

Minjimendaamowinon Anishinaabe

Reading and Righting All Our Relations

in Written English

A thesis submitted to the College of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment for the requirements for the Degree of Doctor in Philosophy in the Department of English.

University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

By Janice Acoose / Miskwonigeesikokwe

Copyright Janice Acoose / Miskwonigeesikokwe January 2011

All rights reserved

PERMISSION TO USE

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Postgraduate degree from the University of Saskatchewan, I agree that the Libraries of this University may make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for copying of this thesis in any manner, whole or in part, may be granted by the professor or professors who supervised my thesis work or, in their absence, by the Head of the Department or the Dean of the College in which my thesis work was done. It is understood that any copying or publication or use of this thesis or parts thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the University of Saskatchewan in any scholarly use which may be made of any material in my thesis.

Request for permission to copy or to make other use of material in this thesis in whole or in part should be addressed to:

Head of the Department of English

University of Saskatchewan

Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

ABSTRACT

Following the writing practice of learned Anishinaabe Elders Alexander Wolfe (*Benesih Doodaem*), Dan Musqua (*Mukwa Doodaem*) and Edward Benton-Banai (*Geghoon Doodaem*), this *Midewiwin*-like naming *Manidookewin* acknowledges Anishinaabe Spiritual teachings as belonging to the body of *Midewiwin* knowledge. Unlike any other study of Canadian literature, this dissertation is set up like a naming *Manidookewin* (ceremonial way) to resuscitate *Midewiwin* teachings that were forced underground during the fervor of colonial settlement and Christian proselytism. Therefore, this dissertation makes a valuable contribution to Canadian literary criticism because it uses *Midewiwin* teachings as a Spiritual path set down by ancestors to create a *Manidookewin* for engaging with selected contemporary Anishinaabe stories. An Anishinaabe-specific theoretical method, this *Manidookewin* attends to *Midewiwin* teachings carried by *Doodaem* (clan) relations in selected Anishinaabe stories written in English. A naming *Manidookewin* does not seek to render as meaningless all other critical interpretations, rather this ceremonial way adheres to *Midewiwin Doodaem* protocols for attending to the ways of ancestors. According to such protocols, I participate personally in this *Manidookewin* by entering the text as an *Anishinaabekwe-Metis-Nehiowe* (Plains Ojibway-Metis-Cree woman). Guided by the storied teachings of Anishinaabe paternal ancestors, I enter the text as a member of the *Benesih Doodaem* (Bird Clan) to negotiate discursive spaces for the re-settlement of *Doodaemag*, *Manitoukwe*, *Chibooway* and *Nindawemeganidok*, or *Midewiwin* Clan relations, a Mother Creator, Spiritual ancestors, and living relations.

In accordance with *Midewiwin* traditions, this naming *Manidookewin* relies on the previous work of community-acknowledged authorities. Therefore, Alexander Wolfe's *Earth Elder Stories: The Pinayzitt Path*; Dan Musqua's *Seven Fires: Teachings of the Bear Clan*; Edward Benton-Banai's *The Mishomis Book*; Basil Johnston's *Ojibway Heritage, Ojibway Ceremonies, The Manitou: The Spiritual World of the Ojibway*; and Gerald Vizenor's *The People Named the Chippewa: Narrative Histories* provide the foundation for this naming *Manidookewin*. Their work is used to resuscitate *Midewiwin* teachings that appear to be submerged in written English in Marie Annharte Baker's "Bird Clan Mother," Kimberly Blaeser's "Of Landscape and Narrative," Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm's "this is where we stand our ground," and Kahgegagabowh's *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation*. Their work is also used to shine a light on the *Midewiwin* teachings recalled by *Doodaem* relations in Winona LaDuke's "Giiwedahn: Coming Home" and Richard Wagamese's *Keeper N' Me*. Along with Anishinaabe scholars Margaret Noori, Lawrence Gross, D'arcy Rheault, and Patricia McQuire, these writers are included as members of specific *Doodaemag* to show how *Midewiwin* teachings ground some Anishinaabe stories. In connecting stories written in English to *Midewiwin* and *Doodaemag* prechristian and precolonial systems of governance and signification, this study illustrates how Anishinaabe literature performs Spiritual and political functions by re-membering and relating Being to *Gitchi Manitou, Manitoukwe, Chibooway*, and *Nindawemeganidok*.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am forever grateful for relational presence that inspires me to transform Being. Elder Dan Musqua and Dr. Cecil King helped me through this challenging process by sharing with me their wealth of Anishinaabe-specific knowledge. Relational presence also includes the Spiritual energies of my deceased sister-friend Gerri Cook; gentle pushes from a former colleague and friend, Dr. Grace Jolly; long distance support from my sister-friend Christine Welsh; technical support from Louise McCallum; texting support from my friend Errol Kinistino (aka War Eagle); and conversations and political support from colleague and friend, Dr. Denise McConney. Drs. Craig Womack, Robert Warrior, Jace Weaver, Margaret Noori, and Gerald Vizenor are *Ogimaaw*, leading scholars who continue to light paths for Indigenous specific criticism. Dr. Susan Gingell helped me to be readmitted to Graduate Studies by writing a letter of support, and her careful attention to ideas, detail, and form in writing this dissertation encouraged me to understand how to move through this work. Drs. Kristina Fagan and Robert Innis offered insightful ways to negotiate Being Anishinaabe in the academic landscape. From the Department of English, the following individuals influenced my work in various ways over the years: Drs. Ron Marken, Len Finlay, John Lavery, Peter Stoicheff, Ron Cooley, Doug Thorpe, Ray Stephanson, and Lisa Vargo. Nik Thomson, Reta Derkson, and Susan Dawson deserve special thanks, as well, for helping me to understand the relational importance of forms. Finally, I want to acknowledge the College of Graduate Studies. *Migwetch*, to all of you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PERMISSION TO USE	i
ABSTRACT.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
DEDICATION.....	vi
INTRODUCTION - <i>Minjimendaamowinon</i> : Re-membering <i>Doodaem</i> Relations as Carriers of <i>Midewiwin</i> Teachings in Books Written in English	1
1. <i>Manidookewin</i> : Re-visioning the Critical Landscape	36
2. <i>Doodaemag</i> : ReCreating Being	66
3. <i>Manitoukwe</i> : Recalling the Mother Creator	102
4. <i>Chibooway</i> : Acknowledging the Spiritual Relations	143
5. <i>Nindawemeganidok</i> : Re-settling All the Relations	181
CONCLUSION: Feasting, Giving-Away, and Dancing Round	218
APPENDIX	
Glossary.....	233
WORKS CITED	239

DEDICATION

I dedicate my work to those who re-member Being Anishinaabe to a *Midewiwin* Way, *Manidookewin*, *Manitoukwe*, *Doodaemag*, *Chibooway*, *Nindawemeganidok*, those yet unborn, those who have returned to the Earth, and those we live with daily. I also want to dedicate my work to the Sakimay Saulteaux First Nation where members of my paternal *Benesih Doodaem* were forced to reCreate Being. I dedicate this work, as well, to my deceased parents Fred and Harriet Acoose, and my deceased brother Chipper (Clifton-Charles) Acoose whom I imagine as *Chibooway* rattling, singing, dancing, and reCreating Being.

I wrote this dissertation primarily for *Nindawemeganidok*, especially my siblings, nieces, nephews, sons and grandchildren. I know that someday one of these relations will begin to ask questions about Being Anishinaabe. I especially hope this study encourages my sons Blair and Blue to reCreate Being by honoring the gifts of ancestors. In every waking moment, my grandchildren inspire me to be Miskwonigeesikokwe, a Red Sky Woman standing above the ground. Thus, I make this final dedication to Alijah-Oshkabaywis, Angelina-Ogimaakwe, Alizea-Soowaneequay, and Lincoln Richard-Taylor: *N'ozhae-ishaehnse* (my grandchildren) you are the Eagle Bone Whistles through which Creative energies must flow into our sacred spaces.

INTRODUCTION

Minjimendaamowinon: Re-membering Doodaem Relations as Carriers of Midewiwin Teachings in Books Written in English

This dissertation begins in a ceremonial way by acknowledging the importance of *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations for contemporary Anishinaabe literature.¹ This chapter lays the foundation for building a textual *Midewiwin*-like naming *Manidookewin* (ceremonial way) for reading contemporary Anishinaabe stories that carry such ancient teachings and relations. Ordered in four parts, this chapter relates the dissertation to ceremony by creating a traditional context for the discussion ahead. The first section is called “*Minjimendaamowinon: Re-membering Doodaem Relations as Carriers of Midewiwin Teachings in Books Written in English.*” Accordingly, it presents Anishinaabe words as a critical language for attending ceremonially to *Midewiwin* teachings carried in contemporary Anishinaabe stories written in English. The second section is called “Historical Overview and Literature Review.” Like physically enacted naming ceremonies, this section recalls the relevant history (overview) and supporting

¹A glossary of Anishinaabe words used in this dissertation is included in the Appendix. Dr. Cecil King reviewed my use of Anishinaabe words, and following his advice I corrected the spelling of some words. Where I chose to retain the original spelling, I have used footnotes to explain my reasons for doing so. I use the word *Anishinaabe* in both singular and plural references to acknowledge colloquial ways of speaking about ourselves. The word is also used to name the people who self-identify as Being Anishinaabe, relate themselves to specific clans and communities, and preserve the Spiritual teachings of ancestors. While I do not intend to imply that those who do not relate themselves to *Doodaemag* are not Anishinaabe, this dissertation claims that *Doodaemag* is an important system of signification that relates Being to both a specific land and people. In Chapter One, I use Anishinaabe Creation stories to illustrate how the word *Anishinaabe* signifies Being in relations to both the land and ancestors. However, I also acknowledge that there are many different ways of Being Anishinaabe, as my selection of writers reveals throughout. For example, some of the writers are Keepers of Spiritual traditions and ceremonies. Others are prolific creators of stories, poems, and criticism. Also, while most of those included originate from specific places within the Anishinaabe homeland, many live in various urban centers in both Canada and the United States where they work in many different sectors of the North American mainstream society. Some writers are fluent speakers of their language while others are struggling to reconnect to it. Many of these writers (myself included) have survived imprisonment in Residential Schools, various forms of political persecution by Department of Indian Affairs (Bureau of Indian Affairs in the United States), as well as being dismembered from systems of signification. Thus, we have adapted various strategies for Being Anishinaabe.

stories (literature review) for the people who call themselves Anishinaabe. The third section is titled “Outline,” and it relates the dissertation to a naming ceremony by providing an overview that orders and balances *Midewiwin* teachings as *Doodaemag*, *Manitoukwe*, *Chibooway*, and *Nindawemeganidok*. In the fourth section titled, “Calling the Ancestors and Personalizing Theory,” I engage personally with Jace Weaver’s “Blue” and my own family stories as part of a literary strategy for showing connections between a ceremonial way and literary theory. These four sections provide a ceremonial context for reading Anishinaabe contemporary stories as contemporary conveyors of *Midewiwin* teachings.

Like physically enacted ceremonies, this chapter relies on a number of words that are used ritualistically and therefore require definition and clarification.² In analyzing contemporary Anishinaabe stories, I use the words *Midewiwin*, *Doodaem/ag*, and *Manidookewin* to mean pre-colonial and pre-Christian systems of signification and governance.³ While the words, *Midewiwin* and *Mide* are used throughout this dissertation

²Anishinaabe is not yet standardized in written form. However, with the exception of quoted words, consistent spelling is used throughout. In bringing the language to the written page, this study relies on community relations, linguists, and scholars, as well as my own memory and use.

³ Along with my attendance at specific ceremonies the following literary works and authors were important in the creation of *Manidookiwin* as a critical approach: Treaty 7 Elders’ and Tribal Council’s *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*; Shawn Wilson’s *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Critical Methods*; Margo Kane’s “Moonlodge” 278-91; Neal McLeod’s “Coming Home through Stories” 17-35; Devon Mihesuah’s and Angela Cavendar Wilson’s *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities* (1994); Devon Mihesuah’s “Finding Empowerment through Writing and Reading, or Why Am I Doing This? An Unpopular Writer’s Comment about the State of American Indian Criticism” 97-102, and *So You Want to Write About American Indians?: A Guide for Writers, Students, and Scholars*; Jeanette Armstrong’s “The Disempowerment of First North American Native Peoples and Empowerment Through Their Writing” 242-45; Armand Ruffo’s interview in *Story Keepers* 79-89, “Why Native Literature?” 109-21, *Opening in the Sky*; Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s *Decolonizing Methodologies*; Arthur Solomon’s *Songs for the People: Teachings on the Natural Way*; Roger Spielmann’s “You’re So Fat! Exploring Ojibwe Discourse”; David Treuer’s *Native American Fiction: A User’s Manual*; Robert Warrior’s *The People and the Word: Reading Native Nonfiction* (2005); Lisa Brooks’s “Digging at the Roots: Locating an Ethical, Native Criticism” 234-64; Louise Erdrich’s *Four Souls*; Kristina Fagan’s and Sam McKegney’s “Circling the Question of Nationalism in Native Canadian Literature and its Study” 31-42; Kristina Fagan’s “Tewatatha:wi: Aboriginal Nationalism in Taiaiake Alfred’s *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Aboriginal Manifesto*” 12-29; Tol Foster’s “Of One Blood: An Argument for Relations

in connection with specific Anishinaabe teachings, traditions, and a Spiritual Way, the words are not used to mean the formal *Midewiwin* Ceremony, which requires years of study of and devotion to specific teachings and rituals. Throughout this dissertation, I adhere to Benton-Banai's practice in using the term *Midewiwin* to mean an Anishinaabe ceremonial "me-ka-naynz (path)" set out by the ancestors for the development of the Spirit (66). In keeping with Benton-Banai's practice, this study also connects the words *Doodaem* and *Doodaemag* to a *Midewiwin* Way. For example, in "The Clan System," he describes *Midewiwin* as a "religion [that] taught the people how to use the powers of the Spirit world to treat their sickness" and the clan system as "a framework of government to give them strength and order" (74). He does explain that this Spiritual Path and clan system are institutionalized as the Anishinaabe-specific *Midewiwin* Ceremony (77).

In addition to *Midewiwin*, *Doodaem*, and *Doodaemag*, the words *Manidookewin*, *Minjimendaamowinon*, *Manitoukwe*, *Gitchi Manitou*, *Chibooway* and *Nindawemeganidok*, as well as the English words *Being*, *Spirit*, and *relations* function as a critical language for attending to contemporary Anishinaabe stories that convey Spiritual teachings.⁴ As noted previously, the word *Manidookewin* refers to an Anishinaabe ceremonial way for reading Anishinaabe stories that carry *Midewiwin* teachings for re-membering Being.⁵ The word *Minjimendaamowinon* is used to mean the

and Regionality in Native American Literary Studies" 265-302; Lenore Keeshig Tobias' interview *Contemporary Challenges* (1991); Thomas King's introduction in *All My Relations: An Anthology of Contemporary Native Fiction* ix-xvi; and Sam McKegney's *Magic Weapons: Aboriginal Writers Remaking Community After Residential School*.

⁴ Dr. King expressed concern about the way *Gitchi Manitou* has been spelled. He agreed with the way that Kahgegagahbowh used the word *Keshamonedoo* to refer to the Creator. However, following the writing practice of ceremonialist Benton-Banai, I continue to use *Gitchi Manitou*.

⁵ As the word *Being* is contextualized by Anishinaabe relations, I capitalize the *b* throughout to signify an attachment to and the importance of Spirit.

Spiritual process for re-attaching one's Being to teachings and relations. In physically enacted *Midewiwin* naming ceremonies, the words *Manitoukwe*, *Gitchi Manitou*, *Chibooway*, and *Nindawemeganidok* refer to relations who distinguish our Beings from others as Anishinaabe. As the words are used throughout this study, *Manitoukwe* signals a Mother Creator Land and *Gitchi Manitou* a Father Creator Spirit. However, I acknowledge that there are some dissenting opinions regarding *Manitoukwe*, and therefore I respond to the criticism in Chapter Three.⁶ In this study, both Mother and Father Creators are acknowledged as ancestors from whom our Beings originate. The words *Chibooway* and *Nindawemeganidok* refer to relations. As they are used in this study, *Chibooway* signals a connection to ancestors who live amongst us in Spirit form while *Nindawemeganidok* refers to relations that live amongst in human form. The word *Spirit* is used to mean one's core essence that is energized by ongoing interconnections with *Manitoukwe*, *Gitchi Manitou*, *Chibooway* and *Nindawemeganidok*. In other words, my analysis of contemporary Anishinaabe stories shows that ongoing connections with these relations empower Anishinaabe Being. Finally, as the word *relations* is used throughout (instead of relatives), it signifies colloquial ways of understanding kinship, Spirit, and Being.

Before beginning, it is important to note here that there are widely held beliefs that *Midewiwin* teachings can only be passed on in the language of the Anishinaabe people, and then only in sacred spaces by community-acknowledged Keepers of ceremony. Thus, this study builds a textual *Manidookewin* to gather the work of Anishinaabe Keepers of a *Midewiwin* Way and *Doodaemag* relations. Together with prolific Anishinaabe creative and critical writers, traditional Keepers of a *Midewiwin* Way illustrate in books written in

⁶ See for example "Mother Earth." *CBC Ideas*

English how to re-member Being Anishinaabe. For example, Bear Clan Lodge Keeper and ceremonialist Dan Musqua is included with prolific Anishinaabe writer Basil Johnston to provide a theoretical rationale for the use of *Manidookewin*, a traditional way to re-member Being to relations. Within *Midewiwin Doodaemag* traditions, the *Mukwa Doodaem* (Bear Clan) is responsible for protecting *Midewiwin* teachings, Mother Earth's medicines, and *Doodaem* relations (Musqua 33). Johnston is also included with Three Fires Confederacy Chief and *Geghoon Doodaem* (Fish Clan) Ceremonialist Edward Benton-Banai to provide foundational information for connecting *Midewiwin* teachings to land and relations. According to *Midewiwin Doodaemag* traditions, the Fish Clan is responsible for intellectual pursuits and dissemination of *Midewiwin* knowledge that fosters well-being (Benton-Banai 74). Such pairings exemplify the way that critical theory may be enriched with Anishinaabe traditional knowledge. Additionally, nineteenth century Anishinaabe writer William Warren along with Johnston, Margaret Noori, Alexander Wolfe, Musqua, and Gerald Vizenor remember the people to the name Anishinaabe. Following these Anishinaabe writers, Kahgegagahbowh and Vizenor are included to provide a record of Anishinaabe traditional territory. Subsequent to the discussion of territory, Anishinaabe writer Thomas Peacock discusses the treaties that the Anishinaabe entered into with colonial governments in Canada and the United States, and Linda Akan offers some Anishinaabe Elders' perceptions of Canadian treaties. Wolfe is included as an important Keeper of *Benesih Doodaemag* teachings and traditions. Together with Anishinaabe scholar D'arcy Rheault and non-Anishinaabe ethnologist Koozma Tarasoff, Wolfe documents the continuity of a *Midewiwin* Way. Anishinaabe scholars Margaret Noori, Kimberly Blaeser, and Lawrence Gross, in fact, show

contemporary story forms to be important conveyors for such Spiritual teachings and traditions. Johnston and Vizenor comment on the state of the language which they believed, at one time, was disappearing. However, while these leading Anishinaabe writers have expressed beliefs about the uncertain survival of the language, they are included because they have also written about the endurance of Anishinaabe Spirit. The Spirit of the Anishinaabe will continue to survive even as our stories are written in English traditions, according to Wolfe, an acknowledged Keeper of the *Pinayzitt Doodaem* (sub-group of the *Benesih Doodaem*). To show how *Midewiwin* teachings are carried in contemporary stories, this chapter relies on the work of three widely acknowledged traditional Keepers of *Midewiwin* teachings, Wolfe, Musqua, and Benton-Banai. Then, this chapter reviews selected work by Johnston, Vizenor, Kahgegagahbowh, Baker, LaDuke, Blaeser, Akiwenzie-Damm, Wagamese, Gross, Noori, and Rheault to show how *Midewiwin* teachings continue to live in written English. These writers are then connected to specific *Doodaemag* to show how *Midewiwin* teachings continue to be carried into books written in English. This first chapter also provides a rationale for building a *Manidookewin*, and it illustrates *Minjimendaamowinon* as part of a critical strategy that personalizes theory-making. For example, I enter the text as a *Nehiowe-Metis-Anishinaabekwe* writer to show how stories of paternal ancestors carry *Midewiwin* teachings that help me to re-member my Being to the *Benesih Doodaem*.⁷ This Anishinaabe-specific literary strategy does not seek to erode all other approaches to Indigenous literatures, but it does set out to create spaces in the academy for currently underrepresented *Midewiwin* knowledge and *Doodaem* relations.

⁷ Earlier versions of this study were also influenced by Floyd Favel's original production of the play *Lady of Silences*, Emma LaRocque's "Tides, Towns, and Trains" 76-90, Geraldine Manossa's *The Roots of Cree Drama*, and Drew Hayden Taylor's "Seeing Red Over Myths" (nd).

Musqua and Johnston urge Anishinaabe to recover language and renew traditions to strengthen Spirit. In *The Seven Fires: Teachings of the Bear Clan*, Musqua laments the passing of “[m]ost of the ceremonies that were once performed traditionally [and that] are no longer a part of the lives of Aboriginal peoples” (43). In *The Manitous: The Spiritual World of the Ojibway*, Johnston makes clear that traditional knowledge can be given new meanings and applications “in the modern age” (xxiii). In “How Do We Learn Language? What Do We Learn,” he relates ancestral ways to “words [that] take on new dimensions . . . in conjunction and by union with other words” (47).⁸ Words, Johnston explains, have their “own meaning, gender, habitat, mood, voice, and sound, but it is only in relation with other words that [they] . . . acquire greater sense and impart sense to others words” (47). My project responds to Musqua’s and Johnston’s urgings by building a textual ceremony in which Anishinaabe words are placed to facilitate critical discussions about *Midewiwin* teachings. Placed in critical relations with English words, the Anishinaabe words *Midewiwin*, *Doodaem/ag*, *Minjimendaamowinon*, *Manidookewin*, *Manitoukwe*, *Chibooway*, and *Nindawemeganidok* become part of an Anishinaabe personal and ceremonial approach for reading contemporary Anishinaabe literature.

Historical Overview and Literature Review

Johnston’s previously cited book *The Manitous* and Edward Benton-Banai’s *The Mishomis Book* provide necessary foundational information about the Spiritual beliefs and history of the people named Anishinaabe. An Anishinaabe traditional story-keeper from Wasauksing First Nation in Ontario, Canada, Johnston connects the Anishinaabe to

⁸ See also Louise Halfe’s and Gregory Scofield’s books of poetry. For example, in Halfe’s *Bear, Bones, and Feathers* and Scofield’s *The Gathering: Stones for the Medicine Wheel* these writers use their own Cree language along with English to represent the ways of their ancestors for the reCreation of Being.

the visions of *Gitchi Manitou* (Great Mystery) and the Spirit of *Gheezhigo-Quae* (Sky Woman) whose descendants now inhabit parts of “Ontario, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota . . . Manitoba and parts of Saskatchewan” (xvii). Traditional Three Fires Confederacy *Ogimaawinini* (leading man) and *Mide’* Ceremonialist Benton-Banai explains that the Creator placed Anishinaabe ancestors, the first people, on the eastern shores of North America (1). These Anishinaabe ancestors settled around the Lake Superior region of the Great Lakes where, according to *Midewiwin* teachings, the traditional Waterdrum of the “Midewiwin Lodge sounded its voice loud and clear. Its voice attracted the many bands of the Ojibway until this island [Madeline Island] became the capital of the Ojibway nation” (1).⁹

Along with Warren and previously cited author Johnston, Anishinaabe writers Noori, Wolfe, Musqua, and Vizenor shed light on the terms used for the people. Warren’s *History of the Ojibway People* (1852) is one of the earliest books written by an Anishinaabe writer, and he makes the point that the people “denominate themselves Anish-in-aub-ay” (13). In her doctoral dissertation, *Native American Literature in Tribal Context: Anishinaabe Aadisokaanag Noongom*, Noori writes that the term *Anishinaabe* has “a long history, considerably predating such commonly used terms as Ojibwe or Chippewa, which seem to be of nineteenth-century origin” (14). Johnston claims that others from outside the culture renamed the Anishinaabe “Ojibway (Chippewa), Ottawa, Pottawatomi, Algonquin, and Mississauga” (*Manitous* xvi). Wolfe’s *Earth Elder Stories* and Musqua’s *Seven Fires* use the word *Saulteaux* in place of (Plains) Anishinaabe.

Vizenor’s use of both Chippewa and Anishinaabe to refer to his people reflects a shifting

⁹ For more information regarding the specific *Midewiwin* Ceremony see Benton-Banai’s *The Mishomis Book* 68 and Johnston’s *Ojibway Heritage* (2005) 80.

naming practice in *The People Named the Chippewa: Narrative Histories* and *Summer in the Spring: Anishinaabe Lyric Poems and Stories* that is also used in other places by Musqua, Wolfe, Johnston, Noori, and Warren. This practice reveals that although the people prefer to call themselves Anishinaabe they simultaneously use imposed outsider naming like Ojibway and Indian. However, in traditional circles continued use of the words *Ojibway* and *Indian* does not undermine Anishinaabe Being; it simply acknowledges colloquial ways of speaking.

The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation, The Manitous, and The People Named the Chippewa reveal the traditional territories of the Anishinaabe. Published in 1850, two years prior to Warren's historical narrative, *Kahgegagahbowh's Traditional History* explains that the Anishinaabe territory is the largest of "any Indian possessions of which there is any definite knowledge" (1). This Anishinaabe writer believed the homeland to include an Eastern boundary "marked by the waters of Lakes Huron and Michigan. The mountain ridge, lying between Lake Superior and the frozen Bay, [sic] was its northern barrier. On the west, [there was] a forest, beyond which [was] an almost boundless prairie. On the south, [there was] a valley, by Lake Superior, thence to the southern part of Michigan" (1-2). Nearly a century later in 1997 Johnston described the Anishinaabe territory as spread out north, east, south, and west, and as "one of the two largest North American Indian nations north of the Mexican border, extending eastward well into what is now the province of Quebec; south into Ontario, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota; west into Manitoba and parts of Saskatchewan; and north to a point roughly corresponding to the fiftieth parallel in northern Ontario" (xvii). The contemporary territories of the Anishinaabe have been

demarcated by the international Canadian and American border, and those territories are now subdivided by four Canadian provinces and four American states. Like Johnston's work, Vizenor's *People Named the Chippewa* claims territory for the Anishinaabe in both Canada and the United States. According to this writer, the people in Canada reside on "provincial reserves in Ontario and Manitoba," and in the United States, the Anishinaabe have reserve lands "in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, and North Dakota" (32). Notably, he fails to recognize the Plains Anishinaabe most of whom reside on reserves in Saskatchewan.

Anishinaabe writer Thomas Peacock identifies the Anishinaabe as the contemporary relations of ancestors who entered into various treaties with colonial governments in Canada and the United States.¹⁰ In *Ojibwe Waasa Inaabidaa: We Look in All Directions*, he connects the contemporary Anishinaabe to ancestors who entered into "a series of treaties, purchases, and agreements from 1781 to 1927, which resulted in the establishment of reserves in both Canada and the United States" (51). He explains that some of the earliest treaties were entered into between 1781 and 1833. These treaties resulted in the following lands being ceded: Niagara River between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario; Mackinaw Island; Northern Shore of Lake Ontario; Southern and Eastern Ohio; Northern Ohio and Southern Michigan; the valley of the Saginaw Rivers and shores of Saginaw Bay in Lower Michigan; Southwestern Michigan; and east of the Mississippi River (51-52). Treaties entered into between the years 1836 and 1929 resulted in most of the lands being seized that were a part of the "Ojibwe heartland" (52).

¹⁰ For Canadian treaties, see Morris's *The Treaties* (1971).

Anishinaabe understandings of the so-called negotiations that led to the signing of the various British and American treaties are preserved in both oral and written form.¹¹ For example, Linda Akan's "*Pimosatamowin Sikaw Kakeequaywin: Walking and Talking. A Saulteaux Elder's View of Native Education*" combines both oral and written sources to explain that those who negotiated the treaties envisioned that "we would become educated in the Whiteman's schools and in turn educate those who educated us" (28).¹² According to her study, the Anishinaabe envisioned *Mooneyowinih kah kinahmakait* (Whitemans' teachings) only supplementing existing systems of knowledge.

Rheault's *Anishinaabe Mino-Bimaadiziwin: The Way of a Good Life: An Examination of Anishinaabe Philosophy, Ethics and Traditional Knowledge*; Wolfe's "The Last Raid;" and Tarasoff's *Persistent Ceremonialism: The Plains Cree and Saulteaux* make clear that following the signing of treaties and the people's subsequent placement on reserves, Anishinaabe carried with them an ancient *Midewiwin* body of knowledge. Rhealt identifies medicine bundles, sacred scrolls, and oral teachings as vessels of such Spiritual teachings (69). Wolfe recalls that after the people were settled on reserves clan leaders continued to use medicine bundles, pipes, and traditional ceremonies to invoke the Spirit of their *Doodaem*.¹³ Rheault's and Wolfe's statements about the continuity of traditional knowledge are confirmed in Tarasoff's research findings. For his study, Tarasoff interviewed Felix Penipekeesik who was an

¹¹ I use the phrase *so-called negotiations* to call attention to the way that lands were seized. Johnston, Vizenor, and Wolfe all speak of various coercive methods to uproot the peoples from their traditional lands. See, for example, Vizenor's *The People Named the Chippewa* 31-36, Johnston's *Crazy Dave* 19-25, and Wolfe's *Earth Elder Stories* 33-73.

¹² See the translated Elder's teaching that refers to "*Mooneyowinih kah kinahmakait and Anishinabaywin*" in Akan, 16.

¹³ Isabelle Andrews states that by 1883 settlement on reserves was accomplished, 21.

Oshkabaywis (ceremonial helper) to *Ni'capan* Qwewich, my great-great-grandfather.¹⁴ Penipekeesik stated that Qwewich taught him the Thunderbird stories and Rain Dance Ceremony (4). According to Wolfe, the Thunderbird stories and Rain Dance Ceremony are ancient forms of knowledge that belong to the *Midewiwin* Society (62). These systems of knowledge are generally passed on only in ceremony. In my family, they were passed on ceremonially from *Capan* Qwewich / Roll of Thunder to his son Samuel / Bird in Flight, and from *Capan* Samuel to his son Paul / Man Standing Above Ground, my great great grandfather, great grandfather, and grandfather. However, while relations such as *Ni'mosom* Paul Acoose continued to attend the Rain Dance, they did so at great personal risk.¹⁵ It is my belief that *Ni'mosom* attended such ceremonies to preserve and pass on *Midewiwin* teachings about relations and governance, ancient ways that provided viable ways for constituting Being. In passing on ceremonial knowledge, my ancestors envisioned that such a Spiritual Way would continue to guide living relations, even after we were settled on reserves and imprisoned in church-operated residential schools.

Anishinaabe scholars Noori, Blaeser, and Gross maintain that the people who call themselves Anishinaabe continue to carry ancestral knowledge through spoken and written *Anishinaabemowin*.¹⁶ Noori's study demonstrates that although the language existed primarily in oral form until colonization, contemporary writers like Louise Erdrich, Jim Northrup, Gerald Vizenor, and Basil Johnston employ the language to pass

¹⁴ Dr. King explained that the word *Ni'capan* is not generally used to refer to great grandfathers. He suggested that my usage of this term reflects my Cree influences.

¹⁵ See for example, the discussion about Wolfe's "Last Rain Dance" on page 17.

¹⁶ People who call themselves Anishinaabe also speak variations of Anishinaabe and Nehiowe, a language some people refer to as Oji-Cree. Also, some people who call themselves Anishinaabe also speak a form of Michif – a language that mixes French, English, and Anishinaabe.

on Anishinaabe stories in written English (3).¹⁷ Her work re-members these Anishinaabe writers to a body of relations signified through communities and traditions (20). She also connects Erdrich, Northrup, Vizenor, and Johnston to traditional territories around the Great Lakes that have influenced their story-telling styles (21). Significantly, she re-members and relates such styles to the “Ojibwe language,” which she describes as having character-like attributes (21).¹⁸

Blaeser’s *Stories Migrating Home: A Collection of Anishinaabe Prose* connects the Anishinaabe “to a strong and admirable legacy of both oral and written literature in many genres” (3). She identifies the body of Anishinaabe literature as starting with “[e]arly published works [that] include two volumes of song poems recorded and translated by Frances Densmore in *Chippewa Music* in 1910 and 1913” (3). According to Blaeser, Gerald Vizenor included Densmore’s research about *Midewiwin* song poems in *Summer in the Spring* (1965), later republished most recently in 1993 (3). She explains that the body of Anishinaabe literature includes a range of life writings like John Smith’s *Chief John Smith, A Leader of the Chippewa, Age 117 Years, His Life Story as Told by Himself*

¹⁷ In John Nichols’ forward to the revised 1992 edition of Bishop Baraga’s (1880) *Dictionary of the Ojibway Language*, Nichols explains the “Otchipwe” language of this dictionary is generally known today as Ojibway (often spelled Ojibwa or Ojibwe), with the names Algonquin, Chippewa, Ottawa or Odawa, and Saulteaux used as local names in English. The speakers call themselves *Anishinaabe* and their language *Anishinaabemowin*” (v). While Baraga’s original intent in recording the language may have been, as Nichols suggests, “to supplant [I]ndigenous beliefs” (v), this chapter turns to his text to pass on *Anishinaabemowin*. The language belongs to the North American Algonquin family language group that includes other such languages as Cree, Algonquin, Montagnais, Atikamekw, Blackfoot, Kickapoo, and Micmac. According to Nichols, *Anishinaabemowin* “is genetically related to about twenty-five other languages in the Algonquian language family, one of forty to fifty separate families of languages and isolated single languages spoken in [A]boriginal North America” (vi). Quoting from Nichols, Vizenor observes that Ojibwe and the other languages grouped together in the Algonquian language family resemble each other so closely in sound patterns, grammar, and vocabulary that at one time they must have been a single language: as the speakers of this ancient language, no longer spoken, became separated from one another, the way they spoke changed in different ways until we have the distinct languages spoken today (16).

¹⁸ This idea became clearer to me after I read several times Benton-Banai’s teachings about Nanabush, a half Spirit and half human Being whom he acknowledges as both Original Man and the original Anishinaabe (21).

(1919); John Rogers's, *A Chippewa Speaks* (1957; reissued in 1974 as *Red World and White*); and Maude Kegg's bilingual publication *Portage Lake: Memories of an Ojibwe Childhood* (1991) which was transcribed by John Nichols. She also includes Peter (Kahkewaquonaby) Jones' *History of the Ojibway Indians; With Especial Reference to Their Conversion to Christianity* (1861); George (Kahgegagahbowh) Copway's *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation* (1851); and William Whipple Warren's *History of the Ojibways Based upon Traditions and Oral Statements* (1885; reissued in 1984 as *History of the Ojibway People*). Blaeser also includes as part of the contemporary body of Anishinaabe literature internationally recognized Anishinaabe writers, "most notably Louise Erdrich; Gordon Henry, Jr.; Jim Northrup; and Gerald Vizenor" (3). Vizenor, she explains, "edited the 1987 collection of Ojibwe prose, *Touchwood*, [and he notes] . . . that the Anishinaabe can claim more published writers than any other tribe on the continent" (3).

Vizenor is the first modern Anishinaabe scholar to carry *Midewiwin* knowledge into the body of written English literature. For example, as noted in the previous paragraph, in *Summer in the Spring* (1965), he interprets Anishinaabe *Midewiwin* songs that were originally transcribed by Francis Densmore for the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology (140). He also includes *Midewiwin* pictographs that were reproduced and published for the Smithsonian by Walter James Hoffman in 1891 (140). Then, in *Interior Landscapes: Autobiographical Myths and Metaphors* he acknowledges his *Chejauk Doodaem*. This is a significant point because according to *Midewiwin* ceremonial teachings *Chejauk Doodaem* members function as visionary leaders. According to Johnston, members of this *Doodaem* are distinguished from others as

leaders amongst the clans (*Ojibway Heritage* 61). In a theoretical context, Vizenor is one of the most widely acknowledged Anishinaabe contemporary critics who according to Blaeser is recognized and reviewed internationally (*Gerald* 200). Although some critics may argue that he no longer “grounds his stories in tribal communities on reservations or in urban settings,” Blaeser makes it clear that he transplants tribalism from exterior to interior landscapes (201). Notably, for this study, in *Word Arrows: Indian and Whites in the New Fur Trade* Vizenor advocates (through a persona) that “ceremonies are cures” (43) and “words have power when [they] are not over the counter cures” (44). His distinction between the “language of the social services” and the language that expresses a “consciousness of interconnected and interdependent planes of reality” is important to the subject of this dissertation (Blaeser 44). In her comprehensive study of Vizenor’s work, Blaeser explains that this contemporary visionary’s “emphasis on the interior connection serves his attempt to universalize his stories, to deliberately extend their significance beyond the mere tribal” (201). In connection to Vizenor’s work, Blaeser’s use of the words *mere tribal* is problematic because such words contextualize ancestral knowledge in standards set outside of systems of relational signification. However, my reading of *Summer* notes that before Vizenor begins recounting such knowledge he attends to Anishinaabe protocols by acknowledging his father Clement William Vizenor and his *Chejauk Doodaem* ancestor Keeshkumen as traditional sources.

Johnston’s *Anishinaubae Thesaurus* and Vizenor’s *The People Named the Chippewa: Narrative Histories* offer insights into the state of the language. Johnston cautions readers that the written language requires some standardization because “[t]here are so many orthographers, so many systems, so many dictionaries For this mess,

universities and the provincial ministries of education are to blame. They have endorsed courses in orthography in Native language teaching programs as if orthography can be mastered by every Joe and Jane” (vii). He also states that despite all these efforts, “orthographers are [not] likely to agree on the spelling of words” (vii). Vizenor notes that “[l]ong contact with English and French ... has taken its toll on many of the [original Algonquian] languages. The condition of Ojibwe varies widely. In much of Northwestern and Northern Ontario and in Manitoba it is spoken by people of all ages and the actual number of speakers is increasing as the population grows” (16-17). This is a relevant point because such statistics indicate that the language continues to grow and change in relations with other languages.

Both Johnston and Wolfe connect the erosion of Spiritual traditions to agents of colonial institutions. In *Crazy Dave* Johnston indicts the Catholic Church as one of the colonial institutions that participated in undermining traditional forms of knowledge. He writes about “Father Cadot [who] didn’t mince words but came right out and told them that the Catholic Church was the only true church and that all other churches were false” (111). In this biography, Johnston remembers that Father Cadot dismissed as sinful Anishinaabe “understandings, ceremonies, and celebrations” (111). The priest, he says, prohibited thanksgiving tobacco offerings to birds and animals, food offerings for ancestral graves, pipe ceremonies for “public and religious events, purification ceremonies, powwows, first kill and naming celebrations” (111). He explains that while Father Cadot did not prohibit the people from speaking their own languages, the priest “recommended the adoption of English for advancement” (111).

In *Earth Elder Stories*, Wolfe explains that Elders warned traditionalists of colonial agents who were looking for excuses to enact laws that would prohibit the practice of ceremonies. In “The Last Grass Dance,” Wolfe recalls his grandfather’s warning about “forces outside our community” that would enact laws preventing sacred ceremonies and rituals (53). Then, in “The Last Rain Dance,” Wolfe connects outside forces to Indian agents and the North-west Mounted Police who stopped the Rain Dance ceremony and arrested “*men and women who belonged to the Medewin (Grand Medicine Lodge) . . . [whose] main religious ceremony was the [R]ain [D]ance*” (62). According to Wolfe’s grandfather, “[t]hose arrested were put in bonds and made to walk behind the buggies, and were led away to jail. A ban was put on all Indian ceremonies which was to last many, many years” (64). He makes clear that those who continued to participate in such *Midewiwin* ceremonies and carry the Spiritual teachings of ancestors did so at great personal risk. Even his decision to bring such knowledge into written English was shadowed by ancestral memories of religious persecution, as he explained to me when we first met in 1985. Indeed, using English as a vehicle for carrying Spiritual teachings of ancestors is a complex issue which he contemplated prior to writing the stories of his *Doodaem*. He explains that the decision to bring “the oral tradition together with the written tradition” weighed heavily on his mind (xxii). He finally concluded that both traditions might coexist if one does not try to diminish the other.

What colonial and neocolonial institutions did in relation to the language and Spirituality makes this project necessary. This dissertation attempts to ceremoniously recover *Midewiwin* teachings once forced underground by including Musqua and Benton-Banai as traditional Keepers of *Midewiwin* Knowledge. Along with Wolfe’s *Earth Elder*

Stories: The Pinayzitt Path, Musqua's *The Seven Fires: Teachings of the Bear Clan* and Benton-Banai's *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway* lay the foundation for a *Manidookewin* approach to Anishinaabe literature. While these writers have each produced only one book, their single publications are very important carriers of *Midewiwin* teachings of ancestors. These books are included with the works of more prolific writers like Johnston and Vizenor, as well as Kahgegagahbowh, Marie Annharte Baker, Winona LaDuke, Kimberly Blaeser, Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm, Richard Wagamese, and Lawrence Gross. Along with the work of contemporary scholars like Noori and Rheault, these works collectively constitute a significant part of the Anishinaabe canon.

The books that are used in this study were carefully selected because the authors demonstrate a commitment to preserving the “flow of *Nebwakawin* (wisdom) that passes from generation to generation” (Rheault 28). While other well-known Anishinaabe Canadian writers such as Drew Hayden Taylor, Lenore Keeshig-Tobias, and Armand Ruffo (just to name a few) also demonstrate a commitment to preserving Anishinaabe knowledge, the authors included in this project were selected (for the most part) based on their self-identification with *Doodaemag*, a *Midewiwin* form of relational signification and governance elaborated on in Chapter Two. These writers included are also acknowledged by their communities as ceremonialists, story-keepers, critics, and creative writers who express a duty to build on the body of Anishinaabe knowledge. Some writers like Johnston, Gross, and Rheault do not claim connections to specific clans, but this study acknowledges that their work demonstrates responsibilities to a particular *Doodaem*. For example, Johnston serves the *Geghoon Doodaem* as a traditional

storyteller, or *Daebaujemoot*. His impressive body of published works about the Anishinaabe demonstrates his commitment to passing on traditional knowledge. Like Johnston, Rheault does not self-identify with a specific clan, but he implies affiliation when he writes about being visited by a “*Makwa-manido*” and making a decision to “approach a person of the Bear Clan” (5). Therefore, this *Manidookewin* acknowledges Rheault’s association with the *Mukwa Doodaemag*. In this ceremonial space, too, Gross’s efforts to light up intellectual inquiries into traditional teachings reveal him to be carrying out the responsibilities associated with the *Geghoon Doodaemag*.

Specific *Doodaems* represented in this study include the *Mukwa* (Bear), *Geghoon* (Fish), *Wabijeshi* (Marten), *Chejauk* (Crane), and *Benesih* (Bird). Members of the *Mukwa Doodaem* include Musqua and LaDuke. Both of these individuals are self-identified members of this particular clan, and their work in written English reveals them to be conscientious guardians and protectors of Mother Earth. Members of the *Geghoon Doodaem* include Benton-Banai and Wagamese. Benton-Banai contributes to the Fish Clan’s body of knowledge as a ceremonialist and a traditional teacher. Wagamese is a prolific writer whose books encourage intellectual inquiries and philosophic discussions about the people named Anishinaabe.

Noori, Akiwenzie-Damm, and Patricia McQuire are included as members of the *Wabijeshi Doodaem*, the Marten Clan charged with upholding justice (McQuire 2). Noori has made significant contributions to the body of knowledge as a scholar, critic, and professor of English and Anishinaabe. Currently, she is working on a book of Anishinaabe literary theory (Personal). Akiwenzie-Damm’s significant body of published works, as well as her work as one of three Indigenous publishers in Canada, reveals a

commitment to disseminate information about “living a good life, a life in balance” with All the Relations (McQuire 2). McQuire describes herself as an adopted member of the *Bizhiw* (Lynx), a subgroup of the *Wabijeshi Doodaem* (2). Her critical work about *Doodaemag* shows her to be an influential writer whose critical strategies distinguish her from others as a member of the *Bizhiw* Clan.

Wolfe, Vizenor, Baker, Blaeser, and I are self-identified members of the *Benesih Doodaem*. Wolfe is *Pinayzitt Doodaem* or Partridge Foot Clan (a subgroup of the Bird Clan), and his single publication is the first book-length collection of *Doodaemag* stories.¹⁹ Vizenor is *Chejauk Doodaem*: he passes on visionary and leadership traditions of his Crane Clan as an internationally recognized scholar and former professor whose early publications significantly shaped the body of Anishinaabe literature and the attending criticism. Baker and Blaeser are *Migizi Doodaem* or Eagle Clan: both of these women are prolific writers who build on the body of Anishinaabe knowledge in both critical and creative forms. As a member of the Bird Clan, I re-member and relate Being to *Doodaemag*, *Manitoukwe*, *Chibooway*, and *Nindawemeganidok* to strengthen the body of Anishinaabe Spiritual knowledge.

Outline

This introductory chapter provides a context for the discussion ahead by offering a historical overview of the Anishinaabe, a personal connection to theory, and introductory comments about ceremonializing theory. An historical overview is provided to show

¹⁹ McQuire also cites as collections of *Doodaem* stories John Tanner’s *Captivity of John Tanner*, Sitting Eagle’s *A Brief History of the Anishinabe Clan System Functions: A Series on the Clans of the Anishinabe (Ojibway) Nation*, and Wub-e-ke-niew’s *We Have the Right to Exist – A Translation of Aboriginal Indigenous Thought, the First Book Ever Published from an Anishinaeojibway Perspective*.

connections between Anishinaabe, Canadian Plains Saulteaux, Canadian Woodland Ojibway, and the American Chippewa. Personalizing theory as *Manidookewin* resists tendencies to politicize discussions about Canadian-American boundaries because relational systems and ceremonial ways do not acknowledge Euro-Canadian boundaries as traditional signifiers of Being. This introduction sets up the discussion ahead by acknowledging *Manidookewin* as a valid form of knowledge-making that relates books written in English to a *Midewiwin* naming ceremony and a *Doodaem* body of relations.

Chapter One sets out the methodology for a *Manidookewin* theoretical approach by re-visioning the critical landscape and ritualistically preparing the textual ground as part of a *Midewiwin*-like naming ceremony. In textualizing a naming ceremony, this project includes rituals for clearing the ground and making a call-out for helpers. In *Ojibway Ceremonies*, Johnston retells a story about a naming ceremony that sheds light on the ritual of clearing the ground. In his story, clearing the ground is necessary to prepare space for ceremonial transformation (15). In this study, clearing-the-ground functions as a critical concept that gathers the work of self-identified Anishinaabe critical and creative writers. Together with non-Anishinaabe Indigenous scholars, Anishinaabe writers are included to clear the textual ground to re-settle in written English the *Midewiwin* teachings of Anishinaabe ancestors. While the word *re-settle* may stir up images of early European immigrants who settled over Anishinaabe life-ways, this study uses it to politicize the settling again of Anishinaabe life-ways and the necessary movements and motions of ancestors as they struggled to adapt. Thus, the white pages of books are represented as contemporary story territories in which *Midewiwin* knowledge and *Doodaem* relations are being re-settled to reCreate Being.

Chapter Two relates ceremony to theory to illustrate critical methods for re-membering *Doodaem* Keepers of Knowledge to *Midewiwin* teachings carried in stories. In *Midewiwin* ceremonial spaces, *Doodaemag* are understood to mean systems of signification and self-government that relate Anishinaabe to the land which is conceptualized as an original Mother ancestor (Benton-Banai 74-78). Vizenor explains that such systems were “broken by the marching cadence of colonial patriotism. *Anishinaabeg* orators of the *maang*, or loon families, legions of the *makwa*, or bear, and the people of the *amik*, or beaver . . . were categorized, removed, and segregated from their woodland life and religion” (23-24). In “Restorative Dispute Resolution in Anishinaabe Communities – Restoring Conceptions of Relationships Based on Dodem,” Anishinaabe scholar McQuire makes the point that “[w]e need to understand how we ordered our societies so that we can fix what was done to us as well as what we may have been complicit in” (1). My project re-activates *Doodaemag* as a theoretical concept for re-membering and relating *Midewiwin* teachings submerged in written English in contemporary Anishinaabe stories. Because this study envisions re-forming theoretical approaches for reading selected Anishinaabe stories that convey *Midewiwin* teachings as a central feature, it privileges in this subsection the work of *Doodaem* lodge keepers, visionaries, and storytellers who carry into written English originating stories of Creation. Wolfe, Musqua, Benton-Banai, Johnston, and Vizenor re-call *Doodaem* Creation stories, re-member clan relations, and recount *Midewiwin* beliefs that impart teachings for relational well-being.

Chapter Three relates theory to ceremony by re-membering *Manitoukwe* to some Anishinaabe stories appearing in written English. The word *Manitoukwe* acknowledges

Midewiwin beliefs about a Creative Mother (personal conversation with Dan Musqua April 20, 2010). *Manitoukwe* also functions as a theoretical word to conceptualize approaches for reading Anishinaabe literature. When activated to ground Anishinaabe literary theory, the word *Manitoukwe* is used to convey *Midewiwin* teachings about a powerful Mother Creator that re-forms Spiritual and human relations carried into written English. When gathered for *Manidookewin*, *Manitoukwe* is shown to be an important critical concept for reading Annharte Baker's poem "Bird Clan Mother," Blaeser's poem "Of Narrative and Memory," LaDuke's story "Giiwedahn: Coming Home," and Akiwenzie-Damm's poem "this is where we stand our ground." Because their work inspires and leads directions for studies about Anishinaabe literature, these women are acknowledged as *Ogimaakwek*. In ceremony, *Ogimaakwek* are honoured as Clan Mothers, or leading women. Re-membering *Doodaem* relations and responsibilities to *Manitoukwe* ceremonially honours such women because they inspire *Bimaadiziwin*, or well-being.

Chapter Four relates ceremony to theory by acknowledging Spiritual ancestors as *Chibooway*, carried into written English by *Kahgegagahbowh* in 1850. In using this word, I follow the writing practice of Benton-Banai (*Mishomis* 25), LaDuke (*Last Standing* 74), and Johnston (*Manitous* 16), whose work relates *Chibooway* to ancestors who have returned to the Spirit World. In my reading of *Kahgegagahbowh's* (George Copway's) *Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation*, the word *Chibooway* functions as a critical term for recovering ancestors who carry *Midewiwin* teachings about Being Anishinaabe. *Kahgegagahbowh's Traditional History* is relevant for this study because his book is the first collection of stories that represent

Anishinaabe ancestors as carriers of *Midewiwin* teachings. By including such ancestors as part of his work, Kahgegagahbowh distinguishes his stories from others as belonging to the body of Anishinaabe literature.

Chapter Five relates theory to ceremony by lighting up the way that Wagamese's *Keeper's N Me* re-settles *Midewiwin* knowledge in the contemporary novel form. Outside print spaces, *Midewiwin* knowledge is lived out in our relations with one another; the word *Nindawemeganidok* is used to represent Anishinaabe living relations. In the Anishinaabe worldview, relations include both human and other than human Beings with whom we share this planet (Rheault 110-11). Contextualized within *Manidookewin*, *Nindawemeganidok* functions as an Anishinaabe-specific critical term for conceptualizing reading approaches to Wagamese's *Keeper*. Applying *Nindawemeganidok* to my reading of Wagamese's novel demonstrates an Anishinaabe relevant way of engaging critically with traditional concepts because relations "hold communities together" (McQuire 2). Unlike *Kahgegagahbowh*'s historical presentation of nation in which "Ojibway" relations appear submerged in written English, Wagamese deliberately reCreates ancestral knowledge to re-vision, re-member, re-form, and re-settle *Nindawemeganidok*.

The final chapter relates theory to ceremony by textualizing Feasting, Round-Dancing, and Giving-Away to make concluding comments about a *Midewiwin*-like naming *Manidookewin* approach to Anishinaabe literature. Such celebrations conclude ceremonies by re-membering Anishinaabe to *Doodaemag*, *Manitoukwe*, *Chibooway*, and *Nindawemeganidok* as part of a *Midewiwin* Way. Therefore, in this final chapter, I connect theory to ceremony by looking back at *Manidookewin* and *Minjimendaamowinon*

as critical approaches for reading selected contemporary Anishinaabe stories that convey *Midewiwin* teachings.

