The historical ethnography of the Micmac of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Part 6

Bernard Gilbert Hoffman

Claims and Historical Research Centre: F.20

CHAPTER VI - THE MICMAC AND THE SUPERNATURAL

VI. THE MICMAC AND THE SUPERNATURAL

The Supernatural World

It has become customary, in the presentation of descriptive ethnographies, to reserve discussion of matters concerning religion and the supernatural until most other facets of the culture have been covered. However useful this arbitrary cultural outline may be in preserving some manner of uniformity in the descriptive literature, it often results in violence to the spirit of such cultures as that of the Micmac, where all aspects are permeated by the supernatural. Thus far we have been able to describe Micmac culture with a minimum of reference to things supernatural. For such items as social and political organization and warfare, however, this cannot be done. We will, therefore, here enter into a consideration of Micmac supernaturalism and will attempt to indicate the importance of the complex in other aspects of Micmac life.

Before attempting a reconstruction of Micmac concepts of the supernatural, we must consider our sources and our method of approach. One all-important fact must be kept clearly in mind- that the French relations of the 16th and 17th centuries do not present us with a clear or adequate picture of this aspect of Micmac culture. Because of the climate of French thought at the time, because of the interests and biases of the French priests,

and because of the nature of Micmac supernaturalism, we have only information pertaining to some aspects of the Micmac "Great Spirit," to some of the ritual prayers, and to some aspects of shamanism. We have very little information concerning the sacred or supernatural beings which inhabited the Micmac country, the relationships which existed between these beings and Man, or of the spirit worlds which surrounded the world of Man.

In order to fill these gaps in the materials, and to present a complete and consistent (insofar as possible) picture of Micmac supernaturalism, it is necessary for us to have recourse to the Micmac ATOOKWOKUN, or "stories of ancient times," collected during the 19th century, as well as to recent ethnographic notes. In the reconstruction which follows these two bodies of information will be kept distinct whenever possible, and the more recent materials will be used to illustrate, clarify, and expand the older historical accounts.

Two versions of the Micmac concept of creation have been preserved for us; of these, the earliest derives from Le Clercq and seems to show heavy missionary influence:

> ...They say that when the sun, which they have always recognised and worshipped as their God, created all this great universe, he divided the universe, he divided the earth immediately into several parts, wholly separated

one from the other by great lakes: that in each part he caused to be born one man and one woman, and they multiplied and lived a very long time: but that having become wicked along with their children, who killed one another, the sun wept with grief thereat, and the rain fell from the heaven in such great abundance that the waters mounted even to the summit of the rocks, and of the highest and most lofty mountains. This flood, which, say they, was general over all the earth, compelled them to set sail in their bark canoes, in order to save themselves from the raging depths of this general deluge. But it was in vain, for they all perished miserably through a violent wind which overturned them, and overwhelmed them in this horrible abyss, with the exception, however, of certain old men and of certain women, who had been the most virtuous and the best of all the Indians. God came then to console them for the death of their relatives and their friends, after which he let them live upon the earth in a great and happy tranquillity, granting them therewith all the skill and ingenuity necessary for capturing beavers and moose in as great number as were needed for their subsistence. They add also certain other wholly ridiculous circumstances, which I purposely omit, because they do not bear at all upon a secret which is unknown to men, and reserved to God alone... (Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 84-85).

Within this legend the following elements reflect the Christian origin legend too closely in content and order for us to subscribe to their aboriginal nature: (a), the division of the universe after creation; (b), God creates one man and one woman; (c). the original inhabitants, and their offspring, fall into evil ways and displease God; (d), God sends a flood which covers the entire earth; (e), only those individuals who had been good and virtuous escape destruction; (f), God consoles them for their loss , and leaves them to prosper. As we shall see, however, the concept of the sun being associated with the Great Creator does seem to be part of the aboriginal Micmac philosophy.

Our second Micmac origin legend derives from the work of the Abbe Maillard, being included within a long speech addressed to the sun upon the occasion of a declaration of war:

> ... But, as for us, it is plain that we are thy children; for we can know no origin but that which thy rays have given us, when first marrying efficaciously, with the earth we inhabit, they impregnated its womb, and caused us to grow out of it like the herbs of the field, and the trees of the forest, of which thou art equally the common father... (Maillard, 1758, p. 25.)

It seems quite likely that this is a variation of the widespread belief that all living beings resulted from the union of mother Earth and father Sky-most clearly expressed in the Zuni creating

myth, but also known from various of the Woodland tribes, though apparently not from the eastern Algonquians. The concept of a mother Earth and father Sky is particularly strongly developed among the Central Algonquians and among the Iroquois, but the particular detail of mankind resulting from the impregnation of mother Earth by rays from father Sky and growing out of her body does not seem known (see Alexander, 1916, p. 35; Black Elk, 1953, pp. 5-6, 13-15; Hewitt, 1903; 1928; Michelson, 1927). Part of the concept appears, however, among the Delaware (Herman, 1950, p. 63). It must be noted that we have no evidence from the Micmac of a belief in a world deluge and reconstruction (i.e, earth-diver tales), these being extremely important in other eastern and northern Algonquian cosmologies, as well as among those of the Iroquois (see Schmidt, 1933, pp. 65-79; Spence, 1914, pp. 106-110).

The only other material we possess from the Micmac reflecting concepts of origin comes from Rand (1894, pp. 110 fn., 126), who tells us that these Indians believed that they had come from the southwest, that they found their present territory occupied by the Kwĕdĕch, and that they had driven these latter Indians out.

From the sources at our disposal, both ancient and modern, it is most difficult to reconstruct the Micmac view of the universe. First and foremost in their consciousness, it seems, was the land of the Micmac—the land of the living. Away from this land, in

the seven directions, things became increasingly mystical and supernatural. Between the northeast and the south winds stretched the UKCHIGUM or "great sea"; between the northeast and the southwest winds lay the land, in the fartherest reaches of which were the mystical places where the great supernaturals (Glooscap, the master of the Dead, etc.) resided. At least one ATOOKHOKUM seems to reflect a belief in an underground world, although this is not explicitly stated and may be open to a different interpretation (Rand, 1894, pp. 44-45). A belief in a sky world is clearly expressed, however, this realm being above the stars and much like the land of humans, except that the sky beings had much greater magical power (Rand, 1894, pp. 160-162, 306-310; Hagar, 1900, pp. 94-95).

The Micmac legends preserve for us, although in fragmentary and incomplete form, the widespread concept of the milky way as a pathway for spirits passing to the land of the dead. The belief is also expressed most clearly in the Micmac word for the milky way—KETAKSOOWOWCHT or SKUDAKUMOOCHOOOWTZ, the "spirits' road." No Micmac tale is nearly as explicit, however, as the Passamaquoddy "Song of the Stars":

We are the stars which sing,
We sing with our light;
We are the birds of fire,
We fly over the sky.
Our light is a voice;

We make a road for spirits,
For the spirits to pass over.
Among us are three hunters
Who chase a bear;
There never was a time
When they were not hunting.
We look down on the mountains.
This is the Song of the Stars.

Unfortunately, we have no further information by which we can relate this idea of the milky way as a spirits' pathway to the other Micmac concepts concerning spirit worlds (Leland, 1884, pp. 307, 379; Rand, 1888, p. 170).

According to a legend preserved by Le Clercq, the Micmac first learned of the existence of the "Land of Souls" when:

> ...one of the most prominent man of the nation fell dangerously ill, and after having lost the use of all his faculties in the strange convulsions of his disease, came to himself, and said to the Indians, who asked him where he had been so long, that he came from the Land of Souls, where all the souls of the Gaspesians who died betook themselves after their death. He added that by an extraordinary favour, which had never before been accorded to anyone whatsoever, Papkootparout, governor and ruler of this country, had given him permission to return to the world, in order to give the Gaspesians news

of the Land of Souls, which had been up to that time unknown to them, and to present to them on his behalf certain fruits, which he gave assurance were the food of those souls, which he was going to rejoin for ever. He died in fact in ending these words; and this imposture,, which they took for an indubitable truth, was more than enough to persuade them that souls, after departure from their bodies, had a place to which they went to remain. It did not require anything more to make some of the more hardy of our Indians determine to make a voyage thereto in body and in spirit during their lives, since this land was distant and separated from them only by a passage of forty to fifty leagues over a pond that could be crossed with ease by fording.

A favourable opportunity to carry out their curious resolution very soon presented itself through a chance to render service to one of their friends who, unable to console himself for the death of his only son, whom he loved tenderly, implored them all, and engaged them by the usual presents, to keep him company in the voyage which he had resolved to make to the Land of Souls in order thence to bring back his son. He had not much trouble to persuade to this voyage men who asked nothing better than to undertake it. They were very soon all ready to start and to begin this perilous venture, which still to this day causes astonishment in all the Gaspesian nation, for it had then

never heard tell of an enterprise so extraordinary. However, these voyagers, furnished with all the provisions they needed, and armed with their bows, arrows, quivers, clubs, and with a number of poles of nine to ten feet in height, took to the water, and, with much trouble and fatigue, travelled by forced marches. The evening having arrived, they stuck some of their poles into the sand in order to form a kind of arbour or camp, in which they might rest during the night, something which they did every night in the continuation of this arduous voyage, which lasted until several among them were dead of fatigue. The five or six others who remained still alive, arrived happily at length in the Land of Souls, which they had sought so eagerly.

