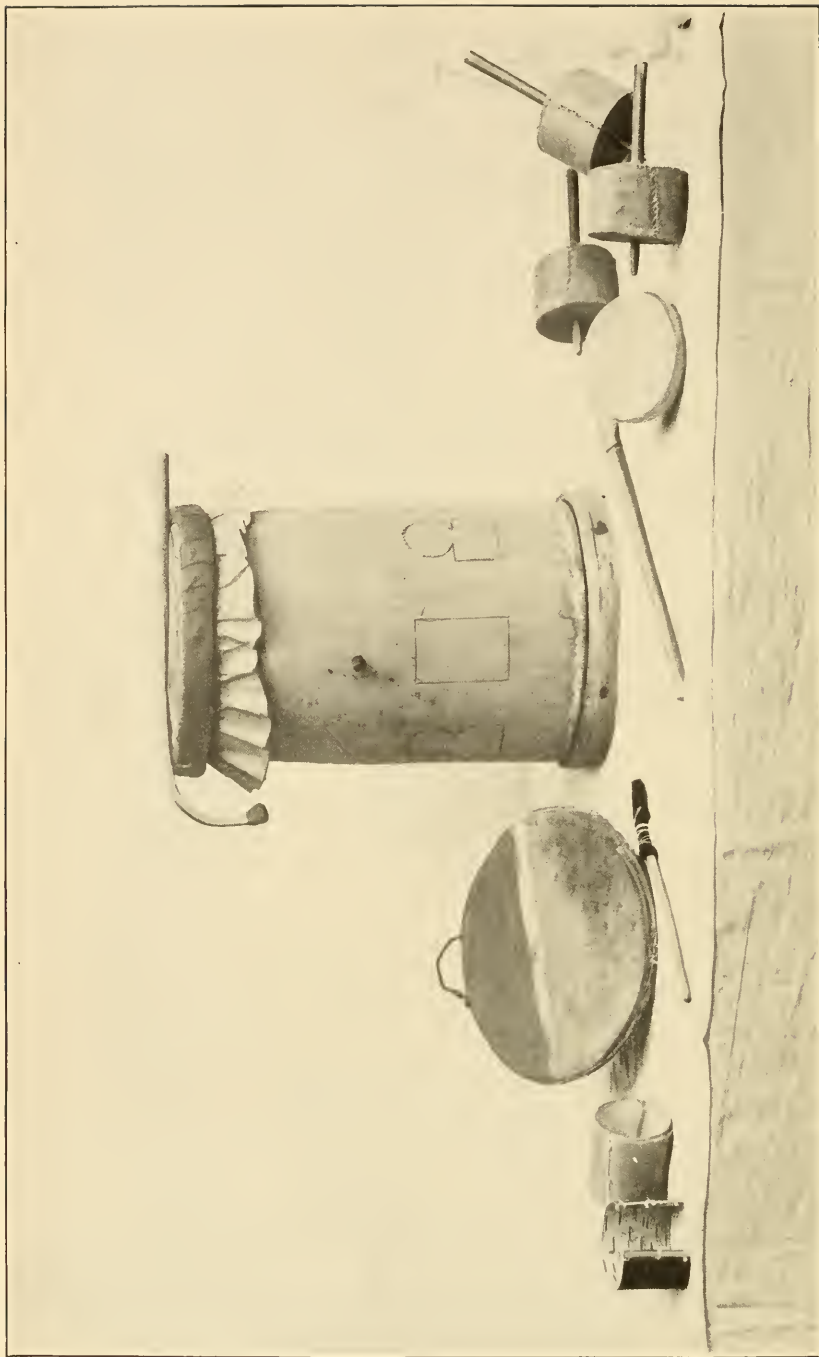
pening at White Earth in recent years. One of the young men took the girl into the country, leaving her to find her way home alone. She was waylaid by others of the group, her clothing was torn, and she was thrown into a mudhole.

The young couple might go away quietly for a few days, or they might go at once to live in a lodge of their own. The first-named custom was usually followed if the couple intended to live with the woman's parents. It was the usual custom for a girl to remain at home for a while after her marriage, after which time the couple might, if they desired, build a lodge of their own or, occasionally, they might live with the husband's parents. Mrs. Julia Spears, who was 88 years old when giving the information, said she remembered an instance which occurred in 1848 among the Bad River band of Chippewa, near the present site of Odanah, Wis. The chief had a daughter of whom he was very fond. His wife built a wigwam for the young couple near their own, making it as pretty as possible and furnishing it with new floor mats and other articles. When the young people were ready to begin life together they quietly took up their abode in the wigwam which had been provided for them.