Calling the Ancestors and Personalizing Theory

In a traditional context, ceremonies require personal participation to re-member Being. Thus, I enter the text ceremonially as a cultured *Anishinaabekwe* (woman) who reasons critically within an Anishinaabe *Midewiwin* system of relational signification and governance.²⁰ I deliberately use the word *cultured* to call attention to the way that Being a contemporary *Anishinaabekwe* requires continuous learning, studying, and living with ancestral teachings. As a contemporary Anishinaabe, I realize and constitute meaning by attending to *Midewiwin* teachings, honouring *Chibooway*, nurturing *Nindawemeganidok*, relearning *Anishinaabemowin*, participating in *Manidookewin*, and renewing *Doodaem* relations, and contributing to the making of knowledge, government, art, music, and dance. As I enter critical and storied territories, my knowledge of the world and my ways of constituting meaning are mediated through originating systems of signification that grow in relations with English (not in relations to). I employ this critical strategy to moderate the Eurocentric authority of English because like ancestors who signed Treaty Four, in 1876, I envision negotiating space for Being Anishinaabe.²¹ Such a critical position unsettles discursive theories of the Native in literature by re-settling Anishinaabe *Midewiwin* knowledge in literary theory.

²⁰ While I acknowledge maternal Nehiowe-Metis relations as important to constituting Being, in this project I write only about Anishinaabe relations to create an academic model for re-membering Being.

²¹ In *Reasoning Together: The Native Critics Collective*, Creek-Cherokee scholar Craig Womack argues that “it is unlikely that English could ever be some purely authoritative European discourse without picking up tribal, and other, influences that kept it in flux, moderated its Eurocenteredness and its authority” (404).

My work was inspired by comments made by my oldest son, Blair-Wapiski Mukwa, as well as the birth of my first granddaughter Angelina-Ogimaakwe to my second son, Blue, and his wife Nichole. During a conversation with me my oldest son queried, “how come you never told us stories about our ancestors when we were growing up?” Over the years, his question profoundly disturbed me, and I tried to analyze my emotional reaction by thinking back to my imprisonment in the Cowesses Indian Residential School. My time in residential school, as I wrote in “Deconstructing Five Generations of White Christian Patriarchal Rule,” marked the beginning of relational dismemberment, Christian indoctrination, and cultural assimilation. Relational dismemberment, Christian indoctrination, and cultural assimilation left me feeling Spiritually and culturally confused (3). Thus, while I was taught stories of ancestors, I did not know how to decipher coded allusions to *Midewiwin* teachings carried by *Doodaem* relations in such stories.

When my granddaughter Angelina-Ogimaakwe was born, however, I began to understand how my ancestors’ stories carried *Midewiwin* teachings that helped me anchor her Being. My precious Angelina-Ogimaakwe came into the world three months premature and just a little over two pounds. While the doctors suggested that we should enjoy every second that we had with her, we were told that we could not touch her. We spent our moments looking upon her fragile little body as machines kept her alive. Because I was terrified and uncertain how to offer support to my new granddaughter’s parents, I told them stories about legendary Acoose ancestors. Also, against the doctor’s advice, I told my son Blue to pass the Spiritual strength of ancestors onto his daughter by touching her. He told me then that he was under a lot of pressure and did not need “my

bullshit” since the doctors and the neonatal technology were keeping her alive. I was hurt deeply by the disrespectful way he spoke and his callous disregard for the few teachings I offered him. Eventually, I went home and cried long into the night, all the while feeling like I should be at the hospital beside my granddaughter and son.

The next morning I retreated to my home office, and I cried some more because I felt like I was mourning the loss of ancient ancestral ways. In my office that morning, I could only think about strategies for living one moment to the next. At some point, I noticed a book still encased in plastic wrap on my desk. Without much thought, I picked it up. The book immediately fell open to a poem by Jace Weaver called “Blue.” Since my second son, Angelina’s father, is named Blue, I turned to the poem hoping to find some way to help me understand how to move through the days ahead. In my mind, stories that transform relations have within them Spiritual teachings whether they exist in spoken or written *Anishinaabemowin* or English.

Reading the poem and sharing it with Blue transformed our troubled and troubling relations. Weaver’s poem that appears in *Other Words: American Indian Literature, Law, and Culture* begins with the lines

The sun crowns the horizon mountains
Like a child being pushed from its mother’s womb.
Born out of the earth this day as any other,
A ceaseless cycle of birth, death, and rebirth. (1-4)

As an *Anishinaabekwe*, I interpreted these lines as confirming my own Spiritual beliefs about *Manitoukwe*. The words “*mother’s womb*,” as well as “*cycle of birth, death, and rebirth*” ignited memories of Anishinaabe Creation stories like those presented in Chapter

Two. The words “*born out of the earth*” activated an association with *Chibooway* and *Nindawemeganidok*, all my Spiritual and living relations that are a part of Creation. Moreover, I interpreted Weaver’s joining of the words “*born out of the earth*” to “*this day as any other*” as a legitimization and recognition of the ongoing relevance of such Spiritual teachings.

Reading the poem and sharing it with Blue encouraged me to draw on my own teachings of ancestors. I interpreted the following lines as allusions to an ongoing ancestral system that relates all Beings philosophically and Spiritually. He writes, “The creatures of the night / Have packed away their voices. / And those of the day have yet to find their throats” (5-7). And, I interpreted “creatures of the night” packing away their voices to be our animal and bird relations whose Spiritual presence we invoke in *Midewiwin* ceremonies to foster *Bimaadiziwin*. I also understood “those of the day have yet to find their throats” to mean young people like my son who need to learn how to activate Spiritual teaching.

Reading the remainder of Weaver’s poem, I realized how insignificant mere human relations are in the light of all Creation. I thought about the poet attempting to fix Being in both language and time when he writes,

It is the time the French call ‘l’heure bleue’,

The blue hour.

But it is not an hour but a moment, an instant,

Suspended between night and dawn. (8-11)

For the poet, fixing Being becomes futile as an hour disappears into a moment, and then is suspended between night and day. The poet refers to the pre-dawn time as the “blue

hour” (9), and he relates it to both ancestors who “greeted the new day” (15) and Elijah who “recognized the still small voice of his god” (16). In my interpretation, the words are allusions to ongoing Being, particularly as he relates them to himself standing “stock-still in the California air” and “[a]fraid to disturb the fragile communion” (13). When he writes about a bird calling out “indifferent to my presence / as he would be to my absence,” I thought about the way humans are just a part of broader Creation (18-19).

Reading Weaver’s poem the morning after Angelina-Ogimaakwe’s birth helped me to understand the strength of *Midewiwin* teachings carried through stories. Reading “Blue” re-membered me to my human relations during a time of crisis, fear, and uncertainty. Because the poem is called “Blue,” recalls cycles of birth and rebirth, relates Being to ancestors, and acknowledges the small voice of Elijah’s god, I connected to it personally. My youngest son’s name is Blue; my granddaughter Angelina had just been born; my son had dismissed as unimportant teachings about ancestral Spirit, and Blue’s first child’s name is Alijah (a re-formed version of Elijah). After I read the poem to Blue, he seemed to understand how a connection to Anishinaabe ancestors might inspire and anchor Angelina-Ogimaakwe’s Being.

In the days that followed I demonstrated for him the importance of living *Midewiwin* teachings by showing him how to infuse Angelina-Ogimaakwe’s Being with the strength of ancestors. Each day I sat beside the plastic cubicle that held my grandbaby’s precious little body. I placed my hand on the cubicle and silently, over and over again, mouthed the names of both my Nehiowe-Metis maternal and Anishinaabe paternal ancestors. Mostly, I envisioned inspiring her Being with the superhuman energies of paternal Acoose relations, as well as the strength and determination of all my

Koochums. Therefore, I called on my ancestors to help anchor her Spirit to *Manitoukwe*, *Gitchi Manitou*, and all other forms of Being Anishinaabe. I also named her *Ogimaakwe* to connect her Spirit to ancestors and signify her responsibility to carry women's *Midewiwin* teachings that re-member and relate Being Anishinaabe to the land.

Looking back, I realize that I was ceremonializing through rituals and chants the calling of Spiritual ancestors. At the same time, outside the hospital in many communities throughout Saskatchewan, Elders and friends called on ancestral Spirits through their prayers and ceremonies. Angelina-Ogimaakwe's birth coupled with my son Blair's comments about the absence of ancestral stories in his earlier life helped me to understand the importance of Anishinaabe *Midewiwin* teachings. Thus, I attempt to create a space in the academy for such Anishinaabe Spiritual teachings that I have come to understand by negotiating meaning as an *Anishinaabekwe*.

My paternal Anishinaabe ancestors (Plains Ojibway, or Saulteaux) signed Treaty Four at Fort Qu'Appelle on September 15, 1876. They signed this treaty because they envisioned that adapting Anishinaabe knowledge to include Euro-Canadian forms of education would enhance the lives of future generations. However, as Wolfe explains they also believed that participating and signing Treaty Four did not undermine their rights to live according to their own Spiritual traditions. In "The Last Raid," he writes that while much of their lives had changed when they agreed to settle on the reserve "*Spirituality continued to be a major factor in everyday life. Rituals and dances of different kinds were still practised*" (33). Also, he explains that some traditionalists believed that personal commitments made to the Creator were Spiritual Ways of the Bird Clan that must be honoured. His story documents "*an historic event [that reveals] . . . the*

last time such a commitment was carried out by . . . ‘Acoose, son of Qwewich’” (34). He also explains that clan leaders like Earth Elder and Yellow Calf cautioned Acoose to consider treaty promises that were made to “live in peace on the land they had reserved for themselves” (34). However, Acoose reminded Earth Elder and Yellow Calf that “commitments made to the Creator must be honoured” because they “were usually made in order to achieve a [S]piritual status which was necessary for direction and survival” (34). Both Qwewich and Samuel Acoose are my paternal relations.

My paternal Acoose ancestors are renowned runners who carried words to ensure the survival of *Doodaem* traditions and relations.²² Both Benton-Banai and Johnston offer stories about the importance of runners in the context of *Doodaem* teachings. In “The Earth’s First People,” Benton-Banai connects “the men that gave of themselves as runners [to] a special breed of men. Because of their sacrifices to the people, they were given a high place of honour” (27). In “Cheengwun’s Gift” Johnston recounts teachings about runners who assume responsibilities as part of *Doodaem* membership (*Ceremonies* 21). Both of these stories connect runners to *Midewiwin* traditions.²³ Prior to writing my dissertation, I found fragmented stories of ancestors written in English that helped me to remember my Being to a *Midewiwin* Way and *Doodaem* relations. In those fragments of stories, I read of Acoose ancestors distinguished from others as men who stood above the ground, just as *Ni’ mosom* Paul told me. In 1907, Amelia Paget wrote in *People of the Plains* about Qwewich. She described him as well-known, brave, and remarkably

²² See for example “Acoose: Man Standing Above Ground.”

²³ When I talked to Elder Dan Musqua about carrying my ancestors into text, he told me a story about *Ni’capan* Acoose. According to his story, Acoose was asked by Elders to search for medicines to help the people who were dying from influenza. His search took him to communities as far away as contemporary Prince Albert, an enormous challenge that took him many weeks. Musqua claims that he used both his skills as a runner and a carrier of words to acquire the medicine known as skunk medicine.

intelligent, and added that “though he has suffered complete loss of eyesight, [he] is most interested in all things concerning the welfare of his fellow Indians” (27). Edmund Morris (son of treaty commissioner Alexander Morris and close friend of writer and Indian Affairs Administrator, Duncan Campbell Scott) wrote that Qwewich’s mind was still quite clear at 103 years old, although he was blind and his skin “looks like parchment” (67). He emphasizes that “[h]is name was known far and wide in his time” (67). Morris also painted a portrait of Qwewich’s 61-year-old son Samuel Acoose (Man Standing Above Ground) who was known far and wide. Morris writes, Acoose was the fleetest of the Saulteaux. He used to compete with whites in races & always outrun them. He went to moose hunt once & fell in with 9 elk. His bullets had slipped through his pocket so he ran them down the first day then drove them 60 miles to his own camp at Goose Lake and killed them. This brought him renown. (67)

Like Morris, Paget turned to the stories of my ancestors, Qwewich and his sons. According to this writer, Qwewich’s sons were “brave men in the days of their warfare with the Blackfoot and other nations” (27). Like Paget, Wolfe relates Acoose to a warrior tradition, but he also connects him to the *Midewiwin* Bird Clan traditions. In his story, Wolfe explains that Acoose relied on his medicine bundle, pipe, and sweet grass to ceremonially petition the Spirit of his *Doodaem* to whom he referred as “Him who made all the birds of the air” (39). Thus, when I read these fragments of family stories in written English, they helped me to remember Being Anishinaabe to ancestors who were *Benesih Doodaem* carriers of *Midewiwin* knowledge.

Samuel Acoose’s father, Qwewich, was a noted ceremonialist also known as Roll of Thunder. As noted previously, Tarasoff interviewed Penipekeesik, *Ni’capan*

Qwewich's *Oshkabaywis* (ceremonial helpers). Then, Penipekeesik was one of the few remaining Keepers of *Manidookewin* from my paternal Sakimay Reserve home. He described Qwewich as a Keeper of the Rain Dance songs, rituals, and ceremony. According to Wolfe, the Rain Dance is a ceremony specific to the Keepers of the *Midewewin*, or Grand Medicine Lodge (62). Penipekeesik states that his grandfather "Kwewich" taught him the story of the Thunderbird, which the researcher refers to as a mythical bird or Spirit that "pervades much of the Rain Dance and Sweat Bath ceremonies" (4). Keepers of these stories are held in very high esteem because the Thunderbird is acknowledged as one of the Spiritual protector of the Anishinaabe (Morrisseau 4). In "The Last Grass Dance," Wolfe provides a context for *Ni' capan* Qwewich's name when he connects the Thunderbirds to ceremonial ancestors and refers to "the rolling thunder of the early spring, . . . [and] the Eagle Thunder Bird" as grandfathers (53).

Another of my relations is a renowned orator named Louis O'soup. The foster father of *Nokom* Madeline, O'soup is my father Fred Acoose's maternal *Mosom*. *Nokom* Madeline was born to culturally Irish parents, but she was raised as an *Anishinaabekwe* by Chief O'soup. One writer who studied O'soup was Jonathon King. He described him as "devot[ing] most of his life to trying to persuade the Canadian government to honour treaty obligations" (1). According to King, even when O'soup was in his eighties, he used his voice to call attention to treaty education issues. Another writer, Sarah Carter wrote about a meeting he attended in Ottawa in 1911. She records O'soup as stating, "[f]or many years . . . we have put our children to school and there is not one yet that has enough education to make a living . . . they go to their parents for a start and their parents

have nothing to give them, and the young men [sic] is reported as lazy. But he has nothing to scratch the ground with, and cannot farm” (256). I connect my scholarship to stories of Louis O’soup, Qwewich, Samuel Acoose, and Paul Acoose because through them I re-member Being to *Anishinaabemowin*, *Midewiwin*, *Doodaemag*, *Manitoukwe*, *Manidookewin*, *Chibooway*, and *Nindawemeganidok*.

Re-membling myself to Anishinaabe is important for me because my Being was dismembered by colonial strategies that used the English language to erode *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations. While at one time my paternal relations were esteemed as humans who stood above the ground, today the Acoose name is primarily associated with so-called social diseases of Indians. In *A Dictionary of the Ojibway Language*, Frederic Baraga suggests that “Akos” means “I am as tall as thou,” but he also includes as a possible meaning “I am sick, infirm” (25). Both of the meanings have relevance for me. The first meaning compliments *Ni’mosom* Paul’s stories of ancestors who stood above the ground. The second meaning offered by Baraga allows me to contextualize comments that a former colleague made to me about Acoose ancestors as “sick” and “bad.” I believe that he referred to my ancestors as “sick” or “bad” because they are Bird Clan ceremonialists who resisted Christian indoctrination. *Ni’capan* Qwewich was a ceremonial caller of Spirits. The name Qwewich, pronounced phonetically as “Kwishkwish” relates *Ni’capan* to ceremonial whistling (Baraga 200). In ceremonies, the Eagle Bone whistle is used to call the power of Spirits into the lodge. As noted previously, ancestral stories passed on to me about Qwewich also name him Roll of Thunder. According to both Morriveau (6) and Wolfe, thunder is associated with Spiritual powers (53). Thus, when I set about to right relations in written English, my project is

both deeply personal and political, for like Daniel Heath Justice my work “doesn’t seek a distanced, ‘objective’ perspective removed from human experience and contexts” (*Our* 15). In fact, to borrow Justice’s well-put statement, its subjectivity is its strength.

CHAPTER ONE

Manidookewin: Re-visioning the Critical Landscape

This chapter explains how *Manidookewin* functions as a theoretical *Midewiwin*-like naming ceremony that illuminates *Doodaem* carriers of *Midewiwin* teachings in stories written in English. In a traditional context, a ceremony may be observed as public and private rituals conducted to “understand the origin and nature of life, existence, and death” for Being Anishinaabe (Johnston, *Ceremonies* vii). Publicly, a naming ceremony gathers participants to acknowledge interdependent relations as *Doodaemag*, carriers of *Midewiwin* teachings for fostering *Bimaadiziwin*, or a way of life that balances all forms of Being Anishinaabe.²⁴ Privately, a naming ceremony ritualizes petitions to Spirits for names of ancestors that will help us move through life in a good way. Following these traditional ways, this chapter shows how a *Midewiwin*-like naming ceremony functions: it invokes the power of Spiritual relations and assembles the *Doodaemag* to help name the stories written in English Anishinaabe literature. As a critical method, a naming like ceremony relates theory to *Manidookewin* by re-visioning, re-membering, re-naming, re-forming, and re-settling in books written in English Anishinaabe relations as *Doodaemag* that carry *Midewiwin* teachings. Therefore, this *Manidookewin* relies on community-acknowledged *Midewiwin* ceremonialists and leading *Doodaem* authorities like Alexander Wolfe (*Benesih Doodaem*), Dan Musqua (*Mukwa Doodaem*), and Edward Benton-Banai (*Geghoon Doodaem*). These leading *Doodaem* authorities guide the creation of this textualized naming ceremony, which includes important rituals such as clearing-the-ground, making a call-out, and repeating prayer chants. As a textualized

²⁴ Anishinaabe ceremonies also include non-Anishinaabe peoples who are interested in the ways of the Spirit.

ritual, clearing-the-ground acknowledges the need for what Joseph Bruchac refers to as “wiping away old shapes and making space for new ways of seeing” to transform literary theory (xxxix). Transforming theoretical grounds is a massive undertaking that this study likens to reCreation of Being in a post-apocalyptic world. To help re-name and re-settle Anishinaabe relations in the discourse of English literature, this textual *Manidookewin* calls into this gathering the work of Anishinaabe and non-Anishinaabe scholars and creative writers. As a naming ceremony, this *Manidookewin* also employs repetition to imitate chanting rituals used in ceremonies to transform Being. Along with clearing-the-ground and calling-out rituals, the use of repetition enacts ceremonial-like chanting rituals to transform discursive space for re-visioning the critical terrain and re-membering Being. As early as the nineteenth century Kahgegahbowh and William Warren were writing about *Doodaem* relations as carrier of *Midewiwin* teachings. However, much of what they have written, for the most part, has been misread as Native literature or Indian studies. Such a critical practice suffocates *Doodaem* relations who carry *Midewiwin* Spiritual teachings that are important for re-membering Being Anishinaabe. Thus, this *Manidookewin* becomes an important critical method for excavating *Midewiwin* teachings grounded in stories and resuscitating *Doodaem* relations suffocated in deadening English words.

***Manidookewin* as a Critical Methodology**

This *Manidookewin* begins from the premise that *Midewiwin* teachings carried by *Doodaem* relations are relevant for the development of Anishinaabe theory. In this study, a *Manidookewin* approach allows me to illustrate *Minjimendaamowinon* as a critical

process for re-membering *Doodaem* relations who carry *Midewiwin* Spiritual teachings to books written in English. Therefore, in this chapter, I show how a *Manidookewin* relies on *Midewiwin* callers of Spirits, Fire Keepers, Clan Mothers, and ceremonial helpers who attend to Anishinaabe stories written in English. The majority of the writers included are self-identified members of specific *Doodaemag* who re-member Being Anishinaabe to a Mother Creator Land, a Father Creator Spirit, Spiritual ancestors, and contemporary relations. This *Manidookewin* acknowledges these Beings respectively as *Manitoukwe*, *Gitchi Manitou*, *Chibooway*, and *Nindawemeganidok*, distinctive relations who appear in stories as important conveyors of *Midewiwin* teachings.

Methodologically, leading Anishinaabe scholars and creative writers function like *Midewiwin* Fire Keepers, Clan Mothers, and ceremonial helpers to support *Mide* callers of Spirits as they resuscitate teachings of ancestors previously submerged in written English. In this naming ceremony, *Ni'capan* Qwewich and Samuel Acoose, Wolfe, Musqua, and Benton-Banai are acknowledged as *Midewiwin* callers of Spirits whose storied-teachings lay the foundation for *Manidookewin*. Johnston and Vizenor are included in this textualized naming ceremony as *Doodaem Ogimaawinini*, leading Anishinaabe visionaries who revive “a small portion of the total fund of unwritten tradition” to show contemporary writers how to enhance the teachings of ancestors like Qwewich, Acoose, Wolfe, Musqua, and Benton-Banai (Johnston, *Heritage* 7). Annharte Baker, Blaeser, LaDuke, and Akiwenzie-Damm function in this naming ceremony like visionary *Doodaem Gi-ma-ma-nen* who re-member Anishinaabe stories to *Manitoukwe*, a literary strategy that I employ to ensure *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations remain “near the tribal fire and in tribal thoughts” (16). Kahgegahbowh and Wagamese

are included in the textual ceremony as functioning like *Midewiwin* Fire Keepers who ensure that stories carried in English continue to illuminate *Chibooway* and *Nindawemeganidok* respectively. Noori and McQuire are acknowledged in this naming ceremony as functioning like *Doodaem Ogimaakwek Gitchikwe*, leading *Midewiwin* clan women who prepare the critical ground for *Manidookewin*. Gross and Rheault function like *Doodaem Ogimaawinini Oshkabaywis*, leading ceremonial helpers who attend to the teachings of learned Elders. Together with *Midewiwin* callers of Spirits, *Doodaem* visionaries, *Doodaem Gi-ma-ma-nen*, and Fire Keepers, these ceremonial helpers re-activate important teachings not immediately apparent to some readers of Anishinaabe stories. Therefore, these members of *Doodaemag* are included in this textualized naming ceremony to prepare discursive space for Being Anishinaabe.

Theoretically, this textual naming ceremony uses repetition to imitate *Midewiwin* prayer chanting. In naming ceremonies, prayer chants are used as part of the *Midewiwin* rituals to transform Being. When used as repetition to re-vision, re-member, re-form, and re-settle in written English important Anishinaabe teachings and relations, the words *Midewiwin*, *Doodaem/ag*, *Manidookewin*, *Minjimendaamowinon*, *Manitoukwe*, *Chibooway*, and *Nindawemeganidok* function like ritual prayer chants. Additionally, the words *re-vision*, *re-member*, *re-form*, and *re-settle* are repeated like ceremonial prayer chants in this dissertation. The prefix *re* hyphenates the words *vision*, *member*, *form*, and *settle* to signal a political strategy for reconstituting Being Anishinaabe in written English.²⁵ The word *re-vision* relates theory to a naming ceremony by focusing the critical lens on a previously underrepresented system of knowledge that re-members

²⁵ Such a strategy departs from conventional usages as explained by Margery Fee and Janice McAlpine in the *Oxford Guide to Canadian English Usage* (2007), 491.

Anishinaabe relations to *Manitoukwe* (a sacred Creator land), *Gitchi Manitou* (a Father Spirit), *Midewiwin* (a Spiritual form of government), *Doodaem/ag* (system(s) of relational signification), *Chibooway* (Spiritual ancestors), and *Nindawemeganidok* (interconnected secular relations). The word *re-member*, rather than *remember*, is used as a critical concept for re-attaching such Anishinaabe signifiers, albeit to stories written in English. As part of the critical language, the word *re-member* also attaches to this study the traditional practice of bestowing names such as Acoose, Kahgegahbowh, and *Pinayzitt* as conveyors of *Midewiwin* teachings and clan relations. Therefore, the word *re-form* shifts the shape of theories about stories to acknowledge names of relations as conveyors of *Midewiwin* teachings that re-member Being to *Doodaemag*. The word *re-settle* politicizes the opening of discursive space to make room for *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations. The word *carrying* also appears frequently in this naming ceremony to make the point that including Anishinaabe *Midewiwin* knowledge and *Doodaem* relations in written English theory is both a choice and a responsibility.

Understanding Anishinaabe words may present difficulties for some readers and so I offer various strategies for negotiating meaning. First, I offer a basic re-expression in English after the first time an Anishinaabe words appears. Second, I assemble the words to allow context to illuminate meaning. Third, I provide a glossary of words used in the dissertation in an appendix at the end of the work. While this study offers some Anishinaabe words as a critical language to engage with Anishinaabe stories in written English, I want to emphasize that my knowledge of written *Anishinaabemowin* is very basic. Nevertheless, I enter the text as an *Anishinaabekwe* negotiator of discursive space like my ancestors who signed Treaty Four envisioning the growth of traditional

knowledge alongside other bodies of worldly knowledge. Such a project is necessary because the language and Spiritual traditions of ancestors continue to be seriously undermined by colonial and neocolonial institutions. My work therefore politicizes and personalizes the use of Anishinaabe words like *Midewiwin*, *Doodaem/ag Manidookewin*, *Minjimendaamowinon*, *Manitoukwe*, *Chibooway*, and *Nindawemeganidok* to sound the presence in written English of Anishinaabe teachings and relations. Following Johnston's, Benton-Banai's, and LaDuke's writing practice, I use the word *Chibooway* as "an aura [S]pirit" of ancestors (*Anishinaubae Thesaurus* 23). Therefore, in this study, the word *Chibooway* signifies Spiritual ancestors who carry *Midewiwin* teachings for remembering Being. Following the traditional protocols carried into written English by Wolfe, Musqua, and Benton-Banai, I also use the words *Manitoukwe*, *Gitchi Manitou*, and *Nindawemeganidok* to acknowledge a Mother Creator Land, a Father Creator Spirit, and all living relations that originate from *Midewiwin* teachings. To emphasize the point made previously, I want to point out that *Manitoukwe*, *Gitchi Manitou*, *Chibooway*, and *Nindawemeganidok* are essential relations who inspire Anishinaabe Being, according to *Midewiwin* Spiritual teachings.

Clearing the Ground

This project borrows from Abenaki writer Joseph Bruchac the phrase "clearing the ground" to signify a ceremonial-like clearing of the intellectual terrain, a necessary textual ritual that acknowledges previous theories of Indigenous literatures while simultaneously preparing the space for Anishinaabe-specific theorizing (xxxix). The use of the phrase "clearing the ground" politicizes the recovery of age-old traditional

Midewiwin knowledge once forced underground and the subsequent re-settlement of *Doodaem* relations who carry such knowledge into written English. In *Recovering the Sacred: The Power of Naming and Claiming*, LaDuke explains that “[x]enophobia and deep fear of Native practices came to the Americas with the first Europeans” (11). Such fears grew out of exposure to “[c]enturies of papal bulls [that] posited the supremacy of Christendom over all other beliefs, sanctified manifest destiny, and authorized even the most brutal practices of colonialism” (12).²⁶ LaDuke also claims that because the “Church served as handmaiden to military, economic, and Spiritual genocide and domination . . . [s]ome of the most virulent and disgraceful manifestations of Christian dominance found expression in the conquest and colonization of the Americas” (11-12). LaDuke explains that in the United States “Native religious expression was outlawed,” and eventually “[r]eligious dominance became the centerpiece of early reservation policy” (12). Those few individuals who continued to “practice a traditional form of worship” in the United States risked a death sentence (12). In Canada, in 1885 “the Government outlawed the ceremonial distribution of property through potlatches and other forms of religious expression practised by many Northwest Coast Aboriginal cultures in British Columbia by amending the Indian Act of Canada” (Pettipas 3). In 1895 “[s]ubsequent modifications to this legislation . . . allowed the federal government, under the auspices of the Department of Indian Affairs, to undermine certain religious practices among other Aboriginal cultures. In particular, certain rituals associated with the Sun (or Thirst) Dances were prohibited” (3). My reading in the following chapter of Wolfe’s *Earth Elder* shows that “ceremonies held by the Midewiwin, or the Grand Medicine

²⁶ As it is used in this study, the term manifest destiny refers to an American belief that originated in the 19th century. Advocates of manifest destiny believed that they possessed God given rights to expand their territories and impose on others their own beliefs, by any means necessary.

Society, were also subjected to surveillance” (157). Individuals like my own relatives who continued to uphold their traditions faced persecution, banishment, and imprisonment. For carriers of Anishinaabe *Midewiwin* traditions like *Ni’capan* Qwewich and Samuel Acoose “the history of religious colonialism including the genocide perpetrated by the Catholic Church . . . is a wound from which [our] communities ha[ve] never healed” (LaDuke, *Recovering* 12). Those traditionalists who clung to their ways were forced to hold their ceremonies deep in the woods or the “heartland of their territory” (12).

Benton-Banai explains that Anishinaabe prophecies foretold the banishment of Spiritual Ways. According to those prophecies, the visionaries turned to “priests of the Midewiwin Lodge” and told them that the “Midewiwin Way was in danger of being destroyed” (91). The *Mide* priests therefore “gathered all their sacred bundles and Weegwas scrolls and placed them ‘in a hollowed-out log from Ma-none’ (the iron wood tree)” (91). Over a cliff, they lowered men who “buried the log where no one could find it. Thus the teachings of the [E]lders were hidden out of sight but not out of memory (91). The bundles and scrolls were sacred *Midewiwin* records that re-membered Anishinaabe to *Doodaem* relations, traditional forms of government, and Spiritual traditions originating from the land. Despite the fact that “[t]en of the wisest and most venerable of the nation” guarded these *Midewiwin* ceremonial objects, anthropologists, archeologists, and ethnologists were able to rip such sacred items from out of the ground to use for future studies (Kahgegahbowh 131). Such actions set in motion apocalyptic beliefs that *Doodaem* ancestors had abandoned the Anishinaabe and that the land could therefore no

longer re-member Being, as Wolfe's, Benton-Banai's, Johnston's, and Kahgegagahbowh's stories seem to imply.

Many Anishinaabe stories now appearing in written English recall dispiriting times when *Midewiwin* ceremonies were banished and people believed their *Doodaem* ancestors had abandoned them. Wolfe's "The Last Raid" and "The Last Rain Dance" document a period that witnessed the erosion of *Midewiwin* traditions and *Doodaem* relations. In Benton-Banai's "The Great Flood," the Great Spirit of the Anishinaabe appears to have deserted the original people when flooding rains destroy the Earth. Similarly, in Johnston's "The Vision of Kitche Manitou," Sky Woman's Spirited partner seems to have abandoned her and both sets of their twinned offspring (*Heritage* 13). In Kahgegagahbowh's "The Thunder's Nest," the Thunder Beings who are acknowledged in *Midewiwin* teachings as Spiritual protectors of the Anishinaabe appear determined to destroy an Anishinaabe warrior. Additionally, in "Their Religious Beliefs," Kahgegagahbowh writes about Spiritual Beings who appear to have abandoned the Anishinaabe after an old woman follows her grandson into the sky home of Spirits. These are just a few examples of the way that Anishinaabe stories are interpreted as carrying ancestors who seem to have abandoned them, rather than representing such relations as conveyors of important Spiritual teachings for re-membering Being Anishinaabe. This naming ceremony thus textualizes a *Manidookewin* clearing-the-ground ritual, resettling important Anishinaabe teachings and relations to reverse the trauma that was first created when medicine bundles, sacred scrolls, and ancestral remains were ripped from the belly of the Mother Creator Land.

A clearing-the-ground ritual makes space for Anishinaabe theory to reverse the work of academics who “armed the state with the ammunition it needed to clear the land, exact cultural genocide, and enforce assimilationist programs” (Stevenson 45). Stevenson explains that academics “provided the federal governments of Canada and the United States with the data and rationale they required to develop and impose their notorious turn-of-the-century Indian policies” (45). Grounding theory in Anishinaabe knowledge, I hope to “go beyond merely invoking categories and engage in a careful exploration of how those categories impact the process of [intellectual] sovereignty” (Warrior qtd. in Cook-Lynn 89). As used in this naming ceremony, the abstract term *intellectual sovereignty* is enacted as a right to use my own *Midewiwin* teachings as an interpretive approach for reading Anishinaabe literature, as well as a responsibility to exercise self-governing *Doodaem* traditions. In other words, in this *Manidookewin*, I activate intellectual sovereignty by clearing the discursive ground to make room for the migratory pathway of Anishinaabe Keepers of *Doodaemag* who are re-settling Anishinaabe Spiritual teachings from oral stories to written English books.

In *Ojibway Heritage* Johnston functions like a *Geghoon Doodaem* traditional storyteller when he re-members, re-visions, re-forms, and re-settles Spiritual teachings and body of relations. In this book, Johnston re-members into written English a ceremonial-like process that invokes the teachings of ancestors and inspires collective memory to re-order and re-balance *Midewiwin* teachings. Noori supports this claim when she described the “primary lesson of Johnston’s work [as being] that all of life is related. Every story, every life, is dependent on a web of relationships which must be acknowledged” (107). He carries these relations into his book as *Doodaemag*, and he

makes it clear that such teachings were passed on to him from numerous storytellers around the Great Lakes. In this book, he recounts teachings about Anishinaabe relations who originate from a female Creator named Sky-woman. As he re-members Sky-woman into written English, Johnston re-forms non-Anishinaabe theories of Anishinaabe origin because he specifically names “Mishee Mackinakong, the place of the Great Turtle’s back, now known as Michilimackinac” as the birthplace of the Anishinaabe (Johnston 14). When he places such teachings in written English, Johnston re-settles Sky-woman as part of a body of relations that are signified within a *Midewiwin* Way. As a system of signification connected to a *Midewiwin* Way, *Doodaemag* “associate[s] families with specific animals and give[s] the tribe a way to ensure that various members . . . [are] striving to provide leadership, protection, food, education, and healing” (Noori 108). Johnston also connects the Anishinaabe to a Mother Land when he describes *Doodaemag* as related to the words *dodum* (to do or fulfill) and *dodosh* (the breast) (61). According to Johnston, both of these words relate the Anishinaabe to *Doodaem* which he explains to mean “that from which I draw my purpose, meaning, and being” (61). In the pages ahead, I show Johnston to be drawing his purpose, meaning, and Being by attending to *Doodaem* relations who carry *Midewiwin* teachings.

For example, when I view the turtle image on the page before the preface in *Ojibway Heritage*, I relate it to the Turtle *Doodaem*, in addition to the obvious signification of Turtle Island, the place of Creation. According to traditional teachings, those who belong to the Turtle Clan are a subgroup of the *Geghoon Doodaem* and carriers of methods for disseminating *Midewiwin* teachings for well-being. Noori relates Johnston’s work to such carriers of teachings for well-being when she makes a

connection between his stories about “*Geezigoikwe* and a turtle, combined with the fable of a muskrat bringing dirt up from a vast body of water” (108). In fact, she relates him to “the first Anishinaabe storytellers” who used stories to encourage well-being (108). In this naming ceremony Johnston is acknowledged as being a contemporary *Daebaujemoot* (storyteller) who functions in this naming ceremony like a member of the *Geghoon Doodaem* whose storied teachings foster *Bimaadiziwin*.

In *The People Named Chippewa*, Vizenor demonstrates qualities associated with his *Chejauk Doodaem* ancestors. He shows leadership as an Anishinaabe critic when he questions the notion of Anishinaabe authority. In this book, he cites Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, a non-Indigenous writer who “[m]ore than a century ago, . . . named the Anishinaabeg the Ojibwa [because] he reasoned that the root meaning of the word Ojibway described the peculiar sound of the Anishnaabe voice” (17). Schoolcraft, according to Vizenor, “served the Lewis Cass expedition to Lake Superior as a geologist; later he claimed that he discovered the source of the Mississippi at Lake Itasca, an arrogant assertion since he asked tribal people to direct him to the source of the river” (17). A leading critic, Vizenor points out that Henry Wadsworth Longfellow copied Schoolcraft’s errors: “Longfellow confused the trickster Naanabozho with the Iroquois Hiawatha and placed his romantic narrative on the shores of Lake Superior” (17). He also calls into question methods for acquiring Anishinaabe knowledge when he reveals that Schoolcraft exploited his Anishinaabe wife and her relations by neglecting to acknowledge their importance to his work (17). As this naming ceremony reveals in my analysis of Anishinaabe literature, acknowledging relations in a Spiritual Way is one of the most important *Midewiwin* teachings about Being Anishinaabe.

Benton-Banai, Johnston, Wolfe, and Vizenor connect duties to serve Anishinaabe relations to *Midewiwin* teachings that set out *Doodaem* responsibilities. Benton-Banai remembers Nanabush--he calls him Nanaboozho--as the first helper (*Oshkabaywis*) who was sent to Earth to transform Earthly relations. His journey reflects ancestral teachings about the *Oshkabaywis* tradition and *Midewiwin* Ways that help the Anishinaabe live *Bimaadiziwin*. Benton-Banai specifically connects *Midewiwin* teachings to *Doodaemag* and duties to serve the relations in "The Clan System." Like Benton-Banai, Johnston reminds Anishinaabe about their "obligation[s] to the community that require ... giv[ing] something back to the people for all the benefits and favors" (*Manitous* xix). He suggests "[t]hat which made men and women Anishinaubae was considered to be owed to the entire heritage of the community and nation, and each person was bound to return something to his or her heritage and so" to add to its worth (xix). Likewise Wolfe connects memory, stories, and the use of the mind to well-being and stability of the Pinayzitt Clan Relations (xiii). Wolfe also makes it clear that *Midewiwin* teachings, as they were acknowledged in ceremonies like the Rain Dance, encouraged the Anishinaabe to attend to relations. Further, Vizenor's numerous publications reveal his "ideological struggles to maintain [his] tribal culture" (Blaeser, *Gerald* 11). In *Summer in the Spring* and *Interior Landscapes*, he connects his tribal culture to *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations. Also, his invention of the neologism *survivance*, in my mind, demonstrates a commitment to the body of Anishinaabe stories and communities of relations. Indeed, writers like Benton-Banai, Johnston, Wolfe, and Vizenor create critical and fictional works to serve Anishinaabe relations, which this naming ceremony acknowledges as *Doodaemag* that continue to grow from activated *Midewiwin* teachings.

Like Benton-Banai, Johnston, Wolfe, and Vizenor, Anishinaabe scholars Blaeser, Noori, Rheault, and Gross create an awareness of and responsibility for Anishinaabe relations. For example, Blaeser re-settles into critical spaces foundational teachings of her Anishinaabe ancestors. In “Sacred Journey Cycles: Pilgrimage as Re-turning and Re-telling in American Indigenous Literatures,” she carries foundational teachings about Mother Earth and All the Relations. She relates Being to her home place, *Gaa-waabaabiganikaag* (White Earth), and “all the plants, creatures, seasons, and features of the earth [that] contributed to the long established rhythms of tribal life” (83). She writes about her mother with whom she acknowledges becoming “two in the long generations of *Anishinabekwe* who had woven lives in relationship to the land and waterways of the Great Lakes regions” (83). In “Pagans Rewriting the Bible: Heterodoxy and the Representation of Spirituality in Native American Literature,” she writes about response-ability as a vision that connects her work to other contemporary Native writers and literature (12). Such a vision reveals writers “making and remaking the universe in all its relations” (13). As a principle, response-ability implicates readers, too, and so stories become a “force” (13). As a contemporary Anishinaabe storyteller, Blaeser joins her voice to other Indigenous relations when she writes in “Writing Voices Speaking: Native Authors and an Oral Aesthetic” that “[w]e learn our role in story and are meant to carry that role into daily life. We have a response-ability and a responsibility to the telling” (64). Although one might make the point that Blaeser relates a good deal of her work to pan-Indigenous concerns, it is fair to say that she calls into her stories Anishinaabe relations and Spirits of ancestors. In an interview with Jennifer Andrews, she talks about coming to writing knowing that there are ancestral voices. She says, “I know that those

voices are there, whether or not I can identify them. The source is not just me; it could never be just me” (“Living” 2). She also explains her use of words like *response-ability* and *re-speaking* by relating the words to her Ojibway relatives. For example, she describes the word *response-ability* as “something that we owe, that we’re responsible for, and it returns to us a larger ability to be. When I think about things in my own life, I often link them to things in my past life or to my parents or grandparents or my longer-ago historical relatives or a larger mass of the Ojibwe people” (11). When she explains to Andrews how she uses the word *re-speaking*, she makes connections between relations, memory, and poetry as well as a place beyond language (12). Blaeser gestures beyond language by re-membering herself to ancestors. As she engages with ancestors, memory becomes “a kind of adhesive, [that] . . . put[s] things back together, and it makes intergenerational connections” (9). Thus, in this naming ceremony, I acknowledge Blaeser as *Migizi Doodaem* and her work as honouring *Midewiwin* teachings.

In a doctoral dissertation entitled *Native American Literature in Tribal Context: Anishinaabe Aadisokaanag Noongom*, Noori supports Anishinaabe foundational teachings laid by traditional Keepers of Knowledge when she presents “Anishinaabe authors within the context of their own tribe” (iii). She also relates contemporary literature to traditional teachings passed on through the work of Anishinaabe writers Louise Erdrich, Jim Northrup, Basil Johnston, and Gerald Vizenor. She bridges scholarship to community when she writes: “I am not counted on any tribal roll; I grew up in urban parts of Minnesota; and I can only aspire to respectfully represent a community I have been privileged to be a part of as a daughter, a mother, a jingle dancer, a writer for *The Circle Native Newspaper*, and a student of the Ojibwe language for many

years” (20). Her work attends to traditional knowledge, too, in her use of *Anishinaabemowin*: words like *wayeshkad*, *wayekwaase*, and *waaseychiganan* are part of her theoretical approach to Anishinaabe literature. The words *wayeshkad* (place to begin) and *wayekwaase* (place to stop) convey traditional teachings about relational order and balance in the presentation of storied teachings. While she defines the word *waaseychiganan* as something that can be looked into or that shines a light on, I read the word as carrying an important *Midewiwin* teaching about relational Spirit Being, as my use of the word *Chibooway* illustrates (1).

In practice Noori’s readings of the work of Louise Erdrich, Basil Johnston, Jim Northrup, and Gerald Vizenor unfold in four interpretive pathways that reveal traditional approaches to literature. First, she illustrates how each author is “part of common culture and contributes to the preservation and continuation of that culture [by offering] [r]eaders new to these authors benefit from knowing the families, communities, teachers, leaders, and experiences that shaped them and their work” (20). Her second pathway into reading Anishinaabe literature reveals the subjects about which her selected authors write. Noori identifies as common subjects, the Great Lakes’ landscapes, traditional stories, mythological warriors, and animal *Doodaemag* (21). The third approach illuminates “choice of stylistic techniques,” which includes such things as ritualistic openings and endings of stories, as well as the “habit of telling traditional oral stories during winter” (21). She also identifies, as a stylistic technique, circular narrative patterns and reflections of oral storytelling traditions that are guided by seasonal transformations (21). The final approach directs the reading of Anishinaabe literature to the “Ojibwe language . . . [and the language] appears almost as if it were itself a character in many of their [Erdrich’s,

Johnston's, Northrup's, Vizenor's] works" (21). Considered together, the four approaches to Anishinaabe literature offered by Noori create an awareness of ongoing systems of signification that connect Anishinaabe to each other, land, storytelling traditions, and language.

D'arcy Rheault's "*Anishinaabe Mino-Bimaadiziwin: The Way to a Good Life*" identifies Anishinaabe foundational teachings as constituting a coherent philosophy. Initially, he set out to write a book about Anishinaabe epistemology, but he realized that he "had to step further back to find a primary foundation" (xxi). A student of philosophy, he thought, too, about a metaphysical approach, but he claimed that such an approach "didn't feel right either" (xxi). Eventually, he realized "I had to speak about my own life and my journey of learning rather than try to objectify Anishinaabe philosophy, as my academic training had taught me to do" (xxi). Rheault concludes that scholarship for an Anishinaabe person "includes more than an investigation of the external world. It also includes those revealed insights that happen within; insights that are presented as gifts by the [S]pirit, gifts that transcend the constraints of space-time" (xxii). He emphasizes, "I am not talking about the usual steps in rational investigation, like thinking about the Teachings or some empirical observations and finding commonality or conceptual order. Rather, I am speaking of the insight that has been given to me by my Teachers, particularly in my dreams, during my Fasting experiences and in Ceremony" (xxii).

Rheault relates acquisition of traditional knowledge to highly reputed Keepers of *Midewiwin* Knowledge who also work in universities. He cites, for example, Odawa scholars Edna Asinii-Kwe Manitowabi and Lillian Biidawe'aandmod oo kwe Osawamick-Bourgeois; the former is a professor as well as a *Midekwe* practitioner, the

latter a language specialist. He also connects his work to that of Anishinaabe scholars Bryan Washakon Luoks, Brian Waabishki Makwa McInnis, and Paul Mishcogaboway Bourgeois (vii). Besides the scholars, he credits his traditional education to “the *Niswi-Ishkodeng Midewigan* (Three Fires Midewiwin Society), a contemporary *Midewiwin* society organized by Edward Benton-Banai in the late 1970’s” (xix). Many of the scholars he cites as academic influences also participate in *Midewiwin* ceremonial knowledge-making, in addition to their institutional scholarly work.

Ceremonial knowledge-making for some Anishinaabe scholars is important because such traditional processes invoke the Spirits of ancestor as a way of validating the creation and transmission of knowledge.²⁷ In *Iskwewak Kah’ Ki Yaw Ni Wahkomakanak: Neither Indian Princesses Nor Easy Squaws*, I write about attending the Rain Dance in my paternal home at Sakimay Saulteaux First Nations (Saskatchewan) and petitioning ancestral Spirits to prepare me for my journey as a professor. These relations were called to guide Elder Standingready as he prepared to give me a name. These relations were also called to witness the events when I was given the name Miskwonigeesikokwe / Red Sky Woman to guide me through life.²⁸ The calling of Spiritual relations ensures that knowledge-making, and in my case preparing me for making knowledge, adheres to *Midewiwin Doodaem* teachings that impart *N’debwwetawin*. Rheault explains that *N’debwwetawin* may be understood to mean my belief, but he suggests that the word literally translates into English as “the truth that is evident in the way of the action” (14). He also explains that the phrase “*the way of the*

²⁷ One of my former colleagues at the First Nations University of Canada, Cree professor Yvonne Howse reminded me of this important aspect of ceremony.

²⁸ In this book, I spell the name that translates into the English Red Sky Woman as Misko-Kisikawihkwe. While that spelling is not incorrect, I prefer Miskwonigeesikokwe because it sounds closer to the name given to me in ceremony by Elder William Standingready.

action” implies “Primary Experiential Knowledge one gains when using a process-oriented method” because truth is what is revealed, not opinion or conjecture (14). Rheault’s attention to the way that Anishinaabe knowledge-making continues to be guided by personal participation, traditional teachers, ceremonial ways, and *N’debwwetawin* principles are acknowledged in this naming ceremony as relevant to the study of Anishinaabe literature, as my analysis of specific stories reveals in the pages ahead.

In “The Comic Vision of Anishinaabe Culture and Religion,” “Cultural Sovereignty and Native American Hermeneutics in the Interpretation of the Sacred Stories of the Anishinaabe,” and “Bimaadiziwin, or the ‘Good Life,’ as a Unifying Concept of Anishinaabe Religion,” Gross carries Anishinaabe foundational teachings into his criticism in written English. In the first essay, he introduces his topic by reflecting on the challenges he faces as an Anishinaabe academic. He claims that one of the challenges is “the manner in which I should discuss my own people” (436). Like Rheault, Gross reasons that as an Anishinaabe academic he cannot distance himself from his work because he uses his work primarily to attend to his own Anishinaabe community (436). In the second essay, Gross writes about the sacred stories of origin that provide foundation for cultures by “giving structure and meaning to the cosmos” (128). He also argues for cultural sovereignty in the “control of the meaning and interpretation of myths” because sacred stories “affect the way in which people act” (128). In the third essay cited above, Gross carries into critical space storied teachings of *Bimaadiziwin*. In a traditional Anishinaabe context, *Bimaadiziwin* serves as a unifying concept, and it operates on many levels. Gross explains that *Bimaadiziwin* instructs individuals in self-government, but it

also governs human relations, and the relationships with the broader environment (19). In this naming ceremony, the work of Gross along with Rheault, Noori, Blaeser, and Vizenor is acknowledged as constituting a significant part of the Anishinaabe critical tradition.

Making the Call-out

Before Anishinaabe naming ceremonies begin, a camp-crier calls out for participants to come into the lodge. Sean Teuton's "The Call Out: Writing American Indian Politics" reminds me of this important aspect of ceremonial protocol when he invokes the term as a "demand for justice" and for "American Indian scholars [to] awaken politically and begin putting their ideas to work" (*Reasoning* 107). This study imitates ceremonial call-outs in gathering "knowledge, resources, and talent for writing to better the lives of Indigenous people" (Mihesuah, "Finding Empowerment" 2). Two of Indigenous-America's most renowned pioneering scholar-activists, Metis-Canadian Howard Adams and Standing Rock Sioux-American Vine Deloria, Jr., urged contemporary scholars to think carefully about their use of critical language. In *A Tortured People: The Politics of Colonization*, Adams recalls how his own "expressions of counter-consciousness and counter-culture," manifested in a "language that mainstream whites and academics called rhetoric and sloganeering [that was seen as] threatening and offensive" (127).²⁹ He says, too, that when Indigenous peoples began to speak out "during the 1960s they spoke with anger and hostility," and the language was connected to a powerful Spirit of liberation (126). He also observed that "[o]ur angry and direct language was a sharp contrast to that

²⁹ Like Deloria Jr., Adams, who died in 2001 on his 80th birthday, continued to work until his death to transform living and working spaces of Indigenous peoples.

of the traditional chiefs and Metis leaders who had played the puppet role and who had used accommodative, submissive language” (126). Like Adams, Deloria urges Indigenous scholars to rethink rhetorical language wherein “nice big words” like “*self-determination, sovereignty, hegemony, empowerment, and colonialism*” without action “assist us in creating a set of artificial problems, wholly abstract in nature, that we can discuss endlessly without having to actually do something” (“Intellectual” 25). Deloria reminded contemporary scholars that his “generation was part of a movement that, facing termination and the demand for minorities to integrate into society, refused to support the further destruction of Indian communities and sought instead to offer an alternative philosophy” (“Marginal” 16). He cautions critics as well to be mindful of the “general good feeling[s] about Indians without an accompanying sense of engagement” (16). Both Deloria’s and Adams’s words have become part of an important call-out for a critical language and political consciousness that today echoes through the discourse of Indigenous literary criticism. Because projects that actually do something are still relatively new to scholarly discourse, they require a gathering of all our Indigenous nations’ most prominent and vocal scholar-critics. This naming ceremony enacts a *Manidookewin* call-out ritual to gather and acknowledge the work of renowned Indigenous scholar-activists such as Adams and Deloria Jr. along with Cherokee, Jace Weaver; Osage, Robert Warrior; Creek, Craig Womack; Crow-Creek-Sioux, Elizabeth Cook Lynn; Cherokees, Sean Teuton and Daniel Heath Justice; and Choctaw, Devon Mihesuah.

One of the scholar-activists who continuously clears the intellectual ground for Indigenous ways of theorizing is Cherokee scholar Jace Weaver. In *That the People*

Might Live, he explains that Indigenous writers are re-covering and re-creating forms of identity and culture so the original peoples will live (44-45). In the development of contemporary theory and the use of critical language, Weaver cautions Indigenous scholars to pay attention to the way

[w]e are being pushed into a postmodern boarding school, where, instead of Christian conversion and vocational skills, assimilation requires that we all embrace our hybridity and mixed-blood identities, and high theory replaces English as the language that must be spoken. To give in runs the risk of producing yet another lost generation, out of touch with, and unable to talk to, Native community. (*American* 30)

His call-out to scholars urges a building-up of culturally relevant criticism produced by Native writers who “define and articulate, from resources *we* choose. It must be simply a criticism of our own” (17). The importance of community, he explains, is a “feature that cuts across various Native worldviews” (*Other Words* 43). To emphasize the importance of community to Indigenous peoples, Weaver explains that “the closest tribal approximation of *sin* [a Christian concept] . . . is a failure to fulfill one’s responsibilities to the community” (43). Thus, he advocates a literary nationalism that embraces a communitivist strategy that is a “proactive commitment to Native community,” as well as to the larger community of Creation itself (*That* xiii).

