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

ANTHROPOLOGICA

N. 8 - 1959

THE RESEARCH CENTER FOR AMERINDIAN ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

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

ANTHROPOLOGICA

N. 8 - 1959

THE RESEARCH CENTER FOR AMERINDIAN ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

THE MALECITE INDIANS,

WITH NOTES ON THE MICMACS

(concluded)

by

W. H. Mechling

This number of Anthropologica contains the second part of W.M. Mechling's monograph on the Malecite Indians. In the previous issue, we published the chapters on history, life of the individual, kinship, and tribal life. Here we offer the remaining chapters on religion, games and amusements, units of measurement, and medical practices.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER VI

RELIGION

SHAMANISM

Biard, in his relation of 1616, gives a full account of the medicine man, particularly of his treatment of the sick.

"Now those among them who practice medicine are identical with those who are at the head of their religion, i.e. Autmoins, whose office is the same as that of our priests and our physicians. But in truth they are not priests, but genuine sorcerers; not physicians, but jugglers, liars, and cheats. All their science consists in a knowledge of a few simple laxatives, or astringents, hot or cold applications, lenitives or irritants for the liver or kidneys, leaving the rest to luck; nothing more. But they are well versed in tricks and impositions, of which I shall give you a sample, assuring you that I have not misrepresented or fabricated anything of all that I shall tell you, although it may seem incredible.

"A savage, feeling very ill, stretches himself out near the fire: then they say; 'Ouescouzy, Ouescouzy, he is sick.' When his turn comes, they give him his share of whatever they have boiled, roasted, or dragged over the coals, just the same as the others, for they are not accustomed to seek or prepare any special food for him. Now if the sick man eats what is given him, it is a good sign; otherwise, they say that he is very sick, and after some days (if they can) they will send for the Autmoin, whom the Basques call Pilotoys; i.e. sorcerer. Now this Pilotoys, having studied his patient, breathes and blows upon him some unknown enchantments; you would say that these chest winds ought to dispel the vitiated humors of the patient. If he sees after some days that

notwithstanding all his blowing the evil does not disappear, he finds the reason for it according to his own ideas, and says it is because the Devil is there inside of the sick man, tormenting and preventing him from getting well; but that he must have the evil thing, get it out by force, and kill it. Then all prepare for that heroic action, the killing of Beelzebub. And the Autmoin advises them to be upon their guard, for it can easily happen that this insolent fellow, seeing himself badly treated by him, may hurl himself upon some one of the crowd, and strangle him upon the spot. For this reason he allots to each one his part of the farce; but it would be tedious to describe, for it lasts fully three hours.

"The sum and substance of it is that the Juggler hides a stick in a deep hole in the ground, to which is attached a cord. Then, after various chants, dances, and howls over the hole, and over the sick man, who is not far away, of such kind that a well man would have enough of it to deafen him, he takes a naked sword and slashes it about so furiously that the sweat comes out in great drops all over his body and he froths like a horse. Thereupon the spectators, being already intimidated, he, with a frightful and truly demoniac voice, redoubles his roars and threats that they must take care, that Satan is furious, and that there is great peril. At this cry the poor dupes turn pale as death, and tremble like the leaf upon the tree. At last this impostor cries out in another and more joyous tone: 'There is the accursed one with the horn: I see him extended there at bay and panting within the ditch. But courage, we must have him all and exterminate him entirely.' Now the audience being relieved, all the strongest with great joy rush for the cord to raise Satan, and pull and pull. But they are far from getting him, as the Autmoin has fastened the stick too well. They pull again as hard as they can, but without success, while the Pilotoys goes, from time to time, to utter his blasphemies over the hole; and, making as if to give great thrusts to the diabolical enemy, little by little uncovers the stick which, at

last, by hard pulling, is torn out, bringing with it some rubbish, which the charlatan had fastened to the end, such as decayed and mouldy bones, pieces of skin covered with dung, etc. Then they are all overjoyed; wicked Lucifer has been killed. Nepq. Nepq. Stop, do you see his tracks? Oh victory! You will get well, sick man; be of good cheer, if the evil is not stronger than you, I mean, if the Devil has not already given you your death-blow.

"For this is the last scene of the farce. The Autmoin says, that the Devil being already killed, or seriously hurt, or at least gone away, whether very far or not, I do not know, it remains to be seen if he has given a death wound to the patient. To guess this he will have to dream; indeed he is in great need of sleep, for he has worked hard. Meanwhile he gains time to observe the crisis of the disease. Having slept well and dreamed, he looks again at his patient and, according to the symptoms which he observes, he declares that he is either to live or to die. He is not so foolish as to say that he will live, if the symptoms are not encouraging. He will then say, for instance, that he will die in three days. Hear now in what a fine fashion he verifies his prophecies. In the first place the sick man, since he has been thus appointed to die, does not eat, and they no longer offer him anything. But if he does not die by the third day, they say that he has something of the Devil in him, I know not what, which does not permit him to die easily, so they rush to his aid. Where? To the water. Why? To pour the cold water over his navel, and thus extinguish all vital heat, if any remain to him. He is indeed obliged to die the third day, since he is not going to do it of himself, they kill him."

It will be noticed that disease is here attributed to a malignant spirit, which the medicine man tries to expel by incantation and passes, and if he is successful he usually manages to extract some bone or substance as evidence of the former presence of the evil spirit. Breathing

and blowing on the patient, as well as incantations, also play an important part. Denys calls this spirit manitou (1), which is, of course, the usual Algonkin word for almost any kind of spirit. He says that sometimes the patient might be possessed with several manitous, and even though one was expelled the others might remain to do him harm. He also speaks of the payments to the medicine man. His account, however, is in general very similar to Biard's. It is as follows:

"If they were ill and dying of old age, or by some accident happening through trees or other object falling upon them, or where there was no apparent cause, there were old men who claimed to speak to the manitou, that is to say, the Devil, who came to whisper to them. These fellows put many superstitions into the mind, of which I have mentioned several in the foregoing. They were men who had some cunning more than the others, and made them believe all they wished, and passed for their physicians. These fellows came there to see the sick man, and asked of him where his ill was. After being well informed in all, they promised health by blowing on him. For this purpose they set themselves a dancing, and speaking to their manitou. They danced with such fury that they emitted foam as big as the fists on both sides of the mouth. During this performance they approached the patient from time to time, and at the place where he had declared he felt the most pain, they placed the mouth upon it, and blew there with all their might for some time, and then commenced again to dance. Following this, they returned again to the sick man to do just the same as before. Then they said it was the manitou which had possession of him, and that he (the sick man) had passed through several places where he had not rendered the accustomed homage, or some other similar follies. And (they said) that in time they hoped to make him get out. This lasted

---

(1) Denys, p. 417.

sometimes seven to eight days, and finally they made a pretence of drawing something from his body by dexterously showing it, saying - 'There, there, he has gone out; now he is cured.' And often in fact the man got well through imagination. And if the patient did not grow well, they found some other excuse, such as that there were several manitous, that they had been unwilling to go out, and that they had too far ignored them. They always made out a good case for themselves. One never omitted to give them something, though not so much as if he had been entirely cured. These medicine-men were lazy old fellows who would no longer go hunting, and who received from others everything they needed. If there were any fine robes, or other rarity in a wigwam, that was for Monsieur the Medicine-man. When animals were killed, all the best parts were sent to him. When they had cured three or four persons, they never lacked anything more. This it was not difficult for them to do, since the greatest malady of the Indians proceeded only from their imagination. This being removed from the mind, immediately they became well."

Le Clercq's account is fuller than either Biard's or Denys, but in the main it agrees with both. Denys called the spirit manitou, but Le Clercq names it ouahich (1), and when he does not use the native term always refers to it as ver, 'worm.' Prof. Ganong translates this word 'germ,' and says that it could not have been used in its literal sense. I cannot agree with him in this, and think everything goes to show that the Micmacs considered the cause of the disease to be a spirit whose form was similar to a worm, or which could and did transform itself into that form. In another place Le Clercq uses the native term tchougis, which is undoubtedly the same word as Rand's choojech, meaning 'a worm.'

---

(1) Le Clercq, p. 218.

Le Clercq (1) says that the medicine-man had the right to choose anything that he wanted in the wigwam in payment for his services. He further states that the medicine-man cured the sick man by using his own personal spirit to cast out the spirit which was in the sick man, and which was evidently not as powerful as the medicine-man's; the patient would say "Emkadoui," as if to say, "Lend me thy Devil," and the Juggler answers him, "If thou wishest that I employ him in thy service, it is necessary that thou givest me such and such presents."

Le Clercq uses a different word for the medicine-man from that used by Biard and Denys; for they call him autmoin, whereas Le Clercq calls him Bouhinne, which is the same as the word now used, Boo͝in (Rand) or bu'o͝win.

Le Clercq relates how after one of the greatest Micmacs died, the medicine-man said that the worm or spirit still remained in the dead man's heart. The medicine-man cut the man open and took out the heart, a piece of which was devoured by each Indian present. Le Clercq attributes this act to the desire to get the spirit out of the heart so that it could not trouble the ghost of the dead man. In this I am inclined to think he is mistaken, and believe that they partook of the heart because, belonging to the best and bravest of the Gaspesians as the medicine-man said, it would impart some of its strength to them. Le Clercq was not present on the occasion, and, as he did not write his book until many years after, he might well have been mistaken about the reason.

Thus far we have considered the medicine-man only in connection with the curing of the sick; but, besides this, he had many other powers. Biard gives the following account of some of these:

---

(1) Le Clercq, p. 217 et seq.

"Now all their religion, to speak briefly, is nothing else than the tricks and charms of the Autmoins, as we have related before in speaking of their illnesses. They have many other similar sacrifices which they make to the Devil, so they will have good luck in the chase, victory, favourable winds, etc. They believe also in dreams, that no kind of nonsense may be wanting to them. Furthermore, they say that the magic of the Pilotoys often calls forth spirits and optical illusions to those who believe them, showing snakes and other beasts which go in and out of the mouth while they are talking; and several other magical deeds of the same kind." Le Clercq mentions among other things the fact that they were able to kill a man forty or fifty leagues away, and says that it was done by thrusting a knife or sword in the earth, in a spot which probably represented the heart of his enemy, for he says when the sword or knife was withdrawn from the earth it was found to be covered with blood and that the enemy always expired at the same instant.

He also states that the medicine-men killed unborn children by sympathetic magic. For this purpose they drew pictures of their victim on moose or beaver skin and shot arrows at the representation. It seems they had a little bow a foot in length which they used only for magical purposes (1).

Like most Indian tribes the medicine-men had their medicine bundles (2). Le Clercq

---

(1) Le Clercq, p. 217. This is very similar to Le Jeune's account of the belief among the Montagnais ("Jesuit Relations," vol. VI, pp. 195-199).

(2) For a very good account of the sacred bundles of another Algonkian tribe, the Fox, see Harrington, "Sacred Bundles of the Sac and Fox Indians."

says (1): "You will take notice that each juggler has his own particular bag in which are all the articles which he uses in his jugglery. Some have the picture of their Oüahich under the form of a wolverine, others under the form of a monster, or of a man without a head."

And further on (2): "Here is the inventory of that which I found in this little bag of the Devil. It was made of the skin of an entire head of a moose, with the exception of the ears, which were removed.

"There was, first of all, this juggler's Oüahich, which was a stone the size of a nut wrapped in a box which he called the house of the Devil. Then there was a bit of bark on which was a figure, hideous enough, made from black and white wampum, and representing some monster which could not well be distinguished, for it was neither the representation of a man nor of any animal, but rather the shape of a little wolverine, which was adorned with black and white beadwork. That one, say the Jugglers, is the master Devil, or Oüahich. There was, in addition, a little bow a foot in length, together with a cord two fathoms long, interlaced with porcupine quills. It is this fatal bow which they use to cause the death of the little children in the wombs of their mothers. In addition to these things, this bag contained also a fragment of bark, wrapped in a delicate and very thin skin, on which were represented some little children, birds, bears, beavers, and moose. Against these the juggler, using his little bow, shot his arrow at pleasure, in order to cause the death of the children or of some other thing of which the figure is represented upon this bit of bark. Finally I found there a stick, a good foot in length, adorned with white and red porcupine quills; at its end were attached several straps of a half foot in length,

---

(1) Le Clercq, p. 220.

(2) Le Clercq, p. 221.

and two dozen dew-claws of moose. It is with this stick that he makes a devilish noise, using these dew-claws as sounders, an arrangement which seems more suitable for amusing little children than for juggling. Finally, the best article in the bag was a wooden bird, which they carry with them when they go hunting, with the idea that it will enable them to kill waterfowl in abundance."

Biard mentions the fact that the medicine-man had a sacred robe which he used only when engaged in his professional duties. From Le Clercq we learn that he foretold the future (1). He mentions also old women who derived their power from the sun and who were believed to have supernatural gifts. He says:

"They look upon these women as extraordinary persons, whom they believe to hold converse, to speak familiarly, and to hold communication with the sun, which they have all adored as their divinity."

Maillard gives a very good account of one method by which the shaman foretold the future. It is as follows:

"The great secret of these Jugglers consists in having a great Oorakin full of water, from any river in which it was known there were beaver-huts. Then he takes a certain number of circular turns round this Oorakin, as it stands on the ground, pronouncing all the time with a low voice, a kind of gibberish of broken words, unintelligible to the assistants, and most probably so to himself, but which those, on whom he means to impose, believe very efficacious. After this he draws near to the bowl, and bending very low, or rather lying over it, looks at himself in it as in a glass. If he sees the water in the least muddy, or unsettled, he recovers his erect posture, and begins his rounds again until he finds the

---

(1) Le Clercq, p. 223.

water as clear as he could wish it for his purpose, and then he pronounces over it his magic words. If after having repeated them twice or thrice, he does not find the question proposed to him resolved by this inspection of the water, nor the wonders he wants operated by it, he says with a loud voice and a grave tone, that the Manitoo (1), or Miewndoo (2) (the great spirit) or genius, which, according to them, has all knowledge of future events, would not declare himself until every one of the assistants should have told him (the Juggler) in the ear what were his actual thoughts, or greatest secret. To this purpose he gets up, laments and bitterly inveighs against the bad dispositions of those of the assistants, whose fault it was, that the effects of his art were obstructed. Then going round the company, he obliged them to whisper him in the ear, whatever held the first place in their minds; and the simplicity of the greater number is such, as to make them reveal to him what it would be more prudent to conceal. By these means it is, that these artful Jugglers render themselves formidable to the common people, and by getting into the secrets of most of the families of the nation, acquire a hand over them. Some, indeed, of the most sensible see through this pitiful artifice, and look on the Jugglers in their proper light of cheats, quacks, and tyrants; but out of fear of their established influence over the bulk of the nation, they dare not oppose its swallowing their impostures, or its regarding all their miserable answers as so many oracles. When the Juggler, in exercise, has collected all that he can draw from the inmost recesses of the minds of the assistants he replaces himself, as before, over the mysterious bowl of water, and now knows what he has to say. Then, after twice or thrice laying his face close to the surface of the water, and having as often made his evocations

---

(1) Micmac

(2) Malecite

in uncouth, unintelligible words, he turns his face to his audience, sometimes he will say, 'I can only give a half-answer upon such an article; there is yet an obstacle unremoved in the way, before I can obtain an entire solution, and that is, there are some present here who are in such and such a case. That I may succeed in what is asked of me, and that interests the whole nation, I appoint that person, without my knowing, as yet, who it is, to meet me at such an hour of the night. I name no place of assignation, but will let him know by a signal of lighted fire, where he may come to me, and suffer himself to be conducted wherever I shall carry him. The Manitoo orders me to spare his reputation, and not expose him; for if there is any harm in it to him, there is also harm to me.'

"Thus it is the Juggler has the art of imposing on these simple credulous creatures, and even often succeeds by it in his divinations. Sometimes he does not need all this ceremonial. He pretends to foretell off-hand, and actually does so, when he is already prepared by his knowledge, cunning, or natural penetration. His divinations chiefly turn on the expedience of peace with one nation, or of war with another; upon matches between families, upon the long life of some, or the short life of others; how such and such persons came by their deaths, violently or naturally; whether the wife of some great Sagamo has been true to his bed or not; who it could be that killed any particular persons found dead of their wounds in the woods, or on the coast. Sometimes they pretend it is the deed of the Manitoo, for reasons to them unknown; this last incident strikes the people with a religious awe. But what the Jugglers are chiefly consulted upon, and what gives them the greatest credit, is to know whether the chase of such a particular species of beasts should be undertaken; at what season, or on which side of the country; how best may be discovered the designs of any nation with which they are at war; or at what time such or such persons shall return from their journey. The Juggler pretends to see all this, and more,

in his bowl of water: divination by coffee-grounds is a trifle to it. He is also applied to, to know whether a sick person shall recover, or die of his illness. But what I have here told you of the procedure of these Jugglers, you are to understand only of the times that preceded the introduction of Christianity amongst these people, or of those parts where it is not yet received: for these practices are no longer suffered where we have any influence."

John Giles gives an account of a Malecite method of foretelling the future by means of the sweat lodge. His account is as follows:

"The Indians are very often surprised with the appearance of ghosts and demons. Sometimes they were encouraged by the devil, for they go to him for success in hunting, etc. I was once hunting with Indians who were not brought over to the Romish faith, and after several days they proposed to inquire, according to their custom, what success they should have. They accordingly prepared many hot stones, and laying them in a heap, made a small hut covered with skins and mats; then, in a dark night two of the powwows went into this hot house with a large vessel of water, which at times they poured on those hot rocks, which raised a thin steam, so that a third Indian was obliged to stand without, and lift up a mat to give it vent when they were almost suffocated. There was an old squaw who was kind to captives, and never joined with them in their powwowing, to whom I manifested an earnest desire to see their management. She told me that if they knew of my being there they would kill me, and that she had known young persons to be taken away by a hairy man when she was a girl, and, therefore, she would not advise me to go, lest the hairy man should carry me away. I told her I was not afraid of the hairy man, nor could he hurt me if she would not discover me to the powwows. At length she promised she would, but charged me to be careful of myself. I went within 3 or 4 feet of the hot house, for it was very dark, and heard strange noises and yellings, such as I never heard before. At times the Indian who

tended without would lift up the mat, and a steam would issue which looked like fire. I lay there two or three hours, but saw none of their hairy men or demons. And when I found they had finished their ceremony, I went to the wigwam and told the squaw what had passed. She was glad I had escaped without hurt, and never discovered what I had done. After some time inquiry was made of the powwows what success we were likely to have in our hunting. They said they had very likely signs of success, but no real ones as at other times. A few days after, we moved up the river and had pretty good luck.

"One afternoon as I was in a canoe with one of the powwows, the dog barked, and presently a moose passed by within a few rods of us, so that the waves he made by wading rolled our canoe. The Indian shot at him, but the moose took very little notice of it, and went into the woods to the southward. The fellow said, 'I will try if I can't fetch you back for all your haste.' The evening following we built our two wigwams on a sandy point on the upper end of an island in the river, northwest of the place where the moose went into the woods, and here the Indians powwowed the greatest part of the night following. In the morning we had a fair track of a moose round our wigwams, though we did not see or taste of it. I am of opinion that the devil was permitted to humor those unhappy wretches sometimes, in some things."

At the present time I do not believe there are any people who profess to be <u>medeulin</u>, or are believed to be such. The Micmacs, however, believe that there are several <u>buowin</u> alive. Some of them are men, but the most of them are women. I was inclined to think that it was merely the mediaeval notion of witches, but since reading Le Clercq's statements about the old women with supernatural power in his day, I am convinced that it is a survival of a native belief.

As far as my own researches go, I could find no difference between the Micmac ideas about the buowin and the Malecite ideas about medeulin. Since my own notes are fuller on medeulin, and it has been more discussed by the later writers, we shall begin with an account of this belief.

Unlike some of the more western members of the Algonkian stock, who have ceremonialism elaborately developed, the Malecites apparently had no course of training or initiation for the novice. One informant claimed a special course of training under the care of an old medeulin, but as he proved to be entirely unreliable, and since all my other informants denied it, I think we shall have to exclude his statements.

According to most of my informants, some people were born medeulin, whereas others acquired such power in later life. Leland's statements agree with this; he says that some children are born medeulin and manifest it while they are babes by being capricious, eccentric, and malicious.

I am not certain how those who are not born with the power acquire it in later life, but it would seem to be partly by association with other medeulin and partly by fasting and abstinence. I believe, too, it may come upon them suddenly, like kɛskamzit, without any effort on their part.

It is almost impossible to define the powers of the medeulin because they are so variable. Naturally the most common and most important was the curing of the sick, and then injuring or casting spells on their enemies. Besides this they could perform various feats which rather come under the head of conjuring. They could walk in the hard ground, sinking in it as if it were snow or mud; they could transform themselves into various animals, particularly the owl and the rabbit.

Leland gives quite an interesting account of the medeulin, which he apparently secured from a Malecite, and since he encloses it in quotations I suppose it is practically as the Indian related it. This is his account:

"There are. Many at St. John and Sebayk are still m'téoulin. I saw this myself thirty-five years ago at St. John. There was a deaf Indian there. The white men were abusing him. They spat on him. By and by a m'téoulin from St. John came, a man of thirty-five or forty. I saw this. The m'téoulin asked them not to abuse the deaf and dumb Indian. They turned on the m'téoulin. Then he screamed so horribly, so awfully, and looked so like a devil that the men were frightened. They fell on their knees, and could not move. They let the man go.

"Two or three weeks after I was in another place. We spoke of the m'téoulin. The white folks ridiculed them. I said there was one in Fredericton, and I said I would bet ten dollars that he would get the better of them. And they bet that no Indian could do more than they could. So the m'téoulin came. And first of all he screamed so that no one could move. It was dreadful. Then he took seven steps through the ground up to his ankles, just as if it had been light snow. When I asked for the ten dollars, the white men paid. I gave it to the m'téoulin.

"Women are sometimes m'téoulin. There is one at Psesuk (Bar Harbour) now, this summer. You have met her. She is -----'s wife. If you offend her she can hurt you in strange ways.

"She is a good doctor. Once she cured a man. When he got well he could not pay her for the medicine. His name is Louis -----. She asked for her money; she asked many times; she could not get it. He was going to the woods, far away, to trap; he said he would pay her when he returned, but she wanted it then. She said, 'I will never forget this; I will be revenged.' He went far up the St. John river with his traps; he set them in

the stream for beaver. All that he caught that winter was sticks, and sometimes an eel. Then at the end of the day he would say to his man, 'It is no use.' And then they could hear the witch laughing behind the bushes, and tittering when he came home. So it went on long. Then he was sorry, and said, 'I wish I had paid that woman what I owed her.' And at once they heard a voice from the bushes, or rocks, say, 'Louis, that will do. It is enough.' And the next day they caught two beavers, and every day two, and so on, until the season was over."

He gives the following account of power obtained by abstinence, which he secured from a Passamaquoddy Indian:

"There was once a very young man who wished to become a very wise and brave warrior, like his father. And his father said to him, 'I get all my luck of every kind from my dreams. You can have such dreams; any man can, if he will do a certain thing; but that thing is not easy for a young man like you. You must sleep seven nights with a virgin, and never touch her.'

"The young man thought over this for a few days, and then asked his father how it could be arranged or managed.

"I will tell you,' replied the old man. 'Find a girl; the more beautiful she is and the more you want her, the stronger the magic will be. Go to the parents for their daughter as a wife. Cheat them so. Before you marry get seven bear-skins, and let no man except one know anything about it. Make him clean them. One skin should be cleaned every twenty-four hours. Seven days must pass so.'

"The young man was accepted by the parents; he sent the seven bear-skins to the young woman; they were married; they went to their wigwam. He lay on the bearskins; he directed his wife to make another bed and sleep on it. They lay apart. The bride thought this was strange;

she told her mother of it. The mother said, 'Never mind. By and by it will be all right.' The wife thought it was all wrong. When seven nights had passed the bridegroom disappeared. He was not seen in his village for twenty-five or thirty years. Then he returned to his father. He could divine all things by dreams. He had but to take the magic bear-skin and sleep on it, and dream. He could tell where to find good hunting or fishing. He foredreamed war with the Mohawks. Can any man do this? They say so, and I have known many who tried it in vain. They could not pass the trial successfully.

"There are stones in the forest with names on them. They give great power to dream. I have seen in my dreams the m'téoulin of ancient times -- the magicians, my father told me of long ago. I have seen them diving under the waters from one island to another. I have seen them dive 10 miles.

"When I was young, J.N., who was a great m'téoulin, offered to teach me the art. I could have become one, but I would not. I did not think it was right.

"Once old J.N. and my grandfather hunted in the woods. It was near Katahdin, the Great Mountain. And they wanted everything. They had got out of everything. One night old N. said, 'I can bear this no longer. Would you like a nice pipe of tobacco? We have had nothing but meat for four weeks.' So he went away for a short time; perhaps it was an hour. He returned with a box. There was in it three pounds of tobacco; there was cheese, rice, and sugar; there were fifty pounds of provisions in all.

