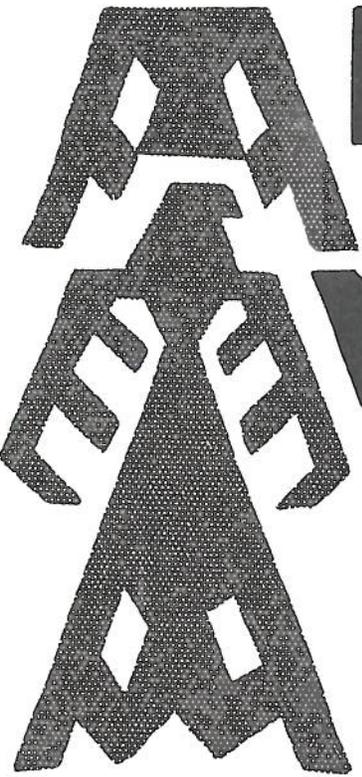


**THE
POTAWATOMI
INDIANS
OF
WISCONSIN**



By
ROBERT E.
RITZENTHALER

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The Potawatomi Indians
of Wisconsin

By

Robert E. Ritzenthaler

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Potawatomi Woman

The Potawatomi Indians of Wisconsin

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INTRODUCTION

PREFACE

This report is the result of a two-month field study sponsored by the Milwaukee Public Museum during the summer of 1951. It represents an attempt to present the morphology and dynamics of the present Indian community, and its interaction with the local white communities. The study was also concerned with an investigation of what phases of traditional Potawatomi culture still survive.

My considerable thanks are due to Dr. George Reddick of Wabeno whose interest in the project and fine rapport with the Indians smoothed my way, and to my Indian informants, especially Charley and Frank Thunder, George Menomen, and Mr. and Mrs. Joe Michigan.

ORIENTATION

The Potawatomi are one of the most widely scattered Indian tribes of today. Besides being found in Canada, they number some 2,000 in Oklahoma; 1100 near Mayetta, Kansas; 142 in upper Michigan; and 222 in northeastern Wisconsin.

The western bands are referred to as the "Prairie Bands" while those of Wisconsin and Michigan are called the "Forest Bands." Both bands are Algonkian speaking but, due to a separation of over a hundred years, each speaks a distinct dialect of Potawatomi.

There are also considerable cultural differences between the two bands. While the main body of Potawatomi were moved west during the 1830's and subsequently were influenced by contact with Plains Indian culture, other individuals, families, and small groups fled northward to end up in northern Wisconsin and upper Michigan where they collected to form the "Forest Bands" (usually referred to in government documents as "Stray Bands"), and all their Indian contacts have been with tribes of similar Woodland culture. While there has been a modicum of interaction between the Wisconsin and Kansas groups (apparently none between the Wisconsin and Oklahoma bands) the effects are not noticeable. There are a few cases of intermarriage with members of the Kansas band; two persons here are enrolled at Kansas, and six have inherited lands in Kansas. The

main possibility for cultural interchange has occurred in the ceremonial field when there is occasional visiting at Peyote ceremonies by members from the other band, or in the rare instance of a Dream Drum being ceremonially presented to the other band. It seems apparent that such sporadic contact has produced little, if any, effect in either band. Their closest cultural ties at present are with the Chippewa (geographically the closest) and Menomini, and to a lesser extent with the Winnebago.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

Since the history of the Potawatomi has already been treated in several sources (Kinietz, Lawson, Tiedke), a brief summary only will be presented.

Nothing is known of the early history of the Potawatomi. Tradition suggests that they came from the Atlantic seaboard and moved west either in a voluntary migration or, which is more likely, driven westward by the Iroquois who commanded most of the northeast, penetrating all the way to the Mississippi River. According to traditions of all three tribes, the Potawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa were originally one people, and Warren (p. 81) states that the separation took place at the Sault Ste. Marie. They were reported by the Jesuits as still living together as late as 1641, and the close similarity of culture and language further supports the thesis that their separation occurred less than three centuries ago.

While the Potawatomi were scattered through eastern Wisconsin, southern Michigan, northern Indiana, and northern Illinois by 1800, the real diaspora began with the Treaty of Chicago in 1833. By this treaty all lands in Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin were ceded to the government, and earlier cessions in Michigan confirmed. In Wisconsin the Potawatomi, southern Chippewa, and Ottawa were allotted the southeast and southwest corners of the state by the Prairie du Chien conference in 1825 organized by Lewis Cass and William Clark. However, this territory was ceded to the United States at another Prairie du Chien conference in 1829, and by the Chicago Treaty of 1833 the Potawatomi gave up claims to lands lying north of this territory. The Chicago Treaty provided for a grant of five million acres (the estimated area ceded to the United States in 1829) west of the Mississippi River. In 1836 a major portion of the Potawatomi were moved west, reacting to some stimulus provided by the U.S. Army, with the group known as the Prairie Band settling in Kansas, and the

Woods Band settling in Iowa. In 1846 they were all united on a reservation in Kansas, and in 1868 a group known as the Citizen Potawatomi moved to Oklahoma. There are today some eleven hundred living near Mayetta, Kansas, and about two thousand in Oklahoma.

Some of the families, refusing to move west, fled northward into Wisconsin and settled along the shores of Lake Michigan where they lived in small, scattered settlements. Publius Lawson (1920) lists some of the nineteenth-century Potawatomi communities as follows: a village at Black Wolf, seven miles south of Oshkosh; at Waukau in Winnebago County; at Kewaskum in Washington County; in Fond du Lac County a few miles north of the Horicon Marsh; and in the counties of Door, Kewaunee, Manitowoc, Sheboygan, and Milwaukee. Dr. Alphonse Gerend traces a main migration from the Horicon Marsh to Black Wolf and Waukau in 1863; then to Little Wolf in Waupaca County, where they stayed for ten years; to Wittenberg in Shawano County for a fifteen-year stay; to Oconto County northeast of Gillett, where they lived until the final settlement in their present home in Forest County, in 1914, joining other Potawatomi families already in the area.

Reverend Morstad (Lawson, p. 103) states that a group of Potawatomi moved to Forest County from the vicinity of Wittenberg in 1894, taking homesteads under the Indian Homestead act of 1884. By this act an Indian obtained a patent in trust to the land after five years of residence, free from taxes for twenty-five years thereafter (Lawson, p. 103). Lawson (pp. 103-4) states that there was a settlement of ten families of Kansas and Wisconsin Potawatomi located at McCord, Oneida County, in 1920. This community survived into the 1930's, but a gradual dispersal took place until at present there remains but one family consisting of a Chippewa husband and a Potawatomi wife. A second band moved north into Menominee County, Michigan, and is now known as the Hannahville Community.

That Forest County was formerly Chippewa Indian country was emphasized by Mr. Norman Johnson, now eighty-five years of age, who ran a trading post at Waubee Lake as early as 1885 and traded exclusively with the Chippewa.

The first Potawatomi to enter Forest County did so in the 1890's when this area was opened for homesteading, with the land office located at Wausau. Quite a number of them were from the Wittenberg settlement,

but some moved in from such areas in the north as Vilas County and upper Michigan. By 1910 there was an accumulation of more than thirty Potawatomi families living on homesteads east of Wabeno, and a government report lists a total of 457 Potawatomi in the general area.

Although some of the men worked in the lumber camps, conditions among the Indians were not too good judging from such facts, for example, as an appropriation of \$7,000 passed in 1912 and 1913 to relieve distress and starvation among them. Their cause was sponsored by the Reverend E. O. Morstad, a Lutheran missionary who moved into this area in 1901 as a missionary to the Indians. Largely through his efforts, a congressional act under the sponsorship of Senator Robert M. LaFollette Sr. was passed in 1913 appropriating \$150,000 for purchase of land, and \$100,000 for the building of houses. An Indian agency was established in 1913 at nearby Carter to administer the lands and house-building program. Each Indian family was consulted as to the size of the house it would need, a sketch drawn, and carpenters hired to build the house from the sketch. The parcelling out of eighty acres of land and the prospect of getting a house built attracted more families to the area, particularly in the case of the Stone Lake Community which began developing around 1915.

The land purchased for the Indians was cut-over land obtained from the lumber companies. It was deliberately purchased in staggered sections to spread the Indians over a large area with the idea that, with white families living in their midst, cultural assimilation would proceed at a faster pace. The legal title to the land was and still is held by the government in trust for the tribe.

Under the Wheeler-Howard act of 1934 the tribe was incorporated and a tribal council elected by the Indians to run the affairs of the tribe. One of the duties of the council is to assign lands to Indian families on a lifetime basis. The sub-agency was moved from Carter to Laona in 1916, and later shifted to Crandon, until 1947 when it was eliminated and the affairs of the tribe supervised by the District Agent at Ashland, as they are at the present writing.

PHONETIC KEY

Vowels:

- i in *feet*
- ʔ in *bit*
- e in *make*
- e in *bet*
- a in *rod*
- o in *rope*
- u in *room*
- ɔ in *but*

Consonants:

- š in *shot*
- ž in *gendarme*
- č in *child*
- g in *girl*
- n in *ring*

Other consonants as
in English.

Signs:

- ' accent
- length mark
- au* diphthong

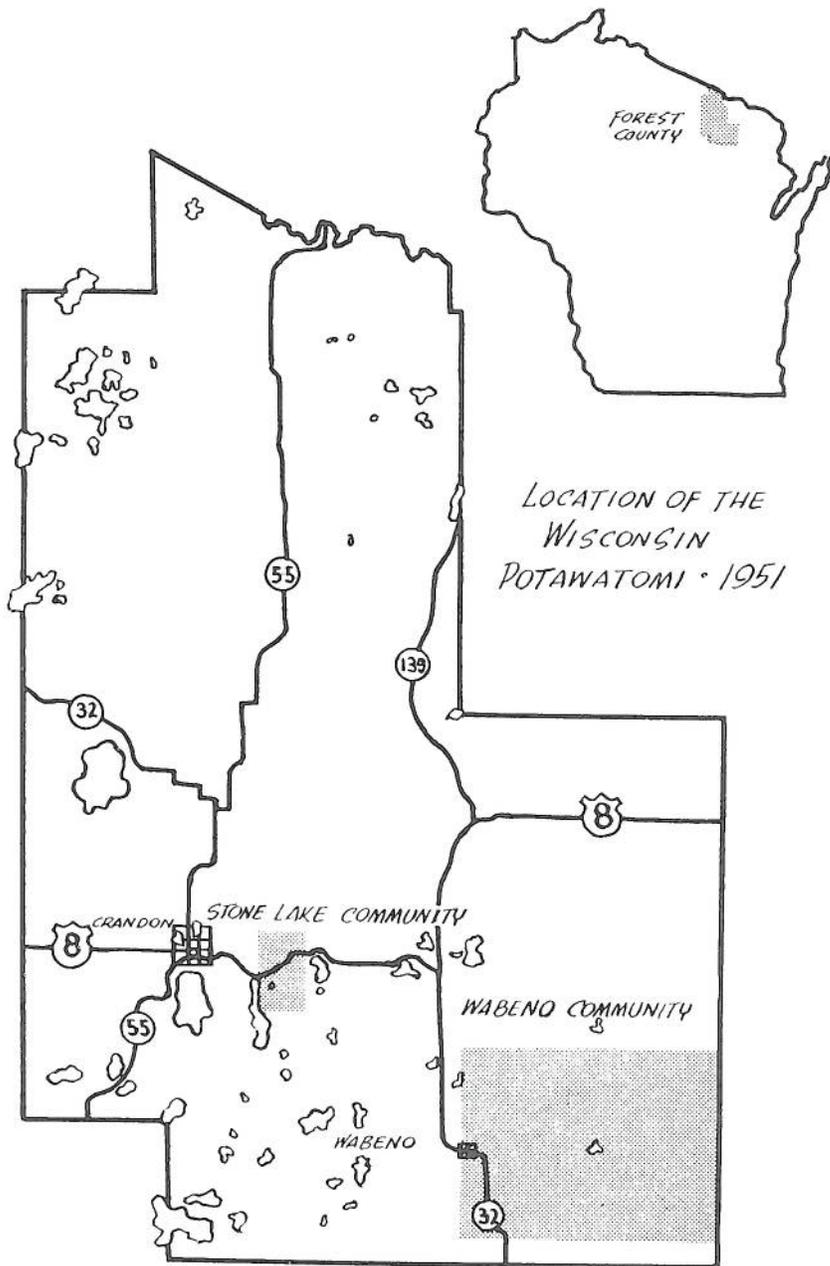


FIG. 1—Map Showing Location of the Wisconsin Potawatomi, 1951.