Weaver’s vision is part of a contemporary intellectual movement also being fueled by Indigenous intelligentsia like Warrior, Womack, Cook-Lynn, Mihesuah and Teuton. Warrior’s call-out for intellectual sovereignty privileges Native voices and Native perspectives as part of a “methodologically self-conscious . . . attend[ance] to

perspectives that had been ignored, debased, discounted, and marginalized” (*American* 195). Womack makes the point that Indigenous scholars have the right to focus on the needs of our own communities, attend to our own nationalistic discourses, and uphold intellectual sovereignty (*American* 169). Mihesuah echoes concerns raised by Cook-Lynn, Warrior, and Weaver, and she urges all Native scholars to use “knowledge, connections, and resources in the academy to solve the problems we face and to find ways to empower our nations” (“Activism and Apathy” 325). In “Activism and Apathy: The Prices We Pay for Both,” Mihesuah implores Indigenous critics, scholars, and writers to use knowledge, resources, and writing to transform living spaces and conditions for our respective nations. Her appeals echo through much of contemporary criticism and particularly through tribal camps distinguished as cultural nationalists.

Cross-culturally (and I use this term to signify communications across the numerous Indigenous cultures), critics adapt the idea of serving their respective nations as a guiding principle in their work. For example, Deloria calls writers, critics, and scholars to action when he directs them to “become engaged in the problems of our time” by serving community (“Marginal” 29). Included in *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities*, his essay “Marginal and Submarginal” reminds Indigenous scholars to remember their duty to nation and community.³⁰ Teuton suggests that recent scholarship by Cook-Lynn, Warrior, and Weaver “shift[s] the focus of critical conversation to the real lives of Indian people . . . [and in doing so] responds to a longstanding commitment to critical accountability in

³⁰ Deloria died in 2005. History will show that even up until the last year of his life he continued working to raise consciousness about Indigenous peoples’ struggles in the Americas. Many contemporary scholars view Deloria as one of the most significant thinkers of our time. Cook-Lynn, in fact, compares his influence on Indigenous literatures to that of deceased Palestinian scholar Edward Said’s influence on post-colonialism.

Native history and society” (*Red Land* 15). Like Teuton’s and Deloria’s work, Womack’s scholarship clearly sets out to serve his own nation. He explains that as a Creek critic, he has a responsibility to include Creek perspectives in his work and that his book *Red on Red: Native American Separatism* “arises out of the conviction that Native literature, and the criticism that surrounds it, needs to see more attention devoted to tribally specific concerns” (1). He also cites both Deloria and Adams, and he stresses that “Native literary aesthetics must be politicized and that autonomy, self-determination, and sovereignty serve as useful literary concepts” (11).

Considered with Womack’s work, recent scholarship produced by Justice and Teuton attempts to bridge the gap between community, criticism and political activism. In *Our Fire Survives the Storm*, Justice draws inspiration from Weaver’s communitist ethic to examine a “diverse range of texts through the multilayered weaves of [Cherokee] experience, history, and culture [and to] . . . fully engage with [his] distinct traditions” (8). He also employs Warrior’s principle of intellectual sovereignty to serve his home community, albeit he acknowledges numerous ways of Being Cherokee that are enriched by mingled blood (8). He thus advocates for a “scholarship centered on intellectual traditions of Indigenous communities,” a scholarship that “is intimately tied to the continuance and growth of Native communities as much as it is drawn from them” (9). In *Red Land, Red Power*, Teuton links Warrior’s critical language to community activism, and he identifies “intellectual sovereignty” as a significant “philosophical underpinning” of his own work (15). Such an approach to literature shifts “the focus of the critical conversation to the real lives of Indian people” (15). In re-visioning literary criticism to include service to community, Teuton calls for a “linking and testing [of] our theoretical

claims in the real world,” and he makes the point that only when we do “will any of us ever really understand . . . why Indian people so defiantly defend a distinct cultural identity” (17).

In “A Single Decade: Book-Length Native Literary Criticism Between 1986 and 1997,” Womack identifies as important Cook-Lynn’s tribally-specific work. He thus urges readers to “take her work seriously” and to resist dismissing her call for land redress “as a central tenet of Native literary criticism” (73-74). He argues that her work “could push us to examine literature in really fresh, exciting ways” rather than ignoring “the questions she raises by creating various smoke screens that dismiss her” (74). Such questions include the following:

[t]o what degree has American Indian Literature, and its attendant criticism, addressed the always endangered status of tribal sovereignty? Is there a gap between Native social realities and Native literature? Should Native literature demonstrate a commitment to social realisms? Is literary imagination bound to a different kind of reality? Is political commentary the job of novelists, poets, playwrights, as well as those who write about their work? Are demands for a politicized literature restrictive – or liberatory with the potential to open up tribal literatures to rich possibilities? Can any set of rules address all tribal literatures? To what degree are contemporary Native novels already inherently political, and is this enough? (74)

Some of Cook-Lynn’s questions are relevant to my own scholarship. Her calls for land redress, tribal sovereignty, bridges between tribal realities and literature, politicized writing of literary criticism, definitive roles for tribal literary critics, opened dialogue

through cultured criticism, liberatory criticism, and politicized readings of culture-specific stories are some of the critical issues addressed in my own work in the pages ahead. For example (just to cite two here), Cook-Lynn calls for land redress, and my work re-settles ancestors in traditional homelands, and like her call for tribal sovereignty, my work asserts Anishinaabe sovereignty by privileging the work of Anishinaabe Keepers of Knowledge. While this turn to nation-centered scholarship may be a recent trend among some scholars, Cook-Lynn's work acknowledges an already existing Native literary critical tradition fueled by sovereign nationalism, according to Womack (9). To encourage a re-visioning of her work, Womack compares "Cook-Lynn's . . . claims for tribally specific, partisan criticism that serves her home community, the Sioux nation, and its national bands" to that of Edward Said "who was clear about his commitment to the Palestinian people" (76). In my mind, such comparisons encourage us to re-think all peoples' "human right to tell [their] story" in the light of their own cultures (76).

Elements of nationalism that emerge in her work include places, "mythological beings, the genre structures and plots of the oral traditions, the wars and war leaders, the treaties[,] and accords with other nations" (*Why I Can't Read Wallace Stegner* 84). Cook-Lynn employs the term *tribally-specific*, and she contrasts it with what she calls an Americentric Indian approach that "beckons the non-tribal reader, the cultural outsider" into an "imagined special world [far] . . . removed from the vital cultural presence of a specific group" (73). Her criticism also implicates those "American Indian writers who have achieved successful readership in mainstream America" in too often avoiding contextualizing their work in nationalistic struggles (86). One such writer she says is Louise Erdrich, an Anishinaabe creative writer who "is often thought by the scholarly

public, perhaps mistakenly, to be doing nation-centered or tribally-centered (Chippewa) work, [thus] add[ing] to the confusion over defining the political realities of the function of Native literatures” (82). Erdrich, she claims, has “moved away from nationalistic concerns in order to gain the interest of mainstream readers” (80), and many readers assume that she has “implied intimacy with American Indian tribal experience” (81). For Cook-Lynn, problems arise when critics read the work of popular mainstream Indigenous writers as deeply authoritative voices of culture, and thus “rearrange native intellectualism in dubious ways” (80). Her comments about Erdrich implicate my own scholarship and pedagogy since I rely on works by Erdrich to present pictures of, and to echo sounds of the Anishinaabe. However, many Indigenous critics, Womack and Justice among them, claim that tribal identities are multi-layered and complex. Womack simplifies this point when he pluralizes Creek perspectives and emphasizes it again when he writes about “many Creeks with many different perspectives” (118). As noted previously, Justice describes the Cherokee as “a people of many shades and perspectives, many bloods mingled into shared senses of nationhood” (8). As the previously cited writers make clear, tribal identities are very complex and important to both story-making and literary criticism.

Indeed, I was reminded of both the complexity and importance of tribal identity when I initially tried to contain my research to Anishinaabe stories that originate from within the Canadian border. Throughout this project my efforts were consistently undermined by relational systems of cultural signification that reminded me of the arbitrary nature of the international boundary between Canada and the United States. Thus, while this project re-visioning Indigenous scholarship by focusing the critical lens

most closely on Anishinaabe critical and creative work in Canada, it also includes the work of American writers who remind me that imprisoning relations in penned spaces not of our own making does not honour the Spirit of ancestors. In the previous sentence, I use the words *penned spaces* to mean written texts by non-Anishinaabe peoples who have attempted to define Anishinaabe relations. Nevertheless, for me it is important to build a strong body of Anishinaabe-Canadian criticism that resists what seems, at times, to be an overshadowing and imposing American big brother. A good example of these relational dynamics came clear to me during my work with the Indigenous American critics for *Reasoning Together: The Native Critics Collective*.

In a draft copy of the introduction to the book, Womack claimed that *Reasoning Together* was unique in that it was the first time Indigenous scholars gathered to write about our own literatures. As an *Anishinaabe-Nehiowe-Metis* scholar and contributor to two volumes of criticism that originated in Canada prior to *Reasoning Together*, I was quick to point out that Theytus Books had already published *Looking at the Words of Our People: First Nations Analysis of Literature* and *(Ad)dressing Our Words: Aboriginal Perspectives on Aboriginal Literatures*. In his revised introductory contribution to the book, Womack writes,

For now, I do want to say that our anthology is not exactly the first of its kind. In 1993 Jeannette Armstrong's *Looking at the Words of Our People*, an all-Native collection of literary criticism, was published in Canada by the En'owkin Centre at Penticton, B.C. Although the interactive nature of our own collection and its particular theoretical orientation make it different from this Canadian work,

Armstrong's volume represents a historical moment in terms of gathering together Native critics, one that contributes to our own efforts a decade later. (99)

In my mind, these two books that originated in Canada were important models for literary sovereignty that came before *Reasoning Together*.

In a review of *Reasoning Together*, Kristina Fagan seems to support the American big brother relational dynamics when she writes that "the study of Aboriginal literature in this country has taken a different path than in the United States, as evidenced by a look at *Looking at the Words of Our People* and *(Ad)dressing Our Words*" (14). She explains that these books show that there are "far fewer Aboriginal literary critics in Canada with PhDs, and many Aboriginal literary critics here are primarily creative writers, teachers, or cultural workers" (14). She also makes the point that "Aboriginal literary criticism in Canada has been less theory driven than the work in the United States, more 'grassroots.' This has brought its own set of weaknesses to the criticism, but also strengths" (14). I am not clear what "less theory driven" means, but I would argue that, as Indigenous critics, we need to rework the concept of theory to include less restrictive ideas about what constitutes theory. Despite my concerns about what I perceived to be, at times, the presence of overshadowing American Indigenous critical relations, *Reasoning Together* models contemporary Indigenous scholars working together and making important contributions to Indigenous literary studies. As members of specific Indigenous nations, we gathered to reflect on and re-vision the work of forebears by responding to relevant critical issues at the centre of Indigenous literatures. As members of specific Indigenous nations, our collective efforts offer possibilities for reconsideration of authority, cultural revitalization, and discursive transformation.

My own work sets out to build on the body of Indigenous criticism by creating an Anishinaabe-specific way for engaging with the work of Anishinaabe writers. In this chapter, I have illustrated how building an Anishinaabe ceremonial way is an important Anishinaabe critical strategy for attending to *Midewiwin* teachings in books written in English. Such a strategy provides an opportunity for me to engage with traditional Keepers of Knowledge, Anishinaabe creative and critical writers, as well as non-Anishinaabe critics. As I attempt to show in this study, such a strategy shifts the critical lens to include Anishinaabe authored books that have received little scholarly attention. Together with my own family stories, Anishinaabe authored books present interpretive opportunities for applying a *Midewiwin*-like naming *Manidookewin*. In building a textual *Manidookewin*, I engage with *Midewiwin* teachings as part of a critical strategy for exercising intellectual sovereignty, a principle that motivates much of the work being produced by contemporary Indigenous critics. In the following chapters, I privilege Anishinaabe voices to show how continuing *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations inspire contemporary stories with important systems of relational signification and government.

CHAPTER TWO

Doodaemag: ReCreating Being

Like the previous chapter, this one enacts a textual *Midewiwin*-like naming *Manidookewin*. In this chapter the words *Doodaemag* (plural) and *Doodaem* (singular) are used to ceremonially attend to *Midewiwin* teachings that appear submerged in various Creation stories. As a critical concept, *Doodaemag* functions as an important carrier of *Midewiwin* teachings. Therefore this chapter relies on Anishinaabe leading ceremonialists, Keepers of lodge stories, and a traditional storyteller: Qwewich and Samuel Acoose, *Benesih Doodaem* (Bird Clan); Alexander Wolfe, *Pinayzitt Doodaem* (Partridge Foot Clan); Dan Musqua, *Mukwa Doodaem*; Edward Benton-Banai, *Geghoon Doodaem*; Basil Johnston, *Daebaudjemoot* (traditional storyteller); and Gerald Vizenor, *Chejauk Doodaem* (Crane Clan) function as traditional leaders who resuscitate *Midewiwin* teachings about Creation and *Doodaemag*. As important systems of relational signification connected to a *Midewiwin* Way, *Doodaem/ag* have received little scholarly attention: William Warren and Patricia McQuire are two Anishinaabe writers who noted both the importance and the lack of written information about *Doodaemag*. In 1855 Warren described the “Totemic division [as] more important and worthy of more consideration than has generally been accorded to it by standard authors” (18). In 2008, McQuire prepared a research paper for the National Centre for First Nations Governance that acknowledged *Doodaemag* as important for both ongoing Anishinaabe relations and governance. She explains that her research reviewed “what is written about clan system[s], and she “was struck by what was not discussed. Indigenous knowledge [about the clans] was absent Yet, there were consistent undercurrents in some written

materials that speak to clans” (8). This chapter responds to the gaps in research by acknowledging Alexander Wolfe’s *Earth Elder*, Dan Musqua’s *Seven Fires*, Edward Benton-Banai’s *Mishomis Book*, Basil Johnston’s *Ojibway Heritage, Ojibway Ceremonies*, and Gerald Vizenor’s *The People Named the Chippewa* as important non-fiction books that carry *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations.³¹ Wolfe, Musqua, Benton-Banai, Johnston, and Vizenor are cited throughout this dissertation as Anishinaabe authorities as part of a critical strategy for ensuring “control of sacred stories [which] is such a crucial element in cultural sovereignty” (Gross, “Cultural Sovereignty” 128). These leading men, together with my own ancestors Qwewich and Acoose, are included in this chapter to provide evidence of early Anishinaabe beginnings. Qwewich and Acoose are acknowledged as *Midewiwin* callers of Spirits who provide a context for the existence of continuing *Midewiwin* teachings in Saskatchewan. This is an important point because many scholars believe the *Midewiwin* Way is a Spiritual tradition exclusive to the Great Lakes region. Therefore, Wolfe and Musqua are included with Benton-Banai as *Doodaem* Lodge Keepers to provide some basic information about clans. Wolfe provides a context for the existence of *Doodaemag* in Saskatchewan. Musqua and Benton-Banai are traditionally trained ceremonialists who recall stories of Creation according to their respective Bear and Fish Clan teachings. Johnston is a *Daebaujemoot* (traditional storyteller) who provides information about *Doodaem* relations and Creation stories that was passed on to him from Anishinaabe storytellers in Northern Ontario. Vizenor is a Crane Clan contemporary visionary who recalls stories of origin, which this study acknowledges as belonging to a *Midewiwin* tradition. Included with these leading

³¹ McQuire includes Sitting Eagle, *A Brief History of the Anishinaabe Clan System Functions: A Series on the Clans of the Anishinaabe (Ojibway) Nation*, Benton-Banai’s *The Mishomis Book*, and Tanner’s *Captivity of John Tanner*.

Anishinaabe authorities, Anishinaabe critics McQuire, Blaeser, Noori, Rheault, and Gross function like ceremonial helpers, as their critical work is used to light up *Midewiwin* teachings carried into stories written in English by these influential writers.

Midewiwin traditions acknowledge as authorities individuals who call the power of Spirits into both ceremonies and stories to re-member Being: thus, calling on Spirits is a sacred act that both ceremonialists and story-makers perform. Johnston provides a context for such a claim when he explains that *Manitous* exercise “jurisdiction over creative talent and over the accuracy of stories, laws, insights, wisdom, and the beauty of language” (*The Manitous* xxii). *Midewiwin* ceremonial-callers of Spirits are included with contemporary Anishinaabe story-callers of Spirits to recount Anishinaabe Creation and early beginnings. For example, my paternal ancestors Qwewich and Acoose are *Midewiwin* callers of Spirits whose stories provide a historical context for *Midewiwin* teachings that continue to be passed on in Saskatchewan. Wolfe is acknowledged as a *Midewiwin* caller who inspirits stories of his *Pinayzitt Doodaem*. A subgroup of the Bird Clan, his Partridge Foot Clan is responsible for carrying *Midewiwin* teachings. Thus, he provides foundational *Midewiwin* teachings about *Doodaemag* that settled at Crooked Lake, Saskatchewan. Like Wolfe, Dan Musqua is a Keeper of *Doodaem* Lodge teachings whose Bear Clan stories of origin relate Being to a *Midewiwin* Way. This naming ceremony thus acknowledges his *Mukwa Doodaem* as thriving on the vast, open-spaced Saskatchewan prairies and continuing to perform its traditional role as protectors of the *Midewiwin* Way. Like both Wolfe and Musqua, Benton-Banai is acknowledged as a *Midewiwin Doodaem* leading man. His relations settled at Madeline Island, a place in Wisconsin remembered as the heartland of Anishinaabe territory. His Fish Clan is

represented in this naming ceremony as *Geghoon Doodaem*. As a member of this clan, he demonstrates responsibilities for disseminating *Midewiwin* teachings that impart lessons about relational balance when he presents Anishinaabe stories of origin carried by both male and female Elder relations (1). Though contemporary Anishinaabe writer Basil Johnston does not self-identify with a specific clan, this naming ceremony acknowledges his relations who settled around the Great Lakes' northern woodlands (Noori 101). Many of the Anishinaabe who settled in such places belong to the *Geghoon Doodaem*. Thus, this naming ceremony acknowledges that when Johnston recalls Anishinaabe stories of origin, he demonstrates responsibilities traditionally associated with the Fish Clan. For example, he consistently demonstrates Fish Clan like responsibilities by devoting his life to the dissemination of Anishinaabe knowledge. Like Johnston, Vizenor is a well-known Anishinaabe writer who has spent a considerable part of his life honouring Anishinaabe story traditions. In this ceremony, he is acknowledged as belonging to a White Earth *Chejauk Doodaem* in Minnesota (Blaeser, *Gerald* 5). In recalling Anishinaabe stories of origin, he demonstrates traditional leadership typically associated with his Crane Clan, according to *Midewiwin* systems of signification. In this naming ceremony, Vizenor, Johnston, Benton-Banai, Musqua, Wolfe, Acoose, and Qwewich function as Anishinaabe visionaries who represent *Doodaemag* relations and attend to *Midewiwin* Spiritual teachings in a manner set out in a *Midewiwin* Way.

Ni'capan Qwewich and Samuel Acoose (my paternal great-great-grandfather and my great grandfather) function in this dissertation as *Midewiwin* callers of Spirits who are included as guiding *Chibooway* to provide a historical context for the existence of a *Midewiwin* Way in Saskatchewan. In a study about continuing Spiritual traditions among

the plains Indigenous peoples, Felix Penipekeesik explained that he mentored with Qwewich to learn the teachings of the Thunder Beings, songs of the Rain Dance, and specific rituals for the Rain Dance. Wolfe relates Qwewich to the *Midewiwin Way* when he connects the Rain Dance to “a Society of Grand Practitioners whose members are “knowledgeable in herbal remedies, and in the mysteries and wonders of nature and creation” (62). Such teachings are part of the “Great Laws of Nature” which Johnston describes as those that “governed the place and movement of sun, moon, earth and stars; governed the powers of wind, water, fire, and rock; governed the rhythm and continuity of life, birth, growth, and decay” (*Heritage* 13). Thus, when Penipekeesik explains that his Grandfather Qwewich taught him the stories of the Thunderbird, as well as songs and rituals for the Rain Dance, he identifies my ancestor as a member of the Society of Grand Practitioners also known as *Midewiwin* Society. As noted previously, Keepers like *Ni’capan* Qwewich are ceremonial callers of Spirits who were at one time held in very high esteem. Thus, in this dissertation, *Midewiwin* callers of Spirit are represented as Anishinaabe Spiritual leaders, not unlike priests, imams, or rabbis.

In his book *Earth Elder Stories*, Wolfe acknowledges Qwewich’s son, Samuel Acoose, “a man of physical and [S]piritual gifts” (38). In “The Last Raid,” he identifies *Ni’capan* Acoose as a ceremonialist who uses a medicine bundle, pipe, and sweet grass to ceremonially petition the Spirit of his *Benesih Doodaem* (38). A *Midewiwin* ceremonial caller of Spirits, Acoose reminds Earth Elder (a Keeper of *Benesih Doodaem* traditions) and Yellow Calf (a post-reserve chief) that *Midewiwin Doodaem* “commitments must be honoured, and he emphasizes that other commitments are secondary (34). In this passage, *Ni’capan* Acoose respeaks teachings of an authority greater than the Queen whom he

understands to be a Creator that “made all the birds of the air” (39). The teachings that *Ni’capan* recalls belong to *Midewiwin* and *Doodaemag* traditions that were once forced underground. The traditional authority of *Midewiwin* callers of Spirits was also undermined by colonial and neocolonial agents who developed systematic strategies to destroy *Midewiwin* practices. Thus, this naming ceremony resuscitates *Midewiwin* teachings in formally acknowledging Qwewich and Acoose as callers of Spirits who were once esteemed as men who stood above the ground. As my direct ancestors, Qwewich and Acoose are also included as *Midewiwin* callers of Spirit who inspirit my Being as *Chibooway* represented in stories.

Wolfe’s collection of stories also illustrate the way that *Chibooway* represented in stories relate him to the Partridge Foot Clan, acknowledged in this textual naming ceremony as *Pinayzitt Doodaem* (xiv).³² In his book, Wolfe names his grandfather “Akeywakeywazee (Earth Man, Earth Elder)” and grandmother “Medimoya” as Keepers of his clan stories (47). According to McQuire, “*Chi Akiwenziaag*” and “*Mindimooyehnag*” are terms of reference for learned Elders who teach clan responsibilities through stories (7). Wolfe represents Akeywakeywazee and Medimoya as his relations who impart teachings about clan “customs [that] are observed in a certain manner as prescribed by their cultural and [S]piritual tradition” (xiii). These learned Elders also pass on to Wolfe the teachings that each family owns their own stories, and that some families belong to the same clan and therefore “share the same story” (xiii). In other words, Wolfe’s *Pinayzitt Doodaem* stories belong to the *Benesih Doodaem* family, a subgroup of the Bird Clan. The first three stories of Wolfe’s book, “The Sound of

³² In an appendix, Wolfe includes a genealogy that acknowledges *Pinayzitt*, his five sons, and their wives (76). He provides his genealogy to enact a traditional method for verifying the passing on of *Midewiwin* knowledge.

Dancing,” “The Orphan Children,” and “Grandfather Bear” provide principles and concepts that govern the social and [S]piritual aspects of the Partridge Foot Clan people whose traditional leader is acknowledged as Pinayzitt (Partridge Foot). The remaining eight stories, “My First Gun,” “Predictions,” “The Last Raid,” “The Gift of the Grass Dance,” “The Last Grass Dance,” “Yellow Calf,” “The Last Rain Dance,” and “The Last Days of the Hunter” impart teachings about Pinayzitt’s relations as they “settled on their new reserve in the area surrounding Goose Lake” in South Eastern Saskatchewan (xvi, xvii). The stories document, too, how Canadian colonial Indian policies eroded the social and Spiritual fabric of this particular *Doodaem*. To resuscitate traditional *Midewiwin* teachings carried by Wolfe’s clan, this naming ceremony acknowledges this *Doodaem*’s responsibility for carrying *Midewiwin* teachings. It also acknowledges Wolfe’s authority as originating from a period of mentoring with Akeywakeywazee and Medimoya, *Chibooway* who continued to inspire his Being because they passed on to him *Midewiwin* teachings.

Anishinaabe writers Thomas Peacock, McQuire, and Johnston provide an historical context for reading contemporary Anishinaabe stories as carrying *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations. According to Peacock, *Doodaemag* are ancient systems of signification that are still very much a part of contemporary relations since “‘*Waenaesh k’dodaim?*’ (What is your *dodaim?*)” is commonly asked of Anishinaabe people today (75). McQuire explains that historically *Doodaemag* delineated kinship within a clan system that adapts as their totem a particular bird, animal, fish, or reptile (4). Johnston connects *Doodaemag* to precolonial systems of governance that were based on responsibilities to the Earth. As noted in the previous chapter, Johnston makes the point

that the word *Doodaemag* is related to signifiers for Mother, and thus such comparisons relate *Doodaemag* to responsibilities for a Mother Creator Land. McQuire explains that for those Anishinaabe people who still adhere to these important systems of signification, their first relationship is to the land. She also confirms that *Doodaemag* conceptualize land as a Mother Creator ancestor. In fact, according to McQuire, *Doodaemag* are very important social kinship systems that “hold communities together” (1). Because *Doodaemag* are such important relational systems in Anishinaabe communities, I show connections between clans and stories in my analysis of contemporary Anishinaabe literature. Specifically, I show how *Doodaem* relations carry *Midewiwin* teachings that impart lessons for living a good and balanced life with all of Creation.

Warren, Benton-Banai, Johnston, and Peacock connect *Doodaemag* to *Midewiwin* teachings about Beings who emerged from the waters. According to such teachings, these Beings came to live among the second generation Anishinaabe after the world was destroyed by flooding rains. Stories written in English acknowledge these Beings as Spiritual ancestors who brought teachings about a clan system for living harmoniously with all of Creation. From that time on, each *Doodaem* adopted a guardian Spirit that taught its members how to live together and conduct their affairs. According to Warren, the clan system constitutes the most ancient and most important system that divided the Anishinaabe into several grand families. Each clan was “known and perpetuated by a symbol of some bird, animal, fish, or reptile which they denominated the Totem or Doodaim (as the Ojibway pronounce it) and which is equivalent, in some respects, to the coat of arms of the European nobility” (12). He further explains that *Doodaemag* are passed on through the father and that there are strict rules about inter-clan marriages because

clan relations are considered to be like the “closest ties of blood” (12). He specifically connects *Doodaemag* to a *Midewiwin* belief system, a new Earth, and six great Beings. He writes, “The Ojibways acknowledge in their secret beliefs [*Midewiwin*], and teachings to each successive generation, five original Totems. The tradition[,] in which this belief is embodied, is known only to their chief Medas, or priests” (18). Warren further explains that the clan system was given to the Anishinaabe by six human-like Beings who came to “the shores of a great salt water” when the “Earth was new” (18). However, one of the Beings returned to the “bosom of the great water” because he possessed overwhelming thunder-like power, according to Warren (18). The remaining Beings are acknowledged as Spiritual ancestors from whom the five principal clans originated. Warren identifies the five clans as, “A-waus-e, Bus-in-ause-e, Ah-ah-wauk, Noka, and Monsone, or Waub-ish-ashe-e,” the Fish, Bird, Crane, Bear, Moose or Marten (19). He also explains that there are other sub-groups of the five principal clan families. For example, he points out that although the Bear Clan is now a unified body “[i]n former times this numerous body was subdivided into many lesser clans, making only portions of the bear’s body their Totem, as the head, the foot, the ribs, etc.” (23).

Benton-Banai, Johnston, and Peacock recount similar stories about clan origins. According to Benton-Banai, “Seven Grandfathers sent seven Spiritual Beings to Earth to clarify how the Clan System was to be used to amplify the meaning of many gifts often taken for granted in life” (78). He also specifically connects *Doodaemag* to *Midewiwin* teachings: he writes, “The Clan System became an important part of the *Midewiwin* Lodge. Each of the clans was given a function and place in the *Midewiwin*. All the clans were held together by the Waterdrum” (77). As they participate within the *Midewiwin*

Lodge, the seven clans include “*Ah-ji-jawk*’ (Crane), *Mahng* (Loon), *Gi-goon* (Fish), *Mu-kwa* (Bear), *Wa-bi-aha-shi*’ (Marten), *Wa-wa-shesh*’-*she* (Deer), [and] *Be-nay*’s (Bird)” (74). Johnston’s teachings differ from Benton-Banai’s. He maintains that there were originally “six great creatures that emerged from the sea,” and they brought with them teachings about relational well-being and governmental order (*Heritage* 61). Peacock reiterates Johnston teachings about six Beings who came from the sea, but he elaborates on the story by referring to “one Being who had the ability to see into the future (*nee-goni-wa*’-*bun-gi-gay-win*) . . . [who] returned to the sea after harsh exposure to the light and heat of the sun.” (74). The five remaining Beings who came to shore are acknowledged as ancestors who lived among the people and gave them a system of relational signification and government that showed the people how to live *Bimaadiziwin*, or a balanced life with all of Creation.

In my analysis of contemporary Anishinaabe stories written in English, *Bimaadiziwin* is shown to be relevant to *Doodaemag* because it was through the clans that the Anishinaabe learned how to actualize *Midewiwin* teachings. Warren claims that while the Anishinaabe adhered to *Doodaemag* teachings, they “suffered no famine, sickness, or epidemics” (78), and there were “no wars and very little violence in these days when the Clan System was strong [because within] . . . the Clan System was built equal justice, voice, law and order” (78). While there are points of difference about the numbers of Beings who brought teachings about the clans, the more important message is that these Beings are acknowledged as ancestors who brought with them *Midewiwin* teachings to guide Anishinaabe “in the conduct of their affairs” (Johnston, *Heritage* 61).

Thus, when gathered into this naming ceremony, *Doodaemag* are shown to be important carriers of *Midewiwin* teachings.

According to *Midewiwin* traditions, Musqua's and Benton-Banai's *Doodaem* is very important because their respective Bear and Fish clan assumes a great responsibility for Being Anishinaabe. Musqua and Benton-Banai are therefore included as *Midewiwin* traditionalists "who have spent a significant number of years learning about the purpose and procedures" of sacred ceremonies so that they could pass them on to succeeding generations (Musqua 42). Musqua's *Mukwa Doodaem* adopts as its totem the Bear: accordingly, members of this *Doodaem* became protectors of the *Midewiwin* teachings, as their ceremonial positions reveal. Members of the Bear Clan are posted at the entrance and exits of ceremonial lodges, according to *Mide* teacher Benton-Banai's illustration (77). He also makes clear that "the Bear Clan served as the police force of the people. They spent most of their time patrolling the outskirts of the village so as to ward off any unwelcome visitors. Because of the large amount of time they spent close to nature, the Bear Clan became known for their knowledge of plants whose roots, bark, or leaves could be used as medicines" to protect the people (76). Johnston supports this claim when he describes the Bear Clan as defenders of Mother Earth and protectors of her medicinal plants (68).

As the Bear Clan functions as guardians of *Midewiwin* ceremonies and teachings, this chapter includes Musqua as a member of this *Doodaem* to recall teachings of Creation from his Lodge. Musqua relates his knowledge of Bear Clan teachings to an *Oshkabaywis* traditions and a period of mentoring with an experienced ceremonialist (33). He explains that his responsibilities as *Mukwa Doodaem Oshkabaywis* compel him

to teach others. Thus, when Musqua recalls a story of Creation, he adheres to *Mukwa Doodaem* traditions that compel him to add to the body of *Midewiwin* knowledge. His story is important to recall in written English because his family members are the “last people to have kept the stories about the [Bear] clan” (33). Furthermore, Musqua’s storied teachings are important to recount because they acknowledge the *Oshkabaywis* tradition as an important methodology for acquiring *Midewiwin* knowledge. This naming ceremony therefore acknowledges Musqua mentorship with *Nahkawe Mosom Kageegaymuqua* / Healing Bear who served as an apprentice to Morning Light Hunter, “the last warrior” from the *Mukwa Doodaem* (Knight 31-32).³³ It also honours Musqua’s *Mosom Kageegaymuqua* / Healing Bear and Morning Light Hunter as *Chibooway* who provide a traditional context for interpreting Anishinaabe Creation stories. As will be shown, his *Mukwa Doodaem* teachings about Creation differ from those in other clan stories discussed below.

Benton-Banai specifically connects his *Geghoon Doodaem* teachings to a *Midewiwin* tradition. He explains that prior to compiling the stories included in *The Mishomis Book*, he was guided by “many periods of fasting, meditation, consultation, dreaming, and listening to the quiet voice of the Creator who speaks not to the ear but to the soul” (iii). Accordingly, he maintains that “the highest and most important influence in the development of this material was prayer and belief in the Sacred Way of the Midewiwin” (iii). Like Musqua, he acknowledges learning ceremonial purposes and procedures from Elders, John Stone/Ba-skway’gin, Jim Pipe Mustache/O-pwa’-gun, William Webster, and Archie Mosay; his mother, Nancy Hart Benton/Ah-ni-koo’-gaw-

³³ ‘*Nahkawe*’ is the word used by Plains Anishinaabe for Saulteaux/Ojibwe. See Margaret Cote’s *Nahkawewin/Saulteaux: Ojibway Dialect of the Plains* (Regina: Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, 1985).

bow-we-quay' (third degree *Midekwe*); his *Mosom* William Hart/Naw-shoo-gwun' (eighth degree *Mide* priest); his father, Joseph Benton/Zhing-goo-gee'-shig ah-ki-wen-see; his stepfather, John Barber/O-za-wi'-be-nay; and his namesake (godfather)/Zhoo-ni-ya-gee'-shig. According to teachings he received, Benton-Banai explains that his Fish Clan acknowledges *Makinauk* (Turtle) as their totem, and in the *Midewiwin* Ceremony his clan is positioned "in the order that was given to them by the Creator" (77). In other words, the Fish are water animals that came into Being following the Creation of their Bird Relations. Thus, according to such *Midewiwin* teachings, the *Geghoon Doodaem* balances relational order between the Loon and Bear Clans (74). In this naming ceremony, Benton-Banai's *Mide* teachers are acknowledged as *Chibooway* who passed on to him *Geghoon Doodaem* teachings that contextualize his version of Creation.

In this naming ceremony, Johnston and Vizenor are acknowledged as having prepared the literary ground for *Midewiwin* teachings carried into English by Wolfe, Musqua, and Benton-Banai. Thus, Johnston and Vizenor are honoured in a traditional way as *Daebaujemoot* and *Doodaem Ogimaawinini* who attend to the body of sacred stories. Unlike Wolfe, Musqua and Benton-Banai, Johnston and Vizenor are not community acknowledged traditionalists; however, in literary circles, both Johnston and Vizenor are honoured as prolific and visionary writers who have contributed significantly to the body of Native literature. However, for Anishinaabe critics like Noori, Johnston is a *Daebaujemoot* who tells the truth through stories (Noori 98). She explains that the word *Daebaujemoot* is related to the verb *daebwe* which means "to tell the truth" (98). In an Anishinaabe context, "both words relate to a person's ability to describe his or her perceptions of a subject" (98). Thus, according to Noori, Johnston is a *Daebaujemoot*

because he speaks *daebwewin* (the way of the truth) about the “myriad of relationships of the Anishinaabe. This study, therefore, connects Johnston to the *Geghoon Doodaem* because he is a community acknowledged *Daebaujemoot* who shows how to represent relations “with nature, with *Gitchi Manidoo*, with all the other *manitous*, with one another, with other tribes, and finally, with the immigrants who changed the Anishinaabe world” (98). Johnston does not relate himself directly to the Fish Clan, but he encourages my connections of him with this clan in two ways. First, a Turtle image is placed on the page before the preface to *Ojibway Heritage* (as noted previously) in the same way that clan markers were once placed in the Earth as signifiers of *Doodaemag* presence in the area (McQuire 8). The Turtle is part of the Fish Clan. Second, Johnston encourages my connections of him to the Fish Clan because, as a traditional storyteller, he passes on stories about relations that inspire well-being. He explains that at one time the Fish Clan was associated only with medicine men and women, but “as knowledge of medicine increased, there was a need to perpetuate and disseminate the knowledge” (71). This particular clan became associated with “philosophers concerned not only with preserving life and mitigating pain, but also with offering guidance and principles for living the good life [and] . . . secur[ing] general well being” (71). Johnston is therefore acknowledged as functioning like a member of the *Geghoon Doodaem* because his stories used in this dissertation light up *Midewiwin* teachings about *Bimaadiziwin* (98).

Vizenor is a *Doodaem Ogimaawiwini*, a leading *Midewiwin*-like visionary who empowers the Anishinaabe to dream, imagine, and reCreate Being. Like his Crane Clan ancestors, he re-members *Midewiwin* traditions and adapts the tools of the colonizers to invest “the written word with the same liberating power . . . found in the oral” (Blaeser

4). In *Interior Landscapes*, Vizenor relates his origins to the Crane Clan, which according to *Midewiwin* teachings is one of the five original *Doodaemag*. Although Vizenor inherited his *Doodaem* from his father Clement William Vizenor, he relates Anishinaabe origins to a paternal grandmother Alice Mary Beaulieu from the White Earth Reservation who “inherited the crane totem” (3). In this naming ceremony, Vizenor’s paternal relations are acknowledged as members of the *Chejauk Doodaem*, an important clan that provides a context for his Anishinaabe stories of origin.

Contemporary critics observe qualities in Vizenor’s writings which are traditionally associated with the *Chejauk Doodaem*. Anishinaabe critic Blaeser makes the point that, “[o]ver and over again, in every quarter of his work, Vizenor calls for . . . liberation, imagination, play, and discourse” (*Gerald* 4). She describes him as a scholar who is “widely read in history, literature, critical theory, and the social sciences,” and she asserts that “the possible influences on his writing are multiple” (*Gerald* 10). Osage critic Robert Warrior describes Vizenor as the “strongest and most controversial critic of essentialism . . . [whose] early recognition of the social construction of language and racial identity put him on the cutting edge of postmodern literature and theory. His agonistic invitation to enter the arena of independent thought, self-criticism, and creedal uncertainty make his work the most theoretically sophisticated and informed to date” (*Tribal Secrets* xviii).³⁴ Cherokee critic Sean Teuton situates Vizenor, in fact, among a group of postmodern American Indian scholars that includes Blaeser and Owens who began dismantling cultural foundations with “fixed claims to knowledge” (*Red* 13). These scholars “have sought to correct the essentialist insistence that Native culture remains immutable despite

³⁴ I found this point to be particularly telling about my own graduate course on postmodern theory in which Vizenor’s name and substantial work was significantly absent. In a province with such a large population of Indigenous peoples, university students should at least be alerted to Vizenor’s work.

external social and historical influences” (13). In this textualized naming ceremony, Vizenor along with Johnston, Benton-Banai, Musqua, Wolfe, Acoose, and Qwewich are attached to the body of Anishinaabe literature as *Ogimaawinini*, leading male story-makers “selected to symbolize leadership and direction” (Johnston, *Heritage* 61).

Remembering Anishinaabe Creation Stories

Wolfe makes the point that each clan maintains its own stories. Therefore, this chapter presents four Creation stories that appear as *Mukwa*, *Geghoon*, and *Chejauk Doodaemag* interpretations. In other words, a *Manidookewin* approach to Anishinaabe literature entails serious consideration of *Doodaemag* in the transmission of *Midewiwin* knowledge. While *Midewiwin* teachings are generally acknowledged as being passed on only in ceremony, this naming ceremony connects such teachings to Creation stories and the *Aadizookaanak* body of sacred stories now being written in English that instruct listeners about Spirit and relations. Included as part of the *Midewiwin* teachings, the Creation stories “give life structure and meaning” (Rheault 28), and therefore “direct personality, social order, action and ethics” (Gross, “Cultural” 107). This naming ceremony also re-members the Creation stories to the body of Anishinaabe literature to illustrate ways for reconstituting Being and living *Bimaadiziwin*, according to *Doodaem* systems of relational signification as set out in a *Midewiwin* Way.

In *The Seven Fires* Musqua recounts Anishinaabe origins according to *Mukwa Doodaem* teachings, and he stresses that his story is one interpretation among many. In presenting *Midewiwin* teachings according to his *Doodaem*, Musqua orders and systematizes the story of Creation by representing beginnings as originating from a male

Creator's vision and a female Creator's Spirit. Accordingly, the Earth is represented as a Spiritual Mother that conceives and delivers into Being the male Creator's vision.

Musqua attributes such teachings about Creation to "old people [who] used to tell us that there are Spirits in the universe that came from the Creator in the beginning of time . . . who remain here taking care of life, [and that] . . . Creation and humanity are kept alive through [M]other [E]arth" (37). As noted previously, these old people are learned Elders represented in clan stories as *Chi Akiwenziaag* and *Mindimooyehnag*, names that signify relations with both the *Aki* and *Midewiwin*.

When Musqua presents the stories of his clan, he makes clear that the world of Spirits was created first, and it included the "four directions, the grandfathers, and . . . women" (36). After the Creation of the world of Spirits, the physical world of the Anishinaabe came into Being. The name Anishinaabe relates the people to stories of Creation in which humans are lowered to Earth from the heavens. Humans began life "somewhere in the vast physical universe" after a Spirit woman was impregnated by a Spirit man (35). Musqua maintains that after their union, they were blessed with a child whom the Mother raised "somewhere near the equator" (35). This version departs from most contemporary Anishinaabe Creation stories appearing in written English. In fact, Musqua story of origin is more in line with non-Anishinaabe conservative scientists who, according to Johnston, "maintain that the North American Indians' place of origin is somewhere in Asia" (*Manitous* xvi). In fact, most present day Anishinaabe believe that "their people were born on this continent while it was still in its infancy" (xvi). Nevertheless, Musqua's story of origin is acknowledged in this naming ceremony as representing *Midewiwin* teachings as adaptable. Therefore, as noted previously, he

protects *Midewiwin* teachings by presenting them as viable for Being contemporary Anishinaabe.

In *The Mishomis Book* Benton-Banai recalls originating stories passed on to him from both female and male *Mide* ceremonialists, according to *Geghoon Doodaem* teachings. While Benton-Banai's title suggests that the *Geghoon Doodaem* Creation stories that appear in his book belong only to *Mishomis*, the *Midewiwin* teachings are, in fact, represented as being spoken by *Mishomis* and *Nokomis*. In fact, both of these relations are represented as Keepers of *Doodaem* Lodge teachings not unlike the learned Elders who appear in Wolfe's and Musqua's books, as well as McQuire's essay. Benton-Banai describes *Mishomis* and *Nokomis* as Ojibway Indians living in a cabin "on the forested shores of Madeline Island" on Lake Superior near Ashland, Wisconsin (1). As they are represented in Benton-Banai's story, *Mishomis* and *Nokomis* relate *Midewiwin* teachings to learned Elders who recount Anishinaabe origins in "The Ojibway Creation Story," "Original Man Walks the Earth," "Original Man and His Grandmother – No-komis," and "The Great Flood."

In "The Ojibway Creation Story," *Mishomis* presents a *Midewiwin* teaching about the land which he conceptualizes as relations with a Mother ancestor. He explains that, "[w]hen Ah-ki (the Earth) was young" she had a family that consisted of Grandmother Nee-ba-gee-sis (the Moon) and Grandfather Gee-sis (the Sun): the "Creator of this family is called Gi'-tchie Man-i-to (Great Mystery or Creator)" (2). In this story of the land, "woman preceded man on the Earth . . . because from her come all living things. Water is her life blood, it flows through her, nourishes her, and purifies her" (2). Birds are represented as the Creator's singers that "carry the seeds of life to all of the Four

Directions” (2). According to such *Midewiwin* teachings, Creation was a highly ordered process in which the Creator placed birds, then water creatures, plants, and insects. Afterwards, he “placed the crawling things and four-leggeds on the land. All of these parts of life lived in harmony with each other” (2). Then the Anishinaabe Creator “took four parts of Mother Earth and blew into them using a Sacred Shell. From the union of the Four Sacred Elements and his breath, man was created” (2-3). Only then was Man Created; according to *Mide* teacher Benton-Banai, the Creator “lowered man to the Earth,” as the last form of life (3). He also explains that “[f]rom this Original Man came the A-nish-i-na’-be people” (3).

In “Original Man Walks the Earth,” *Mishomis* explains that once the Creator envisioned Being, he encouraged Original Man to seek his own vision. Therefore Original Man journeyed throughout the Earth observing the laws of nature: “he noticed that the Earth had four seasons,” and that all of life “was part of a never-ending cycle” (5). He observed, too, the seasons and the way that the Earth’s family cared for all living things: “[i]n winter, the cold winds of the Gee-way’-din (North) brought the purifying snows that cleansed Mother Earth. Some of the plants died and returned their bodies to their Mother. Other plants fell into a deep sleep and awoke only when Grandfather [Mosom] Sun and the warm winds of the Zha-wa-noong’ (South) announced the coming of spring” (7). After observing the way that Creation functioned, Original Man developed a language to identify, categorize, and name plants, animals, and earthly formations. When Original Man completed his quest, the Creator instructed him to search out Original Mother, or *Nokomis*.

In “Original Man and His Grandmother – No-ko-mis,” the old man explains that the Creator directed Original Man to seek out Nokomis “[a]cross a vast lake” (11). Original Man tried to cross the lake several times. Each time he started out, he failed. Finally, he was inspired to try again by listening to sounds of encouragement from birds, fish, beavers, and wind. Then with the help of the birds and water animals, he created a device that allowed him to cross the water. On his journey, he remembered to make tobacco offerings to ask the Creator for a safe journey. Subsequently, “[a]ll the animals gathered around him. The birds got together and sang a na-ga-moon’ (song) to give him strength. . . . many of the birds flew along with him as he paddled along. Many of the fish swam with him to keep him company” (14). When he reached *Nokomis*, Original Man is greeted as her grandson: she welcomed him, fed him, and offered him a resting place (14). During his time with her, Original Man noticed that she “had a very hard time providing for herself,” and therefore he began to do much of the work for her (14). As they laboured together, *Nokomis* told Original Man stories about “the mysteries of the Universe” (15).

Collectively, the teachings presented by *Nokomis* belong to the body of *Midewiwin* knowledge that relates Being to the Earth. For example, this ancestor appears in story as the Grandmother of Original Man, the first Mother of the Anishinaabe, and the conveyor of *Midewiwin* teachings about women and relations. It is her voice that speaks of Original Man’s origins, identifies the Creator as first thought, and names the Great Mysterious Spirit, Gitchi Manitou (15). She also explains the order and rationale for each part of Creation. For example, *Nokomis* tells Original Man that the Creator made the sun for the Anishinaabe to envision Being and the morning star to chart new beginnings (15-16).

Nokomis also inspires Original Man to seek out his origins, and she teaches him how to prepare himself physically and mentally for life's challenges. Notably, when *Nokomis* speaks directly in "The Earth's First People" she names Original Man Anishinaabe, and thus she relates him to human Beings who come after him. These are very specific *Midewiwin* teachings acquired in ceremonial lodges that acknowledge sound, voice, and memory as originating from the Mother Land.

In "The Great Flood," both *Mishomis* and *Nokomis* carry into the story *Midewiwin* foundational teachings about interconnected and interrelated Being. They explain that the people began living in ways that undermined the Creator's vision of *Bimaadiziwin*. Thus, the Great Spirited Being cleared the ground with waters that flooded the earth. During the period of purification, most of the life forms were destroyed. Only those animals that kept swimming and the birds that continued flying survived (29). The only human-like Being who survived was Waynaboozhoo: he saved himself by resting on an enormous log that was floating by. Eventually, he invited some of the other survivors to join him on the log, and together they survived by helping each other (31). In this *Geghoon Doodaem* story Waynaboozhoo is represented as "the Spirit of Anishinaabe or Original Man" (31). As a Spiritual ancestor of the Anishinaabe, he becomes an important teacher for Being Anishinaabe because his actions give meaning to *Midewiwin* teachings about interrelated and interconnected Being.

Such teachings become even more apparent as Waynaboozhoo envisions creating a new land "to live on with the help of the Four Winds and Gitchie Manito" (31). As he swims to the bottom of the water, he imagines holding a handful of Earth and reCreating a homeland (31). However, Waynaboozhoo returns to his resting place defeated. Then the

loons, helldivers, and minks volunteer to take up his mission, but each one returns without success. Finally, the Muskrat takes a turn, and he disappears for a long time. Waynaboozhoo and the other animals fear he has died. Eventually, Muskrat's body floats to the top of the water. But as they pull the body out of water to prepare Muskrat for the journey to the Spirit world, Waynaboozhoo and the other animals notice a small piece of Earth enclosed in his paw. After singing him a mourning song and shouting his praise, Waynaboozhoo removes from Muskrat's paw the piece of Earth, the Turtle offers his back as a place to create a new homeland, and winds "blow from each of the Four Directions" (32). As the Earth is being transformed, Waynaboozhoo sings and the animals dance "in an ever-widening circle. . . .[until] the winds ceased to blow and the waters became still" (33). At the end of their singing and dancing, Waynaboozhoo and the animals noticed "[a] huge island sat in the middle of the great water" (33).

While Benton-Banai acknowledges *Mide* ceremonialists as those who passed the Creation stories to him, Johnston identifies Keepers of Knowledge as "innumerable storytellers in Ontario" (8). In *Ojibway Heritage*, he recalls in "Man's World" that stories were passed on to him from traditional Keepers of Knowledge who were "members of a specific totem" (59). And, he describes *Doodaemag* as "the most important social unit[s] taking precedence over the tribe, community, and the immediate family" (59). When he recalls the stories of origin, he employs similar patterns as those used by Fish Clan relation, Benton-Banai. Accordingly, the origin of the Anishinaabe world is represented as "Original Creation," "Destruction," and "Re-creation."

In "Original Creation," a Great Spirit envisions Creation and then infuses energy into all life forms. According to Johnston, the Creator envisioned the sky, earth, and

water filled with life. Then the Creator contemplated his vision, and after a period of meditation realized that “he had to bring into being what he had seen, heard, and felt” (12). Thus, he breathed life into the void to make “rock, water, fire, and wind,” and he gave powers of light and heat to the sun, growth and healing to the Earth, purity and renewal to the waters, and music and life-breath to the wind (12). After creating earthly formations, plant beings, and animal beings, *Gitchi Manitou* created man whom he endowed with the power to dream (13). In Creating life, the Creator provided well-being and harmony for all life forms, and he instructed all Beings to abide by laws of nature that “governed the place and movement of sun, moon, earth and stars; governed the powers of wind, water, fire, and rock; governed the rhythm and continuity of life, birth, growth, and decay” (13). In this story, then, Johnston relates *Midewiwin* teachings to Creation, vision, and ceremony, identifies Creative breath as the essence of Being, and conveys *Bimaadiziwin* teachings.

In “Destruction,” rains flood the Earth and destroy all forms of life except the water animals, birds, and fish. Earth became an “unbroken stretch of water whipped into foam and wave by the ferocious winds” (13). Although the rains eventually stopped and the sun began to shine again, the “world remained a sea for many generations” (13). This story is premised on a *Midewiwin* belief that although the physical world had been destroyed, the water, sky, birds, and fish remained. Thus, they appear in stories as important relations that carry teachings about living a good and balanced life.

When Johnston recalls the story of the reCreated world, he names Sky Woman as a coCreator (not Waynaboozoo who appears in Benton-Banai’s story). This Spiritual Being is represented as an important Anishinaabe ancestor who balances *Doodaem* relational

dynamics and carries *Midewiwin* teachings about women's reCreative potential. Represented as a Spiritual ancestor, she appears in story as a direct relation of Anishinaabe women. In ceremonies, *Midewiwin* traditions honour Sky Woman as an ancestor who is represented in the institution of the Clan Mothers. She is also acknowledged in naming ceremonies as an important ancestor. In such ceremonies Anishinaabe women may be given related forms of the name *Gheezigokwe* to honour this ancestor. For example, I was given the name Miskwonigeesikokwe (Red Sky Woman) in the *Midewiwin* Rain Dance Ceremony. Like this ancestor, I carry the name Sky Woman. And, when the word *Red* is added to the name *Sky Woman*, this traditional name becomes an important signifier of Spiritual responsibility. According to ceremonial teachings, my name is a reminder of responsibilities that I carry for *Midewiwin* knowledge about women.