"This famous m'téoulin was long a popular governor of the Passamaquoddies. I have a curious old brass candlestick, said to be one hundred and fifty years old, which he owned all his life. The following remarkable reminiscences of this very clever old sagamore were given to me by Marie Sakis, a Penobscot:

"The old governor was a great m'téoulin. He had got it among the Chippewas. He said that it would come to pass that he would die before the next snow-storm. No, he did not care himself, but my husband's mother did, when she heard this, and she cried. Then he said, 'Well, I will try to live, or else die in a month; but it will be a hard fight.' So he made him a bow, and strung it with his wife's hair; and having done this, he shot an arrow through the smoke-hole of his wigwam.

"All this was at Nessaik, near Eastport. Then he said to his wife, 'Take one of your leggings and put it on my head.' She did so. Then he took medicine. A rainbow appeared in the sky, and a great horse-fly came out of his mouth, and then a large grasshopper. He cried to his wife, 'Do not kill it.' And then came a stone spear-head.

"'Now,' said the governor, 'this is all right so far, but the great struggle is yet to come. It is a weewillmekq' who had done this.' (You know what that is; the Passamaquoddies call it weewilmekq'. It is a worm an inch long, which can make itself into a horrid monster as large as a deer; yes, and much larger. It is m'téoulin; yes, it is a great magician.) 'I am going to fight it. You must come with a small stick to hit it once, and only a mere tap.' But she would not go. So he went and fought with the Weewillmekq'. He killed it. It was a frightful battle. When he returned he smelt like fresh fish. His wife bade him go and wash himself; but let him bathe as much as he could, the smell remained for days. The pond where he fought has been muddy and foul ever since.

"The governor could with a gimlet bore a hole in any tree in the woods, and draw from it as he pleased any kind of wine or other liquor. Once he was far in the forest with some white gentlemen; he wished to entertain them. He did this, to their astonishment. He produced tobacco in a miraculous manner when it was wanted.

Then, returning to Eastport, he went to Mr. Pearce, who kept a store, and showed him that a certain amount of wine had disappeared from his barrels, and paid him for it. He never drank wine or spirits himself.

"He once went hunting. He took his wife with him; she was enceinte. It was in midwinter. She had a great yearning for green corn. He put a dish on the ground, and there fell from above ears of fresh-boiled green corn into it. 'There,' said he, 'as I promised, you have it.'

"She had a silver cross and beads. One day she lost it, and grieved very much. He said, 'Put that wooden dish upside down, near the fire.' It was done, and when she turned it up the cross was under the dish. And he said the Ketawks, or Spirits, had brought it.

"The following legend, told me by Tomah Josephs, sets forth another manner by which m'téoulin may be acquired.

"There were two Indian families camped away at some distance from the main village. In one lived a young man, and every night he would go to the other wigwams to see some girls. His mother warned him that he would come to harm, for there was danger abroad, but he never minded her.

"Now, one night at the end of winter, when the ground was bare of snow, as he was walking along he heard something come after. It had a very heavy, steady tramp. He stopped, and saw a long figure, white, but without arms or legs. It looked like a corpse rolled up. He was horribly frightened, but when it attacked him he grew angry. It twined round him; it struck itself against him, and thrashed itself, bending like a fish all about. And he, too, fought as if he was crazy. He was one of those whose blood and courage go up, but never down; he could die, but never give in until dead. Before daylight the ghost suggested a rest, or peace; the Indian would not hear of it, but fought on. The ghost began to

implore mercy, but the youth just then saw in the north Kival lo kesso, the break of day. Then he knew that if he could but endure the battle a little longer he should indeed get a great victory.

"Then the ghost implored him, saying, 'Let me go, and whatever you want you shall get, and good luck all your life.' Yet for all this he would not yield, for he knew that by conquering he would win all the spirit had to give. And as the first sun-ray shone on him he became insensible, and when he awoke it was as from a sleep. But by his side lay a large, old, decayed log, covered with moss. He remembered that during the fight he had seemed once to plunge his fist, by a violent blow, completely into the enemy up to his elbow, and there was a hole in it corresponding to this wound. He had torn away the other's scalp-lock, stripping the skin down to the waist; he found a long, hairy-looking piece of moss ripped from the end of the log to the middle. And all about lay pieces of moss and locks of his own hair, testifying to the fury of the fight.

"He was terribly bruised and torn, but that he did not heed, for now he was another man, and a terrible one. His mother said, 'I warned you of danger:' but he had conquered the danger. He had all the strength of five strong men, and all the might and magic of the spirit; yes, the spirit itself was now in him. After this he could do anything, and find game where no one else could. To conquer a ghost gives power."

Even today there are people alive who claim to have seen medeulin perform various things.

I asked Jack Solomon if he had ever seen a medeulin do anything. He said "Yes, once. I had often heard how Noel could walk in the hard ground up to his knees, so I resolved to ask him to perform this feat the next time I saw him. He consented, and walked to a place where the ground was smooth and hard, and when he started to walk

he sank at each step up above his ankles just as if it was soft snow. He had mocassins on too. He seemed to be working very hard, and he looked rather ill and pale. When he had finished he was entirely exhausted.

"I saw the same man change himself into a rabbit. I was picking raspberries with him at the time when we heard some people talking not very far away. He said, 'I wonder who that is!' I replied, 'I am sure I don't know.' Then he said, 'I'm going to find out,' and disappeared in a clump of bushes. In a little while I saw a rabbit run out from behind the bushes. Soon after I called to him, thinking he was still in the bushes, but he didn't answer. Then I went over to the bushes, but nobody was there. Thinking this very extraordinary I nevertheless continued picking raspberries, and after a while I heard him laugh over in the bushes; immediately afterwards he appeared and came over to where I was picking. I did not see the rabbit come back, so he must have changed himself from the rabbit when I was picking. I asked him if he saw the people, and he told me who they were and what they were doing and saying.

"Once when I was at Oromocto I was going through the woods when an alligator ran by. I was exceedingly amazed at this, for I had never seen an alligator in my life before, but had often heard them described. This one, however, had not gone far when it stopped and looked around at me. At once I recognized the face of my friend. I was exceedingly wrath at his conduct and picked up a stone to throw at him. He, however, ran behind a tree and when I arrived there he had man's clothes on. You know if anybody hits them when they are in an assumed form they will die, no matter how slight the blow may be. The only hope is to get some medicine from the person who delivered the blow. For this any kind of herb is good. A medeulin cannot change back to a person when anyone is looking at him, but he must go behind a tree or something. This particular medeulin was not powerful enough to change both

his head and body. He could only change his body."

This particular medeulin behaved in a most extraordinary manner at the time of his death, I was told by the young fellow who was watching at his bedside. Every now and then an uncanny expression would come over his countenance, and he would then get up from his death-bed and go outside the house. The youth, being struck by his weird expression, was afraid to follow him into the darkness. However, he always returned without anything happening. When he had done this four times he went to bed and did not go out of the house until he died, although he soon got up and began stabbing something near the bed which was quite invisible to the youth, but which must have been an evil spirit.

The young man who was attending him took the knife away from him and put it back on the shelf, but was greatly surprised soon afterwards to see that he again had the knife and was again stabbing at something. This seemed to him little short of miraculous, because he had been watching the old medeulin all the time and was sure he could not have taken the knife without his noticing it, the shelf being some distance from the bed. The youth again removed the knife and replaced it on the shelf, but the old man succeeded in getting it several times. Later he became quiet, and towards morning he died.

This medeulin is said to have been a very good-natured fellow and extremely easy to get along with. In early life he had the reputation of casting evil spells on people; later the priest made him promise never to harm any one by magic, and after that he never did.

Mrs. Laport told me the following story of a Malecite she knew:

"One evening an Indian and his wife were returning home from visiting his father. The woman was going on ahead, and was much surprised on turning round to see a big black dog pursuing her. She threw her shawl to it in order

to distract its attention so that she might have time to escape; to her surprise the dog ate the shawl. Meantime she reached home and barred the door. After a while her husband knocked at the door. When he entered she noticed that he was very pale and looked quite ill, so she asked him what was the matter. He said he was quite ill, and asked her to prepare an emetic. After he had drunk the emetic he began to vomit pieces of the shawl. Then she realized that her husband had been the black dog, and asked him why he turned himself into a dog. He said it was not his fault, for whenever one of those fits came upon him he had to change. He further told her not to be afraid if the change occurred again, but to take a knife and cut him so as to draw blood. This, he said, would cure him for ever. So the next time he changed into a dog his wife took a knife and cut him on the leg so as to draw blood; after that he was not troubled with these fits again."

Mrs. Laport's grandfather, who was a medeulin, was out in a canoe porpoise hunting with his wife. He had a new rifle with him which was dropped overboard in a squall. His wife felt very sorry at this and began to chide him for carelessness. He said, "Don't grieve about the matter; if you are not afraid I will get it for you." His wife said she was not afraid, so he called wiwilámek' out of the deep. When he got close his wife noticed that he was carrying the rifle on his horns, but she was so terrified by his aspect that she was unable to take the rifle and wiwilámek' returned to the deep with it.

Jim Paul also gave an account of how he saw a medeulin at Oromocto take seven steps in the hard ground, sinking up to his ankles at each step. Then he took a long leap, and when he landed he sank above his ankles. Jim says he looked exceedingly fierce before he did it. This Indian was probably the one referred to previously by Jack Solomon.

Jim Paul's father told him how he was hunting with Frank Joe of St. Mary and another

medeulin from Old Town, when a discussion arose between them and hot words passed. Frank Joe rose, and, taking his blanket, squatted down and covered himself with it. Although the day was very clear, a thunderbolt hit the wigwam. The medeulin from Old Town at once went out, Frank Joe remarking, 'He won't act so proudly next time.' Soon Jim's father was greatly surprised to see Frank Joe seize his knife and stab at something. Thinking at first that he was in danger he jumped to one side, and as he did so he noticed the door-flap of the wigwam move as if some one was going out. Frank Joe then said to Jim's father, 'Why did you jump, Peter, I had no intention of hitting you.' Then Jim's father realized that the other medeulin, though invisible to him, had come back, and had again been defeated.

On another occasion two men fell to fighting at Oromocto. One of them had a very violent temper, and having got the worst of the fight he ran to get his gun in order to shoot his adversary. He happened to meet his brother, a medeulin, when he was going out of the house. The medeulin, realizing his brother's intention, took away the gun, cocked it, and gave it back, saying, 'Now shoot him if you still want to.' His brother attempted to fire the gun, but, although he pulled the trigger, the hammer refused to move.

On another occasion Jim was teasing this same medeulin for having a poor gun, because, the spring being weak, it failed frequently to explode the charge. The medeulin took Jim's gun and, cocking it, said, 'Yours is no better. See! It won't go off, try it!' Jim pulled the trigger, but was very much surprised to see that it would not explode the cap. Soon the medeulin left, and his brother said, 'Now try it, I bet it is all right now. It would not go off because of my brother; it is all right.' So Jim tried it and it went off, although no one had touched it since.

There are several other purely legendary beliefs about the shaman and his powers. It was

believed that the most powerful charm or medicine was secured from wiwilamek, a sort of sea serpent, very large and of awful aspect, with two short horns. Indeed he resembled in appearance a caterpillar magnified a hundredfold. To secure this medicine it was necessary to go far out to sea in a canoe and, calling the serpent from the deep by certain incantations, grasp him by the horns and scrape them, reciting all the while certain incantations. These scrapings were then taken home, and almost anything could be performed with their aid. I was unable to secure any of the incantations.

It is also believed that if one medeulin kills another by witchcraft, the body will not rot although it lies in the forest exposed to the elements. If some one passes by without noticing him he will seize hold of him and eat him. When he has thus eaten three he becomes a kiwak^{w} (1) and goes far to the north to fight other kiwak^{w}. These peculiar people have the power when they fight of increasing their size from the stature of ordinary mortals to the heights of the tallest trees. When they want to avoid other kiwak^{w} they must keep away from streams or lakes, for if they go near them their presence is at once detected by their enemy. A female kiwak^{w} is said to be stronger than a male.

If a powerful medeulin cast a spell on another there was only one infallible way of removing that spell; that was by banding seven medeulins together to make their medicine. For this purpose they made an especially large wigwam with seven platforms or floors a few feet above each other; a medeulin then occupied each floor. There was no door in the wigwam and the medeulinowuk had to enter by the smoke hole.

---

(1) See Mechling, "Malecite Tales," p. 75, Algonkin Legends of New England," p. 246; and Rand, "Legends of the Micmacs," No. XXX.

I make no attempt to explain either how the medeulin could perform his various feats nor how the beliefs in his power could have arisen. It seems to me that there may be many explanations, but as I have never seen one of the feats performed, any attempt on my part to offer an explanation would be purely speculative and futile. I have tried, therefore, only to record faithfully what the Malecites believe about it.

KƐSKƏMZIT AND HUNTING TABOOS

Although the Malecites and Micmacs have been for more than two centuries nominally Catholics, yet they still have a very interesting conception which they call kƐskəmzit. Before attempting to consider the historical development of this concept and its relation to similar beliefs found among other primitive peoples, it will be well to consider the concept as it exists among the Micmacs today.

KƐskəmzit is a difficult word to translate because no English word has exactly the same meaning. It may be rendered power, luck, or sacred, but none of these convey the exact meaning. Perhaps it is better to translate as 'a lucky power with a touch of the supernatural.' It is most nearly represented by 'luck,' in the sense in which that word is used by common folk.

Primarily, the most important thing to note about kƐskəmzit is that no person or thing is kƐskəmzit, but many persons or things may have kƐsk mzit. A person usually does not possess unlimited and indefinite kƐskəmzit, but has it for a special purpose; for example, for hunting or fishing, or for making women fall in love with him. Although a man may have a kƐskəmzit for practically anything, it is usually confined to some particular power or luck in hunting or fishing -- hunting caribou or duck; or spearing salmon. I distinctly remember one man having kƐskəmzit for paddling, another man for rowing, another for love-making,

another for running, and a great many more for hunting or fishing. Apparently any special abilities along any line are attributed to the person having k!sk@mzit for that ability. There was even one Indian who had k!sk@mzit for chopping wood.

Connected with k!sk@mzit there is a feeling of awe and respect for the supernatural, manifested by the Indians' reticence on the subject. At first, no one would speak about it at all, but, after a while, when they realized that I had a general notion of the subject, they used to converse with me about it and would say, 'So-and-so has a k!sk@mzit for such-and-such a thing.' However, the person who was supposed to have the k!sk@mzit would always deny it and refuse to talk about it. Later, I found this was partly due to awe of the supernatural, and partly to the fact that they believe, if they claim to have k!sk@mzit and describe how they obtained it, their power will leave them. Eventually I was able to collect, from several of the Indians who were on intimate terms with me, accounts of how various deceased people got their k!sk@mzit. From these accounts I gather that it is most frequently acquired by finding some peculiar object, which is carefully preserved and secreted.

This is illustrated in the following account of how a Malecite obtained and lost his k!sk@mzit, and later secured another.

"One night, many years ago, an Indian was spearing salmon (1). As they were poling they passed over a shallow place in the stream where the water was only a few feet deep. The bowman saw a white object, and, stopping the canoe, got down on his knees, reached overboard, and picked up the object, which -- not wishing the

---

(1) The Indian in question was the father of Noel (Newel) John, of Central Kingsclear. He was spearing salmon in the usual Malecite manner, i.e. by having a birch bark torch in the bow of the canoe to lure the salmon.

man in the stern to see -- he immediately placed in his pocket. However, the steersman had observed him pick up something and asked him what it was. He said that it was only a stone, but he knew from a strange feeling that came over him that it was full of kɛskəmzit. It was most extraordinary in appearance -- whiter than, and different from, other stones -- but he had no time to examine it, for if the man in the stern should learn that he had found his kɛskəmzit, it would lose all its efficacy. All night they speared salmon, and it was not until after breakfast the next morning that he had time to examine the object. Retiring to a safe distance he cautiously drew it from his pocket. To his amazement he found it was not a stone but the tooth of some animal (1). This to him was additional proof that he was the possessor of some very powerful kɛskəmzit, but, of course, he did not yet know what particular form his power would take.

"From that time on the man had most remarkable luck in hunting and fishing, especially in spearing salmon. But his wife became cognizant of the fact that he always carried some object in his pouch, and, being a devout Catholic, believed it would eventually bring him great misfortune. She tried to persuade him to throw it away; but, as he refused, she herself took it out of his pouch and threw it away. To her amazement she observed him draw it forth from his pouch the next morning. This only made her the more convinced that it must be an evil power, so she set to work to convince her husband of the accuracy of her belief. To restore family peace he finally threw it away. To their bewilderment they again found it in his pouch the following morning. By this time she had thoroughly convinced her husband that he had better make away with it, so he threw it into the fire, where, much to his surprise, it was consumed.

---

(1) My informant said that the tooth was about 3 inches long. Originally it was much larger, but it had been worn down by the sand and waves.

"From this time all his former good fortune deserted him and he had no luck at all in either hunting or fishing. Some time afterwards he confided the matter to his brother, describing all about the amulet from the time it was found until its destruction. His brother, intensely angry, said he was a fool for being influenced in his conduct by a woman, and upbraided him for not having given it to him, saying if he did not want good luck, there were most certainly other people who did.

"Many years afterwards he was hunting in company with his two brothers. It was mid-winter, and, the snow being very deep, the moose, as is usual under those circumstances, herded together in a place where they had trodden the snow down (1). When the hunters came upon them they scattered in all directions and the Indians, each following a moose, became separated. Our Indian had the good fortune to shoot his moose; after resting a short time, he set to work to skin the animal. As he was splitting the skin under the throat, his knife ran into something very hard. Thinking that the hide was very thick and tough he continued to cut his way through, but only succeeded in turning the edge of his knife. He then decided that it was not a very tough hide which was stopping him, but something far harder, so he cut the substance out. It was a stone about 4 inches long and 1 inch in diameter. He laid it on an old log and resumed his work.

"After he had finished he went over and examined it more carefully. Presently he observed to himself, 'That will do for a whetstone. We shall see what kind of luck that will bring me. I think it is my k̓sk̓mzit. I shall most certainly not tell my wife this time, for she spoiled my first one.'

"From that time on he had the most marvellous luck in hunting moose; even though it

---

(1) This is known as yarding.

was not rutting season the moose would always call, thus disclosing their whereabouts. He never told any one about it until he became too old to hunt, and his luck, therefore, never deserted him."

There are several points in the foregoing narrative, insignificant as it may seem, which I think should be discussed. The first of these is the manner in which the k!skʌmzit was acquired, and how an Indian knows when he has one. Apparently there are very few objective indications beyond its generally strange appearance. The real test is purely subjective, for the Indian must experience a certain emotional thrill, which he finds exceedingly hard to describe, but which he apparently has no difficulty in recognizing when it appears. All my informants were agreed that there was no difficulty in realizing the feeling, which they usually described as one of strangeness or awe. I cannot help feeling, however, that they deceive themselves on this point, for they never speak of it until many years after the event, when the object must have acquired a sanctity and veneration through long and successful use. If, on the other hand, the object fails as a luck-bringer it is discarded as not having k!skʌmzit. It will be noticed that the Indian in the foregoing narrative said: "I will see what sort of luck this will bring." It is probable if it had not brought luck, it would have been discarded in a short time, and nothing more would have been said about it. However, that is only my interpretation of the facts, for all the Indians claim that they know at once when they have found a k!skʌmzit.

The next noteworthy point is the importance of secrecy. Perhaps the first narrative does not bring this out as clearly as some of the other accounts which I collected; for, certainly, the man was not alone when he secured his k!skʌmzit, and its possession seems to have been well known to his wife. From this account we gather that the man, despite his lack of secrecy, did not lose his power; but, on the contrary, only with the greatest difficulty was he able to get rid of the amulet.

Nevertheless, I cannot help believing that this is rather unusual. In fact, I questioned my informant about it. He, as well as the other Indian whom I questioned, stated that it was a foregone conclusion that a man lost his kɛskəmzit unless he maintained absolute secrecy on the subject. It will be noticed, too, that the Indian realized the mistake in talking about his first one and when he secured his second, immediately resolved to say nothing about the matter.

It will be noticed that the brother of the Indian was quite angry because the kɛskəmzit was destroyed instead of being transferred to him. I questioned my informant on this point in connection with the story, and he was of the opinion that the brother would have acquired the power had the amulet been given to him. It cannot, however, be accepted as a general rule that a kɛskəmzit can be transferred to another person and retain its power, because I elicited details of other cases and in most of them my informants denied that it would have been possible to give away a kɛskəmzit. I think it may be stated that a kɛskəmzit can be given away, but the recipient must wait to ascertain whether the power has been acquired or not.

In one particular, however, this story deviates from the normal, and that is in the fact that the Indian had two kɛskəmzit during his lifetime. It is only rarely that any Indian ever possesses more than one.

The following narrative illustrates very clearly how kɛskəmzit is lost, if the amulet is given away.

"Two Indians from St. Mary (1) were hunting musquash one autumn when the rivers were very

---

(1) Gabe Acguin and his brother; both have been dead for many years. The account was given me by Jim Paul, his son-in-law.

high, but although the conditions were favourable for hunting they had no success. They dug out many holes, but found no musquash in any of them. Finally they discovered a hole with a big bed in the middle, and in the centre of the bed they found the bowl of an old-fashioned Indian red-stone pipe. On seeing the pipe one of the Indians said to the other, 'It is most extraordinary how that pipe could have gotten there. I think I shall keep it.' As it was late in the day, and they were very much disheartened at their lack of success, they got in their canoe with the intention of returning to their camp, but they had not gone far when they found some more musquash holes. They decided to have one more try, so they went ashore to dig them out. When they got up to the end of the hole they found it literally full of musquash, thirty-two in all.

"The Indian who had kept the pipe remarked, 'I guess the old stone pipe is bringing us good luck,' to which the other one replied: 'I guess we have kɛskɔmzit.' They followed up this haul by digging out the musquash in other holes near by, and at the end of that afternoon they had secured seventy-two. At the end of one week the total was seven hundred and sixty.

"Some time later the Indian who had kept the pipe was in Oromocto, displaying his find to some friends, and telling them of his phenomenal luck. One of these men was so much impressed by the merits of the pipe that he wanted to buy it from him. This request the owner, of course, refused. However, the Indian was very persistent and after a few days the man who had found it gave it away.

"The next day they started for St. Mary, intending to hunt on the way back. However, they had no success, for the man's former luck had deserted him with the pipe. He realized his mistake and said, 'If I had not given him the pipe, I would still have my luck. I only gave it to him to get rid of him -- he annoyed me so much.' The Indian to whom he had given the pipe did not apparently gain luck with it, for after he had put

a wooden stem in it, he lost it in the river while paddling his canoe."

A rather curious case of k€sk¢mzit was related to me by Tom Levi of Richibucto. He said that once when he was hunting wild geese, he shattered to pieces one goose, and although its entrails were shot out they were not damaged at all. This seemed to him so curious that he took them home. His wife, recognizing it as a good omen, washed them and hung them up. After this he had remarkable success in killing geese and his wife could tell by looking at these entrails exactly how many birds he would bring home.

An Indian, however, does not need to find an amulet to get his k€sk¢mzit. Apparently it is sufficient if he experiences the emotional thrill and some peculiar happening. The following story illustrates a case in point.

"Once, late in the autumn, many years ago, Peter Sacoby was hunting ducks, but his luck had been very poor. However, one morning before breakfast he had a peculiar experience which entirely changed his fortune. He suddenly came upon a large number of ducks just as he was paddling out of the stream into the pond. He crouched down, and, taking his gun, pulled the trigger; but, much to his surprise, the gun did not go off. Thinking the cap must be defective, he put a new one on and again pulled the trigger, but with the same result. He then concluded that the passage leading to the charge must be stopped up, so he carefully ran a pin through to make sure, and, replacing the cap, fired again; for, contrary to all precedent, the ducks were still there. Although the gun went off he did not kill any of the birds, and they still continued to act very strangely; for, instead of flying off, they only went three or four yards. As his gun was a single-barrelled muzzle-loader he had to spend considerable time reloading before he could fire again. However, the ducks did not move; on the contrary, they seemed to pay not the slightest attention to him, for they kept their heads under their wings. He fired again,

but the shot took no effect. This time, while the ducks made no attempt to fly away, they raised their heads. The wind was blowing his canoe towards them. He again loaded and fired his third and last charge, but with exactly the same result as the previous time. He was now practically within reach of the ducks. They appeared to be sleeping, so taking his paddle he began to club them to death, until he had killed every one in the pond. While he was picking them up and putting them into the canoe, he was almost overpowered by the strangeness of the event. He said to himself, 'It is hard to tell if this is k̓sk̓mzit, or very bad luck, which has come upon me.' Up until then he had apparently been too absorbed in his work to experience any violent emotional reaction.

