LE CENTRE DE RECHERCHES D'ANTHROPOLOGIE AMERINDIENNE
UNIVERSITE D'OTTAWA

ANTHROPOLOGICA

N. 7 - 1958

THE RESEARCH CENTER FOR AMERINDIAN ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

LE CENTRE DE RECHERCHES D'ANTHROPOLOGIE AMERINDIENNE
UNIVERSITE D'OTTAWA

ANTHROPOLOGICA

N. 7 - 1958

THE RESEARCH CENTER FOR AMERINDIAN ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

THE MALECITE INDIANS,

WITH NOTES ON THE MICMACS

by

W. H. Mechling

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

We cannot do better than to reproduce here the note that Edward Sapir, then Chief of the Division of Anthropology at the National Museum, had written as a preface to Mechling's monograph, more than thirty-five years ago when publication of this manuscript was decided. It is not clear why this work was not published then.

"The following monograph is concerned with two Algonkin tribes of the Maritime Provinces, primarily with the Malecite Indians and incidentally with the neighbouring Micmacs, who are closely similar in cultural respects to the former tribe, however much they may differ from them in language. The author has combined in a continuous account the results of his field researches and pertinent extracts from the reports of early writers, who observed these Indians when their primitive culture was still intact. His field work comprised visits to all the Malecite reservations (Edmundston, Tobique, Woodstock, Kingsclear, St. Mary (York Co.) and Oromocto, in New Brunswick; Cacouna, in Quebec) and a number of Micmac reservations (Burnt Church, Eel Ground, and Big Cove, in New Brunswick; Ste. Anne de Restigouche, in Quebec). One trip was undertaken in the summer of 1910 before Dr. Mechling began work for the Geological Survey, and field trips in the summers of 1911, 1912, and 1913 were arranged for by the Survey.

Only a small part of the field data secured by Dr. Mechling is included in the present volume. The mythology has been published in a preceding volume of this series.* The bulk of the ethnological inquiries related to technology.

---

* "Malecite Tales," Geological Survey, Canada, Memoir 49, Anthropological Series No. 4, 1914.

Materials were gathered for a study of Malecite and Micmac music and a series of Malecite and, chiefly, Micmac texts was also secured. This monograph may be looked upon as a general account of the Indians investigated, though a slight amount of technological detail has also been admitted. The reader must constantly bear in mind that it is no longer possible to present as complete and detailed a picture of the older Malecite life as may still be attempted for tribes which have been subjected to the disintegrating influence of white contact at a much later date than they.

It should be explained, finally, that Dr. Mechling has long withdrawn from active anthropological work and that the revision of the manuscript, which was submitted to the Geological Survey early in 1916, has been undertaken by D. Jenness, of the anthropological staff of the Museum. Mr. Jenness has carefully gone over the whole of it and put it in shape for publication."

(E. Sapir).

We offer here the first five chapters of Mechling's work; the remaining chapters on religion, games and amusements, temporal divisions and units of measurement, and medical practices will be published in a subsequent issue of Anthropologica.

Marcel Rioux,
Research Centre for Amerindian Anthropology.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The people described in this memoir in greatest detail are called the Malecites. The earlier writers called the people Eteminquois, Etechimins, and Etchemins. (1)

The Malecites call themselves Wulsa'kalukwiak, which means 'dwellers on the beautiful river.' They call St. John river Wula'kstiguk, 'beautiful river;' therefore, we might translate their name for themselves 'those who dwell on St. John river.' They have inhabited the valley of this river ever since the first Europeans came to the country, but today they live on reservations differing greatly in size as well as in population. Oromocto is the lowest on the St. John, about 11 miles below Fredericton. Opposite that city is St. Mary, and about 9 miles above it French Village or Central Kingsclear. There is a fourth reservation below Woodstock, and at Tobique point is the largest of them all. A few families live on the reservation at Edmundston, and a few more at Cacouna on the St. Lawrence. (2)

---

(1) Also spelled Estechemains, Estechemines, Estechemins, Etchemins, Etchemons, Etchimins, Etchmins, Etehemies, Etecheminii, Etecheneus, Etemankiaks, Eteminquois, Etichimenes, Etschimins.

(2) Besides the Malecites on these reservations, there are a few living in other places, as Lower and Upper Gagetown, Holton (Maine), Old Town (Maine) etc. According to the returns of the U.S. census for 1910 there were one hundred and thirty-eight Malecites in the state of Maine, but this estimate is probably too low, as many Malecites were scheduled as Penobscots or Passamaquoddies.

The present day Malecites are slight, well built, and active, yet on the whole they seem to suffer more from infectious diseases than the white people. They appear to have changed very little physically since the first European contact; for the earliest writers describe them in almost the same way. Today there are no full-blooded Indians to be found, but the amount of white blood in each individual varies greatly. However, even if white blood preponderates the individual considers himself an Indian, and is so regarded by the government and by the surrounding white population. At present there is very little intermarriage between white people and the Indians.

Linguistically the Malecites belong to the Algonkin stock. Their language differs from that of the Passamaquoddies only in pitch and accent. These two languages have their nearest affiliations with Penobscot and Abenaki. The relation between Penobscot and Abenaki is almost the same as between Malecite and Passamaquoddy, and together these four languages form the Abenaki or Abnaki group. Micmac forms an Algonkin group all by itself. According to Michelson (1) the Abenaki dialects and Micmac together form an eastern subgroup closely related to Fox and Shawnee, less closely to Cree-Montagnais, and still less to Ojibwa; with Delaware and Natick they are only remotely connected.

The cultural relations of the Malecites with the tribes to the south were also very close; together they formed the Abenaki confederacy, composed, according to Maurault, (2) of the Kanibesinnoaks (Canibas), the Patsnitkets, the Sokauakiaks (Sokoquiois or Sokokis), the

---

1 For a complete discussion of the Algonkin dialects see Truman Michelson, "Preliminary Report on the Linguistic Classification of Algonquian Tribes," Twenty-eighth Ann. Rep., Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1912.

2 L'Abbé J.A. Maurault, Histoire des Abénaquis.

Nurhantsuaks (Norridgewock), the Pentagoets or Penaouabskets (Penobscots or Taritines), the Etemankiaks or Etchemins, and the Ourarastegouiaks (Ulastaguiaks). The last two have been divided in later times into Malecites and Passamaquoddies along different lines of cleavage; for the old Etchemins contained not only the present Passamaquoddies but also part of the Malecites. The first five are today represented by the Penobscots and Abenakis.

The Malecite country was roughly the valley of St. John river. The dividing line between the Micmacs on the north shore of New Brunswick and the Malecites was roughly the height of land separating the rivers which flow into the gulf of St. Lawrence from those which flow into the St. John. On the lower St. John the Malecites do not seem to have claimed much land along the northeast bank of the river. The Kennebecasis was probably in their territory, as were also Salmon river and Grand lake. To the north, however, the Malecites extended beyond the St. John drainage system into that of the St. Lawrence. Today we find one Malecite village on the St. Lawrence (Plate IIA). Undoubtedly this was Malecite territory in early times, for Champlain says that in 1604 he found many Malecites at Tadoussac who had come across the St. Lawrence to aid the Montagnais and Algonquins in a war against the Iroquois. The line dividing the Malecites from the Penobscots is more difficult to define, for the Malecites claimed land to the south of the St. John which did not belong to its drainage system. All the present province of New Brunswick south of the St. John, and a part of the state of Maine, belonged to their domain. Farther north, across the international border, the Schoodic lake country belonged to them, and still farther north the greater part of the Aroostook valley. However, the upper waters of the St. John, which flow through the state of Maine, seem to have been in Penobscot territory. The Passamaquoddies, who may be considered as the same tribe, extended for some distance into the state of Maine.

The Penobscots at present live on an island in the Penobscot river opposite Old Town, Maine. Their old habitat may be roughly defined as the valley of the Penobscot. None of the eastern members of the confederacy lives in their old habitat, for the remnants of them moved to the province of Quebec. Converted to Catholicism and coming entirely under French influence, they never made peace with the Americans, and for the most part settled at the French missions of Bécancour or Sillery. Today they are mostly found at the French Mission of St. Francis near Pierreville in the province of Quebec. Some, no doubt, sought refuge among the Penobscots and Etchemins, and have long since become entirely merged in those tribes. The position of the various tribes in the confederacy is by no means clear. I have already given Maurault's grouping, which, however, does not entirely agree with that of other authorities who are probably more accurate. The position of the tribes on the Kennebec is fairly clear. The Norridgewock, the most important, lived on the lower Kennebec, and the Wewenoc, a tribe closely related to them, lived at the mouth of the same river. The Arosugentacook lived in Androscoggin county, Maine; but, after suffering great losses in the wars with the English colonies they joined the Wewenoc and formed one tribe with them. These three are probably the Kanibesinnoaks of Maurault, also known as the Canibas. They were closely allied with the Penobscots by language, customs, and treaty, but the Penobscots were the most numerous and influential of the four. These four tribes formed the Abenakis in the more restricted sense of the word, and were more closely akin to one another than the Penobscots were to the Etchemins (Malecites and Passamaquoddies).

The Sokoki (Sakouiaks of Maurault) were closely related to the Patsuitkets. The Pequawket and Ossipee appear to have been only a subdivision of the Sokoki. These tribes seem to have occupied the banks of the Saco. Their linguistic relations are not exactly known, but they probably differed from the Penobscot group about as much as it did

from the Etchemin. It seems, therefore, that the Abenaki or Abnaki tribes fall into three groups, which we may conveniently call Sokoki, Penobscot, and Etchemin. The Sokokis extended into the northern part of New Hampshire.

To the southwest of the Sokoki dwelt the Armouchiquois, who differed greatly from the Abenaki tribes. The dividing line between the two groups is by no means certain. From Champlain's statements it would seem that the Armouchiquois extended almost to the Saco, and indeed there is some evidence to show that the Sokoki came in to the Saco valley at a later date. His statements, however, may be interpreted to mean that the Sokoki differed considerably from the Penobscot group, and I believe that the latter is probably the true explanation.

To the north of the Etchemins dwelt the Micmacs. I have already given the boundaries which divided their country from the Malecite country. The Gaspé peninsula seems to have been Micmac territory. They extended also along the northern coast of New Brunswick to Nova Scotia and occupied the whole of that province including Cape Breton, and Prince Edward Island. This entire country was in their possession when the Europeans first came to America. Since then they have acquired parts of Newfoundland also, which, before, was all in the possession of the Beothuks and Eskimos. Just when the Micmacs first occupied Newfoundland is a matter of dispute, but it seems that they made frequent trips to the island before any branch of the tribe definitely settled on it. Dr. Speck estimates the time of their arrival as a little over two hundred and fifty years ago, but does not say on what he bases his estimate. It is certain that they played an important part in the extermination of the Beothuks. Chappell, a careful writer, says that the real occupation took place after the American revolution. It is my opinion that the only way to interpret the facts is to acknowledge that the Micmacs must have been in Newfoundland long before that date, but only as war parties, like the Huron war party which Cartier found in Micmac territory in the sixteenth century.

I do not believe, however, in the fact of Chappell's statements, that we can assume that a branch of the Micmac tribe actually settled in Newfoundland before 1782.

The Micmac tribe differs somewhat in its various branches, but probably not much more than the Malecites from the Passamaquoddies, and perhaps only as much as the Etchemins from the Penobscot, or the Penobscot from the Sokoki.

The Malecites occupied roughly one-half the total area of New Brunswick together with 1,000 or more square miles of Passamaquoddy territory in Maine. This was the entire Malecite area. The Micmac country, excluding Newfoundland, was almost three times as great.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

This memoir is based both on personal observations and on the statements of other writers. Therefore, it seems advisable to discuss here my own investigations, as well as the other sources of information, and the relative amount and value of each.

In regard to the information derived from living informants, I regret to say that it is not as good as I should like. In the first place, though I have tried to obtain independent accounts of everything, it has often been impossible, because only a few of the living individuals have any knowledge of certain subjects. In the second place, I have had to pay for almost all the information received, which is particularly undesirable when the culture of a tribe is so greatly disintegrated as that of the present day Malecites. My chief informant, Jim Paul (Plate IA) was not paid directly for any information, but was employed at a fixed salary. I am afraid that he made use of other Indians to get information which he gave me as his own, and some errors may thus have arisen, despite my efforts to check

his information by separate accounts from other individuals. In certain cases where I doubted his statements at the time I was pleased to find at a much later date an almost identical account by an early writer which must have been inaccessible to him. Some of my other Malecite information was obtained by direct payments, but very little of it was used except to check Jim Paul's statements. In one respect my Malecite information is better than my Micmac, as it was all obtained without the aid of an interpreter; for all my Malecite informants spoke English fluently, whereas the best Micmac informants spoke no English at all.

When a tribe has ceased to practise its old customs, information must be obtained by direct questioning, which is always a source of error. The most fruitful source of error comes from asking leading questions; but this I think I avoided. Although I have often been unable to get separate accounts from various informants and have been obliged to resort to direct questioning, I have always tried to make the fullest possible use of what Rivers calls the method of indirect corroboration, that is, to obtain corroborative evidence of earlier statements at a later date, when my informant was narrating something entirely different. I have always tried to let my informant describe whatever he liked, although often, or indeed usually, it was far from the subject which I originally intended to discuss. If on going over my notes I found that his account was lacking in certain details, I then questioned him on these points.

It will become apparent to the reader that I quote most frequently in the following memoir from a limited number of writers (1), Biard, Denys, Le Clercq, Maillard, and Giles, to whose

---

(1) Complete titles of all the works consulted will be found in the bibliography; the titles quoted in the footnotes are only sufficient for identification.

works constant reference is made. This is not because I have not read the books of other writers, but because these five seem to me to have the greatest knowledge of this region and to give the best descriptions. I have mentioned them in chronological order, for it is quite evident that, other things being equal, those who wrote at an earlier date are the most valuable.

Father Biard's writings are of particular value, since they usually describe specific events which took place at a stated place and time and were mostly written soon after the events. They describe the Indians at an early date, before they were much affected by white contact. His accounts are mainly of the Micmacs living in the lower part of the peninsula of Nova Scotia.

The accounts of the Micmacs given by Nicolas Denys are perhaps the best we have. Although Denys' account is very short, occupying only four chapters of the book, nevertheless he attempts to show not only how the Indians lived during the period of his later life in their country, but also how they lived when he first came there and even before the coming of the whites. The great merit of the account is undoubtedly due to the fact that he had no intellectual prejudices, and described only things that he was very well acquainted with, i.e., the life of the Micmacs of the north shore of New Brunswick and adjacent parts of Nova Scotia.

Le Clercq, who describes the same people, came to America at a later date, i.e. 1675, and stayed only twelve years. His work as Recollet missionary brought him into close contact with the Indians. He seems to have known best the bands of Micmacs on Chaleur bay and Miramichi bay. He is the inventor of the system of hieroglyphics which has been used by the Micmacs down to the present day. As he was a Catholic priest and highly religious, his work suffers from a certain bias when interpreting some of the beliefs of the Indians, particularly in regard to the so-called cross-bearing Indians on the Miramichi. His account is very full and surprisingly minute.

In regard to the Malecites we are not nearly so fortunate. The Jesuit Relations refer to them frequently, but do not describe their life as carefully as they do Micmac life, and it is often very difficult to determine exactly when they refer to the Malecites. The same criticism applies to Abbé Maillard's work, "An Account of Customs of Mickmakis and Maricheets." However, from what we know of his life as well as from the internal evidence of the book, it seems that he knew the Micmacs best and usually described them. It is not until King William's war, which broke out in 1689, that we get anything definite about the life of the Malecites. At that time they cooperated with some other tribes in an attack on Dover, and among the prisoners taken was a lad about twelve years old called John Giles. He was taken by his Malecite captor back to St. John river and lived there in captivity for nine years. After his return to his own country he wrote his memoirs. They throw much valuable light upon the life of the Malecites, who unfortunately had come entirely under the influence of the French and had already changed their mode of life greatly. Owing to his immaturity Giles failed to grasp, or at least to record, anything about their hidden and spiritual life.

William Pote was captured in a later Indian war and was held captive during the years 1745-1747. He, however, had a Huron captor, but passed through the Malecite country on the way to Quebec. He kept a journal during his entire captivity and on his release managed to get it through without being detected by the French authorities. It is of importance because he wrote down his observations day by day, but unfortunately by that time the life of the Malecites had been greatly changed through European contact.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

The history of the Malecites and their kindred Algonkin neighbours can be traced back to the period of the early explorers, although there is some uncertainty as to who were the first Europeans to reach this region; for there is a strong possibility that the Norsemen came there.

The first European to coast along these shores after the discoveries of Columbus was John Cabot, who probably landed on Cape Breton in 1497. He saw no trace of a native people, and the only evidence of human existence consisted of a snare and a needle for making nets.

Other navigators followed soon after Cabot, Cortereal in 1501 and Fagandos in 1520, both employed by the king of Portugal; but none seems to have left any records, except Giovanni da Verrazano, who coasted along the borders of this region, visiting New Brunswick, where he saw Indians, probably Malecites. The statements he left are meagre, and simply say that the natives did not engage in the cultivation of land, but lived wholly by fishing and hunting. "Their clothing was made out of skins and they possessed copper ornaments," his records further state. We shall see later that many of the early writers mention copper ornaments.

With the natives on the coast of Maine he did not, apparently, succeed in establishing friendly relations, for all his landings seem to have been marked by resistance on the part of the Indians. He describes the natives as being "very strong and of a rudeness surpassing the people to the south. We judge that they were similar in nature and usage to those we were last among" (the Malecites).

Ten years after Verrazano's voyage, Jacques Cartier sailed along the northern coast

of New Brunswick and entered Chaleur bay, where he encountered a fleet of forty canoes filled with Indians, undoubtedly Micmacs. He states that they were clothed in skins which they eagerly bartered away for the trinkets which the Frenchmen offered for them, and went away naked. He describes their diet as consisting chiefly of fish and seals, and wild corn with grains like oats. Among his list of words he gives "knife" as bacon, which is quite similar to the modern Micmac word for knife, dayan. He remained only a short time in Chaleur bay, then sailed to Gaspe peninsula, where he came into contact with another band of Indians who were quite different from those he had just left. The only apparel they wore was a breech cloth, and their heads were cleanly shaven save for a narrow ridge on top. They had no houses, but slept at night beneath their canoes. Their chief pursuit was fishing for mackerel. Cartier succeeded in capturing two of this band and took them back with him to France.

A year later Cartier returned to the New World, accompanied by the two Indians he had captured on his first expedition. On this trip he continued up the St. Lawrence as far, at least, as the modern city of Quebec. On the way up he was unable to discern any Indians and saw no traces of villages, although he was in sight of the shore. His two Indians, however, seemed to become more familiar with the country as they proceeded up the St. Lawrence. On arriving at a place in the vicinity of the present city of Quebec, a large village was discovered. The two captives seemed to be quite familiar with the surroundings and with the natives; evidently, they were members of the village community. It seems clear, therefore, that these Indians were of Iroquoian stock. Cartier's statements show conclusively that there were no Iroquoian villages below Quebec, whereas we know that there was a Micmac village on the Restigouche, in the vicinity of the modern Campbellton. It would, therefore, seem to be unjustifiable to regard Gaspe peninsula as a part of the Iroquoian area,

as is done in the most recent linguistic map of the Bureau of American Ethnology, merely because Cartier happened to come upon a war party of Hurons who had strayed more than 300 miles from their village. That he met a party of Hurons and not Micmacs in that region was mere chance. He might equally well have met Malecites still farther up the St. Lawrence, since there is only a short portage from the headwaters of the St. John to streams flowing into the St. Lawrence, and this route was constantly used by the Malecites in later times.

There are also traditions current among the Micmacs which seem to indicate that Gaspe was owned by their ancestors. Certainly it is claimed by them as former hunting grounds. This is conclusively shown by Lescarbot's statement that the Indians of Gaspe had changed their language since Cartier's time. He was evidently comparing the vocabularies of the Micmacs with the Huron vocabulary that Cartier secured from his two captives. From the nature of Huron culture it is very improbable that they ever permanently occupied Gaspe peninsula, or the lower shores of the St. Lawrence much below Quebec. They were a village-living, maize-growing people, and this region on the lower St. Lawrence was entirely unsuitable for such a culture.

In 1536 David Hore landed on Cape Breton island, but encountered no Indians. Later he went to Newfoundland, and there he did come into contact with Indians. These, however, must have been Beothuks, for there were probably no Micmacs on the island at that time.

When David Ingram visited the St. John in 1582, he found a Frenchman trading there. The objects for which he traded were very curious and interesting; they consisted of furs and great red leaves, which measured almost a yard long and a foot broad, "which he thinketh are good for dyeing."

In 1603 Martin Pring landed on the coast of Maine, near Penobscot bay, and later sailed the

entire length of the coast. He attested to the abundance of fish and game, and, although he discovered no natives, he found the camp sites of several bands of Indians who must have been hunting or fishing in the interior at that time.

We know from several sources that fishermen of the different European nations, particularly Breton, Basque, and Portuguese, came to this part of America in the sixteenth century and probably had some intercourse with the natives. When Champlain arrived at Cape Breton he found cows, and in describing them he says, "The island is very sandy and there are no trees at all of considerable size, only copse and herbage, which serve as pasturage for bullocks and cows, which the Portuguese carried there more than sixty years ago." This shows that the fishermen at least occasionally resorted to the mainland and must have seen the Indians.

But it is not until 1604 that we can date the true European influence on the natives of this area. In that year the Sieur de Monts set out from France accompanied by Champlain. They first sighted land at Cape Breton, but saw no Indians there; thence they continued along the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia, up the bay of Fundy, and down the New Brunswick coast as far as Passamaquoddy bay, where they took up quarters for the winter. Leaving the greater part of the settlers there, Champlain sailed southward along the coast of Maine, where he met the Penobscots and other Abenaki tribes of this area. The expedition went only two leagues to the south of Kennebec river. On returning to the St. Croix they found their houses already completed and everything ready for the winter, which seems to have been unusually severe. The colonists suffered untold hardships, for they had expected from the latitude of the place to find the same climate as in Old France. Their provisions were so scanty and poor that scurvy raged throughout the winter, killing quite a number of the inhabitants.

In the following June further explorations were made along the coast to the south, this time extending approximately to cape Cod. On their return to New Brunswick, Champlain and Sieur de Monts decided to change the location of their settlement, and soon picked out Port Royal as a more suitable place. Champlain on his next trip went chiefly to visit the mythical city of Norumbegue, but on his ascending Penobscot river the city dwindled to a few wigwams constituting the village of Agguncia. However, he continued his exploration to about where Bangor now stands. The party spent eighteen days among the Abenaki, from September 2 to 20.

The following summer they again explored the coast to the south, this time reaching Martha's Vineyard.

In August, 1607, the settlement was abandoned, and the colonists returned to Old France.

Just one year after Champlain sailed along the Maine coasts and while he and the Sieur de Monts were exploring the coast of Massachusetts, an Englishman named George Waymouth visited the Maine coast at Penobscot bay. Rosier's relation of this trip gives the first account of any tribe of the Abenaki Indians. Among other things he describes their canoes, clothing, arrows and dancing. The expedition took five of the Indians and two canoes back to England with them, and thus much was learned of their language and customs. That these people were undoubtedly Abenaki is proved by the few words given by Rosier; the tribe was probably Wewenoc.

Popham and Gilbert visited this coast in 1607. Their first landing was at some place near the present city of Halifax, where eight natives met them in what the writer of the account terms a Biscayan shallop. Evidently by that time the Indians had come a good deal into contact with the fishermen, and indeed the account says: "It seemeth that French hath trade with them, for they use many French words." The coast of Maine fits the requirements of latitude, i.e. 44°30', and this would appear more in accordance with the following

statements. "We take these people to be Tarentyns (Penobscots) and these people as we have learned since do make wars with Saranoa (probably a chief of the Kennebec tribe), the chief commander to westward."

The writer states that the highest chief of this region lived on the Penobscot. "Near unto the river Penobscot in which river the bastabi makes his abode the chief commander of those parts and streatcheth unto the river Sagadehock under his command." This would lead us to infer that the Penobscots occupied the foremost place in the Abenaki confederacy and that their chief was head chief of the confederacy.

In 1610 Poutrincourt returned to Port Royal, having practically all the rights and privileges which the Sieur de Monts formerly possessed; amongst others the monopoly of the fur trade. In the summer of 1611 the two Jesuits, Biard and Massé, came to the colony. Biard was a prolific writer and careful observer, to whom we owe much of our knowledge of these Indians. He will be quoted many times in the following pages. Massé passed the winter of 1611-12 with chief Membertou on St. John river, his object being to learn the Malecite language. Both missionaries seem to have been capable men who spent much time in learning thoroughly both Malecite and Micmac. However, they were not destined to have an opportunity to reap the reward of their labours, for Port Royal was captured in 1613 by a party of English from Virginia and the missionaries were forcibly removed. Biencourt, the son of Sieur de Poutrincourt, and a few French followers escaped, and led a wandering life, living entirely with the Indians.

In 1619 a party of Recollet missionaries from Aquitaine founded a Mission on St. John river among the Malecites (1). The mission unfortunately had no historian like Biard, so it contributed

---

(1) See Prof. Ganong's introduction to his translation of Le Clercq, "New Relation of Gaspesia."

nothing to our knowledge of the Malecites; nevertheless it must have had some influence on their manner of life. It was abandonned after five years, but was later reoccupied. During the time that the Recollets were establishing their mission, the French had a fur-trading post on St. John river, which must have had a far greater influence on the life of the Indians than the mission. The elder La Tour, who, like Biencourt, had led for some time a wandering life after the taking of Port Royal, finally settled down on the Penobscot, where he continued to trade with the Indians until driven away by the English in 1628. In that year another trading post was founded on the north shore (Miscou).

In 1620 King James I of England gave Nova Scotia to Sir William Alexander as a fief of the Scottish crown; from which fact it gets its name. (1) When the treaty of St. Germain was signed in 1632, Acadia was ceded to France. A company, known as the Great Company of New France, had been formed in 1627 for the settlement of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but it was not until after the peace that any attempt was made to send out colonists. In 1632 the company sent out Isaac de Razilly with gubernatorial powers, who received the surrender of the Scots at Port Royal but did not stay there, choosing Lahave as his capital. He brought with him Nicolas Denys, who has already been referred to in the introduction, and D'Aulney Charnisay. The former remained near Razilly, but the latter went to the Penobscots, where he drove the English out and built a trading post. La Tour also had at this time a trading post near cape Sable, but on the death of Razilly he removed to the mouth of the St. John, for which he had received a charter in 1605. After the death of Razilly, D'Aulney Charnisay became governor.

---

(1) For the account of D'Aulney Charnisay and La Tour, See Prof. Ganong's introduction to Denys, and also Raymond, "The River St. John."

There seems to have been trouble from the first between D'Aulney Charnisay and La Tour (1), which lasted with varying fortunes until the death of Charnisay at Port Royal, by drowning.

In 1667 Acadia was given back to France, and the new governor, Chevalier Grandfontaine, ordered a census to be taken soon after his appointment. Only about four hundred people were found in all Acadia. Whether there were many English who left Acadia when it was returned to France is doubtful, but it is not very probable that the English influenced the life and culture of the Indians greatly during the fifteen years that Acadia was in their possession. After it was returned to the French fairly successful efforts seem to have been made to colonize the region. Between 1672 and the end of the century sixteen seignories were established on the lower part of St. John river, below Fredericton, under the authority of the Governor General in Quebec. Several seignories were in the state of Maine, also including a trading post at Penobscot.

Nevertheless, as may be seen from several reports and complaints sent to the governor of Quebec, the French engaged chiefly in trapping and trade with the Indians, caring little for the cultivation of the land. One cannot blame them for preferring the life of a "courreur de bois" to that of a settler, for it was far more profitable and fascinating. Their influence on the culture of the Indians must have been great, for they lived almost entirely among them and intermarried with them. It was probably at this time that the Indians acquired the greater part of their French folk-lore, much of which is preserved down to the present day (2).

---

(1) For the account of D'Aulney Charnisay and La Tour, See Prof. Ganong's introduction to Denys, and also Raymond, "The River St. John."

(2) See Mechling, "Malicite Tales," and the many French tales in Rand, "Legends of the Micmacs," and Leland, "Algonquin Legends of New England."

Louis the Fourteenth seems to have been greatly dissatisfied with the slow development of Acadia. Desiring a report of the colony he sent de Meulles in 1686 to visit Acadia. He found the French settlements in a neglected and desolate state, and caused a census to be made which showed the total population to be 915, while the number of families dwelling on the St. John was only five or six.

Some of the later French governors seem to have been very unjust in their treatment of the Indians, plundering them at will. All seem to have been bent on rapidly accumulating fortunes, and large profits were obtained from the sale of spirituous liquors. In the Indian war known as King William's war, which broke out in 1689, it was very fortunate from the standpoint of the ethnologist that John Giles was captured and detained among the Indians for nine years (1). During practically all that time he lived the life of an Indian and, subsequently, wrote an account of his captivity which throws much light on the life of the Malecites of this period; it will be quoted freely in the following pages.

At the time of the French settlements on the St. John, Meductic seems to have been the principal town of the Malecites. It was situated on the western side of the St. John about 4 miles above the mouth of Eel river, or about 8 miles below Woodstock. There was a palisade here surrounding the council chamber, such as Champlain found at the mouth of the St. John on his arrival there. Probably this continued to be their main village even after the French left. When John Giles was a captive we know it was the principal village. The missionaries erected their first Indian church there in 1720, this being the first

---

(1) He was only twelve years old at the time of his capture, and doubtless owed his life to his extreme youth.

church on the St. John. However, when William Pote (1) passed up St. John river on his way to Quebec, the Indians were dwelling in considerable numbers at the new village, Aukpaque, which was as important as Meductic if not more important. By By 1767 the Indians had entirely abandoned Meductic for Aukpaque.

In the war which started in 1702 the Malecites united with the other Abenaki tribes to harrass the English settlements, but being without French leadership they made no concerted attack.

By the treaty of Utrecht, Acadia was ceded to England, but, after the treaty was signed, the French claimed that it included only the peninsula of Nova Scotia, although they formerly claimed that all of New Brunswick and part of Maine were included in Acadia. However, the French missionary at Meductic was not disturbed, and a number of French families moved from Nova Scotia to the valley of the St. John.