Part I

The Modern Community

THE LOCALE

The Wisconsin Potawatomi live in two communities about twenty miles apart in Forest County in the northeastern part of the state (Fig. 1). The largest of the two, the Wabeno Community, numbering 126, is scattered to the east and north of the unincorporated village of Wabeno (population about one thousand). The Stone Lake (now called "Lake Lucerne" on the road maps) Community numbers ninety-six persons and is located a few miles east of the town of Crandon (population two thousand). They occupy a combined total of eleven thousand acres officially designated as government holdings in trust for the Potawatomi, but this area is not a reservation. Their lands were purchased by the government from four different lumber companies for the tribe in 1914 by the congressional appropriation of \$150,000, with the stipulation that they could not be sold to the whites. At that time each person over eighteen was allotted forty acres in staggered sections, which accounts for the scattered, isolated position of families today. In the Wabeno Community a family rarely lives closer than a mile from his nearest neighbor, and some families are five miles from any other Indian family. The Stone Lake Community is the more concentrated of the two.

The two communities are officially treated as one band and the tribal council is made up of members of both communities. There is a community hall at each settlement and tribal meetings are held at Stone Lake in the morning and at Wabeno in the afternoon, with the tribal council moving from one place to the other to officiate. There is no difference in the general cultural makeup or degree of acculturation in the two communities, except for the fact that the Peyote Cult is centered at Stone Lake, with all but two of the members from that community, while the Medicine Dance is the predominate Indian religion at Wabeno.

The Indian lands are located in what once was a rich hardwood forest area, and the economy centered about lumbering from about 1900 to 1940. This is still a fairly important activity. Both Wabeno and Crandon originated and developed as lumbering towns, and were larger and more thriving towns during the lumbering boom. At nearby Laona the Connor's

mill there is said once to have been the largest hardwood sawmill in the world. This was one of the last regions in Wisconsin to have been logged, but the process was thorough. With the beautiful hardwood forests removed, the area now consists of second-growth timber with poplar and basswood predominating. The cutting now centers on those two woods which are only useful in the making of pulp for paper, excepting that the larger logs provide the inferior lumber used in the making of boxes and crates. The chief income of the Indians is derived from such cutting, and a few of the Indians are employed at the sawmills at Wabeno, Laona, and Crandon.

The economy of the area has shifted from lumbering to the tourist trade. The many lakes and trout streams attract a flow of vacationers and sportsmen from many states, and summer is a busy time for the local merchants and the abundant resorts. The Indians take a microscopic cut of this tourist trade through the sale of handicrafts and by serving as guides for the fishermen.

POPULATION

The population of the Wabeno settlement totals 126 persons occupying twenty-seven households. At Stone Lake there are twenty-one households numbering ninety-six persons. The 222 total is all of Potawatomi except for six Ottawa, three Chippewa, and two Menomini men married to Potawatomi women. The whites married to Indians are not included in this census, but there are three Indian-white marriages. In two cases Indian men have white wives, and one white man is married to an Indian woman.

The tribal roll lists a total of 436 for the band, but a considerable number of these are not permanent residents of this locale. Also, there are five residents here who are enrolled at Kansas, but only one of these was raised with the Kansas Potawatomi. Of the 222 population, fifty-eight are men, sixty-one are women, and 103 are children (under eighteen).

If the Department of Interior's populational estimates are at all accurate, the number of Potawatomi Indians in Wisconsin has declined considerably within the last hundred years. The Department's figures are as follows, but only the 1908 figure was the result of an on-the-spot check:

1840	1,137
1870	928
1908	457

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The total number living in Wisconsin today can only be estimated, but three hundred would certainly be a maximum figure.

ECONOMIC LIFE

The obvious fact that strikes even the casual observer is the appalling poverty of these people. The houses are in various states of disrepair, ill-equipped, with no modern conveniences, and only basic furniture. Their clothing is of a cheap grade and their wardrobe very limited, although the children seem to be able to resurrect clean and presentable garments for school wear. The cheaper foods make up the major portion of their diet. Material possessions are meager, and a few automobiles owned by the Indians are of an ancient vintage. In many instances a man owns a gun and fishing tackle; a few of the women have sewing machines.

The economic problem here is a major one. Not only are the Indians penurious as individuals, but also as a band, there being less than \$3,000 in the tribal treasury at this writing.

Income and Occupations

The yearly per-capita income is impossible to determine as no records are kept by the individual and only a few earn enough to pay an income tax. The chairman of the Tribal Council estimated that an average head of a household earns around \$300 per year. The principal earned income is derived from cutting timber and from seasonal harvesting of the farm crops. One wonders how they can manage on this amount, especially with the large families they have, until it is remembered that they pay no rent or property taxes, do not have to dress up for work, and receive free medical care and hospitalization, and, as there are no utilities like electricity, telephones, and running water, there are consequently no utility bills to be paid. Still, such an income means an extremely marginal existence, and in an emergency the State Welfare Department, with offices at Crandon, have to furnish relief in the form of grocery orders (usually for one week) and surplus clothing. In some cases, too, an old or infirm person living with a family augments the family income with old-age assistance, or a blind-aid monthly check. There are quite a few persons receiving old-age assistance, blind aid, or aid to dependent children; in fact, twenty-five out of the forty-nine families are receiving some kind of assistance at present. With-

out these monthly federal checks, which range from \$29.75 to \$154.25, the situation would be disastrous.

Cutting timber for lumber or pulp is the only employment available to Indians throughout the year, except for about two months of the winter. They are either employed by white contractors or are self-employed to the extent of cutting and skidding the logs to a landing in the woods at which point they are sold to white buyers, as the Indians have no trucks with which to haul them to a mill. This cutting can be done on their own land or on unused government holdings, but in either case a cutting permit is supposed to be secured and approved by the Tribal Council and sent through the agency office at Ashland for approval, a process which takes about six months. Actually few permits are secured, and violating is rife. Each log is supposed to be stamped at the end with the Indian Service initials, by a forester from Lac du Flambeau Reservation, before it is sold. A stumpage fee theoretically must be paid on all trees cut on government land. This money goes into the tribal treasury and can either be paid by the Indian, if he holds the contract, or by the person who contracts to buy the logs. Since much of the cutting is done without permit, only a small amount of stumpage fees finds its way into the tribal treasury. Frequently the logging will be done by an Indian crew of four or five men with two men on a saw doing the felling and trimming, one man with a horse doing the skidding, and one or two sawing the logs into the standard eight- or ten-foot lengths and peeling off the bark if it is to be used for pulp, and if the season is right for peeling. Much of the timber is poplar, of which the smaller logs are sold for pulp while the larger ones can be used for box lumber. Basswood is also sold for box lumber. Hardwoods, especially maple and birch, bring the higher prices and are sold for veneer.

Most of the young men, as were their lumbermen fathers, are adept with the ax and saw, but the daily earnings of the men in the woods rarely exceed \$6 a day. In a few cases the wives of the younger men will help, particularly in such tasks as sawing up the logs into proper lengths.

It is impossible to control cutting violations under the present system. One forester from the Flambeau agency has the task of supervising all the cutting, along with a variety of other duties on Wisconsin Indian reservations. To adequately supervise the logging for the Potawatomi band alone would be a full-time job for one or two men. When he does find a violator (and both Indians and whites are frequently guilty) he is supposed to

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collect double stumpage fees, but has no authority to do so and the case is sent to Federal Court. There are a number of cases awaiting trial in the Federal Court in Milwaukee, but this involves a long delay and the lack of stiff penalties results in ineffectual control.

There is said to be a good deal of cheating of the Indians by the white buyers in the course of scaling or measuring the number of board feet in a load of logs. On the other hand the Indians are known in instances, after receiving monetary advance on a load of logs, to have sold the load to another buyer.

One buyer told me it would pay the Indian well to hire a full-time supervisor to scale the logs and see that the stumpage fees were paid. This supervisor's wages would be compensated for many times over by the money collected from the accurate scaling and by stumpage fees collected for the tribe.

Seasonal harvesting provides the other "important" income. During July and August some of the families migrate to the huge cherry orchards of Door County. Here they are provided tent or shack quarters, and the whole family picks cherries at twenty cents a bucket. Quarters are provided free but meals and groceries must be paid for out of the earnings.

Cutting hay for the local farmers during July and August provides another daily wage for those interested.

During the latter part of August there is a general exodus to the potato farms to the north. Certain farms provide temporary living quarters for the Indian during the six weeks of picking. They are paid eight cents a bushel, or ten cents a bushel if the family stays for the whole time of the harvest. A good picker can earn \$7 a day (at the ten-cent rate) and ordinarily the wife and children will pick to swell the total income.

Some of the farmers employ Indians to help with the corn harvesting for a few weeks in September, but corn is not an important crop in this area. In spring and fall a few of the people pick "greens," a low ground-pine used in the making of funeral wreaths and Christmas decorations, but "greens" do not grow here as plentiful as in former years. They are sold for nine cents a pound to a local store which serves as a collecting station for a wholesaler.

A third, but minor, area of income for the Indians is from the summer visitors. Some of the men serve as guides for the fishermen earning from

five to ten dollars a day. Some of the women sell handicrafts, such as moccasins and beaded lapel pins, to the stores in town which deal in tourist souvenirs.

Work is fairly plentiful in the summer, but there is little to do in the winter and the people have a difficult time "getting by." A few of the men move to urban areas to obtain employment in the winter.

Steady work and a regular income are an almost unheard of thing among the Indians. A few of the men find fairly steady employment at one of the sawmills, but it is safe to say that 99 per cent of the people are engaged in seasonal, part-time occupations.

Housing

Nearly all of the people live in "Government Houses," (Fig. 2) built for and given outright to the Indians from 1914 to 1918 as a result of the 1913 Congressional appropriation. They are monotonously alike with variation only in size. Built of frame and clapboard with wood-shingled roofs, they are two-story affairs without basements or porches, except when makeshift attempts at the latter have been tacked on by the occupants. All are painted white, although in some cases the need for repainting is so pronounced that a close inspection is necessary to determine the original paint color. A government program during the late 1930's repaired and painted quite a number of the houses, but this was apparently the first and last time any attention had been given them. None of them is equipped with storm windows, but some have screening nailed over the lower half of the windows.

Several families are living in tar-paper "houses" (Fig. 3), several in archaic log cabins (Fig. 4), and nine people occupy the Indian Community Hall just outside of Soperton, the adjoining village to the south of Wabeno. The overcrowded condition of the houses is indicated by the statistical average of almost exactly one-half room per person, and perhaps the most flagrant case is that of twelve people occupying a two-room house.

The interior of the average house is kept quite clean, but the lack of closet and storage space, necessitating the hanging of clothing and impedimenta on the walls and rafters, gives the general impression of disorder. Like the exterior, there seems to be no attempt to make the interior more

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FIG. 2.—Government-built House.



FIG. 3.—Tar-paper-covered House.



FIG. 4—Log Cabin.

decorative or attractive. An interior will contain only basic furniture such as an iron bed and cot, a table, a few chairs, a bench, a battered trunk, a wood-burning stove, and a wood stove for heating, although in some homes one stove serves both functions. In hot weather the stove may be moved outside for cooking purposes. There are no rugs, but some homes have linoleum. Not a single home is equipped with running water, electricity, or telephone. I heard of one family recently given a bottle-gas refrigerator, but I saw no ice-boxes or other refrigeration devices in the homes I visited. Light is provided by kerosene lamps, and toilet facilities by an outhouse. Water is obtained from an outdoor pump, but some less fortunate families have to walk a half mile to a neighboring white farm or Indian home for their water. A temperamental clock provides the time, and the only luxury item I could find was a battery radio in a few of the homes.

The Indians' attitude toward their houses is an interesting one, albeit somewhat difficult to comprehend for a person raised according to average traditions of western civilization. The townfolk say that if the Indians

spent half as much on improving their living quarters as they do on liquor they could have rather nice homes. There is some truth to this claim. While their income would scarcely permit major repairs, even minor repairs which would require a few nails are often unattended. They take no responsibility for the upkeep of the house, figuring that this should be done by the government. One young married man told me, "This place needs fixin' but the Indian Bureau doesn't do anything about it." They are skilled enough with tools, especially with the ax and saw, but are almost completely unmotivated in terms of house improvements.

The reason for this attitude is difficult to determine. Part of the answer may be in the fact that legal title to the house is held by the government and the people reason that it is thus the responsibility of the government to keep it up. On the other hand some of these houses have been lived in by the same persons for the last thirty-five years, which would seem to give them some sense of ownership in the place. Perhaps a more basic reason is the lack of the tradition of house maintenance. Some of the older folk here were brought up in wigwams, the traditional dwelling of the Potawatomi. When a wigwam became dirty or in critical need of repair, they could easily move to another spot and build a new one. Their former semi-nomadic manner of life meant frequent change of dwelling in their movement from the wild rice fields to hunting grounds, to the maple sugar-bush, and back to their summer camp.

To change their present attitude toward housing, a tradition of household maintenance and improvement would have to be created and fostered. This would be a problem of education, perhaps concentrated on the school children, but a home demonstration program for adults might also prove helpful.