"All the way home he marvelled at the incident, and as he was landing, another Indian, seeing his canoe literally full of ducks, said to him, 'Where did you get all these ducks?' He replied, 'I shot them.' The other Indian then said, 'That's quite impossible, for you only fired three shots. I think you must have struck some k̓sk̓mzit.' To which he replied, 'I don't know. Perhaps.'

"His wife, hearing about it, came down, and the moment she saw the enormous quantity of ducks, said, 'You will have wonderful k̓sk̓mzit for black ducks.'

"They unloaded the canoe and counted the ducks; there were one hundred and fifty-five in all. The Indian would not eat them for fear evil fortune would come upon him; so he sold them all and said to his wife, 'I will not eat any black ducks as long as I live.' His wife also made a similar vow, and they both kept it as long as they lived. However, he was a loquacious fellow and soon began to talk about it, and everyone said he spoiled his luck by talking, for, if he had maintained silence, he would have had the most marvellous k̓sk̓mzit for black ducks until the end of his life."

There are several points in the foregoing narrative worth considering: the absence of any

amulet or receptacle of the k€sk¢mzit has already been mentioned. The next most important point is the fact that the man did not know whether it was good fortune or bad fortune which had befallen him. He felt the possibility and nearness of misfortune so keenly, that, even after his wife and the other Indian had assured him that it was great k€sk¢mzit, he still thought it necessary to make a vow that he would never eat any black duck as long as he lived.

Frequently we find that the possessor of a k€sk¢mzit for the killing of a certain animal refrained from eating it. The twenty-ninth story in my collection of "Malecite Tales" (1) illustrates this point very well. As it is not a very long story, I quote it in full.

"One autumn a young boy was lost in the woods. His parents were camping at the time close to a lake. The young boy wandered around in the woods and finally came to a bear's den. He did not know what it was; so he did not enter, but stood looking around, until an old she-bear appeared, whom he mistook for a woman. She said to the little Indian, 'Come in and see my grandchildren.' He entered and saw two cubs there, but thought they were children. He was very hungry at the time, so the she-bear gave him all sorts of berries and beech-nuts to eat. The young Indian was quite contented to stay with the bear. At night he slept between the cubs and thus kept warm.

"During the winter the old she-bear said to the Indian, 'There is a hunter nearby who is coming straight to our den (2). I am afraid he will kill us, but don't you cry, for you won't be killed. There is only one way by which we can all be saved; I will try and force him off his course.' So the old she-bear stuck her paw out and started to push with it in the direction in which she wanted the hunter to go, in order to make him

---

(1) See Bibliography.

(2) This incident is omitted in the Micmac version as given by Rand.

change his course (1). After a little while the old she-bear said, 'We are all right now. We won't be bothered any more this winter.'

In the month of May all the bears left the den and went down to the brook to catch the fish which were then going up stream. There were lots of suckers in the brook. So the young fellow told his grandmother to go and sit down in the middle of the brook while he went and drove the fish up stream. As he drove them up he shouted, 'There they go, grandmother,' and she caught and threw them up on the bank. At this time an Indian was going up stream to see some beaver traps, and heard the boy calling out. He listened and decided it was the lost child. So he went back and told the parents that he had found the child. All the men started up the brook to find him. When they got there, they listened and heard the boy calling, 'Grandmother, there they go up the stream.' So the men stole carefully up until they were within sight of him. Then they saw the boy driving the fish up stream, while the old she-bear was throwing them ashore. The men rushed upon them, and when the old she-bear saw them coming, she ran away with her cubs and the boy. However, the boy could not travel as fast as the bears and was soon left behind. When the men came upon him, he was crying, 'Grandmother, don't leave me,' for he had forgotten his own parents. They caught the boy and killed the she-bear and her two cubs. The young fellow cried terribly when he saw that his grandmother, as he called her, was killed. They told him that it was not his grandmother, but a bear; but they could not make him believe that it was not his grandmother.

"When the young boy grew to be a man he remembered that the old she-bear told him never to

---

(1) This is another good case of sympathetic magic. The bear tries to induce the man to change his course by pushing with her paw in that direction. She, as it were, tries to push his trail over.

kill a female bear, for he would not live long after killing one. He became a great hunter and had wonderful luck, but he never killed a she-bear, though he killed many male bears. After he got married, his wife said to him, 'It is very strange you never kill a she-bear. Tell me why it is,' for his wife suspected that there was some reason; she knew he had been lost and had stayed with the bears all the winter. But he said it was only accidental that he didn't kill female bears. One day his wife feigned to be sick, and when her husband asked her what would cure her, she said nothing would cure her except lying on the pelt of a she-bear. She did this to make him kill one. He went hunting and found a bear's den. While standing before the den a she-bear came out and spoke as follows. 'Wait a little before you kill me, for I have something to say to you. Your wife has told you to kill a she-bear. But you are now going to lose your luck and you will no longer have good fortune in hunting.' When the young man heard this, he thought he had better refrain from killing the female bear. But she said, 'You were going to kill me before I told you this, and now you will have to.' So he killed the bear and took her home and skinned her and gave the pelt to his wife, who pretended to get better. But his luck left him, and soon after that he was killed."

The foregoing stories have shown how a man secured great power or luck, but it happens occasionally that a man gets bad luck in very much the same way. He experiences exactly the same emotional thrill, and in fact the whole incident is almost identical in every way with those forms of k!skɛmzit which are without an amulet, except that it has a negative effect.

The Malecites and Micmacs are always in great fear lest misfortune come upon them, and they are constantly trying to avoid it by various taboos. In some of the foregoing stories, where the individual has acquired some good luck, it is evident that he greatly feared this would be turned into evil and sought to avoid it by observing certain taboos -- as in the case of the black ducks. One of the most frequent causes of

misfortune is believed by the Indians to be the wasteful slaughter of game. This is shown in the following story.

Jim Paul's father (1) had been a most successful caribou hunter until the following episode took place. "One day, while out hunting on a barren near the Salmon river, he came upon some caribou. As he was still-hunting he crept up as close as he could and then fired at the largest. The animal fell, and, thinking it was mortally wounded, he reloaded to fire at another. However, by the time he had reloaded, he noticed that the animal had risen to its feet, so he fired at it again and it fell once more. On reloading a second time, much to his amazement he observed that it was again standing up. He fired another shot and it fell the third time. He did not attempt to reload as all the other animals had fled; but, drawing his knife, he went up to skin the animal. He cut its throat and then turned it over on its back to cut it up and take out the viscera. Just as the knife touched the animal's heart, it kicked and jumped to its feet. In so doing it knocked the knife out of his hand, cutting him badly between his index finger and his thumb. The caribou jumped to one side and stood staring at him, with eyes as red as blood. The Indian knew at once that some great misfortune had come upon him, so he began running away. As soon as he started the animal began to chase him, but had not gone far before it fell down as if dead. However, the Indian knew that he must not go near it, and continued running until he got back to camp. His companion at once inquired how he had cut his hand, whereupon he told him everything. His companion was not greatly impressed with his misfortune and tried to cheer him up, telling him that they would go back the next morning, skin the animal, and bring its carcass back to camp.

"Accordingly, the next morning they started off, but on arriving at the place they

---

(1) Jim Paul was the narrator of this story as well as of almost all the others cited.

found that the animal had disappeared, although some of its intestines were still lying about. 'Some great misfortune will surely come on either you or some member of your family,' his companion said; and Jim's father replied, 'In my youth when I used to hunt north of the St. Lawrence, I killed many more caribou than I could possibly use. Now retribution has come upon me because of it. I will never kill any caribou, or eat any caribou meat, or use anything made of caribou skin as long as I live.'

"On the way back to the camp the trigger of his gun caught in a twig, causing it to be accidently discharged, and narrowly missing his companion. Both of them were so overwhelmed by a sense of impending danger that they packed up and went home. Although no great calamity ever came upon him, he kept his vow so strictly that he never even wore snow-shoes with caribou filling; but his luck was never again as good as it had been before."

In this narrative, as in many others, it will be noticed that the number three plays an important part, and it is evident that the Malecites are convinced of a supernatural element in any strange happening which occurs three times. It requires only a casual reading of my "Malecite Tales" to recognize this.

Furthermore, it will be noted that the Indian had all the emotional reaction of obtaining a k‹skɑmzit, or rather the negative form of it, but avoided it by making a timely vow which he kept most rigorously the rest of his life. It should also be noticed that he believed that evil days had come upon him as a retribution for killing more game than he needed. The Indians invariably expect misfortune if they kill more game than they can use.

Here is another narrative illustrating the retribution which follows the unnecessary slaughter of game.

"An Indian who was hunting one summer on Fish river, above Edmundston, killed many more moose than he could possibly use. He took only the hides and choice parts of the animals, leaving the carcasses to rot by the river's bank. One morning, when he had killed more than on any other occasion, he heard a voice saying, 'There will come a time when you will want this meat.'

"The following autumn he was hunting with his wife near the headwaters of the Tobique and they had very poor luck. Things became gradually worse from day to day until there was no longer sufficient food to keep both alive, so he gave all they had to his wife, hoping that better luck would follow. Finally he became so weak that he could no longer. Then he told his wife what had happened at Fish river and said this was his just punishment.

"'Now I am about to die, therefore you had better go home while you still have strength to travel. But before you go build me a platform where I can die in peace and where my body will not be devoured by wild animals.'

"So she built him the platform and laid him on it, and when she thought he was dead she returned home. She managed to shoot a squirrel, which kept her alive until she reached the first Indian encampment. There she was carefully fed and looked after until she had recovered strength enough to travel. Then they built her a moose-hide canoe and sent her down stream to Meductic, where her parents and her husband's two brothers lived.

"When she arrived at Meductic she related what had happened, and the two brothers of her husband left at once to bring their brother's body home. When they came in view of the camp they noticed smoke coming out of the top (1); soon they heard singing and recognized the voice

---

(1) Malecite hunting camps, of course, have no chimneys.

of their brother. One of them thought it must be his ghost singing, but the other said, 'No, if it were there would be no smoke in the camp. Perhaps he has come to life.'

"On entering the camp they found their brother sitting with his back against his funeral platform, with a book in his lap. 'Are you dead or alive?' they asked. 'Alive,' said he. 'A fox woke me up by gnawing the end of my nose.'

"They looked and saw the end of his nose had been gnawed. He then told them all that had happened from the time his wife left him, and said that some one had appeared to him and given him the book, telling him to read it and to guard it closely, for by so doing no harm could reach him. Although he had been unable to read before, he found that he could do so immediately he looked at the book, without any instruction whatever. His brothers inspected it and marvelled, for at that time no Malecite could read. This Indian lived for many years but eventually was drowned a short time after losing the book."

I have many other stories of omens and the gaining and losing of luck, but as they do not illustrate any new points, it is hardly worth while citing them.

I have given the stories of misfortune overtaking Indians, before discussing the exact nature of k!skəmzit, partly because no line of demarcation can be drawn between the two kinds, and partly because I believe it will give us a better understanding of the matter. Since the appearance of Prof. Marett's able paper called "Is Taboo a Negative Magic?" I believe no justification is needed for treating the negative aspect of the subject together with the affirmative. Certainly the Malecites make no distinction between the two. This fact was brought very clearly before me, by my informant telling me either a story of the gaining of a k!skəmzit or of the coming of misfortune, without realizing any difference between the two.

So far it will be noticed that I have described at length the manifestation of kɛskɑmzit, but have said nothing about what it really is. That is partly due to the fact that it can only be known by its works. Moreover, it would be futile to expect to learn very much about a primitive belief among a people who conscientiously consider themselves faithful Christians.

I made many attempts to get some statement of the nature of the belief, but without success. The best method of arriving at its true nature is by comparing it with kindred beliefs among other primitive peoples. We will, therefore, turn to the other Algonkin tribes and see if they have similar beliefs.

Most of the early writers on the Algonkins speak of a belief in Manitu very similar to the one I have already described among the Malecites. If we turn to Jones's paper on the Algonkin Manitu, we are at once struck by the similarity between the beliefs of the Central Algonkin and the Malecites. It may be well to point out that all the Abnaki peoples, as well as the Micmacs, have each a word which is cognate with Central Algonkin Manitu, but which has come to mean 'devil,' undoubtedly through the influence of missionaries laboring under the mistake that all native beliefs are bad and can be obliterated by being condemned. I think the foregoing account gives ample proof of the way in which native beliefs may continue for centuries under a different name.

It is unfortunately very difficult to tell from Jones's paper (1) how much is his own opinion and how much is to be credited to the Fox concept. Jones commences his description by saying that the essential characteristic of Algonkin

---

(1) Jones, William, "The Algonkian Manitou," Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. XVIII, p. 183.

religion is "pure naïve worship of nature." It is very difficult to tell what he means by this; but, as the sentence stands, it is on the face of it untrue, for his whole paper goes to prove that it is not nature but the supernatural which is the object of their worship; and as for being either pure or naïve, we have only to read a few pages of the Fox Texts to see that neither of those adjectives can be applied with any accuracy to the Fox religion. In like manner most of his introductory description can be shown to be an inaccurate statement of the case. However, some of his statements are quite straightforward and apply equally as well to the Malecites as to the Foxes. For example: "The important thing with the individual is the emotional effect experienced while in the presence of the object or the interpreted manifestation of the object. The individual keeps watch for the effect and it is the effect that fills the mind with a vague sense of something strange, of something mysterious, something intangible. <u>One feels it is the result of an active substance and one's attitude towards it is purely passive.</u>"

The last sentence, which I have underlined, needs qualifying because only in a certain sense is it true among either the Malecites or the Foxes. It is true in the sense that one is impotent to originate the power, but it is untrue in the sense that one is powerless either to help gain it or avert its evil effects. For instance, Jones cites the case of the man in a sweat lodge who cuts himself all over the body in order that the manitu, which is in the heated stone, may enter his body. And among the Malecites, we have seen several cases of individuals who exercised certain taboos in order to avoid the malign power.

From a little farther on in the paper a paragraph may be quoted to show that Jones is evidently writing about the same thing as the Malecite <u>kɛskɑmzit</u>.

"The most common experience seems to be that of being overwhelmed by an all-encompassing

presence. It is an experience least susceptible of an articulate report, and yet it is the one looked upon as the source of greatest authority. It is not easy to induce an Algonkian to speak of any of these experiences. It is even urged upon the individual never to reveal the details except on particular occasions and in critical moments such as that of approaching death."

It is interesting to note that this power was not always for the benefit of the individual, a fact which some authors seem to have overlooked, for he says, "The degree of the adoration depends in some measure upon the extent of confidence reposed in the object and in the supposed power of bringing pleasure or inflicting pain."

His last paragraph is perhaps the most important, for in it he attempts to sum up the whole situation. It runs as follows:

"It has thus been observed that there is an unsystematic belief in a cosmic, mysterious property which is believed to be existing everywhere in nature; that conception of the property can be thought of as impersonal, but that it becomes obscure and confused when the property becomes identified with objects in nature; that it manifests itself in various forms; and that its emotional effect awakens a sense of mystery; that there is a lively appreciation of its miraculous efficacy, and that its interpretation is not according to any regular rule, but is based on one's feelings rather than on one's knowledge."

I believe the whole of the above paragraph applies to the Malecites as well as to the Central Algonkin. Recently, however, Dr. P. Radin in a very able paper on the "Religions of the North American Indians" denies the existence of a universal force or magical power. His chief grounds for rejection are: that the investigators have substituted their own interpretation of the facts for that of the Indians; that an object is sacred because of some definite spirit temporarily

residing in it, not from some all-pervading power or manitu; that the answers were given only after a certain amount of reflection. Herein lies the weak point of his attack, because he himself says: "Further inquiry will elicit from him the information that it is so because it belongs to a spirit, was given by a spirit, or was in some way connected with a spirit." Is it not evident that Dr. Radin only obtained those answers after a certain amount of reflection?

Be that as it may, I am quite certain that no further inquiry on my part ever elicited the fact that any object was k!skɑmzit because it belonged to a spirit, was given by a spirit, or was in any way connected with a spirit. Of course the Malecites may have lost their belief in spirits through long contact with European religion, but it may be doubted if the Iroquois, Fox, or Winnebago are entirely free from Christian influence. Certainly the belief in k!skɑmzit among the Malecites and Micmacs is in no way connected with a Tylorean belief in Animism any more than is the European conception of luck.

CHAPTER VII

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

The games of the Malecites and Micmacs are many and varied, consisting of games of chance, games of ball, and various other kinds.

GAMES OF CHANCE

Among the games of chance altesta'gɣnuk (1) is by far the most popular and interesting. It is played by both sexes and all ages, but is

---

(1) This is the Malecite form of the word. The Micmac form is altestaɣank.

pre-eminently the game of the women. John Giles wrote as follows concerning the popularity of this game in the seventeenth century:

"By their play with dice they lose much time, playing whole days and nights together, sometimes staking their whole effects, though this is accounted a great vice by the old men."

This game has been described many times by different people (1), but since none of them has described it really accurately, it seems best to go into the matter in some detail.

The implements which are used in the game are a plate, six dice, and a bundle of counters. The plate or dish is usually made out of bird's eye maple. It is about 1 foot in diameter and is hollowed out 1/2 inch or more, one specimen which I have seen being fully 1-1/2 inches lower in the centre than at the edges. A typical example of one of these dishes is seen in the lower left hand corner of Plate III, (2).

The dice are round bone disks, about three-quarters of an inch in diameter and an eighth of an inch in thickness. They are plain on one side, but the other side has a design scratched on it, which is usually brought out by filling it in with some red substance. The kind of design can be seen on Plate III where the dice are seen with several varieties of decoration. Usually, but not always, the design is alike on all the dice of one set. However, this makes no difference, since they are all of equal value. Tradition states that the dice should be made from the shin-bone of a moose; although I believe

---

(1) Mrs. W.W. Brown and Stewart Culin have the best and most accessible accounts. Stansbury Hagar has a very good account of the Micmac game.

(2) It is a Malecite specimen, and is now exhibited in the Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa.

in most cases they are made from any suitable bone (1).

The counters can be seen in the right hand lower corner of Plate III. They consist of fifty-one sticks about 6 inches long and about the thickness of a match stick; three straight sticks of the same length and thickness as the fifty-one, but considerably broader; and one crooked and wavy one of about the same dimensions (2). The three broad ones are known as 'big sticks', and the crooked one is known as the 'bad stick.'

The game is usually played by two people, while a third does the counting. They usually sit cross-legged, facing each other, on a blanket or quilt, or, in olden times, on a moose hide or bear skin; the plate is placed between the players. One man takes the dice and tosses them into the plate, while his opponent calls out whether they will all have the same side up or not. If he calls correctly, he has first toss; if not, his opponent secures it. All the dice are then placed on the plate with their etched sides up (3). The player who has first toss takes the dish firmly in both hands, after raising it 4 or 5 inches from the mat, brings it down sharply. The sudden jar sends the dice flying into the air and usually turns some of them over. The count depends upon how they fall. If all, or all but one, fall alike the man has another turn; otherwise there is no count and his opponent has a turn. The player continues to toss as long as the dice fall either all, or all but one, alike. The counts vary. Thus all alike count one big stick, all but one alike count three small sticks; the man takes his one big stick or three small sticks out of the pile and places them beside him.

---

(1) Hagar says the Micmacs made their dice of caribou bone.

(2) These, according to Hagar, were shaped like parts of an arrow among the Nova Scotia Micmacs.

(3) Hagar says down.

The following is a comparative table of counts, starting from the lowest:

1 toss all but one alike	3 little sticks
2 tosses all but one alike	9 little sticks
3 tosses all but one alike	1 big stick
1 toss all alike	1 big stick
2 tosses all alike	3 big sticks
3 tosses all alike	4 big sticks
4 tosses all alike	6 big sticks

Sixteen small sticks count as one big stick (1).

Since there are only fifty-one small sticks (2) and three big sticks, it is evident that it only requires a few tosses before all the sticks are used up. Suppose, for example, on the twenty-second move I have one big stick and twenty-five little sticks, my opponent has two big sticks and eighteen small ones, and there are eight small sticks and one crooked stick in the pile. My opponent now scores a big stick. As there are no big sticks in the pile he is entitled to sixteen small sticks. There are only nine of them, counting the crooked stick, so he takes these nine and seven from my pile, giving me a big stick in exchange.

The game now changes, for instead of taking from one another's pile as points are won and lost, the game goes on by means of a debt pile.

---

(1) Hagar says fifteen.

(2) The crooked stick counts for this purpose as a small stick. There are really, therefore, fifty-two little sticks.

Probably the underlying reason for this is the small number of counters, since the large number of points given would make it impossible for the game to continue very long.

The numbers of points given are the same as before, although hereafter the big and little sticks have the same value, but two piles are kept instead, one called the big stick pile, the other the little stick pile. Whenever a man wins, we will say, four points, the individual who is keeping the count takes four sticks from the side of the man scoring, and puts them in his little stick pile. This is to indicate how much the other man owes him. If the man wins a big stick, the counter, of course, puts one in the same manner in the big stick pile. Whenever the opponent wins anything, the man takes the correct number of sticks from the debt pile and gives them to him.

The man who has the debt pile to his credit can call upon his opponent to pay, but since the result of the game depends on the number of sticks his opponent has after paying, he never does so as long as he thinks his opponent can pay with ease. If he has no sticks left after paying, or has not enough sticks to pay, he loses the game. If, however, he has four or more left, the game goes on as it did before the debt pile was started. If, however, he has one, two, or three big ones left, he has a chance to 'run it', as it is called. All the dice are put face up on the plate and he is given a chance of scoring a certain number of points before his opponent scores any. If he has only one big stick left he must score seven, if he has two he must score six, but if he has three he need only score five. He, however, can turn the dice up three times, whereas his opponent has to play with them as he finds them. The counting, during this period, is somewhat different, for if all the dice fall alike it only counts two instead of sixteen as in the other stages of the game.

Altesta'gənuk is essentially a gambling game and in the old days the stakes were very high. Frequently the Indians would stake their all, and

when they lost would not have even a blanket or a gun to continue their hunting.

It is apparent from the statement of Giles cited in the first part of this chapter, and from the very important part that this game plays in the mythology of the Malecites and Micmacs, that it is very old. In my "Malecite Tales" there is an account of Gluskap playing the game (1). It is as follows:

"While Gluskap was conversing, the chief's boy appeared and stated that Half-stone Man wanted to play dice with Gluskap. In a few minutes he arose and went to the Half-stone Man and played dice with him. They played for wampum, and soon Gluskap was in possession of all his opponent's wampum. This irritated the Half-stone Man considerably, and he felt that if he broke the dish (2), Gluskap would be unable to win further. Accordingly, when it was his turn to throw he hit with all his might, so that it split and all the dice went flying about. Gluskap unconcernedly said, "Oh, that's all right, I have some in my little bag." So they went on playing and Gluskap still won. While they were thus indulging in this pastime, the chief's son came and said that sharks had carried off his sister, whom Gluskap's brother had just married. But Gluskap was not alarmed and declared that presently he would go in pursuit of his sister-in-law, and meanwhile kept on playing.

"A short time later Gluskap proceeded to the shore, dived in an swam to where the sharks were, and took his sister-in-law from them and brought her back safely to his brother, admonishing her not to leave the man who was her husband. He then betook himself to Stone-man and ordered him to give up playing dice with anyone whatsoever."

---

(1) Mechling, "Malecite Tales," p. 48.

(2) In which the dice were tossed.

It seems unnecessary to enter into a comparative study of the game, since Culin has already done it so well. Anyone interested in this aspect of the subject can consult his account. I may mention, however, that as far as I have been able to ascertain, the rules of the game are identical among the Micmacs of New Brunswick and the Malecites.

Mrs. Brown (1) mentions another form of dice game. She says that no plate is used, but eight disks larger than those used in altesta'gɛnuk. She gives no rules for this game, which must have been far less popular than altesta'gɛnuk, since I never heard of it among the Micmacs or Malecites.

Rand apparently knew of the Micmac version of this game, for he writes (2):

"The women, too, had their games - the altĕstăkŭn (a sort of dice); and the wŏbŭnăkŭn, somewhat like altĕstăkŭn."

Two other common games of chance remain to be described. They are both forms of what is known as the ring and pin game. They are known to both the Malecites and Micmacs, but are much simpler and less interesting than the game already described. They are both played either for stakes or for pastime.

The first of these, which is much the simpler, is seen in the upper left hand corner of Plate III (3). This game is known as t'wis, and consists of a bunch of Arbor Vitae twigs bound together and attached by a rawhide cord to a sharpened

---

(1) "Malecite Tales," Some Indoor and Outdoor Games, p. 43.

(2) "Legends of the Micmacs," p. 200.

(3) This is a Malecite specimen from St. Mary, and is at present exhibited in the Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa. Its catalogue number is III. E 18. Exactly the same game among the Montagnais is described by Le Jeune ("Jesuit Relations," vol. VII, pp. 95-99).

stick. The bundle of twigs is wider at one end than at the other, about 3 inches at one end and 1 inch at the other. It is about 6 inches long and is wound with a rawhide cord to keep it together. It is attached at the small end to the stick or pin by a cord about 10 inches long. The pin itself is sharpened at one end and is about 8 or 10 inches long.