Our Gaspesians, in common with all the other Indians of New France, have believed up to the present that there is in every thing, even in such as are inanimate, a particular spirit which follows deceased persons into the other world, in order to render them as much service after death as these had received therefrom during life. Consequently, they say that our voyagers were equally surprised and comforted to see on their arrival an infinity of spirits of moose, beavers, dogs, canoes, and snowshoes, which hovered pleasingly before their eyes, and which, by I know not what unknown language, made them understand that these things were in the service of their fathers. But a moment

later they thought they should die of fear and terror when, approaching a wigwam like these which they had in their own country, they saw a man, or rather a giant, armed with a mighty club, and with bow, arrows, and quiver, who, with his eyes gleaming with anger, and a tone of voice which indicated the completeness of his wrath, spoke to them in these words: "Whoever you are, prepare yourselves to die, since you have had the temerity to make this journey, and to come all alive into the Land of the Dead. For I am Papkootparout the guardian, the master, the governor, and the ruler of all souls." In fact, distracted to fury as he was at the outrage our Indians had committed, he was about to slay them with great blows of that horrible club which he had in his hand, when this poor father, keenly penetrated by grief for the death of his only son, implored him, more by tears and sighs than by words, to excuse the temerity of this enterprise, which in truth deserved all punishment from a just anger, if he was not willing to soften the rigour of it out of consideration for a father who considered himself blamable only because he had too much tenderness and affection for his child. "Discharge against us if thou wilt, all the arrows of thy quiver; crush me by the weight of thy club," continued this afflicted father, presenting to him his stomach and his head to receive the blows of the one and of the other, "since thou art the absolute master of my life and my death; but indeed, if

there still remain in thee any sentiments of humanity, of tenderness, and of compassion for mortals, I beg thee to accept the presents which we have brought from the Land of the Living, and to receive us among the number of thy friends." These words, so submissive and so respectful, touched the heart of this little Pluto with compassion, and he, becoming alive to the grief of this afflicted father, told him to be of good courage: that he would pardon him this time for the outrage he had committed: and that finally, to overwhelm him with favours and with consolation, he would give him before his departure the soul of his son; but that in awaiting this extraordinary favour, he wished to amuse himself with him, and to play a hand of Ledelstaganne [Indian dice], which is the usual game of our Gaspesians.

This friendly discourse dissipated entirely all the uneasiness and apprehension of our voyagers, who staked at the play everything of importance which they had brought from Gaspesia. Papkootparout staked, for his part, Indian corn, tobacco, and some fruits, which he assured them were the food of these souls. They played with close application from morning until evening. Our voyagers, however, remained the victors. They won the Indian corn and the tobacco of Papkootparout, who gave both to them with so much the more pleasure, since he believed these men deserved to live

who had had the good fortune to win all the most precious and rarest things which the dead possessed in the Land of Souls. He commanded them to plant these in Gaspesia, assuring them that all the nation would receive therefrom an inconceivable advantage. This, say our Indians of to-day, is the manner in which the Indian corn and the tobacco have come into their country, according to the tradition of their ancestors.

Whilst the father was rejoicing in his good fortune, it happened that the son arrived invisibly in the wigwam. The chant of a number of spirits, and the rejoicing that was made among these souls was, in fact, heard very distinctly. But this was not that which the father had asked. He hoped, in accord with the promise which had been made him, to obtain the soul of his son, which remained always invisible, but which became in an instant the size of a nut by the command of Papkootparout, who took it in his hands, wrapped it very closely in a little bag, and gave it to our Indian. Therewith he gave him orders to return at once to his own country: to lay out, immediately after his arrival, the body of his son in a wigwam made for the purpose: to replace this soul in the body: and above all to take care that there be no opening, for fear, said he to the father, lest the soul come out through that and return to this country which it was leaving only with extreme repugnance.

The father received with joy this animated bag, and took leave of this Indian Pluto, after having seen and examined attentively everything which there was of much importance in the principality of Papkeetparout. That is to say, he saw the place of shades where lay the wicked souls; this was overlaid with nothing but dried up and badly arranged branches of fir. But the place of the good Indians had nothing except that which was charming and agreeable, with an infinity of fine barks adorning the outside and the inside of their wigwams, into which the sun came to comfort them twice each day, renewing the branches of fir and of cedar , which never lost their natural verdure. Finally, there was an infinity of spirits of dogs, canoes, snowshoes, bows, and arrows, of which the souls were making use for their pleasure.

Note, if you please, that since this imaginary voyage the Indians have not only believed that souls were immortal, but they have also been persuaded, by a strange fancy, that in everything of which they make use, such as canoes, snowshoes, bows, arrows, and other things, there is a particular spirit which would always accompany after death the one who made use thereof during life; and it is actually for this reason, and in this foolish fancy, that they bury with deceased persons everything which these possessed while on the earth, in the belief that each article in particular renders them the same service in the Land of

Souls that it did to its owner when alive.

Our voyagers, however, returned joyously into their own country, and having arrived there they gave to all the Gaspesian nation a full account of the marvels which they had seen in the Land of Souls, and commanded all the Indians, on behalf of Papkootparout, to plant forthwith the Indian corn and the tobacco which they had won in playing with him at Leldestaganne. The orders which were given them on behalf of the governor of souls were faithfully executed, and they cultivated with success the Indian corn and the tobacco for the space of several years. But the negligence of their ancestors, say they, deprives them to-day of all these conveniences so useful and so essential to the nation as a whole.

One knows not how to express the astonishment and the joy of these people when they heard of all these marvellous fancies, and that the father had brought back in a bag his son's soul, which would instruct them in everything from the moment when it was seated again in the body. The extreme impatience which these Gaspesians felt to learn news of the other world induced them to build promptly a wigwam in the very manner Papkootparout had directed. Their hopes, however, were vain and useless, for the father, having entrusted the bag to the care of an Indian woman, in order to assist and to dance

more freely at the public festivals which were made for his happy return, this woman had the curiosity to open it, and the soul escaped immediately and returned whence it had come. The father, on hearing the news thereof, died of chagrin, and followed his son to the Land of Souls, to the great regret of all the Gaspesian nation. This it is, and only this, which make our Indians believe in the immortality of souls.

From these false premises, based upon a tradition so fabulous, they have drawn these extravagent conclusions, —that everything is animated and that souls are nothing other than the ghost of that which had been animated: that the ration ghost is a sombre and black image of the man himself: that it had feet, hands, a mouth, a head, and all other parts of the human body: that it had still the same needs for drinking, for eating, for clothing, for hunting and fishing, as when it was in the body, whence it semes that in their revels and feasts they always serve a portion to these souls which are walking, say they, in the vicinity of the wigwams of their relatives and of their friends: that they went hunting the souls of beavers and of moose with the souls of their snowshoes, bows, arrows: that the wicked, on their arrival at the Land of Souls, danced and leaped with great violence, eating only the bark of rotten trees, in punishment for their crimes,

> for a certain number of years indicated by Papkeetparou [sic]: that the good, on the contrary, lived in great repose at a place removed from the noise of the wicked, eating when it pleased them and amusing themselves with the hunting of beavers and of moose, whose spirits allowed themselves to be taken with ease. Such is the reason why our Gaspesians have always observed inviolably the custom of burying with the deceased everything which was in their use during life... (Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 207-214).

This extremely interesting and ancient Gaspesian legend forms one of the foundations from which we must reconstruct Micmac belief and therefore deserves considerable comment. We will give particular attention to the following elements: the Land of Souls and reward and punishment after death; spirits of animate and inanimate objects and the practice of gravegoods; Papkeetparout, his visitors, and his gifts; and finally the legend of the origin of corn.

The first question which demands explanation is whether the concept here put forward regarding reward and punishment after death is aboriginal or Christian. The following information leads us to conclude that the belief is aboriginal. In his account of his 1535-1536 voyage to the St. Lawrence, Cartier tells us that the St. Lawrence Iroquois believed,

> ...in a god they call Cudouagny, and maintain that he often holds intercourse with them and tells them what the

> weather will be like. They also say that when he gets angry with them, he throws dust in their eyes. They believe furthermore that when they die they go to the stars and descend on the horizon like the stars. Next, that they go off to beautiful green fields covered with fine trees, flowers, and luscious fruits... (Cartier; in Biggar, 1924, p. 179).

Thevet, writing in 1570 from unknown Cartier sources, informs us that these same Indians,

> ...believe that the soul is immortal, and if a man does evil, when he dies a great bird takes his soul and carries it away; otherwise, the soul goes into a place adorned with many beautiful trees and birds singing melodiously. This is what the Seigneur of the Country of Canada, called Donacona AGUANNA, told us... (Thevet, 1878, p. 407).

Further corrobative evidence comes from quite a different source, namely, Nicolas Perrot's account of the beliefs of the Central Algonquian Indians of the Great Lakes region.

> All the savages who are not converted believe that the soul is immortal; but they maintain that when it is separated from the body it goes to a beautiful and fertile land, where the climate is neither cold nor hot, but agreeably temperate. They say that that land abounds with animals and birds of every kind, and that the hunters

while going through it are never in danger of hunger, having only to choose what animal they will attack, to obtain food. They tell us that this beautiful country is very far away, beyond this earth; and it is for this reason that they place on the scaffolds or in the graves of the dead, at their funerals, provisions and weapons, believing that the souls will find again in the other world, for their use, and especially in the voyage which they must make thither, whatever shall be given to them in this world.

They believe, futhermore, that as soon as the soul has left the body it enters this charming country, and that, after having traveled many days, it encounters on its route a very rapid river, over which there is only a slender tree-trunk by way of bridge; and that in passing over this it bends so much that the soul is in danger of being swept away by the flood of waters. They assert that if unfortunately this mishap occurs, the soul will be drowned; but that all these perils are escaped when once the souls have reached the country of the dead...