Clothing

Traditional Indian clothing has been completely abandoned except in the case of a few old folks who still wear moccasins. The women wear simple blouse dresses and low-heeled shoes. Some of the younger women wear slacks or dungarees. The men wear old shirts and pants, battered felt hats in the summer, and prefer boots for woods wear. The children are garbed in ordinary children's wear obtained in the local stores. The smaller children go barefoot, except in winter. The clothing of the people is of poor quality and essentially drab. They have little occasion for dress cloth-



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ing except for the few who go to church, and the children going to school. The teachers to whom I talked unanimously agreed that the Indian children came to school neatly and adequately dressed.

Food

Most of the Indians' food is purchased at the stores in town. They trade mostly at the stores that will grant them credit, and the grocery bill is usually paid at the first of the month when the pension checks arrive. One storekeeper keeps the amount of the federal aid check on the back of each customer's credit book. The Indian is allowed credit up to that amount. At the first of the month the person turns over his check (in the still unopened envelope) to the storekeeper. If the Indian has already spent the total amount, which is usually the case, and needs some money for clothing, the storekeeper will give him the requested amount and charge it against the next month's check. Actually the system seems to work out well for both parties. This storekeeper, however, will not grant credit to those without regular incomes, i.e. those that do not receive federal-aid checks. The storekeepers say that the Indians are on the whole an honest lot, especially the older folk, but that some of the younger people cannot be trusted.

The storekeepers point out that the Indians buy a lot of starchy foods: potatoes, bread, macaroni, and white rice. The only green vegetable they buy in any quantity is cabbage. They buy very little fruit, some apples and oranges, but considerable quantities of green tea. The children like candy, ice cream, and cool-ades.

The heaviest purchase of meat is salt pork. This is perhaps partially due to the fact that it is cheap (29 cents a pound as compared to hamburger, 65 cents a pound) but they seem also to genuinely like it and other fatty foods. They use it for stews along with lean meat, such as venison, or boiling meat, which is the second most commonly purchased meat.

The store foods are supplemented by raised or gathered products such as garden vegetables, a limited amount of game and fish, and wild foods like raspberries and blueberries. About half the families have gardens, concentrated on potatoes and beans. None of the people gather wild rice any more, and only one or two families make maple-sugar.

There is little doubt that theirs is an unbalanced, inadequate diet. It is difficult to see how this concentration on starchy foods and the absence of fresh milk for the children could produce a well-nourished, robust individual. Their faulty diet is undoubtedly responsible to a large extent for their poor teeth. The contract doctor I interviewed claimed that the greatest health problem at present is dental. Here is an example of what one family I happened to drop in on was eating for breakfast. The family consisted of a young couple with two small children and grandfather. The food consisted of a large pot of creamed potatoes, a pan of fried bread, and a tin of lard to spread on the bread. The grandfather drank tea; the others drank water.

SOCIAL LIFE

There is little social interaction between the white and Indian communities. The Indians are not invited to white homes for visits or parties, and do not belong to the local civic or social organizations, except in the case of a few Indian World War II veterans who occasionally attend an American Legion meeting. The whites, likewise, do not visit the Indian homes and have little knowledge of their cultural life.

The lack of Indian participation in the social life of the white community is largely due to their own choice; they obviously prefer their own society. However, the cleavage is widened by the general anti-Indian feeling of the white community which has erected a barrier of which the Indian is cognizant. The main contacts of the Indians are with such whites as the grocers and general storekeepers, the lumber agents who buy their wood or hire them to cut timber, the farmers who hire them for harvesting, the contract doctor, and the welfare workers.

The Indian community is bound together by close ties of kinship and friendship cemented more firmly together by a mutual culture pattern and obligations. There is a great deal of visiting, purely for social reasons, and some gathering for ceremonial purposes. The hospitality pattern is still strong and a visitor is welcome to stay for a meal or two, or a spare mattress or blanket is always available for laying out on the floor if the visitor wants to spend the night. The great amount of visiting, despite the scatteredness of the people and lack of transportation facilities, is mostly social in nature and the majority of time is spent in exchanging gossip and news.

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The old clan system, never strong in the Woodland Area, has completely broken down. Most of the old folks know to what clan they belong, but now consider it as sort of a joke. A list of the surviving clans appears in the appendix. The moiety system described by Skinner for the Kansas Potawatomi either never existed among the Forest Band or has been completely forgotten by them.

That the clan system has been defunct for a great many years is indicated in a number of ways. Formerly these were patrilineal, exogamous clans. While they still recognize that a clan is inherited in the male line, there is no longer any consideration given to the idea that a person must marry outside of his clan. At least six of the older men have married members of their own clan, and the young married folk have difficulty in even remembering to what clan they should belong.

The lack of importance of clans within the last fifty years is indicated by the fact that old people have never witnessed an "Eat-all" feast. This was done if a person insulted another's totem and the insulter was invited to a feast where he was forced to gorge himself in the presence of the totemic animal. One informant, seventy-three years old, had heard of several cases as described by his parents, but had never seen or heard of one in his lifetime. He had also heard from his parents of gatherings in which one family short of food could hang up their totemic animal at their camp and receive food from other members of their clan assembled there.

The only observable evidence of the clan is to be seen at burial of the dead. Among the so-called "pagan" group, a grave-stake with the totemic animal drawn upside down (to indicate death) is erected at the west end of the grave.

A still important, socially cohesive force is to be found in the formal and informal religious organizations. The most highly organized of these is the Dream Dance with a definite list of officers and members, although with somewhat sporadic meetings at this point. The Medicine Lodge Society and Peyote Cult also have recognized leaders and members, although the two organizations are somewhat in conflict. The War Dance is an informal society with meetings organized by anyone who wishes to enlist the aid of guardian spirits of a number of invited participants. It is usually held for the purpose of curing a sick person.

Individual relationships can be deepened by the Wabeno ceremony in which a person is adopted by a family to replace a person lost by that family. The Naming Feast in which an old person gives a child an Indian name (received from the guardian spirit) results in a special bond between those two persons: a close personal relationship, mutual obligations, and a special term of address (niokadi).

In general it may be said that Potawatomi society was very loosely structured in the past, and is even more so today.

POLITICAL LIFE

The term "disorganized" characterizes the political life of the Wisconsin Potawatomi. Lack of effectual leaders; factionalism; and the scatteredness of the population, coupled with poor communication, are contributing factors in this situation.

Chieftainship was traditionally inherited, being passed on from father to a son, but civil chiefs never constituted a powerful force in the atomistic nature of Potawatomi life of former time. Just when the hereditary line was broken is not clear, but within the last fifty years a number of self-appointed chiefs have arisen. There is one of them at the present time, but he has a rather small following. Perhaps the most highly publicized one in recent times was Simon Kahquados who acted as chief for some fifteen years before his death in 1930. His main duties seem to have been concerned with the attempt to recover money from the United States Government on the basis of old treaties. He made several trips to Washington but the treaty rights have as yet not been recognized, although a suit is still pending. Kahquados was a colorful character and his death was marked by a large funeral (his body was kept in a Wabeno funeral home for six months awaiting the occasion) held at Ephriam, Door County, where his body is marked by a monument. How large his Indian following was is hard to determine, but the remark heard about town today that "he fooled everybody but the Indians" is certainly an over-statement.

The formal political organization of today is the result of the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. The band was incorporated and a tribal council system of self-government instituted. There are now six men on the Council, as follows: a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer, and two councilmen. Four of these, including the chairman, are from the Stone

Lake Community. Community Halls at Stone Lake (Fig. 5) and near Wabeno were built in 1939, and meetings are held in these. The largest meeting is held in April. The band is notified of the meeting by mail and the Council holds a meeting at Stone Lake in the morning and moves to Wabeno for the afternoon to meet with that community. A November meeting is held every two years to elect new officers. Special meetings can be called at any time, but these rarely occur.

The Community Hall at Wabeno is used so rarely that it has been taken over as living quarters for nine persons at present. Some people complain of the lack of meetings, and lack of attendance and interest in the meetings they do have. Part of this lack of attendance is due to the scattered and isolated situation of families and lack of transportation facilities. Many of the roads are poor and impassable in bad weather, especially during winter. Cars are few, and to attend a meeting for some would mean a fifteen-mile walk one way to the Community Hall, or to spend \$2.50 to have the "taxi" take them one way. No one has a telephone. Many do



FIG. 5.—Stone Lake Community Hall.

not have mail delivery service, but go to town once a week to pick up mail at the Post Office. It would also be very difficult to collect a quorum for a summer meeting as many of the people have dispersed to the potato fields, cherry orchards at Sturgeon Bay, etc. As it is almost impossible to assemble the 30 per cent needed for a quorum for official action, the District Agent suggested that they empower a tribal council quorum of six to act for the group so that some action could be effected for the band. The people voted to do this with three council members from each community to constitute a quorum, but the ballots and some of the resolutions have never reached the agent and are presumed to be lost. There is also the complaint that a block of older folk at Wabeno tries to obstruct everything the council wants to do. It smacks of the same generational split found in other Wisconsin Indian settlements where the older group is interested in suing for the old treaty rights, while the younger folks are interested in working out the problems at hand.

Besides the tribal organization, there is a limited amount of political activity in connection with local and national politics. As United States citizens the Indians are entitled to vote, and at town elections the local white politicians call for the Indians with cars and bring them to town to cast their ballots.

In summary, it may be said that the political disorganization is primarily due to three factors: lack of strong leadership from within, factionalism, and residential isolation coupled with lack of means for transportation and communication.

WHITE ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

A large share of the anti-Indian feeling is due to the fact that the Indians are frequently seen in town at their worst while drunk. The people are almost completely ignorant of the Indian home life and culture, and are for the most part uninterested in finding out about them.

There is also the linguistic barrier. As many of the older folks cannot speak English, or speak it poorly, there is little chance for friendships and understandings to develop.

However, the anti-Indian feeling in white communities is centered about three complaints: they drink too much, they won't work or are unreliable workers, and they are unclean and likely to be diseased.

Drinking

The complaint that the Indians drink too much is a justifiable one. I have seen more per-capita drinking in this group than in any of the other five Wisconsin Indian settlements I have visited. Although it is against federal law to sell liquor to an Indian, the people have no trouble getting it, although it is usually sold to them "through the back door" of a tavern. Muscatel wine in bottles of "fifths" is the universal drink. While drinking parties are often private affairs held at a person's home, they also have no aversion to being seen drunk on the streets of nearby towns. In fact, there is considerable of the latter, which is a major reason for the white resentment toward the Indians. A fact worth noting, however, is that because the Indians are not allowed in the taverns, any drunkenness on their part is blatantly apparent to the observer on the street, whereas the whites can achieve the same condition in the concealment of a tavern. From personal observation it is obvious that the Indians do not drink for social reasons, but do so merely to get drunk.

Drinking is particularly a problem for the local police around the first of the month when the pension and other government-aid checks arrive. It is also too often true that money received for a load of logs will be spent on wine first and food secondly. They are very hospitable with a bottle and, if one person has money to spend, his friends are welcome to join in the drinking.

By-products of drinking range from the innocuous, such as noise and singing, to the more serious, such as fighting and drunken driving. Fighting is done among themselves; there are almost no involvements with whites except in the case of a police officer attempting an arrest. Fighting is ordinarily of a fist variety, with bruised faces and black eyes the net result, but there have been a number of more serious cases in which weapons have been employed, and at least two persons within the last ten years have been sent to prison for attempted murder. If the fighting gets out of hand, the police may be called in and the culprits arrested on a drunk and disorderly charge and given from twenty to sixty days in jail. Usually the Indian will not resist arrest, but there are known resisters who necessitate close watch, and a club is sometimes used to subdue an overly aggressive one.

Another, and sometimes serious by-product of drinking is drunken driving. This has resulted in a number of deaths and some rather serious

injuries to the Indians. The usual wreck occurs in the process of the car leaving the road, but there have also been collisions and side-swiping instances involving other cars. A point of resentment among whites is that no Indian carries car insurance, and no personal or property damages can be collected. In fact, cases of Indians driving with neither car nor driver's licenses are not uncommon.

The white resentment seems to have both a moral and economic basis. In regard to the latter, they not only decry the fact that the Indian carries no car insurance, but also the idea that they have to pay for keeping the Indian out of trouble, as summed up by the statement, "Why should we pay taxes to police and pay the cost of keeping the Indian in jail? The federal government should take care of that."

The legal status of these Indians is somewhat confused in terms of law enforcement. As this is not a reservation, civil law is in force. On the other hand, the law prohibiting the sale of liquor to Indians by whites is a federal one and the local police have no authority to enforce it. As there is no federal enforcement officer in the area, there is no control over the obtaining of liquor by the Indians.

Civil law among the Indians is enforced by the sheriff and policeman whose headquarters are at Crandon, and a town marshal with two deputies stationed at Wabeno. One Indian at Stone Lake has been deputized and works with the Crandon office. An arrested person is brought to the Crandon jail where he awaits hearing and sentence by the local circuit judge.