In early days, if a couple living in a lodge of their own could not get along together, the wife went back to her own people and the man could do as he liked. It was said that "if she got over her pouting spell she might go back to him." A man might have two or three wives and all lived in the same lodge, each having her appointed part of the lodge. The writer witnessed a ceremony in the house of a Chippewa at Grand Portage who had two wives. (Shown at left in pl. 5, b.) Two of his sons lived with them and the family seemed to be living harmoniously. A Canadian Chippewa said that many Indians had two wives, adding that "the man sat between them." He said that in old times some men had five wives, and that one was the "head wife" and the only one who had children.

On being questioned concerning the courting customs among the Canadian Chippewa he said that he never heard of a courting song except that sung at a dance where all could hear it. He said that for such an occasion a man might "make up a song on account of some girl." This statement was translated back into Chippewa for him in order that there might be no misunderstanding of his meaning. He said that his people had a "long whistle" which the young men played so that the girls might hear.

(k) *Customs pertaining to death, burial, and mourning.*—As soon as a person died he was washed, his hair braided, and his best clothing put on him, also a great quantity of every sort of bead work. If he were a member of the Grand Medicine Society his Mide bag was placed under his arm. Frequently his face, moccasins, and blanket



MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

(Reprint from Bull. 45, Bur. Amer. Ethn.)

ritual, but with the first sprinkling of the water the man usually said, "Now this messenger is about to depart to deliver our message to Mide Manido." The ascending steam was regarded as an evidence of response on the part of the stone. When the man sprinkled the water for the third time he usually said, "Well, he has given our message to Mide Manido, which is a prayer that he will help us in our undertaking." While the stone was steaming, he "talked and sang," sometimes extending his hand over the stone, moving it slowly in a circle. While he sang some one usually pounded softly on one of the lower stones, using for the purpose one of the blunt sticks which had been used in adjusting the larger stone. The men usually sat with their eyes closed. When the first man had finished all he wished to say he pushed the basin of water to the man next him. This man smoked for a while, then he might say, "I desire this messenger to say to Mide Manido that we desire health and long life." He sprinkled the water three times with the same ejaculations as the first man, the others responding as before, "Ho-ho-ho." When this had been done by all the men in the lodge, the cover was removed from the entrance. There was no subsequent "rubbing" of their bodies, as was done if the sweating were for medicinal purposes. It was said that the men "wiped their faces and soon asked for a little water to drink." The man who first asked for water poured a little on the larger stone before drinking any. The stones were placed at the side of the lodge for safe-keeping.

(g) *Songs*.—This subject has already received extended consideration. (Bull. 45, pp. 14-118.) In no class of Indian songs observed by the writer are the words so forced into conformity with the melody as in the Mide songs. This is accomplished by the addition of meaningless syllables, either between words or parts of words. The words may even be slightly changed but the idea of the song remains the same. Each degree of the society has its own songs, which are used at initiations into that degree. The Mide songs are recorded in mnemonics on strips of birch bark, the figures or characters being described in the section on picture writing. These establish the identity of a song among widely separated members of the tribe, a phase which was tested on three reservations. Certain songs are grouped in series of 8 or 10, the members of the society dancing during the last half of the series. In addition to the ceremonial songs there are songs connected with the use of medicines. Two small birch-bark scrolls containing mnemonics of songs are shown in Plate 38.

(h) *Musical instruments*.—Drum: The drum used in the ceremonies of the Midewiwin and by members of the society when singing its songs in private is called a *mitig'wakik*, meaning "wooden kettle." It is commonly known as a "water drum" for a reason

which will be noted. The drum is made by hollowing out a basswood log, about 16 inches long, the wood being charred and scraped until a cylinder is formed. A thin wooden disk is fitted in the lower end and a small hole is drilled part way up one side. A wooden plug is fitted in this hole. The head of the drum is of heavy tanned deer-skin, about 18 inches in diameter. Water to the depth of a few inches is poured into this receptacle when the drum is to be used, the head is wet, wrung out, laid over the top, and stretched by pressing down a hoop made of a willow sapling which frequently is wound with cloth. The hole and plug make it possible to empty the water without removing the top of the drum. If the head becomes too dry it may be moistened by "splashing" the water in the drum, or by dipping the hand in water and passing it over the surface of the deer hide. If too damp it may be held toward the fire or placed in the sun for a short time, the warmth tightening the deer hide. The water in the drum causes the sound to be heard a long distance while it is not so loud near at hand. This type of drum is decorated with colored bands indicating the degree held in the Midewiwin by its owner. The same decoration appears on the pole in the Mide lodge, indicating the degree into which a candidate is to be initiated.

Two of these drums have been in the writer's possession. The first came from Wabacing and its sound had been heard at Red Lake Agency, a distance of 10 miles across the water. It was decorated with a blue band at the base, four heads representing the four Mide manido, and an oblong outline said to represent a bag containing yarrow, which signifies life. The heads were outlined in red and the bag in blue. This drum was 16½ inches high, 10 inches in diameter at the base, and 8½ inches in diameter at the top. (Pl. 38.) The second specimen was similar in size and construction and was decorated only with blue bands. This, with the loon drumming stick, was obtained from Gagewin. (Pl. 36, b.)

