Message in the Smoke:
Spirit Acts of Transfer, Liminality,
and Embodied Relationships in Contemporary Powwow

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Abstract

My Anishinaabe inquiry **explores the place of Spirit in powwow and provides a way to access, think, and reflect on Spirit in powwow.** Through a beading methodology and a conceptual framework that centers Anishinaabe world view through the sound-based meaning of words in Anishinaabemowin, my dissertation examines the spiritual and philosophical connection in the language between smoke, dreams, prayer, dance, and the liminality of the powwow Arena.

I situate the history and transformation of the contemporary powwow in relation to the Anishinaabe *Jiinktamok* ceremony and demonstrate how certain powwow dances like the Jingle Dress Dance originated through acts of transfer from a Spirit entity. Exploring the sound breakdown of the Anishinaabe word for Jingle, *zhiibashka'igan*, reveals the overlooked and often forgotten cultural philosophy that connects the Jingle Dress Dance to the Thunder Beings, explains the significance of the spiral of the Jingle cones, and specifically instructs how the sound and original dance combine to bring healing.

Through story-gathering sessions recorded throughout the Dish With One Spoon Wampum Belt Territory, powwow participants exemplified cultural embodiment and shared their personal, first-hand encounters with Spirits and Ancestors that directly guided or influenced their powwow Regalia and dance styles. By triangulating lived experience, Anishinaabe world view through the language, and the incomplete hints and fragments in existing literature, my inquiry shows that powwow is a gateway and liminal place where we meet Spirit, experience acts of transfer, and send messages and prayers through dance smoke.

This dissertation uncovered a gap in contemporary cultural narratives as a result of language loss and gradual assimilation. This erosion of culture reveals the need for a call to action for the Anishinaabe community to embrace the responsibility of the Seventh Fire prophecy by reclaiming our world view through learning our language to restore the richness of our culture, philosophy, and original instructions from Creator. Moreover, the Anishinaabe community must continue to evaluate what we know and experience as contemporary powwow against the original Spirit and purpose for why we gather.

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Chapter 1
Drawing the Circle

My family hunts moose in the Fall of every year in northern Ontario. With our old Dodge truck in 4-wheel drive, we climb overgrown, unmaintained, remote logging roads and skitter trails way back in the bush on our traditional territory. The first time we enter the bush for the season, we see trees and brush that have fallen across the road due to storms and heavy winds. In order to proceed on the road, we have to either move the tree, go around it, or cut through it.

Much like that fallen tree, a dedicated methodology section presented itself like a similar, unavoidable roadblock. No matter where I placed the section, it seemed cumbersome and out of place. In addition, a more detailed explanation was required to situate the process of how this dissertation came to be. It may be unusual to begin a doctoral dissertation with the methodology; however, it seemed like the best approach was to handle the obstacle in order to proceed with the story.

So much like cutting through the tree to clear the path, I am placing this section with details about the re-search process and the methodology first, like a preface to the dissertation story. In this way, I can demonstrate the thought, planning, and processes that undergirded the execution of the re-search and ultimately outlined the creation of the story. In this way, the academic details will be satisfied in advance, and I will demonstrate my diligence to the Anishinaabe and powwow communities as well.

The Beginning Before the Beginning Anishinaabe Creation Story told by Fifth Degree Midewiwin Elder Jim Dumont, Onaubinisay (Walks Above the Ground), Waubezhayshee Dodem (Marten Clan), from Shawanaga First Nation,[1] recounts how the Creator went through a learning process as he was forming the universe and earth. Traditional Healer James Carpenter[2] expanded on the Anishinaabe Creation story by describing that Creator made some beings in the process of learning how to create others, for example, he created Gitchi Sabe ("Bigfoot") and the

[1] Elder Jim Dumont. Public teaching presented by Seven Generations Institute on February 1, 2019 at Wilfred Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario in Theatre Auditorium.
[2] Elder Elder James Carpenter. Personal communication, Elder James Carpenter's Teaching on Creation, March 22, 2019, at Anishinaabe Health Toronto, Ontario.

Miimiingwasie (“Little People”) before finally creating Anishinaabe (human beings) and lowering them to earth.

In a similar way to *The Beginning Before the Beginning* story, this chapter holds the story of my process of learning and how I arrived at this final version of my dissertation. Applying the Anishinaabe adage that *the journey is as important if not more so than the destination* to my dissertation means that understanding every step in the process, the “how,” is not separable from the findings, the “what.”

Anishinaabe people recognize the significance of the spiral as it appears in nature in shells, the wind, and the bark of the birch tree. The spiral shows us how things start small at one tiny point, then through cycles of growth and accumulation, the spiral expands over time. My journey of learning continues to grow like a spiral, and that is why it is imperative to include the series and progression of events, how they unfolded, and what insights they ultimately revealed in order to provide a glimpse into the depth of knowledge that contributed to the shaping of my dissertation. I named this chapter Drawing the Circle with the intention of defining the scope and focus of this dissertation; however, it is the unfolding of knowledge in a spiral that informed my decisions about where to ultimately draw the line.

Through drawing a defining circle, I hope to acknowledge the many concepts in Anishinaabe culture, language, and philosophy that were examined as part of my process, but ultimately fell inside or outside of the scope of my dissertation. And like the story about Creator learning to create, the process of trial and error also circles back to the adage that the process is as important if not more so than the final outcome. As my audience includes members of the Anishinaabe and powwow communities in addition to mainstream scholars, it is imperative that I write this section in response to anticipated questions.

1.1 Finding My Initial Research Focus

When I entered graduate school, I intended to focus on powwow dancers and how various dance styles shape their identities. I had experienced a change in my identity and personal growth after an injury caused me to switch from dancing the swift athletic Fancy Shawl style to the slower, more regal Traditional style, then eventually healing enough to dance Jingle. My injury caused me to slow down, and as I paid more attention while observing powwows, I

became more aware of Spirit at the gatherings. As Emcees Bob Goulais and Chris Pheasant described concepts behind words in Anishinaabemowin, told stories about the dances and origins of certain protocols, and shared cultural philosophy and teachings, I realized that powwow was an important place of learning. As I observed the dances and happenings, and listened to the Emcees, I became more aware of Spirit connections and recognition in powwow protocols. Tara Browner, an Anishinaabe Jingle Dancer, ethnomusicologist, and author of one of the first scholarly books on powwow, *Heartbeat of the People*, wrote that it wasn't until she was drafting the manuscript for her book that she began to consider the roots of powwow culture (11). My experience was similar: when I stepped back from participating heavily in powwow as a dancer, my view widened and I was able to observe the bigger picture, figuratively, from an Eagle's point of view.

The weekend after I wrote my comprehensive exams, York University in Toronto held their annual one-day powwow. My head was still whirling from writing about Western theories about material culture, object biographies and agency, and cultural embodiment. Those topics remained on my mind even as I participated in the dancing to personally celebrate my accomplishment and decompress from the exams. Before the powwow began that afternoon, the Emcee announced that an Eagle Feather Fan had been turned in as lost and was being held at the speaker's stand. I thought to myself about how precious Eagle Feathers are and thought, "How could anyone lose an Eagle Feather Fan?" About an hour after the powwow had started, the dancing and singing paused.

Stroking the Feathers of an intricately beaded, full Eagle-Tail Fan, a striking Men's Traditional Dancer spoke into the microphone and began his story. Earlier that morning, he had taken a bus to the powwow and, as usual, had a lot of gear to manage: the suitcase that held his Regalia, a large case that protected his Bustle, and various other pieces that kept his hands full. He arrived at the powwow, dressed himself for Grand Entry, and was enjoying the powwow and dancing as usual. Thinking that the announcement about the lost Fan did not pertain to him, the Traditional Dancer said he decided to go take a look "just to see." When he recognized that the lost Fan was his, his heart sank. At that moment he realized that he must have left it on the bus that morning on his way to the powwow.

He stroked the Feathers of the Fan as he told his story, and with a twinge of regret, told the attendees that he understood that the Fan had left him and that it was telling him that it was

time for it to travel on. Recognizing the amount of people that the Toronto transit carries in a day, the dancer marveled that the Fan hadn't been stolen, damaged, or sent to be catalogued in the registry of the transit's lost and found. Remarkably, his Fan had somehow not only been found, but made its way via a random stranger to the powwow and back to him! The Traditional Dancer told the audience that returning to him was the Fan's way of allowing him the honour of being the one to give it away. The Dancer chose to recognize a young man who was a relatively new dancer at powwows, and he gifted him the beautiful, fully beaded, complete Eagle Tail Fan.

What I had just witnessed really spoke to me, and I began thinking more about Spirit and the animate beings of powwow material culture. Stories about Regalia, beaded accessories, and Eagle Feathers moving, traveling, and changing hands are not unusual. In fact, it is culturally accepted that such things are experienced to move and have their own agency. Eagle Feathers are cherished and highly regarded among the Anishinaabe for their Spiritual significance as well as their general scarcity. It would have been unusual and somewhat shameful, not to mention embarrassing to treat an Eagle Feather Fan so casually as to forget it on the bus and not notice that it was missing. Did the Fan somehow hide itself or cause the dancer to be distracted from picking it up on the bus in order to separate itself from the dancer? In any way, somehow a series of hands and events were moved to keep the Fan safe and ultimately reunite it with the Traditional Dancer. Returning to the dancer made it possible for the Fan to move on to a new purpose: inspiring and encouraging a new dancer. Had that Fan chosen the new dancer?

1.2 Developing the Initial Research Question

Watching and pondering what had taken place with the dancer's Fan made me think about two Eagle Feather Fans that had been given to me over the years, one a wing and the other a tail. I remembered feeling their energy and personality, and how they each almost demand to be danced in completely different and particular ways. I thought about when I gifted my father the wing Fan when my father started dancing. Reflecting on my own experience and the Fan I had just witnessed travel from one dancer to another, I began to wonder about the Anishinaabe world view on animate material beings and Spirit. I had an understanding of the Jingle Dress and her role between Spirit and healing. I remember smudging my Fancy Shawl outfit after powwow, carefully packing it in a particular way, and whispering "miigwetch (thank you)" before I closed

the lid on the suitcase. I wondered if other "animate objects," as they were referred to in literature, directed the dancer's movements? If these items are alive with Spirit, is it rude to call them objects? If not "animate object," then how should I refer to them? Do other powwow participants experience animate material beings like their Fans, Bustle, Drums, and Regalia? If so, how? Do they hear them? feel them? dream about them? Do these Spirit material beings influence their dancing? I thought about my Eagle Feather, who I recognize as having Spirit, but then questioned what else does that Spirit do? Where does that Spirit go when I put my Feathers in a case after the powwow? They can't just be waiting for me to dance with them again, can they? Do other dancers have similar thoughts or experiences? Wondering about Spirit and dance Regalia led me to question which "objects" are infused with Spirit, and how do "objects" become animate. Are dance movements (re)created and (re)discovered through interacting with Spirit beings through powwow Regalia and other animate material beings? Have dancers learned style and movement vocabularies from animate material beings? What is a dancer's experience with Spirit and Regalia? Wondering all of these things led me to my initial overarching research question: what is animacy, how does animacy work, and what is the place of animacy in powwow?

1.3 Traveling the Spiral: What about Animacy in Anishinaabemowin?

On the topic of powwow material culture, I expect that my Anishinaabe readers will naturally ask that since Anishinaabemowin has animate and inanimate classifications in the language, why did I not think to look to the language to determine what "objects" are recognized to be "alive" with Spirit. To provide some context for mainstream scholars and others not familiar with the Anishinaabe language, I write this section as evidence to show that the question of language was, indeed, considered and explored in depth.

The Anishinaabe language is a verb-based language with "animate" and "inanimate" linguistic classifications. In the beginning stages of my dissertation, I was new to learning Anishinaabemowin and it seemed to me that the language was the perfect place to start my search for Anishinaabe world view related to material object beings. I reasoned that there must be some condition in Anishinaabe philosophy that recognizes life or Spirit in certain objects that mark them as animate either culturally or linguistically. I reasoned that if an object was classified

and treated as animate in the language, then that would tell me which items had Spirit so that I could focus on them specifically when I interviewed participants.

As I continued to study Anishinaabemowin, I wondered what cultural perspective formed the connection that made some ordinary objects, like a spoon (*emikwaan*) for example, linguistically animate and others, such as knife (*mookomaan*) linguistically inanimate. Adding to the confusion was a hidden cultural view that recognized that under certain circumstances, objects can switch from one category to the other and back again. To illustrate this concept in Anishinaabemowin, a spoon in a drawer is spiritually and linguistically inanimate and remains inanimate if used to eat foods like rice or pudding. However, that same spoon becomes spiritually and linguistically animate (alive) if used to eat soup or stir tea but reverts to being inanimate (not alive) once again when the use for those foods is complete. Why? Is Spirit really involved in silverware?

When I turned my thoughts and wonderings toward understanding powwow material culture for my dissertation, again I was challenged to find the hidden world view when I encountered the word for Regalia (*bwaanzhiiwi'o*). Classified as inanimate (not alive), Regalia (*bwaanzhiiwi'o*) somehow becomes linguistically animate when worn. I wondered if the linguistic change reflected that somehow the Regalia transformed; that now animate meant "alive" in addition to being a linguistic category. Did the Regalia now have Spirit? If so, who is the Spirit, where did it come from, and how did it transform the Regalia?

1.4 "Little Spirit Berries" as Methodology

As I began preliminary research into Regalia, I realized it had been a while since I had made a powwow dance outfit. I decided to make Regalia and pay attention to the creation process as part of my methodology. I considered that beadwork should be part of the process, but until this time, I had not undertaken a complete upper accessory project. Beading is expensive and time consuming, and as a graduate student money and time are always in short supply.

As I was planning my dissertation research, I had recently learned the word for beads in Anishinaabemowin is *manidominensag* which breaks down into *manido* – Spirit, *min* – berry, *-ens* is the diminutive marker noting something small, and *-ag* indicates that the word is linguistically animate and plural; literally "little Spirit berries." While I was thinking about

powwow and material Spirit beings, I naturally considered beadwork which is an important part of dance Regalia. As I looked to questions of animacy and Anishinaabemowin while developing my methodology. It seemed to me through the process of searching to understand Spirit in powwow material object beings, that it made sense that the name for a bead was not only classified as animate, but also contained the word *manido*, meaning Spirit. I reasoned that beadwork as part of Regalia had to be important; why else would our Ancestors use "Spirit" in the name for bead. It was also interesting to me that the word for bead is animate and the word for beadwork is inanimate; I wondered what changed? I wondered how beads could have Spirit? Is Spirit what made beads recognized as animate? What world view was I missing in the simple Western word "bead"? I was very excited to be on track for finding out how and why powwow material objects like beadwork were recognized to be animate! I was so thrilled, in fact, that I made the experience of creating beadwork and looking for the connection to Spirit a significant part of my methodology.

1.5 Beadwork Begins with Ceremony

When I began to think about creating beadwork, I asked for help from Spirit. I asked for help to create the design, for ease with the beading process, and to be able to complete an upper accessory set in time for next summer's powwow season. I practiced seeing the design and complete Regalia in my mind, imagining the way it should exist and asking Spirit to make it clear. I could see so many different designs and color combinations that I was having a hard time focusing for this project. It seemed to me that a traditional, multi-coloured floral woodland style beaded set that could compliment many different outfits would be a good direction.

With possible designs in mind, I decided to allow the beads to speak to me as I headed to John Bead, the largest bead supplier in Ontario. With so many different sizes, colours, finishes, and facets or 'cuts,' the choices available made bead selection an overwhelming experience. After several hours of browsing and contemplating my design, I bought a variety of beads in various colors, some transparent and others opaque, some with light-reflecting cut facets and others with a prism-like aurora borealis finish. I still did not know exactly what my design would look like, but I was now prepared to begin the work however the design came to be.

I talked to the beads all the way home. I told them about my intention to make them into powwow Regalia. I described powwow life, and how we would dance and travel and spend years together. When we arrived home, I laid all the beads out and smudged them with sage. I held some tobacco as I thanked them for coming on this journey with me. I also asked them to help inspire my design. When our conversation was finished, I walked the tobacco through my Toronto neighbourhood until I reached the Humber River. From a bridge I offered the tobacco to the Spirits, asked them for help, and thanked them for the inspiration that was already on the way. Opening my hand I let the wind carry the tobacco, scattering my offering on the water.

A couple of weeks later, as my design became more apparent, I prepared a feast for the Spirits of the beads and the design. I gathered four beads of each color, style, and finish, packed the feast and my Pipe, and hiked to a large tree by the river. We sang some songs and smoked the Pipe together. When our prayer was finished, I prepared a Spirit Plate and left those beads as a gift for Spirit and the Little People.

1.6 The Sharp Left Turn: How Research Led to "Re-search"

Anishinaabe scholar Kathleen Absolon hyphenates the word *re-search* and in doing so emphasizes the meaning "to search again using our own ways as Anishinaabek" (21). Absolon affirms that "re-search promotes Anishinaabe knowledge and methods… as we re-search, we re-write and we re-story ourselves" (21). When I began gathering stories from community members about how they experienced Spirit in animate powwow material beings, I didn't know that I was scratching the surface of a much larger topic. Initially I asked dancers questions regarding their experiences of animacy (or Spirit) in their Regalia or items they carried when they danced such as Eagle Feather Fans or Bustles. But after conversations with several dancers, it became apparent that there was a much broader and deeper experience of Spirit connected to powwow than my focus on animate material beings. Through the stories shared, dancers revealed relationships with Spirits and Ancestors who influenced or directed their Regalia through ceremony and visions. As I gathered stories from a dancer who received her Jingle Dress instructions from her deceased grandmother in a dream, a Traditional Dancer who was shown his own Spirit dressed in Regalia through a vision at Sun Dance, to a dancer who brought powwow to a remote community where the Little People were seen dancing in Grand Entry, the stories I

gathered as ‘re-search’ did, indeed, cause me to ‘look again.’ As I gathered stories from participants, a larger interaction with Spirit Beings in relation to powwow Regalia, traditions, and cultural revitalization began to unfold.

As I re-searched current literature on powwow, I found discussion of Spirit lacking and not reflective of my understanding or experience of it. As a result, **in this dissertation, I want to explore the place of Spirit in powwow and to provide a way for us to access, think, and reflect on Spirit in powwow.**

Overall, I spent a significant amount of time looking for Anishinaabe world views that underpinned the linguistic connections between animate and inanimate, and the appearance or transformation of Spirit as a way to understand powwow material culture, which was the original focus of this dissertation. As a result of my search, I was successful in finding the cultural philosophies that intertwine with verb-based descriptions and sound-based meanings in Anishinaabemowin. Through the process, I discovered a wealth of cultural and spiritual knowledge in the language that could be an entire dissertation on its own. I look forward to discussing what I have learned about Anishinaabe epistemology and philosophy through language in upcoming articles. But for now, the differentiation between animate/inanimate linguistic categories and the animate marker for Spirit relationships and transformation is too complicated and intricate to be included in this dissertation. In addition, as the re-search shifted from exploring animate powwow material culture to the larger question of how participants experience Spirit in relation to powwow, the focus on animate and inanimate linguistic categories to explore Regalia became less important to the topic at hand.

My understanding had changed from looking for objects that had Spirit at powwows to realizing that when material objects become “alive” under certain conditions, they are acting as a body for Spirit. I began to understand how Spirits transform and that it wasn’t a question of life in material objects, but a matter of Spirit’s choice to appear through those material items. Animate material objects were really just a touch point or form of embodiment for Spirits who could choose to manifest as any number of physical or disembodied forms, like sounds. Through the stories shared by powwow participants, I became aware of greater experiences and connections to Spirits who influenced their dancing and Regalia, and who appeared in powwow dance Arenas.

Although the beadwork experience as methodology was still relevant, searching for animacy in the experience was no longer relevant. Eventually, as I studied more nuanced meanings in the language, I developed an understanding of common misconceptions about Spirit and the animate category. I discovered that other scholars have also been led down the same path of looking for Spirit in linguistic animacy. Therefore, for the scope of this dissertation, the discussion of animacy falls outside of our circle.

1.7 Traveling the Spiral

As I encountered Anishinaabe words in Western literature, it became necessary to understand what they mean to us culturally because it was not enough to take the English translations at face value when several works translated the same words very differently. For example, a word with multiple meanings and translations frequently encountered in literature is *powagan* which is used to mean "Pipe" in ceremony, translated as "dream visitor" by Smith (59), "dream spirits who function as guardian spirits or protectors" by Hallowell ("Contributions" 398), and "spirit guardian" by Angel (28). I began asking Elders and language keepers if they could explain what the Anishinaabe philosophical connection was that made that one word, *powagan*, all of those definitions, but no one could.

1.8 Introducing Anishinaabemowin Expert Brian Outinen

It was through my search to find the underlying cultural concepts linking the varied definitions of *powagan* that I was fortunate to meet Brian Outinen. I contacted Brian through his personal blog, *Ancient Ojibwe Teachings*, which has over 15 thousand followers in the United States and Canada. Through his generosity in sharing the language and cultural teachings I was able to cultivate a friendship with him. Brian became the Anishinaabemowin consultant for my dissertation and it is his teaching and language expertise that supports Anishinaabe world view. In accordance with Anishinaabe tradition, I'm introducing Brian so that Indigenous and Anishinaabe readers can make connections through family, clan, and community, and so that all readers understand the depth of his cultural and linguistic expertise and have confidence in his teachings from the language.

Brian Outinen (Babaji) is Hummingbird Clan, Ojibwe from Serpent River, Ontario, and Professor of Anishinaabe Language and Culture at Algoma University. Brian's first language is Ojibwe, and he was raised with traditional, linguistic, and cultural teachings from his grandparents Wilfred Owl-Iban from Sagamok and Joann Commanda-Iban from Serpent River. At the age of 14, Brian trained as *jiisakiiwinini* (shake tent practitioner) by the Elder James Carpenter-Iban of the Sun Clan from James Bay (Moose Factory), and by age 18, Brian was conducting *madoodiswanak* (sweat lodges). As is the traditional way to learn spiritual teachings, Brian was an oshkabewis (helper) for Willie Trudeau of Wikwemikong and lived with Josephine and Bob Eshkibok in Kaboni on Manitoulin Island. In his early adult years, Brian was in training for the Midewiwin society, but ultimately chose *Mino-Bimosen*, "the good path/the good walk" instead so that he would not be limited by the current Midewiwin society hierarchy. The Anishinaabe do not necessarily recognize eldership by age but by gifts and experience. I recognize Brian as an Elder, but for simplification, I will refer to him only by his first name in this dissertation.

In the course of Brian's spiritual and linguistic training, he lived in several different communities where he became fluent in nine Algonquian languages and dialects including Ojibwe (Eastern, Western, and Minnesota Dialects), Algonquin, Odawa, Potawatomi, Menominee, Miami, and Miq'maw, and he is also proficient in Oji-Cree. Because of his lived experience and demonstrated talent and expertise in teaching and interpreting Anishinaabemowin, the Canadian Government recruited Brian through his *Ancient Ojibwe Teachings* blog for the position of the Chief Ojibwe Translator where he performs live, televised simultaneous translation for Parliament, the Senate, and The Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission.

I use evidence in Anishinaabemowin that I have learned with Brian's help to ground relevant teachings about powwow, dance, Spirit, and world view. In Chapter 3 - *Beads and Bannock*, Brian will join us for tea, and he will demonstrate the linguistic breakdowns and sound-based meanings in Anishinaabemowin that I pattern and use throughout my dissertation. From a place of humbleness, Brian is quick to say, "I didn't invent the meanings of the sounds in the language, Spirit and our Ancestors already put them there, I am just able to break the sounds and meanings down." I had the privilege of having many conversations with Brian and, as my

learning progressed, I learned to piece together and distill the information and hope to present the concepts and understandings in a way that will make it clear in my following chapters.

1.9 Returning to the Discussion of "*Powagan*"

I told Brian about the different definitions I encountered for *powagan* and asked if he could help me understand what world view connected them. Brian explained that all of those previously mentioned meanings for *powagan* come from the world view in the beginning sound *powa* which refers to "smoke." There are cultural views attached to what smoke is and what it is capable of being and doing that make *powagan* all of those previously mentioned translations at the same time. In addition, the cultural concept of smoke can be directly related to prayer, dreaming, and dancing, connections that we would never intuitively put together through the English language or recognize through mainstream Western culture. In Chapter 3, Brian will explain more about the Anishinaabe world view around smoke which will form a significant part of our Anishinaabe conceptual framework for the rest of this dissertation.

1.10 World View in Anishinaabemowin as Re-search

But for now, let the example of searching to understand *powagan* in literature and in culture illustrate my ongoing re-search on Anishinaabe world view. I began by critically thinking about and cross referencing the use of our words in works by different scholars (research), which led to re-examining what our words mean to us to link cultural concepts not evident in the Western literatures (re-search). Through re-search about Anishinaabe world view through the language, I am re-writing, re-storying (Absolon 21) and (re)storing forgotten cultural concepts.

I recognize that this dissertation cannot be an in-depth exploration of the sound-based meanings in Anishinaabemowin, that would be a career's worth of re-search and scholarship on its own. However, through Brian's expertise and consultation for my dissertation I am able to share connections to world view through language directly relating to powwow.

One does not need to be a linguist to follow examples demonstrating that Anishinaabe world view is evidenced through the language, and therefore the cultural philosophy held in the language will be within our circle. It is truly impossible to adequately explain and show the

connection between concepts without using Anishinaabemowin. I will leave the language expertise to Brian and in following chapters I will be using Anishinaabemowin with his help to support cultural concepts as they relate to powwow Regalia, dance, world view, and Spirit. In following chapters, he will demonstrate how connections to Spirit Beings, instructions for how to dance to enact healing, and instructions for how to create dance Regalia are all held in the word for "Jingle" in Anishinaabemowin. I have made an effort to explain and diagram the connections in words and meanings so that their relevancy is clear and easy to follow.

Now, About That Tree Blocking the Road

This is the section where we cut through that fallen tree blocking our road. The purpose of this section is to provide details about how my re-search was conducted and what methodology framed the process. So let us take out a chainsaw and proceed.

1.11 Indigenous Re-search Methodology

It is probably understood at this point that I will be proceeding using an Indigenous, and in my case Anishinaabe, methodology. I centered Anishinaabe world view and ceremony to guide my inquiry. Cree scholar Shawn Wilson taught me that:

> … Indigenous research is a ceremony and must be respected as such… it is the required process and preparation that happens long before the event. It is…Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being and Ways of Doing. It is the knowing and respectful reinforcement that all things are related and connected. It is the voice from our ancestors that tell us when it is right and when it is not. Indigenous research is a life changing ceremony. (60-61)

I have chosen to deliver most of my dissertation by telling a story. In that way, much of my conceptual framework, methodology, re-search, and results can all be braided together in a natural way. An Anishinaabe methodology is based on the principles of honour, respect, and reciprocity, all of which figure prominently into my re-search and dissertation story.

To not be redundant, I will let those part of the dissertation journey unfold as we experience the story together. However, the cumbersome "tree" details that would make the story muddy are discussed below.

1.12 Notes on Terminology and Capitalization

Anishinaabe scholar Kathleen Absolon chose to use the words *search* and *gather* as more congenial terms along with hyphenating *re-search* with the intended meaning of using our own ways as Anishinaabek to think, look, or search again (21). Following her lead, I will also use the words re-search, search, and gather as more congenial terms. In that stream, I will use *inquiry* instead of *study* and *story gathering* or *knowledge gathering* instead of *interview* or *focus group* to cancel out terminology that feels objectifying and replace it with words indicating a softer and more collaborative intention.

I have given much thought to capitalizing proper nouns in Anishinaabe world view, and those thoughts take me back to the transformation of Spirit. I considered that Eagle Feather, for example, should be capitalized like proper noun because they are held with respect and reverence in general. On the other hand, it made more sense to capitalize Eagle Feathers to emphasize their agency as a body of Spirit. So, in my dissertation I will follow a similar structure for my use of capitalization, when the item or Spirit is talked about in general, the lower case will be used, and when the item or Spirit is active or specific, its agency and subjectness will be recognized as a proper noun and indicated with capital letters.

I would like to bring to your attention the use of the suffix *-Iban* on names that have been mentioned previously. There is a long explanation behind this Anishinaabe tradition, however I would like to simplify for you that we add *-Iban* onto someone's name after they have passed on. In this way, we can still talk about them without calling their Spirit back from their rest. I used this suffix when I mentioned Brian's grandparents. Through the process of completing my dissertation, a member of my guiding panel and an Elder who shared his story about dance and Spirit have both passed away. For my dissertation I will not be using *-Iban* on Chris Pheasant or Cliff Standingready because they are participating in the present through an active past in the story. If I were telling the dissertation story in Anishinaabemowin, I could use the "inanimate" form to indicate a time-stamped active past that we don't have in English.

1.13 Positioning Myself

Throughout my dissertation I accomplish my positioning by sharing stories about myself, my experiences, and my family as a way to situate myself within the culture, in relation to the

participants, and in the larger Anishinaabe community. Kathleen Absolon states that "our cultural identity precedes our academic identity. We are both Anishinaabek and scholars" (112). In a similar way, as an Anishinaabe woman, powwow dancer, and academic, I can figuratively dance between academia and culture, leaving swirls of fringe that blur the boundaries.

Absolon describes how as Indigenous scholars "we occupy complex spaces where contemporary, cultural and traditional realities intersect" (Absolon 112). Through my cultural experience I am able to weave those traditional and contemporary realities for an academic audience. Because I engage first as an Anishinaabe woman with connections and responsibilities to family and community and then as a researcher, I am able to show you where to direct your attention and explain what is happening and why it is important. Through my reflection and introspection in this process, I am also wondering and learning, and as Cree scholar Willie Ermine said, "Aboriginal epistemology speaks of pondering great mysteries that lie no further than the self" (108).

Being from inside the culture, I have knowledge about what to share and how to share it, and what must be accepted for what it is. My research perspective would be similar to Wilson's as he says,

> I have a natural advantage in that participant observation has taken place all my life. In that sense this research is emic. Also, because I am working within communities that I am already a part of, rapport has already been built and trust established. Relational accountability requires me to form reciprocal and respectful relationships within the communities where I am conducting research. The methodology is in contrast with observational techniques that attempt to be unobtrusive and not influence the environment studied. (40)

1.14 Centering Ceremony

Mi'kmaq and Celtic scholar, Cyndy Baskin says that knowledge is based on experience; that "Aboriginal world views incorporate ways of turning inward for the purpose of finding meanings through prayer, fasting, dream interpretation, ceremonies and silence" ("World Views"). On my continuing path and throughout my dissertation, I have used Pipe ceremony, Spring and Fall Fasts, the Sweat Lodge, and other ceremonies to pray and connect with Spirit and Ancestors to ask for help and guidance. In the silence and solitude of my Fasting camp and

in the moments between being asleep and awake, I have heard Spirit whisper inspiration. My journey with Spirit and participation in ceremony is part of who I am and how I experience this life as an Anishinaabe, so naturally ceremony figures into my dissertation.

1.15 Responsibility to My Community

As an Anishinaabe woman and a researcher, I have a responsibility to my community to proceed with the best of intentions and in an honourable way. My work can directly impact my family members and friends in the community, all of whom are trusting me. Baskin says

> ...when an Aboriginal researcher chooses projects within her or his community, that researcher is not only situated geographically, culturally, and experientially, but has a personal investment in the findings as well, because the results may have as much of an impact on the researcher and her or his family as on any of the participants. ("Storytelling" 178)

At the end of the day and at the end of this dissertation, I will still be part of the community and what I do as a researcher will become part of my reputation. It is also important to honour and protect my community and participants to the best of my ability from exploitation in the process.

1.16 Offering Tobacco is a Cultural Protocol

Whenever I met with members of my community panel to ask for advice or direction, or when I approached potential powwow participants for story gathering sessions, I began with the cultural protocol *asemaa* meaning "tobacco first." When I offered them tobacco, I was in essence offering them a sacred gift as a trade with respect for their sharing of knowledge and experience. When they accepted my tobacco, we entered into a sincere and sacred agreement; they were agreeing to share what I was asking for and in return, I was agreeing that I would honour and not exploit their stories. Joining our intention and understanding through this seemingly simple exchange created ceremony, demonstrated transparency, and invited the Ancestors and Spirit to witness our conversation.

1.17 Community Panel

In addition to my academic dissertation committee and to keep my re-search appropriate and accountable to the powwow and to Anishinaabe communities, I sought guidance from a council of Anishinaabe community members, each of whom I selected for their experience, spiritual connection, and expertise. I offered each of these people *asemaa* (tobacco) and asked them to guide me on my dissertation journey. The council included my Teacher, James Carpenter, whom I consulted for Traditional teachings related to Anishinaabe spirituality; Chris Pheasant-Iban and Greg Dreaver who carry years of experience and knowledge as powwow Emcees and Arena Directors who helped me with questions about protocols; and Brian Outinen who provided traditional teachings and philosophy as revealed through Anishinaabemowin.

1.18 Design of the Inquiry

The inquiry was designed to gather participant observer information through my own dancing experience at powwow as Wilson reminds us that 'Traditional Indigenous re-search emphasizes learning by watching and doing. Participant observation is a term used for this watching and doing in a scientific manner' (40). The second part of my inquiry was to gather stories about Spirit experiences from participants over the summer of one powwow season.

Most of the participants' stories were gathered over the summer of 2018 as I traveled from one powwow to another within the Dish With One Spoon Wampum Agreement Territory. My father lent me his 2003 Dodge diesel hemi truck and camping trailer, and I set out for a summer of powwows, camping, and story gathering around the Great Lakes watershed. By the end of the summer, I had traveled just under 10,000 miles (about 16,100 km) and covered over 20 powwows in Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, Ontario, and Quebec.

Creating and wearing stunning, well thought-out Regalia and beautiful beadwork significantly enhanced my re-search. Stylish Regalia and attractive beadwork immediately identify me as a seasoned, experienced dancer to other powwow people I didn't know. This semiotic short cut allowed me to quickly establish common ground, assume a degree of trust and mutual respect, and build rapport quickly with participants from other communities. My Regalia signaled my relationship to them as a relative in our greater powwow family. Admiring

someone's beadwork is a way to start a conversation and my Regalia allowed some potential participants to approach me that way.

Kovach tells us that 'Indigenous methodologies can be situated within the qualitative landscape because they encompass characteristics congruent with other relational qualitative approaches… that in the research design value both process and content' (25). Using Anishinaabe re-search techniques, story gathering happened at powwows through spontaneous conversations and private one-on-one knowledge gathering sessions. Story gathering was done during powwows for several reasons. First, it was a natural place to find dancers and other participants who were already immersed in the event. Second, powwows provided a centralized location for participation, which allowed access to a greater geographic range of potential participants. Third, as a fellow participant at the powwow, I was able to establish myself as part of the greater community, and I was visible if people had questions or follow up comments. It is different to talk about powwow than to talk about it and describe it while participating, and as a fellow dancer, I was able to relate better to what people were sharing.

