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ETHNOBOTANY OF THE FOREST POTAWATOMI INDIANS

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IN MEM0RIAM

The author of this paper, Mr. Huron H. Smith,[1] was Curator of Botany of the Milwaukee Public Museum from January 2, 1917, to February 25, 1933.

On the evening of this latter date he, together with Mrs. Smith and her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Edward J. dark, was instantly killed when the automobile in which they were riding was struck by a Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway train at Glenview, Illinois.

During his sixteen years of service at this institution he devoted much time to various problems of research in botany and published the results in our series and elsewhere.

One of the most important of these was a careful study of the ethno-botany of the six Indian tribes resident in the state of Wisconsin. Field investigations on this problem began in 1921, and the results of the studies on the first three tribes, the Menomini, the Meskwaki and the Ojibwe, have already been published and constitute Volume IV of the Museum's Bulletin.

The present paper, which constitutes the fourth of the series, was in page proof at the time of the author's death.

Of the remaining two papers, those on the ethno-botany of the Winnebago and of the Oneida, the former was being prepared and the latter was to be written immediately thereafter. In fact, the author's last day of life had been devoted to writing on his Winnebago paper and he had carried on this work up to within about three hours prior to his death, leaving the notes and data in place upon his desk where they could be taken up immediately upon his return.

As is inevitable in the handling of such original observations and data, it will be extremely difficult for anyone else to take up these notes and complete the work. It is hoped that this can be done later but for the present it will be necessary to hold it in abeyance.

In the death of Mr. Smith the institution loses a most valued and enthusiastic member of its staff and one whose absence will be most keenly felt by everyone, especially his own co-workers and the many friends with whom he came into such close daily contact. _____ S. A. BARRETT, Director.

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[1] Huron Herbert Smith was born at Danville, Indiana, *July* 26 1883. He received his higher education at De Pauw University, and at Cornell University In 1902 he received the degree of Bachelor of Science from De Pauw and from 1905 to 1907 he pursued graduate work at Cornell.

From 1907 to 1917 he was Assistant Curator of Botany at the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, specializing on the dendrology of North America

On January 2, 1917, he was called to the Milwaukee Public Museum to become Curator of Botany, where he remained until his untimely death.

INTRODUCTION

This bulletin is the fourth in a series of six on the ethnobotany of the Wisconsin Indians. They cover the present uses of native and introduced plants and, so far as is possible, aboriginal plant uses. Indian plant lore is rapidly vanishing, for the younger generation is losing its taste for the ancient customs.

The Forest Potawatomi came to this state in early historic times and were directly in the path of the French-Jesuit missionaries and voyageurs, the ethnologist must therefore be careful in estimating just how much influence the missionary has had upon his uses of plants.

The writer had been informed that the Forest Potawatomi were difficult to approach and what little literature there is to be found concerning them corroborates this idea. They have always been a proud and warlike people.

They have always been secretive about their religious uses of plants and have jealously guarded the secrets of their medicine lodge. On the other hand, they are accounted a very hospitable people by some of the early missionaries and travelers and were said to be especially anxious to prove that they were friendly. Even today, certain individuals are found among the tribe who claim that the word “Potawatomi” means “friend to everybody”, though in truth we know that it means “keepers of the fire”.

The Indian agent, Mr. W. H. Bennett, and his subagent and interpreter Henry Ritchie, shared the general opinion about the small likelihood of gathering such information as we wanted, although they have been on the reservation in contact with the Potawatomi for a good many years. Previous experience with other tribes has taught the writer that the way to an Indian's confidence is to recognize his philosophy of life, to treat sacredly the things he holds sacred and to practice hospitality and generosity in dealing with them.

Fewer principal informants were found among the Forest Potawatomi than among other tribes the writer has studied. There were only six main

informants. Perhaps one of the most valuable of these is not really a Potawatomi; Mr. Henry Ritchie, the subagent, shown in plate 2, fig. 1, who lives in Laona, does most of the visiting with the Forest Potawatomi and takes care of the gathering of the school children in the fall. Mr. Ritchie is a fluent conversationalist in the Potawatomi as well as in his own tongue, and he knew the plant names in both these languages. However, he could get no knowledge from the Potawatomi concerning their medicine lodge secrets.

Another informant, whom all agreed was a “real” Indian, was Charley Musko [Tecumseh]. Tecumseh lives one hundred thirty-six miles away from Laona, in the midst of a dense forest, about eight miles distant from the city of Phillips, Wisconsin. The third informant was Joe Ellick, shown in plate 2, fig. 2, who worked for the Soperton Lumber Co. despite his 78 years. He was a grandfather and yet a very husky worker at the cut-off saw at these mills. Mr. Ellick devised the Potawatomi syllabary about fifty-five years ago so that absent members of the tribe could write home to their people. The fourth informant is called “Shawanîblînä” [South Bird]. He lives at the top of the hill at Stone lake, about four miles east of Crandon. South Bird is a genuine “medicine man”, about ninety-four years of age, and a very interesting character. He has become a fast friend of Dr. E. J. W. Notz and Charles G. Schoewe, of Milwaukee. Mrs. Jim Spoon, shown in plate 3, fig. 1, who lived in Laona, is a medicine woman of more than local repute and the writer accompanied her when she procured her winter store of medicinal plants. She was by far the best versed of any of the informants and often traveled great distances to get the plants she desired. The sixth and last informant was “Snabe Jim”. This is an abbreviation for his Indian name "Înîcînabe" meaning “an Indian” or “a real man”. He lived in the vicinity of Blackwell, Forest County.

In making this study of the Forest Potawatomi, the writer spent from June 13 to September 13, 1925 and was thus able to see the plants in their early and late stages of growth.

Forest County, Wisconsin, as the name implies, is a region of dense stands of trees, as shown in plate 1, fig. 1, and one would expect to find

here a great number of species of plants, but such is not the case. The total number of plants is by no means as large as it would be in the southern part of the state in a like locality. Hence, the Forest Potawatomi have usually traveled to various parts of the country to get the particular plants that they needed. In some cases, they have brought back seeds and established little plots of these medicinal plants in Forest County. Time means little to them, so they often take as much as a month in going after the particular plants desired and this may take them beyond the confines of the state.

The Forest Potawatomi have no reservation proper. They are scattered over the northern counties, one family living one hundred and thirty-six miles away from the agency office. This scattering of the Potawatomi was due to the efforts of the late Senator Robert La Follette, who believed in separating them and giving them all white neighbors. Congress appropriated fairly large sums which were used in purchasing quarter-sections and in building frame houses for the Indians. Actually the Potawatomi do not like this arrangement because most of them are restricted to the use of ponies and wagons for transportation so that it often means a journey of two or more days in order to visit their near relatives. It also imposes something of a burden upon the Indian Agent who must visit them all in turn and the Indian nurse who must visit the sick. In one specific case, an Indian had been dead three days before the agent heard anything about it.

The Jesuit Fathers made such careful diaries of their labors and residence among the Indians that they are a very good source of information concerning the Forest Potawatomi in the earlier days. In fact, there are in the neighborhood of six hundred references to the Potawatomi in the Wisconsin Historical Collections alone.

The plants used by the Forest Potawatomi fall into sixty-five of the hundred and twenty-six families of plants known at present to occur in Wisconsin. In this paper, the plants will be listed as in previous bulletins, primarily under their various uses. Under each of these headings they will appear alphabetically by families. When possible, a literal translation of the Indian name will be given.

PHONETIC KEY

The Forest Potawatomi have had a written language for the past fifty-five years and have thus been able to correspond with one another. During our field work with them, we used their syllabary, since the syllables were so readily intelligible to them. A complete listing of the syllables used in their language would consist of three hundred and twenty-seven, but since this syllabary is probably of no importance to ethnologists, we will follow the same method of recording their words as we have in previous bulletins. The Forest Potawatomi language is very like the Ojibwe.

VOWELS

a as in art.
e as in prey
i as in police
o as in go
u as in rule
ä as in flat
ê as in bet
î as in bit
û as in luck
w, h, and y as in English
’ glottal stop
' accent follows syllable

DIPHTHONGS

ia, œ and io

CONSONANTS

	Post-Pal.	Medio-Pal.	Pre-Pal.	Dental	Bi-labial
Stop.....	k g	.....	d t	t	b p
Spirant.....	.....	.....	c j	s z	.....
Affricative...	.....	dj	tc	.....	.....
Nasal.....	n	.....	.....	n	m

s as in since
g as in give
z as in zeal
c as the sound of sh
j as the sound of j in jour
tc as the sound of tc in witch
dj as the sound of j in jug

FOREST POTAWATOMI HISTORY

The Potawatomi, Ojibwe and Ottawa Indians, according to traditions handed down in each of these tribes, seem to have been originally one people and they claimed that their "grandfathers" were the Delewares. They originally lived in Ontario or in the eastern part of the United States and were driven by their hereditary enemies, the Iroquois, to the western shores of Lake Huron and finally to Wisconsin. In 1616, the Huron Indians, who lived on the western shores of Lake Huron, called these people the "Asistagueroüon" or "Otsista' ge'ronnon" which signifies "People of the place of the fire."[2] In the Ojibwe and Cree languages "Potawatamink" or "Potawaganink" also signifies "People of the place of the fire" and this is supposed to be the primary form of the Potawatomi name. Tradition says that long before historic contact, the Potawatomi kept a perpetual fire and considered themselves the "keepers of the fire".

There is a considerable difference between the Forest Potawatomi and their closest relatives, the Mascoutens, or the Prairie Potawatomi, both in their language and general ethnology. The Ojibwe, the Ottawa, and the Kickapoo tribes could all understand the Forest Potawatomi. Henry Ritchie, the subagent at Laona, himself an Ojibwe, told the writer that the Forest Potawatomi language is very nearly related to the Ojibwe. Father Allouez said that the Potawatomi speak the Algon-kian language, but in a dialect much harder to understand than that of the Ottawa. Rev. William Metzdorf,[3] said that their language was like that of the Ojibwe, Ottawa, and Kickapoo, soft and harmonious, but brief and clear cut. "There are sounds which tell us that here is a race of fine feelings and manly but peaceable character". The Mascoutens, or Prairie Potawatomi, call the Forest Potawatomi the "Na'nosi".[4]

A slight comparison of the three related tongues of the Forest Potawatomi, the Mascoutens, or Prairie Potawatomi, and the Ojibwe will demonstrate the difference between the three tongues. The general Algonkian name for Indians was "Unishinabe" (the common people)

2 Handbook, 2:289.
3 Blair, 2:287-297.
4 Skinner, 1924, 6:16.

while the Forest Potawatomi term is almost the same “Inicinabe”. A much more boastful term is used by the Iroquois, “Ongwe Honwe” (men excelling all others). The word for medicine bag in Forest Potawatomi is “skipita'gun”, in Mascouten it is “peshkita'gun”, and in Ojibwe “pindjigo'ssan”. The word for cedar tree in Forest Potawatomi is “gicigan” and in Mascouten “meskwa'wak”, while the word in Ojibwe is “gijik”.

Alanson Skinner[5] is authority for the statement that the Potawatomi, either the Mascoutens or the Forest branch, are the most disagreeable of central Algonkians and the most unwilling informants. He says that their material culture is similar to that of the Menomini, the Ojibwe and other central Algonkians.

So far as we can ascertain from the recorded traditions of the early Indian inhabitants of Wisconsin, the Winnebago were the original inhabitants of Wisconsin, at least so far as the period immediately preceding white occupation is concerned. But they were so greatly reduced in numbers and spirit by wars with the Illinois, that they accepted those Algonkian tribes who fled to Wisconsin as refugees from the Iroquois. Potawatomi traditions were first recorded by Father De Smet[6] and it is claimed by some that these traditions gave Longfellow the subject matter for his poem "Hiawatha". The Potawatomi are called by Father De Smet and other French writers from 1639 by their present name “Poutouatamis” or “Pouteouatamis”, which is sometimes abbreviated to the word Poux, the French word for lice. This brevity led La Houtan or his editor to confound them with the Puants or the Winnebago.[7]

It is very necessary to correctly differentiate between the forest dwelling Potawatomi, with which this bulletin is concerned, and the Prairie Potawatomi or Mascoutens. In the Jesuit Relations for 1670-1671, Father Dablon spoke of this branch of the Fire Nation as being correctly called the Maskoutench, which means “a treeless country”. Originally the Mascoutens were one of the minor bands of the Potawatomi, and lived

5 Skinner, 1924, 6:13.
6 Wis. Hist. Coll., 3:136.
7 N. Y. Col. Doc., 9:153-161.

south of Green Bay, their first locality in Wisconsin, down around Milwaukee and even farther south. There came to be a rather considerable difference between the two bands of Potawatomi both in their language and in their general ethnology. The Forest Potawatomi still retain their archaic, simple, non-intensive, Algonkian culture and seem to be closely related to the northern Ojibwe and the Cree.

"According to Ottawa tradition, there was in the early days a tribe called Muskodainsug on the east shore of Lake Michigan, who were driven farther southward, together with allied tribes, probably the Sauk (to whom they were related); and they were supposed to have entered Wisconsin together, passing around the southern end of Lake Michigan. Perrot was the first Frenchman to visit them; he was followed by Allouez (1670) and Marquette (1673) who both found them in this same village on the Fox River, living with the Miami and Kickapoo. In 1680, the Mascoutens are mentioned as living on Lake Winnebago and the Milwaukee River. In 1712, the Upper Mascoutens and Kickapoo joined the Foxes against the French. In 1718, the Upper Mascoutens and the Kickapoo were living together in a single village on Rock River, Illinois, and were estimated at two hundred men. In 1736 the Mascoutens are mentioned as numbering sixty warriors, living with the Kickapoo on Fox River, Wisconsin. They are last mentioned as living in Wisconsin between 1770 and 1780; and the last definite notice mentions those on the Wabash River [Indiana] in connection with the Piankashaw and Kickapoo. After this the Mascoutens disappeared from history, the northern probably being absorbed by the Sauk and Fox Confederacy and the southern by the Kickapoo".[8]

We are indebted to John E. Shea[9] for this list of the Indian tribes mentioned as at any time having resided in Wisconsin. They number twenty-six and are as follows: Ainoves, Atchatchakangouen (near Mascoutens), Fox or Meskwaki, Huron, Illinois, Keinouches, Kickapoo, Kiskakon, Kitchigamick, Makoua, Makoueoue, Mascoutens, Marameg, Menomini, Miami, Mikissioua, Nantoue, Noquets, Oharaouatenon, Ottawa Sinagos, Ottawa, Ouagoussak, Oneida, Potawatomi, Sac, and

8 Blair, 1:329.
9 Wis. Hist. Coll., 3:125-138.

Winnebago.

The first white man to visit Wisconsin was Jean Nicollet. He was sent by Champlain, the founder of New France, to live among the Indians of the forest and learn their languages and customs and open the way into their country for the fur trade and for missions. Nicollet spent several years among the Algonkian Indians of the Upper Ottawa River; then he visited the Hurons in the peninsula between Lake Erie and Georgian Bay.[10] There he heard of a far western tribe, known as the "people of salt water", whom he supposed must dwell on the borders of the western streams, whence the route would lead to the tribes of China. Instead of finding a way to Cathay, however, he found a new tribe of Indians, the Winnebago. Nicollet's visit to Wisconsin was in the year 1634. More than twenty years elapsed before the next white visitor came.

During the time of Nicollet's visit to the Algonkian tribes of Wisconsin, the Jesuit missionaries were establishing missions among the Hurons on the Lake Ontario peninsula and they came as far west as Sault Ste Marie in 1641. These missions to the Huron Indians were suddenly disturbed by the appearance of the hereditary enemies of the Hurons, the Iroquois, who defeated the Hurons in battle and caused them to flee westward. Their flight pressed upon the Algonkian peoples living to the westward and whole tribes left their ancestral homes and finally settled in Wisconsin. Here the nature of the country, with its lakes and swamps made them more or less safe from the invasion of the Iroquois hordes. The Winnebago were in no shape to resist the coming of these Algonkian refugees, since they had been so severely decimated by the Illinois Indians. Hence they made alliances with the newcomers and allowed them to establish new homes on the lakes and rivers where their ancestors had lived. The Mascoutens, Kickapoo, Miami, and Sauk and Fox occupied the central and southern portions of Wisconsin, while the Menomini and Potawatomi coming from the islands, settled around Green Bay. The Huron and Ottawa chose the southern shore of Lake Superior and were found around Chequamegon Bay. Radisson on October 1, 1661, found the Potawatomi also living at Chequamegon with the Ojibwe. Father Allouez established a mission at this point but it was

10 Wis. Hist. Mag., 2:417.

not successful and he left them in September, 1669, at the invitation of the Potawatomi and established a mission at Green Bay. This was the second Jesuit mission in Wisconsin, called St. Francis Xavier, where the city of De Pere now stands. On Radisson's[11] third voyage, they spent the winter of 1658-1659 with the Potawatomi and were the first white men to set foot in Wisconsin since Nicollet, 1634. While they were living with the Potawatomi, they met the Mascoutens or the so-called Fire Nation whom Nicollet had discovered on the south side of the Fox River, at a point now located in Green Lake County. In the spring they went to visit the Mascoutens and received excellent treatment from them. They took Radisson to the Mississippi, "Ye Greate River", eleven years before La Salle saw it and fourteen years before it was visited by Marquette and Joliet. Nicollet heard of it but never visited it.

Washington Island and the other islands at the entrance of Green Bay were first mapped as the Huron Islands.[12] However, the first voyageurs who actually visited these islands found then the residents to be Potawatomi and hence called them the Potawatomi Islands. When the Ottawa fled from the Iroquois, the Potawatomi had already left the Washington Islands. The Ottawa retreated into Wisconsin and were there welcomed by the Potawatomi who spoke a similar language and who also hated the Iroquois, by whom they had been driven from Michigan proper. The first migration of the Potawatomi could not have been later than 1636 for in 1637 and 1638 we find them established on the Green Bay shores. They were discovered at the inner end of the bay by 1671 and about this time retook Washington Island. In 1718, Cadillac[13] found the Potawatomi on Washington Island. He said, "The Island of the Poues (Washington Island) is still inhabited by the Pouteatamis. We called them Poues, because the first syllable of their name is so pronounced. This is a very warlike nation, very hostile to the Iroquois, and frequently inflict severe blows on them. They have no regard for anyone, although they are less numerous than many other nations. Their islands abound in grain, and the climate is very temperate."

11 Wis. Hist. Coll., 11:66-67.
12 Blair. 1:149.
13 Wis. Hist. Coll., 16:359.

Father Allouez[14] locates the Potawatomi in Wisconsin and says of them, "The Pouteouatamie are a people speaking the Algonkian tongue, but in a dialect much harder to understand than the Ottawa. Their country lies along the 'lake of the Ilimouek' (Lake Michigan). These people are warlike and engage in hunting and fishing." Potherie[15] also describes them in his History of North America dated 1640-1660. He says that "the Pouteouatemis, the Sakis (Sauk), and Malhominis (Menomini) live at Green Bay as well as the Puans (Winnebago). The Puans were very warlike and the Pouteouatemis are their neighbors; the behavior of these people is very affable and cordial and they make great efforts to gain the good opinion of persons who come among them. They are very intelligent, they have an inclination toward raillery; their physical appearance is good; and they are great talkers. When they set their minds on anything, it is not easy to turn them from it. Their old men are prudent, sensible and deliberate; it is seldom that they undertake any unreasonable enterprise. As they receive strangers very kindly, they are delighted when reciprocal attentions are made to them. They have so good an opinion of themselves that they regard other nations as inferior to them. They have made themselves arbiters for the tribes about the bay and for all their neighbors; they strive to preserve for themselves that reputation in every direction. Their ambition to please everybody has, of course, caused among them jealousy and divorce, for their families are scattered to the right and to the left along Lake Michigan. With a view to gaining for themselves special esteem, they make presents of all their possessions, stripping themselves of even necessary articles in their eager desire to be accounted liberal. Most of the merchandise for which the Ottawas trade with the French is carried among these people."

While 1671 saw the founding of the St. Francis Xavier mission by Father Allouez at De Pere, the Jesuit missions only thrived about ten years and 1682 marked the decline of the influence of missions among the Indians in Wisconsin. In 1673, Louis Joliet and Father Marquette made their historic trip up the Wisconsin River. In 1680, Daniel G. Duluth, who had previously threaded the upper Superior country to the Mississippi River, came east by way of the Wisconsin—Fox River route, and established the

14 Wis. Hist. Coll., 16:55.
15 Wis. Hist. Coll., 16:3-8.

route to both the Upper and Lower Mississippl. In 1680, Robert Cavelier de La Salle took a trip up the Illinois River and invited the Wisconsin Indians to make a permanent settlement among the Illinois Indians. The Miami, the Mascoutens and the Kick-apoo accepted and with the Potawatomi moved southward along the shore of Lake Michigan. The Fox Indians left the Wolf River and went to the Fox River, while the Menomini moved around to the vicinity of Green Bay. At this time, the Sauk and Fox Indians controlled the Fox—Wisconsin River waterway, while the Winnebago were found upon the upper Rock River. The Huron and Ottawa Indians removed to the Straits of Mackinac, while the Ojibwe left the south shores of Superior and settled in northern Wisconsin.

Milwaukee was a Potawatomi village before the coming of the whites, and they continued to occupy the vicinity for some time thereafter. It was through the Treaty of 1833 that the territory surrounding Milwaukee was ceded by the Menomini and the Potawatomi to the whites. The Mascoutens or Prairie Potawatomi appear to have been the earliest settlers at Milwaukee, occupying this region jointly with the Kickapoo, to whom they were closely related linguistically. They probably lived at Milwaukee until 1658. By 1680 these people had scattered as far as St. Joe,[16] Michigan, and by 1690 they had moved farther to the south, where they either became extinct or were absorbed by other tribes. By the year 1699, the Fox Indians, who also lived around Milwaukee, had abandoned the site to the Potawatomi. Thus at this time there were Winnebago, Ojibwe, Menomini, Ottawa and Potawatomi at Milwaukee. The Forest Potawatomi are believed to have made their settlement at Milwaukee in 1769 coming from St. Joe, Michigan, under their chief Siggenauk, Blackbird. The Forest Potawatomi chief of the settlement at Two Rivers, Wisconsin, was Nanaboujou.

Previous mention has been made of the fact that the Sac and Fox held the Fox-Wisconsin waterway until the year 1730. The Potawatomi, joined by the Mascoutens and the Kickapoo, fell upon the Sac and Fox, while the Illinois Indians engaged them from the other side and it is said that they were nearly exterminated. It was said that at this time there were

16 Gregory, 2:565-595.

fourteen hundred[17] Indians attacking the Sac and Fox, of which number five hundred were Potawatomi.

Samuel A. Storrow, writing under the date of September 29, 1817, said, "I entered the village of Millewackie which belongs to the tribe of the Potawatomi. It is situated on the right (southwest) bank of the river which I crossed to reach it. The soil is good and the climate much softer than that of Green Bay. The Potawatomi village is small,— their chief whose name in English is''Old Flour', brought us an Indian guide to Chicago."[18]

Morgan L. Martin, of Green Bay,[19] also throws some light upon them. He tells that the first vessel with troops to come from Green Bay named the Potawatomi Islands at the head of the bay: "Washington", "Chambers", "Green", etc. Martin came to Green Bay in 1827. According to him, the whole region, extending from the entrance of Green Bay to as far south as Milwaukee on the lake, was occupied by the Potawatomi and the Ottawa. Their principal villages were at Mani-towoc, on the Pigeon and Sheboygan Rivers. There were none north of Kewaunee.

Dr. Jackson Kemper who reached Green Bay in 1834,[20] tells us that "all the lands of the Potawatomi are sold to the government and they are under obligation to move beyond the Mississippi River within five years of the signing of their treaty."

Rev. William Metzdorf[21] lived with the Potawatomi for four years and says that "when the Potawatomi first came into contact with the whites, they occupied land in southern Michigan and Wisconsin. At the time of the Revolutionary War, they left Michigan for Wisconsin. In 1850 they moved to the western plains while some remained in the Wisconsin woods and are now called the Forest Potawatomi. Their language is like the Ojibwe, the Ottawa and the Kickapoo. It is soft and harmonious but brief and clear cut. It tells us that this is a race of fine feeling and manly

17 Wis. Hist. Coll., 17:100, 111-120.
18 Wis. Hist. Coll., 6:175-6.
19 Wis. Hist. Coll., 11:394.
20 Wis. Hist. Coll., 14:402. 404.
21 Blair, 2:287-297.

but peaceable character." Mr. M. M. Quaife[22] says that three hundred and fifty Potawatomi returned from Kansas after having been sent there in 1835 and were under no government supervision until 1864 when Congress gave them a special agent at Stevens Point to look after them. Father Phillip Gordon[23] visited the Potawatomi in Forest County at Soperton and in northern Marinette County, and found some of them who came here from Kansas.

Publius V. Lawson, writing upon the Potawatomi in the Wisconsin Archeologist[24] lists the various homes of the Potawatomi in Wisconsin by villages, tracing them down to their present residence in Forest County. He states that they had a village at Black Wolf, seven miles south of Oshkosh; at Waukau in Winnebago County; at Kewaskum in Washington County; in Fond du Lac County, a few miles south of the Horicon marsh; at Elkhart Lake; in Door County; in Kewaunee County, in Manitowoc County; in Sheboygan County; in Washington County; and in Milwaukee County.

According to Dr. Alphonse Gerend, two thousand of the Potawatomi have died in the last fifty-five years. He sets their migration date from the Horicon marsh to Black Wolf and Waukau as 1863. Then they removed to Little Wolf, fifteen miles northwest of Northport in Waupaca County, where they lived for ten years. Then they moved to Wittenberg in Shawano County, where they lived for fifteen years. Then they removed to a point eight miles northeast of Gillett, in Oconto County where they lived until they moved to Forest County in 1914 where they have lived ever since. There was another band of Potawatomi which moved north to the Bark River in Michigan in 1914. The Potawatomi now found at Skunk Hill in Wood County, Wis., are people from the Prairie Potawatomi band who returned from Kansas.

There are supposed to be about eight hundred and fifty Forest Potawatomi living around in Forest County with fairly definite settlements to be found at Blackwell, at Soperton and around Laona. Children of school age are gathered together in the fall and taken to the

22 Wis. Hist. Mag., 4:170.
23 Wis. Hist. Mag., 3:380.
24 Wis. Arch., 19:41-116

various Indian schools, most of them going to the Lac du Flambeau Ojibwe school, while some go away as far as Flandreau, South Dakota. Those of high school age go to Haskell University.

MATERIAL CULTURE

The Forest Potawatomi still retain an archaic, simple, non-intensive Algonkian culture. Being woods dwellers, they use the same type of wigwam as other Wisconsin woodland Indians. An early description of them (1718) says,[25] "The Poutouatamis have their village near the fort. This nation makes its cabins of mats; these are made of reeds. All this work is done by the women. This nation is well-clothed like our savages resident at Montreal. The only occupation of the men is to hunt and to adorn themselves. They use a great deal of vermilion. They use many buffalo robes, highly ornamented, to cover themselves in winter and in summer they wear red or blue cloth." This refers to their winter abode. It only requires the cutting of poles and the use of rolls of birch bark and reed mats to quickly make a wigwam. In the summer time, the Potawatomi usually lived in more substantial rectangular dwellings near their fields of corn and beans. They used birch bark for all sorts of cooking and storage utensils as well as for canoes. Aboriginally they used shell beads, but after the traders came these were replaced by glass beads. Porcupine quills were profusely employed to ornament their deerskin clothing and various other objects. The Potawatomi made some durable baskets and bags from the bark fiber of the white cedar or arbor vitae and from the bark fiber of the linden. Splint baskets were made from the wood of the black ash. Baskets were made of elm and hickory bark. A crude cloth was woven from bear and elk hair, together with a "'grass that grows in the prairie". They say that this "grass" grew at Lake Koshkonong in the Rock River, and it may have been the Great Bulrush, (Scirpus validus). Wooden bowls were fashioned from the stump burls of black ash and hard maple. Spoons and other utensils were likewise made from wood.

The Potawatomi practiced agriculture quite extensively. Hunting and fishing were also important. Fish nets were made from basswood bark

25 Wis. Hist. Coll., 16:366-8.

cord. Sometimes they used spears with long shafts and stone or deer antler points. Both the pine log dugout and the birch bark canoe were used. For night hunting, pitch-pine and cedar torches were placed on the bow of the canoe. The birch bark canoes were from twenty-five to thirty feet long and five feet wide. They made the frame of cedar and sewed on the bark with the roots of the jack pine, covering the seams with pine pitch.

From the earliest times, the Potawatomi supplemented the products of hunting and fishing with the practice of primitive agriculture. Their summer residence was more or less fixed by the clearings that they made in their summer villages and according to Allouez in 1670,[26] they had fields of Indian corn or maize, squashes, pumpkins, beans and tobacco. The forests and natural openings were likewise full of edible berries and nuts which they hoarded for winter use. Other wild roots were preserved and dried for winter use.

The Forest Potawatomi since 1914 have had as a rule unusually large farms, each allotment comprising one hundred and sixty acres. Though they do not cultivate so very much of this acreage, some fairly respectable crops of hay and corn are grown. While there is a great deal of sand in the north country, there is some very good productive soil, and even some clay, to be found in that region.

RELIGION

The aboriginal religion of the Forest Potawatomi was quite similar to that of other Algonkian peoples and their culture hero was Mana'bozo who was considered the founder of their religious cult. Religion has ever been a most interesting feature of primitive culture.