As we have seen, the first missionaries were Jesuits. They were followed by Recollets, but in 1701 a Jesuit superseded the Recollet who had died a few years before. Two Jesuits, one after the other, followed the first.

In 1733 there were only 111 Acadians on St. John river, 82 of whom lived a little below the Indian village of Aukpaque. They seem to have lived in close contact with the Indians and must have exerted a strong influence on them.

---

(1) William Pote, an inhabitant of Falmouth, was captain of the schooner Falmouth which was captured by a party of Hurons, French, and Malecites. Pote remained a captive for three years and was taken by the Hurons up the St. John, then, crossing over to the St. Lawrence, to Quebec. He kept a journal which was finally printed in the latter part of the last century.

In 1744 war broke out between England and France, naturally involving the Indians. Only a short time after the outbreak of hostilities, the Malecites, led by their missionary Le Loutre, surprised the fort at Annapolis, killed several of the people, and destroyed their cattle, crops, and houses before withdrawing. Soon after they made a second and more formidable attack, but, being repulsed, decided to await the arrival of reinforcements from Louisburg. A few weeks later they laid siege to the fort, but after a month retired without accomplishing anything.

Until the end of the revolution the Malecites gave no trouble and remained on the side of the British. However, they considered all the land above St. Anne (Fredericton) as their own, and would not permit any white people to settle on it. Thomas Langton lived for six years about 4 miles above St. Anne, but the Indians resented his intrusion so much, and gave him so much trouble by killing his cattle and in other ways, that he had to move farther down the river.

Early in 1782 the first loyalist refugees arrived at Fort Howe, but it was not until the next year that they came in any considerable numbers. As the measures of the Americans became more harsh and unjust, the number of Loyalists increased. As a great deal of the land on the lower river had already been allotted, the disbanded soldiers were given unsettled land farther up. They were assigned tracts from St. Anne to the Tobique, but, as the land above Woodstock was considered too remote from their base, it seems never to have been settled. If the Indians had any strong objection to this settlement above St. Anne they kept quiet, probably being overawed by the great number of settlers, those of the disbanded loyalist regiments, including their wives and children, totalling over 3,000.

After the arrival of the Loyalists the Malecites almost entirely fade from the annals of New Brunswick. In the war of 1812 New Brunswick played a very insignificant part, and the Malecites

even more so. Since then New Brunswick has been peaceful, and its development, although slow, has been steady. During the early part of the century the relationship between the various Indian tribes of the eastern part of the Dominion seems to have been closer than it ever was before or since. The Malecites still have traditions of sending once a year delegates to Caughnawauga to participate in the annual conference held there. Until recent times the Malecites' chief source of livelihood was trapping fur-bearing animals; now this occupation has entirely disappeared and their life has become like that of the surrounding white population.

CHAPTER III

LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

The resemblance between the present manner of life among the Malecites and their white neighbours is shown particularly in the crises of birth, puberty, marriage, and death. Usually a white doctor is present at the birth of a child. A Catholic priest almost always officiates at marriages and deaths, and, in the absence of clan organization and secret societies, there has been almost no ritual to preserve for puberty celebrations. Micmacs are in many ways more conservative than Malecites, owing no doubt to their more isolated fishing life; in some of their villages at least an Indian midwife takes the place of the white doctor. However, the present conditions are the reverse of what they formerly were, for in early times it was the Micmacs who were subjected to the stronger European influence; it is among them that most of the early writers refer to such crises, not among the Malecites. These customs, however, judging from the great similarity in other things, were probably almost identical, so that the following descriptions can be taken as

a fair picture of both Malecites and Micmacs (1).

BIRTH

No special restrictions were placed on the mother before the birth of her child; in fact, she seems to have gone on with her usual life up to the time of birth. This, however, has changed, and the Indian women, both Micmac and Malecite, now usually cease all hard labour some time before childbirth. Both the Malecites and Micmacs had regular midwives who aided at the delivery. There was only one at St. Marys Ferry, but there were three at Burnt Church, one of whom, however, was a woman of about forty under the tuition of an older woman. The other two were each about sixty years old. A fee of $1.50 is charged if the child is a boy, but only $1.00 if a girl. One of these women said that she had been employed several times as a midwife for white people, and thought that Micmac women had a much easier delivery than white women. This old woman justly enjoys a great reputation among both the Indians and the white people, for she has never lost a case, whereas several of the patients of the other midwife at Burnt Church have died. The former, however, watches the mother very carefully after the delivery and will not permit her to rise on any account before a week has elapsed; during the second week the mother is allowed to walk around the house a little, but not to go out. This is in marked contrast with the statements of early writers, that women go about their usual tasks the same day that they are delivered.

---

(1) Maillard says, "I am now speaking, upon my own knowledge, of the Micmacs and Marequeeta, who, though different in language, have the same customs and manners." (Maillard, "Account of Customs," p. 53).

It is considered not only very unfortunate to have twins because of the trouble involved, but also a very bad omen. It is said to bring bad luck to the mother; further, that one of the twins is sure to turn out badly. This idea is reflected in the mythology, where Gluskap and Malsum are twin brothers, Gluskap the good one, but Malsum the wicked one; Malsum bursts through his mother's side and later attempts to kill Gluskap (1). When a mother has twins she is always likened to a dog, a particularly odious comparison, as can readily be imagined. Twins seem to be very uncommon, however.

As soon as the infant was born it was washed, even in the coldest period of winter. This must have been a great shock to the child. Denys says:

"They would have multiplied still more, were it not that the women as soon as they are delivered, wash the infant, no matter how cold it may be." (2)

According to my Malecite informant, the water always had herbs in it which were supposed to strengthen the child. After the bath the baby was strapped on the cradle board. Denys describes this as follows: (3)

"Then they swaddle them in the skins of marten or beaver upon a board, to which they bind them ... But since they leave in the air during the freezing weather the most sensitive part of the body, this part freezes, which causes much mortality among them, principally among the boys, who are more exposed to the air in that part than the girls.

---

(1) Mechling, "Malecite Tales," p. 44.

(2) Denys, p. 403. See also Le Clercq, p. 88.

(3) Loc. cit.

To this board there is attached at the top, by the two corners, a strap, so arranged that when it is placed on the forehead the board hangs behind the shoulders; thus the mother has not her arms encumbered and is not prevented either from working or going to the woods, whilst the child cannot be hurt by the branches along the paths."

In early times a mother was subject for a month or two to certain tabus. Le Clercq's statements are as follows:

"They observe the same thing (abstain from eating anything killed by a young unmarried man) after their confinements, during a month or two, according to their inclination; and during all that time it is a kind of infamy and an evil omen, if they drink from the kettles or from the bark dishes which are in daily use, because, say these barbarians, good hunting of moose or beaver cannot be made when that happens." (1)

Before the child was suckled for the first time the mother chewed red alder and put a little in the child's mouth, so that the milk would not make it sick. Others substituted a little piece of steeped red alder bark. After suckling it was given a dose of steeped roots or bark, usually mixed with a little bear grease, to aid the child's digestion and act as a laxative. My informant said that the herbs differed with different midwives, and he did not know what they were (2).

The normal period of suckling was from two to three years, due no doubt to the fact that

---

(1) Le Clercq, p. 228.

(2) Le Clercq's statements agree in a striking manner with this. "The Indians wash their children in the river as soon as they are born, and they make them swallow some bear's or seal oil." Le Clercq, p. 80.

the Indians had no suitable food for them -- meat and fish being unsuitable for small children (1).

EDUCATION

There was no formal education among the Malecites and neighbouring tribes. The babies were attached to the cradle board soon after they were born, and it was not until they were quite large that they were allowed to attempt to walk. The mother rested the cradle board against the side of the wigwam when she was at work indoors and when she went out for any purpose; on the march she carried it on her back, suspended by a band of leather which passed across her forehead. After the baby was old enough to walk about, it was allowed to do very much as it pleased, so long as it did not stray too far away. The Malecites were extremely indulgent to their children; so much so that it never failed to cause expressions of amazement from the early French writers.

At an early age the children were encouraged to aid their parents, and they seem to have assisted with good will. The fathers made little paddles for their children, who soon learned the art by watching their parents, and by occasional suggestions and advice. They became quite expert paddlers before they were ten years old. The fathers made, too, small bows and arrows for their sons, and a great part of the children's time was spent in trying to shoot small birds, which, although it did not help very much to keep the family supplied with food, taught the boys to stalk and to shoot straight.

---

(1) Le Clercq says: "They even suckle the children up to the age of four or five years, and, when these begin to eat, the mothers chew the meat in order to induce the children to swallow it." Le Clercq, p. 91.

Even today the small boys spend a good deal of time trying to shoot small birds with their bows and arrows.

The girls were taught other duties. They aided the mother about the wigwam, fetched wood and water, and were taught to paddle in the same manner as the boys. The girls, too, were taught to carry loads at an early age, for the women did most of the packing whenever camp was moved. Each girl was given a package varying in weight according to the size of the child, but they were all loads which white children of the same age would consider enormous.

As the boy grew older he was taken by his father to hunt larger game, and was given a full-sized bow. All the children, of course, had their snow-shoes, and at a very early age became quite expert in their use.

One of the most striking characteristics of the culture is the total absence of any puberty ceremonies whatsoever. I can find no suggestion of anything resembling a puberty ceremony in any of the literature on this region, nor do the present Indians, whether Micmacs or Malecites, have any knowledge of their existence. The boy did not enter into his full status as a member of the tribe, however, until he had killed a moose, and this feat could be performed by youths of widely different ages; for, not only was it a test of skill, but luck also played an important part in it. Le Clercq, who mentions the fact, gives no hint of the approximate age when it was usually performed. His description is as follows: (1) "They (the women) have no rights in the councils, nor public feasts. It is the same, as to this, with the young men who have not yet killed any moose, the death of which opens the portal to the honours of the Gaspesian nation, and gives to the young men the right to assist at public and private assemblies. One is always a young man,

---

(1) Le Clercq, p. 239.

that is to say, one has no more rights than the children, the women, and the girls, as long as he has not killed a moose."

Unfortunately Le Clercq does not state whether any ceremony took place when a man was admitted to the state of manhood. We cannot consider the killing of the moose as admitting a man to the full status of manhood in the tribe; for various degrees of manhood or worth were recognized. According to statements derived from living informants, the killing of the first bear was an event of much more importance than the killing of a moose. This, however, applies more especially to the Micmacs, who, despite their many similarities in culture to the Malecites, show some differences, indicating that the contact between these tribes was relatively late. However, this will be treated more at length under another heading. To return to the killing of the bear; we find that the youth or man was not permitted to eat the bear himself or with his family, as he would have done in the case of other game, (for there were no rules even in respect to the killing of the first moose except the mere announcement of the fact), but had to go through a more or less elaborate ceremonial. First came his public announcement of the killing of the bear and an invitation to other members of the tribe or band to attend the feast, indicating at the same time the date. Though my informant was not clear who had to be invited, it seems probable that it was only for the members of the same band that invitations were obligatory, because the killing of the bear would naturally take place when the tribe was divided into hunting bands. The bear-meat was boiled for the feast, and the soup thickened with corn meal after the meat had been removed from the pot; the intestines, previously cleaned and turned inside out, were filled with bear's grease and maple sugar and put in with the soup. They were eaten first and considered a great delicacy. The chief opened the ceremony by rising and dancing the skauwe. He then made an appropriate speech about the position of the young man in the tribe and began the feast by eating a portion of

the stuffed intestines. The other male members followed with their skauwes according to their positions in the community.

The bear seems to have occupied a special position among the Malecites, being considered the greatest and most intelligent of animals. Before killing a bear the Malecites had to make a speech and apologize to it; otherwise dire disaster would befall the tribe and especially the individual. This exalted regard for the bear was not unique among the Malecites, for some of the other Algonkin tribes had similar ideas, particularly the Cree. The Malecites have several tales telling how individuals lived with the bears or had unique experiences with them.

It would seem that after the killing of a bear an individual gained high rank in the tribe, but still higher rank was attained after the taking of the first scalp. Nevertheless, there appears to have been little or no ritual connected with the taking of the first scalp.

MARRIAGE

In the absence of any clan organization practically all the unmarried women of the tribe were eligible as wives. However, they were not allowed to marry their first cousins. Denys says: (1)

"They observe certain degrees of relationship among them which prevents their marrying together. This is never done by brother to sister, by nephew to niece, or cousin to cousin, that is to say so far as the second degree, for beyond

---

(1) Denys, p. 410. See also Le Clercq, p. 237. Sagard gives the same relations as prohibited among the Hurons. (Hist. du Canada, vol. 304, p. 298).

that they can do it." (1)

At the present day Indians of different generations sometimes marry; usually the man is of the older generation, but sometimes the woman. Before white contact this was probably of rare occurrence, for the man seems usually to have been older than the woman. Abbé Maillard says the young man is "commonly about thirty years of age or twenty at the least," whereas the girl is always extremely young.

I collected all the genealogies from one Malecite village, to see if there were any tendencies towards marriage between particular villages. From these I learned that marriages very frequently take place between members of different villages, but without preference between any particular ones, all the villages being represented by nearly equal numbers in these genealogies. This is, however, only to be expected, for the modern Malecite villages are of recent origin. If the Malecites had any laws concerning marriage they are now entirely forgotten. It is unlikely that they had, for none of the early writers make any mention of them. Exactly the same conditions exist among the Micmacs.

When the Europeans first came polygamy was a recognized institution. Biard in his relation of 1616, (2) says: "According to the customs of the

---

(1) Le Clercq's statements are in entire agreement. "It is not permissible for any Indian to marry his relative. One never sees among our Gaspesians those incestuous marriages of father with daughter, of son with mother, of sister with brother, of uncle with niece, nor even of cousin with cousin. Incest is held in horror among them, and they have always testified to much aversion of the crime" (p. 237).

(2) "Jesuit Relations," vol. III, p. 99.

country, they can have several wives, but the greater number of them that I have seen have only one; some of the Sagamores pretend they cannot do without this plurality, not because of lust (for this nation is not very unchaste) but for two other reasons. One is, in order to retain their authority and power by having a number of children, for in that lies the strength of the house, in the great number of allies and connexions; the second reason is their entertainment and service, which is great and laborious, since they have large families and a great number of followers, and, therefore, require a number of servants and housewives; now they have no other servants, slaves, or mechanics but the women."

An in another place he says: (1) "... in short, the men concern themselves with nothing but the more laborious hunting and the waging of war. For this reason almost every one has several wives, and especially the Sagamores, since they cannot maintain their power and keep up the number of their dependents unless they have not only many children to inspire fear or conciliate favour, but also many slaves to perform patiently the menial tasks of every sort that are necessary. For their wives are regarded and treated as slaves."

In an earlier letter he gives an instance of a Malecite chief having eight wives. He says: (2)

"The name of the Sagamore, that is, the lord of port Saint John, is Cacagous, a man who is shrewd and cunning as are no others upon the coast; that is all that he brought back from France (for he has been in France); he told me he had been baptized in Bayonne, relating his story to me as one tells about going to a ball out of friendship. Thereupon, seeing how wicked he was, and wishing to try and arouse his conscience, I asked him how many wives he had. He

---

(1) "Jesuit Relations," vol. II, p. 77.

(2) "Jesuit Relations," vol. I, p. 163.

answered that he had eight; and in fact he counted off seven to me who were there present, pointing them out with as much pride, instead of an equal degree of shame, as if I had asked him the number of his legitimate children."

The chiefs alone seem to have possessed a large number of wives, but not all of them, for Biard describes in the following words (1) a Micmac chief who had only one.

"... for, even before he had learned of Christ, he could not be induced to marry more than one wife, considering this more in harmony with nature and reason."

Biard in one place says that few divorces occurred among them, but the following quotation would lead us to believe that they were rather frequent (2): "... the men having several wives and abandoning them to others, and the women only serving them as slaves whom they strike and beat unmercifully, and who dare not complain and after being half killed, if it so please the murderer, they must laugh and caress him."

An unmarried man who wanted to marry had to go through a betrothal period of varying length. Denys describes this period as follows (3):

"As to their marriage, in old times a boy who wished to have a girl was obliged to

---

(1) "Jesuit Relations," vol. I, p. 215.

(2) "Jesuit Relations," vol. I, p. 173.

(3) Denys, p. 407.

serve the father several years according to an agreement (1). His duty was to go a-hunting, to show that he was a good hunter capable of supporting well his wife and family. He had to make bows, arrows, the frame of snowshoes, even a canoe -- that is to say, to do the work of men. Everything that he did during his time went to the father of the girl, but nevertheless he had use of it himself in case of need. His mistress corded the snowshoes, made his clothes, his moccasins, and his stockings, as evidence that she was clever in work. The father, the mother, the daughter, and the suitor all slept in the same wigwam, the daughter near the mother, and the suitor on the other side, always with the fire between them. The other women and the children also slept there. There never occurred the least disorder. The girls were very modest at that time, always clothed with a well-dressed moose skin which descended below their knees. They made their stockings and their shoes from the same kind of skin for the summer. In winter they made robes of beaver."

Maillard also describes the ceremonies of betrothal (2):

"In their unconverted state, their manner of courtship and marriage is as follows: When a youth has an inclination to enter into the connubial state, his father, or next relation,

---

(1) Le Clercq says it was a year.
"The one of our Indians who wishes to marry a girl must live an entire year in the wigwam of his mistress' father, whom he must serve and to whom he must give all the furs of moose and beavers which he kills in hunting. By the same law it is forbidden to the future husband and wife to abandon themselves to their pleasure" (Le Clercq, p. 238).

(2) Maillard, "Account of Customs," p. 53.

looks out for a girl (1), to whose father the proposal is made; this being always transacted between the parents of the parties to be married. The young man, who is commonly about thirty years of age, or twenty at the least, rarely consults his own fancy in this point. The girl, who is always extremely young, is never supposed to trouble her head about the measures that are taken to marry her. When the parents on each side have settled the matter, the youth is applied to, that he may prepare his calumet as soon as he pleases.

"The calumet used on these occasions, is a sort of spungeous reed, which may furnish, according to its length, a number of calumets, each of which is about a foot long, to be lighted at one end, the other serving to suck in the smoke at the mouth, and is suffered to burn within an inch of the lips.

"The speech made to the youth on this occasion is as follows: "Thou may'st go when thou wilt, by day or night, to light thy calumet in such a cabbin. Thou must observe to direct the smoke of it towards the person who is designed for thee, and carry it so, that she may take such a

---

(1) According to Le Clercq it was the boy who chose the girl. "The boys according to the usual custom of the country, never leave the wigwams of their fathers, except to go and live with some of their friends, where they hope to find girls whom they may marry. A boy has no sooner formed the design to espouse a girl than he makes for himself a proposal about it to her father, because he well knows that the girl will never approve the suit, unless it be agreeable to her father. The boy asks the father if he thinks it suitable to enter into his wigwam, that is to say, into relationship with him through marrying his daughter, for whom he professes to have much inclination" (Le Clercq, p. 259).

taste to this vapour, as to desire of thee that she may smoke thy calumet. Show thyself worthy of thy nation, and do honour to thy sex and youth. Suffer none in the cabbin to which thou are admitted, to want anything thy industry, thy art, or thy arrows can procure them, as well for food as for peltry, or oil, for the good of their bodies, inside and outside. Thou hast four winters given thee for a trial of thy patience and constancy."

"At this the youth never fails of going to the place appointed. If the girl, (who knows the meaning of this) has no particular aversion to him, she is soon disposed to ask his calumet of him. In some parts, but not in this where I am, she signifies her acceptance by blowing it out. Here she takes it from him, and sucking it, blows the smoke towards his nostrils, even sometimes so violently, as to make him qualm-sick, at which she is highly delighted. Nothing, however, passes farther against the laws of modesty, though she will tress his hair, paint his face, and imprint on various parts of his body curious devices and flourishes, all relative to their love; which she pricks in, and rubs over with a composition that renders the impression uncancellable."

John Giles, who lived among the Malecites at a later date (1689), describes their custom of betrothal as follows (1):

"If a young fellow determines to marry, his relations and a Jesuit advise him to a girl. He goes into the wigwam where she is, and looks on her. If he likes her appearance, he tosses a stick or chip into her lap, which she takes, and with a reserved, side look, views the person who sent it, yet handles the chip with admiration, as though she wondered from whence it came (2). If she likes

---

(1) Giles, p. 44.

(2) One of my informants gave a similar account of the throwing of a chip.

him she throws the chip to him with a modest smile, and then nothing is wanting but a ceremony with the Jesuit to consummate the marriage. But if she dislikes her suitor, she, with a surly countenance, throws the chip aside, and he comes no more."

Le Clercq agrees with the above quotation, especially on the point that even if the young man were acceptable to the father, the girl might refuse him. He says (1): "If the father finds that the suitor who presents himself is acceptable for his daughter; for then, after having given his consent to this lover, he tells him to speak to his sweetheart, in order to learn her wish about an affair which concerns herself alone. For they do not wish, say these barbarians, to force the inclinations of their children in the matter of marriage, or to induce them, whether by use of force, obedience, or affection, to marry men whom they cannot bring themselves to like."

At the time of betrothal it seems to have been customary for the young man to give presents to the girl's father. Biard in his relation of 1616 says (2): "Contrary to our custom, in their marriage the father does not give a dower to his daughter to establish her with any one, but the lover gives beautiful and suitable presents to the father, so that he will allow him to marry his daughter. The presents will be in proportion to the rank of the father and beauty of the daughter; dogs, beavers, kettles, axes, etc."

Le Clercq also says that presents were made (3). The boy, after obtaining the consent of the father, addresses himself to the girl, in order to ascertain her sentiments. He makes her a present from whatever important things he possesses;

---

(1) Le Clercq, p. 259

(2) "Jesuit Relations," vol. III, p. 99.

(3) Le Clercq, p. 260.

and the custom is such that if she is agreeable to his suit, she receives and accepts it with pleasure, and offers him in return some of her most beautiful workmanship. She takes care, say they, not to receive the least thing from those who seek her in marriage, in order not to contract any engagement with a young man whom she has no intention of marrying."

All writers agree that the boy had to serve the girl's father for a period of time. This seems to have been rather to prove that he was able to do all that was required of a father of a family, than to gain wealth for his future father-in-law. Denys says that he served several years. Maillard says (1):

"If the parents of the girl are pleased with the procedure of the suitor, they commonly, at the end of the second year, dispense, in his favour, with the rest of the probation-time; and, indeed they could not well before, the girl almost always wanting, from the time she is first courted, at least two years to bring on the age of consummation."

Biard's remarks seem to indicate that the period varied greatly, as he states (2) that "if he suits them, they will lengthen or shorten, or make stipulation as to the manner of his courtship as they think best."

Le Clercq says definitely that the period was a year (3). "The presents having been received and accepted by both parties, the Indian returns to his home, takes leave of his parents, and comes to live for an entire year in the wigwam of his sweetheart's father, whom, according to the

---

(1) Maillard, "Account of Customs," p. 55. On p. 54 he says four years.

(2) "Jesuit Relations," vol. III, p. 99.

(3) Le Clercq, p. 260.

laws of the country, he is to serve, and to whom he is to give all the furs which he secures in hunting."

Giles seems to indicate that the period among the Malecites in his time was a year, though apparently the priests had somewhat influenced the custom by considering the couple married from the time of betrothal. He says (1): "Whatever the new married man procures the first year belongs to his wife's parents. If the young pair have a child within a year and nine months, they are thought to be very forward and libidinous persons."

It may, therefore, be assumed that the period was variable and never less than a year, the length of time after the first year depending on the conduct and ability of the man.

It seems from Denys that even after the period of betrothal had expired they did not always marry. He says (2):

"The term being expired, it was time to speak of the marriage. The relatives of the boy came to visit those of the girl, and asked them if it were pleasing to them. If the father of the girl was favourable to it, it was then necessary to learn from the two parties concerned if they were content therewith; and if one of the two did not wish the marriage, nothing further was done (3). They were never compelled. But if all were in agreement, a day was chosen for making a banquet; in the meantime the boy went a-hunting and did his very best to treat the entire assembly as well to roast as to boiled meat, and to have especially an abundance of soup, good and fat."

---

(1) Giles, p. 45

(2) Denys, p. 407.

(3) Among the Hurons the negotiations also could be broken off at any time (Sagard, Hist. du Canada, vol. 3-4, p. 296).

Maillard describes the preparation for the wedding in a similar way (1). "They tell him 'Thou may'st now take a small part of the covering of thy beloved whilst she sleeps.' No sooner is this compliment made him, than, without saying anything, he goes out of the cabin, armed with his bow and arrows, and hurrying home acquaints his friends, that he is going to the woods, whence he shall not return until it pleases his beloved to recall him. Accordingly he repairs forthwith to the woods, and stays there for two or three days, diverting himself with hunting; at the end of which it has been agreed on, to send all the youths of the village to fetch him; and they come back loaded with game of all sorts, though the bridegroom is not suffered to carry anything. There is also great provision made of seal and sea-cows for the wedding-feast." (2)

Denys describes the wedding as follows (3):

"The day having arrived, all the relatives and guests assembled, and everything being ready the men and older boys all entered the wigwam, the old men at the upper end near the father and mother. The upper end is the left in entering the wigwam, and a circuit is made passing to the right. No other women entered save the mother of the boy.

---

(1) Maillard, "Account of Customs," p. 55.

(2) Le Clercq's statements are in agreement. "When, then, the two parties concur in disposition and tastes, at the end of the year the oldest men of the nation, and the parents, and friends of the future married couple, are brought together to the feast which is to be made for the public celebration of their marriage. The young man is obliged to go for the provision, and the entertainment is more or less magnificent according as he makes a hunt or fishing more or less successful" (p. 262).

(3) Denys, p. 408.

Each one having taken his place, all seated themselves upon their buttocks, like apes, for that is their posture. The bridegroom brought in the meat in a huge bark dish, divided it, and placed it on as many plates as there were persons, as much as they could hold. There was in each plate enough meat for a dozen persons. He gave each one his plate, and they devoted themselves to eating. The bridegroom was there also with a great dish of soup which he gave to the first one that he might drink his fill. He, having sufficiently quenched his thirst, passed the dish to his neighbour, who did the same. When it was empty it was filled again. Then having drunk and feasted well, they took a (comfortable) posture. The oldest of them made a speech in praise of the bridegroom, and gave an account of his genealogy, in which he was always found descended from some great chief ten or twelve generations back. He exaggerated everything good that they had done, as well in war as in hunting, the spirit they showed, the good counsel they had given, and everything of consequence they had done in their lives. He commenced with the most ancient, and, descending from generation to generation, he came to a conclusion with the father of the bridegroom. Then he exhorted the bridegroom not to degenerate from the worth of his ancestors. Having finished his speech, all the company made two or three cries, saying hau, hau, hau. After this the bridegroom thanked them, promising as much as, and more than, his ancestors; then the assembly gave again the same cry. Then the bridegroom set about dancing; he chanted war songs which he composed on the spot and which exalted his courage and his worth, the number of animals he had killed, and everything that he aspired to do. In dancing he took in his hands a bow, arrows, and a great shaft in which is set a bone of a moose, sharply pointed, with which they kill animals in winter when there is a great depth of snow. This sort of thing (they did) one after another, each having his song, during which he would work himself into a fury and seemed as if he wished to kill everybody. Having finished, the entire assembly recommenced their hau, hau, hau, which signifies joy and

contentment.

"After this they commenced again to eat and drink until they were full. Then they called their wives and children who were not far off; these came and each one gave them his plate from which they proceeded to eat in their turn."

Maillard adds a few points; his account being as follows (1): "The head juggler of the village meets the bridegroom who is at the head of the procession, takes him by the hand, and conducts him to the cabin of the bride, where he is to take part of her bed; upon which he lies down by her side, and both continue unmovable and silent like two statues, whilst they are obliged to hear the long tedious harangues of the Juggler, of the parents of both, and of their oldest relations. After that they both get up, and are led, the one by the young men, the other by the girls, to the place of entertainment, all singing, shooting, and dancing.

"The bridegroom is seated amongst the young men on one side, and the bride amongst the girls on another. One of his friends takes an Oorakin, loads it with roast-meat, and sets it down by him, whilst one of her's does the same thing, with an Oorakin of the same size, and nearly alike, which is placed by the bride's side. After this ceremony of placing the Oorakin, the Juggler pronounces certain magical words over the meat; he foretells, especially to the bride, the dreadful consequences she must expect from the victuals she is about to eat, if she has in her heart any perfidiousness towards her husband: that she may be assured of finding in the Oorakin that contains them, a certain prognostic of her future happiness, or unhappiness: of happiness, if she is disposed never in her life to betray her nation, nor especially her husband, upon any occasion, or whatever befall her; of unhappiness, if through the caresses of strangers, or by any

---

(1) Maillard, "Account of Customs," p. 56.

means whatever she should be induced to break her faith to him, or to reveal to the enemy the secrets of the country.

"At the end of every period, all the assistants signify their assent to the Juggler's words, by a loud exclamation of Hah! Whilst he is talking, the particular friend of the bridegroom, and that of the bride, keep their eyes fixed on the two Oorakins; and as soon as he has done, the bride's friend making as if she did not think of what she was about, takes the Oorakin allotted to the bridegroom, and carries it to the bride, whilst the bridegroom's friend, (the thing being preconcerted) acts the like mummery of inadvertence, and sets before the bridegroom the Oorakin belonging to the bride; after which the dishes are served in to the rest of the company. When they are all served, two friends of the parties, musing a little, pretend to have just then discovered their exchange of the bride and bridegroom's Oorakins. They declare it openly to each other, at which the Juggler takes up his cue and with a solemn face says, "The Manitoo has had his designs in this mistake: he has vouchsafed to give an undubitable sign of his approbation of the strait alliance of this day contracted. What is the one's is the same as the other's. They are henceforward united, and are as one and the same person. It is done. May they multiply without end!" At this the assistants all start up, and with cries of joy and congratulation, rush to embrace the bride and bridegroom, and overwhelm them with caresses. After which they sit very gravely down again to the entertainment before them, and dispatch it in great silence. This is followed by dances of all kinds, with which the feast for the day concludes."

Prince (1) gives two very good and careful accounts of the marriage ceremony among the

---

(1) Leland and Prince, "Kuloskap the Master," p. 355 et seq.