Johnston connects Sky Woman to *Midewiwin* traditions when he attributes her origins to a Spirit that lived high in the heavens, and refers to her Spiritual consorts sent from the Creator, a Spiritual impregnation, birthing of four Spirit Beings, and finally being a transformed Spirit who resides on the moon as *Nokomis*. According to Johnston, Sky Woman was impregnated by Spiritual Beings sent from the Creator, but each time she conceived the Spirits left her. The first time she gave birth, she delivered twins who subsequently destroyed one another. While pregnant a second time, Sky Woman received help from various water animals. The Turtle offered his back for Sky Woman to rest upon. Other water animals responded to her petitions to build a new land (14). In fact, all the water Beings took up the challenge, including Muskrat, "the least of the water creatures," who disappeared into the water for a very long time. Eventually, he floated to

the “surface more dead than alive” with a small morsel of soil clutched in his paw (14). But Muskrat is eventually ceremoniously “restored to health” (14). Sky Woman then painted the “[T]urtle’s back with the small amount of soil” brought back from the water by Muskrat. From the Turtle’s back, an island began to grow. Johnston names the island *Mishee Mackinakong*, an actual place now known as *Michilimackinac* (14). He also connects the story to ceremonial traditions that honour the Turtle as the “messenger of thought and feeling that flows and flashes between Beings of different natures and orders” (15). For service to Sky Woman and humankind, the Turtle is honoured, too, within *Midewiwin Doodaem* traditions as belonging to the Fish Clan, a *Doodaem* responsible for disseminating knowledge about healing and well-being (15).

Johnston’s story about Sky Woman conveys *Midewiwin* teachings that re-member the Anishinaabe to the Spirit of the Mother-Creator land. As noted in the previous paragraph, the land is represented as an island that grew from the Turtle’s back after Sky Woman painted it. As the island grew, the Anishinaabe prospered, and Sky Woman gave birth to the original Anishinaabe whom Johnston describes as spontaneous Beings (15). Unlike the first twins, the second twins born to Sky Woman’s “were composite in nature, made up of physical substance and a soul-[S]pirit substance” (15). The soul-Spirit substance, called *cheejauk*, was comprised of six aspects, including “character, personality, soul, [S]pirit, heart or feeling, and a life principle. This substance had the capacity to dream and to receive vision” (15). From *cheejauk*, a substance called *chibowmun* (or aura) emanated a glow that shone through the body to reflect one’s inner Being. Significantly, Johnston connects *cheejauk* and *chibowmun* to *Midewiwin Doodaem* traditions. For example, he connects *cheejauk* to teachings about the Crane

Clan (60), *chibowmun* to teachings about the Spirit (15), and Cheebyauboozoo to a story about Spiritual rituals and ceremonies (*The Manitous* 49). In this story, Cheebyauboozoo is a transformed Being who is acknowledged as having journeyed to the land of Spirits. He is thus acknowledged as a leader of the underworld who brought the Anishinaabe ceremonial knowledge for communing with the Spirits (49). Therefore, when Johnston represents the second twins as embodying *Chejauk* and *Chibowmun*, he re-members into his story very important *Midewiwin* teachings about relations and Spirit that originate from a female Creator.

Midewiwin teachings are also apparent in Johnston's story about Sky Woman's surviving twins. The first winter on the island brought severe challenges, and the Bear feared that the infants would not survive. Thus, the Bear "offered himself that they might live" (16). Johnston explains that the "death of the [B]ear encompassed new life for the new Beings. Thereafter, the other animals sacrificed their lives for the good of men" (16). According to Johnston, when the twins were grown, they began to honour the Bear and all the other animals in ceremony. Johnston also explains that once Sky Woman was certain that her children would survive, she left them and returned to the Land of Peace. She also promised them that they could join her once their lives had ended on the Earth. According to Johnston, whenever the moon appeared after Sky Woman's departure the first peoples remembered her as *Nokomis*, a relation distinguished from others as the Spirit of the first Mother who watches over the Earth's bodies of water and monitors women's reCreative life cycles. Viewed within a *Midewiwin* context, this story presents teachings about the importance of ceremonies, transformational Being, *Doodaem* relations, and *Doodaem* guardian Spirits.

In *The People Named the Chippewa*, Vizenor relates Anishinaabe originating stories to *Chejauk Doodaem* ancestors. In his version of Creation, Vizenor shifts the sacredness that grounds Creation stories, and he shapes Anishinaabe beginnings using satire and humor. Thus, his stories of origin include a group of irreverent relations such as an evil gambler and a Trickster. Also, he includes the First People who were not wise. Because the Creator realized they needed a guide to teach them how to live, he sent a messenger named Nanaboozhoo. Represented as a Spirited Being, the messenger appears in story as “compassionate woodland trickster [who] wanders in mythic time and transformational space between tribal experience and dreams” (3). Related to plants, animals, and trees, Nanaboozhoo is also a healer who teaches the people ceremonial rituals like fasting for dream visions. Although blessed with many gifts, the messenger is an orphan. When he asks Nokomis (his grandmother) about his Mother, the old lady tells him that she was taken from their woodland home by a powerful wind Spirit. Although she warns Nanaboozhoo about “evil [S]pirits [that] charm their victims by the sweetness of their songs, then . . . strangle and devour them,” he decides to “look for her (4). On his journey he encounters many animals, birds, and Spirits with whom he consults, and some even accompany him for a time. For example, the owl lends the trickster his eyes and the firefly his glow as he journeys through the realm of the Evil Gambler. As he journeys to the end of the woodlands, Nanaboozhoo “took a path that led him through swamps and over high mountains and by deep chasms in the earth where he saw the hideous stare of a thousand gleaming eyes . . . and he heard the groans and hisses and yells of countless fiends gloating over their many victims of sin and shame” (4). This place, he knew, was the abode of the Evil Gambler (5). Upon meeting the Gambler, Nanaboozhoo agrees to

play against him in a game of chance called the “four ages of man,” (5). After some finagling back and forth about the rules, the Evil Gambler agrees to let the trickster go first. Then he draws Nanaboozhoo’s attention to four standing figures in a dish. The Evil Gambler also explains that he intends to shake the dish four times, and if the figures assume a standing position each time, then he will win the game. If they fall, he explains, then Nanaboozhoo will win the game. According to Vizenor, as the Evil Gambler shook the dish for the last time, “the woodland trickster drew near and when the dish came down to the ground he made a teasing whistle on the wind and all four figures of the ages of man fell in the darkness of the dish” (6). Nanaboozhoo noticed that the “Evil Gambler shivered, [and] his flesh seemed to harden and break into small pieces” (6). Overjoyed, Nanaboozhoo cried out, “[n]ow it is my turn . . . and should I win, would all the four ages of man stand in the dish, then you will lose your life” (6). After speaking such words, “Nanaboozhoo cracked the dish on the earth” (6). Represented in this story as one of the Anishinaabe’s original ancestors, Nanaboozhoo conveys very important *Midewiwin* teachings about Spiritual Being, transformation, and *Bimaadiziwin*. Too often, however, this Anishinaabe relation is represented as merely a Trickster. When Vizenor describes Nanaboozhoo as whistling on the wind and the four figures of man falling, he codes his story with references to *Midewiwin* callers of Spirits who are connected to specific relations. Thus, when this story is viewed within a *Midewiwin* context, it illuminates various interpretive pathways.

The Creation stories included in this chapter may be viewed as carrying teachings about the importance of ceremony and beliefs about transformational Being. For example, Musqua’s story attributes origins to a ceremonial-like process when he

describes Creation as a male Creator's transformed vision and a female Creator's deliverance of Spiritual twins. Also, Benton-Banai's and Johnston's stories about the reCreated world carry lessons about the importance of ceremony. In Benton-Banai's story, the water animals sing, shout, and dance to honour the deceased Muskrat, as they prepare him for his journey to the Spirit world. Also, Waynaboozhoo, Muskrat, Turtle, and the winds from the Four Directions are acknowledged as taking part in the transformation of the new Earth (32). In Johnston's story, the Muskrat, the Bear, and Sky Woman are honoured ceremonially for their service to the Anishinaabe's first people. Similarly, Vizenor's story carries teachings about the power of Spirit and possibilities for transformation. These are important *Midewiwin* teachings that represent Spirit as an essence that energizes Being from ongoing relations with ancestors.

Other interpretations may view the varying Creation stories as originating from specific *Doodaemag*. In "Cultural Sovereignty" Gross describes the numerous interpretations of Creation as derived from *Doodaemag*. He explains that the Anishinaabe were members of *Doodaemag*, or clans, and the clans were usually identified with animals. In fact, he suggests that "[t]here must have been a particularly close feeling of the members of a given clan with their clan animal" (132). Thus, it makes sense that storytellers would be influenced by such close feelings to their clan animal. For example, Benton-Banai and Johnston specifically include fish relations in their origin stories while Musqua and Vizenor do not. Vizenor connects varying interpretations of Creation to "imaginative desires of tribal artists" and people of "wit and imagination" which I read as *Midewiwin* like Keepers of *Doodaemag* Lodge teachings who, in ceremony, light up "memories of the visual past into the experiences of the present" (7). When Noori

connects varying interpretations to “a history of critical interpretation that was in place long before the language was written by immigrants, settlers, or the Anishinaabe themselves, I connect the words *history of critical interpretation* to a *Midewiwin* Way (18).

In my own analysis, I honour Wolfe, Musqua, and Benton-Banai as leading Anishinaabe Keepers of *Doodaemag*, or pre-Christian and pre-European relational systems of signification and governance that relate Being to a *Midewiwin* Way. For example, Wolfe is a Keeper of *Pinayzitt Doodaem* pre-colonial Lodge teachings which he describes as originating “[f]rom centuries past” (xi), “before the whiteman came” (xiv), as well as from a time when “Indians roamed this land, hunting and gathering for their survival” (1), “days gone by when Indian people lived in this land in accordance with the laws of nature” (5), and “beliefs and practices [were] handed down . . . for countless generations” (62). Like Wolfe, Musqua and Benton-Banai are leading *Doodaem* Keepers of pre-colonial Lodges which can be specifically connected to a *Midewiwin* Way, as noted previously. As Keepers of these pre-Christian and pre-European systems, Wolfe, Musqua, and Benton-Banai present originating stories as part of *Midewiwin* traditions that invoke the powers of Spirits to transform Being and inspire *Bimaadiziwin*.

While Johnston and Vizenor are not ceremonially-acknowledged Keepers of Lodge teachings, they are community-acknowledged writers whose work situates them in ancient *Doodaem* traditions. For example, the Spiritual teachings presented in Johnston’s Creation stories can be traced to *Doodaem* traditions and *Midewiwin* teachings. Noori alludes to Johnston’s connections to such systems when she writes about his stories as originating from learned “[E]lders prior to colonization (102). She also relates his work to

these Anishinaabe specific traditions when she describes *Ojibway Heritage* (1976) and *Ojibway Ceremonies* (1982) as the “first attempts to explain some of the significant narratives of the Anishinaabe” (102). The significant narratives of the Anishinaabe have been preserved as *Midewiwin* teachings carried by specific *Doodaemag*. Like Johnston, Vizenor is a community-acknowledged visionary whose work situates him in ancient *Midewiwin* traditions. For example, his stories of Anishinaabe origin in *The People Named the Chippewa* connect him to “Odinigun, an [E]lder from the White Earth Reservation,” (3) a dreamer and orator who spoke “in visual metaphors as if the past were a state of being in the telling” (24). Thus, when Vizenor remembers Anishinaabe origins, he re-forms Spiritual relations through “trickster creation stories” that illuminate “the comic and ironic nature of humans, animals, and birds in the world” (13). Along with Wolfe, Musqua, Benton-Banai, and Johnston, Vizenor relates himself to *Doodaem* visionaries who represented *Midewiwin* teachings as being carried in “stories of animals, birds, wind, trees, insects,” as well as in the sounds of seasons and thunder of ice on the lakes (*Summer* 10).

Anishinaabe writers Blaeser, Diane Knight, and Harvey Knight link Anishinaabe stories to ancient records and traditions which this study acknowledges as belonging to a *Midewiwin* Way. Blaeser connects Anishinaabe stories to hieroglyphics and “memories of passages” that range like voices across the inner ear (Blaeser, *Stories* 7). In Anishinaabe territories, hieroglyphics are ancient forms of writing specifically connected to a *Midewiwin* Spiritual tradition (Warren 27, Kahgegagahbowh 127, and Benton-Banai 100-01). In the introduction to Musqua’s book, Knight makes connections between memories of passages and the Anishinaabe oral storytelling tradition when she writes

about “Elders such as Dan Musqua and Alex Wolfe [who] have endorsed the development of written materials to serve . . . as a catalyst to maintain and restore the oral” (18). The relevant point in the previous sentence is that Musqua and Wolfe have carried into their work oral story teachings which my analysis reveals originates from pre-colonial *Mukwa* and *Benesih Doodaemag*. Knight demonstrates that such *Doodaem* teachings are passed on in a *Midewiwin* Way by serving as Musqua’s apprentice and gathering the stories for the *Seven Fire Teachings*. Likewise, her husband Harvey demonstrates that such ancient *Doodaem* traditions and *Midewiwin* teachings continue to inform contemporary story-making traditions and stories by serving as Wolfe’s apprentice. Knight supported Wolfe by helping him to transform his vision for the translation of the *Pinayzitt Doodaem* stories. As apprentices to Musqua and Wolfe, the Knights carried into written English ancient *Gitchikwe* (Female Spiritual Helpers) and *Oshkabaywis* (Male Spiritual Helpers) *Midewiwin* traditions that impart teachings about the way to attend to sacred stories like those presented in this chapter.

In the chapters ahead, I show how Anishinaabe ceremonialists provide teachings and traditions that continue to be passed on by maintaining and controlling sacred stories. Using the teachings presented by traditional visionaries, I show how sacred stories are maintained and controlled by *Doodaem* relations. Such a literary strategy is part of the way Anishinaabe are reCreating myths and presenting as new the old myths (Gross, “Cultural” 128). In this chapter, Wolfe, Musqua, and Benton-Banai provide *Midewiwin Doodaem* foundational teachings that support Johnston’s and Vizenor’s reCreated stories of origin. Wolfe’s, Musqua’s, and Benton-Banai’s interpretations are privileged over others because they are acknowledged as belonging to highly esteemed *Doodaemag*, or

self-governing relational clan systems re-settled in this study to resuscitate *Midewiwin* teachings for Being Anishinaabe. Johnston and Vizenor function as *Doodaem*-like visionaries who guide the construction of sacred stories by “stress[ing] values over meaning” (128). Such an approach is important for this study because “Anishinaabe hermeneutics points to the manner in which interpretive process can be an ongoing interplay between the community and its leaders, especially religious leaders” (129). In this *Manidookewin*, the words *religious leaders* mean ceremonialists like Musqua and Benton-Banai, as well as carriers of *Midewiwin Doodaem* teachings like Wolfe, Johnston, and Vizenor.

Wolfe ensures control over his *Pinayzitt Doodaem* stories when he includes as part of his Bird Clan Lodge teachings *Doodaem* ancestors who carry *Midewiwin* teachings which are told and retold to inspire *Bimaadiziwin* (128). In his stories, “Earth Elder and other grandfathers and grandmothers” carry *Midewiwin* teachings that stress “the need to live in harmony with one another and with all creation” which this naming ceremony acknowledges as *Bimaadiziwin* (xiv). According to Gross, *Bimaadiziwin*, is a concept that expresses a common belief in a Good Life that is actualized by living in harmony with all Beings (128). On a very basic level, *Bimaadiziwin* is reflected in balanced relations with all of Creation. Thus, Wolfe represents his Grandfather as an ancestor who explains that living harmoniously with all of creation is “how the Creator of all things wanted it to be in the beginning” (xiv). The old man also appears in Wolfe’s stories as an ancestor carrying *Doodaem* teachings about the ways of the Spirits, which my analysis represents as a *Midewiwin Way* (xiv).

Musqua, Benton-Banai, Johnston, and Vizenor maintain control over sacred Creation stories, too, by secularizing *Midewiwin* teachings. In other words, these contemporary Keepers of Lodge stories and visionaries represent *Midewiwin* teachings as Being carried by relations. In some instances, human-like grandmothers and grandfathers carry specific teachings for living a Good life, or *Bimaadiziwin*. Gross explains that *Bimaadiziwin* informs “myths, vision quests, human-animals relations, health and healing, the Midewewin, and relations with the dead” (Gross, *Bimaadiziwin* 16). He also connects *Bimaadiziwin* to a *Midewiwin* Way when he refers to teachings about a Good life “underlying . . . most traditional religious structures” (16). Humanizing *Midewiwin* teachings by representing them as being carried by relations is an important literary strategy for rebuilding the Anishinaabe world that also maintains and controls sacred stories.

Some of the Keepers of Knowledge envisioned an end of the Anishinaabe world when attempts were made to disassociate Anishinaabe people from systems of relational signification.³⁵ In “The Shaman and Terminal Creeds,” Vizenor recounts a story about John KaKa Geesick and Cora Katherine Sheppo to show how Anishinaabe people became disassociated from such important systems (*The People* 139-53). In fact, he refers to their relational dis-ease as cultural schizophrenia. In other places, he writes about cultural schizophrenia in his analysis of stories about Thomas James White Hawk, a promising Lakota “pre-med student turned rapist and murderer” who Blaeser says symbolized for him “the confusion bred by internalized cultural conflicts” (*Gerald* 45).

³⁵ Ruffo provides evidence of contemporary reactions to the movement by contemporary writers to re-settle relations in written form when he writes, “people often say, ‘Why are you writing about Aboriginal people when you could easily blend in? Why are you crying? Accept your losses, it was a long time ago – we’re all equal.’ Implying that I should forget my history and just be like them” (*Storykeepers* 85).

His stories about KaKa Geesick, Sheppo, and White Hawk give meaning to Gross's claim that "the Anishinaabe are living in a postapocalyptic period" (129). Johnston supports the view that the Anishinaabe have been disassociated from systems of signification when he writes about a "[a] storyteller [who] once depicted the alienation of the Anishinaabe people from their cultural heritage and their espousal of Western European civilization as a repudiation of their figurehead, Nana'b'oozoo" (*The Manitous* xxiii). He recalls that Nanaboozo felt "spurned and scorned, hurt and humiliated by the people who [sic] he had loved and served for so many years," and he therefore "gather[ed] all his worldly possessions, stow[ed] them into his canoe, and then help[ed] his aged grandmother, *Nokomis* board. He does not want to leave, but he must, for he is no longer welcome in his ancestral home" (xxiii). However, Johnston urges the Anishinaabe to reCreate the Anishinaabe world by "learning their ancestral language and espousing their old traditions" (xxiii). In my analysis of contemporary Anishinaabe stories, I observed that a postapocalyptic period "does not necessarily imply the end of the worldview" (129). In fact, as Gross maintains, "the worldview that informed that life still survives," and therefore "rebuilding the [Anishinaabe] world entails a process of reworking the myths and mythic characters of the tradition" (Gross, "Sovereignty" 128). This chapter has shown that the Anishinaabe worldview still survives by presenting varying interpretations of Anishinaabe Creation. In these sacred stories, Anishinaabe connect Being to ancestors who are recalled into stories written in English as *Manitoukwe* (Creator Mother Land), *Gitchi Manitou* (Creator Father Spirit), *Chibooway*, and all other human and non-humans relations. Like the traditional authorities included in this chapter, the following chapter turns to the work of leading Anishinaabe women writers, included

as authorities who show how contemporary stories are inspirited with *Manitoukwe*, a Mother Creator.

CHAPTER THREE

Manitoukwe: Recalling the Mother Creator

Like the previous two chapters, this chapter enacts a textual *Midewiwin*-like naming *Manidookewin*. In this chapter the word *Manitoukwe* is used to ceremonially attend to *Midewiwin* teachings about a Mother Creator that appear submerged in the work of selected Anishinaabe women writers.³⁶ As a critical concept, *Manitoukwe* illuminates representations of a coCreator that rarely appear outside ceremonial lodges. Because *Midewiwin* teachings about a Mother Creator have been seriously eroded, this chapter relies on leading Anishinaabe women writers who self-identify with specific *Doodaemag* to resuscitate such teachings: Marie Annharte Baker and Kimberly Blaeser are *Migizi Doodaem* (Eagle Clan); Winona LaDuke is *Mukwa Doodaem* (Bear Clan); and Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm is *Wabijeshi Doodaem* (Marten Clan).³⁷ Thus, while some contemporary writers like Reverend Stan Cuthand (Cree), Roger Roulette (Ojibway), and Sam Gill (non-Indigenous) argue that representations of Mother Earth have been fabricated because the literature does not support such teachings, this textual naming ceremony acknowledges and resuscitates *Midewiwin Doodaem* teachings about

³⁶ Teachings about the Mother Creator were also gleaned in part from personal conversation with Dan Musqua *Mide* Bear Clan Lodge Keeper. My discussions with him confirmed that such teachings belong to the body of *Midewiwin* knowledge.

³⁷ For Cuthand and Roulette, see “Mother Earth” *CBC Ideas*. For Sam Gill, see *Mother Earth*. Gill explains that he systematically “reviewed the ethnographic and scholarly literature on native North America” for evidence of a Mother Creator. In fact, while his study set out to exhaustively search “for Mother Earth among tribal traditions,” he only includes the “Navaho, Hopi, and Yaqui” because he concluded that “[a]n exhaustive search for Mother Earth among tribal traditions would offer no resolution” (6). Although he does include a reference to the Algonquin “Mesukkummik Okwi, [as] the Earth, the Great-Grandmother” (109), Gill explains that he collected this information from Edward B. Tylor’s *Primitive Culture*. Tylor, he explains, got his information from “John Tanner’s captivity narrative published in 1830” (107-108). This is an interesting point because Tanner’s book is often cited as a useful source about clans, which as noted previously, grow from relations with the Earth, our Spiritual Mother. Thus, while he sets out to tell the story of Mother Earth by examining interpretations made by scholars, he does not include ceremonial knowledge about *Manitoukwe*, even though he appears very close to such interpretations when he refers to Tanner’s narrative.

Manitoukwe. In this chapter, I depart from conventional criticism to show how *Midewiwin* Rain Dance teachings enrich my interpretations of Baker's "Bird Clan Mother," LaDuke's "Giiwedahn: Coming Home," Blaeser's "Of Landscape and Narrative," and Akiwenzie-Damm's "this is where we stand our ground." To support my analysis, I rely on Musqua's and Benton-Banai's ceremonial knowledge, which I interpret based on knowledge I have acquired from ceremonial participation. As these ancient ways have taught me, *Manitoukwe* is one of our most powerful ancestor from whom our names, clans, and ways of life originate. Because I was given the name Miskwonigeesikokwe (Red Sky Woman) in a *Midewiwin* Rain Dance Ceremony, I carry teachings about a female co-Creator, a *Nokomis* ancestor, and an Anishinaabe Motherland into written English as part of a critical strategy for enacting *Benesih Doodaemag* responsibilities. Applying *Midewiwin* Rain Dance teachings to the work of leading Anishinaabe women writers relates their selected work to the body of Anishinaabe literature. For example, Baker's poem and LaDuke's short story attach to the white pages of books coded references to the Spirit of the land, and I interpret such strategies as relating, conceptualizing, and delivering *Manitoukwe* into Being. Additionally, Blaeser's and Akiwenzie-Damm's poems illuminate the presence of a Spiritual land whom they relate to their work as a powerful Mother Creator. In this naming ceremony, Baker, LaDuke, Blaeser, and Akiwenzie-Damm are acknowledged as resuscitating *Manitoukwe* teachings. Therefore, they are acknowledged as functioning like *Doodaem Gi-ma-ma-nen*, Clan Mothers who re-member the Mother Creator in ceremony as *Manitoukwe*, one of the most important ancestors, according to *Midewiwin* teachings about relational Being.

“Bird Clan Mother”

This *Manidookewin* acknowledges Marie Annharte Baker’s “Bird Clan Mother” as a contemporary conveyor of *Midewiwin* teachings about *Manitoukwe*. Baker is a member of the *Migizi Doodaem* who functions in this *Midewiwin*-like naming ceremony as a *Doodaem Gi-ma-ma-nen*. Like Bird Clan Mothers before her, she carries the seeds of *Midewiwin* teachings, and she places them in written English. Baker shows an awareness of *Manitoukwe* teachings when she relates Being Anishinaabe to remembered stories of medicine lines, a Motherline, a *Nokomis* voice, and “some part of the [E]arth” (“Medicine Lines” 114). A member of the *Migizi* (Eagle) *Doodaem*, Baker is a self-identified Anishinaabe poet and critic from Little Saskatchewan First Nation, a Swampy-Cree-Ojibway community located in the province of Manitoba (Personal). In fact, Baker describes her Anishinaabe relations as a “fusion of Swampy Cree-Ojibway” whose traditions have come to be known as *Saulteaux* (115). Although her Mother is one of the 500 missing Indigenous (Canadian) women presumed to be dead, Baker continues to remember her Being to a “[M]otherline” (“Borrowing” 45). She writes, “my Mother was fluent in the language and spoke to me in [*Anishinaabemowin*] when I was a child” (45). Thus, Baker makes clear that she identifies as an *Anishinaabekwe* because of the way she was treated by her Mother and her maternal relatives (45). While she resists “lines being drawn around” her work, Baker challenges such attempts by doctoring old stories to reclaim women’s histories. She writes, “[t]o doctor a story means to doctor one’s self. . . . I was raised in a climate that was mixed Christian and Ojibwe beliefs. . . . [but] I believe in the old stories” (“Medicine” 117). Thus, as a contemporary writer, she doctors her

father's Irish, Scottish, and English family stories of Celtic pipe-carrying women to rebalance and reorder Being when she writes in written English about Being Anishinaabe.

From her mother, Baker carries into her work a medicine-lined Grandmother's voice that "stretches across the generations" (114). For example, in "Medicine Lines" she acknowledges the changing roles her Mother's Mother played in her life, and therefore she includes in this critical essay the words *Coco*, *Kokum*, and *Nokomis*. She uses the name *Coco* to connect her criticism to "a kind and accepting influence" and a relation who inspired her early years (114). She uses the term *Kokum* to remember her criticism to an old woman whose voice spoke to her in the Anishinaabe language. She uses the term *Nokomis* to remind her of feelings of safety and memories of being accepted. She explains, "Yes, I was mixed blood but I never knew that 'idea' until I was school age and I was asking questions" (114). Significantly, the name *Nokomis* also re-members Baker to mysteries beyond written English, which she attempts to explore by writing in English ("Borrowing" 43). She writes about being "an Ojibway writer who stands in awe of the pictographs and petroglyphs of the Great Lakes region, the mysterious meanings of our ancestors' writings are still a mystery to be deciphered" (43). McQuire explains that rock paintings and rock carvings around Lake Nipigon and Lake Superior as "Dodem marks [that] can be seen on the landscape" (3). Thus, in my mind, when Baker relates herself to *Nokomis*, mysteries beyond language, pictographs, and petroglyphs, she signals a connection to *Midewiwin* traditions and *Doodaem* systems that originate from *Manitoukwe*.

Baker is a contemporary writer who prioritizes Being Anishinaabe, and so I read her work included in this chapter as recalling the Anishinaabe language, *Doodaem* ancestors, and a *Midewiwin* Way. She emphasizes that “for writers who must accept the white page as a place to park a story, it is even more important to remember all that is unwritten” (“Medicine” 114). Moreover, as a contemporary writer who prioritizes Being Anishinaabe, she demonstrates in her work a belief that it is vitally important to “question imposed language” to resist “passing on oppression to the reader or listener” (“Borrowing” 42). Baker’s body of published work reveals literary strategies for resisting a colonized Native voice. For example, *Being on the Moon* (1990), *Coyote Columbus Café* (1994), *Blueberry Canoe* (2001), and *Exercises in Lip Pointing* (2003) illustrate a politicized voice that remembers Being Anishinaabe in the use of language, connections to ancestors, and a *Midewiwin* Way. In this chapter, her critical essays “Borrowing Enemy Language: A First Nations Woman’s Use of English” and “Medicine Lines: The Doctoring of Story and Self” provide an important context for reading her “Bird Clan Mother” as originating from *Midewiwin* teachings about *Manitoukwe*. In much of her work, Baker recalls stories of relations that are disregarded or cast aside by their own people and those relations who visit her in dreams (Personal). Therefore, I read her poem “Bird Clan Mother” as carrying a *Doodaem* Mother whose ceremonial functions was eroded after the *Midewiwin* records were buried underground by *Mide* priests during the time of the Sixth Fire Prophecy (Benton-Banai 91). I also read the inclusion of the Bird Clan Mother as a literary strategy for resuscitating *Midewiwin* teachings about a Spiritual Mother Creator who seems to be rejected by her own people.

Such a reading acknowledges her poem as being a contemporary conveyer of *Midewiwin* teachings that re-visions, relates, re-forms, and re-settles relations with *Manitoukwe*. Naming Baker's "Bird Clan Mother" a carrier of *Midewiwin* teachings necessitates reconsidering traditional forms for passing on such knowledge. In my view, Baker's poem is a re-visioned Creation story, and therefore the following discussions shows the way it can be read as a conveyer of *Midewiwin* teachings about a Mother Creator, or *Manitoukwe*.

In a ceremonial analysis of this poem, Baker's "Bird Clan Mother" functions as a contemporary conveyer of Spiritual teachings that originate from a *Manitoukwe*-like ancestor. She uses a Bird Clan Mother to guide us to consider in our interpretations "the political and social power of the [C]lan [M]others" (McQuire 7). As ceremonial Bird Clan Mothers balance relational dynamics by connecting women to a powerful Mother Creator Land, Baker's poem re-forms traditional stories about a singular, male Creator by relating her poem to allusive "collective Mothers," an ancestral lineage that includes *Manitoukwe*, *Nokomis*, and *Gi-ma-ma-nen* (7). Thus, when I attend to "Bird Clan Mother" as an *Anishinaabekwe* in this *Manidookiwn*, I read the poem as transforming popular ideas, beliefs, and stories about Anishinaabe beginnings. Indeed, Baker guides us to read "Bird Clan Mother" as a conveyer of Spiritual teachings not only by its title reference to a *Doodaem*, but also by including the poem in *Being on the Moon*. Placing her poem in this book is relevant because the title invokes memories of the moon as *Nokomis*. The word *Nokomis* is also a term of reference for one's Mother's Mother, a relationship that links Anishinaabe women to an originating maternal ancestor acknowledged in ceremonies as *Manitoukwe*.

In my mind, when Baker places “Bird Clan Mother” in *Being on the Moon* she literally relates her poem to *Midewiwin Doodaem* teachings about Anishinaabe collective Mothers. In ceremonies and reinterpretations of Anishinaabe traditional stories in English, the land is often represented as a grandmother, *Nokomis*, and an old lady. For example, when Noori considers Johnston’s use of the term “old woman,” she concludes that he is actually referring to *Muzzukummikquae* (Mother Earth) (110). Benton-Banai makes a direct connection between *Nokomis* and the moon. In his “Original Man and His Grandmother – No-ko-mis,” the old woman is one of Original Man’s first teachers. When her responsibilities to Original Man have been fulfilled, *Nokomis* transforms into a Spirit who journeys to the moon where she monitors changes to bodies of water, the growth of plants, the behavior of animals, and women’s reproductive cycles (18). In ceremonies, relations with *Nokomis* are acknowledged by the presence of *Doodaem* Mothers who connect Anishinaabe women to the Mother Creator Land, or *Manitoukwe*. McQuire explains that the Anishinaabe word for Clan Mothers is “*Gi-ma-ma-nen* [which] can be translated as my special, sacred, collective Mothers” (7). When Baker titles her poem “Bird Clan Mother,” she signals connections to *Doodaem Gi-ma-ma-nen* who connect Anishinaabe women to all the Mothers who came before them, a lineage that is ceremonially honored as beginning from the Earth.

A naming *Manidookewin* acknowledges “Bird Clan Mother” as a conveyer of *Midewiwin* teachings about a Mother Creator Land because Baker creates the Clan Mother as a carrier of memory, relations, and responsibilities. The presence of a Clan Mother in Baker’s poem is a reminder of leading women who carry responsibilities and obligations for “memory of clans and kinship relationships” (McQuire 5). Therefore,

Baker creates a Clan Mother who visions and dreams (2), transforms Being (16), and crafts ways to hunt herself (30). The words *vision*, *dream*, *transform*, and *craft* relate the Clan Mother to traditional “women’s power and influence . . . [and their] ability to interact with the [S]pirit world” (McQuire7). Thus, as Baker’s Clan Mother visions, dreams, transforms, and crafts, she functions like a *Doodaem* carrier of women’s Spiritual teachings and reCreative potential.

A *Manidookewin* reading also acknowledges Baker’s poem as a conveyer of *Manitoukwe* teachings because the poet relates the Clan Mother to Birds. According to *Midewiwin* traditions, members of the *Benesih Doodaem* are honored as Spiritual leaders “noted for their intuition and sense of knowledge of what the future would bring” (Benton-Banai 76). Thus, when Baker names the Clan Mother a Bird Clan Mother, she relates her poem to *Benesih Doodaem Gi-ma-ma-nen* who are carriers of Spiritual teachings like *Manitoukwe*. While *Benesih Doodaem Gi-ma-ma-nen* are generally approached with reverence, the poet re-forms the clan mother as a mischievous ancestor who un-settles traditional notions. For example, while traditional Bird Clan Mothers are revered as authorities who remember *Doodaem* relations to the land in ceremonial lodges, Baker’s figurative Mother appears to have forgotten such relations because she asks, “What was chasing / My little friend” (7-8). Without relations, the Clan Mother is without signification: in fact, she ceases to exist. Therefore, I read Baker’s “Bird Clan Mother” as re-forming *Midewiwin* teachings to conceive and deliver on the pages of written books a Mother Creator.

In her poem, Baker playfully re-presents *Midewiwin* teachings about Creation. She plays with ideas about Creation when she identifies a Bird Clan Mother as a Creator who

dreams from the middle of a junk room instead of a male Creator who visions from a universal void. While some of the stories of Creation included in Chapter Two privilege *Gitchi Manitou* as an Anishinaabe ancestor solely responsible for Creation, Baker's poem recalls Creation as originating from the visionary dreams of a mischievous Bird Clan Mother. However, the poet's Bird Clan Mother is an unlikely Creator. She creates Being from imagination rather than divine vision. Although she envisions Creation like *Gitchi Manitou*, the Bird Clan Mother's visions are represented as "seeing small" (2) and through "dream eyes" (16). She is an unlikely Creator, too, because her voice is familiar and friendly rather than omniscient and authoritative like *Gitchi Manitou*. And, she questions rather than proclaims Being like the Great Spirit. "How did I get here," she asks in the second vision (23). The Bird Clan Mother is also humanized rather than deified: she feels, "[s]oft feathers fanning" her and scars still hot from tooth marks of the "possum past" (25-27). She is an unlikely Creator, too, who hunts herself and relates Being to a cannibal rather than to an all knowing, all Being entity. However, even as she plays with ideas of origin, Baker uses her wit to seriously doctor old stories and relate her poem to a Mother Creator Land.

Baker playfully re-forms *Midewiwin* teachings when she relates Creation in her poem to a two-part visionary dream, not one divine vision. Whereas most Anishinaabe Creation stories like those presented in Chapter Two represent Being as originating from *Gitchi Manitou's* divine vision, Baker's re-formed Creation story includes two visions. The Bird Clan Mother's first vision is evoked through the references to "dream eyes seeing small" (12); the second vision is referred to in the phrase "another time dream eyes clear" (16). Whereas traditional Anishinaabe versions of origin like Musqua's story

represent a highly ordered Creation, the Bird Clan Mother delivers Being from a place of uncertainty and confusion. Unlike the Creation stories presented in Chapter Two, Baker's "Bird Clan Mother" relates origin in the first vision to a pesky prehistoric possum rather than Original Man. And, whereas some traditional stories like Johnston's relate Anishinaabe origins to a Turtle's back, Baker's "Bird Clan Mother" visions Being as growing on a Bird's back.

In the first vision, uncertainty and confusion emerge as the Bird Clan Mother Creator relates beginnings to a junk room. The junk room locale seems to be an unlikely place for Creating beginnings. In fact, a Bird Clan Mother's junk room is an unlikely parallel to a Creator's universal void. As a junk room is a place that stores things that are no longer useful, the middle of such a room seems to be an unlikely place for originality or beginnings. Additionally, as a junk room is a place for crafting rather than Creating, the room appears to be connected to both witchery and domesticity. As Baker uses the word *crafting* in her re-formed story of Creation, then, I relate the poem to *Doodaemag* and a *Midewiwin* Way, which for some outside observers conjure images of witchcraft and demonic rituals. In reCreating beginnings from the middle of a junk room, Baker appears to be doctoring old Creation stories and re-forming storied-teachings about *Manitoukwe*.

Baker's "Bird Clan Mother" re-forms traditional carriers of *Midewiwin* teachings, too, when she represents the first dream-vision as delivering into Being a pesky possum Mother. In more conventional Anishinaabe Creation stories like those included in Chapter Two, the first human-like Being named in story is Nanabush, who is generally acknowledged as a transformer. Johnston describes him as "a paradox. On the one hand,

he was a supernatural [B]eing possessing supernatural powers; on the other hand, he was the son of a mortal woman subject to the need to learn” (*Heritage* 159). And, whereas Nanabush is born from a human Mother, the possum Mother comes into Being from the dream vision of the Bird Clan Mother. Additionally, Nanabush is represented as having a grandmother named Nokomis, a Mother named Winonah and a father named Aepungishmook, and three brothers named Maudjee-kawiss, Pakawiss, and Cheeby-aub-oozoo (*The Manitous* 37). Unlike Nanabush, the possum is storied into being with few relational referents, although she is represented as having babies that are completely indistinguishable from one another. Baker represents them as “hanging on a long tail / Curved over her back” (5-6). The poet appears to be drawing parallels to Nanabush when she writes about the possum Mother running into “some bad / Stink mouth to be gulped” (11-12). Just as the original transformer is often associated with scatological misadventures, the transformed possum appears to be headed for some bad stink mouth where she may become a “bird dropping” (14). Of course, the words *bird dropping* could mean a bird in flight dropping, but they could also mean bird feces. These kinds of double entendres that appear throughout the poem seem to relate “Bird Clan Mother” to traditional stories of Original Man / Anishinaabe who functions as a paradoxical Being. In fact, one might make the observation that a possum is somewhat of a paradoxical Being like Nanabush because she is both immigrant and indigenous, useful and pesky, and cute and fearsome. In other words, the possum may be viewed as a transformational Being depending on one’s relations to it.

In the second vision, Baker seems to be re-presenting *Midewiwin* teachings about the reCreated second world. In this vision, the Bird Clan Mother, lifted high into her

traditional sky home, and as a bird ponders “how did I get here so fast?” (23). Such a question appears to contradict the careful and attentive ordering of the reCreated second world. Baker provides further evidence for us to draw comparisons between her poem and traditional Creation stories like those presented in Chapter Two by settling the Bird Clan Mother into her poem as a kind of Sky Woman Creator. However, in those stories of the reCreated world, the Turtle offers her back to Sky Woman, whereas in Baker’s story a “bird back” is presented as a place for the Bird Clan Mother to reCreate (22).

She also playfully re-forms stories of Creation when she attaches the Bird Clan Mother to her poem as the source of Being, not a relation of an original male Creator. In traditional versions of the second world, the water animals work in cooperation with Sky Woman to bring about Creation. However, Baker’s Bird Clan Mother creates in isolation of other Beings, and so the “I” that signifies the Bird Clan Mother who inhabits the second world appears to have no relations. This is very significant because, according to *Midewiwin* teachings, relations distinguish one’s Being from another. Moreover, in most traditional stories the word *I* seldom appears because relations signify Being. For example, Benton-Banai explains that when the Earth was young, she had a family which included the Moon-Grandmother, the Sun-Grandfather, and a Mysterious-Creator (2). In Baker’s poem, the word *I* seems to have no referents, thus the Bird Clan Mother appears without a system of relational signification. In fact, the poet represents the “I” in connection with crafty ways to hunt the self, which seems to imply an end to the Bird Clan Mother.

The poet offers readers a couple of ways of interpreting the word *I* when she writes, “Whoever sees my shadow overhead / Knows to run but I slow up / Beady little eyes

blink quick” (31-33). Within a *Midewiwin* context, seeing “my” shadow overhead implies the presence of a Spiritual ancestor. The words *beady little eyes* encourage connections with Birds, too, especially given that the title is “Bird Clan Mother.” Thus, I interpret the ancestors as being *Benesih Doodaemag*. Baker encourages us to contemplate further connections to Bird ancestors when she writes of the persona “Ducking the flying jokes” (33) because the words *ducking* and *flying* relate the “I” to birds.

Baker also offers us another way to interpret the word *I* when she writes, “This once I will eat squash blossoms” (36). The words *squash blossoms* relate her poem to medicines and healing (Gill and Sullivan 287). When viewed within a *Midewiwin* context, medicines, healing, and squash blossoms encourage connections to *Bimaadiziwin*, or being well. When Baker connects the “I” to the words *eating* and *squash blossoms*, she encourages us to read the Bird Clan Mother as re-membering otherworldly plant relations “not dependent upon other beings for their existence or well being” (Johnston, *Heritage*, 33). According to Johnston, “each plant being . . . was a composite being, possessing an incorporeal substance, its own unique soul-spirit. It was the vitalizing substance that gave its physical form, growth, and self-healing” (33). Because Baker includes the Squash Blossom in her poem, I read the words as coded references to Spiritual teachings about plant relations that “conjoin with. . . other species to form a corporate [S]pirit” which she re-presents as a transformed Bird Clan Mother (33).

Baker’s “Bird Clan Mother” is an important poem which I read as carrying coded references to Anishinaabe *Doodaem* relations and *Midewiwin* teachings. While the poet carries into the modern poem a “Bird Clan Mother” whose function relates the

contemporary story form to *Midewiwin* teachings, “The Bird Clan Mother” un-settles traditional notions about both a Mother Creator Land and Father Creator Spirit. For example, Baker playfully reCreates stories about a Mother Creator Land and a Father Creator Spirit when she connects her poem to a prehistoric pesky possum Mother who materializes from an irreverent Bird Clan Mother’s visionary dream. However, like Wagamese’s old Keeper who explains that a ceremony is simple yet “*kinda sly in how it works on you*” (198), Baker’s “Bird Clan Mother” appears to be a simple little poem on the surface. However, as this naming *Manidookewin* recalls *Manitoukwe*, her poem illuminates the Bird Clan Mother as a *Chibooway*, an Anishinaabe ancestor who inspirits the modern poem with *Midewiwin* teachings.

“Of Landscape and Narrative”

This naming *Manidookewin* acknowledges Dr. Kimberly Blaeser’s “Of Landscape and Narrative” as a contemporary carrier of *Midewiwin* teachings. Blaeser shows an awareness of such teachings when she describes herself as an enrolled member of White Earth and a self-identified *Anishinaabekwe* whose *Migizi* (Eagle) *Doodaem* and home community inspire her writing. In fact, she explains that all her relations including her German father grew “up on White Earth Reservation in Northwestern Minnesota” where they lived with strong connections to the Anishinaabe (Personal). In “Writing Voices Speaking,” she writes about beginning to understand her position in the long history of her people, and becoming the stories she tells. She writes, “[w]e become the people and places of our past because our identity is created, our perspective formed, of their telling” (54). In “Sacred Journey Cycles: Pilgrimage as Re-Turning and Re-Telling in American

Indigenous Literatures,” she writes about making a pilgrimage with her Mother to visit her grandmother’s old allotment at *Gaa-waabaabiganikaag* to relate herself to “long generations of *Anishinaabekwe* who had woven lives in relationship to the land and waterways of the Great Lakes Regions. *Manoomin. Waawaashkeshi. Nibi*” (83). When she places references to her biological Mother and grandmother in this critical essay, she re-forms contemporary analysis to relate Being Anishinaabe to “long established rhythms of tribal life,” as well as *Nindawemeganidok*, or “plants, creatures, seasons, and features of the earth” (83). Blaeser also illustrates efforts to make the English language accommodate her own Anishinaabe worldview by creating neologisms like *we-vision* (“Writing” 62) and *response-ability* (Interview 11), words that re-form the language to re-settle *Nindawemeganidok* and *Manidookewin* into written English. Blaeser’s use of the word, *we-vision*, re-forms the word revision to reflect her connectedness to the land and responsibilities to relations that flow from the Earth. Her use of the word *response-ability* signals the rituals we perform, as part of the ways we live our lives, and that relate us to “something that we owe, that we’re responsible for, and [that in the doing] returns to us a larger ability to be” (Interview 11). She specifically connects re-sponsibility to her past, parents, grandparents, and “longer-ago historical relatives” (11). In *Gerald Vizenor: Writing in the Oral Tradition* she illustrates re-sponsibility for “a larger mass of the Ojibwe people” by adhering to *Midewiwin* protocols that acknowledge one’s *Doodaem* relations. She reveals Vizenor’s Crane Clan or *Chejauk Doodaemag* which I read as being knowledgeable about both *Midewiwin* and *Doodaem* traditions (3). As noted previously, *Doodaemag* are systems that carry responsibilities for *Manitoukwe*, as part of a *Midewiwin* tradition (3). Thus, I read her description of Vizenor’s *Doodaem* as both an

awareness and acknowledgement of traditional systems of relational signification. And, I read her books of poetry, *Trailing You*, *Absentee Indians*, and *Apprenticed to Justice* as giving new forms to traditional teachings: she includes in her poetry, for example, *Nindawemeganidok* as “plants, creatures, seasons and features of the [E]arth” (“Sacred Journey Cycles” 83). Further, critical essays such as “Sacred Journey Cycles: Pilgrimage as Re-turning and Re-telling in American Indigenous Literatures,” “Pagans Rewriting the Bible: Heterodoxy and the Representation of Spirituality in Native American Literature,” “Writing Voices Speaking: Native Authors and an Oral Aesthetic,” and “Native Literature: Seeking a Critical Center” shows both we-vision and re-sponsibility. In *Anishinaabe Prose*, Blaeser further illustrates we-vision and re-sponsibility by gathering stories from a network of relations because she acknowledges that, “stories that assure the survival of our [S]pirits [to] . . . keep us migrating home” (3). In fact, I read the words *migrating home* as a return to an originating Mother Creator Land, as my analysis of “Of Landscape and Narrative” attempts to show. While this poem later appeared in *Absentee Indians & Other Poems* (2002), this chapter relies on the original version published in *Anishinaabe Prose* (1999) because it is contextualized as part of the body of Anishinaabe literature.

“Of Landscape and Narrative” is a carrier of *Midewiwin* teachings about Mother Creator, or *Manitoukwe*. Blaeser shows re-sponsibility for this important ancestor by setting up her poem like a *Midewiwin* ceremonial lodge that honors the power of the Motherland and attends to *Chibooway* and *Nindawemeganidok* in a ceremonial way. In my mind, the poem is structured like the first *Midewiwin* lodge built by the original *Doodaem Gi-ma-ma-nen* to symbolize “the life-giving force of the Earth” (Benton-Banai

67). Blaeser repeats the motions of these early ancestors in at least three ways. First, her poem acknowledges the land ceremonially, according to *Midewiwin* traditions. Second, she uses the textual space to also attend to *Chibooway* from the Four Directions. Third, she gathers into the space *Chibooway* that remember relations with *Manitoukwe*. In acknowledging these important relations in her work, Blaeser illustrates both we-vision and re-sponsibility for *Nindawemeganidok*.

In “Of Landscape and Narrative” Blaeser ceremonially acknowledges a Spirit that she relates to her poem as an ancestor who seeps, nests, hatches, lingers, anchors, echoes, and ranges. She guides us to read “Of Landscape and Narrative” as a ceremony that renews relations with a Mother Creator Land whose ancestral Spirit emerges seemingly from someplace beyond language in echoed sounds of “ghost ancestors” (85) and in embodied relations “carried by blood” (83). Acknowledged in a ceremonial way as a *Chibooway*, the land is represented as inspiring “cells and souls” (5), “Evolutions of face” (7), “pursed lips / re-re-re” (38), and “spindly legs” (76), “gangly dance” (81), “Passing . . . feet” (49), a “belly filled / with knowledge” (61-2), “a Mother’s scent” (66), “skeletons” (69), and “bone” (70). Thus, in this textual ceremony, *Manitoukwe* is honored as a *Chibooway* that inspires “every body crevice” (1).

Blaeser opens interpretations for reading the poem as a ceremonial-like space that carries *Midewiwin* teachings about *Manitoukwe* by re-membering relations with *Chibooway* at Boundary Water Canoe Area Wilderness; Colorado River, California; Brooks Range, Alaska; and Jasper Pulask Wildlife Refuge. While some readers may observe that she uses decidedly non-Anishinaabe names to acknowledge relations from the four directions, I view her usage of English words as being an adaptive strategy to

carry and pass on *Midewiwin* teachings. When she attends to these specific places in her poem, I interpret such a practice as a literary strategy for honoring *Midewiwin* teachings about “Four Sacred Directions” (Benton-Banai 2). Ancient teachings about the Four Sacred Directions acknowledge that “[e]ach of these directions contributes a vital part to the wholeness of the Earth. Each has physical powers as well as [S]piritual powers” (2). In my mind, when Blaeser places the name Boundary Water Canoe Area Wilderness in her poem, she enacts an honoring ritual for the Eastern Doorway and all the *Chibooway* relations re-membered to this part of the historic homeland. In acknowledging the Eastern Doorway, the poet uses the words “white flash / of recognition” to signal the Morning Star who is re-membered in Anishinaabe stories and *Midewiwin* ceremonies as “the Mother of the First Mother—the Mother from which came the Mother of Original Man, Waynaboozhoo” (Benton-Banai 68). I also read the placement of the name Colorado River, California as an acknowledgement of the *Chibooway* from the Southern Doorway. These ancestors relate Being to “the land of birth and growth. . . . [and] songs of birds” (Benton-Banai 25). According to *Midewiwin* teachings about the Southern Doorway, birds migrate South “every year to escape the hard winters of the North. When winter is over, the birds fly from this fertile land and carry with them the gi-ti-gay’-mi-non’ (seeds) of life. In this way life is replenished in each of the Four Directions” (25). Blaeser describes as Southern relations the “Egret, egret, egret” foraging in “shuffle steps / Line dancing / To flush their prey” (24-26). She also places in her poem the name Jasper Pulask Wildlife Refuge, which I read as an acknowledgement of the Western Doorway. *Midewiwin* teachings about the Western Doorway relate this place to “gee-baw’-ug” (Spirits) that have returned home (Benton-Banai 25). Therefore, in her poem she

describes these *Chibooway* as “Red-headed skeletons” (69), “Cranes all bone / And histrionics” (70-71) in the “October sky” (68). As Spirits, they are acknowledged “With awe and tremolo” (293). Finally, when she places the name Brooks Range, Alaska in her poem, I read her strategy as an acknowledgement of the *Chibooway* from the Northern Doorway. *Midewiwin* teachings about the Northern Doorway relate this place to a land where the Mother Earth “purifies herself each year (24). In her poem, Blaeser suggests an intimate knowledge of *Midewiwin* teachings about this place of purification when she describes “Breath of caribou / Passing within feet / Of my longing” (48-9). The words *breath* and *passing* suggest a Spiritual connection to new and old ways, but when they are joined to the words *within feet of my longing*, the words signal reCreative potential. The poet shows an awareness of the place as being connected to reCreative possibilities, as they are set out in *Midewiwin* teachings about the Northern Doorway (48-55). For example, she writes,

I watch each precise
setting of antlers
bull thrusting
high this weight
of balance (51-55).

When Blaeser carries the names of these places into the body “Of Landscape and Narrative,” the poem illuminates we-vision and re-sponsibility. It lights up, for example, a shared vision of important *Midewiwin* teachings about the land, ancestors, and relations. She also demonstrates a re-sponsibility to these ancient teachings by enacting a traditional ceremonial way in her poem. In fact, I interpret Blaeser’s literary strategy as

being like the Clan Mothers who built the first *Midewiwin* Lodge for the collective well-being of *Nindawemeganidok*. According to Benton-Banai, an old man petitioned Anishinaabe women because they “symbolized the life-giving force of the Earth” to build a lodge in which he could perform a ceremony for his gravely ill *Oshkabaywis* (67). The women built the first *Midewiwin* Lodge “in line with the path of the Sun. It had an eastern doorway. The top was left open. Along the sides they put balsam, spruce, and fern to further draw upon the nourishment of the plant world. They [also] placed water inside the doorway of the lodge” (67-68). Thus, I read Blaeser’s poem as a *Midewiwin*-like ceremonial lodge because she demonstrates both a collective vision and responsibility to *Nindawemeganidok* by acknowledging the importance of *Bimaadiziwin* for both Spirit and relations.