According to their own statements, the Potawatomi have three principal concerns in life: food, health, and the proper valuation of woman. Any man will starve himself if necessary, in order that his wife or daughters may get the proper amount of food. Health depends upon the understanding of the use of medicines and the acquirement of the right

26 Wis. Hist. Coll., 16:67.

kind of food. It is not strange that their religion considers longevity as the greatest good. Their most sacred edifice is the medicine lodge and the ingredients of their medicines are vested with sacred value.

History records some curious narratives concerning the religion of the Potawatomi. Christian Hoecken,[27] a Jesuit missionary to the Potawatomi in 1847, compares them to the ancient Hebrews and tries to show that they live under the laws of Moses. It is likely that he came into contact with Indians who had Jesuit training for several generations and who appreciated the stories that they heard from the early missionaries and told them again to him, transforming them into their own tradition. He reports that their stories said that there were six persons rescued from the general wreckage upon an ark which is now to be found in the south on a high mountain where it has been turned to stone. He claims that the Potawatomi knew the history of Moses, of his exposure on the Nile River, and of his adventures in the desert. These stories he discovers interwoven with some of their hunting stories. He tells of their traditions about the sun being a globe of fire encompassed by a certain power that prevents combustion. He says that they consider the moon to be the sun of the night. They account for claps of thunder as being the collision of gigantic balls in the heavens in some game that the inhabitants of the spirit world are playing.

The eariest account we have of the religious beliefs of the Potawatomi is from the diary of Father Allouez.[28] He naturally takes the position that their religion is pagan and far from the ideal of the Christian, but he describes it at some length. He says in part “There is here a false and abominable religion resembling in many respects the faith of some of the ancient pagans. Savages of these regions recognize no sovereign master of heaven and earth, but believe there are many genii, some of which are beneficent, as the Sun, the Moon, the Lakes, Rivers, and Woods; others malevolent, as the Adder, the Dragon, Cold and Storms, and, in general, whatever seems to them either helpful or hurtful they call a Manitou, and pay it the worship and veneration which we render only to the true God. Those divinities they invoke whenever they go out hunting, fishing, to

27 Hoecken, 6:88-326.

28 Wis. Hist. Coll., 16:50-54.

war, or on a journey—offering them sacrifices, with ceremonies appropriate only for sacrificial priests.

“One of the leading old men of the village discharges the function of priest, beginning with a carefully prepared harangue addressed to the sun—if the Eat-all feast, which bears a certain resemblance to a holocaust, is held in his honor. He declares in a loud voice that he pays his thanks to that luminary, for having lighted him, so that he could successfully kill some animal or other,—praying and exhorting it by this feast to continue its kind care of his family. During this invocation, all the guests eat, even to the last morsel; after which a man appointed toward the purpose takes a cake of tobacco, breaks it in two and throws it into the fire. Everyone cries aloud while the tobacco burns and the smoke rises aloft and with these outcries the whole sacrifice ends.

“I have seen an idol set up in the middle of a village; and to it, among other presents, ten dogs are offered in sacrifice, in order to prevail on this false God to send elsewhere the distemper that was depopulating the village. Everyone went daily to make his offering to this idol, according to his needs. Besides these public sacrifices, they have some that are private and domestic; for often in their cabins they throw tobacco into the fire, with a kind of an outward offering which they make to their false gods. During storms and tempest, they sacrifice a dog, throwing it into the lake. 'That is to appease thee', they say to the latter, ‘Keep quiet’. At perilous places in the river, they propitiate the eddies and rapids by offering them presents; and so persuaded are they that they honor their pretended deities by this external worship, that those among them who are converted and baptized, observe the same ceremonies toward the true God until they are disabused.

“As, moreover, these people are of gross nature, they recognize no purely spiritual divinity; believing that the sun is a man, and the moon is his wife; that snow and ice are also a man, who goes away in the spring and comes back in the winter; that the evil spirit is in adders, dragons and other monsters; that the crow, the kite, and some other birds are genii, and speak just as we do; and that there are even people among them that understand the language of birds, as some understand a little

that of the French. They moreover believe that the people of the departed govern the fishes in the lake; and thus from earliest times they have held the immortality and even the metempsychosis of the souls of dead fishes, believing that they pass into other fishes' bodies. Therefore they never throw their bones into the fire, for fear that they may offend these souls, so that they will cease to come into their nets.

“They hold in very special veneration a certain fabulous animal which they have never seen except in dreams, and which they call 'Missibizi', acknowledging it to be a great genius and offering it sacrifices in order to obtain good sturgeon fishing. They also say that the little pebbles of copper which they find at the bottom of the water in the lake, or in the rivers emptying into it, are the riches of the gods who dwell in the depths of the earth. . . . They hold that there is a great and excellent genius master of all the rest, who made heaven and earth, and who dwells they say in the East, toward the country of the French.

“The fountain head of their religion is libertinism; and all these various sacrifices end ordinarily in debauches, indecent dances, and shameful acts of concubinage. All the devotion of the men is directed towards securing many wives, and changing them whenever they choose; that of the women toward leaving their husbands; and that of the girls toward a life of profligacy.

“They endure a great deal on account of these ridiculous deities; for they fast in their honor for the purpose of learning the issue of some affair. I have seen with compassion men who had some scheme of war or hunting, pass a whole week, taking scarcely anything. They show such fixity of purpose that they will not desist until they have seen in a dream what they desire,—either a herd of moose, or a band of Iroquois put to flight, or something similar,—no very difficult thing for an empty brain, utterly exhausted with hunger and thinking all day of nothing else.”

Captain Thomas G. Anderson[29] furnished a narrative in 1882, which he obtained from Chief Nanaboujou of the Two Rivers village in 1804, which is a typical story of the origin of the Forest Potawatomi. He said,

29 Wis. Hist. Coll., 9:136.

translating directly from Chief Nanaboujou, “I take my name from my ancestors who were the first living man and woman. They found themselves in a big canoe, all the animals were also in the same canoe, floating on thick water. After a while the ancestors insisted that there must be something more substantial beneath the waters. To test it they wanted a deer or some other animal to dive down and ascertain. None would venture on so perilous and uncertain an undertaking. At length a beaver volunteered to make the effort, and jumped overboard, plunging beneath the waters. After a long time he rose to the surface, almost dead, without being able to relate anything satisfactory. But the ancestors still persisted that there must be a hard substance upon which the waters rested. Finally they persuaded the muskrat to go on a trip of discovery. He, too, was gone a long time on his subwatery exploration, but at length he emerged from the flood of water quite exhausted. The woman ancestor took him up in her arms, and on nursing and drying him to bring him to, found a little clay adhering to one of his forepaws. This she carefully scraped off, worked it between her thumb and finger and placed it on the water to see if it would float. It immediately began to increase in size and in three days it was more than three fathoms broad.

“The wolf now began to grow very troublesome, snarling and growling at all the other animals, so the woman ancestor scolded him sharply, but to no purpose. At length she got angry and threw him out upon the little island, which was as yet too small to bear him up in one position. He therefore had to run round and round the little island, which is the cause of the shores of the lakes and rivers being harder than the rest of the land. The island continued to grow, herbs sprang up on it, so that they could send other animals out of the canoe to find lodgement there. The woman ancestor said to her husband, 'What a pity we have no trees growing on the island', and proposed to paddle around somewhere to find a tree. They soon found a nice little balsam flower, which they brought and planted in the center of the island. It grew in a very short time until it reached the sky. They then observed an object over their heads, moving east and west, day after day. The woman ancestor was quite captivated with it, and she sent her husband up the tree to set a snare to catch this beautiful object. He went up and found it had the appearance of an old woman. However, he set a snare, and descended.

The beautiful object was caught in the net, and there it stuck. The woman ancestor was perfectly outraged, because it was stopped in its course; and scolded her husband for setting the trap. She then desired her husband to ascend the tree, and let the beautiful object go on its course again,—but he declined to do so. She then tried to get the deer and other animals to go up, but they could not climb. At last she induced a raccoon to make the effort. The heat was so great when he got near the object, that it scorched him and he came tumbling down through the branches of the tree. The good woman was now in a greater rage than ever, when she found she could not have her curiosity gratified, and the object loosened from its captivity. After a long time, a mole volunteered to go up. All the other animals began to laugh at him for his temerity but up he went, and when he got near the object, finding it very hot, he managed to burrow along till he reached the snare, and cut the object loose. But in doing so he scorched his nose, and that is the reason moles have brown noses and small eyes; and the sun once loosened from its trap has been going ever since."

MEDICINE LODGE

Hoffman in the Publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology, has described the workings of the medicine lodge, as has also the late Alanson Skinner in his book on "The Material Culture of the Menomini" published by the Museum of the American Indian—Heye Foundation, so that it will not be necessary to here describe in detail the Potawatomi ceremony as it is very similar to that of the Menomini or the Ojibwe. The Potawatomi have several medicine men and medicine women who guard their secrets very jealously. It was to these practitioners that we had to look for much of our knowledge concerning plant medicines. Both Mr. Ritchie and Mr. Bennett were quick to agree upon the names of the best medicine men and women among the Potawatomi, but were also agreed that it was useless to visit certain ones whom they named. We visited the most difficult one first and without the use of an interpreter. With confidence established, this medicine man told us everything that we wanted to know about the plants. After this experience, the interpreter had no hesitancy in taking us to see any informant. We found full agreement as to the names and uses of the plants in question.

The medicine lodge is rarely assembled except in the spring when the trees are in blossom or in the fall after the leaves have fallen. When it is assembled for curative purposes, it is for some particularly difficult case where more than one medicine man is needed to give the treatment. Usually, however, the medicine lodge is reserved for the initiation of new members, which most frequently takes the form of a replacement of a member who has died a year previously. The medicine lodge structure is approximately the same in shape and size as that of the Menomini, the Ojibwe, or the Winnebago. It is usually from eighty to one hundred and fifty feet long by twelve or fifteen feet in width. It is built with poles that arch over at a height of about eight feet in the center and is rounded at either end. It is situated on the ground and is oriented due east and west. It is covered along the sides by cat-tail mats, or with old canvas if mats are not available, and roofed with rolls of birch bark. The entrance to the medicine lodge is always at the east and usually there is only one door. Just inside the door is the sacred fire and directly above it an opening in the roof to allow the smoke to escape. The medicine lodge members sit along the sides of the lodge with the candidate and his relatives sitting to the south of the entrance and the chief instructors or medicine men sitting to the north of the entrance. The other members group themselves by clans along the north, west and south walls of the lodge. The usual water drum is used in the medicine lodge. It is about six inches in diameter and twelve inches in height. From time to time, it is reversed and the water is allowed to pentrate and soak up the buckskin drumhead. This causes a louder and more resonant tone. Draughts of medicine are sometimes prepared and administered at the healing ceremonies.

The Prairie Potawatomi and some of the Forest Potawatomi have taken up the peyote cult in recent years. The Forest Potawatomi have not accepted this new type of religion as readily as the Prairie Potawatomi. Their habit of visiting has brought them into contact with other tribes in this state, in Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota and Oklahoma. Since most of the Forest Potawatomi live in isolated places, the practice of the peyote cult is more adapted to their present mode of living than is the medicine lodge.

The peyote cult is said to have originated among the tribes of Mexico. The participants chew and swallow peyote "buttons", the button-shaped branches of a cactus (*Lophophora williamsii*) found in Texas, New Mexico and Old Mexico. The beginner in the use of peyote finds that two or three buttons are sufficient to induce the visions necessary in this religious observance, while the hardened addict is able to chew as many as ninety in one evening. Peyote users much eschew their old medicine lodge practices and therefore they care nothing about the preserving of their old religious and ceremonial objects belonging to the medicine lodge. They claim to have a new philosophy of life which entirely governs their conduct and allies their practice with the Christian religion. The Indian Service of the government has placed a ban on the use of this narcotic and confiscates any found in possession of the Indians, usually accompanying confiscation with a jail sentence.

The Forest Potawatomi have three main types of dances. The first is the medicine lodge ceremony with its attendant dances, all of which are freighted with meaning. The second is the Dream Dance which has been so thoroughly described by Dr. S. A. Barrett[30] and is well understood as a sacred ceremonial dance which is not performed in secret. In fact, the whites are often invited to be present. The third type is the game dance which accompanies the playing of the several Indian games such as lacrosse, etc. It is further said,[31] "In summer they play a great deal at La Crosse, twenty or more on each side. Their bat is a sort of small racket, and the ball with which they play is of very heavy wood, larger than the balls we use in tennis. When they play, they are entirely naked; they have only a breech-clout and shoes of deerskin. Their bodies are painted all over with all kinds of colors. There are some who paint their bodies with white clay, applying it to resemble silver lace sewed on all the seams of a coat and at a distance one would take it for silver lace. They play for large sums and often the prize amounts to more than 800 Livres. They set up two goals and begin their game midway between; one party drives the ball one way and the other in the opposite direction, and those who can drive it to the goal are the winners. All this is very diverting

30 Barrett, 1:4.

31 Wis. Hist. Coll., 16:366-8.

and interesting to behold. Often one village plays against another, the Poux against the Ottawas or Hurons for very considerable prizes. The French frequently take part in the game". Each of these dances requires a differently decorated type of thin drum and each has its characteristic songs. Most of the dream dances are performed upon some particular occasion such as the harvest time of maize or at other periods of the year when it is necessary for the Indians to thank their deities for good growing seasons or for harvests.

POTAWATOMI ETHNOBOTANY

The writer will again follow the established custom in this series of bulletins on ethnobotany. All of the plants of the region were collected whether they were known by him to be used by the Forest Potawatomi or not and are included in this list. Subsequent investigators may find that they were really used. The listing of each plant will be by family and English name, followed by the Latin binomial according to Gray's Manual of Botany, then the Forest Potawatomi name and its literal translation, if this is known, and finally other facts about this plant. Following this there will be the uses, the supposed properties, its value as an officinal or eclectic drug by the whites and any known myths connected with it. The same procedure will be followed in the other subheads under investigation, viz.: foods, fibres, dyes and plants of miscellaneous uses.

PREPARATION OF VEGETAL MEDICINES

A majority of the Forest Potawatomi still believe in their medicine lodge and retain a considerable amount of their ancient, medicinal lore, knowing the plants used as remedies and the ceremonies and observances necessary in gathering each. Father Allouez[32] describes the art of medicine in vogue in Wisconsin in 1665. "Their science consists in ascertaining the cause of the ailment and applying their remedies. They deem the most common cause of illness to come from failure to give a feast, after some successful fishing or hunting excursion; for then the sun which takes pleasure in feasts, is angry with the one who has been

32 Wis. Hist. Coll., 16:50-54.

delinquent in his duty, and makes him ill. Besides this general cause of sickness, there are special ones, in the shape of certain little genii, malevolent in their nature, which thrust themselves of their own accord, or are sent by some enemy into the parts of the body that are most diseased. Thus, whenever anyone has an aching head, or arm, or stomach, they say that a Manitou has entered this part of the body and will not cease its torment until it has been drawn or driven out. The most common remedy, accordingly is to summon the juggler, who comes attended by some old men, with whom he holds a sort of consultation on the patient's ailment. After this, he falls upon the diseased part, applies his mouth to it, and by sucking, pretends to extract something from it, as a little stone, a bit of string, or something else, which he has concealed in his mouth beforehand and which he displays, saying, 'There is the Manitou; now thou art cured, and it only remains to give a feast.'

"The Devil, bent on tormenting those poor blinded creatures even in this world, has suggested to them another remedy, in which they place great confidence. It consists in grasping the patient under the arm, and making him walk barefoot over the live embers in the cabin, or if he is so ill that he cannot walk, he is carried by four or five persons and made to pass slowly over all the fires. A treatment which often enough results in this, that the greater suffering thereby produced cures or induces unconsciousness of the lesser pain they strive to cure. After all, the commonest remedy, as it is the most profitable for the physician, is the holding of a feast to the sun, which is done in the belief that this luminary, which takes pleasure in liberal actions, being appeased by a magnificent repast will regard the patient with favor and restore him to health." The writer has encountered this same fire testing in another tribe, but in this particular case it was to determine whether the patient had St. Vitus's dance.

Usually the practice of medicine in mild cases of disease is carried on by near relatives in the home, but more difficult cases are taken to specialists in the use of medicinal plants, who are the recognized medicine men or medicine women. The Forest Potawatomi still use the necessary songs for the digging of the plant roots and observe all the ancient ceremonial forms in acquiring their medicinal materials. They consider that the plant

roots are the hairs from the head of their grandmother, the earth. The ceremonial gathering of these medicines gives them their potency. Such gathering requires special songs, and also the placing of tobacco in the hole that is dug. This is a sacrifice to the culture hero, to grandmother Earth, and to the ruler of the universe, all of whom are asked to lend their strength to the medicine. After the roots, or whatever parts of the plants desired for medicine are collected, they are taken to the home and carefully washed, sun dried, and preserved for future use. Most of the medicine men have a special bowl and pestle, by means of which they grind the medicinal roots or other parts of the plant to a powder. They often immediately mix the various ingredients of the medicine together. Such a medicine is then tied up in a bit of calico and placed away for winter use. One might suppose that a great chance for error would arise in identifying these various mixtures, but the acute sense of smell or taste always indicates the particular remedy in hand. Doses usually consist of copious draughts of the infusion of the remedies. Rarely are small doses used. Some of these remedies are made as lukewarm infusions and others by boiling. Indian tea is the usual form of medication except for external applications. These may be salves or poultices. Poultices are used extensively. In some types of disease, they use injections of medicine, filling a bladder or fish sound with the medicine and tying at the neck a hollow goose bone. With this primitive syringe they force medication into the body. It is quite a common thing to find the various teas seasoned with an ingredient used merely to mask or disguise some unpleasant taste resident in the real remedy. Wild ginger is a common and universal seasoning agent.

The Indian medicine man has his own method of diagnosis. He is usually a shrewd analyst of symptoms. In the same manner as the white doctor, he feels the pulse, looks at the tongue, at the pupil of the eye, feels the temperature of the body, notices any complexion variation and asks the patient where he is suffering pain. From the symptoms, he is able to make his diagnosis and select the medicine he believes is indicated. But usually he does not commit himself until after he has gone home and dreamed over the case, that is, had a vision as to the proper medicines to use. Oftentimes there are as many as fifteen ingredients in the remedy employed. This is not unlike the old “shot gun prescription” used by the

general practitioner in former days among our own people. The Forest Potawatomi doctor or medicine man also uses the “teacup diagnosis” for his chosen medicine. The powdered drug is placed in a teacupful of water and carefully observed. If it floats around the rim of the cup four times before sinking into the water, then the patient is sure to recover. Most of our Algonkian Indians use four as their magical number and expect their medicine to take effect in four hours or four days. If there has been no marked effect of the medicine in four days then the medicine man will seek a further vision on the case and probably change the medicinal agent.

The fees charged by the medicine man or woman are usually in goods. There is no such thing as a free treatment. Both the medicine man and the patient believe that the medicines are valueless unless they have been properly paid for, otherwise the spirits of the medical societies will be displeased and not lend their power to the medicaments. It often seems to the white man that they place an undue value upon drugs intended to cure trifling ailments, and often the medicine man exaggerates the case and requires a very large fee for curing it. Such a fee may be a wagon and two horses, so many blankets or whatever he thinks the remedy is worth, and usually the fee must be paid before the medicine is administered. The payment by the patient or by his family entitles them to the cure, and also to the medicinal knowledge which has effected it. Therefore the medicine man will tell them what he used and how he used it and it becomes the property of that family for all time to come. They in turn, will not divulge it to anyone in a similar case of sickness without again extracting a fee similar to that which they paid for the information. Such practices explain the difficulty the investigator has in getting formulas for treatment, even though he might be thoroughly honest in his contention that he does not want it for treating any person, but merely for record purposes. It is comparatively easy, however, to get them to talk about the different plants themselves that go into the making of medicines if one does not insist upon knowing the quantities and the other ingredients required in the preparation of a medicine ready for administration.

As is the case with other tribes investigated, the Forest Potawatomi

medicine men know the proper season to gather their medicinal materials and seem to understand when the medicinal principles of the plant are most active. They also know that this may be a very short period, sometimes only three or four days. In this case, they stop whatever they are doing to go out and procure the medicines if the time is ripe. We have never seen any of these medicine men lay in any large supplies of medicines or collecting in any wholesale manner. They seem to have set certain limitations for themselves and these entirely without regard to the fact that they may need a great deal more than they are gathering. As previously stated, the Forest Potawatomi find that they have to travel to other parts of the country to get some of their valued remedies and oftentimes they bring the seed from these widely separated parts of the country and try to grow their own medicines in the neighborhood of their homes. It seems that no price is too high to pay for something that they need to use in their medicine practices.

The Indian medicine man is a great believer in the power of suggestion and, while treating a patient, will often sing over and over that he is getting better and that he (the medicine man) can see that he is going to recover. He thus builds up faith in his patient and faith in the efficacy of the medicine. Confidence is half of the battle with them as it is with the white patient.

Among the Forest Potawatomi there is a small group of expert medicine men who have taken a fourth degree of the medicine lodge and have become what is known as jugglers or conjurers. These men have the supposed ability to see into the future and do tricks to mystify. They often build a tiny wigwam of poles and manipulate small figures in a mystical manner. It is thought that they have the power to bewitch various members of the tribe, even without coming near them. Even today some believe that it is possible for these men to wreck vengeance upon whomsoever they choose. The juggler will draw a picture of the intended victim either upon the sand or upon a piece of white birch-bark and draw a line piercing the heart of the victim. They believe that this will actually come to pass. One so affected with a spell will often go to a juggler to have him break the spell that has been put upon him by some other juggler or conjurer. Of course, all of this is done for a suitable fee.

It is believed that the juggler is able to cure peculiar ailments like insanity, or twisted face or some of the less understood diseases to which the human flesh is heir, merely by their conjuring and without the use of any actual remedies. If they do use medicines, these are usually of a supernatural nature, such as the hearts of animals or bones and medicinal materials that really have no value whatever except in their psychological effect.

POTAWATOMI MEDICINAL MATERIALS

While the writer heard of a few odd remedies from other than the plant kingdom, he collected no such specimens. These were things such as the flesh of a fish or a snake, or the bones of some mammal, or pieces of horn from a cow. The Potawatomi also said that they used white clay but it was not obtained around that part of the country. The medicinal plants used are as follows:

POTAWATOMI MEDICINAL PLANTS

ACERACEAE (MAPLE FAMILY)

Red Maple (*Acer rubrum* L.) shown in plate 1, fig. 2, “cicigîme'-wîc” [red maple]. The inner bark of the red maple is boiled and used as an eye-wash. Pammel mentions the same thing in his treatise on poisonous plants,[33] so that it appears that this use by the Indians is fairly widespread. Among the whites,[34] a solution of the inner bark is astringent and ophthalmic.

Sugar Maple (*Acer saccharum* Marsh.)[35] “kisinamî'c” [cold tree or timber]. The inner bark of the sugar maple is used as an expectorant. This bark yields an infusion which is accounted tonic, anthelmintic, and ophthalmic, by the white man.[36]

33 Pammel, p. 615.
34 Nickell, p. 9.
35 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. VII, fig. 2.
36 Nickell, p. 9.

Mountain Maple (*Acer spicatum* Lam.), shown in plate 3, fig. 2, “caca'gobimîc” [soft wood]. The inner bark is employed with other medicinal materials to make a combination syrup for coughs. The National Dispensatory says[37] the bark very closely resembles *Viburnum Opulus* and is entirely substituted for it. The bark extract has been used by the white man as an antispasmodic in asthma, hysteria, puerperal convulsions and dysmenorrhoea. Among the whites,[38] the bark extract is considered ophthalmic and diuretic.

ALISMACEAE (WATER-PLANTAIN FAMILY)

Broad-leaved Arrowhead (*Sagittaria latifolia* Willd.)[39] “wabasi'-binik” [white potato]. The starchy corms that are produced on short lateral rootlets of this plant are pounded into a pulp. The pulp is used for poulticing wounds and sores. Among the whites,[40] the root is considered refrigerant, astringent and detergent, cooling the body and exerting a cleansing action upon wounds, boils and ulcers. Lyons[41] says that the California Indians also used these corms under the name “wappate” or “wapatoo”.

ANACARDIACEAE (SUMAC FAMILY)

Poison Ivy (*Rhus Toxicodendron* L.) shown in plate 4, fig. 1, “makaki'bag” [toad weed]. The Forest Potawatomi consider this plant to be poisonous, as do the whites. Even the eclectic practitioners who formerly used it have abandoned it because they did not get good results from it. However the Prairie Potawatomi, according to John Macintosh[42] know it under the name “tatapa'kwe” [climbs trees] and-say that only the most skillful medicine men know how to use it. They pound the root to make a poultice and place it upon a swelling to cause it to open.

Staghorn Sumac (*Rhus typhina* L.)[43] “bakwanimî'c” [puckering? bush].

37 Nat'l. Disp., p. 1751.
38 Nickell p 9
39 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXXI, fig. 3, shows similar sp
40 Nickell, p. 118.
41 Lyons, p. 408.
42 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 2, p. 201.
43 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. IX, fig. 4, also pl. XXXI, fig. 4.

Most of our Wisconsin Indian tribes make use of the staghorn sumac for medicine and use various parts of the shrub. The root, bark and leaves all are medicines. The root bark is used as a hemostatic. The leaves are steeped to make a tea, used in gargling for sore throat, tonsilitis and erysipelas. The berries are used to make a medicinal tea. They are also often mixed with other plant medicines to expel worms. It is quite likely that the abundant hairs upon the fruit, irritate the stomach lining and cause worms to be expelled. Among the whites,[44] the bark and leaves are considered tonic, astringent, and antiseptic, while the fruit is diuretic, refrigerant and acidulous.

APOCYNACEAE (DOGBANE FAMILY)

Spreading Dogbane (*Apocynum androsaemifolium* L.)[45] "dodoca'-bowûng" [woman's breast weed]. This is the usual term used by the Forest Potawatomi, but it is also called "magosä'sîngä'sikîk" [awl-shaped], according to Mrs. Spoon. This same plant was known among the Prairie Potawatomi as "makosä'kasêkûk" which is almost the same term that Mrs. Spoon employs. The majority of the Forest Potawatomi used the root of Spreading Dogbane as a diuretic and urinary medicine, although Mrs. Spoon and the Prairie Potawatomi informant called it a heart and kidney medicine and used the green fruits, which they boiled to extract the active principle. Nickell[46] says that this plant has similar properties to the official *Apocynum cannabinum* L., which is used as a diuretic and in cardiac and renal dropsy. The root extract has been used among white men as an emetic, cathartic, sudorific and expectorant.

AQUIFOLIACEAE (HOLLY FAMILY)

Mountain Holly (*Nemopanthus mucronata* [L.] Trel.), shown in plate 5, fig. 1, "sakwa'kmînagawîc" or "bosakwa'komînaga'wîc" [plum? bush]. We find two species of the Holly Family native to Wisconsin, the Winterberry (*Ilex verticillata* [L.] Gray), which is a true species of Holly and the Mountain Holly, which is the species that the Forest Potawatomi use. Small branches of the Mountain Holly are cooked. The resulting

44 Nickell, p. 115.
45 Present series, Vol. 4, part 1, pl. XXXV, fig. 4.
46 Nickell, p. 19.

liquid is again boiled until it resembles a syrup and this syrup is used as a tonic. Mrs. Spoon named this species as one of the fifty that she used to combine and boil down as a syrup which became a sort of "shot-gun prescription" for many different kinds of diseases. She did not enumerate all of the fifty kinds that went into the medicine but they must have been varied enough to cure almost any ill to which the human flesh is heir. Among the whites,[47] the uses of Mountain Holly are divided into two classes; the bark of the shrub is tonic, bitter, alterative, febrifuge and astringent. The fruit is used as a cathartic and a vermifuge.

ARACEAE (ARUM FAMILY)

Sweet Flag (*Acorus Calamus* L.) shown in plate 5, fig. 2, "wike" [flag]. This plant was known to the Prairie Potawatomi as "sinipisi'-wun". Sweet Flag is not common at all in Forest County and it required several trips to discover a supply of it. It is a valued medicine and used for various ailments. The dried root is powdered and snuffed up the nose to cure catarrh. It is also one of the ingredients of a remedy to stop a hemorrhage. The formula for this remedy is—chips of the heartwood from a four-inch Ironwood (*Ostrya virginiana* [Mill.] K. Koch); the heartwood chips of a four-inch Arbor Vitae (*Thuja occidentalis* L.); root of the Sweet Flag (*Acorus calamus* L.) ; and a handful of the root bark of the common Shining Willow (*Salix lucida* Muhl.). These materials are placed in a vessel covered with two quarts of water, which is boiled down to a pint. One tablespoonful of this mixture is taken every hour until the hemorrhage stops. This is one of the very bitterest medicines that the Forest Potawatomi have and is described as being as bitter as gall. Many of the Indians in speaking of this remedy are inclined to be cautious in the amount used and say that only a very small piece of the root is necessary. Among the whites it has always been considered that any amount of the dried root might be used to relieve dyspepsia. It was formerly used by the whites[48] as a mild stimulant and tonic, used in the treatment of flatulent colic and atonic dyspepsia and said to be beneficial in typhoid fever as a stimulant. Nickell[49] cites its properties as aromatic,

47 Nickell, p. 108.
48 Nat'l. Disp., p. 362.
49 Nickell, p. 10.

carminative, tonic and vulnerary. The Herbalist[50] claims that it improves the gastric juice and removes gases and sourness. The fact is cited that it has been used in chlorosis, dropsy, scurvy, gout, lameness and fevers.