The sheriff estimated that 98 per cent of the Indian arrests were for drinking, and that 80 per cent were men and 20 per cent were women. He stated that there were good and bad Indians here, and that it was the same ones who repeatedly got into trouble. These repeaters have no fear of jail and do not mind the shorter sentences at all. He added that very few assault and battery cases are prosecuted because the Indians are very reluctant to submit a complaint or testify in court, and that cases of murder or theft are rare among the Potawatomi.

The jail records provide some specific data. Out of sixty-one arrests in Forest County during my two months stay, forty-four were whites and seventeen were Potawatomi Indians. Thus, while the Potawatomi are only 2 per cent of the population of the county, they account for 27 per cent

of the arrests. The Indian arrests, however, were nearly all for very minor offenses, and all but three involved drinking as follows:

Drunk	2
Drunk and disorderly	8
Drunken driving	3
Disorderly conduct	1
Disturbing the peace	1
Stolen car	1
Traffic violation	1

It is rather obvious that drinking is one of the major social problems of the band. No one, however, seems concerned with the problem of why they drink so excessively. This is certainly a difficult one to solve, and trying to explain it on the basis of cultural demoralization, or of seeking relief from frustration and aggression, does not seem to provide a suitable answer. Perhaps part of the answer lies in the constitutional makeup of these people, involving such factors as an undernourished person's more active response to, and desire for, alcohol.

Motivation

The complaint of the townfolk that the Indians are a lazy group and are unreliable workers is usually qualified by the addenda that there are some who are very good and steady workers. There is also the common remark that an Indian will work fine up to pay day, but he then disappears until the money is spent.

A personnel man at the lumber company employing the most Indians (five, of which three are Potawatomi), but which employed up to fifteen during the war when the manpower shortage was acute, made the following comments: "The majority of Indians are not reliable workers. They miss too much time staying away on drunks. We have had a few who were very reliable. One has worked here ten years. We hire them mostly for unskilled work, but a few have worked at semi-skilled jobs. On the whole they are not as intelligent workers as whites, but the Chippewa can be trained easier than the Potawatomi."

My first impression of the Indian community was that here is an unmotivated people. It is apparent that they have little of the desire for money and possessions per se, as has been so strongly inculcated into the

average member of the American culture pattern. They seem to be quite satisfied to just "get by," and the idea of storing up money, food, or even wood for the next winter does not seem to interest them. Part of this lack of accumulation of wealth and possessions is due to the fact that their meagre income makes saving for the future rather difficult. Another factor operating is the hangover of the old hospitality pattern in which persons who had extra food and possessions were obligated to share them with those who needed them. Today, if it is discovered that a person has an extra supply of something, others will come to "borrow" it until it is gone. If one person has money for wine, a whole group can have a party, and anyone who happens along is welcome to drink.

A local banker (whose institution is almost completely ignored by the Indians) told of the case of one person who received some money in a settlement for his brother's death. The money was deposited in the bank but it was soon gone, with a different person coming in with the depositor each time to share in the proceeds. Whether or not such a pattern would tend to stifle the incentive to work hard to accumulate possessions is hard to judge, but the net result of such a share-all plan is that no one can keep a surplus of anything for any length of time.

There is also the general attitude of day-to-day living with little interest or concern for the future. A common remark by the local whites is that you can always tell an Indian house by the lack of a woodpile. This is a fairly accurate observation and the Indian does not seem at all worried by the lack of a woodpile with the usual, very cold winter approaching. The lack of tension and worrying in the face of almost insurmountable problems is very apparent, and the two doctors in the community commented on the great differential in the number of hypertension cases observed in the Indians as contrasted to the local white population.

Thus, the loss of a job does not seem to bother the person. The whites agree that the sober Indian on the job is a good worker, but point out that one is never sure if an Indian will show up for work, especially after pay day. While it is true that drinking parties are a major cause of absenteeism, there are other factors, also responsible, such as lack of adequate transportation. As cars are few and the people scattered, it may mean a man has to walk as much as ten miles to work. If the weather is bad, the worker might consider it not worth while to make the trip. The cars that do provide transportation are of the archaic and unreliable variety so that non-

appearance for work of one or more individuals may be due to inability to get the car started. One mill owner refuses to hire Indians solely because of their unreliability.

Why the Indians have never taken on the intense economic motivation of the surrounding whites is an interesting problem. These people are still not motivated by competition. The answer to the problem of what does motivate them can be partially obtained by examining the traditional value system.

Much of the old culture of the Potawatomi was based on a religious motivation. Not only the ceremonial life, but also such aspects of culture as doctoring, war, hunting and fishing, and even games had an important religious motivation. Thus the fasting dream was of the utmost importance to the individual. The vision quest gave him a guardian spirit to guide and protect him the rest of his life; equipped the person with perhaps the greatest gift, the power to cure or harm (if necessary); granted him the power of prophecy; and provided him with a supply of songs and names. These gifts involved obligations. The Indian must frequently honor his guardian spirit with offerings of food, and particularly tobacco. Keeping rapport with the guardian and other spirits was a constant demand in terms of both thought and action.

As the vision quest was slowly abandoned (only a few persons under forty years of age have a guardian spirit today), the key to the dynamics of the culture (and also of the individual) was being thrown away. There was no longer any need to observe food taboos, naming rites, hunting and fishing regulations, religious observances and ceremonies, or even to play the games of dice and lacrosse formerly done to honor the guardian spirits. While a group of the older folks still operate to a large degree under the old pattern, the younger people do not subscribe to it and seem to have acquired nothing in its place. They are involved in both systems and yet are a part of neither. Wine seems to be the temporary escape from their confusion. The older people, with some element of the old culture to live by and believe in, appear to have a great deal more morale and motivation, and have won a great deal more respect from the townsfolk than have those of the younger generation.

Health

The white complaint that the Indians are dirty and likely to be diseased is not without foundation. The Indians are actually surprisingly clean in view of the lack of water, and bathing and laundry facilities. Not a single home is equipped with running water; in fact, there are quite a number of homes without pumps, and some have to walk as much as half a mile to obtain water from a farmer. The galvanized iron wash tub is in vogue for both bathing and laundry. As no home has electricity, modern washing machines are conspicuously absent. Their limited wardrobes comprise another handicap in the attempt to keep fresh clothing for the wearer. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the Indians are less clean than the surrounding whites, but the differential is not great. The Indians particularly make a great effort to see that their children are clean and neatly dressed for school. Pediculosis is estimated to be five times as great among Indian school children as among white.

The belief among the whites that the Indians are likely to be diseased is based on both truth and folklore. The belief that the Indians have a high rate of venereal disease is utterly without foundation. On the other hand, tuberculosis is still somewhat of a problem, although more under control now than formerly. A mobile X-ray unit comes to give chest X-rays every year or two, and the local doctors are on the lookout for tubercular symptoms in Indians. There are only two actually known cases of tuberculosis at present in the Wabeno Community of 126 people. These are both in one family. That tuberculosis may run rampant through a certain family is indicated by a surviving member of one who can count seventeen graves in his family graveyard all of whom died of tuberculosis. One of the main problems at present is the need for dental care. A contract dentist used to make a fleeting visit of the community for a few days about once a year, but even that has been eliminated.

On the cheerful side of the ledger is the observation by one of the doctors that in his thirteen years as a contract doctor he has never found a case of mental disease, had only three cases of high blood pressure (one hypertension and two apoplexy), and encountered no cancer.

The medical care of the Indians is handled by two contract doctors: one at Wabeno, and one at Crandon. They are provided with drugs and medicines and paid about \$85 per month. One doctor estimates he handles

sixty Indian patients per month. There is also one field nurse, but her territory is so large that she can visit any one community for only two or three days out of a month. The Indians turn out well for the health program. Besides the X-ray, there is an immunization program and an estimated 80 per cent of the children have been immunized for diphtheria, whooping cough, and smallpox.

One of the big difficulties is that the doctors are not equipped for surgery. Surgery and childbirth cases must be sent to the Indian hospital at Hayward some two hundred miles away, although emergency cases can be taken to a local private hospital. With the poor roads and isolation of the Indians, just getting them to the local doctor in time is often a problem. It is also difficult to see how a doctor can be expected to provide conscientious and complete medical care for over a hundred people at a fee of \$85 per month. The government contract calls for home calls in emergency only, and the doctor makes only a few calls per month. The Indians must come to the doctor, which often involves a difficult transportation problem. Another difficulty stems from the attitude of the people themselves, some refusing to go to the Hayward hospital for such reasons as sheer inertia, lack of faith in the hospital, or because it is so far from home and friends.

Education

Until 1930, education was in the hands of missionary and Indian boarding schools, primarily the latter. It is rare to find a person over fifty with more than two years of formal schooling. A few went to Carlisle, but there are many more who never went to school at all. Although a good many learned to speak English while employed in the lumber camps, there is still a group who can neither speak, read, nor write English. This lack of an academic background or tradition has been a serious handicap to the young people today.

In 1930 the Indian boarding school system was largely abolished, and the children were rounded up and sent to the local public schools with tuition and transportation furnished by the Indian Bureau. During the early period, Indians with horse and wagon were hired to bring the children to school, but the job is now done with modern school buses.

In the Wabeno area the Indians form nearly 17 per cent of the enrollment of the grade school which handles only the first six grades, and form

only 4 per cent of the seventh and eighth grade total. There are only 2 Indians out of a total enrollment of 172 in high school, or slightly more than 1 per cent.

As there is no kindergarten, the children start the first grade at the age of six. One of the first-grade teachers said that the Indian children are very shy at first, especially the boys, but that the boys quickly overcome their shyness and play with the white boys, while the Indian girls play only among themselves.

The Superintendent of Schools observes that the Indians are fairly aggressive and uninhibited up to about the fifth grade, when they seemingly become conscious of their social difference and the prejudice attached to it, and become more retiring, quiet, and subdued. He feels that the point is brought rather emphatically to the Indians in that this is the time when the children begin to have birthday parties, to which the Indian children are not invited. Up to the fifth grade, the Indian children will mix freely with the whites at lunch time, but in the upper grades they group off by themselves. On the playground the Indians can mix with white children if they want to, and they are readily taken into games; but by-and-large they tend to play among themselves. How much of the tendency for segregation is the result of the response to prejudice, or is due to a sheer preference for their own companionship, is difficult to say, but my feeling is that it is largely due to their own preference. Whatever the cause, this pattern of self-segregation is established in school and carries on into the community life of the adults.

A new administration during the last three years has made considerable effort and progress in the attempt to have the Indian receive equal consideration with the white. Thus the Indian children no longer get on the school bus last, but all line up and go in whatever order they happen to be. The phrase "you Indian children" is banned from use by the teachers, and any stigma that might have been attached to the free lunch ticket for Indians has been removed by the issuing of one type of ticket for both paid-for and free tickets.

The school personality of the Indian child is generally described by the teachers with such adjectives as shy, quiet, subdued. They are also considered to be less of a discipline problem than whites, and the superintendent thinks they are happier in school than whites.

In school work they are conceded to be very good in art. In terms of marks they do somewhat less well than the whites. In proportion to their number there are more A and F students among the Indians, while the white students show less of the extremes. While some of the Indians are among the brightest in school, there are more who have a difficult time keeping up. Poor attendance seems to be one factor, and another seems to be a general lack of interest in school, especially among the boys. It is especially unusual for an Indian boy to go on to high school; in fact, there are only two Indian girls in high school at present, and thus far not a single Indian has graduated from the Wabeno High School. Most of the Indian boys are fifteen or sixteen years of age when they finish grade school, due to failure or sickness, so the state law that a person must go to school until he is sixteen is satisfied. The lack of interest in higher education seems largely due to the lack of an academic tradition in the home, and the slight interest shown by the parents in encouraging the children to go on to high school and college.

Suggestions

1. The problem of how to improve social and economic conditions among the band of Potawatomi is not a simple one. As the situation is very comparable to the Hannaville Potawatomi settlement in Michigan, most of Tiedke's excellent suggestions would apply here. An obvious need is for a full-time, on-the-spot advisor. Such a person should work to organize the band for effective political action and community economic projects. He should also concern himself with the liaison task of improving public relations in the community between the Indians and whites. A person also equipped to supervise the logging operations would be a very great asset, but this is expecting a lot.
2. Whether declaring the lands a reservation would help the situation is doubtful. It would have the beneficial effect of allowing the Indians to hunt and fish on their lands throughout the year without restriction, but beyond that it would seem to offer nothing of significance. It would also be a rather difficult change to effect in view of the Indian Bureau's present policy toward the eventual elimination of the reservational system.
3. The greatest need is to get the Indians to help themselves, and this is primarily an educational problem. A big step would be taken if more

of the young folks could be persuaded to go on to high school, vocational school, or college to equip themselves with the necessary skills to make a better living and to better serve their own communities. At present there are few Indians with a skilled trade, and no one trained for a business or professional career. Particularly useful to them in terms of community needs and their own potentialities would be vocational training in the trades, especially building and construction. They prefer outdoor work and most of them are potentially skillful with their hands. There is also a need for home training programs for adults. A demonstration program in such things as interior decorating and home repair maintenance (emphasizing the importance of screens in terms of health), and a food program to teach the importance of a balanced diet, could contribute much to improve the living and health conditions.