When the souls have once escaped from this peril, they enter a delightful country, in which excellent fruits are found in abundance; and the ground seems to be covered with all kinds of flowers, the odor of which is so admirable that it delights their hearts and charms their imaginations. The short remaining distance which they must traverse before

arriving in the place where the sound of the drum and the gourds—marking time for [the steps of] the dead, to give them pleasure—falls agreeably on their ears, urges them on to hasten directly thither with great eagerness. The nearer they approach it, always the louder becomes this sound; and the joy which the dancers express by their continual exclamations serves to delight the souls still more. When they are very near the place where the ball is held, part of the dead men separate from the others in order to meet the newcomers, and assure them of the great pleasure which their arrival generally gives to the entire assembly. The souls are conducted into the place where the dance is held, and are cordially received by all who are there; and they find there innumerable viands, of all flavors, everything of the most delicious taste, and prepared in the best manner. It is for them to choose whatever pleases them, and to satisfy their appetites; and when they have finished eating they go to mingle with the others—to dance and make merry forever, without being any longer subject to sorrow, anxiety, or infirmities, or to any of the vicissitudes of mortal life.

Such is the opinion of the savages in regard to the immortality of the soul...They maintain that this is an undoubted truth, and that they have learned it from their

> ancestors. These forefathers once went so far in a military expedition that, after they had found the end and farthest limit of the earth, they passed through this gate of the pestles which I have just described, before entering that beautiful country; and then they heard at a little distance the sounds of beating the drums and rattling the gourds. Their curiosity having induced them to go forward, in order to ascertain what this was, they were discovered by the dead, who came toward them; and then, when they tried to flee, they were quickly overtaken and conducted into the cabins of these inhabitants of the other world, who received them with the utmost good-will. Afterward they escorted these men as far as the gateway of the pestles, which stopped their motion, to enable them to pass without danger; and the dead men, in leaving them there, told them not to come back again until after they should die, lest some evil should happen to them... (Blair, 1911, Vol. 1, pp. 89-92).

The latter account indicates that the Papkootparout legend of the Micmac is merely one version of a more general Algonquian system of beliefs concerning the land of the dead, differing from those of the Central Algonquians in that a "Master of Souls" occurs, in that evil souls are punished in the land of the dead instead of on the route to it, and in that grave goods are thought to be used in the land of the dead instead of on the journey to it. As will be noted later, a Master of Souls

or Lord of the Dead does occur among the Iroquois.

A somewhat more elaborate description of the Micmac "Land of Souls" is to be found in Maillard's letter (Maillard, 1758, pp. 45-46), this differing in some respects from our other accounts. The most startling item here is the claim that the Micmac anciently buried the deceased individual's wife and children with him, to keep him company in the land of the dead.

The Papkootparout legend presents us with some of our most specific information concerning Micmac beliefs regarding the soul. We deduce that every object, animate or inanimate, was thought to have a soul: that these souls were "sombre and black" images of the objects they inhabited: that their departure or injury meant the death or sickness of the objects of which they were the souls. This latter point is clearly brought out by our sources, for Denys tells us that when the Indians wanted to say that an object no longer was of use,

> ...they say that it is dead. For example, when their canoe is broken, they say that it is dead, and thus with all other things out of service...(Denys, 1908, p. 441).

Also, in the case of the kettle already quoted, the fact that it was worn out and no longer "spoke" or sounded meant that it was dead, and that its soul had "gone to the land where the souls of kettles are accustomed to go" (Denys, 1908, p. 440).

Despite this information, the sources leave us somewhat in doubt concerning the nature of the Micmac "soul." Hultkrantz (1953, p. 75), using historical sources, states that "the Micmac seem to have differentiated between a free-soul, called 'the shadow', and an entity, 'life, soul, seat of life', mentioned in a story of the external soul...This entity was probably a life soul." Hultkrantz defines the "free-soul" as the soul active outside the body, as man's extra-physical form of existence. Within a regular dualistic soul-system such as claimed for the Micmac, "the free-soul is a shadowy representative of the individual himself, a commonly neutral mirror-image of the living, psycho-physical individual, with whom it stands in a constant reciprocal relation. The free-soul appears when the physical man does not appear as an actively operating being..." (Hultkrantz, 1953, pp. 241-242). The same author defines the "life-soul" as,

> ...the real organ or function-soul of the body, the "motor" responsible for the vital manifestations of the individual and evincing itself, accordingly, in the respiration, the activity of the heart, the beat of the pulse, the circulation of the blood and the muscle-movements... (Hultkrantz, 1953, p. 149).

The "external soul" of the Micmac is considered to be merely a mystical extension of the life-soul concept (Hultkrantz, 1953, pp. 75, 330-338).

Hultkrantz's interpretation of the Micmac soul concept as being dualistic in nature seems to be valid, but we may here reconsider the material in question more closely: these sources include statements by Le Clercq, Maillard, Rand, and Pacifique. Le Clercq's information on the subject has just been considered in the Papkootparout legend, Maillard tells us that the Micmac,

> ...have even no word in their language that answers to that of soul in ours. The term approaching nearest thereto that we can find, is M'cheejacmih, which signifies Shade, and may be considered something in the nature of the Manes of the Romans...(Maillard, 1758, p. 44).

In the tale of the "external soul" or "external life" we are told that,

> ...A captive had fallen into the hands of the Micmacs, and the Micmac chief had taken him into his family and treated him kindly. The Micmac was a mighty magician; and after a while, perceiving that his Kwedech friend was longing for home, he asked him if he wished to return to his own country. He frankly owned that he did. "Then let us go into the woods, and obtain birch-bark for building a canoe." So into the woods they went, and camped out all night. Suspecting that the Kwedech might attempt to kill him during his sleep, the Micmac took precaution to hide his Memajookun out of doors

somewhere, so that he could not be killed. The other, seeing him apparently in his power, chopped off his head and cut him up into quarters, and made off. All this, however, could not destroy him, as the living principle had been taken out and hidden. By and by he awoke from his sleep, and found himself lying about in pieces; he went to work, picked himself up, and put himself together as best as he could, introduced the vital principle, and was all right again, except for a few slight pains (Rand, 1894, p. 245).

The MEMĂJOOOKŬN also seems to appear in the story of the great chief Ulgĭmoo, who revived himself from the dead but could not replace a part of his body that was eaten by a marten during his burial (Rand, 1894, p. 296).

Besides M'CHEEJACMIH and MEMĂJOOOKŬN, a third term appears which seems to apply to things soul-like. From Rand's dictionary of the Micmac language we derive the following list of terms:

Body.....'Mtenin [Somebody's body]
'Ntemin (My body)
Uktenin (Thy body)
Ootenin (His body)

Bone.....Wokŭmdāoo
Wokumdemul (plur.)

Death.....'Npoookŭm

Ghastly.....Skŭdākŭmoochamook'

Ghost.....Skŭdākŭmooch'

'Mchejakŭmich'

Grave.....Ootkoodâkŭn

Graveyard.....Ootkoodakŭnā'kăde

Intelligence.....Nŭstooeda'soode

Kĕjedĕgŏmkāwā'

Ŭkchijĕdā'dâkŭn

Life, seat of

life, soul.....Memăjoŏkŭn

Milky way

(the Spirit's

Road).....Skŭdākŭmoochoowte

Shade.....Akchegâdāmŭmkāwā'

Akchegaadoo

Akchegâdaalŭk

Akchogadāmei

Shadow, a.....Akchegadôk'

Akchegadadâmkāwā'

Soul.....Mchejâkŭmich' [Somebody's soul]

'Nckejakŭmich (My soul)

Ukchejakumich (Thy soul)

Oechejakŭmijŭl (His soul)

[Rand's note—the literal meaning of this word is, a shadow]

Memăjoocŏkŭn

Spirit.....'Mchejakŭmich'

Skŭdākŭmoech'

Sustenance.....Memăjoocŏkŭn

Vital.....Memăjoocŏkŭmā'

The three terms referring to entities of a spirit nature are SKŬDĀKŬMOOCH', 'MCHEJAKŬMICH', and MEMĂJOOCŎKŬN. The term for body, 'MTENIN, is distinct; this is also the case for bone, death, and intelligence. Of these terms, SKŬDĀKŬMOOCH' and 'MCHEJAKŬMICH' repeatedly occur together and seem to refer to the same entity. From the associations we may reasonably conclude that the latter refers to this entity while the individual is alive, while the former refers to it after death—in other words, we here have a distinction between soul and ghost. This conclusion seems to be supported by the terms presented by Pacifique (1928b, p. 143; 1928c, p. 271; 1933a, p. 43):

Graveyard.....Otgetaganegatig

Haunted place..Sgetegemetjeegatig

Home of the ghosts.....Sgetegemetjeagig

where Pacifique's SGEK[illegible]MO- seems equivalent to Rand's SKŬDĀKŬMOO-.

If we tentatively accept this identification we are brought up to a new problem. As far as we can reconstruct Micmac philosophy the following elements seem to have been considered necessary for human existence:

1. A physical structure, the body, called 'MTENIN.
2. A "life principle" or "seat of life," also known as a "life-soul," referred to as MEMĂJOOŎKŬN.
3. A "free-soul" forming man's extra-physical form of existence, and being a "sombre and black image of the man himself." The free-soul of a living individual was known as 'MCHEJAKŬMICH'; that of a dead individual apparently as SKŬDĀKŬMOOCH'.

Our question is—what are the fates of the life-soul and the free-soul after the death of an individual?