Water Arum (*Calla palustris* L.) “wabasi'pîni'bag” [white potato leaf or swan potato root]. The Forest Potawatomi find that the root of the Water Arum when pounded and applied as a poultice to swellings, is very efficacious in reducing them. Nickell[51] says that it has been used by the whites as a stimulant, caustic and for its mucilaginous qualities.

ARALIACEAE (GINSENG FAMILY)

Bristly Sarsaparilla (*Aralia hispida* Vent.) shown in plate 6, fig. 1, “babîkwe'wûnûskûns” [little flute stem]. This medicine seems to be known only to Mrs. Spoon and she said that the root is used as an alterative and tonic, that it is nowhere common in Forest County and most of the other Indians consulted had never noticed the difference between this species and Wild Sarsaparilla (*Aralia nudicaulis* L.). Among the white men[52] the leaves have been used as a sudorific while the root possesses properties that are emetic, hydrogogue and alterative. The National Dispensatory[53] speaks of the value of Bristly Sarsaparilla for the aromatic properties resident in its root. Lyons[54] records that the bark of this species has been used as a diuretic and alterative.

Wild Sarsaparilla (*Aralia nudicaulis* L.) shown in plate 6, fig. 2. “okadag” [leg]. This is a valued root among the Forest Potawatomi and they pound it into a mass to be used as a poultice to reduce swelling and cure infections. It is also said to have the same properties and use as Spikenard (*Aralia racemosa* L.),[55] namely, stimulant, diaphoretic and alterative. Pammel[56] records that it has been used for its aromatic and stimulating properties.

50 Herbalist, p. 222.
51 Nickell, p. 32.
52 Nickell, p. 19.
53 Nat'l. Disp., p. 244.
54 Lyons, p. 47.
55 Present series. Vol. 4, part 2, p. 203.
56 Pammel, p. 647.

Indian Spikenard (*Aralia racemosa* L.)[57] "okadag" [leg]. The Forest Potawatomi pound the root into a pulp to be used as a hot poultice on inflammations. It is interesting to note the use of this root among the different tribes. The Menomini use it in cases of blood poisoning while the Meskwaki use the root as a seasoner for other medicines.

Ginseng (*Panax quinquefolium* L.) "gisêns". This pronunciation is undoubtedly the attempt of the Forest Potawatomi to give the plant the English common name since other tribes have a regular Indian word for Ginseng. The Prairie Potawatomi call Ginseng "wenane" [calf of the leg]. However, the Forest Potawatomi make extensive use of the Ginseng root for medicine, whereas some of the other tribes do not use it at all, but only gather it to sell. Ginseng has very little medicinal virtue, according to the white man and the fact that it is so high priced is due to the Chinese demand for this root. They are particularly interested in Ginseng root that has the appearance of the human torso and use it as a fetich. It is interesting to note that the Chinese also use Ginseng as a medicine, supposing it to have a certain virtue that renders their other medicines powerful. We have even discovered its use as a seasoner in some of their pills given to a Chinese patient in the Milwaukee Hospital who was recovering from a premature stillbirth. Chinese people have also told us that the Ginseng is regarded as a cure-all and a necessity in many medicines of their making. The Forest Potawatomi pound the root to make a poultice to cure earache and soak the pounded root to obtain a wash for curing sore eyes. They also used it in many of their powdered medicines as a seasoner to mask the had flavor of some other ingredients.

ARISTOLOCHIACEAE (BIRTHWORT FAMILY)

Wild Ginger (*Asarum canadense* L.)[58] "ba'boan" [its name], "nîme'bîn" is another Forest Potawatomi term for it. The Prairie Potawatomi calls it "kupua" [ginger]. The Forest Potawatomi use Wild Ginger as a mild stomachic principally to flavor meat or fish and render them more edible. In the National Dispensatory[59] it is also called the Canada Snakeroot and

57 Present series, Vol. 4, part 1, pl. XV, fig. 3.
58 Present series, Vol. 4, part 2, pl. XLV. fig. 1.
59 Nat'l. Disp., p. 275.

is a feeble remedy accounted tonic, aromatic and slightly diuretic. It has been used by eclectic practitioners in convalescence from acute febrile infections. Nickell[60] states that it has aromatic, stimulant, diaphoretic, carminative and expectorant qualities, while the Herbalist[61] states that it has been used in the treatment of colds, colic, amenorrhoea and pains in the stomach.

ASCLEPIADACEAE (MILKWEED FAMILY)

Common Milkweed (*Asclepias syriaca* L.)[62] "anˆrni'wîc" [man weed]. The root of the Common Milkweed is used by the Forest Pota-watomi as a medicine, but we were unable to find out for what ailments. Among the whites we have several references to its use. Nickell[63] records it as having tonic, diuretic, alterative, purgative and emetic qualities. The National Dispensatory[64] says that it has been used as a vulnerary, while the milky juice has been used to cure warts. Lyons[65] records that the roots have a diuretic, diaphoretic and sedative quality.

BALSAMINACEAE (TOUCH-ME-NOT FAMILY)

Spotted Touch-me-not (*Impatiens biflora*, Walt.)[66] "twatubîgo'-nîak" [touch-me-not]. The Prairie Potawatomi call this "wasawa'shiak" [yellow slippery]. This is accounted a valuable medicine among the Forest Potawatomi who use the fresh juice of the plant to wash nettle stings or poison ivy infections. The writer knows that it instantly alleviates the sting of the Stinging Nettle and has it from the Indians that it will cure and alleviate the itching of Poison Ivy. An infusion of the whole plant is drunk to cure colds in the chest or cramps in the stomach. The Potawatomi also boil the infusion of the plant down to a thicker mass which they use as a liniment for treating sprains, bruises and sorenesses. Nickell[67] records the properties of the plant as diuretic, emetic and

60 Nickell, p. 22.
61 Herbalist, p. 254.
62 Present series, Vol. 4, part 1, pl. XXVI, fig. 2.
63 Nickell, p. 23.
64 Nat'l. Disp., p. 279.
65 Lyons, p. 56.
66 Present series, Vol. 4, part 1, pl. XXXVI, fig. 1.
67 Nickell, p. 74.

alterative.

BERBERIDACEAE (BARBERRY FAMILY)

Blue Cohosh *(Caulophyllum thalictroides* [L.] Michx.)[68] "otci'-komînaga'wîc" [fisher plant]. Another Forest Potawatomi term for this is "ano'mînûm" [?berry]. This is known to the Forest Potawatomi as the Squaw Root and it seems to be of rather universal use among all of our Indian tribes to furnish a tea which suppresses profuse menstruation and aids in childbirth. Among the eclectic practitioners of the whites, it has been used in cases of hysteria and uterine diseases. The eclectics claim that it prevents abortions by causing uterine contrac¬ tion when uterine inertia is present.[69] The Herbalist[70] ascribed to it the properties of an emmenagogue, parturient, anti-spasmodic, diuretic, diaphoretic, and anthelminthic. They say that it is used in chronic uterine diseases.

BETULACEAE (BIRCH FAMILY)

Speckled Alder *(Alnus incana* [L.] Moench) shown in plate 8, fig. 1, "atob" [bitter]. The Potawatomi scrape the inner bark of the Speckled Alder and use the juice obtained to rub on the body to cure the itch. A bark tea is made for flushing the vagina and to make a rectal application with their home-made form of syringe as described previously, to shrivel the anal muscles and thus cure cases of piles. Potions of the bark tea are also drunk to cure the flux. The powdered inner bark of the Speckled Alder is used to sprinkle upon galled spots of their ponies to cure them. Nickell[71] says that the bark has alterative, emetic and astringent properties. The Herbalist[72] says that the bark has been used in the treatment of scrofula and has been considered as alterative and emetic.

Paper Birch *(Betula alba* L. var. *papyrifera* [Marsh.] Spach) shown in plate 7, fig 2, "wîgwa'samîc" [wigwam tree]. The wintergreen or Sweet Birch *(Betula lenta)* is not found in Wisconsin, but the twigs of the Paper Birch

68 Present series, Vol. 4, part 1, pl. XXVIII, fig. 2.
69 Nat'l. Disp., p. 425.
70 Herbalist, p. 35.
71 Nickell, p. 13.
72 Herbalist, p. 235.

are sweet and aromatic, somewhat the same as the Sweet Birch. The Forest Potawatomi gather the twigs and put them to soak to extract the fragrant oil which is used to season other medicines, or to mask disagreeable flavors. The National Dispensatory[73] says that the leaves are diuretic. Nickell[74] says that the twigs have astringent and bitter principles while the oil is fragrant.

Yellow Birch (*Betula lutea* Michx. f.) shown in plate 7, fig. 1, “wînîsi'k” or “wînîsa'tîk” [wood smells]. The twigs of the Yellow Birch are also aromatic as are the twigs of the white and the Sweet Birch and these twigs are also gathered by the Forest Potawatomi to extract the fragrant oil which is used as a seasoner for other less pleasant medicines. We have found no record of its use by white men.

Beaked Hazelnut (*Corylus rostrata* Ait.) shown in plate 8, fig. 2, “cîkane'samîc” according to Indian George and ‘Snabe Jim. “cîkana'-sîmînaga'wîc” according to Mrs. Spoon. This is the only species of Hazelnut found in Forest County and the Potawatomi use the inner bark in medicinal combinations very much the same as they use the inner bark of the willow. It is used as an astringent. The National Dispensatory[75] records the fact that eclectic practitioners use the spicula or sharp points of the involucre as an anthelmintic, to expel worms from the intestines. This practice would be considered rather dangerous by the physician of today because it might set up too much irritation in the intestines.

Hop Hornbeam (*Ostrya virginiana* [Mill.] K. Koch) “mîanoo's” [hornbeam]. The Potawatomi consider this as one of their so-called cramp barks and infusions of it are used to cure the flux. Nickell[76] says that the bark is a simple bitter, tonic, antiperiodic, and alterative. The Dispensatory[77] says that the heartwood and the bark possess a bitter substance that has been used at times as a substitute for quassia and has been used as an astringent. The Herbalist[78] says that eclectic practitioners have used it as an antiperiodic, tonic, and alterative. It is supposed to be

73 Nat'l. Disp., p. 323.
74 Nickell, p. 27.
75 Nat'l. Disp., p. 323.
76 Nickell, p. 97.
77 Nat'l. Disp., p. 323.
78 Herbalist, p. 128.

of value in the treatment of intermittent fevers, neuralgia, nervous debility, scrofula, and dyspepsia. It has also been used in the treatment of fever and ague.

BORAGINACEAE (BORAGE FAMILY)

Common Hound's Tongue (*Cynoglossum officinale* L.), "asŭkĭtă′boe" [stickers]. This is one of the plants that the Forest Potawatomi assert came into their country from the south and so they do not know it as a medicinal plant and it is not used. However, Nickell[79] reports that it has the following medicinal properties: it is astringent, aromatic, anodyne, mucilaginous, and narcotic.

CAMPANULACEAE (BELLFLOWER FAMILY)

Marsh Bellflower (*Campanula aparinoides* Pursh.) "basi'bagûk" [small vine]. This species is not used by the Forest Potawatomi although the white man has made use of it as an emetic, a pectoral, and for ornamental purposes, according to Nickell.[80]

CAPRIFOLIACEAE (HONEYSUCKLE FAMILY)

Bush Honeysuckle (*Diervilla Lonicera* Mill.) shown in plate 9, fig. 1, "osawoskwoni'is" [yellow liquid]. The Bush Honeysuckle is used by many of our Indian tribes of the north and is especially valuable, according to them, in urinary troubles. The Prairie Potawatomi make a tea from the root of the Bush Honeysuckle to be used as a diuretic and for the treatment of cases of gonorrhoea. Mrs. Spoon makes a medicine for vertigo in which this, the Bush Honeysuckle, is used. Her recipe for the medicine is Red Baneberry root (*Actaea rubra*), the twigs of (*Diervilla Lonicera*), the leaves and root of Liverleaf Hepatica (*Hepatica triloba*), and the roots of Sweet Cicely (*Osmorhiza longistylis*). The writer saw her mix this material in her wooden mixing bowl about four inches in diameter with a wooden spoon and afterward he tasted the infusion which had a sweetish taste. Nickell[81] states that the root, leaves and twigs have been

79 Nickell, p. 62.
80 Nickell, p. 33.
81 Nickell, p. 64.

found to be medicinal and used by eclectic practitioners as a diuretic, astringent and alterative. The National Dispensatory[82] says that the whole plant is considered diuretic and has been applied to relieve itching.

Twinflower (*Linnaea borealis* L. var. *americana* [Forbes] Rehder) "bîne'obûkûns" [partridge weed]. Mrs. Spoon used the entire plant of this as a squaw medicine, although just what type of female trouble it was supposed to cure was not plainly explained. Among the white men, the plant has been used as a bitter, a sub-astringent and an anti-rheumatic, according to Nickell.[83]

American Fly Honeysuckle (*Lonicera canadensis* Marsh.) shown in plate 9, fig. 2, "îaî'ankûtci'mînaga'wîc" [berries of two sexes,— bush]. The Forest Potawatomi combine the bark of this species with Juniper foliage and berries and with the twigs of the Bush Honeysuckle (*Diervilla Lonicera*) to make a "tea" which is used as a diuretic. The National Dispensatory[84] states that only the fruits are medicinal and that they are nonofficial as drugs. They have been reported as being emetic and cathartic.

Red-berried Elder (*Sambucus racemosa* L.) "babackisi'ganatîk" [popgun wood]. Mrs. Spoon calls this "tcabosî'kûn" [physic]. The Prairie Potawatomi call it "papasikana'tîk" [popgun wood]. The inner bark of the Red-berried Elder is accounted the most powerful physic which the Forest Potawatomi have and it is used in the same manner as the Menomini Indians use it. There is no questioning its drastic action, but the method of its use shows considerable superstition connected with it. Four joints of the stem are chosen, of half an inch diameter or greater. The proper length is measured from the point of the ulna to the point of the humerus. If these joints are peeled downward and the bark steeped in warm water, the resulting cup of fluid becomes a very quick-acting purgative. However, should the same sticks have been peeled upward and the resulting "tea" drunk, then it would have been a strong emetic. The white man is apt to discover that this powerful remedy works both

82 Nat'l. Disp., p. 398.
83 Nickell, p. 82.
84 Nat'l. Disp., p. 398.

ways at once. The National Dispensatory[85] says that the bark is a poison and has been know to cause death. Nickell[86] says that medicines have been made from the inner bark of the Red-berried Elder that cause watery evacuations and are believed capable of expelling serum. It has been used to increase evacuation from the bowels and also has been used to produce vomiting.

CARYOPHYLLACEAE (PINK FAMILY)

White Campion (*Lychnis alba* Mill.). The White Campion is commonly found in Forest County, but the Potawatomi have no name for it nor do they have a use for it as far as the writer discovered. We find no record of its use in eclectic practice by the white man.

CHENOPODIACEAE (GOOSEFOOT FAMILY)

Lamb's Quarters (*Chenopodium album* L.) shown in plate 10, fig. 1, “koko'cîbag” [pig leaf]. The Forest Potawatomi consider this a medicinal food which is used to cure or prevent scurvy. It has been used in exactly the same way by the white man according to Nickell.[87]

Strawberry Elite (*Chenopodium capitatum* [L.] Asch.) “'mêna'-kwoskûk” [stinking or scent weed]. The ripened heads of seed of the Strawberry Elite are deep pink in color and furnish the Indian maiden an ever-ready rouge. It is used to paint the cheeks when they are getting ready for a dream dance. This same juice is rubbed on the breast to cure congestion of the lungs while the whole plant is made into a medicinal “tea” to ease any congestion in the lungs. We find no record of its use by the whites.

Maple-leaved Goosefoot (*Chenopodium hybridum* L.). The Potawatomi have no name for this species nor any use as far as we have discovered and we find no record of its use by the whites.

COMPOSITAE (COMPOSITE FAMILY)

85 Nat'l. Disp., p. 1431.
86 Nickell, p. 120.
87 Nickell, p. 39.

The Composite Family has the largest number of species of any plant family, and is well represented in Forest County. There are about four times as many medicines found among this family as in any other family represented in the Potawatomi territory.

Yarrow (*Achillea Millefolium* L.) “nokwe'sikûn” [perfume reviver]. The Prairie Potawatomi call it “kîshkatoa'soanûk” [flying squirrel tail]. The Forest Potawatomi place the flowers upon a plate of live coals to create a smudge which is used for two purposes. First, it is to keep any evil spirits away from the patient and second it is to give the proper sort of a scent to revive the patient who may be in a state of coma. The medicine man will sing while he fumigates the patient in a way to suggest that the patient will recover, making use of the power of suggestion as the whites were wont to do during the days of Dr. Coue. Yarrow has always been a home remedy among the whites, and especially among the German inhabitants, who call it “Schaf-esgarbetee”, to break up a fever. Nickell[88] records that the plant has astringent, alterative, diuretic, tonic, and vulnerary qualities. The Herbalist[89] assigns to it the same qualities as Nickell and says that it has been used in decoctions to heal bleeding lungs or other hemorrhages, incontinence of urine, piles and dysentery. It has been used to promote regularity of menses, and made into an ointment to cure wounds, ulcers and fistulas. A decoction of the flowers has been used to stop the falling of hair. The leaves have been chewed to alleviate toothache.

Ragweed (*Ambrosia artemisiifolia* L.). According to the Forest Potawatomi this plant came into their country in historic times and they never knew what it was nor had any name nor use for it as far as we could discover. Among the whites, it has been used by eclectic practitioners in a decoction to cleanse wounds and as a poultice to allay inflammation, according to Nickell.[90]

Great Ragweed (*Ambrosia trifida* L.). The Great Ragweed is an adventive

88 Nickell, p. 9.
89 Herbalist, p. 9.
90 Nickell, p. 44.

plant according to the Forest Potawatomi and they have no use nor name for it as far as we could discover. Among the Meskwaki, it was chewed to drive away fear at night.[91] Eclectic practitioners use the plant to extract a tea which was stimulant, astringent, and ophthalmic, according to Nickell.[92]

Pearly Everlasting (*Anaphalis margaritacea* [L.] B. & H.) shown in plate 10, fig. 2, “wewa'bîckûnakûk” [white top], “bäkwänä'sîkûn” [fumigator]. The Forest Potawatomi dry the flowers of this species and smoke it in a pipe or smudge it on coals to drive or keep evil spirits out of the room, which might prevent a patient from recovering. They also call attention to the fact that it smells like acorns, but there is no suggestion of this in the Potawatomi name, which it bears, as there has been in the language of other tribes. The Herbalists[93] states that the plant is valuable for its astringent qualities. It has been used for fevers, quinsy, pulmonary and bronchial complaints. The patient has been recommended to chew the leaves in blossom to cure ulcers of the mouth and throat. An infusion of the flowers has been given through the rectum for the curing of bowel trouble. The poultice of the leaves has been used to heal bruises, indolent tumors, and local affections.

Dog Fennel (*Anthemis Cotula* L.) “waboskû'nakûk” [white top]. While the Potawatomi assign an Indian name to this plant, they claim that it is introduced and that they do not know any use for it as far as we have been able to discover. The National Dispensatory[94] says that the plant has been called “chamomile” and has been used by eclectic practitioners for its stimulant and antispasmodic properties. It has been employed to check the summer diarrhea of children. In hot fomentation in water and vinegar, it has been used with success upon sluggish ulcers, earache and rheumatism.

Common Burdock (*Arctium minus* Bernh.) shown in plate 17, fig. 1, "asûkitä'boe" [stickers]. The Potawatomi make a "tea" from the Burdock

91 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 2, p. 210.
92 Nickell, p. 14.
93 Herbalist, p. 129.
94 Nat'l. Disp., p. 196.

root which is taken as a general tonic and blood purifier. Nickell[95] records the use of the root, leaves and seed as medicine among the white men. The root is alterative, diuretic, and purifies the blood. The leaves have been made into poultices and placed upon tumors, boils and ulcers to hasten ripening or maturity. The seeds have been used to make a tonic which is alterative and diuretic. The Herbalist[96] states that the root has been found valuable in treating rheumatism, gout, and chronic catarrh. It has also been used in skin diseases, syphilis, scrofula and to dissolve urinary deposits. Externally the infusion of the root has been used as a wash to cure eruptions, burns, wounds, hemorrhoids and swellings.

Wormwood (*Artemisia frigida* Willd.) shown in plate 11, fig. 1, "nokwe'sîkûn" [perfume reviver]. This plant was evidently not native to Forest County, but had been planted by the Indians for its medicinal properties. They use it as a fumigator to revive a patient who is in coma. The foliage and flowers are fumed upon a pan of live coals and often a cone of paper is made to direct the smoke into the nostrils of the patient. We have found no record of its use by the whites.

Forking Aster (*Aster furcatus* Burgess) "name'ksibag" [trout leaf]. The basal leaves of this aster are the ones used and they are much larger than the stem leaves and more apt to be found than the fertile part of the plant. The leaves are steeped and the solution is rubbed upon the head to cure a severe headache. We have found no record of its use by the whites.

New England Aster (*Aster novae-angliae* L.). The Forest Pota-watomi have no name or use for this plant to our knowledge. However it was known to the Prairie Potawatomi as "pukwänä'sîkûn" [reviver], and was used as one of the fumigating agents. We have found no record of its use by the whites.

Arrow-leaved Aster (*Aster sagittifolius* Wedemeyer) "skîbwa'-ogîcîns." Although the Potawatomi had an Indian name for this Aster, they had no medicinal use for it to our knowledge. We have found no record of its

95 Nickell, p. 20.
96 Herbalist, p. 42.

use by the whites.

Short's Aster (*Aster Shortii* Lindl.) “weasawe'nokûk” [yellow top]. The Potawatomi use the flowering tops of this species for a medicinal tea. The National Dispensatory[97] states that the flowers have been used by the whites as a mild carminative, anti-spasmodic and intestinal astringent.

Umbelled Aster (*Aster umbellatus* Mill.) “bakwanä'sîkûn” [reviver]. The Potawatomi used the flowers of this species as a smudge to drive away the evil spirits working against patient's recovery. Nickell[98] records that the root has been used as a diaphoretic, and a rheumatic, tonic and aromatic.

Bur Marigold (*Bidens cernua* L.) “asûkîtä'boe” [stickers]. This plant came into the Potawatomi country in historic times. They have not used it to our knowledge, although they give it the common name of “stickers” along with several other plants. Nickell[99] records that it has been used among the whites as an expectorant and an emmenagogue. It has also been used to cure the croup.

Corn Flower (*Centaurea Cyanus* L.). This plant is clearly an escape from cultivation and while it is well spread over the country in Forest County, the Potawatomi recognize it as a recent arrival and have no name or use for it to our knowledge. Nickell[100] states that the flowers have been used among the whites as a cordial, a tonic, and a remedy for diseases of the eye.

Ox-eye Daisy (*Chrysanthemum Leucanthemum* L. var. *pinnatifidum* Lecoq & Lamotte). This plant has come into the Potawatomi country in historic times and they have no name or use for it to our knowledge. Nickell[101] says it has been used among the whites for its acrid qualities.

Canada Thistle (*Cirsium arvense* [L.] Scop.) “masanes” [itching or little

97 Nat'l. Disp., p. 513.
98 Nickell, p. 24.
99 Nickell, p. 28.
100 Nickell, p. 37.
101 Nickell, p. 80.

thistle]. The Potawatomi claim that this plant has come into their country but they do not use it to our knowledge, although they find it troublesome as a farm weed. The Meskwaki[102] made use of the root as a seasoner for other medicines.

Bull Thistle (*Cirsium lanceolatum* [L.] Hill) shown in plate 12, fig. 1, "gîtci'masan" [big thistle]. Fresh centers of the flowers are chewed by the Potawatomi in combination with bitter and unpleasant medicaments, to mask the unpleasant portions. This is the first and only time that we have discovered a masticatory medicine.

Among the whites, the root has been used as a tonic, alterative and hepatic while the leaves have been used to allay inflammation, according to Nickell.[103] The National Dispensatory[104] states that the entire plant has been used to make a tea, which is tonic and diuretic.

Fireweed (*Erechtites hieracifolia* [L.] Raf.) "asûkîtä'boe" [stickers]. The Potawatomi claim that this plant has come into their territory in historic times and they have no name or use for it to our knowledge. Nickell[105] says that it has been used by the whites for its emetic, tonic, astringent, and alterative qualities. It has been used in treating cases of piles. The Herbalist[106] says that it is used as a tonic and astringent. It has been used in the treatment of fevers, bowel troubles and for curing night sweats. As a gargle, an infusion of the plant has been used to heal ulcerated mouth, throat troubles and spongy and bleeding gums.

Horseweed (*Erigeron canadensis* L.) shown in plate 12, fig. 2. The Potawatomi have no Indian name as far as we have found, for this plant but know it as a medicine for horses. Among the whites, it has been used as an astringent, tonic, diuretic and styptic.[107] The Herbalist[108] records it as a tonic, diuretic and astringent remedy and says that the plant infusion has been used in the treatment of gravel, diabetes, dropsy and kidney

102 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 2, P. 213.
103 Nickell, p. 43.
104 Nat'l. Disp., p. 408.
105 Nickell, p. 59.
106 Herbalist, p. 76.
107 Nickell, p. 57.
108 Herbalist, p. 174.

diseases, diarrhea and dysentery.

Joe-Pye Weed (*Eupatorium purpureum* L. var. maculatum [L.] Darl.)[109] "caca'bagsît" [piercing leaf stem]. Fresh leaves of Joe-Pye weed are used by the Potawatomi to make poultices for healing burns. Mrs. Spoon used the root under the name "maskwano'kûk" [red top] as a medicine to clear up after-birth. Among the whites, the root and the herb have both been used for medicines. The root is said to have diuretic, stimulant, astringent and tonic properties, while the plant itself is diuretic and tonic.[110] The Herbalist[111] says that the root has diuretic, astringent and tonic properties and has been used by eclectic practitioners in the treatment of chronic urinary disorders, hematuria, gout and rheumatism.

Jerusalem Artichoke (*Helianthus tuberosus* L.) shown in plate 13, fig. 1. The Potawatomi did not know this plant and had no Indian name for it to our knowledge, but the bulb is well known to the whites for its edibility and food value. It has also been used as a diuretic according to Nickell.[112]

Rough Hawkweed (*Hieracium scabrum* Michx.). This plant is considered adventive by the Potawatomi and they have no Indian name or use for it to our knowledge. It is not known to our knowledge to be used by the whites.

Tall Blue Lettuce (*Lactuca spicata* [Lam.] Hitchc.) "nona'-gonawûck" [teat weed]. The Potawatomi say that this is used for a medicine but my informant could not tell me in what manner. The fact that this plant has milky juice suggests that they might use it as a lacteal stimulant. There is no record to our knowledge of its use by the whites.

Black-eyed Susan (*Rudbeckia hirta* L.) shown in plate 13, fig. 2, "memakate'nîngweûk" [black eyeballs]. The Potawatomi used the root of the Black-eyed Susan to make a tea for curing colds. The National

109 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XVIII. fig.3.
110 Nickell, p. 60.
111 Herbalist, p. 179.
112 Nickell, p. 69.

Dispensatory[113] records the use of the leaves among the whites as a stimulant and diuretic. A decoction of the leaves is freely administered for these purposes.

Canada Goldenrod (*Solidago canadensis* L. var. gilvocanescens Rydb.) shown in plate 14, fig. 2, “owesa'wenokûk” [yellow top]. Several of the Goldenrods are used by the Forest Potawatomi for medicine. They usually take the flowering tops to make a “tea” and treat special kinds of fevers with it. The dried flowers have been used as a substitute for tea as a beverage by the whites. The National Dispensatory[114] says that eclectic practitioners have used it as a mild carminative and anti-spasmodic in medicines. It has been used in the form of a tea for an intestinal astringent.

Fragrant Goldenrod (*Solidago graminifolia* [L.] Salisb.) shown in plate 14, fig. 1, “wesawa'nakûk” [yellow top]. The flowering tops of this species have been used by the Forest Potawatomi in infusions to cure some kinds of fevers. Nickell[115] says that the leaves and oil of the Fragrant Goldenrod have been used for their carminative, stimulant, diuretic, diaphoretic, and astringent properties.

Broad-leaved Goldenrod (*Solidago latifolia* L.) “wesawûnû'kitos” [little yellow top]. The Potawatomi use the whole herb of the Broad-leaved Goldenrod to brew a kind of medicine for certain fevers. There is no record to our knowledge of its use by the whites.

Late Goldenrod (*Solidago serotina* Ait.) “wesawa'bakwoni'k” [yellow top]. This was known to Mrs. Spoon as “wesawakwe'ak”. A medical tea is brewed from the inflorescence and used for various kinds of fevers. The National Dispensatory[116] says that this species has been considered a mild carminative, anti-spasmodic and intestinal astringent by the whites. According to the Dispensatory, the flowers of this species are one of the principal ingredients of the proprietary medicine known as Blue Mountain Tea.