I offered tobacco according to Anishinaabe custom to specific dancers, explained the purpose and intention of my inquiry for transparency and told them how their stories would be incorporated into my dissertation re-search and possible future projects like a powwow documentary. If they were interested, I invited them to participate in a video or audio recorded conversation in which I would ask questions to prompt their stories and guide expansion on their responses. Some participants did not want to be video recorded, some would only allow voice recordings, and others shared stories, but would neither be recorded nor wished to be identified. I appreciated all the knowledge they shared, and I honoured their wishes in relation to their level of consent for participation. Afterward, I thanked them and exchanged contact information so that I could reach them to provide the opportunity to review and approve how I situated their stories in my work or so that they could contact me if they had any further questions.

At the end of the summer, I participated in the Fall Fast as a way to reflect on the summer of story-gathering and as a way to ask Spirit to guide and inspire my "analysis."

1.19 Story Gathering

Following Wilson's suggestion that "if one starts from an Indigenous paradigm, then one can choose to use any tool from within that paradigm that may be effective" (39). I chose to use story gathering sessions designed to include a combination of prepared questions for structure and natural flowing conversation that would allow additional insights to be revealed. Unstructured story gathering provided more in-depth understanding of the participant's motivations, perceptions, and emotions and produced unique results that could not be generalized.

Gathering stories from dancers who I did not know from my regional community presented both challenges and benefits. Sometimes being anonymous to them allowed them to open-up and say things they might otherwise hold back due to worries about judgement or breaching confidentiality when sharing stories with community members they know. An opposite challenge as an anonymous re-searcher in a different community could have been that information was withheld because the participants did not know who I am and there could have been suspicion about whether they could trust me or my academic intentions.

Gathering stories in my own regional powwow community had some advantages because I had already cultivated a connection with some of the dancers and singers over time which created a comfort level allowing some participants to share their experiences more freely. Other community members I had hoped to engage with were camera shy or avoided being interviewed. There were specific dancers I had hoped to include in my re-search; however, they did not attend the powwows where I had hoped to meet them.

1.19.1 Risks

The story gathering sessions ran smoothly as anticipated and although the risk to participants was low, I had planned for the possible risk of inadvertently triggering memories of traumatic or painful events. I intended to handle those situations in the most culturally appropriate, traditional, Anishinaabe way such as offering to lighting a bundle of sage or braid of sweetgrass and making it available if they wanted to smudge. Other culturally appropriate ways I could have handled emotional situations were to offer to fan the energy off the person by using an Eagle Tail Fan, offering tobacco to a Jingle Dress Dancer for prayers to heal their emotional scars, or if appropriate, offer them a traditional Pipe ceremony. I also had support from

traditional Healers and counselors on my guiding panel who were willing to be available if needed.

1.19.2 Benefits

Direct benefits to participants were the opportunity to think about their experiences with Spirit, Regalia, and powwow, and share stories in an ongoing way about their relationships and understanding of Spirit. Having their stories recorded and shared would also benefit future dancers and new community members because some people may be having experiences with Spirit but do not have the cultural reference or support to understand what is happening.

In the time between story gathering and completing my dissertation, two participants have passed into Spirit. An unanticipated benefit of their participation in my re-search has been that their stories are recorded and available for the community and their families. The benefit of having the stories recorded for future generations was considered, however, I had not expected to lose participants over the course of the project.

As more Anishinaabe enter universities, there is a greater value placed on Anishinaabe knowledges in the academy. Participation in this study allowed community members to contribute to the greater body of existing knowledge, thereby creating space for Anishinaabe world views to exist alongside the academic mainstream. Their participation helped pave the way for future Anishinaabe scholars by providing a means for them to see themselves and their cultures reflected in recorded knowledges.

1.20 Identification of Potential Participants

As a powwow dancer for over 25 years, I have cultural and powwow knowledge that guided my selection of participants. Because I was initially looking for a certain relationship with material culture, dancers were initially chosen for their style and fluidity. Not all dancers could be included, nor would dancers without Regalia.

As my research focus changed, I looked for dancers with a certain aura of experience. As I danced at powwows, I chose people from the community to approach for participation in my study. In selecting participants, I was not looking for the fanciest Regalia or the most talented dancers. I was, instead, choosing people I could feel were dancing from their hearts and who

were being moved by the Drum. There is no list of attributes or qualities that I can describe to pinpoint how I chose which participants. I let the voice of my Spirit guide me.

As Anishinaabe, we recognize the importance of all members of the community. My original intention was to include various ages as well as male, female, and non-binary, and Two-Spirited participants. However, the small slice of the community that my re-search was able to cover could not intentionally include all of these categories within one summer. I neither asked participants to confirm or reveal their gender or orientation, nor did I choose or exclude participants based on any of those variables.

1.21 Powwow Participants Outside of Local Community

As localized powwow communities feel like being with friends and extended family, I traveled to powwows outside of my usual circuit to find dancers I did not know personally, and who also did not know me. By having some distance from the dancers in terms of not being part of their regional community but still recognizable as a powwow dancer, my intention was to create an opportunity for them to revel stories that they might not share with their usual communities. Some people were willing to share their stories with me but would neither do so on audio or video recording, nor did they want their names included.

1.22 Powwow Participants Inside the Local Community

So many of the community knew for years that I was going to write my dissertation on powwow that it was occasionally difficult to wait for ethics approval. Some powwow friends would tell me stories about their Regalia and sometimes I would stop them so that they could save the story to tell me after I had ethics approval. In the years of my doctoral studies leading up to the actual research undertaking, I was sometimes afraid that the elders I wanted to interview would either stop dancing or pass into Spirit. Some did threaten to stop dancing due to age, but luckily for me, they held off “retiring” for another year.

One summer early in my doctoral program, an elderly dancer and friend, Cliff Standingready, was so eager to share his story about how he learned to dance that he told it to me while we were standing in the Feast line. I stopped him and told him he had to wait until I had

ethics approval, but he ignored me and continued his story anyway. About two years later, I finally had ethics approval and could start my re-search, but I did not see Cliff at any of the usual powwows that Summer. Fall and Winter came and went, then came Spring, and powwow season was ramping up once again. I had extended my ethics approval and I was finally able to catch Cliff at the Hiawatha powwow where he allowed me to video record his story. Cliff passed away a couple of months later, and I felt like it was an incredible gift that his voice and story could still be part of my dissertation.

1.23 On Consent

It is culturally rude given our history of broken treaties and mistrust of the government and legal systems to ask powwow participants to sign a document they would deem to be a contract. This is where the offering and acceptance of tobacco went much further to make dancers feel comfortable and willing to participate. In talking to participants about what my project was for and how I intended to use the recordings collected, I also talked to them about having the opportunity to review sections that included them and told them that they would have final approval. I attempted to obtain verbal consent on video, but some participants gave consent before the camera was recording. All consent was done orally.

Some powwow participants did not want to be video recorded but allowed audio recording; others were willing to talk about their experiences but did not want to be identified or recorded in any way. I could speculate about levels of participation as they relate to cultural protocols, for example, the belief that talking about a dream or Spirit connection would take away the power. It is possible that some participants refused to be interviewed or recorded out of humbleness. Other participants would not talk about certain spiritual experiences or beings like Little People on camera. As previously mentioned, I hope to use the story gathering recordings in a future documentary, however, I would contact the participants and review their level of consent verbally and ask if anything has changed.

1.24 Recording Sessions

Recording took place near the powwow grounds, sometimes in the dancer's camp, sometimes off to the side of the Arena or during dinner breaks. It was a very hot summer, often

over 100 degrees Fahrenheit /38 Celsius and extremely humid. Cultural methodologies scholar Jim McGuigan tells us, “Most good researchers know it is not unusual to make up the methods as you go along;” indeed, “the methods should serve the aims of the research, not the research serve the aims of the method” (2). I attempted to set recording sites in the shade of trees or other structures where possible to make the participants feel more comfortable and to aid in the light quality of the video recording. I also provided water or other noncarbonated beverages. Although I was not always successful, I made an effort to record participants at powwows in a place where the Drum and Emcee announcements would not be intrusive. However, in order to get the interview, sometimes participants were not able to go too far from the Arena or speaker’s stand so the Drum is very prominent in their background.

1.25 Story Gathering Details

Initially, I began by asking participants about their style and how they started dancing as a way to warm them up, then I would ask them about their Regalia, Fans, and Eagle Feathers. After the first couple of interviews, I could see that there was a cultural disconnection between Regalia and experiences. From smoking my Pipe, I was hearing from Spirit that the essence that I was seeking to understand was greater than my question. After that, in addition to the warm-up questions, I started asking participants about their Regalia and if they had any stories, personal experiences, knowledge, and teachings related to Spirit, powwow, and their Regalia.

The time commitment for the story gathering sessions varied. Some participants were finished in 15 minutes, other took over an hour. It is not culturally appropriate to end a session if the participant wants to share for a longer duration. I would follow cultural protocols and adjust the story gathering sessions and methods accordingly.

1.26 Challenges

During this re-search, I encountered reluctance to talk about Spirit things, decisions not to talk on camera or have it recorded, and cultural protocol relating to elders and sharing. While I attempted to redirect conversations back to my research questions, I understood the value of their shared knowledge and did not interrupt. Sometimes too, as it seems when speaking with Elders and Spirit, things that are said don't immediately or directly relate to what I originally asked. But from a cultural perspective, any time an Elder starts out with a larger, seemingly unrelated story, there is an important teaching in there that eventually relates back to original question. The traditional process of asking Elders for information often means building a relationship and getting to know them and them getting to know me through a series of visits. While this can definitely be a challenge in the Western mindset of needing things to be done quickly, it is through slowing down and taking the time to establish myself more deeply in the community that the challenge actually became a reward.

1.27 Data Files and Storage and Technology

After videotaping the sessions, the digital recordings were transferred onto an external hard drive and stored in a locked cabinet. A separate, back-up copy of the digital files was transferred onto a second external hard drive and stored in separate locked cabinet. Recordings will be stored for 10 years during which time they may be edited to create a documentary as part of the larger information dissemination strategy of this dissertation project. Powwow footage and participants' recordings will be used only to the extent in which the participants have given permission. Data could also be used in future research as it documents condition of existence of powwow culture for 2017/2018. This footage could be valuable over time as culture evolves and changes.

A copy of their digital story files will be made available to the participants upon their request. Because this re-search project has Spirit, all excessive written materials and digital files will be given back to the Spirit realm through burning in a Sacred Fire.

Data will be retained for future use in a documentary as a knowledge/dissertation dissemination strategy. My ethics application stated that I intended to gather video and audio recordings that I may use in the future, which was approved. According to Indigenous research

principles and respect, I told the participants that they would have the opportunity to review and approve their final use in such future projects.

I did not have access to borrow quality video equipment through my graduate program. Figuring that the story was most important, with limited funding I was able to purchase a camcorder that recorded in 4K. With what was left, I had to choose between sound and lighting, so I purchased a directional microphone that connected to the camera. In hindsight I would have chosen a wireless lavaliere microphone for better sound quality as my participants were sometimes competing with the Drum in the background which was also being picked up by the mic. Wireless would have allowed for easier attachment to their Regalia. Getting the microphone closer to their mouths would have made for better recording quality, and I attempted to do that by extending the mic that clipped on the camera closer to the participants. In hindsight I would have also purchased a light that would have balanced filming in overcast conditions and in tents, because some stories shared by key participants had good audio, but the video is unfortunately unusable.

1.28 Closing Ceremony

When my story gathering, participant review, dissertation, and defense is complete, I will host a traditional Feast for the participants and their families and give them appropriate gifts for their stories, time, knowledge, and guidance in accordance with Anishinaabe cultural protocol. Gifting is not only a gesture of gratitude, but also a symbolic exchange for their gift of knowledge. The Feast and give-away will be the closing ceremony for this dissertation journey. In light of the Covid-19 pandemic, the powwows for this year (2020) have been cancelled. I will hold the Feast when we can gather again in person, hopefully part of my own community's annual powwow in August of this year (2021). In the Spirit of reciprocity and knowledge dissemination, I will present my re-search to the community and my dissertation will be made available to participants and the community at future powwows, gatherings, and events.

Chapter 2

The Journey Begins

The aroma of burning sage drifted through the air as the Drum beckoned dancers into the Arena. Warriors with Bustles of eagle-feathers, elaborate beadwork, and painted faces danced stories of battles and hunts, punctuating their gestures with calls and vocalizations. Silver cones clinked brightly in time with the Drum as Jingle Dancers shuffled in dresses covered in rolled snuff can lids. Swirls of fringe, blurs of colour, ribbons, mirrors… more dance styles… so much to see!

It was Grand Entry at the Indian Summer Festival and competition powwow in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, September of 1990. I had just turned 19. This was my first powwow, and the first time I had ever seen Native people who were not in my family. Glued to the spectacle, I watched culture in motion – my culture. I watched every movement of each dance style and I marveled at the intricacy and detail in the beadwork and Regalia. I couldn't wait to get into the Arena when the Emcee called an "intertribal," a time when everyone is invited to join in the dance! My mind overflowed with questions – why had I never seen a powwow before? What are these dances? What does it all mean? Where are all these Native people when they are not at a powwow, because I had never seen another Native person anywhere else ever. I felt alive! I felt like I was "home." I should have been part of this all along! All of the dances, singing, and happenings were supposed to belong to me too, but I felt like an outsider.

A few weeks earlier, I had just started my frosh year as an undergraduate dance major at Northern Illinois University. For an elective, I had enrolled in the Introduction to American Indian History course and eventually began to pester the professor, in the most-polite way, for a copy of a dance video he showed in class. A couple of weeks later, he gave me a copy-of-a-copy-of-a-copy of a VHS tape recorded from the TV broadcast of a PBS television series segment of Great Performances/Dance in America that featured the American Indian Dance Theatre's 1989 performance of Finding the Circle.

Watching that grainy, distorted tape over and over, I learned about each dance as I listened to the performers' voices. I would watch the Fancy Shawl Dance scene, then rewind and replay that section in slow motion, sometimes frame by frame, so that I could break down their movements and learn the steps. After much practice, I was eventually, able to dance along with the women in the video when that section played. Sophomore year at university, my new roommate told me that there was an American Indian Center in Chicago. So, on a cold, rainy Wednesday afternoon in November, I took a long "detour" through Chicago on my way home for Thanksgiving break. Venturing from the cornfields of DeKalb, Illinois to the big City, my journey of cultural discovery, connection, and identity began.

In Chicago, the weathered decorative masonry of the American Indian Center building hinted at a glorious past life as a Masonic Temple. The concrete steps were crumbling, and handful of rough-looking men sat outside on the metal railing by the entrance smoking cigarettes. A couple of them had their long hair tied in a ponytail, and one with short hair had a

small tear drop tattoo under his eye. I was excited to see other Native people, and I greeted them enthusiastically as I entered the building through the glass doors. Inside, I climbed a once-grand marble staircase to the landing where it split leading to both sides of the building. A table on the landing served as the reception desk where a beautiful, dark-skinned Native woman with long black hair sat working. With youthful enthusiasm I was on a mission. I introduced myself to the receptionist and told her that I wanted to learn to Fancy Dance. She gave me the once over and asked "Who are you? Where are you from?" Then she asked questions I could not answer, "What's your clan? What are your colours?" After a brief conversation, she directed me to the Senior Center located in the basement.

Downstairs was a room set up with tables and chairs that had a kitchen in the back where I met two elders, Joy Yoshida (Sokikwe), Bear Clan, Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation from Nebraska and Alberta King (O'Shogay Wah-ka-lot-ha), Bear Clan, Oneida, from Wisconsin. These two kind elderly women took me under their wings and became my adopted grandmothers. Over the following months, with kindness and patience, they taught me about culture and introduced me to other seniors in the community. I was in university a couple of hours away, but I would show up at the Senior Center whenever I could. I helped Joy and Alberta make lunch and serve the other seniors, and then afterward, I would help clean up and do the dishes. When lunch was over and the Senior Center was in order, the three of us would sit down to visit with a bowl of leftover soup each and a piece of still-warm frybread. Our conversations were filled with humour and meandered through culture, life, and my studies. Each time I was about to leave to go home or back to school, they would give me culture-related questions to ask my dad. Often times my father didn't know the answers either, so he would call his older sisters, my Aunt Lynn or Aunt Dorothy, who still lived on the reserve.

On one visit, Joy showed me her daughter's Fancy Dance Regalia. She explained each of the pieces that I would need to make and gave me tips on how to construct them. I was finally going to begin making my own Fancy Shawl outfit! I grew up watching my mother sew dresses for my sister and me, as well as square dance outfits for herself and my father. Occasionally I was her live dress form as she would have me wear the item so that she could pin an alteration or hem the skirt. From watching my mother, I had a basic understanding of patterns and garment construction: sew it inside out, and don't forget to add a seam allowance to homemade patterns. Mom showed me how to thread the sewing machine and line up the seams, and I took her machine with me when I went back to university. I made patterns for the cape and leggings out of a paper bag and laid out my material on the floor of my dorm room. I would sew every chance I had: between schoolwork and classes, and on the weekends. I asked for a sewing machine of my own for Christmas that year and started collecting various presser feet like a rolled hem foot and ruffler that would make sewing tasks easier. When I could escape from life as a student, I would travel to Chicago to see Joy, Alberta, and the other seniors, each time bringing my Regalia in progress so they could see how it was coming along. I hand stitched my first pair of moccasins, made dreamcatcher hair ties, and bought two ermine for the ends of my braids. I had also beaded a very simple matching barrette and earring set.

Alberta's son, Steve King is a fairly well-known Grass Dancer, and in the hall of the American Indian Center one afternoon when lunch was over in the Senior Center, he taught me about the structure of powwow songs along with my first dance steps. I was so desperately happy to finally have any dance instruction at all. I remember Steve hamming it up as he acted overly feminine to imitate the Fancy Shawl Dance. With a laugh, he half-jokingly told me not to tell anyone he was dancing that way. From a "boom box" Steve played a Black Lodge song on a cassette tape over and over until I learned to hear the push-ups and could stop on time with the last drumbeat.

By Spring, my Fancy Shawl outfit was complete enough to wear. I felt ready and excited to dance at my first powwow, which happened to be a small competition at the Lake County Fair Grounds in Illinois. At the powwow I introduced my parents to Joy and Alberta, the only other people I knew in attendance. As the weekend progressed, I met Candice Morrison, a Jingle Dancer from Ontario, who was closer to my age. I was happy to make a new friend and have someone to chum around with at the powwow. In my Regalia I looked like I belonged, even if I was not yet part of the community. I danced almost every song that weekend. I danced with all my heart; smiling as I internalized every drumbeat then dancing them out with my whole being. I was overwhelmed with happiness and bursting with pride! I knew my grandparents were smiling at me from the other side. Joy and Alberta seemed proud of me, too. Dancing gave me the perfect way to joyfully experience the festivities, see protocol in action, learn by participation, and also hide my feelings of intimidation.

After I had finished dancing my last round in the competition, Joy and Alberta sponsored a small initiation for me. I'd never seen an initiation before, and we had never talked about it, so I didn't understand the reason or significance. I didn't know what was happening, but Alberta told me to just go out in the Arena and dance. "By myself?!" I asked with surprise. I didn't want to let Alberta and Joy down, even though I felt nervous about all having all that attention dancing around the Arena alone. My Grandmothers asked a local Drum to sing for me, and I danced with my whole heart and Spirit! After I finished dancing, there was a second song, an Honour Song, where my parents and Joy and Alberta danced beside me as we were escorted around the Arena by the head dancers. It seemed that almost everyone came out and one-by-one, they shook my hand and welcomed me into the community. Then they shook hands with Joy and Alberta and my parents before joining a long line of people who were dancing behind us. That was how my Grandmothers introduced me to the powwow community in June of 1991. What a wonderful weekend! And the other big surprise… I placed third in the Fancy Shawl Dance competition!

Waabishkaa Migizi (White Eagle) miinawaa Bawaajigen Anongoos (Dream Star) niin dishnikaaz, Migizi Dodem (Eagle Clan), Pikwakanaganing (Algonquins of Pikwakanagan First Nation, Ontario). Anishinaabe Clan teachings say that just as the Eagle soars the heights of the sky, it is my responsibility as Eagle Clan to reach the heights of the mind. Sharing the story of

finding my culture and identity gives you, the reader, insight into who I am and how powwow has fit into my life. My introductory narrative signals to you, that "woven through the varied forms of our writing – analytical, reflective, expository – there will be story, for our story is who we are" (Kovach 4). Shawn Wilson, a Cree scholar from northern Manitoba and author of *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* stresses that storytelling is a more culturally appropriate way to approach research, and I will follow his suggestion throughout my dissertation:

> ……by taking the role of storyteller rather than researcher/author. Indigenous people in Canada recognize that it is important for storytellers to impart their own life and experience into the telling. They also recognize that listeners will filter the story being told through their own experience and thus adapt the information to make it relevant and specific to their life. When listeners know where the storyteller is coming from and how the story fits into the storyteller's life, it makes the absorption of the knowledge that much easier. (32)

Through personal stories and cultural perspectives woven throughout my dissertation, I am inviting you, the reader, into an Anishinaabe experience through my first-hand thoughts, reflections, and acquired teachings with the intention of bridging a gap in understanding for both non-Indigenous and non-Anishinaabe. Cree scholar, Margaret Kovach, emphasizes that "as Indigenous researchers, our responsibility is to assist others to know our worldview in a respectful and responsible fashion" (14). With the sinew of my own experience and perspectives, I will weave together scholarly literature, Anishinaabe world view, research framework, and stories gathered from powwow participants, to provide a deeper view into how Spirit and powwow are connected. My intention is that through sharing personal stories I can attach a lived, human experience to concepts in the literature, thereby creating a lens of truth, reference, and understanding from which you will view stories shared by powwow participants. As you journey with me through the story, you will have an opportunity to see from an Anishinaabe perspective how our culture, language, world view, and spirituality all come together in powwow.

2.1 The Longest Journey

The Anishinaabe adage that the longest journey a person makes is from their head to their heart accurately reflects my experience as an Anishinaabe Kwe in this dissertation process. The Western approach to knowledge sits firmly in the head as the focus is on logic and reason. Anishinaabe Ways of Knowing flow freely from the heart through knowledge gained from senses, feelings, dreams, and Spirit. Initially, I struggled to reconcile Anishinaabe and Western ways of knowing, but through the process, I learned to lead from my heart as often as possible, which allows me to remain true to who I am while also navigating the academic environment and meeting the requirements to complete my doctoral degree.

Life and learning are an ongoing process. As I centered my own heart-knowledge, Spirit and traditional Anishinaabe understandings began to unfold. My thoughts and feelings changed with time; I am not the same person I was when I entered graduate school years ago. As I continue on this journey from my head to my heart, my thoughts and feelings will continue to deepen. I am writing this dissertation from the position of my current understanding and I acknowledge that this is just the beginning of my journey of Mino Bimaadziwin (the Good Walk).

2.2 On Suspending Judgement

This dissertation contains personal stories gathered in a sacred way through the gift of tobacco. Participants are sharing their truth, their beliefs and experiences, and it is our responsibility to honour and care for their stories as well as respect the trust and confidence they had in me as a re-searcher and you as a reader. To treat their gift of knowledge in an objectifying way would be tremendously disrespectful, condescending, and could even jeopardize our future reception and reputation in the community. I am asking that you suspend any personal notions of skepticism and listen with your heart and Spirit. We are thinking about and considering any number of truths, possibilities, and perspectives from Spirit and participants without judgement or absolutes. The discussions that ensue after our conversations with participants are to help you focus, connect the dots, and link concepts to the actual experience of the Anishinaabe powwow community. You will gain a richer, deeper, insider's understanding of the personal and cultural, intimate experience between family, community, and spiritual experience of powwow.

2.3 On Sharing Traditional Knowledge

I would like to address the commonly held belief among the Anishinaabe that spiritual matters should not be talked about let alone written, especially for academe. The belief that our spiritual matters should be private is most likely a lingering survival mechanism that stems from fear during a time when our spirituality was outlawed, and we were heavily influenced by churches and government assimilationist policies. We no longer fear punishment or imprisonment for practicing our traditional beliefs, and that reason alone makes me proud to share my teachings. Our spirituality as Indigenous people in general and as Anishinaabe directly has been hidden long enough.

From conversations I have had with the Anishinaabe community, the value of sharing experiences with Spirit and my teachings is that Indigenous youth and people not connected to culture may have experiences with Spirit that they don't understand or haven't been able to process. My intention in sharing my experiences in this dissertation is to allow future Anishinaabe scholars and researchers the opportunity to see themselves and their gifts reflected and embraced in our culture and in the academy.

Another concern from some members of our community is that our knowledges will be decontextualized and appropriated by non-Indigenous people. While this is definitely a concern because it happens frequently, the value for our own people to be able to see ourselves represented academically and intellectually far outweighs the possibility of misuse. Even if someone were to recreate the ceremonies described in my dissertation, their experiences would be completely different from mine and from any other Indigenous person in relation with Spirit. Without the intention and participation of Spirit in an appropriated replication, the person would simply be going through the motions without results.

2.4 Learning to Bead with Aunt Dorothy

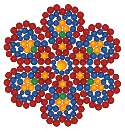
I remember summers camping with my Aunt Dorothy Commanda-Iban, my father's oldest sister, who taught me simple beading techniques through projects that were manageable for the dexterity and motor skills of a child my age. One of the first projects I can remember was when I was about six years old, and Aunt Dorothy taught me to bead weave rings. We used wire

instead of needle and thread and large, 4-millimeter sized, beads which were easier for my small fingers to handle. Over the progressive summers of my youth, the beading projects Aunt Dorothy taught me introduced new techniques. As they increased in difficulty, the beads required became smaller and smaller as my skills and dexterity matured. Eventually, through brick-stitching earrings, peyote stitching a pencil, and bead appliqueing small medallions, Aunt Dorothy had taught me the technical foundations so that I could later create designs and bead on my own.

Similar to the process of learning and physically developing through childhood, my traditional knowledge and understanding of Anishinaabe worldview advanced over time as I participated in ceremony. As I reflect on the whole journey of re-search and writing, I find the dissertation process to be very much like beading. Just as I had to start out with bigger beads and wire while growing into my body and learning necessary techniques, to write this dissertation I had to start off with foundational concepts, asking questions, pondering ideas, and learning through ceremony.

In the beginning stages of writing my dissertation, I imagined that I was stitching Western beads of knowledge in place with the thread of Anishinaabe world view. But as my dissertation began to unfold, I envisioned the finished paper to be more like a beautiful, woodland floral beaded piece.

2.5 Beading and Experiential Knowledge



Before we continue this dissertation journey together, I must teach you, my reader, to bead. Beads have a variety of colours, finishes, and textures and as we string and stitch each bead into place, concepts and flowers will begin to take shape. Each complete concept we discuss creates a finished flower unto itself, and then multiple flower-concepts will be linked together with rope-like vines of story and embellished with leaves of insight. When our shared journey through this dissertation is finished, we will see the completed beadwork; our new understanding as a whole composition created by tiny, felt, examined, and a discussed thought-beads intricately stitched down one-by-one into shapes.

Together, you and I will bead our way through this dissertation; selecting individual beads of knowledge, thought, and story and stitching them in place along Anishinaabe framework until when you finish reading this dissertation you will finally be able to see how all the parts combine to create a whole picture. Beading is not difficult once you get the hang of it. I am confident that you will learn quickly, and I will be here to help you along the way.

The project we are beading is a traditional Anishinaabe woodland design with vines, flowers, leaves, and berries. Woodland style is colourful and bright, and often incorporates

different kinds of flowers, buds, and berries along shared vines and leaves so that it appears that they are all growing from the same plant. I have already mapped out our conceptual framework and drawn our design on this piece of tracing paper. We will begin by threading the thin, fine beading needle with multi-strand, nymo thread Yes, there is indeed a hole in one end of that skinny needle. We will tie a "quilter's knot" at the end of the thread by wrapping the thread around the needle several times then pulling the needle through like so.

As a foundation for our beadwork, we will use Pellon, a firm, heavy-weight interfacing made of many fused polyester fibers, in essence, a plastic. Pellon is usually sewn into hats and belts to provide stiffness, but it has also come to replace leather, canvas, felt, and other mediums previously used as the foundation of choice for beadwork. As a polyester, that means it is not absorbent and therefore will be easy to clean dust and perspiration out of beadwork, and the stiffness will provide support for the added weight of the beads. The fact that Pellon does not stretch means that the beadwork will retain its shape; the stitches will not become loose over time, nor will the piece droop from its own weight or wear. The use of Pellon, an oil-based manufactured substance, to reclaim, re-search, and re-learn culture, is an example of enculturation into the modern, plastic-based mainstream existence. If you want to split hairs, nymo thread is nylon, a kind of plastic, too. It is Anishinaabe tradition to adopt, make our own, and use new materials in innovative ways.

Holding the tracing paper with the design on top of a firm piece of Pellon, pierce it with the needle from the back to the front so that the knot is on the back, the tracing paper is on the front, and the needle emerges on the front at a starting point on one of the lines that make up the design. We are ready to start beading.

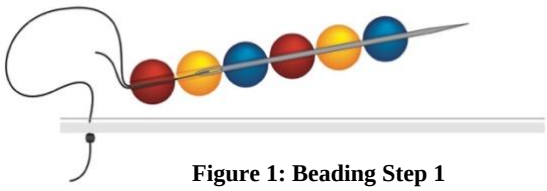


Figure 1: Beading Step 1

With the needle, pick up six beads (Figure 1). Slide them down the string until they meet the tracing paper and are in line with no space or string showing.

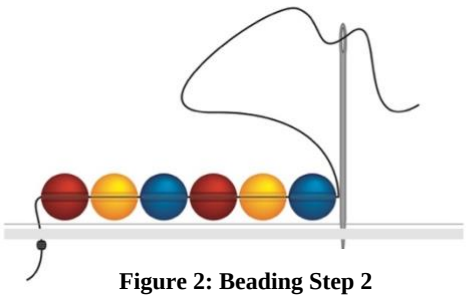


Figure 2: Beading Step 2

Holding the six beads in place on the line, pierce the Pellon with the needle from front to back at the edge of the sixth bead (Figure 2) and pull the needle and thread through to the back side, making sure the stitch is secure and there is no slack in the thread.

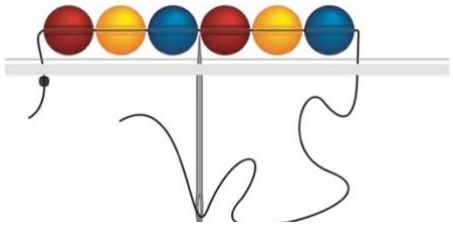


Figure 3: Beading Step 3

Next, pierce the Pellon from the back to the front coming up between the third and fourth beads in the row (Figure 3).

Then pass the needle (Figure 4) through the fourth, fifth, and sixth beads a second time (Figure 5).

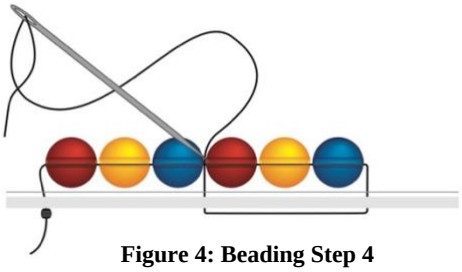


Figure 4: Beading Step 4

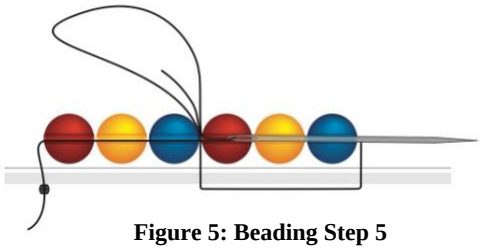


Figure 5: Beading Step 5

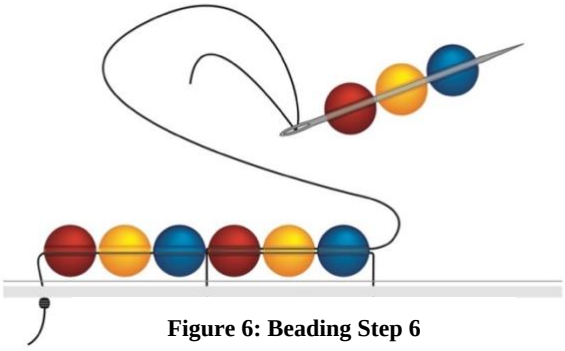


Figure 6: Beading Step 6

Pull the remaining string all the way through so that the beads end up stitched securely in place and the string is now coming out of the hole of the sixth bead. The row of six beads will now be sewn down and the thread will now be protruding from the hole of the sixth bead. Pick up another six beads with your needle, and then repeat the process (Figure 6).

You have now learned the basic applique step that you will repeat over and over (Figure 8) until the lines of the design are drawn with beads and the outline takes shape. Once the outline is finished, use the same stitch to fill in the empty spaces with complementary or contrasting colours to create the design, in this example, a flower.

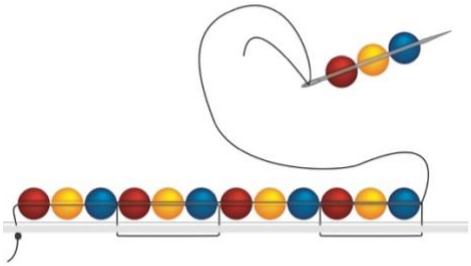


Figure 8: Repeat Beading Steps 1-6

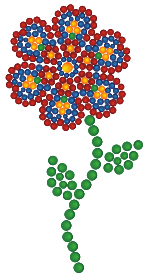


Figure 7: Beaded Flower

Now that you have mastered the beading applique technique, we can now bead our way through this storied dissertation together.

2.6 Re-visiting Those "Little Spirit Berries"

In the previous chapter, we learned that the word for bead in Anishinaabemowin, manidoominens breaks down to include manidoo which usually translates as Spirit, and min which means berry. I was initially a bit confused about how beads could be recognized as having a Spirit until I remembered reading another meaning of the word manitou (same word different spelling) shared by Anishinaabe scholar Basil Johnston:

> …mystery is but one of the connotations of the word manitou. The word has other meanings as well: spiritual, mystical, supernatural, godlike or spirit like, quiddity, essence. It is in these other senses that the term is often used and is to be understood, not just in the context of manitou beings. (Manitou xxi)

I spoke to Brian about how these other connotations of *manido* are used and he gave me the example of *manido-biiwaabik* (literally "spirit iron") which is the descriptive name for a magnet. Brian explained that the magnet possesses the quality of attraction that makes it special among other pieces of metal, but the Anishinaabe do not believe that there is a Spirit inside of the metal creating its power.

The use of *manidoo* in the description of a bead is not meant to indicate that the bead has a conscious, or experiential, existence. Brian explained that *manidoo* in this instance refers to a specialness in the beauty and attractiveness of the beads, and that in their loose form, they have infinite potential to be creatively stitched in many possible ways. As beads are stitched together,

they transform from individuals by becoming attached as part of the whole. Through becoming a whole piece, they embody togetherness. Brian explained, "The *ma* sound in this sense of *manidoo* represents the people's togetherness and where there is togetherness, there is life."[3]

As we bead together, stitching memories of our learning and experience of this dissertation, think about how the beading process brings families and communities together. As you and I spend time talking and beading our way through this dissertation, we example the togetherness created by beads. Our resting, completed piece of beadwork will physically embody and record our togetherness.