According to such an interpretation, Blaeser provides coded references to *Midewiwin* teachings about *Manitoukwe* when she gathers “[p]eople, animals, and stories” to re-member and relate her poem to *Manitoukwe* (27). The people are referred to as a collective “we” who “revive tellings” (34), as a body of relations “chanting renewal” (35), “A whistle call” (36), and “Kissing memory” (37). The words *revive*, *chanting*, *whistle* and *kissing* relate the poem to *Midewiwin* Rain Dance ceremonies that use Eagle bone whistles to “call in the power of the [S]pirits” (Benton-Banai 82). Such rituals “remember our brother, the [E]agle, and the role he plays in the preservation of the Earth” (82). Blaeser demonstrates an awareness of such teachings when she calls into her poem the egret, whom she describes as a bird ancestor dressed for breeding (16), jutting out shaggy plumes (17-18), collecting in “casual clumps” (23), and dancing in a line (25). As noted previously, she calls into her poem, too, the caribou, an animal relation who

reminds her about the Earth's reCreative possibilities. She acknowledges relations, too, between stories and ceremonies when she describes "those stories" that

Follow wind paths

Faint ancient

Engravings in mind

Instinctual migrations

Against currents

Across continents (41-46).

When Blaeser uses the words *follow wind paths* along with *ancient engravings in the mind* and *instinctual migrations* in the context of a ceremonial way with people, animal, and stories, she signals a reference to a Spiritual force. The words *against currents* and *across continents* are used to illuminate the power and body of the Spirit. When she writes about "people, animals, and stories / Flung across land and time" (27-28), Blaeser connects the Spirit to original Creation, especially when she re-members people, animals, and stories "Back to beginnings" when "Birds redraw flight angles / [and] Stars repeat sky patterns" (31-33). Most importantly, she places references to this powerful Spirit in the section of the poem that acknowledges *Chibooway* from the Eastern and Southern Doorways. Also placing representations of the Spirit, people, animals, and stories together with birds and stars, Blaeser connects her poem to both new life and old life, or *Nindawemeganidok* and *Chibooway*. She relates both life-forms to a Mother Creator Land that has "formed our beliefs, attitudes, insights, outlooks, values and institutions, as Johnston describes this *Chibooway* in *Honor the Earth*" (Johnston v). Indeed,

Manitoukwe functions as a Spiritual force that anchors generations (6) and spins history on “land axis” (8-10).

When read ceremonially, “Of Land and Narrative” illuminates *Midewiwin* teachings submerged beneath the English language (“Writing” 53). Like the ground that covered the ancient *Midewiwin* records, Blaeser’s poem is inspirited with ancient teachings. In my mind, she demonstrates an awareness of connections between sacred earthly grounds and sacred literary grounds when she relates poetry to a “ceremonial act” (Interview 14). She explains a ceremonial act as “strands that connect us” ritualistically by allowing people to take comfort in motions of repetitiveness (11). In her poem, the strands that connect us are re-membered relations with *Manitoukwe*, which she acknowledges in her use of pre-fixes, “re, re, re,” (39). Then, in an interview with Jennifer Andrews, Blaeser shows an awareness of ancient *Midewiwin* teachings when she relates poetry to speaking and hearing “in a way that . . . is [S]piritual, or subconscious” (3). Because she acknowledges poetry as a Spiritual and relational Creation, as an Anishinaabekwe critic, I attend to “Of Landscape and Narrative” in a ceremonial way to recover *Midewiwin* teachings protected beneath the storied ground. In this *Manidookewin*, such teachings are attended to in a *Midewiwin*-like naming traditional way to honor the ancestors from whom they originated.

“Giiwedahn: Coming Home”

This naming ceremony acknowledges Winona LaDuke’s “Giiwedahn: Coming Home” as a contemporary carrier of *Midewiwin* teachings. LaDuke is a member of the *Mukwa Doodaem* who functions in this *Midewiwin*-like naming ceremony as a *Doodaem Gi-ma-*

ma-nen . Like Bear Clan Mothers before her, she protects *Midewiwin* teachings. As a contemporary activist, she protects such traditional knowledge by preserving it in written English, attending to the ways of her ancestors in a ceremonial way by acknowledging the importance of Spirit and relations. In “Giiwedahn: Coming Home,” she shows an awareness of such teachings by inspiring her story with *Chibooway*, who reminds us that *Nindawemeganidok*, *Doodaemag*, *Midewiwin* Government, and *Manidookewin* are essential for *Minjimendaamowinon*. She also reminds us, like Bear Clan Mother ancestors, that re-membering Being to *Manitoukwe* is one of the most important *Midewiwin* teachings that relates us to the land. In fact, the story’s title “Giiwedahn: Coming Home” specifically links the *Chibooway*’s homecoming to the land, which she represents in her use of the word *Giiwedahn*, a place of re-juvenation. The word also appears in Benton-Banai’s “Original Man Walks the Earth,” a story that carries a Spiritual teaching about *Giiwedahn*, the place that Mother Earth is cleansed and rejuvenated each year (24). LaDuke specifically acknowledges the importance of *Midewiwin* teachings by naming Edward Benton-Banai as one of her sources for historical and cultural information.

LaDuke identifies herself as a member of the *Mukwa Doodaem* from *Gaawaawaabiganikaag* (White Earth), and she demonstrates responsibilities to the Bear Clan by protecting *Manitoukwe*, and attending to *Midewiwin* teachings, ancestors, and relations as an activist. For example, she activates clan responsibilities by serving as executive director for the Honor the Earth and White Earth Land Recovery Project (Suzack 172). In her analysis of *Last Standing Woman* (the novel in which “Giiwedahn: Coming Home: Summer 2000” first appeared), Cheryl Suzack describes LaDuke as “one

of the most widely recognized spokespeople on behalf of the environment (172). Suzack also makes the point that in *Last Standing Woman* this member of the Bear Clan acknowledges the “material and [S]piritual connections to the land are fused such that they cannot be distinguished through quantifiable blood connections or illegally imposed colonial patterns of ownership” (186). Considered together, LaDuke’s published works *Last Standing Woman* (1997), *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life* (1999), and *Recovering the Sacred: the Power of Naming and Claiming* (2005) illustrate Bear Clan responsibilities. In fact, in the forward to *Ojibwe Waasa Inaabidaa: We Look in All Directions*, she writes, “[t]oday we are in the process of remembering” (10). Then in “Giiwedahn: Coming Home” she shows responsibilities to her Bear Clan when she attends to “ceremony, language, feasting, dancing, and listening,” as part of a literary strategy for protecting *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaemag* relations (10). While she is a renowned activist who demonstrates clan responsibilities, LaDuke functions in this study like a *Doodaem Gi-ma-ma-nen* (Clan Mother) who attends to clan responsibilities by remembering them to a *Manitoukwe*-like textual ground. In attending to the reprinted story included in *A Collection of Anishinaabe Prose*, I depart from conventional practice to acknowledge LaDuke’s story as part of a collection of Anishinaabe stories. In telling this story as part of a larger project, LaDuke acknowledged that the stories are works “of fiction although the circumstances, history, and traditional stories, as well as some of the characters, are true, retold to the best of my ability” (10).

LaDuke opens interpretations for us to read “Giiwedahn: Coming Home” as conveying *Midewiwin* Spiritual teachings when she uses the word *Giiwedahn* as part of her title. The word *Giiwedahn* relates the contemporary story to a language, a Spiritual

tradition, and a relational (story) tradition in which the land is conceptualized as an important ancestor. In *The Mishomis Book*, Benton-Banai contextualizes the word in *Anishinaabemowin*, *Midewiwin* traditions, and *Doodaemag* that originate from a Mother (home) land (24). For example, when this *Midewiwin* teacher makes the point that the word *home* means the place of the Bear Power, he relates *Giiwedahn* to the Bear Clan guardian whose living-space is acknowledged as the place where “Mother Earth is purified each year” (24). He also connects *Giiwedahn* to a living-space for Spiritual ancestors, whom he acknowledges as present when the Northern Lights dance in the skies. Thus, when LaDuke uses the word *Giiwedahn* as part of her title for the short story, she provides an opening for us to relate the story to *Anishinaabemowin*, *Midewiwin* traditions, and *Doodaemag*.

LaDuke guides us to read her story as carrying *Midewiwin* teachings about *Manitoukwe* by reminding us that there is an order to Creation. The order was disturbed when a researcher from the Smithsonian Museum named Dr. Ales Hrdlicka literally ripped from out the ground the remains of forty-five White Earth ancestors in 1910. According to Melissa Meyer’s *The White Earth Tragedy*, Hrdlicka was a real person who developed scientific theories about “mixed bloods and full bloods” (168). In LaDuke’s story Hrdlicka disturbed the order of the “Four Levels of the Earth: the Mother Earth, the plant life, the animal life, and the human beings” when he removed the ancestors from the ground (Benton-Banai 73). When she tells her story, LaDuke’s emphasizes that Hrdlicka disturbed the order of Creation when he labeled, packed, and shipped “ancestors” a thousand miles away to Washington where they were “measured,

catalogued, and studied” (183). Thus, she places in her story members of various *Doodaemag* and the *Midewiwin* Society who reorder and rebalance relations with land.

LaDuke represents *Doodaemag* and the *Midewiwin* Society as contemporary Anishinaabe relations who assume specific responsibilities for re-ordering and balancing relations with the Mother Land. For example, she places Moose Handford, a member of the Marten Clan in her story to uncover the grave diggings and then to carry the ancestors home (182). As he functions in this story as a member of the Marten Clan, he demonstrates responsibilities to his clan by protecting the ancestors on the journey home. As he carries the ancestors home, he reveals his clan to be “master strategists” in planning and defense (Benton-Banai 76).

She also places in her story Elaine and Danielle Wabun. Represented as Anishinaabe relations, the Wabuns gather an “amazing inventory of people and belongings missing from the reservation” (182-83). The word *Wabun* relates the story to a historical period of uncertainty and near universal destruction for the Anishinaabe. According to Benton-Banai, the word *Wabun* re-members the Anishinaabe to *bedahbun* (or false dawn), which he contextualizes in a story about the abuse of the *Midewiwin* Way. He explains that even though it was against the Creator’s instructions, some people began to use the *Midewiwin* teachings for personal power. Thus, he sent a powerful Spirit whom some say was the father of Nanabush to destroy the Earth. However, four days after the Creator decided to destroy the world, the *Migizi* (Eagle) flew out from the “crack between darkness and light” and begged the Creator to save the people (80). Thus, the Creator heard the Eagle and “held back the Sun” (80). This false dawn is remembered as *bedahbun*, but the word also relates to “the miracle of the sunrise and the Eagle (82). The

Eagle is acknowledged in ceremonies a significant relation whom the Anishinaabe owe their lives. Thus, in ceremonies an Eagle bone whistle is used to call in power of the Spirits. In my mind, when LaDuke carries the Wabuns into her story, she relates her story to *Anishinaabemowin*, *Midewiwin* teachings, and *Doodaem* relations.

LaDuke includes in her story representations of the White Earth Government, the *Midewiwin* Society, and the *aanikoobijigan* to reorder relations with the Mother Creator. She writes, the “White Earth Government, with the agreement of the Midewiwin Society, had drafted several polite letters to the Smithsonian. The *aanikoobijigan*, the ancestors, were to come home, the religious leaders wrote” (183). While LaDuke uses the word *aanikoobijigan* to represents the ancestors, I use the word *Chibooway* to mean those relations who continue to live amongst us as Spirits. In this story, the ancestors are attended to by George Naganob, a member of the *Midewiwin* Society whose name distinguishes him from others as a leading *Midewiwin* ceremonialist (15). According to Johnston (*Thesaurus* 15) and Warren (23), Naganob was a mid-nineteenth century Anishinaabe chief who was a member of the Marten Clan. Therefore, when LaDuke uses the word *Naganob*, she relates Naganob to ceremonialists who sit in front of ceremonial fires. He is also shown to be a ceremonialist when he mentors Moose Handford during a quest to carry ancestors home. When LaDuke includes a *Mide* ceremonialist and his helper as members of the Marten Clan, she adheres to *Midewiwin* protocols for attending to Spiritual relations.

George Naganob and Moose Handford demonstrate clan responsibilities by reverently collecting all the known remains of the ancestors from the Smithsonian. While at the Smithsonian, Naganob demonstrates *Midewiwin* responsibilities by showing Moose

the proper ceremonial rituals for attending to the Spirits of ancestors. Moose fulfills his clan responsibilities by attending to Naganob in a ceremonial *Oshakabaywis*-like way. He notices Naganob's "shaking voice and trembling hands" when he inventoried the White Earth ancestral remains. Moose offers to help Naganob by gently moving the bones when he "placed medicine bags, clan markers, moccasins, and other articles of clothing in with the old people" (185). Both Naganob and Moose demonstrate clan responsibilities, too, by attending to their ancestors' remains in a ceremonial way. After they finished re-membering their ancestors' remains, "they went to a local Piscataway native man's sweat lodge, cried tears that were lost amid their sweat, and prayed to get the smell of death off their bodies before they headed home" (186). Naganob followed the traditions of *Midewiwin* ancestors when he returned home to "attend to lengthy preparations . . . [and] arrange a reburial ceremony" (186). Moose reveals his Marten Clan responsibilities by making plans to carry home the ancestors through traditional Wisconsin homelands and ensuring that he has the Leech Lake Singers' Big Drum ceremonial songs to play for them. On the journey home, he "slept in the cab when he stopped; he wasn't going to leave the ancestors on their own" because "he had to make sure that nothing else happened to them" (187).

While LaDuke carries *Midewiwin* teachings about reordering and rebalancing relations with the Mother Land, she adapts the traditional vehicle for carrying such teachings. She provides codes for us to read her story as a re-formed vehicle when she uses an old UPS delivery van to carry the ancestors home. However, even as she re-forms the story-vehicle, LaDuke makes clear *Midewiwin* protocols. For example, she inspirits her story with ancestors who are heard immediately as "loud and getting louder" (181).

Then she illustrates *Doodaem* responsibilities for Spiritual relations when she describes Moose Hanford listening attentively to the sounds of ancestors “over the music from his tape deck and the roar of the road beneath the wheels of his ex-UPS delivery van” (181). LaDuke places the ancestors in the contemporary story-vehicle to remind us, too, that the Spirit’s of ancestors were dishonoured. She therefore shows Moose settling relations with the ancestors by attending to them in a ceremonial way. LaDuke provides evidence for us to interpret her story as carrying ancestors who have been dishonoured when she writes, “[t]here were forty-five ancestors in the back of the van. . . . Sometimes [Moose] could hear them sing, other times they were crying out. Now they just seemed to rattle” (181). LaDuke also develops the idea that the story-vehicle must be adapted to carry *Midewiwin* teachings when she describes the van as having a disturbingly loud roaring engine, a dysfunctional exhaust system, and an overheated muffler held together with “hanging clips,” before Moose attends to it (181-82). LaDuke encourages us to interpret the ancestors singing, crying, and rattling, as well as the van’s troublesome exhaust system and muffler as relations out of order in a contemporary story vehicle. Thus, after Moose attends to the old ones by fixing the vehicle with the help of a hippie, patrolman, and family man, the ancestors are heard as “loud and getting louder” in concert with the van’s “mechanical cacophony” (181).

When LaDuke describes the ancestors singing, crying, and rattling, I interpret her writing practice as conveying the importance of ceremony for attending to Spiritual ancestors. The author includes numerous allusions to ceremony as reminders of *Midewiwin* protocols for attending to Spiritual relations in stories. For example, when she describes the ancestors as “rattling,” she alludes to ceremonial rattles, or *she-she-gunag*

(shakers), that imitate ceremonially the sound heard in the universal void prior to original Creation (Benton-Banai 15). Also, the “tape of Little Otter singing” alludes to the presence of the Otter Clan in the *Midewiwin* Ceremony (72). To emphasize the importance of the *Midewiwin* ceremony, LaDuke writes that Little Otter’s singing “accompanied Moose on his journey. When Little Otter’s drum stopped between songs, the sounds from ancestors also ceased” (181). Little Otter’s drum is an allusion to the *Midewiwin* Water Drum that ritualizes the sound of the Mother Earth’s heartbeat. Thus, when LaDuke includes Little Otter’s drum, she relates her story to the *Midewiwin* ceremony that continues to be performed for physical and Spiritual well-being. To emphasize the importance of this ceremonial way, LaDuke describes the ancestors as silent when the drumming stops (181).

The author provides another opening for us to read the story as carrying *Midewiwin* teachings about reordering and rebalancing relations with the Mother Creator Land by including numerous allusions to ceremonial protocols such as visioning, drumming, offering tobacco, and participating in the Sweat Lodge and Feast. For example, when LaDuke describes this member of the Marten Clan scanning the horizon, sighting a rest stop, and glancing in the side view mirror, she develops the idea that Moose is acting in accordance with his warrior clan responsibilities by looking for a place to settle his relations with ancestors. When joined to the author’s description of Moose drumming on the door and lighting a cigarette prior to checking the van’s muffler, the words *scanning the horizon*, *sighting a rest stop*, and *glancing in the side view mirror* allude to ceremonial visioning rituals. The words *drumming* and *cigarette* imply a connection to ceremonial drum and pipe rituals, which according to *Mide* teacher Benton-Banai were

given to the *Doodaemag* as part of a *Midewiwin* Way (Benton-Banai 79). Similarly, the storyteller alludes to the Sweat Lodge ceremony when she describes Moose shaking the “back of his shirt for ventilation,” and as being “*a bush Indian*” in a situation where it is “*eighty-five degrees with no wind*” (182). Like Vision Quests, Sweat Lodge ceremonies are generally held in remote areas in the bush, and temperatures in the lodge become unbearably hot so the ceremonialist usually calls for breaks. During breaks between the four rounds of ceremony, an *Oshkabaywis* opens the lodge-door, shaking it to let in much needed cool air. Allusive references to Vision Questing, the Drum, Pipe, and Sweat Lodge ceremony are codes that when deciphered show Moose attending to the ancestors in a ceremonial-like way.

LaDuke provides further evidence for interpreting Moose’s performance as ceremonial-like when she describes him “sitting at a picnic bench with a red-checked table cloth eating sandwiches with Mike the Deadhead, the patrolman, and the Walker family” (192). While such daily rituals like eating at a picnic table may appear ordinary to some readers, such an interpretation calls into question our ideas about ceremony. LaDuke offers evidence to support the idea that ceremonies can be very simple gathering that bring people together to offer thanks. For example, she describes Moose as saying, “*Miigwetch* to you all,” and then the “whole table respond[ing] with a chorus of *miigwetch*” (192). The word “*miigwetch*” is usually said at the end of feasts as a way of “giving thanks for the food, the land, the people, the gatherin’, everythin’” (Wagamese, *Keeper* 199). According to Suzack, the people gathering around the table with Moose “demonstrates the future moment of cooperation and understanding that LaDuke envisions between Indian and non-Indian peoples” (186). In my mind, *Manidookewin* is

another way that LaDuke envisions cooperation between Anishinaabe and non-Anishinaabe peoples, as her use of allusive references to feasting implies.

When LaDuke shows a member of the Marten Clan renovating the old UPS van carrying the ancestors home, she presents the idea (on a symbolic level) that the modern story-vehicle must be adapted to carry *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations about *Manitoukwe*. LaDuke develops this idea when she describes Moose renovating the van. He renovated the van by building scaffold-like “shelves that were ideal to carry the ancestors” and wrapping the “wooden boxes in wool blankets and then strap[ping] them onto the shelves so they were safe and secure” (187). In re-forming the story-vehicle, she also asks us to consider the textual grounds upon which stories are created. For example, she raises moral issues about the way western scientists violated Anishinaabe grounds when ornithologists, anthropologists, and military men “literally lift[ed] the human remains off burial scaffolds” (184). By including the work of Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, she presents opportunities for readers to consider the way western scientists created stories about so-called mixed-blood and full-blood Anishinaabe. Thus, when LaDuke includes Hrdlicka in her story, she provides opportunities for us to consider the way that western scientists created stories about the Anishinaabe by violating the Mother Creator Land. While raising critical issues about such dispiriting ways that inform western knowledge, LaDuke makes the point that *Midewiwin* teachings, *Manidookewin*, *Doodaemag*, and *Anishinaabemowin* are important for informing contemporary Anishinaabe discourse. She also includes the story about Georgette’s idea for a community museum. When LaDuke refers to Georgette’s idea about including “all the kinds of shoes Indians had worn in one hundred and fifty years” in the White Earth Museum, she alludes to the

practice of outside naming (187). The Anishinaabe are also known as Chippewa and Ojibway. These are imposed terms that relate the people to a type of footwear that distinguishes their shoes from those of others (Kahgegahbowh 22). Thus, when she explains Georgette's massive collection as including "a display of shoes, illustrating traditional shoes and social shoes from different generations," and the people laughing at her because they thought she had a "foot fetish" LaDuke playfully introduces the politics of outside naming (187). The author also asks us to consider the way Anishinaabe knowledge is informed by *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations. For example, she identifies Moose's *Doodaem* as Marten, but she also suggests that his actions demonstrate Mole *Doodaem*. Then, she shows us how *Doodaemag* function in relations with *Midewiwin* teachings, *Manidookewin*, and *Anishinaabemowin*. Thus, when she carries critical issues about the construction of knowledge into her story, LaDuke encourages us to consider the grounds upon which stories are created. In "Giiwedahn: Coming Home" she uses members of the *Midewiwin* Society and specific *Doodaemag* to reorder and rebalance relations with *Manitoukwe*, the Anishinaabe sacred ground. She also illustrates necessary methods for transforming the textual ground for the re-settlement *Midewiwin* teachings, *Doodaem* relations, *Manidookewin*, *Anishinaabemowin*, *Chibooway*, and *Nindawemeganidok*.

"this is where we stand our ground"

This textual naming *Manidookewin* acknowledges Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm's "this is where we stand our ground" as a contemporary carrier of *Midewiwin* teachings.

Akiwenzie-Damm is a member of the *Wabijeshi Doodaem* (Marten Clan) who functions

in this *Midewiwin*-like naming ceremony as a *Doodaem Gi-ma-ma-nen*. Like Marten Clan Mothers before her, she defends *Midewiwin* teachings by re-membering them to the land and All the Relations, albeit in this textual ceremony she is acknowledged as re-membering them to a *Manitoukwe*-like literary ground, *Chibooway*, and *Nindawemeganidok*. The poet shows an awareness of such *Midewiwin* teachings when she places coded references to a Mother Land in her poem. In fact, Akiwenzie-Damm shows this ancestor to be functioning like a powerful *Chibooway* who defies romanticized images of a passive Mother Earth

This writer describes herself as a mixed-ancestry Anishinaabe: she names her relations Chippewa and her Anishinaabe territory as Nawash First Nation and Neyaashiinigiming, Cape Croker Reserve on the Saugeen Peninsula (Personal). Akiwenzie-Damm also re-members her Being to a Marten Clan which she inherited from her maternal grandfather. She further explains that “my *dodem* is something I am still learning about. I am very interested in my grandfather’s *dodem* (and my grandmother’s too) and would like to learn more about them and about *dodem* in general” (Personal). Of significance to this writing project, Akiwenzie-Damm also carries a name that signifies relations with clan stories: the word *Akiwenzie* relates her to ancient male Keepers of *Doodaem* stories (McQuire 7). This Anishinaabe writer’s body of published works illustrates commitments to Anishinaabe story-keeping traditions. For example, *Without Reservation: Indigenous Erotica; skins: contemporary Indigenous writing*, *My heart is a stray bullet*, as well as her critical essays included in Canada’s first book of Indigenous literary theory *Looking at the Words of Our People*, connect her to ancient story-telling traditions. Thus, in this *Manidookewin* she is described as functioning like *Gitchikwe*

because like these ceremonial helpers she illustrates in “this is where we stand our ground” a commitment to preserving ancient teachings that relate Being to *Manitoukwe*, one of the most important Anishinaabe ancestors who is seldom acknowledged outside ceremonial circles. Akiwenzie-Damm is a writer of poetry, prose, and criticism who also reveals a commitment to keeping alive Anishinaabe story-making traditions as Managing Editor of Kagedonce Press, one of only a few Indigenous publishing houses in Canada. While Kagedonce Press does not publish only Anishinaabe books, it is fair to say that her Anishinaabe relations have significantly influenced the formation of this publishing house, as the Anishinaabe word *Kagedonce* implies.

When included as part of a textual *Midewiwin*-like naming *Manidookewin*, “this is where we stand our ground” functions as a contemporary carrier of *Midewiwin* teachings that relates the written story to the land. Illuminated in this textual ceremony, *Midewiwin* teachings provide interpretive pathways towards *Manitoukwe*, a Mother Creator Land. As this ancestor is acknowledged as part of the *Midewiwin* body of knowledge, she is conceptualized as a powerful Creative force inspiring relations. In Akiwenzie-Damm’s poem, this ancestral Spirit functions as both a politicized and Creative force that re-visions, re-calls, re-Creates, and re-settles relations. The discussion ahead also shows the land to be an important *Chibooway*, inspiring the poem with *Midewiwin* teachings about sovereignty, self-determination, and self-government that grow from relations with the land. For example, the poet calls out to “indigenous writers” and proclaims “this is our territory. this is indigenous land. / where our values, our ways of speaking, our oral traditions, our / languages, our philosophies, our concepts, our histories, our literary / traditions, our aesthetics are expressed and accepted and / honored each according to our

nations” (51-55). In the previous sentence the quoted lines show the poet calling out to Indigenous writers, not Anishinaabe writers, but Akiwenzie-Damm codes the textual body with enough references to interpret her poem as conveying Anishinaabe Spiritual teachings. Thus, in this naming ceremony, the Spiritual teachings illuminated in “this is where we stand our ground” are acknowledged as belonging to a *Midewiwin* Way.

The existence of a Mother Creator Land is one of the most important teachings that belong to a *Midewiwin* Way. Akiwenzie-Damm honors this ancestor as a Spiritual relation whom she calls into her poem as “landscape” (4), “earth” (4), “turtle island” (5), and then “land” (8). She honors this ancestor who provides a gathering ground where singers, writers, orators, and carvers stand together as “nations” (19-20). She acknowledges protocols for approaching Spiritual relations by attending to the land in a ceremonial way, singing songs and playing “music from a bone flute” (8). While one might interpret Akiwenzie-Damm’s repetition of the words “indigenous writers” as undermining the claim that this poem carries Anishinaabe Spiritual teachings, as an Anishinaabekwe critic, I have a different view. In my mind, *Midewiwin* teachings are carried into the poem as coded references that are not readily apparent to readers who do not participate in ceremonial knowledge-making circles.

Coded references to *Midewiwin* teachings become apparent to me as Akiwenzie-Damm relates her poem to the Mother Land. She creates relations between the poem and the land when she writes, “this page is my ground,” (5) and then relates the page to “ground upon which we stand” (29), “our territory,” and “our land” (51). Akiwenzie-Damm further relates the poem to a Mother Land when she describes the land as holding memories of specific nations, languages, traditions, philosophies, histories, and aesthetics

(52-55). Then when she writes about gathering the nations, she includes among those gathered her own Anishinaabe nation. In references to the nation, she connects her poem to a Mother Land that re-members specific relations, as the inclusion of the *Anishinaabe* words “mee iwih. mee minik” (58) and “kawgigeh” / “kawgigeh” (61-62) reveals. Translated into English as a certain amount and standing firm/standing ground, these words imply connections to relations, especially when joined to “our chil / dren” so they “will remember” (57-58). Akiwenzie-Damm relates the poem to *Midewiwin* teachings about a Mother Land, too, when she represent this ancestor as a powerful Creator who inspirits stories, songs, words “spoken in our voices, / in our ways, for our people” (59-60).

For me, the poem conveys *Manitoukwe* teachings because I understand the land to be a Spiritual ancestor. Akiwenzie-Damm encourages such a reading because she describes the land as burial ground that “holds bones of thought” (23) and a “landscape of grandmothers” (25) that is “like the spiritual / place that is inside each of us” (27-28). As noted in previous chapters, the land is also conceptualized as a Spiritual grandmother. Thus, when Akiwenzie-Damm relates her poem to bones, grandmothers, and a Spiritual place, I interpret the words as codes for *Manitoukwe*. The poet further encourages such a reading when she relates the land to an ancestral ground that is represented as “she” who “knows us,” “recognizes our / ancestors in us,” (32-33) and “knows our genealogy” (30-1). When Akiwenzie-Damm’s relates her contemporary poem to this ancestor, she functions like traditional clan mothers who re-member relations to the Earth. She writes, “Indigenous writers, every mark on every page is a foot firmly / planted. every story, every poem, every word given breath, is eter- / nal, imprinted into eternity. like fossil in

stone. like the moon in / the night sky: enduring” (49-52). In these lines, the literary ground is represented as being like a Mother Creator Land that is simultaneously a “meeting ground” (22), a “burial ground” (23), and a “living ground” (23). She opens interpretative pathways for acknowledging the ancestral *Manitoukwe* Spirit that lives on in relations, voices, stories, words, songs, and ceremonies when she re-members her poem to a ground that is “ancient and sacred and new” (24).

When the poet uses the words *kawgigeh kawgigeh* (61-62) coupled with the lines “through me my / ancestors speak and sing, and are given voice” (9-10), she relates her poem to literary ancestors, too. When Akiwenzie-Damm uses the words *kawgigeh kawgigeh* along with the repeated references to standing firm, standing ground, and refusing to be moved I connect her poem to Kahgegagahbowh’s *Traditional History*, the first full-length history book written by an Anishinaabe writer. Like this nineteenth century writer’s book, Akiwenzie-Damm’s poem carries *Midewiwin* teachings that live beneath the surface of the textual ground. Like Kahgegagahbowh, Akiwenzie-Damm is a self-identified member of a specific *Doodaem* responsible for attending to *Midewiwin* teachings. Thus, when I connect her poem to Kahgegagahbowh’s book, I observe this poet providing an interpretive opening of “this is where we stand our ground” as also carrying teachings about the Anishinaabe. Like Kahgegagahbowh’s book, Akiwenzie-Damm’s poem signals a literary strategy for standing firmly in her ancestral ground. Indeed, her name, like Kahgegagahbowh’s, is an important relational signifier that grounds her Being and work in ancient *Midewiwin* story-making traditions that grow from *Aki* (the Earth/land).

Because the land is connected to ancient *Midewiwin* teachings and systems of relational signification, I also interpret the presence of such teachings in Akiwenzie-Damm's poem as inspiriting Being. Thus, she relates the land to writers who stand firm, remain grounded, and refuse to be moved: "we will not be moved. we will not be muted," she writes, even "if our / stories are ignored. our tongues ripped from our throats. our poet / ry ridiculed. our mouths slapped" (32-34). Akiwenzie-Damm's Spiritual Mother ancestor is not a passive land lying silently while lines are drawn, borders are shifted, and maps changed (35-36). As *Manitoukwe*, this ancestor inspirits writers who protect her sacred grounds, like "Ipperwash, Gustafsen / Lake, Wanganui, Kahnatesake, Wounded Knee, Chiapas / Retigouche, Hawai'i Nei, Green Mountain Road, / Neyaashiinigmiing... the Black Hills, Uluru, Halawa Valley, / Nochemowenaing" (41-45). As the Spirit of a politicized Motherland, *Manitoukwe* empowers *Nindawemeganidok* to stand firm with other Indigenous relations to protect "sacred places, our homeland, our memories" (45-46). As she appears as a Spiritual ancestor in the poem, *Manitoukwe* functions, too, as a *Chibooway* that inspirits sovereignty, self-determination, and self-government.

When included with Baker, Blaeser, and LaDuke, Akiwenzie-Damm is acknowledged as functioning like a leading Anishinaabe visionary who demonstrates the ways that written English stories can carry *Midewiwin* teachings. In this naming ceremony, their contemporary storied-forms are acknowledged as including one of the most important Spiritual teachings for Being Anishinaabe. Such teachings relate Being Anishinaabe to *Midewiwin* teachings of a powerful Mother Creator Land that re-members *Manidookewin*, *Doodaemag*, *Chibooway*, and *Nindawemeganidok*. Baker literally creates a modern poem about a "Bird Clan Mother" which this naming ceremony acknowledges

as a *Benesih Doodaem* Mother, a Bird Clan Mother who relates Being ceremonially to the Earth. In ceremonies, *Doodaem Gi-ma-ma-nen* re-member *Chibooway* and *Nindawemeganidok* as relations that originate from the land. These relations convey the importance of relational balance, acknowledged in Chapter Two as *Bimaadiziwin* teachings that inspire well-being. In “Giiwedahn: Coming Home,” LaDuke literally carries members of the *Midewiwin* and *Doodaemag* into her story to reorder and rebalance relations with the Mother Land. In “Of Landscape and Narrative,” Blaeser carries into her contemporary poem a Spirited land which I acknowledge as *Manitoukwe*, a powerful Spiritual ancestor that re-members *Chibooway* and *Nindawemeganidok*. In Akiwenzie-Damm’s “this is where we stand our ground,” the Spirit of this ancestor is represented as being a powerful force that encourages solidarity among children, writers, orators, carvers, gatherers, warriors, resisters, and activists from other Indigenous nations. Considered together, these writers are acknowledged as functioning like *Doodaem Gi-ma-ma-nen*, or leading Clan Mothers who attend to the body of Anishinaabe literature to re-member stories to a Mother Creator Land. By re-membering Anishinaabe Being to teachings about *Manitoukwe*, they function like traditional Clan Mothers who re-member and relate Anishinaabe to Aki / the land. Like traditional Anishinaabe women whom I have witnessed attend to the bodies of deceased relations in preparation for the Spirit’s return to the Earth, these *Doodaem Gi-ma-ma-nen* like women prepare the body of written literature to re-member and relate it to a Mother Creator Land. In *Last Standing Woman*, LaDuke employs as one of her characters a member of the *Midewiwin* Society to explain that only women “who would bear no more children” were chosen to attend to the bodies of deceased relations, in preparations for their journey back to the Mother

Land, or *Manitoukwe* (281). Thus, as this naming ceremony relates Baker, Blaeser, LaDuke, and Akiwenzie-Damm to *Doodaem Gi-ma-ma-nen*, it illustrates through their selected work teachings about *Manitoukwe* that encourage beliefs that

[t]here are many things that we harvest and benefit from when we are on our Mother the Earth. We are blessed with life, and [we] strive to live a good life: That is our responsibility on this Earth. When our time comes, we give back to the Earth and to the Creator. Our [S]piritual being goes to the Creator, and our physical being goes to our Mother. That is our returning to our Mother, and that is how we reciprocate for the gifts of life that have been given to us during our time on Earth (281).

While LaDuke uses the words Creator and Mother to distinguish one ancestor from another, she does not use the English words to diminish one's importance in relations to the other. In fact, as noted previously, the word *Mother* in *Anishinaabemowin* relates Being to a powerful ancestor from whom our names, clans, and ceremonies originate. However, many of the oldest songs and ceremonies have been "vanquished by the missionaries years ago, so now what had once been 'common knowledge' [has] to be recalled from . . . reservations, books, and memories of the oldest people" (286).

Therefore, resuscitating teachings about *Manitoukwe* is vital for re-membering Being Anishinaabe. In the next chapter, I show Kahgegagahbowh as the first Anishinaabe writer to attach important relations to his work in written English. By attaching relations to his work, he ensured that *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* kinship systems would continue to inspire stories for re-membering Being Anishinaabe.

CHAPTER FOUR

Chibooway: Acknowledging the Spiritual Relations

Like the previous three chapters, this chapter enacts a textual *Midewiwin*-like naming *Manidookewin*. In this chapter the word *Chibooway* is used to ceremonially attend to Spiritual relations in Kahgegagahbowh's *The Traditional History*. As a critical concept, *Chibooway* illuminates representations of ancestors who inspire the story with *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations. As *Manidookewin*, this chapter relates Kahgegagahbowh to the *Mukwa Doodaem*, a system of relational signification and self-government that compelled him to protect his ancestral knowledge by grounding the teachings in written English. Kahgegagahbowh writes of very specific traditions, Keepers, ceremonies, and stories, and he makes it clear that such traditional knowledge is kept by individuals who, as D'arcy Rheault refers to them, "trace their wisdom to the [S]pirit of reality" (70). Critical interpretation can be enriched by acknowledging some of Kahgegagahbowh's stories as belonging to a body of sacred stories called *Aadizookaanak*. Such stories, according to Rheault, originated from a "vastly complex system, with built in protocols and processes" that require critics to place themselves in "an appropriate and valid epistemic context" (35). This chapter sets out to show that Kahgegagahbowh is one of the traditional leaders who re-members knowledge back to the Spirit of reality, which in an Anishinaabe context, is a *Midewiwin* Way. As noted in Chapter Two, these leaders are acknowledged as Keepers of *Doodaemag* (clans) traditions that instruct them how to pass on traditional knowledge in a *Midewiwin* Way (Spiritual).

In the pages ahead, I illustrate an interpretive approach to Kahgegagahbowh's *The Traditional History* that adheres to a textual *Midewiwin*-like naming *Manidookewin* (ceremonial way). As a critical method, a *Manidookewin* relates Kahgegagahbowh to the *Mukwa Doodaem* which compelled him to protect *Midewiwin* teachings. While this Anishinaabe writer is better known in literary circles as George Copway, this *Midewiwin*-like naming *Manidookewin* refers to him as Kahgegagahbowh, an Anishinaabe Spirit name that signifies his clan relations and responsibilities. While some readers may view his continued use of such a name as a novelty associated with nineteenth century Indian authors, this *Manidookewin* re-members the name Kahgegagahbowh to a *Midewiwin* Way and *Doodaem* systems of relational signification which he inherited from his father, a Medicine Man. According to *Midewiwin* traditions, medicine people like his father belong to a *Mukwa Doodaem*, which contemporary Bear Clan Lodge Keeper Dan Musqua relates to a "policing clan" responsible for protecting Mother Earth and attendant Spiritual teachings (33). Kahgegagahbowh provides evidence that he retained some value for such *Midewiwin Doodaem* traditions when he writes about the "special relationship" the people have with the bear whom they believe "to be a transformed being" (30). Members of this *Doodaem*, according to *Midewiwin* traditions, are expected to take a "seat at the head of the council of the nation" (140). Kahgegagahbowh makes the point that such "chiefs are the repositories of the history of their ancestors" and "those who have at all times retained a general history of their nation" (19-20). Making claims about Kahgegagahbowh without contextualizing his work in systems of relational signification like those set out in *Midewiwin Doodaem* traditions have led critics like Donald Smith to conclude that this nineteenth century writer was a fraud when he referred to himself as a

chief (“The Life of George Copway” 5). In fact, Kahgegagahbowh’s *Mukwa Doodaem* traditions distinguish him from others as a leader, a chief amongst his people. Thus, in the context of this textual *Midewiwin*-like naming *Manidookewin*, I read Kahgegagahbowh’s *The Traditional History* as protecting *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations, and his conversion to Christianity as an adaptive strategy for passing on traditional knowledge that re-members Being Anishinaabe. In acknowledging Kahgegagahbowh’s *Mukwa Doodaem* and his book as protecting *Midewiwin* teachings, this *Manidookewin* re-members his work to *Chibooway*, or relations that continue to inspire Being Anishinaabe even after they have passed to the Spirit world. This *Manidookewin* lights up representations of ancestors as *Chibooway* to shift the critical lens away from the author’s assimilative leanings. Creating a *Midewiwin*-like naming *Manidookewin* to acknowledge Kahgegagahbowh’s *The Traditional History* as protecting *Midewiwin* teachings resists interpreting his stories according to dominant Canadian and American standards in which Anishinaabe-specific stories are “given little consideration other than as interesting ethnographic artifacts” (Noori 11).³⁸

It is important to make such a distinction because most non-Anishinaabe critics contextualize their readings of Kahgegagahbowh’s books outside Anishinaabe system of signification and governance. One of Kahgegagahbowh’s biographers is Smith, a non-Anishinaabe scholar cited previously who described *The Traditional History* as one of the first books by an Indian author. Another non-Anishinaabe scholar, Cathy Rex, connected

³⁸ Penny Petrone’s *Native Literature in Canada: From the Oral Tradition to the Present* uses the words *body of literature* in relation to the “oral literature that transcends the European concepts of genre” (1). Notably, she uses this phrase to categorize all the literature produced by “Indians” who reside in Canada, and then undermines her own analysis when she argues that the “oral literatures must be approached from the religious, social, and literary traditions that influence them” (5). Petrone’s usage of the word *literatures* rather than *literature* acknowledges that “Canada’s Indian peoples . . . do not share a common literary history” (9), however, by attempting to contain culture-specific stories in the “literature of Canada’s native people,” she suffocates our distinct literary traditions.

her reading of *The Traditional History* to the concept of “a unified Ojibwe nation that exists in time, place, and space” (6). This chapter builds on conventional analyses, like those produced by Smith and Rex, by ceremoniously re-settling the author’s work within a *Midewiwin* Way and *Doodaem* systems of signification because Kahgegagahbowh’s literary remains have been dug-up, up-rooted, dis-membered, analyzed, measured, and then boxed into theoretical frames that (for the most part) have ignored his own Anishinaabe systems of signification. A ceremonial approach lights up *The Traditional History* as the earliest full-length book by an Anishinaabe author who attached to his stories in written English representations of relations that carry *Midewiwin* teachings. The most compelling evidence for reading *The Traditional History* as protecting *Midewiwin* teachings is the author’s usage of the words *Ojibway nation* in the book’s original title, manifestations of nationalistic pride, references to the *Midewiwin* Ceremony, inclusion of *Midewiwin* teachings that governed his research, continued reliance on *Anishinaabemowin*, usage of a traditional name, references to *Bimaadiziwin* teachings, and attachment of *Chibooway* to his stories.

The original title of his book coupled with a declaration that he intends to provide a traditional history of his nation compel me to read *The Traditional History* as protecting important teachings for Being Anishinaabe.³⁹ The edition used in this study is a revised version of the 1850 publication reprinted by Prospero Books in 2001. However, this book was originally published as *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation* (London, 1850; Boston, 1851) and later republished as *Indian Life and Indian History* (1858), thus effacing Kahgegagahbowh’s Anishinaabe relations and

³⁹ Kahgegagahbowh uses the word *Ojibway* to name his own people, but I use the word *Anishinaabe* when not using quoted material.

Spiritual traditions. That the word *traditional* is included as part of the original title implies that the author included beliefs or customs handed from one generation to another that contributed to the development of his nation. Furthermore, he declares his intentions to provide a “sketch of [his] nation’s history, describing its home, its country, and its peculiarities” (v). Throughout his book, he uses first-person pronouns that signify a connection between his writing practice and the Spirit of his nation which manifests nationalistic pride. For example, he refers to “my nation” (42), and repeatedly notes Anishinaabe naming for person, places, or things in clauses like “we say” (125), “we convey” (125), “we call” (164, 166), and other such instances. Using first person pronouns for Anishinaabe relations connects his work to a system of signification, but he frequently moves outside this system, too, in his use of third person pronouns. For example, he uses third person references in relation to “Their legendary stories and historical tales,” “Their language and their writings,” “Their government,” and “Their religious belief” in some of the chapter titles. However, I interpret this shift as Kahgegahbowh’s conforming to literary conventions which Lawrence Gross remarks require distant non-personal observations (“Comic” 436). Kahgegahbowh makes it very clear, in fact, that the representations of country, forms of play, exercises, legendary stories, historical tales, language, writing, government, and religious beliefs have grown out of an ancient system of knowledge which he connects to a *Midewiwin* Way (95). By including traditional forms of knowledge like the *Midewiwin* Way in his stories, Kahgegahbowh protected them from passing away when he wrote *The Traditional History*.

Kahgegahbowh's manifestation of nationalistic pride shows that he wrote *The Traditional History* to protect *Midewiwin* teachings from passing away. The author's nationalistic pride is evident in the preface when he describes the "history of the Ojibway . . . treasured up in a traditionary lore" (ix). Then, in "Plays and exercises" he writes about hearing a man speaking of the "Chippeways" as a manly, noble race and then feeling proud "to hear such an assertion made by an enlightened American" (54). Pride in his nation is also apparent when he speaks out against paternalistic references to his people. In fact, he reasons that his people's knowledge is comparable to "ancient Greece" (53). The comparison to ancient Greece manifests national pride, at least to some degree, and it suggests that he values his own civilization. Kahgegahbowh's nationalistic pride is apparent, too, when he writes about the laws of his nation which were "enacted with a view to the health of its subjects" (53). In the previous example, his nationalistic pride is connected to his people's valuation of well-being. In fact, he explains that the nation's laws also "obliged the people to engage in . . . exercises [so] that they might inherit strong constitutions" (53). What he meant by inheriting strong constitutions is contextualized in the chapter titled "Their government." Here, his nationalistic pride is manifested in his descriptions of the runners who inherited strong constitutions and were selected to serve traditional leaders. For example, he writes with nationalistic pride about a runner named John Soper who served his father, a traditional leader and medicine man (142). Then again, in "Their language and writings," he proudly writes about a runner who as a "special messenger" carried picture representations for traditional leaders like his father (139). Picture representations are pictographs that record *Doodaem* traditions as part of a *Midewiwin* Way for which he maintains very strong feelings (132). For example,

he remembers some people referring to the *Midewiwin* Ceremony as an “absurd worship or belief,” and their criticism enflames his nationalistic pride (138). In response to such criticism, he becomes defensive of *Midewiwin* traditions, and he raises the rhetorical question, “[w]hy do we have these traditions represented in picture records, and transmitted from one generation to another?” (138). He adds, “[m]any think we cannot keep the words or tradition longer than one hundred years. We have the tradition of the flood; the organization of the medicine worship . . . originating as it did by the introduction of disease in the [E]arth” (138). Such references to *Midewiwin* traditions, pictographs, antiquity, Spirituality, and origin manifest a nationalistic pride which this *Manidookewin* connects to Kahgegagahbowh’s continued valuation of *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations.

Kahgegagahbowh’s nationalistic pride is also apparent in his descriptions of *Midewiwin* philosophical principles that enrich the nation’s government. These principles are included in “[c]ustoms handed down from generation to generation” (144). Such traditional practices “have been the only laws to guide them,” he explains (144). Kahgegagahbowh also makes the point that “[e]very one might act different from what was considered right did he choose to do so, but such acts would bring upon him the censure of the nation, which he dreaded more than any corporal punishment that could be inflicted upon him” (144). When Kahgegagahbowh writes about an individual’s right to govern their own lives, he refers indirectly to principles associated with a form of self-government. Johnston relates this form of government to soul-Spirit and clans. He explains that Anishinaabe society was based upon relationships that preserved one’s “personal freedom to grow in soul-Spirit and in accordance with the world” (*Heritage*

79). As McQuire explains, such relations are based upon *Doodaem* kinship which originates from the land (1). Kahgegagahbowh writes proudly about customs being handed down through the generations, and thus this *Manidookewin* acknowledges that he connects such traditions to sophisticated *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* systems which he seems to value.

Another reason for viewing *The Traditional History* as protecting *Midewiwin* teachings is Kahgegagahbowh's numerous references to the history of the ceremony, as well as his descriptions of his initiation into the *Midewiwin*, a traditional gathering that institutionalizes *Doodaem* relations and fosters Anishinaabe well-being (169). Kahgegagahbowh explains that his people believed the Great Spirit gave them this ceremony (175). Fellow nineteenth-century Anishinaabe writer William Warren supports Kahgegagahbowh's assertion. According to Warren, the *Midewiwin* is the oldest and most important Anishinaabe ceremony that originates from a time "when the Earth was new" (17). Benton-Banai also supports Kahgegagahbowh's assertion: he explains that the Creator provided this ceremony to teach the Anishinaabe how to acquire Spiritual knowledge for balancing their physical lives (74). However, most of the records associated with this important ceremony were forced underground during the height of Christian proselytism. In "Their language and writings," he writes about three places near Lake Superior "where the sacred records are deposited" (130). According to Kahgegagahbowh, these records "written on slate-rock, copper, lead, and on the bark of birch-trees" contain a "code of moral laws" that document "a path made by the Great Spirit" for the Anishinaabe after the great flood (132). He also explains that the "records contain certain emblems which transmit the ancient form of worship" (132) named the

Medicine Worship (175). He connects himself to Keepers of this ceremonial way and guardians of the records when he explains that in the spring of 1836 the “chief of Lac Coart, Oreille, (‘Moose Tail,’) . . . related to my uncle John Taunchey . . . an account of one of these depositories” (133). As the previous sentence suggests, Kahgegahbowh was among a chosen few who were informed about “a great many facts respecting these sacred depositories of which most of [his] brethren are ignorant” (132-33). In “Their religious belief,” he writes about the *Mide* Ceremony, and he declares that it was a privilege (167) to be initiated into the “the mysterious ordeal” (169). He also remembers fondly being taught as a young boy the *Mide* rituals and experiencing dream-visions (129). He emphasizes, too, that the “Ojibway place much dependence upon dreams [and] fasting” as a means for earning the good will of Spirits and gods to achieve well-being (154). He also describes Keepers of Medicine, like his father, as having gifts that were to be acknowledged in the celebration of the *Midewiwin* (80). He makes it known that he values *Midewiwin* rituals, too, when he recalls that some people “smoke[d] the pipe of peace when their hearts were not right” (86). The above examples suggest, at least to some extent, that he valued *Midewiwin* traditions: indeed, he acknowledges Spiritual things with “great awe” (131) and the records as “sacred” (130).

Another reason to view *The Traditional History* as protecting *Midewiwin* teachings from passing away is the author’s inclusion of rules that governed his research. In “Their origin, or course of migration according to their traditions,” he explains that his research was governed by chiefs who are the carriers of their ancestors’ history (19). Then in “Their Legendary Stories and Historical Tales,” he writes about leading individuals who passed on knowledge as part of their listening traditions (96). Listening traditions are

connected to *Bzindaamowin* teachings which, according to Kahgegagahbowh, are “approved by the oldest chiefs and wise men” (19). Warren notes that Anishinaabe chiefs or leading men belonged to a “national council” originating from *Doodaemag* (25). As noted in Chapter Two, *Doodaemag* were governed according to a *Midewiwin* Way. Thus, I connect the rules that governed Kahgegagahbowh’s research to a *Midewiwin* Way, which he seemed to view as a viable method for passing on knowledge. According to Warren, *Midewiwin* knowledge “has been kept up for ages, [and] finds no other parallel in the history of mankind” (19). This is an important point because Kahgegagahbowh connects rules that governed his research to traditional leaders who retained and authenticated *Midewiwin* knowledge. Then, in the preface, he specifically states that he wrote *The Traditional History* to prevent such knowledge from passing away (vi).

In the story, “The Long Chase” he illustrates how such rules (which I read as *Midewiwin* teachings) might be contextualized in community relations. In this story, he writes about ongoing battles between the Ojibway and the Iroquois, and he illustrates how rules that governed his research might be viewed in the context of camp relations. In this story, “according to an ancient custom [a young girl] . . . was leading a solitary life [prior] to becoming a Mother” (104). During the night, she observes a number of Iroquois warriors on the outskirts of camp, and she passes on the information to Buffalo and Crane clan warriors who devise a plan to set out after them (104). After a ferocious battle, two Iroquois are taken prisoners, and their fate is decided by an aged warrior and members of an assembly. Before the assembly, the Elder warrior reasons that the prisoner should be freed because he could “tell their people of our power, and that our warriors are as numerous as the stars of the northern sky” (107). In presenting this story,

Kahgegahbowh recounts ancient customs, traditional methods for passing on knowledge, Buffalo and Crane *Doodaemag* functions, and an aged warriors' assembly which I interpret as belonging to a *Midewiwin* Way and *Doodaem* systems that he protected from passing away.

The writer's use of his originating language to enrich the construction of *The Traditional History* is another reason for reading his book as protecting *Midewiwin* teachings. He describes the "Ojibway" language as "the most widely spoken of any [language] in North America" (123), and he boasts of its "wide-spreading influence" in relations with other nations (124). The language is spoken by so many, he writes, that a "person might have traveled nearly one thousand miles from the head of Lake Superior, and yet not journey from the sound of this dialect" (123). These comments suggest that Kahgegahbowh may have used *Anishinaabemowin* in the creation of his text because he had a deeply Spiritual appreciation for the qualities "which few other languages possess" (124). In fact, he relates the qualities of his language to "the peculiarities of the country in which it is spoken" (127), and he declares that "[a]fter reading the English language" he found words in his own language that were more expressive than English ones (124). From such comparisons, he forms the opinion that many words in his own language "lose their force" when translated into English because the settlers' language does "not convey so much meaning in one sentence as the original does in one word" (124-25). For example, he explains that "[i]t would require an almost infinitude of English words to describe a thunder-storm," and even then one would "have but a feeble idea of it" (125). The language is a natural one, he explains, that imitates the sounds of "animals, birds and trees" (126). He also claims that his own language has not been

“reduced” to a written form because the English language cannot accommodate the complexities of his own oral language (127). Acknowledging Kahgegagahbowh’s use of his own language, I can almost envision his “fine commanding figure” (Smith 36), and hear his voice filling the “forest with the music” of his language, “loud as the roar of a waterfall, yet soft and wooing as the gentle murmur of a mountain stream” (Kahgegagahbowh 127). The examples included in this paragraph seem to suggest that he had very strong feelings about the importance of his own language. I interpret his feelings as being Spiritually-related to the land and, therefore, *Midewiwin Doodaemag* traditions. In my mind, such strong feelings compelled him to protect *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations from passing away by submerging them in written English.