4. Another suggestion, made by the District Indian Agent, that would seem to have some merit is to concentrate the Wabeno Community into one smaller area. There is land available for such a purpose, and the agent believes he could get the funds necessary for moving the houses. As the Indians do not farm, they do not need large homesteads, and their own lands could be held for them for the timber resources. Whether or not the Indians would agree to such a move has not been determined, but the move would have certain value for them. The prospective site is about a mile from town, which would make shopping much easier for most of them. They would be much easier to service from a school, welfare, and medical standpoint, and these are important considerations. It would undoubtedly help to better integrate the community socially and politically. It might even be possible to set up organized recreation for them under such circumstances, and this is a real need.

5. Another suggestion made by some is to revive and encourage handicrafts. Unfortunately, this is a difficult way to make a living, especially for the Woodland peoples whose crafts, outside of beadwork and basketry, have little popular appeal. The workers hourly rate for crafts is ridiculously low, and while handicrafts are all right for supplementing an income, it offers no hope in solving the economic problems of the Potawatomi. Another possibility, also seasonal but along the same line, is to stage Indian dances for the tourists during the summer. This has been quite successful at the Lac du Flambeau Reservation seventy-five miles to the north, where a \$12,000 cement bowl has been built for the purpose, and performances

attract as many as 1600 to the dances. The Indians dance twice a week and earn \$12 to \$15 a night. Such a program, while not a solution, would be more hopeful in terms of supplementary income and might do considerable in establishing better relations between the local whites and Indians.

Part II

The Remnants

INTRODUCTION

This section will concern itself with the surviving elements of the old culture. The Potawatomi have retained a rather surprising amount of the old culture; in fact, more perhaps than any other Indian group in the state. This is due primarily to their living back in the woods. As with all Wisconsin Indians it is the old folks who maintain the old ways, with the young folks taking little interest in them, much to the consternation of their elders. At first blush it would seem that the old culture would die along with the old folks, but it often happens that when a person grows older he takes on more of the old ways. The general direction, however, is away from the old culture and by slow attrition the traditional folkways are disappearing.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth

In former times a special wigwam was built a short distance from the regular dwelling for an expectant mother. A delivery rack (ebskada'kšek), consisting of a smoothed pole two or three feet long set about two feet above the ground on two croched poles, was also erected. In final labor the woman would kneel on a reed mat, padded with blanket or hay, with the cross-bar across her chest. A few experienced women would assist at the birth. After the birth, the umbilical cord was tied and a portion saved to be later sewn into a buckskin pocket (usually diamond-shaped), and hung on the bow of the cradle-board. The child was bathed in a hot solution containing an aromatic herb, a certain wine, and charred pieces from a tree that had been hit by lightning. The child was then put on the cradle-board (tkzna'gon). This consisted of a cedar board with a head bow and footbrace of ash (Fig. 6). The cradle was padded with a cushion of cat-tails which had been boiled, dried, and fluffed. The two wrappers were of buckskin and usually highly ornamental. Little objects, including the umbilical cord packet, were hung from the bow of the cradle-board to amuse the child. The child spent about nine months on the board, taken off usually twice daily for change and exercise. The mother and child spent

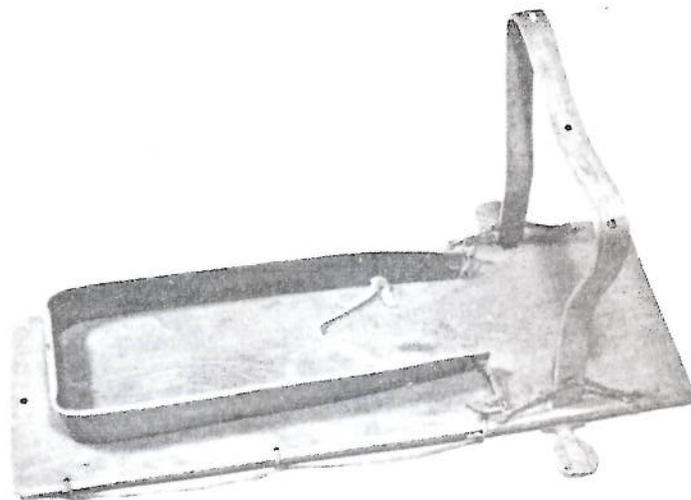


FIG. 6—Cradle Board.

thirty days in the birth hut if the baby was a boy, or forty days if a girl. Food was brought to the hut usually by the woman's mother. A notch for each day was cut in the edges of the cradle-board to record the length of time in the hut.

Visitors, except for young girls, were allowed. My informant, forty-eight years of age, said she had all her children in the birth hut, but that she only stayed in it about two weeks. Then she moved back into the house, but had to eat her meals alone in the birth hut for the thirty or forty days. Otherwise, it was believed that the life of the child would be shortened. The few people who have used the birth hut in recent times have used a shed or tent. The women at present are sent to the Hayward Hospital for the delivery. They are sent two weeks before the expected time, and it is only emergency cases that the contract doctor can not get to in time that are handled by Indian midwives.

While most of the older generation were raised on the cradle-board, there are only two families that still use it at present. The modern baby spends most of his time in a hammock made of a blanket slung between two ropes and held apart by a wooden crosspiece at either end (Fig. 7).

Still to be found to a limited extent is the practice of cutting one or two holes in the soles of the baby's moccasins. The rationale for this is similar to that of the other Wisconsin Woodland tribes: if an evil spirit asks the baby to go on a journey with him (to death), the baby can say, "I can't go with you; I have holes in my moccasins" (Fig. 8).

Some of the old pregnancy taboos are still observed. Expectant parents, but especially the mother, are not to look at deformed people or animals, or the child will be born dead or with a deformity. They should not eat or look at turtles or rabbits or the child may develop the jerky motion of a turtle, or get fits like the rabbit. If one of these tabooed animals happens to be seen, a bit of its hair or flesh is taken and saved to be later put into hot water in which the baby is bathed.

Illegitimate babies, including those from non-Indian fathers, are received into the household and society with a seeming casualness, and while everyone knows about it there is no apparent stigma attached to the child.



FIG. 7—Baby in Hammock.



FIG. 8.—Baby's Moccasins Showing Holes in Soles.

Child Care

Besides the mother, the care of the child is usually in the hands of the older children, especially the girls, and a doting grandmother. Children are well treated and frequently indulged. The parents rarely raise their voice to reprimand a child, and corporal punishment is equally rare. What would be treated as catastrophic events to the white parent are treated with calmness and casualness by the Indian. A case in point is that of a child who tripped and fell, receiving a rather nasty gash. The child ran

crying into the house where the father said in a soft voice, "Why didn't you look where you were going", and treated the wound. The mother made no comment but went on with her work. This lack of tension in the parents toward the child, and their treating him without excited or fast words and motion, is reflected in the personality pattern of the child, and later in the adult, and seems to account for what is popularly and tritely, but not wholly inaccurately, called the "stoic" in the Indian.

Naming

A naming feast (*ewa'wizot*) takes place any time during infancy or early childhood. The parents select an old man or woman and bring tobacco to him and ask him to name the child. The time and place are arranged and the person holds the baby to accustom it to him so it won't cry at the feast. At the appointed time the parents and friends arrive with food (usually deer is specified), tobacco, and (if they can afford it) presents for the namer. The food is prepared and laid out on the floor with tobacco, some of which is put into the fire. The namer then takes the baby, dedicates the tobacco and food to his guardian spirit, and asks him to always help and protect the baby. He then gives the baby an Indian name obtained by a dream, and all the people at the feast echo the name in unison. The feast is then held, after which the people adjourn.

It is considered a great honor to name a child and a special relationship exists between the namer and namee from that time on. Each calls the other *niokade* (my dream name), or "nio" for short, and a special affection exists between them. The namer later makes sacred objects (*widšowen*) for the child, such as a bow and arrow and a little drum or lacrosse racquet, as determined in a dream, which must be kept throughout life and be well cared for by the child and honored by feasts. When the child gets older he takes the sacred objects to a War Dance or a special feast at which time they are laid out on the floor with the food. This is the only time they can be played with. The namer is invited to the special name feast, called *e'wigoget*, and is called upon for a prayer. If the baby becomes sick at any time, the namer gives a feast for it.

This practice is still in vogue among the so-called "pagan" group. Every child is also given a first name by his parents, and takes the last name of his father. The acquisition of surnames by the Potawatomi is a

fairly recent thing—within the last sixty years. Many of these were acquired as a result of the need for a name on the payroll records in the lumber camps. In a number of cases the Indians took first names of whites as last names. Thus the children of "Indian Jim" are now known as Charley and Pete Jim. Other first names which became surnames are Frank, George, Mike, and Andy. In other instances surnames are devised from Indian, such as Manomen, Nahbahkah, Weewasin, and Kesick; while still other surnames, less distinctive, include such white names as Johnson, Smith, Williams and Crawford.

Feast for the Kill

An important event in the early life of a boy was a feast given to commemorate the securing of his first game. When the boy caught his first fish or killed a rabbit or other game, his parents invited friends and relatives to a feast by tobacco invitation. A man known for speaking ability dedicated the tobacco and food to the spirit of the dead animal and to the manido, and the feast was begun. The animal was cooked in a separate kettle and each person, except the boy who killed it, ate a bit of it. This was done so that the boy would be a successful hunter when he grew up. The custom is observed only to a very limited extent today.

Fasting (măkadékewin: putting on black)

When a child reached the age where he could understand (ten or twelve years old) he began the short period fasts. He was awakened before sunrise and given a choice of a bowl of food or a charred basswood stick. If he chose the food he might be asked to take a plunge in a lake covered with thin ice (if in late fall). If he chose the charred stick he indicated that he would go without eating or drinking for half a day, at first, although later on it would be lengthened into a full day. He would rub some of the charcoal on each cheek (it is said that long ago the whole face was blackened) and either play about the house or go off into the woods, but he must eat nothing and could not even chew leaves. When the boy was older (fifteen or sixteen) he would go out into a secluded spot on a long fast in an attempt to secure a guardian spirit. This should last, ideally, four days, but the people know of two cases in which one person fasted eight days and the other ten. There is some danger connected with

fasting too long; the person seeking too much knowledge and power might be transformed into a bird or animal. It is said that such spirits will talk to the living Indians, as for example a robin's song says (in Indian) "come along with me." During a successful fast the person, through dreams or visions, secured "knowledge" in a visitation by one or more spirits, one of which became his guardian spirit to help and protect him throughout his life, and this was regarded as the most important thing in life that could happen to a person.

In some instances the person was given special instructions by a spirit. J. M. (recently deceased), for example, fasted for four days, during which time he was told to kill four deer, cut them into pieces, and let them lie. Eight days later he had to visit the remains of the four deer and found a feather from a different kind of bird at each place, which he kept throughout his life.

The young girls had their vision quest at the time of their first menses when they were secluded in a specially built wigwam (*begé'skeugamag*) located far from the dwelling. This lasted for ten days during which time the girl had food brought to her. The menstruating woman was regarded as a contaminating influence, and even today the practice of such a woman eating her meals outside or away from the others is observed to some extent. Eating a meal with a menstruating woman, or drinking from a cup used by her, could cause sickness, particularly paralysis. I was told of two such instances occurring within the last few years in which a person was paralyzed from such contact, and one of them died.

The custom of secluding the girl in the menstrual hut is observed by few families today. Likewise, while there are a few of the younger people who have fasted for half a day, I could find no account of a long fast among the young, and the securing of a guardian spirit is apparently a thing of the past.

Marriage

It is said that formerly, if a man wanted to marry a girl, he took a blanket or shawl to her home. If she allowed him to put the blanket or shawl over her shoulders it meant that she agreed to marry him. It is also said that the parents did not arrange marriage; that it was solely the choice of the young couple. In former times the marriage was formalized by a feast to which the family of the young man and girl were invited. If the

man had offered marriage, his family had to go to the house of the girl's family; if the girl had proposed, her family went to the man's house. I was told that it was nearly always the man who proposed in former times; nowadays it is just the opposite. The man's parents had to provide more presents than the woman's. The presents were usually horses, blankets, and tanned buckskins. After the presents were exchanged by the parents, and the feast concluded, the couple was considered man and wife. Only the older generation observed this practice. Today (and within the last thirty years) nearly all the marriages are consummated by the process of the man and woman simply living together and setting up their own household. Only a few of the marriages today have been formalized by church or civil ceremony, and the securing of a marriage license. Such unions are recognized as legal by the Indian Bureau and recorded as "marriage by Indian custom." Marriage is somewhat brittle and there are many people who have been married two or three times. There is one woman, forty years of age, who has had five husbands thus far. Divorce was, and is, the simple matter of one of the spouses moving out of the house. Bachelorhood or spinsterhood is almost unheard of. I could find only one case, within memory, of a man who remained unmarried, and none of a woman remaining unmarried.