From the Papkootparout legend, from a knowledge of the properties associated with the free-soul, and from the use of the word SKŬDĀKŬMOOCHOOOWTE for "Milky Way," it would seem that it was the free-soul which traveled to the land of the dead. On the other hand, we have seen that the root SKŬDĀKŬMOO- or SGETEGEMO- is used in connection with haunted places or homes of ghosts; also we know that at their feasts the Micmac left a portion of the food for the "souls which are walking, say they, in the vicinity of the wigwams of their relatives

and of their friends." Therefore one may conclude that it was the free-soul which remained on earth to haunt the living. The inconsistency is obvious but its solution is not. The material in the historical sources does not seem sufficient to solve the problem.

A number of statements in the sources imply that it was the "death" of the MEMĂJOOOKŬN or life principle which caused the death of an individual. Biard tells us, for example, that if it had been prophesied that an individual was to die, but he did not, "they say that he has something of the Devil in him...," and "pour the cold water over his navel, and thus extinguish all vital heat, if any remain to him" (Biard, 1616; in JR., Vol. 3, p. 123). The legends pertaining to the CHĔNOO or cannibal beings inform us that these had hearts of solid ice which had to be completely melted and destroyed by fire; otherwise these could resurrect themselves (Leland, 1884, pp. 233-254, 330-332; Rand, 1894, pp. 190-199, 246-249, 250-252; Hagar, 1896a, p. 172; Mechling, 1914, pp. 75-77). The importance of the MEMĂJOOOKŬN to an individual is also touched upon in the stories of Kĭtpooseăgŭmow ("Taken from Guts") and the "Invisible Boy" (Rand, 1894, p. 64; p. 106).

The peculiar relationships existing between the body, the free-soul, and the life-soul are indicated best by the Micmac tales concerning animal and human reincarnation and resurrection. Resurrection, as described in the Papkeotpareut legend, seems

to involve the return of the free-soul to its former body and the reintroduction in some manner of a life principle. Reincarnation, on the other hand, seems to involve the reintroduction of both a free-soul and a life-soul into a body recreated in some mystical manner from the remains of former bodies. These remains were most frequently bones, whose mystical role in the reincarnation cycle imposed an elaborate system of taboos upon the Micmac. According to our historical sources, the bones of moose, beaver, caribou, bear, and marten could not be given to the dogs or burned, else the spirits of the animals would report "to their own kind of the bad treatment they had received among the Indians," and no more would be caught. Similarly "they never singe the feet of Ducks, Geese, Swans, or any other web-footed Waterfowl, believing those that survived would no longer be able to alight on the sand, & for that reason few would be caught" (Denys, 1908, p. 430; Dièreville, 1930, p. 161; Le Clercq, 1910, p. 226).

The Micmac concept of reincarnation is preserved for us in an important collection of Micmac folktales collected by Elsie Clews Parsons in the summer of 1923. Two of these tales deal with a being named Waisis Ketdu'muwaji Chi'num ("Animals Bring Back Man") living a long distance from the Micmac in the land of the Supernaturals (and in one of the tales at least seeming to represent Gloscap). The first account tells us that some adventurers,

...came to a wigwam with two doors. They wanted to stay overnight. "No, we can't keep you overnight," the man said. "We are busy overnight."—"What are you doing?"—"Overnight we are singing. The bones of the animals you have in the woods, I am singing for them to get their life back." He puts out the fire, he sings. He takes out a moose bone. The moose jumps out. Caribou, mink, all come back to life. This man Waisis ketdu'muwaji chi'num (animals bring back man) makes them all live again...

The second tale is somewhat longer and more explicit:

...It was a long wigwam with a door at each end. The man inside the wigwam said, "I have lived here since the world began. I have my grandmother, she was here when the world was made. This is a business wigwam."—"What is your work?"—"Oh, you will see me this evening when I start work. I cannot work now...Grandmother, make supper for these men quickly." The old lady got up and cooked some moose meat and ground nuts. The man was in a hurry. When they got through, the old lady put away the pots and spoons and told them they could lie down along the wall of the wigwam [i.e., parallel with the wall, not with their heads to the wall]. She said, "We want this wigwam to use tonight." The man in the wigwam began to beat on bark and to sing. He said, "I am

singing for the animals, all the animals, (waisi'ɔ) to come alive, to come back to life, from all these parts, wings, heads, feet, that have been thrown away." He sang:

negane'sung'ul bɔsikwia g'ul.
what belongs to my feet I am losing,
i.e., moccasins.

He stopped singing at daybreak. In the morning, he said to the visitors, "That is my work every night. I don't like to see people waste any part of the animals. They should save everything, they should save eel skins and other parts. What they can not save they should bury. They should not waste any hair or anything." He said, "My canoe is down on the shore." They went down to the shore. He said, "Do you want to see the fish come?" He took out a shell whistle. The bottom was very clear. They could see all kinds of fish. "These are my fish," he said. "They come from all those parts people throw away on the shore. I sing for them and they come back..." (Parsons, 1925, pp. 72-73).

That this concept is an aboriginal one is indicated by its occurrence among the Passamaquoddy in the tale of the "Fight with the Giant Witch." After the defeat of Keewauk-M'telelem ("Giant Witch"), Glooscap sets about to resurrect the warriors

who had been killed:

...Gloos-cup ordered the beasts to go into the cave and bring forth the bones of the dead warriors, which they did; then told the birds to take each a bone in their mouths and pile them together at the village of the Chief Hass-ag-wauk. Then Gloos-cup ordered the Chief to build a wall of large stones around the heap of bones and cover them with wood and make equnak'n, the hot bath.

Then Gloos-cup set the wood on fire and commenced to sing his magic song. Then he ordered more wood to be put on the fire and water to be poured on the heated stones. Gloos-cup sang louder and faster until his voice shook the whole village and he ordered the people to close their ears or his voice would kill them. Then Gloos-cup redoubled his voice and the bones began to move by the heat and began to sizzle and make a peculiar sound. Then Gloos-cup sang his resurrection song in a low voice. At last the bones began to sing with Gloos-cup and he sprinkled on more water and the bones came together in their natural places and soon became natural human beings again. The people were amazed at Gloos-cup's power and the Chief Hassag-wauk gathered all the neighboring tribes together and celebrated the great event with the Resurrection feast which lasted for many days... (Mallery, 1890, p. 70).

Our information gives us no indication that an individual's MEMĂJOOOKŬN survives death as a distinct entity, or that it is even thought to have an particular shape or form during his life. The "pulse-souls," "heart-souls," "stomach-souls," "bone-souls," "head-souls," "breath-souls," or "intellect-souls" of other tribes do not seem to be present. Although we have seen that the MEMĂJOOOKŬN is often associated with bones, this is not always the case and no conclusion can be drawn from it. Rather, the MEMĂJOOOKŬN seems to be a impersonal power, not supernatural in the commonly understood sense, which an individual possesses and which gives him "life."

The Micmac soul concepts demonstrate another curious feature. From the material reviewed it would seem that the souls of animals traveled to a spirit land (the Land of Souls?), there probably to go through another reincarnation cycle. We know also that the souls of gravegoods accompanied the soul of the deceased human to the Land of Souls, and that souls of other objects which were worn out or broken also went to a spirit-land. Therefore we are led to conclude that after the soul of a slain animal had departed for its spirit-land the different parts of the body, such as the skin (used for robes) and the bones (used for tools) acquired their own souls. How this was thought to happen is not stated in the literature.

A full discussion of Papkootparout must await consideration of the supernatural known under the name Glooscap. Some remarks

may be made, however, without too greatly anticipating this future discussion. The Papkootparout legend contains many elements familiar to us from other sources. The Gloscap legends found among the eastern Micmac, the Malecite, and the Passamaquoddy tell us that after this individual had departed from the land of the Micmac and had taken up residence in the mystic land far to the west, he still received with courtesy and hospitality those who had the courage and fortitude to visit him, for he had promised "that whoever would seek him might have one wish granted, whatever that wish might be" (Leland, 1884, pp. 66-72, 82-84, 94-103; Rand, 1894, pp. 23-25, 110-119, 253-257; Parsons, 1925, pp. 87-88); similar themes occur in the Manobozho or Manabush cycles of the Central Algonquians. Another element of the Papkootparout story is to be found in a legend from the Malecite, recounting how a husband recovered his wife's soul and brought her back to life. Specifically, he captured her soul in a small nut, the oil of which he then used in greasing the joints of her bones, a procedure which resulted in reclothing them with flesh and in resurrecting her (Mechling, 1914, p. 90).

While the Papkootparout legend thus shows relationships with many other tales, one of its elements remains unique. While corn was generally regarded as being a gift to Man from the supernaturals, the Micmac tale is exceptional in its concept. The common corn origin belief of the area is that of the "corn maiden" or "corn mother," found among the Penobscot, Abnaki,

Malecite, Huron, and Seneca (Hatt, 1951, pp. 856-858). Other forms of divine-gift-legends also occur, but none of these resembles that recorded for the Gaspesian Micmac.

Supernatural Beings

Of all the aspects of Micmac culture treated by our early historical sources, that dealing with the native beliefs concerning supernaturals beings comes off worst, for here our authors were treading in a field so foreign to their thinking and to their own system of belief that they were entirely unable to grasp the fundamentals involved. Only in a few places, almost by accident, do the accounts give us any real clues to the Micmac concepts—elsewhere we are told only that the "Indians have no religion."

In view of this situation it will be necessary for us to reverse our usual procedure: instead of first presenting materials from the early French sources, and then commenting on later manifestations of the traits in question, we will here first present our recent legendary materials and the reconstructions derived from them, and will then deal with whatever earlier material we can muster on the subject. As will be seen, such earlier material is very scanty.