Often throughout the book he uses his own language in addition to English to enrich his prose. Sometimes he privileges his own language by placing Anishinaabe words before English counterparts. For example, when he describes a prominent place he names it first *Pantonogoshene* and then in brackets “(Falling-Sand Bay)” (5). When he speaks of one of their chiefs he names him *Ke-che-waub-e-shash* and then provides the English name, Big Martin (63). Other times, he uses *Anishinaabemowin* without translating to provide a possible meaning in English. For example, in the preface he inserts his traditional name, *Kahgegagahbowh*, without giving an English translation. At still other times, as in the glossary, he uses Anishinaabe words to follow English words such as “hoot owl, *o-o-me-she*; owl, *koo-koo-ko-ooh*; river, *see-be*; and rapids, *sah se-je-won*” (126). The inclusion of glossed words as well as hieroglyphics (127-28) are further encouragement to read his work as motivated by deeply Spiritual feelings about his own language, especially since picture writing is connected to a *Midewiwin* Way and a

Doodaem system of relational signification. However, readings of *The Traditional History* that focus on his colonized mind rather than the importance of Spiritual traditions and clan relations, handed from one generation to another, risk ignoring something central to his work.

In my mind the most convincing evidence that he wrote his book to protect *Midewiwin* Spiritual teachings is the author's continued use of Kahgegagahbowh, a traditional Anishinaabe name. It is the most convincing evidence because traditional Anishinaabe names signify connections to specific *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaemag* relations. *Mide* teacher and ceremonialist, Benton-Banai explains that traditional names are derived from ceremonial traditions and medicine visionaries who petition Spiritual ancestors (9). Seeking a name, he explains, involves periods of "fasting, meditation, prayer, or dreaming" because visionaries who are petitioned to provide names select one from previous relations who have passed into the Spirit world (9). According to this *Mide* teacher, after a period of dreaming and fasting "the Spirit World might speak to the medicine person and give a name In this way[,] the Spirit World comes to accept and recognize" the person being named (9). For this reason, the Spirits do not recognize those without a name as a relation, Benton-Banai explains. By continuing to use his traditional name, Kahgegagahbowh ensures that "the Spirit world and all past relatives watch over and protect him" (9). Johnston also explains that continued relations with Spiritual ancestors are essential for acquiring a traditional name. For the learned Elder namer, acquiring a name requires ceremonial preparations, meditative contemplation, and visionary dreaming. A name, he makes clear, is "not merely an appellation or a term of address" for the giving of a name is related to one's identity "at the time it was bestowed;

merging later into reputation” (*Ceremonies* 15). Johnston emphasizes “the namer’s task was not a light matter. Not only did the namer have to give a name, but he [or she] had also, by virtue of being a namer, [to] assume certain responsibilities for the child” (15). Thus, as Kahgegagahbowh continued to use his traditional name, he continued to contextualize his Being in a specific *Midewiwin* Spiritual tradition and community of *Doodaem* relations. In fact, the name Kahgegagahbowh (which means to stand firm) socialized and politicized his Being in a specific *Mukwa Doodaem* that compelled him to protect the *Midewiwin* Way.

Allusions to *Bimaadiziwin* which appear frequently throughout his book are further encouragements to read his book as protecting *Midewiwin* teachings. *Bimaadiziwin*, according to Gross, is a belief and practice based on relational well-being (“*Bimaadiziwin*” 16). Therefore, when Kahgegagahbowh writes about viewing himself “as a small speck upon the broad face of creation,” I interpret his words as preserving *Midewiwin* teachings about relational well-being (18). A small speck upon the earth in relation to broader Creation implies that Kahgegagahbowh viewed himself as part of a *Midewiwin* Way, exemplified in the stories of origin in Chapter Two. Another example that illustrates *Bimaadiziwin* teachings appears in Kahgegagahbowh’s comments included in the preface. He explains that he wrote *The Traditional History* to “induce the pale-face to use greater effort to effect an improvement in their [the Anishinaabe’s] social and political relations,” which I read as a strategy to protect his people’s well-being (v). Likewise when he writes about the “fear of the nation’s censure [which] acted as a mighty band, binding all in one social, honourable compact” his comments seem to suggest that he wants to preserve *Bimaadiziwin* teachings (144). In my mind, the words

fear of the nation's censure allude to an individual stepping out of systems of relational signification grounded in a *Midewiwin* Way which fosters *Bimaadiziwin*. Additionally, when he writes that the Anishinaabe “would not as brutes be whipped into duty. They would as men be persuaded to the right,” he makes an allusion to principles that govern *Midewiwin* teachings that foster *Bimaadiziwin*, which he clearly values over Euro-Christian methods of education as he had seen them at work (144). Thus, I read Kahgegahbowh’s concern for his people’s well-being as originating from *Midewiwin* *Doodaem* traditions that foster *Bimaadiziwin*. Along with his continued use of a traditional name, reliance on his own language in addition to English, and inclusion of rules that governed his research, *Bimaadiziwin* teachings provide important interpretive pathways for reading his book as conveying *Midewiwin* teachings. Moreover, using the word *traditional* as part of the title for his original book signals an important interpretive direction which this *Manidookewin* connects to *Doodaem Midewiwin* teachings protected beneath the textual ground.

Kahgegahbowh protected *Midewiwin* teachings by adapting a writing strategy that attaches Anishinaabe relations to his stories as ancestors who carry *Midewiwin* teachings. Johnston provides a context for literary strategies that attach Anishinaabe relations to stories as ancestors when he writes “[i]t is not enough to listen or read or to understand the truths contained in stories: according to the [E]lders the truths must be lived out and become a part of the [B]eing of a person. The search for truth and wisdom ought to lead to fulfillment of man and woman” (*Heritage* 7). In *The Traditional History*, Kahgegahbowh passes on truths contained in stories by representing relations as ancestral carriers of *Midewiwin* teachings that encourage well-being. These ancestors

include a Mother and Father Creator, Thunder Birds, Star Beings and other Spirits who reside in the skies, forests, lakes, streams, rocky cliffs, craggy mountains, water-falls, winds, and stars. When Anishinaabe relations are carried into stories as representations of ancestors, they function as *Chibooway* who inspirits stories with *Midewiwin* teachings that relate Being the land.

Thus following the writing practice of Anishinaabe visionaries like Winona LaDuke (*Mukwa Doodaem*), Edward Benton-Banai (*Geghoon Doodaem*), and Johnston (*Daebaujemoot*), this *Manidookewin* attends ceremonially to *Chibooway* who light up important *Midewiwin* teachings for Being Anishinaabe. For example, in *Last Standing Woman* LaDuke uses the word “*jiibayag*” to refer to the northern lights which the Anishinaabe view as “ancestors and those who have passed on” (74). In *The Mishomis Book*, Benton-Banai uses the word “*gee-baw’-ug*” to mean Spirits, and he connects these ancestors to the Western Doorway and the setting sun (25). In *Ojibway Heritage*, *Anishinaabe Thesaurus*, and *The Manitous* Johnston provides a context for the use of the word *Chibooway* to represent Spiritual ancestors in his discussion of the related words *Chibowmun* and *Cheeby-aub-oozoo*. In the first book, he uses the word *Chibowmun* in a story of reCreation, and he describes it as a substance emanating from one’s soul-Spirit, or “[C]heejauk” (15). In the second book, he provides a context for the word *Cheeby-aub-oozoo* by offering a brief story. According to his story, *Cheeby-aub-oozoo* is the third son born to Aepungishimook and Winonah. *Cheeby-aub-oozoo* is also the brother of Nanabush, an Anishinaabe ancestor mis-represented in most critical studies of Anishinaabe literature as a trickster without relations. However, one of his relations is “*Cheeby-aub-oozoo* [who] obtained the drum for the Anishinaubae people and

established the traditions of dream quests, music, changing, composition, communication with the manitous, and sacred rituals” (16). In Johnston’s third book, *Cheeby-aub-oozoo* is represented as a Manitou, in other words, an “*ogimauh*, or leader of the Underworld” (49). While some readers may associate the word *underworld* with an end to life, I interpret the word to mean a place of rejuvenation and Spiritual life that continues to have relevance for Being, especially because the *Midewiwin* sacred records were placed under the ground. Based on my interpretation of the related words *jiibayag*, *gee-baw’-ug*, *cheebowmun*, and *Cheeby-aub-oozoo*, then, I use the word *Chibooway* to refer to Anishinaabe ancestral carriers of *Midewiwin* teachings that continue to inspire stories written in English.⁴⁰ As this study represents Spirit as an essence that energizes Anishinaabe Being from ongoing interconnected relations that originate from a Mother and Father Creator, the word *Chibooway* is used to attend ceremonially to those relations who reside in otherworldly places and continue to inspire Being.

As noted above, Johnston connects *Cheeby-aub-oozoo* to the first Anishinaabe who “communicate[d] with the manitous” and sacred places, dreams, and vision quests (*The Manitous* 49). He further explains that *Cheeby-aub-oozoo* is “credited with bequeathing music, dreams quests, and chanting petitions akin to biblical psalms” (49). Thus, the word *Chibooway* acknowledges ceremoniously relations that appear in Kahgegagahbowh’s stories representing “the supernatural as part of every life” (49). Kahgegagahbowh explains that the “[E]arth teemed with all sorts of [S]pirits, good and bad; those of the forest clothed themselves with moss,” and that thousands of Spirits are “sheltered in a flower” during a summer rain (153). To show how *Chibooway* function as

⁴⁰ Dr. King suggested that the word *Chibooway* may also remind people of the stench of death and therefore most speakers avoid using it to refer to Spiritual ancestors.

ancestors who inspire Being, the following discussion attends ceremonially to Spiritual relations represented in Kahgegagahbowh.

In “Their Religious Belief” and “Their Legendary Stories and Historical Tales,” Kahgegagahbowh connects stories to ancestors and Spiritual traditions that inspire well-being. For example, he includes an untitled story about a young girl named Shah-won-aqua and a story about the Medicine Worship as part of the chapter on religious beliefs to signal their sacred status. Other stories of a secular nature appear as amusing, historical, and moral legends and tales that “have an important bearing on the character of the children of our nation” (96-97). However, according to Kahgegagahbowh, stories included in both sacred and secular genres adhere to traditional protocols that require petitioners of stories to approach callers of Spiritual ancestors in a ceremonial way. For example, in “The Star and the Lily,” taken from the chapter on legends and tales, Kahgegagahbowh describes “[a]n old chieftain” who was petitioned with “numerous offerings of tobacco” by a group of children wanting a story (97). As Kahgegagahbowh’s comments suggest, the children offered tobacco as a protocol for acknowledging the story-teller’s connections to Spiritual teachings. What he does not make clear is that when the story-teller accepts the gift of tobacco, he agrees to abide by *Midewiwin* principles of *Daebwewin* and *Bimaadiziwin* that govern dissemination of Anishinaabe Spiritual knowledge. Nevertheless, by including references to ceremonial tobacco offering, Kahgegagahbowh connects story-making traditions to *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations which become protected in his story in written English. Such traditional forms of knowledge are protected because, as Armand Ruffo suggests,

Anishinaabe stories contain “an elaborate system of coding which subsumes a complex body of information” not readily available to outsiders (“Inside” 163).

The first Anishinaabe relation Kahgegagahbowh includes in his book is the land. Following *Midewiwin* teachings, he represents the land in specific places as a powerful ancestral force inspirited in Nature, a transformed star, a *Nokomis*-like first mother, a traditional Mother, and a visionary young girl. In “Their Country,” he illustrates the way that *Midewiwin* teachings influence his writing practice when he attends to the “mountains, rivers, lakes, cliffs, and caverns” as a child of Nature. In this story, he also provides a glimpse of *Midewiwin* teachings that conceptualize relations with the land as Spiritual Mother. Then, in “Their Religious Belief,” he acknowledges Nature as a Spiritual ancestor “clothed in mystery” and connected to a chain of heavenly Spirits (130). He also carries important *Midewiwin* teachings about the land as a relation in “The Star and the Lily” and “The Two Cousins,” as well as in an untitled story about the significance of dreams and the Medicine Worship.

In “The Two Cousins,” Kahgegagahbowh includes a *Nokomis*-like ancestor, who according to *Midewiwin* teachings, is acknowledged as the Anishinaabe’s first mother. For example, he represents an old woman who functions like *Nokomis* when she interacts with her “*Noo-se-se-took*,” or grandchildren (114). Like *Nokomis*, she also passes on to her grandchildren *Midewiwin* teachings about living a good life, and her *Noo-se-se-took* demonstrate *Midewiwin* protocols for listening to learned Elders. However, when she tells them that “I have called these two young women from the south. . . . [and] put them by your sides that they may be your companions,” the “*Noo-se-se-took*” appear to have mixed feelings about the old woman’s plans for them (115). One of her grandsons said

that he would rather leave his grandmother's home. "The other said that if they left, there would be no one to supply their aged grandmother, and they finally agreed to remain in the wigwam and pay no regard to the newcomers" (115). Their decision to stay and care for the old lady illustrates *Midewiwin* teachings about responsibilities to *Nokomis*, the Anishinaabe's Mother. Their decision to ignore the young women shows them to be enacting *Midewiwin* teachings that advocate individual rights. Similarly, when the aged grandmother reminds the young men that "the nation to which they belonged held a fast, and that she wanted them to fast that they might become good hunters" she functions like *Nokomis* by conveying *Midewiwin* teachings about ritual fasting for the development of the Spirit (113). Some readers might be tempted to interpret Kahgegagahbowh's use of the terms *grandmother/old lady* rather than *Nokomis* as evidence that he began to disassociate from systems of relational signification. However, I interpret Kahgegagahbowh's use of the term *Noo-se-se-took*, as well as his reference to the grandsons' decision to stay and care for their aged grandmother, as a literary strategy for passing on *Midewiwin* teachings about *Nokomis* to future generations. According to *Midewiwin* teachings, *Nokomis* is one of the most revered ancestors because she relates Being to the land. Thus, when Kahgegagahbowh includes representations of this important ancestor, he shows her to be a *Chibooway* who continues inspiring his stories in written English.

Kahgegagahbowh places coded allusions about the importance of *Midewiwin* women's teachings in a chapter titled "Their Religious Belief." Carried into written English by a traditional Mother and her young daughter named Shah-won-a-quah, *Midewiwin* women's teachings are both preserved and protected. For example, the writer

preserves such teachings when he explains that Shah-won-a-quā spoke only to the Mother during her quest and then returned home with her immediately after her fast. Her actions illustrate *Midewiwin* traditions for women's Spiritual questing. Such traditions become clearer when the Mother is viewed within *Midewiwin Doodaem* relations as a descendent of *Nokomis*. In accordance with such traditions, the young girl's Mother assumes greater significance because she is viewed as a descendent of a powerful Mother Creator from whom all Being originates. Kahgegagahbowh protects such teaching by including them in his book about the nation. Thus, he passes on stories about this powerful Mother Creator by including references to Shah-won-a-quā's mother who literally carried the *Midewiwin* visionary woman in her womb.⁴¹

Kahgegagahbowh representations of Shah-won-a-quā illuminate her *Midewiwin* significance. For example, he represents her as a seeker of visions, a relation who originates from the south, and a carrier of *Benesih Doodaem* teachings. Kahgegagahbowh explains that Shah-won-a-quā hoped to acquire Spiritual knowledge about medicinal plants for community wellness, and therefore she adhered to protocols like fasting, dreaming, and visioning "to ask the favour of the gods" (154). During the first ten days of her fast, she is visited in dreams by numerous Spirits. In one dream a young warrior appears whom she addresses as the son of "unseen [S]pirits of the earth" (158). From this Spirit visitor she asks for knowledge of medicines that will "prolong the lives of the aged who live among us" (158). In another dream vision, numerous birds visit Shah-won-a-quā, among them was an Eagle and a Robin, as well as a group of Blue Jays and Humming Birds (161). Knowing that the *Midewiwin Way* is a Spiritual pathway towards

⁴¹ That Kahgegagahbowh protected this story is evident in Wagamese's *Keeper*. In this book, she appears as Soo-wanee-quay, a Spirit associated with the power of women. However, Wagamese describe the word as originating from a Cree Sweat Lodge ceremony.

Bimaadiziwin and the *Benesih Doodaem* are the acknowledged carriers of *Midewiwin* teachings provides some context for this story. For example, when Kahgegagahbowh includes the story of Shah-won-a-quah in a chapter titled “Their Religious Belief,” he seems to suggest that he values as sacred *Midewiwin* teachings and *Benesih Doodaem* traditions that she carried. While some might interpret his use of the word *their* as undermining the claim that he valued *Midewiwin* teachings, I interpret his writing practice as adapting to literary historical conventions of objectivity. In fact, he offers further evidence that he valued the young visionary woman’s teachings when he writes about seeing Shah-won-a-quah in 1842 and listening “with deep interest to her relation of the dreams of her childhood” (164). In fact, he even includes *Midewiwin* protocols for attending to such visionary women when he explains that he offered Shah-won-a-quah “a few wild ducks . . . and a yard of scarlet cloth” (164). That Kahgegagahbowh presents Shah-won-a-quah with a red cloth, a fabric which he describes as “esteemed very highly by the Indian women,” suggests that *Midewiwin* visionaries, traditional protocols, and Spiritual teachings made an early impression upon his mind (164). Furthermore, by recounting the story about Spiritual Birds appearing to Shah-won-a-quah in a dream, he protects from passing away *Benesih Doodaem* women’s traditions like Spiritual questing, dreaming, and fasting. Finally, when Kahgegagahbowh attaches Shah-won-a-quah and her Mother to his story, he re-settles them into the textual ground as relations who function as carriers of *Midewiwin* teachings.

Representing Anishinaabe female relations as originating from the South is another literary strategy that Kahgegagahbowh employs to protect *Midewiwin Manitoukwe* teachings. According to Johnston and Benton-Banai, the South is a place symbolically

associated with re-birth, re-growth, and rejuvenation. According to *Midewiwin* teachings, this place is also the resting place for birds. Birds are the totem for the *Benesih Doodaem*, a clan charged with carrying Anishinaabe Spiritual teachings. Thus, I interpret Kahgegagahbowh's representations of women originating from the South as a literary strategy for ensuring the rebirth, regrowth, and rejuvenation of his mother's *Midewiwin Benesih Doodaem*. He describes his mother's *Doodaem* as the Eagle Clan in *The Life, Letters, and Speeches of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh or, G. Copway, Chief Ojibway Nation* (72).

Another significant Anishinaabe relation that appears carrying *Midewiwin* teachings is *Ke-sha-mon-e-doo* (also represented throughout as *Gitchi Manitou* and *Keshamonedoo*). According to *Midewiwin* traditions, Kahgegagahbowh describes this relation as an ancestral Ruler, a Benevolent Spirit, a Great Spirit, and a Great Mystery. That he continues to respect this relation as *Midewiwin* ancestor is evident in his words, "there is one Ruler whom we call *Ke-sha-mon-e-doo*" (164). That he uses the word *we* in connection to *Ke-sha-mon-e-doo* signifies an interesting departure from writing conventions that seek objectivity, which I interpret as his acknowledgement of a continuing connection to *Midewiwin* traditions. Kahgegagahbowh provides evidence for us to read *Ke-sha-mon-e-doo* as a Spiritual Being connected to *Midewiwin* traditions when he relates this ancestor to the Sun. He writes, "[t]he sun is the wigwam of the Great Sprit, and it is as the abode of this being that the Indian view that luminary" (165). Because of the Sun's relations with the Anishinaabe, *Ke-sha-mon-e-doo* is acknowledged as an ancient *Doodaem Chibooway* connected to medicine and healing. Kahgegagahbowh explains that "medicine bag[s] contained all those native things of the forest around which. . . the greatest mystery gathered; as the more of mystery, the more the Great Spirit

seemed to be attached” (130). He also connects *Ke-sha-mon-e-doo* to *Midewiwin* traditions when he relates this Spiritual Being to water, which according to *Midewiwin* traditions, is the life-blood of Mother Earth (Benton-Banai 2). Kahgegagahbowh relates *Ke-sha-mon-e-doo* to a specific body of water which he names the place of the Great Spirit or “*Ke-che-gumme*” (6). He describes this place as “the most remarkable of all lakes, not merely on account of its size, but on account of the . . . almost innumerable traditions related of it and its borders. Every point of land, every bay of water has its legendary story to tell, and it is this that renders Lake Superior superior to all others” (6-7). Like Kahgegagahbowh, Benton-Banai relates Lake Superior to the place of ancient ancestors and the heartland of traditional territory. He describes it as the place from which the Great Spirit’s ancient messengers emerged carrying *Midewiwin* teachings for the clans (Benton-Banai 78). Therefore, when Kahgegagahbowh relates *Ke-che-gumme* to the place of a Great Spirit, he remembers into his story *Midewiwin* teachings about *Ke-sha-mon-e-doo*, a Ruler, a Benevolent Spirit, and a Great Mystery.

Kahgegagahbowh also attaches to one of his stories *Ah-ne-me-keeg* (Thunders), or Thunder Birds who carry *Midewiwin* teachings. In the story titled “The Thunder’s Nest” Kahgegagahbowh conveys *Midewiwin* teachings about the Thunder Birds as powerful ancestral protectors. He illustrates such teachings in a mortal battle between an aged warrior and “a great bird” (110). According to this story, the shadow of a great bird passed above the warrior, and in a moment carried him far away to a high hill (110). Flying close to a hill, the bird attempted to smash the warrior’s body against the rock, “but the old Indian so placed his spear that he was not injured in the least degree. At length he was thrown upon the place where [other] young birds were. [The warrior] heard

fierce[,] muttering thunder overhead, and [he] found himself left to the mercy of the wild birds” (110). Thus, he struggled to overcome the Thunder Birds. During battle, the old warrior feels the Thunder Birds’ powers “[w]henver they winked, [at which time] a flash of lightning would pass from their eyes, and scorch him so severely as to burn his hands and face” (110). However, the warrior eventually gained mastery over the young Thunder Birds. So, he killed one of them and wrapped himself in the young Thunder Bird’s skin (111). In the young bird’s skin, the old warrior rolled down the rocks as the feathers flashed with fire (111). After descending about halfway down the precipice, he felt “the skin in which he was bound bore him on its wings, and after a long flight, alighted with him near the spot from whence he was taken” (111).

As this *Manidookewin* re-members “The Thunder’s Nest” to *Midewiwin* traditions, the Thunder Beings are acknowledged as ancient Bird *Chibooway* who impart *Benesih Doodaem* teachings. Benton-Banai’s story, entitled “Waynaboozhoo and the Search for His Father,” provides a context such *Midewiwin* teachings when he, too, represents the Thunder Beings as *Ani-mi-keeg*, carriers of powerful medicine. This *Mide* teacher’s inclusion of the Thunder Beings in a story about Original Man’s Spiritual quest for knowledge about his beginnings offers interpretive pathways for reading Kahgegagahbowh’s story. In the *Mide* teacher’s story, the Thunder Beings function as ancestral protectors for Waynaboozhoo as he sets out on a quest to find his father in the West (40-42). In Kahgegagahbowh’s story, the Thunder Bird also appears as a Being that empowers a warrior. For example, Kahgegagahbowh describes the young warrior as wrapping himself in the bird’s skin and then growing wings that help him journey home. According to my own family stories that carry such *Midewiwin* teachings, *Ni’capan*

Qwewich is represented as a ceremonial caller of the Spirits of Thunder, and thus he is acknowledged within *Midewiwin* teachings as Rolls of Thunder. Thus, when Kahgegagahbowh specifically includes a story titled, “The Thunder’s Nest” in his book, I interpret such an inclusion as an adaptive strategy for protecting important *Midewiwin* traditions that represent Thunder Birds as a sub-group of the *Benesih Doodaemag*, carriers of *Midewiwin* teachings.

Like the Thunder Birds, the Stars function as *Chibooway* who inspirit Kahgegagahbowh’s stories with *Midewiwin* teachings. In a story titled “The Star and the Lily,” Kahgegagahbowh describes the Stars as Spirits, according to *Midewiwin* traditions. Thus, the people relate to Stars lovingly because they believed them to be ancestors, and their positions in the sky as the “residences of the good . . . taken home by the Great Spirit” (99). In recounting this story, he seems to be influenced by *Midewiwin* traditions. First, he writes that the people noticed one of the Stars “shone brighter than all others” and when it appeared only a short distance from their camp, the leading chiefs assigned a number of warriors to investigate (99). Then, he includes coded allusions to *Midewiwin Doodaemag* when he reports that upon returning, the warriors described a Star that “appeared strange and somewhat like a bird” (99). After that, when he describes a young warrior’s dream in which the Star appeared as a beautiful maiden desirous to live amongst humans and the warrior’s subsequent report of his dream to a chief’s assembly, Kahgegagahbowh alludes to the importance of *Midewiwin* teachings about dreams (100). He also recounts that “five tall, noble-looking, adventurous braves were sent to welcome the stranger to earth” in a ceremonial way by offering her the pipe of peace. By including coded references to *Midewiwin* systems of relational signification and *Midewiwin*

ceremonial ways, Kahgegagahbowh protects these Anishinaabe specific ways from passing away (100). By attaching the stars as relations to his work in written English, he also shows them to be functioning as *Chibooway* who continued to inspire his stories with *Midewiwin* teachings and relations.

That Kahgegagahbowh's inclusion of the stars in his book about the Ojibway nation protected such relations from passing away is evident in Benton-Banai's "The Old Man and the First *Midewiwin* Ceremony." In Kahgegagahbowh's story the star is named *Wah-be-gwon-nee*. According to *Midewiwin* teachings presented by Benton-Banai, a Morning Star is also named *Wah-bun'ah-nung*: he describes the Star's ancestors as grandfather Sun and grandmother Moon. Accordingly, these ancestors came before "*Wah-bun'ah-nung* [to] announce her coming" (68). In Kahgegagahbowh's story, the Star has two sisters whom he names "the morning and evening stars" that watched her from the east and west (102). Notably, Kahgegagahbowh represents the Star's relations as sisters whereas Benton-Banai acknowledges them as grandparents. According to Kahgegagahbowh, *Wah-be-gwon-nee* also had a "brethren [that] can be seen far off in the cold north, hunting the great [B]ear, whilst its sisters watch her in the east and west" (102). His use of the words *brethren* and *sisters* in connection with the Bear, Sun, and Moon are signifiers of *Midewiwin* teachings about relations between Spirits and humans. Thus, when Kahgegagahbowh describes the Star as shining brighter than all the others, having two sisters in the east and west, and a brother Bear in the north, I relate *Wah-be-gwon-nee* to *Wah-bun'ah-nung*. In Benton-Banai "The Seven Grandfathers and the Little Boy," *Wah-be-gwon-nee* appears as part of the *Midewiwin* teachings about the Anishinaabe Mother of the First Mother, Original Man, and the first *Midewiwin*

Ceremony (67-73). Thus, when Kahgegagahbowh describes the warriors' initial view of the Star as bird-like (99) with expanded wings, he implies connections to *Midewiwin* teachings about *Benesih Doodaem*. Kahgegagahbowh provides evidence for us to read his story as conveying teachings about the *Midewiwin* Way when he includes references to a young warrior's visionary-dreams and a council of wise men. Finally, his inclusion of relations originating from the South, North, East, and West, signify *Midewiwin* teachings about Spiritual ancestors who brought gifts of physical well-being for the Anishinaabe (68). Kahgegagahbowh relates *Wah-be-gwon-nee* to *Midewiwin* teachings about relations from the South who brought gifts for well-being when he describes the Star as having transformed into a white lily. Moreover, he seems to suggest that he looks upon such teachings with fond memories when he writes, "I have often plucked the white lily, and garlanded it around my head--have dipped it in its watery bed--but never have I seen it without remembering the legend of the descending star" (102). It is very significant that Kahgegagahbowh included this story in his book because he protected from passing away *Midewiwin* teachings about the Anishinaabe's first Mother, ceremonial approaches for Spiritual relations, and systems of relational signification.

When Kahgegagahbowh recounts a story about the origin of the Medicine Worship ceremony he protects from passing very important *Midewiwin* teachings. According to *Midewiwin* ceremonial traditions, he begins by infusing the story with "Keshamonedoo," an important relation who carries Spiritual teachings about Anishinaabe origin. In fact, Kahgegagahbowh acknowledges this relation as an important "Monedoo" who made the red men (169). Then, he carries into his story, according to *Midewiwin* traditions, "[s]trange visitants from heaven" who function as ancestral relations carrying protocols

for approaching Spiritual relations (170). According to Kahgegagahbowh, the heavenly relations “consulted with the sages of the different villages,” and they warned the people not to climb the vine that connected earth and sky for it “was the ladder on which the Spirits descended from heaven to earth, to bless the red men” (170). He also includes in his story, an aged grandmother and a free Spirited young man who function in specific ways in *Midewiwin* teachings. The aged grandmother is a relation of *Nokomis* (the Anishinaabe’s first Mother / the Spirit of the Mother Creator Land) and the young man is typically associated with *Odaeman* (one of the original *Oshkabaywas* acknowledged as bringing teachings about the drum meant to foster well-being). By including *Keshamonedoo*, heavenly visitors, an aged grandmother, and a free Spirited young man in his story about the Medicine Worship, Kahgegagahbowh contextualizes *Midewiwin* teachings in relational dynamics. For example, he contextualizes these ancient teachings in relational dynamics between a heavenly visitor and her young lover, the grandmother and her grandson, the community and the male chiefs, and the community and the grandmother.

According to Kahgegagahbowh, one of the heavenly visitors became enamored with a young man, but their love affair unsettled camp relations. Some of the people became jealous of the young man, and others grew angry and made his life unbearable. In response to his troubled life, the young man followed the heavenly visitor to her sky home, in spite of warnings by the chief men. At home, his grandmother despaired over the loss of her *Noo-sis*. She cried out to him “*be-ge-wain, be-ge-wain*” (171). But her grandson did not respond to her calls to come back, come back. So, the old woman set out after him. The next morning, the people noticed that the old woman was gone. They

became very frightened for they believed she had transgressed ancestral teachings that warned them about climbing the heavenly vine. In haste, they called an emergency gathering to “determine what inducement could be made to her to return” (171). In the meantime, the old lady continued to climb the heavenly ladder. However, just before she reached the top the vine broke. Immediately, she fell to the ground, and the people gathered around her, yelled at, and cursed her. Some even kicked the old woman.

In the times that followed, the people noticed that the Spirits no longer visited their camp. Without the presence of Spirits, men, women, and children became deathly ill. One tragedy followed after another as starvation and death claimed the lives of many. Eventually, the Spirits returned, and the people pleaded with them to speak to the Great Spirit on their behalf (173). In their communiqué to the Great Spirit, the people asked the Creator to restore the vine between heaven and earth; for disease to be eliminated; punishment to be inflicted upon the old lady; their game to be replenished; and their relations to be settled. In response to their petitions, the Creator sent the Spirits to teach them how to live a good life. To help them with life’s challenges, the Great Spirit gave the Anishinaabe the Medicine Worship Ceremony (also known as the *Midewiwin* Ceremony).

As he tells this story, Kahgegahbowh re-members into it important relations who inspirit his story with *Midewiwin* teachings. For example, *Keshamonedoo* functions as an important ancestor because he gave the Anishinaabe the *Midewiwin* ceremony for well-being (175). The heavenly visitors function as carriers of the original Medicine Worship teachings, but they carry specific teachings about medicines and relations. For example, they impart the following teachings:

‘There is not a flower that buds, however small, that is not for some wise purpose.’

‘There is not a blade of grass, however insignificant, that the Indian does not require.’

‘Learning this, and acting in accordance with these truths, will work out your own good, and will please the Great Spirit’ (175).

Notably, these heavenly visitors inform the people that all the cures and means to eradicate disease were already present in their environment. To make their point, they “gathered up all the flowers from the plains, river and lake sides” and then dried them. After that, they blew the leaves and scattered them all over the earth: “wherever they fell, they sprang up, and became herbs to cure disease” (174). In addition to functioning as carriers of teachings about medicines, the heavenly visitors also carry teachings about relations between Spirits and humans. Thus, they are represented as intermediaries between *Keshamonedoo* and humans.

Like the heavenly visitors, the aged grandmother functions as an important relation who carries *Midewiwin* teachings about relational well-being. She illustrates such teachings in relations with the grandson, the community, the heavenly visitors, and the male chiefs. For example, she attempts to guide her grandson’s relations with his Spirit lover. Although she does not affect changes in his relations, she demonstrates a fearless commitment to his well-being, which becomes evident when she climbs the heavenly vine in spite of warnings about Spiritual taboos. When Kahgegagahbowh describes the aged grandmother as resisting community pressure, male chiefs’ dictates, and Spiritual taboos, he illustrates *Midewiwin* teachings about the first Anishinaabe Mother. Indeed,

according to *Mide* teacher Benton-Banai, *Nokomis* is a powerful and enduring ancestor that is symbolized in *Midewiwin* teachings as *Nee-ba-gee'-sis*, or the Moon. Like *Nee-ba-gee'-sis*, the old woman watches protectively over her grandson, even follows him into the heavens and sets aside all else to save him.

Like the aged grandmother, the heavenly visitors, and *Keshamonedoo*, the young grandson is an important Anishinaabe relation who carries *Midewiwin* teachings in Kahgegagahbowh's story. He is an important relation because he carries teachings about the importance of Spiritual knowledge. For example, he falls in love with a Spiritual Being, follows her into the heavens after he grows weary of his Earthly relations, and even leaves his aged grandmother. When he falls in love with a Spiritual Being, the young man risks everything to be with the heavenly visitor. For example, he transgresses ancient taboos that warn against entering the Spiritual world, abandons his family and community, and disobeys camp rules. When viewed within a *Midewiwin* context, the young man's journey into the heavens may be read as a quest for Spiritual love. When considered together with *Keshamonedoo*, the heavenly visitors, the *Nokomis*-like grandmother, and the male chiefs, the young grandson functions as a significant relation who inspirit Kahgegagahbowh's written story with *Midewiwin* teachings.

Critical interpretations that do not acknowledge such important relations dismember the story from Anishinaabe systems of signification. For example, one might interpret the starvation, disease, and death as a secular warning about necessary environmental balance. Another interpretation, albeit a fundamental religious one, might be to read the story as a warning to humans about staying out of the Spiritual realm. In other words, some readers might be tempted to read this story as a lesson about

concerning ourselves with only our immediate reality. Of course, another interpretation might be to read the story as misogynist—a plausible reading considering the writer’s inclusion of the following footnote: “[a] lady of my acquaintance, quaintly remarked, when I related this story to her, ‘Yes, the gentlemen have been doing that [doing violence to women] ever since’” (172). Reading Kahgegagahbowh’s story about the Medicine Worship without acknowledging Anishinaabe relations is like trying to interpret Biblical stories without acknowledging God, Jesus, the Holy Spirit, Mary, or the various apostles as carriers of Christian teachings. Like Biblical stories, those stories passed on by Kahgegagahbowh carry relations whose names and functions are important signifiers of meaning, especially within *Midewiwin* and *Doodaem* contexts.

In this *Midewiwin*-like textual naming ceremony, therefore, Kahgegagahbowh is honored because he carried into written English relations that inspire stories with important teachings for re-memembering Being. In the preface to his book, he writes about efforts he made to ensure the survival of his nation’s knowledge. He writes, “I have laboured and do labour, and will continue to labour, till success crowns my efforts or my voice and hand are silent in the home of the departed” (vii). Although one might argue that he converted to Christianity and became a minister, he writes “from the accumulated experience of the past” which he carried into written English books (260). In bringing his own systems of knowledge (previously carried in oral stories and ceremonies) together with Euro-Christian systems of knowledge, he hoped to “learn the elements which would produce the greatest good” for his nation (260). As I read about his intentions to bring his own systems of knowledge into written English, I was convinced that he viewed such collaboration as a process that would enhance, not erode, his Spiritual traditions. Indeed,

he makes this clear when he writes, “[g]ive the Indian the means of education and he will avail himself of them. Keep them from him, and let me tell you he is not the only loser” (viii). The passages quoted in the two previous sentences suggest that he maintained a sense of duty to his ancestors whom he conceptualized as belonging to a specific nation (260). If one conceptualizes Being Anishinaabe as an interconnected system of relational signification that inspired generations since the beginning of time, however, Kahgegagahbowh’s attempts (not unlike my own) to contain the ancient *Midewiwin* system of knowledge in 298 pages might seem a bit unreasonable. Nevertheless, in my view, he wrote *The Traditional History* as part of a literary strategy for protecting, preserving, and passing on *Midewiwin* teachings. For example, he writes about being “guided by an intimate knowledge” of his subject and “impelled forward” by his nation which he feared “passing away” (vi). In the previous sentence, the words *guided* and *impelled* suggest a Spiritual force that inspired him to protect ancestral knowledge from passing away which I interpret as related to a *Midewiwin* Way.

Of course, there is certainly more than enough evidence to dispute this claim if one focuses a critical lens merely on his so-called assimilative leanings and dis-members relations attached to his stories. For example, Smith, one of his biographers, uncovered “substantial written accounts in English” that Kahgegagahbowh left behind (“The Life” 5). From those sources (and Dr. Cecil King’s interpretations of some of his personal correspondence), Smith formulated an analysis that presented the writer as dishonest, a fraud, and a plagiarist (29). He also claims that the Anishinaabe writer “rose from obscurity to celebrity status in the United States” and then fell into despair when he lost “access to America’s highest political and social circles” (“Kahgegagahbowh” 23). While

Smith appears to focus a critical lens on Kahgegagahbowh's assimilative leaning by describing him as an "unusual nineteenth century Indian" (5), critics like Kathy Rex, Maureen Konkle, Craig Womack, Robert Warrior, Jace Weaver, and Penny Petrone have begun to re-vision his work. In "Survivance and Fluidity" Rex rejects those critics who view him as "a transculturated individual who is unable to, in both his life and texts, incorporate his Ojibwe heritage into white, antebellum American society that was thirsty for exotic Indian curiosities" (2). Konkle claims that *The Traditional History* presents this writer as an unrepentant Ojibway nationalist, and "a contradictory figure in terms of who he is and what he is trying to do with writing" (194). To provide a context for Indigenous intellectual writing traditions in *Red on Red*, Womack includes Kahgegagahbowh as part of a group of significant nineteenth-century Indigenous authors that included Samson Occum, David Cusick, William Apess, Elias Boudinot, John Rollins Ridge, Peter Dooyentate Clark, Elias Johnson, Sarah Winnemucca, William Warren, Alice Callahan, Simon Pokagon, and E. Pauline Johnson (2). In *Tribal Secrets*, Warrior explains that such nineteenth-century Indigenous writers were part of an important Indigenous intellectual tradition, and so he describes Kahgegagahbowh as both a historical and political writer (3-4). Weaver's *Other Words* includes Kahgegagahbowh as part of a group that includes Thomas King, E. Pauline Johnson, and Peter Jones who have been "claimed at various points in times and for various purposes as part of the national literatures of both the United States and Canada" (27). Penny Petrone's *First People, First Voices* includes him with Peter Jones, George Henry, Peter Jacobs, John Sunday, Henry Steinhauer, and Allan Salt, a group of Ojibway writers who were "trained as missionaries, teachers, and translators" (77). According to Petrone, these writers are

the “first literary coterie of Indians in Canada, and the first to write exclusively in English” (77). In *Native Literature in Canada*, she describes Kahgegagahbowh as remarkable, extraordinary, and the most popular Indian writer of the mid-nineteenth century who was the “first Canadian Indian to write a book in English” (43). As these critics observed, Kahgegagahbowh resisted being boxed into “nineteenth-century racist and colonialist understandings of what it means to be of a certain nation, race, and class” (3).

This *Midewiwin*-like naming ceremony re-visions Kahgegagahbowh’s *The Traditional History* by acknowledging the carriers of traditional knowledge he included as significant *Chibooway*, or relations that re-member his work to a *Midewiwin* Way and *Doodaem* systems of signification. For Kahgegagahbowh such an overt literary strategy was not possible since he was writing and constituting meaning during a time that Konkle describes as “radical change for Native people, a change that was difficult enough for people to live through, more difficult to present in English” (189). Shifting critical focus from Kahgegagahbowh’s so-called assimilative and Christian leanings to an Anishinaabe system of relational signification and governance presented enormous challenges for two reasons. First, most of the records that confirm relational systems of signification and governance were once buried under ground, and access to such records has been granted only to a privileged few. Second, during the time that he was writing, Anishinaabe peoples were being forced through extremely coercive practices to abandon their Spiritual teachings. As Petrone observed, this Anishinaabe writer became a Christian minister, although it must be noted that church missionary work was one of the few professions open to Indigenous peoples willing to adopt new life-ways in the 1800s.

During the time that Kahgegagahbowh was writing, Anishinaabe people were facing overwhelming pressures to secure adaptive ways to survive. For many, survival meant adapting to European-Christian life-ways. Kahgegagahbowh wrote in 1825 that approximately 2,000 immigrants settled in Anishinaabe territory, and that the “entry of large numbers of immigrants reduced the Indian trapping grounds every year” (Qtd. in Smith, *Life* 24). In addition to urging Anishinaabe to accept new ways of life brought into their traditional homeland by European immigrants, Methodist missionaries were working to convert the Anishinaabe. By 1829, they had established nine mission stations in Upper Canada. LaVonne Brown Ruoff historicizes the missionary work in Upper Canada, and her information provides specific statistics about Anishinaabe conversion. She writes,

[t]he passage of the “Civilization Bill” of 1819, which made funds available for church-operated Indian schools, spurred the churches to increase their missions among the Indians. . . . In Canada, Indian missions were entrusted to the Canada Conference in 1828 and placed by the conference under the care of the Wesleyan Missionary society in 1833. One year later, twelve hundred Indians, primarily Ojibwe, were church members. Two Ojibwe missionaries, John Sunday and Peter Jones, were sent to England in 1837 to stimulate interest there in the work. In 1839 missions opened in the territory of the Hudson Bay Company in Canada. By 1854, the society reported over two thousand members in Upper Canada and the Hudson Bay Territory. (17-18)

Kahgegagahbowh was about ten years old when “the first Native Christian missionaries, led by Peter Jones, the bilingual and bicultural preacher from the Credit River just twenty

kilometres west of Toronto, reached Rice Lake” (Smith 24). Jones, connected to the Anishinaabe Mississauga band through his maternal relatives, witnessed profound despair once traditional ways were eroded. According to Smith, “[w]ithin a generation disease had also reduced the Mississauga at the western end of the lake from a population of five hundred in the 1780s to barely two hundred in the mid-1820s. The Mississauga were overwhelmed by these losses, and alcohol abuse became endemic” (24). While these statistics record human loss, the words and numbers only provide a shadow of the horror as the Anishinaabe were dismembered from relational systems of signification conceived from land-based life-ways. My strategy in reading Kahgegagahbowh against the grain of his Euro-Christianized and Euro-Christianizing leanings has been entirely political given that Christian missionaries and colonial authorities strategically set out to undermine Anishinaabe systems of relational signification and governance. In this chapter, I have attempted to show that there are many indications that support the view that Kahgegagahbowh wrote *The Traditional History* to protect *Midewiwin* teachings from passing away. In the next chapter, I engage with Richard Wagamese’s *Keeper ‘N Me* to show that Kahgegagahbowh’s efforts were not in vain. However, unlike Kahgegagahbowh, Wagamese deliberately re-settles above the textual ground *Nindawemeganido*, interconnected relations who carry *Midewiwin* teachings.

CHAPTER FIVE

Nindawemeganidok: Re-settling All the Relations

Like the previous four chapters, this chapter enacts a textual *Midewiwin*-like naming *Manidookewin*. In this chapter the word *Nindawemeganidok* is used to ceremonially attend to “All the Relations” in Richard Wagamese’s *Keeper’n Me*. As a critical concept, *Nindawemeganidok* illuminates representations of contemporary Anishinaabe who function in *Keeper* as members of specific *Doodaemag* carrying important *Midewiwin* teachings. As *Manidookewin*, this chapter acknowledges Wagamese’s Sturgeon Clan as a sub-group of the *Geghoon Doodaemag* and a system of relational signification and governance responsible for the dissemination of *Midewiwin* teachings. Thus, this ceremonial way acknowledges that Wagamese illustrates responsibilities to his *Doodaem* when he disseminates *Midewiwin* teachings in his book in written English: he re-settles as carriers of these ancient ways a Drum Keeper, a Raven Clan Mother, a Raven Clan historian, a Raven Clan brother, a Bear Clan brother, a member of the Red Sky family, and to a lesser extent Otter, Fish, and Bird relations. In this textual *Midewiwin*-like naming *Manidookewin*, these contemporary Anishinaabe function as *Nindawemeganidok*, an interrelated and interconnected system of relations who carry into written English the following *Midewiwin* teachings: “Gotta listen . . . it’s TRA-DISH-UNN” as *Bzindaamowin* (2); “the lake is like a reflector” of *Midewiwin* teachings about *Chibooway* (61); “the drum’s the heartbeat of Mother Earth” as *Doodaemag* (113); and “the land is a feeling” as *Manitoukwe* (155). For example, in “*Bih’ Kee-yan, Bih’ Kee-yan, Bih’ Kee-yan*,” *Keeper* functions as a contemporary relation of *Mide* Drum Keepers, and he passes on *Midewiwin* teaching that foster *Bzindaamowin* by encouraging young Garnet Raven to

listen to traditional teachings. In “*Beedahbun*” Keeper carries *Midewiwin* teachings about the Drum to re-member young Raven ceremonially to his Raven Clan. In “Soo-Wanee-Quay,” Keeper functions as an apprenticing *Midewiwin* ceremonialist who re-members his young helper to the land to show him the significance of women’s teachings (114). Throughout the book, Ma functions as a contemporary relation of *Manitoukwe* who relates young Raven to *Chibooway* and *Doodaemag*. As noted in the previous chapter, these are some of the most important teachings for Being Anishinaabe. Ma’s presence in the story is a reminder that although Garnet was dismembered from Anishinaabe systems of signification, the Spiritual relations remember him as a member of the Raven Clan. Thus, when he returns home after being in foster care and prison, the land, the sun, and the trees welcome him home. Along with Keeper and Ma, Stanley, Jane, Jackie, Connie, and Wally are shown to be part of an interconnected systems of relations who carry important *Midewiwin* teachings and show Garnet how to re-member Being Anishinaabe. This naming ceremony, therefore, acknowledges Wagamese’s first book as a significant carrier of *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaemag* relations for re-membering Being Anishinaabe. Indeed, Mohawk scholar Patricia Monture Angus describes *Keeper* as being more than just a novel because Wagamese shares his “oral tradition (or Ojibway culture)” (39). While *Keeper* was reprinted by Anchor Canada in 2006, my analysis ahead relies on the 1994 Doubleday Canada edition.

Wagamese is a cultured storyteller, and he acquired *Midewiwin* teachings from Keepers of ceremonies and stories who taught him “about the importance of perpetuating the tradition of storytelling into a new time with powerful tools” (*One* 123). Although he was dismembered from his Anishinaabe relations when he was taken into foster care,

Wagamese eventually reconnected to his own people by mentoring with learned Elders who taught him *Manidookewin* as a traditional process for inspiring stories in written English with relations. In his book of teachings for his son, *for Joshua*, he writes about connecting with traditional teachers who followed the old ways and led him to “ceremonies and gatherings where the ancient teachings were discussed and passed on” (137). In his most recent book of life-writings entitled *One Native Life* he explains that ceremonialists gave him the name *Muhkotay Beeaheekkee Anakwat* / Buffalo Cloud to remember his Being to the Sturgeon clan (252). In “Weenaboozhoo and the Search for his Father,” *Mide* teacher, Benton-Banai, connects the name Buffalo Cloud to storytelling traditions that inspire learning (39). According to *Midewiwin* teachings presented by Benton-Banai, *Muhkotay Beeaheekkee Anakwat* is a name that signifies a Spiritual questing for knowledge. Thus, when Wagamese emphasizes that the name *Muhkotay Beeaheekkee Anakwat* specifically connects him to “old men and women [who] would sit around a tribal fire in the long winter nights and spin tales of mystery that spoke of the heartbeat of a people who called themselves, Anishinaabeg. The Ojibway,” I interpret the words *old men and women*, *tribal fire*, and *tales of mystery* to mean learned Elders who passed on ceremonial teachings for re-presenting *Midewiwin* teachings (108). When he writes, too, about learning cultural protocols from Elders he consulted “about the role of storytellers in our traditions and the principles that guide those traditions,” I understand him to mean *Midewiwin* protocols, Keepers of *Doodaem* stories and traditions, and *Midewiwin* guiding principles (123).

In addition to being a culturally trained Anishinaabe storyteller, Wagamese is also a highly skilled writer. He learned to write by spending long hours, day after day, in

libraries. For him, libraries became places of refuge that revealed “the mysteries of the world” (89-90). In libraries, he always found “something that [he’d] never heard of or imagined, and books and stories where [he] could learn it” (89-90). Mysteries about the world were opened up to him as he read books “wide-eyed, tracing the tricky words with a finger until [he] could sound them out and discern a fragment of meaning” (89-90). In libraries, Wagamese acquired writing skills, too, for re-presenting *Midewiwin* teachings in written English.

Gotta Listen . . . It’s TRA-DISH-UNN

In this *Midewiwin*-like naming textual *Manidookewin*, Wagamese is acknowledged as re-settling a *Midewiwin* trained Keeper of the Drum to give voice to “gotta listen . . . it’s TRA-DISH-UNN” (2). The Keeper functions as a contemporary Anishinaabe relation of *Midewiwin* Bird Clan Drum Keepers to playfully activate *Bzindaamowin* as a method for gathering *Midewiwin* knowledge (2). As a contemporary relation of the *Midewiwin* Bird Clan Drum Keeper, the old man’s presence in the story is very important because there are very few *Midewiwin* teachers left to pass on this ancient form of knowledge (37). In placing Keeper in the modern story, Wagamese demonstrates the viability of *Midewiwin* teachings, and he re-members Keeper to the Bird Clan when he represents him as Old Raven’s *Oshkabaywis* (ceremonial helper). Thus, when Keeper says, “long as there’s old guys like me” the Anishinaabe “always got a storyteller to pass those old teachin’s down,” he acknowledges responsibilities for passing on *Midewiwin* teachings. He illustrates those responsibilities by mentoring young Raven as part of a *Midewiwin* Way (2). The old man also provides evidence that *Midewiwin* teachings are adaptive when he

urges his helper to write stories. He says, “[m]e, I’ll just come along for the ride, make sure he’s doin’ right. Besides, lotta stuff’s my story too and maybe if you listen hard, pay close attention, you’ll see that they’re your stories too. Our stories all work like that. It’s TRA-DISH-UNN. Heh, heh, heh” (4). By coming along for the ride, Keeper ensures that *Midewiwin* teachings are re-membered into the modern story vehicle in a ceremonial way, with a Mother and Father Creator, non-human, and human relations. Re-visioned in previous chapters, these Anishinaabe specific story-ways are represented in Wagamese’s novel as *Manidookewin* (ceremonial way), *Manitoukwe* (Mother Creator), *Chibooway* (Spiritual ancestors), and *Nindawemeganidok* (non-human and human relations).

Wagamese places Keeper in the modern story as a traditional teacher to ensure that *Midewiwin* teachings and traditions maintain a viable function. For example, Keeper functions as a carrier of *Manidookewin* to illustrate how to approach *Midewiwin* (Spiritual) teachings. Placed in the modern story, he illustrates a *Midewiwin* Way for acquiring Spiritual knowledge from Old Raven, “the lasta the people round [White Dog] really knew about *Midewewin*” (68). When Keeper explains to Garnet that Old Raven was a *Mide* teacher who used “ceremonies an’ rituals to keep the people healthy,” and plants and animals as part of the “teachin’s that come from there,” he relates the young man to an ancient *Midewiwin* Way which he presents as a viable method for passing on teachings for contemporary Anishinaabe (69). Keeper exemplifies the viability of *Midewiwin* teachings by showing Garnet that such traditional knowledge has been preserved in “stories an’ legends” that continue to provide “rules for behavin’ meant to keep the people together,” and pipe ceremonies, sweat lodges, and prayers (69). When Keeper explains that he felt compelled to “pay back a debt” to his *Mide* teacher, he

signals his intention to pass on *Midewiwin* knowledge as it was passed on to him. Thus, the old Drum Keeper re-members young Garnet Raven to a *Midewiwin Oshkabaywis* tradition as a way of passing on Anishinaabe Spiritual knowledge (73).