Old Age and Death

There is no general pattern of living for the old folks. Some live by themselves; some live with their married offspring. It is often an economic advantage to a young couple to have one spouse's parents in the household, and his old age pension check may be the only constant source of income for the family. Some of the older men cut pulp or work at seasonal harvesting. The older women may do harvesting and do nearly all the handicrafts, since the young women show little interest in these activities.

Upon death a person may receive the traditional Medicine Dance funeral, a Dream Dance, a Peyote ceremony, a Christian one, or a combination of several. The only funeral I witnessed was officiated by a Medicine Dance priest, but it was a rather unelaborate affair without the traditional all-night wake, with its singing of the Mide mourning songs, face painting, and the placing of the Medicine bag on top of the coffin.

A description of this funeral is as follows: A young couple lost a seven-week-old baby. The body was laid in state at the parent's home in a

simple wooden coffin obtained at the local funeral home. (The government pays for the coffin, but not for embalming, so embalming is rarely done.) The next day the mother went to a mide priest, gave him tobacco, and asked him to conduct the funeral on the following day. Around eleven o'clock the next day the mide priest and a small body of friends and relatives arrived, and the latter brought tobacco and food, including candy and sweets such as a baby would like. While the food was being cooked, the mide priest carved the grave-marker, and one of the young men with some art ability drew a picture of a turtle on it to represent the clan animal of the deceased. This should have been put on upside down to indicate death, but the young man admittedly got mixed up. However, no one seemed to object later when the marker was placed on the grave. A "brave-stick" (Fig. 9) was then carved by the priest. This was a stick about three feet long with four areas whittled so that the shavings projected upwards, while four red stripes representing blood were painted on the stick between the areas. The brave-stick (*yajimo'kumt/k*) is erected at the grave so that the dead warriors now in heaven will protect and help the soul on its journey to heaven. A small opening was carved in the head end of the coffin to allow the spirit to escape.

Then with the guests outside, the priest had a talk with the mourning couple. He told them not to get involved in any arguments for ten days but to walk goodnaturedly away. They must not kill any animal nor eat any wild foods without first being fed the food ceremonially (another person takes a spoonful and puts it to the mourner's mouth three times, and on the fourth time leaves it in the mouth). He told them to get up early for the next four days and take a walk to the east (the opposite direction from the land of the dead). They should not go swimming for at least four days as they would kill the fish; in fact, they really should not cross a stream without putting tobacco in it first. They should not touch a baby or the head of an adult for one year or paralysis would occur in the touched person. After the explanation of the behavioral and food taboos to the young couple, the grandmother placed four matches and a bowl of food in the coffin, and some tobacco in each fist of the baby. A spot of rouge was put on each cheek and on the toe of the moccasins of the baby. I was told that all metal objects, particularly pins, should be removed from the body as the evil *manidog* steal these from the dead and use them to kill people. The other people then came inside and took a last look at the baby



FIG. 9—Brave Stick.

while the priest spoke, saying, "We are taking a last look at you as you will soon be in God's hands."

The coffin was closed and taken into an adjoining room where there was a west window. The window was raised and the priest sang two mide

mourning songs with a rattle accompaniment, and spoke to the couple saying that the parents should put the memory of their baby out of their minds as soon as possible, and not to cry. The coffin was shoved through the window and a young man on the outside caught it and carried it to the cemetery, with the others following, the women carrying the food. The body should never be taken out through the door, and a west (direction the soul takes on its journey to heaven) window is best, although if the house doesn't have a west window any other window will do. If it is taken out of the door, the dead soul will grab someone there and take that person along to death with it.

At the cemetery a small fire was burning at the west end of the grave, which had already been dug, and the coffin was lowered into it. The priest talked to the baby, describing the four-day journey it would now have to make to heaven. On the first day of its westward journey it would come to a river spanned by a quaking log over which it had to pass. (I received conflicting accounts of this journey. In another version the quaking log is encountered on the fourth day). The soul should throw one handful of tobacco in the water as an offering to the log spirit, which should be addressed as "grandfather." The log would then stop trembling, and the soul was to cross and meet Čibia'bos, who would escort the soul to heaven. Čibia'bos is the younger brother of Wi'ske, the culture hero (called Wenebo'sho by the Chippewa, and Manabush by the Menomini). Čibia'bos dwells in the west, while Wi'ske lives in the east. Each evening of the four-day journey, the soul would stop, build a fire with one of the matches provided, and eat some of the food from the bowl. A fire would also be built at the head of the grave each evening around sundown, to symbolize that the bereaved were joining the soul in the meal, but an actual feast would be held only on the fourth evening. At the end of the fourth day, the soul would enter heaven—a large village of Indians, where he would join the souls of his friends and relatives. Čibia'bos would tell the soul that he was always to have a place to stay here, where there is no trouble or sickness, and everyone is happy.

When the speech was concluded, the parents dropped a handful of dirt on the coffin and were told to leave the cemetery by going east, and not to look back or come back. The others passed around the grave dropping a bit of earth on the coffin, and the grave was then filled in by means of shovels, leaving a foot-high mound to mark the spot. The grave-marker

was pounded into the ground at the west end of the grave, a large stone put to the west of it, and the brave-stick just to the west of the stone, with the fire burning to the west of the brave-stick (Fig. 10). I was told that the stone is used because "babies like to play with stones."



FIG. 10—Fresh Grave Showing Orientation of Totem Marker, Brave Stick, Stone, and Fire.

The priest put some tobacco on the fire and dedicated it and the food to Čibia'bos (who escorts the soul to heaven), and the feast was held right at the grave. During the feast the priest announced that they would reassemble at the grave in four days.

The final feast took place four days later, the guests arriving around 5:30 in the evening. Two of the young men cut some wood and rebuilt the fire at the grave, and the priest threw some tobacco in the fire as an offering to Čibia'bos. Meanwhile the women were preparing the food at the house. When the men returned, it was decided that it was too wet to eat at the grave, so the food was put on the table in the kitchen. The priest stood at the table to dedicate the food and to speak to the soul of the baby, saying that this would be the last meal they would have together. The people ate and dispersed.

At a later date a low, wooden, gabled shelter is erected over the grave. These are always orientated in an east-west direction with a small "spirit hole" cut in the west end to allow the soul passage (Fig. 11). It is be-



FIG. 11—Grave Shelter Showing Spirit Hole.

lieved that a body has two souls; one goes to heaven, and the other lives on earth. While the Chippewa cut a three- or four-inch opening in the grave shelter, and usually have a shelf under it upon which food offerings may be placed, the Potawatomi cut only a tiny hole (one inch square), and I saw no evidence of a shelf. I mapped twenty Indian cemeteries in the Wabeno Community. These are family cemeteries, built anywhere from fifty feet to one hundred yards from the house.

DREAM DANCE RITES:

If a person belonged to a Drum, the members could hold an evening dance a day or two before the funeral. After the usual four opening songs ("shaking hands with God" songs), the members sing a special song for a deceased member. The song concerns kanoú, the bald eagle, who helps the spirits of the dead on their journey to heaven by assisting Čibia'bos. The Drum ceremony is really a memorial service for a deceased member, and is done in addition to the regular funeral rites, whether Christian or Pagan.

PEYOTE RITES:

The Peyote cult conducts its own funeral and burial rites for members. The usual all-night meeting is sponsored by a close relative of the deceased, and the meeting is held in honor of the dead member. As far as I could learn there is no difference between this and an ordinary meeting except that at the funeral meeting four mourning songs are sung for the deceased, and the prayers are said in his behalf. The body is buried sometime after the sunrise conclusion of the meeting.

CHRISTIAN RITES:

As there are few Christians among the Potawatomi, a Christian funeral is a rarity.

Adoption

A family losing one of its members can ceremonially adopt a person of the same sex and age-grade to take his place. The ceremony is called wes/dswat, or, more popularly, the "Wabeno Ceremony," and has Medicine Dance affiliations. The following is an account of such a ceremony as related by George Manomen, aged thirty:

"I was asked to take the place of Jerry Thunder who had died two years previously. My grandmother asked me if I would take over one of her husband's medicine bags. A few days later Mrs. Michigan, who was taking care of that bag

for my grandmother, brought it to me with a plug of tobacco and told me the adoption ceremonies would start in four days. Jerry had been living with her when he left for the sanitarium. She left the bag (an otter bag) with me and we were supposed to fix it up, but all we did was to put ribbons on it, and returned it to Mrs. Michigan.

"The evening of the fourth day I took a small kettle with some meat, cookies, and bread in it, and also a bundle of groceries, for a feast to be held on the following day, and went to where the ceremonies were to be held. They were already singing Medicine Dance songs to the accompaniment of water drum and rattle when I arrived, and when a certain song was sung I was allowed to enter. I gave some tobacco to the singer and put the food down next to him. I was seated with the family who had lost the son. After several songs the mide priest gave a speech explaining that this meeting was being held to replace a person who had died. After a few more songs the priest dedicated the tobacco and food to the manidog and said, 'You people are taking the place of the manidog here tonight.'

"Tobacco was passed around, and meanwhile the family adopting me was filling my bowl (they provided the bowl, which I was to keep) with food. Everyone sat down to eat, and after the feast a few more songs were sung. The evening ended with the singing of social songs that anyone could get up and dance to.

"When we came back the next morning, a wigwam with a blanket covering had been built in an east-west direction with openings at each end. About 11:30 the women had finished preparing the food, and I was called to the wigwam. They began singing as I approached and I entered, escorted by Charley Thunder and followed by Mrs. Michigan and the other women who were carrying the food; and then the men came. They all put tobacco near where the men were doing the singing, and some walked out, and the rest sat down.

"Meanwhile I was taking off my clothes behind a blanket, with Charley's help. Charley washed me, combed my hair, and I put on a new suit given by Mrs. Michigan, who then put a spot of rouge on each of my cheeks. I now had to make a clockwise circle around the wigwam, with a blanket over my shoulders and carrying a kettle filled with sweets in one hand, and a suitcase with more clothing in it in the other. The dancers followed me while the mide priest sang. I was then seated with the Thunder family. After a while I again circled the wigwam, speeches were made, and we had the feast. After eating I made another circle and sat down, and the others danced for about an hour. Then I made another circle and walked out the west door led by the mide priest and followed by the Thunder family, then Mrs. Michigan, then the rest.

"I was now obligated to give a return adoption feast (obwenmidwat), but I didn't have it until ten months later. I took tobacco to Mrs. Michigan and told her to come to our house in four days for the return adoption. On the day of the feast only a few of the people invited actually came. I gave Mrs. Michigan a dress, two pieces of yard goods, two blankets, and two sacks of flour. They were placed alongside the food on the floor. We had the feast, talked for a while, and the people went home.

"A person usually goes through the Medicine Dance to take the place of the deceased person, but I had recently gone through and didn't have to."

This ceremony was somewhat unusual in that the grandmother instead of the mother of the deceased was the sponsor. A special, close relationship exists between the adopted and adoptees after such a ceremony. In the case above the young man adopted calls his newly acquired parents "mother" and "father," and they call him "son."

THE CEREMONIAL PATTERN

The religious life of the Potawatomi was centered about the following ceremonies: the Medicine Dance, which was the most important and probably the oldest of the traditional ceremonies; the War or Chief Dance; and the Sacred Bundle Ceremonies. To this matrix was added the Dream Dance, originating in the Plains area and spreading to the Chippewa around 1876, and thence to the Potawatomi. Finally, there came the Peyote Cult, also from the Plains and introduced among the Potawatomi around 1900. While the Dream Dance was incorporated into the religious cycle without conflict, the Peyote Cult was competitive with the Medicine Dance and, the two being mutually exclusive, caused a minor schism in the bands which exist today.

Elements common to all religious ceremonials, with the exception of Peyote, are: invitation by tobacco, a feast before which tobacco and the food are dedicated to the gods, singing and dancing to the beat of a drum, and speeches and prayers by a person recognized for his "knowledge" and speaking ability. The leadership is male and ordinarily in the hands of the elders.

As these ceremonials have been rather fully described for other Woodland groups, there will be no attempt to give an exhaustive account of them in this report. Rather, a brief summary of each will be given, its place in the present culture defined, and variances in ritual between the Potawatomi and other groups discussed.

The Medicine Dance

The Medicine Dance Society (mide'w/w/wat) is a religious organization with the primary purpose of curing the sick. The general meetings are usually held twice a year, in spring and in fall. The leaders (or priests) are usually older men who have acquired knowledge of the songs, speeches, and rituals by an apprenticeship system.

A person ordinarily joins because of an illness, during or after which he applies to a priest for membership, or is told to join by relatives or friends in order to ward off future sickness. He then begins collecting the necessary goods, and will "go through" at the next semi-annual meeting. A person may also join to take the place of a deceased member, because he

was accidentally "shot" with the migis, or shell, while watching a Medicine Dance, or because of a dream in which he was told to join.