The concept basic to the entire Micmac philosophy of supernatural beings is that of MANITOU or BOOÖIN. These words refer

to supernatural, mystical, impersonal power, and to the objects which possess it. To the Micmac, anything which causes a vague sense of "something strange, something mysterious, something intangible," which creates a sense of wonder, which leads one to feel overwhelmed by an all-encompassing presence, in short, anything which causes an emotional experience, is BOOÖIN. The The word may be applied to the mystical force thought to be causing the experience, it may be applied to a spirit-being possessing such power, or it may be applied to a human possessing power. BOOÖIN may be transferred from one spirit-being to another, or from a spirit-being to a human, this transfer may be purely mechanical. BOOÖIN may also be possessed in large or small quantities, resulting in a ranking of the supernatural beings according to the "strength" of their power. Since one's position in this system of rank can only be determined by individual tests of strength—i.e., by shamanistic combat—the Micmac legends relating to these BOOÖIN read like a roll of gladiatorial combats.

This ranking of the supernaturals on the basis of their BOOÖIN provides us with a means of classification which we will employ to order our discussion. Proceeding from supernaturals with the strongest BOOÖIN towards those with the least, we may first distinguish between beings known as MEGUMOOWĚSOO, and those known as BISANÀTKWETCH. Hagar tells us that,

> Bocöin appears to be a general term for magic power and all possessors of it; but the master therein is known as a megumoowèsoo, while a less powerful magician is a bisanàtkwetch...Even ordinary magicians can discover lost articles, and cause almost anything to disappear. By taking any household article in their hands they can describe its owner, and discover both his present whereabouts and what he is doing. But only the megumoowèsoo knows the future. His prophetic powers extend forward seven years...

From the materials on hand it would seem that Glooscap and some of his powerful friends and contemporaries were MEGŬMOOWĔSOO, while most human shamans or BOOÖIN were BISANÀTKWETCH. The two categories are not sharply divided in the legends, however, and the situation is often confused by the fact that the power of prophecy is neither affirmed nor denied for a particuliar being.

Another type of distinction may be made, however, between the MEGŬMOOWĔSOO and the BISANÀTKWETCH. Many of the former seem to do without the spirit-familiar or nagual which is such a characteristic feature of the latter. In the latter situation, the spirit-familiar is a supernatural or mystical being whose magical power is at the disposal or command of the shaman, whose form the BOOÖIN can assume, and whose welfare is intimately tied up with that of the shaman. Such a helper seems to have been

unnecessary in the case of the MEGUMOOWESOO.

In the discussion to follow we will recognise three major catergories of supernatural beings: the Great Spirit or Great Creator; the various MEGUMOOWESOO; and the various BISANATKWETCH. not including human shamans.

In their belief in a Great Spirit or Great Creator, the Micman closely resemble the Algonquian tribes of the Great Lakes region. This is apparant from the terminology used. Among the Micmac the following terms are known to have been used for reference to the Great Spirit:

Knich'kaminau....."Moon" or "God".....Lescarbot (1914, pp. 118, 121 fn.)

Niscamineu....."Sun" or "God"......Biard (J.R., Vol. 3, p. 133)

Nichekamineu....."Sun" or "God"......Diereville (1933, P. 160)

Nikskam....."God".....Rand (1888, p. 122)

Nixkam....."Great Father"......Rand (1894, p. xliii)

Nesulk....."Our Maker".....Rand (1894, p. xliii)

Ukchesakumeu....."Great Chief".....Rand (1894, p. xliii)

Ktcinī'sxam....."Great Diety".....Spock (1915b, p. 59)

which can be compared to cognate forms in the languages of the Central Algonquian tribes:

Cree—Kitchemenetoo....."Good Spirit" (Harman, 1820, p. 385)

Ottawa—Kitchi Manito....."Great Spirit" (Kinietz, 1940, p. 289)

Illinois—Kitchesmanetoa....."Spirit Master of Life" (Kinietz, 1940, p. 289)

Among the tribes to the south of the Micmac the root -KAMINOU or -MANITO (meaning "spirit being") is replaced by another cognate form, namely -HANDO. Thus we have:

Penobscot—Ktahándewit'....."The one (who) is (being) the great supernatural being"

Delaware—Ka°tan'tó wit

Kĕ'tanĭté wĕt

Getaumetewiit

Gatanetewit

Massachusetts—Kautantewit

Narragansett—Cautanteuwit

Montauk—Cauhlunteewut

(Flannery, 1939, pp. 153-154)

The Micmac term seems to be more closely related to the Central Algonquian forms than to those of New England.

In the philosophy of the Central Algonquians the Great Spirit is a vaguely defined being having various "symbols" or "aspects." In the words of Pachot (1719):

> These savages adore only the sun, the earth, and the thunder because they say that these are the things attached

> to the superior being whom they call the master of life...The Illinois call him Kitchesmanetoa which means the spirit master of life; the Outavois call him the same as the Illinois with a little different pronunciation... (Kinietz, 1940, pp. 212-213).

The Micmac concepts seem to have been highly similar, but at no time are they stated so explicitly.

In a brief passage, Hagar (1896b, p. 258) tells us that the "Micmacs say that formerly they worshipped the rising sun and new moon, facing each for a few moments with arms extended and palms together." This is confirmed by most of our early sources. Biard, for example, states that,

> ...They believe in a God, so they say; but they cannot call him by any name except that of the Sun, Niscaminou, nor do they know any prayers or manner of worshipping him. When I asked a young Autmoin [shaman] about this, he answered, that when they were in great need he put on his sacred robe (for the Autmoins have a precious robe, expressly for their Orgies) and turning toward the East said, Niscaminou, hignemoüy ninem marcodam; "Our Sun, or our God, give us something to eat;" that after that they went hunting cheerfully and with good luck... (Biard, 1616; in JR., Vol. 3, pp. 133-135).

Le Clercq has already informed us that the Micmac "have always recognized and worshipped [the sun] as their God" (Le Clercq. 1910, p. 84); he also presents us with several examples of Micmac prayers to this divinity. The first passage we may quote is of general application.

> ...Our Gaspesians used to come out regularly from their wigwams to salute the sun when it began to dart its first morning rays, and they did the same also without at its setting; this latter time, in their opinion, was the most favourable in which these courtiers of the sun might hope to render it propitious to their vows, after having exhibited to it their necessities and their needs.
>
> They performed no other ceremony than that of turning the face towards the sun. They commenced straightway their worship by the ordinary greeting of the Gaspesians, which consisted in saying three times, He, he, he, after which, while making profound obeisances with sundry movements of the hands above the head, they asked that it would grant their needs: that it would guard their wives and their children: that it would give them the power to vanquish and overcome their enemies: that it would grant them a hunt rich in moose, beavers, martens, and otters, with a great catch of fishes: finally they asked the preservation of their lives for a great number of years, and a long line of posterity.

> Such is the custom I have seen observed by a certain aged man of that nation, who, in dying, took with him, as it seemed to me, all that was left of superstition and false worship in a religion badly enough observed; for since him I have never seen nor heard of a Gaspesian who had performed that kind of ceremony... (Le Clercq, 1910 p. 144).

Le Clercq gives us a specific instance of prayer to the Great Spirit in his story of the Indian Koucdedaoüi, who addressed the following prayer of lament:

> ...He [Koucdedaoüi] often visited their [his wife and son's] tomb, and there one day, when on his knees, with hands and eyes raised towards heaven, and his heart all rent with grief, he was heard to pronounce these words in the form of a prayer: "O great god, who governs the sun and the moon, who has created the moose, the otters, and the beavers, be appeased: be no more angry against me: and be satisfied with the misfortunes which overwhelm me. I had a wife; Thou hast taken her from me. I had child that I loved even as myself; but I have none any more, because Thou hast willed it. Is that not enough? Grant me then for the future as much of good as now I endure of ill. Or, if Thou art not yet satisfied with that which I suffer in my heart, make me die as soon as possible, for it is impossible for me to live thus any longer" (Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 185-186).

Dièreville confirms our previous observations on the Great Spirit, for he tells us that "their God was formerly the Sun, whom they called Nichekaminou, which in their language means the Very-Great; they gave thanks to him for his kindness to them & implored the Demon, whom they call Mendon, not to do them any harm" (Dièreville, 1933, p. 160). Maillard gives us some slightly different information, for he tells us that the Micmac had "a confused notion of a Being, acting they know not how, in the universe, but they do not make of him a great soul diffused through all its parts..." (Maillard, 1758, p. 43). He also states that:

> ...I never could learn whether they had any set formulary of prayer, or invocation to the great Manitoo; or whether they made any sacrifices of beasts or poltry to any other Manitoo, in contradiction to him, or to any being whom they dreaded as an evil genius. I could discover no more than what I have above related of the ceremonies in honor of the sun. I know, indeed, thay have a great veneration for the moon, which they invoke, whenever, under favor of its light, they undertake any journeys, either by land or water, or tend the snares they have set for their game. This is the prayer they occasionally address to it:
>
> How great, O moon! is thy goodness, in actually, "for our benefit, supplying the place of the father of "the day, as, next to him, thou hast concurred to make

"us spring out of that earth we have inhabited from the "first ages of the world, and takest particular care of "us, that the malignant air of the night, should not kill "the principle and bud of life within us. Thou regardest "us, in truth, as they children. Thou hast not, from the "first time, discontinued to treat us like a true mother. "Thou guidest us in our nocturnal journies. By the favor "of thy light it is, that we have often struck great "strokes in war; and more than once have our enemies had "cause to repent their being off their guard in thy clear "winter-nights. Thy pale rays have often sufficiently "lighted us, for our marching in a body without mistaking "our way; and have enabled us not only to discover the "ambushes of the enemy, but often to surprize him asleep. "However we might be wanting to ourselves, thy regular "course was never wanting to us. Beautiful spouse of the "sun! give us to discover the tracks of elks, moose-deer, "martins, lynxes, and bears, when urged by our wants, we "pursue by night the hunt after these beasts. Give to "our women the strength to support the pains of child-birth, "render their wombs prolific, and their breasts inexhaust- "ible fountains."