In this *Manidookewin*, Keeper is viewed as a modern relation of *Benesih Doodaem* Drum Keepers who carries *Midewiwin* teachings, which according to Musqua, come from the accumulated ceremonial traditions of ancestors (42-43). Wagamese provides a *Midewiwin* context for Keeper when he describes the old man as recalling “lots of traditional thinking buried deep in each story” (100). The words *buried deep* are a coded reference to *Midewiwin* teachings that were, according to Benton-Banai, buried under the ground for safekeeping (91). Wagamese also provides a *Doodaem* context for Keeper. He writes, “*us we always had our storytellers*,” the “*old men and old women*” who pass the teachings on (2). In this *Mide* like naming ceremony, the words *old women* and *old men* relate Keeper to *Mindimooyehnaag* and *Chi Akiwenziaag*, Keepers of clans who passed on *Midewiwin* teachings for living a good life through stories. According to Rheault, such stories foster *Bimaadiziwin* “since they have within them implicit lessons for living a good life” (75-76). In Wagamese’s book, then, the old man functions as “a dynamic teacher” who helps young Raven achieve *Mino-Bimaadiziwin* by re-membering him to *Doodaem* relations and a *Midewiwin* Way.

Wagamese strategically places Keeper in “A Prologue” (1), and then again between sections of the books where his voice can be heard heralding *Midewiwin* teachings while simultaneously critiquing colonial and neo-colonial culture. The author records the old man’s voice as belonging to an ancient *Midewiwin* tradition when he represents him as a Drum Keeper. In a *Midewiwin* context, Keepers of the Drum are holders of the Seven

Grandfather teachings, which are formally acknowledged by *Doodaem* Lodge Keepers like Benton-Banai, as belonging to a *Midewiwin* body of knowledge (68). Wagamese signals his intention to join this ancient body of knowledge to contemporary writing traditions when he describes Keeper as “an old man with so many wrinkles he looked like he was folded up wet and left overnight” (41). Significantly, the author connects such ancient traditions (once carried only in oral form) to contemporary books by representing Keeper’s voice in italics. In the use of italics, Wagamese emphasizes that Keeper’s voice is both important and relevant: it is an important speaking voice that is relevant for contemporary Anishinaabe stories in written English.

A carrier of *Midewiwin* teachings, Keeper speaks with the authority invested in him by his *Mide* teacher Harold Raven, a member of the *Benesih Doodaem* which his name Raven signifies (70). As noted previously, the *Benesih Doodaem* is the carrier of Spiritual teachings: thus, it is Keeper who re-members the young storyteller to a *Mide* Way, a Raven clan, Anishinaabe ancestors, and the White Dog community. When he re-members Garnet to ancient *Midewiwin* specific traditions, Keeper shows him that a *Midewiwin* Way can still have relevance for contemporary relations. Such traditions function as “an ongoing, dynamic process, rather than a fixed creed, . . . [that] evolves according to the changing needs of the nation,” as Womack explains in relation to his own Creek traditions (59).

When Wagamese includes Keeper as a *Midewiwin* Drum Keeper, he uses him to serve nationalistic functions, even though he represents the old man’s speech and actions as seeming to undermine traditional *Midewiwin* authority. For example, in “Beedahbun,” Keeper makes jokes about sacred ceremonies, and he makes light of the way non-

Anishinaabe view ceremonies. For example, he says, *[t]alk about sweetgrass or smokin' the pipe to some people and they think us Indiyuns are getting high all the time. Hey, heh, heh*" (74). Then, in "Soo-wanee-quay," Keeper speaks irreverently about sacred *Manitoukwe* (Mother Creator Land) teachings when he says, *"[n]othin' like a noisy womb-mate"* (113). These are *Manitoukwe* teachings because the land is conceptualized as a Mother that conceives and delivers Being: thus, when Keeper uses the words *a noisy womb-mate* he makes an allusive reference to *Manitoukwe* teachings that belong to the body of *Midewiwin* knowledge. Keeper plays with the notion of *Midewiwin* authority, too, by making frequent references to his lack of traditional *Midewiwin* knowledge. For example, he refers to himself as a "*dumb Indyun*" (1) and "*kinda busy in the head*" (2). While Keeper's jokes about sacred teachings and irreverent comments about important relational teachings seem to undermine *Midewiwin* authority, the old man's humor and wit serves a nationalistic function because *Midewiwin* teachings cultivate a political consciousness about relations with the land.

Wagamese also shows Keeper to be cultivating a political consciousness when he functions as a *Midewiwin* Ceremonialist and Bird Clan relation who reforms representations of Hollywood romanticized Indians. Keeper is shown to be cultivating a political consciousness about language and representations when he pronounces the word *Indian* as *Indyun*. Thus, we hear his voice as mocking Hollywood representations of cowboys and Indjuns and embracing Anishinaabe colloquial forms of speech. As both a reformer and re-former of language and traditions, the old man ruptures the face of written English, and we see his voice recorded as saying, "TRA-DISH-UNN." He also

literally reforms tradition and Indian by dismantling Hollywood romanticized stereotypes of the traditional Indian.

Anishinaabe got a good word no one ever argues with, Indyun or not, makes everything right and okay. We say--TRA-DISH-UNN. Heh, heh, heh. Wanna make white people believe what you tell 'em? Say it's TRA-DISH-UNN. Same thing with young ones round here. You gotta do it, we say, it's TRA-DISH-UNN! Good word that. Makes life easy. (2)

In this example, the old man appears to be reforming notions of traditional and Indian by literally reCreating Anishinaabe traditions. While Keeper's humor and wit may induce laughter, his playfulness is viewed in this *Manidookewin* as a serious effort by Wagamese to enact *Midewiwin* teachings in written English. The old man explains "when people are laughing they're really listening hard to what you're saying" (40). In fact, young Raven learns that humor is an important storytelling strategy used by the "old people" because they "figured that [using laughter] was the best way to pass on learning" (40).

Manidookewin: The Lake is a Reflector of Midewiwin Teachings About Chibooway

When Wagamese writes "the lake is like a reflector," I understand him to mean the lake is a reflector of *Midewiwin* teachings about *Chibooway* (61). In fact, he places numerous coded references to such *Midewiwin* teachings in his second chapter. First, he titles the chapter "Beedahbun" in which the phrase "the lake is like a reflector" is placed. (61).

Thus, he characterizes Keeper as a *Midewiwin* trained Drum Keeper who teaches Garnet Raven a sunrise ceremony to acknowledge Spiritual ancestors (*Chibooway*) (74). Second, he provides a context for the name White Dog that allows us to make connections

between the lake and *Midewiwin* teachings about *Chibooway*. Wagamese connects *Beedahbun* to new beginnings, and he provides a context for *Midewiwin* teachings about *Chibooway* by setting the narrative in White Dog, an Ojibway community that lies right next to a lake. Third, he places some of the characters in close proximity to the lake to provide us with a way for viewing them as relations that carry *Midewiwin* teachings about *Chibooway*. Fourth, Wagamese includes in “Beedahbun” the story about Keeper being called to serve as Harold Raven’s *Oshkabaywis*. Fifth, the author presents visionary dreams as part of a series of coded references to *Midewiwin* teachings about *Chibooway*. Thus, the lake is an important device that calls young Raven to ancestral traditions.

First, Wagamese places Keeper in “Beedahbun” to encourage reflections upon *Midewiwin* teachings that ritualize Spiritual connections to ancestors. For example, he represents the old man as inviting young Raven to join him as he burns some cedar, smudges with tobacco, and says a prayer, as “[s]oon as that moon goes down behind them trees . . . an’ we see the first light in the east” (74). Keeper specifically teaches his young helper that such rituals are acknowledged as “Beedahbun [and] First light” which he connects to ancestral sunrise ceremonies and morning prayers (78). Such mornings are connected to “real magic” and colors that birth the new day, which Garnet remembers as “*Beedahbun’s life*” (110). The words, “*Beedahbun’s life*,” make sense when they are connected to *Mide* teachings about the first *Midewiwin* ritual (Benton-Banai 68). Indeed, when Wagamese places Keeper in “Beedahbun” he encourages reflections upon *Midewiwin* teachings about ancient *Chibooway*, such as an Elder relation who conducted the first sunrise ceremony for a young boy’s continued life (68).

Second, Wagamese signals coded references to *Midewiwin* teachings about Spiritual ancestors when he sets the narrative in the fictional White Dog harbor community. The community is situated in a part of northern Ontario that is “full of lakes” (61). Lakes are important to the Anishinaabe because they are a reminder of *Midewiwin* teachings about Seven Grandfathers who emerged from the water with specific teachings for living a good life. In fact, Wagamese’s explains that the Ojibway are “always” settling down on the shores of lakes (61). Like lakes, the name White Dog connects the Anishinaabe to *Midewiwin* teachings and ceremonies. According to Johnston, Benton-Banai, Wolfe, and my mother, dogs, especially White Dogs, have specific ceremonial functions. Johnston connects white dogs to “Animoosh,” a White Dog Ceremony that is included at the “end of the Mino-waeziwin, the war dance” (*Anishinaubae* 19). Benton-Banai explains that dogs were “given a high place of honour” in ceremony for their “sacrifices to the people” (27). He also suggests that ceremonies acknowledge the dog’s relationship to the wolf. In “Original Man Walks the Earth,” he imparts teachings about *Ma-en-gun* (Wolf) whom the Creator chose to accompany Anishinaabe on his earthly journey to name all of Creation (9). In “The Last Grass Dance,” Wolfe retells a story about a ceremony that used a young dog for feast food. A young dog, he explains, was raised and nurtured specifically for ceremony (53). Additionally, stories passed on to me by my Metis-*Nehiowe* mother told of Anishinaabe ceremonies that she attended with her Koochum: at such gatherings, young white dogs were served as feast food (Personal). References to dogs, White Dogs, and ceremonies are part of a series of codes that allude to *Midewiwin* teachings about *Chibooway*, especially the Seven Grandfathers and the Wolf.

Third, Wagamese provides evidence for us to decode references to *Midewiwin* teachings when he places the characters Myron Fisher, Mabel Copenace, Connie Otter and Wally Red Sky close to the lake. Considered together, the names Fisher, Copenace, and Otter are signifiers of *Doodaem* relations, represented in *Midewiwin* teachings as the Fish, Bird, and Otter clans. Johnston and Benton-Banai provide a context for such *Midewiwin* teachings. Johnston explains that within the *Midewiwin* ceremony members of the Fish, Bird, and Otter Clan are positioned in specific places that acknowledge their *Doodaem* responsibilities (*Heritage* 60). Benton-Banai explains that the Fish Clan is positioned between the two leading Bird Clans, the Crane and the Loon, to “settle disputes” (74). He also explains that the Bird Clan is placed next to the central fire to acknowledge their status as *Midewiwin* (Spiritual) leaders (76). The Otter Clan, a subgroup of the Fish Clan, accompanies new participants through ceremonial rituals (Benton-Banai 65). Thus, when Wagamese places Myron Fisher and Mabel Copenace in his story “heading out on the bay in her auntie’s canoe,” he codes his story with allusions to the Fish and Bird clan. Coupled with the words *heading out* and *canoe*, the presence of Fisher and Copenace seems to suggest continuing *Midewiwin* traditions and teachings. Wagamese has Garnet remembering that, “Myron and Mabel have been married for about three years now, got themselves a boy named Theodore and are living in a house at the east end of the townsite,” which I interpret as conveying continuing *Midewiwin* traditions and teachings because the words *a boy*, *living*, and *house at the east end* imply continuity and new beginnings. (61). He also encodes his story with allusions to the Otter clan, a *Doodaem* responsible for initiating new members into the *Midewiwin* Ceremony. Wagamese alludes to Connie Otter’s *Midewiwin* connections when he places

representations of her alongside voices floating up out of nowhere, “hoo” sounds, “roars” of laughter, “and crashing” timber (63). The author relates Connie to *Midewiwin* teachings about *Chibooway* when he describes young Raven having a vision of his Otter cousin in which she appeared to be jumping “right outta her skin” (63). He implies a connection to *Midewiwin* ceremonial ways, too, when he describes her as running into the bush, which I interpret as moving quickly towards ancestral Spiritual relations, as the word *bush* (as a group of trees) implies. Similarly, when he includes in his story an unidentified and seemingly disembodied voice that floated across the lake calling Garnet to Keeper, I read the calling as being like the sound of “the Waterdrum of the traditional Midewiwin Lodge [that] sounded its voice loud and clear...over the water and through the woodlands” (Benton-Banai 1). Because the lake is analogous to the life-blood of Mother Earth, Wagamese’s reference to the people always settling down along the shores of lakes makes sense. Indeed, when he writes, “[o]nce you’ve seen one of our long summer sunsets from across a northern lake, well, you start to get a better idea of why the old people would settle down there,” he provides us with interpretive evidence for making connection to *Midewiwin* teachings about the lake. While some readers may interpret the Fisher, Copenace, Otter, and Red Sky relations as having lost connections to *Midewiwin* Spiritual teachings, these Anishinaabe are contemporary *Nindawemeganidok* whom Wagamese characterizes as ordinary relations who carry *Midewiwin* teachings.

Wagamese represents contemporary relations who carry *Midewiwin* teachings as living ordinary human lives as a literary strategy to humanize *Midewiwin* teachings. For example, while the name Red Sky may signify, in a *Midewiwin* context, a place of Spiritual ancestors, especially those who belong to the *Benesih Doodaem*, Wagamese

describes Wally Red Sky as wearing Brylcream and singing Western songs (164). Indeed, while a red sky may symbolize a place of Spiritual power, as such teachings were explained to me in a *Midewiwin* Rain Dance Ceremony when I was given the name Miskwonigeesikokwe / Red Sky Woman, Wagamese shows that such sacred teachings can be humanized when they are carried by contemporary relations like Wally Red Sky. Thus, in “Beedahbun,” Wally Red Sky is simultaneously connected to ancient local history, big dreams, singing and fires. Mother Raven also recalls that his name has been a “mainstay for as long as most can remember” (63). While Wagamese connects Wally Red Sky to ancestors who signed Treaty Three way “back in the 1870s,” he encourages us to think about how *Midewiwin* teachings might have relevance for contemporary lives when he connects every Red Sky descendent to contemporary politics (63). These examples coupled with Red Sky bumping up against young Raven in the dark provide evidence for us to view contemporary Anishinaabe like Wally as important relations who guide interpretations towards a *Midewiwin* Way.

A fourth way that Wagamese encourages connections between the lake and *Midewiwin* teachings about *Chibooway* is by including the story about Keeper being *Mide* teacher Harold Raven’s *Oshkabaywis*. Remembered into the story by Keeper, the *Mide* teacher functions as young Raven’s deceased grandfather, one of the few remaining Keepers of *Midewiwin* knowledge (68). From Old Raven, Keeper acquired teachings that represent the drum as a ceremonial tool for facilitating a *Midewiwin* Way. Thus, as he appears in the story deceased but still inspiriting Being, Old Raven functions as a *Chibooway*. His influence is apparent in the continuity of *Midewiwin Oshkabaywis* tradition. In fact, Keeper passes on to young Raven specific teachings that represent the

drum as “hold[ing] the heartbeat of the people” (71). To Garnet, Keeper explains that the “songs you sing with it are sacred. Nothin’ to be played around with. When you sing you’re joinin’ the heartbeat of the people with the universe. It’s a blessing. You’re blessing the land and the water and the air with the pure, clear [S]pirit of the people. In return you’re gettin’ big blessing from the land” (71). Then, he “stared across the lake for awhile” and contemplated Old Raven’s teachings (69). He also, “paused to thump his pipe against his cabin wall, and it echoed across the lake like someone beating a small drum way off in the darkness” (69). As Wagamese connects Keeper’s teachings about the drum to old Raven and the lake, he encourages us read them as coded references for *Midewiwin* teachings about *Chibooway*. They are *Chibooway* because Old Raven is an ancestor who continues to inspire Being even though he has passed on; the lake is a place where ancestral teachings are both reflected and reflected upon.

A fifth reason for reading the lake as a reflector of *Midewiwin* teachings is Wagamese’s inclusion of visionary dreams in “Beedahbun” (79). The author likens visionary dreams to entering “a different reality,” but he humanizes *Midewiwin* teachings about visionary dreams by connecting the rituals to “the regular world” and by using Keeper to explain dreaming as “head[ing] on into the land of dreams for the night” (79). However, the old man connects dream visions to specific *Midewiwin* learned Elders when he teaches Raven that, “us we pay attention to dreams and you can get a lot of understanding from them once you learn how to remember them and talk to the [E]lders about them” (79). When young Raven later sets out on a quest across the lake, he has a powerful “*Manidoo-waabiwin*,” a Spiritual dream that reveals knowledge from the Spirit world (Rheault 88). In the dream, he is visited by two eagles, and Keeper later describes

them as a grandfather and a grandmother looking out for him (188). Thus, when Wagamese includes visionary dreams in his chapter that represents the lake as a reflector, he shows us a way for interpreting “Beedahbun” as conveying *Midewiwin* teachings.

In Wagamese’s second chapter, Keeper re-members young Raven to an ancient *Midewiwin* Way by teaching him simple rituals for his daily life that connect him to ancestors. The rituals settle his Being, and the teachings displace Garnet’s previously held notions about ancestors and ceremonies. He imagined the ceremonies performed at White Dog to have “big fires with drums going crazy,” and his relations who attended the ceremonies as “people dancing around in strange get-ups,” screaming war whoops, and raiding “on the unsuspecting settlers” (66). However, Keeper’s stories about his grandfather and *Midewiwin* teachings settle Garnet’s fears about ceremonies because he uses humour. For example, he explains *Midewiwin* visionary dreams as being connected to a time he “*forgot toilet paper*” and then saw “*a vision . . . [or] something strange*” because after four days of fasting he was “*constipated an’ [his] vision was blurry*” (162). By infusing humor in Keeper’s *Midewiwin* teachings, Wagamese demonstrates an important Anishinaabe storytelling strategy that humanizes sacred *Midewiwin* teachings about ancestors to encourage memory.

Doodaemag: The Drum is the Heartbeat of Mother Earth

In “Soo-Wanee-quay,” Wagamese uses Garnet to illustrate how contemporary relations can be re-membered to a *Midewiwin* Way and *Doodaem* relations. In previous chapters, Wagamese characterizes Garnet as a young man who was dismembered from his *Doodaem* when he was removed from an old lady’s care, placed in all-white foster

homes, and imprisoned in a federal penitentiary. Young Raven subsequently returns home, and he learns a ceremonial way that imparts teachings about “*the drum [as] the heartbeat of Mother Earth*” (113). He learns a ceremonial way for re-membering his Being by mentoring with a *Midewiwin* Drum Keeper. He also learns to re-member his Being by renewing relations with his Raven Clan Mother and the broader Raven Clan. This process has been previously identified as *Minjimendaamowinon*, an Anishinaabe word that is carried into English to signify a reattachment of Spiritual and human relations (Rheault 74). Acquiring *Minjimendaamowinon* is challenging for Garnet because when he returns home at twenty-five years old, he has no memories of his Raven Clan relations (12). In fact, he relates his foster placement to a complete disappearance “from the Indian world” (12). Thus, reattaching himself to his *Doodaem* requires a major shift in the way he sees the world and moves around in it.

When young Raven returns home, he learns about his Raven Clan family from his sister Jane, the Raven Clan historian. As Jane re-members the younger sibling to their Raven Clan life-ways, she exemplifies the passing on of a process that Alexander Wolfe wrote about that is “remembering the stories which make up not only the history of a family but the history of a nation” (xxi). Thus, when Jane re-members young Raven to their Clan family, she renews his relations with their grandmother. Viewed within a *Midewiwin* context, references to an old woman mean *Nokomis*, the Mother Creator Land. Therefore, when Wagamese shows the Clan historian remembering her younger sibling’s removal from the old lady’s care, he guides us to interpret Garnet’s apprehension as his being dismembered from *Doodaem* relations and a *Midewiwin* Way. In fact, Jane explains her last vision of young Raven as being framed by “the back

window of [a]. . . school bus” (11). In her vision, she saw the land swallowing up a “little Ojibway boy all hunched over in the sandbox with a little red truck with one wheel missing, growin’ smaller’n smaller, till it looked like the land just swallowed [him] up” (11). She also tells young Raven that “[w]hen she got home that night the sandbox was empty except for that little blue and red truck, the wind already busy burying it in the sand” (11). Jane’s vision of the land swallowing up young Raven and the wind burying the disabled toy truck are coded references to the presence of Spiritual ancestors because, according to Benton-Banai within a *Midewiwin* context, the land is conceptualized as a Mother Creator and the wind as relation of the Father Creator Spirit.

When Wagamese includes coded references to a Mother Creator swallowing up young Raven and a relation of the Father Creator Sprit burying young Raven’s toy truck in the sand, I read his story as being related to Benton-Banai’s “The Seven Fires,” a traditional story that recounts seven prophecies about the erosion of the *Midewiwin* Way (89). Thus, I interpret young Raven’s apprehension to the “confusing times of the Sixth Fire” when “children were taken away from the teachings of their [E]lders” (91). According to the sixth prophecy, the *Midewiwin* Way was in danger of being destroyed by newcomers, and thus *Midewiwin* priests buried all the Weegwas scrolls that recorded their *Midewiwin* rituals and *Doodaemag* relations under the ground all (91). While some readers may view comparisons between Garnet’s toy truck and the Weegwas scrolls as unlikely, I view such comparisons as Wagamese’s literary strategy for humanizing sacred *Midewiwin* teachings. Thus, I read Jane’s vision of the land swallowing up young Raven, the wind burying his toy truck in the sand, and young Raven’s removal from the old lady

as Wagamese's literary strategy for re-forming *Midewiwin* teachings to make them relevant for contemporary Anishinaabe.

Furthermore, I read young Raven's journey and arrival home as setting in motion a process that re-members him to his *Doodaem* and the *Midewiwin* Way. As he journeys home, he relates his feelings to a powerful mystery surrounding him. He envisions trees coming right out of the shoulder of the road, the sun throwing stretches of shadows from trees, the wild Spirit of the land seeping through, and a mysterious feeling starting to work on his bones (4-5). In a *Midewiwin* context, the sun, trees, and land are more than physical things: the sun is a Grandfather, the trees are ancestors, and the land is Mother. Thus, as they are re-presented in Wagamese's stories, they appear as relations welcoming young Raven home. However, he does not feel connected to these relations because he was dismembered from his *Doodaem* when he was apprehended from the old lady's care. In fact, he feels only a vague mystery surrounding him that begins to work on his bones (5).

Because he was dismembered from his *Doodaem*, young Raven likens his first view of White Dog to "something outta a foreign documentary" and to his former street partner's description of Detroit ghettos (33). The people reminded him "of something you see in a *National Geographic*," and they unsettled young Raven because they "were all craning their necks real good" and "chattering away in Ojibway" (33). Wagamese's description of White Dog as "foreign," the people as "craning," and the voices as "chattering" are coded references to his Raven Clan, a sub-group of the Bird clan which he feels alienated from. Re-membering himself to his Raven Clan necessitates a shift in the way he moves in the world.

Prior to coming home, Garnet moved from place to place, and ran games on unsuspecting people. His fast life resulted in a five-year prison sentence, which he served in a federal penitentiary. During his incarceration, he received “a heavy brown envelope that had stuffing sliding around inside and the postmark said someplace called Kenora” (27). When Garnet opened the package, he found a “a thick letter . . . with a whole mess of pictures of people [he] didn’t know” (27). However, the “country in the background . . . rang something inside [of him]” (27). While looking at the pictures and reading the letter from a man who identified himself as his brother Stanley, Garnet felt things that he could not label, and so he relates the feelings to a bodily sensation of a diminishing of the “cold wind that always been whistling through me” (27-28). In the letter “Stanley said there was a room being set aside” for Garnet and “that everyone at White Dog was excited” about his return home (29).

When he arrives home, he reveals an uneasy and uncomfortable relationship with the White Dog environment. In fact, Keeper remembered him as exhibiting “*the old slidey foot. Always on the move and lookin’. Wanderin’ around all owl-eyed lookin’ for something*” (3). As Keeper’s references to Garnet’s “*slidey foot*,” his being “*on the move and lookin’*,” and “*wanderin’ owl-eyed*” suggest, the old man envisions young Raven in need of grounding. Therefore, he re-members young Raven to his Bird Clan, like *Mide* teachers before him, by using stories and ceremonies. For example, Keeper re-members young Raven to his *Doodaem* by telling him stories about Old Harold Raven, his grandpa (68). He also re-members young Raven to his *Doodaem* by acknowledging Old Raven’s connection to specific *Midewiwin* rituals that kept their ancestors healthy and ancient ancestors who passed on “stories an’ legends for the people to learn from” (70). One

story he recounts to young Raven from ancient ancestors imparts teachings about bears as *Doodaem* relations (101). He tells young Raven the story about bear relations to help him work out differences with his brother Jackie, who according to Keeper has “[g]otta lotta the bear in him” (101). Over time, the youngest member of the Raven Clan settles his Being by learning the ceremonies and history of his *Benesih Doodaem*.

He settles his Being by learning clan history from his sister Jane whom he acknowledges as the Raven Clan historian (48). Jane historicizes clan relations as being inherited from the father when she explains that their Mukwa father wanted “the kids to have our mother’s last name because we came from her body” (49). According to Jane’s account, their father “respected women’s ability to give life and [thus he] wanted us to carry the name of the woman who’d brought us into this world. . . . And so we were Ravens” (49). She also historicizes Mukwa’s death by relating his demise to the Raven children’s removal. According to Jane, when government agents “cut into his family[,] they removed a section of his soul,” and thus he died after living “like a wounded bear in his tiny shack across the river” (50). The phrases “*cut into his family*” and “*section of his soul*” coupled with descriptions of the Raven Clan children’s removal are very significant because such references allude to the dismemberment of *Doodaemag*, especially the Bird Clan which is acknowledged as the Spiritual carriers of the *Midewiwin* Way. While some readers may view the erosion of Garnet’s nuclear family as the most traumatic, Johnston explains that one’s *Doodaem* is the “most important social unit taking precedence over the tribe, community, and immediate family” (*Heritage* 59). When Garnet was dismembered from his clan, he exhibited numerous psychological problems: as noted previously, Gross connects such challenges to a post-apocalypse stress syndrome and

Vizenor relates the dis-ease to cultural schizophrenia. As Garnet reflects upon Jane's account of their clans, particularly his father's clan, he gazes over the lake and ponders the name Mukwa, a name that encouraged him to appreciate "quiet nights and fires, songs sung low in Ojibway and sleeping deep and long, safe and sheltered and warm" (57). Remembering himself to his clan origins, young Raven acknowledges Spirits as relations when he uses what a Western conceptual framework would view as personification in recounting watching the "night being born" and seeing "a tiny little star wink into view" (57). He acknowledges his Spiritual relations when he repeats his father's name, Mukwa, envisions the birth of the night, and "name[s] that star the Bear star" (57). The young Raven seems to be settling his relations with his Mukwa father when he says, I knew that "whenever I felt lost or lonely that I could wander out when the night was being born and wait for that tiny little star to wink into view and talk to my father, tell him about my life and maybe even sing him a song in Ojibway all soft and low" (57).

Wagamese shows young Raven settling into his clan when he describes his developing relations with Ma. As the Raven Clan is a subgroup of the Bird Clan, the author provides a context for settling young Raven in his clan when he names his protagonist's mother, Alice Raven (58). A further way Wagamese illustrates young Raven settling into his clan is the novelist's making Alice Raven the daughter of Old Harold Raven (9), one of White Dog's last remaining *Midewiwin* teachers (68). In *Midewiwin* Raindance ceremonies that I have attended Clan Mothers occupy half of the ceremonial lodges, and their presence balances gender dynamics. Thus, in creating Garnet's family, Wagamese represents Ma as a Raven Clan mother married to a Mukwa man to balance relational dynamics between the Bird and Bear Clans.

***Manitoukwe*: “The Land is a Feeling”**

In “Looking Jake,” Wagamese includes Ma in his story as a carrier of *Midewiwin* teachings about *Manitoukwe*. As noted in Chapter Three, *Manitoukwe* is one of the most important *Midewiwin* teachings that re-members Being to the land. Thus, while old Keeper provides young Raven with a ceremonial way for re-membering Being Anishinaabe, Ma reCreates a world for him that relates him to both a *Midewiwin* Way and *Doodaem* ancestors. She awakens young Raven to the Spirit of the land by relating him to his grandfather and father (156). Thus, she encourages her son to set out on a journey across the lake because she reminds him that a big part of him is “out there in the bush,” which I read as ancestors when viewed as part of a *Midewiwin* system of signification (158). When young Raven returns home, Ma acknowledges his re-membered relations with *Manitoukwe* by ceremonially relating him to his *Doodaem*.

In “Bih’kee-yan. Bih’kee-yan. Bih’kee-yan,” Wagamese represents Ma as being related to an otherworldly Spiritual Mother by placing references to her between expressions of a feeling of “mystery and magic” (5), and a cliff that sign-posts “another world” (5). These references to Ma coupled with descriptions of a wild Spirit of the land working on young Raven’s bones and slipping through his car window, a Spirit that Garnet expressly notes is “nothing you can reach out and put your finger on,” provide openings for us to interpret Ma as being related to otherworldly relations (5).

The author guides us to interpret Ma as being a contemporary relation of the Anishinaabe’s original Mother by representing her as young Raven’s first mother. She is his first mother because he was placed with a series of foster mothers after he was apprehended from his grandmother. Although he was being very well cared for by his

grandmother, the Children's Aid Society "had a different set of eyes and all they seen was a bunch of rowdy little Indian kids terrorizing a bent-up old lady" (10). Therefore, they removed him from the old lady's care and placed him, over and over again, in the homes of all-white foster families. Young Raven was not only torn from his biological family, he was dismembered from the Mother Land, and so he grew up without relational signification to his Raven Clan. Because Garnet was dismembered from his first mother, he describes her as being physically absent, a disembodied shape, an exterior sound, and a frontal shadow. First, as the Raven Clan gather to welcome their brother home, Ma is noticeably absent (46). Then, when Ma arrives home, she appears to young Raven as a shape in the back seat of an approaching vehicle (52), sounds of footsteps on stairs outside his brother's cabin (53), and a shadow that fell across the floor in front of him (53). Read within a *Midewiwin* context, the disembodied shape, sound, and shadow are references to a Spirit. Thus, it seems reasonable to make comparisons between Ma and the first Anishinaabe mother, an ancestral Spirit. Wagamese provides further evidence for us to read Ma as being related to the Anishinaabe's first mother when he describes an echoed heartbeat against young Raven's chest going "barrump, barrump," for as Keeper explains "the drum's the heartbeat of Mother Earth" (113). When Wagamese describes young Raven as remembering a heartbeat "somewhere back in [his] past," he sets up readers for later relating Ma to the Spirit of land (54). Moreover, when he describes young Raven's re-membered relations with his Ma as being in a body that was "was all vibration, fluid and movement," he relates her to the Spirit of the land, which according to *Midewiwin* teachings existed prior to Creation (54). In fact, Garnet later acknowledges Spiritual energy as the real power in the world, and then he feels "freaked

out” and “out of control” (166). Such feelings encourage the young Raven to feel pretty small and powerless, which I interpret as being child-like in the presence of the powerful Mother Creator (166).

When Wagamese represents Ma as a daughter of the deceased *Mide* teacher and the wife of a deceased traditionalist, he provides coded references for us to read her as being a *Benesih Doodaem Gi-ma-ma-nen*. In ceremonies, the Clan Mothers represent the sacredness and wisdom of women as originating from the Spirit of the land (McQuire 7). Therefore, when Wagamese names Ma, Alice Raven, and describes her home as “up on that hill,” I interpret him to mean that she is like a Spiritually-elevated leading Clan Mother (46). Wagamese provides a context for connecting Ma to *Benesih Doodaem Gi-ma-ma-nen* when he describes her as singing a song intended to protect him and bring him home. She says, “[w]anted it to be a special song, wanted it to be your song forever. . . . Came out here night after night tryin’ to sing you somethin’ but couldn’t find no words. Too much tumblin’ around inside me to find what I wanted to sing most. After a while though a song was born and I been singin’ it almost ev’ry night for ‘bout fifteen years now” (58). When she sings the song, Ma closes her eyes to go inward in a ceremonial-like way, and then she begins to tap her foot on the ground, “one two, one two. A heartbeat rhythm. The rhythm of the drum. The rhythm of prayer-songs” (58). Then she begins to sing, “*Bih’kee-yan, Bih’kee-yan, Bih’kee-yan*” which she interprets for him as meaning “come home, come home, come home” (58). She also likens it to a prayer sung to “the Spirit of our ancestors” (58). Presented as a gift from Mother Raven, the prayer-song recalls teachings of the Waterdrum that sounded its voice to gather the Anishinaabe. When Wagamese alludes to teachings about the *Midewiwin* Waterdrum, he

provides evidence for us to relate Alice Raven to ceremonial *Benesih Doodaem Gi-ma-ma-nen*. When he describes young Raven remembering Ma's song as he sat by the fire hearing "sounds of loons and wolves in the distance, the wind, [and] the water," he relates Alice Raven to a *Doodaem* system of relational signification (59). He guides us to read the loon, wolves, wind, and water as *Doodaem* relations that connect Ma to Clan Mothers because he places them in a *Midewiwin*-like ceremonial context between Spirits, prayers, songs, a Raven Clan Mother, a young Raven, and fire.

The author provides us with a number of other codes for reading Ma as a ceremonial Clan Mother. As noted previously, he represents her as the daughter of a deceased *Mide* learned Elder and the wife of a deceased *Mukwa Doodaem* leading man. He also shows her to be fulfilling Clan Mother responsibilities by re-membering Garnet to his deceased Raven and *Mukwa Doodaem* ancestors. Ma also re-members young Raven to the Spirit of the Earth when she tells him that Raven and *Mukwa* walked with him on the land, naming each part of Creation (185). This is very significant because Clan Mothers are responsible for re-membering our relations with the land. However, Wagamese represents Ma as a contemporary Raven Clan Mother whose traditional functions have been undermined by the Indian Act. Thus, he relies on the Raven Clan historian to reconstruct their Clan Mother's life. For example, Jane recalls Mother Raven's political struggles with the Indian Act, a colonizing Canadian legal document that continues to erode the traditional authority of *Doodaem* Mothers (46). When Jane says that their parents "never married . . . because they were traditional Ojibways," and recounts that after John *Mukwa* died Mother Raven refused to marry because she wanted to protect her youngest child's treaty rights, Wagamese carries into his story important

issues that affect the lives of contemporary Anishinaabe women (49). The Indian Act and recent amendments undermine sacred relations with the land by mis-defining Anishinaabe as being Indian and our relations as flowing from a legal system rather than a Mother Land, or *Manitoukwe*. This is an important issue because Anishinaabe connections to land are conceptualized Spiritually as sacred relations with an original Mother. Relating Being to *Manitoukwe* rather than a legal system is an important *Midewiwin Doodaem* teaching for constituting Being, as Mother Raven's role in the story illustrates. Wagamese carries Alice Raven into his story as part of a traditional storytelling strategy for conveying *Midewiwin Doodaemag* teachings that re-member Being Anishinaabe to a powerful Mother Creator. In ceremonies, the Mother Creator is acknowledged as *Manitoukwe*. As a revered ancestor, her Spirit continues to provide strength, guidance, and continuity as she is remembered in the institutions of the Clan Mother. Thus, Wagamese represents Alice Raven as a contemporary living relation who embodies the Spirit of *Manitoukwe*.

In his representations of Alice Raven, Wagamese also shows how stereotypic representations of Indigenous women undermine Anishinaabe women's relational signification. Prior to meeting his mother, Garnet's views of Indigenous women were informed by Euro-North American sources of knowledge. He therefore imagined his Ma alternatively as "a gorgeous Indian princess with flowing black hair and a killer smile" as well as "old, gray-haired, looking like a queen of the woods" (52). Because he was dismembered from his systems of signification for many years, he imagines his Ma as having elements of both the "princess" and "squaw" (Acoose, *Iskwewak* 39). When he actually sees her, he describes her as a contemporary woman wearing "white slacks, . . .

[and] a bright pink turtleneck that gave her a kinda glow” (53). He also connects her to contemporary culture when he describes her as a visitor to urban centers like Winnipeg and watching popular TV shows like *Another World*. Wagamese represents Ma as both a contemporary woman, as well as, a descendent of the first Anishinaabe Mother, and a *Benesih Doodaem Gi-ma-ma-nen* as part of a literary strategy to modernize *Midewiwin* teachings. In doing so, he shows *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations as continuing to inform contemporary Anishinaabe stories.

Minjimendaamowinon: Re-membering Nindawemeganidok

Wagamese illustrates Garnet’s Spiritual quest to find “where it all started” as a journey towards *Midewiwin* teachings and a reconnection to *Doodaem* relations (158). Young Raven’s journey was inspired by “the first stirrings of that woman side,” which Keeper explains as intuition and “the gift of the [M]other” (156). Before he “disappear[s] across the lake in a canoe for four days of living on the land all alone,” Garnet learns how to acknowledge the gifts of the Mother by making tobacco offerings for the Spirit of the land (156). Wagamese shows the importance of both Ma’s and Keeper’s teachings when he has Garnet say, “I looked back once I got a hundred yard or so out on the lake. They were standing there with their arms around each other’s waist watching me head out across. It’s one of those Kodak moments, only these kind we keep in our hearts instead of some photo album” (161). Garnet’s words, “I got the idea what prayers those first two [tobacco] pouches were gonna be for” show that he realizes the significance of Ma’s and Keeper’s teachings (161-62). Thus, the first evening out on the land he comes to realize “the real power of the world” (182)

Young Raven's journey across the lake and camping out for four days on the land is shown to be a Spiritual quest for *Doodaem* ancestors and an awakening to a *Midewiwin* Way. By reconnecting to the land and finding the remains of Old Raven's cabin, he realizes the importance of Keeper's *Midewiwin* teachings and his Ma's stories of relations. The first night on the land, feelings of powerlessness stir his imagination, and he says "I imagined big bears, wolverines or cougars sneaking out of the bush and ending things for me and there wasn't anything that I could do. Or a big storm coming up and blowing away the canoe, drowning my fire and soaking my camp, or a sudden snowfall that would bury all the signs and directions" (166-67). He therefore acknowledges that "[t]he land could pretty much do whatever it wanted and I couldn't do a thing," and he wakes up "to the idea of where the real power of the world is" (166). He acknowledges, too, that Spiritual power comes from the land, and he envisions as inspirited "the lake, the trees, the rocks, the wind, sky, and ground" (166). His journey therefore becomes a quest for Spiritual knowledge (166). By ritualizing Keeper's ceremonial teachings and remembering Ma's stories, he comes to realize that his Being grows from ongoing relations with a Mother Land, a Father Spirit, Spiritual ancestors, and living relations, acknowledged in this *Midewiwin*-like *Manidookewin* as *Manitoukwe*, *Gitchi Mukwa*, *Chibooway*, and *Nindawemeganidok*.

Wagamese provides coded references for us to read Garnet as waking up to his Raven clan origins. For example, he has young Raven say

[i]f you ever wanna get the idea of how it feels to fly, all you really gotta do is paddle a canoe alone across a northern lake when it's calm. When there's no wind and no waves it's like moving through glass. You look over the sides and it's like

you are suspended above everything. Water so clear you float over the rocks and boulders and logs on the bottom like an eagle over land, seeing the fish kinda scatter and picking up their favorite hiding places as you pass. . . . Things coming into view all slow and gradual, quiet and peaceful like you're soaring over all of it. Paddle faster and it's like you're flapping your wings harder and the and passing beneath you moves like a dream. . . . One of the rewards of being alone in a canoe early in the morning is that feeling of flying. (159)

Read within a *Midewiwin* context, the words *fly, canoe, lake, wind, moving through glass, suspended above everything, float, eagle, land, fish, soaring, flapping, wings, dream*, and *early morning* appear as coded references to ancient teachings and relations. For example, *fly, lake, wind, float, eagle, land, fish, soaring*, and *wings* are signifiers of *Doodaem* relations, as noted previously. Additionally, the word *canoe* functions as a symbolic reference to living ways (culture); the phrases *moving through glass* and *suspended above everything* allude to movement of birds; and the phrase *early morning* alludes to *Midewiwin* sun-rise ceremonies. Gathered together, the words are coded references to Garnet's Spiritual awakening to *Midewiwin* teachings about his Raven *Doodaem*. Wagamese provides even stronger evidence for us to interpret Garnet as having a Spiritual awakening about his clan origins. Garnet describes the first morning out on the land as "the sun was just coming up and the purple light was fading off, revealing mist on the bay and . . . more birds in the trees than I ever heard before" (167). Again, the words *sun, purple light fading, mist, birds*, and *trees* are allusions to a Father Creator, a red sky home of Spiritual ancestors, a ceremony, a *Doodaem*, and ancestors, respectively. Similarly, the phrases "shadows through the trees" (168), "shadows on the

water” (169) and an “eerie feeling in the bush” (169) function, within a *Midewiwin* context, as signifiers of relations. For example, the word *shadows* is a signifier of the Spirits of ancestors, and the words *trees*, *water*, and *bush* are signifiers of ancestral relations. In my mind, the most compelling evidence that shows young Raven awakening to his clan origins is his dream-vision. In his dream, he envisions himself floating over the land like he has wings (173). He recalls “two eagles” and remembers being unafraid of “them birds” (174). The eagles appear to be dancing, and after a time they transform into “an old man and old woman” who “wore the wings of the eagles” on their arms and “eagle feathers that hung down over their eyes” on their heads as bonnets (174). Young Raven literally awakens to the significance of his clan, especially when he hears “the orchestra of birds all around” him as he listens to the sounds of Creation (175). When Keeper explains to Garnet that the birds in his dream were “waitin’ till you found ‘em” and that the “two eagles turnin’ into an old man and old woman” were grandfathers and grandmothers from the Spirit world, he explicitly connects young Raven to Bird Clan relations (188). According to Keeper’s ceremonial teachings and Ma’s stories, the ancestors are part of a *Doodaem* kinship system that ceremonializes relations in a *Midewiwin* Way.

When Wagamese describes young Raven’s response to finding his grandfather Raven’s old cabin, he alludes to Spiritual teachings about the buried *Midewiwin* records. Like the *Midewiwin* records which were placed in hollowed-out logs and given back to Earth for safekeeping, Old Raven’s cabin is described as “a crumple of rotted logs” overtaken “by grass and small saplings growing up through the middle of it” (169). When he describes the place where young Raven found the remains of the cabin as having “no

real sign of a trail leading up to it or away from it,” he relates it to the place where the records were buried under the ground where no one could find them (169)

Wagamese also encourages us to read young Raven as being re-membered to his clan origins by alluding to *Midewiwin* teachings about the Seven Grandfathers, *Chibooway* who emerged from the waters to bring the clan system to the Anishinaabe (Benton-Banai 78). Wagamese connects his story to Benton-Banai’s storied *Midewiwin* teachings about the Seven Grandfathers when he has Garnet say, “[t]here’s no word in either Ojibway or English that describes the feelings that were flowing through me that afternoon. Maybe flowing’s the best word of all” (100). The phrase *no word in either Ojibway or English* is a coded reference to a place beyond language like a Spiritual realm or ceremony. Coupled with the word *flowing*, the reference to a Spiritual realm or ceremony alludes to a *Midewiwin* Way. The word *flowing* alludes to a *Midewiwin* Way because it connotes the movement of Spiritual energy, which in a *Midewiwin* context is ritualized in a ceremony by specific members of *Doodaemag*. Wagamese provides more evidence for us to make connections to the *Midewiwin* Seven Grandfather’s teachings when he describes young Raven as being “like a big open channel on the water when them waves are pouring over it, rolling and rolling and rolling. They’re moving so fast on the top they churn things that’ve been resting down there for a long long time” (169-70). The words *open channel*, and *water*, and the phrase *resting down there* allude to the place from where the Spiritual ancestors emerged. When joined to Wagamese’s title *Keeper’n Me*, the words *open channel*, and *water*, and the phrase *resting down there* imply that young Raven is open to receiving the *Midewiwin* Seven Grandfather teachings that have been lying dormant. Garnet explains that he felt, “[c]hurning. Old feelings, images and

dreams churned up into motion again as I sat there leaning on that old birch tree” (169-70). Then, he closed his eyes real tight and imagined he could hear the echoed voices of his ancestors: he imagined hearing “Peen-dig-en. Peen-dig-en, Garnet come in,” and he imagined seeing “the faces of those who I would never know in this reality” (60). These ideas and words are taken directly from *Midewiwin* stories that carry teachings about the Seven Spiritual Grandfathers. For example, in Benton-Banai’s “The Seven Grandfathers and the Little Boy,” a young boy approaches one of the Spiritual Grandfather’s lodge, and he hears the Grandfather’s voice say “‘Be-in-di-gain’ (Come in)” (61). Later, the Seven Grandfathers spoke to the young boy in a strange manner, “as though they were not talking at all but using their minds to just think the word. The Grandfathers told the boy of how he was taken from his mother and father and how his parents were expecting him to return some day” (61). Thus, when young Raven says that he could not find words to describe his feelings, I relate the passage to Benton-Banai’s description of the young boy who heard the Grandfathers speaking in a strange manner. Wagamese writes, too, about ghosts of voices that “filled the shriveled timbers [of his grandfather’s cabin] with love and hope and happiness. The voices of an Ojibway family alive forever in a time beyond what the world could do and did not so far from then. Voices from a history that got removed. A past that never got the chance to shine in me” (170). When he writes about the youngest Raven imagining a “glittering, magic past that was being resurrected right there in the crumpled heap of an old cabin that had given itself back to the land a long time ago,” I interpret the words *magic*, *resurrected*, *crumpled heap* as allusions to *Midewiwin* teachings and records that were buried in the land (170). Like the previous

examples in this paragraph, these are very specific references to *Midewiwin* teachings carried into written English to inspire stories for re-membering Being Anishinaabe.

According to *Midewiwin* traditions, clan relations are activated from connections to a sacred land. Garnet learns that the land is sacred because Keeper's *Midewiwin* teachings conceptualize the land as an original Mother. He learns from Keeper that the land is like a sacred Mother because our lives, teachings, and philosophies are born from this original ancestor. Garnet learns from Keeper that if he disconnects from the Earth, he'll lose himself. In fact, Keeper stresses, "[l]ose that connection you lose that feeling of being a part of something that's bigger than everything. Kinda tapping into the great mystery" (156). Young Raven comes to realize the power of Keeper's teachings by "[f]eeling the [S]pirit of the land" (156). Relating to the Spirit of the Mother Land re-members young Raven to "the [S]pirit of the people," and remembered relations with the people and the land inspire his Being (156).

The traditional gathering that welcomes young Raven home presents interpretive opportunities for us to see how contemporary relations carry *Midewiwin* teachings. Viewed within a *Midewiwin* ceremonial context, Alice, Stanley, Jane, and Jackie Raven function as relations who connect Garnet to his *Kaugaugeehn* (Raven) *Doodaem*, a subgroup of the Bird Clan charged with carrying *Midewiwin* teachings that originate from the Earth. Although Wagamese describes the ceremony as a celebration meant to honor young Raven, he uses Mother Raven to relate the gathering to a *Midewiwin* tradition that "goes back [a] long way" (194). In fact, Mother Raven describes the gathering as a feast that includes "prayers'n ceremony," and a time when "[p]eople'd get once in a while to celebrate. Sometimes just the change of seasons" (194). In an Anishinaabe context, the

words *prayers, ceremonies, celebrations*, and *changing seasons* signify a specific ceremonial way acknowledged as belonging to the Earth-based *Midewiwin* Society. Thus, when Ma remembers the gathering to *Midewiwin* traditions, she functions like *Benesih Doodaem Gi-ma-ma-nen* who are charged with carrying responsibilities for remembering teachings and relations. Also, it is Jane the Raven family historian who names the clans assembled as “relatives from Grassy Narrows, Rat Portage an’ Whitefish” (202). She also identifies “eight people all clumped together on another blanket” who had not “been here in years” as members of their deceased father Mukwa’s *Doodaem* (202). Jackie, the sibling who chose to relate himself to his father’s Mukwa *Doodaem*, illustrates how the Bear Clan function when he identifies the *Midewiwin* leading man as Lazarus. However, while Mother Raven and her children relate Garnet to a specific *Doodaem*, which he acknowledges as “our family” and a “[b]ig flock of Ravens,” Keeper re-members young Raven ceremonially to simple teachings about a *Midewiwin* Spirit Way (202).

Keeper remembers old Raven’s recollections of “*times when the people’d gather from all over in big feasts’n celebrations*” (198). He recalls Old Raven’s stories about times when “[p]eople’d paddle in from way long ways. Days sometimes. Comin’ together for honorin’ or just praisin’ the earth for the gifts been comin’ long time. Big celebrations. Hand games, lacrosse, target shootin’, foot races, storytellin’, lotsa stuff goin’ on all round there. Hundreds of people maybe, sometimes more” (199). Keeper re-members young Raven to his *Doodaem* in a *Midewiwin* Way by acknowledging his journey as a Spiritual quest. Wagamese reinforces connections to the *Midewiwin* Way when he characterizes one of the old men at the feast, as Lazarus, a *Mide* “teacher from Rat Portage” who says a real special prayer for the feast (203). In conversation with

young Raven, the old *Mide* teacher encourages him to continue studying with Keeper because “it’s only the start of the trail. There’s more,” which I read as an allusion to the various *Mide* degrees one pursues as part of the *Midewiwin* Ceremony.

When Wagamese includes among his characters Lazarus, a *Mide* teacher; Keeper, a *Midewiwin Drum Keeper*; Alice, a Mother Raven; Jane, a Raven Clan historian; Stanley, a Raven Clan brother; Jackie, a Bear Clan brother; Wally, a Red Sky descendent; Connie, an Otter cousin; Mabel, a Fish(er) clan relation; and Myron, a Copenace clan relation, he writes them into his story as *Nindawemeganidok*, or contemporary relations. He distinguishes his novel from other literary works as an Anishinaabe novel that enacts survivance. His novel enacts survivance because it re-settles *Nindawemeganidok* as members of *Doodaemag* who carry *Midewiwin* teachings about Being Anishinaabe. Vizenor explains survivance as “an active sense of presence and the continuation of traditional knowledge” (*Manifest Manners* vii). Anishinaabe survivance stories like *Keeper* are “renunciations of dominance, tragedy, and victimry” because they enact survivance by re-membering and relating Anishinaabe Being to a *Midewiwin* Way and *Doodaem* relations. The *Midewiwin* and *Doodaemag* are very specific Anishinaabe systems of relational signification and government that writers like Kahgegagahbowh and Warren connect to a renewed Earth. Creation stories remembered by *Doodaem* ceremonialists discussed in Chapter Two connect a renewed Earth to a reCreated world. Thus, when Wagamese includes references to the *Midewiwin* and *Doodaemag*, he shows his stories to be enacting survivance by connecting contemporary relations to these ancient systems of knowledge to reCreate the Anishinaabe world. *Keeper* further enacts survivance by documenting Anishinaabe life-ways in a White Dog community,

contemporizing political treaty issues as part of a Red Sky tradition, and modernizing the re-membering of a Raven Clan family. Indeed, Wagamese's book enacts survivance because it is set mainly in Anishinaabe territory, a place where Anishinaabe characters valorize *Midewiwin* traditions and *Doodaem* relations by speaking their own language, carrying on traditional practices, and attending specific ceremonies, as well as, adapting Euro-North American life-ways to suit their needs.

As an Anishinaabe novel, *Keeper* enacts survivance by modernizing *Midewiwin*, *Doodaem*, *Manidookewin*, *Minjimendaamowinon*, *Manitoukwe*, and *Chibooway* teachings which are carried into his novel by *Nindawemeganidok* (contemporary relations). His book enacts survivance, too, by including a contemporary instance of the *Oshkabaywis* tradition as young Raven's mentoring with the old Drum Keeper. Wagamese connects young Raven to a continuing and viable *Oshkabaywis* tradition when he describes old Keeper as a former apprentice to old Raven and a contemporary apprentice to old Lazarus. Wagamese shows his story to be enacting survivance, too, by connecting it to *Midewiwin* teachings and traditions that foster *Bzindaamowin* and *Bimaadiziwin*. Finally, *Keeper* enacts survivance because Wagamese connects these *Midewiwin* specific ways to contemporary and viable Anishinaabe methods for living a good life with All Our Relations.