113 Nat'l. Disp., p. 513.
114 Nat'l. Disp., p. 513.
115 Nickell, p. 128.
116 Nat'l. Disp., p. 513.

Bog Goldenrod (*Solidago uliginosa* Nutt.) “wesawano'kûk” [yellow plant]. The Potawatomi call attention to the fact that this plant has a root like a turnip, but very much harder and say that they use it to make a poultice to bring a boil to a head. The National Dispensatory[117] says that it has been used among eclectic practitioners as a mild carminative and a spasmodic and intestinal astringent.

Field Sow Thistle (*Sonchus arvensis* L.) shown in plate 15, fig. 1, “a'wesawano'kûk” [yellow plant]. The fresh leaves of this are gathered by the Potawatomi to make a tea for the treatment of caked breasts. The writer noticed the tendency to use plants with milky juice to treat lacteal troubles, which suggests an affinity with the old idea of the doctrine of signatures. Nickell[118] states that the juice of this plant has been used by the whites as a bitter and a diuretic.

Dandelion (*Taraxacum officinale* Weber)[119] “asawa'bagwûnik” [yellow flower]. The Prairie Potawatomi call this “wasakûtcä'pûk” [strong root]. The Forest Potawatomi use the roots as a bitter tonic. According to Nickell[120] the root has been used by the whites as a stomachic, tonic, diuretic, aperient, blood purifier, and liver remedy. The Herbalist[121] states that the fresh root has been used as a stomachic, tonic, slight diuretic and aperient while the dried root has been used in treating diseases of the liver and spleen. It has been used in the treatment of dropsy, but is much over-rated as a medicine.

CORNACEAE (DOGWOOD FAMILY)

Alternate-leaved Dogwood (*Cornus alternifolia* L. f.)[122] “mowo'-samic” [moose wood]. The Forest Potawatomi use the bark of the Alternate-leaved Dogwood to make an infusion which is used as an eye-wash. This is supposed to cure granulation of the eyelids. Nickell[123] says that the

117 Nat'l. Disp., p. 613.
118 Nickell, p. 129.
119 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXXI, fig. 1.
120 Nickell, p. 133.
121 Herbalist, p. 67.
122 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XVIII, fig. 1.
123 Nickell, p. 47.

bark has been used among the whites as a diaphoretic, astringent, and febrifuge.

Bunchberry (*Cornus canadensis* L.) shown in plate 18, fig. 1, “kakawi'sak” [popcorn weed]. The Bunchberry was not considered medicine by the Forest Potawatomi, but the bark of the plant was used by the whites as an astringent, a tonic, diaphoretic, and febrifuge according to Nickell.[124]

Red Osier Dogwood (*Cornus stolonifera* Michx.) shown in plate 15, fig. 2, “mêmskwa'kwûk” [red stemmed bush]. The Potawatomi say that the root bark is the most efficacious remedy they have for treating diarrhea and flux. The National Dispensatory[125] says that the bark of the Red Osier Dogwood has been used by the white man as a mild astringent, an aromatic bitter and stomachic. Large doses have proved emetic.

CRUCIFERAE (MUSTARD FAMILY)

Shepherd's Purse (*Capsella Bursa-pastoris* [L.] Medic.). The Forest Potawatomi consider this plant adventive to their territory and they have no Indian name or use for it to our knowledge. Among the whites, however, eclectic practitioners have used the whole plant, according to the National Dispensatory,[126] for its diuretic, emetic and anti-rheumatic properties. It states that it has been used to heal unhealthy sores. The Herbalist[127] says that it has been used by the whites in infusions to cure hemorrhages, fluxes, and intermittent fevers.

Wild Peppergrass (*Lepidium virginicum* L.) The Potawatomi consider this an adventive plant to their territory and they have no Indian name or use for it to our knowledge. The National Dispensatory[128] states that the leaves have been used in infusions to cure scurvy. Eclectic practitioners have substituted it for Capsella for its diuretic, emetic, and anti-rheumatic properties.

124 Nickell p. 47.
125 Nat'l. Disp., p. 47.
126 Nat’l. Disp., p. 648.
127 Herbalist, p. 206.
128 Nat'l. Disp., p. 649.

Tumble Mustard (*Sisymbrium altissimum* L.) This plant is considered adventive to the region by the Forest Potawatomi. Consequently they have no Indian name or use assigned to it to our knowledge. Nor have we any record of its use by the whites.

EQUISETACEAE (HORSETAIL FAMILY)

Field Horsetail (*Equisetum arvense* L.) shown in plate 16, fig. 2, “cîngwako'ns” [little pine]. The whole plant of the Field Horsetail was used by the Forest Potawatomi to make a tea for the treatment of kidney and bladder trouble. They claim that it is very good to cure lumbago. Other informants called this “cîngwako'sawûnk” [like a little pine] and “kîsi'banûsk” [squeeky noise weed]. This last name arose as the result of an experience of Mana'bozo. One time he heard the squeeky noise, as he walked along a forest path. On putting his ear close to the ground to find out the cause of the noise, the Horsetail seemed to say “They always eat me. They always eat me”. So he agreed and ate a piece of the stem. As he proceeded along, he was startled by a sudden explosive noise behind him, like “poh”. Facing about suddenly he was unable to discover the cause. This happened several times, until it became continuous with every step he took. He had to come to the conclusion that he himself was the cause of these peculiar noises, which were the outcome of eating the Field Horsetail. Among the whites,[129] the whole plant has been used as a diuretic and astringent. The Herbalist[130] says that the whites have used the entire plant in kidney and bladder trouble for the treatment of gravel and difficult and bloody urine. The infusion of the plant has been used as a wash for putrid wounds and ulcers.

ERICACEAE (HEATH FAMILY)

Leather-leaf (*Chamaedaphne calyculata* [L.] Moench) shown in plate 11, fig. 2, “mûcki'gobag” [swamp leaf]. The Potawatomi gather the leaves of the Leather-leaf to make an infusion to be used in the treatment of fevers. The leaves themselves as a poultice are used to treat inflammations. We have no record of its use by the whites.

129 Nickell, p. 57.
130 Herbalist, p. 212.

Wintergreen (*Gaultheria procumbens* L.) shown in plate 17, fig. 2, “wînîsi'bag” [evergreen plant]. The Potawatomi make a tea from the leaves of the wintergreen to break a fever. They also claim that the tea cures rheumatism and lumbago. Carver[131] found the Potawatomi Indians eating the berries, esteeming them as balsamic and invigorating to the stomach. It has long been known to the whites as a source of methyl salicylate which is an active ingredient in aspirin. According to the National Dispensatory,[132] the leaves have antiseptic, analgesic and carminative properties. It has been used in muscular rheumatism, sciatica and similar ailments. Overdoses of methyl salicylate are known to cause drowsiness, congestion, and finally delirium.

Labrador Tea (*Ledum groenlandicum* Oeder) “wesawa'bakûk” [yellow leaf]; “wesawa'bagûk” [yellow leaf]; “mamîji'bagûk” [hairy leaf]; and “mamîzhi'bagûk” [woolly leaf].[133] It may be noticed that there are slightly different pronunciations for the name of this plant in the Potawatomi, according to different informants. Mrs. Spoon used the leaves in one of her medicinal combinations, but did not say what ailment it was intended to correct. Among the whites,[134] the leaves have been used as a pectoral, a tonic and an astringent. The National Dispensatory[135] records that the leaves in full doses cause headache, vertigo, restlessness and a peculiar delirium. The infusion of the leaves augments a secretion of saliva, of perspiration, urine, and dilates the pupil of the eye. It is a remedy rarely employed now except in cases of chronic bronchitis. A decoction of the leaves has been used as a vermin exterminator, while fresh twigs have been placed among woollen clothes to keep moths away from them.

Indian Pipe (*Monotropa uniflora* L.) “weakosî'nk” [in a bunch]. According to Mrs. Spoon the proper name of this is “mena'mabag weabskû'nakûk” [white flower smells good]. The Potawatomi medicine woman, Mrs. Spoon, used the roots of this plant to make a tea for female troubles.

131 Carver, p. 339.
132 Nat'l. Disp., p. 739.
133 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXXVI, fig. 2.
134 Nickell, p. 80.
135 Nat'l. Disp., p. 621.

Among the whites,[136] the root is said to have tonic, sedative, nervine and anti-spasmodic properties. There is a record[137] of the use of the root as a sedative in place of opium and of its use in fevers in the place of quinine.

Velvet-leaf Blueberry (*Vaccinium canadense* Kalm) shown in plate 19, fig. 1, “mînaga'wûck” [blueberry vine]. The root bark of this blueberry has been used by the Forest Potawatomi for a medicine, but we were not able to discover for what ailment. Among the whites[138] the fruit has been esteemed chiefly as a food, but one which would prevent scurvy and would act as a diuretic.

Small Cranberry (*Vaccinium Oxycoccos* L. var. *ovalifolium* Michx.)[139] “boki'mînäsûn” [cranberry]. The Forest Potawatomi do not use the cranberry as a medicine, except insofar as they claim that all of their native foods are also at the same time medicines and will maintain the health. One might add that only since they have adopted the foods of the white man, their teeth have become bad and their general health impaired, as indeed some of the old medicine men among the tribe assert. Among the whites,[140] the leaves have been used as a diuretic while the fruit is esteemed for its acid, refrigerant, condiment and anti-scorbutic properties.

FAGACEAE (BEECH FAMILY)

Beech (*Fagus grandifolia* Ehrh.) “ajawe'mîc” [beech tree], “ajawe'mîn'mîttig” [beech woods]. In Carver's Travels[141] he tells of the manner of use of the leaves for medicine by the Forest Potawatomi. “The leaves, which are white, continue on the trees during the whole winter. A decoction made of them is a certain and expeditious cure for wounds which arise from burning or scalding, as well as a restorative for those members that are nipped by the frost.” The bark of the beech tree is the

136 Nickell, p. 91.
137 Herbalist, p. 78.
138 Nickell, p. 139.
139 present series, Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXVII, fig. 2. V. Oxycoccos intermedium Gray see Robinson & Fernald in Rhodora, Vol. II, p. 54, 1909.
140 Nickell, p. 139.
141 Carver, p. 333.

part that has been considered medicinal by the whites.[142] It has been used for its astringent, tonic and antiseptic properties.

Red Oak (*Quercus rubra* L.) shown in plate 19, fig. 2, “mêtîgo'-mîc” [wood tree]. The Potawatomi use the inner bark of the Red Oak as an astringent medicine to cure the flux. The bark has been used as an astringent by the whites.[143] It has also been used as an external poultice to treat cancers, indolent ulcers and so forth.[144]

GENTIANACEAE (GENTIAN FAMILY)

Yellowish Gentian (*Gentiana flavida* Gray) shown in plate 20, fig. 1, “bemîte'obagûk” [greasy weed]. The root of the Yellowish Gentian is collected by the Forest Potawatomi to make a tea that is alterative. By this, they mean that it acts as a remedy to change the condition of the body without causing perceptible evacuations. The root and plant have both been used by the whites[145] in the preparation of so-called stock foods. They have also been used as stomachics and material for bitter tonics.

GRAMINEAE (GRASS FAMILY)

Quack Grass (*Agropyron repens* [L.] Beauv.). This is considered an adventive plant by the Forest Potawatomi and they have no name or use for it to our knowledge. Among the whites,[146] however, the root has been used for its diuretic and aperient properties. It has been employed in the treatment of dropsy. The Herbalist[147] says that the root has diuretic, aperient, demulcent and vulnerary properties. Decoctions of the root have been used in treating cystitis, irritable bladder, gravel, jaundice, bronchitis, skin diseases and gout. It is said to relieve thirst, allay fever and promote urination. It has also been used as a blood purifier.

142 Nickell, p. 61.
143 Nickell, p. 112.
144 Herbalist, p. 169.
145 Pammel, p. 690.
146 Nickell, p. 137.
147 Herbalist, p. 262.

Squirrel-tail Grass (*Hordeum jubatum* L.) “mêmîcona'weak” [bushy-tail weed] and “mêmîcika'teak” [bushy-tail weed] according to Mrs. Spoon. She said that she employed the roots of this plant for medicine, but did not specify the particular kind of ailment. We have no record of its use by the whites.

HAMAMELIDACEAE (WITCH-HAZEL FAMILY)

Witch-hazel (*Hamamelis virginiana* L.)[148] “bwaote'ît” [no heart wood, all white], “Paga'nîmîg” [witch-hazel], according to Simon Pokagon.[149] This was one of the remedies that the Forest Potawatomi use in their sweat baths. They place the twigs in water and with hot rocks create steam which bathes sore muscles. A quarter century ago, Witch-hazel was highly esteemed by the whites and the bark and leaves were accounted astringent, tonic, anti-phlogistic and of value in the treatment of female complaints.[150] The Herbalist[151] says that the bark and leaves have tonic, astringent and sedative properties. Decoctions of the bark were used in the treatment of hemorrhages, as a diaphoretic, for dysentery and excessive mucous discharges. It has been used in the first stages of tuberculosis. The crushed bark has been used as an external poultice. A bark tea has been used in the treatment of sore mouth and for the treatment of piles.

HYPERICACEAE (ST. JOHN'S WORT FAMILY)

Marsh St. John's Wort (*Hypericum virginicum* L.) shown in plate 20, fig. 2, “wisa'gabag” [sweet leaf?]. The Forest Potawatomi claim that this plant contains three different kinds of medicine. In one of these the leaves are used to make a tea to cure fevers. Among the white people, this plant is considered to have aromatic astringent, resolvent and nervine properties.[152] According to the Herbalist[153] the top and flowers of the Marsh St. John's Wort are considered astringent, sedative and diuretic. The tea of the flowers suppresses urine, and is effective in chronic

148 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XX, fig. 2.
149 Pokagon, p. 165.
150 Nickell, p. 69.
151 Herbalist, p. 264.
152 Nickell, p. 73.
153 Herbalist, p. 217.

urinary affections, diarrhea, dysentery, jaundice, menorrhagia, hysteria, nervous affections, hemoptysis and other hemorrhages. Externally it has been used in a fomentation or used as an ointment to dispel hard tumors, caked breasts, bruises, etc.

IRIDACEAE (IRIS FAMILY)

Blue Flag (*Iris versicolor* L.)[154] "pakwiasko'ns" [waterweed]. The Prairie Potawatomi call this "sênipa'sowûn". The Forest Potawatomi use the root of the Blue Flag to make poultices to allay inflammation. The root of Blue Flag was also used among the whites[155] for its alterative, resolvent, sialogogic, laxative, diuretic, and vermifuge properties. According to the Herbalist[156] the rhizome is accredited with alterative, cathartic, vermifuge and diuretic properties. In scrofula and syphilis it acts as a powerful and efficient agent and it has been employed in chronic liver, renal and splenetic affections. It is said to be best when combined with mandrakes, pokeberry, and black cohosh root.

JUGLANDACEAE (WALNUT FAMILY)

Butternut (*Juglans cinerea* L.)[157] "baganak". The Potawatomi use this bark as a physic and drink infusions of the inner bark for its tonic effects. The Butternut is found commonly through the north while the Black Walnut only reaches the central part of Wisconsin. The Black Walnut has not been known to Wisconsin Indians for medicine. Among the whites, the bark has been used for its cathartic, alterative, tonic, anthelmintic, astringent, and cholagogue properties.[158] The Herbalist,[159] states that the inner bark of the root and the leaves have been used by the whites to cure habitual constipation and intestinal diseases. Decoctions of the root bark have been used in fevers and also to cure murrain in cattle.

154 present series. Vol. 4, Part 2, pl. XL, fig. 2.
155 Nickell, p. 75.
156 Herbalist, p. 36.
157 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. VII, fig. 4.
158 Nickell, p. 76.
159 Herbalist, p. 243.

LABIATAE (MINT FAMILY)

Common Hemp Nettle (*Galeopsis Tetrahit* L.) shown in plate 21, fig. 1, “mena'kwûskûk” [plant smells good], or [mint plant]. Mrs. Spoon uses the whole plant to make a tea for the treatment of pulmonary troubles. Among the whites[160] the whole plant has been used as an anti-spasmodic resolvent, and a detergent. The National Dispensatory[161] says that this species is the principal ingredient of “Lieber's Consumption Herbs”.

Bugle Weed (*Lycopus uniflorus* Michx.). The Forest Potawatomi consider this an adventive weed to their territory and therefore have no name or use for it to our knowledge. We have no record of its use by the whites.

Wild Mint (*Mentha arvensis* L. var. *canadensis* [L.] Briquet) shown in plate 22, fig. 1, “name'wîskons” [little sturgeon weed]. The Potawatomi use the leaves or the top of this plant for treating fevers and also make a stimulating tea for the curing of pleurisy. Among the whites[162] the whole plant is used for its bitter, pungent, anti-spasmodic, and anti-rheumatic properties.

Wild Bergamot (*Monarda fistulosa* L.).[163] Strangely enough the Forest Potawatomi have no name or use for this plant to our knowledge. This is rather surprising because the neighboring tribes all make use of it. It is used by the Menomini for the treatment of catarrh, by the Meskwaki for the treatment of colds and by the Ojibwe for the treatment of catarrh and bronchial affections. The National Dispensatory[164] ascribes to the plant aromatic, stimulant, diaphoretic, and carminative properties. It has been used by eclectic practitioners in the treatment of flatulent colic, nausea, vomiting, and diarrhea that has been caused from a cold.

Mad-dog Skullcap (*Scutellaria lateriflora* L.)[165] The Forest Pota-watomi did not know this plant and had no name or use for it to our knowledge.

160 Nickell, p. 63.
161 Nat'l. Disp., p. 895.
162 Nickell, p. 88.
163 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XIX, fig. 3.
164 Nat'l. Disp., p. 894.

Among the whites[166] it has been assigned nervine, tonic, diuretic and anti-spasmodic properties. The Herbalist[167] says that the plant has nervine, tonic, and anti-spasmodic properties. It has been used by eclectic practitioners for chorea, convulsions, fits, delirium tremens and all nervous affections, supporting the nerves and quieting the system.

Hedge Nettle (*Stachys palustris* L.). The Forest Potawatomi have no name or use for this plant to our knowledge. Among the whites[168] the whole plant is nauseant, expectorant, emmenagogue, anti-hysteric, and vulnerary. The National Dispensatory[169] considers it the most important medicine of two hundred species of Stachys.

LEGUMINOSAE (BEAN FAMILY)

Red Clover (*Trifolium pratense* L.) “wa'waskwonemi'cûk” [flower hay]. The Forest Potawatomi did not consider this a medicine but it has been used among the whites[170] for its detergent and depurga-tive properties. The flowers are the parts used and the extract of their principles have been used in ointment.

LILIACEAE (LILY FAMILY)

Northern Clintonia (*Clintonia borealis* [Ait.] Raf.)[171] “Kockanda'-mînokwi”. This Forest Potawatomi name sounds as though it should be a plant used in midwifery and our informant told us that it was employed as a medicine but did not explain its exact use. There is no record of its use by the whites to our knowledge.

Canada Mayflower (*Maianthemum canadense* Desf.)[172] “sûksi'-mînaga'wîc” [deer weed]. The Forest Potawatomi use the root of this plant to make a medicine in curing sore throat. Among the whites[173] the root has been

166 Nickell, p. 123.
167 Herbalist, p. 224.
168 Nickell, p. 130.
169 Nat'l. Dis., p. 895.
170 Nickell, p. 136.
171 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XIV, fig. 3.
172 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXXI, fig. 1.
173 Nickell, p. 45.

used for its stimulant properties for diseases of the head, to produce sneezing, as an expectorant and for its mucilaginous properties.

Indian Spikenard (*Smilacina racemosa* [L.] Desf.) “"agoñgosi'-mînaga'wîc” [chipmunk berries—little weed]. According to Mrs. Spoon the right name for this was “cûkci'mînaga'ons” [deer berries—little weed]. The Prairie Potawatomi name for the same plant was “psûksi'-mîn” [deer berries]. The Prairie Potawatomi stated that they sometimes ate the berries as a food but the Forest Potawatomi knew nothing about this practice. The smoke or smudge from the burning root, placed upon a pan of live coals, was used to revive a patient who had sunk into a coma. It was fanned toward the nostrils and a paper cone was placed over the nose to make sure that the fumes reached them. Among the whites[174] the root has been used as an astringent, a tonic, a demulcent and an expectorant.

Twisted Stalk (*Streptopus roseus* Michx.)[175] “näwä'kîtäg” [leaning weed]. According to Mrs. Spoon, the proper name in Forest Potawatomi is “newe'ak”. She used the root of the Twisted Stalk to make a cough syrup or tea. The Ojibwe likewise used the root of the Twisted Stalk, but we have no record of its use among the white.

Large-flowered White Trillium (*Trillium grandiflorum* [Michx.] Salisb.)[176] “kesana'kwions” [bell flower]. Another name applied to this plant by the Forest Potawatomi is “macaka'ndib” [Indian turnip]. An infusion of the root is used for treating sore nipples. The infusion is drunk by the patient and the medicine man further hastens the action of the medicine by piercing the teats with a dog whisker. Under the name “birth wort” the whites[177] have used the root as a parturient, a local stimulant, and a stimulant expectorant. Other authorities[178] assigned to it astringent, tonic and antiseptic qualities. It has been used to treat bleeding lungs, diseases of the kidney and womb, and coughs and asthma. The root when boiled in milk, has been used as a diaphoretic and a cure for dysentery. The raw root has been pounded into a poultice to cure tumors, ulcers, and insect

174 Nickell, p. 45.
175 present series, Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXXII, fig. 1.
176 present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XIII. fig.2.
177 Nat'l. Disp., p. 1686.
178 Herbalist, p. 50.

stings.

Large-flowered Bellwort (*Uvularia grandiflora* Smith)[179] "näwä'-kîtäg" [leaning weed]. The Forest Potawatomi use the root of this plant for two purposes. In an infusion, it is used to cure a backache. When it is boiled down and added to lard it is used as a salve to massage sore muscles and tendons. Among the whites,[180] the entire plant is used as a tonic, demulcent, nervine and hepatic. It has also been used to prevent the bad effects of poison inwardly.

LYCOPERDACEAE (PUFFBALL FUNGI)

Pinkish Puff ball (*Lycoperdon subincarnatum* Pk.) "teokwe'-mînûn" [headache berry]. The Potawatomi use the spores of this puff-ball for a headache powder but just how the dose is administered we were unable to discover. These spores are also used to sooth any chafing between the legs and under the armpits of an infant. It appears that this is the only member of the fungi family that the Forest Potawatomi use and that they consider all other species of fungi poisonous.

LYCOPODIACEAE (CLUB MOSS FAMILY)

Common Club Moss (*Lycopodium clavatum* L. var. *monostachyon* Grev. & Hook.), shown in plate 23, fig. 1, "bebamabi'k" [running vine]. While the Forest Potawatomi gather this in large quantities to sell to the florists, they also use the spores of the fruiting spikes as a medicine, for their styptic and coagulant properties. Among the whites,[181] the pollen or spores of the Club Moss are used in treating excoriations and as a dusting powder for infants. Another authority[182] records the use of both the spores and the moss.

The moss is used as a diuretic and antispasmodic and for rheumatism and epilepsy, dysentery and renal disorders. The spores have been used to protect raw surfaces, such as originate in cases of erysipelas, eczema,

179 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XIII, fig. 1.
180 Nickell, p. 138.
181 Nickell, p. 84.
182 Herbalist, p. 132.

herpes, and ulcers.

Tree Club Moss (*Lycopodium obscurum* var. *dendroideum* [Michx.] D. C. Eaton), shown in plate 22, fig. 2,”"sîgona'kwan” [evergreens], This is the name that was given by ’Snabe Jim and Indian George, whereas others called it “cîngwa'kocîkäsîgîk” [pine-shape of]. The Forest Potawatomi also gather this species to sell to the whites and use the spores as a medicine in the same manner as the preceding species.

MYRICACEAE (SWEET GALE FAMILY)

Sweet Fern (*Myrica asplenifolia* L.) “cîngwako'sîngä'cîkûk” [pine shape]. The Forest Potawatomi make a tea from the leaves of the Sweet Fern to cure the itch. Among the whites,[183] the whole plant has been used for its tonic, astringent and diaphoretic properties. It has been used in the treatment of fevers. Another authority[184] states that the whole plant has been used for its stimulant and astringent properties to relieve colic and as a diaphoretic. It has also been used as a fomentation in the treatment of rheumatism.

Sweet Gale (*Myrica Gale* L.) shown in plate 24, fig. 1. The Forest Potawatomi have no medicinal use for this plant to our knowledge. Among the whites,[185] the leaves and buds have been used for their tonic, alterative, blood purifying and vulnerary properties.

NYMPHAEACEAE (WATER LILY FAMILY)

Sweet-scented Water Lily (*Nymphaea odorata* [Ait.] Woodville & Wood) “nabagûck” [water lily] and “wabi'nabagack” [white water lily]. According to Pokagon,[186] the root of the Sweet-scented Water Lily was used as a poulticing material when it had been pounded, but our informant did not tell us what ailments it was supposed to cure.

Yellow Pond Lily (*Nuphar lutea* ssp. *advena* Ait.) shown in plate 23, fig. 2,

183 Herbalist, p. 45.
184 Nat'l. Disp., p. 430.
185 Nickell, p. 92.
186 Pokagon, pp.157 and 164.

"kîtewi" [pine snake]. The Forest Potawatomi gather large quantities of the root of the Yellow Pond Lily and give it the name of pine snake, because of the appearance of the roots where the water has dried away exposing them. The writer made a trip with Mrs. Spoon to obtain a supply of this root and gathered perhaps a two-bushel sack of it. The roots were cut into quarters in order to dry better. The root is pounded into a pulp, either fresh or dried to use as a poulticing material for many inflammatory diseases. Among the whites,[187] the roots are esteemed for their astringent, emollient, discutient, and demulcent properties, being esteemed in treating various female complaints. Another authority,[188] states that the roots have been used among eclectic practitioners as a remedy for diarrhea, dysentery and leucorrhea.

OLEACEAE (OLIVE FAMILY)

Red Ash (*Fraxinus pennsylvanica* Marsh.) "êmkwansûk" [spoon wood]. While we found no record of the use of ash for medicine among the Forest Potawatomi, the ancient medical texts are full of reference to the potency of Ash to charm and keep away serpents. Infants were fed the sap of the Ash tree to ward off attacks of serpents and the wooden rockers of the cradle were made from Ash wood for the same reason. Modern eclectic practitioners[189] used a wine made from White Ash bark as a bitter tonic, astringent and anti-periodic. It has been used by them in the treatment of intermittent fevers.

ONAGRACEAE (EVENING PRIMROSE FAMILY)

Lesser Enchanters Nightshade (*Circaea alpina* L.) The Forest Potawatomi considered this plant adventive to their territory and have no name or use for it to our knowedge. Among the whites,[190] the whole plant has been considered of value in dispelling or resolving tumors and healing fresh cuts or wounds.

Northern Willow-herb (*Epilobium adenocaulon* Haussk.) "wîsîgi'-bag"

187 Nickell, p. 94.
188 Nat'l. Disp., p. 1056.
189 Nat'l. Disp., p. 728.
190 Nickell, p. 42.

[bitter weed]. The Prairie Potawatomi use the root of this plant to make a tea to check diarrhea. We have no record of its use by the whites.

Fireweed (*Epilobium angustifolium* L.) shown in plate 26, fig. 1, “kêgi'nano'kûk” [sharp pointed weed]. While the Forest Potawatomi use this for medicine, its use was not explained. Among the whites,[191] the leaves and the root have both been used for their tonic, astringent, demulcent and emollient properties.

Common Evening Primrose (*Oenothera biennis* L.) shown in plate 25, fig. 1, “owesa'wanakûk” [yellow top]. The tiny seeds of the Evening Primrose are used for medicine among the Forest Potawatomi. Mrs. Spoon said that they were a valuable medicine but did not say for what particular ailment. Among the whites,[192] the whole plant has been used for its mucillaginous properties, as an acrid agent for its value in eruptions or skin diseases and as an ornamental. Another authority[193] states the whole plant has been used to make a tea to cure coughs and asthma. An ointment has been made from the extract of the plant to use in the treatment of skin diseases.

OPHIOGLOSSACEAE (ADDER'S TONGUE FAMILY)

Virginia Grape Fern (*Botrychium virginianum* [L.] Sw.)[194] “kêdîgi'dji'bîkagûk” [zigzag root plant], “kêtkîdji'kakûk” [zigzag root plant.], “tcatcetci'kakûk” [zigzag root]. In the Prairie Potawatomi language this plant was called “kajidji'bîkûkûk” [zigzag root]. While everyone seemed to know this root and have a name for it, the writer was unable to find its application in medicines, except in combinations. The root was considered a medicine by all of them. Among the whites,[195] the leaves have been valued for their astringent and vulnerary properties.

191 Nickell, p. 56.
192 Nickell, p. 95.
193 Herbalist, p. 253.
194 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXVI, fig. 2.
195 Nickell, p. 29.

ORCHIDACEAE (ORCHID FAMILY)

Rattlesnake Plantain (*Goodyera repens* [L.] R.Br. ex Ait. f.), “kêdîgi'bagûk” [spotted leaf]. The Forest Potawatomi prize the root and leaves of this plant very highly because it is so hard to find and valuable to them in the treatment of female disorders. They also find it of value in the treatment of stomach and bladder diseases. Captain Jonathan Carver[196] traveled among the Forest Potawatomi in 1796 and noted the use of a great many plants for medicine. Perhaps his most curious reference to the efficacy of any of these plants is in connection with this Rattlesnake Plantain. He says that the Indians used the leaves for the bite of reptiles, chewing it and applying it immediately to the wound, at the same time swallowing some of the juice. He said that the Indians, for spirituous liquor, will at any time permit a rattlesnake to drive his fangs into their flesh. He notes that the plant is most common where venomous snakes are most abundant. Among the whites[197] the whole plant is esteemed for its demulcent, ophthalmic and anti-scrofulous properties. Another authority[198] states that the leaves have been used in poultice form to cure severe cases of scrofula. Infusion of the leaves have been used by eclectic practitioners as a wash to cure scrofula and as a wash for diseases of the eye.