I have often tried to find out, whether there was any tradition or knowledge amongst them of the deluge, but always met with unsatisfactory answers, as entirely discouraged my curiosity on that head... (Maillard, 1758, pp. 46-48).

The picture here given of the moon as the "beautiful spouse of the sun" is unique, and may possibly be merely a poetic device. Maillard's use of the word MIEWNDOO or MANITO, meaning "the great spirit" or spirit-being in general, gives us more trouble (Maillard, 1758, pp. 38-46). The problem is that while the early French sources occasionally use the word manitee in reference to the spirit-beings of the Micmac, the word is known from the modern Micmac only as a name for the Christian devil (in the form MŬNDOO); the native legends do not use it. Its aboriginal meaning among the Micmac is therefore very difficult to determine. If it once meant "spirit-being" or "supernatural power" this use has been taken over by BOOÖIN.

From the materials reviewed we may conclude that the Micmac held the concept of a Great Spirit, and that this concept was broadly similar to that held by the Central Algonquian tribes with respect to the KITCHI MANITO. The "Great Spirit" or "Creator" of the Micmac seems to have been central figure of the religious ritual, in that he seems to have been the only being to which prayers were offered—these usually being made to one of his aspects as the sun or moon. Offerings of propitiation and appeasement were made on occasions to spirits of places or things, and individuals did address themselves to spirit-helpers or naguals; these relationships were on a different level, however, than that with the NICHEKAMINOU. We know of no prayers addressed to Glooscap.

Passing from consideration of the Micmac Great Spirit to other and less powerful supernatural beings, we now need to consider the MEGŬMOOWĔSOO. These mystical beings were thought to have human form and qualities, to have enormous supernatural powers, to be immortal, and to be generally favorably disposed towards mortals. The MEGŬMOOWĔSOO usually lived in a land far from that of the Micmac, but could also reside unsuspected among the latter. The MEGŬMOOWĔSOO lived much as did ordinary Indians, but on a grander scale and free from the scourge of famine; they could bestow supernatural power upon humans, making them MEGŬMOOWĔSOO; and also possessed a number of magical objects. In one legend, for example, we are told that Glooscap took an Indian,

> ...down to the river, causes him to strip off and take a thorough ablution. He then furnishes him with a change of raiment, combs his hair, and gives him a magic hair-string, which imparts to him supernatural power, and turns him into a "Megŭmoowĕsoo." He gives him a tiny flute, and teaches him to discourse sweet music therefrom. He also teaches him how to sing... (Rand, 1894, p. 24).

The magic flute of the MEGŬMOOWĔSOO also appears in the tale of "the Indian who was transformed into a Megŭmoowĕsoo," given by Rand (1894, pp. 94-98), and in other legends. Other magical objects include divination pipes and water bowls, a wand used by Glooscap's campanion Coolpijote, bells, and bows (Leland, 1884, p. 82; Hagar, 1896a, pp. 173-174; Mechling, 1914, p. 51).

According to material collected by Hagar (1896a, p. 173), the first and original MEGŬMOOWĔSOO "was distinguished by the single red feather, jeegown, which he wore on his head. The earliest Micmac magicians are said to have received their power from him, hence the name of the tribe, Megumawaach. Snakes were his only food. He had seven sons, and, according to one tradition, Glooscap, the youngest of these, inherited his magic power." Little else is known about this original mystical being, his son, Glooscap, dominating the Micmac legend material.

Glooscap's position among the Micmac is defined in somewhat modern terms by a tale collected by Speck in Cape Breton (Speck, 1915b, pp. 59-60):

> Gluskap was the god of the Micmacs. The great deity, Ktcini'sxam, made him out of earth and then breathed on him, and he was made. This was at Cape North (KtE'dnuk, "At the North Mountain"), Cape Breton, on the eastern side. Gluskap's home was at Fairy Holes (Gluska'be wi'gwôm, "Gluskap's wigwam"). Just in front of the caves at this headland are three little islands in a straight line, long and narrow as Ciboux Islands. These are the remains of Gluskap's canoe, where he left it when it was broken. At Plaster Cove (Twô'butc, "Looking Out") two girls saw his canoe broken into three pieces; and they laughed, making fun of Gluskap. At this he told them that they would remain forever where they are; and to-day there are two rocks at

Plaster Cove which are the remains of these girls. Next, a little farther north, at Wreck Cove, Gluskap jumped from his canoe when it foundered, lifting his moose-skin canoe-mat out, and left it on the shore to dry. It is there to-day. There is still to be seen a space of fifteen acres of bare ground where the mat lay. Then he started on and went to Table Head (Padalodī'tck), on the south side of Bras d'or Lake. Here he had his dinner. Next he struck into Bras d'or Lake straight to Wycogamagh, on the western end, where, at Indian Island (Wī'sik, "Cabin"), he started a beaver and drove him out, following Bras d'or Lake to St. Patrick's Bay. At Middle River he killed a young beaver whose bones are still to be seen there. Then Gluskap followed the big beaver until he lost track of him for a while. He stood at Wī'sik (Indian Island), and took a piece of rock and threw toward the place where he thought the beaver was. This rock is now Red Island (Paul'nuktê'gan). This started the beaver up, and he ran back through St. Peter's Channel and burrowed through underneath, which is the cause of the crooks and windings there now. Then the chase continued outside in the ocean, when the beaver struck out for the Bay of Fundy. Here at Plī'gAnk ("Split Place"), Split Point, Gluskap dug out a channel with his paddle, forming Minas Basin, Nova Scotia. There he killed the beaver. Near here is a small island, which is the pot in which he cooked the beaver; and there, too, is another rock, near

Pot Rock, which is Gluskap's dog left behind at this time. Turtle (Mi'ktcik) was Gluskap's uncle. Here with his pot and dog he turned Turtle into a rock, and left them all there. Near where he killed the beaver are still to be seen the bones turned to rock. When he broke the channel here in Minas Basin to drain the water out, in order to uncover the beaver, he left it so that to-day the water all drains out at each tide. So Gluskap caused the Bay of Fundy tides. Then he crossed over eastward [sic] and came out at Pictou, where there were many Indians living. While there, he taught the Micmacs how to make all their implements for hunting and fishing,—bows, arrows, canoes, and the like. After a while he prepared to leave, and told the Indians, "I am going to leave you. I am going to a place where I can never be reached by a white man." Then he prophesied the coming of the European and the baptism of the Micmacs. Then he called his grandmother from Pictou, and a young man for his nephew, and departed, going to the other side of the North Pole with them. Again he said, "From now on, if there should ever be war between you and any other people, I shall be back to help you." He is there now, busy in making bows, arrows, and weapons for the day the white man may bother the Micmacs. The Micmac are Gluskap's children...

This summary enables us to define the position of the Glooscap tales within the Micmac oral literature. These tales

are etiological in nature, explaining the origin of geographical landmarks and features, the sizes of animals and their relationships with Man, and the beginnings of human culture. Glooscap appears as the hero-transformer who made the world a place in which Man could reside. Among the more recent tales of neighboring tribes Glooscap takes on some of the aspects of a creator. From the Passamaquoddy, for instance, we have this tale:

> Glooskap came first of all into this country, into Nova Scotia, Maine, Canada, into the land of the Wabanaki, next to the sunrise. There were no Indians here then (only wild Indians very far to the west).
>
> First born were the Mikumwess, the Oonahgemessuk, the small Elves, little men, dwellers in rocks.
>
> And in this way he made Man: He took his bow and arrows and shot at trees, the basket-trees, the Ash. Then Indians came out of the bark of the Ash-trees. And then the Mikumwess said...[not recorded]...called tree-man...
>
> Glooskap made all the animals. He made them at first very large. Then he said to Moose, the great Moose who was as tall as Ketawkqu's, "What would you do should you see an Indian coming?" Moose replied, "I would tear down the trees on him." Then Glooskap saw that the Moose was too strong, and made him smaller, so that Indians could kill him...So he questioned all the beasts, changing

> their size or allotting their lives according to their answers... (Leland, 1884, pp. 18-19).

Among the Micmac, however, the creator-elements are largely absent, and Glooscap appears simply as the hero-transformer (e.g., Leland, 1884, pp. 28-31; 62-67, 114-126; Rand, 1894, pp. 232-237; Parsons, 1925, pp. 85-90; Mechling, 1914, pp. 1-40).

In his aspects as transformer Glooscap most closely resembles the trickster-transformer of the Central Algonquian tribes—known variously as Tcikabis, Wiske'djak, Manebozho, or Nanaboush. There are significant differences however. As Fisher (1946, p. 229) tells us:

> ...If we ignore confused and garbled details and focus attention on the recurring episodes of the Gluskabe cycle, a figure emerges with several positive and important differences from Nanabozho. While Gluskabe is shown as enjoying an occasional practical joke, particularly in his relations with Turtle, on the whole the characterization "He was always sober, grave and good; all that the Indians knew or what was wise and good he taught them," appears justified by the myths told of him. None of the crude buffoonery associated with Nanabozho is attached to Gluskabe. His altruistic concern for mankind is pronounced, finding a place in the myths themselves, not merely in statements about him.