There are four "degrees," and each time a person is inducted into a higher one it is more costly in terms of the number of blankets, yard goods, and water pails required. While the Wisconsin Chippewa give the inductee a certain type of skin for each degree, there seems to be no such standardization for the Potawatomi, although in general the ceremony of the two tribes is very similar. The Chippewa give the skin of a water animal (mink, muskrat, or other) for the first degree, a bird skin for the second, a fox-snake skin and a fox hide for the third, and a bear paw for the fourth. The Potawatomi give the same type of skins (Fig. 12), but there is no correlation between degree and type that I could discover.

Instruction in medicines, ritual, and behavior is given the candidate by the priests.

The Medicine Dance was traditionally the most important religious ceremony of the Woodland Indians, and is still so among the Potawatomi, although the ratio of members to total population has declined. There are only three recognized mide priests today and it is doubtful if more than one-fourth of the band are members. There is some dissatisfaction among the older people because the priests do not have full knowledge of the ritual, because the younger people take little interest in it, and (as in the case of one of my older informants) because there was too much drinking. However, while the mide religion is not the robust, powerful institution it once was, the fact that as many as eight candidates were inducted at the last meeting (Spring, 1951) indicates it is still very much a going concern.

The War Dance

Another of the traditional ceremonies of the Potawatomi is popularly called the War Dance (some of the Chippewa refer to it as the "Chief Dance"). The name for it, *og'čida'wīgauen*, literally means "brave dance," and its earlier purpose was that of seeking spiritual aid for the braves on a war expedition by means of a group enlisting the aid of certain manido with which they had rapport. With the abandonment of warfare, the ceremony has shifted its purpose to that of curing the sick, although it also may be held for other reasons.

There are no regular meetings, although it is said that ideally they should be held four times a year, and no regular membership, although



FIG. 12—Medicine Bags.

certain older individuals who are known to have rapport with certain spirits, particularly thunderbirds, and who know the songs or have speaking ability, are regularly invited.

Meetings are sponsored by an individual who dreams of an impending sickness, or wishes to help a sick friend or member of the family. He invites in particular four persons whom he wants to speak for him by giving each a plug of tobacco and telling him the time and place. At the appointed time, always in the evening, the people arrive with food, tobacco, tambourine drums. (Fig. 13), and sometimes with their sacred objects



FIG. 13—Tambourine Drum.

(wǝdʒowen). The tobacco that each person has brought as an offering to his own guardian spirit is mixed together in a bowl before passing it around, so that each person gets a bit of everyone's tobacco, in order to mingle the offering so that each can smoke in honor of all the guardian spirits represented.

The sponsor, or an appointed speaker, informs the group of the purpose of the meeting, the tobacco and food are dedicated to the manido, and the people eat. After the feast the men with drums start a song, and the people dance to the singing. The first song is always the "Tobacco Song," sung to the manido and containing the phrase, "We are using your tobacco." The songs are mostly concerned with the thunderbirds and "small birds like eagles that can be seen on earth," and while many are personal songs, the others know the songs and join in the singing. At the conclusion of a song a person can get up and speak, enlisting the aid of his manido in helping the person to get well.

It also may happen that there will be no evening feast, but just singing, dancing, and speaking, and that the main meeting will be held the following day. In such cases the feast is held at noon so that the sun manido can eat with them, after which the singing and dancing takes place. A meeting should last until the pipe has been lit and smoked by the participants four times.

On some occasions an offering tree is erected just before noon. A cedar sapling is peeled, except for a tuft of branches left on top as a symbolic nest for the thunderbird, and below this tuft four red or blue stripes are painted to represent the four layers of heaven. Tobacco and four ribbons (blue, red, white, and green) are tied on near the top, and the sapling set upright in the ground as an offering to the thunderbirds. The sponsor's tobacco must be hung above the others. A cross can be substituted for the tufted sapling if the sponsor has dreamed it that way, and one such pole had a carved wooden bird at the top (Fig. 14).

Sacred Bundle Ceremonies

It is rather difficult obtaining reliable information on the Sacred Bundle ceremonies as they are attended with much secrecy. Even the purpose of the ceremony remains vague, although I was informed that it was held to honor the animal spirits represented by the bundle, that it was some-



FIG. 14—Offering Trees.

times held to cure the sick, and that it could be held to renew or repair the bundle; and the fact that World War I veterans were told to attend such a ceremony upon their discharge from the army suggests a connection with war.

Judging from the name, their original purpose seems concerned with war, and perhaps War Bundle is the best term to apply to them. The Potawatomi term for them is *endóbníwat*, meaning to challenge (another tribe in war). My first impression was that they were clan bundles paralleling those described by Skinner (1924) for the Prairie Potawatomi, but the few informants I could interview stated that they had nothing to do with clans, and furthermore that the animals represented by the bundles are not clan animals.

There are four such bundles in existence at present: two are buffalo, one is crow, and one is thunderbird. Two are in the possession of one person, and two which belonged to another person, now deceased, are in the possession of his widow, and apparently are no longer honored by regular ceremony, although a year ago the bundles were repaired, the sacred objects therein fumigated by burning cedar boughs, and a deer meat feast held by a group of six persons.

The other person holds fairly regular ceremonies for the buffalo and crow bundles in his possession. These ceremonies should be held twice a year, in spring and fall. The buffalo bundle I had an opportunity to examine was a bundle a foot in diameter and two feet long with a buffalo-skin wrapper. Inside were pieces of buffalo wool, buffalo tail, four whistles, a variety of bird and small-animal skins, various "medicines," and an iron club point.

The buffalo-bundle ceremony is held in a specially constructed wigwam oriented in a north-south direction with doorway facing south. People are invited by the bundle owner, by means of gifts of tobacco, and the dance begins in the morning, with a feast at noon, and dancing again in the afternoon. Only the men are allowed inside, but the women can dance and eat outside. The bundle is laid out on the floor, arranged on a blanket along with food and four plugs of tobacco. The owner tucks a buffalo tail in the back of his cap so that it hangs down to his shoulders, and wears wristlets of buffalo wool. Some of the dancers also wear wristlets. The bundle owner, the only one who knows the songs (and it is said he only knows a few of them) begins a song to the beat of a mide water drum. The men form a circle and dance around the lodge in a clockwise direction, simulating the movements of a buffalo including the butting of one another with their heads. In a bird-bundle ceremony the dancers wave

their arms to imitate the flapping of wings. At the conclusion of the dance they whoop, and those with whistles blow them.

Bear Feast

Perhaps not strictly in the religious cycle of the Potawatomi, but formerly an important ceremonial occasion, was a feast given by a hunter upon the killing of a bear. The bear commands considerable respect among the Wisconsin Woodland peoples, and is an important figure in their religion, particularly in the Medicine Dance.

When a hunter kills a bear he lays out the hide and head on a mat, decorates the head with beadwork and ribbons, and hangs up a wrapped slice of the tongue for four days. The body must not be chopped up, but carefully disjointed with a knife to show the kindness with which the Indian treats the bear. People are invited to the feast by tobacco invitation, and all eat some of the bear meat, although other foods are also provided. Food is also laid out for the bear, including maple sugar, berries, and other foods that a bear likes. If it is a male bear, a fine, beaded man's costume is laid out with the bear; and a woman's costume is similarly used for a female bear.

At the feast a speaker talks to the bear village, pointing out what fine treatment the Indians have accorded this visitor and that more will be welcome.

After the feast the bones must be gathered up and piled together; never are they left scattered about.

While bear are still hunted, the bear feast is no longer given; the last one remembered by my informants took place in 1928.

The Dream Dance

The Dream Dance (*nimétwın*) originated with the Dakota Sioux, spread to the Wisconsin Chippewa around 1876, and thence came to the Potawatomi. The ceremony centers around a huge drum made of a wooden washtub covered with rawhide heads and elaborately decorated with paint and beadwork (Fig. 15). It is thought of as a peace drum symbolizing



FIG. 15—Dream Dance Drum.

the end of hostilities between the Sioux and their traditional Woodland enemies. The drum is called *kəm/šo'ms/non*, "our grandfather." It is treated with great reverence and must be carefully kept, and tobacco placed with it when it is not in use.

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The drums are presented by one tribe to another and theoretically should always move east. The normal course of the drums is from the Dakota Sioux to the Minnesota Chippewa, then to the Wisconsin Chippewa starting with the St. Crow band, east to the Lac Court Oreilles band, then to the Flambeau band, where they branch off either to the Lac Vieu Desert band on the Wisconsin-Michigan border or southeast to the Potawatomi. Most of the Potawatomi drums came from Flambeau. Next they are given to the Menomini to the south as there is no drum-using group to the east, while several have been given to the Winnebago, Fox, and Kansas Potawatomi. At present there are five drums among the Potawatomi, each, of course, with its own membership, although a person can belong to more than one drum.

While essentially religious in purpose, the drum meetings also hold a social attraction. The drum owners are usually older men, but the membership is made up of many younger men who particularly enjoy the singing. The membership ordinarily consists of a drum owner and one assistant, four "braves" (*ogčida'*), one pipe tender, four head singers each with an assistant, one chief singer, four drum beaters, a "bullcock" or runner, and two female leaders in charge of the women members. As the song for each office is sung (in the above order), the person belonging to that office must get up and dance, after which he must place a present on a blanket. The pile of gifts are given to drum visitors from other settlements. Besides the "give away" dance, a ceremony can be held for a person leaving the community (such as going into the army), at the funeral of a member, to remove the mourning of a member who has lost a relative, for curing a sick person, for renovation of a drum, for asking for a good wild or garden crop, or in thanks for a bountiful harvest.

The details as to the songs, dances, ritual, paraphernalia used, and concepts employed would entail a separate monograph, and such items have been largely covered by Barrett (1911) for the Menomini and Chippewa cult which very closely resembles that of the Potawatomi.

The Dream Dance ceremonies are held at rather infrequent intervals at present, with the explanation offered that it is too hard to assemble the membership because of the scattered distribution of the people and the lack of transportation facilities. There is some complaint that the fault lies with the failure of the drum owners to call more meetings, and one hears the statement, "We don't get enough chance to practice the songs."

The Peyote Cult

Peyote was introduced to Wisconsin Potawatomi around 1900 by Mitchell Negahtway, a Kansas Potawatomi. Only the half-moon sect is in vogue. The introductory cross-fire ceremony was attempted but never took hold.

The Peyote Cult is centered in the Stone Lake Community, with all of the approximately thirty members located there, except for one Wabeno family. The meetings are held in the homes of the members, although there are plans under way to make a canvas tipi for tipi meetings. Regular meetings are held on such holidays as Christmas, Easter, Decoration Day, and Thanksgiving Day, and special meetings can be called by a sponsor at any time for such purposes as curing a sick person; taking up a collection for buying a headstone or a tipi; or to ask help for members in service, in sanatoriums, and in hospitals. The sponsor tells the leader he would like to hold a meeting, and invitations go out by word of mouth and mail. The sponsor provides most of the food and may also provide the peyote which is mailed up from Oklahoma at \$25 to \$35 a thousand. It is not unusual for a thousand peyote buttons to be consumed at one meeting, as an individual takes from twenty to forty an evening. Peyote is taken in three forms: the natural button, the button ground up and mixed with water to form a mash, or the ground button brewed into a tea. A sick person will usually drink it as a hot tea. There are four officers: a leader, a cedar chief, a drum chief, and a fire tender, plus a "mother Mary" appointed by the leader for the one meeting. Women attend the meeting except during menstruation.

The meetings start at sundown, when the members enter the house where the altar is laid out, and a fire is built by the fire tender. The sponsor tells the purpose of the meeting, and the leader prays while the cedar chief throws cedar on the fire. The singing is begun by the leader, seated at the west end. He sings four songs and then passes the special peyote drum to the drum chief on his right. After four songs, the drum is passed by the drum chief to the cedar chief at the left of the leader, and then the drum and rattle circulate among the members in a clockwise direction, with each person singing four songs or passing by handing the rattle to the next person. The singer accompanies himself with a rattle, and can request anyone he wishes to drum for him. Between songs people can kneel and pray. At midnight the water song is sung by the leader, while

fresh water is brought in by the fire chief who traces a heart-shaped figure in the embers of the fire. A bit of the water and some cedar are thrown in the fire, and a prayer is offered by the leader, after which he drinks and passes the bucket in succession to the drum chief, cedar chief, and clockwise around to all the members. The leader thanks the sponsor for putting up the meeting, and offers a prayer for him.

The singing starts again and lasts until 3 o'clock, when the leader calls upon someone to pray—usually the cedar chief, drum chief, or a visitor. The fire chief traces a star in the embers of the fire. Singing and praying continue until sunrise when the leader sings the angel song, the water song, and the mother song to notify the appointed mother Mary to get ready. The fire chief brings in a fresh bucket of water (the water of life) and sets it before the mother, and then traces a half-moon in the fire. The mother prays over the water asking blessings for children, dead relatives, the sick, etc. The fire chief traces a dove in the fire, to carry the prayer to God. The leader sings four songs, one of which is the food song and one the quitting song.