2.7 The Beading Experience

Some mornings I would start my day by beading and drinking coffee. I was often conscious of my thoughts, but I also found beading relaxing and meditative and sometimes allowed myself to be influenced or inspired by Spirit. From ceremony, I've experienced that when I slow my mind down through meditation, I actually raise my vibration and that makes it easier to connect with Spirit. I consider that during those times, perhaps Spirit was talking to me, even though I wasn't consciously aware of the it. I focused on the experience and process of beading to allowed space for reflection on both spiritual and academic questions, allowing my mind to be still or wander slightly.

As I picked up each individual bead with my needle and sewed them into a design I wondered if each individual bead chose to be part of my project. Did they choose the particular stitch and which other beads to be next to? Did they have a relationship with other Spirit berries? Fellow beaders have remarked that sometimes it seems that certain beads are excited to be part of the project and grow tired of waiting to be picked up, and they seem to hop right on the needle. The opposite is also experienced when beads have a way of escaping by sliding back off the needle once they are picked up or by flinging themselves off the needle and out of the dish (or across the room). I wonder if they had made a decision not to be part of the project or not to be included in that particular stitch next to the other beads chosen. I had heard beaders comment about placing an offering of a couple of beads on the floor for the Little People before starting a project. Perhaps

[3] Brian Outinen. Personal communication. 20 May 2021.

those beads in my experience that launched themselves off of the needle wanted to be on the ground, to found later by the Little People, too.

In a social media beading group, I saw a post and discussion about "Spirit Beads," which are an odd bead somewhere in the beadwork, often of a different colour, not always immediately noticeable, but findable by experienced beadworkers. Sharon Olsen, Wolf Clan, from God's Lake Narrows in Manitoba posted a picture of her project, referring to an odd bead that was slightly lighter in colour, rounder, and had a different finish than the rest of her piece. Sharon posted under her screen name, "Sharyn Shirley:" "I hear about spirit beads all the time and it's happened to me once before, but tonight… I took this apart 2 times and fixed it and now for the third time…here it is again… I guess it is staying."[4] Some people commented to the effect that the bead is placed there by someone from the past, an Ancestor making you put it there for a reason, or that it honours the Creator. Others said it was to remind her that no one is perfect, and she should leave it because it was meant to be there. Regardless of which teaching, they all regarded "Spirit Beads" as special.

Beading is tedious and time consuming, and to finish a piece, it is helpful to carry those projects around so that they are available for a couple stitches anywhere in order to make progress. For example, I beaded in the car on long trips, at powwows in between dance specials, while waiting at the doctor's office, during my hour-long commute via subway, during my lunch hour or on break at work, while watching TV, visiting with friends and family, and I have even stitched beads by the light of a Coleman lantern after a long day of moose hunting. If one cannot enlist friends or family to help with beading, making the pieces mobile and carrying them around for opportune minutes to fill is the best way to get beadwork finished.

Time shared beading together is one-way families and communities build connection. While friends and family bead together, they may visit, tell stories, share technical knowledge, sing songs, watch movies, or simply be present together in silence. Shannon Gustafson (Keewadinong Kwe) is an incredibly talented beader and I was fortunate to catch her social media post about creating the stunning Woodland Style beaded Regalia her husband, Ryan, wears. Ryan's Regalia is finely detailed and looks like it could easily be part of any museum's prized collection. Shannon's post is a beautiful example of why Anishinaabe people bead, as

[4] Sharon Olsen, Wolf Clan, from God's Lake Narrows in Manitoba, Facebook Post as "Sharyn Shirley" March 27, 2020 posted in Beadwork Tips, Tricks, Q & A group. Permission for use given 29 March 2020.

well as a testament to the time, focus, and dedication it takes to create and finish such stunning pieces:

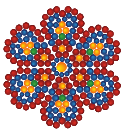
> …the truth behind all this beadwork, this is the "Grey's Anatomy" outfit, and the reason it's called that. is because it took our family (4 beaders) 10 seasons of Grey's to complete. We sat in a room around a big table for 16 hrs per day for 30 days total. Beads and bonding….I raised a family of beaders as transferring those skills were important to me. This beadwork also represents a shift in my work which reflects our tribal identity. There is nothing more meaningful than to have created this as a family and for the man that has been our protector and provider, he deserves all that we have to give. I am grateful every day to carry such gifts but I am most thankful to our ancestors for leaving behind such beautiful pieces for inspiration.[5]

Although other members of my immediate family are not beaders, over a winter holiday after my comprehensive exams I visited my best friend, Vicki Browder-Crom, and enlisted her help. Vicki is neither Indigenous, nor had she ever beaded before, but she is quite crafty and artistic so she caught on very quickly. I showed her one of the flowers I had completed that was going to be part of my upper accessory set, then handed her a similar flowered piece in progress and taught her how to stitch the beads. Once she was comfortable, I started beading yet another piece for the set. Rheault describes the Anishinaabe concept of memory, *minjimendamowin*, as "literally the act of holding in and stitching together that knowledge that comes to a person" (74). Beading with my best friend was heartfelt, quality time together. As we enjoyed each other's company we strung the beads with laughter and stitched them down with love, literally making our time and memory visible in the beaded flowers we were creating.

Within a couple months of beading at every opportunity, I had finished my first matching beaded upper accessory set: two hair ties, a choker, choker drop, a back barrette to hold my Eagle Feathers, small barrette to hold my plumes, two earrings, and a headband. I placed the beadwork Vicki finished on the handle of my fan so could I consciously carry and dance with her thoughts and laughter. I feel the weight of the beaded pieces and moose hide backing, and marvel at their beauty. I am proud of how they turned out, and how they all look together when I wear them with my Regalia. They feel powerful and beautiful. I think about the hours of work it took to make

[5] Sharon Gustafson. Facebook Post dated April 14, 2019. Permission for use given 28 December 2019.

them, all the places they have been, and all the places we have yet to travel and dance. Every time I put on my beadwork and tie them onto my braids, I think about all the hands that have touched them. I feel all the thoughts, intentions, and memories they carry as I dance them into the powwow circle.



Excellent! You are really getting the hang of beading! Your beads are stitched with the right amount of tension; you are allowing them to breathe without making them too loose or too tight. I love the colour you chose for the center of your flower. Nice work! Keep it up!

2.8 Braid of Sweetgrass Dissertation Structure

Throughout this academic journey, I struggled to sort and separate the many overlapping Western theories, Anishinaabe world views, and stories from participants and myself into rigid chapters without losing the feeling and context. Story and culture framed my methodology and conceptual framework. Re-search was a continuous, circular process: from literature review to methodology to story gathering, then back to re-search. I intentionally chose not to pick apart stories shared by the participants, but instead attempt to contextualize literature with their experiences. In so doing, the analysis began to weave throughout the dissertation as story and comments from participants became relevant to the initial literature review, and then central to a re-search of literature to understand Spirt.

Eventually I realized that all the pieces of a doctoral dissertation would still be present if I braided stories, academic literature, and Anishinaabe world view. Just as equal strands are needed to form a thick, balanced braid, so Anishinaabe world view, stories, and theories are woven together in balance. As concepts weave in and out and circle back on themselves as they develop in relation to other themes and contexts and reappear in various places, it will be helpful to imagine the overall dissertation content like a circular braid of sweetgrass.

2.9 Dissertation Chapters

As we gather knowledge and travel through this dissertation together, you will see how individual chapters are layered like petals of a flower. As the flower unfolds its layers until it is

in full bloom, so will each chapter give you layers of connections and interwoven philosophy until you can see the beauty of powwow through Anishinaabe world view. The following chapter overviews will provide you with a road map of our dissertation journey. Before we begin, here are a couple dissertation "road signs" to help you navigate conversations and voices along the way.

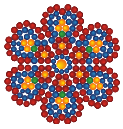


Figure 9: Beaded Floral Symbol

This beaded floral symbol (Figure 9) will indicate places where I address you, the reader, directly. This visual cue will help differentiate from differentiate from other vignettes within the whole dissertation story.

Figure 10: Two Eagle Feather Symbol

This pair of feathers (Figure 10) will indicate where powwow community members share their stories in their own words. In the same way that the Head Dancers escort honourees around the powwow Arena, these two feathers symbolically escort the stories shared by the community in this dissertation. The stories have remained true, complete, and in their original form as they were shared with me by the participants. However, in order to create spaces for their stories to be told in this dissertation, I wove a cohesive, overarching story that structures and contextualizes their stories. Through academic writing, I created the vine and leaves that highlight their stories thereby letting their experiences entice us like sweet, ripe berries.

Figure 11: Babaj/Brian's Symbol

This symbol (Figure 11) originates from ancient Anishinaabe sound-based glyphs from the language that represent Brian Outinen's Spirit name, Babaji. I will use this symbol where he shares sacred teachings, philosophy, and knowledge from the Anishinaabe language and world view.

Figure 12: My Symbol

This symbol with a star and spiral (Figure 12) is also from ancient Anishinaabe sound-based glyphs that make the sounds of my Spirit name. I will indicate where I am telling a story from my life and experience as a way to further tie the dissertation together by using this symbol. As Indigenous re-search demands centering oneself within the context of the research, by sharing my story, too, you will see where I fit within the greater story.

Chapter 1: Drawing the Circle

In this chapter we followed the process that led to the focus of this dissertation. Described as drawing a circle, we looked at what topics and perspectives fell inside and outside of the scope for this inquiry.

Chapter 2: The Journey Begins

Through centering myself and teaching you to bead, we oriented our perspective to view the rest of this dissertation.

Chapter 3: Beads and Bannock

As we continue beading while drinking cedar tea and eating bannock, Brian joins us to share a teaching from Anishinaabemowin about world view related to how dreaming, , prayer, dance, and powwow are all interconnected. Through Brian's discussion of Jingle cones, dance, world view, and the benevolence of a healing Manito, we will begin to understand the interconnectedness of dance, Regalia, and the embodiment of spiritual connection. Beads and Bannock dovetails the spiritual and secular, and the traditional and academic.

Chapter 4: On the Powwow Trail

As powwows are best understood through experience, we will take a road trip together to attend a powwow. As we spend time in the car beading and chatting, I will situate historic and sociological perspectives related to how contemporary powwow came into existence. By understanding the history of why Canadian and United States governments outlawed Indigenous dance for nearly 100 years, I hope to impart a deeper understanding and appreciation for the fact that powwow exists today as a site of cultural reclamation and resistance.

Chapter 5: Two Lost Black Coffees

We arrive at the powwow early so we have time to finish our beadwork and take a walk around the powwow grounds. On our walk we have the opportunity to greet and chat with some of the dancers who share their personal stories with us. We reflect together on the Anishinaabe world views we have learned and how those views are woven into the experience and identity of the people we just met. This chapter also provides an overview of powwow protocols, the Drum,

various dance styles, the physical structure of the grounds, and some personal observations and reflections of the contemporary state of powwow and its changes over time.

Chapter 6: Grand Entry! Now Entering the Arena….

After all of the Anishinaabe perspectives we have learned and dancers we had the fortune to meet, the powwow begins and we watch the Grand Entry. As the various dance categories enter the Arena, we can see the friends we previously met in action as they dance their styles. After Grand Entry, we will join in dancing some Intertribal songs and feel the sense of community and Anishinaabe culture through that somatic and embodied experience and we will wear our finished beadwork as we dance in the Arena.

Chapter 7: Traveling Song

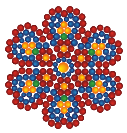
When the powwow is over and all the closing protocols have been met, it is tradition for the Drums to come together to sing a Traveling Song. As there is no word for good-bye in Anishinaabemowin, The Traveling Song is a traditional way to acknowledge the host community and wish all participants, vendors, and spectators a safe journey as they return home or travel on to their next destination. This chapter allows us to recap our journey and the knowledge we created together, thereby symbolically closing our braid of sweetgrass and concluding our time together for now.

Chapter 3

Beads and Bannock

"Powaawaagan, short form 'powwow,' means 'offering messages to creation on earth with smoke/dust smoke.' So, when you go to a powwow, you're really kicking the sands; it's the ceremony of smoke or sands. You're expressing a message to the sky and around the earth because everything is connected."

- Brian Outinen



As you get the feel of stitching and beading, I will make a pot of tea to go with this freshly baked bannock by simmering the withes and leaves of a cedar tree and adding a touch of honey. Bannock is best when it is warm, and I have placed butter and raspberry preserves on the table to go with it. As you pick up beads then stitch them down by going back through three or so, you may feel like this dissertation proceeds in a similar way; introducing concepts, stitching them down with thought, then passing through the concepts again with story and example.

To provide a glimpse into the relationship between Spirit and aspects of powwow, in this chapter we will examine the sound meaning breakdowns in Anishinaabemowin. Brian will authenticate missing world view related to powwow and the Jingle Dress Regalia as he guides us through the language. In order to make the connections between sounds, words, and concepts easier to follow, I have included tables throughout the chapter.

While this dissertation is not an examination of world view and language loss, by demonstrating through two colours of the Medicine Wheel, I intend to give you a visual example to introduce the relationship between language and world view and illustrate how our language holds our original instructions.

3.1 Medicine Wheel Example of Instruction in Anishinaabemowin

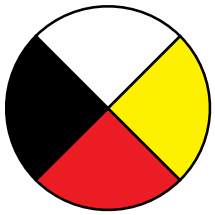


Figure 13: Incorrect Medicine Wheel

This is how the medicine wheel is drawn in many contemporary Anishinaabe communities and organizations (Figure 13): with yellow in the East and red in the South. Those communities may defend that that order is the way it is in their community; however, the Anishinaabe language actually indicates that the correct order is with red in the East and yellow in the South. There is a very detailed world view and teaching on the process of Creation and life that places the colour red in the East (Figure 14); however, I will not expand on that in this dissertation. I can however show you through the language that the word *Zhaawanong*, used to mean the direction South, actually means "Yellow Star." Yellow Star refers to the colour of the mid-day sun in accordance with the cycle of the sun in a day which is represented in the Medicine Wheel: the sun rises in the East (red), travels across the sky and is in the highest position to the South (yellow), then sets in the West (black), and then the North Star (white) and other evening stars and the moon appear. Communities that are not rooted as strongly the language may recognize that *Zhaawanong* is the word used for South, but perhaps have not thought about what that word really means.

Figure 14: Correct Medicine Wheel

Full Word	Sound Meaning Breakdown				English Meaning
Zhaawanong		zhaa	wa	anong	South: literally "Yellow Star"
Ozaawaa	o	zaa	waa		yellow
Anong				anong	star

Table 1: Zhaawanong Sound Breakdown

This example demonstrates two things. The first is to show that reasons and logic to our world view are indeed held in the language. The second illustrates how original Anishinaabe world view has been almost erased due to language suppression as a result of historic assimilationist policies.

3.2 What does "Powwow" Mean?

As all of this dissertation braids Anishinaabe world view, this overview of contemporary powwow is no exception. To begin our exploration of what powwow is to us as Anishinaabe, let us start by considering the following definitions of "powwow" as recorded in Western, well-respected, scholarly sources:

***Powwow* / (ˈpaʊˌwaʊ)** 1. a talk, conference, or meeting 2. a magical ceremony of certain North American Indians, usually accompanied by feasting and dancing 3. (among certain North American Indians) a medicine man 4. a meeting of or negotiation with North American Indians *Collins English Dictionary*
"1615-25 *Americanim;* <Narragansett (E spelling) *powwaw* Indian priest (and the identical word in Massachusett) < Proto-Algonquian **pawe•wa* he dreams (used as a derived agent noun meaning "he who dreams", i.e. one who derives his power from visions)" *Random House Unabridged Dictionary*
"The term *powwow*, which derives from a curing ritual, originated in one of the Algonquian nations of the Northeast Indians." *Britannica.com*
"The term 'powwow' comes from an Algonquin word for 'medicine man' or 'he who dreams.'" *Library and Archives Canada*
"The word *powwow* most likely stems from an Anglicization of *pau wau* or *pa wa*, from the Algonquian language family of southeastern Canada and the northeastern United States. Most scholars believe that *powwow* was derived from the Narragansett words *pau wau*, which translated into English as "he or she dreams," it initially referred to the healers within the tribes of the East, who often interpreted dreams as a part of their role within the community." *Canadian Encyclopedia*

These definitions, while somewhat descriptive, provide an incomplete picture. While some of what takes place at a powwow lies in these Western definitions, the depth of cultural meaning and Anishinaabe world view is lost in the translation. As an example, let us consider these Western definitions in comparison to the more complex and accurate Anishinaabe concept of powwow.

3.3 Smoke, Dream, Powwow: What is the Connection?

One of the videos on Brian's blog, *Dreaming…* Praying… *Pipe…Powwow…. How Everyone Can Send Messages to Creation,*[6] spoke directly to the understanding I was searching for in this dissertation process. In a solemn voice, Brian began his teaching video by saying "These are sacred words, and I want you to understand them." He proceeded to explain a series of words that share the same root sound Bwaa/Pwaa/Bo/Po that means or refers to *smoke.* From my previous study of Anishinaabemowin, there are sets of consonants which have the same sound and are interchangeable, however, various dialects may prefer one spelling over the other; that is why both b and p spellings are used in the video explanation. I have coloured the letters of the specific sounds in the words that relate to smoke this shade of red so that they are easier to identify. The English translation of b*waa*j*ged* means "dreaming or in the state of dreaming" and the translation of *bwaa*d*ang* means "dreamed or having already dreamed." He showed a diagram with the root of both words and their endings separated:

bwaa + jged / dang

Brian explained the traditional Anishinaabe understanding of what it means to dream, a concept not shared by Western views and one that is completely lost in the translation. Brian explained that *bwaajged* actually means "leave your body and travel as smoke… you're like an energy," and *bwaadang* "explains where your smoke energy went." The Anishinaabe concept

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[6] "Dreaming…Praying…Pipe….Powwow…. how everyone can send messages to Creation." *YouTube*. Brian Outinen. 20 March 2019.

being that we leave our bodies through smoke, a form of water vapor from our breath, and visit an actual place. In that dream place we can encounter Spirit beings, ancestors, and other dreamers. When we are finished at the dream place, we return to our bodies before we wake up. Continuing his lesson, Brian expanded on the connection of the sounds Bwaa/Pwaa/Bo/Po meaning smoke in another example which became invaluable to the focus of my dissertation:

> *Powaawaagan (short form is powwow) is 'offering messages to creation on earth with smoke/dust smoke.' So, when you go to a powwow, you're really kicking the sands; it's the ceremony of smoke or sands. You're expressing a message to the sky or to around the earth because everything is connected.*[7]

The conceptual meaning of *powaawaagan* (powwow) is that when we dance, we ceremoniously "kick the sands" either actually or symbolically, creating dust that forms like smoke. This actual or conceptual dust-smoke carries our prayers up to the sky realm of the Spirits and Creator, as well as being carried far around creation by the wind. It is through the rising, drifting, and settling, of the dust-smoke that we are able to send prayers.

Then to my surprise, in this same video, Brian explained the word *powagan*, which from experience I understood to mean Pipe, but that I had also seen in Hallowell and other scholars' work translated as "spirit guardian" or "dream visitor" as mentioned in Chapter 1. Naturally I had questioned how pipe, spirit guardian, and dream visitor could all be the same word and wondered what their connection might be. Brian answered this question as his video continued:

> *Powagan, short, missing one 'wa', is "pipe" or "bowl of pipe" … and the powa is like a mini version of the powwow (powawagan). So really, without being a pipe carrier, you can express ceremony through a powwow; give your blessings to all, because as you give blessings, you get blessings….*[8]

[7] "Dreaming…Praying…Pipe….Powwow…. how everyone can send messages to Creation." *YouTube*. Brian Outinen. 20 March 2019.
[8] Ibid.

The essence of Brian's teaching is that the sounds indicating smoke reveal Anishinaabe world view related to Spirit. To help you visualize the connection between the words and meaning, I've created the following table:

Whole Word	Bwaa/Pwaa/Bo/Po meaning "smoke"	Other Word Part	Meaning in English
bwaajged	*bwaa*	*jged*	leave your body and travel as smoke (dream)
bwaadang	*bwaa*	*dang*	where your smoke energy went "dreamland" (*dang* = place)
powaawaagan	*powaa*	*waagan*	offering messages to creation on earth with smoke/dust smoke
powawa (or powwow)	*powa*	*wa*	ceremony of the "kicking of the sands"

Table 2: Words with the Bwaa/Pwaa/Bo/Po Sound Meaning Smoke

Both Anishinaabe and mainstream scholars have written about the world view on dreaming that Brian articulated through the language. Alfred Irving Hallowell, an American anthropologist who studied the Berens River Ojibwe people in Manitoba over seven summers in the 1930s recorded the exact concept of leaving the body and traveling that Brian shared in his video:

> …When a human being is asleep and dreaming his *òtcatcákwin* (vital part, soul), which is the core of the self, may become detached from the body (*miyó*). …Thus the self has greater mobility in space and even in time while sleeping. ("Ojibwe Ontology" 41)

Speaking of meeting Spirit Beings through the dreams Hallowell relates "… it is in dreams that the individual comes into direct contact with the *ätíso'kanak*, the powerful 'persons' of the other-than-human class" ("Ojibwe Ontology" 40). D'Arcy Rheault, an Anishinaabe scholar, also writes that:

> In some cases, aadizookaan can find a path into a person's dreams, and in that expanded dimension of reality, is able to communicate,

> in some instances, directly without the use of the uttered word. Aadizookaan and the dreamer are able to share knowledge directly through the spirit. (81-82)

Contemporary scholar Michael Angel who researched the Anishinaabe Midewiwin Lodge highlights the significance of being able to meet and learn from Spirits in dreams, meaning that Spirit instruction is relational and ongoing:

> Dreams were of great importance in the life of individual Anishinaabeg, since they served as a vehicle by which the teachings were passed on or new teachings were revealed… The possibility of an ongoing communication with the manidoog through visions and dreams ensured that the Anishinaabe cosmology was an extremely flexible one. (27)

Through Brian's explanation and support in the literature we are now able to answer the question from Chapter 1 about how *powagan* could mean "Pipe" in ceremony, and be translated as "dream visitor" by Smith (59), "dream spirits who function as guardian spirits or protectors" by Hallowell ("Contributions" 398), and "spirit guardian" by Angel (28). Through dreaming, we leave our bodies and travel as smoke or vapor to an actual dreamplace. When one smokes a Pipe, the bowl of the Pipe creates smoke that rises and carries prayers to Creator and all of Creation. Dancing at a powwow creates smoke through "kicking the sands" thereby enabling prayers to be sent via dust smoke. Being smoke essence in a dream place allows us to encounter other dream visitors and Spirit guardians who also travel as smoke essence. Powerful visions, ceremonies, healings, and premonitions are given by Spirits through dreams, which could make the recipient revered in their community as a medicine man. As you can see now, the world view connected to smoke and dreaming is the common thread of meaning. Revisiting the definitions of "powwow" in English reference sources after Brian's teaching, we can see evidence recorded in English that hints at a deeper meaning and world view sourced from the Anishinaabe language.

3.4 Jiinktamok

A word sometimes seen on flyers and in ads that seemingly replaces the word powwow in some Anishinaabe communities is *Jiingtamok* (Figure 15). I asked Brian what the word *Jiingtamok* meant and how that related to its use instead of powwow in some communities. We had a conversation about the difference, and I will use colour coding to follow the root words. Since we are following two root words, I will use red to follow the first, and blue to follow the second in *Jiinktamok*. Using Anishinaabemowin as evidence, Brian explained:

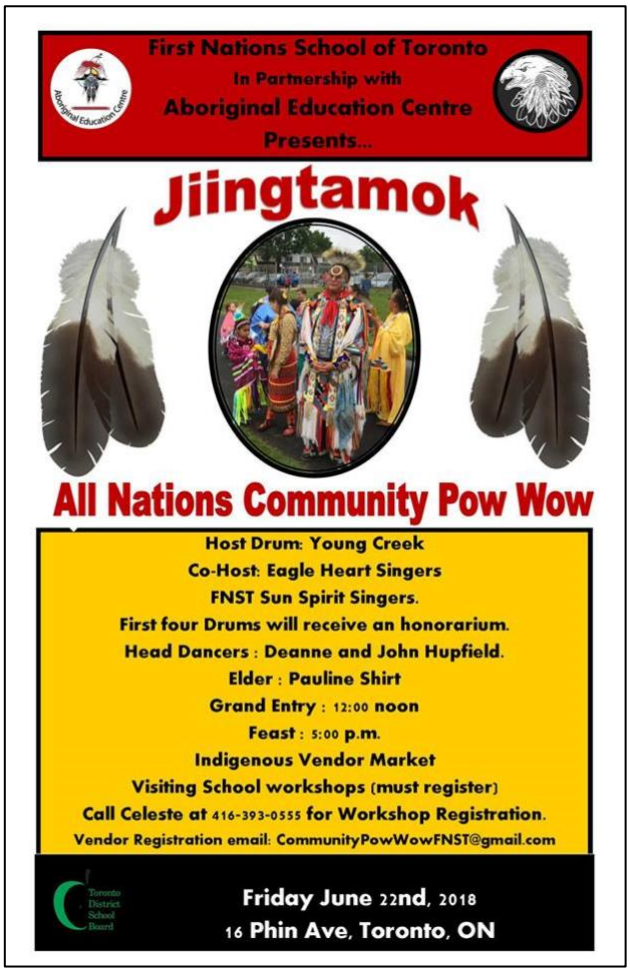


Figure 15: Jiingtamok
All Nations Community Pow Wow

> *...The beginning of the word Jiingtamok is rooted in jiiby meaning a "ghostly" Spirit, or rather the Spirit of a deceased person. Another layer of meaning is found in jiingta as the first part of Jiingtamook which denotes the action of kneeling or crouching before somebody (the whole word is jiinkitwaa), which is the body position required to make the Spirit offering. The second part of the word tamok is the plural animate form meaning exchange or offering – the living offering to the dead. Tamok also means the many paths to the Spirit. Jiinkta overlapping with tamok (both words sharing the 'ta' sound) is a word signifying the action of kneeling before creation, "all paths," and everyone. So, during Jiinktamok, dancers would have performed a kneeling on the honour beats to coincide with turning to each of the cardinal directions.*[9]

[9] Brian Outinen. Personal communication. 25 April 2020. Jiinktamok Teaching.

In order to see how the word roots and meanings that Brian spoke about overlap, I arranged the sounds in this table:

Whole Words	Sound Breakdowns and Related Root Words			Meaning
jiinktamok	jiink	ta	mok	The Living Making Offerings to Spirits of Dead Ceremony
jiiby	jii + (by)			Spirit of a deceased person (ghost)
jiingta	Jiing*	ta		Action of kneeling or crouching before somebody
jiinkitwaa	jiink (i)	twaa		The body position required to make the Spirit offering
tamok		ta	mok	Exchange or offering – the living offering to the dead.
Jiingtamok (overlapping use of the "ta" sound)	jiing	ta		Signifies the action of kneeling before creation, "all paths," and everyone
		ta	mok	
* In Anishinaabemowin, "g" and "k" sounds are similar and interchangeable. Sometimes g or k spelling preference is related to dialect or region.				

Table 3: Jiinktamok Sound Breakdown

From what we know of Anishinaabe ceremonies still practiced today, it is likely that Jiinktamok, the annual "Living Offering to the Spirits of the Dead Ceremony" included a gift exchange or offering, a gathering with feasting, and singing and dancing. Anishinaabe tradition "Feasts" the Spirits by preparing a meal and giving them the honour of eating first. Food is not tasted while it is being prepared and then before anyone else tastes or touches the finished food, a "Spirit Plate" is prepared as an offering by taking a small portion from each dish. Then tobacco is added to the plate of food which is then symbolically offered to the Spirits through prayer and intention. Generally, someone will take the plate of food outside and place it under a tree or burn it in a sacred fire as an offering for the Spirits. After the Spirits are fed, the rest of the feast is shared among all in attendance. Elders, esteemed guests, pregnant women, and children are fed first before the rest of the community.

In Anishinaabe tradition, the spirits of the deceased are Feasted at least once a year, usually the day of or close to the day of their passing. The first anniversary date of someone's passing, friends and family will gather for a feast and memorial, and at that time, belongings of the deceased person will be given away to those in attendance. In many communities, a memorial honour dance will be held by the deceased's family at the community's annual powwow.

In the language, the first part of *Jiinktamok* gives instructions for kneeling or crouching, the position required to make an offering to the spirits. When we kneel or crouch down, we are embodying humbleness; it is this humbleness that we want to show to the spirits as we present a gift whether it is food, tobacco, or anything else.

I have no doubt that the original *Jiinktamok*, The Living Offering to Spirits of Dead Ceremony, included feasting and dancing, much like contemporary powwow. *Jiinktamok* was a community gathering to honour their deceased members, show support for grieving families, and celebrate life through feasting, dancing, and singing. It would not be a stretch to posit that powwow began to make its way into Anishinaabe communities around the same time that the communities were beginning to reclaim their ceremonies. Moses says, "The powwow especially, an institution of inter-tribal ceremonialism and celebration, became both an evocation of culture as a means of creating an adaptive culture for those Indian nations long separated from their landed heritage" (275). Within a span of almost one hundred years and forced repression of ceremonies, the details about *Jiinktamok* as a ceremony may have been forgotten. However, the similarity between powwow gatherings and *Jiinktamok* was probably immediately recognized, easily embraced, and became a stand-in for the original ceremony.

3.5 Performance Studies and Liminality

Conceptually similar to watching actors performing on a stage, performance studies provides a paradigm for understanding and viewing relationships of participants as actors in a cultural performance. The performance paradigm is expandable beyond theatre to include culture and ritual and "…as a means of understanding historical, social, and cultural processes" (Schechner 9). Performance studies doesn't divide "objects of study" by medium but examines an event as a whole. Performance studies has broader applications and Taiwanese scholar Joyce

Hsiu-yen Yeh has even applied performance theories to powwow to focus on how Indigenousness is performed and how it relates to identity and performing Self.

Within performance studies there is a great interest in liminality because it exists as "a mode of activity whose spatiaal, temporal, and symbolic 'in betweenness'allows for social norms to be suspended, challenged, played with, and perhaps even transformed" (McKenzie 11). Liminality is a distinguishing characteristic of performance studies and is often considered where ideas and acts go against the mainstream as in the study of social movements and places of resistance or transgression. As applied to powwow, it is easy to conceptualize the whole event and particularly the dance Arena as a liminal site.

Reflecting on powwow's liminality, I was reminded of Elder Beatrice Shawanda's address to the crowd after Grand Entry one summer at the Wikwemikong (Wiky) Powwow on Manitoulin Island in Ontario. She chose to use story instead of prayer for her invocation and asked that all of us in attendance "listen with our hearts." Beatrice shared that when people come together, it is sacred. Beatrice called the dance Arena a "garden" and said the Arena is a sacred place and that when we enter, we are in prayer. She described how all the Spirits in the bones, shell, hides, etc. that we wear and carry, come together with us in dance. Even though Wiky is a big competition powwow, Beatrice reminded everyone "… for the next three days as we dance and powwow, we are in prayer; we should be gentle and kind with our thoughts and words."[10]

As powwow weaves ceremony within a social gathering, it is easy to conceptualize powwow and particularly the Arena as that in-between place, a site of liminality. I encourage you to keep thinking about liminality as we circle back to Brian's teaching about the connection between smoke, dreams, prayer, and powwow. Participating in powwow ***is*** bwaajged, physically dreaming as part of your energy travels in the dust and smoke created through "kicking up the sands" while dancing. The Arena ***is*** bwaadang, the physical and liminal dreamland place where our smoke energy goes and where we encounter other Spirits.

[10] Beatrice Shawanda, Saturday Noon Grand Entry Invocation. 1 August 2015.

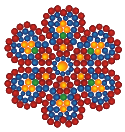
3.6 The Specificity of Powwow for the Anishinaabe

Considering roots in *Jiinktamok* and because of geographical positioning, Anishinaabe scholar Tara Browner describes the development of powwow as being different for the Anishnaabeg. She posits that the Anishinaabe were able to remain close to traditional territories because the land was difficult to farm and therefore less interesting to settlers. Even with assimilationist practices such as church run residential schools sanctioned by the Canadian government, some reserves have retained their language and traditions, and others are working with language revitalization programs. The Midewiwin (Grand Medicine Society) has also remained in traditional homelands where ceremonies are more accessible. Browner's writing suggests the Anishinaabe maintained a closer connection to Spirit based on later contact with colonizers. These factors, Browner maintains, have also contributed to a worldview where the secular and spiritual are intertwined, as evident at Anishinaabe powwows (Browner 34-36).

3.7 Intertwining Spiritual and Secular

Perhaps because Anishinaabe people lived their world view, they did not draw great distinctions between spiritual and secular. Powers notes that there is not much difference between songs sung for ceremony and songs sung for secular events, rather that the difference is contextual rather than structural, "thus a sacred song may open a powwow, and a secular song may be sung for the amusement of supernatural spirits at a religious meeting" (52). As an example, it is not unusual for certain Drums to sing ceremonial songs such as the Bear Song or Eagle Song as intertribals. Some Round Dance songs are created to make both us and the Spirits laugh, such as the *The Phat Dood Anthem* by Opie Day-Bedeau and Mike Sullivan, Sr. which in addition to vocables has a chorus sung in English, promising a love interest:

> I'd do anything for you, anything you asked me to
> I would run away with you, wait for you
> I'd even lose some weight for you



How is your beadwork coming along? Your first flower is progressing nicely. I like the colour you chose for the center. I see your thread is getting short; let me show you how to tie it off so that you can start with another long piece. Tying off the thread is similar to the quilter's knot we tied in the loose thread in the beginning.

Take a small stitch like so, then wrap your thread around your needle three times like this, then pull your needle through and the thread will follow into a knot close to your Pellon. Tying a knot in a new thread is similar: hold on to the tail, wrap your needle three times with the thread, and pull though. The result is a nice tight knot at the end of the thread. Yes! Just like that! Good job! You are ready to continue beading.

I am anxious to share with you how Anishinaabe world view in the language, dance, Regalia, and Thunder Beings all come together in the Jingle Dance. I invited Brian to join us for tea so that he could explain the connections and word breakdowns in Anishinaabemowin. While we wait for him to arrive, I can tell you what the general powwow community may know about the Jingle Dance without knowing the world view in the language.

3.8 The Jingle Dress Dance

One of the styles you will see at the powwow is the Jingle Dress Dance. The Jingle Dress Dance originated as an Anishinaabe ceremony given from Spirit, and it is unique in how that particular sound combined with specific songs and a certain dance step are called together to bring healing. Although there are various stories about the region and origin of the Jingle Dance, the most concrete origin story can be traced to Maggie White-Iban, who was Ojibwe from White Fish Bay, Ontario.

I had the opportunity to hear the story of the Jingle Dress told by Andy White, one of the late Maggie White's sons at his "Shebaa'shke'igan Kina'imaa'tiinan – Jingle Dress Teachings" presentation at the Fort Erie Native Friendship Centre in Ontario.[11] Andy said that it was sometime in the 1940s when the Jingle Dress, Song, and Dance were given by Spirit to his grandfather after praying for help to heal his mother, Maggie, who was about six-years old at the time and very sick. The doctors did not know what was wrong with young Maggie, but an illness was making her progressively weaker until she was unable to walk. After the vision of the Jingle Dress came, the family made the dress for Maggie and they prepared a Medicine Lodge. Andy described the ceremony, saying that Maggie was so weak that she had to be carried around the Drum in the centre of the Lodge. As the curing songs continued, Maggie was eventually able to walk around the Lodge and Drum with assistance. Unlike the story often told where the young

[11] Andy White. "Shebaa'shke'igan Kinaaa'imaa'tiinan – Jingle Dress Teachings." 19 July 2017. Fort Erie Native Friendship Centre.

girl recovers almost immediately, Maggie did become stronger and eventually recovered after the Medicine Lodge and Dance, but her healing took time.