Trickster elements do appear in the Micmac legends, but these are associated with the badger, the hare, and the wolverine.

Due to space limitations, and to the fact that we have little evidence connecting Glooscap directly with the time period covered by this ethnography, we will not discuss his exploits in any great detail. Instead we will abstract the essential elements of the Glooscap cycle so as to present a key to the literature, and to provide a background for a discussion of the supernaturals associated with this hero-transformer.

Element A. Glooscap is the elder of twins; he is born naturally, but the younger twin burst through the mother's side at birth, killing her. Glooscap and his brother live in "deceitful confidence," seeking to learn the secret of each other's lives. After his brother makes an attempt on his life, Glooscap kills him and turns him into the Shickshock Mountains of Gaspé.

In Hagar (1896, p. 173) Glooscap appears as the seventh and last son of the original MEGŬMOCWĔSOC, seven being the magic number of the Micmac. Leland's Passamaquoddy version gives the name of Glooscap's twin brother as Malsumsis ("Wolf the Younger"), while Michelson's version gives the Micmac name as Amkōtpigtu, which does not seem to bear the same translation (Leland, 1884, pp. 15-18; Michelson, 1925, pp. 51-53). Another

brother, named Mikumwesu, appears in Mechling's Malecite version (Mechling, 1914, pp. 1-40). Rand's account agrees with that given by Leland (Rand, 1894, pp. 339-340; Mechling, 1914, p. 44).

The element of the hero's mother being killed by the birth of his brother is also found among the Ottawa, Ojibwa, Potawatomi, Menomini, and Huron; that of "deceitful confidence" among the Ojibwa and Huron (Fisher, 1946, p. 240; Barbeau, 1915, p. 302).

Element B. Glooscap's grandmother and his helper, or "younger brother," are kidnapped. Glooscap passes through many perils before rescuing them.

Two versions of this element may be noted. In one, recorded from the Micmac, Glooscap originally lived on the island AJAALĬGŬNŬCHK with his friends Pŭlowĕch' (Partridge), Wejĕk', Teetĕĕs (Jay), Cakakooch (Crow), and Mikchagogwech. These became jealous of him, kidnapped his two companions, and moved to another location, hoping that Glooscap would perish. Passing through many dangers Glooscap finally caught up with the culprits and recovered his housemates. Although he did not punish his friends, he set his steps "towards other paths" (Leland, 1884, pp. 59-60; Rand, 1894, pp. 270-278). In the second variant, reported from the Micmac and the Passamaquoddy,

a great wizard named Winpe carried Glooscap's companions off from his camp near MENAGWES (St. John, N. B.) and took them to Newfoundland, where Glooscap finally caught up with him and killed him (Leland, 1884, pp. 32-44; Rand, 1894, pp. 284-288). This latter tale is of considerable interest, for Winpe shows many points of similarity with the figure of Amkotpigtu as given by Michelson.

Element C. Glooscap overcomes the Jug-Woman (Pook-jinskwess).

Recorded from the Micmac, Passamaquoddy, Malecite, and Penobscot. Usually given as one of the adventures of Glooscap in Element B, above (Leland, 1884, pp. 36-41, 44-49; Rand, 1894, pp. 271-272, 285-286).

Element D. Glooscap rides a whale and tricks her into running up onto the beach. He pushes her back into deep water with his bow, and then gives her a pipe and tobacco.

Known from the Micmac in connection with Glooscap's chase of Winpe and his departure from this world, as well as from the Passamaquoddy tale of Glooscap and the Jug-Woman (Leland, 1884, pp. 33-35, 41; Rand, 1894, pp. 228-229).

Element E. Glooscap survives a trip through dangerous underground rapids.

Recorded from the Micmac and the Passamaquoddy (Leland, 1884, pp. 59-61; Rand, 1894, p. 275; Fisher, 1946, p. 238).

Element F. Glooscap chases a giant beaver and breaks a beaver dam. Known from the Micmac, Passamaquoddy, and Malecite (Leland, 1884, pp. 63-65; Speck, 1915b, pp. 59-60; Mechling, 1914, pp. 1-3; Parsons, 1925, p. 86). The element of the transformer chasing a giant beaver also appears among the Ojibway and the Menomini (Fisher, 1946, p. 238).

Element G. Glooscap goes to the Indians encamped at Pictou, and teaches them. "All they knew of the arts he taught them. He taught them the names of the constellations and stars; he taught them how to hunt and fish, and cure what they took..."

Known in complete form only from the Cape Breton Micmac (Speck, 1915b, p. 60). This element is possibly to be grouped with H, but we cannot be certain of this. See also Leland (1884, pp. 51-52; Rand, 1894, pp. 232, 276, 289).

Element H. Glooscap goes to Pictou, where he meets his uncle, Turtle, and takes a teasing kind of interest in his affairs

The complete version is known only from the Micmac, for which this episode follows Glooscap's chase of Winpe (Element B). Less complete versions are known from the Passamaquoddy, the Malecite, and the Penobscot (Leland, 1884, pp. 51-58; Rand, 1894, pp. 276-278, 289-290; Mechling, 1914, pp. 22-30, 40-44; Speck, 1915b, p. 60; Fisher, 1946, p. 238).

Element I. Glooscap retires from the land of the Micmac or of the Wabanaki; answers request for eternal life by turning supplicant into tree or stone; grants more moderate requests.

Recorded from the Micmac, Passamaquoddy, and Malecite. In some versions Glooscap leaves riding a whale; in others he goes in a stone canoe. In either case, after his going the animals no longer spoke the same language and fled from each other, no longer meeting in council (Leland, 1884, pp. 66-72, 82-91, 94-103; Rand, 1894, pp. 23-29, 117-119, 228-229, 253-257; Parsons, 1925, p. 87).

An identical element appears among the Potawatomi, Fox, Sauk, and Menomini associated with the trickster-

transformer Wisakä or Manabush. See, for example, Skinner (1927, pp. 363-366).

The element last considered brings us to the consideration of a new problem—the significance of the similarities observed between Glooscap and Papkootparout (all-powerful supernatural beings, master of a mystical land, giver of gifts). From a superficial examination of the problem it would seem that these two figures were actually one and the same, and it may actually turn out that this was the case. Other information points to quite another possibility, however, which we may briefly indicate.

As has been pointed out previously, the Glooscap cycle contains numerous elements which also occur in the trickster-transformer tales of the Central Algonquian Indians, and in the transformer tales of the Iroquois. Within the latter group one type of Huron legend is of particular interest.

> ...When the [Sky] woman [who fell from the Sky] fell she was pregnant with twins. When these came forth they evinced opposite dispositions, the one good, the other evil. Even before they were born the same characters were manifested. They struggled together, and their mother heard them disputing. The one declared his willingness to be born in the usual manner, while the other malignantly refused, and, breaking through his mother's side, killed her. She was buried, and from her body sprang the various vegetable productions which the new earth

required to fit it for the habitation of man. From her head grew the pumpkin-vine; from her breasts the maize; from her limbs the bean and the other useful esculents. Meanwhile the twins grew up, showing in all they did their opposing inclinations. The name of the good one was Tijuskeha, which means, Clarke said, something like saviour, or good man. The evil brother was named Tawiskarong, meaning flinty, or flint-like, in allusion probably to his hard and cruel nature. They were not men, but supernatural beings, who were to prepare the world to be the abode of men. Finding that they could not live together, they separated, each taking his own portion of the earth. Their first act was to create animals of various kinds. The bad brother made fierce and monstrous creatures, proper to terrify and destroy mankind—serpents, panthers, wolves, bears, all of enormous size, and huge mosquitoes, "as large as turkeys." Among other things he made an immense toad, which drank up all the fresh water that was on the earth. In the meantime the good brother, in province, was creating the innocent and useful animals. Among the rest he made the partridge. To his surprise, the bird rose in the air and flew toward the territory of Tawiskarong. Tijuskeha asked him whither he was going. The bird replied that he was going to look for water, as there was none left in that land, and he heard there was some in the dominion of Tawiskarong. Tijuskeha then began to suspect

mischief. He followed the course which the partridge had taken, and presently reached the land of his evil brother. Here he encountered the snakes, ferocious brutes, and enormous insects which his brother had made, and overcame them. Finally he came to the monstrous toad, which he cut open, letting the water flow forth. He did not destroy the evil animals—perhaps had not the power to do so—but he reduced them in size, so that men would be able to master them.

The spirit of his mother warned him in a dream to beware of his evil brother, who would endeavour to destroy him by treachery. Finally they encountered, and as it was evident that they could not live together on the earth, they determined to decide by a formal combat (a duel, as Clarke styled it) which of them should remain master of the world. It was further agreed that each should make known to the other the only weapon by which he could be overcome. This extraordinary article of their agreement was probably made necessary by the fact that without such a disclosure the contest would have lasted forever. The good brother declared that he could be destroyed only by being beaten to death with a bag full of corn, beans, or some other product of the bread kind. The evil brother rejoined that he could be killed only by the horn of a deer or of some other wild animal. (In these weapons it seems evident that there is some reference to

> the different characters or attributes of the brothers.) They set off a fighting-ground, or "list," within which the combat was to take place. Tawiskarong had the first turn, or, as duellests would say, the first fire. He set upon his brother with a bag of corn or beans, chased him about the ground, and pounded him until he was nearly lifeless and lay as if dead. He revived, however (perhaps through the aid of his mother's spirit), and, recovering his strength, pursued in turn his evil brother, beating him with a deer's horn until he killed him. But the slain combatant was not utterly destroyed. He reappeared after death to his brother, and told him that he had gone to the far west, and that thenceforth all the races of men after death would go to the west, like him... (Barbeau, 1915, pp. 301-302).