Drumming stick: It is said that a Mide drum stick is more valuable than the drum, and frequently is older. Some of the drumming sticks represent the owl, but that representing the loon is regarded more highly. The loon was the first bird selected to form part of the Mide beliefs, and the end of the stick which strikes the head of the drum is carved to represent the head and eyes of the loon. Gagewin said, "The Mide stretch their hands toward the western ocean, where the loon rises from the water and gives a signal that he responds to their call." A new drumming stick with curved end, covered by a cushion of deer hide, was included with the first Mide drum obtained by the writer. It appears probable that the original drumming stick was retained by the owner of the drum. (See pl. 38.)

Rattle: Four Mide rattles were obtained with the first-mentioned drum and were said to constitute a set. These differ in pitch according to their size and the quantity of pebbles or shot they contain.⁵³ Three consist of small wooden cylinders, each with a sewn cover of hide, containing small stones or shot and pierced by a stick which forms the handle. These rattles are used also in the "shooting of life power" during a ceremony of the Mide. The fourth rattle is made on a frame of bent wood. The end of the wood is curved to form a hoop which is covered with rawhide and contains small shot or stones. (Pl. 38.) These rattles are not decorated. A similar rattle made of wood and sewed with roots was obtained a few years later. The flat, thin rattle (pl. 38) is a "doctor's rattle" and belonged to Odinigun. He used it as a drum when recording his healing songs.

STORIES AND LEGENDS

Apart from the little stories told for the amusement of children, the stories or legends of the Chippewa may be divided into three classes: (1) Stories concerning the "first earth and its inhabitants," (2) stories concerning the adventures and doings of Wi'nabo'jo, and (3) the a'dizo'ke, or "fairy stories," which were told solely for amusement, and were based partly upon material obtained from the white men, adapted to please the native taste and be understood by the Indians. Such stories were learned from traders and missionaries, one informant saying that the wives of missionaries often told these stories to the Indian children.

The stories of the first earth include the story of the primal ocean and the "creation of the world" from a bit of earth which was brought from beneath the water in the paw of a small animal. Winabojo is the same personage as Nanabush and Nanabojo, being known by several unrelated names among Algonquian tribes. Stories concerning him are told and retold by the old people around the winter fire, and as many of them are amusing there has arisen an impression that Winabojo was a fantastic deity. This, however, is a popular misunderstanding, as Winabojo in the mind of the old Indian was the master of life—the source and impersonation of the lives of all sentient things, human, faunal, and floral. He endowed these with life and taught each its peculiar ruse for deceiving its enemies and prolonging its life. His "tricks" were chiefly exhibitions of his ability to outwit the enemies of life. He was regarded as the master of ruses, but he also possessed great wisdom in the prolonging of life. It was he who gave the Indians their best remedies for treating the sick and who taught the animals the varied forms of protective disguise by which their lives can be extended. His own inherent life

⁵³ The old Chippewa used several hand drums together, selecting those which "chorded."

MUSIC

This subject has received such extended consideration by the writer that repetition seems unnecessary. The drum is the only accompanying instrument except in the Mide and djasakid songs, when a rattle is sometimes used. The wooden flute in former times was played by the young men. In addition to Mide songs and those connected with the treatment of the sick, either by Mide or djasakid, there are songs of social dances, game songs, war songs, love songs, and little melodies for the entertainment of children. There are also songs connected with many of the old stories, including some of those concerning Winabojo.

DANCES

The Chippewa, like other tribes, danced before they went to war and celebrated their victories in the scalp dance. Among their social dances were the begging dance, in which they went from house to house, or tent to tent, begging food for a feast (Bull. 53, pp. 229-233), and the woman's dance, in which many gifts were exchanged (Bull. 45, pp. 190-196). Dancing formed an important part of the initiation ceremonies of the Midewiwin.

CHARMS

The Chippewa, more than many other tribes, believed in the use of "charms." Constructively these were of two classes, i. e., charms that comprised several units or materials and charms consisting only of herbs. The first of these classes included charms using figurines, outline drawings, or a hair or part of the clothing of the person to be affected, together with certain herbs. Into both classes there entered the belief that the supreme test of the power of a substance was its ability to act independently of its material presence. Thus an herb applied externally might cure the bite of a reptile, but it was considered evidence of great power if an herb carried in a packet could protect a man so effectively that he would not be bitten by the reptile. The old-time Chippewa appear to have believed that matter has two sorts of properties—one tangible and the other intangible. The medicine men, through their dreams, learned the intangible as well as the tangible properties of matter, their use of the former being designated as "charms," or included in the general term of "medicine."