Usually two people play the game. The object is to toss the bundle of Arbor Vitae into the air and stab it with the stick before it falls to the end of the cord. Each successful stab entitles the player to another toss. Usually some number of points such as fifty is set, and the player who first gets that number wins the game. However, there are several ways of counting points. Probably the most usual is to count one point no matter what part of the bundle is stabbed. Some people count five points for stabbing the bottom, one for the middle, and three for the small end.

The second form of the ring and pin game is seen in the upper right hand corner of the same plate. Here the pin is identical with the one already described, but instead of a bunch of Arbor Vitae twigs there are nine rings of various sizes, starting from a very small one with a hole which is just large enough to admit the end of the pin, and growing progressively larger until the ninth has a hole of about 3 inches in diameter. The object is to catch the rings on the pin, and here again some arbitrary number is set for winning the game. The points, which vary according to the rings caught on the pin, seem not to be fixed, but to be agreed upon by those playing the game. In early times there may have been fixed points, but since the game has largely gone out of use, the Malecites now do not seem to know what they were; at least I never obtained the same answer from any two individuals. The rings are made from the inner bark of the birch tree (1).

---

(1) When a birch log is peeled a hard, porous layer will be found beneath it. This layer varies in thickness according to the age of the tree, but usually measures about half an inch.

There is a slight variation of the above game found among the Malecites. It consists in adding a piece of leather or cloth to the end of the string below the smallest ring. This piece of leather has several holes in it which count more or less according to whether they are large or small, near or far from the centre.

It is said that, in old times, when the hand of a girl was sought by two rivals equally good and pleasing, they would resort to this game to decide. The two candidates would play from sunrise until sunset, and the one who secured the most points in that time obtained the girl. The chief acted as umpire.

Rand gives the following account of another Micmac game which is now called among the Malecites 'Indian Poker.'

"After supper they engaged in various games, one of which was called the Mimgwodokadijik; this was played by hiding in the ashes a small ring, which was fished for by the parties, who had hidden their faces when the ring was secreted. First one would plunge a pointed stick in the ashes, and, if he missed it, the other would take the stick and try; the one who found the ring won the game."

Among the Malecites lots were drawn in a similar manner. A ridge was made of earth or ashes 3 or 4 inches wide, about the same in height, and a couple of feet long. In this were placed sticks about the size of a match with only the ends sticking out. One of these was different in some way from the rest -- for example, it might have a ring attached. The people who were to draw lots were then called inside the wigwam and each drew one. The one who drew the odd stick was, of course, chosen. If more than one was wanted, the required number of sticks had rings attached. In choosing a team half the sticks would have rings. It is said that this device was used in the case of a deadlock for any office, particularly that of chief.

It is said, too, that when the father of a boy wanted him to marry a girl who was quite young, the girl's father usually insisted that the boy should draw to see if he was to have the girl later on for his wife. If he was successful they went through a simple ceremony of betrothal, although the real marriage might not take place for many years. This method was occasionally used also to determine who would have the first toss in a game of altesta'gɑnuk. It was called adawamkihigɑn.

BALL GAMES

There seem to have been three kinds of ball games known to the Malecites (1) -- one similar to baseball, one to football, and a third game, lacrosse. The game which is probably the origin of American baseball -- known, I believe, in some parts of America as Town Ball -- seems to have been fairly widely distributed among the American Indians (2). The Malecites have not played it for many years, but as far as I was able to ascertain, it was played in the following manner:

Two sides of equal numbers were chosen, the exact number on each side depending on the number of available players, but usually varying from five to fifteen. As in baseball, there were three bases and a home plate arranged in the form of a diamond. There was no exact distance at which the bases were placed, as this depended largely on the nature of the ground; but they seem to have been about the same distance apart as in baseball. The

---

(1) Of these I was only able to learn of football among the Micmacs. This agrees with Hagar.

(2) I believe it is generally understood that the Ojibway form of the game is the one which gave rise to baseball. Nevertheless Culin does not even mention this type of game in his monograph.

pitcher stood between the home plate and second base. There was no fixed distance, but a line was drawn beyond which he could not go. He was nearer to the home plate than in baseball. The catcher stood some little distance behind home plate. The other members of the side which was not batting distributed themselves wherever they thought they would be most useful; usually, however, one or two stood beside the catcher behind home plate. One member of the team which was batting stood at home plate ready to hit the ball. The bat used was not round like a baseball bat, nor was it like a cricket bat, but rather like a combination of the two, since it started about the width of a cricket bat and tapered down to a round handle like a baseball bat.

The ball was much larger than a baseball -- almost twice its size -- and was made of pieces of caribou hide wound tightly together and covered with a piece of caribou skin sewed over it.

Unlike baseball there were no strikes (1) or foul balls, and the batter had to run whenever he hit the ball; if he did not get to first base without being tagged (2) with the ball he was out, and another batter took his place. If the catcher caught the ball three times while a man was at the bat, even if he caught it on the first bounce, the batter was considered out. When a man was running from one base to another, if the ball was thrown in front of him he had to go back to the base from which he started.

If a man made three runs without being put out, he could put in anybody he liked to bat. Every man on the side which was batting had to be put out before the opposing side came in, and the

---

(1) Opinion, however, varies on this point. According to some informants there were three strikes as in baseball.

(2) He was counted out if the ball were thrown and struck him.

innings were, therefore, very long (1). The game was won either when a given number of runs were made or else by the side which made the greatest number of runs in a given number of innings.

In early times the ball game was played when the tribe reassembled in the spring, after its winter hunting. The losing side had to pay for a feast.

The second ball game, which was a sort of football (2), was probably more similar to American basket-ball and may well have suggested it, just as the first ball game suggested base-ball (3). The number of players on each side varied greatly in this game, also, but was probably from four to twenty. They were lined up in front of the goals at opposite ends of the field.

---

(1) According to Mr. Sheble's notes, which are based on information secured from Jack Solomon and other Indians of Central Kingsclear, only three men had to be put out. This certainly is quite different from the information secured by myself from Jim Paul and corroborated by several other informants. It is highly probable that the game may have been played both ways, especially in late years.

(2) It is evident from Hagar's description that what he calls football among the Micmacs is really this game.

(3) It is usually believed that basket-ball was invented by James Naismith at Plainfield, Mass. in 1891. Considering how rare pure invention is, we can only suppose that he devised better rules for a game already 'in the air.' Hagar says that among the Micmacs the goal post consisted of two sticks, crossed like the first two poles of a wigwam.

According to some informants the goal consisted of two holes in the ground, somewhat larger than the ball; according to others, of two posts placed in the ground about five yards apart, as in football. I believe the former was the more common. The distance between the goals seems to have been rather under a hundred yards. Rand, in describing the game, toadijĭk, among the Micmacs, says there was only one pole at each end of the field, and the distance between them was 300 yards.

The ball, which was stuffed with caribou hair and covered with caribou hide, was somewhat smaller than an association football. It was placed in the middle of the field. Each side chose its fastest runner to start the game. At a given signal from the chief, who acted as umpire, these two men started from opposite ends of the field towards the ball (1). If one of them reached it ahead of the other, he would pick it up and run towards the opposite goal; if he did not have enough time to run, he would kick it. As soon as the ball was in motion, the other members of each side could join in. Then the excitement began, for the game was a very rough one. The object was to place, not throw, the ball in the hole at the opposite end of the field. The ball could be kicked, carried, or thrown, and the man carrying the ball could be stopped in any way, a favourite method being to catch him by his long flowing hair. Indeed the Indians usually refer to it as "Pull-hair ball." As it was naturally very unpleasant to be stopped short in this way, the Indian greased his hair before beginning the game so as to make it more difficult to seize. Whenever a man carrying the ball was caught, he attempted to throw it to some member of hiw own team. As soon as he threw it, his

---

(1) According to Mr. Sheble's notes, the game began differently. The two teams stood in the middle of the field facing each other and about 15 or 20 feet apart. A man not in the game, who stood between the two teams, threw the ball into the air. Rand gives a similar description for the starting of the game among the Micmacs.

captors had to let him go, for it was permissible to hold only the person who had the ball.

When one side succeeded in placing the ball in the hole the game began again in exactly the same manner as at first. Usually the side which first succeeded in placing the ball three times in the hole at their opponents' end of the field won the game. As in the case of the other ball game it was usual for the losers to give a feast.

Like altesta'gənuk this game plays an important part in the mythology of this area. One such reference is found in my "Malecite Tales" (1); another, taken from Leland and Prince's "Kuloskap The Master," I give below:

"One day it came to pass
That the Master said to Mikchik
"To-morrow will be held
The very great yearly ball-play
And you must share in the game.
It will be sore for you,
A game of life and death,
For all the young men who live here
Are your enemies, and will seek
To slay you in the rush,
By crowding close together,
And trampling you under foot.
But when they do this, 'twill be
Close by the Sagamore's lodge,
And that you may escape them
I give you, Uncle, the power
To jump twice over the roof;
But if they chance to bring it
To a third attempt, 'twill be
A very terrible thing for you,
And yet it must come to pass;
No honey without a sting;
No chase, no venison.'"

(1) Mechling, "Malecite Tales," p. 28.

And all of it came to pass
As the Master had foretold;
For the young men of the village
All joined to kill the Turtle,
And to escape them, Mikchik
Jumped, when beset, so high
Over the Sagamore's lodge
That he looked like an eagle flying.
But when for a third time he
Attempted another leap,
His scalp-lock caught on a pole,
And there he hung a-dangling
In the smoke which rose from below.

Then Kulóskap, who was sitting
On a skin in the tent beneath,
Said: "Uncle, the hour is come,
Now will I make thee Sagem,
Grand Sagamore of the Tortoise,
The chief of the Lenni Lenâbe;
Thou shalt bear up a great nation
Which shall rest upon thy shell!"

Then he smoked Mikchik so long
That his skin became a shell,
A very hard round shell,
And the marks of the smoke from the pipe
May be seen thereon to-day.
And of all his entrails he left
But <u>one</u> which was very short,
And then indeed Mikchik
Seeing himself so reduced
Cried out, "Beloved nephew,
You will kill me certainly!"
But the Lord replied, "Far from it,
I am giving you longer life -
A longer life than is given
To any other on earth;
From this time forth, my uncle,
You may pass through a glowing fire,
And never feel its breath,
You may live on land or in water,
Nay, though your head be cut off
It will live for nine days after,
And even so long shall beat
Your heart when cut from your body."
Whereat Mikchik rejoiced."

Although lacrosse was undoubtedly known to the Malecites (1), I could not get any clear statement of how it was played, and, therefore, conclude that it was not very popular. It may even have been introduced by the Iroquois at a late date (2).

The Malecites also played football, which seems to be merely the white game of football simplified. It was said, however, to have been played frequently on a field 300 yards long, although usually on one of smaller dimensions.

Shinny was also played by the Malecites and, according to Rand, by the Micmacs. He says it was called wŏlchămaadĭjĭk.

GAMES OF SKILL

Among the games of skill sohi'k was the most important and the most popular. This game is usually known as Snow Snakes, and is very popular also among the Iroquois, Ojibwa, and other nearby tribes.

The game could be played only in winter, on either level or sloping ground, covered with snow.

Five of the implements used in playing the game are shown in Plate IV. They are about 2 feet long as a rule, and are carved from some soft wood. Each stick usually is given the name of an animal whose head is carved on the front part. Those illustrated are called, reading from left to right, loon, duck, otter, and snake. Frequently a

---

(1) Apparently it was not known to the Micmacs.

(2) Mrs. W.W. Brown gives a very good description of it among the Passamaquoddy, and there is, also, an account from the Penobscots, so it seems probable that the knowledge of it has died out among the Malecites in recent times.

stick is called after the fictitious animal wɨwɨlɨmɛk. The broad one in the centre is used for playing on a downhill course, all the others for level ground (1).

The snow in front of the starting point is packed down hard for about 5 yards, but beyond that it is left as it fell. All the Indians stand in line, each with his favourite stick, and one after the other throws in turn. Usually they wager a fixed amount, and the man whose stick goes the farthest wins. In addition, there are usually side bets among the onlookers.

The man, as he throws his stick, bends over and crouches down until he is almost sitting on his heels. While in this position, he lifts the stick above his head, holding it in the right hand almost at the rear end, and brings it down sharply on the ground. The shock is sufficient to send it forward with considerable impetus. A hundred feet, however, is a good throw.

When the game is played on a hill a much broader stick is used and the player is only allowed to start his stick going (2); the distance it travels then depends largely upon the momentum it gains from the slope of the ground.

This game is played among the Iroquois also, who have snow snakes several feet long and throw them in a different way. The Menomini also have sticks which are 5 or 6 feet long, but the

---

(1) The specimens in Plate IV are all on exhibition in the Victoria Memorial Museum. Their catalogue numbers are III E 75, III E 67, III E 71, III E 66, III E 70, and III F 212. The sticks used among the Iroquois are much longer, and the manner of throwing them is different.

(2) According to Reagan, amongst the Ojibwa only the boys played it on the down grade.

other Algonkin tribes seem to use sticks of under 2 feet. According to Culin the Ojibwa and Cree both used sticks under 2 feet long, the Penobscots sticks from 18 to 21 inches, and the Sauk and Fox sticks had a length of about 2 feet. According to Reagan the Ojibwa sticks were from 3 to 4 feet long, but Dr. Jones collected two specimens from the Ojibwa of Minnesota which were respectively 26 inches and 29-1/2 inches long. Reagan and Jones both state that boys used sticks about a foot long. Mrs. W.W. Brown gives an account of the game among the Passamaquoddies which in general agrees with my Malecite information. She describes most of the sticks as having a length of under 2 feet, but one type was almost 5 feet long. Her description of the manner in which the stick was thrown differs from the description I obtained from Jim Paul; indeed the method of throwing which I have given for the Malecites seems to differ from all other published accounts. However, Reagan describes among the Ojibwa a method of throwing what he calls a "snow stick" which seems to be the same. This "snow stick" was about 2 feet in length, and about 2 inches at its thickest part. It, therefore, resembled greatly the broadest of my Malecite specimens.

Another test of skill was throwing the dart, which was made from some hard wood and was about 2 feet long. At the rear end it was quite broad but very thin. It was thrown by means of a stick with a raw-hide string, attached very much like a whip. At the end of the string there was a knot, and in the middle of the dart there was a notch cut. The string fitted in the notch and the knot kept it from being released until it was in the proper place. An example of one of these darts, together with one of the throwing whips, is seen on the right of Plate IV. It is said that the Indians were able to throw a dart 200 yards, much farther than they could shoot an arrow. One Indian even claimed that it was an effective weapon against an attack by a large body of enemies.

In the olden days the Malecites used to hold many competitions in shooting with the bow and

arrow, betting heavily on the results. In recent times rifle shooting has taken its place, although they practised shooting with the bow and arrow long after they ceased to use it as a weapon either in war or in the chase.

Running races used to be a very popular sport, too, and races were always held in the spring when the tribe reassembled after its winter hunt. They were also held at the election of a chief or after the wedding of an important individual. They seem to have been of various distances, although the preference was for long distance running. The following quotation from my "Malecite Tales" shows that racing played an important role in their life:

"They stopped, and in the afternoon they were going to have a foot-race, and the winning post was near the camp of the chief. In the meantime Gluskap was in the chief's camp while the races were going on. When Turtle reached the crowd, the young Caribous said to him, 'How can you run? You can hardly walk; you had better go back, as you will shame us all.'

"All the contestants stood up in line and Turtle was among them. Turtle sprang into the lead immediately, and when he got to the winning post, which was near his father-in-law's camp, he jumped right over the camp. Every time he jumped over, he yelled. But Gluskap thought to himself, 'The next time you jump, you will be caught on one of the poles of the camp.' It happened as Gluskap thought. Turtle got stuck on one of the poles and was changed into the form of a turtle. There he was, stretching his legs, trying to get loose, and feeling very much ashamed of himself."

Frequently one individual would challenge another to a race, betting a certain sum on the result. Usually the race in that case would be a long one, sometimes even 20 miles.

Besides foot races they had also canoe and swimming races. But even more popular than

racing was wrestling. References to it frequently occur in the mythology. Boxing was unknown to them, but has become popular in recent times. Cat's cradles are also very popular with them, but as most of them are one-handed figures and, therefore, probably of European origin, it did not seem to be worth while recording them.

Swinging is also a very popular amusement among the Malecites, although I do not know of its existence among the Micmacs. Each reservation has one or more swings on it. I am uncertain whether this is of European origin or not, but, considering the rarity of this sport, I am inclined to think it is. It must have been introduced at an early date, for it figures in the mythology, and all the Indians believe it to be aboriginal origin.

Quoits are popular among both the Malecites and Micmacs, but are undoubtedly of European origin.

There is a peculiar game among the Malecites called dakhəmo·'zuk, 'old people.' It is played on a board on which squares are marked representing a road. The object of the game is to get your piece to a certain point first. It has undoubtedly been suggested by some of the modern European games of this sort, and must have been introduced at a very late date. It, therefore, does not seem to be worth while giving the rules and a description of the board.

CHILDREN'S GAMES

The children play most of the games already described, and in addition imitate in games most of the things done by adults either now or formerly. Although bows and arrows have long gone out of use among adults, the children constantly play with them still and many of them are very fine shots. They are very fond of playing that they are warriors, and divide up into sides which pretend to make war on one another. On these occasions they frequently dress up in feathers and old-time costumes,

or what they believe to be old-time costumes. They also dance various old-time dances, particularly a war dance. For this dance they follow one another round in a circle, hopping first on one foot and then on the other, singing and howling all the while. Frequently one of them sits in the middle beating time on a board. Jim Paul informs me (1) that in his youth they used to play with a sort of blow-gun. The tube of this gun was made from sweet elder, the centre of which, being of soft pith, is easily removed. The inside had then to be carefully smoothed down to straighten the tube in order that the dart would fly straight. The dart was made out of some suitable bone. One end was sharp, the other carefully wrapped round with moose hair to fit the tube. Jim Paul also described a method by which the dart could be poisoned.

As far as I know, the blow-gun has never been reported from any Algonkin tribe. Its presence among the Malecites is doubtless due to Iroquoian influence. The important question is, whether it is due to pre-Columbian or late Iroquoian influence. We know that the Malecites were on intimate terms with the Caughnawaga Iroquois during the first part of the last century, and their acquaintance with the blow-gun, as well as their knowledge of several other things typically Iroquoian, may date from that period. The fact that I was not able to learn of the presence of either the blow-gun or the sling and dart among the Micmacs of the north shore of New Brunswick, would rather add colour to this hypothesis. However, too much stress should not be placed on this fact; for, granting the presence of both among the Micmacs in early times, they may well have forgotten them by now; moreover, judging from linguistic data, kinship terminology, social organization, and many other things, the affiliations of the Micmacs point in a different direction from those of the Malecites.

---

(1) His statements were corroborated by several other individuals. I also secured an independent account from Jack Solomon.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

As I hope at some future date to dicuss more fully Malecite music and songs (1) I shall give here only a brief description of the few musical instruments that they possess.

The simplest form of drum is that used by the Micmacs, consisting merely of a roll of birch bark placed in front of the individual who beats time for the dances, while sitting on the ground. This simple instrument is still used by the Micmacs at Richibucto. It was also used in the time of Abbé Maillard, who describes it as follows (2):

This ceremony of thanksgiving being over by the men, 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 if it were a drum; and to that dull sound which the bark returns, they will 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! 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!"

---

(1) I have recorded on the phonograph about a hundred Malecite, Penobscot, and Micmac songs and hope to publish a memoir on them as soon as they can be transcribed. They are mostly dance songs. The memoir is expected to cover, therefore, a full description of the dances.

(2) The Montagnais used their birch bark dishes ("Jesuit Relations," vol. VI, p. 187).

Both the Malecites and Micmacs occasionally used a board to beat time on for an accompaniment to their dances (1). However, the Malecites had a proper drum. At Cacouna it was described as having only one head, which was made of caribou hide. It was said to have been only about 4 inches in height and about 1 foot in diameter. The hoop was made of white cedar. Jack Solomon, of Central Kingsclear, says he remembers very well several drums with two heads which he had seen in his youth. He thought that they were about 6 inches high and 2 or 3 feet in diameter. He informs me that the drums were usually made out of yellow birch, but sometimes out of ash or cedar.

The description obtained at Cacouna accords very well with the specimen in the Victoria Memorial Museum (2) which is 18 inches in diameter and 4 inches in height. The head is made of untanned caribou hide and the barrel of white cedar. The drumstick which accompanies it is 16 inches in length and has a knob on its end, also covered with caribou hide.

According to Le Jeune's "Relation" of 1634 the Montagnais had a drum with two heads.

"As to this drum it is the size of a tambourine, and is composed of a circle three or four finger-lengths in diameter, and of two skins stretched tightly over it on both sides; they put inside some little pebbles or stones, in order to make more noise; the diameter of the largest drum is of the size of two palms or thereabout; they

---

(1) According to Le Jeune the Montagnais had a similar custom: "Often the spectators have sticks in their hands and all strike at once upon pieces of wood, or upon hatchet handles which they have before them, or upon their ouragans; that is to say, upon their bark plates turned upside down."

(2) This specimen was made by Jim Paul in imitation of those he had seen in his youth. Its catalogue number is III F 213.

call it chichigouan, and the verb nipagahiman, means 'I make this drum sound.' They do not strike it as do our Europeans, but they turn and shake it upon the ground, sometimes its edge and sometimes its face, while the sorcerer plays a thousand apish tricks with this instrument." (1)

According to Turner (2) the Naskapi drum was very similar to the one described by Jim Paul for the Malecites. He says the diameter was from 22 to 26 inches. The barrel was made of spruce. It had only one head. The Indians of the Whale River district on the other hand, he says, had a drum with two heads. Their drums rarely exceed 22 inches in diameter.

Both Malecites and Micmacs now have rattles, which are made from a stag's horn and loaded with shot. Both ends are closed with wooden plugs. Inside the rattle is a small quantity of shot. The rattle is used by the dance leader to set the time for a dance, he himself dancing at the head of the line with the rattle in his right hand. In olden times, according to Micmac information, rattles were made out of birch bark. They were cylindrical, about 6 inches long and 3 in diameter, and were attached to a wooden handle. They were, therefore, very similar in shape to a type which Hoffman describes for both the Menomini and Ojibwa.

The Malecites and Micmacs also had a sort of flageolet, called in Malecite bibigwat. This was usually made out of alder, wild cherry, or sweet elder. Of these three sweet elder was preferred, because, having a pith centre, it was very easy to hollow out. If alder or wild cherry were used, the instruments could only be made in the spring, at the time when the sap first begins to run. When the trees are in that condition, if a

---

(1) "Jesuit Relations," vol. VI, p. 187.

(2) Turner, pp. 334-5.

piece of suitable length be cut, the centre can be twisted out by dint of hard work. As this could not be accomplished for a very long piece of wood, the flageolet had to be made out of several pieces. Judging from the great difficulty an Indian had in hollowing out a piece only a couple of inches long, to be used for the stem of a pipe, I should think that 6 inches would be the maximum length that could ever be hollowed out in this way. Supposing, therefore, the Indian was going to hollow out a piece for his flageolet 6 inches long, he would cut a piece 10 inches long and beyond 6 inches he would trim it down 1/8 inch. Grasping the 4 inches which he had cut away in one hand and the 6 inches which were uncut in the other he would begin twisting. If successful a piece would be twisted out of the same thickness as the part that was trimmed down, thus leaving a hollow tube 6 inches long. Several of these tubes, of sizes which would just fit into one another, were joined together. The flageolet was then ready for the mouthpiece and holes; but my informants were not able to give me any definite information on either of these features.

The Malecites and Micmacs had also a flute of the same construction as the flageolet already described. I was unable to get any exact data about the number of holes and other points of detail.

The use of a flute occurs in the mythology of the area, for example, in the tale of the Sable and Serpent (1).

---

(1) Leland and Prince, "Kuloskap the Master," p. 112.

CHAPTER VIII

TEMPORAL DIVISIONS AND UNITS OF MEASUREMENT

Abbé Maillard says: "This nation counts its years by the winters. When they ask a man how old he is, they say, 'How many winters have gone over thy head?'

"Their months are lunar, and they calculate their time by them. When we would say, 'I shall be six weeks on my journey,' they express it by, 'I shall be a moon and a half on it.'" (1).

Now, however, neither the Micmacs nor the Malecites use their old system, but use the European system of days, months, and years. I was able, however, to get the following list of their old months from several informants. So far as I was able to check it, there seemed to be no errors and very little difference of opinion.