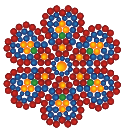
The original Jingle Dress Dance was performed by the dancers with a sliding and switching of their feet. They danced around the Healing Lodge clockwise in a snake-like motion, weaving in toward the center, then back out toward the edge of the Arena. Some accounts place the Jingle Dress Dance's origins at the time of the Spanish Flu, around 1918-1920, but that timeframe would be too early to coincide with Maggie's story as shared by Andy.

Browner says that the Jingle Dress Dance was not seen outside Anishinaabe territory at powwows until about the late 1960s or early 1970s (57). Ann Brascoupe, Algonquin from Kitigan Zibi, Quebec, remembers the first time she saw the Jingle Dress Dance at a powwow in Whitefish Bay, Ontario in the summer of 1979. She recalls that shortly after the evening Grand Entry, the Emcee announced that a special dance would take place:

I was standing at the opposite end of the pow wow grounds and I could hear the Jingle from afar as the women walked into the dance area. There were about eight women dressed similarly with cones dangling from their dresses. The cones were hanging in a semi-circle on the front and back at the chest and back and what resembled an apron-like drop from their waist. The waist was tied with a small, simple belt. Some were dressed in plain broadcloth and some had floral broadcloth in the yoke and upper part of the back of the dress. Some dancers held a small, drawstring leather purse and others held a small floral kerchief on their left wrists with a small, feathered wing on their right hand. As the Drum started, the women, congregated as a group, started to dance. The sound of the Jingle was so mesmerizing that I was in total awe to witness such a unique dance. They danced ever so gently gliding their feet back and forth with every beat as the Jingle swayed with ever step. The simplicity of the dance and the sound of the Jingle in unison was soothing and wonderous. My fascination led me to ask about the dance and I was told by my friend that it was a healing dance and that it originated in the Whitefish Bay community. One of the dancers was Maggie White whose father had dreamt of the dance when she was a sick child unable to recover.[12]

[12] Ann Brascoupe. Personal communication. 23 January 2020.

Andy White commented that after he shares a teaching on the Jingle Dress, he is often surprised at how the "tradition" has been invented and embellished. For example, a modern 'teaching' he frequently hears requires the dancer to pray and roll one cone by hand every day for an entire year, plus an extra one for herself, so that she will eventually have 366 cones to cover her dress. "Interesting!" I thought, because that is one of the Jingle Dance "teachings" I had been taught in Chicago in the early 90s. "Can you imagine a child attempting to dance with the weight of 366 cones?" Andy asked with astonishment. Other details that Andy shared was that his mother's original Jingle Dress was blue and that it had metal cones, but they weren't made from snuff can lids; that convention was introduced later.



We hear a couple of knocks, then Brian opens the door and calls "Aanii!!" Friends and family are always welcome and made to feel at home, so it is not unusual for someone to knock then just walk in.

"Aanii! Biindigen!" (Hello! Come in!) we reply as Brian makes his way to the table where we are beading. After the usual pleasantries, Brian sits down and admires your beadwork as I pour him a cup of tea then warm ours up. He asks for extra sugar; I laugh and say, "Of course!" remembering his clan and recognizing his Hummingbirdness.

3.9 The Connection of Jingles to Water, Thunder Beings, and Healing

Marie Eshkabok, an Anishinaabe elder and Knowledge Keeper from Wikwemikong Unceded Territory on Manitoulin Island, Ontario, learned the Jingle Dress teachings directly from Maggie White-Iban herself. Marie's partner, Willie Trudeau, was a mentor to Brian for about a year in 1997. While Brian learned as Willie's oshkabewis, some of their time together was spent making many Jingles for Marie and her family. From these two Elders, Brian learned the deeper meaning and spiritual significance of the cones as well as the cultural mechanics behind how and why the Jingle Dress works for healing. Brian explained that the teaching he is about to share is often forgotten because the Jingle Dress Dance has been widely adopted by the powwow community without the accompanying cultural understanding and values. We are extremely privileged that Brian offered to share this teaching with us, so we offer him a pouch of tobacco, gift him with a new ribbon shirt, and listen intently.

3.10 Baashke (Explosion/Thunder) is the Root Word of Zhiibaashka′igan (Jingle) [13]

On the advertisement for Andy White's presentation (Figure 16), in the Anishinaabemowin, the language of the People from where the Jingle Dress originated, a Jingle is called *Shebaa'shke'igan.* "Jingle" in Brian's primary dialect is the same word as it is in Andy's community, only with different sound spellings and accent marks: *Zhiibaashka'igan* (Table 4*).* If you sound out the parts of the words either out loud or in your head, you will hear the sound similarities. In this dissertation, we will defer to Brian's primary dialect. When we put the two dialects' different spellings in proximity, it is easy to read the similarities:

Figure 16: Jingle Dress Teachings Flyer

Whole Word	Sound Breakdowns			Meaning
Shebaa′shke′igan	she	baa′shke	′igan	"Jingle" as written on Andy White's workshop flyer
Zhiibaashka′igan	zhii	baashke	′igan	"Jingle" in Brian's primary dialect

Table 4: Shebaa'shke'igan and Zhiibaashka'igan Comparison

Brian began his teaching about the Jingle Dance by turning to the cultural knowledge and philosophy held in the Anishinaabe language as he told us that "We will take a look at the meanings of each part of the word description so that we can understand the significance and related instructions." Drawing our attention to the breakdown of the word *Zhiibaashka'igan*: Zhii + baashka + ′igan, Brian explained that the base of the word for Jingle, *baashka*, describes

[13] This chapter was developed based on after several teachings and interactive personal communication from Brian Outinen between 10-13 September 2020.

both an explosion and thunder. We will once again follow the root word with red. The connection between these two meanings is deeper than the obvious sound relationship.

Baashki is the spoken visualization of the moment that new life explodes or bursts forth; like at the moment of birth or when a sprout shoots out of the Earth. The root *baashki* also describes the sacred exploding and bursting forth of water during the sacred moment of creation. The *baa* refers to *water of life* and *shki* describes *new*, as further evidenced by the root of the word *pijabaashki*, the word for ejaculation, in which *pija* as a descriptor indicates semen that is bursting forth as *water of new life*. Brian further demonstrated the sound-based meaning in the related word *baashkizigan*, the word for gun, also has *baashki* as a root. The -igan suffix indicates something contained or held, and in the case of a gun, *baashkizigan* describes that the object creates the thunder cracking sound through an explosion that bursts forth a bullet.

Whole Word	Sound Breakdowns				Meaning
baashki		baashki			explosion or bursting forth
ba		ba(a)			Water of Life
shki			shki		new
pijabaashki	pija	baa	shki		new water that bursts forth during creation (ejaculation)
baashkizigan		baa	shki	'igan	contains the thunder/explosion and the ability to create sound with an explosion that bursts forth a bullet (gun)

Table 5: Bashki Sound Breakdown

The University Corporation for Atmospheric Research's Center for Science Education explains that lightening causes thunder:

> Lightening is a discharge of electricity. A single stroke of lightning can heat the air around it to 30,000°C (54,000°F)! This extreme heating causes the air to expand explosively fast. The expansion creates a shock wave that turns into a booming sound wave, known as **thunder.** ("Thunder and Lightning")

From the explosive science of lightening that creates thunder to the similar explosion in a gun that makes a thunderous sound, we can understand how *baashka* describes both a loud crack of thunder and an explosion.

Anishinaabe world view is connected to the cycles and sacredness of creation. Spring is the time of the year when birth and growth takes place. The stimulation from Lightning hitting the ground and the exploding sound of Thunder energizes the Earth, in essence, waking her up from her Winter slumber and fertilizing her with the Spring rains. Ice melts and the ground waters flow, and soon plant and animal life will once again burst forth.

3.11 *Nimki* Describes Rolling Thunder

I can already hear some of the Anishinaabe community respond, "But *nimki* is how we say thunder," so, because this dissertation is also written for them, I must include this section about the word that has been widely adopted among some communities. I will use blue and green to follow the two root words. Speaking to the difference in meaning from *baashka* discussed previously, Brian explained:

> *Nimki* is shortened from the complete word, *animikii*, which is used to describe the sound of rolling thunder, not the loud crack of thunder. *Animi*, the first part of the word, describes the act of dancing. The *(i)kii* is the same sound *akii* which means Earth. *Animikii*, with both roots sharing the (i) sound, actually means 'the sound of dancing on the earth.' Rolling thunder can sound like many people dancing, hence the association in the translation.[14]

Whole Word	Sound Breakdown		Meaning
animikii	animi	(i)kii	Describes the sound of dancing on the Earth (thunder)
animi	animi		To dance/dancing
akii		(i)kii	Earth

Table 6: Animikii Sound Breakdown

[14] This chapter was developed based on after several teachings and interactive personal communication from Brian Outinen between 10-13 September 2020.

The Jingle Dress sound is not animikii, "the sound of people dancing on the earth," but rather baashka "the exploding or bursting forth."

3.12 *Zhiibaashka'igan*, the Jingle Cone, Is a Spiral

Returning our focus to the Jingle cone itself, *zhiibaashka'igan*, let us consider carefully the spiral of metal that is attached to the dress by a ribbon or bias tape and hangs down, moving freely while dancing. Jingles today are rolled metal disks that are often purchased already rolled. The metal disks used to come from the lids of snuff, or chewing tobacco, but varieties of Jingles are now commercially produced. The lip around the edge of a snuff can lid would be cut off, then the remaining disk would be rolled either with a needle-nose pliers or rolled around a cone shaped piece of wood.

Brian continued his teaching:

> *...the Jingles themselves are a manifestation of the spiral rotation of the earth...when you see it flip up, it becomes a tornado coming down... it is amplifying the energy of the Thunderbird on the earth through water.*[15]

Through the flow of our conversation with Brian, I asked for clarity about the spiral of the Jingle concept and have come to understand the following. Figure 17[16] shows a Jingle Dancer's cones in action on her Regalia as she dances, which will help you picture his teaching. Brian explained that when the cone is inverted, flipped up with the wide end on top in the position as a funnel (Figure 18), the cone embodies a whirling tornado bringing down healing

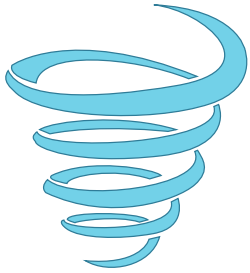


Figure 18: Spiral/Jingle Inverted

Figure 17: Jingles in Motion

[15] This chapter was developed based on after several teachings and interactive personal communication from Brian Outinen between 10-13 September 2020.
[16] Photograph by Roger Meness. Used with permission.

energy and rain from the Thunder Beings. In that flipped up position, the cone also embodies a bowl that becomes filled with spiraling water, like a whirlpool.

As the Jingle cone reverts and flips back down to the original position (Figure 19), that healing energy is brought back to earth, amplified through the spiral, and poured out in all directions. Brian provided evidence for the teaching by referencing ancient Anishinaabe pictographs and petroglyphs showing spirals emanating from Thunderbirds. Clinking together, the Jingle cones make the sound of the spark of lightening creating thunder. As the Jingle Dancer's motions are repeated thousands of times by hundreds of cones on each dress, healing is sent out to the people in attendance. The healing energy of the Thunder Being is being sent to the earth through water; that is why the Jingle spiral is important to the healing, it becomes a bowl that holds spiraling water.

Figure 19: Spiral/Jingle in Original Position

3.13 The *Zhii*- Sound Meaning in *Zhiibaashka'igan*

Brian continued his teaching through Anishinaabemowin by turning our focus, "The '*zhii*' sound in *zhii+baashka+'igan* (Jingle) refers to *zhiizhii*, the action of moving "side to side" and can also mean "to slide." Brian expanded that *zhii* not only described the motion of the Jingles, but actually give instructions for a specific dance movement to be used with the Jingles to enact healing. The original footwork of the Jingle dance was a shuffle-like sliding of the feet; the embodiment of the instruction *zhiizhii* meaning "to slide." The dancer would make her way forward around the Arena in a zig zag or snake like motion shuffling in toward the centre of the Arena, then turning back out to the edge, again embodying the instruction *zhiizhii* meaning "side to side." The Jingle Dancer would dance her way forward, never backward, and never turned around in a complete circle. Dancing backward is seen as returning to the past and turning around in a complete circle would have been an act of disrespect by turning her back on the Thunder Being and the healing she was requesting.

Whole Word	Sound Breakdowns with Root Word *Zhii*			Meaning
zhiizhii	zhii	zhii		"side to side" or "to slide"
zhiizhiigwan	zhii	zhii	gwan	"rattle" describes how to use it, the shaking back and forth motion required to make a rattle sound
zhiizhiib	zhii	zhii	b	"duck" describes how the animal waddles from side to side when it walks, or the zig zag motion it makes when it swims

Table 7: Zhii Root Sound

If we combine cultural knowledge about Thunder Beings, the Jingle Dance, and evidence in the Anishinaabe language, we are able to see a more complete picture of why the Jingle Dress traditionally embodies healing. Thunder Beings can be great healers under certain conditions. Although we do not know for sure, it is likely that the Spirit who appeared to Maggie White's father was a Thunder Being. We know from cultural experience that "…Thunder manitouk, usually hidden within the clouds, may occasionally be seen as pinesiwak flying overhead or nesting with their young. Sometimes they appear as humans, winged like angles, or … [in a dream] … as relatively ordinary men" (Smith 90-91).

3.14 Acts of Transfer

In 2003, performance scholar Diana Taylor theorized and named the existence of knowledge in the body through what she called the repertoire, those "nonverbal practices – such as dance, ritual, and cooking to name a few – that long served to preserve a sense of communal identity and memory…" (Taylor 18). She elaborates that the repertoire "enacts embodied memory: performances, gestures, orality, movement, dance, signing – in short, all those acts usually thought of as ephemeral, non-reproducible knowledge" (Taylor 20) and that actions that comprise the repertoire are "performances [that] function as vital acts of transfer, transmitting social knowledge, memory, and a sense of identity" (Taylor 3). Through acts of transfer, the repertoire transmits embodied knowledge and actions to others as "traditions [are] stored in the body through various mnemonic methods, and transmitted 'live' in the here and now…"

(Taylor 24). The repertoire performed as acts of transfer is the way we gather, store, and pass on knowledge through generations, to our social groups, and to ourselves as components of identity.

Sometimes scholars focus on the performance aspect of acts of transfer without much thought to the origination. When we learn something through an act of transfer whether it is from another person, animal, or Spirit, that knowledge is stored and remembered as repertoire in the body. Our aadizookaan are filled with instances where we learned survival skills as well as ceremonies from animals and spirts. Powwow dances like Jingle, Chicken, and Round Dances exist because knowledge or memory was passed down from Spirit and is made visible through performing the repertoire.

As an example, let us consider the people and Spirit involved in the Jingle Dress aadizookaan. The Spirit involved has a consciousness, personality, relationships with humans, and the power and knowledge to heal a sick young girl. We could ask questions like how does the Spirit know what will heal her? Who taught the Spirit? Or Why would the Spirit care about healing a young human? While we don't know these answers for sure because the vision was not ours, but it stands to reason that the father and the Spirit may have already had a relationship through the Healing Lodge. In any case, the Spirit heard the man's prayers and came in a dream to share its healing knowledge. In that dream place we travel to when we leave our bodies and travel as smoke, the story says the Spirit showed the man the Dress and also showed him his daughter dancing specific steps in a particular way, wearing a Dress that creates a specific and unique sound.

The Spirit performed an act of transfer as it revealed procedural knowledge including what to use to make the specific sound and what bodily motions as dance would heal young Maggie White. We don't know how the knowledge was transmitted, if the Spirit spoke words, sent impressions and feelings, or simply showed her father images. Using our own human emotions to understand the interaction, I imagine he was overwhelmed with gratitude because now his daughter was not going to die. He may have felt tremendous love and compassion from the Spirit and perhaps he was slightly afraid because of its power.

Today when Jingle Dancers dance with the original steps, they are performing embodied knowledge (repertoire) that was given from Spirit (act of transfer) with a purpose and intention. The Jingle Dance vocabulary that was given from the Spirit has been stored as embodied knowledge and passed down through generations of dancers as repertoire performed and

transferred to new dancers. Disappointment from the Anishinaabe from Lake of the Woods at how the Jingle Dress dance has been changed and modernized is because of embellishment and liberties taken with the gift of healing and original instruction from Spirit. I wonder what that Spirt thinks of what we have done with its gift. As Marie Eshkabok mentioned learning from Maggie White herself and later being injured while dancing Jingle in a competition, it makes sense to me that Spirit may have been reminding Anishinaabe Kwe specifically to honour the original purpose.

Combining all this cultural knowledge held in Anishinaabemowin, we know that the purpose of the Jingle Dance is to make the sound of thunder in order to call the Thunder Beings and request their healing. With all of these sound meanings, word concepts, and philosophy combined, we can clearly understand the importance of the Jingle cone and how it creates healing through thunder making. As the cones hit together, they create little explosions like thunder striking everywhere. Dancers are instructed to slide their feet and move in and out as they travel in the dance space. Performing specific, sliding and weaving movements will make the cones flip up and down, pulling down water as a tornado, then and sending out amplified energy from the spiral.

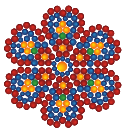
The *sssshk sssshk* sound the Jingle cones make in ceremony creates thunder, as we know by their linguistic description. Making the sound of the explosion of creation, and experiencing the tornados, rain, and spiral created by the Jingles in the dance is actually a way to call the Thunder Beings to ask them to perform the requested healing. Calling the Thunder Beings and asking for a healing favor is a serious matter, which is why the Jingle Dancers are given tobacco when someone requests their service. Jingle Dancers must have tobacco to make the healing request; to be without tobacco for the Thunder Being could place the dancer in danger.

There are Anishinaabe people who have been separated from original thought and world view through their loss of language, and they are not even aware themselves of why the Jingle Dress is fantastically significant. Now that the true significance of the Jingle Dress has been revealed and you understand how it works to call the Thunder Manito beings to request healing, it is easy to empathize with the disappointment among the traditional Anishinaabe as to the current state of the Jingle Dress throughout powwow country. Smith says "… the failure to discover the sacred in one's environment is less a product of sophistication than of alienation" (22-24). As the original instruction evident in the language has been forgotten by many

participants, the Jingle Dress has been subjected to a loss or reduction in power with new interpretations and modern reinventions of "tradition."

My hope is that as we learn our language, more people, both Anishinaabe and those from other Nations will reclaim the power and significance in this beautiful gift and restore the ceremony for healing illness.

Contemporary competition and even some traditional powwows split the Jingle Dance category into two styles, both of which are fabrications. "Old Style" is a nod to the original style and purpose of the dance with Regalia that is not full of sequins or flashy trims, and dancers wear little or simple beadwork and carry a scarf instead of a fan. "Contemporary Jingle" sometimes called "Fancy Jingle" while beautiful and graceful to watch, has embellished an originally serious dance with high steps, spins, kicks and showy footwork, much like Fancy Shawl dancing without the shawl. With Fancy Jingle competitions awarding titles such as "Queen of Contemporary" it makes my heart sink to see how this healing gift that came through a vision to heal a sick little girl has been stripped of the original purpose and intent in the name of commercialism, contest money, and inventing ways to interest youth.



You are making fantastic progress on your beadwork! I see that you are in the "beading zone" and I hate to break your stride, but the best way to understand a powwow is to experience one firsthand and we'd better get on the road. We thank Brian for sharing teachings through the language, and he tells us he'll see us at the powwow. Gather your beadwork, you can bead in the car….

Chapter 4

On the Powwow Trail

I remember weekends in the early 1990s when my powwow sisters Candice Morrison or Marla Mahkimetas and I would map out our route to the reservation or the nearest town using a creased, torn, well road-worn atlas. We would map out a route to the closest town or city, then look for signs pointing the way to the "rez." Sometimes we would stop and ask someone for directions to the powwow; a clerk at a gas station, a waitress at the corner restaurant, security at the casino, or perhaps even a tan, dusty kid riding their bike on a dirt road.

Often the backroads were not paved, let alone marked with highway signs, and just when I would question if we had maybe gone too far or missed a turn, one of us would spot a tiny sign, hand-drawn in marker that read "powwow" with a pointing arrow. Yes, we were heading in the right direction. Spotting powwow signs was often a challenge and became somewhat of a sport. They were frequently small and it was not unusual to see them blown over, lying face down, or steaked on the opposite side of the road. Sometimes the marker writing became streaked from the rain and the paper, poster board, or cardboard was ripped from the wind. On several occasions, one of us would get out of the vehicle to lift a wet, limp, blown face-down piece of cardboard to see… yep, powwow sign… then we'd attempt to fix it back in place somehow or anchor it upright so that it could be seen by others.

Searching for tipi poles and flags rising over the hills along the horizon or rolling down the windows and sticking our heads out of the vehicle to listen for Drum were other ways we would find the powwows. Seeing rows of tents and vendor awnings were other sure signs. Part of the experience was driving a long distance and arriving late at night or in the early hours of morning, and then setting up tents and making camp by the headlights. As I travel to powwows relatively easily now using my cell phone and modern technology, I sometimes ask myself how I ever found my way before GPS.

In order to fully appreciate powwow as a site of resilience and not simply a cultural activity, it is helpful to understand contributing factors that brought modern powwow into being. To truly situate powwow, it is necessary to begin with a brief history of the colonization of North America to show how new governments, churches, and genocidal strategy impacted the lives and culture of Indigenous People.

4.1 Historical Orientation

Throughout the settlement of the United States and Canada, Indigenous people experienced waves of devastation including the theft of land, outlawed ways of life, annihilating diseases, forced removal from ancestral territories, and confinement on reservations. Governments sought to fix the "Indian problem" through laws that prohibited ceremonies and forced our children to be taken from their families and placed in church-run residential schools. Assimilationist policies that allowed these things to happen were born from the ultra-conservative views of the Victorian Era which were principled by Christianity, education, and hard labour.

Indigenous gathering and dancing were loathed and feared, especially by Christians, who believed the fabricated accounts of missionaries who spoke of devil conjuring and orgies at the dances and ceremonies, despite the fact they had not actually witnessed the dances themselves (Shea Murphy 33). Dance scholar and Indigenous ally Jacqueline Shea Murphy writes "Praying through bodily movement and ritual practice rather than through sitting, reading, and believing threatened colonizers' notion of how spirituality is manifested" (31). Governments understood that "dancing was the most Indian thing about Indians" and that by outlawing dance, "with one blow, the entire social, political, and religious life of a tribe could be crushed" (Laubin & Laubin 81).

4.2 Indigenous Dances Outlawed

In 1883 Hiriam Price, a devout Christian, was appointed as Indian Commissioner in the United States. Dancing was the first Indian offense named in his Rules for Indian Courts and his restrictions and punishments are outlined in section 3(a):

> Any Indian who shall engage in the sun dance, scalp dance, war dance, or any other similar feast, so called, shall be deemed guilty of an offense, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished for the first offense by the withholding of his rations for not exceeding ten days or by imprisonment for not exceeding ten days; and for any subsequent offense under this clause he shall be punished by withholding his rations for not less than ten nor more than 30 days, or by imprisonment for not less than one nor more than thirty days. (Prucha 187)

By 1876, Canada had introduced the Indian Act with the intention of further forcing assimilation. It restricted the freedom of Indigenous people to conduct spiritual ceremonies, live their culture, and also limited occasions on which we could wearing our traditional clothing.

Shea Murphy recounts Canadian legislation introduced to the House of Commons that came into effect in 1885. Section 114 of the Revised Statutes of Canada reads:

> Every Indian or person who engages in or assists in celebrating the Indian festival known as the "Potlatch" or the Indian dance known as the "Tamanawas," is guilty of a misdemeanor, and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months and not less than two months.
>
> Every Indian or person who encourages, either directly or indirectly, an Indian to get up such a festival or dance, or to celebrate the same, or who assists in the celebration of the same, is guilty of a like offense, and shall be liable to the same punishment. (39)

By outlawing the large ceremonies, they also outlawed the smaller ceremonies that were often performed in preparation like Pipe ceremonies and *Madodoswan* (the Sweat Lodge). Indian agents were put in place to police activity on the reserves and were instructed to use whatever means necessary to enforce dance restrictions.

As a result, there are numerous accounts of violence and cruelty against Indigenous people as a result of dancing included corporeal discipline, withholding rations from their families, cutting their long hair, keeping them hungry or without sleep, forcing them to wear Western clothing, and of course, imprisonment (Shea Murphy 43).

While Indigenous dance on a reserve was outlawed and punishable, it is ironic that staging Indigenous dance exhibitions to entertain white audiences at festivals, parades, and other patriotic events was both expected and quite popular. McNenly says such performances "gave Native performers socially viable ways of maintaining and expressing their culture and identity" and was often the only legal times they could dance or wear traditional clothing without being imprisoned (79). Imagine what it must have been like to have traditional expressions of culture and identity simultaneously criminalized and demanded for entertainment.

4.3 The Romantic Myth of the "Noble Savage"

While the young United States embraced the idea of manifest destiny and strategized ways to fix the "Indian problem," settler guilt began to created a romanticized memory of the "Noble Savage." In 1826, inspired by the growing sense of nostalgia for the "vanishing race" myth, James Fenimore Cooper wrote *The Last of the Mohicans: A Narrative of 1757*. Moses tells us that "The belief that they were the Vanishing Americans doomed to extinction by the march of civilization became the most romantic of all impressions associated with Indians" (13). In the United States, the Indian Removal Act of 1830 forced several Indigenous nations, including the Cherokee, to leave their ancestral lands in the Southeast and relocate west of the Mississippi River into "Indian Territory," which later became the state of Oklahoma. In about 50 years after the Cherokee walked the Trail of Tears in 1838, the settlers in the Eastern United States had been out of contact with the First Peoples and the distance in space and time separating settlers from the frontier created a vacuum that produced guilt over their acts of genocide and created pity for "primitive humankind." In 1855, the epic poem *The Song of Hiawatha* written by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow mythicized Hiawatha as a "noble savage" with a glorious past. To assuage settler guilt, the romantic myth of the "noble savage" reimagined Indigenous people as primitive man, innately good, uncorrupted by civilization, and virtuous in their simplicity. Berkhofer explains that "if Whites regarded the Indian as a threat to life and morals when alive, they regarded him with nostalgia upon his demise – or when that threat was safely past" (29). By 1895, Edward Curtis began photographing Indigenous people of the American West in an attempt to capture their images before they disappeared. The shame and guilt combined with the physical distance and passage of time created nostalgic longings among settlers and Europeans to see the "vanishing race."

4.4 Wild West Shows and Influence on Modern Powwows

By the 1880s, the nostalgic attitudes and success of traveling variety shows such as P.T. Barnum's Circus in 1871 created an opportunity to capitalize on the white audiences' desire to have an "authentic" experience of the "Wild West" and see performers who were living pieces of history. In 1883, the same year that the Sun Dance ceremony was outlawed, Buffalo Bill Cody

hired 36 Pawnee from Indian Territory as his first "Show Indians." Shea Murphy describes why Wild West shows were popular:

> By staging these dances, transposed to a performance Arena supposedly devoid of actual danger, Cody quite literally performed Indian dances' powerful effects as contained and conscripted, rousing – and then assuaging – non-Natives viewers' anxieties and fears of attack and replacing them with fascination and titillation at a safe distance. (75)

Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, and other similar productions along with poster advertisements for these spectacles established Plains cultures as representative of all First Peoples. Shea Murphy explains that the resulting stereotype "codifies and prescribes a performance of 'Indian' (which in the Wild West meant Plains Indian, complete with headdresses and horses) as a universalized prototypical American Indian, despite the diversity of Native peoples from the continent" (63). It is worth considering that if Buffalo Bill had hyped and toured Pueblo or Woodland cultures instead, how different mainstream ideas and stereotypes about First Peoples would be today.

White audiences attending Wild West shows expected to see a performance of "Indianness" that had been fabricated through years of government and religious propaganda. Initially audiences were disappointed by the display of real Pawnee dancing because it did not satisfy how they imagined "war dancing savages." Buffalo Bill thought his show would be more successful if the dances and Regalia were more dramatic and theatrical, so he asked the dancers to "fancy up" their outfits and movements. The men added a second feathered dance Bustle to their Regalia and incorporated more turns and athletic steps into their dances. This new fabricated dance style was purely for audience entertainment and fit more closely with white fantasies of Indian dance. The style became so popular that it has remained as the Men's Fancy Bustle Dance at contemporary powwows (Browner 30). Other influences on contemporary powwow from the Wild West shows was the opening processional which became known as "Grand Entry" and exhibition dancing which led to dance competitions.

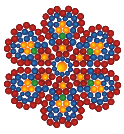
4.5 Hiding Ceremony in Plain Sight

Even though assimilation policies outlawing ceremonial and social dances on reservations was taking place, Indigenous people saw an opportunity to continue practicing ceremonies and culture under the guise of performing for the show. Spiritual songs and dances were visible to audience members in performances, but the "personal meaning and significance of these modified war dances probably escaped the viewing public" (McNenly, 82). Part of the draw for the Wild West shows was for non-Indigenous people to see Indigenous life in an actual encampment. Over the years, spiritual leaders including Sitting Bull and Black Elk were added to the show as a draw for white audiences, however, as holy people they encouraged ceremonial practices to continue and disguised them as part of the encampments.

In one example, newspapers described a weird, peculiar, and strange "Dog Feast" held in one of the encampments of the Wild West Show. Although the whites were outraged at the idea of roasting and eating a dog, the ceremony took place as a performance in full public view. The Indigenous people would probably not have been able to hold the Dog Feast Ceremony on their reservation, but through the guise of performance, they were able to celebrate the feast outside the Arena for themselves (McNenly 77).

Another public ceremony described as an "Animal Dance" was recorded at the 1893 Colombian Exposition in Chicago. Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show had an extended performance during the exhibition, and the Indigenous performers decided they had time to make arrangements for scared items and special Regalia to be sent to them to perform a special dance exhibition. Laubin & Laubin describes that the Indigenous people

> …took advantage of an opportunity, otherwise denied to them, to put on this dance, which they hoped, would bring back the game… Few in the audience realized they were seeing the temporary revival, the last presentation, of a ceremony now lost, even in memory, to most Indians. (455)



Chatting and beading while traveling has allowed you to make great progress on your beadwork! I love the colours you chose and the flowers you created! The contrast of the outline and fill in your flower petals is quite stunning! Your composition of various flower styles and leaves, and the way you have connected the flowers

with vines is a visual reflection on how you have come to understand your glimpse into Anishinaabe world view! You should be very proud of your work!

It appears that we have arrived at the powwow a bit early, so we will be able to find a good seat. We want to be close enough to see the dances and specials, and also close enough to one of the directional doorways so that we can easily participate in the intertribal dancing. After we find a seat, we will have enough time to bead an edging to attach the backing on your beadwork. The backing is usually made of leather and is sewn onto the back of the beadwork using an edging stitch. The backing covers the underside of your beadwork and hides the threads and knots. Covering the threads protects them from getting snagged and broken, thereby extending the life of your piece.

4.6 Legalization of Indigenous Dance

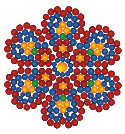
As time passed, Wild West shows died out, and eventually attitudes towards Indigenous people began to change. In 1933, John Collier was appointed Indian Commissioner in the United States. Collier held a more romantic idea about the importance of preserving First Peoples' culture as a living tradition, and he legalized dancing for religious purposes. In 1934 a Lakota woman named Brings Home a Blue Horse said, "When they stopped our dancing we died. We stopped living. We felt there was nothing left to live for. Now we can dance again and it brings sunshine into our hearts. We feel j-u-s-t good!" (Laubin & Laubin 81).

In Canada, however, dance restrictions remained law until the 1951 amendment to the Indian Act, which finally allowed First Nations to conduct ceremonies and celebrations, including powwows, without interference from federal agents. In practice, this amendment took some time to be accepted and permission was often left to the discretion of the Indian agents. Participating in dances and ceremonies was "discouraged" for over 100 years and outlawed in Canada for 66 years. In that generation of time, the chain of cultural, spiritual, and ceremonial knowledge which had been developed and passed down over thousands of years was severely fragmented. By the 1950s government and church attempts at assimilation, discriminatory laws, and abuse in residential schools had left many people and families shattered, ashamed of their culture, and completely disconnected from traditions. Many Indigenous people were apprehensive about rekindling ceremonies or holding dances because of previous experiences of imprisonment.

At Hiawatha Powwow in Ontario in May of 2019 I had coffee with Cliff Standingready, a 72 year-old Lakota Elder and Men's Traditional dancer. Cliff is a survivor of the Brandon, Manitoba residential school. As Cliff began telling me how he started dancing, I was reminded about this particular intersection of residential school influence and changes to laws in our history. Cliff began:

I'm sitting at home, I'm smoking my pipe, and sun is just coming up. And right there on my deck, a voice, just a little round orb [says] "Go dance" in Lakota. And I understand the language. Ho! First thing that hit me was, they crucified people when the Spirits speak to them. That's the religious training that I got.[17]

In Cliff's statement, we catch a glimpse of his engrained fear of punishment and rejection of his language and culture as a result of residential school. This is one, lived example, of the thought conditioning that would have made Anishinaabe people apprehensive about reembracing culture or participating in dance. The fact that some elders at powwow are products of this attempt at cultural genocide shows that it is still present in contemporary gatherings. Residential schools are not buried in a far distant past, their effects still influence individuals and trickle down to community and family lines. Cliff was able to overcome the "religious training" that might otherwise have kept him from reclaiming his culture. Imagine how many other people experienced similar apprehensions from genocidal and assimilationist policies that hindered them and possibly their descendants from reclaiming their heritage.



We have found good seats near the Eastern Door. We are close to the Speaker's Stand and begin to stitch the backing on our beadwork. We continue our discussion of history and powwow as Aaron Benson, and Bob Goulais and his wife Deborah Richardson take seats near us.

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[17] Cliff Standingready. Personal communication. Hiawatha Powwow. May 18 2019.

4.7 Reawakening of Powwow from the 1960s-1980s

In the United States, powwow gatherings were becoming ways to welcome Indigenous veterans home from World War II, but the government was already planning its next assimilationist strategy. The government rolled out the Indian Relocation Act of 1956 which was designed to 'persuade' Indigenous people to leave their territories through the termination of federal recognition of reservations and lands. Dissolving federal recognition eliminated the government's responsibility to fund reservation schools, hospitals, and many other services along with the jobs those services created. Funding for relocation to large cities and the promise of some vocational training was an incentive for many Indigenous people to leave the desperate situations being created at home, but they encountered discrimination, poverty, and other barriers that made it difficult to thrive in the cities.