OXALIDACEAE (WOOD SORREL FAMILY)

Common Wood Sorrel (*Oxalis Acetosella* L.) shown in plate 25, fig. 2, “siwo'bîgons” [sour weed]. The Forest Potawatomi do not use this as a medicine but rather as a food. Among the whites[199] the whole plant is used for its acid, refrigerant, diuretic and irritant properties. Another authority[200] ays that the plant has been used for its cooling and diuretic properties. It has been used in fevers, hemorrhages, gonorrhea, chronic catarrh, urinary affections, scurvy, etc.

196 Carver, p. 343.
197 Nickell, p. 67.
198 Herbalist, p. 180.
199 Nickell, p. 97.
200 Herbalist, p. 266.

PAPAVERACEAE (POPPY FAMILY)

Bloodroot (*Sanguinaria canadensis* L.)[201] "mackwasdji'bîkûkûk" [red root plant]. The Prairie Potawatomi call this plant "maskwa'we" or "mêskwa" [red]. The Forest Potawatomi steep the root for an infusion which is used to cure diphtheria, which they recognize as a disease of the throat. They also squeeze out drops of the juice on maple sugar to use as a throat lozenge to cure mild cases of sore throat. Among the whites,[202] the root is used for its emetic, sedative, febrifuge, stimulant, tonic, diuretic and emmenagogue properties. Another authority[203] states that the root is used for stimulant and tonic properties in cases of bronchitis, laryngitis, whooping cough, liver diseases, scrofula and dysentery. An infusion is used in skin diseases.

PARMELIACEAE (LICHENS)

Lichen (*Parmelia physodes* [L.] Ach.) which grows upon a spruce tree, shown in plate 21, fig. 2, "wakwûnûk" [egg bush]. The Potawatomi only use lichens that are found upon spruce trees and while they are apt to eat it as they find it in the woods, as a cure for constipation, it was usually soaked or boiled in water until it swelled somewhat. It is also used as a food.

PINACEAE (PINE FAMILY)

Balsam Fir (*Abies balsamea* [L.] Mill.)[204] shown in plate 27, fig. 1, "kêki'ntebä" [peaked top]. The Forest Potawatomi gather the resinous exudate from the blisters on the trunk of the Balsam Fir, and use it, just as it comes from the blisters, for colds. Although they sometimes gather it in a bottle, it is more often that they go to the trees, open the blisters with their thumb nail and pick out the drops of Balsam to swallow fresh to cure a cold. Where it is gathered, it is saved in a bottle and used as a salve to heal sores. Perhaps the cure results as much from the exclusion of air from the sore surface as it does from the medicinal qualities of the

201 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XIV, fig. 2.
202 Nickell, p. 120.
203 Herbalist, p. 41.
204 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXII, fig. 1.

Balsam. They also make an infusion of the bark to drink for curing consumption and other internal affections. Among the whites,[205] the bark extract is considered stimulant, diuretic, anthelminthic, deturgent and vulnerary. The Dispensatory[206] records the practice of the Hudson Bay Indians who peel the bark, leaving the resin vesicles exposed and dry it. They call this "weakoc" and apply it to wounds. According to the National Dispensatory, it is valuable for its bitter and astringent properties. Many people have made pillows from the dried leaves of the Balsam Fir for the pleasant aroma that is considered to give relief from hay-fever and colds.

Common Juniper (*Juniperus communis* L.) shown in plate 28, fig. 1, "aca'wûskonis" [yellow liquid]. The Forest Potawatomi use the berries of the Common Juniper in combination with either the American Fly Honeysuckle (*Lonicera canadensis*) bark or the root of the Bush Honeysuckle (*Diervilla Lonicera*) as a cure for various diseases of the urinary tract. In fact, the same Indian word is sometimes applied to Bush Honeysuckle as to the Common Juniper. Among the whites,[207] both the inner bark and the leaves are used as an aromatic. The berries have diuretic properties.

Tamarack (*Larix laricina* [DuRoi] Koch)[208] "monîba'namîc". The Forest Potawatomi use the bark and the leaves of the Tamarack in just the same manner as the Menomini use it. They gather bark from both the root and the trunk. The fresh inner bark is used for poulticing wounds and inflammations while the steeped bark becomes a medicinal tea. They say that it drives out inflammation and generates heat within the body. In considering this as a medicine, they say that it is equal to one man and therefore becomes a medicine by itself, without the addition of any other ingredients. The Forest Potawatomi also use it as a horse medicine. They mix the shredded inner bark with oats which are fed to the animal and this makes his hide loose so that it slips around when you pinch it. Among the whites,[209] the inner bark is esteemed for its laxative, tonic,

205 Nickell, p. 7.
206 Nat'l. Disp., p. 1620.
207 Nickell, p. 76.
208 present series. Vol. 4, Part. 1, pl. XIII, fig. 3.
209 Nickell, p. 78.

diuretic and alterative properties. The Dispensatory[210] states that the bark is used to make a tamarack extract or tamarack tincture which is valuable in treating bronchitis, and chronic inflammation of the urinary passages, etc.

Black Spruce (*Picea mariana* [Mill.] BSP.) “kawa'ndag” [coarse evergreen]. The Forest Potawatomi make poultices from the inner bark of this swamp tree to apply to inflammations where infection is suspected. Among the whites,[211] the inner bark is used for its alterative, diuretic and stimulant qualities.

Jack Pine (*Pinus Banksiana* Lamb.) shown in plate 27, fig. 2, “bêgi'wîc cîngwak” [pitchy-pine]. Among the Forest Potawatomi, the pitch is considered medicinal. The pitch is obtained from boiling the cone of the tree and the resultant pitch is the basis of an ointment. The leaves of the Jack Pine are used as a fumigant, “nokwe'sîkûn”, to revive patients who are in a coma and to clear the lungs where there is congestion. We have no record of its use by the whites.

Norway Pine (*Pinus resinosa* Ait.) shown in plate 26, fig. 2, “bagkwînaga'mîc” [leaf-evergreen tree]. The Forest Potawatomi use the leaves of this pine also as a reviver or “nokwe'sîkûn” in the same manner as they use others of this same class. Among the whites,[212] we have no record of its use as a medicine although it is known to yield a hard resin.

White Pine (*Pinus Strobus* L.) “cîngwak” [pine]. The Forest Potawatomi use the pitch or resin of the wood and the bark as the base of a salve. Among the whites,[213] the inner bark and sprigs of white pine yield an extract which is noted for its expectorant properties. It has been used in many patent medicines for coughs and colds and all throat troubles.

Arbor Vitae (*Thuja occidentalis* L.)[214] “gîciga'ntûk” [sky leaf]. The Forest Potawatomi use the leaves in making poultices and also in many

210 Nat'l. Disp., p. 1266.
211 Nickell, p. 7.
212 Nickell, p. 102.
213 Herbalist, p. 249.
214 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. VIII, fig. 3.

combinations with other roots and leaves as medicine. It serves also as a seasoner for other compounds. It is also smudged upon coals as a purifier and is supposed to exorcise the evil spirits that are inimical to recovery. Among the whites,[215] the leaves are valued for their stimulant, diaphoretic, anthelminthic, febrifuge and anti-spasmodic properties. Another authority,[216] states that the branches and leaves yield an extract which is useful in treating coughs, fevers, catarrh, rheumatism and scurvy. Boiled, in lard, the leaves yield the leaf oil and make an excellent salve.

Hemlock (*Tsuga canadensis* [L.] Carr.)[217] "kakagi'wîc" [raven's wood]. The Forest Potawatomi use the leaves of the Hemlock to brew a tea which causes the patient to break out with copious perspiration and is valuable for breaking up a cold. The inner bark of the Hemlock is mixed with other medicaments to cure the flux. It is doubtless valuable for this purpose on account of its astringent properties. Among the whites,[218] the inner bark of the Hemlock is used for its astringent and diaphoretic qualities. The leaves are said to have the property of causing abortion. Another authority,[219] states that the bark is a powerful astringent.

PLANTAGINACEAE (PLANTAIN FAMILY)

Common Plantain (*Plantago major* L.) shown in plate 28, fig. 2, "anakogo'wûck" [choke weed]. According to Mrs. Spoon, the proper name for this plant is "nonagonawûck soskwosa'wanagaä'cikîk" [fern-muskrat-tail-like]. According to the Prairie Potawatomi, the name of it is "mûkitca'kwo" [spotted frog]. The Forest Potawatomi have a use suggested by the first name given,—choke weed. When the root is boiled, it furnishes a slippery fluid. A patient who is choking upon a bone in the throat is given this fluid to drink, which will so lubricate the lining of the throat that the bone will either pass on down the throat or can be coughed up. The Forest Potawatomi also use the heated leaf of the plant, to bind upon swellings and inflammations. Among the whites,[220] the

215 Nickell, p. 135.
216 Herbalist, p. 237.
217 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. VIII, fig. 2.
218 Nickell, p. 7.
219 Herbalist, p. 111.
220 Nickell, p. 104.

entire plant has alterative, diuretic, antiseptic and antisyphilitic properties. Another authority,[221] says that the leaves have been used in infusions to ease the phlegm in tuberculosis. The fresh leaves have been used to dress wounds and heal sores. When bound over the anus, they have been said to cure protruding piles.

POLYGONACEAE (BUCKWHEAT FAMILY)

Hartwright's Persicaria (*Polygonum amphibium* L. var. *Hartwrightii* [Gray] Bissell) “aîanko'gînîak” [crooked]. The Forest Pota-watomi used the root of this as a medicine but the particular use was not stated. Among the whites,[222] the root of this plant has been used for a blood purifier. According to the Dispensatory[223] about forty species of Polygonum have been reported as being used for medicine.

Carey's Persicaria (*Polygonum Careyi* Oiney) “îaîanko'gînk” [jointed]. The Forest Potawatomi use the entire plant to make a tea to cure a cold that is accompanied by fever. We have no record of its use among the whites.

Fringed Black Bindweed (*Polygonum cilinode* Michx.) “bebamaki'k” [running vine]. The Forest Potawatomi do not know this plant and therefore have no specific name for it other than “running vine”. They have no use for it to our knowledge. We have no record of its use among the whites.

Black Bindweed (*Polygonum Convolvulus* L.) The Forest Potawatomi have no name or use for this plant to our knowledge. Among the whites[224] it is recorded that the seed of this species has been used for food the same as buckwheat.

Dock-leaved Persicaria (*Polygonum lapathi-folium* L.) “wisa'-gîbag""[bitter weed]. According to Mrs. Spoon, the name for this plant is “a'ianko'geneak” [jointed weed]. The whole plant is used by the Forest Potawatomi to make a tea for curing fevers. We have no record of its use

221 Herbalist, p. 170.
222 Nickell, P. 105.
223 Nat'l. Disp., p. 1290.
224 Nickell, P. 106.

by the whites.

Arrow-leaved Tear-thumb (*Polygonum sagittatum* L.) “äsûkîta'-boe” [stickers]. While this plant is given a name, descriptive of its properties by the Potawatomi, it was not used as medicine to our knowledge. We have no record of its use among the whites.

Great Water Dock (*Rumex Britannica* L.) shown in plate 29, fig. 1. While there is no Indian name given to this plant by the Forest Pota-watomi as far as we know, still they use the root as a blood purifier. Among the whites,[225] the root is considered to have the same properties as *Rumex crispus* which are alterative, tonic, blood purifying, astringent and anti-scorbutic. The Dispensatory,[226] states that the root has tonic, laxative, alterative and diuretic properties. It has been used in cases of scorbutus, cutaneous scrofula, cancer, syphilis, leprosy, elephantiasis, and as a blood purifier. The fresh root has been boiled in lard to furnish an ointment for the treatment of scrofula.

POLYPODIACEAE (FERN FAMILY)

Maidenhair Fern (*Adiantum pedatum* L.) shown in plate 30, fig. 1, “memakate'wîga'têûk” [black leg]. The Forest Potawatomi used an infusion of the root to cure caked breasts in the nursing mother. It is drunk as a tea. Among the whites,[227] the entire plant has been used for its pectoral, mucilaginous, expectorant, refrigerant and tonic properties. Another authority[228] says that the herb has been used for its refrigerant, expectorant, tonic and sub-astringent properties. It has been used as a decoction in febrile diseases, helps coughs, catarrh, hoarseness, influenza, asthma and pleurisy.

Crested Shield Fern (*Aspidium cristatum* [L.] Sw.) “nonagûna'-wûsk” [fern or milk breast]. The Forest Potawatomi have no medicinal use for this plant to our knowledge. We have no record of its use by the whites.

225 Nickell, P. 117
226 Nat'l. Disp., p. 1410.
227 Nickell, P. 11.
228 Herbalist, p. 138.

Lady Fern (*Asplenium Filix-femina* [L.] Bernh.) shown in plate 29, fig. 2, “nonagona'wûsk” [milk weed], and “nanagana'wûck” [milk weed]. This is the common Indian word among the Forest Potawatomi for all ferns and is probably derived from the use to which they put many of the roots. A root tea is made for relieving caked breasts in a nursing mother. It is also used for various female disorders. Among the whites,[229] the root is used for its anthelminthic and vermifuge properties.

PRIMULACEAE (PRIMROSE FAMILY)

Tufted Loosestrife (*Lysimachia thyrsiflora* L.). This plant was unknown to the Forest Potawatomi and they had no name or use for it to our knowledge. We have no record of its use among the whites.

American Starflower (*Trientalis americana* [Pers.] Pursh.). The Forest Potawatomi did not know this plant and had no name or use for it to our knowledge. We have no record of its use among the whites.

RANUNCULACEAE (CROWFOOT FAMILY)

Red Baneberry (*Actaea rubra* [Ait.] Willd.) “wasgobîdji'-bîkeok” [sweet root plant]. The Forest Potawatomi used the root of the Red Baneberry to make a tea administered to purge the patient of after-birth. Among the whites,[230] the root has been used for its purgative and emetic properties. According to the Dispensatory,[231] the Baneberry root greatly resembles in appearance and properties the Black Cohosh (*Cimicifuga racemosa*) and has been wholly substituted for it in many cases. It has been used in cases of ovarian neuralgia, uterine tenderness, sub-involution, and as a substitute for digitalis in the treatment of fatty or irritable heart. It affords some relief for a headache which is due to eye strain.

Goldthread (*Coptis trifolia* [L.] Salisb.)[232] shown in plate 31, fig. 1, “asa'wasdji'bîkêns” [small yellow root]. The Forest Potawatomi used the

229 Nickell, p. 24.
230 Nickell, p. 110.
231 Nat'l. Disp., p. 463.
232 present series. Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXXV, fig. 1.

thread-like root of this plant for curing sore gums and for lessening the pain of teething babies. Carver[233] wrote about the use of the Goldthread root by the Potawatomi Indians to cure mouth sores. Among the whites,[234] the root has been used for its bitter and tonic properties and for the treatment of mouth cankers. Another authority,[235] states that the root has been used for its bitter and tonic properties resembling quassia and columbo without their astringent properties. The root extract has been used in cases of dysentery and chronic inflammation of the stomach.

Liverleaf (*Hepatica triloba* Chaix.)[236] "asawûsk" [yellow weed]. The Prairie Potawatomi name for this plant is "wawitci'pasa". The Forest Potawatomi use the root and the leaves to make a sweetish-tasting tea to relieve cases of vertigo. Among the whites,[237] the entire plant is valued for its mucilaginous, astringent, hepatic and pectoral properties. Another authority[238] says that the entire plant is mucilaginous and astringent and used in infusions in fevers, diseases of the liver, bleeding from the lungs, coughs, etc.

Bristly Crowfoot (*Ranunculus pennsylvanicus* L. f.) shown in plate 34, fig. 2, "asa'wûck" [yellow weed]. Mrs. Spoon uses the entire plant of the Bristly Crowfoot for an astringent medicine, disease unstated. Among the whites[239] the entire plant is used for its acrid, rubi-facient, counter-irritant, and narcotic properties.

Purple Meadow Rue (*Thalictrum dasycarpum* Fisch. & Lall.)[240] "akwatîci'wûk" [mint leaf]. The Prairie Potawatomi called this plant "kakaki'wûskwe" [crow woman weed], and the seed of the plant is used as a love medicine. When a man and his wife have been quarreling, the seeds are surreptitiously placed in their food to overcome the quarrelsome dispositions. The Forest Potawatomi use the leaves and the seeds in combination with other materials to cure the cramps. The seeds

233 Carver, p. 341.
234 Nickell, p. 46.
235 Herbalist, p. 93.
236 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXI, fig. 2.
237 Nickell, p. 70.
238 Herbalist, p. 124.
239 Nickell, p. 113.
240 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXXIII, fig. 1.

are peppered upon the surface of poultices to make them more effective. Among the whites,[241] the root of Purple Meadow Rue is valued for its purgative and diuretic properties. The Dispensatory[242] says that the Purple Meadow Rue contains berberine and has been used as a bitter and a tonic, especially useful in treating leucorrhea.

RHAMNACEAE (BUCKTHORN FAMILY)

Alder-leaved Buckthorn (*Rhamnus alnifolia* L'Her.) shown in plate 30, fig. 2, “mûkwo'mînaga'wîc” [bear weed]. The Forest Potawatomi use the inner bark of the buckthorn for a physic. It is probably as useful as the white man's medicine *Rhamnus cathartica* from which Cascara Sagrada is obtained, although there is no record of the Alder-leaved Buckthorn being used by the whites.[243]

ROSACEAE (ROSE FAMILY)

Agrimony (*Agrimonia gryposepala* Wallr.) “äsûkîtä'boe” [stickers], The Forest Potawatomi have no medicinal use for this plant to our knowledge but the Prairie Potawatomi, under the name “sukitapua” [stickers], use the plant as a styptic and snuff an infusion up the nostrils to stop the nose-bleed. Among the whites,[244] the entire plant was used for its astringent properties and tonic effect upon the stomach. The Dispensatory[245] records the use of the root and leaves as a mild tonic, alterative and astringent. It says that Indians in Canada and the United States have used the root for reducing fevers.

Juneberry (*Amelanchier spicata* [Lam.] K. Koch) “bosîkwa'-komînûn” [plum-berry]. The Forest Potawatomi use the root bark of the Juneberry to make a tonic. Under the name “gozikwa'kominuk” [thorny-berry], the Ojibwe of Lac du Flambeau use the bark for medicine but we do not know for what ailment. The Pillager Ojibwe under the same name, say that the bark is used to make a tea for the expectant mother.

241 Nickell, p. 134.
242 Nat'l. Disp., p. 1380.
243 I will vouch for it - MM
244 Nickell, p. 11.
245 Nat'l. Dis., p. 202.

We have no record of its use for medicine by the whites.

Black Chokeberry (*Pyrus [Aronia] melanocarpa* [Michx.] Willd.) shown in plate 31, fig. 2, “nîki'mînûn” [wild goose-berry]. Another informant called it “sakwako'mînûn” or “sakwako'mînawûnj”. The Forest Potawatomi steep the berry to make a tea to cure a cold. Among the whites,[246] the berries are used for their astringent properties. The Dispensatory[247] says that the bark has been used among eclectic practitioners for its astringent properties.

Bicknell's Thorn (*Crataegus rotundifolia* Moench var. *Bicknellii* Eggleston) shown in plate 33, fig. 1, “mînesaga'wîc” [thorn bush]. The Forest Potawatomi use the apples as a medicine to cure stomach complaints. Among the whites,[248] the leaves have been used in medicines considered proper for relieving infections of the chest. The Dispensatory[249] says that the apples have been used for their astringent and heart tonic properties.

European Wood Strawberry (*Fragaria vesca* L.) shown in plate 32, fig. 1, “ate'imîn bagogä'cikîk” [heartberry-leaf-resembles]. The Forest Potawatomi use the root of the strawberry for the treatment of stomach complaints. Among the whites,[250] the leaves have been valued for their astringent, tonic and diuretic properties, while the fruit has been ascribed diuretic and refrigerant properties. Another authority[251] says that a tea has been made from the herb which has astringent and tonic properties. The infusion has been used for convalescents especially children, who are recovering from bowel and bladder weaknesses.

Rough Cinquefoil (*Potentilla monspeliensis* L.) “ä'sûkîtä'boe” [stickers]. The root of this plant is known to be medicine to the Forest Potawatomi but our informant was not able to tell us the malady it is supposed to cure. Among the white,[252] the root has been valued for its astringent

246 Nickell, p. 111.
247 Nat'l. Disp., p. 1402.
248 Nickell, p. 49.
249 Nat'l. Disp., p. 1403.
250 Nickell, p. 62.
251 Herbalist, p. 259.
252 Nickell, p. 107.

properties.

Marsh Cinquefoil (*Potentilla palustris* [L.] Scop.). We have no record of a name or use for this plant by the Forest Potawatomi nor of its use by the whites.

Bird Cherry (*Prunus pennsylvanica* L. f.) shown in plate 32, fig. 2, “wîgwa'ssimîne'son” [birch cherries]. The Forest Potawatomi use the inner bark of the Bird Cherry to make a tea to cure a cough and alleviate internal pain. Among the whites,[253] the inner bark is esteemed for its bitter, acrid, tonic, and astringent properties.

Wild Cherry (*Prunus serotina* Ehrh.)[254] “okwe'mînûn” [grub-worm berry]. The Forest Potawatomi use the inner bark of the Wild Cherry as a seasoner for other combinations of medicines. Among the whites,[255] the inner bark is valued for its bitter, tonic, stimulant, sedative, pectoral and poisonous properties. Another authority[256] says that the inner bark is valued for its sedative, pectoral, aromatic and bitter, tonic and astringent properties. It has been used by eclectic practitioners in treating consumption, coughs, bronchitis, scrofula, heart palpitation, stomach atony, dyspepsia and hectic fevers.

Choke Cherry (*Prunus virginiana* L.)[257] “sûswe'mînaga'wîc” [choke bush]. The Prairie Potawatomi name is very similar for this tree—”soswa'mînûn” [choke berry]. The Forest Potawatomi use the bark for an eye-wash and make a tonic drink from the berries. The Dispensatory[258] states that Choke Cherry is official in our pharmacopoeas but is actually made from Prunus serotina. It has a sedative action which is quite transitory, but the syrup of Wild Cherry bark makes a pleasing mask for other drugs.

Mountain Ash (*Sorbus americana* [Marsh.] DC.) shown in plate 34, fig. 1, “mûkwo'mîc” [bear timber]. The Forest Potawatomi state that the bear

253 Nickell, p. 109.
254 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXIII, fig. 3.
255 Nickell, p. 109.
256 Herbalist, p. 251.
257 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. VIII, fig. 1.
258 Nat'l. Disp., p. 1330.

eats the berries of the Mountain Ash and that they use the inner bark for a medicine, but we were unable to find out what ailments it was supposed to cure. Among the whites,[259] the inner bark is esteemed among eclectic practitioners for its astringent, tonic and detergent properties while the fruit is considered an esculent and an antiscorbutic.

European Mountain Ash (*Sorbus Aucuparia* [L.] Ehrh.) “mûkwo'-mînaga'wîc” [bear bush]. It is rather peculiar to find a Forest Potawatomi using this cultivated tree for medicine. It is very likely that the native Mountain Ash so much resembles the cultivated one that they mistook the identification of this plant. The leaves are used to make a tea for colds. The leaves are steeped in hot water, which causes the patient to vomit and at that time the extra mucous is expelled. This makes it valuable in their estimation for the treatment of pneumonia, diphtheria and croup. Among the whites,[260] the bark is esteemed for its astringent, tonic and detergent properties. The fruit is considered edible and a preventative of scurvy. The Dispensatory[261] says that the fruit has been used as an anti-scorbutic.

Smooth Rose (*Rosa blanda* Ait.)[262] “cipitiä'mîn” [toilet paper]. The Prairie Potawatomi also call this plant “sipitiä'mîn”. The Forest Potawatomi use the root of the Smooth Rose for medicine whereas the Prairie Potawatomi use the skin of the rose hips. The Forest Potawatomi make a tea for the treatment of lumbago and headaches. Among the whites,[263] the flowers of the Smooth Rose are used among eclectic practitioners for their astringent, tonic and ophthalmic properties.

Blackberry (*Rubus allegheniensis* Porter)[264] “kate'omînûk” [black berry plant]. The name for this plant assigned to it by the Forest Potawatomi, is doubtless a shortening of “makate'mîsku'mînog” [blackberry bushes], as it is given by Pokagon.[265] The Prairie Potawatomi call it “kêtä'mîn” which is evidently also a shortened form of Blackberry and they use the root

259 Nickell, p. 129.
260 Nickell, p. 129.
261 Nat'l. Disp., p. 11402.
262 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 2, pl. XXXVII, fig. 3.
263 Nickell, p. 116.
264 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXV, fig. 4.
265 Pokagon, p. 92.

bark for treating sore eyes. The Forest Potawatomi, however, did not have any medicinal use for the plant as far as we found, using it only for food. Among the whites,[266] the fruit is considered edible, diuretic and astringent, while the bark is considered astringent. The Dispensatory[267] records the use of the root bark for its tonic and astringent properties. It has been used in treating the summer diarrhea of children and adults. Another authority[268] records the use of the leaves, the root and the fruit for their astringent and tonic properties. It says that it is used for indigestion, to cure a coated tongue and to remove tenacious and offensive saliva.

Red Raspberry (*Rubus idaeus* L. var. *aculeatissimus* [C. A. Mey.] Regel & Tiling),[269] "maskwo'mînaga'wûck" [red berry bush]. The root of the Red Raspberry is made into an infusion to use as an eye wash by the Forest Potawatomi. Among the whites,[270] the bark of the root, the root and the leaves are all considered medicinal and astringent.

A decoction of the leaves or of the inflorescence is reported to be an excellent remedy in diarrhea, dysentery and cholera infantum. It has also been used as a wash and injection for leucorrhea, gleet, gonorrhea and prolapsus uteri. A decoction of the leaves has been combined with cream by eclectic practitioners to suppress nausea and vomiting. It has also been sometimes used as an aid to labor to promote uterine contractions where ergot has failed. Another authority[271] considers the fruit as esculent and laxative, while a decoction of the leaves has been used for its anti-emetic, purgative and astringent properties. The Dispensatory[272] records the use of root syrup of the Red Raspberry as a refrigerant, mild laxative and dietetic.

Willow-leaved Meadow-sweet (*Spiraea salicifolia* L.) shown in plate 35, fig. 1, "cêskwo'mîc" [muskrat bush]. Among the Forest Potawatomi, the bark is considered medicinal but the use of this medicine was not stated.

266 Nickell, p. 116.
267 Nat'l. Disp., p. 1408.
268 Herbalist, p. 44.
269 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXV. fig. 3.
270 Herbalist, p. 182.
271 Nickell, p. 116.
272 Nat'l. Disp., p. 1409.

Among the whites,[273] he root of this plant is valued for its tonic and esculent properties, while the herbage is used for its astringent and diuretic properties. The Dispensatory[274] considers the plant to be identical in value with Spiraea Filipendula in which case the herbage is used for an astringent and diuretic.

RUBIACEAE (MADDER FAMILY)

Rough Bedstraw (*Galium asprellum* Michx.). The Forest Potawatomi have no name or use for this plant to our knowledge. Among the whites,[275] the entire plant is used in the same manner as Galium Aparine for its demulcent and diuretic properties.

RUTACEAE (RUE FAMILY)

Prickly Ash (*Zanthoxylum americanum* Mill.). Carver[276] reports on his travels that he found the Forest Potawatomi using the root bark of Prickly Ash to effect a cure for gonorrhea. We found none of the present-day Forest Potawatomi using this medicine, perhaps because it grew too far away from their immediate vicinity. Undoubtedly they do use the Prickly Ash as all of our other Wisconsin Indians do. Among the whites,[277] the bark is used for its pungent, stimulant, sialogo-gic, alterative and tonic properties. The Dispensatory[278] says that the medicinal qualities of Zanthoxylum are not well defined. It has mild diaphoretic properties due to its stimulant action upon the circulation and nervous system. It has been used locally as an irritant and has been used as a sialogogue and a topical application to influence deep-seated inflammation. Another authority[279] states that it has been used as a stimulant, tonic, alterative and sialogogue. The berries are stimulant, carminative and anti-spasmodic, acting particularly upon the mucous tissues.

273 Nickell, p. 130.
274 Nat'l. Disp., p. 1402.
275 Nickell, p. 63.
276 Carver, p. 258.
277 Nickell, p. 143.
278 Nat'l. Disp., p. 1766.
279 Herbalist, p. 171.

SALICACEAE (WILLOW FAMILY)

Balsam Poplar (*Populus balsamifera* L.) shown in plate 35, fig. 2, “macamîdi's” [poplar]. Another informant gives it the name “manasa'dis” [perfume poplar]. The Forest Potawatomi count this one of their most valuable remedies for making salve. The winter buds are melted with mutton or bear tallow to form an ointment for persistent sores and to cure eczema. Among the whites,[280] the resinous buds have been used as a balsamic ingredient of plasters. Another authority[281] states that the buds are valued for their stimulant, tonic, diuretic and anti-scorbutic properties. A tincture of the buds is used in stomach and kidney trouble to cure scurvy and rheumatism. Gout and rheumatism are treated by extracts of the bark which is known to be tonic and cathartic.