The Micmac months are as follows:

January	bunɔdɛmigus
February	abiginadjit
March	sigowigus
April	pinadimwigus
May	agizigus
June	nibinigus
July	apsgwigus
August	kisaɣwigus
September	madjoɣtwigus
October	wigewigus
November	skuls
December	'ux djuɣuldjiwigus

---

(1) Le Clercq makes a similar statement. "They count the years by winters, the months by the moons, the days by the nights." (Le Clercq, p. 137).

The above list agrees with Rand's, but according to some informants the Indians had thirteen months. Since the months were lunar, it is difficult to see what they did for the days which were missing, for in a few years their calender would have been far behindhand. It seems that they must have added a month at some time or other, either a short one every year or a lunar month whenever their calendar became a full lunar month behind; as their calendar was lunar, the latter is certainly the more reasonable explanation. This would account for the thirteenth month which some informants insisted upon (1). It is uncertain how many days they considered as constituting a lunar month, but probably thirty; at least that is what Le Clercq says (2). "They give thirty days to all the moons." Le Clercq also gives the names for two of the months; in spite of his somewhat defective phonetics, they seem to be the same words as are now used, except that he gives for December the name now used for January. I found among my informants slight differences of opinion about the names of the months. One informant said that the month I have listed as December was November. Another stated that igdjigus was the name for January. Another informant, probably more reliable, gave the name for June as sayatpewigus. I am inclined, therefore, to believe that the latter is the thirteenth month. The other difference of opinion concerning the English equivalents is only due to the fact that no Micmac month would exactly coincide with a European month.

Concerning the seasons Le Clercq says (3), "They say that the spring has come when the leaves begin to sprout, when the wild geese appear, when the fawns of moose attain to a certain size

---

(1) Compare in this connection the discussion of the Malecite calendar a few pages farther on.

(2) Le Clercq, p. 137.

(3) Le Clercq, p. 137.

in the bellies of their mothers, and when the seals bear their young. They recognize that it is summer when the salmon run up the rivers, and when the wild geese shed their plumage. They recognize that it is the season of autumn when the waterfowl return from the north to the south. As for the winter, they mark its approach by the time when the cold becomes intense, when the snows are abundant on the ground, and when the bears retire into the hollows of the trees, from which they do not come forth until the spring, according to an account which we shall give thereof later.

"Our Gaspesians, then, divide the year into four seasons, by four different periods. The spring is called Paniah (1), the summer Nibk (2), the autumn Taoüak (3) and the winter Kesic. They count only five moons of summer and five of winter for the entire year as was customary in old times among the Romans, before Julius Caesar, a year before his death, had divided it into twelve months. They confound one moon of the spring with those of the summer, and one of autumn with those of the winter, since in fact it can truly be said, that there is little of spring and of autumn in Gaspesia, in as much as the passage is imperceptible there from cold to heat and from heat to cold, which is very rigorous. They have no regular weeks; if they make any such division it is by the first and the second quarter, the full and the wane of the moon."

The Malecite names of the months, according to Jim Paul, were as follows:

January, piadiwiswigɪzus, probably meaning the month when the branches of the firs and spruce break off with the cold.

---

(1) Rand gives Baneak'.

(2) Rand gives Nipk.

(3) Rand gives Togwaak.

February, tigwastunigizus, the month when it is getting towards spring.

March, agluzunwesit, the month when things are scarce.

April, panadamuwigizus, when the birds begin to lay their eggs.

May, sigunamigwigizus, the month when the fish come up.

June, skwaswewigizus, when everything is in blossom.

July, tcuwaxpigizus, when the frogs are in the water.

August, wikewigizus, when everything is ripe.

September, madjewidolkgigizus, when the animals begin to rut.

October, tagwagigizus, the height of the autumn.

November, giwadjigizus, it is a lonesome month, or bigizus, the month when the animals and birds migrate.

December (first part and latter part of November), ktcigizus.

Thirteenth month, midijigizus, bad month.

Vetromile (1) gives a list of the names of the months used by an Indian tribe, which I take to be the Malecites. It is as follows:

January - Onglusamwessit; it is hard to get a living.

---

(1) "The Abnaki and Their History," p. 83.

February - Taquash nikizoos; moon in which there is a crust on the snow.

March - Pnhodamwikizoos; moon in which we catch fish.

April - Amusswikizoos; moon in which we catch fish.

May - Kikkaikizoos; moon in which we sow.

June - Muskoskikizoos; moon in which we catch young seals.

July - Atchittaikizoos; moon in which the berries are ripe.

August - Wikkaikizoos; moon in which there is a heap of eels on the sand.

September - Mantchewadokkikizoos; moon in which there are herds of moose, bears, etc.

October - Assebaskwats; there is ice on the banks.

November - Abonomhsswikizoos; moon in which the first fish comes.

December - Ketchikizoos; the long moon.

A comparison of this list with the one which I obtained from Jim Paul shows that there are only six months alike; the order in which these six months occur is quite different, for he gives my third month first and my fourth month third.

Comparing these two lists with the Micmac list, we find that the only month in his list which agrees with a Micmac month is September. August, however, agrees fairly closely with October. In my list April is cognate with the Micmac name for April, and September with the Micmac name for September, whereas August agrees with October, and July may be cognate with the Micmac name for December, although this is doubtful.

It will be seen, therefore, that the Micmac and Malecite names are not very much alike, and that my list shows a slightly closer similarity than the list given by Vetromile. He says (1) that usually they only reckoned twelve lunar months to the year, but when the months got sufficiently far behind they added a month to make the months correspond with the seasons. This, I presume, would occur every six years. He says that this month was put in between July and August and was called Abonamwikizoos, 'let this month go by.' "In the case of the month of July of the Indians, that is, the moon Atchittaikizoos, begins in our month of June, then in our month of July begins the Indian month, Abonamwikizoos, and the Indian month of August, Wikkaikizoos, will commence from the new moon which falls in our August."

Although there are no very complete data on any of the Algonkian tribes, still all the available data seem to show that the same system of lunar months prevailed among them all. I am not aware, however, of any other statement except that of Vetromile which describes an occasional thirteenth month.

The names for the months in the various Algonkin dialects appear to vary greatly. As far as I have been able to find out, the only similarity is in the case of Cree February and Malecite December, both of which are called "big month."

Skinner, in his paper on the Menomini (2), states, "Twelve lunar months are recognized, although there is no proof that this custom was not introduced by the Europeans." It does not, however, seem at all likely to me that this is the case, because in the first place it is hard to see why the Europeans should introduce a lunar system when they used a solar system. Moreover, I believe that the statements which I have quoted from the early writers make this extremely improbable, if not impossible.

---

(1) Vetromile, p. 81.

(2) Skinner, "Social Life," p. 62.

Vetromile says (1) that the Indians divided their moons into nine parts, which were called in the following manner:

1) Nangusa, she is born (the new moon)

2) Nenaghil, she grows (from the fifth to the sixth day of the moon)

3) Kegan-demeghil, soon-full (from the eleventh to the twelfth day)

4) Wemeghil, she is full

5) Pekinem, after being full (the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth day)

6) Utsine, she commences to die (the twenty-second and twenty-third day)

7) Pebassine, she is half dead

8) Metchina V. Sesemina, she is entirely dead (when nearly disappearing)

9) Nepa, she is dead (no moon)

The Malecites (2) had no hours or accurate divisions of the day, but they had the following descriptive words for the various vaguely defined parts:

wedjguwabɔn, when the sky begins to show signs of the coming dawn

ebasabɔn, dawn (half daylight)

gizabɔn, daylight (before sunrise)

sagewehi, sunrise

---

(1) Vetromile, p. 81.
(2) Concerning the Micmacs Le Clercq says: "They count the hours of the morning in proportion as the sun advances into its meridian, and the hours of the afternoon according as it declines and approaches its setting." Le Clercq, p. 137.

gidjigwit, early morning

sbamukdodjide, sun is high up (late morning

pasgwenh~m, noon

gizibaskwe, afternoon

gigangie, nearly sunset

gimosia, sunset (literally he has gone out of sight)

pisgue, dark

ebazitpogit, midnight

giziebazitpogit, after midnight

pisgitbogesu, the darkness which precedes the dawn

spazwiu, morning

pokwit, night

agwanet pokwu, evening (1)

The seasons are as follows:

buniu - winter

sigun or siguniu - spring

nibun - summer

tagwagui - autumn

---

(1) Vetromile says that the day and the night were each divided into six parts (Vetromile, p. 85).

MALECITE MEASURES

kwɛdibultcɛhazol, a span (from the tip of extended thumb to tip of middle finger).

gamuskun, from the elbow of one hand to the extended fingers of the other. In this measure both arms are extended straight out from the shoulders, but the right one is turned back from the elbow.

kwudɛnskazol, from the tip of the fingers of one hand to the tip of the fingers of the other, both arms being extended at full length from the shoulders.

CURRENCY

Before the coming of the Europeans, and during the early contact with them, it is certain that true barter prevailed, but as time went on the dressed skins of fur-bearing animals became currency. At first the relative values of the different furs and their purchasing value must have fluctuated greatly, but during the early part of the eighteenth century they began to be fixed. In the year 1760 they were definitely fixed for the Malecites by treaty, with the skin of a beaver as the standard. The exact standard at the trading post was a pound of the fur of the spring beaver and was known as 'one beaver.' The Indians, however, in dealing with one another, could not have been so accurate, and for general purposes a good beaver skin passed as currency. The other skins all had a fixed value too. They were as follows:

One moose skin	-	1-1/2 beavers
One bear skin	-	1-1/3 beavers
Three sable skins	-	1 beaver
Six mink skins	-	1 beaver
Ten ermine skins	-	1 beaver
One silver fox	-	2-1/2 beavers

A beaver was worth about one dollar or five shillings. Blankets, for example, cost two beavers.

CHAPTER IX

MEDICAL PRACTICES

Medical practices among the Malecites and Micmacs were practically the same, so it will be convenient to consider the two tribes together. The treatment of disease was of two kinds; by means of herbs and preparations taken internally, and by magic. The two, however, commonly went together, and the herb doctor was in many cases, though not always,a shaman. For convenience it will be easier to consider first the herb doctor and later the shaman.

The question naturally arises whether or not a great deal of the herbal treatment, if not directly borrowed from the Europeans, was at least due to contact with them, for herb remedies were in general use in Europe at the time. It does not seem likely, however, that much of the present Indian medicine of this region is actually borrowed from the whites; for at the present day the Indians have many more remedies than the whites of this region, and have a higher reputation, although herbal treatment is still in great repute with the whites of the more out of the way communities of New Brunswick. The Indians may simply have preserved what the whites have lost. This, however, hardly seems to be the case, for Le Clercq writes (1):

"They have, moreover, a quantity of roots and herbs which are unknown to us in Europe, but whose virtues and properties the Indians know wonderfully well, so that they can make use of them in

(1) Le Clercq, p. 298.

time of need."

Biard in his "Relation" of 1616 says (1):

"Now those among them who practise medicine, are identical with those who are at the head of their Religion, i.e. Autmoins, whose office is the same as that of our Priests and our Physicians. But in truth they are not Priests, but genuine sorcerers; not Physicians, but Jugglers, liars, and cheats. All their science consists in a knowledge of a few simple laxatives, or astringents, hot or cold applications, lenitives or irritants for the liver or kidneys, leaving the rest to luck; nothing more."

Denys, writing at a later date, gives practically the same evidence (2):

"They were not subject to diseases, and know nothing of fevers. If any accident happened to them, by falling, by burning, or in cutting wood (the latter happening through lack of good axes, theirs being unsteady through failure to cut well), they did not need a physician. They had knowledge of herbs, of which they made use and straightway grew well."

The herb doctor was as often a man as a woman. Certain remedies were in general use throughout the tribe and each family probably possessed a half dozen at least. As a rule there were a few of special repute in each village who possessed many more remedies, and the one of greatest fame sometimes had upwards of a hundred receipts. There were at least three or four old women in each village who might almost be called herb doctors.

As the receipts were acquired in various ways it was not always the old women who had the

---

(1) "Jesuit Relations," vol. III, p. 117.

(2) Denys, p. 415.

most. Sometimes a fairly young man would have quite a stock. The usual way for a young person to acquire them was to have his father, mother, or some near relative tell him their receipts when they considered that they were approaching the end of their days and did not want to die without leaving the knowledge to some one. Usually the old people did not tell more than one of their children, because they did not care to have them generally known; consequently they reserved them for a child or relative who was in special favour and who showed special aptitude as well as discretion. There was a general belief that the medicines lost some of their power each time they became known, hence the dislike to tell any one. They were always surrounded by an air of mystery, which, if it did not increase their efficacy, certainly increased their value in the Indian's eyes. Besides what we might call the inheritance of receipts, they were often sold outright. Sometimes the former owner agreed not to use them any more, selling, we may say, their efficacy as well as their formulae; sometimes both the buyer and seller used them after the agreement.

The herbs were usually gathered in the autumn, chiefly because at that time of the year they were most available. The root was always preferred to the leaves or stalk. This, probably, is partly due to the fact that the roots are stronger than the part above ground and partly that they believe, to use my informant's own word, that "the medicine all lodges there." Roots are dug from the side of the tree which the first rays of the sun strike. They believe that the tree or plant derives most of its power or medicine from the sun, and that the first rays of the sun have more medicine (power) than any other because they have not dispensed any of it yet, but as the day goes on the sun's rays keep giving forth power and hence cannot be as strong as the first rays. So, also, bark is peeled from the part where the sun's first rays strike.

Sympathetic magic plays an important part in the gathering of ingredients; for example,

bark which is to be used in a medicine for the prevention of diarrhoea must be peeled from the bottom upwards, whereas bark to be used as a physic must be peeled downwards.

Before going on to describe the formulae used at the present day, the following, described by John Giles (1689), show a typical use of two very important substances, the second one figuring many times in my formulae. Giles was unfortunate enough to receive several knife wounds in the chest and writes: "The Indians applied red ochre to my sore, which by God's blessing cured me." At another time he was unfortunate enough to freeze his feet, the cure of which he describes as follows:

"I had not sat long by the fire before the blood began to circulate, and my feet to my ankles turned black, and swelled with bloody blisters, and were inexpressibly painful. The Indians said one to another, "His feet will rot and he will die." Yet I slept well at night. Soon after, the skin came off my feet from my ankles, whole, like a shoe, leaving my toes naked without a nail, and the ends of my great toe bones bare, which, in a little time turned black, so that I was obliged to cut the first joint off with my knife. The Indians gave me rags to bind up my feet, and advised me to apply fir balsam, but withal added that they believed it was not worth while to use means, for I should certainly die. But, by the use of my elbows and a stick in each hand, I shoved myself along as I sat upon the ground over the snow from one tree to another until I got some balsam. This I burned in a clam-shell until it was of a consistence like salve, which I applied to my feet and ankles, and, by the divine blessing, within a week I could go about upon my heels with my staff. And, through God's goodness, we had provisions enough, so that we did not remove under ten or fifteen days. Then the Indians made two little hoops, something in the form of a snow-shoe, and sewing them to my feet, I was able to follow them in their tracks, on my heels, from place to place, though sometimes half leg deep in snow and water, which gave me the most acute pain

imaginable; but I must walk or die. Yet within a year my feet were entirely well; and the nails came on my great toes, so that a very critical eye could scarcely perceive any part missing, or that they had been frozen at all."

Dierville describes very fully the Micmac treatment of broken bones in the following words:

"Ils se blessent fort souvent, mais la nature a mis sous l'écorce des épinettes, arbres très communs dans toute l'Acadie, un remède merveilleux à tous leur maux; c'est une Térébentine plus fine et plus balsamique que celle qui nous vient de Venise, et elle se trouve par tout où l'on peut en avoir besoin pour se panser. S'ils se cassent les Bras ou les Jambes, ils remettent les os au niveau, et sont de grands plumaceaux de fine mousse qu'ils couvrent de leur Térébentine, et, ils en environnent le membre rompu; ils mettent par-dessus un morceau d'écorce de bois de Bouleau, qui prend en se pliant aisément la forme de la partie; les éclisses ne sont pas oubliées, et pour tenir tout cela sujet, ils prennent de longs bouts d'écorces plus minces dont ils sont des bandages convenables, ils mettent ensuite le malade en situation sur un tas de mousse et cela réussit toujours fort bien."

The following remedies Mr. Earl Sheble obtained from Jack Solomon of Central Kingsclear in July 1910. The leaves of double tansy (Tanacetum vulgare var. crispum) (1) are dried and a tea is made out of them and a little gin or whisky added. It is drunk in various quantities at irregular intervals. The disease of the patient seems to dictate the amount and frequency of the doses. It is used for kidney trouble, and, on horses, for colic. A cupful of the buds or young

---

(1) For the identification of this and the following plants I am indebted to the late Prof. John Macoun, botanist.

cones of a fir tree is steeped with a piece of the bark of a young hemlock (Tsuga canadensis, Mal., Ksiusk) or an oak (Quercus rubra, Mal., Wabeik emkwanimozi) about 10 inches long, and then taken as required as a cure for diarrhoea.

The juice of about ten buds of a balsam fir (Abies balsamea, Mal., Sta'kwin) is used as a laxative.

The dried leaves of the water pepper (Polygonum Hydropiper) are used to make a tea for the treatment of dropsy.

The dried root of Seneca snakeroot (Polygala Senega) is chewed for colds.

Wild rhubarb (Mal., sewapokil) is soaked in vinegar and used as a poultice or plaster for headache.

A plant which Mr. Sheble says is locally known as Penelin, but which he has not been able to have identified, is used to make a tea for diarrhoea.

Practically all my Malecite remedies were obtained from Jim Paul, who acted as intermediary in obtaining them from old people at St. Mary who were difficult to deal with. The medicines are classified according to the diseases which they are said to remedy.

Swellings or Sprains

Pound freshly-picked sheeplaurel (Kalmia angustifolia, Mal., mikwewa'lwɑl - 'Squirrel tail') and work well until it takes on the appearance of salve. Then apply as salve, bandage for a day and give a fresh application.

Sprains and Bruises

Yarrow (Achillea Millefolium, Mal., sa'pɑgol) boiled down until it is very thick, is used as a liniment.

Swellings: Grind up orange-red lily root (Lilium philadelphicum) and soak in warm water. Apply as a poultice to swelling or bruise. This root is also used as a constituent in other medicines to strengthen them.

Sprains: Steep a good-sized bunch of sweet fern (Myrica asplenifolia, Mal., eninigsimo'zil = 'pismire bushes'), together with yarrow (Achillea Millefolium) in a quart of water. Wherever there is a swelling over the sprain the Indians prick it with a sharp instrument, preferably of stone, and rub in the above liniment. The process is repeated until the swelling disappears.

Ulcerated Mouth

Chew the bark of black alder (Alnus incana, Mal., dop' = 'it colours the hands') (1).

Sore Mouth

For a child with a sore mouth steep goldthread (Coptis trifolia, Mal., wizauke'skil = 'yellow herbs'), saturate a rag with the solution and place it in the mouth of the child.

Infected Cut

(1) Scrapings from the outside of the inmost layer of white birch bark (Betula populifolia, Mal., maskwe'nos = 'bark wood') are put in a gill of hot water. The quantity of scrapings is about a handful. A rag is soaked in the mixture, which is brown. The rag is tied tightly above the infection; if on the hand, it is tied around the arm. The swelling is said to go down very rapidly. The rag leaves a brown stain, and the swelling will not pass above it. The rag is left on an hour or more until it dries.

---

(1) Alnus incana is the hoary alder; the black alder is Ilex verticillata. It is uncertain which is meant here.

(2) When a cut becomes infected and begins to turn black, boil down the solution obtained by steeping bloodroot (Sanguinaria canadensis), soak some rags in it, and apply to the cut. A fresh rag should be applied as soon as the previous one dries. (This root is used also for bleeding piles and consumption).

Sores and Cuts

(1) Le Clercq gives the following method for the treatment of sores and cuts in vogue in his day (1):

"The balsam of the fir, which some call turpentine, and which is a kind of sovereign balm for every kind of sore and for wounds of axe, knife, or gun, is the first and most usual remedy which our Gaspesians employ, and with success, in making their very fine cures. Since this balsam is a little too irritating to the patients, they have the ingenuity to temper its activity by masticating the pellicle which is found attached to the fir after they have removed the outer bark. They spit the water which comes from it upon the affected part and make of the remainder a kind of poultice, which alleviates the evil and cures the wounded men in a very short time."

(2) Mullen leaf (common mullen, Verbascum Thapsus, Mal., tcuglsia'sihonɛl = 'frog blankets') is applied to sores and cuts. A leaf is put right over the sore and a new leaf is applied whenever it dries up.

Sores: For a sore, grease a leaf of cat-tail (Typha latifolia, Mal., segidebigakde'gil = 'leaves lie flat on the ground'), and lay it on the sore. Two applications are made daily.

Chancres: (1) Apply leaves of beech (Fagus grandifolia, Mal., miki'kwimus) to the sore and bandage. Change the leaves four or five times

---

(1) Le Clercq, p. 298.

a day. This is done until the sore disappears.

(2) Smash up some burdock roots (Arctium Lappa) and balm of gilead buds (Populus balsamifera, Mal., ewebibu'k) and apply to the sore. This is repeated until it disappears.

Hoarseness

(1) Chew several roots of Christmas fern (Polystichum acrostichoides, Mal., ktciutcetckuk ' = 'big rock break'), swallowing saliva.

(2) Chew the green or dried roots of toothwort (Dentaria diphylla, Mal., ka'djiwuk = 'something growing in a hiding place').

Boils: (1) Pound the leaves of live-forever (Sedum purpureum, Mal., mediawigagil = 'leaves will squeak'), and make a poultice. This is good to break a boil or a carbuncle.

(2) Burn a piece of the bark of mountain ash (Pyrus americana, Mal., wik's (name of tree), likpetaha' (name of bark) = 'one pounds it') and apply it as a poultice to the head of a boil.

Abscesses and Boils

Dry some Indian turnip (Arisaema triphyllum, Mal., pogdjinsgwewiwazis = pokdjinzkwes, 'little child,' because the blossom resembles a child in an Indian cradle). Scrape and pound the turnip, then wet it and apply as a poultice.

Abscesses: Pound the root of a bulrush (Scirpus rubrotinctus, Mal., kagskinio'kis = 'a nasty root'), mix with hot water, and apply as a poultice.

Burns

Strip the outside of white cedar boughs (Thuya occidentalis, Mal., ka'gsgos), strip off the under bark, dry it, and pound it fine. Mix it with grease and apply to the burn.

Sore Eyes

(1) Strip the outside bark from some boughs of mountain maple (Acer spicatum, Mal., malsuna'u), scrape the inside off, and steep a handful in a gill of water. Tie it up in a rag and squeeze the water into the eyes. If the eyes are very sore a poultice is made of it and applied to them.

(2) Chew or soak red osier dogwood (Cornus stolonifera, Mal., nespipam'k') in warm water, then squeeze and allow the water to enter the eye.

Sore Throat

(1) Steep red osier dogwood and gargle.

(2) Steep a bulrush (Scirpus rubrotinctus) and blue flag (Iris versicolor), and gargle.

Toothache (resulting from a hollow tooth)

Take the gum of white cedar (Thuya occidentalis) and fill the cavity. It will stop the pain, but will kill the tooth.

Catarrh

Smoke red osier dogwood (Cornus stolonifera), or mullen leaf (Verbascum Thapsus), or sweet fern (Myrica asplenifolia, Mal., enigsimo'zil = 'pismire bushes').

Headache

(1) Dry Elecampane root (Inula Helenium, Mal., minsisimatek' - 'raspberry smell'), powder fine and snuff.

(2) Scrape spikenard root (Aralia racemosa, Mal., skidjinawi'widjap'k'), mix with red osier dogwood (Cornus stolonifera, Mal., nespipam'k'), and smoke the mixture. Scraped and steeped in a cup of water it is good for lassitude in the spring.

Colds

(1) Steep one root of sweet flag (Acorus Calamus, Mal., kiuhu'ʿziwazas = 'musk-rat') in a quart of water. Take a cupful several times a day. (This root is also chewed to prevent diseases).

(2) Steep the bark of tamarack (Larus laricina, Mal., pʿka'mus) and use for relieving a cold or for general debility. This is also used for consumption.

(3) Steep a small piece of Elecampane root. Take a gill three or four times a day. This is used also for heart trouble.

(4) Steep boughs of hemlock (Tsuga canadensis). Take several cups as hot as possible every day until cured. This is used especially for cold in the kidneys.

(5) Steep an inch or two of spikenard root (Aralia racemosa, Mal., kʿtumegagewi'gwan = 'big bass root'), until the strength is out, then drink the liquid. This is especially for colds in the head.

Cold and Coughs

The bark of the wild black cherry (Prunus serotina, Mal., wɛ'ʿkwanum - 'black cherry') is steeped in water. After it has been removed a very small piece of beaver castor is added and a little gin. The liquid is taken at any time and in any quantity. It is used also for consumption, but only by men.

Cough: Steep white cedar boughs (Thuja occidentalis) in a quart of water. Take a glassful at a time.