Passamoquoddies. As the information was collected at a later date it cannot be considered as in any way contradictory of the foregoing accounts, for even if his informant did really remember accurately, he may have merely been describing a ceremony of a much later date. The account is as follows:

"It was the duty of the young Indian who wished to marry to inform his parents of his desire, stating the name of the maiden. The young man's father then notified all the relatives and friends of the family that his son wished to marry such and such a girl. If the friends and relations were willing, the son was permitted to offer his suit. The father of the youth prepared a clean skin of the bear, beaver, or deer, which he presented to his son. Provided with this, the suitor went to the wigwam of his prospective bride's father and placed the hide at the back of the wigwam or nowteh. The girl's father then notified his relations and friends, and if there was no objection, he ordered his daughter to seat herself on the skin, as a sign that the young man's suit was acceptable. The usual wedding ceremonies were then held, viz., a public feast, followed by dancing and singing, which always lasted at least a week."

Prince then describes the marriage ceremony in more recent times. "After the adoption of the wampum laws the marriage ceremony was much more complicated.

"When the young man had informed his parents of his desire to marry and the father had secured the consent of the relations and friends, an Indian was appointed to be the Keloolwett or marriage herald, who, taking the string of wampum called the Kelolwawei, went to the wigwam of the girl's father, generally accompanied by so many witnesses as cared to attend. The herald read the marriage wampum in the presence of the girl and her father, formally stating that such and such a suitor sought his daughter's hand in marriage. The herald, accompanied by his party, then returned to the young man's wigwam to await the

reply. After the girl's father had notified his relatives and friends and they had given their consent, the wedding was permitted to go on.

"The usual ceremonies then followed. The young man first presented the bride-elect with a new dress. She, after putting it on, went to her suitor's wigwam with her female friends, where she and her company formally saluted him by shaking hands. This was called wulisakowdowagon or salutation. She then returned to her father's house, where she seated herself with her following of old women and girls. The groom then assembled a company of his friends, old and young men, and went with them to the bride's wigwam to salute her in the same manner. When these salutations were over a great feast was prepared by the bride, enough for all the people, men, women, and children. The bridegroom also prepared a similar feast. Both of these dinners were cooked in the open air, and when the food was ready they cried out k'waltewall, "your dishes." Every one understood this, which was the signal for the merrymakers to approach and fall to.

"The marriage ceremonies, however, were not over yet. The wedding party arrayed themselves in their best attire and formed two processions, that of the bride entering the assembly wigwam first. In later times it was customary to fire a gun at this point as a signal that the bride was in the hall, whereupon the groom's procession entered the hall in the same manner, when a second gun was fired. The geptins of the tribe and one of the friends of the bride then conducted the girl to the bridegroom to dance with him. At midnight, after the dancing, a supper was served, to which the bride and groom went together and where she ate with him for the first time. The couple were then addressed by an aged man (nojimikokemit) on the duties of marriage.

"Finally, a number of old women accompanied the newly made wife to her husband's wigwam, carrying with them her bed-clothes. This final ceremony was called nathoonan, taking or carrying the bed."

Denys describes the possible divorce as well as subsequent marriages in the following words (1):

"If a young married woman has no children by the end of two or three years, he can divorce her, and turn her out to take another. He is not held to service as in the case of the first; he simply makes presents of robes, skins, or wampum. I shall tell in its proper place what this wampum is. He is obliged to make a feast for the father of the girl, but not so impressive a one as on the first occasion. If she becomes pregnant he gives a great feast to his relatives; otherwise he drives her out like the first and marries another. This wife being pregnant, he sees her no more. As to these matters, they take as many women as they please provided that they are good hunters, and not lazy. Otherwise the girls will not accept them. One sees Indians who have two or three wives pregnant at the same time; it is their greatest joy to have a large number of children."

The usual cause for divorce was barrenness; in such a case it does not seem likely that the woman found a second husband willing to take her, for if she proved barren with the first husband, she would in all probability prove barren with the second.

However, according to Le Clercq, incompatibility was also recognised as a reasonable ground for divorce. He says (2): "Indeed if any natural antipathy exists between husband and wife, or if theycannot live together in perfect understanding, they separate from one another in order to find elsewhere the peace and union which they cannot find together. Consequently they cannot understand how one can submit to the indissolubility

---

(1) Denys, p. 410.

(2) Le Clercq, p. 242.

of marriage. 'Dost thou not see' they will say to you,' that thou hast no sense? My wife does not get on with me, and I do not get on with her. She will agree with such a one, who does not agree with his own wife. Why dost thou wish that we four be unhappy for the rest of our days?"

Unfortunately he does not say whether this applies to couples who had been married for a long time and had children, or to recently married couples only. That widows sometimes married again there is no doubt. However, if they had children old enough to support them, they usually preferred not to marry. If a widow did marry, then, Le Clercq (1) says, "it is necessary that the eldest son take the care of his brothers and sisters, and that he build a separate wigwam. This is for the purpose of avoiding bad treatment by their stepfather and in order not to cause any trouble in the housekeeping." If the children were too young to support the mother, then "the old men take charge of them and distribute and give them to the best hunters with whom they live neither more nor less than if they were the actual children of the wigwam." Children who had lost both parents were treated in the same way.

Certain tabus and restrictions about food were placed on widows. Le Clercq describes them as follows:

"Widows never eat of that which has been killed by the young men; it is necessary that a married man, an old man, or a prominent person of the nation shall be the one who hunts or fishes for their support. So scrupulously do they observe this superstitious custom that they still at this day relate with admiration how a Gaspesian widow allowed herself to die of hunger rather than eat moose or beaver which was left in her wigwam even in abundance, because it was killed by young men, and widows were not permitted to eat it."

---

(1) Le Clercq, p. 238.

He states further that he had known widows to go three days without food because the only available meat had been obtained by young unmarried men. If the widow was childless, and her late husband had a brother, it seems to have been the usual course for them to marry "in order that she may have children by the same blood," as Le Clercq says.

The early writers all express a belief in the fidelity of the married women. Biard says (1):

"Few divorces occur among them, and (as I believe) little adultery. If the wife should so far forget herself, I do not believe that it would be less than a matter of life and death to the two adulterers."

Infidelity on the part of married women is now fairly common, although not nearly as common as on the part of the men. Frequently their husbands come to know of their shortcomings, but the most they do is to beat them. It is only in cases of repeated and flagrant transgression that they refuse to live with them. Nevertheless, there are usually several such women on each reservation. Occasionally the wife refuses to live with her husband for repeated transgressions of the marital relation. However, it is not only for infidelity that an Indian beats his wife. Most of the older writers mention their cruelty on other occasions. Father Biard, in a letter of 1610, says (2): "... the men having several wives and abandoning them to others, and the women only serving them as slaves, who they strike and beat

---

(1) The present Indians think that adultery was very uncommon and severely punished in the olden days. This attitude is reflected in a story (See Mechling, "Malecite Tales," p. 83), which, however, seems to occur among other Algonkian tribes.

(2) "Jesuit Relations," vol. 1, p. 173.

unmercifully, and who dare not complain; and after being half killed, if it so please the murderer, they must laugh and caress him."

In the "Relation" of 1616 he says (1):

"Now these women, although they have so much trouble, as I have said, yet are not cherished any more for it. The husbands beat them unmercifully, and often for a very slight cause."

We may safely conclude that the marital customs and the relations between the sexes among the Malecites and Micmacs were practically identical. There are no available data for the tribes to the south, except of the most general kind, but judging from the similarity of life and environment we are safe in inferring that the tribes as far south and west as the Saco resembled the Malecites and Micmacs in their marriage customs; but it is not safe to infer as much for the tribes of southern New England.

The Iroquoian tribes, as we should expect, were utterly different. The women among them seem to have held a higher place in the social life, as is usual in an agricultural community. They seem, however, to have been much looser in their sexual relations and the bond of marriage was less stable.

Amongst the Malecites and Micmacs the ideal of the chastity of the bride was well recognized, even though, as in every society, performance often fell far short of the ideal. It seems that illicit intercourse was much more likely to take place with a man who had no thought of marriage than with an applicant for the girl's hand. Amongst the Iroquois and Hurons there seems to have been little or no stigma attached to such intercourse.

---

(1) "Jesuit Relations," vol. III, p. 103.

The most outstanding feature of the Malecite and Micmac marriage was the period of service which the young man had to render to the girl's father. This is, of course, not found amongst Iroquois tribes, where such a custom would be inconceivable; but if we turn to other Algonkian tribes to the west of the Iroquois we find good evidence for the existence of this custom. Nicolas Perrot, who probably wrote before 1700, gives data on what he calls 'Customs in use among the savages of both North and South who speak the Algonkian languages, or those who sprang from that stock, when they seek a girl in marriage'; he says that the young man served the girl's family for two years (1).

Marston, writing at a much later period, says that the period of servitude was until the birth of a child, after which time the husband has the option of returning to his own home or continuing to live with his wife's people. He further says that this was the procedure among the Sauk, Fox, and KicKapoo nations. Amongst the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatamies it was one of the two

---

(1) "When the marriage has been consummated, the newly wedded go together to hunt and fish; and thence they return to the village, to the cabin of the girl's mother, and give her whatever they have brought. This mother takes part of it to give to the mother of the youth, who is obliged to live with his mother-in-law and work for her during two years, for it is his duty to do so. During all the time, she alone is under obligation to feed and support him; and if he must give any feast she pays the expenses of it.

"After he has served his two years with his mother-in-law, he returns with his wife to his own mother; and when he comes back from hunting or fishing, he gives his mother-in-law a part of what he has brought back for his mother" (Blair, vol. I, p. 69).

methods of getting a wife, the other being by purchase (1).

Skinner (2) does not believe that this custom of serving for a wife was in vogue among the Menomini, presumably because he failed to get any information of it from present day members of the tribe. I am inclined to believe that we cannot accept this negative information, because it seems improbable that we could get it at the present time from any of the tribes cited above.

---

(1) After this is done he will disclose his attentions to his friend, saying that he is a good hunter and has been several times to war, etc., appealing to him for the truth of his assertions, and conclude by saying, if your parents will let me have your sister for a wife I will serve them faithfully, that is to say, according to the custom, which is until she has a child; after which he can take her away to his own relations or live with his wife's. During the servitude of a young Indian neither he nor his wife has anything at their disposal, he is to hunt and that in the most industrious manner; his wife is continually at work, dressing skins, making mats, planting corn, etc. The foregoing modes of procuring a wife apply particularly to the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo nations; with the Chippewas, Ottawa, and Pottawattamies a wife is sometimes purchased by the parents of the young man, when she becomes at once his own property; but the most common mode of procuring a wife in all these nations is by servitude. It frequently happens that when an Indian's servitude for one wife has expired he will take another (his wife's sister perhaps) and again serve her parents according to custom" (Blair, vol. II, pp. 166-167).

(2) Skinner, "Social Life and Ceremonial Bundles," p. 29.

Certainly the Micmacs and Malecites have no recollection of it, and no modern investigators, as far as I know, have reported it for the other tribes. Skinner further neglects to state whether the marriage was matrilocal or not, a fact of the utmost importance in considering the growth of this custom. To judge from the context, however, it was patrilocal.

Amongst the Cree, according to Mackenzie (1), the young man went to live with the parents of the wife, but was treated as a stranger until after the birth of the first child. He continued to live with them after that event.

From the Montagnais there are no available data, but from the fact that the man's sister's children inherited property, it is possible that the marriage was matrilocal.

My interpretation of this custom in these Algonkian tribes is, that at a previous period, amongst all the central Algonkians, the man went to live with the clan or band of his wife. At a later period this was required only for a limited period, but was still usual. Amongst some of these tribes a still later development was that even this period could be dispensed with by paying a sum of money to the bride's people, who probably constituted only a small band. Amongst the extreme eastern members alone there developed the custom that the man had to serve the family or home for a year or more before he could have the woman as wife.

The procedure, mentioned by John Giles, of throwing a chip to see if the maiden looked with favour on the suit, has an interesting parallel among the Northern Saulteaux, where, according to Long (2), the young man threw one hundred chips which the young girl tried to catch in a bowl. For every one the girl caught the suitor had to make a present to her father.

---

(1) Mackenzie, Alexander, "Voyage from Montreal," p. 68.

(2) Long, p. 135.

DEATH

Death and funeral rites are among the first things noted by the writers on this area and their accounts are particularly full and satisfactory. When a man grew seriously ill a shaman, or sometimes several, were called in. If, after they had tried to cure him, they decided it was impossible, they announced that the man was going to die. Once that was decided, the man was as good as dead; for, not only did the friends and relatives believe it, but the man also resigned himself to fate, prepared for death, and was from that time on considered as dead. No food was given him and in some cases other means were used to hasten his death (1). This attitude of mind is very well described by Father Biard in a letter (1610) describing a sick man he visited. He says (2):

"He was sick, and what is more, had been given up to die by the native Aoutmoins, or sorcerer. Now it is the custom, when the Aoutmoins have pronounced the malady or wound to be mortal, for the sick man to cease eating from that time on, nor do they give him anything more. But, donning his beautiful robe, he begins chanting his own death-song; after this, if he lingers too long, a great many pails of water are thrown over him to hasten his death, and sometimes he is buried half alive."

---

(1) "They take the sick persons along, and carry or embark them with themselves on their voyages when there is any appearance of recovery. But if the recovery of the sick man is wholly despaired of, so that he can no more eat, drink, or smoke, they sometimes break his head, as much to relieve the suffering he endures as to save themselves the trouble which they have in taking him everywhere with them" (Le Clercq, p. 299).

(2) "Jesuit Relations," vol. I, p. 167.

Lescarbot, in his Relation Dernière of 1612, described the same idea very well (1):

"And then they take away from him all food, give him his beautiful robe of beaver or other fur, and place him in a half-reclining posture upon his bed, singing to him praises of his past life, and of his fortitude in death; to this he agrees, and replies with his last chant, like the Swan; when it is finished, all leave him, and he considers himself happy to die rather than to linger on. For these people, being nomadic, and not being able to continue living in one place, cannot drag after them their fathers or friends, the aged, or the sick. That is why they treat them in this manner. If they are sick they first make incisions into their stomachs, from which the Pilotois, or sorcerers, suck the blood. And whatever the cause, if they see a man can no longer drag himself along, they put him in the condition above described, and throw upon his navel so much cold water, that nature weakens little by little, and thus he dies with great steadfastness and fortitude."

This account mentions the wearing of a special robe, and the recounting of his deeds by those present, as well as his last song. This seems to have been the usual procedure, and is mentioned by others, but Le Clercq says the robe was not put on until after death (2). There seems to have been an exchange of gifts at this time, and the dying man distributed his property. Dogs also seem to have been killed before his death. These customs had a special name, as is shown by the following quotations from Father Biard (3):

---

(1) "Jesuit Relations," vol. II, p. 151.

(2) "When the dying person has drawn his last breath, the relatives and friends of the deceased cover his body with a fine skin of elk, or a robe of beaver" (Le Clercq, p. 300).

(3) "Jesuit Relations," vol. III, p. 127.

"I went to visit this chief's son, who was already at death's door. I found that, in accordance with their old custom, they were holding a tabagie, that is, a solemn feast for the distribution of his property, so that after the entertainment he might, not like Jacob, give them his blessing, but might bid them farewell, after which they were to bewail his death and then to offer up a sacrifice of dogs ... I said that this slaughtering of dogs was wrong, as well as this abandonment of the sick man for whom they were mourning; I added that these dances and death-songs in the very presence of the sick man displeased me.

"The sick man having been appointed by the Aut-moin to die, as we have said, all the relations and neighbours assemble and, with the greatest possible solemnity, he delivers his funeral oration: he recites his heroic deeds, gives some directions to his family recommends his friends: finally, says adieu. This is all there is of their wills. As to gifts, they make none at all; but, quite different from us, the survivors give some to the dying man, as you will hear. But we must except the Tabagie, for it is a general injunction which must be observed everywhere, so that the ceremonies may be according to law.

"So if the dying man has some supplies on hand, he must make Tabagie of them for all his relatives and friends. While it is being prepared, those who are present exchange gifts with him in token of friendship; dogs, skins, arrows, etc. They kill these dogs in order to send them on before him into the other world. The said dogs are afterwards served at the Tabagie, for they find them palatable. Having banqueted they begin to express their sympathy and sorrowful farewells, their hearts weep and bleed because their good friend is going to leave them and go away; but he may go fearlessly, since he leaves behind him beautiful children, who are good hunters and brave men: and good friends, who will avenge his wrongs, etc."

The last quotation seems to convey the impression that there was no mourning. This is

undoubtedly wrong, as is shown by Claude Cayne's "Relation" of 1613:

"There appeared a great crowd of savages, drawn up in regular order, standing in the open air; and among this mournful-looking company a father walked about, in whose arms a delicate boy was dying. As the child struggled for breath, hastening towards death, and weakly grasping, it tortured the unfortunate parent with grief and sorrow. Moreover, at each gasp of the infant, the father wailed dreadfully and his lamentation was immediately answered by a howl from the gloomy throng of Savages standing near."

As this last quotation describes the death of a child, there was probably more mourning than at the death of an older person, whose mourning did not take place until he had died, as is shown by the following account from Biard's Relation of 1616, which describes the procedure after the tabagie had taken place:

"They go in this way until the dying man expires and then they utter horrible cries; and a terrible thing are their Naenias (funeral dirges) which continue day and night, sometimes lasting a whole week according to how great the deceased is, and to the amount of provisions for the mourners. If there are none at all, they only bury the dead man, and postpone the obsequies and ceremonies until another time and place, at the good pleasure of their stomachs."

Le Clercq describes the proceeding after death as follows (1):

"Meanwhile the leading persons and the chiefs give directions that the bark of the wigwam of the dead man he struck, the words Oué, Oué, Oué, being said for the purpose of making the soul come forth. Then certain young Indians are appointed to go and announce to all the people, and even to the French settlements, the death of their relatives and friends. These deputies approach the wigwams to which they are sent, climb into a tree, and cry

(1) Le Clercq, p. 300.

out three times with all their strength that such an Indian is dead. After this they approach and give to those whom they find an account of the circumstances of the illness and of the death of their friend, inviting them to assist in his funeral."

The burial is well described by Biard in his "Relation" of 1616:

"They bury their dead in this manner: first they swathe the body and tie it up in skins; not lengthwise, but with the knees against the stomach and the head on the knees as we are in our mother's womb (1). Afterwards they put it in the grave which has been made very deep (2), not upon the back or lying down as we do, but sitting (3). A posture which they like very much, and which among them signifies reverence. For the children and the youths seat themselves thus in the presence of their fathers, and of the old, whom they respect (4). We laugh at them, and tell them that way of sitting is the fashion with monkeys, but they like it and find it convenient. When the body is placed, as it does not come up even with the ground on account of the depth of the grave, they

---

(1) The Montagnais used the same method. See "Jesuit Relations," vol. VI, p. 209.

(2) Le Clercq is more specific; he says 5 ft. "Hence it comes about that their graves are quite round, of the form of a well, and 4 or 5 feet deep." (Le Clercq, p. 300). Denys says that they were very deep.

(3) Le Clercq says it was covered with bark. (Le Clercq, p. 301).

(4) Le Clercq gives a similar description. "In this (his beaver robe) he is enshrouded and bound with cords of leather or bark in such a manner that the chin touches the knees and the feet the back" (Le Clercq, p. 300).

arch the grave over with sticks, so that the earth will not fall back into it, and thus they cover up the tomb. If it is some illustrious personage they build a pyramid or monument of interlacing poles, as eager in that for glory as we are in our marble and porphyry (1). If it is a man, they place there as a sign and emblem, his bow, arrows, and shield; if a woman, spoons, mataohias or jewels, ornaments, etc." (2)

Unfortunately we have very little archaeological evidence concerning the method of burial in this region. However, Patterson (3) describes a few burials in Merigomish harbour. In one case he noted that the body was flexed as in the above description, but it was on its side. The graves were, however, not as deep as those described above -- at least not at the time he excavated -- being only 15 or 20 inches. In corroboration of the above description he found birch bark and objects which had been buried with the body, arrow points, bone pins, or harpoon points, etc.

Denys' description is quite different; he says that the dead man was not buried for a year.

---

(1) Le Clercq describes it as follows: "The grave is then filled with earth, and upon it is placed a quantity of logs elevated 3 or 4 feet in the form of a mausoleum, upon which appears a fine cross, that is if the deceased is one of our Cross-bearer Gaspesians" (Le Clercq, p. 301).

(2) Le Clercq's list is as follows: "If it was a man, they add his bow, arrows, spear, club, gun, powder, lead porringer, kettle, snow-shoes, etc; if it was a woman, her collar for use in dragging the sled or in carrying wood, her axe, knife, blanket, necklaces of wampum and of beads, and her tools used for ornamenting and painting the clothes, as well as the needles for sewing the canoes and for lacing the snow-shoes" (Le Clercq, p. 301).

(3) "The Stone Age in Nova Scotia," p. 231.

His description is as follows (1):

"When some one of them died, there was great weeping in the wigwam. All his relatives and friends went there to weep, and this lasted three or four days without their eating. During this time there was delivered his funeral oration. Each one spoke one after another, for they never spoke two at a time, neither men nor women. In this respect these barbarians give a fine lesson to those people who consider themselves more polished and wiser than they. A recital was made of all the genealogy of the dead man, of that which he had done fine and good, of the stories that he (the orator) had heard told of his ancestors, of the great feasts and acknowledgments he had made in large numbers, of the animals he had killed in the hunt, and of all the other matters they considered it fitting to tell in praise of his predecessors. After this they came to the dead man; then the loud cries and weeping redoubled. This made the orator strike a pose to which the men and women responded from time to time by a general groaning, all at one time and in the same tone. And on many occasions he who was speaking struck postures and set himself to cry and weep with the others. Having said all that he wished to say, another began and said yet other things than the first. Then one after another, each after his own fashion, made his panegyric on the dead man. This lasted three or four days before the funeral oration was finished.

"After this it was necessary to make great tabagie, that is to say festival, and to rejoice in the great gratification the deceased will have in going to see all his ancestors, his relatives, and good friends, and in the joy that each of them will have in seeing him, and the great feasts they will make for him. They believed that, being dead, they went into another land where everything abounded plentifully, and where they never had to work. The festival of joy being finished it was necessary to do some work for the dead.

---

(1) Denys, p. 438.

"The women went to fetch fine pieces of bark from which they made a kind of bier on which they placed him well enwrapped. Then he was carried to a place where they had a staging built on purpose, and elevated 8 or 10 feet. On this they placed the bier; and there they left it about a year, until the time when the sun had entirely dried the body up."

It may be that the customs of the Micmacs of the north shore of New Brunswick, which Denys describes in the above account, differed from those of Nova Scotia, or it may be that Biard failed to note the fact that the dead were not buried immediately. It seems, however, more probable that the customs of the various parts of the tribe differed, for Biard seems to state definitely that they were buried very soon after they died.

Le Clercq says that in his time (1675-1687), the interment took place immediately, but believed that it had changed and described the old method as follows (1):

"I have learned only this from our Indians, that the chiefs of their nation formerly entrusted the bodies of the dead to certain old men, who carried them sacredly to a wigwam built on purpose in the midst of the woods, where they remained for a month or six weeks. They opened the head and the belly of the dead person, and removed therefrom the brain and the entrails; they removed the skin from the body, cut the flesh into pieces, and, having dried it in the smoke or in the sun, they placed it at the foot of the dead man, to whom they gave back his skin, which they fitted on very much as if the flesh had not been removed."

It would seem, therefore, that the method had changed between the time when Denys first came there (1633) and the time when Le Clercq lived there (1675-1687) and that Denys' account was probably more accurate than the account which Le Clercq gives of the old method, which he derived from hearsay.

---

(1) Le Clercq, p. 302.

Lescarbot, in his "Relation Dernière of 1612," describes a Malecite funeral, which shows some similarity to the Micmac one described by Denys. He seems to indicate that the burial took place at once, though perhaps, as he did not witness it, it may not have taken place for some time. His description is as follows (1):

"Upon this same coast, before reaching Port Royal, they saw the funeral ceremonies over the corpse of a savage who had died in the land of the Etechemins. The body was resting upon a plank supported by four stakes, and covered with skins. The next day, a great crowd of men arrived, who performed their customary dances around the corpse. One of the old men held a long pole, upon which were dangling three of their enemies' heads; others carried other trophies of their victories; and thus they continued to sing and dance for two or three hours, chanting the praises of the dead instead of the Libera of Christians. Afterwards each one made him a gift of some kind, such as skins, kettles, peas, hatchets, knives, arrows, "Matchiaz" and articles of apparel. When all these ceremonies were finished, they carried him for burial to an isolated island, far from mainland."

Biard states in his "Relation of 1616" (2) that they buried presents with the dead man.

"I have nearly forgotten the most beautiful part of all; it is that they bury with the dead man all that he owns, such as his bag, his arrows, his skins, and all his other articles and baggage, even his dogs if they have not been eaten. Moreover, the survivors add to these a number of other such offerings, as tokens of friendship. Judge from this whether these good people are not far removed from this cursed avarice which we see among us; who, to become possessed of the riches

---

(1) "Jesuit Relations," vol. II, p. 133.

(2) "Jesuit Relations," vol. III, p. 129.

of the dead, desire and seek eagerly for the loss and departure of the living."

Denys describes the gifts which were buried with the dead as being enormous. He says (1):

"Into this all his relatives and friends threw bows, arrows, snow-shoes, spears, robes of moose, otter, and beaver, stockings, moccasins, and everything that was needful for him in hunting and in clothing himself. All the friends of the deceased made him each his present, of the finest and best that they had. They competed as to who would make the most beautiful gift. At the time when they were not yet disabused of their errors, I have seen them give to the dead man, guns, axes, iron arrow heads, and kettles, for they held all these to be much more convenient for their use than would have been their kettles of wood, their axes of stone, and their knives of bone, for their use in the other world. There have been dead men in my time who have taken away more than two thousand pounds of peltries." It seems quite clear that the idea was to provide the deceased with things for his future life.

Thus it is clear, from both Denys and Biard, that the friends of the dead man made presents of many objects which were buried with

---

(1) Denys, p. 439.

the deceased (1), and the underlying idea seems to have been that this was done to provide him with necessities and riches in his future existence (2).

---

(1) Maillard says that people were also sacrificed for this purpose. "But these regions are supposed to be at a great distance from their's, to which they will have to travel; and therefore, it is requisite to be well-provided, before they quit their own country, with arrows, long poles fit for hunting, or for covering cabins, with bear-skins, or elk-hides, with women, and with some of their children, to make their journey to that place more commodious, more pleasant, and appear more expeditious. It was especially in character for a warrior not to leave this world without taking with him some marks of his bravery, as particularly scalps. Therefore it was, that when any of them died he was always followed by, at least, one of his children, some women, and above all, by her whom in his life he had most loved, who threw themselves into the grave, and were interred with him. They also put into it great strips or rolls of bark of birch, arrows, and scalps. Nor do they unfrequently, at this day, light upon some of these old burying-places in the woods, with all these funeral accompaniments; but of late, the interment of live persons has been almost entirely disused."

(2) The Montagnais did exactly the same and had the same idea ("Jesuit Relations," vol. VI, p. 211). Le Clercq says: "ou bien ils les enterrent avec eux; afin, disent-t-ils, que les esprits de ces choses passent compagnie dans l'autre monde" (Le Clercq, p. 381).

Biard, in the passage just quoted, says that the possessions of the dead man were also buried with him. However, this was not always the case, for in a letter written several years before, he says very definitely that they were burned." ... They are accustomed to take every thing that belongs to the deceased, skins, bows, utensils, wigwams, etc. and burn them all, howling and shouting certain cries, sorceries, and invocations to the evil spirit" (1).

Le Clercq, however, helps to clear the matter up, for he says the offerings were either buried or burned (2). Thus it must be concluded that both of Biard's contradictory statements are right. Le Clercq gives a third method of disposing of the property of the deceased, for he says it was distributed among friends who had rendered him services (3).

It seems clear, therefore, that we have two separate ideas which we have to keep distinct -- the early writers quite naturally did not always do so -- the burying of presents with the deceased to provide him with property for his future existence, and the destruction or disposal of his property by his relations. The latter seems to be connected with another group of ideas, namely taboos of the dead; and, probably, the underlying motive was the desire that the spirit of the deceased would not haunt places familiar to him in his former life. It is evident from the passage from Le Clercq previously cited that they went to

---

(1) "Jesuit Relations," vol. I, p. 169.

(2) "... ils brûlent toutes les hardes qui leur ont servi pendant leur vie, ou bien ils les enterrent avec eux" (Le Clercq, p. 381).

(3) "... ou ils en font présent aux étrangers, pour reconnaissance des services qu'ils auront rendus au défunt."

some trouble to drive the spirit of the deceased out of the wigwam. It is probably for similar reasons that his name was tabooed. That the idea of providing him with property in the future life is not connected with the destruction or disposal of his property is shown by the fact that it was occasionally given away. The following quotations prove that the taboo of the dead man's name was very strict.

"They so completely bury the very remembrance of the dead with their bodies that they will not even suffer their names to be mentioned afterwards (1).

"It is an observance of that race, from a superstitious rite which all especially revere, to never mention by name any deceased person, but to give each, according to circumstances, an additional appellation, by which they always designate him whenever they mention him"(2).

According to Le Clercq there was a feast and some connected ceremonies after the burial. He describes them as follows (3):

"The burial is made in mournful silence, whilst the chief and the old men from a circle around the grave, and the women weep and make mournful cries. These cease at the command of the chief, who invites all the Gaspesians to the feast of death, at which he sets forth in his address the good qualities and the notable deeds of the deceased. He even impresses upon all the assembly, by words as touching as they are forceful, the uncertainty of human life, and the necessity they are under of dying in order to join in the Land

---

(1) "Jesuit Relations," vol. II, p. 77.

(2) Biard, "Jesuit Relations," vol. III, p. 299. The Montagnais have the same belief, which is quite widespread in America ("Jesuit Relations," vol. VII, p. 125).

(3) Le Clercq, p. 301.

of Souls their friends and relatives, whom they now are recalling to memory. He stops a moment, then suddenly assumes an expression more bright and less sad, and orders the distribution of the things prepared for the feast, which is followed by the usual dances and songs."