The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and parallel American Indian Movement (AIM) were catalysts for the resurgence in pride and culture, and eventually were effective to pressure the government to reinstate federal recognition to some reservations. However, for the many Indigenous people who were relocated to the cities, the damage had already been done. For Indigenous people who were generationally removed from their culture, systemically oppressed, and now found themselves in unfamiliar urban settings, powwow "… became a means by which people could retain, restore, or, in certain instances, create through adaptation a modern Indian identity" (Moses 272).

In spite of their many diverse cultures and traditions, Indigenous people found a way to come together in the cities through the mostly social, common ground of powwow. Toelken provides a general description of powwow as "essentially a social gathering at which Indian people from several different tribes dance together, using a few basic patterns that all the tribes recognize" (139). Chris Pheasant mentioned that as he heard stories about the sharing of powwow dances:

I was so intrigued by that, that I started to look at a lot of different other dances, and where they came and what they were doing in the sharing of them. Because there was a revitalization period when the adoption of these dances started to cross lines from Lakota to Ojibwe and so forth, or to the Cree, whoever was neighboring. So it's to bring those people together.[18]

In the 1970s and 1980s some Indigenous Peoples feared that powwow would cause a melting together of individual tribal identities into one pan-Indian culture. However, the opposite is true of powwow as an intertribal gathering. Powwow functions to inspire the process of historical and cultural reclamation by revitalizing hidden and dormant traditions. Cook et al. give an example: "while the use of Plains-style Regalia dominates many powwows, movement is growing in the Eastern United States toward the use of Eastern Woodland styles that are tribally specific when possible" (215). As an example, the traditional Anishinaabe women's Strap Dress with Detachable Sleeves has been appearing at powwows and challenging the widely accepted norm of the Plains style of Women's Traditional.

4.8 Wikwemikong Indian Days

The longest running powwow in Ontario began on Manitoulin Island in 1961, ten years after dance was no longer illegal in Canada. Advertised as "Wikwemikong Indian Days, " early posters still framed Indigenous dance and culture as existing for the entertainment of white audiences often by announcing "Come and See the Indians!" This photograph of Wikwemikong's early gathering shows Indigenous people dancing in a circle on a stage, clearly arranged to encourage the non-Indigenous gaze.

[18] Chris Pheasant. Personal communication. Rama Powwow August 26 2018.

Figure 20: Wikwemikong Pow-Wow Photograph

We don't know the exact year of this Wikwemikong Pow-Wow photograph (Figure 20),[19] but if we even assume it to be from the first gathering in 1961, you can see that there are no Jingle Dress Dancers, Fancy Shawl, Grass Dancers, or Men's Fancy Bustle dancers. This is because powwow as we know it today was still developing and some of the dances had yet to spread across Ontario in their full form. Jingle had not yet been introduced to powwow, and the Fancy Shawl Dance was just beginning to take hold as its own style in the Dakotas. If you notice, none of the women are wearing the long, Plains-style fringe that is popular today for the Women's Traditional Dancers, however, some of the men are wearing Plains-style headdresses. The feathered headdresses could indicate an internalization of that salient Plains-style stereotype and could be a way for some Anishinaabe men to celebrate and assert their Indigenousness. On the other hand, early powwow gatherings were still being performed for the non-Indigenous gaze and perhaps the headdresses are intended to please those spectators.

[19] Photograph used with permission from Ray Jackson from Wikewmikong.

4.9 Aaron Benson Joins Our Conversation

As we are chatting about the beginnings of powwow in Ontario, Aaron Benson, a Senior Traditional Dancer from the Chippewas of Rama First Nation in Ontario overhears our conversation and joins in sharing his story.

...My first real powwow that I been to. I was out in Alberta, and when I saw the 600 dancers and all these singers just giving it, I was in cultural shock. I have to admit that. I was about 21 [years-old]. Yeah, 21. Went out West just to get away from alcohol on my reserve. When I'm in Cree country, gotta do what the Crees do, right? So they powwowed. Every weekend. I was raised on powwow out West. And powwows out here [Ontario] at the time was in its infancy, pretty much.[20]

Aaron continued his story and told us about how he brought powwow to his community for the first time in either 1987 or 1990:

When I brought powwow to Rama the first time, I went around to everybody on the reserve and asked her, can you stay away from alcohol? If you're drinking, don't come down to the powwow. And I had to educate every family I visited about powwow. And we got the church ladies to do the supper breaks.[21]

Aaron says the process was complicated:

I had to get by the Christians, and those that love the power of being in a position of authority. But we'd done it in such a way that they couldn't say no to us. 'Cause me and couple guys from Rama, it was part of our school project and you either had to set up a cooperative or do something for the community that brings them together. It was a forty-four week employment type schooling. So we chose Rama for powwow.

[20] Aaron Benson. Personal communication. Mississaugas of Scugog First Nation Powwow. 21 July 2018.

[21] Aaron Benson. Personal communication. Mississaugas of Scugog First Nation Powwow. 21 July 2018.

> *So we had to get all this together, right? We didn't have no funding, we only had $1500 dollars for our budget, and that was under a great restriction. Well when it came powwow time, we had a one-hundred foot long tent, we had the army involved… and when it came time for a feast around 1:30 in the afternoon, the church ladies came up to me. "We can't provide the food for the dinner at five." Really, how come? Got no money for food, right? "No, we just don't wanna do it."*
>
> *So we called… how much pizza can you put together in three hours? How much buckets can you do? So there's an old man holding up a KFC and pizza. Those people [the powwow participants/community/attendees] remember our first powwow. It was all pizza and KFC, that was our feast.*
>
> *That set the tone, I think that powwow started turning people's minds around about powwow. And I can honestly say that everyone in Rama did not drink until Sunday night. And that's a big thing. Everybody knows how to powwow or rather party when they come to Rama, 'cause that's all they do. That was great stuff.*
>
> *As for the church ladies, suppose I went to church and gave 'em shit. You left all those people without food. But I think that our greatest obstacle really, was Christianity. And Christianity teachings. And I think once our people, we had to thank the Christians for showing us who they really are by the abuses that they've done to our children. And they no longer have that hold on us, they no longer have that grip on us, or we're no longer afraid of them. And we can now pretty much laugh at them because daily, you see how much they mess up. When they're dealing with our lives, they know what we need. But that's the beauty of powwow because then we can come out and just forget all about that stuff.*[22]

It was interesting to hear that the church was still not cooperative, even though they were invited to participate and agreed, in the end, they did not support the community in celebrating their Indigeneity. Aaron's story takes place 30-40 years after dance became legal again, and similar to Cliff's story, Christianity has been a barrier to communities and individuals. It was particularly interesting to me to hear Aaron's story, because approximately 25 years later, the

[22] Aaron Benson. Personal communication. Mississaugas of Scugog First Nation Powwow. 21 July 2018.

Rama Powwow has become one of the larger competition in Ontario. In 1996, I was a competitive Fancy Shawl Dancer and I had moved to Rama from Chicago to take a position working at the brand new Casino Rama. I danced in their powwow celebrating the opening of the casino in a large army tent, and in 1997, I was asked to be the Female Head Dancer for their powwow, which was still Traditional at that time and held in their ice arena. Aaron's story surprised me that powwow was still so new to their community, and it caused me to reflect on my role and participation in early powwows around Ontario.

Aaron continues sharing in our conversation by telling us about his experience bringing powwow to a community in Quebec in 1995:

> *Can you imagine those that have never come upon who they are, as a people, or any recognition of their ancestors? And imagine those people are crying out but nobody's listening, nobody can hear those cries saying, "Who am I?" I use powwow to bring everything that they needed, as a people, through song and dance. Having somebody come from outside to teach 'em, that's one of my greatest accomplishments. After six years of running that powwow, I had five hundred dancers.*
>
> *We had the Little People get dressed up in various outfits, different categories. The Little People! They came in when it was Grand Entry time, they all got in to line up in their categories, and they're blowing their little whistles. There were quite a few people who saw that can recognize these kind of things. So that kind of made me feel good. Okay, they can accept my powwows, anybody can. Okay.*[23]

The fact that those interdimensional beings, the Little People, came to participate shows that our Ancestors and Spirits support and join us when we come together at powwow. If you remember our discussion from the first chapter, it is easy to make the connection that the modern powwow is similar enough to Jinktamok be recognizable to the Spirits of that location, and those Little People. When I was a child, I encountered Little People swimming under a bridge, so I know first-hand that those being do, in fact, exist. In his essay "The Self and Its Behavioral

[23] Aaron Benson. Personal communication. Mississaugas of Scugog First Nation Powwow. 21 July 2018.

Environment" an Ojibwe informant tells Hallowell about meeting Little People his dream. Hallowell says,

> What is of special theoretical importance for our discussion is that whereas most nonhuman beings of the behavioral environment of the Ojibwa can *only* be met in dreams, it is otherwise with *mèmengwécτwak.* These beings reputedly have been seen or heard singing in ordinary life by a number of Indians… *Mèmengwécτwak* are not human beings (Indians) nor are they "spiritual" entities in the sense of being perceptually intangible beings dwelling in a spatial region remote from man. From the Ojibwa point of view they are inhabitants of the same terrestrial region as men and belong to the same class of perceptually apprehensible objects as a moose, a tree, or a man. And, like them, they may be "perceived" in dreams as well as in ordinary daily life. ("Self" 98)

4.10 Bob Goulais Joins Our Conversation

Bob Goulais, a very well-known and highly respected powwow Emcee from Nipissing First Nation, Ontario is not Emceeing today, but he and his partner, Deborah Richardson, have come to enjoy the powwow. We greet Bob and Deborah as they take seats near ours. They hear part of Aaron's story and are happy to join our conversation by sharing their stories, too. Bob tells us that although his community was devastated by assimilation, he was able to find connection to his Anishinaabe culture as a youth in the early 1980s:

What was really lacking in our community was culture, we'd been so assimilated by the Roman Catholic Church and dependence on government and all of those things. We were a very unhealthy community. But it was a few of us youth that really wanted to know more and it started with singing and dancing.

We had a culture camp, believe it or not, that started when I was a kid. It was called Camp Neronto, and it was run by the Revised Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. They are now called the Church of Christ, but they were branch off of the Mormon religion, and their mission was to be of service to Indigenous people. So they put together this camp, and we learned to sing first of all from these singers, and a couple of them were non-Native singers; but it reached us. It really... especially our youth, a few of our youth really responded to that experience with culture. So, it began with a youth Drum group in Nipissing.

> *The first teacher I really had in that way was Angus Pontiac. Angus Pontiac was the Elder brought in for that camp and all by himself, he was a lot younger then, he built the fire every morning in a little small part of the grassy areas of this camp, and we started our morning with a ceremony offering tobacco, hearing his prayers, hearing those words. And for me that was my first real experience with Spirit and knowing what that Manidooag is, what that... who Gizhe Manidoo was and hearing those words in the language for the first time.*
>
> *So from there we grew up wanting in our community more experience in culture, more experience in this way of life that we'd seen, the singing from that camp. From this experience with the Elders, later our community brought in another teacher of mine, who was from Whirlwind Singers, Paul Nadjiwon. He had a Drum group, and they were locally known, they also were involved with American Indian Movement and all of that. But we brought them into our community for various things. And that Drum immediately responded to me.*
>
> *So for me in my work in this field becoming a traditional teacher and doing this work all was in response to hearing the Drum and hearing the Spirit of Dewegan , the Drum in our language. That Spirit touched me at that point, and I realized I wanted to be a singer. I sat around that Drum, I reached out to Paul even as a young man and wanted to learn more. And then there was another teacher of mine, Peter Beaucage who was learning to sing himself from his experience and becoming sober and wanting to find out more about himself.*
>
> *So again the Drum was central to that part. And by this time I'm still only like six, seven-years-old learning about the Drum but from there and my zest, my motivation to get there led me to being a leader in our community for the youth and asking for this Drum to come to learn about these teaching. So, I was able to do that and with guidance from Peter, and guidance from Paul. All of these folks and it started with the powwow Drum, and we started traveling to different powwows.*[24]

Bob provides a first-hand account of how the assimilationist efforts of the church had been successful in stripping culture and tradition from a community, yet it was another religious sect, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, and non-Indigenous singers who helped return the culture to the people. Bob credits his lifelong path of teaching and learning as

[24] Bob Goulais. Personal communication. Mississaugas of New Credit Powwow. 25 August 2018.

beginning with hearing and responding to the Spirit of the Drum. The Drum made its way back to the community, and it is interesting that it chose another religion and non-Indigenous hands as its vehicle of return.

4.11 Deborah Richardson Joins Our Conversation

I'm Mi'kmaq from New Brunswick. And I hadn't really gone to a lot of powwows, even within my own community, powwows have only been sort of recent years. Like within the past decade. And I remember the first time I went to a powwow it was actually in Poundmaker, Alberta and like Bob's experience about the first time I heard those Drum, I heard Drum before but really those Drum at the Poundmaker powwow it was just overwhelming. It was a very spiritual connection. You could feel it right into your core. And it was a really, I knew then I had this, and I think many people who are Indigenous and of mixed ancestry sometimes you have the sense of belonging and you sort of don't know where you belong.

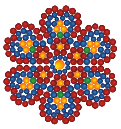
And all of a sudden, I knew when I heard those Drums in Saskatchewan. And that was probably about 30 years ago and then I just continued my own journey of learning and going to ceremonies and getting a lot more in touch with my identity because my community wasn't very traditional. There are some Mi'kmaq speakers but there's not a lot. And it's only in recent years that people have started to have a powwow and speak the language and take Midewin classes and so it's only been recently.

So there really is a spiritual connection and then I think also the sense of family, the sense of connecting with people. Like you don't know a lot of people but you do know them. And it's that sense of family and that sense of connection and that sense of identity. I think that everybody feels so and then having an appreciation for the teachings and learning about the sacred items and feathers and Drum and the significance of all of those things and Regalia and what that means and so I think it's a really special thing being a part of the powwow family. Yes.[25]

[25] Deborah Richardson. Personal communication. Mississaugas of New Credit Powwow. 25 August 2018.

Because contact with Europeans happened in the East first, the Indigenous people have a longer history and influence from contact. As a result, the Eastern communities faced assimilation and cultural genocide earlier than communities such as those around the Great Lake and in the Prairies, which resulted in an earlier loss of identity. In my own community, although their first powwow was held in 1987, it was still relatively small and held at their ball field; I remember being one of about six adult dancers. We see through these shared accounts that the modern powwow is still making its way into communities and is relatively new to many in the East.

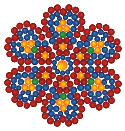
Some of what we have heard through Aaron, Deborah, and Bob's stories shows that involvement in powwow, learning to sing and dance eventually created a gateway for more participation in ceremonies, learning, and culture. It starts with responding to Spirit, which leads to reclaiming languages and learning our ceremonies and traditions.



You have done an excellent job with your beadwork! The edging is stitched nicely and now it is ready to wear! You should be proud of your work. Now you have a visual representation of the time we spent learning together as well as the memories of each concept and example. It isn't long until Grand Entry; there is so much yet to see!

Chapter 5

Two Lost Black Coffees



There is excitement in the air as the Drum sing their warm-up songs and dancers add finishing touches to their outfits. "Thirty minutes to Grand Entry" the Emcee announces over the PA system, "dancers start making your way to the Eastern Door!" I recognize the voice, as I look up to catch the attention of the Emcee, our friend, Greg Dreaver. We make eye contact and wave to each other.

An elderly Traditional Dancer fastens a belt that holds his Eagle Feather Bustle in place. Dancers still in camp use a car window as a mirror so that they can evenly wrap ribbons around their braids, match the level of the beaded hair ties they secure at the end of their braids, and place or straighten Eagle Feathers in a beaded clip on the back of their heads. A father is hurrying to dress an uncooperative young child. A young mother who is not quite ready herself is quickly braiding her daughter's hair and is thinking to herself that she will probably have to braid her own hair after Grand Entry. A group of teens who are dressed and ready saunter around and look at the vending booths as they flirt and giggle with each other. While dressing, a dancer notices a forgotten hole worn in their moccasin; they decide the moccasin will last in its condition for a little while longer, and plan to repair it after Grand Entry. Someone dancing for the first time is dressed and eager to start the day. At the Eastern Door, many dancers congregate, mingling and visiting while waiting for the powwow to start. You can hear laughter and see their smiles as they greet friends, welcome new faces, and show off new Regalia.

Over the loudspeaker Greg booms "Grand Entry has been moved to 12:30! 12:30 Grand Entry!" It's not unusual for Grand Entry to start on "Indian Time" which is usually about 10 or 15 minutes late, but it could also be moved back half an hour or an hour. The powwow can be delayed for any number of reasons; staff may be delayed, lost, or stuck in traffic, maybe some of the supplies (like water) haven't yet arrived, or they may wait out a passing thundershower. A sigh of relief rises from some participants… more time to finish braiding, mend a tear, or grab an Indian Taco before the afternoon session starts.

Greg begins a day of "Indian humor" by suggesting: "Since you have some time before Grand Entry, now is a good time to visit the food booths and grab an Indian Taco or a refreshing strawberry drink…maybe take a look at the vendors; you might find a Hand Drum for yourself, beaded earrings for your wife, and maybe a nice choker for your mother-in-law! Eyyyyy! Alright…. if anyone happens to see two lost black coffees, can you please bring them to the speaker stand, the Arena Director and I are looking for them. Miigwetch!"

It seems we have some time before Grand Entry, when powwow begins, so let us take a walk around the grounds, look at the vendor booths, greet some friends, and see if we can help

find those lost black coffees. As we walk around the grounds, I will explain some of the other dances, Regalias, protocols, and specials that we will see as the day progresses.

5.1 Dressing in Regalia

Powwow participants refer to their dress/ensemble as an Outfit or Regalia and never use the word costume. The distinction is that when people put on a costume, like for Halloween or to play a character in theatre, they are putting on a disguise or mask to portray themselves temporarily as something that they are not. When Anishinaabe people wear Regalia, they are expressing a true version of themselves; they carry Spirit in addition to wearing symbols expressing their identity. Some designs are specific to Spirit Names and Clans. It takes a long time to hand-make Regalia, and each outfit is a unique representation of the dancer.

Chris Pheasant comments about Regalia:

You look at the leather, that comes from a deer, maybe an elk ... And they wear that, they adorn it. When dancers make their stuff, it's personal, it comes from within. It come. s from that Spirit, and they have a story behind it. It only takes an individual to say, "What's that? It looks really pretty! Tell me about it." Maybe grandma made that for her. That's the connection.[26]

Elder Marie Eshkabok shared advice she gives Jingle Dress Dancers as they make Regalia:

...I'm asked to go and teach how to make a Jingle Dress and the teachings that go with it, I go some places to do that. One of the things I encourage the women to do is to put your identity in your Outfit when you're making it. If you're of the Bear Dodem, the Bear Clan, put some bear paws or something on your sleeve or somewhere on your Outfit to represent your Dodem, to represent your Clan. Usually when you're given a Name, an Indian Name, you get Colors that come with that name, so put your Colors in your Outfit from your Name. If you have a Sky Name, use the Sky Colors, too. The rainbow, red, orange, yellow, put that on your Outfit. You have a Sky Name, some people have Water Names, Sky Names, Bird Names. They have different Names. Put that in your Outfit because

[26] Chris Pheasant. Personal communication. Rama Powwow 26 August 2018.

> *that's who you are. And for the women to dance Jingle and try to learn that teaching that is given, you'll get why we Jingle.*[27]

Most all dancers style and wear their hair parted in the back and formed into two equal braids that hang in front of their shoulders. The braids are tied with ribbons, bias tape, or shoelaces, crossed back and forth around their braid in an "X" like pattern. Otter or mink skins may also be wrapped around their braids, underneath the lacing. To wear Otter is a traditional sign of honour, and it is indeed considered an honour to be dancing for the people. Since our hair is a gift from Creator, and also an extension of our heart, warrior clan representatives like Mink can also be worn at the end of the braid as a form of protection. At the end of the braid of hair, where the animal hide starts, dancers wear decorative, usually beaded, hair ties that match, compliment, or coordinate with the rest of their Regalia.

Brian shared a teaching with me that there are physical places in our bodies where these Spirits and energies sit. Our heart has a thought process and consciousness because it is the physical resting place of our Spirit. Brian continued that where our head meets our neck is the place where our Ancestors sit. Our hair grows over this area as a way to protect them and sometimes hair clips are worn there to protect them as well. As Brian shared this teaching, he emphasized that it was important for the head and heart to communicate, and that reminded me of the adage about the longest journey we have to make in life is from our head to our heart.[28]

As we greet friends and meet dancers, we will offer them a bit of tobacco and ask them to share their stories with us. As we have learned, the act of offering and accepting tobacco forms a sacred agreement; we are asking for their stories, and we are agreeing to honour and respect the knowledge they share.

The discussion that you and I will have after we talk to powwow participants will not be an analysis or dissection of their stories but is designed rather to focus on and highlight the concepts we have previously discussed, which you have beaded into flowers. Listen to their stories with your heart and Spirit, and breathe into the personal and intimate experiences between family, community, and Spirit.

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[27] Marie Eshkabok. Personal communication. 11 July 2018.
[28] Brian Outinen. Personal communication. 5 October 2020.

5.2 Dewegan: The Drum

Figure 21: Powwow Drum

The literal and figurative centre of the powwow is the The Drum, or Dewegan (Figure 21)[29] in Anishinaabemowin describes "holds the the heart of creation." *De* relates to *ode* which is heart and *we* comes from the word *deweya* which means creation in the body, and the suffix *-gan* indicates that it is held or contained. Making a Drum creates a body with a heartbeat. Drum means not only the physical instrument itself, but Drum also refers to the singers who sit around the Drum and beat it in unison as they all sing together as one voice. The physical Drum instrument itself is recognized as having a Spirit and is referred to respectfully as Grandfather. Drums are treated with respect, and like a human Elder, they are cared for, fed, and never left alone at powwow. Anishinaabe world view recognizes that those Grandfathers are visiting with each other as they sit under the Drum arbour. Often when a Drum is not in use, it is "put to sleep" by wrapping it in a blanket, like we might an elder to keep them warm, safe, and secure, and turning it upright on its side. Drum names are given through ceremony and the Drum Keeper will make sure the Drum is looked after and feasted several times a year.

The Drum and Drum Keeper have a special relationship and connection. The Drum may teach the singers songs or the Drum Keeper or Lead Singer may be responsible for all the songs in the group's repertoire. It is the responsibility of the Drum Keeper/Lead Singer to know various types of songs so that when they are asked for a specific type of song like Grand Entry, an Honour Song, or a Two-Step by the Emcee or Arena Director, they are ready.

The sound of the Drum is like a heartbeat; it is either a steady, even flow of 1-1-1-1 beats or similar to a heartbeat, a hard/soft 1-2, 1-2, 1-2. At certain times in the song, louder, stronger honour beats are sounded to call the Spirits. Four loud beats and four soft beats punctuate the "push-up," which is powwow terminology for one complete verse with the chorus. Four push-ups are the norm for a song, symbolic of the Four Directions.

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[29] Bearmaiden, The. "Powwow Drum Group, 2007." 21 July 2016. The Canadian Encyclopedia, www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/powwowmusic. 30 July 2021.

The traditional story of the how the powwow Drum or "Big Drum" came to be says that it was a gift received through a vision by a Lakota woman named Tailfeather. During a time of war, Tailfeather escaped an enemy; some accounts say it was U.S. soldiers, other accounts say it was during the War of 1812. Tailfeather hid underwater in a lake, breathing through a hollow reed, and while she was in the water, a Spirit showed her a big dance Drum that would bring peace. The Spirit told her in detail how the Drum was to be constructed, and also taught her songs. Part of her instructions from the Spirit was that the Drum was to be made by men and that when they sat around it and sang together sounding like one voice, that there would be peace.

Chris Pheasant, a very well-respected Anishinaabe Powwow Emcee often shares teachings while he is performing his duties. Chris shared that the Drum's purpose was to "bring people together." Chris also relates the Drum to Creation :

> *That Big Drum was a gift to end all warring from tribal wars and so forth, to bring them [the people] together. When you look at the design, the Drum is made out of hide and wood, that comes from nature ... Everything that was placed here [on Earth] before us.*[30]

Traditional powwow Drum protocol reflects the instructions that Tailfeather received from Spirit. Under direction from Spirit, Tailfeather instructed the men how to create the Drum, but did not participate herself. That is the reason usually given for why women do not or should not sit at the Drum. Women stand behind and sing, or "back up" the male singers at the Drum, but they do not sit at the Drum themselves. In fact, you may even see that if a woman sits to visit with a singer near the Drum, she will turn her chair sideways so that she is not seated directly facing the Drum. In that way, she is showing respect for the Grandfather, protocol, and the space held for male singers.

The teaching and protocol surrounding women sitting at the Drum has had some push-back in the community, mainly from the youth and 2-Spirited community. It has been suggested that many of the protocols excluding women were actually changed from their original intention due to the patriarchal influence of Christianity and colonization. If we consider the original

[30] Chris Pheasant. Personal communication. Rama Powwow 26 August 2018.

Anishinaabe world view through language, we see that Anishinaabemowin did not differentiate between masculine and feminine pronouns. Wiin[23] is the third person pronoun for everyone (he, she, it, and they); there is no differentiation among genders nor is there a linguistic difference for human, animal, or Spirit. Discussion about Western, patriarchal, Christian influence on modern traditions is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but it could nonetheless be a topic for future exploration.

We can hear the purpose and origin story of the Drum echoed as Alan Manitowabi, a well-known Emcee around Midwestern and Ontario powwows speaks about the gatherings:

…when we talk about the honor and respect and the generosity and all those things, I think that's the true Spirit of the powwow.

Because if you look at our history when we had our tribal wars and all the things that went on that people sometimes forget and don't want to talk about, so those things are important to remember and that's what the powwow is, that's what that big Drum is all about.

So it's the Spirit of those songs and the Spirit of the different tribes coming together and having a platform or a way of being together in a good way and sharing all of those songs and all of that Spirit that they have from each and every tribe and dancers and singers and everything. So, I think it's important to remember all those things.[31]

5.3 Significance of Eagle Feathers

In the Aadizookaan (sacred story) *The Beginning Before the Beginning,*[32] Midewiwin Elder Jim Dumont, recounts that the thoughts of Kitchi Manito preceded all of creation; first he thought, then all came into being. Resting in the Cosmos and imagining what should come next for the newly formed earth, Kitchi Manito asked "Who will carry my thoughts?" The Birds answered and volunteered to bring his thoughts down to earth as seeds, which grew into all the plant life we have today. However, Eagle loved the Creator so much that he wanted to remain by his side. Because of the Eagle's love and loyalty, Creator gave him the gift of being able to fly to

[31] Alan Manitowabi. Personal communication. 26 August 2018.
[32] Elder Jim Dumont public teaching presented by Seven Generations Institute on February 1, 2019 at Wilfred Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario in Theatre Auditorium.

heights that transcend the physical, Earthly plane and pierce into the Spirit realm. Now that Eagle was able to fly in both Earth and Spirit realms, he was given the privilege of sitting in council with the Spirits and Being a messenger for the Creator. A great White Eagle is the Ogimaa (leader) of the Eagles, and he sits between the two realms. That White Eagle is the Being who spoke for me and in turn gave me one of the names I carry. Shawnee (Anishinaabe) scholar Thomas Norton-Smith explains that a Spirit name "is an animate entity that takes care of its bearer" (104). Anishinaabe cosmology understands that the world has been destroyed and recreated many times, and the last time Creator considered destroying this world and starting over, the Eagle interceded on behalf of the Anishinaabe (Dumont).

Eddie Benton-Banai-Iban, another Midewiwin spiritual leader offers a written account of the Aadizookaan of the most recent time Creator considered destroying the world because the Anishinaabe had forgotten their original instructions. Benton-Banai-Iban describes a time when the human beings were filled with selfishness and ego and they began using spiritual powers and medicine to inflict harmful on their rivals by instilling fear and distorting or taking lives. Disappointed with humanity, the Creator was about to have a powerful Being destroy the world. However, the Eagle had seen tobacco smoke rising in some places where the Anishinaabe had remembered their original instructions and made an effort to live in harmony with all of creation. The Eagle pleaded with Creator to let him fly over the earth before dawn each morning, and as long as he could report back that there is still at least one person following the original instructions and lighting their Pipe in prayer each day, the world would be spared. Through that daily rising smoke and prayers there is hope for our survival and the future and our unborn generations. The Eagle still flies out each morning in search of Anishinaabe who remember their original instructions and by doing so, he is actively involved in our continued existence as Anishinaabe and in the preservation of the Earth. (Benton-Banai 80-82).

When we wear Eagle Feathers as part of our Regalia, we remember those stories and think about those feathers that have been physically present on the Eagle as He soared into the Spirit Realm. As tangible reminders of the Eagle who spoke on our behalf, his feathers humble us.

As you now understand, Eagle Feathers are very prized and sacred. Dancers make an effort to make sure their Eagle Feathers are tied securely so they don't fall while they are dancing. Eagle Feathers are not easy to come by; sometimes dancers have earned them through

fasting, achieving and maintaining sobriety, or other meaningful ways, so great care is taken to make sure they are secure. However, as we understand the ways of Spirit, no matter how strongly a feather is secured in Regalia, when it chooses to leave or send a message, it will manage to fall. There are many different teachings about what it means when an Eagle Feather falls. Some teachings say that it is time for the feather to "travel on" and the person who lost it will give it away to another person, as in the story about the Traditional Dancer who had left his Eagle Feather Fan on the bus. Other teachings say the Feather has fallen to draw attention to that particular dancer for whatever reason Spirit has. Another possible reason that Eagle Feathers fall is that the Spirit has left the feather, in which case the feather will be "retired" and returned to Creation by leaving it out in nature with tobacco, food, and a gift.

For whatever reason an Eagle Feather may fall in the dance Arena, the powwow dancing will halt until the Head Veteran and three other veteran dancers perform a retrieval because the Feather is treated as a fallen warrior. The four veterans will dance around the feather in the Four Directions, each of them taking a turn in each direction as their dance circle rotates after each push-up. On the last push-up the Eagle Feather is lifted from the ground on an Eagle wing fan, only then is the Spirit of the feather restored. Chris Pheasant shared these words about Eagle Feathers:

You look at the Eagle Feather. The Eagle Feather that we carry and dance with, that comes from that Migizi (Bald Eagle), that Giniw (Golden Eagle), the one that spoke to us in the stories, at a time when we stopped practicing our ways. And he spoke (to Creator) for us and said, "Look, there's got to be somebody there." And he went searching for four days and he come across a little smoke out of the bush, and when he come across, he saw a grandmother and grandfather doing a sunrise ceremony with a little one ... Took that message back and we were spared. So that's why we honour, and we adorn ourselves with those Eagle Feathers. When you receive one, it's an acknowledgement of who you are, that you're remembering to live in the ways of our teachings.

So, one must take care of that. And humans falter. When that happens, we put those objects away. We put those away for a time until we're ready. Because when you look at the feather, you can go off that road, but you can also come back. It's a choice. So, when you look at that, that's so important.[33]

[33] Chris Pheasant. Personal communication. Rama Powwow 26 August 2018.

5.4 My Father's Eagle Feathers

My father, who is a Vietnam Veteran of the United States Navy decided it was time to start dancing at the age of 74. I wanted to honour my father by gifting him the Eagle Feathers he so rightly earned and deserved as a warrior, and being the oldest daughter and an established powwow dancer, it was both my honour and responsibility to help him make or find the pieces to complete his Regalia. I had never needed an Eagle Bustle before, but I was on a mission to outfit my father, and so began my search.

From the time I started dancing in the 90s, I was taught that Eagle Feathers should never be bought or sold, and that the only way one could obtain a feather was through trade or as a gift of honour. It is illegal to sell Eagle Feathers because while they have recently been removed from the endangered species list, Eagles are still protected by the Bald and Golden Eagle Protection Act in the United States and in Canada by the Ministry of Natural Resources. It is wrong and seems almost unthinkable that someone would kill an Eagle in order to profit, but "…with feathers and talons a major feature in aboriginal dance Regalia – which is popular on a competitive circuit that offers rich prizes for the best outfits – there's a hot black market for Eagle parts…" in both countries (Jones 2005). Some Eagles who are not obtained through the Ministry of Natural Resources come to the community through unfortunate events. other . They may be victims of collisions with transports on the highways, sometimes they are found electrocuted along hydro poles and wires, others die from collision with large electric generating windmills that have been erected in their migratory paths.

I asked a couple of friends from the community if they had or if they knew anyone with a Bustle they were looking to trade, and I was put in contact with a friend of a friend. The friend of my friend wished to remain anonymous, so for clarity's sake we'll call him George. The Eagle Bustle George had was absolutely gorgeous, and while we were working out a trade and making conversation, I asked him about how he obtains the feathers. George shared with me that his cousin works for the Trans Canada Railroad and that every year his cousin finds about 5-10 Eagles who have been killed by trains. George said that people from the community also give him Eagles that they find because they know he is a skilled craftsman who can earn a living doing traditional work and that they know the Eagles are going to go back to the community. It takes many hours to clean the feathers, measure and arrange them according to size, fix them onto dowel rods, wrap thread designs on the rods and quills, then create the backboard that

ultimately gives shape and support to the feathers so that they can be worn by the dancer. While George has the knowledge and skill to create the Bustles, supplies for the Bustle's construction cost money. At the end of our negotiation, George accepted tobacco as a traditional offering for the feathers, then we agreed on a trade of materials, supplies, and a cash honorarium for his time and skill. After all, neither landlords, grocery stores, nor utility companies are willing to trade for anything but money, so it felt alright to give him cash, too, as part of the trade.

I now had a Bustle, but I still had to find a way to obtain the other Eagle Feathers for the rest of my father's Regalia. I contacted my friend, Jen, who I thought might have a couple of feathers she'd be willing to trade, and she told me that she had a fan that she was willing to take apart. Knowing that Jen had a new baby and a growing family, and remembering that she had recently asked me how I liked the new countertop dishwasher I'd recently purchased, I offered her a trade. Jen accepted the offer of tobacco and my new dishwasher in trade for her fan. The dishwasher made her daily life easier, and I had the feathers I needed to honour my father. Jen's pre-teen daughter, Cheyenne, made us all laugh when commented that our trade was "ever 'Nish!"

Although I don't know where the first Eagle Feather I was gifted came from, I know from the pierced quill and glued piece of leather still attached on the back that it existed previously as part of something else. A drop of glue had been used to secure the leather lace which was now cut close to the glue spot. As I reflected on the process of obtaining feathers for my father, it made me consider the previous life of my feather. I wondered where it had been, who had it and for how long, and what was the process by which it had traveled to me. I imagine from where the feather is pierced that it was previously part of an Eagle Staff. I envisioned the Feather being carried into the powwow Arena during many years of Grand Entries, proudly representing a warrior society or community with other feathers on an Eagle Staff.

I reflect on Eagle Feathers, their stories, and how they come to be part of dance Regalia. They were created by the body of a bird with a sacred gift from Creator, and those feathers soared into the realm of Spirit as part of that Being. Then somehow, those feathers make their way to us, and we are entrusted to carry and care for them. They travel and dance with us, participate in ceremonies, help us, and witness parts of our lives. And then when it is time for them to travel on, they carrying their history and memory with them as they fall, are traded, or

gifted to another person. They are ready for a new set of experiences and they bring wisdom, influence, and teachings to their new guardian.