Quaking Aspen (*Populus tremuloides* Michx.) shown in plate 36, fig. 1, “mîdis” [Aspen]. The Forest Potawatomi sometimes use the Ojibwe name for this “asa'dis” [rabbit food]. The Prairie Potawatomi call it “mîtwi”. The Forest Potawatomi burn the bark of the Quaking Aspen and save the ashes to mix with lard which forms a salve to apply to sores upon horses. Among the whites[282] the bark is valued for its tonic, stomachic, febrifuge and aperient properties. Another authority[283] records the use of the bark and leaves in acute rheumatism, to lower the temperature in fevers, to relieve pain and to reduce arterial swellings, to treat coryza, hay-fever, influenza, neuralgia and diabetes. Among eclectic practitioners, it has been used externally as a wash for gangrenous wounds, eczema, cancer, burns, fetid perspiration and as a wash. When it is used as a wash, borax is added to the bark extract.

Pussy Willow (*Salix discolor* Muhl.) “sisigo'bamîc” [willow]. Among the Forest Potawatomi, the bark is a universal remedy and any species of willow will have approximately the same Indian name as here given. The root bark is boiled down to make a tea, which is used in stopping a hemorrhage. We find that the willow galls have no meaning to the Potawatomi whereas they were valuable for medicine to the Menomini,

280 Nickell, p. 107.
281 Herbalist, p. 234.
282 Nickell, p. 107.
283 Herbalist. p. 173.

because they were galls rather than because they were from a willow tree. Among the whites,[284] the bark has been used among eclectic practitioners for its bitter, astringent, antiseptic, deturgent and aperient properties. The buds have been considered anti-aphrodisiac.

The Dispensatory[285] states that the bark has been used as a stomachic and aperient by eclectics, for the treatment of intermittent fevers, but is rarely used now.

Slender Willow (*Salix petiolaris* J. E. Smith) “sisigo'bamîc” [willow]. The Slender Willow is used by the Forest Potawatomi in the same manner as others of the willows and particularly just as *Salix discolor* was used by the Forest Potawatomi and also by the whites.

SARRACENIACEAE (PITCHER PLANT FAMILY)

Pitcher Plant (*Sarracenia purpurea* L.)[286] “kokokoo'makasîn” [owl's shoe], Mrs. Spoon uses the foliage of the Pitcher Plant to make a “squaw” remedy, though she could not explain its particular use. Among the whites,[287] the entire plant was used by eclectic practitioners for its bitter, astringent, stimulant, tonic, and diuretic properties. Another authority[288] states that the entire plant has been used for its tonic, stimulant, diuretic and laxative properties.

SAXIFRAGACEAE (SAXIFRAGE FAMILY)

Prickly Gooseberry (*Ribes Cynosbati* L.)[289] “cabo'mînaga'wîc” [see through-berry bush]. The Prairie Potawatomi call this “pêskomînaka'wes” which has somewhat the same sound as the Forest Potawatomi name. However, the use of it by the Prairie Potawatomi is quite different as they employ the root bark for a uterine remedy. The Forest Potawatomi make a tea of the root for treating sore eyes. We have no record of its use by the whites.

284 Nickell, p. 119.
285 Nat'l. Disp., p. 1425.
286 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXVII, fig. 1.
287 Nickell, p. 121.
288 Herbalist, p. 168.
289 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXIII, fig. 1.

SCROPHULARIACEAE (FIGWORT FAMILY)

Turtle Head (*Chelone glabra* L.) The Forest Potawatomi have no name or use for this plant to our knowledge and consider that it is a more recent plant to their region. Among the whites,[290] the leaves have been esteemed for their bitter, tonic, cathartic and anthelminthic properties. Another authority[291] says that the leaves have tonic, cathartic and anthelminthic properties. They have been used in the treatment of jaundice, liver diseases and for the removal of worms. They have also been employed in cases of dyspepsia, debility of the digestive organs and for those who are convalescing from febrile and inflammatory diseases. An ointment is made from the leaves for the treatment of piles, inflamed breasts, tumors and painful ulcers.

Monkey Flower (*Mimulus glabratus* HBK., var. *Jamesii* [T. & G.] Gray), “wesawû'nakûk” [yellow top]. The Forest Potawatomi have made use of the leaves of the Monkey Flower for medicinal purposes but the use was not discovered. Among the whites,[292] the leaves have been used by eclectic practitioners for their stimulating properties.

Wood Betony (*Pedicularis canadensis* L.)[293] “cagacka'ndawesoanûk” [flying squirrel tail]. The Prairie Potawatomi word for this plant was “mûkwa'mûk” or “makwama'wûc” [bear weed]. The Forest Potawatomi name, the fore part of which means “flying squirrel”, represents the use again of that name to commemorate a famous Potawatomi chief who has long been dead. The use of the root of this plant is rather different in the two tribes. The Forest Potawatomi use it as a physic, whereas the Prairie Potawatomi use it for reducing both internal and external swellings. Among the whites,[294] the entire plant is used by eclectic practitioners for its tonic, sedative, astringent and vulnerary properties.

Hare Figwort (*Scrophularia leporella* Bicknell). The Forest Potawatomi have

290 Nickell, p. 39.
291 Herbalist, p. 239.
292 Nickell, p. 90.
293 present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXXIV, fig. 1.
294 Nickell, p. 100.

no name or use to our knowledge for this plant and consider that it has come into their territory in historic times. We have no record of its use by the whites.

Common Mullein (*Verbascum Thapsus* L.)[295] "waboî'anîbag" [blanket leaf]. The Forest Potawatomi smoke the dried leaves in a pipe to get relief from asthma. This practice may have been learned from the white people or vice versa. They smudge the leaves and inhale them for curing catarrh. The leaves are also smudged to revive one who has lost consciousness. Among the whites,[296] the plant is known among eclectic practitioners for its demulcent, diuretic, anodyne, anti-spasmodic and vulnerary properties. Another authority[297] states that the leaves and the flowers are used for their demulcent, anodyne, diuretic and anti-spasmodic properties. An infusion of the leaves is used for coughs, catarrh, breathing from the mouth, as a diaphoretic, a blood purifier and for piles and bowel complaints. The fomentation of the leaves in hot vinegar and water has been used locally to allay the inflammation in piles, ulcers, tumors and mumps. Eclectic practitioners have required the patient to inhale the steam from the leaves for acute inflammaton of the tonsils and malignant sore throats.

American Brooklime (*Veronica americana* Schwein.). The Forest Potawatomi have no name or use for this plant to our knowledge. Among the whites,[298] the whole herb has been used for its anti-scorbutic, diuretic, emmenagogue, exanthematous and febrifuge properties.

SOLANACEAE (NIGHTSHADE FAMILY)

Black Nightshade (*Solanum nigrum* L.) "aciba'nîmîc" [coon weed]. This plant is not used by the Forest Potawatomi because they consider it to be poisonous. Among the whites,[299] the flowers are considered narcotic, poisonous, and diaphoretic. The extract in oil is used as an anodyne and for the purpose of dispelling or resolving tumors. Another authority[300]

295 present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXIV, fig. 4.
296 Nickell, p. 140.
297 Herbalist, p. 152.
298 Nickell, p. 141.
299 Nickell, p. 128.
300 Herbalist, p. 85.

states that the leaves are narcotic and sedative. One to three grains of the leaves infused in water will produce a copious perspiration and purge on the day following. The leaf infusions have been freely used in cancer, scurvy and scrofulous affections in the form of an ointment. Very small doses are taken internally. The berries are quite poisonous and will produce torpor, insensibility and death.

SPARGANIACEAE (BUR-REED FAMILY)

Bur Reed (*Sparganium americanum* Nutt.). The Forest Potawatomi have no name or use for this plant to our knowledge. We have no record of its use among the whites.

TAXACEAE (YEW FAMILY)

American Yew or **Ground Hemlock** (*Taxus canadensis* Marsh.), “kawûc” [ground]. The Forest Potawatomi use the leaves to make a tea which is used as a diuretic. The leaves are usually combined with the root bark of the Bush Honeysuckle (*Diervilla Lonicera*) and others for the treatment of gonorrhea. Among the whites,[301] the leaves are credited with sedative properties. It is said to act in much the same manner as digitalis.

THYMELAEACEAE (MEZEREUM FAMILY)

Moosewood (*Dirca palustris* L.) “cîbägob” [dead man's bark]. The Forest Potawatomi use the inner bark of the Moosewood to make a tea for its diuretic properties. Among the white men,[302] the bark has been valued for its acrid, rubefacient, vesicant, and expectorant properties. The berries are considered poisonous.

TILIACEAE (BASSWOOD FAMILY)

Basswood (*Tilia americana* L.)[303] “wîgobi'mîc” [string tree]. The Prairie Potawatomi call the tree by the same name “wikupi'mic” [string tree]. The Forest Potawatomi do not use the Basswood for medicine to our

301 Nickell, p. 133.
302 Nickell, p. 55.
303 present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XII, fig. 4.

knowledge, but it has been used among the whites,[304] the inner bark for its emollient, mucilaginous and vulnerary properties, while the flowers have been used for their diaphoretic and stimulant properties. Another authority[305] records the use of both flowers and leaves as medicine for their diaphoretic, stomachic, antispasmodic and sedative properties. A tea of the leaves and flowers has been used for promoting perspiration. It has also been recommended for giving relief in chronic epilepsy and during epileptiform headaches. It is an old household remedy for quieting hard coughs and relieving hoarseness.

TYPHACEAE (CAT-TAIL FAMILY)

Cat-tail (*Typha latifolia* L.)[306] "aba'kweûck" [shelter weed]. The Prairie Potawatomi have a very similar name "pakwe'ûk" [shelter weed]. The Forest Potawatomi use the root to make poultices for various inflammations. The fresh roots are pounded and reduced to poulticing material. Among the whites,[307] the root has been valued for its astringent, emollient and detergent properties.

UMBELLIFERAE (PARSLEY FAMILY)

Bulb-bearing Water Hemlock (*Cicuta bulbifera* L.). The Forest Potawatomi have no name or use for this plant to our knowledge. Among the whites,[308] the plant has always been considered poisonous, having convulsive properties.

Smoother Sweet Cicely (*Osmorhiza longistylis* [Torr.] DC.) shown in plate 37, fig. 1, "äsûkîtä'boe" [stickers]. According to Mrs. Spoon, the more precise name of this plant is "äsûkîtä'boe manomani cikokaä'cikûk" [stickers—looks like wild rice]. The root of the Sweet Cicely is used by the Forest Potawatomi to make an eye lotion and also to make a tea which is used as a stomachic. Among the whites,[309] the root is valued for its carminative, expectorant, demulcent, aromatic and tonic properties.

304 Nickell, p. 135.
305 Herbalist, p 130
306 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXXV, fig. 3.
307 Nickell, p. 137.
308 Pammel, p. 49.
309 Nickell, p. 97.

Wild Parsnip (*Pastinaca sativa* L.) “babîgwe'wûnûsk” [stem of a weed or flute reed]. Another name applied to this by the Forest Potawatomi is “mêmîskoga'tiîak” [will become red in the fall]. The root is used by the Forest Potawatomi to make a poultice for inflammation and sores. In discussing this medicine, they say that it is not to drink for it would surely kill one who uses it for a tea. Among the whites,[310] the root of the cultivated Pastinaca is considered an esculent and nutritious while the seeds and the top of the plant are considered to have diuretic properties.

URTICACEAE (NETTLE FAMILY)

White Elm (*Ulmus americana* L.) shown in plate 38, fig. 1, “anib” [elm]. The Forest Potawatomi use the bark of the White Elm for cramps and diarrhea. Among the whites,[311] he inner bark is used for its astringent, tonic, alterative, and diuretic properties. It has been used in treating cases of leprosy.

Slippery Elm (*Ulmus fulva* Michx.)[312] “cacî'gûb” [slippery bark]. The Prairie Potawatomi call this “osasha'kûp” [slippery bark]. The Forest Potawatomi chew the inner bark and apply the mass to the eye for speedy relief in cases of inflammation. When one has a boil, a splinter of the inner bark is sharpened and thrust into the boil and then a poultice is placed around the splinter. When the boil comes to a head, the splinter is pulled out and with it comes the core. Recovery is complete and permanent. One of the Potawatomi in illustrating the value of the Slippery Elm, told about one of their women choking upon a chicken bone that could not be dislodged from her throat. Her husband was just about to go for a physician when an Indian medicine woman came along and took a long strip of the inner bark of the Slippery Elm, running it down into the patient's throat, past the chicken bone. It was allowed to remain there for an hour and when it was pulled out, it brought the chicken bone along with it. Among the whites,[313] the inner bark is noted for its mucilaginous, nutritious, nutrient, expectorant, diuretic,

310 Nickell, p. 99.
311 Nickell, p. 137.
312 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. VII, fig. 3.
313 Nickell, p. 138.

demulcent, emollient and lenitive properties. Another authority[314] states that the inner bark is noted for its demulcent, emollient, and nutrient properties. Internally an infusion is given for the treatment of dyspepsia, diarrhea, urinary and bronchial ailments. Externally it is poulticed for inflammation, boils, etc., and is the base of rectal and vaginal suppositories.

Lyall's Nettle (*Urtica Lyallii* Wats.) shown in plate 37, fig. 2, “masan” [itching]. The Forest Potawatomi make a medicinal tea from the leaves of this plant and use the roots also to make a tea for the treatment of intermittent fevers. Among the whites,[315] the plant is used in the same manner as Urtica dioica for its diuretic, pectoral, astringent and tonic properties.

VIOLACEAE (VIOLET FAMILY)

Canada Violet (*Viola canadensis* L.). The Forest Potawatomi have no name or use for the Canada Violet to our knowledge. Among the whites,[316] the entire plant has been used as an emetic and alterative. The flowers have been used as the basis of a perfume. Another authority,[317] states that the leaves and flowers have been used for their alterative and expectorant properties. They have been used in treating skin diseases, scrofula, syphilis and bronchitis.

Downy Yellow Violet (*Viola pubescens* Ait.) shown in plate 38, fig. 2, "kakike'bîgons" [evergreen]. The Forest Potawatomi make a medicine from the root for treating various heart diseases. Among the whites,[318] the entire plant yields an extract which is emetic and alterative while the flowers are distilled for their perfume.

Smoothish Yellow Violet (*Viola scabriuscula* Schwein.). The Forest Potawatomi have no name or use for this plant to our knowledge. Among the whites,[319] the entire plant has emetic and alterative

314 Herbalist, p. 208.
315 Nickell, p. 138.
316 Nickell, p. 142.
317 Herbalist, p. 260.
318 Nickell, p. 260.
319 Nickell, p. 260.

properties while the flowers are used for their perfume.

VITACEAE (VINE FAMILY)

Virginia Creeper (*Parthenocissus quinquefolia* [L.] Greene) “omakaski'-bag” [toad weed]. Mrs. Spoon called this plant “makaki'wbag” [poison ivy] and said that the plant was poisonous, but it is the opinion of the writer that she confused it with poison ivy. The Forest Potawatomi make no use of the plant to our knowledge although they have a name for it. Among the whites,[320] the bark and twig of the plant are valued for their alterative, tonic, astringent and expectorant properties. Another authority[321] assigns the same property to it and says that it has been used in a syrup to cure scrofulous dropsy, bronchitis and pulmonary complaints. It has been reported to be used in curing cases of intoxication.

POTAWATOMI VEGETABLE FOODS

We have good reasons to think of the Potawatomi as a race with a long history, stretching back into prehistoric times. We know that the first white man to see them in Wisconsin was Jean Nicollet in 1634, nearly three hundred years ago. Potawatomi tradition tells us that they lived centuries before this time in Canada and the Upper Lakes region. It is probable that all through their history they have been agriculturalists and have perpetuated their cultivated plants through these centuries. This is presumably so since we know that the people who lived in Wisconsin long before the Potawatomi came, the Mound Builders, practiced agriculture, commerce and industry on quite an extensive scale and it is not too much to assume that the several tribes who came into this area were influenced by the culture of the Mound Builders. Exploration of ancient mounds and village sites have given to scientists some knowledge of these primitive times and peoples.

“It is customary to think of agriculture as pertaining only to civilized people, or at least to people who have emerged from so-called barbarism

320 Nickell, p. 15.
321 Herbalist, p. 22.

into the realm of what we are pleased to term civilization. As a matter of fact, the beginnings of agriculture can be traced back to very primitive times and primitive peoples, and that the artificial cultivation of food plants seems to be almost instinctive with the human race."[322] It is the popular belief that our Indian tribes were more or less nomadic and were without any noteworthy agricultural practices, but we know for instance that the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest had developed agriculture of their food plants to a higher degree.

The Mound Builders of the Central North American area all cultivated maize or Indian corn as the staple agricultural product. They were known to have grown beans, squashes, pumpkins, melons, sunflowers and perhaps a number of other plants of food and medicinal value as well as tobacco for smoking. Accidental fires in storage pits of the Mound Builders have carbonized many of these vegetables and preserved them through the ages to be discovered even today.

Our commonest staples in agricultural lines have so remote an antiquity that no one has ever been able to trace the origin of some of them, especially maize or Indian corn. From time to time, we hear startling reports of some scientist who claims to have discovered the original parent plant of maize, but careful study so far has proved that they have not discovered it.

It is pretty well admitted that maize is a product of tropical America, rather than any other part of the world. The earliest record of maize is in the Popul Vuh.[323] This sacred book of the Quicke Indians of western Guatemala, goes back to the eighth century.

Geologists tell us that they find impressions of food plants left in the sandstones which date back some five hundred million years and while they have never found the plants intact, they do find the animal remains of creatures that lived upon the abundant vegetation of that period. Just when man appeared upon the scene and began to cultivate certain useful food plants is entirely a matter of speculation. Agriculture, however,

322 Shetrone, p. 54.
323 Sturtevant's Notes on Edible Plants, Hedrick, 1919, p. 608.

must have been the ascending link in evolutionary progress as it allowed people to adopt a sedentary life and gave them a greater means of subsistence than the uncertain quantities of game or fish. When one man became able to raise enough food to support more than his own needs, society began to diversify and perhaps this was the beginning of ancient forms of religion. Men who did not have to struggle for existence, found themselves with a sufficient amount of time so that they could devote their lives to the study of the occult and mysterious and were able to devise systems of religion and ceremonies. This state of affairs must have happened over and over again with various peoples, changing the nomadic tribes into the more highly civilized tribes and accumulating greater intelligence as men were released from tribal duties to give their time to the study of the world about them and to project solutions of the mystery of life and death.

It may be that the Potawatomi went through the entire gamut of these experiences as very likely did also the Mound Builders and people that preceded them for many, many centuries.

According to their traditions, the Potawatomi do not recollect the time when they were without these early agricultural crops and while they have several stories or traditions about how they came to have these cultivated plants, most of them are naturally legendary. All that we really know is that they had Indian corn as their staple agricultural product, augmented by beans, squashes, pumpkins, melons, sunflowers, and other plants of real or fancied food value.

Wisconsin, at an early date, must have accommodated a very large aboriginal population from the number of cornfields and garden beds which are found with stone artifacts strewn over their surfaces. Originally they took full advantage of their native wild fruits, nuts, seeds, and other edible plants that occur freely in our region and have often expressed themselves as being well satisfied with the native foods that they found in Wisconsin. They believe today that many of the white men's diseases have been brought to them by the changing from their aboriginal types of food to the white-man's food. They especially mention their present day use of white flour made from wheat, which

they all use, but realize that certain of the valuable food elements have been taken away from the wheat in the process. They feel that their wild foods which have more or less disappeared from the picture under processes of cultivation with the coming of civilization for it is a fact that wild plant life once eradicated does not recur. The use of great tracts of their former hunting grounds, has deprived them of the opportunity of getting sufficient quantities of their wild foods. In these wild foods, they assert that they found certain chemicals and salts which kept them in health in the early days and they were not subject to the diseases from which they suffer today.

Among the older members of the Forest Potawatomi today, we find that they try to perpetuate the old varieties of cultivated plants which they knew in their youth and that they look with disapproval upon the attitude of the younger generation in permitting these ancient varieties to die out.

The Forest Potawatomi have only lived in their present location in Forest County, since 1914, when they were settled through the efforts of the late Senator Robert La Follette on farmsteads of one hundred sixty acres. From the tribal funds, the government purchased these farmsteads and built substantial six-room frame houses upon these properties, locating them near a white neighbor, hoping that their assimilation into the present population of the state would be more rapid if they had white neighbors than if they were living under reservation conditions. This has not suited the Forest Potawatomi, who are often scattered at great distances from their kinsfolk, in one instance as much as one hundred thirty-six miles, and they have not become the extensive farmers that Senator La Follette hoped they would become. Most of them have little more than a garden patch and a hayfield upon their farm and have been a burden to the National Government for many years. For some years they had an agent, Mr. W. H. Bennett, at Laona, in Forest County, Wisconsin, but are at present under the sub-agent, Mr. Henry Ritchie, of Laona. The government has never provided them with a farmer to instruct them in agriculture or to set up demonstration plots as has been done with other tribes when they live upon a reservation, such as at Lac du Flambeau, and their progress in present day agriculture has been very

slow.

They still do a considerable amount of hunting, fishing and gathering of their wild, native foods. During the harvest time, it is a common thing to see them cutting squashes into rings and drying them for winter use, threshing their beans, drying their corn, drying their blueberries and preserving the various wild fruits for winter use.

As among all other tribes, there are, of course, some progressive individuals who have imitated the whites and become good farmers and have raised all sorts of agricultural and garden crops. Usually these individuals do not stay in Forest County but migrate to other more advantageous locations and become better farmers or laborers in some of the nearby or distant cities. The migration of their children from the old homestead led to the need for a means of written communication and only fifty-five years ago was this satisfied by the formulation of a syllabary by one of the members of the tribe. Up until that time Potawatomi, like Menomini, was only a spoken language.

As in preceding bulletins, the families of plants that yield foods will be listed alphabetically.

POTAWATOMI FOOD PLANTS

ACERACEAE (MAPLE FAMILY)

Sugar Maple (*Acer saccharum* Marsh.)[324] "kisinamîc" [cold tree or timber]. This name connotes medicinal rather than food use. The name of the tree when it is spoken of as food, is "inina'tig" [Indian tree.] The Ojibwe Indians also called the tree "inena'tig" and "adjagobi'mîn". The sugar maple and the black sugar maple are found all over Wisconsin and were the most valuable trees to our aboriginal brothers of any in the forest because they furnished them their seasoning material. All of their cooking was seasoned with maple sugar in lieu of salt. While they do use salt today, it is an acquired ingredient and most of the old people would prefer to have sugar for their seasoning. This seems rather queer to us

324 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. VII, fig. 2.

when one considers a mixture of pork and sugar, but it was all that they had in the early days.

The February or March sugar camp among the Indians was one of the high spots of the year. While everybody had to work, they all derived a good deal of pleasure from it, especially the children who made taffy as the white children do, cooling it in the snow, or drank the maple sap as it came from the tree. Maple sap not only furnished the sugar for seasoning material but also furnished the vinegar. Sap that was allowed to become sour made a vinegar to be used in their cooking of venison which was afterwards sweetened with maple sugar. This corresponds somewhat to the German style of cooking known as sweet-sour meats.

The late Alanson Skinner in his "Material Culture of the Menomini"[325] has recorded many interesting legends about the tree, its discovery, and about sugar making. Another interesting account of the Potawatomi sugar making is found in the book by Chief Simon Pokagon.[326] He tells of the making of maple syrup "gîwagamisigan" and the making of maple sap into sugar "onsîban copomau".

The Forest Potawatomi gather their sugar crop in just the same way as they did many years ago, except that they now use large iron kettles in place of the pottery of former days or in place of the birch bark vessels before they had pottery. The boiling of sap in birch bark vessels was quite a difficult thing to do. In those days, the original fire had to be fed with bark of the tamarack tree, which was called "munipi'aniwa" [two times blaze]. The flame must never be allowed to come into contact with the birch bark, but the intense heat of the coals made the sap boil.

Indian pottery was not much better than the bark "mokoks", for it was rather fragile and would not stand rough handling or overheating. The coming of the white man with his huge iron kettles and metal ware offered them a much better means of boiling their maple syrup. They still use their bark buckets for gathering the maple sap and storing it until it is boiled, because the materials are handy and may be had without any

325 Skinner, 1921, pp. 164-5.
326 Pokagon, pp. 124 and 143.

expense except that of gathering and preparing. These vessels are made of birch bark with the inner bark as the outside of the vessel and sewed together with boiled basswood inner bark, then rendered waterproof by the application of pitch with a small amount of fat mixed with it. These vessels, with a cover fitted and sewed down, are the storage vessels for the finished maple sugar and may hold any amount from one to seventy-five pounds.

In March or April, according to the time of the beginning of the sap flow, the Potawatomi visit their sugar camp to get everything in readiness. The men repair the camp and storage vats of hollowed logs as well as the framework of the boiling house and the upright poles around the fireplace to hold the iron kettle. They also cut the necessary firewood. It is the duty of the women to see that the “mokoks” are kept in repair and are scrupulously clean and water tight. They usually take along fresh rolls of birch bark to make repairs or to make new mokoks.

The whole family camps here and lives in a wigwam for a month. The men chop holes and set spiles (whittled from yellow birch) into two or three hundred trees a day and men and women go to the trees to collect the sap. The first flow of the sap is the best and finest for making sugar, and the poorest quality comes at the end of the sap flow. The Potawatomi will not waste any of the sap because they feel that their deities would be offended and stop the flow of the sap, if they did not take care of all of it.

The process of boiling is much the same as it is among the whites, except that they always have a fresh spruce bough to disperse the foam during the boiling process. The syrup is drained through a cloth and recooked in quantities of two or three quarts until it is ready to crystallize into sugar. Then it is poured into a wooden trough, where it is pounded and pressed with a heavy wooden paddle until it hardens. The sugar is graded according to whiteness. While we did not find the Soft Maple, the Forest Potawatomi say that it does occur there and makes a whiter sugar than the real Sugar Maple. Sap is often added to the dregs in the kettle and a second grade of sugar is secured.

ALISMACEAE (WATER PLANTAIN FAMILY)

Broad-leaved Arrowhead (*Sagittaria latifolia* Willd.)[327] "wabasi'-pinik" [white potato]. Pokagon[328] called this "kopînîak". This plant has a mass of fibrous roots to which round corms are attached by tiny stems. When these corms are detached from the mass of roots, they immediately grow into a new plant and are so heavily laden with starchy food material that the new plant will have sufficient material to form roots and leaves. It is difficult to dig them out because the tiny stems that connect the corms, so readily break off and lose the conn, but the muskrats and beavers are very industrious in gathering these "white potatoes" and the Indian often takes advantage of their caches for his winter supply of these potatoes. They grow along the streams and lakes and are used as food by many tribes of Indians. It is also a favorite food with ducks and geese and has been planted by hunting clubs to attract these birds. A similar species found in California is used by the Indians there as a "potato" under the name "wappate" or "wapatoo" and is called by the whites there, the "tule" root. Pokagon says that "in preparing it for use, a hole is dug in the ground, five or six feet deep and about the same in width. At the bottom of this hole, stones are placed, and the fire built thereon until they were heated nearly red-hot. Wet moss was then placed over them, on top of which five or six bushels of these tubers were placed, over which was spread more moss nearly a foot thick. Several days were required to cook them properly, the stones being heated once each day, removing the tubers for that purpose. When fully prepared according to custom, they were cut into slices and dried for future use. Thus, an article, unfit to eat raw, was made very nutritious and very palatable." For winter use the potato is boiled, then sliced and strung on a piece of basswood string, to be hung up overhead for storage. A very tasty dish is made from deer meat, these potatoes and maple sugar.

ANACARDIACEAE (SUMAC FAMILY)

Staghorn Sumac (*Rhus typhina* L.)[329] "bakwa'nîmîc" [puckering? bush]. The berries of the Staghorn Sumac satisfy a natural craving for something

327 present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXXI, fig. 3, shows a similar sp.
328 Pokagon, p. 101, footnote 1.
329 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. IX, fig. 4, also Vol. 4, Part. 1, pl. XXXI, fig. 4.

acid or tart, among the Forest Potawatomi, who sometimes eat the berries, but none of them knew about its use as a beverage as most of our other Indians of Wisconsin employ it.

AQUIFOLIACEAE (HOLLY FAMILY)

Mountain Holly (*Nemopanthus mucronata* [L.] Trel.)[330] "sakwa'-kminaga'wîc" and "bosakwa'komînaga'wîc". While these berries are edible, they are quite bitter and not relished by the white man, but the Forest Potawatomi claim that they keep the berries for a food.

ARACEAE (ARUM FAMILY)

Indian Turnip (*Arisaema triphyllum* [L.] Schott.)[331] shown in plate 4, fig. 2, "mûkwodji'bîk" [bear's root].[332] We learn that at an early day Nicolas Perrot, who visited the Potawatomi, found them using the bear root which was called in the Menomini language "owässäutci'pa" and told how they could convert this very hot and poisonous root into an edible food. Perrot said, "An actual poison, if it is eaten raw (*Arisaema triphyllum*); but they cut it in very thin slices and cook it in an oven (the pit oven method was found necessary to render acrid and poisonous foods harmless and starchy foods saccharine, and as a preliminary for drying and preserving for winter use) during three days and nights; thus by heat they cause the acrid substance which renders it poisonous to evaporate in steam, and it then becomes what is commonly called cassava root."