Denys says that the period of mourning was a year, adding (1), "During that time (namely the year before the body was buried) the wives of the deceased wept every time they met together in company, but not so long as the first time."

Le Clercq also says that the period of mourning was a year (2). "The relatives and the friends of the deceased, however, go into mourning, that is to say, they smear their faces with black (3), and cut the end of their hair; it is not permissible for them to wear this in tresses nor adorn it with strings of beadwork and of wampum during the period that they are in mourning, which lasts a year altogether."

John Giles describes mourning among the Malecites in his time in the following terms (4):

"When a relation dies. In a still evening, a squaw will walk on the highest land near her abode, and with a loud and mournful voice will exclaim, "Oh! hawe, hawe, hawe," with a long mournful tone to each hawe, for a long time together."

The present day Malecites always try to have the funeral take place in the home of the deceased. They believe if it takes place in any other house some one will die in that house.

---

(1) Denys, p. 439.

(2) Le Clercq, p. 301.

(3) Biard confirms this. "They commonly paint their faces and when in mourning blacken them."

(4) Giles, p. 301.

The most noticeable feature of the Malecite and Micmac burial was that the body was covered or encased in bark and placed in a flexed position in a fairly deep hole in the ground. This method of disposing of the dead was not confined to the Malecites and Micmacs. The Beothuks wrapped the body in birch bark (1). This was also the custom amongst the Menomini (2), and Perrot, when speaking of the Ottawas and other tribes, says that this mode of burial was one of the methods used (3). Marston (4), writing of the Sauk, and perhaps of some of the near-by tribes, says that they buried in a rough bark coffin. The Eastern Cree buried in bark covering, according to Skinner (5), without flexing the body, but in the absence of early statements to support his contention, this can hardly be admitted. According to Skinner, also, burial in the extended position was one of the Northern Saulteaux (6) methods for the disposal of the dead. Amongst the Montagnais the body was buried covered with bark (7).

The placing of the dead, wrapped in bark, on a scaffold, is also a common custom, but it is usually described as an alternative to inhumation and not as a preliminary. It seems to me, however, that we should exercise the utmost caution wherever we find this custom mentioned; it might well have been only a stage preliminary to burial. Such a thing would easily be overlooked or confused by all but the most careful observers. Cormack mentions it first in his description of the Beothuk

---

(1) Howley, p. 214.

(2) Skinner, "Social Life," p. 65.

(3) Blair, vol. I, pp. 80-81.

(4) Blair, vol. II, p. 173.

(5) "The Eastern Cree," p. 80.

(6) "The Eastern Cree," p. 166.

(7) "Jesuit Relations," vol. V, pp. 124-131.

method of burial (1), but does not suggest that it was preliminary to inhumation.

Among the Montagnais, however, we have the evidence of an eye-witness that the body was covered with bark and raised on a scaffold, then later was buried in the ground. Le Jeune (2), coming upon a body raised on a scaffold, inquired when it was to be buried, and the Indian replied, "When it stops snowing," which would indicate that no great period of time elapsed between the time of placing it on the scaffold and inhumation. This would suggest that the method in vogue among the Montagnais was practically the same as among the Malecites, where, to judge from Lescarbot's account, the body was buried very soon after being placed on the platform; indeed he implies that it was placed there only during certain funeral ceremonies.

Turner (3) says that the Naskopi in his time placed their dead in a tree if the death took place in the winter, and that they endeavoured to return the following summer to bury the body. The Naskopi custom, therefore, is practically the same as the Montagnais, Malecite, and Micmac, for the placing of a body in a tree may be considered as merely a variation of scaffold burial. The Northern Saulteaux also used this method.

Perrot (4), in writing of the Ottawas and others, describes this platform burial as one of the methods used. Marston (5), in his account of the Sauk, says that the bodies of the dead were either placed on a scaffold or buried, but the latter was the more common.

---

(1) Howley, p. 214.

(2) "Jesuit Relations," vol. V, pp. 129-131.

(3) "The Ethnology of the Ungava District," p. 272, Eleventh Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

(4) Blair, vol. 1, pp. 80, 81.

(5) Blair, vol. II, p. 173.

Skinner (1) describes scaffold burial as one of the methods of disposing of the dead amongst the Northern Saulteaux. The tree burial which he mentions may also be considered as a sub-division of scaffold burial.

Mackenzie (2) notes the fact that the Eastern Cree occasionally resorted to scaffold burial as a special honour for those who distinguished themselves in war.

Skinner makes no mention of scaffold burial for the Menomini.

The Delaware (3) seem to have had ossuaries. I have been unable to find out whether the body was buried in the ground or not before being finally interred. If it was placed on a scaffold as a temporary means of disposal before being laid permanently in the clan ossuary, we would have a connecting link between the Algonkian and Iroquoian methods of burial; for the Delaware were long subjected to a strong Iroquoian influence, and among the latter we find the use of ossuaries strongly developed. The Iroquois, however, first interred the body, and after the lapse of several years the bodies of all the people who had died during that period were dug up from their scattered resting-places and reinterred with elaborate ceremonies in the clan (or tribe) ossuary. There does not seem to be any connection between this custom and the Algonkian rite of interment after scaffold exposure, because the Algonkian tribes seem never to have used ossuaries or to have performed a single burial rite for the whole clan or tribe. The funeral ceremonies amongst them seem always to have been individual affairs.

---

(1) "The Eastern Cree," p. 167.

(2) "Voyage from Montreal," p. 69.

(3) Brinton, "The Lenape and their Legends," p. 54.

A very important rite connected with Micmac funerals was the burying of large quantities of objects with the dead body. This is a fairly widespread custom, although in some cases the objects were merely deposited on or near the grave.

In a Beothuk grave (1) many objects were found, particularly birch bark objects, such as dishes, plates, and cups, and a small model of a canoe. The grave seems to have been that of a child, so that it must remain uncertain whether the canoe was merely a toy or whether there was a clear idea of providing the dead person with a spirit canoe for the spirit world, and that a model canoe buried in the grave was thought sufficient. In either case, there can be little doubt that the basic idea was to provide the soul with things for its future existence. In the case of the Montagnais we know definitely that they buried things in the grave for the purpose of providing the soul with spirits of them in its future existence (2).

Skinner (3) says that the Eastern Cree placed objects not in, but on the grave. In the case of the Northern Saulteaux he says they were hung on a pole near the scaffold. He neglects to say what happened in the case of burial.

Perrot (4), speaking of the Ottawa, says that the goods were placed either on the scaffold or on the grave; Marston (5), writing of the Sauk, makes no mention of goods being placed on the grave, but states that food and tobacco were

---

(1) Howley, "The Beothuks," p. 331.

(2) "Jesuit Relations," vol. VI, p. 129.

(3) "The Eastern Cree," p. 80.

(4) Ibid, p. 167.

(5) Blair, vol. I, pp. 80, 81.

frequently laid near the grave. Skinner (1) notes a similar custom among the Saulteaux. In his monograph on the Menomini (2) he states that the goods brought to the funeral by the women of the family were piled at the head of the grave.

Some of the Algonkin tribes (3) would not permit the body of the dead man to be removed from the lodge through the door, but insisted that the part of the lodge nearest him be removed or lifted for that purpose. No mention is made of this custom in the early writers on the Micmacs or Malecites.

The custom of burning the goods of the deceased, which, according to Biard and Le Clercq, prevailed amongst the Micmacs, does not seem to have prevailed among other Algonkin tribes. However, Mackenzie notes that all the belongings of a deceased Cree had to be destroyed, without stating, however, how they were destroyed.

It would seem, therefore, as if the various Algonkin tribes were very similar in their burial customs and that at no very remote period they all practices the same method -- first placing the body on a scaffold, wrapped in a fur robe and usually in bark, then, after a certain length of time, burying it in a flexed position in the ground, covered with bark. It may be suspected that in the case of the tribes where scaffold exposure and inhumation are described as two methods of burial, we really have only two stages in the funeral rites and not two distinct methods. Even if it can be definitely proved in some cases that there really were two methods of burial (which in no case has been done so far), it is nevertheless probable that these two methods have simply developed out of two different stages in what was really a single funeral rite.

---

(1) "Social Life," vol. II, p. 173.

(2) "The Eastern Cree," p. 166.

(3) Montagnais and Saulteaux, at least.

If we turn to an explanation of this custom, we would naturally suppose that it would develop among hunting tribes inhabiting a northern region where they were unable to bury their dead during the winter on account of the hardness of the frozen ground, and, therefore, had to wait until the following summer. Moreover, during the winter the various bands were very much scattered, whereas in summer they all gathered together in their valleys; and there seems to have been a desire to bury the dead near the village sites. This might have developed into an ossuary system, but of the latter we have no proof.

CHAPTER IV

KINSHIP (1)

The Malecites and Micmacs still employ most of their old kinship terms; but since they have adopted the European mode of life the application of these terms has become considerably limited, and in certain cases even European words are employed. For instance, the word "cousin" seems to be coming into general use, although it takes the usual Malecite prefixes, nka'zɔn, my cousin, etc. Fortunately Morgan has left us a very complete record of their system of relationship, although it is put in a somewhat inaccessible form. His information was derived from Dr. Silas T. Rand, who knew the Micmacs thoroughly. In the

---

(1) Since this chapter was written, Dr. F.G. Speck has published a comparative study of the kinship systems of Penobscot, Abenaki, Malecite, Micmac, and Montagnais. See "Kinship Terms and the Family Band Among the North-eastern Algonkian" (Am. Anthropologist, N.S., 1918, pp. 143-161). E.S.

following account I have used almost entirely Morgan's schedules of the Algonkin kinship terms (1).

My own notes were chiefly useful in checking Morgan's results and for a more accurate phonetic rendering of the terms.

The Malecite and Micmac systems of kinship belong to what is known as the classificatory system. They are both exceedingly complicated and have many interesting features. It will probably be better to give them both in detail before entering into their peculiarities and comparing them with the kinship terms used by neighbouring peoples. The Micmac system is somewhat simpler than the Malecite and it will, therefore, be given first.

Micmac Terms of Relationship (2)

nu'tc (Nuch)	Father
ngi·'tc (N'-keech')	Mother
ngwi's (N'-kwis')	Son
(N'-tus') nglamo·ksis	Father's brother
ndo's (N'-tus')	Daughter
(Nu-lis')	Aunt (mother's sister)
pidiwinisgami'tc (at Richibucto) nisgami'tc (Niks-ka-mich)	Grandfather

(1) Lewis Morgan, L.L.D., "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, vol. XVII, Washington, 1871, App., part II.

(2) The forms in brackets are from Morgan.

pidiwinogami'tc (at Richibucto) nogami'tc (Nugamich')	Grandmother
nudji'tc (Nu-jeech')	Grandson, Granddaughter
nsi's (N'-sees')	Elder brother
ndjigin·'m (N'-chi-gu-num')	Younger brother
wudjig·'diak	Brothers
(Wĭ-je-gu-dul-teek')	My brothers
n·mis (Nu-mees')	Elder sister
nikwedji'tc (N'-kwa-jeech')	Younger sister
(N'-ku-la-muk-sis)	Uncle (mother's brother)
nsugwi·'s (N'-su-gwis')	Aunt (father's sister)
nlu'ks (Nù-lŭks')	Nephew
nsu'm (N'-sum')	Niece
ndji'n·mum (N'-che'-nu-mŭs')	Husband
nde'bidem (N'-tay-pee'-tem)	Wife
ndlo'zuk (N'tlŭ-sŭk)	Son-in-law
nidji'tc (N'-chilch') glo·'suk (cf. name above)	Father-in-law
ndłoziwe'zg(m (N'-tlus-wā'-skom)	Daughter-in-law
ndjigw('djitc (N'-chu-gwe'-jich)	Mother-in-law
nima'·dam (Ne-mäk'-tem) ni'limus (Ne-lu-mŭs)	Brother-in-law and sister-in-law
(Nit-chŭs')	Wife's sister's husband

(N'tu-dem´)	Two fathers-in-law to each other
(N'-tŭ-te-mu´-skw)	Two mothers-in-law to each other
(Se-gŭs´-kw)	Widower
(Sa-go-up´)	Widow
(Na-jit-ko-bach´)	My twin brothers

Malecite Terms of Relationship

nm◌ta´k^{w}s	Father
ni´g◌wus (Nee´-goos)	Mother
nkus (N'koos´)	Son
ntos (N'-toos´)	Daughter
nmosu••´mps (N'-muke-sums)	Grandfather
nok◌mus (Nŭk´-mus)	Grandmother
ngwenu••´sis (N'-kway´-nus)	Grandchildren
nhezi••´s (N-hay´-sees)	Elder brother
(Nu-mu´-sees)	Elder sister
(Noo-see´-mees)	Younger brother or younger sister
(Noo-i-jee-gud-dool-te-bin)	Brothers or sisters
nidja••´luk (Nee-chä´-look)	Uncle (father's brother)
nklamo´ksis (N'-ku-lä-mook´-sis)	Uncle (mother's brother)
ngi••´zis (N'kee´-sees)	Aunt (mother's sister) step-mother

no·'kəm (Noo-kum')	Aunt (father's sister)
(N'-too-ä -sum)	Step-son
nida·''gus (Nu-lŭ'-knees)	Nephew
kəkwi's (N'sum')	Niece
nsəm (N'sum')	Daughter-in-law
(N'-su'-mus)	Step-daughter
nsiwe·''s (N'-see'-wees)	Cousin
(N'-tä'-gus)	Male cousin (male speaking)
(N'-tul-mŭm', n'-tul-num)	Step-brother
(N'-tul'-mu)	Step-sister (male speaking)
(N'tse-kis,Nee-tse-kis)	Cousin (female speaking)
(Nu-tä-kw-sŭs'-kw,Nuta-kw-sŭs'-ku)	Step-sister (male speaking)
nbehe'nimo (N'-pu-hen-mum)	Female cousin
nəskida·''bim (Nus-kee-chä'-bem)	Husband
nepi·'dem (N'-tay-pee'-tem)	Wife
ndlo·'zuk (N'tlŭ -sŭk)	Son-in-law
nsilho's (N'-seel'-hŭhs)	Father-in-law
nsəgwi's (N'sŭ -kwus)	Mother-in-law
nma·'gədem (Nu-mäk -tem)	Brother-in-law
ni'lamus (Nee'-lu-mus)	Sister-in-law
(Ne-tä'-kw,Ne-tä'-ku)	Sister-in-law

(Nit-chŭs′)	Wife's sister's husband
ta·′dat	Papa
(N'-tu′-tem)	Two fathers-in-law to each other
(N'-tu-te-mees′-kw)	Two mothers-in-law to each other
(To-kwes′)	Twins
(See-gu-op)	Widower
(See-gus′-kw)	Widow

For convenience let us begin with "father."

nu·′tc (Nŭch) is the Micmac term for 'my father.' N is an inseparable prefix meaning "my," and none of the kinship terms occurs without having this or some other prefix or suffix; thus guch, 'thy father,' u′chul, 'his father,' etc. Today this term is only used for 'father,' but, according to Rand's schedules given by Morgan, it was formerly used also for 'my father's father's brother's son' and for 'my father's father's father's brother's son's son.'

ngi·′tc (N'-keech). At the present time this is used only for 'one's real mother'; but, in Morgan's time, it was also used for 'one's mother's mother's sister's daughter" and for 'one's mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter.'

ngwi′s (N'kwis′). This term is far wider in its application than nu·tc, for not only every one whom a man calls nu·tc calls him ngwi′s, but also those whom he calls N'tus′, etc.[5] According to Morgan the term was used in the following cases:

My son
My brother's son (male speaking)
My sister's son (female speaking)

My father's brother's son's son (male speaking)
My father's brother's daughter's son (female speaking)
My father's sister's son's son (male speaking)
My father's sister's daughter's son (female speaking)
My mother's brother's son's son (male speaking)
My mother's brother's daughter's son (female speaking)
My mother's sister's son's son (male speaking)
My mother's sister's daughter's son (female speaking)
My father's father's brother's son's son's son (male speaking)
My father's father's sister's daughter's daughter's son (female speaking)
My mother's mother's brother's son's son's son (male speaking)
My mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son (female speaking)
My father's father's father's brother's son's son's son's son (male speaking)
My mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son's son

N!tus´, which, according to Morgan, was used only in the case of 'one's father's brother,' has now gone entirely out of use.

ndŏ´s (N!-tŭs), 'daughter,' is like ngwi´s in having a wider application than ngi·´tc. Its use was in Morgan's time as follows:

My daughter
My brother's daughter (male speaking)
My sister's daughter (female speaking)
My father's brother's son's daughter (male speaking)
My father's brother's daughter's daughter (male speaking)
My father's sister's son's daughter (male speaking)

My mother's brother's son's daughter (male speaking)
My mother's brother's daughter's daughter (female speaking)
My mother's sister's son's daughter (male speaking)
My mother's sister's daughter's daughter (female speaking)
My father's father's brother's son's son's daughter (male speaking)
My father's father's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter (female speaking)
My mother's mother's brother's son's son's daughter (male speaking)
My mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter (female speaking)
My mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter's daughter (female speaking)

Nu-lis', which has since gone out of use, was formerly used for 'one's mother's sister' and is, therefore, one of the reciprocal terms of ndo's.

Nisgami·'tc (Niks-kä-mich'). This term is used by both males and females when speaking of any one of their male antecedents in the direct line two or more generations older than the speaker. It is also used for certain relations of the generation of one's grandfather (as well as for previous generations), and has also the peculiarity of being used for 'one's father's sister's husband' and 'mother's sister's husband.' It was also used for 'step-father.'

Its exact use was as follows:

My great-grandfather's father
My great-grandfather
My grandfather
My father's sister's husband
My mother's sister's husband
My father's father's brother
My mother's mother's brother
My father's father's father's brother

My father's father's father's brother's son
My mother's mother's mother's brother's son
My step-father

At Richibucto these two uses are kept apart, for those persons of two or more generations older than oneself to whom, according to Rand, the term was applicable are called pidiwinisgami'tc, whereas 'one's father's sister's husband' or 'mother's sister's husband' was called nisgami·'tc.

nogami'tc (Nugamich'). The use of this term is the same as for the preceding one, except that it is used for females. At Richibucto the same distinction is made between pidiwinogami·'tc and nogami'tc, the latter being reserved for 'my father's brother's wife' and 'my mother's brother's wife.'

nodji'tc (Nu-jeech'). Besides being used for all direct descendents, male or female, of two or more generations younger than the speaker, this term is also used for 'his' or 'her step-son.' It is also used for many indirect descendents. Its exact use was as follows:

My grandson
My granddaughter
My great-grandson
My great-granddaughter
My great-grandson's son
My great-grandson's daughter
My brother's grandson
My brother's granddaughter
My brother's great-grandson
My brother's great-granddaughter
My sister's grandson
My sister's granddaughter
My sister's great-grandson
My sister's great-granddaughter
My father's brother's great-grandson
My father's brother's great-granddaughter
My father's brother's great-grandson's son

My father's brother's great-granddaughter's son
My father's sister's daughter's son
My father's sister's daughter's daughter
My father's sister's great-grandson
My father's sister's great-granddaughter
My father's sister's great-grandson's son
My father's sister's great-grandson's daughter
My mother's brother's great-grandson
My mother's brother's great-granddaughter
My mother's sister's great-grandson
My mother's sister's great-granddaughter
My mother's sister's great-grandson's son
My mother's sister's great-grandson's daughter
My mother's sister's great-granddaughter's daughter
My father's father's brother's great-great-grandson
My father's father's brother's great-great-granddaughter
My father's father's sister's great-great-grandson
My father's father's sister's great-great-granddaughter
My mother's mother's brother's son's son's son's son
My mother's mother's brother's son's daughter's daughter's daughter
My mother's mother's sister's great-great-grandson
My mother's mother's sister's great-great-granddaughter
My step-son
My step-daughter

ʻnsi/s (N'sees/), 'elder brother,' was used by both males and females except when speaking of a step-brother, in which case it was used only

by males (1). ndjiginəm, 'younger brother,' was used by females when speaking of a step-brother. The exact use of nsi'ə, according to Morgan, was as follows:

My elder brother
My father's brother's son (older than myself)
My father's sister's son (older than myself)
My mother's brother's son (older than myself)
My mother's sister's son (older than myself)
My father's father's brother's son's son (older than myself), (male speaking)
My father's father's sister's daughter's son (male speaking)
My mother's mother's brother's son's son (male speaking)
My father's father's father's brother's son's son's son (older than myself), (male speaking)
My mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son
My step-brother

ndjiginə'm (N'-chi-gu-num'), 'younger brother,' was like nsi'ə, used by both males and females except in the case already noted of

---

(1) Unfortunately 'my father's father's sister's daughter's son,' 'my mother's mother's brother's son's son,' 'my father's father's father's brother's son's son,' all male speaking, and 'my father's father's brother's son's son,' female speaking, are omitted from Morgan's schedule, but in the absence of any other suitable term we must assume that the same word nsi ə was used in these cases by either male or female.

step-brother (1). Its use was as follows:

My younger brother
My father's brother's son (younger than myself)
My father's sister's son (younger than myself)
My mother's brother's son (younger than myself)
My mother's sister's son (younger than myself)
My father's father's brother's son's son (younger than myself, male speaking)
My step-brother (female speaking)

Wĭ-je-gu-dul-teek´ was used by both males and females when speaking of either their sisters or brothers or both.

nąmis (Nu-mees), 'elder sister,' is used by both males and females except when speaking of a step-sister, when it is used only by males. Its use, according to Morgan, was as follows:

My elder sister
My father's brother's daughter (older than myself)
My father's sister's daughter (older than myself)
My mother's brother's daughter (older than myself)
My mother's sister's daughter (older than myself)
My father's father's sister's daughter's daughter (male speaking)
My mother's mother's brother's son's daughter (female speaking)
My mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter (older than myself)
My father's father's father's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter (male speaking)

---

(1) Morgan gives no term for 'my father's father's brother's son's son, female speaking,' but, no doubt, it was the same as when a male was speaking.

My mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter (older than myself, female speaking)
My step-sister (male speaking)

nikwedji'tc (N'-kwa-jeech'), 'my younger sister,' is used by both males and females except in the case of step-sister, when it is only used by females (1). Its extension is as follows:

My younger sister
My father's brother's daughter (younger than myself)
My father's sister's daughter (younger than myself
My mother's brother's daughter (younger than myself)
My mother's sister's daughter (younger than myself)
My mother's mother's daughter's daughter (younger than myself, female speaking only)
My step-sister (female speaking only)

nglamo'ksis (N'-ku-la-muk-sis). According to Morgan this was used in his time only in three cases, that of 'my mother's brother,' 'my mother's mother's brother's son,' and 'my mother's mother's brother's son's son.'

nsugwi''s (N'-su-gwis') is used as follows:

My father's sister
My father's father's sister's daughter (male speaking)

---

(1) Nu-mees, 'elder sister,' is used by males for 'step-sister.' Unfortunately Morgan does not state what was used by a male when speaking of his 'mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter.' But since there seems to be no other term which could be used for this, we will have to assume that like all the others it was used by both male and female.

My father's father's father's sister's daughter's daughter

nlu'ks (Nŭ-luks'). Those people whom a man calls either N'tus' or nglamo·'ksis call him nlu'ks. Also all (except his real father) whom a man calls nu·tc call him nŭ-luks'. Its exact use is as follows:

My sister's son (male speaking)
My brother's son (female speaking)
My father's brother's son's son (female speaking)
My father's brother's daughter's son (male speaking)
My father's sister's son's son (female speaking)
My mother's brother's son's son (female speaking)
My mother's brother's daughter's son (male speaking)
My mother's sister's son's son (female speaking)
My mother's sister's daughter's son (male speaking)
My father's father's brother's son's son's son (female speaking)
My father's father's sister's daughter's daughter's son (male speaking)
My mother's mother's brother's son's son's son (female speaking)
My mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son (male speaking)

nsum (N'-sum'). All those (except her real mother) whom a woman calls ngi·'tc, nsugwi·'s, or nu-lis call her nsum. Its exact use is as follows:

My sister's daughter (male speaking)
My brother's daughter (female speaking)
My father's brother's son's daughter (male speaking)
My father's brother's daughter's daughter (male speaking)
My father's sister's son's daughter (female speaking)

My mother's brother's son's daughter (female speaking)
My mother's brother's daughter's daughter (male speaking)
My mother's sister's son's daughter (female speaking)
My mother's sister's daughter's daughter (male speaking)
My father's father's brother's son's son's daughter (female speaking)
My father's father's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter (male speaking)
My mother's mother's brother's son's son's daughter (female speaking)
My mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter (male speaking)
My father's father's father's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter's daughter (male speaking)

The relatives by marriage are called as follows: ndji'nəmum (N'-che'-nu-mus) 'husband' or, literally, 'my man'; ndebidem (N'-tay-pee'-tem) 'wife' or 'my woman.'

ndlo'zuk (N'tlŭ'-sŭk) 'son-in-law,' is used both by males and females. Its application is as follows:

My brother's daughter's husband
My sister's daughter's husband
My son-in-law

nidji'tc (N'-chilch') is not quite reciprocal to ndlo'zuk. It is used when either a male or a female is speaking. According to Morgan it was used as follows:

My husband's father
My husband's grandfather
My wife's father
My wife's grandfather

The use of ndloziwe'sgəm (N'tlus-wä'-skom) 'daughter-in-law,' and ndjigwə'djitc (N'-chŭ-gwe'-jich) 'mother-in-law,' offer no peculiarities, for they

are quite in agreement with the use of ndlo·'zuk and nidji'tc, and are also used when either a male or a female is speaking. According to Morgan they were used in the following cases:

ndloziwe'sg·m

My brother's son's wife
My sister's son's wife
My daughter-in-law

ndjigwi'djitc

My husband's mother
My husband's grandmother
My wife's mother
My wife's grandmother

The uses of nima'ɣdam (Ne-mäk-tem) and ni'limus (Ne-lu-mŭs'), 'brother-in-law' and 'sister-in-law,' are quite unique, for both words refer to either male or female, and are used by both males and females. The difference in the use of the two words is that nima'ɣdam always refers to a person of the same sex as the speaker, whereas ni'limus always refers to a person of the opposite sex. The use of these words, according to Morgan, is as follows:

nima'ɣdam

My father's brother's son's wife (female speaking)
My father's brother's daughter's husband (male speaking)
My father's sister's son's wife (female speaking)
My father's sister's daughter's husband (male speaking)
My mother's brother's son's wife (female speaking)
My mother's brother's daughter's husband (male speaking)
My mother's sister's son's wife (female speaking)
My mother's sister's daughter's husband (male speaking)

My sister's husband (male speaking)
My wife's brother (male speaking)
My husband's sister
My brother's wife (female speaking)

ni'limus

My father's brother's son's wife (male speaking)
My father's brother's daughter's husband (female speaking)
My father's sister's son's wife (male speaking)
My father's sister's daughter's husband (female speaking)
My mother's brother's son's wife (male speaking)
My mother's brother's daughter's husband (female speaking)
My mother's sister's son's wife (male speaking)
My mother's sister's daughter's husband (female speaking)
My husband's brother (female speaking)
My sister's husband (female speaking)
My wife's sister (male speaking)
My brother's wife (male speaking)

Nit-chŭs' refers to relations by marriage of the second degree. Its use was as follows:

My wife's sister's husband
My husband's sister's husband
My husband's brother's wife
My wife's brother's wife

The other terms given in the list call for no special comment.

The Malecite terms of relationship are more numerous and offer more peculiarities than the Micmac kinship terms. Before comparing the two systems, it will be well to consider the use of each term in detail.

nmita'k^{w}s (Nu-mĕ'-tonks) is the Malecite term for 'father.' It is only used for 'one's own

father' now, and, unlike the Micmac word, had no more extensive use in Morgan's day. As in Micmac, neither this nor any of the other terms of relationship occurs without a possessive prefix.

ni'gəwus (Nee'-goos) is now, and was in Morgan's time, only used for 'one's own mother.'

nkus (N'koos') is only used for 'one's own son' (1). Hence it is much more restricted in its use than the corresponding Micmac term.

nto's (N'-toos') is only used for 'one's own daughter.' It is, therefore, reciprocal with ni'gəwus. nto·'sis is employed for very small girls. It is the same word, but with the diminutive ending-is.

nmosu·'mps (N'-muke-sums'). This term is used by both males and females when speaking of their relatives two or more generations older than the speaker. Its exact use, according to Morgan, was as follows:

My great-grandfather's father
My great-grandfather
My grandfather
My father's father's brother
My mother's mother's brother
My father's father's brother's son
My mother's mother's mother's brother's son
My father's father's father's brother

no'kəmus (Nuk'-mus). This is used for all female relatives of two generations older than the speaker, and is also used for 'my mother's brother's wife.' According to Morgan its use was as follows:

---

(1) Where the use in Morgan's time differs from the present use it will be stated, otherwise the two are identical.

My great-grandfather's mother
My great-grandmother
My grandmother
My mother's brother's wife
My father's father's sister
My mother's mother's sister
My father's father's father's sister
My father's father's father's sister's daughter
My mother's mother's mother's sister
My mother's mother's mother's sister daughter

ngwenu·'sis or ngwenu's (N'-kway'-nus). The form with the diminutive ending -is is used for small children, whereas the form without that suffix is used for older children or adults. This term is employed for all relatives two or more generations younger than the speaker. Its exact use, according to Morgan, was as follows:

My grandson
My granddaughter
My great-grandson
My great-granddaughter
My great-grandson's son
My great-grandson's daughter
My brother's grandson
My brother's granddaughter
My brother's great-grandson
My brother's great-granddaughter
My sister's grandson
My sister's granddaughter
My sister's great-grandson
My sister's great-granddaughter
My father's brother's great-grandson
My father's brother's great-granddaughter
My father's sister's daughter's son
My father's sister's daughter's daughter
My father's sister's great-grandson
My father's sister's great-granddaughter
My brother's great-grandson's son
My brother's great-grandson's daughter

My sister's great-grandson's son
My sister's great-grandson's daughter
My father's father's brother's great-great-grandson's son
My father's father's brother's great-great-grandson's daughter

nhezi·'s (N'-hay'-sees). This term is used by a male or female only when speaking of 'his' or 'her elder brother.' It, therefore, differs greatly in its use from the Micmac term for 'elder brother.'