The Emcee breaks the air silence: "An Ojibwe goes to the doctor and says, 'Doc, I'm having trouble sleeping… one night I dreamt I was a wigwam, the next night I dreamt I was a tipi. This keeps happening over and over, I'm a wigwam, I'm a tipi, I'm a wigwam… can you help me?' The doctor says
'I know what your problem is… you're two tents (too tense), eyeeeeeeeeeee!'"

A groan rises from the crowd. "OK Dancers, forty minutes to Grand Entry! It's gonna be a hot one today, so make sure you drink lots of water. Forty minutes to Grand Entry, start making your way to the Eastern Door! Drum roll call in twenty minutes, Singers make sure your Drum are registered…"

5.5 Men's Traditional Dance

Figure 22:
Men's Traditional Dancer

The dancers who wear an Eagle Feather Bustle dance the Men's Traditional style (Figure 22).[34] With "roots in old tribal-specific warrior societies" the Men's Traditional style is "directly dissented from earlier pre-reservation era forms" of dance (Browner, 49). Men's Traditional dancers tell stories through their dance gestures. Some dancers are warriors or veterans who may be showing stories from events in their military service, others may dance stories of healing, and others dance stylized gestures imitating courting birds. Dancers may get down on one knee and sweep the ground with their fan, or maybe raise their dance stick in the air perhaps thanking Creator, offering a prayer for the hunt, or readying their weapon to deliver a blow. According to their desired look and preference, dancers may carry a war club or a gun stock club, a dance coup stick that may have Eagle Talons and Eagle Feathers attached, and generally, in the other hand, an Eagle Fan.

[34] Photograph by Bert Crowfoot. [Men's Traditional]. *AMMSA*. www.ammsa.com/content/2014-samson-powwow-mens-traditional-special-gallery

Dancers wear a decorated apron that hangs from their waist to below their knees, two appliqued or beaded side drops which hang from their waist to their knees, and any number or combination of beaded accessories like arm bands, a belt, vest, yolk, and moccasins. Their most recognizable feature is the Eagle Feathered Bustle worn on their lower backs which spreads out on a backboard, almost in a complete circle. Occasionally referred to a "satellite dish" because of their shape and size, the Bustle is spread out like the tail of a courting or fighting bird, imitating in nature how the males often spread their tails in an elaborate display to attract a mate or intimidate an opponent. On their heads, Bustled dancers usually wear a roach made of porcupine guard hairs that are tied together and fanned out around a spreader that usually holds two Eagle Feathers upright in "twirlers" on top. Sometimes dancers may wear a cowboy hat, a top hat, or an otter "turban." Loud bells or deer toe rattlers are worn around the dancer's ankles or knees. Of the bells, Elder Willie Trudeau of Wikwemikong shared that the bells were an important part of the Men's Traditional outfit because they could be heard in the Spirit world, "the louder, the better."[35]

5.6 Woodland Style Men's Traditional

Woodland Style Men's Traditional Dancers (Figure 23)[36] do not wear Bustles, but they are recognizable by the intricate floral pattern of their beadwork, as we previously learned from Shannon Gustafson as she described the "Grey's Anatomy" beadwork her husband, Ryan, wears. Woodland Style Dancers wear many of the same items as the Traditional Dancers but they often include a heavily beaded bandolier bag. The bandolier bags became popular after the Anishinaabe began seeing the mail bags carried by the Pony Express riders. The bandolier bags were not only decorative but were of great use for gathering medicines. As powwow gatherings became popular, the Anishinaabe made elaborately decorated versions of these bags to trade or wear as a status symbol.

Figure 23:
Woodland Style Dancer

[35] Willie Trudeau, Invocation at Kitigan Zibi. Sunday, Noon Grand Entry. 3 June 2018.

[36] Photograph of Gerald White by Ivy Vainio. Used with permission.

5.7 Bernard Nelson – Men's Traditional Dancer

Figure 24: Bernard Nelson

As we continue to make our way around the crowd outside the dance Arena, we meet Bernard Nelson, Spirit of the Earth (Figure 24),[37] who is from Eabmontoong (Fort Hope) First Nation, three hours north by plane from Thunder Bay, Ontario. In addition to being a Men's Traditional Dancer, Bernard has been a Sun Dancer for over 40 years. Bernard accepts our tobacco and shares his experience with powwow and Spirit:

I'm a residential school survivor myself and what saved my life is the Sun Dance and the powwow. In 1984 I went on a spiritual vision quest and I had a vision about
a man wearing a red skirt and another man wearing a yellow skirt. I told my chief this and he said, "You've got to go to South Dakota." So I went to South Dakota.

I saw Jimmy Many Horses and Floyd Hand at the Sun Dance and the Tree [of Life] was behind them and I told them "I dreamt about you guys; exactly what you're wearing." They said, "Well come on ... Welcome home."

So I've been going there ever since and that saved my life. Since 1987 I've been Sun Dancing and giving my flesh to the Tree of Life. I went through a lot of changes in my life and I asked the Tree of Life to [let me] leave all my shortcomings like drugs and alcohol and feeling sorry for myself.

And when I went to the Sun Dance, I seen myself wearing this Regalia [gestured to the outfit he currently wears at powwow]. There was a man standing there looking at me at the Sun Dance; that was actually my Spirit looking at myself dancing there in the Sun Dance.

We [Sun Dancers] give up food and water for four days there [at the Sun Dance] for the people. And my Elder says, "Find out why you're going to give your flesh to the Tree of Life," and that's when I did that. I asked the Elder, "Why do I do this?" And he said, "You're going to give your flesh for the people so the people can live."

[37] Photograph of Bernard Nelson. *Bawaajigewin*. www.bawaajigewin.ca/guest-panel/

> *People give me tobacco to pray for them all the time. I go to different pow wows, they ask me to pray for them; women, children, men, everybody asks me to help them pray here [at powwow]. And I'm very honored to do his [Creator's] work. That's not my work, that's the Creator's work. And I've been doing that ever since. I can't complain about the life that I've chosen, I've been chosen to do his work. I'm 60 years old now and I still do his work and he takes care of us as well.*
>
> *And my dancing, I made all this. This [breast plate] is all made [from] a young birch tree. And the fire colors, are [for] my wife. We met at the Sacred Fire and those colours represent a fire that burns inside us. To keep that love alive in our relationship, we need that fire, to keep it going strong.*
>
> *This is a Medicine Hat as well, I do healings and I wear that [hat] for the people. And I dance for the people. And these are buffalo bones [showing a group of about four-inch pointed spikes that hang around his neck]. This is what I use when I go Sun Dance. They pierce me here and here [motioning where the short, pointed bones would pierce his chest] and then I hang on the Tree [of Life] front ways [by his chest] and then backward, in my back. And I offer the flesh for the people. And it's a good way of life, yes.*[38]

We thank Bernard for sharing his story. Listen to Bernard's story with your heart and Spirit. Bernard's Spirit visually revealed itself to him wearing specific pieces of Regalia. Bernard recognized his own Spirit looking back at him while he was participating in the Sun Dance. He described the meaning behind the colours of his Regalia and of several of the pieces of the outfit wears. By making his outfit, he has brought into physical being the Regalia revealed in Spirit. So indeed, when Bernard wears his Regalia there is a profound transformation; he makes the inner appearance of his Spirit visible to us: he *is* his vision.

Bernard shares with us: "*I'm a residential school survivor myself and what saved my life is the Sun Dance and the powwow."* Suffering physically in prayer is a sacred offering. The Sundance is a serious ceremony and commitment of at least four years. Part of the ceremony involves praying dancers abstaining from food or water for four days and piercing their bodies with buffalo bones or offering flesh as a sacrifice. This is the intensity of Bernard's prayer and commitment when he says that he offered his flesh in exchange for the Tree of Life to heal his trauma and take the destructive coping mechanisms away.

[38] Bernard Nelson. Personal communication. Curve Lake Powwow. 16 September 2018.

As Bernard was participating in the Sun Dance, he could see his own Spirit dressed in Regalia, looking back at himself! When we embody the fullness of our true Spirit, we experience a higher, authentic self. Spirit and Ancestors guide us while making Regalia; they help us to see and make our Spirit visible. We become aware of other parts of our Spirit when we see and recognize our Spirit outside of the "ourselves" as a body. As Bernard was able to recognize himself yet be in two places at once, we understand how Spirit can transform and exist in multiple ways simultaneously. Bernard's Spirit showed him what his Regalia was to look like for a specific reason. Through creating Regalia and dancing, Bernard became his vision. Through his interaction with the Tree of Life and the Sun Dance ceremony, Bernard sees himself transformed.

5.8 Cliff Standingready - Men's Traditional Dancer

Cliff Standingready, Standing Buffalo Warrior, (Figure 25),[39] is the next Men's Traditional Dancer we meet. We start by asking Cliff is would share his story about how he stared dancing. Cliff accepts our tobacco and begins:

Figure 25: Cliff Standingready

I'm sitting at home, I'm smoking my pipe, and sun is just coming up. And right there on my deck, a voice, just a little round orb, "Go dance," in Lakota. And I understand the language. Ho! First thing that hit me was, "They crucified people when the Spirits speak to them." That's the religious training that I got.

All right. So maybe it's time to go bring another coffee. So I came and got up, and I pulled the screen door like that. Right there on my shoulder, another orb, a different voice, "Go dance." Holy crap. Now I'm really scared. So I come in the house. My wife comes up. About 10:00 in the morning. Wife comes up for her coffee, and I tell her about this. And she said, "Well, go dance then." That's my wife, really down to Earth. "Well, go dance then."

[39] Photograph of Cliff Standingready by Irina Popova, used with permission.

Man, my self-pity kicked in. "I don't have Regalia." She goes, "Bullshit, you have this, you have this, you have this." Then my wife says to me, "I'll help you make…" But my mother had told her way back when, "If he wants to dance, he has to make his own Regalia." She said, "Well, you have this, this, this. You have two days."

And the powwow was Saturday. This is a Thursday morning. "Holay!" she said, "You had better get to work. I'll help you." We did, and then we headed up in Alderville for the Pow Wow, and Winston (an Elder) came by. He says, "You're dancing today?" I said, "Yeah. I was afraid. I had that fear in the stomach." He said, "Are you dancing with it?" I said, "Yeah." "Good," that's all he said. The fear went away from my stomach. So I got dressed, changed and stuff.

There is something else that I needed to do before the Pow Wow started, so I went back to the Sacred Fire. I offered tobacco to the Four Directions. Boy, I'm reliving my first Pow Wow here. And okay, now I'm done. Okay, now what do I do? Go drink that coffee that you had. So I do. I get my wife a coffee. Then I realized, my prayer at the Sacred Fire wasn't about me. It was never about me. I'm there dancing for the people who can't. I'm dancing for those who are too shy. I'm dancing for the people who need to dance and won't recognize their need. No, this is not about me. I'm not dancing for me. I'm dancing for those people.

So we're getting ready for Grand Entry, they come and handed me the Warrior Flag. Coincidence? I don't know, but anyway, they handed me the Warrior Flag, and I picked it up. "Yeah, I'll take it. I'd be honored." And then they offered me tobacco. We finished the Grand Entry. My partner over here, he's carrying the Canadian Flag. He nudged me, and we looked up. Two Eagles way up there, and he says to me, "Your dad and your grandfather are here with you." Those Two Eagles!

How do you… Like, I believe him. I mean, it's just, boom… I believe it. Wow! Now what do I do? And Winston, he comes up to me, and he said, "You keep dancing." As if I was having this conversation with him. "Keep dancing." And that's how I started. And since then, I've been all over the place.[40]

[40] Cliff Standingready. Personal communication. Hiawatha First Nation Powwow. 19 May 2019.

In the traditional Anishinaabe experience, it is not unimaginable that Cliff's father and grandfather could appear as Eagles. I imagine that Cliff dancing for the first time is something that would have made his dad and grandfather proud, and that they would of course have wanted to attend to see him dance. It would be unusual, indeed, for eagles as birds to appear at a powwow; why would they be there? They are not hunting or scavenging like seagulls. But Anishinaabe recognize that when animals, in this case two Eagles, are acting out of character that they are recognized to be Spirits in disguise. Hallowell recorded a similar experience told by an Ojibwe informant:

> "One day he [the Ojibwe informant] was traveling in a canoe across a lake. He had put up an improvised mast and used a blanket for a sail. A little bird alighted on the mast. This was a most unusual thing for a bird to do. He was convinced that it was not a bird but his dead grandchild. The child of course left her body behind in the grave, nevertheless she visited him in animal form. (Ontology 38)

Probably because of the Eagle's relationship with the Anishinaabe, it is not an uncommon that an Eagle can be seen flying overhead at a powwow. The Eagle as the messenger of Creator, or as Creator himself disguised, is considered a great blessing for the powwow. Smith shares a story about Angus Pontiac-Iban, a highly respected Medicine Man and Anishinaabe Elder:

> I remember Angus Pontiac telling me how, whenever he gave the invocation at a powwow, Eagles would fly overhead. The Eagle, as a messenger of Kitche Manitou, thus acted in response to the plea of the human for a blessing upon his actions. Pontiac saw this occurrence as a willful, consistent, and propitious act on the part of the birds, and it indicated a great deal about the interconnecting relationships between humans, animals, and the Great Spirit. It showed not only that Kitche Manitou looked with favor upon the dance but that the dancers as they moved under the eyes of the Eagles, must perform with care and grace. When he finished his description, Pontiac said, in effect, that non-Natives saw this event differently, with a simplicity and narrowness that robbed the occurrence of its meaning. "When I mention these things," he said, "the white people believe they have a word for everything. They say it's coincidence. (23)

I ask Cliff is he could tell us about the special relationship he has with the Drum.

Then the Pow Wows I was at, the big Drum, I could never understand what it was that drew me, but I heard my dad in my one song. Heard my dad! I still hear it today. Sometimes you hear it on the Pow Wow Trail, and I'll whistle or fan that Drum, but it was my father. He was a drummer. He was a singer. He's from Saskatchewan. And to me that was huge. I met my dad for the first time when I was 16. See, I'm a res(idential) school survivor, and the school I went to was just Brandon, Manitoba.

And I want to say this. Yeah, I went to residential school. I got a scar on my hand here, and that strap was coming down, turned on edge, and it cut me wide open. I was 10 years old. So I'm 72 now. This scar has always been with me throughout my life, so it's a constant reminder of where I come from.

See, what a lot of people don't understand is the trauma. I mean, it could be anything, just a cough could be a trigger. Maybe a child screams like we just heard, could be a trigger. And that's what it's like for me. The trauma. It doesn't have the same intensity, but it's there. The trigger's there. And today, I'm healed.[41]

5.9 What it Means to Whistle or Fan a Drum

During certain times at a powwow a Traditional Male Dancer may blow an Eagle Bone Whistle or he or a Traditional Woman may "fan," a Drum with an Eagle Feathered Fan. In both instances, the song is extended for an additional four push-ups, and a ceremony begins.

I was taught that the sound of the whistle stops the rotation of the earth and calls the attention of the Creator and the Spirits. The Traditional Male Dancers form two lines extending from either side of that particular Drum, extending across the Arena to the outer edge to make a clear a pathway to the Drum. Called the Smoke Trail, this path is open for Spirits to come dance to the Drum. Male Traditional Dancers take turns dancing in the Smoke Trail and approaching the Drum. While the men are performing their part, Traditional Female Dancers form a row of protection behind the men along the Smoke Trail. The women dance in place forming a barrier, making sure no one crosses the Smoke Trail or otherwise interrupts the ceremony until the men

[41] Cliff Standingready. Personal communication. Hiawatha First Nation Powwow. 19 May 2019.

are finished and the dancing resumes around the Arena as usual. Afterward, the person who whistled or fanned may speak to the participants and audience about why they did so, and then they offer a gift, usually food, beverages, honoraria, and tobacco, to the Drum and Singers for the additional push-ups. Cliff tells us a story about his experience dancing in the Smoke Trail:

> *Last year at Scugog Pow Wow, I whistled Big Train [Drum]. And I call it their signature song; I hear my dad in that song. And when I went in and made the rounds, dancing now, and I look, and there's this huge Indian beside me. I never saw him before. HUGE Indian beside me! When he turned his head, I caught my dad's profile. He's been gone [deceased] 30-something years now.*
>
> *The fourth round, the fourth push-up [of the extended song] he [the HUGE Indian] started dancing and danced all the way around [motioning clockwise around the circle created by the Smoke Trail dancers], and he danced out the West side [of the circle]. He was just gone! [vanished] He took off! Ho! And my friend, Tim, he said, "What, was that?" I mean, I got tears. Dad was there and come to help me. Whoa! Yeah, that's what's happening, you're talking that emotion![42]*

If we remember Brian's teaching about the linguistic connection of smoke and powwow, we can truly understand how Cliff met his father in the Arena. As Cliff danced, he "kicked up the sands" sending prayers and intention in that liminal place, the powwow Arena. In the Arena he was in between the physical and spiritual realm, *bwaadang*: the dream land, where we exist with and encounter other Spirits. Messages carried as smoke allowed the Spirit of Cliff's father to be heard through the song. As Cliff heard his father and whistled the Drum, he started a Smoke Trail ceremony, during which his father was present and seen dancing with him in the Arena. As Cliff tells us that another person saw his father in the Arena, we know that it is indeed an actual liminal place where other people, too, can encounter the Spirits present. If we pause to think about the ceremony that creates the pathway for Spirits being called the "Smoke Trail," it is somewhat curious that powwow people know the name and protocol for what happens after a

[42] Cliff Standingready. Personal communication. Hiawatha First Nation Powwow.19 May 2019.

whistle, but they have lost the true meaning and connection to what is actually happing through "Smoke" according to the language.

Cliff shared a similar experience from another powwow:

> *I was at Midland [Ontario] at feast time [supper break between the afternoon and evening powwow sessions], and this Drum came in from Minnesota. They get there, they're doing their warm-up [song]. And while we're feasting, they're doing this warm-up. And I heard my dad in that song. I put stuff down. Even when they were warming up, I went and fanned that Drum. They did it four times [sang the additional four push-ups].*
>
> *And then the lead singer, he come and asked me, "Why did you do that? We were warming up."*
>
> *I said, "I heard my dad in that song."*
>
> *Watch this… He said, "Who, GoChuck?"*
>
> *That's my dad's nickname! Oh! Right there! "Ha!" I said, "Yeah, GoChuck, yeah!"*
>
> *He said, "Now that's his song."*
>
> *That's not coincidence, not coincidence!*[43]

From Hallowell's conversations with Ojibwe informants, he tells us that:

> …according to Ojibwe dogma it is a soul that is present, even to them it is always an identifiable self – *pawáganak* or ghost – that speaks. For them *òtcatcákwin* defines the conceptual substratum of beings with self-awareness and other related attributes (speech, memory, volition, etc.) that we associate only with a stabilized anthropomorphic structure. ("Self" 180)

From an Anishinaabe perspective, speech is not simply the outward expression of mental activity or the outer transmission of information or inner thoughts. Of voice being one form or embodiment of Spirit, Ingold says it is "one of the ways in which the self manifests in the world… it is a way of being alive" (104). Hallowell tells us that "…The only sensory mode under which it is possible to directly perceive the presence of souls of any category, and then under certain conditions only, is the auditory one" ("Self" 180).

[43] Cliff Standingready. Personal communication. Hiawatha First Nation Powwow. 19 May 2019.

Cliff continued his story:

> *And certain times when certain songs bring the tears. I remember my dad and my uncle. My dad's from Saskatchewan. Those are Lakota people here. They come to me through song, and they leave through song. That song this afternoon, they sang that song ragged, not professional like my dad would do it, that kind of thing. And I fanned that Drum this afternoon. I'm more afraid to do it.*
>
> *So anyway, my hip is killing me. Got injury. And my foot has got injury, so I can't. I fanned the Drum this afternoon. I nearly fell over. Just couldn't. Every time I did this, I couldn't get that second step. Over here now, I couldn't get that second step. My hip is just rocking me all over the place. So I thought, maybe I'm going to sit down, shut the hell up.*
>
> *Then everybody else comes here. Boy, I'll tell you, just my Spirit is reviving, because I've been looking after my wife [who has been quite ill] It just draws a lot [of energy taking care of her]. So I'm here at the powwow looking to heal.*
>
> *Yeah, and I could feel it happening. All my friends that I know just come give me hugs and stuff. "Hey, good to see you," that kind of stuff. And you come and give me a hug. "Good to see you." Boy, I'll tell you, that means a lot to me and just my identity. Standing Buffalo Warrior, he needs that. He needs to be held, to be given that honor. Oh, I see that's honor.*[44]

We thank Cliff for sharing his story. From the last part of Cliff's story, we hear him express the healing properties and rejuvenation he received from being accepted, needed, and greeted by the community. Cliff also gives us insight into the social function of powwow.

5.10 Chicken Dance

The story of the Chicken Dance originates from the prairies. A hunter who was desperate to feed his family killed a male Prairie Chicken who was engaged in an elaborate courtship dance trying to impress a hen. That night, the Prairie Chicken came to the hunter in a dream and asked why he had taken his life while he was in the middle of a courtship ceremony. The hunter replied

[44] Cliff Standingready. Personal communication. Hiawatha First Nation Powwow. 19 May 2019.

that his family was hungry and they desperately needed his meat. The Prairie Chicken sympathized with the hunter and forgave him for taking his life. But the Prairie Chicken told the hunter he must honour his memory and sacrifice, and then he taught the hunter a special dance.

In Ontario, the Chicken Dance is not a very common style, and if there are only a couple of Chicken Dancers present, they may participate when the Grass Dancers are called for their exhibition. Chicken Dancers wear a small, dense Bustle on their lower backs and often have long pheasant tail feathers with fluffs on the ends on top of their roach instead of Eagle Feathers. They may carry a mirror that they gaze into while they dance, as a play on the preening and vanity in the Prairie Chicken's courtship ritual. Chicken Dance is entertaining to watch as the dancers shuffle their feet and strut around dancing to the Drum. Sometimes during an exhibition Chicken Dancers will perform sparing exaggerations with each other "fighting it out" through dance.

Figure 26: Jason White Bear

5.11 Jason White Bear – Chicken Dance

On our walk around the powwow grounds, we meet Jason White Bear, (Figure 26)[45] who is Bear Clan and Cree from White Bear Saskatchewan. He is one of the most talented Chicken Dancers I have ever seen and it will be an honour and privilege to watch him dance. After we greet each other and I introduce you, we offer Jason a bit of tobacco and ask him if he will tell us how he started Chicken Dancing. Jason is happy to share with us:

When I was 9 turning 10 years old, I had my right foot crushed from a door at our [ice] rink. It has since then been reconstructed with titanium rods and a prosthetic ankle and arch. It took me years and years to learn how to walk all over again, let alone dance. I never let it stop me, in fact, it has been my driving force [and] it has pushed [me] to succeed past my own limitations. I think about

[45] Photograph of Jason White Bear by Remington John, used with permission.

> *this when I dance: " I wasn't supposed to walk; and here I am dancing for the people.*
>
> *I had a vision while fasting one year where a small [prairie] chicken came to visit me; it spent all day walking around strutting. I kept asking, "do you have a message for me?" Little did I know that WAS the MESSAGE. Nine years from that day I could not get rid of this hop in my dance; {as} I was dancing traditional at the time. I stopped and walked off the dance floor (at a powwow).*
>
> *My dad asked, "What's wrong?"*
>
> *I said, "Nothing. I think I am going to dance Chicken."*
>
> *"OK," he said, "just go out there and have fun."*
>
> *Since that day I have danced all over North America and I have never felt more natural doing anything else.*[46]

We thank Jason for sharing his story. While Jason was Fasting, he was in a ceremonial, liminal place where he could communicate with Spirit and receive their messages. As previously mentioned, there is a recognizable difference between when an insect or animal is being themselves and when they are a Spirit in disguise. If Jason were not Fasting, it would have definitely been unusual for a prairie chicken to spend the day strutting around a human being. Angel reminds us that "manidoog or Spirits usually took the outer form of animals rather than humans" (21). From conversations with Brian, I have come to understand that certain animals are related to the Thunder Beings because of the sounds they make, one family of them being the Grouse (Partridge) and the related Prairie Chicken. The Prairie Chicken is symbolic of the Thunder Beings because of the thumping sound he makes. It is possible that it was a tremendously powerful Thunder Being in the disguise of a Prairie Chicken who was spending time with Jason and teaching him on his Fast.

While I was writing my dissertation, I messaged Jason through social media to ask a question. I sent an image of traditional tobacco and half teasingly asked if he would accept my cyber asemaa to answer my question, which he did. Chicken Dancers sometimes carry a mirror on one side of a decorative piece of wood, and from time to time when they dance, they will flip that mirror up and look at themselves. From the origin of the Chicken Dance story, I figured that the dancers look in the mirror following the story, to check himself out and makes sure he looks

[46] Jason White Bear. Facebook Post. 16 February 2019. Permission for use given 28 December 2019.

handsome in order to attract a mate. But the question that had really been on my mind was whether in his experience, if he ever flipped up his mirror and seen someone look back at him that was not his own reflection, like a Spirit or an Ancestor. Jason responded:

> *When I have my Regalia on, that is what I look like on the inside. Some people don't recognize me without it on. So, in a way, when I flip my mirror, it is my inner Spirit looking back at me; my gift is reflected in the mirror.*[47]

Jason's response immediately brought to mind Bernard Nelson, the Men's Traditional Dancer we just met. Bernard in his buffalo Medicine Hat with horns, the way he paints his face, and that he wears yellow contact lenses as part of his Regalia, can feel quite intimidating. For years I have seen Bernard exude a powerful and overwhelming presence in Regalia; however in regular street clothes, he is unrecognizable as the same person. I know Bernard to be a kind man, even though I feel fairly intimidated by his presence in his Regalia. When I contemplated my reaction to Bernard previously, it had occurred to me that when Bernard is dressed in Regalia, I *am* actually seeing Spirit. Thinking about my reaction to Bernard, I shared my experience of feeling slightly intimidated by some dancers in Regalia with Jason. Referring to seeing dancers in Regalia as Spirit, Jason replied almost matter-of-factly, "Yes, they [Spirits] look fierce sometimes."[48] But then Jason reminded me that when I am dressed in my dance Regalia "that is what you look like on the inside."[49]

Bernard is not the only dancer in Regalia around whom I experience a shift in energy, so I asked my Spirit and my body what was happening. When I brought these feelings into my Spirit so I could hold them and learn from them, I realized that it is in my solar plexus where these sensations originate. This area of the body is also where our intuition lies. As I felt the question with my body and nidisi'ewin (the voice of my Spirit) I understood that what I was experiencing when I saw these dancers wasn't intimidation at all, but rather, as Jason said, I *was* recognizing their transformed appearance as Spirit Beings. As human beings, we feel hunger or our stomach growls when our physical bodies need nourishment. It is a similar principle, that when my Spirit recognizes the transformation (enhancement) of other Spirits, my body responds

[47] Jason White Bear. Personal communication. 29 December 2019.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.

with a physical signal; my feeling wasn't of actual intimidation, but rather the physical signal of Spirit recognition in my body.

The Emcee booms, "20 minutes 'till Grand Entry! It's going to be a hot one today! Please stay hydrated, drink lots of water, and check on your little ones and elders, make sure they are drinking water today, too!

Hey, what do you get when you cross a Chickasaw, a Potawatomi, and a Paiute? A Chick -en Pot Pie! Eyyyyy! OK… The Arena Director and I are still looking for those two lost black coffees…"

5.12 Grass Dance

Figure 27: Grass Dancer

The Grass Dance (Figure 27)[50] is an ancient style with various origin stories, but one common thread says the Grass Dance comes from a Warrior Society. These Warriors would tie grass around their heads and various parts of their bodies to blend in with the long prairie grasses. They were, in fact, the snipers of the society, and so camouflaged, they were able to sneak up on the buffalo or enemies. Another story says that Grass Dancers were young men who were sent out into the prairie to smooth the long grasses to prepare an area for ceremony. Their flowing dance movements are reminiscent of those young dancers bending the long grass down gently, being careful not to break it, and then patting it down to stay in place. The dancers would wear bells or other noise making instruments so that the relatives who lived in the grass, like animals, birds, and snakes, would hear them coming and move along unharmed. As warriors, they would have been honoured customarily by being the first ones asked to dance in

[50] Matthews, Derek. [Grass Dancer]. *Crazy Crow*. www.crazycrow.com/site/photo-galleries/powwow-dance-style-galleries/native-american-mens-grass-dancing-gallery/

the Arena. Any of these stories naturally support the custom of inviting Grass Dancers into the Arena before the powwow starts so they can prepare the Arena physically, symbolically, and spiritually.

Grass Dance Regalia is recognizable by the many long flowing strands of yarn or ribbon attached to the dancer's apron, knees, and yolk or shirt. Sometimes Grass Dancers wear Eagle fluffs suspended with piano wire in their roaches so that the plumes float above their heads symbolic of clouds. A Grass Dancer's beadwork might include beaded loops around his eyes that are attached with his headband, wrist cuffs, arm bands, moccasins, belt, and a harness that hangs from around their neck to about their knees and attaches at the waist with the belt.

5.13 River White – Grass Dancer

As we are making our way back to our seats to prepare for Grand Entry, we encounter a young adult Grass Dancer, River White, who is Bear Clan from the Oneida Nation of the Thames. After accepting our tobacco, River tells us his story.

I started dancing basically as soon as I could walk. My parents started me off as soon as possible because our family's a very big pow wow family. A lot of what we do at pow wow is dancing for people, things like that, because our people are the medicine holders.

So, I started out as a Grass Dancer, originally an Old-Style Grass Dancer because I was taught from my uncle. Then, I went to Fancy Dancing. I also Hoop Dance, which was taught to me by my grandfather. And then, now I'm back to Grass Dancing, and I switch between contemporary and old-style.

I went back to Grass Dancing because it's always drawn me to towards it. Since I was younger, I've always wanted to dance Grass. And even when I was dancing Fancy, I still as much as possible danced Grass Dance because it's just a style that I'm very comfortable with. And it's a style that I've known for as long as I can remember.

A lot of it was the peace that I feel when I'm dancing the style. I'm not thinking of anything in general. It's a clear mind, and it's a really wonderful feeling. Especially within your Spirit when you're not worrying about anything

> *like getting foot work proper, stuff like that, you're just working on relaxing, and you're just dancing.*[51]

I asked River to describe how it feels to dance when Grass Dancers are called to prepare the grounds by ceremoniously stomping down the grass in the Arena before Grand Entry. I also asked if he has been called to prepare the grounds on any other occasion outside powwow.

> *So that is probably one of my favorite experiences. I've been able to actually go out and do that. They had the Grass Dancers go out on Kettle Point Reserve, on Kettle and Stony Point. When they took back the army base, they actually sent Grass Dancers out to where they used to do powwows. And, we actually blessed that powwow ground 'cause they had us go out and flatten the grass like it traditionally happened.*
>
> *And that was probably one of the most exhilarating and calmest moments that I've had while dancing, because you have that energy that's coming out of the ground that's being released from all the [military] use of the grounds; all the neglect of traditional and spiritual teachings and everything that had gone on there [from] when it was taken over.*[52]

I asked River if he felt like the ground was speaking to the Grass Dancers when they were dancing.

> *Yeah, and that happens a lot actually. One of the things that I've always been able pick up on is energy. And one thing that has always been with the Grass Dance is that I feel like because you're not focused on anything in general, you're able to feel the energy a lot more, and it speaks to you. You can tell when people are hurting, you can tell when people are okay, things like that.*
>
> *And it's also the same way when I'm Hoop Dancing, which is why I really like Hoop Dancing as well, is because you're allowed to help people. And that's one of the things that is really big with me, is I really like helping other people.*
>
> *So actually this dance Regalia (Grass) was given to me by a close friend of the family. But a lot of my other Regalias were personally made by me and my*

[51] River White. Personal communication. Bucktown Powwow. 2 September 2018.
[52] Ibid.

mother. I do my own beadwork with the help of my stepfather. We both sit down and we do the beadwork rows at a time. They take quite a bit of time but it's a really nice feeling when you finally have it done and you're able to dance with it. When I'm beading, I'm thinking about what I'm going to be doing in the future with it [the beaded piece] because I don't like making things without a purpose. Because as I was traditionally taught, everything that we use has a Spirit, and if you don't give that Spirit a purpose when you're making it or something with it, then it's going to be lost. So I've always been taught that if you're going to make something like Regalia you should always have a purpose for it.

I feel like everything that you use to make something is just a piece of it [of the whole outfit/beadwork]. So the final product is never going to be the same as any other Spirit because you're going to be making it using different things. So it's almost like how we're made, we all have different interests and things that we do that are different from other people. It's the same thing with Regalia, stuff like that, every Regalia's gonna be different because it's made using different materials, things like that.

This Regalia actually has a lot of meaning to me, especially this Fan. This Fan was an Eagle Fan given to me by my brother. What had happened was, this originally was my brother's friend's Fan and then he [the friend] ended up taking his [own life, and [then] it [the Fan] was given to my brother. And what had happened was I had gone through a rough time because my grandfather had been shot and killed and he [River's brother] gifted me this Fan and asked it to help me get through the hard time and keep me safe. And it's something that I've danced with every single time I can. And I do smudging in the morning with it, things like that, because it's been given a task and if it's just left somewhere then it can't really do its task.

How I take care of the Spirit in my outfit is whenever I'm done at a powwow, I always make sure that I smudge my outfit. Get rid of any energy that's not supposed to be there, so any negative energy, things like that, take it out of my outfit because everyone at times has negative energy. Like if you don't win a competition or something and you get upset. And just smudging the outfit is a good way to let it go, and it makes it so that when you come back to dancing you're not going to feel that same [negative] way again.

So that's one way, and then I also make sure to Feast it at least once a year. A lot of times I do it every equinox. I Feast the Spirit in my Regalia and in

> *my Eagle Feathers and that's to make sure that they're well fed and they're well prepared to keep me safe and keep me going as well as I can.*[53]

We thank River for sharing his story. River begins by telling us about his experience dancing when the Grass Dancers are called out to "bless" or prepare the grounds. Much like the Beginning Before the Beginning of the Anishinaabe Creation Story, the Grass Dancers are performing a "Ceremony before the Ceremony" as they focus their intention and communicate with the Earth to prepare it for the powwow. Perhaps the Grass Dancers clearing the grounds are the first step in the creation of that liminal powwow space.

We hear River describe creating Regalia and beadwork with intention so that the Spirit will have a purpose. He shares the process of beading with his step-father and family, and the "*nice*" feeling of wearing finished beadwork and dancing after the many hours he spent making the piece. Similar to Shannon Gustafson's story and the experience you and I had, River is spending quality time bonding trough beading with his step-father and family.

I hope you were able to catch the story about how the Eagle Feather Fan traveled to River. We can understand and follow that the Fan's purpose is to help people heal from tragic experience. Perhaps the Spirit of his brother's friend is helping the Fan travel on to where it is needed. The Fan was given to River's brother after his friend committed suicide, which probably brought with it some peace and healing. When River was struggling with the murder of his grandfather, his brother "*gifted me this Fan and asked it to help me get through the hard time and keep me safe*." River dances with it, and smudges with it almost every day so that it can continue to fulfil its charge.