ARALIACEAE (GINSENG FAMILY)

Indian Spikenard (*Aralia racemosa* L.)[333] "okadag" [leg]. The Forest Potawatomi relish the young tips of the Indian Spikenard in soups. Soup was a favorite aboriginal dish and still is among the Indians. Being expandable, it fits in well with the well-known Indian hospitality. After a meal is started several more guests may arrive and they are always

330 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXV, fig. 2.
331 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XV, fig. 4.
332 Blair, 1:115.
333 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XV, fig. 3.

welcome.

ARISTOLOCHIACEAE (BIRTHWORT FAMILY)

Wild Ginger (*Asarum canadense* L.)[334] "ba'boan" or "nîme'bîn". The Prairie Potawatomi called this plant "kûpûä" [ginger]. The Forest Potawatomi use the root of the Wild Ginger in the same manner as do other Indians of our region to flavor meat or fish and render otherwise inedible food, palatable. It was used to help the appetite of persons who could not keep anything upon their stomachs.

ASCLEPIADACEAE (MILKWEED FAMILY)

Common Milkweed (*Asclepias syriaca* L.)[335] "a'nêniwîc" [man weed]. The Forest Potawatomi used the Common Milkweed flowers and buds, in soups in the same manner as do all of the other Indians of this region. One always finds a riot of milkweed close to the wigwam or house of the Indian, suggesting that they have been cultivated. Meat soups are thickened with the buds and flowers of the Milkweed and it imparts a very pleasing flavor to the dish.

BETULACEAE (BIRCH FAMILY)

Beaked Hazelnut (*Corylus rostrata* Ait.) shown in plate 8, fig. 2, "cîkane'samîc" or "cîkana'simînaga'wûc". This species seems to be the only kind of Hazelnut native to Forest County and it is a favorite food of the Forest Potawatomi. They especially favor it when the nut is just about mature, or "in the milk" as it is called, and also gather it for winter use.

CELASTRACEAE (STAFF-TREE FAMILY)

Climbing Bittersweet (*Celastrus scandens* L.)[336] "manîtobima'-kwît" [spirit swisted]. This is one of the real aboriginal foods encountered by the early white voyageurs and often indispensable in the early history of the Potawatomi. The inner bark was prepared and cooked when there were

334 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 2, pl. XLV, fig. 1.
335 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXVI, fig. 2.
336 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXXIV, fig. 3.

times of food scarcity and while it was not highly commended as. a food, it was valued because it would sustain life when there was nothing else available. The first white man to call attention to it was Radisson.[337] He said, “The greatest subsistance that we can have is of rind (Vine) tree, which grows like ivie about the trees, but to swallow it, we cut the stick some 2 foot long, tying it in faggott, and boyle it, and when it boyles one houre or two ye rind or skinne comes off wth ease, w^{ch} we take and drie it in the smoake and then reduce it to powder betwixt two grainestoan, and putting the kettle wth the same water uppon the fire, we make it a kind of broath, w^{ch} nourished us, but became thirstier and drier than the wood we eate.” Another early writer[338] tells us what a certain Mrs. Red Thunder cooked in time of famine. He says, “Mrs. Red Thunder took her axe and started in quest of bittersweet or wild ivy, and succeeded in bringing home all she could carry and reported that there was plenty more. This vine is readily prepared for food. It is cut into chunks from one to three inches long and boiled until the coarse, thin bark easily separates itself from the stem. The bark then makes at least three-fourths of the original quantity; it is spongy and of a bittersweet taste. It is quite nutritious, and so one might not fatten on it, still it would preserve life for a long time.”

CHENOPODIACEAE (GOOSE-FOOT FAMILY)

Lamb's Quarters (*Chenopodium album* L.) shown in plate 10, fig. 1, “koko'cibag” [pig leaf]. While this plant furnishes a relish food for salads and spring greens when the leaves are used by the Forest Potawatomi, it also is one of those examples previously stated wherein the use of the native food keeps the Indian in health. It is supposed to be a specific in the cure of scurvy or in its prevention. Therefore the Forest Potawatomi feel rather duty bound to include it in their diet.

COMPOSITAE (COMPOSITE FAMILY)

Jerusalem Artichoke (*Helianthus tuberosus* L.) shown in plate 13, fig. 1. While the Forest Potawatomi have no Indian name for this plant to our

337 Wis. Hist. Coll., 11:80-1.
338 Wis. Hist. Coll., 9:167.

knowledge they knew about the edibility of the roots and gathered them for foodstuffs.

Dandelion (*Taraxacum officinale* Weber)[339] "asawa'bagwûnik" [yellow flower]. The Prairie Potawatomi call this "wasakutcä'pûk" [strong root]. They use the leaves for greens in the springtime in the same manner in which the whites do. They cook them with the vinegar made from maple sap. They are often combined with pork or deer meat.

CORNACEAE (DOGWOOD FAMILY)

Bunchberry (*Cornus canadensis* L.) shown in plate 18, fig. 1, “kakawisa'k” [popcorn weed]. The Forest Potawatomi used to use the berries of this plant for food but claim that they do not use them today. We could not ascertain how they used them, whether in the raw state or cooked.

CUCURBITACEAE (GOURD FAMILY)

Pumpkin (*Cucurbita Pepo* L. var.) “ogwîssimaû'n” [tangled hairs] referring to the interior seed arrangement. The writer found the Forest Potawatomi cultivating several kinds of pumpkins and squashes. This they have done from the eariest times. Captain Jonathan Carver[340] said “They have also several species of the melon or pumpkin, which by some are called squashes, and which serve many nations partly as a substitute for bread. Of these, there is the round, the crane-neck, the small flat, and the large oblong squash. Smaller sorts being boiled, are eaten during the summer as vegetables; and are all of a pleasing flavor. The crane-neck, which greatly excels all the others, are usually hung up for a winter's store, in this manner might be preserved for several months.” Lawson also remarks[341] that the pumpkins and squashes were cut open, the seeds cleaned, and the smoked shell hung up for winter use. Mr. Lawson gained this information from Dr. Alphonse Gerend, who learned it in turn from Simon Kaquados of Blackwell, Forest County, Wisconsin.

339 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXXI, fig. 1.
340 Carver, p. 349.
341 Wis. Arch., 19:41-116.

ERICACEAE (HEATH FAMILY)

Labrador Tea (*Ledum groenlandicum* Oeder)[342] "wesawa'bagûk" [yellow leaf] or "mamizhi'bagûk" [woolly leaf]. The Forest Potawatomi use the leaves of Labrador Tea to make a beverage. During the Civil War it is recorded that the whites also used it for the same purpose.

Velvet-leaf Blueberry (*Vaccinium canadense* Kalm) shown in plate 19, fig. 1, "mînaga'wûck" [blueberry vine]. This and the Low Sweet Blueberry (*Vaccinium pennsylvanicum* Lam. vars.) furnish an important item of food to the Forest Potawatomi, both in their fresh state and when sun dried or canned. It is also the basis of a very considerable industry during the late summer months when they gather and sell it to white traders. While the Indians are noted as very clean pickers, in practice it does not appear so. They rake the berries from the bushes between their fingers, gathering twigs, leaves and all sorts of things that come into the way, but by rotating the berries, they force the refuse to the top of the bucket and clean out the refuse before they market the berries. They also make a practice of lining their berry pails with the leaves of the Sweet Fern (*Myrica asplenifolia* L.) which they claim keeps the berries from spoiling.

Small Cranberry (*Vaccinium Oxycoccos* L. var. *ovalifolium* Michx.)[343] "bokimînäsûn" [cranberry]. There are no cultivated cranberry bogs in the neighborhood of the Forest Potawatomi, but there are plenty of sphagnum bogs where cranberries abound and they have always used them as an article of food, sweetening them with maple sugar.

FAGACEAE (BEECH FAMILY)

Beech (*Fagus grandifolia* Ehrh.)[344] "ajawe'min" [beech nuts]. "ajawe'mîn'mîttig" [beech woods]. Beech is fairly common among the forests of Forest County, and the Forest Potawatomi make good use of the beechnuts for food. They are, however, apt to rely upon the hidden stores of a small mouse called the deer mouse "wawabigono'-dji".[345]

342 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXXVI, fig. 2.
343 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXVII, fig. 2. See also footnote 139.
344 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. IX, fig. 2.
345 Pokagon, p. 150.

“The deer mouse is outdone by no other animal in laying up winter stores. Its favorite food is the beechnut. It will lay up in some safe log or hollow tree from four to eight quarts, which they shell in the most careful manner. The Indians easily find the stores when the snow is on the ground by the refuse on the snow. In like manner they locate bee trees, both of which in the early days were a source of important revenue for them.”

Across the road from the east end of Okauchee Lake in Waukesha County is a small lake originally called “Wawabigono'dji” by the Potawatomi Indians when they lived there. This appeared on the early maps as Mouse Lake, but was afterwards changed by the whites to Moose Lake.

Red Oak (*Quercus rubra* L.)[346] “mêtigo'mîc” [wooden tree]. The Forest Potawatomi use all kinds of acorns indiscriminately for their starchy content, as a sort of breadstuff. In common with the other Indians of our region, they knew the secret of ridding the acorns of their bitter tannic acid. Hardwood ashes and water furnished the lye for soaking the acorns which swelled them and removed the tannic acid. A bark bag or reticule serves to hold the acorns while they are washed through a series of hot and cold waters to remove the lye. Then they are dried in the sun and became perfectly sweet and palatable. They are ground on depressions of rocks which served as a primitive mortar with a stone pestle, to a flour, which is cooked as a gruel, sometimes called samp.

GRAMINEAE (GRASS FAMILY)

Maize (*Zea mays* L.) “mandamîn” [good berry]. The Forest Potawatomi cultivate the present kinds of corn and also their own calico corn, which is of a sweet variety, and an early sweet corn. Neither memory nor tradition goes far enough into antiquity to tell when they were without corn, but they have the usual stories about how corn was given to them by the Great Spirit.

Most of the early white visitors to the Potawatomi country had

346 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXIV, fig. 2.

something to say about the Indian corn which they found cultivated. In 1666 Father Allouez[347] said, "Their country is good for Indian corn, of which they plant fields, and to which they repair to avoid the famines that are too frequent in these quarters." Captain Carver[348] tells of an interesting use of the corn. "Among this people (Potawatomi) I eat of a very uncommon kind of bread. The Indians in general use but little of this nutritious food; while their corn is in the milk, as they term it, that is, just before it begins to ripen, they slice off the kernels from the cob to which they grow, and knead them into a paste. This they are enabled to do without the addition of any liquid, by the milk that flows from them, and when it is effected, they parcel it out into cakes, and enclosing them in leaves of the basswood tree, place them in hot embers, where they are soon baked. And better flavored bread I never eat in any country." In the earlier days the Forest Potawatomi made their bags of elm bark and filled them with corn or beans and peas to bury in the ground to keep for the wintertime. This is probably what was meant by Professor Chapman of Madison.[349] In speaking about the early Potawatomi residents in 1831 to 1833 he says that "they raised three thousand bushels of corn there where Madison now stands. This they stored underground enclosed by trunks of small trees, covered with that and then earth."

Wild Rice (*Zizania palustris* L.)[350] "manomîn" [good berry]. One of the greatest aboriginal foodstuffs in the northern part of the United States is the Wild Rice. All northern tribes knew about it, including the Forest Potawatomi, and gathered it for their winter supply of food. It is early mentioned by the whites, when Jacques Cartier of St. Malo, Normandy, reported his trip in 1534 for King Francis I of France.[351] He called it a wild corn, like unto rye, and in speaking of the Indian Maize, he called it Great Millet.

The Poorest Potawatomi lay by large quantities of Wild Rice for their winter use, one man threshing as much as seven hundred eighty pounds of it. The gathering and preparation of Wild Rice is a very laborious

347 Strong, 24:18.
348 Carver, p. 16.
349 Wis. Hist. Coll., 4:344.
350 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXVII, fig. 2, shows a similar sp.
351 Schoolcraft, 6:48.

process. The writer visited Little Rice or Mole Lake in the southwestern corner of Forest County at the time the Potawatomi were making their rice harvest. This is a shallow lake, almost entirely covered by wild rice. Each family had tied the heads of rice together in certain places to mark out their boundary lines where they would work. A man and woman occupied one canoe and the man propelled the boat by a long pole with a fork at the end of it. This pole was from twelve to eighteen feet long and had a widespreading fork so that it would engage enough of the vegetation on the bottom of the lake to afford some resistance in propelling the boat. The woman had a curved stick with which she reached out and bent the ripened seed heads of the grass over the canoe and a small paddle to dislodge the grain into the bottom of the canoe. They gather about forty pounds at a time and then proceed to the shore where they have a zinc washtub tilted over a fire. With a three-foot wooden paddle they keep stirring the freshly gathered rice over this bed of coals until it is thoroughly parched but not scorched. It is then removed to a trampling pit where an Indian with new moccasins threshes the chaff from the grain by trampling upon it all day long. The last process is tossing the grain into the air so that a breeze may carry off the chaff. It will then keep indefinitely and not be infested by grain weevil because it has been treated by heat, which destroys any eggs of the insects which might be in the rice.

The slightly burned taste that stays with the rice is highly relished by the Indians and perhaps as much so by the white people. In the earlier days of Wisconsin, wild rice used to sell for six and eight cents a pound, but now one would scarcely be able to buy it for less than twenty-five cents a pound upon the gathering grounds and when one looks for it in the city he must pay as much as a dollar and five cents per pound for it. Wild rice increases in size from three to four times during the process of cooking and is especially valuable to the Indians for cooking with wild fowl or game. They use maple sugar to season the mixture. Oftentimes they make what would correspond to a pudding from wild rice and sweeten this with maple sugar. It has been said that there is as much nutriment in a bushel of wild rice as there is in a bushel of wheat and this is doubtless so. The wild rice grains are about three times the size of wheat grains and while they are dark brown or black on the outside, when they cook

they are white inside. In cooking, the grains curl backwards from both ends.

JUGLANDACEAE (WALNUT FAMILY)

Shellbark Hickory (*Carya ovata* [Mill.] K. Koch.)[352] "mîtîgwa'-bak" [hard wood]. This tree is very scarce in the neighborhood of the Forest Potawatomi but when they do find the hickory nuts they are fond of them and gather them for winter use.

Butternut (*Juglans cinerea* L.)[353] "baganak" [nut tree]. The Butternut is a tree that ranges far to the north into Canada, whereas the Black Walnut is confined to the southern half of Wisconsin. The Forest Potawatomi gather the Butternuts for their edible quality and while they are not numerous in Forest County, still there is enough of them to furnish a winter supply of food.

LEGUMINOSAE (PULSE FAMILY)

Groundnut (*Apios tuberosa* Moench)[354] "mûkwo'pînik" [bear potato]. Like the other tribes of this region, the Forest Potawatomi appreciate the "wild potato", which is found in abundance around springs and in boggy land. Nicolas Perrot while traveling through the Potawatomi country at an early date described these potatoes.[355] He says, "That country also produces potatoes; some as large as an egg, others are the size of one's fist, or a little more. They boil these in water by a slow fire, during twenty-four hours; when they are thoroughly cooked, you will find in them an excellent flavor, much resembling that of prunes—which are cooked the same way in France, to be served with desert." Kalm[356] says that "this is the 'hopniss' of the Indians on the Delaware, who ate the roots; that the Swedes ate them for want of bread and that in 1740 some of the English ate them instead of potatoes." The vine is rather inconspicuous and bears a small bean pod by which it may be readily

352 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. IX, fig. 1.
353 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. VII, fig. 4.
354 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXIX, fig. 3, also pl. XXX, fig. 1.
355 Blair, 1:115.
356 Kalm, pp. 1-400.

recognized. The roots, however, run in a mat through the ground, some of the individual roots running as far as twenty feet. At intervals along the underground root are swellings, which constitute these potatoes. They are starchy reservoirs comparable to the tubers of the Irish potato.

Bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris* L.) “mîskodi'ssîmîn.” History tells us that nearly every tribe of Indians in the North American continent had beans when they were discovered by the whites and the wide variety of names which they had for them indicate that they were a very ancient introduction. Otherwise the names would more or less agree or have a common root. The great number of varieties also points to their antiquity. Most of our Wisconsin tribes have their own favorite varieties and the Forest Potawatomi are no exception.

LILIACEAE (LILY FAMILY)

Wild Garlic (*Allium canadense* L.)[357] "cîgaga'wûnj" [skunk plant]. While the flavor of this plant is very strong, the Indians use it in soup and have always accounted it a valuable wild food. In 1674 when Marquette[358] and his party journeyed from Green Bay to the present site of Chicago, these onions formed almost the entire source of food.

Wild Leek (*Allium tricoccum* Ait.)[359] “bûgwadjica'gowûnj” [unusual skunk plant]. The Forest Potawatomi also used this larger wild onion as a food. There is a very interesting account of its use in the early days by Nicolas Perrot.[360] He says, “These tribes of the prairies also find in certain places, lands that are fertile, and kept moist by the streams that water them, whereon grow onions of the size of one's thumb. The root is like a Leek, and the plant which grows from it resembles the salsify. This onion, I say, is so exceedingly acrid that if one tried to swallow it, it would all at once wither the tongue, the throat and the inside of the mouth. I do not know, however, whether it would have the same effect on the inside of the body. But this difficulty hardly ever occurs, for as soon as one takes it into the mouth he spits it out; and one imagines that it is a certain Wild

357 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pi. XXXII, fig. 1.
358 Sturdevant, p. 32.
359 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pi. XXXII, fig. 4.
360 Blair, 1:115.

Garlic, which is quite common in the same places, and has also an insupportable acridness.

"When the savages lay in a store of these onions, with which the ground is covered, they first build an oven, upon which they place the onions, covering them with a thick layer of grass, and by means of the heat which the fire communicates to them, the acrid quality leaves them, nor are they damaged by the flame; and after they have been dried in the sun, they become an excellent article of food. Their abundance, however, counts for nothing, although the agreeable taste which one finds in them often induces him to satisfy his appetite with them; for nothing in the world is more indigestible and less nourishing. You feel a load on your chest, your belly is as hard as a drum, and colic pains which last two or three days. When one is forewarned of this effect, he refrains from eating much of this root. I speak from experience having been taken unawares by it; and after the distress I experienced from it, I have no longer any desire to taste it."

Canada Mayflower (*Maianthemum canadense* Desf.)[361] "sûksi'-mînagawîc" [deer weed]. The Forest Potawatomi insist that they eat the berries of the Canada Mayflower but just how they are prepared as a food was not discovered. Certainly the berries as they come from the plant would hardly be considered esculent by the whites.

NYMPHAEACEAE (WATER LILY FAMILY)

Yellow Lotus (*Nelumbo lutea* [Willd.] Pers.)[362] "wagipîn" [crooked potato]. While the Forest Potawatomi did not find the Yellow Lotus very near to them, they often made journeys to beds in Wisconsin of which there are about thirty-six known stations at the present time. They gathered the lotus roots as well as the seeds for food purposes. The two terminal shoots of an underground root stalk of Yellow Lotus are storage reservoirs of starch about the size and shape of a banana. These are the parts that are gathered at the end of the season, when they are full of starchy material. They are cut across and strung upon basswood strings

361 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXXI, fig. 1.
362 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 2, pl. XL, flg. 3; also pl. XLI, fig. 2

for winter use. The seeds are also gathered and roasted much after the manner of chestnuts. Nicolas Perrot described them also in the early days when he was in Wisconsin.[363] He says, “Also in winter, they dig from under the ice, or where there is much mud and little water, a certain root, of better qualities than that which I have just mentioned (the Indian Turnip, *Arisaema triphyllum*); but it is found only in the Louisiana country some fifteen leagues above the entrance to the Ouisconching (Wisconsin). The savages call this root, in their own language, “pokekoretch” (Winnebago) (*Nelumbo lutea*), Ojibwe “wa'gi'pin” [crooked root] ; and the French give it no other name, because nothing at all resembling it is seen in Europe. It has the appearance of a root, about half as thick as one's arm, or a little more; it also has firm flesh and externally resembles an arm; in one word you would say at sight of these roots, that they are certainly great radishes. But cut across the two ends, and it is no longer the same thing; for you find inside of it a cavity in the middle, extending through-out-its length around which are five or six other and smaller cavities, which also run from end to end. To eat it, you must cook it over a brazier and you will find that it tastes like chestnuts. The savages are accustomed to make provision of this root; they cut it into pieces and string them on a cord, in order to dry them in the smoke. When these pieces are thoroughly dry and hard as wood, they put them into bags, and keep them as long as they wish. If they boil their meat in a kettle, they also cook this root, which thus becomes soft; and when they wish to eat it, it answers for bread with their meat. It is always better with considerable grease; for although this root is very sweet and has a good flavor, it sticks to the throat in swallowing and goes down with difficulty; because it is very dry. The women gather this root, and recognize it by the dry stem, which appears sticking up above the ice. The shape is like a crown, of red color; it is as large as the bottom of a plate, and is full of seeds in every way resembling hazel nuts; and when these are roasted under hot cinders, they taste just like chestnuts.”

OXALIDACEAE (WOOD SORREL FAMILY)

Common Wood Sorrel (*Oxalis Acetosella* L.) shown in plate 25, fig. 2, “siwo'bîgons” [sour weed]. This plant of so much interest to the children

363 Blair, 1:115.

among the whites for its sour flavor, is gathered by the Forest Potawatomi, cooked and sugar is added to make a desert which they eat with considerable relish.

PARMELIACEAE (LICHENS)

Lichen (*Parmelia physodes* [L.] Ach.) shown in plate 21, fig. 2, “wa'kwûnûk” [egg bush]. The Lichen that grows upon a spruce tree, as our specimen did, is gathered by the Forest Potawatomi for a vegetable soup material. When it is cooked into a soup it swells somewhat and affords a pleasant flavor.

ROSACEAE (ROSE FAMILY)

Juneberry (*Amelanchier spicata* [Lam.] K. Koch)[364] “bosikwa'-komînûm” [goose berry]. The Forest Potawatomi relish these as a fresh food and also dry and can them for winter use. Other Wisconsin tribes are also fond of them.

Black Chokeberry (*Pyrus melanocarpa* [Michx.] Willd.) shown in plate 31, fig. 2, “niki'mînûn” [wild goose-berry]. The Forest Potawatomi say that they eat the berries from this plant but they are entirely too bitter to suit the white man.

Bicknell's Thorn (*Crataegus rotundifolia* Moench var. *Bicknellii* Eggleston) shown in plate 33, fig. 1, “mîne'saga'wîc” [thornbush]. The Forest Potawatomi say that the deer and bear are very fond of these apples and that they themselves sometimes eat them.

European Wood Strawberry (*Fragaria vesca* L.) shown in plate 32, fig. 1, “ate'imîn” [heart berry]. The Indians gather large quantities of the Wild Strawberry for food and one can scarcely blame them when one discovers how much more flavorful they are than the cultivated strawberry. They sometimes dry them and at other times preserve them for winter use.

364 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXX, fig. 2, shows a similar sp.

Sand Cherry (*Prunus cuneata* Raf.) shown in plate 33, fig. 2. The Forest Potawatomi make use of every edible fruit that they find in their environment. This Sand Cherry is sometimes called "ickotewa'-bomîn" [the whisky cherry]. It is put into whisky to improve the flavor. Carver in his travel in 1796[365] noted the use of these cherries in the Green Bay neighborhood when he said, "Near the borders of the lake grow a great number of Sand Cherries, which are not the less remarkable for their manner of growth, than for their exquisite flavor. They grow upon a small shrub, not more than four feet high, the boughs of which are so loaded that they lie in clusters on the sand. As they grow only on the sand, the warmth of which probably contributes to bring them to such perfection, they are called Sand Cherries. The size of them does not exceed that of a small musket ball, but they are reckoned superior to any other sort for the purpose of steeping in spirits. There also grow around the lake, gooseberries, black currants and an abundance of juniper bearing great quantities of berries of the finest sort."

Bird Cherry (*Prunus pennsylvanica* L. f.) shown in plate 32, fig. 2, "wîga's simine'son" [birch cherries]. It is not difficult to see why the Forest Potawatomi call this cherry the Birch Cherry for the bark peels round the trunk of the tree very much in the same manner that birch-bark does. Very often when the Potawatomi women are working at basketry they keep a supply of branches of this cherry on the ground near them and eat as they work. It is interesting to watch the solid stream of cherries being fed into one side of the mouth and the pits emerge from the other side.

Wild Cherry (*Prunus serotina* Ehrh.)[366] "okwe'mînûn" [grub-worm cherry]. While the Forest Potawatomi use this cherry for food, they esteem it mostly for using in wine or whisky. The first thing that occurs to the Forest Potawatomi when this cherry is mentioned is "ickotewa'bo" [whisky].

Choke Cherry (*Prunus virginiana* L.)[367] "sûswe'mînaga'wîc" [choke bush]. The Prairie Potawatomi name for this is quite similar and means the same thing. It is "soswä'mînûn". The Forest Potawatomi use the Choke Cherry

365 Carver, p. 17.
366 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXIII, fig. 3.
367 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. VIII, fig. 1.

for food and also for seasoning or flavoring wine.

Blackberry (*Rubus allegheniensis* Porter)[368] "kate'omînûk" [black berry]. A more proper pronunciation or rather a fuller form of the word would be "makate'mîsku'mînog" [blackberry bushes]. The Forest Potawatomi use the blackberry for food only. They make no medicinal use of any part of the plant so far as the writer was able to discover. However many of our other tribes do have a medicinal use for the blackberry root as previously stated and the Prairie Potawatomi under the name "kîtä'mîn" use it for the treatment of sore eyes.

Red Raspberry (*Rubus idaeus* L. var. *aculeatissimus* [C. A. Mey.] Regel & Tiling)[369] "maskwo'mînaga'wûck" [red berry bush]. The Red Raspberry is a favorite article of food with the Forest Potawatomi who eat it fresh and also make it into jams and jellies.

SAXIFRAGACEAE (SAXIFRAGE FAMILY)

Prickly Gooseberry (*Ribes Cynosbati* L.)[370] "cabo'mînaga'wîc" [see through-berry-bush]. The Prairie Potawatomi call this "pêsko7-mînaka'wes". Both branches of the Potawatomi use the berries for food and make up jams and jellies with maple sugar for their winter food supply.

POTAWATOMI VEGETABLE FIBRES

While the Forest Potawatomi are not the most primitive of our Wisconsin Indians, still they have always felt the need of producing their own fibre materials, especially since none of them have ever become very wealthy. We can scarcely imagine a white family so poor that they could not afford thread or string and yet that is just the case in many of the Potawatomi families. While their cordage fibres and textile fibres are by no means so refined as those of the white man, there is no question but that they are stronger and more durable as a general rule. It is a question whether or not the time spent in the preparation of their vegetable fibres would not be sufficient to earn the funds to purchase their wants in this

368 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXV, fig. 4.
369 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXV, fig. 3.
370 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXIII. fig. 1.

direction. But the Potawatomi have ever thought that time is worth little and the materials are free of cost, so why should they purchase this material from the white man?

The Forest Potawatomi have not woven textiles for a long time, although they used to do so. In the earliest days, they used tanned buckskin for clothing, sewing it with native fibres and sinew. They wove a kind of cloth from cedar bark and from bast fibres. Woven bags of bast fibres were used for storage vessels but this is all long ago and now they wear the garments of the white man. The Forest Potawatomi still live in their wigwams, which they make from poles and cat-tail mats, covered by birch bark rolls. This is the usual residence of the summer time and may be used by poorer members of the tribe in the winter as well. It is possible to make them quite warm and cozy for winter use. But, as formerly stated, the Indian Service has built frame houses for most of them and they use these at the present time. A few of them also have ancient automobiles and it is hard to maintain old customs with such up-to-date materials and equipment.

For the furnishing of the house, the Forest Potawatomi still weave rush mats and cat-tail mats so that one has an opportunity to see their ancient handicraft still practiced today. They make ash splint baskets for the tourist trade and also fashion miniature birchbark canoes as well as other knicknacks for the tourist trade.

All of the younger members of the tribe are compelled to go to school although they have no reservation school for the Potawatomi Indians in Forest County. They are farmed out around among neighboring Indian schools at the Lac du Flambeau Reservation, and even farther away. These are boarding schools where the children stay for nine months of the year and the objective of the Government is to make regular citizens out of the children so that they will not revert to the old habits of reservation Indians. Until very recently, these schools overlooked an opportunity and there was no perpetuation of Indian arts and crafts. Recently the teachers have encouraged the children to work at weaving and bead work so that the Indian arts and crafts will not die out. They also encourage them to get assistance from their parents at home in

maintaining Indian designs.

Under the head of vegetal fibres, we will also consider their uses of forest trees, since these are so closely related. As before, the families will be listed alphabetically and descriptions of uses made will be along the same lines as in the preceding divisions of this paper.