Cough or Croup

Steep one root of avens (Geum strictum, Mal., makwanimiga'kil = 'sweet berry') in half a

pint of water. The dose for a very small child is a teaspoonful several times a day.

Croup: Steep wild mint (Mentha canadensis, Mal., pse'skil - 'it smells strong') and give a teaspoonful at frequent intervals until the child is quieter. This remedy is used also when the child's stomach is out of order. It is also added as a flavouring in soup.

Rash or Itch

Boil leaves and stalks of false Solomon's seal (Smilacina racemosa, Mal., amwiminigak' - 'speckled berry'), and bathe the afflicted part with it.

Prickly Heat

A small red cherry tree (Prunus pennsylvanica, Mal., maskwe+zi'minak - 'bark tree with berries') is cut down 1-1/2 to 2 inches in diameter at the base. The outside bark is removed, the tree dried, and the yellow outside scraped off. A rag is put over a dish so that only the very fine powder can pass through. Whenever a baby was chafed, or a person suffered from prickly heat, it was applied as powder. Hemlock (Tsuga canadensis, Mal., ksiusk) was used in the same manner.

Bleeding Piles

Boil a few roots of blood-root (Sanguinaria canadensis, Mal., pe'k<niasuk' = 'bleeders') in a small kettle. When it begins to steam profusely take it off and sit on it. (This root is used also for infected cuts and consumption. Sympathetic magic undoubtedly plays an important part in its use).

Hair Wash

Steep the boughs of common juniper (Juniperus communis, Mal., tuna'liguk' = 'grows close to the ground').

Blister

Scrape the bark from small branches of willow (Salix cordata, Mal., kinoze's = 'growing on shore'), place in hot water, remove, grease, and apply to part desired in order to blister. It is usually kept on for four or five hours.

Asthma

A root called kageso'begek(= 'with lots of leaves'), the identification and English name of which I have not been able to ascertain, is used as follows. Steep two roots in a quart of water and drink as much of the mixture as possible. Repeat until relieved.

Consumption

(1) Make a tea of white cedar bark (Thuja occidentalis) and give to the patient whenever he desires it.

(2) Steep the whole root of a plant of spikenard (Aralia racemosa) in a quart of water. Take a pint at a time and continue as long as the patient has consumption.

(3) Staghorn sumach (Thus typhina, Mal., sla'nimus = 'with a bunch of red blossoms') mixed with blackberry root, mountain holly (Nemopanthus mucronata), orange-red lily root (Lilium philadelphicum) and mountain raspberry root (Chamaemorus) is used for consumption or a cough, also for fever.

(4) Take three plants of pitcher plant (Sarracenia purpurea) and steep them in a pint of water. The entire pint is taken at one time.

(5) Steep root of wild rhubarb (Mal., sewapo'kil) and take as a tea. It is also good for the blood.

(6) Take seven plants of Prince's pine (Chimaphila umbellata, Mal., k'agegiga'kil) and the scrapings of seven roots of common juniper

(Juniperus communis); steep in half a pint of boiling water. If too strong, dilute. Take half a cupful seven times a day for seven days. If the patient then shows no sign of recovery, the medicine is discontinued and others are tried. The use of the mystic number seven plays an important part in this receipt.

(7) In very bad cases of consumption, when the patient suffers from hemorrhages, bloodroot (Sanguinaria canadensis) is added to the other roots used in the various remedies. Only a very small piece of bloodroot is added when they are being steeped, because it is very strong and if taken pure will poison the patient. It is used only when the patient has hemorrhages, and sympathetic magic plays an important part in the matter.

Pleurisy (1)

Steep a good-sized bunch of roots of polypody (Polypodium vulgare, Mal., tcetcgwi'zɨk' = 'growing on rock') after they have been pounded, in a pint of water. Give the patient the whole pint if possible. Repeat the dose every hour or even less. (These roots after being pounded and boiled down are used to wet cloths which are then applied to the chest. Calmus root is sometimes mixed with them).

Tonics

(1) Steep four or five roots of toothwort (Dentaria diphylla, Mal., ka'djiwuk = 'something growing in a hiding place') in a pint of water, and give two or three tablespoonfuls three or four times a day before meals. (The roots may also be chewed either green or dry to clear the throat). This is a good remedy for children about eight or ten years of age who are not feeling well, for it makes them sleep.

---

(1) Mal., pedugelaukwɛ = 'like thunder.

(2) Steep the bark of round wood (Mal., mina'kwimus = 'tree with berries') and take at infrequent intervals. It will increase the patient's appetite and improve his health.

(3) Steep seven or eight pieces, about 6 inches long, of the boughs of common juniper in a quart of water. Give a cupful three or four times a day or whenever the patient desires it.

Loss of Appetite

(1) Steep a handful of willow bark (Salix cordata, Mal., kinoze's - 'growing on shore') in two quarts of water and give half a gill before each meal. This will stimulate the appetite.

(2) Steep a piece of poplar bark (Populus grandidentata, Mal., mi·t - 'bitter wood') 1-1/2 feet long by 1-1/2 inches wide. Give a gill before each meal. (Poplar bark is also used for the sweat bath together with cedar, spruce, and hemlock boughs.)

Purification of the Blood

(1) Steep wild rhubarb (Mal., sewapo'kil) and take as a tea. (This medicine is good also for consumption).

(2) Steep eight or nine plants of Prince's pine (Chimaphila umbellata) in a quart of water. Take a cupful three times a day.

(3) Steep a root of stag-horn sumach (Rhus typhina, Mal., sla'nimus = 'with a bunch of red blossoms') in a quart of water. Take a gill at any time. The berries are also used, one bunch steeped in half a gallon of water.

Nausea

Bittersweet (Solanum Dulcamara, Mal., wizqgapo·'k·l - 'bad taste') is steeped in water and a mouthful taken before each meal. The roots are preferable, but any part will serve.

Emetic

Red-berried elder (Sambucus racemosa, Mal., peskigdjila'nimus = 'pith very large') is used with round wood as an emetic, but is very dangerous. A strip of each plant about three feet long and a couple of inches wide is steeped in a gallon of water. It should be of a milky hue; if green, it should be discarded as poisonous. Give half a pint at frequent intervals.

Le Clercq (1) mentions the fact that emetics were very popular. He says:

"They prevent discomforts and diseases by the use of certain emetics, made from a root which is closely like that of chicory, or from certain seeds which they gather on the trees, and which they steep ten or twelve hours in a dish of bark filled with water or with broth" (2).

Purgative

Steep a piece of butternut bark (Juglans cinerea, Mal., pɑgaɑ'nɨmus = 'nut tree') about 1/2 foot long and 2 or 3 inches wide in about a pint of boiling water. Half a pint is taken before breakfast.

---

(1) Le Clercq, p. 296.

(2) Prof. Ganong has this note: "In all probability, as I am told by my friend, Professor Henry Kraemer, of Philadelphia, an authority on pharmacognosy, this root, closely like that of chicory, was that of a species of milkweed (Asclepias) several of which are known to furnish emetics. The identiy of the seeds is not so clear. They may have been those of the leatherwood (Dirca palustris) the bark of which, and, therefore, probably the seeds, is known to yield an emetic; but they were more likely those of the black alder (Ilex verticillata), the berries of which probably share the emetic property known to exist strongly in those of the other species of the same genus."

Cramp

Steep a small root of wild ginger (Asarum canadense, Mal., dagmigwe-al = 'snake root') in a gill of water. The dose for a child is one teaspoonful.

Worms

Steep a handful of bass-wood roots (Tilia americana, Mal., wɪkpi·ʼmus) in half a pint of water. Take twice a day, morning and evening. If the roots are not available, steep a piece of bark 6 inches long and 1 inch wide in half a pint of water and take in the same manner.

Diarrhoea

(1) Steep one foot of the blackberry tree (Rubus species, Mal., saptewemi·ʼnus = 'sharp-bush berry tree') in a quart of water. Give a teaspoonful at frequent intervals. This remedy is used for children.

(2) Steep bark of red oak (Quercus rubra, Mal., aza kurhimus = 'tree with nuts with caps'), 1 foot long by 2 inches wide, in a quart of water. Take a gill three times a day before eating. In severe cases the root is used instead of the bark.

(3) Steep four roots of false mitrewort (Tiarella cordifolia, Mal., siskwimi·ʼnuk = 'eye berry') in half a pint of water. For a child the dose is a teaspoonful three or four times a day.

(4) Steep one root of purple avena (Geum rivale, Mal., ɛgwitkil = 'they are soaking'). The dose for a child is one teaspoonful at intervals.

(5) Steep the inside bark of hemlock (Tsuga canadensis) with the inside bark of fir. Give several cupfuls a day, hot. Sometimes hemlock bark is used alone, with fir bark.

Smallpox

Steep one shoot of the root of cow parsnip (Heracleum lanatum, Mal., bia•'gulus = 'root good for all purposes') in a quart of water. Take one or two cups four or five times a day, both to prevent and cure smallpox. As a cure it is more effective if a small quantity of calmus root is steeped with it.

Cholera

Steep cow parsnip with calmus. This is said to be a certain cure. (Calmus was used also for poisoning arrows).

Fits

Steep the roots, leaves, and berries of bunch-berry (Cornus canadensis) and give the patient as much as he can take.

Jaundice

Steep two or three plants of touch-me-not (Impatiens biflora, Mal., pesgide'skil = 'shoot off') and take a gill four or five times a day. It is said that one day's treatment is usually enough.

Heart Trouble

Steep elecampane root (Inula Helenium, Mal., minsisima•'tek = 'raspberry smell') in half a pint of water. Take two tablespoonfuls four or five times a day.

Erysipelas

Steep a couple of feet of red cherry bark (Prunus pennsylvanicus, Mal., maskwezi•'minak = 'bark tree with berries) in a quart of water. Take half a pint at a time.

Kidney Trouble

(1) Mix black snakeroot (Sanicula gregaria, Mal., wabimi·'ndgakatho'sis wimi·'ndl) with spikenard (Aralia racemosa) and steep in a quart of water. This is good, also, for pains in the back and side, but is said to be effective with women only.

(2) Labrador tea (Ledum groenlandicum, Mal., pusipga·'skil) is steeped and taken for kidney trouble.

Gravel

(1) Steep one root, or the scrapings of one root, of mountain holly (Nemopanthus mucronata, Mal., wudjiga'nimus = 'old camp wood') in a quart of water. Drink half a pint at a time.

(2) Steep one root of cat-tail flag (Typha angustifolia, Mal., ba·'ziask = 'plenty of long leaves') in half a pint of water. This is sufficient for one dose.

Gonorrhoea

Steep 3 or 4 inches of spikenard (Aralia racemosa) in a pint of water. Take a glassful three or four times a day.

Steep the bark of the balsam (Abies balsamea) in water, and give a cupful at a time. This is used when the disease is in its initial stage.

Steep a piece of tamarack bark (Larix laracina, Mal., ksiu'sk) about 2 or 3 feet long and a couple of inches wide, together with half the quantity of spruce bark and balsam bark (Abies balsamea, Mal., sta'kwin) in a quart of water and strain. The dose is three or four glasses during the course of the day. It is used in acute cases, and given for a week or even longer.

Chancre

Steep burdock buds (Arctium Lappa) and give half a pint many times during the day. If the buds are not available, use the roots.

Irregular Menstruation

(1) Steep a root of sweet viburnum (Viburnum Lentago) in a pint of water. Give half a gill at a time and repeat five or six times a day until menstruation occurs. Sometimes Canada lily (Lilium canadense, Mal., walbatweka·'gil = 'white blossom') is added.

(2) Steep half a root of bulb of black snakeroot (Sanicula marilandica, Mal., midwiminigak atho'sis wimi·'nal = 'red berry snake root') in a quart of water. Give a cup three or four times a day. Gin is now added to it.

(3) Mix dwarf raspberry (Rubus triflorus, Mal., wabimi·'ndgak atho'sis wimi·'nal) with wild strawberry (Fragaria virginiana) and steep in a quart of water. Give a cupful three or four times a day. This is used when remedy (2) has proved ineffective.

Mother Pains

Steep bark of mountain ash (Pyrus americana, Mal., likpetaha·'t = 'one pounds it'), about 4 inches by 1 inch, in a pint of water and give a gill at a time to relieve the pain after the child is born. It should not be taken more often than twice a day.

Prevention of Pregnancy

(1) Steep several plants of balmony or turtle-head (Chelone glabra, Mal., athozis wiwsnia·'-ginol = 'snake head') in a quart of water and give a pint at a time, once or twice, as soon as pregnancy is discovered. It is said to be efficient up to four or five months.

(2) Steep tansy (Tanacetum vulgare) and give as soon as possible after pregnancy is discovered.

(3) Steep a very minute portion of pickerel-weed (Pontederia cordata, Mal., waladawi'ga = 'white blossom root') in half a pint of water, and give the whole dose at one time. It must be taken as soon as pregnancy is discovered. It is said that the patient does not usually suffer much, but is often rendered barren.

MICMAC REMEDIES

Collected by Barney Sommerville in August and September 1913.

Cold in Head, Sore Throat, or Cough (1)

Grind the roots of Angelica sylvestris and spikenard (Aralia racemosa). Take three spoonfuls of each and boil for an hour in a pint of water, strain, and give a glassful three times a day before meals.

Consumption with Hemorrhage

Pound and grind the roots of sea lavender (Limonium caro linianum), take four tablespoonfuls, and pour over it a pint of boiling water. Strain out a glassful and give before each meal until the symptoms disappear.

Purgative

Steep curled dock roots (Rumex crispus) in a quart of water.

Cold in the Bladder

Steep the roots of hemlock, parsley (Conioselinum chinense), Prince's pine (Chimaphila umbellata), and curled dock (Rumex crispus) in a

(1) Obtained from Mrs. Thomas Ginish.

quart of water. If the patient is a man use the upper parts of the roots, if a woman the lower parts.

The Micmacs and Malecites used to believe strongly in the efficacy of the sweat bath as a panacea. Father Biard (1616) says, "They keep themselves well (principally in summer) by use of hot rooms and sweat boxes, and by the bath."

Denys gives a much fuller description of them. He says(1):

"Their general remedy was to make themselves sweat, something which they did every month and even oftener. I tell this for the men, for I have never had knowledge that the women made themselves sweat. For this purpose, they constructed a little round wigwam to hold as many as four, five, six, seven, or eight, or more. These wigwams were covered with bark from top to bottom, entirely closed up with the exception of a little opening for entering, and the whole was covered besides with their garments. Whilst this was being done, large rocks were gathered and placed in the fire, and made red hot. After this those who wished to sweat placed themselves wholly naked in the wigwam, seated on their buttocks all around. Being therein, their wives, or some boys, gave them these rocks all redhot, and a big dish full of water and another small dish for pouring the water upon the rocks which were placed in the middle of the circle. This water which they poured upon the rocks made a steam which filled the cabin, and heated it so much that it made them sweat. When they commenced to sweat they threw on more water only from time to time. When the rocks were cold they threw them outside, and they were given others all red-hot. They did not make haste in the sweating, but heated up little by little, but so thoroughly that the water trickled over them in all parts, and these they wipe down from time to time with the hand. They remained there as long as

---

(1) Denys, p. 416.

they could, and they stuck to it an hour and a half or two hours. During this time they chanted songs, and told stories to make themselves laugh. When they wished to come out, they dashed on the water as much as they could from head to foot, and then, making a run, went to throw themselves into the sea or a river. Being refreshed they put their robes upon them; and then went into their wigwams as composed as ever. Our Frenchmen make themselves sweat like them, and throw themselves into the water similarly, and are never incommoded thereby. The water in those parts never injures the health. In the winter when our men go a-hunting, sometimes they have no dogs, and when they kill game those who know how to swim throw themselves into the water to go after it. On returning to the house and changing their clothes, they receive no inconvenience, and never catch cold therefrom."(1)

Le Clercq's description is very similar: (2)

"The sweat-house is a kind of a hot room, built in the form of a little wigwam covered with bark, or with skins of beaver and moose, and so arranged that it has no opening whatever. In the middle thereof the Indians place some hot stones, which heat those inside so much that the water soon starts from all parts of their bodies. They throw water upon those hot stones, whence the steam rises to the top of the wigwam, then it falls upon their backs, much like a hot and burning rain. This continues until some of them, unable to endure this heat, are obliged to rush out as quickly as they can.

"This proceeding, which serves to torment some of them, is nevertheless a matter of amusement to others, who take a particular pleasure in throwing water from time to time upon the stones, in

---

(1) Compare the Montagnais account given by Le Jeune, "Jesuit Relations," vol. VI, p. 191.

(2) Le Clercq, p. 297.

order to see who will have most endurance. They even sing and joke among themselves, giving vent to their usual whoops. Then, rushing quickly from this wigwam, they throw themselves into the river in order to cool themselves."

At present the Malecites and Micmacs do not build a sweat house nor have they done so for many years, but a few of the older men remember having seen them in their youth. Apparently they were not made of bark. Saplings were bent over and the two ends stuck in the ground. They were almost round and resembled a bee-hive in appearance. They were then covered with blankets. Probably the ones described by Denys were of the same shape, for the old people claim that formerly they were said to have been covered with bark. The manner of heating the water was the same as described by Denys.

Although they have discontinued making sweat houses, still they believe in the salutary effect of a sweat in the case of many illnesses. The following is the description of the Micmac method: Put poplar bark, cedar boughs, spruce boughs, and hemlock boughs in a large vessel. Pour boiling water over them, and allow to steep for some time. Then remove the boughs and put the feet and legs in, which should be immersed up to the knees. The rest of the body should be well covered with blankets and quilts. As soon as the patient drips with perspiration he should be put to bed and covered well with plenty of covers.

This same formula is said to have been used for the water that was thrown on the stones in the sweat house in the old days.

Le Clercq also calls attention to the prevalence of bloodletting, a thing which has long since died out among them. He says: (1)

"They are great lovers of bloodletting; they even open the veins themselves with flint

(1) Le Clercq, p. 297.

stones or the points of their knives. If any swelling makes its appearance, either on arm or leg, they lance the places where the evil is, and they make several incisions with the same instruments in order more readily to suck out the foul blood, and to remove all its corruption."

It is unfortunately impossible to make any comparative statements about the medicines of this area. My Micmac collection is far too small to draw any conclusions, and the medical practices of the surrounding Algonkin tribes have not been described.

CONCLUSION

In order to estimate correctly the cultural position of the Malecites and Micmacs, it seems necessary to consider not only those aspects of their social life which have been treated in the preceding chapters, but also their material culture.

Let us first consider their general manner of life and how they obtained their subsistence. They agree with the tribes as far south and west as the Saco, as well as with the Beothuks, in that they were to a great extent both hunters and fishermen. In this respect they were like the Montagnais also, to the east of the Saguenay, who were, however, to a less extent fishermen. They differ from the Naskapi, Cree, Ottawa, and Northern Ojibway, who were cut off from the sea and its source of food supply. The other tribes south of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, both the Algonkin and Iroquoian, including those of southern New England, were agriculturists and, therefore, entirely different from the Malecites and Micmacs.

Considering now in detail the various points of their material culture, we note that the Malecites and Micmacs, like many tribes in North America, used the conical lodge, the use of which extends from the Beothuks of Newfoundland to the

Rocky mountains. It matters little whether the lodge was built of bark or of skins, for this seems to be solely a matter of available material, the closely related Naskapi making a skin lodge like the buffalo-hunting tribes of the plains.

However, other types of houses were also used by all the tribes who used the conical lodge. The most important type among the eastern Indians, excluding the conical lodge, was a pyramidal structure built on a square base of logs. The Micmacs, Malecites, Penobscots, and presumably the tribes as far south as the Saco, used a house of this type, practically identical in all its details. The Beothuks used one very similar but differing in minor details. This type of house seems to have been wanting elsewhere (1). The domed structure which was known to the south and west, as well as, for special purposes, north of the St. Lawrence, seems not to have been used in the eastern region, unless the sweat lodge was of this type.

The gable-roofed house, which was very common among the Iroquois, has been known for a long time to the eastern Indians, but does not seem to have been in use in the earliest times, having probably been introduced into the region as a result of white contact, or, less probably, of later Iroquois contact. However, the large meeting houses which Lescarbot and some of the other early writers describe may have been of this type, but more probably they were of the dome-shaped type so common among the tribes of southern New England.

The type of canoe used by the Malecites differs radically from the Micmac type. The Malecite canoe is the regular Algonkian birch bark canoe. The canoes of the Malecites, Passamaquoddies,

---

(1) Since none of the early writers on this region mention the pyramidal house, it seems to me highly probable that it is due to white suggestion and is really a conical lodge set on the log foundation of the whites.

Penobscots, and presumably the other Algonkin tribes as far south and west as the Saco, were practically identical in shape and build. The Naskapi, Cree, Montagnais, Ottawa, Ojibway, and Menomini used a canoe similar in type and having the same parts, but differing somewhat in shape and proportions. The Micmac canoe is unique for an Algonkin canoe and evidently originated under Beothuk influence; in fact, it may be called a modified Beothuk canoe.

The tribes of southern New England, the Iroquois and Central Algonkin, used dugouts mainly. The Iroquois used, besides the dugout, an elm bark canoe which was evidently suggested by the Algonkin birch bark canoe.

Besides the bark canoe, both the Malecites and Micmacs used a moosehide canoe, whenever speed was essential in the manufacture of a boat. This type of canoe was also used by the Penobscots and presumably by the Algonkin tribes as far south as the Saco. The Beothuks used a similar canoe made of caribou skin. Possibly many other tribes used a similar type of canoe, but at present there are no data available.

The relation of this type of canoe to the skin boats of the Eskimos is important but difficult to determine. I believe it to be beyond question that there can be no connection between the kayak and this type of canoe, because the kayak, at least in the adjacent regions, is a one-man boat, extremely narrow, almost completely decked, and does not carry a large load. However, the umiak shows many points of similarity, and, judging by the only model of the Algonkin skin boat in existence, a Penobscot specimen, was not very different in general appearance from the skin boat of Maine and the Maritime Provinces. Considering the fact that the Micmacs were in close contact with the Eskimos at the time when the whites first arrived, and that the Beothuks were probably in even closer contact, it is at least extremely likely that the skin canoe is of Eskimo origin. Furthermore, the Eskimos of Labrador,

when we first hear of them, lived much farther south than at present, and in earlier times may have had even more extreme limits. The fact that the umiak is a wide-spread type of Eskimo boat, whereas the Algonkin skin canoe is known only among those tribes which came in contact with the Eskimos, makes it almost certain that the Algonkins must have borrowed it from the Eskimos.

Little light as to the ethnic position of the Malecites and Micmacs can be derived from a study of their clothing, because as far back as our records extend both used a coat which was evidently European in origin. The Montagnais, Naskapi, and Eastern Crees used a similar coat made out of caribou skin. However, the cut of this coat would be sufficient to establish the fact of its European origin, even if we had no documentary evidence proving the use among these tribes of a coat of a different type at the time of the first European contact. As a matter of fact, we have descriptions by the early writers of both Micmac and Montagnais clothing. Though these descriptions are not minute enough, in the absence of pictures, to permit a comparison of the clothing of the above-mentioned tribes with other Algonkin tribes who used a similar type of clothing, still they are sufficiently detailed to show that the coats were absolutely different from those in use fifty years ago. Le Clercq speaks of the coats not having sleeves, but says that the sleeves were separate pieces of clothing. Denys says the coats were only robes tied under the chin. He, too, states that they had separate sleeves. It is a curious fact that none of the recent writers on the ethnology of this area suggests the fact that the coat used in recent times is probably of European origin, which would certainly seem to be the obvious conclusion.

According to all the early writers on the subject, the woman's costume was very similar to the man's, except for the fact that she wore a girdle around the waist. There seems to be no doubt that in early times the women did not wear skirts and blouses as they have done for a long

time now, but wore a one-piece tunic.

In modern times both men and women use curious cloth caps which, however grotesque and un-European they may appear to us, must certainly be European in origin, for the earlier writers all state that both men and women went bare-headed.

We have the same definite statements from the early writers on the Montagnais, and since the Naskapi use the same type of cap as the Montagnais there can be no doubt that their caps also are due entirely to European contact. The hooded winter coats of the Naskapi are no doubt due to Eskimo influence, but at what time this coat was adopted we can only conjecture. I am inclined to think it must have been comparatively late, for these hoods had not yet reached the Montagnais, much less the Malecites and Micmacs, at the time of the first European contact. The type of dress in use amongst the Beothuks was evidently quite similar. However, when we come to the Saco we at once find a great change; for, south of that river, it was customary, for the men at least, to go bare to the waist; and this was also the custom amongst the Iroquois.

According to Skinner (1), the Northern Saulteaux men did not wear a coat or shirt, but like the Iroquois went bare to the waist. The women, on the other hand, wore a costume very similar to that described for the Micmacs, even to the detached sleeves. Separate sleeves were also used by the Eastern Cree, according to the same writer.