Certain herbs were believed to cure the sick and also to act as "charms." Among these is *Lathyrus venosus* Muhl., the roots of which were used as a dressing for wounds and were also carried on

said that some totemic groups were larger than others, but that none were considered better than the rest.

The duties of a chief included the presiding at councils of his band, the making of decisions that affected their general welfare, and the settlement of small disputes. He represented the band at the signing of treaties, the payment of annuities, and any large gathering of the tribe.

Associated with the chief were two "head men" who acted as his protectors. They were selected from among the warriors.

At a large council the men of a band always sat near their chief.

RIGHT OF REVENGE

It was a custom among the Chippewa that the relatives of a murdered man could avenge his death by killing the murderer or, if they wished, could adopt the murderer into their family. The chiefs did not interfere with this custom.

Mr. Henry Selkirk related the following instances which came under his personal knowledge. A man killed a young man, and was taken before the young man's father, who announced that he would spare the life of the murderer and adopt him. Beside the old man sat his adopted sons. When the murderer was being led away to the old man's wigwam they shot him. No one could dispute their right, though the old man had forgiven him.

On another occasion a murderer was similarly arraigned before the father of the man he had killed. The old man made a long speech, walked four times around the murderer, and then shot him. A large assembly of Chippewa watched this and concurred in the judgment.

CUSTOMS PERTAINING TO WAR

Warning: A flute was used in giving a signal of danger to the village. It was played by a warrior, the intervals and manner of playing being different from that of the young men.

Summoning of warriors: A warrior who wished to lead a war party sent a messenger with tobacco to ask the warriors to join the expedition. The messenger went to each village and requested the warriors to assemble; he then explained the purpose of the expedition, filled a pipe, and holding the bowl of the pipe, offered the stem to one warrior after another. All who were willing to join the expedition signified this willingness by smoking the pipe. In a short time the warriors assembled and camped near the lodge of the leader, who gave a feast, explaining more fully the proposed expedition, and receiving the final pledge of the warriors.

posts and a bottom or floor raised a little above the ground. Before the trader began to pack the furs he laid three cords across the bottom of the frame, these cords being long enough to tie over the bale of furs when the frame had been filled. The trader then packed the furs, placing the largest at the bottom, and folding the sides if they were too large. Bearskins were usually placed at the bottom, then smaller skins laid flat. The hides dried on a frame (see section on tanning) were shipped as they were taken from the tanning frame. The bale was topped with a bearskin if this was available, otherwise a wolfskin was used at the top. Each bale was numbered and its contents listed. When the frame was filled the cords were tied around the furs. The packing usually was done outdoors, and the trader had a stout frame with a lever so that he could press down the pack of furs and tighten the cords.

The furs collected from the Indians were usually shipped to Leipzig, which was then the fur market of the world.

FIRE MAKING AND USES OF FIRE

A Chippewa said: "The greatest wonder that ever came to the Indians was fire. Like everything else, it came to them through the Mide. Some one asked, 'What do you want us to do with this?' A man replied, 'This is for warmth and for cooking.' The Indians were afraid of it at first, but soon learned that it was useful." They found that the fire burned them, causing pain, but the Mide provided a "medicine" which they could put on their hands and on the soles of their feet, after which they could thrust their hands into the fire or walk in the flames without being hurt. A song was sung when this "fire-charm" was used. (Bull. 45, No. 86.)

Three methods of obtaining a spark of fire were used among the Chippewa. The simplest was the striking together of two stones, the "punk" being held in the same hand as one of the stones. Next in probable development may be placed the striking together of stone and metal, and in later times the obtaining of a spark by friction between two pieces of wood, the apparatus comprising a bow, a stick of ash, and a cedar hearth with shredded bark "to catch the spark." Birch and cedar bark were used, but the latter was considered the more inflammable of the two. (Pl. 51, *a, b, c, d.*)

The obtaining of fire by the use of flint and steel was the more common of the three customs above noted. The form of the steel varied from a broken file to a well-shaped piece of iron, suggesting the work of a blacksmith. (Pl. 52, *h*, upper.) The most common form is the one shown below the first. (Pl. 52, *h*, lower.) This was obtained from an old woman who said it belonged to her grandmother.

With the flint and steel was carried a piece of decayed wood, or "punk." A bit of flint appears as *f*, and decayed wood as *g*, in Plate 52.

A Chippewa said, "Fire was the first and best tool that the Indians had."

Before axes were common the Chippewa obtained wood by burning a fallen tree into sections. A log of soft wood was selected and fires were made at intervals beneath it. The fire was allowed to burn only enough so that the log could be broken.

Mide drums and similar articles were hollowed by charring the wood and scraping it out.

The heat of a fire was used in scorching wood as a decoration.

Heated stone or metal points were used in burning holes in pipes, flutes, and other wooden articles.

Heated stones were used in the sweat lodge.