POTAWATOMI FIBRE PLANTS

ACERACEAE (MAPLE FAMILY)

Mountain Maple (*Acer spicatum* Lam.) “caca'gobimîc” [soft wood]. The Forest Potawatomi use these leaves as a pattern for their bead and applique work. Before the coming of the white man their beads were fashioned from native shells and were rather coarse. They also used porcupine quills for ornamenting their articles of buckskin clothing. With the coming of the white man and the trade beads, which were much smaller, they were better satisfied and turned to them. When the Indian woman is allowed to make her own designs, she will do a very fine piece of work but if she is asked to copy some design fancied by the white man, oftentimes she does a very inferior piece of work. The leaves of this maple make a favorite design for their bead work and they were in the habit of using the leaves and flowers of valued medicinal plants to reproduce on their articles of wearing apparel.

In making up a design for art work or bead work, the Potawatomi woman would burn deer antlers until they turned to charcoal and use this to rub on the backs of the leaves. This surface was placed down upon a piece of white birchbark and rubbed until the shape and venation of the leaves were transferred to the birchbark. Then arranging with other leaves, a design would be formed which would be the pattern for the bead work. Oftentimes this would be placed directly under the loom so that the form and outline of the finished beadwork would be a true representation of the natural object.

APOCYNACEAE (DOGBANE FAMILY)

Spreading Dogbane (*Apocynum androsaemifolium* L.)[371] "magosä'-sîngä'sîkîk" [awl-shaped]. The Prairie Potawatomi name for this is similar, "makosä'käsêkûk", and means the same thing. It refers to the shape of the green pod. Just about the time the pods are green, and before they open, the rind or bast fibre of the bark is very strong and tough. By twisting the stalk in opposite directions and pulling upon it they can determine just when the bast fibre has matured to suit their purposes. Then they cut down the entire stalk and remove the bark, which is bound into braids for future use. It is usually then thrown into a kettle of hot water and this also renders it more readily separable and tougher. The fine divisions of this fibre are very strong and also quite slender. A strand no thicker than No. 200 D. M. C. cotton will be many times stronger. They use it as a thread for sewing on the fine beadwork that is put upon buckskin, such as moccasins and coat work.

ASCLEPIADACEAE (MILKWEED FAMILY)

Common Milkweed (*Asclepias syriaca* L.)[372] "ane'niwîc" [man weed]. Not only this but other species of the Milkweed have been used for thread materials in the same manner as the Spreading Dogbane.

BETULACEAE (BIRCH FAMILY)

Paper Birch (*Betula alba* L. var. *papyrifera* [Marsh.] Spach) shown in plate 7, fig. 2, "wigwassamic" [wigwam tree]. The Paper Birch is about as valuable to the Forest Potawatomi as the cocoanut tree is to the South Sea Islanders. They use the bark for many different purposes. It takes its Indian name from one of its uses, the making of the wigwam, furnishing a waterproof cover for the top of the wigwam. It is taken off in long rolls and these rolls are sewed together to make larger pieces. The seams are waterproofed by the application of a mixture of pitch and fat of some sort. Many of the household utensils were made from birch bark, storage vessels and all sorts of containers. They used to cook in birch bark vessels by the means of hot stones. Also, in maple sugar making, these vessels were actually suspended over coals made from larch bark. One of

371 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXXV, fig. 4.
372 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXVI, fig. 2.

the great uses to which birch bark is put, is in furnishing the outside cover of the birch-bark canoe.

Yellow Birch (*Betula lutea* Michx. f.) shown in plate 7, fig. 1, “wînesa'tîk” [odorous wood]. The Forest Potawatomi recognize the strength of Yellow Birch and it is a preferred material in its sapling stage for wigwam poles. These poles are set up in a circle and then bent down at the tip to meet and overlap in the center where they are tied together in the form of a hemisphere which makes the framework for the wigwam or medicine lodge. It also endures for a fair length of time and when the family moves it is left in position for it is but a matter of half a day to throw together another wigwam.

Beaked Hazelnut (*Corylus rostrata* Ait.) shown in plate 8, fig. 2, “cîkane'samîc”. One would expect to find this used as a basket fibre to correspond with its use in the West, but if the Forest Potawatomi did use it for this purpose we were never fortunate enough to discover this. However, they do bind a bunch of the twigs together and make a serviceable broom out of it for sweeping out the wigwam.

CYPERACEAE (SEDGE FAMILY)

Great Bulrush (*Scirpus validus* Vahl.) shown in plate 16, fig. 1. “ana'gûnûsk” [mat weed]. The Forest Potawatomi gather the Great Bulrush from streams and in shallow parts of the lake to make mats and baskets. The entire stem of the plant is gathered and sunk with weights in the lake until the surface is bleached white. After that they can color it as desired and weave mats or baskets in patterns. The greatest use made of this plant is for the wigwam mats which average thirty by sixty inches. The smaller stems are favored for use because the pith cavity is not so great in them and they outwear mats made from the larger stems. Lawson[373] records from Simon Kaquados, a Potawatomi Indian from Blackwell, Forest County, the memory of these rushes growing at Lake Koshkonong in the Rock River. He said that “the squaws gathered it and made blankets and mats from it.”

373 Wis. Arch., 19:70.

FAGACEAE (BEECH FAMILY)

Beech (*Fagus grandifolia* Ehrh.)[374] "ajawe'mîc" [beech tree]. The Forest Potawatomi use the beech and one or two other woods to make food or chopping bowls. The kind of beech wood most favored is that with a curly or wavy grain, for the wood is apt to be much harder and resist cutting edges of tools used to chop up foods or meats.

JUGLANDACEAE (WALNUT FAMILY)

Shellbark Hickory (*Carya ovata* [Mill.] K. Koch.)[375] "mîtigwa'-bak" [hard wood]. The Forest Potawatomi use this strong and elastic wood to make their bows and arrows. Such bows and arrows are still used by their children.

OLEACEAE (OLIVE FAMILY)

Red Ash (*Fraxinus pennsylvanica* Marsh.) "êmkwansûk" [spoon wood]. This species and the Black Ash were both used by the Forest Potawatomi for making woven wooden baskets. They separate the wood by its annual rings and then pull apart the rings to get the material which they use in basket making. It is also from this wood that they make wooden spoons.

PINACEAE (PINE FAMILY)

Jack Pine (*Pinus Banksiana* Lamb.) shown in plate 27, fig. 2, "bêgi'wîtc cîngwak" [pitchy pine]. The Forest Potawatomi use the root of the Jack Pine as a heavy sewing material. These roots extend near the surface of the ground through the sandy soil for thirty to thirty-five feet and are easy to pull out of the ground in their entire length. When they are gathered they are made into coils and sunk beneath the surface of the lake until the outer bark has loosened from the root. Then they are peeled and split in half, each half being a serviceable cord for sewing together canoes and bark strips intended for the roofs of wigwams and

374 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. IX, fig. 2.
375 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. IX, fig. 1.

for other purposes. The cones of this tree also yield a pitch which is used to waterproof the seams which they sew.

THYMELAEACEAE (MEZEREUM FAMILY)

Moosewood (*Dirca palustris* L.) “cîbä'gob” [dead man's bark]. This is one of the ready cordages that are to be found in the woods by the Indians. The bark is very tough and stringy and makes a good substitute for twine;

TILIACEAE (LINDEN FAMILY)

Basswood (*Tilia americana* L.)[376] “wîgobbi'mîc” [string tree]. As with other Indian tribes in Wisconsin the Basswood is perhaps the most important fibre plant that the Forest Potawatomi use. All sorts of string for making cordage and fashioning bags, sewing the edges of cat-tail mats and the many household uses that develop, are cared for by the use of this string. The women gather long strips of the bark from saplings and peel the outer bark from the inner bark by using their teeth to start and strip the outer bark. The bast fibre is then boiled in an iron kettle to soften the fibre to render it more slender and to increase its strength. It is stored in the same coils after they have been boiled until such time as they wish to use it when it will again be softened in water and made into cords or rope or bags or whatever they wish to make of it.

TYPHACEAE (CAT-TAIL FAMILY)

Cat-tail (*Typha latifolia* L.)[377] “aba'kweûck” [shelter weed]. “biwie'skwinuk” [fruit for baby's bed]. In common with the other Wisconsin tribes, the Forest Potawatomi use the leaves of Cat-tail which they sew together to make a wind-proof and waterproof side mat to be applied to the wigwam or medicine lodge. They stitch the flags together with a bone needle and native string, perhaps basswood or nettle fibre, so carefully that the stitches are almost invisible. The edges of the mat, which is usually four or five feet wide and of any desired length, are

376 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XII, fig. 4.
377 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXXV, fig. 3.

whipped tightly with fibre to keep them from unravelling. The ripened fruit head is also used as a fibre. It consists of a very fluffy head of pappus-like material which when it is once opened, will scarcely mat, therefore it is used to make a quilt upon which to place the infant.

URTICACEAE (NETTLE FAMILY)

Slippery Elm (*Ulmus fulva* Michx.)[378] "anib" [elm]. The Potawatomi made boxes and baskets from elm bark, according to Pokagon.[379] The use of elm bark for baskets is also mentioned by Simon Kaquados.[380] He also says that the bark of the elm was sometimes used to make the sides of the wigwam. The writer has been in such a wigwam where big strips of elm bark were sewed to the framework with bass-wood string.

Lyall's Nettle (*Urtica Lyallii* Wats.) shown in plate 37, fig. 2, "masan" [itching]. The Forest Potawatomi gather the outer rind of the nettle for its textile strength. It is twisted into a two-strand cord that is used for sewing cat-tail mats and baskets. This nettle belongs to the same family as the Indian hemp, the hemp that is cultivated by the white man, and the bast fibre is approximately as strong as that of hemp. It is held in storage in the form of a braid about three feet long.

MISCELLANEOUS USES OF PLANTS

Under this head will be considered plants used for dyes and in the arts and crafts. There also will be considered a class of plants used for love charms or hunting lures and for sacred or ceremonial uses. In this class, much of the information gathered must be regarded as pure superstition.

With the extreme cheapness of analin dyes, the Forest Potawatomi have almost abandoned the use of their native dyes. It is only when something is to be made for a sacred or a ceremonial use that they employ some of their native dye stuffs today saying that this type of dye lasts much longer than the material which they can purchase.

378 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. VII, fig. 3.
379 Pokagon, p. 102.
380 Wis. Arch., 19:70.

Under this head lies the greatest opportunity for expansion of knowledge of the ancient Potawatomi since most of the practices mentioned hereunder have been abandoned by the present day Potawatomi.

Clay "wabigan". Clay is not a plant material, but was called to the attention of the writer as one of the materials used in making fireplaces and making the pots that they used long ago. They also spoke about their practice of wrapping wild pigeons in clay and cooking them in the fire.

ACERACEAE (MAPLE FAMILY)

Red Maple (*Acer rubrum* L.) shown in plate 1, fig. 2, "cicigîme'-wîc" [maple]. The Potawatomi trapper boiled his traps in water with soft maple bark to deodorize them so that the animal would not detect the scent of the previous one which had been caught in the trap.

ANACARDIACEAE (SUMAC FAMILY)

Staghorn Sumac (*Rhus typhina* L.). Jonathan Carver[381] found the Potawatomi using the leaves of the Staghorn Sumac to mix with their tobacco, "which causes it to smoke pleasantly".

BALSAMINACEAE (TOUCH-ME-NOT FAMILY)

Spotted Touch-me-not (*Impatiens biflora* Walt.)[382] "twatubîgo'-nîak" [touch me not]. The Prairie Potawatomi called this plant "wasawashîa'k" [yellow slippery]. Both the Prairie Potawatomi and the Forest Potawatomi use this plant as a dyestuff. The juice of the whole plant is boiled and the material placed in the pot while it is boiling to give it an orange or deep yellow color. Sometimes rusty nails are thrown into the solution when it is boiling and this deepens the color, making it somewhat reddish.

381 Carver, p. 19.

382 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXXVI, fig. 1.

BETULACEAE (BIRCH FAMILY)

Speckled Alder (*Alnus incana* [L.] Moench) shown in plate 8, fig. 1, “atob” [bitter]. Alder bark is used by the Forest Potawatomi to obtain a red or brown dye. The powdered bark is also used as an astringent remedy to cure horse galls.

CHENOPODIACEAE (GOOSEFOOT FAMILY)

Strawberry Blite (*Chenopodium capitatum* [L.] Asch.) “mena'-kwoskûk” [stinking or scent weed]. The fruit heads of this plant have a beautiful pink to red color and stain the skin. Therefore the young Forest Potawatomi women use it for rouge to paint on clan marks or to heighten the color of their cheeks and lips.

COMPOSITAE (COMPOSITE FAMILY)

Yarrow (*Achillea Millefolium* L.)[383] “nokwe'sîkûn” [perfume reviver]. The Yarrow is one of the plants that is used as a medicine and also as a witch charm. When the seed heads are placed upon a pan of live coals, a smoke is produced which is supposed to keep the witches away.

Pearly Everlasting (*Anaphalis margaritacea* [L.] B. & H.) shown in plate 10, fig. 2, “wewa'bîckûnakûk” [white top] or “bakwä'näsîkûn” [fumigator]. Pearly Everlasting is also used as a witch charm to drive or keep evil spirits out of the house. The top is dried and placed upon a pan of live coals because it is supposed to hurt the eyes of the evil spirits and cause them to stay away from the house.

Joe-Pye Weed (*Eupatorium purpureum* L.)[384] “maskwano'kûk” [red top]. The Forest Potawatomi use the flowering tops of the Joe Pye Weed as a good luck talisman. When one is going to gamble he places the tops in his pocket and then is sure to win a lot of money.

383 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XVI, fig. 1.
384 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 2, pl. XLIII, fig. 1.

Black-eyed Susan (*Rudbeckia hirta* L.) shown to plate 13, fig. 2, “memakate'nî'ngweûk” [black eyeballs]. The Forest Potawatomi use the disk florets of the Black-eyed Susan as a yellow dye material. The disk flowers are boiled with rushes to give them a yellow color and to afford some variation in the color of the woven mats.

Field Sow Thistle (*Sonchus arvensis* L.) shown in plate 15, fig. 1, “a'wesawano'kûk” [yellow plant]. This plant has an entirely superstitious use among the Forest Potawatomi hunters. The hunter will suck the milk of the branches of the Field Sow Thistle to imitate the fawn obtaining its milk and therefore will be able to make a sound like the fawn, calling its mother. He will thus be able to call the doe close enough to dispatch it with an arrow.

CORNACEAE (DOGWOOD FAMILY)

Red Osier Dogwood (*Cornus stolonifera* Michx.) shown in plate 15, fig. 2, “mêmskwa'kwûk” [red stem bush]. The Forest Potawatomi peel the bark from the twigs of the Red Osier Dogwood to make a sort of “kinnikinik” or smoking material. Sometimes it is used as prepared and at other times as an addition to smoking tobacco to render the tobacco more mild. This bark after flaking, is usually toasted over a fire to better prepare it for shredding and use.

CYPERACEAE (SEDGE FAMILY)

Wool Grass (*Scirpus cyperinuss* [L.] Kunth) “bakwantibe'wûck” [clump of weeds]. The Forest Potawatomi use the fruiting tops of Wool Grass as a resilient material for stuffing and making pillows.

Great Bulrush (*Scirpus validus* Vahl.) shown in plate 16, fig. 1, “ana'gûnûsk” [mat weed]. The Forest Potawatomi say that this plant besides being used for making mats and baskets is a love medicine. They say that the flowers were used by Ottawa women as a love medicine and that they taught the use of it to some of the Forest Potawatomi women.

ERICACEAE (HEATH FAMILY)

Bearberry (*Arctostaphylos Uva-ursi* [L.] Spreng.) The Potawatomi use the Bearberry leaves to mix with their tobacco. Carver says,[385]—"A weed that grows near the Great Lakes, in rocky places, they use in the summer season. It is called by the Indians "segockimac", and creeps like a vine on the ground, sometimes extending to eight or ten feet, bearing a leaf about the size of a silver penny, fairly round; it is of the substance and color of the laurel, and is, like the tree it resembles, an evergreen. These leaves, dried and powdered, they likewise mix with their tobacco; and as said before, smoke it only during the summer."

Trailing Arbutus (*Epigaea repens* L.) shown in plate 18, fig. 2, "wa'bîgon" [white flower]. This is the tribal flower of the Forest Potawatomi who consider that these flowers came direct from the hands of "kîtci'manîtowiwîn", their divinity. Chief Pokagon[386] relates a very beautiful story connected with the flower. "Many moons ago there lived an old man, alone in his lodge, beside a frozen stream in the forest. His locks were long and white with age. He was heavily clad in furs, for all the world was winter, snow and ice everywhere. The wind swept through the woods, searching every bush and tree for birds to chill and chasing evil spirits over high hills and through valleys deep and broad. And the old man went about vainly searching in the deep snow for pieces of wood to keep up the fire in the lodge.

"In despair he returned to the lodge, and sitting down by the last few dying coals, he cried to the God of heaven that he might not perish. The wind answered with a howl, and blew aside the door of his lodge, and there came in a most beautiful maiden; her cheeks were like wild red roses; her eyes were large and glowed like the eyes of a fawn in the moonlight; her hair was long and black as the raven feathers and it touched the ground as she walked along; her hands were covered with willow buds, and on her head was a wreath of wild flowers; her clothing was sweet grass and ferns; her moccasins were white lilies, and when she breathed, the air in the lodge became warm and fragrant. The old man

385 Carver, p. 20.
386 Pokagon, pp. 165-158.

said, ‘My daughter, I am glad to see you. My lodge is cold and cheerless, yet it will shield you from the tempest of the night. But do tell me who you are, coming into my lodge in such strange clothing? Come, sit here, and tell me of thy country and thy victories, and I will tell thee of my exploits for I am a Manitou.’

“He then filled two pipes with tobacco that they might smoke as they talked; and when the smoke had warmed the old man's tongue, he said: ‘I am Manitou. I blow my breath and the lakes become like flint, and the rivers stand still and bridge over.’ The maiden answered: ‘I breathe and the flowers spring up on all the plains.’ The old man said:

‘I breathe and the snow covers all the ground.’ ’I shake my tresses,’ returned the maiden, ‘and warm rains fall from the clouds.’ ‘When I walk about,’ answered the old man, ‘leaves fade and fall from the trees. At my command the animals hide themselves in the ground, and the birds forsake the water and fly away, for I am Manito.’

“The maiden made answer, ‘’When I walk about, the plants lift up their heads, and the naked trees cover themselves with green leaves without number. The birds come back, and all who see me sing for joy; music is everywhere.’ And thus they talked and the air became warmer and more fragrant in the lodge. The old man's head drooped upon his breast and he slept.

“Then the sun came back and the bluebirds came to the top of the old man's lodge, and sang, ‘I am thirsty! I am thirsty.’ And the river replied, ‘I am free; come and drink.’ As the old man slept, the maiden passed her hand above his head; he began to grow small, streams of water ran out of his mouth, very soon he was a small mass upon the ground. His clothing turned to withered leaves. Then the maiden, kneeling upon the ground, took some of the most precious white flowers, and hid them about, under the faded leaves, breathing upon them said:

‘I give you all my virtues and my sweetest breath, and all who would pick these, shall do so upon bended knees.’

“Then the maiden moved away through the woods and over the plains, and all the birds sang to her, and wherever she stepped, and nowhere else, grows our tribal flower, the Trailing Arbutus.”

Labrador Tea (*Ledum groenlandicum* Oeder)[387] “wesawa'bagûk” [yellow leaf] or “mamizhi'baguk” [woolly leaf]. The Forest Potawatomi use this leaf to make a beverage, also as a brown dye material.

FAGACEAE (BEECH FAMILY)

Red Oak (*Quercus rubra* L.)[388] “mêtîgo'mîc” [wood tree]. The Forest Potawatomi use the leaves of the Red Oak to furnish a design for their beadwork. Their rushes, which are gathered for mat weaving, are boiled with Red Oak bark to impart a brownish red dye.

GRAMINEAE (GRASS FAMILY)

Sweet Grass (*Anthoxanthum odoratum* L.) “wîckobad mackossu” [sweet grass]. The Forest Potawatomi use the Sweet Grass to make baskets and also to sew with upon buckskin, when fashioning moccasins arid articles of clothing, according to Pokagon.[389]

IRIDACEAE (IRIS FAMILY)

Blue Flag (*Iris versicolor* L.)[390] “keki'weon” [flags]. The Forest Potawatomi used the leaves of the Blue Flag to weave mats and baskets according to Pokagon.[391]

LILIACEAE (LILY FAMILY)

Canada Mayflower (*Maianthemum canadense* Desf.)[392] “sûksi'-mînaga'wîc” [deer weed]. The root of this plant is used by the Forest Potawatomi as a good luck charm to enable him to win a game.

387 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXXVI, fig. 2.
388 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXIV, fig. 2.
389 Pokagon, p. 156.
390 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 2, pl. XL, fig. 2.
391 Pokagon, p. 94.
392 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXXI, fig. 1.

MYRICACEAE (SWEET GALE FAMILY)

Sweet Fern (*Myrica asplenifolia* L.) “cîngwako'sîngä'cîkûk” [pine—shape of]. The Forest Potawatomi gather the leaves of the Sweet Fern to throw on the fire to make a smudge to keep away mosquitoes. They also used to line their berry pails with them when gathering any kind of berries, to keep the berries fresh.

Sweet Gale (*Myrica Gale* L.) shown in plate 24, fig. 1. The Forest Potawatomi have no name for this to our knowledge but they used to line the blueberry pail with it to keep the berries from spoiling. It was also thrown on the fire to make a smudge to keep away mosquitoes.

ORCHIDACEAE (ORCHID FAMILY)

Intermediate Bog Orchid (*Habenaria dilatata* [Pursh.] Gray var. *media* [Rydb.] Ames) shown in plate 24, fig. 2, “mêsko'mîni'käcîkik” [red feather-like]. Due to the rarity of this plant, the Forest Potawatomi women use it as a love charm to enable them to secure a good husband. It is rubbed upon the cheek or painted upon the cheek and is said to be efficacious for either sex.

PAPAVERACEAE (POPPY FAMILY)

Bloodroot (*Sanguinaria canadensis* L.)[393] “mackwadji'bikûkûk” [red root-plant]. The BIoodroot is well known among most Indians as a facial paint root and was used in that manner by the Forest Potawatomi, to put on clan and identification marks.

PINACEAE (PINE FAMILY)

Balsam Fir (*Abies balsamea* [L.] Mill.)[394] “kêki'ntebä” [peaked top]. The Forest Potawatomi use the Balsam fir needles to make pillows, believing, as does the white man, that the aroma keeps one from having a cold.

393 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XIV, fig. 2.
394 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXII, fig. 1.

Tamarack (*Larix laricina* [DuRoi] Koch)[395] "monîba'namîc" [tamarack tree]. The Forest Potawatomi mixed the shredded inner bark of the Tamarack with oats that they feed to their horses so that it will make the hide of the animal loose and it will slip around when you pinch it.

Jack Pine (*Pinus Banksiana* Lamb.) shown in plate 27, fig. 2, "bîgi'-wîtc cîngwak" [pitchy pine]. For night hunting, the Forest Potawatomi made pine pitch and cedar torches. These torches were placed upon the bow of a canoe when they were hunting down a stream or on a lake.[396]

White Pine (*Pinus Strobus* L.)[397] "cîngwak" [pine]. The Forest Potawatomi use the pitch rendered from the bark or cone to caulk boats and canoes.

Arbor Vitae (*Thuja occidentalis* L.)[398] "giciga'ntûk" [sky leaf] The Arbor Vitae or White Cedar leaves are preserved by the Forest Potawatomi, or may also be used fresh, to create a smudge to exorcise evil spirits and to purify sacred objects. A pan of fresh coals from the sacred fire is sprinkled with fresh or dried Cedar leaves. A fragrant smoke arises and is fanned with the hands upon sacred objects and upon the persons of participants to purify them for the ceremony.

The Cedar bark is also sometimes rolled into torches which are used for hunting at night.

POLYPODIACEAE (FERN FAMILY)

Maidenhair Fern (*Adiantum pedatum* L.) shown in plate 30, fig. 1, "memakate'wîgateûk" [black leg]. The Forest Potawatomi use the black stems of the Maidenhair Fern as hunting charms thinking that if carried upon the person, they will bring good hunting luck.

395 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XIII, fig. 3.
396 Wis. Arch., 19:41-116.
397 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXI, fig. 3.
398 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. VIII, fig. 3.

RANUNCULACEAE (CROWFOOT FAMILY)

Goldthread (*Coptis trifolia* [L.] Salisb.)[399] "asa'wasdji'bîkêns" [small yellow root]. The Forest Potawatomi use the roots of Goldthread as a yellow dye. The roots are cooked with the cloth and an indelible color is produced.

Liverleaf (*Hepatica triloba* Chaix.)[400] "a'sawûsk" [yellow weed] The roots of the Liverleaf were used by the Forest Potawatomi to make a dye for mats and baskets.

Bristly Crowfoot (*Ranunculus pennsylvanicus* L. f.) shown in plate 34, fig. 2, "a'sawûck" [yellow weed]. The Forest Potawatomi use the entire plant boiled with rushes or flags which they wish to dye yellow, for making mats or baskets. To set their colors, they usually place a handful of clay in the pot.

Purple Meadow Rue (*Thalictrum dasycarpum* Fisch. & Lall.)[401] "akwatici'wûk" [mint leaf]. The seeds of the Purple Meadow Rue are dried to smoke while hunting and are supposed to bring good luck. In other circumstances, the seeds are mixed with tobacco and are the mark of a dandy. The young man will smoke this mixture when he is going to call upon some favorite lady friend.

SALICACEAE (WILLOW FAMILY)

Willow (*Salix* sps.). Carver[402] records that the Sand Bar Willow [Salix longifolia Muhl.] and some other species of willow are used for a scarlet dye. He says,—"Where the water has washed the soil from its roots, they appear to consist of fibres interwoven together like thread, the color of which is of an inexpressibly fine scarlet; with this the Indians (Potawatomi) tinge many ornamental parts of their dress."

399 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXXV, fig. 1.
400 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXI, fig. 2, shows a similar sp.
401 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXXIII, fig. 1.
402 Carver, p. 336.

SARRACENIACEAE (PITCHER PLANT FAMILY)

Pitcher Plant (*Sarracenia purpurea* L.)[403] "kokokoo'makasîn" [owl's shoe]. The Forest Potawatomi say that the old time Indians used the leaves of this plant for a drinking cup when they were out in the woods or the swamp.

SCROPHULARIACEAE (FIGWORT FAMILY)

Wood Betony (*Pedicularis canadensis* L.)[404] "cagacka'ndawe soanuk" [flying squirrel tail]. The Forest Potawatomi mix the roots of this plant with oats to make their ponies fat.

SPHAGNACEAE (SPHAGNUM FAMILY)

Sphagnum Moss (Sphagnum sp.) shown in plate 36, fig. 2, "asa'-komîk" [any moss]. The old time Potawatomi used dried Sphagnum moss for making pillows and mattresses.

TYPHACEAE (CAT-TAIL FAMILY)

Cat-tail (*Typha latifolia* L.)[405] "biwiê'swkînûk" [fruit for baby's bed]. The Forest Potawatomi say that they used to strip the fuzzy seeds from the Cat-tail head to make a soft comforter on which to place the new-born infant.

UMBELLIFERAE (PARSLEY FAMILY)

Smoother Sweet Cicely (*Osmorhiza longistylis* [Torr.] DC.) shown in plate 37, fig. 1, "ä'sûkîtä'boe manomani'cîkoka'äcîkûk" [stickers—look like wild rice]. The Forest Potawatomi chop the root of this plant into fine bits and add it to oats or other seeds which they give to their ponies to make them fat and sleek.

403 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 3, pl. LXVII, fig. 1.
404 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXXIV, fig. 1.
405 Present series. Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. XXXV, fig. 3.

URTICACEAE (NETTLE FAMILY)

Slippery Elm (*Ulmus fulva* Michx.)[406] "anibi'wanak" [elm bark]. According to Simon Kaquados,[407] the Forest Potawatomi from Black-well, Wisconsin, use the bark of the Elm to make baskets.

CONCLUSION

While the Forest Potawatomi may have been an off-shoot of the Prairie Potawatomi or Mascoutens, or vice versa, we trust that we have shown them to possess a very definite culture of their own, which varies considerably from the written account by Skinner.[408] We note considerable tendency to borrow medicinal plant uses from the Ojibwe and Menomini. This same practice appears to a much smaller extent in borrowing uses from the whites. Throughout historic times, the Forest Potawatomi have kept their residence in the most virgin of woodlands, and we find them today in the wildest parts of Wisconsin. Careful inquiry upon plants of recent introduction to the flora of Wisconsin will usually disclose the approximate date of introduction and any plant not used by them is subject to suspected introduction.

The Forest Potawatomi are doubly interesting to Milwaukee people because this locality was their home for a considerable length of time. It is unfortunate that they are so widely scattered in their present residence in Forest County and vicinity. This wide separation has made it difficult for them to keep up their tribal life and to hold dream dances as often as they might if they lived upon a limited reservation. Still, with all these difficulties, they have kept their old customs fairly well intact and are transmitting them to their younger generation.

There is a considerable body of folk-lore and ethnology yet to be studied and recorded among the Forest Potawatomi and the older people are in possession of this information, so that it should offer a good field for some student. As has usually been the case, the writer feels that the three or four months spent among them has not yielded so very much of their

406 Present series, Vol. 4, Part 1, pl. VII, fig. 3.
407 Wis. Arch., 19:70.
408 Skinner, 1924, Vol. 6.

ethnobotanical knowledge, but he hopes that this contribution will be interesting since it is the only published work upon these people, to his knowledge.

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