The Malecites and Micmacs wore breech clouts and leggings as well as moccasins of the type common to this northeastern area. Furthermore, they seem to have used a type of footwear which is known only in the eastern region, the hock of a moose. This seems to be confined to the Penobscots, Malecites, Micmacs, Beothuks, and Montagnais -- amongst the two latter it was a caribou hock.

(1) "The Eastern Cree," p. 121.

The problem of the use of pottery is one of the most difficult questions in the ethnology of the area. None of the writers except Lescarbot makes any mention of the subject, although they describe very carefully all the material culture. They speak of vessels of other materials, for example, birch bark and wood, as being used for purposes of cooking and storage where we should naturally expect pottery vessels. Lescarbot says pottery had been formerly in use, but was not used in his time. He does not say how he obtained that interesting bit of information, and I am inclined to believe that he was mistaken. However, the archaeology of the region shows considerable quantities of pottery.

It has always been assumed that there was no other alternative than that this pottery was the work of the tribes who were found inhabiting the region when Europeans first visited it. Yet, so far as I know, none of the sites containing pottery which have been excavated show any traces of European artifacts, and hence there is no evidence that they were inhabited after the first European contact. It would certainly be unlikely that any site which was inhabited before the coming of Europeans would cease to be inhabited just after that event.

Moreover, early observers describe these tribes as following a life in which pottery played no part. Nor is there any reason why it ever should have played a part, for its place is filled not by European objects, but by wooden and bark vessels, which give every indication of being the implements of a people who had never known pottery. Against this we have the evidence of Lescarbot to the effect that pottery had been used before his arrival (though he had not seen it used). Now, Lescarbot was one of the first Europeans to live on that coast, and it seems almost incredible that pottery could have entirely disappeared in such a very short time, when, for instance, the native pottery of certain Iroquois tribes continued to be made until recent days. It would, therefore, look as though these tribes were not pottery users at the time of the first European contact. If this

is the case, how can we account for the disappearance of pottery in a region in which it was formerly used? The first explanation that suggests itself is that these tribes were not pottery makers, but obtained their pottery by trading with other tribes, possibly those to the south of the Saco, and that as a result of wars the supply was cut off. This theory does not seem to be at all probable.

The second possibility is that the Malecites and Micmacs used pottery at a period long antedating the first European contact, by which time it had become a lost art. The vague tradition of its former use is reported by Lescarbot, although in his day its place had been completely filled by vessels of wood and bark, careful descriptions of which are given by Denys. This does not seem on its face a very plausible theory, but Rivers has shown that lost arts are far more common than is generally supposed, and that in the Pacific, at least, instances occur quite commonly. Even in North America it is not an unusual phenomenon. Some tribes of the Plains, for instance, lost many elements of their culture as a result of the introduction of the horse and the Eskimos of Smith sound lost the art of making skin boats.

A third possible explanation is that pottery was made in this region by tribes living there before the present inhabitants, who, coming from the north of the St. Lawrence, were not pottery makers. These displaced the earlier tribes without learning from them the art of making pottery. There are many points in the culture of the Malecites and Micmacs which suggest that they were recent immigrants from the country to the north of the St. Lawrence. It is even probable that their migration took place at the same time that the Naskapi moved into Ungava, and was due to the intrusion of the Iroquois into Algonkin country.

A fourth possible solution is that they were really pottery users, but to such a small extent that the art was over-looked by some of the early observers. When more archaeological work has been done in the region, we shall know

definitely whether or not the fourth possibility is tenable. At present the second and third explanations seem the most probable, and of these two the third is possibly more plausible than the second.

The comparison of the various subjects dealt with in this paper need not detain us long, for some have already been considered in detail at the ends of the chapters, and on others we have not sufficient data. It may be well to recapitulate briefly the points already made, taking them up chapter by chapter.

The birth rites and education of the Malecites and Micmacs offer nothing distinctive. The marriage customs, although somewhat specialized in this region, show a striking similarity to those of many of the Algonkin tribes farther west, and quite a striking contrast to the Iroquoian customs. The mortuary customs likewise show great similarities to those of many Algonkin tribes as well as to those of the Beothuk, but are sharply contrasted with Iroquoian customs and with those of the Algonkin Delaware, who were strongly affected by Iroquoian influences.

A comparison of either the Malecite or Micmac kinship system with those of the other Algonkin tribes reveals the fact that they are all very much alike. If we compare them term by term we notice that the resemblance is first with one tribe of the central area and then with another, so that it is impossible to say that they are more definitely related to any one tribe of that area. Although all the Algonkin tribes, with the exception of those of the far west, show a striking general similarity of kinship terms, they show marked differences from the Iroquoian tribes.

On the side of social organization the Malecites and Micmacs are in strong contrast not only with the Iroquoian tribes, but also with all the Central Algonkin tribes, which possess a clear-cut clan organization with rigid exogamy.

In regard to warfare and relations with their neighbours, the one fact which is important in determining the ethnic position of these tribes is their intense hatred for the Iroquois and their frequent or almost incessant warfare with them. This supports very strongly the theory that the Iroquois are aggressive intruders into Algonkin territory.

The office of chief does not present any differences worth noting from the same office among the other Algonkin tribes, or even the Iroquois. The public ceremonies of the Malecites and Micmacs were few, informal, and poorly organized. In this respect, as in the case of social organization, they are much more similar to the tribes to the north of the St. Lawrence than to any other group of tribes, differing markedly from both the Iroquois and the Central Algonkin. The same thing applies to feasts and dances.

The games and amusements of the Malecites and Micmacs are in general very similar to those of the Iroquois and Central Algonkin; hence little idea of their ethnic position can be derived from a comparison of them.

The descriptions of the temporal divisions and units of measurement are not sufficiently detailed from most tribes in this region to afford a safe means of comparison; but, in general, they resemble those of the Malecites and Micmacs. The same applies to medical practices and medicines.

Shamanism among the Malecites and Micmacs shows great similarity to the shamanism of the Montagnais and other Northern Algonkin tribes. It is altogether different from that of the Iroquois and Central Algonkin tribes, for it is entirely an individual matter; in fact, there is not the slightest trace of medicine societies to be found among the present Indians or in the early accounts of these tribes.

The ideas connected with the Malecite and Micmac concept of k!sk!mzit are widespread not

only in North America, but also in many other parts of the world, particularly in the region of the Pacific. The Malecite and Micmac concept, however, shows many differences from any other account of the concept which I have read; but this may be due to the veneer of Catholicism in this region or to the individual differences of interpretation by the various investigators rather than to a specialized development.

This rapid comparative sketch, therefore, leads to the conclusion that the Malecites and Micmacs show many striking resemblances to most Algonkin tribes, to the Iroquois, and to the Beothuks. The similarities to the Iroquois are in those points of culture which could have been recently acquired, and are neither deep-rooted nor affect greatly the life of these tribes. They are of two strata; the later is not much over a century old and was adopted after the last French and Indian war. To this stratum belong such things as the blow-gun and the ceremonies connected with the confederacy of the eastern tribes. The cultural elements of the earlier stratum are hard to determine, for it is often difficult to distinguish them from those of the later Iroquois or the earlier Algonkin stratum.

In regard to the culture elements which the Malecites and Micmacs have in common with the Beothuks it is also very difficult to determine the priority, because of the great general similarity in the cultures of these two people. Moreover, it is by no means certain from the linguistic evidence that the Beothuks were not Algonkin. The Micmac canoe, however, seems to be undoubtedly Beothuk in origin. The skin boats of this area look as though they were derived from the Eskimo umiak but may have come from them through the Beothuks. The similarities of the Malecites and Micmacs to the other Algonkin tribes, particularly those to the west of the Iroquois, are very striking, and point definitely to the conclusion that the customs they have in common must have developed among the Algonkins before they were separated from one another, as they were in

historical times. They indicate that the Iroquois were aggressive late comers who forced themselves like a wedge among the Algonkin peoples. In this, ethnology, and more especially Algonkin ethnology, supports the conclusions long since derived from archaeological and linguistic data. Furthermore, the customs of the Iroquois definitely establish them as coming from the south, thus again supporting the linguistic evidence in their case.

It is hard to determine definitely, because of the absence of data from other tribes, to which group of Algonkin tribes the Malecites and Micmacs were most closely related. However, the available facts seem to show that they were most closely connected with the tribes to the north of the St. Lawrence, although they also display many striking similarities to the Central Algonkins.

There is some evidence to suggest that the Malecites entered the Maritime Provinces considerably later than the Micmacs, and somewhat later than the Penobscots and other members of the Abenaki confederacy. They do not seem to be nearly as closely related to the Beothuks as were the Micmacs. Moreover, the Penobscots seem to show linguistic similarities to the Micmacs, which are lacking in the case of the Malecites. Bearing these facts in mind, a glance at the tribal map suggests that the Malecites pushed into the hitherto sparsely populated valley of the St. John from the north of the St. Lawrence. Their territory is a long, narrow strip from the St. Lawrence to the bay of Fundy. It seems highly probable that they came into this region as a result of the Iroquois migration to the north of the St. Lawrence, and that this migration took place practically at the same time as the Naskapi migration into the far north of Ungava, which has every indication of being an extremely late one. For example, the Naskapi traded for birch bark with which to build their canoes, not having yet devised a skin boat although they were in contact with the Eskimos

From this investigation, one further conclusion may be drawn, which, although of a methodological nature, is perhaps more far-reaching than the strictly ethnological ones I have just drawn. The conclusion is that it is impossible to derive any really lasting results on the Algonkin tribes east of the Mississippi, by merely recording what the present Indians remember of their former conditions. It is necessary to examine all the available literature, and for this purpose the earliest accounts, whether published or in manuscript, are of the utmost importance. This fact would appear self-evident and not worthy of mention; nevertheless, most investigators have either entirely neglected these early accounts or else they have only partly examined them and tried to compare the early customs of the tribes under consideration with customs learned from later investigations among other tribes. For good work in this region a thorough grounding in both ethnological and historical methods is necessary, and of the two the latter is perhaps the more important.

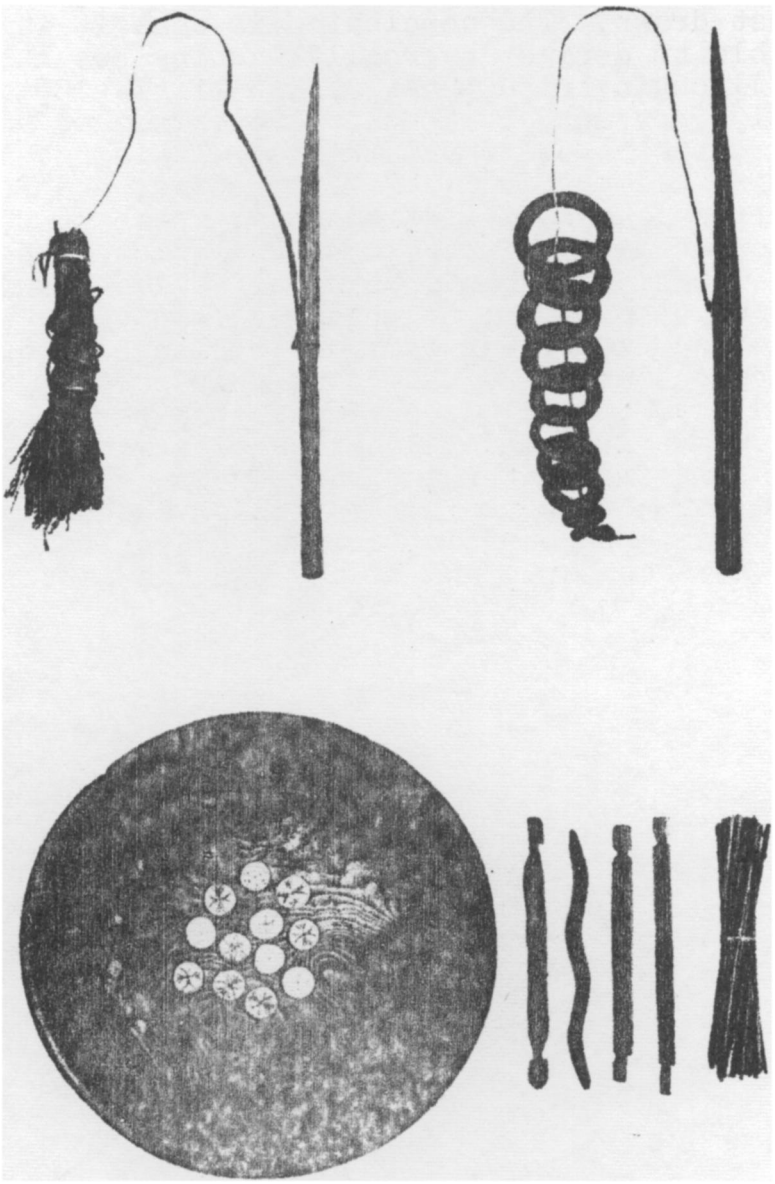


Plate III

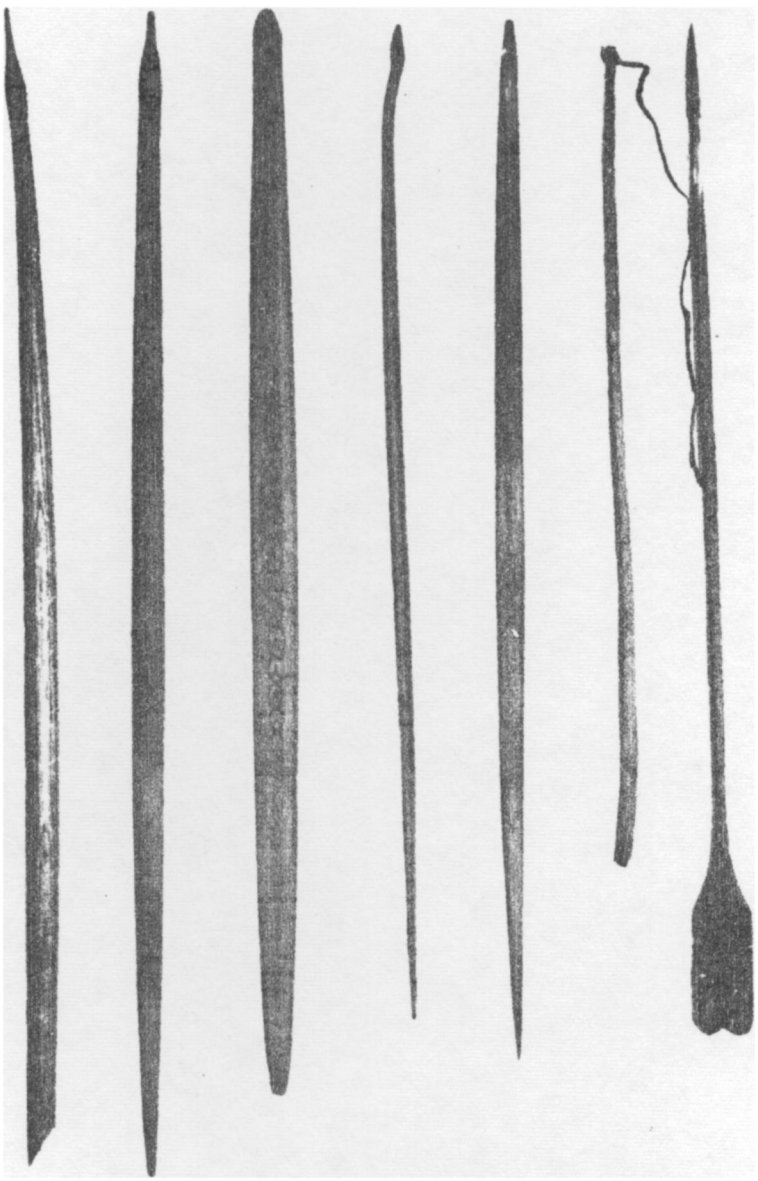
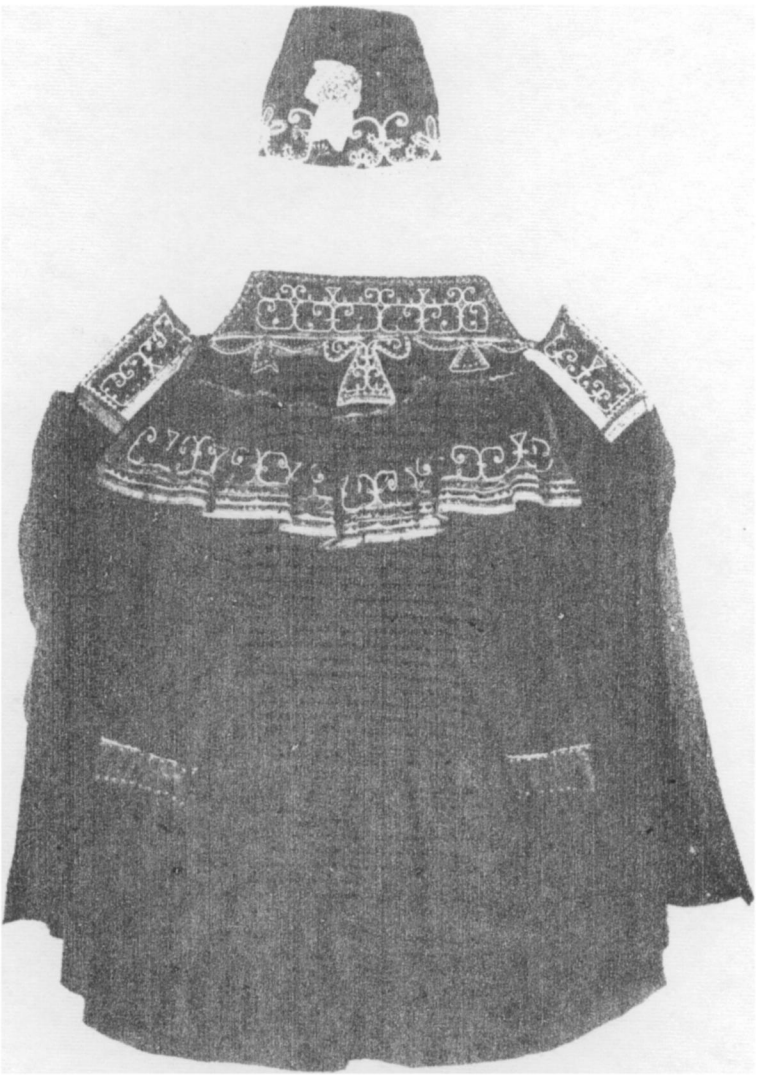


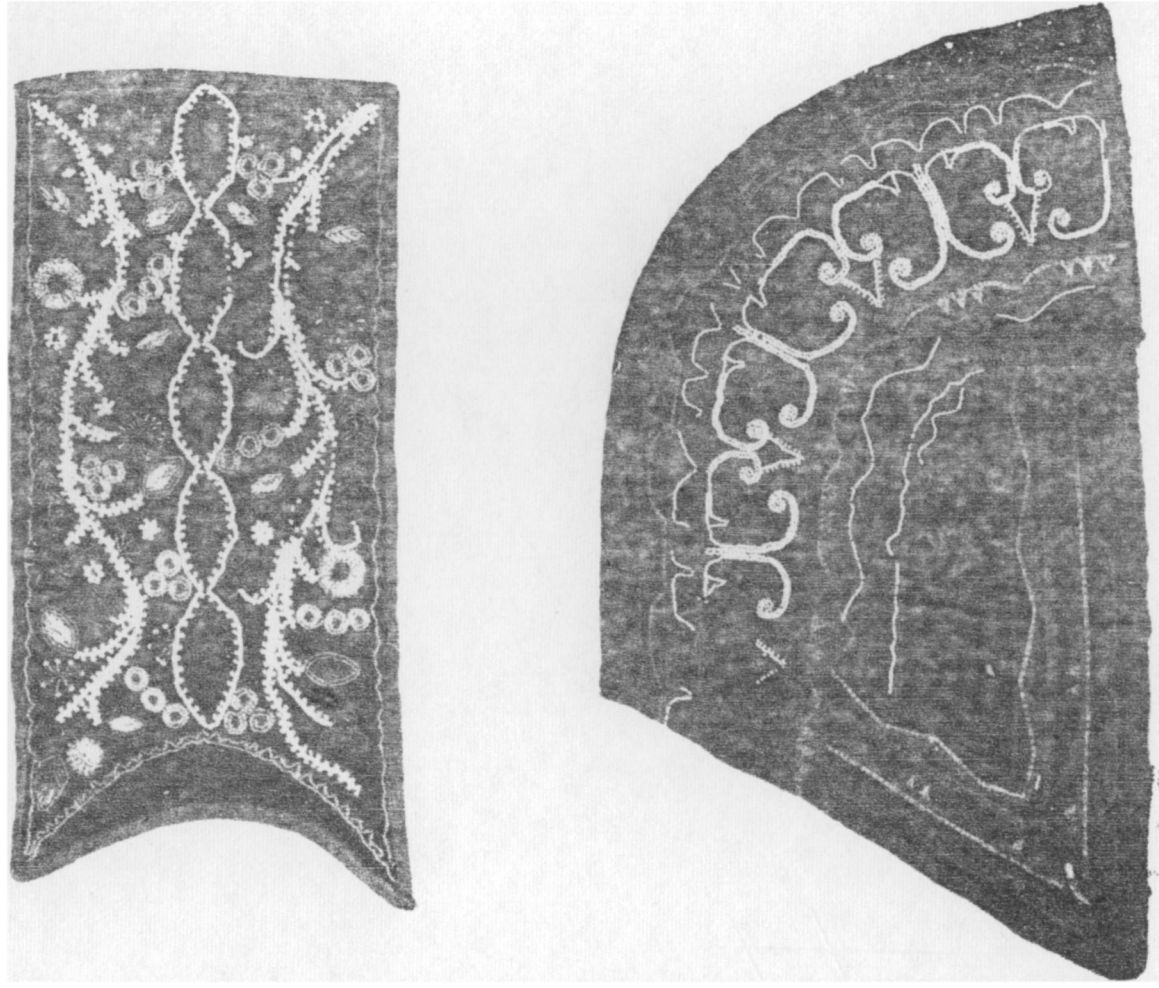
Plate IV

Micmac beaded coat

Malecite collar



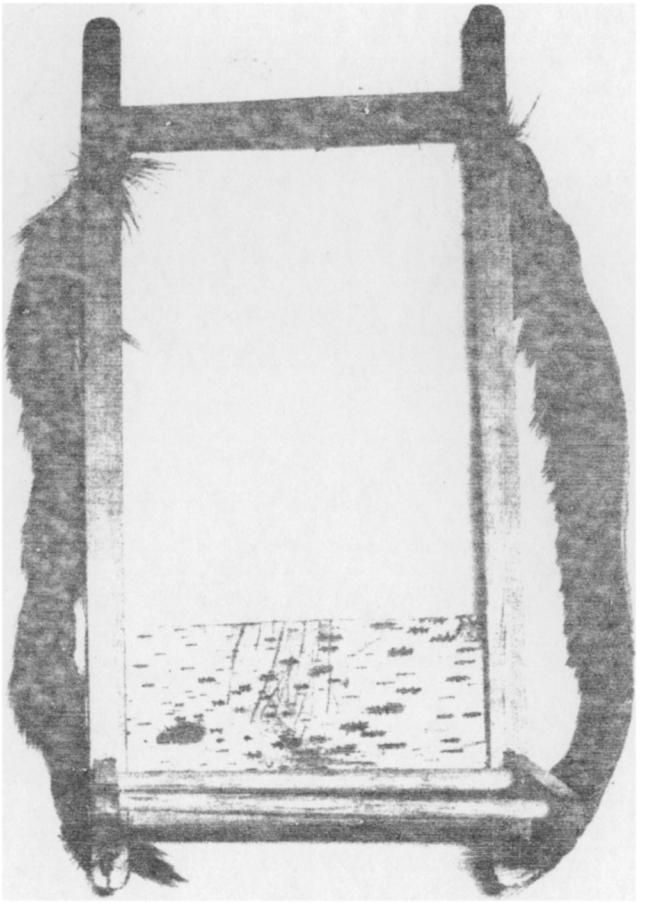
Micmac coat and cap



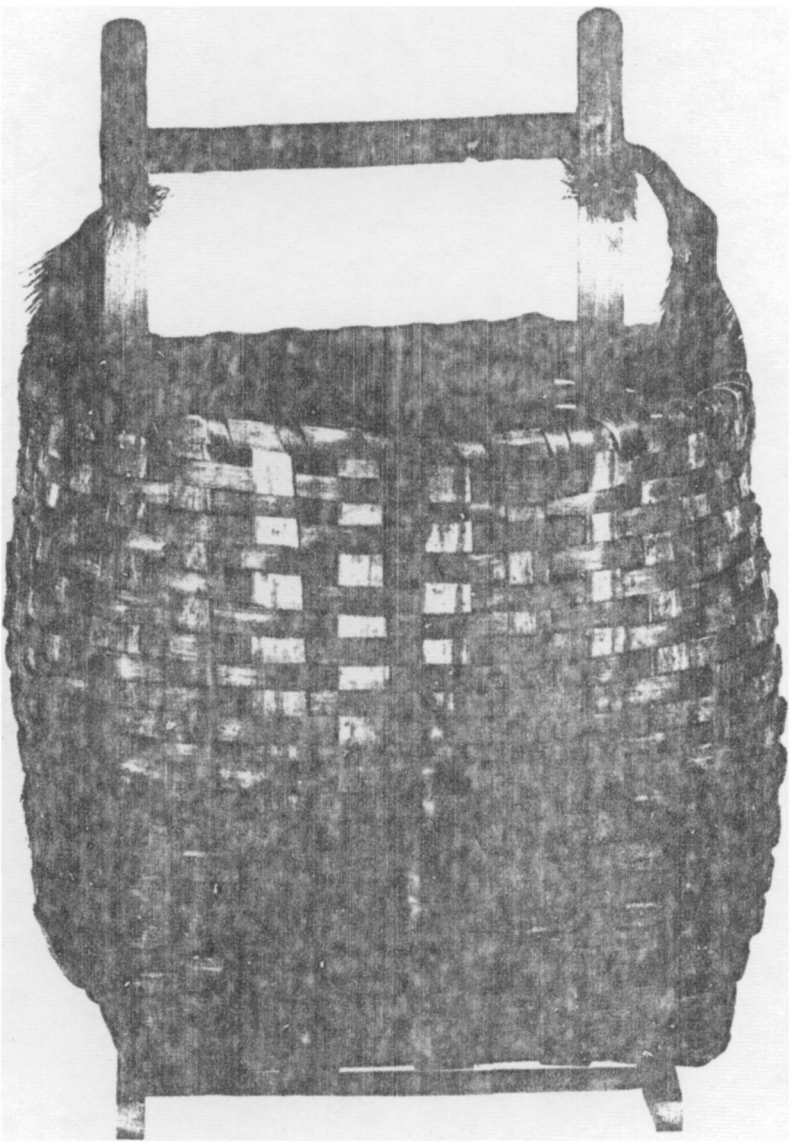
Malecite squaw cap and beaded breast piece