Nu-mŭ'-sees. According to Morgan this term was used by either males and females when speaking of an 'elder sister.' It was also used for 'one's mother's mother's brother's son's daughter.' It seems to have gone out of use.

Noo-see'-mees was used, according to Morgan, by either male or female when speaking of a 'younger brother' or 'sister,' or of a 'father's brother's son' (younger than the speaker). The term seems to have gone out of use. It is usual now to call a younger brother nsiwe·'s.

Noo-i-jee-gud-dool-te-bin. According to Morgan this is a plural term, and was used by either a male or a female with reference to either brothers or sisters or both.

Nidja·'luk (Nee-chä'-look). This term is more extensive than the corresponding Micmac term. Its use was as follows:

My father's brother
My mother's sister's husband
My father's father's brother's son
My father's father's father's brother's son's son
My step-father

Today it seems to be only used for one's 'father's brother' or the 'husband of one's mother's sister.'

nklamo'ksis (N'-ku-la-mook'-sis). This term today is only used for 'my father's sister's husband' and 'my mother's brother.' In Morgan's time it was also used for 'my mother's mother's brother's son' and 'my mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son.' Its use agrees with the use of the same term in Micmac except that in Micmac it is not used for 'my father's sister's husband.'

ngi·'zis (N'kee'-sees). This term is used for 'my mother's sister' or 'father's brother's wife.' In Morgan's time it was also used for 'my step-mother,' 'my mother's mother's sister's daughter,' 'my mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter' and 'my mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter.' He also gives it with Noo-kum' as an alternative term for 'my father's sister.' I cannot but believe that he has made some mistake as today it would never be used in such a case and everything points to a clear distinction between the use of the terms. It is difficult to see what Noo-kum' can mean if it is not 'father's sister.' Today that is its most essential meaning, and I cannot but believe that this has always been the case.

no·'kam (Noo-kum'). Today this term is used only for 'one's father's sister.' In Morgan's time it was also used for 'my father's father's sister's daughter' and 'my father's father's father's sister's daughter.'

nida·'gus (Nu-lŭ'-knees) is at the present time used for 'one's nephew.' Morgan gives N'-too-ä'-sum and Nu-lŭ'-knees. The former term is used for 'my brother's son' (male speaking), 'my sister's son' (female speaking), and 'step-son' (either male or female speaking). Its exact use, according to Morgan, was as follows:

My brother's son (male speaking)
My sister's son (female speaking)
My father's brother's son's son (male speaking)
My father's brother's daughter's son (female speaking)

My father's sister's son's son (male speaking)
My father's sister's daughter's son (female speaking)
My mother's brother's son's son (male speaking)
My mother's sister's son's son (male speaking)
My mother's sister's daughter's son (female speaking)
My father's father's brother's son's son's son (male speaking)
My father's father's sister's daughter's daughter's son (female speaking)
My father's father's father's brother's son's son's son's son
My step-son (male speaking)
My step-son (female speaking)
My mother's mother's brother's son's son's son

Nulŭ'-knees was used as follows:

My sister's son (male speaking)
My father's brother's daughter's son (male speaking)
My father's sister's daughter's son (male speaking)
My mother's brother's daughter's son (male speaking)
My mother's sister's son's son (female speaking)
My mother's sister's daughter's son (male speaking)
My father's father's brother's son's son's son (female speaking)
My father's father's sister's daughter's daughter's son (male speaking)
My brother's son (female speaking)
My father's brother's son's son (male speaking)
My father's sister's son's son (female speaking)
My mother's brother's son's son (female speaking)
My mother's mother's brother's son's son's son (female speaking)

My mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son (male speaking)

ka'kwis is used now for one's 'niece,' but Morgan gives N!sum and N!-su'-mus. The latter is the closer term and is also used for 'a step-daughter.' Its exact use was as follows:

My mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter (female speaking)
My brother's daughter (male speaking)
My father's brother's son's daughter (male speaking)
My father's brother's daughter's daughter (female speaking)
My father's sister's son's daughter (male speaking)
My father's sister's daughter's daughter (female speaking)
My mother's brother's son's daughter (male speaking)
My mother's brother's daughter's daughter (female speaking)
My mother's sister's son's daughter (male speaking)
My father's father's brother's son's son's daughter (male speaking)
My mother's mother's brother's son's son's daughter (male speaking)
My mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter (female speaking)
My mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter (female speaking)
My step-daughter

N!sum' not only is used for 'niece' but also for 'daughter-in-law.' Today nsʔm is only used for 'daughter-in-law.' Morgan gives the following uses for N!sum':

My brother's son's wife (male speaking)
My brother's daughter (female speaking)
My sister's son's wife (male speaking)
My sister's daughter (male speaking)

My brother's son's wife (female speaking)
My sister's son's wife (female speaking)
My father's brother's son's daughter (female speaking)
My father's brother's daughter's daughter (male speaking)
My father's sister's son's daughter (female speaking)
My father's sister's daughter's daughter (male speaking)
My mother's brother's daughter's son (male speaking)
My mother's brother's daughter's daughter (male speaking)
My mother's brother's son's daughter (female speaking)
My mother's sister's son's daughter (female speaking)
My mother's sister's daughter's daughter (male speaking)
My father's father's brother's son's son's daughter (female speaking)
My father's father's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter (male speaking)
My mother's mother's brother's son's son's daughter (female speaking)
My mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter (male speaking)
My father's father's father's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter's daughter (male speaking)
My daughter-in-law (male speaking)
My daughter-in-law (female speaking)

In Malecite there are six terms for 'cousin,' nsiwe·'s (N'-see'-wees), N'-tul-mŭm, nida·'gus (N'-tă-'gus), Nee-tse-kis', Nu-tă-kw-sŭs'-kw, and N'-pu-hen-mum. N'-see'-wees, N'-tul-mŭm, and N'-tă-'gus are used only when speaking of males, N'-pu-hen-mum and Nu-tă-kw-sŭs-kw of females, and Nee-tse-kis' of both males and females. Nu-tă-kw-sŭs'-kw, N'-see'-wees, and N'-ta-'gus are used only by males; Nee-tse'-kis only by females, and N'-tul-mŭm', N'-pu-hen-mum by both.

Considering them each separately, we find that nsiwe·'s (N!see -wees) is used only by males when speaking of males in the following cases:

My father's brother's son
My mother's sister's son
My father's father's brother's son's son
My father's father's father's brother's son's son's son

nida·'gus (Nu-tä'-gus, N!-tä'-gus) is also used by males when speaking of males. Morgan gives its use as follows:

My mother's brother's son
My father's father's sister's daughter's son
My mother's mother's brother's son's son
My mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son

Morgan does not give a clear statement of the use of N!-tul-mŭm, for he says it could be used by a male, when speaking of or to a brother's son, thus overlapping the use of N!-see'-wees. If we consider this a mistake and rule out 'my father's sister's son,' which Morgan queries the use of, this word is used only by females. Besides the two doubtful cases already mentioned, Morgan gives the following use of the term: my father's brother's son (female speaking); my father's sister's son (female speaking); my mother's sister's son (female speaking). But even if we do rule out the queried ones, still the use of N!tul-mŭm is not settled, for 'my father's brother's son' (female speaking) was also called Nee-tse-kis'. This, however, is probably an improper use, for this term seems strictly to apply only to relations on the mother's side (1) and not on the father's.

---

(1) Except 'my husband's brother's wife.'

Nee-tse-kis´ is used only by females, but refers to either males or females. According to Morgan its use was as follows:

My father's brother's son (older than myself, female speaking)
My mother's brother's son
My mother's brother's daughter
My mother's sister's son (younger than myself, female speaking)
My mother's sister's daughter (female speaking)
My mother's brother's daughter's son (female speaking)
My husband's brother's wife
My mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter (older or younger than myself, female speaking)

However, there is evidently some confusion in the schedules or else laxness in the use of these terms, for Morgan gives N'-tul-mŭm for 'my mother's sister's son' (older than myself, female speaking), and Nee-tse-kis´ for the same when younger than the speaker. This is probably a mistake, for there is no line drawn in any of these terms between younger and older people.

Nu-tä-kw-sŭs´-ku is used only by males when addressing or speaking of females. Morgan says it was used in the following cases: my father's sister's daughter, my mother's brother's daughter, my mother's sister's daughter, my father's father's sister's daughter, my step-sister (1).

N'-pu-hen-mum. According to Morgan this term was used by males and females for 'my father's brother's daughter.' Today it seems to be used for 'sister.' When the sister is younger than the speaker, the diminutive suffix -is is added.

We have next to consider the kinship terms caused by marriage. We have already considered, it is true, such terms as 'step-sister,'

(1) All male speaking

'step-mother,' etc., but these are not looked upon by the Malecites as relations caused by marriage, but as true kinsmen, and in all cases some term is used which is also applied to consanguineous kinsmen (cognates).

noskida•'bem (Nus-kee-chā'-bem) is used only for one's husband.'

nepi•'dem (N'-tay-pee'-tem) is used only by the husband for his 'wife.' This and the above term are entirely reciprocal. They mean literally 'my man' and 'my woman', and are, therefore, not true kinship terms.

ᵊNdlo•'zuk (N'tlŭ'-suk), 'son-in-law,' is the same term as the Micmac, and has exactly the same extension, being used for 'my brother's daughter's husband,' 'my sister's daughter's husband,' and 'my son-in-law.'

nsɑm (N'sum'), 'daughter-in-law,' has already been considered when describing the use of 'niece.'

nsilho•'s (N'-seel'-hŭhs), 'father-in-law,' has exactly the same use as the corresponding Micmac term as follows:

My wife's grandfather
My wife's father
My husband's grandfather
My husband's father

ns:gwi's (N'sŭ'-kwus), 'mother-in-law,' has exactly the same application as the corresponding Micmac term. Its use, according to Morgan, was as follows:

My wife's grandmother
My husband's grandmother
My wife's mother
My husband's mother

In the Malecite kinship system we find three words instead of two, as in Micmac, for

'brother-in-law' and 'sister-in-law.' Two of them, nmagədem and ni'lamus, are the same as in Micmac, but with a less extensive use. The third term is No-tä'-kw.

In Micmac nima'ɣdem always refers to a person of the same sex as the speaker, but the speaker can be either masculine or feminine. In Malecite nmagədem can only be used by males when speaking of males.

In Malecite, as in Micmac, ni'lamus always refers to a person of the opposite sex from the speaker, but Ne-tä'-kw can only be used by a female speaking of a female. According to Morgan their exact use is as follows:

nma·gədem (Nu-mäk'-tem)

My wife's brother
My sister's husband (male speaking)
My mother's brother's daughter's husband (male speaking)
My father's sister's daughter's husband (male speaking)

ni'lamus (Nee'-lu-mus)

My father's brother's son's wife (male speaking)
My father's brother's daughter's husband (female speaking)
My father's sister's son's wife (male speaking)
My father's sister's daughter's husband (female speaking)
My mother's brother's son's wife (male speaking)
My mother's brother's daughter's husband (female speaking)
My mother's sister's son's wife (male speaking)
My mother's sister's daughter's husband (female speaking)
My husband's brother
My sister's husband
My husband's sister's husband

My wife's sister
My brother's wife (male speaking)

(Nu-tä´-ku)

My father's brother's son's wife (female speaking)
My father's sister's son's wife (female speaking)
My mother's brother's son's wife (female speaking)
My mother's sister's son's wife (female speaking)
My brother's wife (female speaking)

Nit-chŭs´, as in Micmac, refers to relations by marriage of the second degree. Morgan states that it was used for 'my wife's sister's husband,' 'my husband's sister's husband,' and 'my wife's brother's wife.' The same word in Micmac is used in all three of the above cases, and also for 'my husband's brother's wife,' which in Malecite is Nee-tse-kis´.

Besides the above terms we find that ta·´dat is at present frequently used by a child when addressing its father.

N'-tu´-tem is used by a man when speaking of his 'son's' or 'daughter's father-in-law.' N'-tu-te-mees´-kw was used by a woman when speaking of the 'mother-in-law of her son or daughter.' Morgan says that tu-kwes´ was the word used for 'twins' and according to the same authority see-gu-op´ is used for a 'widower' and see-gus´-kw for a 'widow.' At the present time a married couple is niz·wia´k.

When we compare the Micmac with the Malecite system, the most noticeable feature is the far greater number of terms in the Malecite system. In general the Micmac and Malecite terms agree until we get to 'younger brother,' and here, strangely enough, it is the Micmac system which is the richer, for we find that in Malecite we have but one word for 'younger brother' and 'younger sister,' whereas

in Micmac there is a separate term for each. The Malecite system has more terms for the various kinds of cousins, having, as already stated, six terms for these relationships.

Another noticeable thing is the fact that the Micmac words for 'grandfather' and 'grandmother' include two Malecite terms, the one for 'grandfather' and 'grandmother' as well as for 'uncle' ('step-father') and for 'aunt' ('step-mother'). This is particularly strange, since the different generations are usually clearly marked off by different terms.

It is obvious, however, that several of the Malecite terms are closely related, for instance no·'kamus and no·'kam 'grandmother' and 'aunt,' N'-su'-mus and N'sum', 'step-daughter' and 'daughter-in-law.' In Micmac we only find one term in both cases, so it is obvious that in Malecite the terms in -us have developed later. The words for 'step-sister' and for 'sister-in-law,' too, are intimately connected, that for 'step-sister' being the same as for 'sister-in-law' except that it has the suffix -sus-kw added. So, too, the word used by two fathers-in-law to each other is the same as the one used by two mothers-in-law, except that the latter has a suffix added. In this case the suffix is the well-known Malecite secondary stem for woman. It seems probable that one of the terms for 'cousin', Nu-tä'-gus, and the word for 'step-sister,' Nu-tä-kw-sŭs'-kw, may contain the same roots. A more thorough study of the language as well as an analysis of the various terms would doubtless reveal many similarities. However interesting this might be, it would not throw much light on the social significance of the kinship terms, which, after all, depends on the fact that there are these various terms recognized by the people themselves and on the ways in which they are used.

Rivers has pointed out, in his "Kinship and Social Organization," the close connexion between the kinship system of a tribe and its social organization. If this close connexion

exists, we might be able to deduce certain facts from a study of the kinship systems given above. For example, the fact that a man's brother's sons and daughters in the Micmac system were called by the same term as his own sons and daughters, whereas his sister's sons and daughters were not, and that a woman's sister's sons and daughters were called by the same name as her own sons and daughters, whereas her brother's sons and daughters were not, points to the probability of a clan or phratric system of some sort. This reckoning of children of male relatives as one's own sons and daughters goes further than brothers' children, although Morgan does not state the fact in his discussion; for he lists in his schedules as far as 'my father's father's father's brother's son's son's son's son.' It seems, therefore, quite probable, even if it was not so in Morgan's day, that at some time all male members of the same clan, younger than the speaker, were called his sons. As I have already shown, there is a certain amount of historical evidence for clan organization among the Micmacs. The Malecites, on the other hand, do not class the brother's sons with the sons, and in their case we have no evidence whatsoever of a former clan organization.

Further corroborative material comes from certain of the other terms of relationship; for nu·tc, 'father,' according to Morgan, was used not only for 'one's real father,' but also for 'one's father's father's brother's son' and for 'one's father's father's father's brother's son's son.' It was probably used in other cases which Morgan does not record. Among the Malecites, on the other hand, the term for father is only used for one's real father. The same thing occurs in the use of mother. These conclusions cannot, however, be pressed too far, for they do not appear to apply to the term for brother; there we find that both the father's brother's son and the father's sister's son are called by the same term. Some light on the migration, as well as on the closer relationships, of the various Algonkin tribes, might be obtained by a careful comparison of the kinship systems of the various tribes. It would be very interesting to see if the results

thus obtained agreed with the results obtained by Michelson from a purely linguistic study.

CHAPTER V

TRIBAL LIFE

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

It is hardly necessary to state that the social organization of the Malecites has entirely disappeared, and that, as far as I was able to ascertain, the present Malecites have no traditions of what it once was. Nor have the earliest writers given us any statements which are at all satisfactory. How then can we determine what the early Malecite system was? There are two sources to which we would naturally turn, neither of which, unfortunately, is very satisfactory in this case -- the myths of the Malecites, and the social organization of the surrounding tribes. Let us, therefore, consider the social organization of the other Abenaki tribes, the nearest kin of the Malecites. Unfortunately none of the early writers describe it, and it is not until the time of Morgan that we get anything very definite. Morgan gives a brief account of the organization of the Abenaki in his 'Ancient Society.' He states that the Abenaki were divided into fourteen exogamous gentes, with descent in the male line, each gens having an animal name. He gives us no definite statement as to what he means by Abenaki, but it is probable that he means Penobscots and Abenaki. Nor does he tell us how or where he obtained his information. Dr. Speck (1) states that there were twenty-two, not fourteen, gentes; and he further states that

---

(1) Speck, F.G., "The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization," Am. Anthropologist, n.s., 17, 1915, pp. 289-305.

they were neither endogamous nor exogamous. I think we must, however, accept Morgan's statement regarding exogamy; for it is difficult to see how otherwise any rules of descent in the male line could exist. It is evident, if the gentes were endogamous, there could be no descent in the male line; for the children, whether male or female, would be of the same gens as their father and mother. We must, therefore, assume, until Dr. Speck explains what he means by descent in the male line, that the Abenaki were exogamous with descent in the male line; and the present Penobscots have lost their knowledge of this, though it existed in Morgan's time (1). A further difference between Speck's and Morgan's statements is that Speck gives, in his list of the names of the gentes, one name which is not animal, namely, water-nymph. Although this is entirely possible, it seems unlikely, and, therefore, may probably be put down to the confusion which exists in the minds of the present-day Penobscots concerning the old state of affairs. Morgan's list is as follows: Wolf, Fisher, Bear, Caribou, Squirrel, Porcupine, Spotted Animal, Pigeon Hawk, Crane, Snake, Beaver, Muskrat, Spotted Frog, and Sturgeon. Speck's list is Lobster, Crab, Sculpin, Eel, Bear, Toad, Insect, Fisher, Whale, Beaver, Sturgeon, Wolf, Frog, Squirrel, Raccoon, Wolverine, Water Nymph, Otter, Lynx, Rabbit, Yellow Perch, and Raven. Out of the entire list there are only seven in common (those underlined). This may be because Morgan was possibly describing the Abenaki, whereas Speck is describing the Penobscot. I do not think this is likely to be the case, however, for Morgan's forms seem to be Penobscot. Speck indicates that the Penobscots may have had a dual social organization; for he states that land animals have one chief, and water animals another.

---

(1) This is further borne out by the kinship system of this region, for in the Micmac system we find that my brother's son and daughter are my son and daughter, whereas my sister's son and daughter are my nephew and niece. See the discussion at the end of the chapter on kinship terms.

We have no other evidence to support this and it must, therefore, be considered as a possibility only.

Turning to the Micmacs, we find that of the early writers there is only one who mentions an organization similar to what Speck and Morgan describe for the Penobscots, so it could not have been very prominent. Le Clercq states that the Micmacs of the Restigouche used the salmon, and that each of the other divisions of the Micmacs had an emblem. These facts are stated in connexion with his discussion of the Micmacs of the Miramichi, who used a cross as an emblem. He gives a full description of this curious symbol, which agrees very well with what Speck says about the use of the emblem among the Penobscots. That this emblem was a cross in our sense of the word may be doubted; for Speck gives no indication of having made any inquiries on that subject. Professor Ganong conjectures that it may have been the representation of a shore bird or water-fowl in flight, which is not only an ingenious but quite a possible conjecture. However, further speculation on the matter is useless. It seems that the Micmacs were known by a name taken from the emblem; for Le Clercq says they were called the cross-bearing Indians. Unfortunately he does not give the word in Micmac; so we cannot conjecture what their real name was. But the important point is that they were called by the same name as their emblem, and it may, therefore, be assumed that the Micmacs at Restigouche were known as Salmon people, and each of the other divisions by the name of its emblem. This seems to be exactly the condition of affairs among the Penobscots. The next important point is that the boundaries of their hunting and fishing grounds seem to have been marked with the emblem: for Le Clercq says, "The most important places for fishing and hunting are marked by the crosses which they set up in the vicinity, and one is agreeably surprised in voyaging through their country to find from time to time upon the borders of the rivers, crosses with double and triple cross-pieces, like those of the Patriarchs."

Next we note that this emblem or crest was worn in some way by each person, either on his skin, probably tattooed, on his clothes, or on the cradles of the babies. Also, most of their possessions seem to have been marked with it. He says: "There is not a single one of them who does not wear it upon his clothes or upon his skin. The swaddling clothes and the cradles of their infants are always adorned with it, while the bark of their wigwams, their canoes, and their snow-shoes are all marked with it. The pregnant women work it in porcupine quills upon that part of their garment which is over the womb ... There is scarcely one of them who does not preserve very carefully in his privacy a little cross made with wampum and beadwork, which he keeps and esteems as much as we do the relics of the saints, and even to such a degree that these people prefer it to all the richest and most precious things which they possess."

It was also buried with them, for he says: "In a word, they value the cross so highly that they order it to be interred with them in their coffin (cercueil) after death, in the belief that this cross will bear them company in the other world, and that they would not be recognized by their ancestors if they had not with them the symbol and honourable token which distinguishes the Cross-bearers from all other Indians of New France."

This account of Father Le Clercq is by no means easy to interpret; for he was as much attached to his own Cross as the Indians to their crest; and, since his object was to convert them to his way of thinking, his account is not always trustworthy. Often he obviously misinterprets their beliefs, and takes up much time in telling how he used their cross to teach them the true belief in the Cross. I have, therefore, only taken his statements literally where they describe usages which were obviously not Christian. For this reason, too, I have avoided describing the use of the wooden crosses which he describes as being used on their canoes and houses,

assemblies, etc., for they may have come into use as a result of his teaching, and the usage among other tribes was apparently different (1). In the descriptions I have selected, if we substituted the word salmon for cross, we should have, I believe, an equally good account of the usages of the Indians at Restigouche; for we have reason to believe that they too etched their canoes and other bark work, and decorated their clothing with beads, porcupine quills, and wampum in the same way, although with another figure. However, from Le Clercq's statement that the Restigouche Indians used to hang from the neck a figure of a salmon, there is some ground for believing that, besides the use of the emblem or crest as a decorative motive, it was sometimes carved in the round. This, too, would explain his descriptions of the use of the wooden cross.

Although I spent some time among the Indians on lower Miramichi bay, I obtained no direct evidence of their remembering any of the facts given above. However, this can in no way be considered as a convincing proof that they do

---

(1) In this connexion it is interesting to note the use of a wooden cross among the Ojibwa in the ceremony for the fourth degree of the Midewiwin. The cross seems to have been in ceremonial use among tribes of the Algonkin stock. Marquette, in describing a village inhabited by the Miamis, Maskoutens, and Kikaboux, says: "When I arriv'd there, I was very glad to see a great Cross set up in the middle of the Village, adorn'd with several White Skins, Red Girdles, Bows and Arrows, which that good People had offer'd to the Great Manitou, to return him their thanks for the care he had taken of them during the Winter, and that he had granted them a prosperous Hunting" (Hoffman, "The Midewiwin of the Ojibway," p. 155). Mention is also made of the cross being used by the Menomini (Skinner, "Social Life," p. 15).

not; for I was engaged in linguistic and technological studies, and, therefore, did not pay much attention to the investigation of their social organization. However, Professor Ganong finds that the present Micmacs at Restigouche remember quite well that they were particularly related to the Salmon, and from one informant he learns that the Indians of the Miramichi were divided into three bands, those of the main Southwest Miramichi being the Sturgeon band, those of the little Southwest Miramichi the Beaver band, whereas those of the Northwest Miramichi had an emblem of a man with a drawn bow (1). Professor Ganong thinks that the cross of the Cross-Bearers was probably an animal which Le Clercq mistook for a cross. Since the lower Miramichi abounds in sea-fowl, he thinks it was probably a sea-fowl in flight (2). He then considers whether a drawn bow could be what Le Clercq mistook for a cross. In this we cannot follow him; for it seems a far cry from a man with a drawn bow to a sea-fowl, even through the medium of a cross. Professor Ganong overlooks the fact that though most bands and clans took the name of an animal and were supposed to

---

(1) Both the beaver and the sturgeon are given by Speck and Morgan for the Penobscot and Alebi Abnaki.

(2) His case is greatly strengthened by the following statement from a census of the tribes of Canada, dated October 12, 1736. "The most considerable tribes (have) for device, the large tailed Bear, the Stag, a Killion -- that is a species of Eagle (the most beautiful bird of this country) perched on a cross. New York Colonial Documents, IX, 1052-1058 (Skinner, "Social Life," p. 15).

The Killion is a common figure in the mythology of the region, but I have never been able to determine whether it is a mythological or a real bird.

be mystically related to it, there are some cases where it was not an animal. Dr. Speck gives as one of his divisions of the Penobscots the water-nymph people or family, and there are many other cases of a similar nature amongst other American tribes. It seems, therefore, impossible to identify the man with the drawn bow with the cross of Le Clercq, and we shall have to assume either that Professor Ganong's informant gave one of the divisions of the Miramichi wrongly, or that it has changed since Le Clercq's time, or that there were four divisions. The first seems to be the most probable explanation. It is possible that Professor Ganong's informant confused some other band of the Micmacs with the Miramichi band, a thing which could easily happen where the institution had gone out of use. Some of that band may have resided on the Miramichi during the life of the informant.

A careful perusal of Dr. Silas T. Rand's "Legends of the Micmacs" shows that in his day there was a family of bears which was probably a remnant of the Bear band. He gives a typical origin myth for the Bear family with the following significant note. "My friend, Benjamin Brooks, informs me that there is a family of Mooin (Bears) among the Indians, and his grandfather's second wife was one of them. He remembers asking her how the name came to be applied to them, and she told him the following story." (1)

We can only interpret this explanation in the light of the facts which Le Clercq gives us as the origin myth of the Bear band. It is interesting to note that, although the man's grandfather was not a member of the Bear family, his wife was; hence it would seem probable that exogamy prevailed. Dr. Speck gives Bear as one of the names of the bands (or families) of the Penobscots. There are many Malecites who have the family name of Bear, and it may be that they are the remnants of the old band of that name.

---

(1) For story see Rand, "Legends of the Micmacs," p. 259. The Bear is listed by both Morgan and Speck.

We also find the same tale about the boy living with the bears among the Malecites; but in the version which I obtained it was not an explanation of a band, but a story of a personal guardian. There is also a tale of a man who lived with a she-bear, but this throws no more light on the subject than the other tale. However, there is a story in my collection (1) which may be a remnant of a tale or origin myth of the Sturgeon clan, though in its present form there are not many indications of it.

Among the Penobscots the origin of the clans is explained by a myth, also known to the Malecites (2); but here again, as in the case of the Micmac bear myth, the Malecites have no explanation of the origin of the clan connected with it. These facts do not point necessarily to a clan organization, nor even to an organization into bands with animal names; nevertheless, it seems probable, if the Micmacs and Penobscots both had such a system, that the Malecites also may have had it. Considering the decadent state of their culture, it is no wonder that all trace of it has disappeared. Still, a comparison with the surrounding tribes shows that all of them did not possess a clan system. It has already been pointed out that the Malecite country extended to the St. Lawrence, and, therefore, they were in close proximity to the Montagnais who inhabited the north shore of the river. No trace of a clan organization, so far as I am aware, has ever been reported for them. North of the Montagnais are the Naskapi, who, according to the published accounts, also lacked it. The Montagnais and Naskapi are closely related to the Cree farther west, concerning whom Skinner says:

"At all posts visited by the writer, save at Fort Albany, the Cree have no recollection of a clan organization, and believe that there never was one among them." He further states:

---

(1) Mechling, "Malecite Tales," p. 53.

(2) Mechling, "Malecite Tales," pp. 7, 45.

Descent was in the male line and there were no marriage restrictions." We do not know whether descent was in the male or female line among the Montagnais and Naskapi, but presumably it was in the male line. These conditions seem very similar to those prevailing among the Malecites, and, furthermore, the Cree system of relationship is strikingly like the Malecite system. It may well be, therefore, that the Malecites had no clan organization."

Of the Algonkin tribes south of the Abenaki Confederacy, the Delawares, Munsees, and Mohegans had well-defined clan organizations consisting of three phratries, each composed of twelve clans or sub-gentes. Descent was in the female line. The Indian tribes of New England south of the Kennebec are supposed to have had a similar organization. Morgan states that descent was known to be in the female line. Therefore, these tribes show no affiliation with either the Micmacs or the Malecites. The Ojibwa, Menomini, and Pottawatami all had clan organizations similar to that of the Penobscot and Micmac, and descent was also in the male line.

The Iroquois tribes all seem to have been organized on a clan and phratry basis, with descent in the female line, thus resembling the Delaware and other tribes of the eastern states more than any of the other Algonkin tribes. It is to be regretted that the kinship system of the Penobscot is not available (1), for it would be interesting to see if it resembled the Micmac rather than the Malecite system; if so, we should have to assume that the Malecites were late immigrants from north of the St. Lawrence who forced themselves like a wedge into the eastern region.

---

(1) This was written before the publication of Dr. Speck's paper on Algonkian kinship terms.

Assuming that the Malecites, like the Penobscots and Micmacs, were divided into bands, let us next consider the workings of the social organization within the band, as well as the relation of the band to the tribe. Comparing the early accounts of the Jesuits and Le Clercq with Speck's description of the Penobscots, we note one important and fundamental difference between the Penobscot tribal organization and the Micmac. Dr. Speck describes the Penobscot tribe as divided into twenty divisions, each division having its own territory. The Penobscot territory has not a very long coast-line, but runs quite far into the interior. Speck says some families had lands near the coast and that others did not. Therefore the coastal people must have led a fishing life with perhaps some hunting, whereas those families dwelling inland were excluded from sea-fishing altogether. Such a state of affairs is entirely inconsistent with the early statements concerning the Micmacs, whose mode of life, like that of the Eskimo, varied with the season. The Micmac area must have been divided among a number of bands, each possessing a strip of coast as well as hunting ground inland. This, of course, is quite possible, for their coast-line was very long. Unfortunately, we are unable to form an estimate of the number of people composing a band among the Micmacs, for we have no idea of the number of bands composing the tribe. The bands, however, seem to have been larger than the Penobscot bands, which had only about twenty members.