A Canadian Chippewa said that in a winter camp long ago his people obtained water by putting a snowball on the end of a stick and placing the stick in the ground near the fire, slanting over a birch-bark dish. The snow melted and the water fell into the dish.

One or two men traveling in the winter sometimes made a high bank of snow on the windward side of their little camp and slept between the snow bank and the fire.

It was said that a winter traveler sometimes made a fire on the place where he wished to sleep, scraped the embers away, wrapped himself in his blanket, and lay down on the warmed ground. Another informant doubted whether this was a "strictly Indian custom."

In the long winter evenings the fire in the lodge gave light for work and the various activities of the family.

Signal fires were used, especially for signaling across wide expanses of water. The offering of food by placing it in the fire is noted on page 130. (See also p. 145.)

The uses of fire for drying meat, fish, fruit, and vegetables are noted in the sections on these subjects.

PIPES

(a) *Pipe bowls*.—Stone pipe bowls were in use among the Chippewa at an early date, and it was said "they used to dig a hole in the stone for the tobacco." The writer obtained a pipe bowl of stone with a simple decoration of straight lines which belonged to the celebrated chief Wadena and had been in his family for many generations; also a pipe bowl of chipped red stone which belonged to Niskigwun. A peculiarity of this pipe bowl is the shape, which fits conveniently between the fingers. These are of hard stone.

Two sorts of comparatively soft stone were widely used by the Chippewa. These were a smooth black stone found in central Wis-

pended above this framework and drawn down over it, the circle of cloth around the lower edge of the hide being a little larger than the circumference of the hole, so that it could be spread on the ground and held down by heavy sticks laid flat on the ground. A fire had previously been made in the hole, Zozed using dry corncobs for the purpose. This fire smolders slowly, the smoke giving to the hide a golden yellow color. The hide is almost white before being colored in this manner.

GLUE

An important aid in many forms of handicraft was glue, which was usually made from the sturgeon in the following manner: The cord was pulled out of the backbone of the fish, cut in pieces, and "fried" in a pan. While this was in the pan and warm, the Indian took a little stick and wound the "glue" on the stick. He put this away and, when glue was needed, he warmed the outer surface of the mass and used what was required, allowing the remainder to cool. The Chippewa "glue stick" was probably pointed like that of the Sioux, so it could be stuck upright beside the worker while the glue was moist.

MAKING OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

(a) *Drum*.—Two types of drum were in use among the old-time Chippewas, the hand drum, and the Mide drum. (See pp. 95, 96.) In recent years the Chippewa have used a large flat drum, either placed on the ground or suspended from curved stakes. This drum is decorated with beaded velvet and is used for dances or in a ceremonial manner. (Bull. 53, pl. 18-19, pp. 142-180.) A modern bass drum is placed on the ground, and occasionally a washtub is converted into a drum by stretching rawhide over the top and covering the sides with cloth and beadwork.

The simplest form of hand drum consists of a piece of rawhide stretched over one side of a hoop and laced or tied together on the reverse side to form a handhold. A more common form at the present time is a drum having two heads with a loop of rawhide as a handhold. Such a drum is made of a single hide stretched over both sides of a hoop and sewed with rawhide on the outer edge of the hoop. These drums at present are often supplied with cords after the manner of "snare drums." A specimen illustrated in Bulletin 53 (pl. 3) is 18½ inches wide and 2½ inches in thickness, and has three tightly stretched cords inside the drum, each provided with small pegs tied at equal distances. The pegs are tied to the cord before the cover of the drum is put in place, and the