River describes Feasting his Regalia, much like I described in an earlier chapter, Feasting sacred items or Spirits involves preparing a Spirit Plate and making an offering. He describes smudging his outfit to take off any negative energy, and by feeding his Regalia and Eagle Feathers, he is taking care of them and offering them a gift of food in return for they care for him.

[53] River White. Personal communication. Bucktown Powwow. 2 September 2018.

5.14 Patricia Watts – Women's Traditional and Jingle Dress Dancer

On our walk through the grounds, we meet Patricia Watts (Moki Makwa Kwe) who is Anishinaabe Kwe, Bear Clan, and a Water Protector from Wabigoon Lake First Nation. Patricia is currently a Jingle Dress Dancer although I have known her over the years as a Traditional Dancer . Pat has accepted our tobacco and agrees to share her story with us. I start off by asking Pat how she began dancing and if she would tell us about her Regalia.

Figure 28: Patricia Watts in Traditional Regalia

Dancing Women's Traditional (Figure 28)[54] *was a good way to begin my journey, to learn about powwows, learn about how to dance, the meaning behind the dress, and just the beginning of finding who I am and my identity, because I'm a Sixties Scoop survivor, so I spent many years in that other world, that White world, and didn't know anything about powwows, dancing, or anything like that.*

So I just watched the other Women's Traditional and I learned from them, and then I grew from my very first Regalia that I made. I was just beginning on that trail so there's a lot of learning and mistakes made. But it was a beginning and then came my second one [outfit] which, again, with my learning with my teachings of the dress, the dance style, then I made another one and then came an opportunity because I wanted a [deer] hide one. I wanted those fringes. I wanted to be able to sweep that ground like we do in the teaching of that dress, and all that it meant for me as being that Women's Traditional and finding my identity, finding out who I was as Anishinaabe Kwe. But once I had the hide one made, like I said, it came from in here [motioning to her heart] and that's what I needed. I needed to wear that hide, I needed to wear from that four-legged, and to be able to sway and dance.[55]

[54] Photograph by Kim Muskrat, used with permission.
[55] Patricia Watts. Personal communication. Mississaugas of New Credit Powwow. 25 August 2018.

I asked Pat and if she had noticed any changes wearing the hide dress and also asked if she could describe how the hide Regalia felt.

So, the whole feeling, I think it really brought my Spirit alive once I wore that hide [dress], and I kept adding more [designs]and then I got into beading also. So then I'm beading right on the hide, and I'm making more additions to my Regalia so it's just more and more power I think that I had when I was out there, as that Women's Traditional, and all that it means. My Spirit grew, and the feeling of that Drum when you're dancing out there as that Women's Traditional, the honor to be out there with those other women too.

But I also found that I had so much energy, it's like I really wanted to go a little faster, and the thing is that with Women's Traditional we dance very slow. Our moccasins just barely just touch that ground, that Mother [Earth], right? and I just wanted to go [dance faster]. I danced in my hide [dress] for quite a few years until I had my vision to become a Jingle Dress Dancer.

So it was all a growing and also healing, because that was a transition for me where I had to heal, I had a lot to heal from. I had a lot to let go so that [hide dress] also helped with that. I think that's why as I grew with that Women's Traditional, this is how I came to that part there where, yes, I was given that vision, okay it's time to go from this [Traditional] to where you really need to be, and that was Jingle.

It was my grandmother that came to me [in a vision], that told me, Pat you need to be Jingle; because my family, my history is my mother was a Jingle Dress Dancer. My grandmother was a Medicine Woman, my great-grandmother was a Medicine Woman. When my grandmother did the ceremonies and did the healing, back in the day, it was done way, way back in the bush because it wasn't allowed. So my grandmother would do the healing, and my mother would do the Jingle Dress Dance while the ceremony was going on.

So it was like in the vision I was kind of told I need to carry that on from my family, but I also needed to do it for me. I needed to do it for my own family, my children, my grandchildren, for so many people that I'd met on the trail; I hear them, we need prayers. I watched the Jingle Dress Dancers and it's like I want to do that someday, so when I received that vision and had that vision, and then I saw how it [the Jingle Dress] was going to be, the way I wanted it to be, these [indicating the two "V" patterns on her dress] were very significant right? Because that's that energy coming up from Mother Earth, it's feeding me to go out there and do what I had to do as a Jingle Dress Dancer.

So once I'd had the vision, I told other people, and it's like okay, well this is now what you need to do, you need to go and Fast, you need to go and Sweat [Sweat Lodge Ceremony], you need to go and talk to the other Jingle Dress Dancers, go talk to the Elders about the dress. What does it mean, how you carry yourself, how you dance. So my girlfriend and I got all the materials together and I made my first one.

Tears, many tears shed making it [Jingle Dress] because I put so much into that dress, and it gave so much back. There, I don't want to carry [those burdens] anymore. So, putting those Jingles on and making that Dress helped let it go, and let it go… Bit by bit, because there was so much [hurt/emotion] there, and yeah, so that was the first one.

I danced with that [Jingle Dress] for a year. At the end of that season I met a man, an Elder, who told me about the shells, and about how before the Jingle came there were hooves, and there were Miigis Shells; I was given teachings on how to dance that shell dress. That you dance from one Direction on those honor beats, and then you dance to the next Direction, dance those honor beats and then you keep going around for those four rounds [of the song]. So my Shell one [Dress] is for that Old Style of Jingle.

Figure 29: Patricia Watts in Jingle Dress Regalia

This one now [indicating the red Jingle Dress she is wearing (Figure 29)[56]], I was going through a very hard time, my mom knew it. My mom called me late at night, saying that she had just woken up from a vision. My grandmother talked to her saying, "Tell Pat I love the Shell Dress, but she needs to wear Jingles. She needs to honor that vision of where it [the Jingle Dress] came from, which is our territory, and to dance that Jingle just like mom did and carry it on." And she saw that it [the Jingle Dress Pat needed to make] was red. So, like I said, I was going through a really rough time, I had been gifted a Pipe so I started beading again. I made my Pipe bag, finished it, and then was like, okay, now I'm ready and I started making this one [the red Jingle Dress she was wearing].

[56] Photograph by Kim Muskrat, used with permission.

This one [Jingle Dress] is... I don't know whether the word is power, but it's just… maybe it is [power]; there is so much in this Dress. Why I joined the two of them together [showing two how her Jingle are attached in pairs] is because one is for me, for my Spirit, and the other is for the Spirit of my family, because they are out there [in the Arena] with me every time I dance. I feel them. And I would dance with that one beautiful long golden Eagle Feather that I was gifted, and the power that I felt. So now I have a Fan, and when I do that healing dance, I feel myself pushing those prayers up to the Creator [motioning in the way Jingle dancers wave their fans on the honour beats of the songs].

Of all the things that I dance for, it's not just my family, my children. I dance for my community. I dance for so many of my friends that I know that are ill. I dance for those that I know that are unable to dance. I dance for all those ones that are addicted to drugs and alcohol. I dance for my mother; I dance for our water. I take it in here [touching her heart] and I feel it, especially if there's somebody that's close that I know that's either passed or they're ill. I really feel it out there [in the dance Arena], and I'm hoping that my prayers are carried up and He [Creator] hears them, and He [Creator] answers them. So, it's a very sacred dance. It's a very healing dance. They say that we don't go out there [into the Arena], we don't dance for ourselves but at the same time I know dancing is helping me, but my focus is on so many other things and so many other people that need them [healing prayers].

Yeah, first of all, my teaching, from what I've heard, from what I've read, from the Elders I talk to, we don't do a lot of fancy footwork. We don't spin around. You don't turn your back around with a Jingle [Dress]. I do just straight dancing but I weave in and out [indicating in a snake like motion moving forward around the Arena]. The reason why I do that is because I want to cover a big area of that dance area, picking up those prayers, picking up that good energy, and I feel it.

Sometimes I am guided to certain areas to someone who's just sitting there, and it's like I'll take my Fan or my [Eagle] Feather because I know they are praying in their mind. I'm taking that prayer, I'm taking the energy that they need, and I will dance for them, and I carry on. So it [the Jingle Dress] guides me, yes.

Come this Fall, all my sacred items and everything, yeah, it [Jingle Dress] has a Feast, and I will Fast also for it [the Jingle Dress]. I didn't make it to the

> *spring one [Fast], so I'm hoping, maybe, I'll make it to the Fall one. But yes, it [the Jingle Dress] needs to be fed.*[57]

Pat closed her story by offering words of support to other people who are still seeking:

> *To those that are still trying to find their way, maybe they haven't even found their way but there is hope. You can do this. I have come from where I was, all that I went through. To finding my mom, finding my family, finding my identity and going through the stages that I went through as the Women's Traditional, the different Regalias I had, to having that vision as Jingle, to where I am today.*
>
> *So to other Sixties Scoopers out there, even residential school survivors, I relate and it takes work, it's not easy and many tears are going to be shed, but with those tears let that healing (motioning something away), but you have to find that way in yourself to let it go. It can be done. You can do it. The biggest thing for me, the hardest thing for me, was that forgiveness for what they did, but I'm working on it and I'm doing all right, I know, and it's good. So even though that may have happened they've made me who I am today, the strong Kwe that sits here now. Right? And that my journey from where I've come, others can do the same, so if I can help out by sharing my story with other women, abusive relationships or maybe you were scooped or maybe you were in a residential school, you can do this. With help, with support but you can do it. Yeah, and find your identity, learn to love yourself and grow with that. Learn from that, heal from that.*[58]

Pat's story in one of transformation and procedural knowledge in action, which reminds us of the Anishinaabe adage that the journey is just as important if not more so, than the destination. Pat describes the process and sequence of her dance Regalias and reflects on how they relate to different stages of her life, learning, and reclaiming her identity. Through the acts of doing: making, beading, dancing, and wearing her Regalia, she actively healed her past traumas.

Pat says the need to transition from a cloth dress to wearing a hide dress came from her heart. She had a lot to heal from, and that particular deer hide dress helped her and, in her own

[57] Patricia Watts. Personal communication. Mississaugas of New Credit Powwow. 25 August 2018.
[58] Ibid.

words, "*brought my Spirit alive*." From the Deer and through wearing their hides we carry a teaching about care, gentleness, and protection; perhaps Spirit sent her the desire for a hide dress because they knew that the Deer Spirit would support and teach her. As she kept adding to her Regalia, she describes a growing feeling of power both in creating the outfit and dancing in the Arena. *"So my Spirit grew"* are Pat's own words that ultimately describe the transformation that took place as a result of dancing in deer hide Regalia with beadwork she herself created.

Pat continued on her personal healing journey and she describes a transition in her life where she was going through a difficult time and she was gifted a Pipe, after which she declares "*Now I am ready*." Pat interacts with her Grandmother through a vision, *bwaadang*: the dream land, where Spirits meet as smoke, and she receives knowledge about her family and the direction to become a Jingle Dancer. True to Anishinaabe cultural tradition, Pat responds to the responsibility of becoming a Jingle Dancer through participating in ceremony and by seeking knowledge from the Elders, dancers, and community. Through Pat's sacrifice and gift of herself through Fasting and attending Sweat Lodge ceremonies, she created and nurtured relationships with healing Spirits and Ancestors.

Pat's grandmother continues to interact with her daughter and granddaughter as an Ancestor with a continuing consciousness, relationship, deep love, and care for her family. In Spirit, her grandmother is able to visit in dreams. When Pat's grandmother told her mother through a vision "*Tell Pat I love the Shell Dress, but she needs to wear Jingles. She needs to honor that vision of where it [the Jingle Dress] came from, which is our territory,"* we are again hearing the original Jingle Dress instructions as acts of transfer from Spirit. Giving specific instructions about using Jingles instead of shells alludes to the specific sound vibration, *bashkii*, necessary to work in the Spirit World. Her Grandmother's gentle direction to use Jingle cones tells us that there are needs, desires, and preferences in the Spirit World. Pat's grandmother's directions demonstrate that our ancestors are always with us, they see what we are doing, and they will guide us with love. Pat is aware of her Ancestors as she told us, *"They are out there [in the Arena]with me every time I dance. I feel them."*

A relationship exists between Pat and her Regalia; and without explicitly stating it, she tells us she feels the Spirit, "*I don't know whether the word is power, but it's just… maybe it is [power]; there is so much in this dress."* The way Pat speaks about her Regalia reveals that she experiences their energy and that they actively participate with her in dancing and healing. Pat

actively cares for the Spirit of the Jingle Dress by feasting it yearly because it "needs to be fed." The gifting and reciprocity among Pat, the healing Spirit, dress, and the ancestors who come in dreams and visions like her grandmother are cyclical and continuous.

5.15 Ned Benson

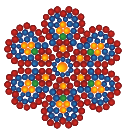
On our trip around the powwow grounds we meet Ned Benson, Deer Clan from Majikining First Nation (Rama) and he accepts our tobacco. Listen to Ned speak with great love for powwow and dancing as he shares his experience and thoughts:

….Being a dancer isn't something you have to psyche yourself up for as it's a feeling you get when the spirits are prepping you, like the training team for Rocky Balboa's big fight in the "Rocky" movies. Once the dance outfit box is opened, that's when the spirit feels set free and the eagle feathers are saying it's time to go to work. It's time to get inspired to inspire. There's people such as the visitors, and other dancers, vendors and singers who look forward to your presence. It's time to share the good life and celebrate the union and the love…. Keep my feathers secure with a once over inspection, and then the excitement of the day is still yet to come. Rain or shine we look froward to the day with whatever it brings…. Being in dance Regalia feels like the old days and old ways come back. Where when a good song comes on you really don't know or even care who is watching you perform. The spirits make me do things on the dance floor I didn't know I was capable of doing. In this thinking, it's like I'm just a body and the spirits take over when an awesome song is drummed. There isn't anything more gratifying than when your ancestors visit and talk to you on the dance floor.

Even the observer becomes more aware and comfortable knowing that a pow wow is the safest place on earth and they too display that on the dance floor during intertribals. As a dancer, I keep encouraging them to feel the process and to give thanx for that. The smiles, the laughter, and the love is what makes me go every weekend…[59]

We thank Ned for sharing his story.

[59] Ned Benson. Facebook Post. 30 July 2020. Permission for use granted 31 July 2020



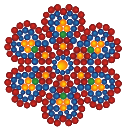
As we continue to walk around the powwow grounds discussing what our friends have shared with us, we wander over to one of the food booths. I highly recommend you try an Indian Taco, a fluffy pillow of fried dough topped with all the taco fixings: seasoned ground beef, beans, lettuce, tomato, onion, cheese, sour cream, and hot sauce… Yum! Of course, the vendors make the tacos fresh, and they can be customized to your liking. No powwow food venture is complete without a "strawberry drink" a cool, refreshing beverage made with crushed strawberries and maple syrup. As we are looking at the menu and discussing powwow delicacies, I feel a nudge on my shoulder. I turn around to see Brian Outinen in line behind us and he greets us with a flashing smile and a hearty "Aanii!" We tell him that we have been discussing his teaching on smoke and dreaming, powwow, and also share a bit about the dancers and friends we met on our walk around the grounds. We all place our orders, including the two black coffees and extra fry breads with cinnamon and sugar for the Emcee and Arena Director.

The sound of Drums singing warm up songs fills the air. Greg's voice cuts in over the speakers "Ten minutes 'till Grand Entry! Wiiwiiptan! (Hurry!) Dancers, make your way to the Eastern Door. Flag Carriers and Head Dancers are already in position and raring to go!..."

We invite Brian to join us at our seats. As we pass by the speaker stand, we deliver the "lost" coffees along with the extras to a very happy and surprised Emcee and Arena Director.

Chapter 6

Now Entering the Arena…



The aroma of sage drifts through the air and the Emcee calls the Grass Dancers to prepare the grounds with a ceremonious dance. Eagle Staff and Flag Carriers line-up at attention across the Eastern Door. Once the Grass Dancers have finished, the Emcee addresses the audience:

"Grand Entry Time! Everyone please rise, gentlemen remove your hats unless you have an eagle feather attached to them. No pictures at this time, just remember this in your heart. At this time, I draw your attention to the Eastern Door! Host Drum, take it away with a gooood Grand Entry song!"

The Host Drum sings the first push-up in honour of the Earth and in order to make way for the Spirits and our Ancestors to enter the Arena to dance and lead us in the festivities . With the beginning of the second push-up, the Eagle Staffs, Head Veteran, and Flag Carriers dance into the Arena. Following in order are the Head Elders, visiting and honoured dignitaries, and then the Head Male and Head Female dancers.

On either side of the Eastern Doorway someone is offering a bowl of loose tobacco or a basket with tobacco ties to participants and dancers as they prepare to enter the Arena. They each take a pinch or a tie before entering the Arena. Tobacco is offered as part of spiritual protocol; it is a gift from the powwow committee asking the dancers to share their talent with the gathering, wishing them good thoughts, and also thanking them for coming. Tobacco provides the dancers with a way to offer prayers of thanks to the Earth and Creation for a good day and a good life. Some dancers dance with the tobacco, eventually scattering it in the Arena as an offering, others may carry it for a while then offer it through the Sacred Fire.

Outside of the Arena in the area behind the Eastern Door the Arena Director orders how the dancers enter the Arena by calling out the categories and age groups to enter in procession. "Men's Traditional! Line up!" Conversations between dancers begin to dissipate as participants arrange themselves to enter with their category and according to age group. As the Arena Director prepares the dancers to enter, the Emcee introduces each style by announcing "Now entering the Arena…."

Figure 30: Grand Entry

6.1 Grand Entry

The Grand Entry (Figure 30)[60] procession marks the official "opening" of the powwow festivities after which the singing and dancing will take place for a couple of hours. Grand Entry takes place for each session. For example, a powwow might start at noon on Saturday with a Grand Entry, go until about 5:00 p.m. then there will be a two-hour break for a community Feast. The evening session will start with another Grand Entry at 7:00 p.m. There might be sessions on Friday evening or Sunday afternoon, each of which would commence with Grand Entry. Although the Grand Entry order may change with traditions or focus of various communities, the order generally starts with the Elder dancers entering first by category, then the adults, then the youth, and last, the children. The order is usually Golden Age Men's Traditional, followed by Golden Age Women's Traditional, next is Golden Age Men's Grass Dance followed by Golden Age Women's Jingle. Because of the athleticism required to dance the Fancy styles, there are rarely any Golden Age Men's Fancy (Bustle) or Women's Fancy (Shawl), but sometimes those elders surprise us, and if there were any in attendance, they would enter here with their age category. After the Elders would come the adults in order: Men's Traditional, Women's Traditional, Men's Grass, Women's Jingle, Men's Fancy (Bustle), and Women's Fancy (Shawl).

[60] Photograph by Raymond Hillegas. "Native American dancers circle the arena during the grand entry." 26 June 2017.

The remaining age groups: Teen, Youth, and Children, would enter the Arena by category following the same order.

Chris Pheasant a well-loved and respected powwow Emcee tells us about the smudge and tobacco protocols before the dancers enter the Arena:

> *…That's why we do smudge with the sage, which is connected to the here and now, the present. You do that because ... That's why we say, when you come into that circle, there's no politics, there's no religion, we are all one. That's that focal point, that's why you see them smudging. When they do the Grand Entry, that's why you're given tobacco. You come in there, because you're coming to dance for life. You're coming to dance for the songs that are being sung. You're coming together to celebrate the gift of life, Bimaadziwin. And we dance in a certain way, we move forward. We go forward because we want to go home to see our ancestors, because that's where we came from.*[61]

As we watch the dancers enter the Arena, we have an enhanced perspective as we watch in particular the dancers we previously met. They gave us insight into their dreams, conversations with Ancestors and Spirits, and intentions made visible in their Regalia. See how each dancer is dancing their story, reclaiming identity, overcoming abuse and effects of colonization, and carrying on the legacy of their families and communities. Each piece of Regalia caries their story as visible time and memory in the item's creation and the all the hands who have touched it in some way through its journey: friends, family, Ancestors and Spirit. Be aware of those you may or may not see like Spirits, the Directions, Ancestors, and Little People. If you see an Eagle over the Arena, observe and ask yourself if that eagle appears to be acting like an eagle, or is that Eagle something greater?

In our role as spectators watching the Grand Entry, we are watching history, resilience, identity, world view, Spirit, past, present, and future all happening individually, collectively, and at the same time. If you remember the reasons dancers shared with us about why they dance, not one centered pleasing the audience. Observing the difference in the how participants and spectators experience powwow, Browner says,

[61] Chris Pheasant. Personal communication. Rama Powwow 26 August 2018.

> "It often seems as if Indian participants move in a reality set off from non-Indian observers who tend to perceive pow-wow as a combination carnival and sporting event… These differing sensibilities enable Indians to perform dances that, although in a commercial setting, have profound spiritual meaning for them" (35).

6.2 Welcoming, Prayer, Introductions, Veteran's Song, Intertribals

After all the dancers have entered the Arena, the Drum will finish the Grand Entry Song. The dancers will then clear space while still remaining present by forming a circle around the outside of the Arena. The next song sung is the "Flag Song" which is an honour song for the colours and Eagles Staffs present. Flags present usually include the Canadian and American Flags, the Warrior Flag, and a variety of flags representing First Nation communities, service organizations, branches of the military, veteran societies, and LGBTQ2S flags (Figure 31).[62] Sometimes a whole colour guard in uniform is part of the Grand Entry, other times it is done by

Figure 31: Eagle Staff and Flag Carriers

[62] Photograph by Ivy Vainio. "Veterans honored during the Mash-ka-Wisen Sobriety Powwow in August 2014."

veterans and community members. After the Flag Song, welcoming announcements will be followed by an invocation from the Head Elder. After the invocation, the Emcee will introduce the Eagle Staff and Flag Carriers who will circle the Arena with their colours before posting their staff or flag for the day. Next the Emcee will introduce the Head Dancers, Arena Director, and visiting royalty or dignitaries.

Once the introductions are made and the colours are posted, the next song traditionally sung is the Veterans Song where all the veterans, Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike are invited into the Arena to dance a special houour song for all Warriors. The Head Dancers will escort the veterans and after they dance one full circle around the Arena, the veterans' family, other dancers, and anyone else who wants to dance in honour of our Warriors is invited join in and dance. Dancers, family, and community form a long line dancing behind the veterans to show support. Dancing behind our veterans, as with any Honour Song, shows how "…dance clearly becomes a kinetic model of community patterning, an enactment of what community is, in the Native view" (Toelken "Anguish" 106). When the song is over, the veterans will stay in the front of the line and everyone who has joined in dancing will shake hands with each of the veterans, greeting them and thanking them for their service.

When the Veterans Song ceremony is over, the Grand Entry and all opening protocols are complete and the intertribal and exhibition dancing begins. Drums will alternate singing "Intertribal" songs where everyone, Indigenous, non-Indigenous, in Regalia or not, are invited into the Arena to dance. Specials like a Round Dance or Crow Hop, and exhibitions like Hoop Dancing or category dancing will take place throughout the day. Toelken says "Dance is a dynamic dimension that one enters intentionally, a kinetic model of personal involvement by which one places his or her body into the active, ongoing process of cultural life" ("Anguish" 104). When we dance together, we are living motion in relation with all the other dancers and Spirits around us.

6.3 Learning to Dance

The Emcee has announced an "Intertribal" and we are all invited to join in the dancing. Drum songs like Intertribals will have a steady beat: "1,1,1,1…" You will notice that there is no hard, soft, soft, soft 1,2,3,4 "Hollywood Indian" beat. You are welcome to feel the Drum and the

songs and dance however they move you. There is a basic dance step, however, that I would like to teach you so that you can experience the movements.

All styles of powwow dance are a variation of the basic step. For the men, the foot extends in front of them as though they are about to take a step, but instead, they will tap the ground lightly with the ball of their foot before transferring their weight and completing the step. Then they will repeat the motion with the other foot, tap-step. In this manner, they will proceed to travel forward: right foot tap-step, then left foot tap-step, walking in time to the beat of the Drum. Women can perform the same tap-step motion of the basic step, but it is more common for them to "bob" through the double step. Instead, they gently take a light step first with the ball of the foot, then move through their body to transfer their weight onto that foot with a slight bob created by bending their knee. As the one knee bends, the other foot is picked up and prepares to take that next light step, followed by the bend of the knee. A woman's basic dance gait moves forward: right step-bend, left step-bend, repeating motion.

One tradition says that the reason we dance with that double step is because the "four-leggeds" (animals) taught the human beings how to dance and we take the two steps in imitation of the their four-legged motion (Browner 49). When I started powwow dancing, I was taught that when the Creator lowered the Anishinaabe to the Earth, we were so concerned about hurting our Mother, the Earth, and any of our relatives like the insects, that we walked on our tip toes to be as gentle as possible. We are told that babies are still close to the Spirit World, so when a baby is learning to walk, they will do so on their tip toes for the same reason; they are Spirit Beings being gentle on the Earth. Following the same teaching, some Elders say the tap-step motion is our way of first caressing the Earth gently to letting her know that we are dancing with kindness.

The basic dance step or slight variation is performed by all dance styles. In time with the heartbeat of the Drum, some form of a soft then firm step is performed. Fancy Dance styles as well as the Round Dance, Intertribals, Side-Step, and Double-Beat steps all use a form of a lighter step followed by a full step with the balance of the body's weight. The Crow Hop, as a variation, is like the actual motion of a Crow hopping forward from foot to foot. The Crow Hop Dance skips the first gentle tap step and instead springs forward from one foot to the other, through a bend in the knee. The Drum beat of a Crow Hop has a slower and heavier cadence like "1, and, 1, and, 1, and, 1…" In essence, the Crow Hop skips the first soft step, acknowledging it instead with the knee bend before jumping over it to land on the opposite foot.

The written descriptions of the dance moves may sound more complicated than they actually are. However, by watching, participating, and experiencing those cultural acts of transfer, the dance movements will remain with you as part of your repertoire. Perhaps by feeling the movement vocabulary of powwow dance, you will embody the memory of interacting with this dissertation and feel for yourself how, "Dance for American Indians evokes experiential engagement, integration and reintegration. In the fullest sense of the term, dance embodies or enacts cultural attitudes which cannot readily be articulated today in other ways" (Toelken "Anguish" 106).

6.4 Contest and Traditional Powwows

Among the powwow circuit there are traditional and competition powwows. Competition powwows began to appear in urban, relocation areas in the 1960s. Prize money was originally an incentive for the younger generations to take an interest in culture. Larger competitions, such as the Gathering of Nations Powwow held annually in Albuquerque, New Mexico may hand out over two hundred and fifty thousand dollars or more in prize money; so the pressure to win is intense. Competition powwows are more structured and stressful as participants worry less about enjoying themselves and more about earning points for their dances, exhibitions, and specials as well as competing well against other dancers, friends or rivals, in their category. The Regalias are much flashier and innovative with the specific purpose of attracting the attention of judges who are critically watching dance technique. A flashier, more attention-getting Regalia could make the difference in who the judges favor and give extra points. Sometimes the top Drums are in competition with each other, and it is a good time to hear them sing their top hits as well as new songs. Because of the high pressure to be the best, competition powwows are fantastic places to see the fanciest, newest styles of Regalia and creative liberty with the dances.

Dancers are divided by style and age group for rounds of exhibitions or competitions that usually have two different types of songs. Competition powwows run on a fairly tight schedule so that all categories have a chance to be seen and be judged or earn exhibition points.

The disheartening side of competition powwows is that many of the participants get caught up with greed and competition and they forget to honour the traditional reasons we dance.

It is not unusual to go to a competition powwow and see dancers either sit out or walk instead of dance the intertribals because they are saving their energy for the competition. Some competition powwows encourage dancing outside of the contest portions by giving participation points for Grand Entry, social songs like Two-Steps and Round Dances, and conduct "spot checks" on random Intertribals. I recently attended a powwow in Michigan that offered prize money as an incentive for dancers to dance hard in a "Grand Entry Special." It seems that often at competition powwows, the only people dancing hard for Grand Entry and Intertribals are the dancers not "contesting." Grass Dancer, Alan Carter, Wanbli Lyakisa (Screaming Eagle), of the Shell Earring Band, Mnicoujou/Itazipco Lakota, Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe offers "Food for thought":

If you're "contesting" for the powwow how about you try dancing at the powwow. No one dances during grand entry anymore and the funny thing is y'all are wearing eagle feathers chasing money. Tisk Tisk.[63]

When there are large amounts of money at stake, people become influenced by *majii manido* through the desire or desperation to win. The Spirits we have been discussing up to this point have been helpful healers, and Ancestors, however, "…it would be wrong to give the impression that the Anishinaabe cosmos was or is some kind of enchanted fairyland. While it is an en-souled reality, not all souls are good, not all persons are to be trusted" (Smith 61). Traditional Anishinaabe world view understands insidious greed to be connected to the *Windigo*.

Traditionally, the *Windigo* are cannibalistic monsters who are consumed with an insatiable hunger which drives them to despicable acts like cannibalism. Ojibwe Knowledge Keeper Basil Johnson describes a "new breed" of *Windigo* driven by greed and selfishness who developed when the English, French, Spanish, and Americans came, "…[T]his new breed roamed the land year-round, ravenous and voracious beyond belief, devouring not only the flesh, blood, and bones of its victims but their souls and spirits as well" ("Wampum" 76). Brian explained that the root word of *Windigo, winni,* means dirty (like Winnipeg actually means "dirty waters/swamp"), but that *winni* also refered to deplorable actions like cannibalism or incest.[64] In

[63] Alan Carter. June 8, 2019 Facebook post. Permission for use granted 15 June 2021.
[64] Brian Outinen. Personal communication September 20, 2020.

the case of competition powwows, it is truly a Western way of thinking to dangle money to divide dancers and make them dance *against* each other instead of *with* each other.

Large competition powwows are not necessarily based on fairness and who is the best dancer; but often times it more about association in a favour-trading clique. I was present when a friend of mine was enticed to date a well-known dancer, even though he was married. The dancer's cousin hinted to her, "If you start dating him, you'll probably start winning." On another occasion, I overheard a Grass Dancer implore a judge, "I need to win because my wife and I just had a baby, and we really need the money…" I was surprised to see that even youth are following this pattern when I heard an up-and-coming pre-teen Jingle Dancer ask the Emcee if she could be chosen for the "spot dance." A spot dance is intended to encourage community participation in an intertribal dance by offering a prize, monetary or otherwise, to a dancer that finishes the song on a supposedly unmarked and unknown "spot" chosen in advance. Some dancers attempt to dishonestly influence judges through bribes or sexual favours. Through the previous examples, it is easy to see how the insidious greed of the Windigo has infiltrated aspects of contemporary culture. It is unfortunate that large prize money can encourage dancers and singers to act out of greed, desperation, or ego. Dancers who are not part of this favour-trading clique, can also affected by the Windigo as the true reasons for why we as a people dance can be overshadowed by feelings of resentment, jealousy, unworthiness, and inferiority over not "winning." Is it a coincidence that "win" starts with *winni?*

Anishinaabe are supposed to love and care for each other; causing our fellow community members to feel these ways should be shameful. Remember when we heard River White comment:

> *How I take care of the Spirit in my outfit is whenever I'm done at a powwow, I always make sure that I smudge my outfit. Get rid of any energy that's not supposed to be there, so any negative energy, things like that, take it out of my outfit because everyone at times has negative energy. Like if you don't win a competition or something and you get upset. And just smudging the outfit is a good way to let it go, and it makes it so that when you come back to dancing you're not going to feel that same [negative] way again.*[65]

[65] River White. Personal communication. Bucktown Powwow. 2 September 2018.

We can hear River mention the negativity he has to cleanse from his outfit because of his experience being upset over not winning a competition.

Since many of our dances styles began as healing dances, many people don't believe that they should be used as a way to make money, particularly in the case of Jingle Dancing. On the topic of Jingle Dancing and competitions, Marie Eshkabok cautioned:

> *Jingle Dress can be a powerful dance but some women will use it for money. I tried that a few times and I have regrets. I busted the cartilage in my knee because I turned a certain way in the competition and ruined myself. I wish I had never done that. So, I try to encourage those women not to go in that competition. Don't use that dress for money, use it to help the people because a lot of people need help.*[66]

Traditional powwows are more relaxed because without the pressure to perform to win money, participants have time to leisurely eat, visit, and shop the vendors without the stress of being judged or the fear of losing points. Because traditional powwows are for the community, there are more celebration and commemoration Honour Songs and more time for favourites such as Crow Hops, Haudenosaunee Social Dancing, or a Two-Step. Traditional powwows generally host a communal Feast for dancers and singers, and sometimes vendors, community, and spectators are also invited.

Traditional powwows have Sacred Fires which are directly connected to the Spirit Realm and will be cared for and kept burning for the whole duration of the powwow. The Sacred Fire allows participants and all attendees the opportunity to pray and connect with Spirit.

[66] Marie Eshkabok. Personal communication. 11 July 2018.

Rochelle Knibb from Sturgeon Lake Cree Nation shares a touching story from her community's Traditional Powwow (Figure 32)[67]:

Figure 32: William Dancing at Sturgeon Lake Cree Nation Powwow

> *A beautiful story from the powwow. Everyone was talking about how this young man always came to the powwow every year and went up and danced the Inter-Tribal dances but had no Regalia. He always gave it his all and the dancers notivced too. So this one dancer from Loon Lake I think donated $10 and challenged everyone to match it. Pretty soon dozens of people were going up to give him money to build a powwow outfit. Then someone gave him an eagle feather fan. Then Peter Kiyawasew gave him a buffalo horn hat. Then someone gave him more pieces. It was emotional to watch because everyone was cheering louder and louder for him. He ended up with $700 and almost a complete Regalia. His name is William and he showed how his will to dance and be part pf the circle would be rewarded.*[68]

This tremendous outpouring of support and encouragement that the community showed William would probably never happen at a competition powwow.

At the close of a traditional powwow, the host community will have a *Giveaway*. Useful items are spread out on a blanket and the dancers, Drums, Elders, Head Staff, and Flag and Staff Carriers are invited to come up and choose a gift. Gifting is a traditional Anishinaabe practice that not only thanks the participant for coming, but as based in the principles of sharing and hospitality, are intended to meet the needs of our guests. Gifts range from toy for the children, tea towels, t-shirts, and pots and pans to horses, cars, and anything in between. It is customary at traditional powwows to provide an honorarium, which is technically part of the *Giveaway*, to the Singers, Dancers, Head Staff, and Flag and Eagle Staff Carriers. The honorarium helps people with travel expenses and may also provide them with funds to put toward maintaining, embellishing, or making new Regalia. The *Giveaway* celebrates friendship, love, reciprocity,

[67] Rochelle Knibb. Facebook Post July 22, 2019. Permission for use along with the photos granted on 15 June 2020.
[68] Ibid.

hospitality, and oneness with the land, all of which are very much in opposition to the Windigo and greed of the competition powwow.

The Emcee breaks the air silence: "Good Intertribal Smoke Trail Singers! Looks like everyone is having a gooood time out there, holay, I thought there was gonna be a moccasin blowout, people were dancing so hard! At this time, let's clear the Arena for some rounds of exhibition dancing. Dancers make sure you are staying hydrated. … You know, the other day I was thinking about buying a house from my cousin on the rez. It seemed to be in pretty good condition and the deal was going well until I asked him if it came with Running Water. That's when my cousin gave me a whack and said 'Hey! Get yer own wife!' Eyyyyyy!!!