Cradle boards

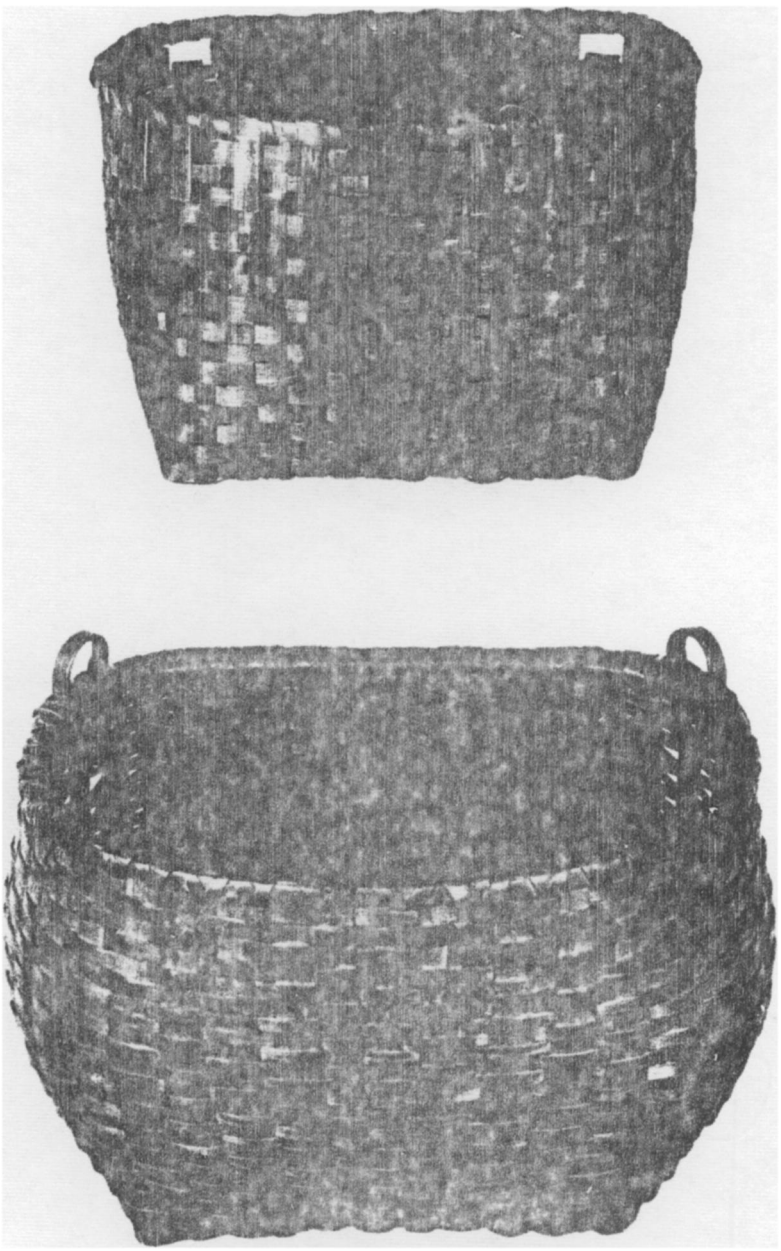
Malecite



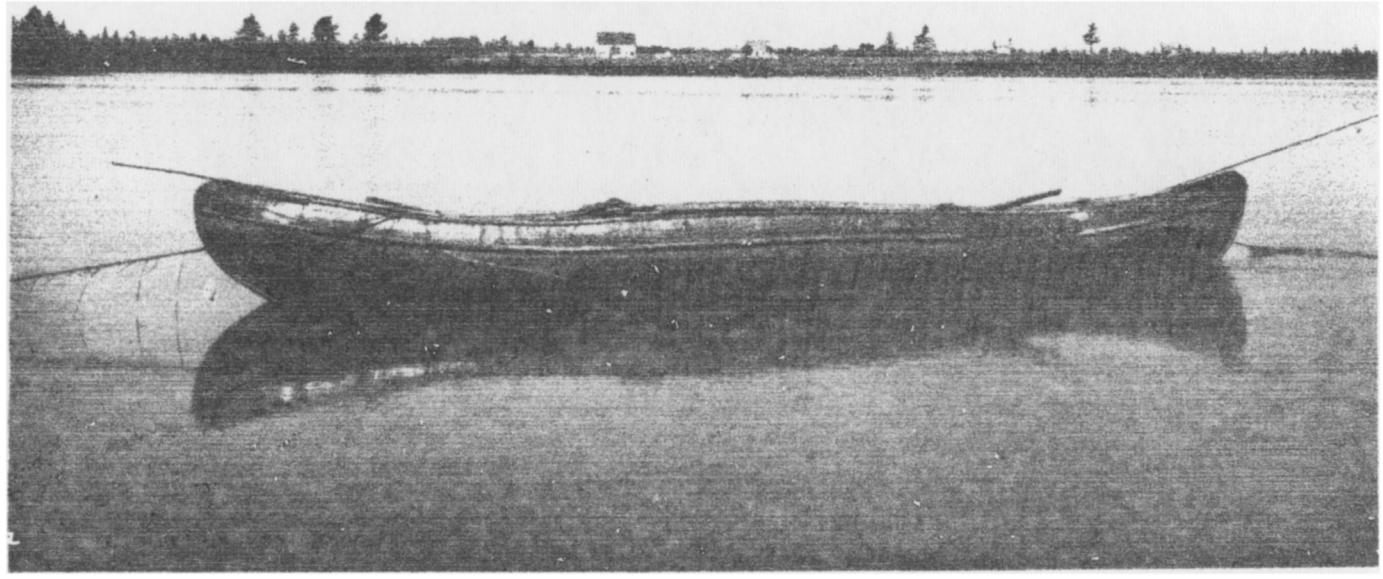
Micmac



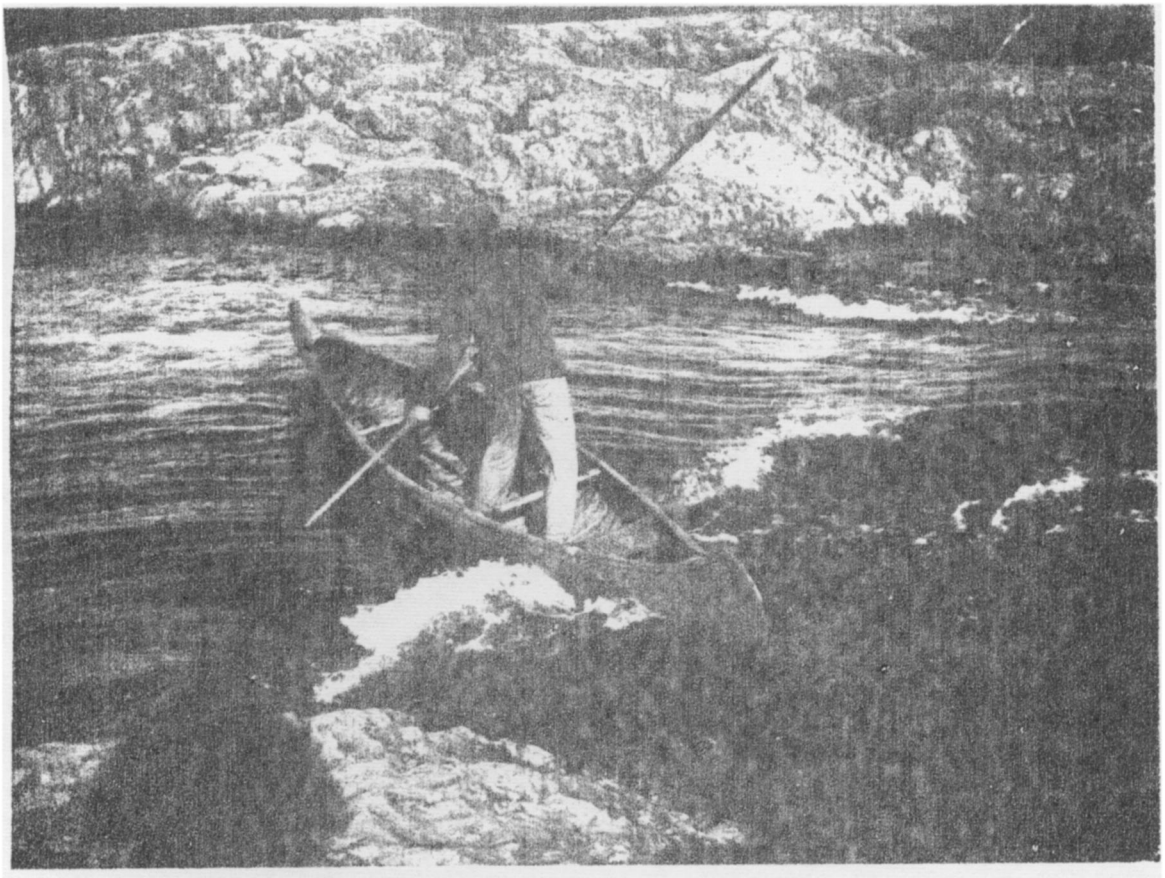
Pack frame basket

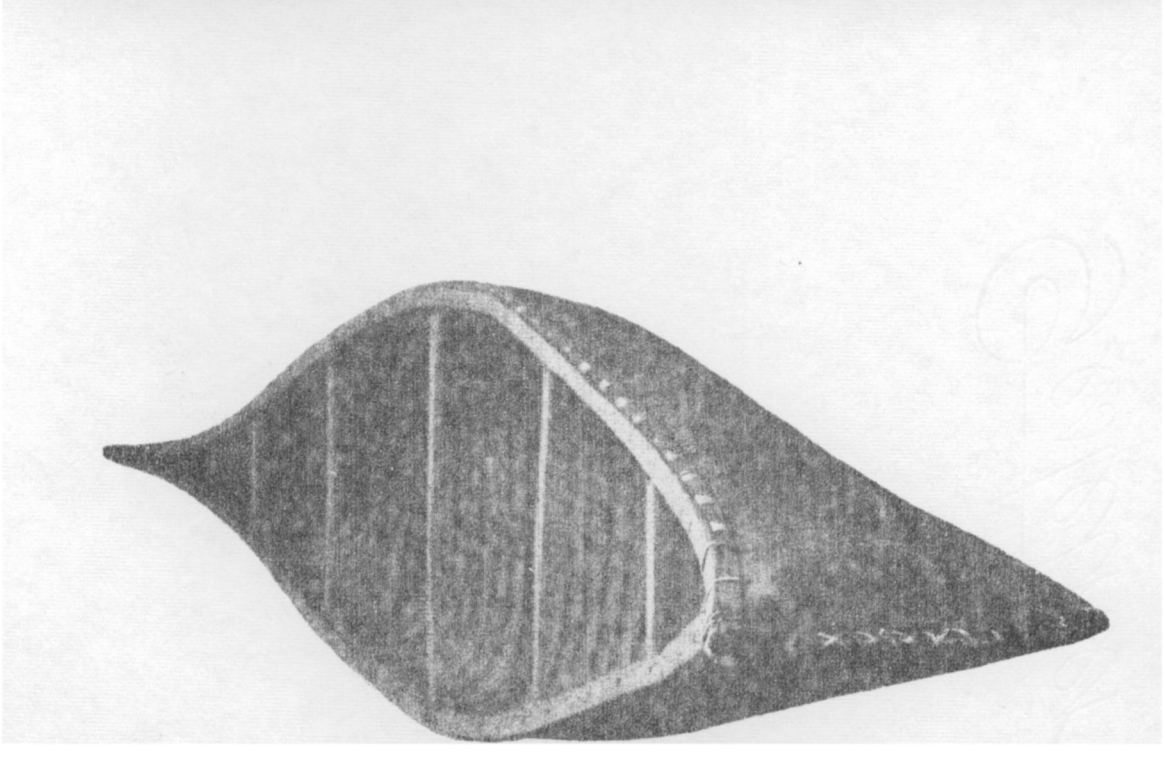


Splint pack basket

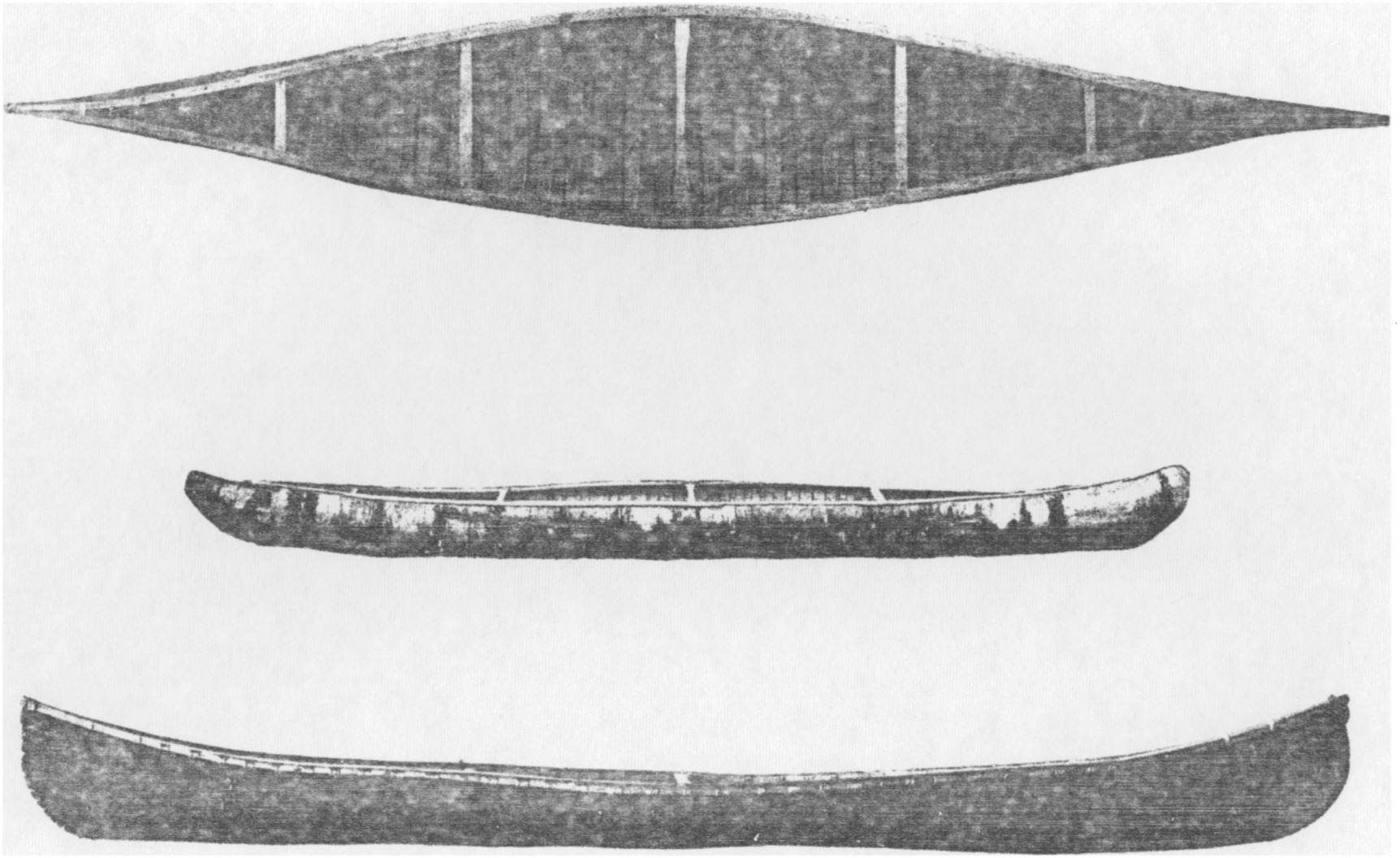


Micmac canoe

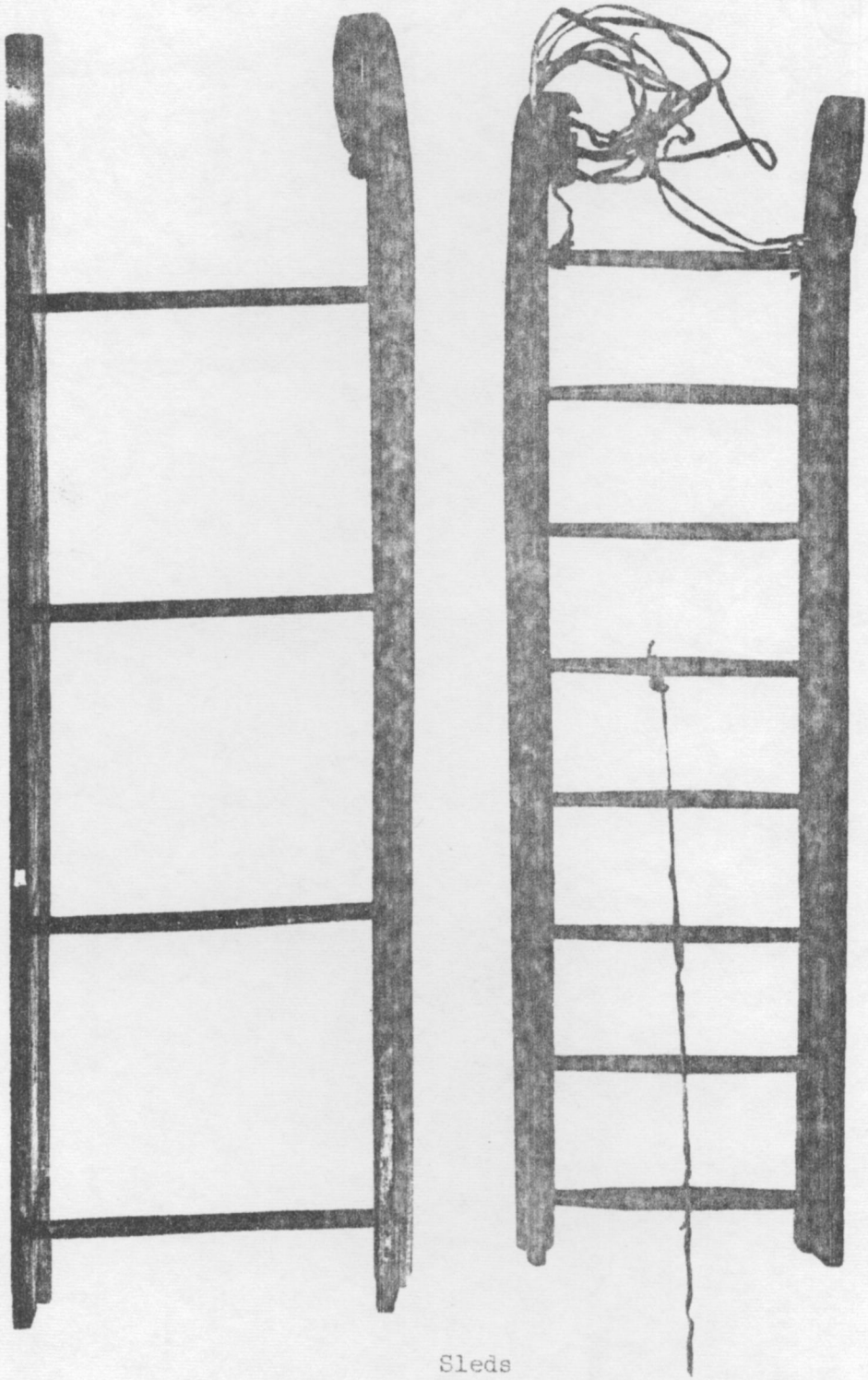




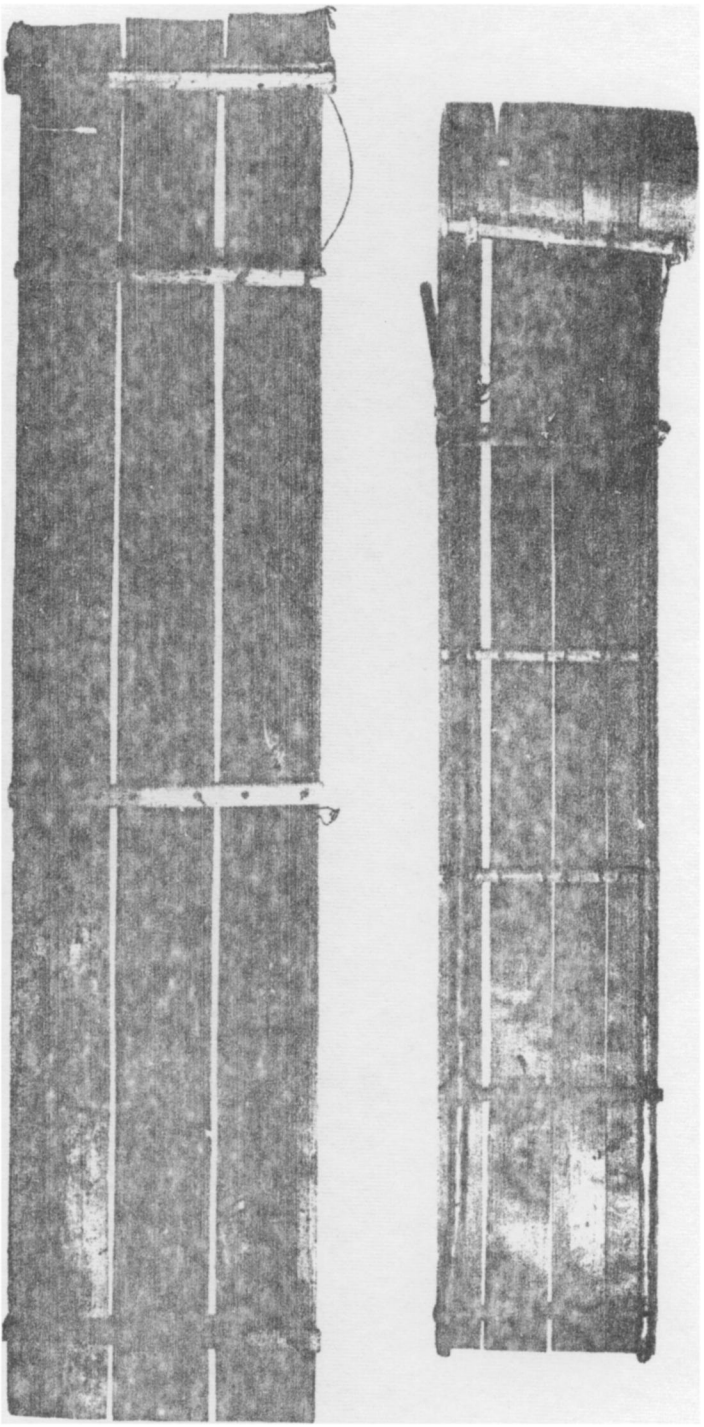
Malecite canoes



Malecite canoes



Sleds



Toboggans

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.