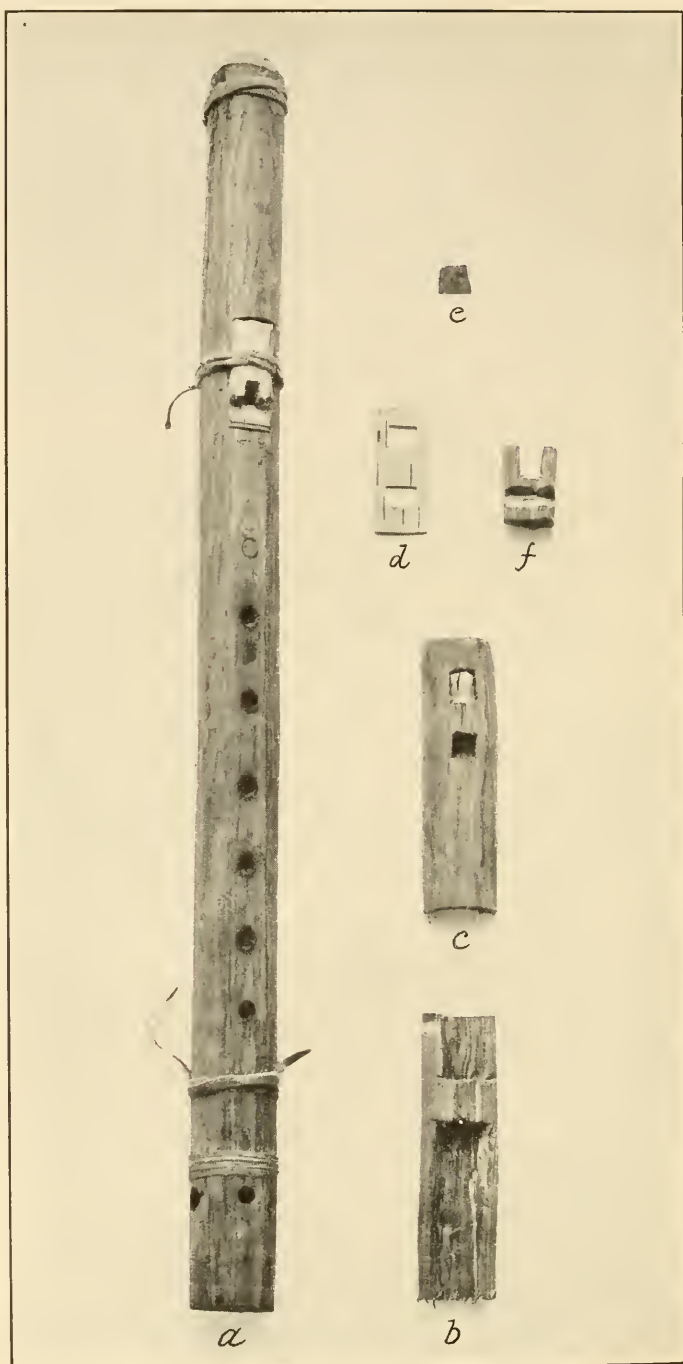
cord is twisted to increase the tension, permitting the pegs to vibrate against the deerskin.

Such a drum is commonly called a moccasin game drum, being used during that game. The heads of both styles of hand drum were frequently decorated. A war drum might have either one or two heads. Odijbwe's war drum (Bull. 53, pl. 7) was decorated with a turtle and the lightning, these being his dream symbols. A certain moccasin game drum was painted red with a blue circle about 6 inches in diameter placed in the middle of the drum head. The decorations of Mide drums are separately considered. Little Wolf said that in old times the Chippewa "liked to use several hand drums at once if they could get those that chorded together."

At Grand Portage, Minn., in 1905, the writer witnessed a Chippewa ceremony in which the drum was suspended from the rafters of a log house. The drum was about 20 inches in diameter and had two deerskin heads laced together over a hoop about 6 inches wide. A green star was painted at the top of one side, and below the star a cord was stretched close to the head of the drum. (See pl. 5, b.)

Drumming sticks: The drumming stick used with the last-mentioned drum had a crossbar near one end about 5 inches long. As the drum hung before the leader of the ceremony he struck it with one end of this crossbar. The sticks used with Mide drums were in some instances symbolic and are described on page 96. Frequently the stick used with a hand drum had a small round hoop at the end, the whole drumming stick being wound with cloth. It was the custom, however, to use a stick about 18 inches long with a padded end made by winding cloth around the stick. With the large dance drum a longer stick was used, having a padded end. With the ceremonial drum of the Wisconsin Chippewa there were four drumsticks used by the leading drummers, each covered with soft brown deerskin and decorated with a band of otter fur and long ribbon streamers. There was also a longer stick used only by the owner of the drum in a particular part of the ceremony. This stick was more than 3 feet long. Over the curved end was slipped the skin from the neck of a loon, its glossy black feathers dotted with white.

(b) *Rattle*.—The only use of rattles among the Chippewa was by members of the Midewiwin, and by jugglers who might or might not belong to the Midewiwin. The rattles used in meetings of that society and by individuals when singing the Mide songs consisted of a box pierced by a stick which served as a handle and containing pebbles or small shot. (See p. 97.) Formerly this was made of birch bark or thin wood, but the common form in recent years is a large, round spice box. Another type of rattle resembled a small thin moccasin game drum and was used when treating the sick.



a, Flute; *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, Portions of flute

The specimen used in recording songs for the writer was $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and one-half inch in thickness. A segment of the drum was painted blue and a smaller segment painted green, a band of the undecorated hide about three-fourths of an inch wide being between the decorated portions. The owner said this decoration indicated that "the weather was fair and we spoke only truth together." (Pl. 39.) It was said that larger rattles of the same type were used in a similar manner.

(c) *Flute*.—The wind instrument of the Chippewa is a flute of the type known to musicians as the *flûte à bec*, played by blowing into an air chamber at the upper end, the sound being produced by a whistle opening similar to that of an organ pipe. These flutes were either open or closed at the lower end, while the upper end was either blunt, tapered to an opening smaller than that of the tube, or shaped in a manner suggesting a small tube projecting from the instrument and serving as a mouthpiece. The blunt end was preferred by Tom Skinaway, of Mille Lac, who made many flutes in former years, but the second type is commonly seen. The third type is preferred by the Menominee.