Each band among the Micmacs had its chief, and seems to have been entirely independent of the neighbouring bands. There does not seem to have been even a nominal chief of the whole Micmac tribe until very late in its history. Apparently the chief apportioned the hunting territory among the various members of the band; for Le Clercq says, "The occupation of the chief was to assign the places for hunting." We do not know whether exogamy prevailed; but, from Le Clercq's account of an Indian from Restigouche (Salmon band) leaving that band and going to live among the Miramichi (Cross-bearing Micmacs), we may safely

conclude that the organization of the band was rather loose.

RELATIONS WITH THEIR NEIGHBOURS AND WARFARE

As we have noticed in the introduction, the Malecites formed part of the Abenaki confederacy, but the confederacy had not the political significance of the League of the Iroquois. None of the members of the so-called confederacy had anything to do with the internal affairs of its neighbours, nor was there any system of government for the whole. The tribes of the confederacy seem to have joined together for offensive warfare; but apparently each tribe sent its own chief. They were really allies, therefore, rather than confederates. There seems to be no record of the Malecites warring against the other tribes in the confederacy (1). The Micmacs were not a member of this confederacy, and indeed were occasionally at war with various tribes in it. Abbé Maillard speaks of a recent war between the Micmacs and the Malecites, and Champlain found the Micmacs of Nova Scotia at war with the tribes in Maine. Rand, in his "Legends of the Micmacs," gives a legend current in his time of a war between the Micmacs and the Kennebec Indians, who must have been the Abenakis.

Although the Micmacs did not belong to the Abenaki confederacy, still they were much more closely identified with it than with any other tribe or group of tribes, and we frequently find

---

(1) According to the narrative of Louis Mitchel, the Passamaquoddy delegate to the Maine Legislature, the Penobscots had a war with the Malecites. He says: "Besides the enmity which they nourished in common against the Six Nations, the Wabanaki had also internal disputes. Thus, the Penobscots were at feud with the Milcetes and the Micmacs with the Passamaquoddies."

them allies if not confederates. Indeed the exclusion of the Micmacs from the confederacy is rather arbitrary, inasmuch as there were no very close bonds between the Abenakis themselves, and it would seem, for instance, that the Micmacs were usually if not always more intimately related with the Malecites than the latter were with the tribes of the Kennebec. In fact, it seems hardly justifiable to consider the Malecites as part of the Abenaki confederacy, if we exclude the Micmacs, for in everything except language they were as closely related to the Micmacs as to the tribes south of them. However, bearing in mind the nature of the confederacy, it makes little difference whether we consider both or either of these tribes as part of it.

The earliest enemies of the Micmacs and Malecites of whom we have historical record, and indeed probably the earliest enemies in point of time, were the tribes to the south of the Saco which the seventeenth century writers call the Armouchiquois. They were the Algonkin tribes of New England, and were more sedentary than the tribes north of the Kennebec. They depended more on agriculture than on hunting for subsistence. Both of these groups of tribes seem to have depended to about the same extent on fish, both vertebrate and invertebrate, for their food supply. As a result of the development of agriculture, particularly of the cultivation of maize, the region south of the Saco was more thickly populated than the country to the northeast. The tribes in the former region dwelt to a large extent in fortified villages. They were, also, far less amply clad than the tribes to the northeast of them, and had none of the characteristic birch-bark culture of the latter; thus, instead of the bark vessels of the tribes of Maine and the Maritime Provinces, we find pottery; and instead of the graceful birch-bark canoe, there was a clumsy dug-out. In these respects the Algonkin tribes of New England resembled the Iroquoian tribes far more than they did the tribes of the Kennebec.

Lescarbot describes a war which the Abenakis and Micmacs made on the Armouchiquois in

1606 (1). Membertou, who was the chief of the Micmacs of southwest Nova Scotia, sent word to the nearby tribes or sub-tribes and they assembled about two months later. Apparently the Malecites and Micmacs of Gaspe first assembled on the lower St. John, and later joined Membertou's war party, which proceeded from Port Royal to Grand Manan island. The Indians around Passamaquoddy bay seem to have been a sub-tribe, for they had a separate chief named Oagemont. From their various rendezvous these tribes proceeded south, and after divers ambuscades succeeded in bringing back some prisoners with them. In the later Indian wars the Micmacs and Malecites were allies, and in almost every engagement we find them fighting side by side.

The Iroquois, however, were the hereditary foes of the Abenaki and play a much more important part in the folk tales. This is particularly true of the Mohawks, concerning whom the Abenaki have many war-stories (2). However, it is probable that when they speak of Mohawks they mean Iroquois in general, as it would be impossible for them to distinguish the various tribes of the Iroquois; and the Mohawks, who were closest to them, would necessarily be the most prominent. It is probable, too, that not only the League of the Iroquois as a whole was their enemy, but also other Iroquoian tribes, more especially the Hurons. Cartier, on his first trip, found what may have been a Huron war party in Gaspe peninsula. However, judging from the reconstructed movements of the various Iroquoian tribes, it seems exceedingly unlikely that the Malecites and Micmacs could in early times have come much in contact with any Iroquois except the Mohawk group, and even in later times it is not probable that in many cases they met any other group on the battle-field. In 1604, when Champlain was at Tadoussac at the mouth of the Saguenay, he found Malecites, Algonquins, and Montagnais banded together against the Iroquois,

---

(1) "Jesuit Relations," vol. II, p. 354.

(2) Mechling, "Malecite Tales," pp. 106-126.

almost certainly the League, for the Hurons had by that time been weakened through warfare with their more powerful kindred. In the last French and Indian war we find the Hurons co-operating with the Malecites and Micmacs; but only, of course, because of their friendship for the French.

The fear of the Iroquois lasted long after these tribes were able to inflict any serious injury on the Malecites. John Giles gives the following description of that fear (1):

"They often had terrible apprehensions of the incursions of those Indians. They are called also Maquas, a most ambitious, haughty, and blood-thirsty people, from whom the other Indians take their measures and manners, and their modes and changes of dress, etc. One very hot season, a great number gathered together at the village, and being a very droughty (thirsty) people, they kept James and myself night and day fetching water from a cold spring that ran out of a rocky hill about three-quarters of a mile from the fort. In going thither, we crossed a large interval cornfield, and then a descent to a lower interval before we ascended the hill to the spring. James being almost dead, as well as I, with this continual fatigue, contrived to frighten the Indians. He told me of his plan, but conjured me to secrecy, yet said he knew I could keep counsel! The next night, James, going for water, set his kettle down on the descent to the lowest interval, and running back to the fort, puffing and blowing as though in the utmost surprise, told his master that he saw something near the spring that looked like Mohawks (which were only stumps). His master, being a most courageous warrior, went with him to make discovery. When they came to the brow of the hill, James pointed to the stumps, and withal touching his kettle with his toe, gave it motion down the hill; at every turn its bail clattered, which caused James and his master to see a Mohawk in

---

(1) Giles, p. 25.

every stump, and they lost no time in "turning tail to," and he was the best fellow who could run the fastest. This alarmed all the Indians in the village. They were about thirty or forty in number and they packed off, bag and baggage, some up the river and others down, and did not return under fifteen days; and then the heat of the weather being finally over, our hard service was abated for this season. I never heard that the Indians understood the occasion of their fright; but James and I had many a private laugh about it."

The Micmacs also were bitter enemies of the Mohawks, and have many stories concerning their wars with them (1). Even to this day, in out-of-the-way Micmac villages, the old people are still afraid of the coming of the Mohawks. But the fear of the Mohawks is not confined to the Eastern Algonkin alone. Turner recounts that the Iroquois drove the Naskapi out of their old territory, which he thinks was north of the St. Lawrence and east of Hudson bay, forcing them to take refuge north of the height of land. He says that the fear of the Iroquois still existed among them at the time of his visit. Skinner gives a story about a fight between the Iroquois and the Cree which is similar to one recorded by myself among the Malecites (2).

The Micmacs, however, had other enemies besides the Iroquois and the Armouchiquois. Le Clercq seems to have considered their most important foe to have been the Eskimos and says that they made frequent raids into their territory; although he never heard of the Eskimos making any raids into the territory of the Micmacs. Le Clercq divides the Eskimos into "les petits et les grands Eskimaux" (3) and states that "les petits Eskimaux"

---

(1) Mechling, "Malecite Tales," pp. 126-133, and Rand, "Legends of the Micmacs."

(2) Mechling, "Malecite Tales," p. 106.

(3) Le Clercq, p. 417.

dwelt "north of the mouth of the river of Saint Lawrence. Les grands Eskimaux dwelt on the Baye des Espagnols." (1)

The enmity between the Micmacs and the Beothuks was long and bitter, and the Micmacs were quite as much responsible for the extermination of the Beothuks as were the white people. Apparently, in the beginning, the Micmacs merely sent small raiding parties to Newfoundland, which returned after a short stay and seem to have had no intention of settling there permanently. The Beothuks do not seem to have retaliated by sending war parties to the Micmac country. This may have been because the Beothuks were fighting at a disadvantage, the Micmacs having an adequate supply of guns and ammunition, whereas the Beothuks had none; also, perhaps, to the fact that the Micmac canoe was a much more seaworthy craft than the Beothuk canoe.

Chappell says the first permanent settlement of the Micmacs on Newfoundland took place soon after the American Revolution. In later years the hostility between the Micmacs and Beothuks seems to have been without truce, the Micmacs shooting the almost defenceless Beothuks at sight. The account of the final extermination of the Beothuks is too well known to be retold here.

When an Abenaki tribe went to war it did not go in a body, nor was there any way of getting the whole tribe to declare war. Among the Micmacs each band made war separately. Le Clercq says (2): "War, however, is never declared except by advice of the old men, who alone decide, in the last resort, the affairs of the country. They prescribe the order which must be followed in the execution of their military undertakings; they fix the day of departure; and they assemble the young warriors

---

(1) Now Bradore Bay (Trans. Roy. Soc. of Can., vol. XI, 1905, II, p. 26).

(2) Le Clercq, p. 269.

to the war feast." The young men were not compelled to attend, and I believe that not all of them did so; but, as a matter of fact, most of them did usually attend, for public pressure was felt keenly and the young warrior had a reputation to make. It seems that the women encouraged them to go and fight, even on an aggressive campaign, for Le Clercq says, "The women and girls without exception envoke their husbands and the young men to do their duty well."

Messengers were sent to the neighbouring bands to announce the expedition and to ask for volunteers or co-operation. Lescarbot says: "When, therefore, they wish to make war, the Sagamos most in credit among them sends the news of the cause and the rendezvous, and the time of the muster" (1). However, Le Clercq says (2): "They never ask the aid of their allies except in the last extremity, finding in their own ambition courage enough to fight and overcome their enemies; if these be not invincible. They ask, nevertheless, for auxiliary troops from their allies if they cannot themselves settle their quarrels and they send ambassadors with collars of wampum, to invite these to take up the hatchet against the enemies of the nation." I believe Le Clercq refers to the other bands of the Micmacs when speaking of allies, not to the Malecites; the fact that he speaks of taking up the hatchet against the enemies of the nation strengthens that view. Nevertheless, as Lescarbot shows, messengers were on many occasions sent to the neighbouring tribes. No doubt it all depended on the foe and the magnitude of the undertaking. Although it seems that usually the war-chief collected warriors only from his own band, still this was not always the case, as can be seen by

---

(1) "History of New France," vol. III, p. 264.

(2) Le Clercq, p. 269.

the story called "The Naming of Restigouche" (1). In that story Tunel, the chief, collects his war party from many villages and probably from many bands. This was rather a special case, for his own band, which had consisted of twenty-five families, had been wiped out.

Maillard gives a very full description of the outbreak of hostilities in a war between the Malecites and Micmacs (2). I believe I cannot do better than quote it in full. It is as follows: "They have also a kind of feast, which may be termed war-feasts since they are never held but in time of war, declared, commenced, or resolved. The forms of these are very different from those of pacific and friendly entertainments. There is a mixture of devotion and ferocity in them, which at the same time that it surprises, proves that they consider war in a very solemn light, and as not to be begun without the greatest reason and justice; which motives, once established, or, which is the same thing, appearing to them established, there is nothing they do not think themselves permitted against their enemy, from whom they, on the other hand, expect no better quarter than they themselves give.

"To give you an idea of their preparatory ceremony for a declaration of war, I shall here select for you a recent example, in the one that broke out not long ago between the Micmaquis, and Maricheets. These last had put a cruel affront on the former, the nature of which you will see in the course of the following description: but I shall call the Micmaquis the aggressors, because, the first acts of hostility in the field began from them. Those who mean to begin war, detach a certain number of men to make incursions on the territories of their enemies, to ravage the country, to destroy the game on it, and ruin all the

---

(1) Mechling, "Malecite Tales," p. 126. Rand collected a similar story which was published by Patterson, "History of the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia," pp. 34-37.

(2) Maillard, pp. 18-30.

beaver-huts they can find on their rivers and lakes, whether entirely, or only half-built. From this expedition they return laden with game and peltry; upon which the whole nation assembles to feast on the meat, in the manner that has more of the carnivorous brute in it than of the human creature. Whilst they are eating, or rather devouring, all of them, young and old, great and little, engage themselves by the sun, the moon, and the name of their ancestors, to do as much by the enemy-nation,

"When they have taken care to bring off with them a live beast, from the quarter in which they have committed their ravage, they cut its throat, drink its blood, and even the boys with their teeth tear the heart and entrails to pieces, which they ravenously devour, giving thereby to understand, that those of the enemies who shall fall into their hands, have no better treatment to expect from them.

"After this they bring out Oorakins, (bowls of bark) full of that coarse vermillion which is found along the coast of Chibucto, and on the west-side of Acadia (Nova Scotia) which they moisten with the blood of the animal if any remains, and add water to complete the dilution. Then the old, as well as the young, smear their faces, belly, and back with this curious paint; after which they trim their hair shorter, some on one side of the head, and some on the other; some leave only a small tuft on the crown of their head; others cut their hair entirely off on the left or right side of it; some again leave nothing on it but a lock, just on the top of their forehead, and of the breadth of it, that falls back on the nape of the neck. Some of them bore their ears, and pass through the holes thus made in them, the finest fibril-roots of the fir, which they call Toobee, and commonly use for thread; but on this occasion serve to string certain small shells. This military masquerade, which they use at once for terror and disguise, being completed, all the peltry of the beasts killed in the enemy's country, is piled in a heap; the oldest Sagamo, or chieftain, of the assembly gets up, and asks,

"What weather it is? Is the sky clear? Does the sun shine?" On being answered in the affirmative, he orders the young men to carry the pile of peltry to a rising-ground, or eminence, at some little distance from the cabin, or place of assembly. As this is instantly done, he follows them, and as he walks along begins, and continues his address to the sun in the following terms:

'Be witness, thou great and beautiful luminary, of what we are this day going to do in the face of thy orb! If thou didst disapprove us, thou wouldst, this moment, hide thyself, to avoid affording the light of thy rays to all the actions of this assembly. Thou didst exist of old, and still existeth. Thou remainest for ever as beautiful, as radiant, and as beneficent, as when our first forefathers beheld thee. Thou wilt always be the same. The father of the day can never fail us, he who makes every thing vegetate, and without whom cold, darkness, and horror would every where prevail. Thou knowest all the iniquitous procedure of our enemies towards us. What perfidy have they not used, what deceit have they not employed, whilst we had no room to distrust them. There are now more than five, six, seven, eight moons revolved since we left the principal amongst our daughters with them, in order thereby to form the most durable alliance with them (for, in short, we and they are the same thing as to our being, constitution, and blood); and yet we have seen them look on these girls of the most distinguished rank, Kayheepidetchque, as mere playthings for them, an amusement, a pastime put by us into their hands, to afford them a quick and easy consolation, for the fatal blows we have given them in the preceding war. Yet, we had made them sensible, that this supply of our principal maidens was, in order that they should re-people their country more honorably, and to put them under a necessity of conviction that we were now become sincerely their friends, by delivering to them so sacred a pledge of amity, as our principal blood. Can we then, unmoved, behold them so basely abusing that thorough confidence of ours? Beautiful, all-seeing, all penetrating luminary! without influence the

mind of man has neither efficacy nor vigour, thou hast seen to what a pitch the nation (who are, however, our brothers) has carried its insolence towards our principal maidens. Our resentment would not have been so extreme with respect to girls of more common birth, and the rank of whose fathers had not a right to make such an impression on us. But here we are wounded in a point there is no passing over in silence or unrevenged. Beautiful luminary! who art thyself so regular in thy course, and in the wise distribution thou makest of thy light from morning to evening, would thou have us not imitate thee? And whom can we better imitate? The earth stands in need of thy governing thyself as thou dost towards it. There are certain places where thy influence does not suffer itself to be felt, because thou dost not judge them worthy of it. But, as for us, it is plain we are thy children; for we can know no origin but that which thy rays have given us, when first marrying efficaciously, with the earth we inhabit, they impregnated its womb, and caused us to grow out of it like the herbs of the field, and the trees of the forest, of which thou art equally the common father. To imitate thee then, we cannot do better than no longer countenance or cherish those who have proved themselves so unworthy thereof. They are no longer, as to us, under a favourable aspect. They shall dearly pay for the wrong they have done us. They have not, it is true, deprived us of the means of hunting for our maintenance and clothing; they have not cut off the free passage of our canoes, on the lakes and rivers of this country; but they have done worse; they have supposed in us a tameness of sentiments, which does not, nor cannot, exist in us. They have defloured our principal maidens in wantonness, and lightly sent them back to us. This is the just motive which cries out for our vengeance. Sun! be thou favourable to us in this point, as thou art in that of our hunting, when we beseech thee to guide us in quest of our daily support. Be propitious to us, that we may not fail of discovering the ambushes that may be laid for us; that we may not be surprised unawares in our cabins, or elsewhere; and, finally, that we

may not fall into the hands of our enemies. Grant them no chance with us, for they deserve none. Behold the skins of their beasts now a burnt-offering to thee! Accept it, as if the fire-brand I hold in my hands, and now set to the pile, was lighted immediately by thy rays, instead of our domestic fire.'

"Every one of the assistants, as well as men and women, listen attentively to this invocation, with a kind of religious terror, and in a profound silence. But scarce is the pile on a blaze, but the shouts and war-cries are poured forth without mercy or reserve, on the enemy-nation. Everyone, that he may succeed in destroying any particular enemy he may have in the nation against which war is declared, vows so many skins or furs to be burnt in the same place in honour of the sun. Then they bring and throw into the fire, the hardest stones they can find of all sizes, which are calcined in it. They take out the properest pieces for their purpose, to fasten to the end of a stick, made much in the form of a hatchet-handle. They slit it at one end, and fix in the cleft any fragment of those burnt stones, that will best fit it, which they further secure, by binding it tightly round with the strongest Toobee, or fibrils or fir-root above mentioned; and then make use of it, as a hatchet, not so much for cutting of wood, as for splitting the skull of the enemy, when they can surprise him. They form also other instruments of war; such as long poles, one of which is armed with bone of elk, made pointed like a small-sword, and edge of both sides, in order to reach the enemy at a distance, when he is obliged to take to the woods. The arrows are made at the same time, pointed at the end with a sharp bone. The wood of which these arrows are made, as well as the bows, must have been dried at the mysterious fire, and even the gut of which the strings are made. But you are here to observe, I am speaking of an incident that happened some years ago; for, generally speaking, they are now better provided with arms, and iron, by the Europeans supplying them, for their chase, in favour of their dealings with them for their peltry. But to return to my narration.

"Whilst the fire is still burning, the women come like so many furies, with more than bacchanalian madness, making the most hideous howlings, and dancing without any order, round the fire. Then all their apparent rage turns of a sudden against the men. They threaten them, that if they do not supply them with scalps, they will hold them very cheap, and look on them as greatly inferior to themselves; that they will deny themselves to their most lawful pleasures; that daughters shall be given to none but such as have signalized themselves by some military feat; that, in short, they will themselves find means to be revenged of them, which cannot but be easy to do on cowards.

"The men, at this, begin to parley with one another, and order the women to withdraw, telling them that they shall be satisfied; and that, in a little time, they may expect to have prisoners brought to them to do what they will with them.

"The next thing they agree on is to send a couple of messengers, in the nature of heralds at arms, with their hatchets, quivers, bows, and arrows, to declare war against the nation by whom they conceive themselves aggrieved. These go directly to the village where the bulk of the nation resides, observing a sullen silence by the way, without speaking to any that may meet them. When they draw near the village, they give the earth several strokes with their hatchets, as a signal of commencing hostilities in form; and to confirm it the more, they shoot two of their best arrows at the village, and retire with the utmost expedition."

The causes of war seem to have been of the nature of those described above by Maillard -- insults fancied or real, Le Clercq says (1): "If we investigate the motives and the particular causes which have inspired these people in going to war, we find nothing other than a desire to

---

(1) Le Clercq, p. 265.

avenge an injury they have received, or, more often, the ambition to make themselves feared and dreaded by foreign nations (1). Hence it comes to pass that the Indians have been seen traversing great extents of country with a few handfuls of Indian corn as their entire provision, sleeping upon the snow, suffering hunger and thirst, exposing themselves to the inclemency of the weather in the most rigorous seasons, lying in wait ten to fifteen days behind some tree -- all in order to find opportunity to surprise, fight, and vanquish their enemies, to remove their scalps, and to return to their own country loaded with these cruel spoils. In a word, they do it for the purpose of indicating to the whole nation that they have ample courage to avenge by themselves any insults which may be offered them when the nation is not prepared itself to participate in their resentment."

In another place Le Clercq says (2): "Neither profit nor the desire to extend the boundaries of their province ever has influence in the council of war; and they never attack their enemies

---

(1) Lescarbot's statement is entirely in agreement with this. He says: "Our savages do not found their wars upon the possession of the land. We do not see that they encroach one upon another in that respect. They have land enough to live on and to walk abroad. Their ambition is limited by their bounds. They make war as did Alexander the Great, that they may say 'I have beaten you;' or else for revenge, in remembrance of some injury received, which is the greatest vice I find in them, because they never forget injuries; wherein they are the more excusable, in that they do nothing but what we ourselves do also. They follow nature; but if we curb anything of that instinct, it is the commandment of God which makes us do so, whereunto many stop their eyes""(History of New France,"vol. III, p. 263).

(2) Le Clercq, p. 21.

with the intention of seizing their country or of subjugating them to the laws and the customs of Gaspesia. They are entirely content, provided they are in a position to say 'We have conquered such and such "nations." We are avenged upon our enemies; and we have taken from them a multitude of scalps, after having slaughtered great numbers of them in the heat of combat.'"

Le Clercq, as well as Maillard, says that they painted their faces before setting out on the expedition. The former says (1): "They paint their faces in red before starting, in order, they say, to conceal from their comrades and from their enemies the various changes of colour which the natural fear of the combat sometimes makes appear in their face, as well as in the heart of the bravest and most intrepid."

Lescarbot gives the following account of a custom practised before setting out for war (2): "But before setting out, ours, I mean the Souriquois, have a special custom. They make a fort, within which all the young men of the army place themselves; and then the women come to compass them about, and to keep them as it were besieged. Seeing themselves so environed they make sallies, to slip away and deliver themselves out of prison. The women on the watch drive them back, arrest them, do their best to capture them; and if they are taken the women rush on them, beat them, strip them, and from such a success draw a favourable presage of the impending war, while if they escape it is an evil sign."

Their manner of making war was by ambuscade and they seldom used shock tactics, and indeed were not armed for anything but skirmishing. Before the coming of the Europeans they used chiefly bows and arrows. These were soon replaced by

---

(1) Le Clercq, p. 269.

(2) "History of New France," vol. III, p. 264.

guns except when noiselessness of execution was a necessary point. Besides the gun, or bow and arrow, a knife was always carried, for the purpose of dispatching and removing the scalp from an enemy. This knife, according to Le Clercq, was carried suspended from the neck. Maillard describes also a stone-headed hatchet or war club (now known among the Americans as a tomahawk), and apparently a lance, probably not unlike the one used in hunting and described by Denys.

Various forms of strategem and ambuscade were resorted to. Maillard says: "One of their most common strategems, when there were reasons for not attacking one another, or coming to a battle directly, was for one side to make as if they had renounced all thoughts of acting offensively. A party of those who made this feint of renunciation would disperse itself in a wood, observing to keep near the borders of it; when, if any stragglers of the enemy's appeared, some one would counterfeit to the life the particular cry of that animal, in the imitation of which he most excelled; and this childish decoy would, however, often succeed, in drawing in the young men of the opposite party into their ambushes.

"Sometimes the scheme was to examine what particular spot lay so that the enemies must, in all necessity, pass through it, to hunt, or provide bark for making their canoes. It was commonly in these passes, or defiles, that the bloodiest encounters or engagements happened, when whole nations have been known to destroy one another, with such an exterminating rage on both sides, that few have been left alive on either."

The same author in his account speaks of sending messengers to announce the outbreak of hostilities. However, the war which he describes was against the Malecites who had formerly been friends and allies, and was, therefore, rather different from the usual and traditional hostilities against the Mohawks and Eskimos. From Rand's stories and mine, collected among the Micmacs, which describe warfare with the Mohawks, it would seem

that hostilities usually broke out by either party waylaying and killing some lone hunter or a party of hunters who were some distance, usually more than a day's journey, away from the village.

The thing most desired by every warrior was to take a scalp, or, preferably, a prisoner. Merely to kill an enemy without obtaining his scalp brought no honour, for the warrior must have something to show on his return to his village. Lescarbot says (1): "But of the dead they cut off the scalps in as great number as they can find, and these are divided among the captains, but they leave the carcass, contenting themselves with the scalp, which they dry, or tan, and make trophies with it in their cabins, taking therein their highest contentment. And when some solemn feast is held among them (I call it feast whenever they make tabagie) they take them, and dance with them, hanging about their necks or their arms, or at their girdles, and for very rage they sometimes bite at them; which is a great proof of this disordered appetite for vengeance, whereof we have sometimes spoken." A prisoner was preferred even to a scalp. The object of taking the prisoner was twofold -- to torture him, and, on their return home, to have him an assistant, servant, or slave (2). However, it does not seem likely that in early times these tribes took many men captive with a view to their services, for Lescarbot says (3): "They also show humanity and mercy towards

---

(1) Occasionally the whole head seems to have been detached and carried off. Lescarbot describes how the Malecite chief carried off the head of an Armouchiquois ("History of New France," vol. II, p. 338).

(2) John Giles says, "And here I will note, that the Indian who takes a captive is accounted his master, and has a perfect right to him, until he gives or sells him to another" (Giles, p. 12).

(3) "History of New France," vol. III, p. 215.

their enemies' wives and little children, whose lives they spare, but who remain their prisoners to serve them, according to the ancient right of servitude, introduced among all the nations of this our world, against natural liberty. But as for the warriors they spare none, but kill as many of them as they can catch." The Micmacs and the Abenakis seem never to have inflicted those extreme forms of torture which were so dear to the hearts of the cruel Iroquois, but nevertheless a perusal of Rand's "Legends of the Micmacs" shows that they were not entirely devoid of cruelty. However, the taking of prisoners both for slavery and torture seems to be much more typical of the Iroquois than of the tribes surrounding them. The Iroquois also developed the habit of adopting their captives into the tribe to make good the depletion of their ranks caused by losses in warfare. It seems to me all these customs belonged to the south, where we know that slavery and sacrifice were developed to a high degree. The custom of adoption could not have developed in a tribe which was not sedentary, i.e. dependent rather on agriculture than on hunting. No doubt the admirable political organization of the Iroquois alone made possible the extreme development of adoption which we find among them. It has been said that in one generation the Iroquois adopted as many captives into the tribe as there were Iroquois warriors.

Knowing what was in store for them, it is no wonder that Eastern Algonkins preferred to die rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. Lescarbot says: "But they have such high spirit, that they had rather die than fall into the hands of their enemies. And when M. de Poutrincourt took revenge for the misdeed of the Armouchiquois, there were some who suffered themselves to be hewed in pieces rather than be carried off; or if by main force they are carried away, they will starve or kill themselves; indeed, they will not suffer the dead bodies of their people to remain in the possession of their enemies, and at the peril of their own lives pick them up and carry them

away." (1)

It seems to have been quite a common thing when prisoners were taken to mutilate one or more of them and then send them back to their tribes. In one of Rand's stories occur the following passages which illustrate the point (2): "He took one of them and marked him by cutting off his ear and slitting his under lip; he then dismissed them to carry the tidings home."

And again:

"The whole village was destroyed (women as well as men) with the exception of three or four warriors; these were marked on their naked legs by cutting the skin in several strips up and down the leg and peeling the skin down about halfway from the knee to the ankle, and letting it hang. They were let go without any further cruelties, and told to go on to the next village and tell their friends what beautiful leggings had been made for them. Satisfied with the results, the Micmacs, sadly diminished in numbers, returned home" (3).

Unfortunately we have no account of what the usual torments and tortures were among the Micmacs. The narrative of John Giles throws much light on the treatment of prisoners among the Malecites. John Giles was taken prisoner in an attack on Pemiquid. As he was only a boy his lot must not be considered as typical of a man's, for men were usually killed, at least in early times. From his account we learn that each prisoner was the personal property of his captor. This captor had the right to sell, kill, or dispose of his captive as he saw fit. In fact, the captive might

---

(1) "History of New France," vol. III, p. 270.

(2) "Legends of the Micmacs," p. 241.

(3) Rand, "Legends of the Micmacs," p. 218.

well be considered as a slave. However, the tribe had certain rights over the prisoners. Whenever a new captive arrived at a village the women had the right to abuse and beat him in any manner they saw fit, but they could not actually torture or mutilate him without the consent of his master. The master of the captive, however, could secure his exemption from this ill-treatment by making a payment to the women. Giles (1) says about his first experiences on the Penobscot: "An old, grim-looking squaw took me by the hand and, leading me into the ring, some seized me by my hair and others by my hands and feet, like so many furies; but my master laying down a pledge, they released me.

"Captives among the Indians are exposed to all manner of abuses and to the extremest tortures, unless their master, or some of their master's relations, lay down a ransom, such as a bag of corn, a blanket, or the like, which redeems them from their cruelty for that dance."