CONCLUSION

Feasting, Giving-Away, and Dancing Round

Like previous chapters, this final chapter enacts a ceremonial way in imitating Feasting, Giving-away and Round-Dancing rituals to make concluding comments about Anishinaabe stories that carry *Doodaem* relations and *Midewiwin* teachings into written English. Physically enacted Feasting, Giving-away, and Round-Dancing are important parts of naming ceremonies that encourage participants to reflect on all those who came before us by ritualizing the reCreated world. Naming ceremonies acknowledge one's Being as Anishinaabe and such formal gatherings relate and remember the namer to Spiritual, human, and other than human relations. According to Basil Johnston, the Anishinaabe's second world came into Being because all the relations gave something of themselves, and they celebrated reCreation by acknowledging ceremonially gifts that were given and received. In celebration of the reCreated world, they danced around in ever-widening circles. In taking up the ways of ancestors as a critical strategy, this chapter imitates Feasting, Giving-Away and Round-Dancing in a number of ways. First, it reflects on the work of previous scholars. Second, it acknowledges the way that Anishinaabe stories presented in previous chapters gather our relations. Third, it relates theory to such ceremonial rituals by noting the way that stories provide sustenance for the reCreation of Being. Fourth, this chapter connects theory to Feasts, Give-aways, and Round-Dances by acknowledging the way that stories included in this study celebrate our survival.

Reflections

As this study inquired into the Spiritual teachings and systems of signification and governance that ground Anishinaabe stories in multiple genres, it drew upon Anishinaabe ceremonial knowledge, family oral stories, and books written in English in the development of theory. A central question throughout the writing process was, “what does an Anishinaabe theoretical approach to Anishinaabe literature look like?”

In the formulation of theory, I responded to calls from leading Indigenous critics like Jeannette Armstrong (Okanagan), Armand Garnet Ruffo (Anishinaabe), Craig Womack (Creek), Robert Warrior (Osage), Jace Weaver (Cherokee), and Daniel Heath Justice (Cherokee). In response to Armstrong’s call in *Looking at the Words of Our People: First Nations Analysis of Literature* for an acknowledgement and recognition of culture-specific experts in the formulation of critical theory, I engaged primarily with Anishinaabe knowledge keepers. In response to Ruffo’s call in *(Ad)dressing Our Words: Aboriginal Perspectives on Aboriginal Literatures* for a grounding of cultural beliefs and values in the development of criticism, I constructed an Anishinaabe-centred literary criticism that grows from the Spiritual beliefs and traditional systems of relations and governance. As Womack urges Indigenous critics in *Red on Red: Native American Literary Separatism* to attend to our “vast, and vastly understudied, written tradition” in English which “should prove valuable toward formulating literary theory” (2), I built Anishinaabe criticism from the extensive body of Anishinaabe writings in English which Dr. Kimberly Blaeser traces to the mid-nineteenth century (*Stories* 3). As Warrior in *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions* urged Indigenous scholars to read critically those Indigenous writers that came before us because their

collective work constitutes an important intellectual tradition from which to draw in the development of literary theory, I turned to the work of literary ancestors to help create a methodology for Anishinaabe criticism. Just as Weaver in *That the People Might Live: Native American Literatures and Native American Community* advocates for a literary criticism that “has a proactive commitment to Native community” and that activates “healing of the grief and sense of exile felt by Native communities” after 500 years of colonialism, I modeled a compassionate criticism that shows possibilities for re-membering Being from stories written in English because grief and exile brought about by colonization have contributed to the dismemberment of Anishinaabe people from Anishinaabe knowledge (43). Finally, as Justice in *Our Fire Survives the Storm: A Cherokee Literary History* calls for a criticism that is built on nationhood, “woven in large part from the lives, dreams, and challenges of the people who compose the body politic . . . examining the interplay of broader social issues with lived human realities,” I personalized theory by carrying the stories of family into written English, showing connections to important systems of Anishinaabe signification (7). In other words, the philosophical underpinnings that guided my critical approach are connected to calls from Armstrong for culture-specific experts, from Ruffo for a criticism grounded in First Nations cultures, from Womack and Justice for literary nationalism, from Warrior for intellectual sovereignty, and from Weaver for communitism.

Applying literary nationalism, intellectual sovereignty, and communitism as philosophical principles in the creation of Anishinaabe theory, I textualized a ceremonial pathway for gathering knowledge keepers and organizing theoretical methods. Each chapter represents some aspect of ceremony which was taken primarily from written

work of community acknowledged Bird Clan Lodge Keeper Alexander Wolfe, Bear Clan Lodge Keeper Dan Musqua, and Fish Clan Lodge Keeper Edward Benton-Banai. As the chapters are considered together, the dissertation imitates a *Midewiwin* naming ceremony in a number of ways. As in such a ceremony, in the introduction I acknowledged that Being Anishinaabe is relevant, significant, and important in naming the body of literature and theory Anishinaabe. Then, in Chapter One I related theory to ceremony by activating vision as a critical strategy for re-visioning the critical landscape. In Chapter Two, I imitated ceremony by re-membering Anishinaabe creation stories written in English to traditional forms of governance and relations responsible for carrying Spiritual teachings. In Chapters Three to Five, I activated ceremonial ways like acknowledging and re-membering Being to connect stories written in English to *Manitoukwe*, *Chibooway*, and *Nindawemeganidok* respectively. In this chapter, as noted previously, I relate theory to ceremony by connecting the conclusion to Feasts, Give-Aways, and Round Dances, a critical strategy that reflects on the way that Anishinaabe stories gather relations, provide sustenance, and celebrate our survival.

Gathering Relations

Gathering *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations to ground theory for contemporary Anishinaabe literature is a challenge that had not been undertaken before this study. Following long periods of contemplations, fasting, prayers, and ceremonies, I set up this dissertation as a *Midewiwin*-like naming *Manidookewin*, or ceremonial way to balance traditional protocols with academic conventions. As an Anishinaabe critical method, *Manidookewin* conforms to specific protocols for attending to Spiritual teachings

and is therefore not prescriptive or definitive. As a ceremonial way, *Manidookewin* requires participation, and so throughout this dissertation I engaged personally with stories to show that Being Anishinaabe is a relevant way for contributing to the discourse of and about Indigenous literatures. As a critical model, *Manidookewin* takes up the ways of ancestors to demonstrate how literary nationalism, intellectual sovereignty, and communitism function in an Anishinaabe context. Margaret Noori reminds us that when writers like Johnston advocate “tak[ing] up again their ancient ways of believing,” and ceremonial processes, he is not asking us to live in the past but rather “to live with more awareness of the past” (98). Reflecting my living with this enhanced awareness, this study gathers the work of Anishinaabe Keepers of Knowledge. For example, it gathers the work of Alexander Wolfe, Dan Musqua, Edward Benton-Banai, Johnston, and Gerald Vizenor as part of a critical strategy to re-call Anishinaabe stories of origin. In their stories, Anishinaabe ancestors are presented as part of a complex kinship system with both human and other-than-human Beings. In Chapter Two, words from Elder Musqua’s *The Seven Fires* explain that Anishinaabe relations originate from both a Mother and Father Creator. In *Earth Elder Stories*, Wolfe roots *Doodaem* relations in a time when the land was still open, which I interpret as a time when most of the people still conceptualized their Beings as originating from a *Midewiwin* Way, an Earth-based system of relations and government signified by names (xvii). Such works of contemporary Anishinaabe authorities are gathered together in this study to right historical injustices and open discursive spaces for the re-settlement of this Anishinaabe-specific system of relational signification and government. While such injustices included dis-membering Anishinaabe people from Anishinaabe knowledge systems, this study has

shown that “there still exists a sense of tribal consciousness,” which I interpret as having strong *Midewiwin* and *Doodaem* dimensions (Noori 32).

In gathering the work of Anishinaabe Keepers of Knowledge for this writing project, my analysis showed many of them to be *Doodaem* leaders who continue to inspire stories written in English with *Midewiwin* teachings. Such an analysis also revealed the presence of ancient *Chibooway* and contemporary *Nindawemeganidok*, or otherworldly relations who continue to inspire Being and who are part of a more secular world respectively. Some of these relations are those Vizenor refers to as *oshki* (new) Anishinaabe. He connects them to sacred clowns, dreams, the Earth, “shamans and other tribal healers and visionaries [who] speak the various languages of plants and animals and feel the special dream power to travel backward from familiar times and places (*Earthdivers* viii). In this study, Wolfe, Musqua, Benton-Banai, Johnston, and Vizenor are *oshki* Anishinaabe because they inspire stories written in English with *Midewiwin* teachings to resuscitate Anishinaabe relations, previously represented as Indian, Chippewa, Ojibway, and Saulteaux. In their work, Marie Annharte Baker, Kimberly Blaeser, Winona LaDuke, and Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm who are analogues to ceremonial Clan Mothers remind us such representations are simulations that suffocate the tribal Spirit (56). Like traditional fire-keepers, Kahgegagahbowh and Wagamese remind us that one of the pathways beyond deadening English words, suffocating terminal creeds, and manifest manners, to borrow from Vizenor’s well-spring of neologisms, leads to a Spiritual path, or a *Midewiwin* Way.

Stories as Sustenance

In constructing a *Midewiwin*-like naming *Manidookewin*, I have shown that Anishinaabe stories can provide sustenance for re-membering Being. As Justice describes his work, my own work “emerges from lived histories of kin, self, and community” (15), and therefore in previous chapters I illustrated the way that family stories help me contribute to Canadian literary studies. Like Weaver, my work embraces the “[S]pirit and service of continuance,” showing it to be “deeply experiential and narrative rather than simply theoretical” (*That x*). Thus, in preparing to write this dissertation, I related personally to the many traditional stories now written in English. Struggling to develop theoretical methods for reading critically Anishinaabe stories written in English, I had to decipher coded references to *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations. During the trauma that followed the birth of my granddaughter Angelina, I remembered a ceremonial ritual *Ni’mosom* Paul enacted when he told me family stories. Before beginning his stories, he instructed me to always call him *Mosom*, not grandfather, and he urged me to remember that his name meant Man Standing Above Ground. Afterwards he removed a bundled object from his shirt pocket, which he seemed to embrace with ceremonial reverence. Then he connected his own stories to *Capan* Qwewich and Samuel Acoose. Looking back now, I realize he told me family stories, over and over again, because they embodied multileveled themes and meanings that are not revealed immediately, as Johnston explains in *Ojibway Heritage* (8). In my case, it has taken me over fifty years to decipher coded allusions and to recognize that my ancestors were *Benesih Doodaem* carriers of ancient *Midewiwin* knowledge whose stories sustain my Being.

I realize now that when *Mosom* removed the bundled object from his shirt pocket he was ritualizing an important aspect of storytelling that re-membered his Being ceremonially to a *Benesih Doodaem*. As noted in previous chapters, members of *Benesih Doodaem* are *Midewiwin* leaders, *Doodaem* orators, and Keepers of *Midewiwin* ceremonies. Wolfe documents this important clan function when he writes of *Mosom*'s father. He describes Acoose as a Spiritually and physically gifted human who opened "a small bundle that he carried on his back," revealing that "[i]t contained his pipe, sweetgrass and a stuffed chickadee" (38-39). Wolfe's story also records a ceremony that Acoose used. He explains that *Ni'capan* lit some sweetgrass and his pipe to invoke "Him who made all the birds of the air," and then he shared it with Penipekeesick and Blessed by the Sky (38-39). Wolfe also explains that Acoose cautioned them "not [to] move, no matter what you hear or see," which I understand to mean that he was anticipating the arrival of Spiritual ancestors whom he called ceremonially (38-39).

Wolfe's description of Acoose's ritualistic opening of the bundled chickadee confirms my memory of the ritual performed by *Mosom* Paul. That Wolfe specifically identifies Acoose's bundled object as a chickadee makes sense to me when I remember the stories he repeated, over and over again. In those stories, paternal ancestors are named Qwewich / Rolling Thunder, Acoose / Bird in Flight, and Acoose / Man Standing Above the Ground. All these names relate my paternal ancestors to birds, and thus his stories I now realize were allusions to *Benesih Doodaemag*. Coded allusions are strategies that were used to preserve the *Midewiwin* teachings contained in stories, and such strategies were necessary because government and church authorities banned *Midewiwin* ceremonies and their related teachings. *Ni'mosom*'s stories of Acoose ancestors are

necessarily subversive because they grew out of an era when Canadian officials like Duncan Campbell Scott were instituting genocidal policies designed to erase all traces of our *Midewiwin* traditions and *Doodaem* relations.

In my own family and communities, Christian missionaries, Indian agents, police, and nuns dismembered systems of *Doodaemag* signification and *Midewiwin* government. These claims are well documented in numerous oral stories and historical documents. During my oldest son's naming ceremony thirty-some years ago, *Ni' mosom* J.B. Redwood told me one story. He recalled how all the old Anishinaabe *Midewiwin* traditionalists were banished forever from our Sakimay community. Wolfe repeated this story soon after we were introduced in 1985. In fact, he explained that all the old *Midewiwin* traditionalists who were banished from our Sakimay homeland moved to Anishinaabe territories in North Dakota and Minnesota. During the era of Christian dictatorship on reserves, my own father was also banished for allegedly immoral behavior. My father was a chronic alcoholic after he left residential school. While my father was banned from Sakimay, he often returned to visit "the Old People," as he called his Elder relations. Disconnected from family circles and dismembered from *Doodaem* relations, my family continues to suffer from deeply Spiritual wounds.

The erosion of *Midewiwin* ceremonies and *Doodaem* relations became swifter and more severe with enforced attendance at Indian Residential Schools. In my own family, four generations of relations were imprisoned and forced to assimilate to EuroCanadian life-ways, as I wrote in "Deconstructing Five Generations of White Christian Patriarchal Rule." My final year at the Cowessis Indian Residential School in 1963 marked the end of physical imprisonment, but the Spiritual and psychological trauma continues to affect

me and all my relations. In fact, while at one time my paternal relatives were esteemed as *Midewiwin* callers of Spirits and ceremonialists who stood above the ground, today the Acoose name is primarily associated with so-called social diseases of Indians. Thus, when I set about to right relations in written English, my project is both deeply personal and political, for like Justice, Cobb, and Weaver (to name just a few) my work “doesn’t seek a distanced, ‘objective’ perspective removed from human experience and contexts” (Justice 15).

Celebrating Survival

Part of the work of Indigenous critics, as noted previously, has been to develop critical strategies that celebrate the survival of our respective nations. In building this *Manidookewin*, I modeled it according to what Justice describes as, “[o]ne of the most vibrant--and controversial--approaches in current Indigenous literary studies [that] is a growing movement known as Indigenous literary nationalism” (“Scholarship” 1). As an Anishinaabe theoretical model, *Manidookewin* places my own Anishinaabe “intellectual and cultural values at the center of analysis, rather than the margins” (1). A *Midewiwin*-like naming *Manidookewin* begins from the premise that Anishinaabe institutions have within them “intellectual foundations . . . ideally suited to the study of Indigenous literatures” (1). An Anishinaabe ceremonial approach for reading Anishinaabe stories is political in that “it asserts the active presence of Indigenous [Anishinaabe] values in the study of the literatures of Indian Country, and it sees transformative possibility in studying nation-specific literatures through the critical lenses of their source cultures” (1). Thus, as an Anishinaabe critic, I was able to adapt a textual *Manidookewin* to resist being

pushed into theoretical frames that like Indian Residential schools relied on so-called experts from outside our cultures who assume rights to define, shape, and measure our worlds.

In this dissertation, I build on Indigenous literary nationalistic models by responding to Johnston's call for studies that show "Anishinaubae ideas and institutions" ("How" 51). Like Johnston, I believe that "[u]ntil that study is done, the Anishinaubae peoples and their teachers cannot fully understand the philosophy or the philosophic basis for their institutions, [and] cannot fully transmit them to their children" (51). Thus, I gather the stories of Anishinaabe Knowledge Keepers to show the ways they continue to provide sustenance by including *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations. As such stories provide Spiritual sustenance, I use the Anishinaabe words *Midewiwin*, *Manidookewin*, *Minjimendaamowinon*, *Manitoukwe*, *Doodaem/ag*, *Chibooway*, and *Nindawemeganidok* as part of the critical language for creating theory. I have used the words *Midewiwin*, *Manidookewin*, and *Minjimendaamowinon* to re-member being Anishinaabe ceremonially. I also use the words *Manitoukwe*, *Doodaemag*, *Chibooway*, and *Nindawemeganidok* to illustrate how such teachings and relations inspire my reading of and my response to Anishinaabe stories by self-described Anishinaabe writers and community-recognized Keepers of Knowledge. The word *relations*, as it has been used repeatedly in this study, emphasizes colloquial ways of connecting with other Anishinaabe. Such an approach attempts to do some of the work that Johnston asks of us, particularly by celebrating and honouring the work of deceased writers Wolfe and Kahgegahbowh, along with Musqua, Benton-Banai, and Wagamese. In this study, I also celebrate and honour the work of Baker, Blaeser, Akiwenzie-Damm, and LaDuke to

show how contemporary storied forms carry representations of *Manitoukwe*, a Spiritual ancestor who sustains Anishinaabe Being as she re-members us to the land. These Anishinaabe writers along with contemporary critics Noori, D'arcy Rheault, and Lawrence Gross provide evidence that Anishinaabe stories continue to sustain Being even as they are re-presented and reCreated in English. They sustain Being because they are inspirited with *Midewiwin* teachings, *Doodaemag* governing systems, and relations like *Manitoukwe*, *Cheeboway*, and *Nindawemeganidok*. Such important systems of signification remind us, as Wagamese explains, that “[s]tories are meant to heal. That’s what my people say, and it’s what I believe” (*One* 4). Like Wagamese, for me “[c]ulling these stories has taken me a long way down the healing path from the trauma I carried” (4).

In “Honoring *Ni’Wahkomakanak*,” I wrote about reCreating Being as a “*Koochum*” and experiencing the “transformative power of words” as I watched *No’simak* Alijah-Blue and Angelina-Nicole, my “beautiful-brown-bouncing-bubby-babies” (*Reasoning* 220). I also wrote about the transformative powers of Spirits, words, relations, and stories as I held them in my arms, sang to them, and imagined them

as young children running into my arms and calling, ‘*Hola, Co-Co.*’ I imagine[d] the myriad of *Nahkawe’-Nehiyaw-Metis-Chilean* ancestors whose energies flow[ed] through their blood brought alive in the voicing and joining of the Spanish greeting, ‘*Hola,*’ with the *Nehiyaw-Metis-Nahkawe* term of address, ‘*Koochum/Co-Co.*’ I imagine[d] instructing them to always call me ‘*Co-Co*’ rather than ‘grandmother’ – just as my *Nehiyaw-Metis Koochum* taught me. I

imagine[d] passing on ancestral stories of *Qwewich*, *Ekos*, and Acoose just as *Ni'mosom* passed these heirlooms on to me. (220)

I include this passage here, in the final chapter of this dissertation, to make a connection to important aspects of the Give-Away ritual. That is, I offer my own words and ideas to show how knowledge can be given back to the community from which it originates.

White Earth scholar Blaeser contextualizes this idea when she explains that “[s]tory power has always been a vital part of native lives. Indian people don’t really instruct their children; they story them. That is, not only tell them stories but encourage them to hear and see the stories of the world around them, admonish them to remember the stories, and inspire them to create and discover their own stories” (*Stories* 1). In *Crazy Dave*, Johnston also contextualizes the idea that stories sustain Being and allow us to give back to our communities when he re-members his *Nokomis*-like grandmother Rosa’s teachings. He writes, “[h]ow much my grandmother told me I cannot say. Certainly, far more than I’ve managed to retain” (8). His grandmother Rosa, he re-calls, resisted learning English and depended upon successive husbands, children, and grandchildren to interpret for her. Before he went to school, Johnston was taught by Rosa that “there are realities in the world other than the physical, that every [B]eing and thing has an unseen principle of life” (8). He also remembers that when he was a teenager his grandmother Rosa taught him the importance of knowing his history. He recalls, “I must have seemed inattentive to her [because] she reminded me sharply that ‘You’d better get to know where you came from. It’s the only way you’re going to get to know yourself.’ Until my grandmother had told me about things, I had given them no thought. But they have stayed with me and have become part of my outlook and perception” (8-9). He also illustrates

the importance of his grandmother's teachings when he writes in *The Manitous* about owing a debt to our relations for the knowledge we inherit (xix). In this study, I remember my Being ceremonially to relations as part of a critical strategy for reciprocating knowledge passed on to me. Thus, my work returns knowledge to my Anishinaabe relations, as well as non-Anishinaabe First Nations, and academic communities. As an academic project that relies on Anishinaabe *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations, my work serves Anishinaabe relations by re-settling ancestral knowledge alongside other world systems. Thus, my work nurtures other world systems of knowledge by enriching them with ancient teachings that continue to inspire contemporary stories (in multiple genres).

One of the first full length book about *Doodaemag*, Wolfe's *Earth Elder Stories*, creates a literary pathway for scholars and writers when he includes Bird Clan traditions in written English. Before writing them in English, Wolfe contemplated the ways his clan stories might live in books written in English. In the end, he decided to place them in English to ensure that traditional knowledge continues to be passed onto future generations. Wolfe's stories belong to the *Pinayzitt Doodaem*, a subgroup of the *Benesih Doodaem* that "instruct[s] a person in their identity, their purpose in life, their responsibility and contributions to the well-being of others" (xii). Anishinaabe-apprentice storyteller to Wolfe, Knight described his stories as "windows into . . . [the Anishinaabe] dynamic past" (viii). Noori names as *waasechigan* those stories that are both a "window" and something that is able to shine light (1).

Picking up on Wolfe's concerns, I deliberately avoided using what Thomas King describes as "the gymnastic of theoretical language" (115). As he makes clear, theoretical

words like *hegemony* and *subalternity* may be useful concepts for structuring some discussions of Native literatures; however, “most of us don’t live in the university” (115). In personalizing theory-making, I make connections to communities where I do live to illustrate the ways that my Being is inspirited through stories. Using English as the primary language for building a *Manidookewin* that illuminates *Midewiwin* teachings and *Doodaem* relations, presented enormous challenges which I likened to reCreating the Anishinaabe world, re-membering systems of relational signification and governance, and re-negotiating settlement for relations. To balance the power dynamics in the use of English, I imitated a ceremonial call-out and a clearing the ground ritual to gather our *Chibooway* and assemble the *Doodaemag*. Therefore, in this dissertation, I gathered the work of *Benesih Doodaem* Lodge Keeper Alexander Wolfe, *Mukwa Doodaem* ceremonialist Dan Musqua, and *Geghoon Doodaem Mide* teacher Edward Benton-Banai. I also gathered ceremonial-like visionaries Basil Johnston (*Geghoon Doodaem*) and Gerald Vizenor (*Chejauk Doodaem*); ceremonial-like Clan Mothers Marie Annharte Baker and Kimberly Blaeser (*Migizi Doodaem*), Winona LaDuke (*Mukwa Doodaem*), and Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm (*Wabijeshi Doodaem*); ceremonial-like Fire Keepers Kahgegagahbowh (*Mukwa Doodaem*) and Richard Wagamese (*Geghoon Doodaem*); and ceremonial-like helpers D’arcy Rheault (*Mukwa Doodaem*), Lawrence Gross (*Geghoon Doodaem*), and Margaret Noori and Patricia McQuire (*Wabijeshi Doodaem*). These Anishinaabe experts along with some non-Anishinaabe critical writers helped me to re-vision, re-member, re-call, re-settle, and reCreate Being for All of the Relations.

APPENDIX

Glossary of Anishinaabe Words

Aanikoobijigan – ancestors

Aadizookaan (pl *ak*) – the body of sacred stories

Ah-ne-me-keeg – a relational term for Thunder Beings

Ah-mun'-ni-soo-win – intuition

Aki – the Earth

Akeywakeywazee / *Chi Akiwenziaag* - a relational term for male Elder Keepers of clan stories

Akos (*Ekos*) – a family name that acknowledges my relations as men who stood above the ground and callers of Spirits, according to a *Midewiwin* Way. Bishop Baraga, however, connects it to carriers of sickness

Anishinaabemowin – the language spoken and now written by the people who call themselves Anishinaabe

Animoosh – a White Dog ceremony

A-wause-e / *Geghoon Doodaemag* – Fish Clan

Beedahbun – a sunrise ceremony / first light

Be-ge-wain – come back

Binesih Doodaemag – a relational term for the Bird Clans, carriers of *Midewiwin* teachings

Bih'-kee-yan – come home

Bimaadiziwin / *Minobimaatiziwin* / *Menobimaadizin* – a good and balanced life with all of Creation; the way to a good and balanced life

Bzindaamowin – a method for acquiring Spiritual teachings that involves developing listening skills

Capan / Ni'capan – a relational term for great grandfather and my great grandfather; according to Dr. Cecil King it is a Cree term

Chejauk / Ah-ji-jauk Doodaemag – relational terms for the Crane Clan the acknowledged leaders of Clan relations

Chibooway / Gee-baw'-ug / Giibayag – Spiritual ancestors who continue to inspire Being
Chiboowun – substance that emanates from one's soul Spirit

Daebaujemoot – a traditional story-teller

Daebwe / Daebwewin / N'debwwetawin – Truth, the way of the truth, and my belief, the truth that is evident in the way of one's actions

Doodaemag / Doodaem – plural and singular forms for social and political system of signification that remembers relations and responsibilities to *Manitoukwe* (the land), according to a *Midewiwin* Way

Gaa-waabaabiganikaag – the name for White Earth

Geghoon Doodaemag –relational terms for the Fish Clan, responsible for passing on healing stories

Geesis – a relational term for the sun

Gee-way-din / Giiwedahn – North Wind, and the place where Mother Earth purifies herself each year

Gheezhigo-Quae / Gheezigokwe - a relational term for the ancestor acknowledged as Sky Woman

Gitchikwe – a relational term for female ceremonial helpers

Gi-ma-ma-nen – Clan Mothers

Gitchi Manitou / Keshamonedoo – a relational term for one of the Anishinaabe's original ancestor acknowledged as a coCreator with *Manitoukwe*, according to *Midewiwin* teachings

Gi-ti-gay'-mi-non' – seeds of life

Kaw gigh – standing ground forever

Keche gummee – Great Spirit Lake (Lake Superior)

Ke-ch-waub-e-shash – Chief Big Marten

Koochum (Coochum)/ Nokom / Nokomis – relational term for one's Mother's Mother, my Mother's Mother, and my Mother's little Mother

Koo-koo-ko-ooh – owl

Ma-en-gun – Nanabush's original companion, the Wolf

Mahng Doodaem – the relational term for the Loon Clan

Makinauk Doodaem – the relational term for the Turtle Clan, a subgroup of the Fish Clan

Manidookewin – ceremonial way that acknowledge one's Being as related to Spiritual ancestors; a Spirit way for attending to ancestors

Manidoo Waabiwin – a dream vision

Manitoukwe – a relational term for the Spiritual ancestor acknowledged as the Mother Creator, or the land

Mee-iweh Mee-minik – that is it, that is enough

Migizi Doodaem – a relational term for the Eagle Clan

Midemoya / Mindimooyehnag - a term for female Keepers of *Midewiwin Doodaem* stories

Mide / Midewiwin / Midewiwin Way – ancient ceremony that institutionalizes a Spirit Way for acquiring well Being, and ancient teachings brought by Seven Grandfathers that set out a Spiritual way for living

Minjimendaamowinon – a process for ceremonially re-membering Being to a *Midewiwin* Way and *Doodaem* relations

Mishee Mackinakong / Michilimackinac – place of recreated second world; place name

Monson Doodaem – the Moose Clan

Mooneyowinih kah kinahmakait – a phrase used to mean White people's teachings

Mosom / Ni'mosom – a relational term for one's Father's Father and my Father's Father

Muhkotay Beeaheekkee Anakwat – Buffalo Cloud

Mukwa / Noka Doodaem – the relational term for the Bear Clan

Muzzumikummikquay – Mother Earth

Nagamoon – song

Nanabush, Nanaboozho, Waynaboozhoo – relational term for one of the first Spirit Beings who took on a human form, an ancestor commonly referred to as an Anishinaabe Trickster

Nebwakawin – knowledge, particularly Spiritual knowledge

Nee-ba-geesis – relational term for the Moon

Nee-goni-Wa'bun-gi-ga-win – to see in the future

Nehiowe – a term of reference for Cree people

Nindawemiganidok – all relational Beings that are a part of Creation

N'ozhae-ishaehnse / Noosis – grandchildren, and grandson

Ogimaakwe – a leading woman, a head chief, and a visionary

Ogimaawinini - a leading man, a head chief, and a visionary

O-o-me-she – hoot owl

Oshkabaywis – a relational term for a male ceremonial helper

Pantonogoshene – Falling Sound Bay

Peen-di-gen / Be-in-di-gain – come in

Pinayzitt Doodaem – a relational term for the Partridge Foot Clan, a subgroup of the Bird
Clan

Sa se-je-won – rapids

See-be – river

Soo-wanee-quay / Sha-won-a-qua – power of women; Spiritual ancestor related to
women's visionary dreams

Waasechiganan – windows and something that shines a light

Wabijeshi Doodaem – Marten Clan

Wa-wa-shesh-she Doodaem – Deer Clan

Wayeshkad – the beginning

Wayekwaase – come to an end

Weegwaus – birch bark

Wesakajak – a relational term for the Cree Trickster Being

Whintigo – a mythological Being commonly associated with human tendencies towards
excessive consumption

Whintigokan – a relational term for ceremonial clowns, not to be confused with the the

Whintigo

Zha-wa-noong – South

Works Cited

- Acoose, Harriet. Personal Communication. 8 Sept. 1985.
- Acoose, Janice. *Iskwewak – Kah'Ki Yaw Ni Wahkomakanak: Neither Indian Princesses Nor Easy Squaws*. Toronto: Women's P, 1995. Print.
- . "Honouring *Ni Wahkomakanak*." Womack, Justice, and Tueton, 216-33.
- . "Deconstructing Five Generations of White Christian Patriarchal Rule." *Residential Schools: The Stolen Years*. Saskatoon: U of Saskatchewan Extension P, 1993.
- Acoose, Janice, narr. "Acoose: Man Standing Above the Ground." By Janice Acoose and Brenda Zeman. *Ambience*. Regina: CBC Radio, 1985. Radio.
- Adams, Howard. *A Tortured People: The Politics of Colonization*. Penticton: Theytus, 1995. Print.
- Akan, Linda. "Pimosatamowin Sikaw Kakeequaywin: Walking and Talking. A Saulteaux Elders' View of Native Education." *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*. 23.1 (1999): 16-39. Web. 25 Dec. 2008.
- Akiwenzie-Damm, Kateri (see also Damm, Kateri). *My Heart is a Stray Bullet*. Kegedonce, Cape Croker Reserve, 2003. Print.
- . Re. "Doodaem." Message to Janice Acoose. 6 Jan. 2010. E-mail.
- Akiwenzie-Damm, Kateri, and Josie Douglas, eds. *Skins: Contemporary Indigenous Writing*. Cape Croker Reserve: Kegedonce, 2000. Print.
- Akiwenzie-Damm, Kateri, and Jeannette Armstrong, eds. "this is where we stand our ground." *Gatherings VII*. Penticton: Theytus, 1996. 1-2. Print.
- Akiwenzie-Damm, Kateri, coll. and ed. *Without Reservation: Indigenous Erotica*. Cape Croker Reserve: Kegedonce, 2003. Print.

- Andrews, Isabelle. *Crooked Lake Reserves: A Study of Indian Policy in Practice from the Qu'Appelle Treaty to 1900*. MA thesis. U of Saskatchewan, 1972. Print.
- Annharte (see also Marie Annharte Baker). *Being On the Moon*. Winlaw: Polestar, 1990. Print.
- . "Bird Clan Mother." *Being*. 40.
- Armstrong, Jeannette. "The Disempowerment of First North American Native Peoples and Empowerment Through Their Writing." *Moses and Goldie*. 242-45. Print
- Armstrong, Jeannette, ed. *Looking At the Words of Our People*. Penticton: Theytus, 1993. Print.
- Baker, Marie Annharte. *Blueberry Canoe*. Vancouver: New Star, 2001. Print.
- . "Borrowing Enemy Language: A First Nation Woman's Use of English." *Words in Common: Essays on Language, Culture, and Society*. Ed. Gillian Thomas. Don Mills: Addison-Wesley, 1999. 41-47. Print.
- . *Coyote Columbus Café*. Winnipeg: Moonprint, 1994. Print.
- . *Exercises in Lip Pointing*. Vancouver: New Star, 2003. Print.
- . "Medicine Lines: The Doctoring of Story and Self." *Canadian Woman Studies* 14.2, 1994. 114-18. Print.
- . Re: "Bird Clan Mother." Message to Janice Acoose. 12 May 2010. E-mail.
- Baraga, Frederic. *A Dictionary of the Ojibway Language*. Foreword by John D. Nichols. St Paul: Minnesota Historical Society P, 1992. Print.
- Benton-Banai, Edward. *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway*. Wisconsin: Indian Country Communications, 1988. Print.

- Blaeser, Kimberly. *Absentee Indians and Other Poems*. East Lansing: Michigan State UP, 2002. Print.
- . *Apprenticed to Justice*. Cambridge: Salt, 2007. Print.
- . Interview by Jennifer Andrews. "Living History: A Conversation with Kimberly Blaeser." *Studies in American Indian Literatures*. 19.2 (2007): 1-21. Web. 10 Dec. 2009.
- . *Gerald Vizenor: Writing in the Oral Tradition*. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1996. Print.
- . "Native Literature: Seeking a Critical Center." *Looking At the Words of Our People*. Penticton: Theytus, 1993. Print.
- . "Of Landscape and Narrative." *Stories*. 5-7. Rpt. in *Absentee* 27-29. Print.
- . "Pagans Rewriting the Bible: Heterodoxy and the Representation of Spirituality in Native American Literature." *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature* 25.1 (January 1994): 12-31. Web. 10 Dec. 2009.
- . Re: "Doodaems." Message to Janice Acoose. 30 April 2010. E-mail.
- . "Sacred Journey Cycles: Pilgrimage as Re-Turning and Re-Telling in American Indigenous Literatures." *Religion and Literature*. 35.2-3 (Summer-Autumn 2003): 83-104. Web. 12 Nov. 2009.
- . *Trailing You. Poems*. New York: Greenfield P, 1994. Print.
- . "Writing Voices Speaking: Native Authors and an Oral Aesthetic." Murray and Rice, *Talking*. 53-68. Print.
- Blaeser, Kimberly, ed. *Stories Migrating Home: A Collection of Anishinaabe Prose*. Bemidji: Loonfeather P, 1999. Print.

- Brooks, Lisa. "Digging the Roots: Locating an Ethical, Native Criticism." Womack, Justice, and Tueton. 234-64. Print.
- Brown Ruoff, LaVonne A. "The Literary and Methodist Contexts of George Copway's *Life, Letters, and Speeches*." Brown Ruoff and Smith. 1-21. Print.
- Bruchac, Joseph. Introduction. "A Living Tree with Many Roots: An Introduction to Native North American Literature." Witalec. xxxix-xlv. Print.
- Carter, Sarah. *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1990. Print.
- Cook-Lynn, Elizabeth. *Why I Can't Read Wallace Stegner and Other Essays*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1996. Print.
- Copway, George (see also Kahgegagahbowh). *The Life, History, and Travels, of Kah-ga-gah-bowh (George Copway), a Young Indian Chief of the Ojibwa Nation, A Convert to the Christian Faith, and Missionary to his People for Twelve Years; with a Sketch of the Present State of the Ojibwa Nation, In Regard to the Christianity and Their Future Prospects. Also an Appeal; with all the Names of the Chiefs Now Living, Who have Been Christianized, and the Missionaries Now Laboring Among Them*. Albany: Weed and Parsons, 1847. Print.
- . *Life, Letters and Speeches*. 1850. Eds. A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff and Donald B. Smith. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1997. Print.
- Cote, Margaret. *Nahkawewin/Saulteaux: Ojibway Dialect of the Plains*. Regina: Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, 1985. Print.
- Damm, Kateri (see also Akiwenzie-Damm, Kateri). "Says Who: Colonialism, Identity, and Defining Indigenous Literature." Armstrong, 9-26. Print.

- . "Speaking Native Realities in Maria Campbell's *Halfbreed* and Beatrice Culleton's *In Search of April Raintree*." Armstrong, 94-114. Print.
- David, Jennifer. *Story Keepers: Conversations with Aboriginal Writers*. Owen Sound: Nigwakwe Learning P, 2004. Print.
- Deloria, Vine Jr. "Marginal and Submarginal." *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities*. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 2004. 16-30. Print.
- . "Intellectual Self-Determination and Sovereignty: Looking at the Windmills in Our Minds." *Wicazo Sa Review: A Journal of Native American Studies*. Spring (1998): 25-51. Print.
- Dumont, Jim. Foreword. *Ojibwe: Waaswa Inaabidaa – We Look in all Directions*. By Thomas Peacock and Marlene Wisuri. Afton, MN: Afton Historical P, 2002. 10. Print.
- Erdrich, Louise. *Four Souls*. New York: HarperCollins P, 2004. Print.
- Fagan, Kristina. "The Delicate Dance of Reasoning and Togetherness." *Studies in American Indian Literatures*. 20.2 Summer (2008): 77-101. Web. 10 Feb. 2009.
- . "Tewatatha:wi: Aboriginal Nationalism in Taiaiake Alfred's Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Aboriginal Manifesto." *American Indian Quarterly*. 28.1/2: 12-29. Web. 2. Feb. 2009.
- Fagan, Kristina, and Sam McKegney. "Circling the Question of Nationalism in Native Canadian Literature and its Study." *Literature and Arts of the Americas*. 41.1. (2008): 77-101. Web. 10, Feb. 2009.

- Favel, Floyd. *Lady of Silences*. Toronto: Native Canadian Centre of Toronto, 1993.
- Performance.
- Fee, Margery and Janice McAlpine, eds. *Oxford Guide to Canadian English Usage*.
Second Ed. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007. Print.
- Fitz-Gibbon, Mary, trans. *The Diaries of Edmund Montague Morris: Western Journeys
1907-1910*. Toronto: Royal Ontario Musuem, 1995. Print.
- Foster, Tol. "Of One Blood: An Argument for Relations and Regionality in Native
American Literary Studies." Womack, Justice, and Tueton. 265-302. Print.
- Gill, Sam D. *Mother Earth: An American Story*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1987. Print.
- Gill, Sam D. and Irene F. Sullivan. *Dictionary of Native American Mythology*. New
York: Oxford UP, 1992. Print.
- Gross, Lawrence. "Bimaadiziwin, or the 'Good Life,' as a Unifying Concept of
Anishinaabe Religion." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*
26.1(2002). Web. 3 Feb. 2007.
- . "The Comic Vision of Anishinaabe Culture and Religion." *American Indian Culture
and Research Journal*. 26.3 (2002). 15-32. Web. 25 May 2010.
- . "Cultural Sovereignty and Native American Hermeneutics in the Interpretation of the
Sacred Stories of the Anishinaabe." *Wicazo Sa Review* Fall (2003). Web. 7 Jan.
2009. 127-34
- Halfe, Louise. *Bear, Bones, and Feathers*. Regina: Coteau P, 1994. Print.
- Howse, Yvonne. Personal Communication. 15 Nov. 2009.
- Hulan, Renée, ed. *Native North America: Critical and Cultural Perspectives*. Toronto:
ECW Press, 1999. Print.

- Innes, Robert. *The Importance of Family Ties to Cowessess First Nation*. Diss. U of Arizona 2007. Print.
- Johnson, Basil. *Anishinaubae Thesaurus*. East Lansing: Michigan State UP, 2007.
- . *Crazy Dave*. Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1999. Print.
- . "How Do We Learn Language? What Do We Learn?" Murray and Rice. 43-51. Print.
- . *The Manitous: The Spiritual World of the Ojibway*. Toronto: Key Porter, 1995. Print.
- . *Ojibway Ceremonies*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982. Print.
- . *Ojibway Heritage*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976. Print.
- Justice, Daniel Heath. *Our Fire Survives the Storm: A Cherokee Literary History*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2006. Print.
- . "Scholarship" *Home Page* (2008). Web. 10 Feb. 2009
- Kahgegagahbowh (see also George Copway). *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation*. 1850. Toronto: Prospero, 2001. Print.
- Kane, Margo. *Moonlodge. An Anthology of Canadian Native Literature in English*. Eds. Daniel David Moses and Terry Goldie. Toronto: Oxford UP, 1992. 278-91. Print.
- Keeshig-Tobias, Lenore. Interview in *Contemporary Challenges: Conversations with Contemporary Canadian Native Authors*. Ed. Hartmut Lutz. Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1991. 79-88. Print.
- King, Cecil. *Ojibwe for Our Times*. Saskatoon: Self Published, 2006. Print.
- King, Jonathon C. *First Peoples, first contacts*. "Blue Wool Shirt of Louis O'soup: The Plains Ojibway or Saulteaux Leader." np. Web. 9 Nov. 2008.

- King, Thomas. "Introduction." *All My Relations: An Anthology of Contemporary Native Fiction*. Toronto: McClelland, 1990. ix-xvi.
- . *The Truth About Stories: A Native Narrative*. Toronto: Anansi, 2003. Print.
- Knight, Diane (see also Dan Musqua). *The Seven*.
- Konkle, Maureen. *Writing Indian Nations: Native Intellectuals and the Politics of Historiography, 1827-1863*. Chapel Hill: North Carolina UP, 2004. Print.
- LaDuke, Winona. *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life*. Cambridge: South End, 1999. Print.
- . "Giiwedahn: Coming Home." *Last Standing Woman*. 168-73.
- . "Giiwedahn: Coming Home." *Stories Migrating Home: A Collection of Anishinaabe Prose*. Bemidji: Loonfeather P, 1999. 181-93. Print.
- . Foreword. *Ojibwe: Waaswa Inaabidaa – We Look in all Directions*. By Thomas Peacock and Marlene Wisuri. Afton, MN: Afton Historical P, 2002. 10. Print.
- . *Last Standing Woman*. Stillwater: Voyager, 1997. Print.
- . *Recovering the Sacred: The Power of Naming and Claiming*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2005. Print.
- LaRocque, Emma. "Tides, Towns, and Trains." *Living the Changes*. Ed. Joan Turner. Winnipeg: U of Manitoba P, 1990. 76-90. Print.
- Manossa, Geraldine. *The Roots of Cree Drama*. MA thesis. U of Lethbridge 2002. Print.
- McLeod, Neal. "Coming Home Through Stories." Ruffo, *[Ad]dressing*. 17-35. Print.
- McGill, Jean. *Edmund Morris: Frontier Artist*. Toronto: Dundurn P, 1984. Print.
- McKegney, Sam. *Magic Weapons: Aboriginal Writers Remaking Community After Residential School*. Winnipeg, U of Manitoba P, 2007.

- McQuire, Patricia. *Restorative Dispute Resolution in Anishinaabe Communities – Restoring Conceptions of Relationships Based on Dodem.*” Web. 10 May 2010.
- Meyer, Melissa. *The White Earth Tragedy: Ethnicity and Dispossession at a Minnesota Anishinaabe Reservation.* Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1994. Print.
- Mihesuah, Devon A. “Academic Gate Keepers.” Mihesuah and Wilson 31-47.
- . “Activism and Apathy: The Prices We Pay.” *American Indian Quarterly.* 27 (1/2) (2003): Web 11 Nov. 2009.
- . “Finding Empowerment through Writing and Reading, or Why am I Doing This?: An Unpopular Writer’s Comment about the State of American Indian Criticism.” *American Indian Quarterly.* 28 (1/2): Web. 18 Oct. 2008.
- . *So You Want to Write About American Indians?: A Guide for Writers, Students, and Scholars.* Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 2005.
- Mihesuah, Devon, and Angela Cavendar Wilson, eds. *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities.* Lincoln: Nebraska UP, 2004.
- . Introduction. Mihesuah and Wilson, *Indigenizing.* 1-15.
- Monture-Angus, Patricia. “Native America and the Literary Tradition.” *Native North America: Critical and Cultural Perspectives.* Ed. Renée Hulan. Toronto: ECW Press, 1999. Print.
- Morris, Alexander. *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories including the Negotiations on which they were based.* 1850. Calgary: Fifth House, 1991. Print.
- Morris, Edmund Montague (see also Fitz-Gibbon, Mary). *Diaries.* Print.

Morrisseau, Norval (Illus. and told). *Legends of My People: The Great Ojbiway*. Ed.

Selwyn Dewdney. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1965. Print.

Moses, Daniel David and Terry Golding. *An Anthology of Native Canadian Literature in English*. Toronto: Oxford UP, 1998. 242-45. Print.

“Mother Earth.” *CBC Ideas*. Toronto. June 5, 2003. np. Web. 7 May 2010.

Murray, Laura and Keren Rice, eds. *Talking on the Page: Editing Aboriginal Texts*.

Papers given at the Thirty-Second Annual Conference on Editorial Problems. U of Toronto. 14-16 November 1996. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1999. Print.

Musqua, Dan (see also Diane Knight). *The Seven Fires: Teachings of the Bear Clan As Recounted by Dr. Danny Musqua. Knowledge of Growth and Learning Observed and Practiced in the Old World of the Nacowaninawuk (Saulteaux): A Guide to Health and Well-being in the New World*. Muskoday First Nation: Many Worlds P, 2001. Print.

---. Personal Communications. Dec. 2, 2009 – Apr. 27, 2010.

Noori, Margaret. *Native American Literature in Tribal Context: Anishinaabe Aadisokaanag Noongom*. Diss. U of Minnesota, 2001.

---. Re: “Mother Earth / Maazikaamikwe / Shkaakaamikwe / Manitoukwe.” Message to Janice Acoose and Robert Warrior. 29 Apr. 2010. E-mail.

Paget, Amelia. *People of the Plains*. 1909. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2004. Print.

Peacock, Thomas and Marlene Wisuru. *Ojibwe Waasa Inaabidaa: We Look in All Directions*. Foreword by Jim Dumont and Winona LaDuke. Afton: Afton Historical P, 2002. Print.

- Peers, Laura. *The Ojibwa of Western Canada, 1780-1870*. Winnipeg: U Manitoba P, 1994. Print.
- . "Subsistence, Secondary Literature, and Gender Bias: The Saulteaux. " *Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom and Strength*. Eds. Christine Miller and Patricia Chuchryk. Winnipeg: U of Manitoba P, 1996. 39-50. Print.
- Pettipas, Katherine. *Severing the Ties that Bind: Government Repression of Indigenous Religious Ceremonies on the Prairies*. Winnipeg: U of Manitoba P, 1994. Print.
- Petrone, Penny. *First People: First Voices*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1983. Print.
- . *Native Literature in Canada: From the Oral Tradition to the Present*. Toronto: Oxford UP, 1990. Print.
- Rex, Cathy. "Survivance and Fluidity: George Copway's *The Life, History, and Travels of Kah-Ge-Ga-Gah-Bowh*." *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 18.2 (2006): 1-33. Print.
- Rheault, Darcy/Ishpeming'Enzaabid. *Anishinaabe Mino-Bimaadiziwin: The Way of a Good Life. An Examination of Anishinaabe Philosophy, Ethics and Traditional Knowledge*. MA Thesis Trent U, 1998.
- Ruffo, Armand Garnet, ed. Introduction. *(Ad)ressing Our Words: Aboriginal Perspectives on Aboriginal Literatures*. Penticton: Theytus, 2001. 5-15.
- . Interview in *Story Keepers*. David 79-89. Print.
- . *Opening in the Sky*. Penticton: Theytus, 1994. Print.
- . "Why Native Literature?" *Native North America: Critical and Cultural Perspectives*. Ed. Renee Hulan. Toronto: ECW, 1999. 109-21. Print.

- Scofield, Gregory. *The Gathering: Stones for the Medicine Wheel*. Vancouver: Polestar, 1996. Print.
- Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe. *Ojibwa Lodge Stories: Life on the Lake Superior Frontier*. Ed. Philip P. Mason. East Lansing: Michigan State P, 1997. Print.
- Sitting Eagle. *A Brief History of the Anishinabe Clan System Functions: A Series on the Clans of the Anishinabe Nation*. Print.
- Smith, Donald. "Kahgegahbowh: Canada's First Literary Celebrity in the United States." Brown Ruoff and Smith, *Life*. 23-60. Print.
- . "The Life of George Copway or Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh (1818-1869) – and a Review of His Writings." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 23.3 Fall (1988): 5-38. Print.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies*. London: Zed, 1999. Print.
- Solomon, Arthur. *Songs for the People: Teachings on the Natural Way*. Ed. Micheal Posluns. Toronto: NC P, 1991. Print.
- Spielmann, Roger. *"You're So Fat!": Exploring Ojibwe Discourse*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1998. Print.
- Stevenson, Winona. "'Ethnic' Assimilates 'Indigenous': A Study in Intellectual Neocolonialism." *Wicazo Review: A Journal of Native American Studies*. Spring (1998): 33-51. Print.
- Suzack, Cheryl. "Land Claims, Identity Claims: Mapping Indigenous Feminism in Literary Criticism and in Winona LaDuke's *Last Standing Woman*. Womack, Justice, and Tueton. 169-92. Print.
- Tanner, John. *Captivity of John Tanner*. 1830. Toronto: Penguin, 1994. Print.

- Tarasoff, J. Koozma. *Persistent Ceremonialism: The Plains Cree and Saulteaux*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1980. Print.
- Taylor, Drew Hayden. "Seeing Red Over Myths." Np. *UNI*. Web. 12 Jan. 2008.
- Teuton, Christopher B. "Theorizing American Indian Literature: Applying Oral Concepts to Written Traditions." Womack, Justice, and Tueton. 193-215. Print.
- Teuton, Sean Kicummah. "The Call Out: Writing American Indian Politics." Womack, Justice, and Tueton. 105-25. Print.
- . *Red Land, Red Power: Grounding Knowledge in the American Indian Novel*. Durham: Duke UP, 2008. Print.
- Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council. *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1996. Print.
- Treuer, David. *Native American Fiction: A User's Manual*. St. Paul: Graywolf P, 2006. Print.
- Vizenor, Gerald. *Interior Landscapes: Autobiographical Myths and Metaphors*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1990. Print.
- . *Manifest Manners: Postindian Warriors of Survivance*. Hanover: Wesleyan UP, 1994. Print.
- . *The People Named the Chippewa: Narrative Histories*. Minnesota: U of Minnesota P, 1994. Print.
- . *Summer in the Spring: Anishinaabe Lyric Poems and Stories*. 1965. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1993. Print.
- . *Word Arrows: Indians and Whites in the New Fur Trade*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1978. Print.

- Wagamese, Richard. *Keeper' n Me*. Toronto: Doubleday Canada. 1994. Print.
- . *An Ojibway Father Teaches His Son: for Joshua*. Toronto: Anchor Canada, 2003. Print.
- . *One Native Life*. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2008. Print.
- Warren, William. *History of the Ojibway People*. 1885. Ed. Theresa Schenck. St. Paul, Minnesota: Minnesota Historical Society P, 2009. Print.
- Warrior, Robert. *The People and the Word: Reading Native Nonfiction*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2005. Print.
- . Re: "Mother Earth." Message from Margaret Noori and Janice Acoose. 12 May 2010. E-mail.
- . *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1995. Print.
- Weaver, Jace, Craig Womack, and Robert Warrior. *American Indian Literary Separatism*. Forward by Simon Ortiz and Afterword by Lisa Brooks. Albuquerque: New Mexico UP, 2006. Print.
- . "Blue." *Other Words*. v.
- . *Other Words: American Indian Literature, Law and Culture*. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 2001. Print.
- . *That the People Might Live: Native American Literature and Native American Community*. New York: Oxford UP, 1997. Print.
- Wilson, Angela Cavendar. "Reclaiming Our Humanity: Decolonization and the Recovery of Indigenous Knowledge." Mihesuah and Wilson, *Decolonizing*. 69-87. Print.

- Wilson, Shawn. *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. Halifax: Fernwood, 2008. Print.
- Witalec, Janet, ed. *Native North American Literature*. Toronto: Gale, 1994. Print.
- Wolfe, Alexander, teller. *Earth Elder Stories: The Pinayzitt Path*. Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1988. Print.
- Womack, Craig. *Reasoning Together: The Native Critics Collection*. Eds. Craig Womack, Daniel Heath Justice, and Chris Tueton. Oklahoma: Oklahoma UP, 2008. 3-104. Print.
- . *Red on Red: Native American Literary Separatism*. Minneapolis: U of Minneapolis P, 1999. Print.
- . "Introduction: A Single Decade: Book-Length Native Literary Criticism between 1986 and 1997." Womack, Justice, and Tueton. 3-104. Print.
- . "Afterwards: Theorizing American Indian Experience." Womack, Justice, and Tueton. 353-410. Print.
- Wub-e-ke-niew. *We Have the Right to Exist – A Translation of Aboriginal Indigenous Thought, the First Book Ever Published from an Anishinaeojibway Perspective*. New York: Black Thistle P, 1995. Print.
- Zeeman, Brenda and Janice Acoose. "Acoose: Man Standing Above the Ground." *Ambience*. Regina: CBC Radio, 1985. Radio.