All Chippewa flutes had six finger holes, and if the lower end were closed there were five holes in a line around that end. These resemble the holes on Chinese flutes which are used for a silk cord and tassels, but their use on Indian flutes is not apparent. The length of a Chippewa flute was according to the stature of the man who was to use it. Tom Skinaway said the flute should be two "spreads" of the man's hand from the thumb to the end of the second finger, plus one "spread" from the thumb to the end of the first finger. The middle of the whistle opening should be a spread of the man's thumb and first finger from the upper end of the tube. The flute illustrated (pl. 76) is $19\frac{3}{4}$ inches long. It was obtained on the White Earth Reservation, and the position of the openings is different from the measurements described by Skinaway, who was an expert worker.

The wood used for a flute is cedar, box elder, ash, sumac, or other soft wood with a straight grain. A straight round stick of wood is split lengthwise into two equal parts. Each half-cylinder is then hollowed out, except near one end, where a bridge is left (b), so that when the two pieces are glued together there is formed a cylindrical tube open at both ends and throughout its length except at the point where the two bridges now form a solid stopper, dividing the tube into a short upper portion (the wind chamber) and a long lower portion (the flute tube).

The organ mouthpiece is formed ingeniously as follows: A square opening is cut through the side of the tube just above the bridge,

into the wind chamber, and another is cut just below the bridge into the sounding tube (*e*). A block (*f*) is so fashioned and slightly cut away on its lower surface that it covers the upper opening and directs the air in a thin sheet downward against the lower, sound-producing edge of the square hole below the bridge. To make this edge of the hole smooth and sharp; that is, to form a suitable "lip" for the pipe, a piece of very thin birch bark (*d*) is placed between the tube and the block. The junction between the tube and the block is made air-tight in the specimen illustrated by a "gasket" of silk cloth (*e*); often the joint is closed by resin or other cement. The drilling of the holes is, of course, done before the two halves of the stick are glued together, and is done with a pointed hot iron. The spacing of the finger holes, like the location of the whistle opening, is measured by the hand of the man who is to use the instrument. The measurements are not so minute as to affect all flutes, an average size instrument being made for a man of average stature while a very tall or short man would require the special measurements. According to Tom Skinaway, the position of the first finger hole is determined by measuring half the length of the tube and cutting it a little nearer the mouth end of the flute. He said the instrument would not "sound good" if the first finger hole were half its length. The second finger hole should be distant from the mouth end a spread of thumb and forefinger plus the length of the forefinger, and the third finger hole should be distant the spread of thumb and second finger plus the length of the second finger. The other finger holes were "conveniently spaced" according to the size of the player's hand. The size of the bore should be such as to admit the player's forefinger.

The tone of the instrument is affected by the position of the block over the sound hole. Usually it is held in place by several windings of string or thong so that it may be adjusted by the player, but sometimes it is sealed in a position which is satisfactory to the player.

The Chippewa sometimes used raw deer hide for binding the two parts of the flute. As the hide dried it held the two parts firmly together.

The flute was commonly played by young men to attract or please the maidens. The playing was not a random sounding of tones, as it was said "a young man would never play the flute unless he could play a tune entirely through." The love songs of the Menominee were said to be imitations of the melodies played on this type of flute.

In the old days a flute of the same shape as that used by the young men was kept by one warrior and used by him in giving a signal of danger. If word was received that the enemy was

approaching or was hiding near the village he took this flute and went through the village playing it. The intervals were said to be larger than on the young men's flutes and the tune was less lively. The general manner of playing, however, was such as to deceive the enemy while warning the people.

(d) *Clapper*.—Among the Chippewa at Grand Portage there was found a clapper consisting of a thin board 14 inches long and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide. It was used by a member of the Midewiwin and was probably painted to correspond with his degree in that society as it bears three black and two red bands. The sound was produced by four narrow sticks, two of which were painted black and two painted red. It was said these were held between the fingers and vibrated in such a manner that one after another struck the board. An instrument of this sort has not been noted elsewhere among the Chippewa. The clapper is widely used by medicine men on the Northwest coast.

ARTICLES MADE OF STONE

Aw.—A stone was fastened to a wooden handle by splitting the stick and binding the two parts tightly around the stone head with rawhide. (Pl. 53, f.)

"*Branch breaker*."—This implement was smaller than the preceding and had a shorter handle, but was made in a similar manner.

Smooth stones were used in pounding meat and berries.

Pipes.—Both hard and soft stone were used by the Chippewa in making pipes. (See p. 143.)

ARTICLES MADE OF BONE

Awls.—The splint bone of the deer was used as an awl and needed no preparation.