He then asks if anyone has any announcements, grievances, or confessions. After this everyone prays, each offering his own prayer out loud. The leader takes his staff (Fig. 16), rattle, and wraps up the king peyote button. The drum chief unties the drum, the cedar chief ties up the bundle of cedar, and the leader announces the meeting concluded. The sponsor invites the people for breakfast, and they usually stay also for lunch, after which they disperse.

GAMES

Religious Games

While this transition from religion to games may seem an abrupt one, some of the Potawatomi games actually were played with a religious reason as one motivating factor. Three of the most important games: lacrosse, double-ball, and dice were played in honor of the guardian spirit of the sponsor of a game, with tobacco and food dedicated to the spirit. It was believed that if a person did not sponsor a game once or twice a year he might fall into ill favor with his spirit, and even become sick.

(Lacrosse)

Lacrosse (pəki'twewin) was played only by the men and was believed to have been given the Indians by a God.

A man who wishes to honor his guardian spirit invites a group of guests by giving each a gift of tobacco. On the appointed day the men arrive and the food and tobacco are laid out and dedicated to the spirit. The sponsor selects two captains, one of whom is blindfolded and led to where each man has thrown his lacrosse stick (Fig. 16). He separates the racquets into two piles thereby selecting the two teams. Each stick has identifying marks on it and each owner retrieves his stick from a pile and plays with that team. Ordinarily two teams of five each are invited, but there are nine joining in. Five pieces of yard goods are hung on a rack in the field as prizes.

The field is a level area with two goal posts set in the ground about a quarter of a mile apart. The game is started by the sponsor who tosses the ball in the air with his racquet in the middle of the field. The players either pick the ball off the ground with a racquet, or catch a pass from a team member, and the object is to run with the ball or pass it and score a goal by hitting the post with the ball. A player can not touch the ball with his hands. One person acts as goalie to protect the goal. The opposing team tries to intercept the ball or knock it out of the racquet, and in the melee of flying racquets head and arm bruises are not uncommon. The fastest runners usually score the most goals, but teamwork is important. A game lasts at least three hours until five goals are scored and the five prizes won. A player scoring a goal immediately claims a piece of yard goods which he gives to some woman in the audience, who must reciprocate with a gift at a future time.

The last game remembered by my informant was played in 1946.

(Double-ball, The Woman's Ball Game)

Double-ball (peskowewin) is somewhat similar to lacrosse, and preceded by the same preliminaries in honor of a guardian spirit. There are usually five women on a side, each equipped with a straight stick three or four feet in length (Fig. 16). The ball consists of two oblong, buckskin bags joined together by an eight-inch buckskin thong. The field is about one hundred yards long with a goal post at either end. Sides are chosen

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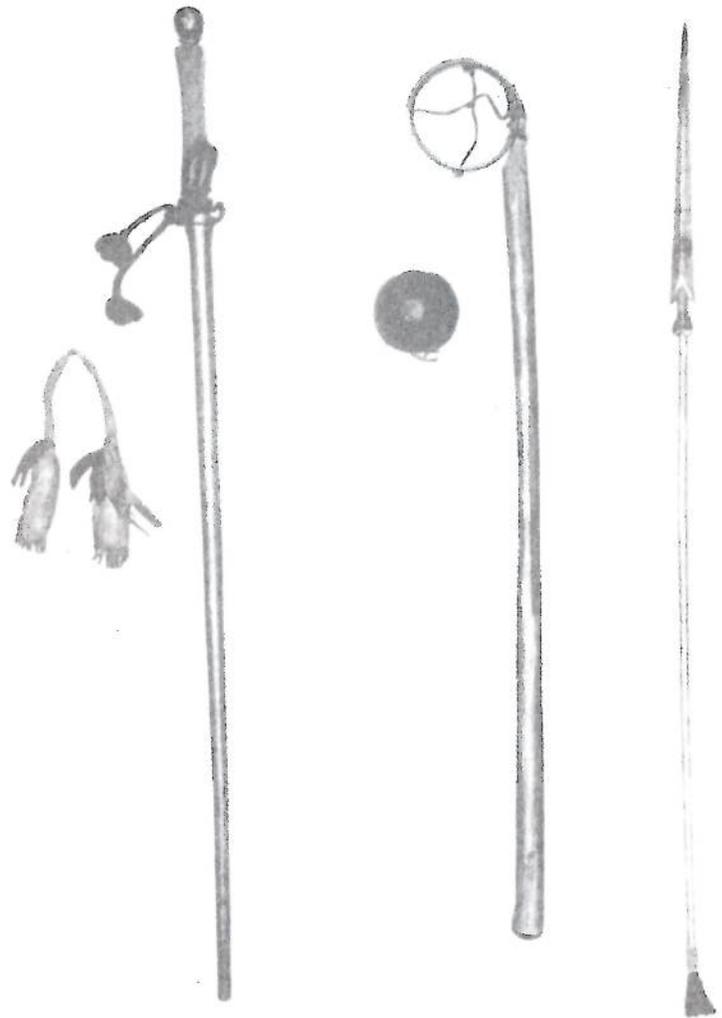


FIG. 16—Woman's Double-Ball and Stick; Lacrosse Stick and Ball; Peyote Staff.

as in lacrosse, with the women identifying their own stick by means of paint and certain colored ribbons. Five prizes are hung up on a rack with each woman supplying a certain color of yard goods.

The sponsor of the game does not play, but serves as referee and starts the game by lining up the teams face to face in the center of the field, and tossing the ball in the air with her stick. The women scramble for the ball with each attempting to carry it on the end of her stick toward the goal, while the opposing team members try to knock it off. A goal is scored by a woman touching the goal post with her stick with the ball on it, and the men spectators whoop and yell when a goal is scored. The woman who scores gets a piece of yard goods from the rack and gives it to a spectator, who is obligated to return a gift of equal value at a later time.

This was last played in 1947, when even some of the rather old women played.

(Dice Game)

This game (kwəzage'win) was played only by the women, and mostly in the winter in place of double-ball. Like the two preceding games, this one is also sponsored by a woman in honor of her guardian spirit, and similar ceremonial preliminaries are held. After the feast, a blanket is spread out on the floor and the women sit in a circle, but divided into two teams with each side sitting in a semi-circle facing the other. As many women can play as want to, but there are only four prizes: yard goods of red, blue, green, and white. The gaming equipment consists of a wooden bowl and eight dice, six of which are thin, circular disks; one is carved in the form of a turtle, and one represents a horse's head. Dice were formerly made of buffalo rib, but horse ribs are used at present. One surface of each die is colored blue (red may also be used). Thus each die has a colored and a white side. The bowl is held with both hands, and the dice shaken to the far side of the bowl which is given one flip, set on the floor, and the score counted, as follows:

all of similar color except 2, counts 1 point

all of similar color except 1, counts 3 points

all of similar color except turtle, counts 5 points

all of similar color except horse, counts 10 points

all of similar color counts 8 points

all of similar color except turtle and horse counts 10 points

The score is tallied by the woman laying out the correct number of bean counters in front of her. Each woman shakes until she misses twice, and

passes on the bowl in a clockwise rotation. The first to score ten points wins the game, and a piece of the yard goods is given to one of the men spectators, who returns a gift of equal value in the future.

(Archery)

The only other religious game my informants had knowledge of was the archery contest (*baba'skzakewin*—splitting a board). After the usual preliminaries, two boards, each about an inch and a half wide and projecting from the ground about two feet, were set up as targets about fifty feet apart. Four archers lined up at each stake, one group shooting first and the other picking up the arrows and shooting back. The first person to hit the board four times was the winner. Four prizes of yard goods were offered, and it was strictly a contest of individuals with no teams or teamwork involved.

Non-Religious Games

(Moccasin Game)

The moccasin game (*mamki'znewin*) is played with four moccasins and one buckshot, or bullet. The players divide into two teams (often one tribe played against another), and the shot is hidden under one moccasin by one player, who fakes hiding it under each of the four. If the opponent correctly guesses under which moccasin the shot is hidden he scores a point, gets a counter, and it is his turn to hide the shot. If he fails to find it in four tries (the shot is shifted each time), he loses. There are special moccasin game songs sung to the beat of a tambourine drum, and considerable noise and excitement accompany such a game. It is purely a gambling game and bets are ordinarily in the form of goods or equipment. One of my informants, aged thirty-one, said he had seen it played only once among the Potawatomi, and that was with the Winnebago.

(Stick Game)

The stick game (*doškuzgewin*—pulling contest) was another betting game. A bundle of short sticks or straws were held in the fist of one person while another stated how many of them he would pull from the pack. It had to be ten or more, and if he pulled the number he had predicted he won. Clothing or other articles were put up for the bet.

(Cut-and-Pin, Snow-snake)

Oddly enough none of my informants had heard of cut-and-pin, or snow-snake, both of which were common games among other Woodland tribes. Time, however, did not permit a thorough checking of this point, but it seems apparent that neither was played in recent times.

MATERIAL CULTURE

The present status of the traditional material culture can be gained from an inventory of articles which are still being made or are in use.

HOUSES: The birch-bark or elm-bark wigwam was not employed as a residence among this band in their present location, except as a temporary dwelling. Their late arrival here and the factor of government-built houses being provided for them negated their use of wigwams. Wigwam-type structures, however, were built for ceremonial purposes, such as the Medicine Dance, Sacred Bundle ceremonies, etc.

TRANSPORTATION: The birch-bark canoe was built and used in this area before the lumber companies virtually eliminated the large birch trees. While there are several old men who claim to know how to build a canoe, the log dugout has been the only Indian-made craft during the last fifty years. Wooden sleds with ski-like runners are still employed for hauling wood to a very limited extent.

CRAFTS: Bulrush mats, yarn or basswood-bark storage bags (Fig. 17), and black-ash-splint baskets are being made to a limited extent chiefly by the older women. Most of the craftwork is of the tourist-trade variety, such as beaded belts, bands, and lapel pins. A few moccasins are made for their own use, some of the older folk still preferring them for wear, but most are made for sale. A few of the older men are skilled woodworkers, with knowledge of how to make such articles as bows and arrows, lacrosse racquets, cradle-boards, sleds, snowshoes, bowls, and ladles, but few such articles are being made at present. The knowledge and ability to make ceremonial objects also survive among the older folks. Such articles as medicine bags, tambourine drums, water drums, Dream Dance drums, and gourd rattles are made upon occasion. There is no point in giving a detailed technology for the Potawatomi, as their material culture is very similar to other Woodland groups already described (See Skinner, 1921).



FIG. 17—Yarn and Basswood Storage Bags.



FIG. 18—Potawatomi Girl.

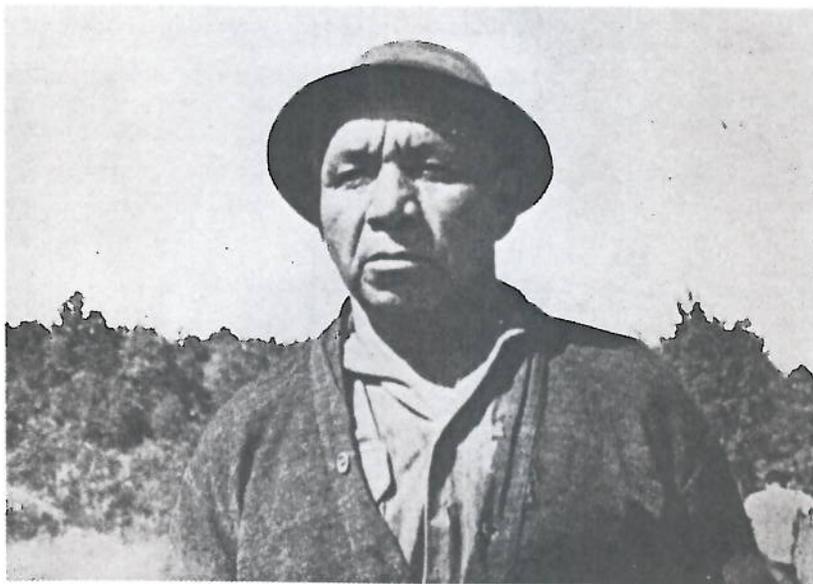


FIG. 19—Potawatomi Man.



FIG. 20—Potawatomi Man.



FIG. 21—Potawatomi Man.

Appendix

POTAWATOMI CLANS

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(Beaver	mək	
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(Muskrat	šiško	
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(Bear	makwa'	
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(Porcupine	ga*g	
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(Turtle	šike	
Bullhead	wasi'	(Bullhead and Eagle are most numerous at present)
Rabbit	wa'bos	
Woodchuck	kokaji's	(no living members)
Sturgeon	name'	
Marten	wabaše'še	
Eagle	magi'swaš	
Otter	nagi'g	
Wolf	ma'ngan	(no living members)
Deer	siksi'	
Raven	gagėši'	
Wildcat	šibaši'	

(indicates that these are linked clans, and represent fragments of the old phratry system.

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