OK, now that the Arena is clear, let's call on the Men's, Teen's and Boy's Fancy to give us a good exhibition! Young Creek, Can you give us a good exhibition song for these Fancy Dancers…"

6.5 Men's Fancy Dance

A relatively newer style to the powwow scene is the Men's Fancy Dance (Figure 33).[69] Two brightly coloured Bustles signal this style which developed through the Wild West Shows when dancers were asked to "fancy up" their Regalia and make up a "war dance" to delight audiences. They are the flashiest and most athletic of the styles, and the most recognizable around the world as an often-stereotyped representation of Indigenous Dance in North America. Two Bustles are worn, one on the upper back above the dancer's shoulder blades and a second Bustle on the lower back, like the Men's Traditional style. If you think about it, it may seem bizarre to have two Bustles, as a bird does not have two tails.

Figure 33: Men's Fancy Bustle Dancer

[69] Photograph by Bert Crowfoot, used with permission.

However, the two Bustles make for a tremendous flash of colour and fantastic show of dance ability. Bustles are often made from brightly dyed chicken hackle feathers tied together on a larger feathers and dowel rods to form the shape of the Bustle. Some Fancy Bustle sets may be made with eagle feathers. Beaded Fancy Dance accessories include side drops, cuffs, arm bands, moccasins, headband, and harness. On their heads dancers wear a porcupine hair roach and eagle feathers usually with a spring "rocker" on the spreader that gives the feathers more motion when they dance. The Fancy Dance as it is recognized today first appeared in Oklahoma after WWI, then spread to the Plains, and finally reached the Great Lakes Region in the 1950s (Browner 58).

Men's Fancy is a powerful display of stamina, creativity, and flexibility. Male Fancy Dance songs are quick with several sharp drumbeats that dancers punctuate with movements including a deep knee bends that springs up to a wide stance. I have even seen dancers turn cartwheels and do back flips over their Bustles. As the drumbeat increases, a dancer may spin quickly and end in the splits on the last beat of the song. As you can imagine, the Fancy Dance style is demanding on knees and other joints; so it is a style primarily for younger men and youths. It is likely that the mature Grass and Traditional Dancers danced Fancy at one time in their younger days.

6.6 Women's Northern Traditional

Figure 34: Women's Traditional Dancer

Heavily beaded yokes with long flowing fringe that sweeps with each step identifies the Women's Traditional style. The Women's Traditional Dance (Figure 30)[70] that is seen at powwows in Ontario is either buckskin or cloth versions of the Plains style. The long fringes symbolize the rain or the long prairie grass blowing in the breeze. Her Regalia includes a fully beaded cape and long skirt, and a breastplate with vertically oriented bone hair pipe that generally reaches from her chest to her shins. She wears a shawl over one arm and carries a beaded bag and an Eagle Feather Fan. The dancers wear a beaded upper accessory set consisting of matching earrings, hair ties, a choker and choker drop, a headband, back barrette to hold an

[70] Photo by Bert Crowfoot from Manito Ahbee Festival International Powwow. *Windspeaker*. https://windspeaker.com/photos/photos/womens-traditional-manito-ahbee-festival-international-powwow.

Eagle Feather, and a couple of smaller barrettes to hold in "drops" of fluffy Eagle Plumes. Beaded lower accessories include a belt, strike-a-light bag, knife sheath, decorative strap, purse, fan handle, leggings, and moccasins. Beadwork is surprisingly heavy, a fact most audience members don't consider. Beaded and hide Regalia can easily weigh more than thirty pounds.

In Anishinaabe territory, the Women's Traditional Dance is usually performed as a slow, regal walk, with fringe swaying in time with the Drum. However, the "right" way of performing this graceful dance from the Plaines is actually a bob in place to the drumbeat and making the fringe "flick" just at the ends. Interestingly, Browner comments that:

> … many women who dance in the Northern Buckskin Dance also use forward-motion footwork, although it is inappropriate to the dress. Conversely, local judges ignorant of the proper footwork for the Buckskin style often penalize women from the Northern Plains for not moving when those women dance outside their region. Too often, competitions are won by women who have impressive Regalia but inappropriate footwork. (50)

It takes a tremendous amount of muscle control to hold the commanding position with the upper body and make the movement appear effortless and graceful. From the gentle roll through the foot to using back and abdominal muscles to control the timing and swing of the fringe, the Women's Traditional is a dance surprisingly challenging and remarkably nuanced.

Figure 35: Anishinaabe Strap Dress with Detachable Sleeves

Within the last four years, there has been a upswing in interest in reclaiming the traditional Regalia worn by our Anishinaabe Grandmothers and Ancestors; the "Strap Dress" with detachable sleeves (Figure 35)[71]. Reclaiming the Strap Dress is a personal interest of mine and will be a topic of future research.

6.7 Women's Fancy Shawl

When you see the brightly coloured Fancy Shawl Dancers in action, it appears that their feet barely touch the ground. The artistry of the women's Fancy style demands intricate footwork,

[71] Photograph by Bert Crowfoot, used with permission.

high steps, kicks, twirls, and spins. The contemporary Fancy Shawl Dance (Figure 36)[72] adopts the symbolism and story of the butterfly. It is said that a young woman was inconsolable after her husband was killed in battle and the Creator took pity on her and sang her into a deep sleep. When she awoke and could once again find joy in life, she found that she had been transformed into a butterfly. The shawl represents both the coocoon from which she emerged and the wings that gave her new life and purpose. As a former Fancy Shawl Dancer, I can tell you that being lost in the dance and carried away by a good song feels like flying.

Figure 36:
Women's Fancy Shawl

According Browner, oral sources say the Fancy Shawl style originated before WWII or shortly thereafter. From non-Lakota sources, Browner found oral histories of the origin of the Fancy Shawl Dance traced to a reservation in South Dakota where some teen-aged Lakota women who were frustrated with the more sedate women's style and dressed as men to Fancy Dance at the powwow in the 1940s (58-59). As a frame of reference, remember that the Jingle Dress Dance would not have been introduced to powwow yet, and the only style of dance for women at that time was Plaines-style Traditional which was danced in place.

Historically, the emergence of the Fancy Shawl Dance also correlates with the change in women's roles in post-war mainstream society. The World Wars created opportunities for women to exert their independence financially and socially; these changes were the early stages of the second feminist movement which was in full swing by the 1960s. Considering the time when the Fancy Shawl Dance emerged, the freedom and expression in the dance was a reflection of mainstream societal changes. Women, in general, were finding ways to exert their power, and as a result, the space was also created for Indigenous women who chose to reclaim their culture and power through dance.

A Fancy Shawl Dancer's Regalia includes an intricately cloth appliqued dress or skirt and a beaded headband, earrings, hair ties, choker drop, back barrette, hair clips, leggings, and moccasins. She also wears a decorative and usually beaded yoke that sits on her shoulders over a

[72] Photograph of Jennifer Meness 1998, author owns copyright.

heavily appliqued and densely fringed shawl. When Fancy Shawl was still a relatively new style, fringe for the shawl was cut from a spool of chainette then knotted by hand on the shawl (Figure 37).[73] "Flat fringe" was a later fashion and could also be purchased by the spool. Both chainette and flat fringe were available from vendors at powwows or could be mail ordered. The dancer would wrap the fringe around a length of cardboard being careful not to pull or stretch the fringe. Then she would make a quick, perpendicular cut with a sharp scissors across the fringe. Stretching the fringe while wrapping would result in uneven pieces when cut. Two strands of the fringe would be laced through a small hole in the edge of the shawl then folded in half, then all four pieces would be tied in a single knot resulting in four hanging strands with each tie. Once all the ties were on, a second, third, or additional rows of decorative knots would be added by taking two strands from each neighbouring knot and tying them in the middle; the new four strands would have one knot with the four strands hanging down. Adding rows of fringe result in a net like design along the bottom. Ribbon fringe became stylish in the 90s; it was lighter, flashier, and could be quickly attached to the shawl with a sewing machine. I have not seen hand tied fringe on Fancy Shawl Regalia in many years.

The Fancy Shawl Dance was brought to the large cities in the United States, like Chicago, during the 1960s. In the United States, The Indian Relocation Act of 1956 was an erasure and assimilation policy that dissolved federal tribal recognition and funding for basic needs while offering paid relocation to large cities and vocational training. When Indigenous people moved to the cities, they brought dances and culture with them. The Fancy Shawl stories told to me by Joy Yoshida and Alberta King at the American Indian Center in Chicago in the early 1990s, fit into that timeline; they, themselves, were part of the Indian Relocation Act which brought them from Wisconsin and Kansas to Chicago along with the relatively new powwow and dance styles that had become popular in the 1960s. At the time when I began dancing Fancy Shawl, that dance style would have been a fixture at powwow for less than twenty-five years. I remember traveling to a powwow held in Fort Francis, Ontario around 1992 or 1993 where I was the only Fancy Shawl Dancer.

Over the years, I have seen some old black and white videos of the Fancy Shaw exhibition dance before it became its own style. In these videos, women in Traditional Regalia

[73] Shawl by Hilda Ceree. "Shawl" posted on *Sharp's Indian Store and Pawn* website.

perform, quick footwork to a fast Drum song, dancing in place along the outside of the Arena with their shawl draped over one arm. Originally, the dance did not travel around the Arena, nor was it full of spins, leaps, and high steps like it is today. On the last beat of the song, the dancers stop in place with both feet together.

I remember when Steve King taught me my first Fancy Shawl steps, he instructed me to stop on the last Drumbeat of the song in a similar way, with my feet together and my arms at my side. His instruction reflected both the relative newness of the dance style to the powwow community as well as its roots as a traditional exhibition dance.

In recent years, some dancers have attempted to recreate what they imagine "Old Style Fancy" was like. While I would love to see the original style of Fancy Shawl Dance acknowledged, these women are performing a fabrication, a re-imagined history, as they dance the same spins and high steps of contemporary Fancy Shawl Dance only wearing a different style of skirt using a scarf in each hand instead of a shawl. When I've asked some of the two-scarf dancers about their style, they tell me their dance is hundreds of years old. That shared misinformation demonstrates a breakdown in the transmission of actual traditional knowledge. This newly constructed "Old Style Fancy" is making its way into competitions and slowly being validated as a category and falsely recognized as historical as result.

6.8 Mainstream Stereotyping and Regalia

Non-Indigenous spectators at powwows are sometimes disappointed that the participants do not look like the stereotypes they were expecting. Berkhofer says, "In spite of centuries of contact and the changed conditions of Native American lives, Whites picture the 'real' Indian as the one before contact or during the early period of that contact" (28). Culture is not static and wearing contemporary fashions or using new materials available to make Regalia is part of the Indigenous tradition of innovation. Tourists and photographers sometimes expect powwow to be more like a historical reenactment than a growing, breathing, evolving expression of Indigenous culture. Berkhofer wonders if white people don't "conceive of themselves as still living as Anglo-Saxons, Gauls, or Teutons, then why should they expect Indians to be unchanged from aboriginal times" (29). Sometimes they are disappointed to see sequins and contemporary material in Regalia when they were expecting leather and beads.

Occasionally you can observe some competition dancers enhancing their look by dying their hair black and use tanning sprays to darken their complexion. Whether dancers do those things for themselves or in an attempt to look more "authentic" to win the judges' favour, the practice reflects an internalization of a pre-contact stereotype. Looking more like an imagined pre-contact Indigenous person, they conform to the imagined, visual expectation, even though their Regalia sports sequins and rhinestones.

6.9 Physical Structure of the Powwow Grounds

If you look around, you will notice that the physical structure of the powwow grounds is a series of concentric circles. The Drums, which are the heartbeat of the Earth, are located in the centre. Immediately outside of the Drum Arbour is the Dance Arena.

Bordering the Arena is the seating area where dancers may set up portable shade canopies or lawn chairs and blankets so they and their friends and family have a place to rest throughout the day. Dancers may set up these areas with coolers of cold drinks, refreshing snacks, playpens for small children, and a table for their Eagle Feathers and Fans to rest on when not in use. It is not unusual to see Eagle Feather Bustles and Porcupine Hair Roaches hung from the support structures of canopies to keep them safe when they are not being worn to dance. Dancers may be repairing dance Regalia or beading while visiting with friends and family.

Also around the Dance Arena is a raised, shaded platform called the speaker's stand where the Emcee sits, a shaded area with seating for elders so they are more comfortable to watch the powwow, and perhaps bleachers, risers or chairs for the other spectators.

Just behind the seating area are row upon row of vendors. Closer to the seating area, vendors sell hand made goods like beadwork or accessories. Some vendors sell beading and crafting supplies, leathers, and furs, while others may sell Drum, CDs of powwow music, herbs and medicines, paintings, carvings, and other artwork. Usually the craft and supply venders are closer to the seating areas and the food venders who need more space for lines and food preparation occupy the outer circle of vendors. Beyond the rows of vendors are areas for parking and camping.

The outer circle of tent campers lends itself to after powwow visiting and sharing. After the powwow has finished for the day, some people relax with campfires which draw other

campers and provide opportunities to visit and meet new friends. Around campfires people share stories, teachings, sing Hand Drum songs, and make smores or roast hot dogs. Many powwows have showers available for participants either on the powwow grounds, in a local community centre or ice Arena, or tribal school.

In recent years, RVs and campers have been appearing more frequently at powwows. While providing convenience for campers, I have noticed that the sharing that used to take place over campfires is decreasing. Whereas people used to come to powwow to connect with community, the convenience of an RV makes it easier to keep to oneself. In other days, kids played outside with other kids during and after powwow, but now parents place them in front of a screen to watch a movie or play video games in the RV. The source of electricity allows kids and adults to recharge phones and games. Adults used to share meals and cook outside on camp stoves are now cooking just for their families in the RV. I believe some ambiance is lost as it is not as delightful to fall asleep listening to hand Drum songs or wake to the sounds of birds when it is quiet within the walls of a camper.

6.10 Powwow Circuit

Powwows take place in many locations, from remote Indigenous communities with fly-in only access with a Drum and a handful of dancers to large scale competition powwows in sporting Arenas like the Gathering of Nations in Albuquerque New Mexico boasting over 3,000 dancers and singers from more than 500 tribes/nations from the U.S. and Canada. A local and national powwow circuit exists, for example, it is known among the regional powwow community that “Wiky,” the Wikwemikong Competition powwow that happens on Manitoulin Island, Ontario the first weekend of August, over the Canadian Civic holiday weekend, or that the powwow to attend is the Gathering of Nations Powwow in Albuquerque, New Mexico around the 25th of April. Powwows used to be listed in monthly Indigenous publications such as News From Indian Country, the seasonal “Great Lakes Powwow Guide” printed as an insert or accompaniment to the May edition of the Anishinabek News, or published yearly in book form as The Powwow Guide. To publicize the events or to advertise new powwows or ones that didn’t make it into the listings, flyers were often distributed at powwows on vender tables or often by someone from that powwow’s committee or head staff who might walk around handing them out

to dancers in Regalia and to Drum. Often dancers would ask each other what powwows they are going to attend the following weekend or what big ones they are attending in the future. These methods are still used, however now we access powwow listings by state or province on websites such as powwows.com or through a general google search of powwow listings in a particular area. The *Great Lakes Powwow Guide* is now downloadable and accessible as a pdf and it remains as one of the top sources for powwow listings.

6.11 Role of Internet and Social Media

The internet and social media have become a big part of modern culture that they naturally became influential in the powwow community. Large powwows such as the Gathering of Nations powwow in Albuquerque New Mexico are streamed live to the virtual community via powwows.com. Facebook status updates spread digital powwow flyers and provide social commentary from community members from reviewing powwows and hospitality to posting updates on which powwows people are attending next. Social media has also become a way to showcase Regalia in progress, ask for tips and tricks from other crafters, facilitates the trade of feathers and other items. Also becomes a way for artisans to sell Regalia and beadwork, quillwork, etc. Becomes a way to check out other dancer's Regalia, to get a close up look at designs and styles that influences sharing (or stealing of ideas). Videos of powwows posted on YouTube give dancers an opportunity to watch champion dancers and try to imitate their steps or style. Songs posted on YouTube allow singers and dancers to hear new compositions by top Drum groups, allowing them to learn the song for exhibition or competitions. Videos on YouTube such as the Powwow Sweat series teaches people the basic dance steps for the different categories and arranges them in small combinations to teach dancers how to put them together to dance that style at a powwow.

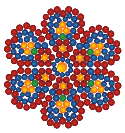
In the 80s and early 90s, people used to hold cassette tape recorders over the Drums while they sang to record the songs. Later mini cassettes recorders were introduced, then came digital recorders, and today people just hold their phones over the Drum and record video to be later uploaded to social media.

Videos of dancers and competition dance categories are also uploaded and shared on social media. Whether dancers share videos out of vanity or to show off or other spectators share

videos of competition categories, being able to watch styles and technique over and over raises the bar on requirements and expectations leading to quicker and flashier developments for dance styles and Regalia. The downside is that as the dances become showy and border on theatrical, they drift farther away from their original meaning.

Through social media, Indigenous, non-Indigenous, professional and amateur photographers share images of the powwow community. Social media allows us to glimpse powwows at other communities we didn't visit, and as a result, we may plan them into future powwow destinations. Sharing the images on social media is a way to capture the condition of existence of the community. People age, Elders pass on, kids grow-up, and these moments in time are captured by our "lens warriors."

Some powwow dancers may not want to be photographed, and many photographers are respectful of their request. Reasons a dancer may not want to be photographed could range from them being in prayer while dancing to suspicion about what a photographer is going to do with their photo. Photographers may give dancers a watermarked copy of their image, and then try to sell them an unmarked image. Some unscrupulous photographers sell images of dancers without their consent. Some images of dancers taken at powwows have ended up being sold overseas, sold in galleries as prints or calendars, or used in commercial art and advertising. For example, a very well-known and recognizable Men's Traditional Dancer shared that he was surprised passing through an airport when he saw a huge painting of himself that he did not consent to being used to welcome travelers to one of the Canadian provinces.

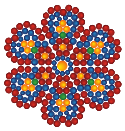


The day continues with more "Indian Humour" as the Emcee keeps the jokes coming, "Heeeyyyy…. Did you know the toothbrush was invented in Wikwemikong?...Yeah, it's true… 'cause if it was invented anywhere else, they would have called it a 'teethbrush'... Eyyyyyyyy!..."

We have had an awesome day watching the exhibitions, sampling powwow delicacies from the food booths, and you even found a couple of hand made souveniurs. I heard several people comment on your beautiful beadwork and you looked great out in the Arena dancing the Intertribals!

Chapter 7

Traveling Song



As the powwow draws to a close, it is time to retire the colours and dance out. The Flag and Eagle Staff carriers retrieve their Staffs and Colours and line-up inside the Arena. The Head Dancers, and anyone else who wants to participate in the closing ceremony is invited to line-up behind the Flags and Staffs. A Drum will sing the Flag Song while everyone stands and when the song is over, the Drum will go right into singing a Closing Song. The Flags and Staffs will dance one complete circle around the Arena before they exit through the Eastern Door. Once the Flags and Staffs exit, they will form two lines on either side of the Eastern Doorway, creating a corridor that the dancers will exit through. As the dancers exit the Arena, they may shake hands, hug, or "fist bump" the Flag and Staff Carriers and form a line behind them. As the following dancers exit, they will shake the hands of the Flag and Staff Carriers as well as all the dancers in the line behind them. In this way, the dancers and participants can see and acknowledge each other as well as thank each other for good dancing and a good powwow. Once everyone has exited the Arena, the Flags and Staffs "close" the Eastern Doorway by forming a line across the doorway until the song is over.

After that closing ceremony, the powwow is finished. In the moments that follow, people are making the rounds visiting with friends they haven't yet had a chance to talk to, negotiating last minute purchases from the vendors, visiting the Sacred Fire, and smudging pieces of their regalia as they take them off and pack them away. The powwow committee is laying out items on blankets for the giveaway. Bob and Deborah are packing up their belongings in the seats nearby and we can see Aaron across the arena, visiting and laughing with his brothers. Let us take this time to reflect on what we have learned together and what we have experienced.

7.1 Manidominensag (Beads)

We began this dissertation journey by beading; the process of creating material embodied togetherness. Through beading we were able to think about and process complex ideas, and break them down into sparkly pieces, then stitch them along with other thoughts and concepts into a design of understanding. As Brian shared earlier, *manido* does not only mean Spirit, but can also be used to refer to a "specialness" about something, like a magnet. The specialness of the beads has less to do with them being fascinating, colourful, sparkly little kernels of possibility, and more about their power of bringing people together. We have experienced

together how beading with friends and family becomes tangible time and a material record of togetherness.

Like the beadwork we symbolically created, this dissertation project drew a circle around specific flowers, leaves, and vines, that encompassed aspects of powwow, Spirit, and Anishinaabe experience. Some of our interests fell outside of this circle. As often is the case, some beads drop or spill through the process of beading, and picking them up results in a multi-coloured mixture of left-over beads referred to as "bead soup." The odds and ends outside of this dissertation, like bead soup, will be put away in a butter cookie tin for future projects.

7.2 The Answer to the Research Question

My dissertation sought to **explore the place of Spirit in powwow and to provide a way for us to access, think, and reflect on Spirit in powwow**. Through stories shared by community members, we heard first-hand accounts of encounters with Spirits and Ancestors that directly guided or influenced Regalia and dance styles. Through breaking down sound meaning in Anishinaabemowin, we learned that there is world view and philosophy in how our words are constructed. Through the language we were able to make the connection between smoke, Spirit, dance, and the liminality of the powwow Arena. Then we heard lived experience from powwow participants that echoed in literature.

As well, the contribution of this dissertation is a new application of Diana Taylor's theory of cultural acts of transfer to the Spirit realm. We have followed how dances like the Jingle Dress Dance and the Chicken Dance originated through interaction with Spirit entities, most likely Thunder Beings. We have also seen how Ancestors are still actively teaching and guiding the Anishinaabe as exampled through Patricia Watt's story of her Grandmother coming to her mother in a vision with a gentle correction, to tell Pat that she needed to wear Jingles and not shells on her Jingle Dress. And though Spirits are frequently encountered through smoke, as essence in a dream place or in the liminal place of prayers and smoke like the powwow Arena, as Cliff Standingready shared, they are very much a part of our human, Anishinaabe experience.

This dissertation demonstrated that by triangulating lived stories and experiences with world view in Anishinaabemowin against incomplete hints and fragments in the literature, we were able to find the messages in the smoke.

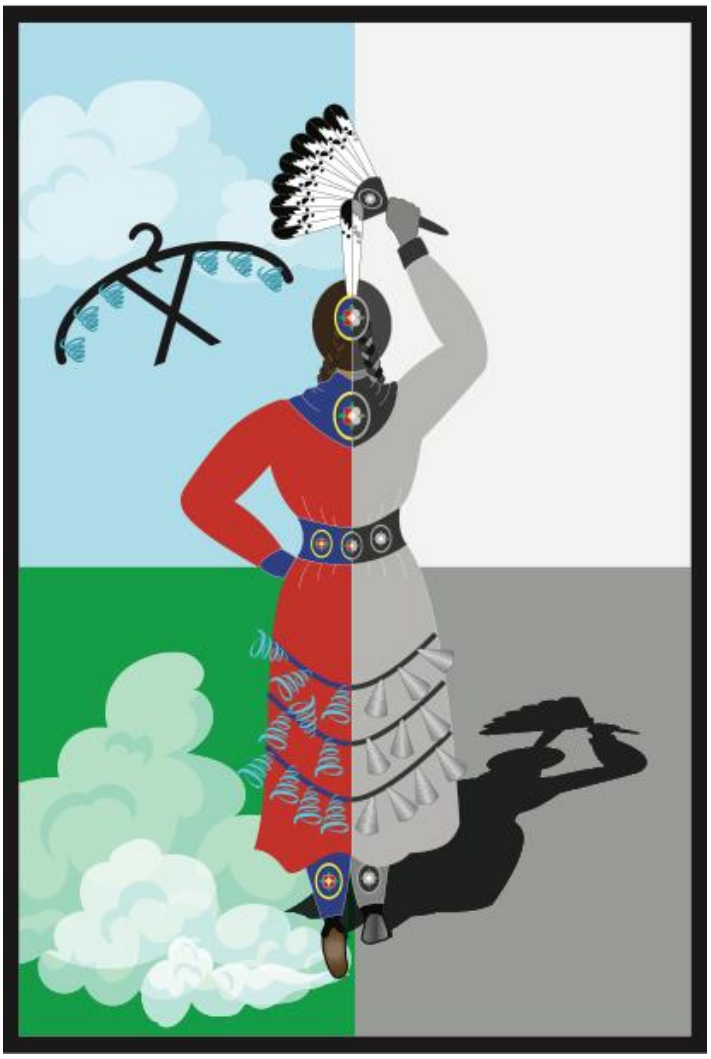


Figure 37: Significance, Implications, and Contributions

Without the world view, instructions, and philosophy revaled in Anishinaabemowin, and without recognizing that our dances are acts of transfer from Spirit, we are missing the vibrancy of powwow. The significance, implications, and contribution my dissertation makes are best illustrated in the image to the left (Figure 38)[74]. Before I began my dissertation, I understood powwow to be mostly a social expression of culture with elements of ceremony sprinkled throughout. In fact, I had chosen to focus on powwow because of the social aspect of the gathering and I did not want to "pick apart" ceremony. Powwow was a gateway through which I began my journey to reclaim my culture and identity, however, I was still on the black and white side of understanding. I had many years of experience with powwow, however, like many I was only seeing the simplistic and contemporary pieces without depth, like the black, white, and gray right side of the image.

To further illustrate my point, on the right side of the image (Figure 38), in black, white, and gray, is the commonly retold story about a man who prayed for healing for his sick daughter and as a result a Spirit showed him the Jingle Dress and Dance in a dream. Variations of this story have been told, retold and embellished (White 2017). The people and elders who keep

[74] Drawing by Jennifer Meness.

passing on this story to younger generations are not wrong, but they are transmitting an incomplete teaching because they themselves may not be aware of the other missing elements.

As my language skills increased and I focused on our original instructions and philosophy, it was like I could see powwow and Spirit connections in full colour, like the left side of the illustration (Figure 38). As Brian Outinen explains powwow, for the Anishinaabe, is recognized by Spirit and our Ancestors to have similar aspects like our ancient Jiinktamok ceremony. The sound-based meanings of our words in Anishinaabemowin reveal the world view and philosophy of how powwow is a gateway as a liminal place when we meet Spirit and send messages through smoke to Creator and around the world. With this new understanding and integration of the language I have been able to find missing pieces about the Jingle Dress: what it truly means, the Thunder Beings it is connected to, and the original instructions given as an act of transfer. As we heard from the participants who shared their stories, we began to see the spiritual connection often overlooked in contemporary powwow.

On the left of the image (Figure 38), in vibrant colour, is the lived experience of a Thunder Being gifting their human friend the healing power of the spiral water, as they met in the liminal place, *bawaajiged*, dream land, where both Human and Spirit essences are vapor. The Thunder Being showed his friend how the spiral metal cones were made and taught him the specific dance steps to make the cones create the sound of lightening to cause the explosion and bursting forth of life (*baashki*), creation, which would heal his sick daughter. By calling the cones *zhiibashka'igan,* the man recorded the dance movement of sliding the feet and moving in a zig zag motion, *zhii*, and the purpose in the description of the sound, *baashka*, explosion of creation.

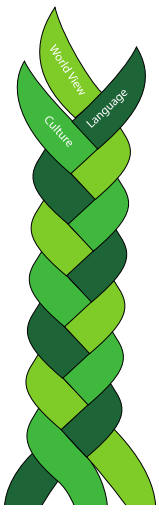


Figure 39: Full Sweetgrass Braid

I imagine what happened with our culture to be like a braid of sweetgrass; three sections of language, world view, and culture in equal balance and harmony, creating a strong Anishinaabe culture (Figure 39). As our culture was damaged by aspects of

Figure 38: Cut Sweetgrass Braid

colonization, we have lost sections of our strong culture (Figure 40), and we are trying to rebuild with the pieces that remain.

As I began to think about the contributions my dissertation makes, one unexpected but significant insight of **exploring the place of Spirit in powwow,** looking at Anishinaabemowin and stories from participants **to provide a way for us to access, think, and reflect on Spirit in powwow,** I was reminded of one of our traditional stories commonly referred to as *The Shut-Eye Dance*. The gist of the story is this:

> Nanabush, our Trickster/Older Brother/First Anishinaabe, devises a plan to trick geese on a lake so that he can eat them. To do this, Nanabush invites the geese to a special dance at his home. He instructs the geese that they have to dance with their eyes closed; he warns that if they peek at all, their eyes will turn red. Nanabush sings them into a trance and as the geese dance with their eyes closed, he starts breaking their necks one-by-one and tossing them in a pile. One goose senses that something is not right and begins to wake up from the trance. When that goose opens his eyes, they do turn red, but he sees Nanabush with a heap of his dead relatives. The now red-eyed goose alarms the other geese as to what is happening and the remaining geese are able to escape.[75]

While considering my findings and implications, I felt like that red-eyed goose. I was dancing at powwows and going along with this contemporary version of culture, like everyone else. However, I did not wake up or open my eyes on my own. As I re-searched, asked questions, read the literature, prayed, and looked into world view in Anishinaabemowin, I had help opening my eyes. In Anishinaabe culture, red is the colour of Spirit, and through my now red-eyed lenses created by this dissertation, I could see that we were all asleep, losing parts of our Spirits and culture as we went along with the status quo. The Windigo is feasting not outright by breaking our necks, but in a more insidious way by sipping at our souls. The Windigo sips at culture, and drinks in world view and language; each sip making our eyes heavier and closing until we become dancing shells unaware of what we have lost. As a result of this new knowledge from writing this dissertation, it is imperative that I wake up the other sleep-dancing, close-eyed geese

[75] The rest of the story, Nanabush grabs the goose with the red eyes and begins to wring his neck, but the goose manages to escape. As a result, that goose was transformed into the first loon, and that is why the loon has red eyes, white rings around his neck, and sings the way he does. Written variations of this story are recorded in *Ojibwa Texts Collected by William Jones*.

at powwow to alert them that colonization and assimilation is feasting on our culture and world view, and we don't even know it.

7.3 Implications and the Seventh Fire Prophesy

In order to discuss the implications, it is necessary to circle back to the Anishinaabe philosophies that begin with our Creation story and look ahead into the Midewiwin Prophesies. In the Mishomis Book, Eddie Benton-Banai-Iban recorded the series of prophesies that would happen to the Anishinaabe people. The Sixth Fire Prophesy foresaw our children being taken away from the Teachings of the Elders. We saw this come to pass with residential schools, the 60s Scoop, and other policies that forced assimilation. Benton-Banai-Iban tells us that:

> In the time of the Seventh Fire a Osh-ki-bi-ma-di-zeeg' (New People) will emerge. They will retrace their steps to find what was left by the trail. Their steps will take them to the elders who they will ask to guide them on their journey. But many of the elders will have fallen asleep. They will awaken to this new time with nothing to offer. Some of the elders will be silent out of fear. Some of the elders will be silent because no one will ask anything of them. The New People will have to be careful in how they approach the elders. The task of the New People will not be easy. If the New People will remain strong in their quest… there will be a rebirth of the Anishinaabe Nation and a rekindling of old flame. The Sacred Fire will again be lit. (Benton-Banai 91-93).

Sometime those elders (intentional small 'e') who pass down teachings are elders as described by the Seventh Fire Prophesy; through assimilationist policies and residential schools, they have "fallen asleep." They may know bits and pieces of the stories about ceremony and dance, but without the language and world view, they can only share what they remember.

By looking again at powwow though the lens I have "retraced [my] steps to find what was left by the trail" I have **explored the place of Spirit in powwow**. Searching to find and understand our Anishinaabe world view as hinted at though literature and use of our words by Howell and other scholars, I asked Elders and Knowledge Keepers who, it turned out, did not have a complete world view. Some spoke the language, but were still not able to break down the philosophy in the sounds. Others held ceremony and Spirit knowledge, but did not have the language. These are the elders Benton-Banai speaks of as having fallen asleep. These elders carry parts of our culture, but through a break in the continuity of culture through residential

schools, oppression, Christianity, and assimilation, some parts of the culture were forgotten. As these elders pass down what they remember, and subsequent generations pass down what they have learned, there is an incomplete story that is being shared.

One of the resulting implications of this dissertation uncovered a gap in our cultural narratives and world views as the explicit loss of language. Some of this renewed understanding came through the realization that we are in danger of losing much of our world view because we are losing the meaning of words in our language. It is not just a matter of learning to speak Anishinaabemowin, but of really exploring the philosophy and instructions through the sounds in our language which was given to us by the Creator. This results in a call to action for the Anishinaabe community to not just learn our language, but to reclaim our world view held in the language because that is where our true culture lies.

Another implication of my dissertation is that it is contradicts an established way of thinking about powwow. I want to be clear that my discussion and findings are not judgements, but I want to share with our people about a growing gap that I found through re-searching and writing this dissertation. Without understanding Spirit and the world view that still exists in the language, we are participating, often wholeheartedly, in a remnant of our culture. I find my task reflected in the Seventh Fire Prophesy that " The task of the New People will not be easy. If the New People will remain strong in their quest… there will be a rebirth of the Anishinaabe Nation and a rekindling of old flame. The Sacred Fire will again be lit. (Benton-Banai 91-93). The danger to our culture is that we don't understand the whole story, we think it is acceptable to "modernize" and change these instructions, these original acts of transfer that came directly from Spirit. My second call to action is for people to rethink the meaning of powwow and our dances.

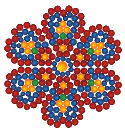
My next consideration asks "What must the Thunder Beings think when they see us use their gift to pray for healing to compete against each other for money?" Knowing better, we should think again about what we are doing with that gift, and what we are showing that Thunder Being when we make "contemporary" changes to the Jingle Dance. As a result, my third call to action is to restore the spiritual aspects and connections to the Jingle Dress to repair our relationship with the Thunder Beings and properly respect their instructions and gift for healing.

7.4 Question for Further Research

In the course of writing this dissertation, I had the honour and privilege to work with Brian Outinen who showed me many connections to Anishinaabe world view that are laid out in the language. Potential for future research lies in recovering, restoring, and reclaiming Anishinaabe world view and our original teachings through our language. This research trajectory is of the utmost importance because if we continue to let our culture wane, eventually we will be assimilated.

7.5 A Vision for the Future

The Eagle flies out out every morning seeking Anishinaabe who remember their original instructions so that he can report back to Creator and save us from destruction. Imagine how incredible that morning will be when the Eagle reports back that it is not just a few, but many who have reclaimed the language and world view, returned to original teachings, and finally remembered.



Before everyone leaves the powwow grounds, several of the singers and Drums may come together to sing a Traveling Song. The song is sung as a way to wish friends and powwow family safe travels as they part ways. As our dissertation journey together comes to an end, I join the singers in this song, sending you on your way with good thoughts, until we see each other again.

Way way ya, ya way ya way,
Niin gosha anisha
Wiinja bimooseyan[76]

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[76] This *Traveling Song* was given through a dream to Alex Skead-Iban, Sturgeon Clan, Wauzhushk Onigum, Anishinaabe Nation. Used with permission from his daughter Wanda Skead, July 2, 2021. Miigwetch to Rodney Stanger for the details and for contacting Wanda Skead.

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