Giles' treatment at Medoctec is worth quoting (2). "After some miles' travel we came in sight of a large cornfield and soon after of the fort, to my great surprise. Two or three squaws met us, took off my pack, and led me to a large hut or wigwam, where thirty or forty Indians were dancing and yelling round five or six poor captives ... I was whirled in among them and we prisoners looked on each other with a sorrowful countenance. Presently one of them was seized by each hand and foot by four Indians, who, swinging him up, let his back fall on the ground with full force. This they repeated until they had danced -- as they call it -- round the whole wigwam, which was 30 or 40 feet in length.

"But when they torture a boy they take him up between two. This is one of their customs of torturing captives. Another is to take up a person by the middle, with his head downward, and jolt him until one would think his bowels would

---

(1) Giles, p. 13.

(2) Giles, p. 14.

shake out of his mouth. Sometimes they will take a captive by the hair of the head, and stooping him forward, strike him on the back and shoulder, until the blood gushes out of his mouth and nose. Sometimes an old shriveled squaw will take up a shovel of hot embers and throw them into a captive's bosom. If he cry out, the Indians will laugh and shout, and say, "What a brave action our old grandmother has done." Sometimes they torture them with whips, etc.

"The Indians looked on me with a fierce countenance, as much as to say 'It will be your turn next.' They champed corn-stalks, which they threw into my hat as I held it in my hand. I smiled on them though my heart ached. I looked on one and another, but could not perceive that any eye pitied me. Presently came a squaw and a little girl and laid down a bag of corn in the ring. The little girl took me by the hand, making signs for me to come out of the circle with them. Not knowing their custom, I supposed they designed to kill me and refused to go. Then a grave Indian came and gave me a pipe and said in English, 'Smoke it,' then he took me by the hand and led me out. My heart ached, thinking myself near my end. But he carried me to a French hut about a mile from the Indian fort. The Frenchman was not at home, but his wife, who was a squaw, had some discourse with my Indian friend, which I did not understand. We tarried there about two hours, then returned to the Indian village, where they gave me some victuals. Not long after I saw one of my fellow-captives who gave me a melancholy account of their sufferings after I left them."

As Giles was only a youth, his treatment must have been better than was usually given to a captive; nevertheless it seems to have been about the same as was accorded to the other captives in his company. In a later war (the last French and Indian war) William Pote was captured near Annapolis Royal. His master was, however, a Huron, but as he was taken to Quebec through the Malecite and Micmac country we are able to see how the Malecites and Micmacs treated captives. The facts as given

in his journal accord in the main with John Giles' account.

John Giles gives an account of what happened to his brother and another Englishman who attempted to escape, which shows that they sometimes tortured their prisoners to death in a manner not less cruel than that practised by the Iroquois. It is as follows:

"My unfortunate brother, who was taken with me, after about three years' captivity, deserted with another Englishman, who had been taken from Casco bay, and was retaken by the Indians at New Harbor, and carried back to Penobscot fort. Here they were both tortured at a stake by fire, for some time; then their noses and ears were cut off, and they were made to eat them. After this they were burnt to death at the stake, the Indians at the same time declaring they would serve all deserters in the same manner. Thus they divert themselves in their dances."

Women and children seem not to have been killed but were taken prisoners (1). Lescarbot says: "In victory they kill all who can make resistance, but pardon the women and children..." and "the victory won by one side or the other, the conquerors keep the women and children prisoners, and cut off their hair (2)." The women were made the wives of their captors and the children were adopted. My collection of "Micmac Tales" contains several illustrations of these points (3). Lescarbot gives two very interesting accounts of the

---

(1) This was not always the case, as can be seen by the passage quoted from Rand's "Legends of the Micmacs," where it is stated that all the inhabitants of the village were killed, both men and women.

(2) "History of New France," vol. III, pp. 269 and 271.

(3) See Mechling, "Malecite Tales," p. 129.

treatment of women captives. They are as follows: "To return to our Indians. One day there was an Armouchiquois woman, a prisoner, who had aided a fellow-prisoner from her country to escape, and to aid him on his way had stolen from Membertou's cabin a tinder-box (for without that they do nothing) and a hatchet. When this came to the knowledge of the savages, they would not proceed to execute justice on her near us, but went off to encamp some four or five leagues from Port Royal, where she was killed. And because she was a woman the wives and daughters of our savages executed her. Kinibech'-coech,' a young maid of eighteen years of age, plump and fair, gave her the first stroke in the throat, which was with a knife. Another maid of the same age, handsome enough, called Metembroech, followed on, and the daughter of Membertou, whom we called Membertouech'-coech,' made an end of her. We reproved them sharply for this cruelty, whereof they were all ashamed, and durst not show themselves any more. This is their form of justice.

"At another time two prisoners, a man and a woman, went off without any tinder-box or any provision of meat. This was a hard task owing to the great distance, being above one hundred leagues by land, because it behoved them to go secretly, and to avoid meeting with any savages. Nevertheless, those poor souls pulled off the bark of certain trees, and made a little boat of bark, wherein they crossed French bay, which is ten or twelve leagues broad, and got to the other shore, over against Port Royal, whence they got safe home into their country of the Armouchiquois." (1)

Le Clercq describes the return of a successful war party as follows (2): "The combat finished, all our warriors embark to return to their country, where the entire nation receives

---

(1) "History of New France," vol. II, pp. 216, 217.

(2) Le Clercq, p. 270. They were returning from an expedition against the Eskimo.

them with uncommon rejoicings. As soon as the victorious boats of the Gaspesians have been sighted, the girls and women, all painted and adorned and wearing their necklaces of beadwork and of wampum, appear at the edge of the water in order to receive the trophies and the scalps which their husbands are bringing from the combat. They even throw themselves in blind haste into the river or the sea every time the warriors make their hues and cries of joy. These cries indicate the number of the prisoners whom they are bringing to make suffer the usual torments and tortures."

Lescarbot gives the following description of the return from the warpath: "They have still another custom concerning any individual who brings in an enemy's scalp. They make great feasts, dances, and songs for many days; and whilst these are going on, they strip the conqueror, and give him but some dirty rag to cover himself withal. But at the end of eight days or thereabouts, after the feast, every one presents him with something to honour him for his valour. They never go far from their lodges save with bow in hand and quiver on back, and when any stranger meets them they lay down their arms, if it is a question of a parley, which must likewise be done on the other side; as befell M. de Poutrincourt in the land of the Armouchiquois." (1)

As a rule there seems to have been no treaty of peace or ceremonies connected with the making of peace. This was particularly the case between the Eastern Algonkins and the Iroquois; for their warfare was handed on from generation to generation without hope of any lasting peace. However, it was rather different when there was a war between any of the Eastern Algonkins; for in this case peace seems to have been firmly established between the warring tribes. We hear of only one war between the Malecites and Micmacs, one between the Penobscots and Malecites, and one between the Micmacs and Abenakis. The latter we know of only through an account given by S.T. Rand of a tradition of the war current among the Micmacs in his day.

---

(1) "History of New France," vol. III, p. 265.

He calls it an incident of the wars with the Kenebek Indians and as the Kenebek Indians were the Abenaki I suppose he means them, although it might also include the Penobscots. He describes the making of peace between them as follows:

"It is now proposed that they make peace, and live in amity for the future; a feast is made accordingly, and they celebrate it together. After eating comes the games. They toss the altestakun -- the Indian dice. They run and play ball. They did not wrestle, however, because they were afraid it might lead to a quarrel and would thus defeat the end for which the festivities were designed."

There was a period of mourning for the relatives of the warriors killed in action. Le Clercq says (1): "If some one of their number has fallen in the combat, they go into particular mourning for him, and give up several days to grief and sorrowing. Then they make feasts for the dead, at which the chief sets forth in his speech the fine actions of those who have distinguished themselves and who have been killed in the combat. A profound silence follows forthwith, but it is broken suddenly by the relatives of the deceased, who cry aloud with all their might and say that it is not a question of lamenting further a misfortune for which there is no remedy, but rather of avenging the death of their countrymen by a complete ruin of their enemies."

We know that the Iroquois had well fortified villages, and it would, therefore, be exceedingly strange if the Micmacs did not copy them. Maillard, after describing the outbreak of a war against the Malecites, says (2): "Then it is, that the inhabitants of each nation begin to think seriously, whether they shall maintain their ground by staying in their villages and fortifying it in their manner, or look out for a place of greater safety, or go directly to the enemy." Unfortunately he does not describe how the place was fortified,

---

(1) Le Clercq, p. 270.

(2) Maillard, p. 31.

but probably in a very similar manner to Iroquois fortifications. Lescarbot (1) describes a fortified village of the Malecites near the mouth of the St. John, which he saw in 1607, as follows: "The town of Ouigoudi, as I call the abode of the said Chkoudun, was a large enclosure upon a rising ground enclosed with trees, great and small, fastened one to the other, and within the enclosure many lodges, large and small, one of which was as big as a market-hall, wherein dwelt numerous families; as for that wherein they held their feasts, it was somewhat smaller." We know that the Malecites in later times had a strongly fortified village at Meductic. Raymond describes it as consisting of a stout stockade. John Giles, who was a captive at Meductic, unfortunately does not give us a very accurate description of the place. There was a large wigwam there at the time, which had thirty or forty people in it, but he does not say whether the wigwam was inside or outside the stockade.

Denys (2) gives the following description of a fort which was at Richibucto in his time:

"The Chief at Rechibouctoux, named Denis, is a conceited and vicious Indian. All others of the Great Bay fear him. He had upon the border of the basin of this river a rather large fort of stakes with two kinds of bastions; inside is his wigwam, and the other Indians are encamped around him. He has had a great piece of wood placed upright to the top of a tree, with large pegs, which pass through and serve as steps for ascending to the top. There from time to time he sends an Indian to see if he can perceive anything along the coasts. From this place one can see far out to sea. If any vessels or canoes are seen he has his entire force brought under arms with their bows and arrows and their muskets, places a sentinel on the approach to ask what persons they are, and thus according to his whim he makes them wait or has

---

(1) "History of New France," vol. II, pp. 356, 357.

(2) Denys, p. 195.

them come immediately. Before entering it is required that they make a discharge of their guns, as a salute, and sometimes two. Then the leader enters and his suite after him."

CHIEFS, PUBLIC CEREMONIES, FEASTS, AND DANCES

At the present time each Malecite village has a chief and a lieutenant. Only the Indians who can claim residence on the particular reserve can participate in their election. The chief and lieutenant serve for four years. There seems to be fairly strong competition for these offices. On almost all the reservations we find two parties and the feeling between them is often very bitter. Nevertheless, they seem to have very little idea of party machinery, and very few of the Indians go into the polls knowing for whom they are going to vote.

The two parties at St. Mary are the "full-bloods," so called, and the "half-breeds." I do not believe that membership in these parties has much to do with the amount of white blood in the members, because there are no full-bloods in the village. It depends, probably, more on whether the individual is an old member of that village or not, but even this is not always the case. It seems generally that people of conservative taste belong to the full-blood party, and those who like innovations belong to the half-breed party. The other reservations are divided in very much the same manner. Besides the chief and the lieutenant, the policeman is an important individual, and the competition for this office is usually very keen. Among the Micmacs conditions are very much the same.

Although, now, chiefs are elected only for a short period of time, up to fifty or less years ago they were always selected for life. How many chiefs the Malecites used to have it is impossible to find out, but it seems to be fairly certain that there was only one head chief at the

time Akpaque was the most important village.

In 1778 the Indians who attended a conference are said to have included "Pierre Tomah, supreme sachem or chief of St. John river, Francis Xavier, second chief, and four captains and eight principal Indians" (1). It is impossible to know whether these distinctions of rank really represented Indian ideas or were ranks which the white men gave the Indians.

The eldest son of a chief usually succeeded his father. It would seem that the office was almost hereditary. If, however, the chief had no son, or if the son was entirely unfitted for the office, another person was selected, usually from the nephews of the chief.

It is probable that the person referred to in the above account as a second chief was merely an assistant of the chief, appointed by him. The four captains seem as though they were officers who owed their authority to the white people.

Besides these peace chiefs there were war chiefs, ginap, or what may more accurately be called war leaders or band leaders (2). They were really not chiefs at all, for they were not political officials. A ginap was a man who had, through previous bravery and skill in war, made a reputation for himself, and who, therefore, was able to obtain a following in war time. One finds constant references to these war-leaders in the literature and mythology of this area. Many examples occur in my "Malecite Tales," the best, perhaps, being that of Tunel in the story called the "Naming of Restigouche" (3). Although this is a Micmac story, it illustrates the idea better than any of the

---

(1) Jim Paul and Jack Solomon both asserted that at the time of the village at Akpaque there were four under-chiefs called ankoloket (plural: ankoloketdidjik).

(2) Somewhat like the modern section commander.

(3) See also tale 42.

Malecite stories, and both the Malecites and Micmacs had the same belief. Like most ginap Tunel was also a buowin, or, as the Malecites would say, a medeulin, that is, a shaman. Even though a ginap may not be a medeulin, he is supposed nevertheless to have supernatural power, but only along particular lines. For example, as the shaman is able to perform certain things which other people cannot, such as cure the sick or make his enemies sick, so the ginap is able to perform other things, e.g., to run very fast and for a long distance, to swim under water (as the hero of the story) and to perform feats of strength which would be impossible to ordinary individuals. How much supernatural power he is supposed to have is well shown by the fact that a war party, no matter how numerous, is entirely helpless before a much less numerous enemy if it loses its ginap or ginaps. This point is illustrated again and again in my "Malecite Tales." The belief in the power of ginap is intimately connected with both shamanism and the belief in keskamzit, which will be treated at length in another chapter. A ginap was neither elected nor did he inherit the office from his father, but obtained it entirely through his own abilities in warfare. There was no fixed number at any village (1) or for the tribe as a whole, nor had they any set political powers. The chief was usually, but not always, a ginap.

The Micmacs today have a chief for each village, elected in the same manner as is the Malecite chief, and political conditions on the various Micmac reservations are almost identical with those on the Malecite. However, the Micmacs have a head chief, who, nevertheless, does not

---

(1) "Malecite Tales, in "tale 42" there were three ginaps in one village.

seem to possess much more than nominal authority (1). None of the early writers speak of there being a Grand Chief on Cape Breton Island. It will be noted, too, that in the French and Indian wars there was no such chief. At the conference, which we have already mentioned as taking place during the war of American Independence, the Malecites are reported to have sent a delegate, who was called the supreme sachem. There were many Micmac delegates present, but each one represented a certain band -- Richibucto, Miramichi, Chignecto, and Minas, but no mention is made of a Grand Sagamore, nor is there any suggestion on either this occasion or any other, that the Micmacs could act as a whole. I believe, therefore, that in late times the chief at Cape Breton acquired an exalted nominal position chiefly on account of the central position of his band. Rand describes the Micmacs as being divided into three parts, the New Brunswick Micmacs, the Cape Breton Micmacs, and the Nova Scotia Micmacs. I do not believe that this division was a political one. It is probable that it was merely a geographical division, which was useful enough in describing them.

The ceremonies of the Malecites and Micmacs are few in number, due probably to the absence of secret societies and to the simplicity of their social organization.

Probably the event of the greatest ceremonial importance was the installation of a chief. Since a new chief was installed only after the

---

(1) Although Dr. Speck states in his paper on the "Hunting Territories of the Micmac Indians" that the Grand Chief has control of all the Micmac lands from Newfoundland to Nova Scotia and Quebec, I am quite sure it is not the case with the Micmacs of New Brunswick or Quebec at the present day. His chief's authority among the latter is purely nominal, much less real, in fact, than the authority of the King of England. I do not know of any case where he has legislative, executive, or legal authority.

death of the old one, this event did not take place very often. Prince (1) gives the following account of the election and installation of an Abenaki chief. This account, although obtained from a Passamaquoddy Indian, is supposed to apply to the other members of the confederacy.

Ceremonies Customary at the Death of a Chief

"When the chief of a tribe died, his flag-pole was cut down and burnt, and his war-like appurtenances, bows and arrows, tomahawk, and flag, were buried with him. The Indians mourned for him one year, after which the Pwutwuskmwuk or leading men were summoned by the tribe to elect a new chief. The members of one tribe alone could not elect their own chief; according to the common laws of the allied nations, he had to be chosen by a general wigwam. Accordingly, after the council of the leading men had assembled, four or six canoes were dispatched to the Micmac, Penobscot, and Maliseet tribes if a Passamaquoddy chief had died.

Prince has this footnote: "From here on the recorder mentions only the neighbouring Algonkin tribes as belonging to the federation which he has in mind. The northern Algonkin tribes were very probably in a loose federation with the Iroquois merely for purposes of intertribal arbitration. These Algonkin clans themselves, however, seem to have been politically interdependent, as one clan could not elect a chief without the consent of all the others."

These canoes bore each a little flag in the bow as a sign that the mission on which the messengers came was important. On the arrival of the messengers at their destination, the chief of the tribe to which they came called all his people, children, women, and men, to meet the approaching boats. The herald, springing to land, first sang

---

(1) Kuloskap The Master, p. 347 et seq.

his salutation song (n'ska-wewintuagun), walking back and forth before the ranks of the other tribe. When he had finished his chant the other Indians sang their welcoming song in reply.

"As soon as the singing was over they marched to some imyewigwam or meeting house to pray together. The visiting Indians were then taken to a special wigwam allotted to their use, over which a flag was set. Here they were greeted informally by the members of the tribe with handshaking, etc. The evening of the first day was spent in entertaining the visitors.

"The next day the messengers sent to the chief desiring to see all the tribe assembled in a gwandowanek or dance hall. When the tribe had congregated there, the strangers were sent for, who, producing their strings of wampum to be read according to the law of the big wigwam, announced the death of the chief of their tribe, "their eldest boy" (k'chi w'skinosismowal), and asked that the tribe should aid them to elect a new chief. The chief of the stranger tribe then arose and formally announced to his people the desire of the envoys, stating his willingness to go to aid them, his fatherless brothers, in choosing a new father. The messengers, arising once more, thanked the chief for his kindness and appointed a day to return to their own people.

"The ceremony known as Kelhoochun then took place. The chief notified his men that his brothers were ready to go, but that they should not be allowed to go so soon. The small wampum string called kellhoweyi or prolongation of the stay, was produced at this point, which read that the whole tribe, men, women, and children, were glad to see their brothers with them and begged them to remain a day or two longer; that "our mothers" (kigwusin), i.e., all the tribal women, would keep their paddles yet a little while. This meant that the messengers were not to be allowed to depart so soon.

"Here followed the ceremony called N'skuhudin. A great hunt was ordered by the chief and the game brought to the meeting-hall and cooked there. The noochila-kal-wet or herald went about the village crying wikw-poosaltin, which was intelligible to all. Men, women, and children immediately came to the hall with their birch-bark dishes and sat about the game in a circle, while four or five men with long-handled dishes distributed the food, of which every person had a share. This feast was called kel-hootwi-wikw-poosaltin. When it was over the Indians dispersed, but returned later to the hall, when the messengers sang again their salutation songs in honour of their forefathers, in reply to which the chief of the tribe sang his song of greeting.

"When the singing was over, the chief seated himself in the midst of the hall with a small drum in one hand and a stick in the other. To the accompaniment of his drum he sang his k'tumasooin-tawagunul or dance songs, which was the signal for a general dance, followed by another feast.

"The envoys again appointed a day to return, but were deterred in the same manner. As these feasts often lasted three weeks or a month, a dance being held every night, it was frequently a long time before they could go back to their own tribe, because the chief would detain them whenever they wished to return. Such was the custom.

The Ceremony of Installation

"When they reached home, however, and the embassies from the other Wabanaki tribes had also returned, the people of the bereaved tribe were summoned to assemble before the messengers, who informed them of the success of their mission. When the delegates from the other tribes, who had been appointed to elect the chief, had arrived, and the salutation and welcome ceremonies had been performed, an assembly was called to elect the chief.

"This took place about the second day after the arrival of the other Wabanaki representatives. A suitable person, a member of the bereaved tribe, was chosen by acclamation for the office of chief. If there was no objection to him, a new flag-pole was made and prepared for raising, and a chief from one of the kindred tribes put a medal of wampum on the chief-elect, who was always clothed in new garments. The installing chief then addressed the people, telling them that another "eldest boy" had been chosen, to whom they owed implicit obedience. Turning to the new chief, he informed him that he must act in accordance with the wishes of his people. The main duties of a chief were to act as commander-in-chief in case of war, being ready to sacrifice himself for the people's good if need were.

"After this ceremony they marched to the hall, where another dance took place, the new chief singing and beating the drum. A wife of one of the other chiefs then placed a new deer-skin or bear-skin on the shoulders of the new chief as a symbol of his authority, after which the dance continued the whole night.

"The officers of the new chief (geptins) were still to be chosen. These were seven in number and were appointed in the same manner and with the same ceremonies as the chief. Their duties, which were much more severe, were told them by the installing chief. The flag-pole, which was the symbol of the chief, was first raised. The geptins stood around it, each with a brush in his hand, with which they were instructed to brush off any particle of dust that might come upon it. This signified that it was their duty to defend and guard their chief and that they should be obliged to spill their blood for him, in case of need and in defence of the tribe. All the women and children and disabled persons in the tribe were under the care of the geptins. The chief himself was not allowed to go into battle, but was expected to stay with his people and to give orders in time of danger.

"After the tribal officers had been appointed, the greatest festivities were carried on; during the day they had canoe races, foot races, and ball-playing, and during the night, feasting and dancing. The Indians would bet on the various sports, hanging the prizes for each game on a pole. It was understood that the winner of the game was entitled to all the valuables hung on this pole. The festivities often lasted an entire month."

The above account is evidently a very accurate description of what took place in recent times, that is, just before the present system of electing a chief for a limited period came in. There seems to be no doubt that when a chief was selected for either the Malecite, Penobscot, or Passamaquoddy tribes, all these tribes must participate. It will be noticed that in the above narrative the Micmacs are included. On this point my notes show a conflict of opinion, some informants claiming that the Micmacs participated in the election, and others that they did not. It seems probable that this conflict of opinion represents the true state of affairs, and that in later years all did so participate. There can be no doubt that at the time of the election of the last Malecite life-chief, the Micmacs sent delegates, because one of my informants, who was a small boy at the time, was much impressed by their manner of dancing, which was quite different from the dancing of the other three tribes. I have never heard of any occasion when the other tribes sent delegates to elect a Micmac chief. All my Micmac informants denied any such arrangement, and although some of my Malecites claimed that it existed, they could not remember any occasion on which the privilege was exercised. Several of my informants remember hearing accounts of occasions when delegates were sent to Old Town or to the Passamaquoddies, as well as when those tribes sent delegates to elect a Malecite chief.

Although they were sent to elect or rather select a chief, they had little or nothing to do with it. The selection was a very cut and dried affair, and the chief who was chosen was

usually the son of the dead chief. What would have taken place if the delegates had objected to the candidate it is impossible to say, because it never occurred to the delegates to object.

In the above account strings of wampum are frequently mentioned as being of great ceremonial importance. The present Malecites remember very well the existence of many such strings, but do not attach much ceremonial importance to them. They were, however, treasured highly as ornaments. I believe, therefore, that the ceremonial importance of the wampum was much greater among the Passamaquoddies than among the other Abenaki tribes. It was a very uncommon thing among the Micmacs, and had scarcely any ceremonial importance at all.

I got the following account of the Malecite ceremony of election from Jim Paul.

After the candidate had been decided on, and the delegates from the other tribes had arrived, they proceeded at a fixed time to a hall. There the meeting was started by the various old secondary chiefs and ginaps making speeches. The secondary chiefs described the duties of a chief, the ginaps described the valour and prowess of the ancestors of the chief. Each man sang his skauwe after his speech, that is, the personal song of the individual. These songs are to be described more in detail in another paper; so I shall not go into the matter here. Suffice it to say that the singer always ran back and forth, or as the Indians call it, danced; it may be considered as a dance having irregular or variable time.

After the officials of the Malecite tribe had made their speeches, the delegates from the other tribes made theirs. Each man signified his pleasure in having an illustrious chief selected, a son of illustrious forebears; he then went on to tell of the great friendship which had always existed between his tribe and the Malecites. When each candidate had finished speaking, he sang his skauwe and was followed by the next delegate. The order in which the delegates from the various

tribes spoke is said not to have been fixed; but it may be noted that on the occasion when there was a Micmac delegate present, he spoke last. It would seem that each delegate spoke in his own language. Of course, the delegates from the Passamaquoddies were perfectly intelligible, and the Penobscots could be understood by the more intelligent older men; but the Micmac speakers were entirely unintelligible. Perhaps that was the reason why the one I have referred to before made such a poor impression.

There seems to have been no set number of delegates from each tribe, although they were as a rule few. When the Malecites went to Old Town on the occasion of the election of the last life-chief of the Penobscots, only the chief, the second chief, and four or five other men went. It was the duty of the chief and second chief to go; with the other members of the tribe it was optional. Any member could go, but as the journey was long and tiresome, not many took advantage of the opportunity.

After the last delegate had finished singing his skauwe, one of the old under-chiefs put the chief's collar, the wampum necklace, and the bear robe on him. Then it was the chief's turn to make a speech and dance his skauwe.

When the chief had finished his speech he danced around the centre of the hall, followed in single file by the other males. This dance is known as the war dance, and the dancers hop first on one leg and then on the other, yelling all the time. During this dance a man sits in the middle of the circle and beats a drum and sings.

After dancing thus for a while there would be a brief intermission before starting what is known as the ya ye dance, from the words of the chorus. In the ya ye dance the people form in a number of ranks, the first rank facing backward, the second forward, the third backward, and the fourth forward, and so on. The leader carried a horn rattle in this dance. After dancing around

the hall once all ranks faced about and danced back again. This was continued for some time and then there would follow another intermission.

The next dance was a snake dance. For this dance all the participants joined hands and danced in and out at a very rapid pace, very much as our own children play "crack the whip." The leader in this dance had to be a strong man, for he had to pull the rest of the line after him. As a result of the sharp turning, the end of the line often came around at a very rapid pace; so that the last man was frequently unable to hold on, and went flying off at a great pace, often head over heels. As will readily be understood, this dance was quite rough.

Usually after the snake dance the feast took place, and after the feast there was more dancing, which was usually kept up all night.

The next day was occupied in foot races and perhaps swimming or canoe races. The following night was again taken up with a dance and the next day a ball game. Thus the festivities were kept up for a week -- each night a dance and the following day sports.

The following quotation from John Giles' "Captivity" (1) shows what a Malecite feast was like in his time:

"But to return to an Indian feast, of which you may request a bill of fare before you go. If you dislike it, stay at home. The ingredients are fish, flesh, or Indian corn and beans boiled together; sometimes hasty pudding made of pounded corn, whenever and as often as these are plenty. An Indian boils four or five large kettles full, and sends a messenger to each wigwam door, who exclaims Kuh menscoorebah! that is 'I come to conduct you to a feast.' The man within demands whether he must take a spoon or a knife in his dish, which he always carries with him. They appoint two or three young men to mess it out, to each man

(1) Giles, p. 47.

his portion, according to the number of his family at home. This is done with the utmost exactness. When they have done eating, a young fellow stands without the door and cries aloud, Mensecommook!, Come and fetch! Immediately each squaw goes to her husband and takes what he has left, which she carries home and eats with her children. For neither married women, nor any youth under twenty, are allowed to be present; but old widow squaws and captive men may sit by the door. The Indian men continue in the wigwam, some relating their warlike exploits, others something comical, others narrating their hunting exploits. The seniors gave maxims of prudence and grave counsel to the young men; and though every one's speech be agreeable to the run of his own fancy, yet they confine themselves to rule, and but one speaks at a time. After every man has told his story, one rises up, sings a feast song, and others succeed alternately as the company sees fit."

Maillard gives a very fine description of a feast and its accompanying dances among the Micmacs. The feast was not one connected with any political function, but was apparently given by an individual in hope of personal acknowledgment, much as potlatches are given on the northwest Pacific coast. The account contains a very good description of a skauwe as well as the dances by the women. The Micmacs differed from the Malecites in this particular, for the latter had no such dance. Maillard's account is as follows (1):

"It is neither gaming nor debauchery that disables them from the payment of their debts; but their vanity, which is excessive, in the presents of peltry they make to other savages, who come either in quality of envoys from one country to another, or as friends or relations upon a visit to one another. Then it is that a village is sure to exhaust itself in presents; it being a standing rule with them, on the arrival of such persons, to

---

(1) Maillard, pp. 4-18.

bring out every thing that they have acquired during the winter and spring-season, in order to give the best and most advantageous idea of themselves. Then it is chiefly they make feasts, which sometimes last several days; of the manner of which I should perhaps spare you the description, if the ceremony that attends them did not include the strongest attestation of the great stress they lay on hunting, the excelling wherein they commonly take for their text in their panegyrics on these occasions, and consequently enters, for a great deal, into the idea you are to conceive of the life and manners of the savages in these parts.

"The first thing I am to observe to you is, that one of the greatest dainties, and with which they crown their entertainments, is the flesh of dogs. For it is not until the envoys, friends, or relations, are on the point of departure, that, on the eve of that day, they make a considerable slaughter of dogs, which they flay, draw, and, with no other dressing, put whole into the kettle; from whence they take them half boiled, and carve out into as many pieces as there are guests to eat of them, in the cabin of him who gives the treat. But every one, before entering the cabin, takes care to bring with him his Oorakin, or bowl, made of bark of birch-tree, either polygon shaped, or quite round and this is practised at all their entertainments. These pieces of dogs' flesh are accompanied with a small Oorakin full of the oil or fat of seal, or of elk's grease, if this feast is given at the melting-time of the snow. Every one has his own dish before him, in which he sops his flesh before he eats it. If the fat be hard, he cuts a small piece of it to every bit of flesh he puts into his mouth, which serves as bread with us. At the end of this fine regale, they drink as much of the oil as they can, and wipe their hands on their hair. Then come in the wives of the master and persons invited, who carry off their husbands' plates, and retire together to a separate place, where they dispatch the remains.

"After grace being said by the oldest of the company, who never fails of pronouncing it

before the meal, the master of the treat appears as if buried in a profound contemplation, without speaking a word, for full quarter of an hour; waking as it were out of a deep sleep, he orders in the Calumets, or Indian pipes, with tobacco. First he fills his own, lights it, and, after sucking in two or three whiffs, he presents it to the most considerable man in the company; after which, every one fills his pipe and smokes.