Arrow points.—Any bone that was somewhat pointed was made sharply pointed and used as an arrowhead.

Needles.—The ribs of rather small animals were used in making the needles with which cat-tails were woven into mats. The small needles used in making the netting on showsheoes were also made of bone.

Knives.—A Canadian Chippewa said that his people formerly made knives from the "flat ribs" of the moose and deer. He said these knives were sharpened on a stone, and that they cut in a satisfactory manner. (Pl. 53, d.) Handles of metal knives were made of horn.

Game implements.—Two sorts of bones were used in making the game implement described on page 117. These were the dewclaws of the deer and a bone taken from the leg.

ing, "See, I have turned into a great snake with horns. I extend far into the water." He called to his wife and the children, telling them to come into the water and rub against his body, saying that if they would do this they would recover. They did as he told them and got well. Others saw the benefit and they also went into the water, rubbed against his body and were cured. Children who were unable to help themselves were carried by their parents. Although he was a snake he could talk to them and he told them to wash themselves thoroughly after they had rubbed against him. Those who followed his directions were cured of the disease, but almost all the others died. When the great medicine man crept out of the water he regained his human shape. He lived to be an old man, and his last instruction was that when he died he should be thrown into the river. This was done and in four days he came back. He died again, and they threw his body in a lake and he was never seen again.⁷⁹

The great-grandmother of the narrator did not stop at this camp, but continued down the river toward Crow Wing. She was with a party comprising 10 canoes. They passed through two lakes, the smaller called Noke'zagaigûn (*f*), and the larger Kîtcibi'kwezagaigûn, meaning Big Sandy Lake. After this long journey they were taken with the dread disease and all died except the narrator's great-grandmother and a little sister of hers. They were at a point below the large lake (*g*), and the direction of their journey through the lake is indicated on the drawing. These two decided to return to their people, so they selected a small canoe and began their journey (*h*). When they had recrossed the large lake the elder of the two remembered that their mother had cached some maple sugar at that point, so she left her sister in the canoe, went up the bank, and secured the sugar. Then they started on, she paddling the little canoe. After her sister had eaten freely of the sugar she lay down in the canoe. Soon afterwards she died. The elder one went ashore, dug a grave in the sand, and buried her sister. She stayed there until it was almost night, then she went on in the canoe, weeping to think she was the only one that remained of so large a company. As she journeyed day after day she went round a point of land and there she saw a little black dog running down the shore. The dog was whining, and she wondered where he came from, as no one lived near. She talked to herself, wondering where the dog came from, but she did not go near the shore. She decided to paddle all that night. As she went along she heard wonderful music that

⁷⁹ A similar instance was related concerning a band of Indians fleeing from the smallpox who started toward Lake Superior. They were taken sick and one of their number went into the water and turned into a great turtle. All who rubbed against her were cured of the disease.

seemed to come from a hillside, and she thought she heard laughing and talking in a strange language.

She did not sleep but forgot her grief as she listened to this wonderful music. (Later in her life she heard a violin and the French language, and recognized them as the music and the language she had heard on the water.) The next morning she saw two canoes, one full of women, and the other of men. She heard a voice saying, "Do you see those people in the canoes before you?" She replied, "Yes, I see them." The voice said, "Those are your descendants in the canoes." She returned by the way she had come with her relatives, subsisting on berries and ducklings which she cooked. She also killed some raccoons. Finally she came to some Indians who had recovered from the smallpox. After a time she married a man named No'dina'kwûd (Clouds filled with wind). They lived together many years and had a large family, all of whom grew up. She died before her husband. That is the end of the story of Wi'gubins (Little Wigub, or wood-fiber).⁸⁰

DECORATIVE ARTS

The materials available to the Chippewa for artistic expression were of a perishable nature and consisted chiefly of birch bark, reeds, and hides. To this, as well as to the custom of burying a man's possessions at the time of his death, is due the limited number of examples of early Chippewa art which remain for our study. One must search for Chippewa art in the minds of those who remember its characteristics and whose fingers retain the ability to execute the old designs. Even this opportunity will soon be lost, as it is scarcely possible at the present time to find persons under 50 years of age who are reliable informants on this subject. The younger Indians are able to distinguish between old and modern designs, but are unable to reproduce the old patterns in an artistic manner or to explain their significance. The perception of art remains, however, as the workers who are commended by other Indians are usually those whose product has artistic merit according to the standards of the white race.

DEVELOPMENT OF DESIGN

(a) *Geometric patterns*.—All informants state that geometric and "line" patterns are older than floral designs. Nawajibigokwe made a "sampler" to show the simple line patterns and their combination in wider and more elaborate designs. (Pl. 79.) The simplest pattern

⁸⁰ In all the narratives given by Nawajibigokwe the name of the principal character is withheld until the close, the story ending as in the present instance. Cf. legends related by Odjigun, in which the title is withheld until the close (p. 103).