"The calumets lighted, and the tobacco burning with a clear fire, are scarce half smoked out, before the man of note before mentioned (for the greatest honours being paid him) gets up, places himself in the midst of the cabin, and pronounces a speech of thanksgiving. He praises the master of the feast, who has so well regaled him and all the company. He compares him to a tree, whose large and strong roots afford nourishment to a number of small shrubs;or to a salutary medicinal herb, found accidentally by such as frequent the lakes in their canoes. Some I have heard, who in their winter-feasts, compared him to the turpentine-tree, that never fails of yielding its sap and gummy distillation in all seasons; others to those temperate and mild days, which are sometimes seen in the midst of the severest winter. They employ a thousand similes of this sort, which I omit. After this introduction, they proceed to make honourable mention of the lineage from which the master of the feast is descended.

"'How great', will the oldest of them say, 'art thou, through thy great, great, great grandfather (1), whose memory is still recent, by tradition, amongst us, for the plentiful huntings he used to make. There was something miraculous about him, when he assisted at the beating of the woods for elks, or other beasts of the fur. His

---

(1) There is only one word in Malecite for grandfather, great grandfather, and all male ancestors beyond, so Maillard's statement is not entirely accurate.

dexterity at catching this game was not superior to ours; but there was some unaccountable secret he particularly possessed in his manner of seizing those creatures, by springing upon them, laying hold of their heads, and transfixing them at the same time with his hunting-spear, though thrice as strong and as nimble again as he was, and much more capable with their legs only, than we with our rackets (1), to make their way over mountains of snow; he would nevertheless follow them, dart them, without ever missing his aim, tire them out with his chase, bring them down, and mortally wound them. Then he would regale us with their blood, skin them, and deliver up the carcass to us to cut to pieces. But if thy great, great, great grandfather made such a figure in the chase, what has not thy great, great grandfather done with respect to the beavers, those animals almost men, whose industry he surpassed by his frequent watching round their cabins, by the repeated alarms he would give them several times in one evening, and oblige them thereby to return home, so that he might be sure of the number of those animals he had seen dispersed during the day, having a particular foresight of the spot to which they would come to load their tails with earth, cut down with their feet such and such trees for the construction of their huts. He had a particular gift of knowing the favorite places of those animals for building them. But now let us rather speak of your great grandfather, who was so expert at making of snares for moose-deer, martins, and elks. He had particular secrets, absolutely unknown to any but himself, to compel these sort of creatures to run sooner into his snares than those of others; and he was accordingly always so well provided with furs, that he was never at a loss to oblige his friends. Now let us come to your grandfather, who has a thousand and a thousand times regaled the youth of his time with seals. How often in our young days have we greased our hair in his cabin? How often have we been invited, and even compelled by his friendly

---

(1) Buskined shoes made purposely for the Indian to travel over snow.

violence, to go home with him, whenever we returned with our canoes empty, to be treated with seal, to drink the oil, and anoint ourselves with it? He even pushed his generosity so far as to give us of the oil to take home with us. But now we are come to your father: there was a man for you! He used to signalize himself in every branch of chase; but especially in the art of shooting the game whether flying or sitting. He never missed his aim. He was particularly admirable for decoying of bustards by artificial imitations. We are all of us tolerably expert at counterfeiting the cry of those birds; but as to him, he surpassed us in certain inflexions of his voice, that made it impossible to distinguish his cry from that of the birds themselves. He had, besides, a particular way of motion with his body, that at a distance might be taken for the clapping of their wings, insomuch that he has often deceived ourselves, and put us to confusion, as he started out of his hiding-place.

"As for thyself, I say nothing, I am too full of the good things thou hast feasted me with, to treat on that subject; but I thank thee, and take thee by the hand, leaving to my fellow-guests the care of acquitting themselves of that duty.'

"After this, he sits down, and some other younger, and, of course, of less note, for they pay great respect to age, gets up, and makes a summary recapitulation of what the first speaker has said; commending his manner of singing the praises of the master of the feast's ancestors: to which he observes, there is nothing to be added; but that he has, however, left him one part of the task to be accomplished, which is, not to pass over in silence the feast to which he and the rest of his brethren are invited; neither to omit the merit and praises of him who has given the entertainment. Then quitting his place, and advancing in cadence, he takes the master of the treat by the hand, saying, "All the praises my tongue is about to utter, have thee for their object. All the steps I am going to take, as I dance lengthwise and breadthwise in thy cabin, are to prove to thee the gaiety of my heart, and my gratitude.

Courage! my friends, keep time with your motions and voice, to my song and dance."

"With this he begins and proceeds in his Netchkawet, that is, advancing with his body straight, erect, in measured steps, with his arms akimbo. Then he delivers his words, singing and trembling with his whole body, looking before and on each side of him with a steady countenance, sometimes moving with a slow, grave pace, then again with a quick and brisk one.

"The syllables he articulates the most distinctly are Ywhannah, Owanna, Haywanna, yo! ha! yo! ha! and when he makes a pause he looks full at the company, as much as to demand their chorus to the word Heh! which he pronounces with great emphasis. As he is singing and dancing they often repeat the word Heh! fetched up from the depth of their throat; and when he makes his pause, they cry aloud in chorus, Hah!

"After this prelude, the person who had sung and danced recovers his breath and spirits a little, and begins his harangue in praise of the maker of the feast. He flatters him greatly, in attributing to him a thousand good qualities he never had, and appeals to all the company for the truth of what he says, who are sure not to contradict him, being in the same circumstance as himself of being treated, and answer him by the word Heh, which is as much as to say Yes, or Surely. Then he takes them all by the hand, and begins his dance again: and sometimes this first dance is carried to a pitch of madness. At the end of it he kisses his hand, by way of salute to all the company; after which he goes quietly to his place again. Then another gets up to acquit himself of the same duty, and so do successively all the others in the cabin, to the very last man inclusively.

"This ceremony of thanksgiving by the men being over, the girls and women come in, with the oldest at the head of them, who carries in her left hand a great piece of birch-bark of the hardest, upon which she strikes as it were a drum; and to

that dull sound which the bark returns, they all dance, spinning round on their heels quivering, with one hand lifted, the other down: other notes they have none, but a guttural loud aspiration of the word Heh! Heh! as often as the old female savage strikes her bark-drum. As soon as she ceases striking, they set up a general cry, expressed by Yah! Then if their dance is approved, they begin it again; and when weariness obliges the old woman to withdraw, she first pronounces her thanksgiving in the name of all the girls and women there. The introduction of which is too curious to omit, as it so strongly characterizes the sentiments of the savages of that sex, and confirms the general observation, that where their bosom once harbours cruelty, they carry it greater lengths than even the men, whom frequently they instigate to it.

"'You men! who look on me as of an infirm and weak sex, and consequently of all necessity subordinate to you, know that in what I am, the Creator has given to my share, talents and properties at least of as much worth as yours. I have had the faculty of bringing into the world warriors, great hunters, and admirable managers of canoes. This hand, withered as you see it now, whose veins represent the root of a tree, has more than once struck a knife into the hearts of the prisoners, who were given up to me for my sport. Let the river sides, I say, for I call them to witness for me, as well as the woods of such a country, attest their having seen me more than once tear out the heart, entrails, and tongue, of those delivered up to me, without changing colour, roast pieces of their flesh, yet palpitating and warm with life, and cram them down the throats of others, whom the like fate awaited. With how many scalps have not I seen my head adorned, as well as those of my daughters! With what pathetic exhortations have not I, upon occasion, roused up the spirit of our young men, to go in quest of the like trophies, that they might achieve the reward, honour, renown annexed to the acquisition of them: but it is not in these points alone that I have signalized myself. I have often brought about alliances, which there was no room to think could ever be made; and

I have been so fortunate, that all the couples whose marriages I have procured, have been prolific, and furnished our nation with supports, defenders, and subjects, to eternize our race, and to protect us from the insults of our enemies. These old firs, these ancient spruce-trees, full of knots from the top to the root, whose bark is falling off with age, and who yet preserve their gum and powers of life, do not amiss resemble. I am no longer what I was: all my skin is wrinkled and furrowed, my bones are almost everywhere starting through it. As to my outward form, I may well be reckoned amongst the things, fit for nothing but to be totally neglected and thrown aside; but I have still within me wherewithal to attract the attention of those who know me!"

According to Malecite tradition a feast and games of a very similar nature to those I have described for the installation of the chief took place every year in the spring when the tribe had reassembled after the winter hunt.

The Micmacs now make much of the day of their patron saint, St. Ann, which comes in the latter part of July. Not many years ago the festivities continued for a week or more and were chiefly devoted to old Indian customs; now they last several days, but the old Indian customs have disappeared. In 1910 I witnessed one of these festivities at Richibucto. It started several days before and lasted several days after St. Ann's day, and seemed to be chiefly devised with a view to making money, which I believe was to be given to the church; but from the state of the treasurer and cashier I have my doubts if much of it reached its ultimate destination. Drunkenness was not as bad on that reservation as on most others, probably because of its distance from supplies, nevertheless a large number of the men were in a mild state of intoxication.

A few days before the festival there could not have been more than a third of the male adults on the reservation, the others being away working. But on the day before St. Ann's day there

could hardly have been a Micmac in New Brunswick who did not go to some reservation or other. There were present at Richibucto a large number from Eel Ground, some from Burnt Church, and a few from Restigouche, Indian island, and places to the east. What was particularly noticeable was the fact that there were several married women from other reservations, who had come to Richibucto without their husbands. I believe there is a tendency for the people to go back to their old villages at this time. The working of this rule, however, is interfered with, because there is also a strong tendency for them to go to a large reservation, where necessarily there must be more excitement. This tendency is further strengthened for Richibucto and several other reservations, because they have the reputation of keeping up the old customs.

I have already mentioned the prevalence of drinking; on this particular reservation the laxness of sexual relations is even more noticeable. Of course, the presence of a number of women without their husbands in any rude society, naturally has the effect of upsetting the usual restrictions; but I believe here the cause is deeper than that, for a complete change comes over the conduct of the women. They are usually quiet, retiring, and modest, but at this season they are noisy, vivacious, and forward. It would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that at this season all the men are making love to other men's wives or to single girls. This matter has seemed to me to be worthy of note, because I believe that an old native festival has been attached to the name of a Christian saint, and that one of the noticeable features of the old festivity was sexual laxity. We know that such was the case among many of the tribes of the east and south of America.

It is said that the most celebrated festival of Saint Ann takes place on Cape Breton island; but, unfortunately, I have never been able to witness it there.

JIM PAUL Plate I A

GROUP of MALECITES Plate II A

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adney, E.T.,
1890 "How an Indian Birch Bark Canoe is Made," Harper's Young People, Supplement, July 29.

1900 "The Building of a Birch Canoe," in Outing, May, pp. 185-189.

Alger, A.L.
1893 "Penobscot Creation Myth," Popular Science Monthly, vol. XLIV, pp. 195-196.

1893 "Grandfather Thunder," Id., vol. XLIII, pp. 651-2.

Barbeau, C.M.,
1914 "Supernatural Beings of the Huron and Wyandot," American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 16, no. 2, April-June, pp. 288-313.

1915 "Huron and Wyandot Mythology, With an Appendix Containing Earlier Published Records," Memoir 80, Anthropological Series no. 11, Geological Survey, Canada, Ottawa.

"Wyandot Tales, Including Foreign Elements," Journal of American Folklore, vol. XXVIII, January-March, pp. 83-95.

Barratt, J.
1851 "The Indians of New England," Middletown, Conn.

Bertrand, M.
1610 "Lettre Missive, touchant la Conversion et Baptesme du Grand Sagamos de la Nouvelle France," Port Royal, June 28, vol. I, Jesuit Relations.

Biard, Pierre,

1611 "Lettre au T.-R.P. Claude Aquaviva," Dieppe, janvier 21, vol. I, Jesuit Relations.

"Lettre au R.P. Christophe Baltazar," Port Royal, juin 10, vol. I, Jesuit Relations.

"Lettre au T.-R.P. Aquaviva," Port Royal, juin 11, vol. I, Jesuit Relations.

1612 "Lettre au R.P. Provincial, à Paris," Port Royal, janvier 31, vol. II, Jesuit Relations.

"Missio Canadensis, Epistola ex Porturegali in Acadia, transmissa ad Praepositum Generalem Societatis Jesu," Port Royal, January 31, vol. II, Jesuit Relations.

1614 "Epistola ad Reverendissimum Patrem Claudium Aquavivam, Praepositum Generalem Societatis Jesu, Romae," Amiens, May 26, vol. III, Jesuit Relations.

1616 "Relation de la Nouvelle France, de Ses Terres, Naturel du Pais, et de Ses Habitans," Paris, vol. III, Jesuit Relations.

"Relation de la Nouvelle France, de ses Terres, Naturel du Pais, et de ses Habitans," Lyons, vol. IV, Jesuit Relations.

Bigot, Jacques,

1685 "Lettre au R.P. La Chase," Sillery, November 8, vol. LXIII, Jesuit Relations.

Bigot, Jacques,
1900 "Journal de ce qui s'est passé dans la Mission Abnaquise depuis la feste de Noel 1683 jusqu'au 8 octobre 1684," Sillery, vol. LXIII, Reprint, Jesuit Relations.

Blair, Emma, Helen,
1911 "The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and the Region of the Great Lakes as Described by Nicolas Perrot, Bacqueville de la Potherie, Morrell Marston, and Thomas Forsyth," 4 vols, Cleveland.

Blake, Lady Edith,
1888 "The Beothuks of Newfoundland," Nineteenth Century, vol. XXIV, pp. 899-918.

Boas, Franz,
1914 "Mythology and Folk-Tales of North American Indians," Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. XXVII, October-December, pp. 374-410.

Bonnycastle, R.H.
1842 "Newfoundland in 1842," vol. II, pp. 251-78, London.

Brinton, D.G.
1885 "Passamaquoddy Dialect," American Antiquarian, vol. VII, p. 120.

"The Lenâpé and their Legends," Philadelphia.

Brown, Mrs. W.W.
1889 "Some Indoor and Outdoor Games of the Wabanaki Indians," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, vol. 6, sect. 2, p. 41, Montreal.

1892 "Chief-making Among the Passamaquoddy," Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. V, pp. 57-60.

Busk, G.
1876 "Description of Two Beothuk Skulls," Journal of the Anthropological Institute, vol. V, pp. 230-233.

Cartwright, G.
1792 "A Journal of Transactions and Events During a Residence of Nearly Sixteen Years on the Coast of Labrador," Newark.

Cayne, Claude,
1618 "Relatio Rerum Gestarum in Novo-Francica Missione," Annis 1613 et 1614, Lyons, vol. II, Jesuit Relations.

Chamberlain, A.F.
1905 "The Beothuks of Newfoundland," Annual Archaeological Report, Appendix to Report of Minister of Education, Ontario, pp. 117-122.

Chamberlain, M.
1904 "Indians in New Brunswick," Acadiensis, vol. IV, pp. 280-95, St. John.

Champlain, S. de
1898 "The Origin of the Maliseets," New Brunswick Magazine, vol. I, July.

Chappell, E.
1818 "Voyage of H.M.S. Rosamund to the Southern Coast of Newfoundland," London, pp. 169-87.

Codrington, R.H.
1891 "The Melanesians, Studies in their Anthropology and Folk-Lore," Oxford.

Cooney, R.,
1832 "Compendious History of the Northern Part of New Brunswick," Halifax.

Cormack, W.E.
1836 "Journey Across Newfoundland," Edinborough.

Culin, Stewart,
1902-03 "Games of the North American Indians," 24th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Dawson, Sir J.W.
1871 "Acadian Geology."

Denys, Nicolas
1908 "The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia)." Translated and edited, with a memoir of the author, collateral documents, and a reprint of the original, by William F. Ganong. Publications of the Champlain Society, vol. II, Toronto.

Diereville,
1710 "Relation du voyage du Port Royale de l'Acadie," Amsterdam.

Dixon, Roland B.,
1909 "The Mythology of the Central and Eastern Algonkins," Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. XX, January-March.

Drake, S.G.
1841 "Tragedies of the Wilderness or True and Authentic Narratives of Captives, Who Have Been Carried Away by Indians from the Various Frontier Settlements of the United States, From the Earliest to the Present Time," Boston.

Elder, W.,
1871 "Aborigines of Nova Scotia," North American Review, vol. CCIII, pp. 1-80.

Fewkes, J.W.,
1890 "Contributions to Passamaquoddy Folk-Lore," Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. III, pp. 257-58.

Gatschet, A.S.,
1885 "The Beothuk Indians," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, vol. XXII, pp. 408-24; vol. XXVIII, pp. 1-18, 1890, (bibliography).

Giles, John,
1869 "Memoirs of Odd Adventures, Strange Deliverances, etc., in the Captivity of John Giles, Esq.," Cincinnati.

Goldenweiser, A.A.,
1914 "The Social Organization of the Indians of North America," Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. XXVII, October-December, pp. 411-456.

Gookin, Daniel,
1743 "Historical Collections of the Indians in New England, of Their Several Nations, Numbers, Customs, Manners, Religion, and Government, Before the English Planted There," Boston.

Hagar, S.,
1895 "Melange of Micmac Notes," Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, pp. 257-258.

"Micmac Customs and Traditions," American Anthropologist, vol. VIII, pp. 31-42.

1896 "Micmac Magic and Medicine," Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. IX, pp. 170-177.

1897 "Weather and Seasons in Micmac Mythology," ibid., X, pp. 101-106.

Hannay, James,
1909 "History of New Brunswick," St. John.

Harrington, M.R.,
1914 "Sacred Bundles of the Sac and Fox Indians, Illustrated by Specimens in the George G. Heye Collection," Anthropological Publications of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, vol. IV, no. 2.

Hewitt, J.N.B.,
1902 "Orenda and a Definition of Religion," American Anthropologist, N.S., vol. IV, p. 30.

Hoffman, James,
1891 "The Midewiwin or Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibwa," Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, pp. 143-300.

1896 "The Menomini Indians," Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part I, Washington, pp. 11-295.

Howley, James P.,
1915 "The Beothuck or Red Indians, the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Newfoundland," Cambridge.

Jack, E.,
1892 "The Abeniquis of the St. John River," Transactions of the Canadian Institute, vol. III, pp. 195-205.

1895 "Maliseet Legends," Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. VIII, pp. 192-209.

Jones, William,
1905 "The Algonkin Manitou," Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. XVIII, pp. 183-190.

Jouvency, Joseph,
1896 "Canadicae Missionis Relatio ab Anno 1611 Usque ad Annum 1613 Cum Statu Ejusdem Missionis, Annis 1703 et 1710," vol. I, Jesuit Relations.

"De Regione et Moribus Canadensium Seu Barbarorum Novae Franciae," vol. I, Jesuit Relations.

Jukes, J.B.,
1842 "Excursions in and About Newfoundland," London.

Kidder, Frederick,
1859 "The Abenaki Indians; Their Treaties of 1713 and 1717, and a Vocabulary With a Historical Introduction," Maine Historical Society Collections, vol. 6, pp. 229-263.

Lalemant, Charles,
1627 "Lettre au Père Hiersome l'Allemont," Kebec, aoust 1, 1626. Paris, Jean Bouchier, vol. IV, Jesuit Relations.

Le Clercq, Father Chrétien,
1910 "New Relation of Gaspesia, with the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians," Translated and edited, with a reprint of the original, by William F. Ganong. Publications of the Champlain Society, vol. V, Toronto.

Le Jeune, Paul,
1636 "Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France, en l'année 1635," Kebec, August 28, 1635, Paris.

"Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France, en l'année 1636, August 28.

Lescarbot, Marc,
1896 "La Conversion des sauvages qui ont été baptizé en la Nouvelle France,

Lescarbot, Marc,
1896 cette année 1610," vol. I, Jesuit Relations.

"Relation dernière de ce qui s'est passé au voyage du Sieur de Potricourt," Paris 1612, vol. II, Jesuit Relations.

1911 "The History of New France," translated by W.L. Grant, M.A. (Oxon.) and with an introduction by H.P. Biggar, B. Litt. (Oxon), Champlain Society, Toronto.

Leland, Charles G.,
1884. "The Algonquin Legends of New England or Myths and Folk Lore of the Micmac, Passamaquoddy, and Penobscot Tribes," Boston and New York.

Leland, Charles G., and Prince, John D.,
1902 "Kuloskap the Master," New York.

Lloyd, T.G.B.,
1874-75 "On the Beothuck...", Journal of the Anthropological Institute, vol. IV, pp. 21-39, 1874; vol. V, pp. 222-30, 233-248, 1875.

Long, J.,
1791 "Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader," London.

Macdougall, A.,
1891 "The Beothuk Indians," Transactions of the Canadian Institute, vol. II, pp. 98-102.

Maillard, C.S.,
1758 "An Account of Customs and Manners of the Mickmakis and Maricheets, Savage Nations, Now Dependent on the Government of Cape Breton," from an original French manuscript letter never published, London.

Maillard, C.S.,
1864 "Grammaire de la langue micmaque," rédigée et mise en ordre par Joseph M. Bellenger, Ptre. (Shea's Library of American Linguistics, no. 13.

Maurault, L'Abbé, J.A.,
1866 "Histoire des Abénaquis depuis 1607 jusqu'à nos jours 1866," imprimé à l'Atelier typographique de la "Gazette de Soul," Quebec.

Marrett, R.R.,
1914 "The Threshold of Religion," London.

Martin, R. Montgomery,
"History of New Brunswick."

Marston, Morrell
See Blair.

Massé, Ennemond,
1611 "Lettre au R.P. Provincial, à Paris," Port Royal, June 10, vol. I, Jesuit Relations.

Matthew, G.F.,
1884 "Discoveries at a Village of the Stone Age at Bocabec, N.B.," Natural History Society of New Brunswick, Bulletin III, pp. 6-29.

Mechling, Wm. Hubbs,
1913 "Maliseet Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. XXVI, no. CI, July-September, pp. 219-258.

1914 "Malecite Tales," Memoir 49, Anthropological Series no. 4, Geological Survey, Ottawa, Canada.

Michelson, Truman,
1912 "Preliminary Report on the Linguistic Classification of Algonquin Tribes," Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, pp. 221-290.

Millais, J.G.,
1907 "Newfoundland and Its Untrodden Ways," London.

Morgan, Lewis, H.,
1871 "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family," Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, vol. XVII.

1907 "Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization," New York.

O'Dowd, Father
1889 "Superstitions of the Passamaquoddies," Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. II, pp. 229-231.

Patterson, G.,
1891 "The Beothiks or Red Indians of Newfoundland," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, vol. IX, sect. 2, pp. 123-174.

1892 "Vocabulaires," ibid., vol. X, pp. 19-30.

Perley, C.,
1863 "History of Newfoundland," London.

Perrot, Nicolas,
See Blair.

Pichon, T.,
1768 "Genuine Letters and Memoirs Relating to ... Cape Breton and St. John," London, (Letters 7 and 10).

Pote, William, Jr.
1895 "The Journal of Captain William Pote, Jr., During His Captivity in the French and Indian War from May 1745 to August 1747," New York.

Prichard, H.H.,
1911 "Through Trackless Labrador," London.

Prince, J.D.,
1897 "Passamaquoddy Wampum Records," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, vol. XXXVI, pp. 479-495.

1898 "Some Passamaquoddy Documents," Annals of the New York Academy of Science, vol. XI, no. 15, p. 369-377.

1899 "Some Passamaquoddy Witchcraft Tales," ibid., XXXVIII, pp. 181-189.

1901 "Notes on Passamaquoddy Literature," ibid., vol. XIII, pp. 381-386.

1902 "The Differentiation Between the Penobscot and the Canadian Abenaki Dialects," American Anthropologist, N.S., vol. IV, pp. 17-32.

Radin, Paul,
1914 "Some Myths and Tales of the Ojibwa of Southeastern Ontario," Memoir 48, Anthropological Series no. 2, Geological Survey, Canada, Ottawa.

"Some Aspects of Puberty Fasting Among the Ojibwa," Museum Bulletin No. 2, Anthropological Series No. 2, Geological Survey, Canada, Ottawa.

"Religion of the North American Indians," Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. XXVII, October-December.

1915 "Literary Aspects of North American Mythology," Museum Bulletin No. 16, Anthropological Series No. 6, Geological Survey, Canada, Ottawa.

Radin, Paul,
"Social and Religious Customs of the Ojibwa of Southeastern Ontario," MS. belonging to Division of Anthropology, Geological Survey, Canada, Ottawa.

Rand, Rev. Silas T.,
1850 "A Short Statement of Facts Relating to the History, Manners, Customs, Language, and Literature of the Micmac Tribe of Indians," Halifax.

1888 "Dictionary of the Language of the Micmac Indians," Halifax.

1894 "Legends of the Micmacs," New York.

Raymond, Rev. Wm. D.,
"The River St. John, Its Physical Features, Legends, and History From 1604 to 1784.

Reagan, A.B.,
1919 "Some Games of the Bois Fort Ojibwa," American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. XXI, pp. 264-278.

Rivers, W.H.R.,
1914 "Kinship and Social Organization," London.

Schoolcraft, Henry R.,
1860 "Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge," Philadelphia.

Shea, J.G.,
"First Establishment of the Faith," Micmac or Recollet Hieroglyphics, Historical Magazine, vol. I, ser. V.

Skinner, A.,
1911 "Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. IX, part I, New York.

Skinner, A.,
1911 "War Customs of the Menomini Indians," American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 13, p. 299-312.

1911 "A Comparative Sketch of the Menomini," ibid., p. 551-565.

1913 "Social Life and Ceremonial Bundles of the Menomini Indians," ibid., vol. XIII, part 1, New York.

1913 "Associations and Ceremonies of the Menomini Indians," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. XIII, part II, New York.

Skinner, A., and Satterlee, J.V.,
1915 "Folklore of the Menomini Indians," ibid., vol. XIII, part III, New York.

Smethurst, Gamaliel,
1905 "A Narrative of an Extraordinary Escape Out of the Hands of the Indians in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence," reprinted by W.F. Ganong, Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, vol. 2, p. 380.

Smith, E.C.,
1903 "Indian Place Names of the Penobscot and St. John Rivers," privately printed.

Speck, Frank G.,
1914 "The Double Curve Motive in Northeastern Algonkian Art," Memoir 48, Anthropological Series No. 1, Geological Survey, Canada, Ottawa.

1914 "The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization," American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. XVII, no. 2, pp. 289-305.

Speck, Frank G.,
1915 "Decorative Art of Indian Tribes of Connecticut," Memoir 75, Anthropological Series No. 10, Geological Survey, Canada, Ottawa.

1915 "Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley," Anthropological Series No. 8, Geological Survey, Canada, Ottawa.

1915 "Myths and Folk-Lore of the Timiskaming Algonquin and Timiskaming Ojibwa," Memoir 71, Anthropological Series No. 9, Geological Survey, Canada, Ottawa.

1915 "Penobscot Tales," Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. XXXVIII, January-March, pp. 52-59.

1915 "Some Micmac Tales From Cape Breton Island," Journal of American Folk-Lore, ibid., pp. 59-70.

1915 "Some Naskapi Myths from Little Whale River," ibid., pp. 70-78.

1915 "The Eastern Algonkian Wabanaki Confederacy," American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. XVII, pp. 492-509.

1922 "Micmac Hunting Territories in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland," Part II of "Beothuk and Micmac," (in Indian notes and monographs, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.

Stamp, Harley,
1915 "A Malecite Tale: Adventures of Bukechinskwesk," Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. XXVIII, July-September, pp. 243-248.

Sylvester, H.M.,
1910 "Indian Wars of New England," Cleveland.

Trumbull, Henry,
1828 "History of the Discovery of America, of the Landing of our Forefathers at Plymouth, and of their most Remarkable Engagements with the Indians in New England, from Their First Landing in 1620, until the Final Subjugation of the Natives in 1679," Boston.

Turner, Lucien M.,
1894 "The Ethnology of the Ungava District, Hudson Bay Territory," Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, pp. 167-349.

Vetromile, Rev. Eugene,
1866 "The Abnakis and Their History, or Historical Notices on the Aborigines of Acadia," New York.

Watson, L.W.,
1907 "Origin of the Maliseets," Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. XX, pp. 160-162.

Willoughby, C.C.,
1905 "Dress and Ornaments of the New England Indians," American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 7, no. 3, July-September.

1906 "Houses and Gardens of the New England Indians," ibid., vol. 8, no. 1, January-March.

Waugh, F.W.,
1916 "Iroquois Foods and Food Preparation," Memoir 86, Anthropological Series No. 12, Geological Survey, Canada, Ottawa.

LE CENTRE DE RECHERCHES D'ANTHROPOLOGIE AMERINDIENNE
Président: R.P. Joseph Champagne, o.m.i.
Directeur de la recherche: Marcel Rioux
Directeur de la revue Anthropologica: Marcel Rioux
Secrétaires: R.P. Gontran Laviolette, R.P. Jean Trudeau, o.m.i.

ANTHROPOLOGICA
Anthropologica est l'organe du Centre de Recherches d'Anthropologie Amérindienne. Cette revue parait deux fois l'an et offre surtout des notes, articles et études sur les populations indigènes du Canada. L'abonnement est de cinq dollars par année.

ADRESSES: pour abonnements et questions d'administration:
Le Centre de Recherches d'Anthropologie Amérindienne,
Avenue des Oblats, Ottawa, Ont., Canada.

pour articles et questions de publication:
Marcel Rioux,
Musée de l'Homme,
Ottawa, Ont., Canada.

THE RESEARCH CENTER FOR AMERINDIAN ANTHROPOLOGY
President: Rev. Fr. Joseph Champagne, O.M.I.
Director of Research: Marcel Rioux
Director of Anthropologica: Marcel Rioux
Secretaries: Rev. Fr. Gontran Laviolette, O.M.I., Jean Trudeau, O.M.I.

ANTHROPOLOGICA
Anthropologica is the organ of the Research Center for Amerindian Anthropology. It is published twice a year and offers notes and articles on the Canadian Indians and Eskimos. The subscription fee is five dollars annually.

ADDRESSES: for matters of subscription and administration:
The Research Center for Amerindian Anthropology,
Oblate Avenue, Ottawa, Ont., Canada.

for matters of publication:
Marcel Rioux,
Museum of Human History,
Ottawa, Ont., Canada.

Cum permissu Superiorum