Here, as in the Glooscap legends of the Micmac, we find supernatural twins, one of whom kills his mother at his birth; we find one of these twins described as good, the other as evil; we find that the twins live together, but attempt to find the secret of each other's life; and we find that the brothers come to a conflict in which the elder kills the younger and evil one. Like Glooscap, Tijuskeha is pictured as having altruistic concern for mankind, and as reducing the size of the animals for their benefit. Among the Micmac nothing is said about Glooscap's brother after his death; among the Huron, however, Tawiskarong

becomes the ruler and master of the dead (Barbeau, 1915, p. 8). Considering the close similarities between the Micmac and Huron tales of the two brothers, is it possible that Glooscap's brother became the "master of the dead," and is to be equated with Papkootpareut?

Other suggestive materials may be quoted. Among the trickster-transformer tales of the Central Algonquians the following theme (here quoted from the Menomini) is of widespread occurrence:

> When Manabŭsh had accomplished the works for which the Good Spirit sent him down to the earth, he went far away and built his wigwam on the northeast shore of a large lake, where he took up his abode. As he was alone, the good manidos concluded to give him for a companion his twin brother, whom they brought to life and called na^{n}'-pa-tĕ', which signifies an expert marksman. He was formed like a human being, but, being a manido, could assume the shape of a Wolf, in which form he hunted for food. Manabŭsh was aware of the anger of the bad manidos who dwelt beneath the earth, and â-nâ'-miq-ki^{u}', and warned his brother, the Wolf, never to return home by crossing the lake, but always to go around it by the shore. Once, after the Wolf had been hunting all day long, he found himself directly opposite his wigwam, and being tired concluded to cross the lake. He had not gone half way

across when the ice broke, the Wolf was seized by the bad manidos and destroyed.

> Manabŭsh at once what had befallen his brother, and in his distress mourned for four days. Every time that Manabŭsh sighed the earth trembled, which caused the hills and ridges to form upon its surface. Then the shade of Meqwē'eu, the Wolf, appeared before Manabŭsh and, knowing that his brother could not be restored to him, Manabŭsh told him to follow the path of the setting sun and there become the chief of the shadows in the hereafter, where all would meet... (Hoffman, 1890, p. 249).

In this tale, which is continued to explain the origin of the rites of the MIDE'WIWIN or "Grand Medicine Society," the motif of conflict between good and evil twins is absent, and the death of one of the brothers is therefore explained in another manner. Nevertheless the tale is obviously genetically related to that of Glooscap and his brother and to that of Tijuskeha and Tawiskarong. It becomes apparent that three elements are of importance: that of the hero-transformer or trickster-transformer; that of an evil brother with whom he comes into conflict; and that of a brother who dies and becomes ruler of the dead. In figure 12, in which the distribution of these elements is compared, it is seen that the motifs of the evil brother and of the brother as keeper of the dead do not necessarily coincide—in fact, usually do not. The first motif seems to be

Fig. 12. The Culture-Hero and His Brother/s Among the Northeastern Indians.

TRIBE	CULTURE-HERO	BROTHER/S
Micmac	Gluskap	Amkōtpigtu—*
Malecite	Gluskap	Mikumwesu
Passamaquoddy	Glooscap	Malsumsis—*
	Sakilexis	---------
Penobscot	Gluskábe	---------
Montagnais-Naskapi	Tsəka'bec	---------
Cree	Tcikabis	---------
	Wisəkedjak	"Wolf" (Myegun-?)
Algonkin	Tcakabesh	---------
	Wiske'djak	---------
Sauk	Wísakä	Ya'patäe—#
Fox	Wīsa'kä	Kīyapā'tä (named Chĭbĭábēsă after death)—#
Kickapoo	Wīza'kä'a	---------
Ojibway	Tcaka·Bi̧s	---------
	Wissekedjak	---------
	Manobozho (younger cousin of Wisse-kedjak)	Po·kwis
Potawatomi	Wi'sakä	---------
	Nənaboojoc	Chipiapees—#
		Wabosse
		Chokenapek—*
	Mānäpusē'sA	Onaxpatä—#

Delaware	Nanaboush	(Maskanako-?)—#
Mohawk	Te·haron·hiawă'k·hon· Oterontonni·'a'·	Tehotennhiaren Tawi'skaron· } —*
Onondaga	T·hao·n·hiawă·'gi· Odĕn'donni·ă·	Te·hawis'karron· Tawis'kano Saiewiskerat O·ha'ä } —*
Oneida	---------	Tawis'karron·—*
Seneca	---------	Ot·hä'gwĕn·da·—*
Huron- Wyandot	Tse·'sta· Tijuskeha }	Ta·we'ska·re Tawiskarong } —* #
Cherokee	---------	Tăwi'skălă—*

Symbols: *—brother evil; #—brother "Ruler of the Dead."

References: Ahenakew (1929); Barbeau (1915, pp. 24-25); Brinton (1885, pp. 130-131, 170-181); Chamberlain (1891); Davidson (1928a-b); Davis (1910, pp. 35-36); Hale (1888, p. 181); Harmon (1820, p. 388); Hewitt (1903); Hodge (1910, Pt. 2, pp. 19-23, 707-711, 718-723); Hoffman (1890, p. 249); Jones (1901; 1907, pp. 337-379; 1915, pp. 5-19); Michelson (1911a, pp. 68-78); Mooney (1900, pp. 234, 274, 451); Radin and Reagen (1928, pp. 61-108); Schoolcraft (1860, Vol. 1, p. 317); Skinner (1923, pp. 34-40; 1925, pp. 75-83; 1927, pp. 332-356; 1928, pp. 147-154); Speck (1915d, pp. 2-22; 1925; 1935a, pp. 20, 53-54; 1935b, pp. 38-49); Squier (1877, pp. 18-20).

characteristically eastern (Micmac, Passamaquoddy, Huron, Mohawk, Onondaga, Oneida, Seneca, Cherokee, and Potawatomi), while the second has a slightly greater distribution. The hypothesis that Papkootparout is to be equated with Glooscap's brother is possible on the basis of the known distribution of the elements involved.

Turning now to consideration of Glooscap's companions and contemporaries we may briefly consider his two "housemates." Glooscap's "grandmother," called by him Noogŭmich, is another persistent element of the transformer tales, appearing among the Ojibwa as Nō'komis, among the Menomini as Nukkō', and among the Fox as Anō'k°. In the Micmac legends her proper name is given as Meoināskw (Mrs. Bear), but among the Penobscot it is Meninkwesses (Woodchuck). In the Glooscap tales this "grandmother" remains in the background as a largely passive figure of unknown origin having no supernatural power; among the Central Algonquians, however, her personality is better developed and her existence is explained—she is actually the grandmother of the transformer, raising him after the death of his mother at his birth (Leland, 1884, pp. 30, 32, 37, 60-61, 65; Rand, 1894, pp. 232, 254, 270, 274-275, 284, 287-288, 293; Mechling, 1914, pp. 1-3, 40; Speck, 1915b, p. 60; Michelson, 1925, pp. 51-53; Parsons, 1925, p. 86).

Glooscap's helper was apparently adopted by Glooscap when he first arrived in the land of the Micmac, and is referred to

by the hero-transformer as Uohkeen ("My Younger Brother"), which is a familar and honorary title. This individual's proper name was Abistănāooch´(Marten); he refers to Mooināskw as Keejeo (Mother). In the Micmac materials his obvious function is to care for Glooscap's grandmother. The Passamaquoddy version of the Glooscap cycle gives him some additional characteristics:

> ...Marten could change himself to a baby, or a little boy, a youth or a young man, as befitted the time in which he was to act, for all things about Glooskap were very wonderful. This Marten ate always from a small birch-bark dish, called witch-kwed-lakun-cheech (M.), and when he left this anywhere Glooskap was sure to find it, and could tell from its appearance all that had befallen his family. And Marten was called by Glooskap Uch-keen (M.), "my younger brother." The Lord of men and beasts had a belt which gave him magical power and endless strength. And when he lent this to Marten, the younger brother could also do great deeds, such as were only done in old times.
>
> Marten lived much with the Mikumwess or Elves, or Fairies, and is said to have been one of them.

The Micmac sources neither affirm nor deny this picture of Marten, ignoring him to concentrate upon the figure of Glooscap (Leland, 1884, pp. 30-31, 37, 41-43, 60, 65, 76-77; Rand, 1894,

pp. 254, 270, 273-276, 284, 287-288, 293; Speck, 1915b, p. 60; Michelson, 1925, pp. 51-53; Parsons, 1925, p. 88).

In the Glooscap cycle we are told that when Glooscap left the Indians he went to a land in the west, where he "is still tented; and two important personages are near him, who are called Kukhw and Coolpŭjŏt." At a later time Micmac visitors to Glooscap reported that,

> ...they found three wigwams,—one for Glooscap, one for Coolpŭjŏt, and one for Kuhkw. These are all mighty personages, but Glooscap is supreme; the other two are subordinates. Coolpŭjŏt has no bones. He cannot move himself, but is rolled over each spring and fall by Glooscap's order, being turned with handspikes; hence the name Coolpŭjŏt (rolled over by handspikes). In the autumn he is turned towards the west, in the spring towards the east; and this is a figure of speech, denoting the revolving seasons of the year,—his mighty breath and looks, by which he can sweep down whole armies and work wonders on a grand scale, indicating the weather: frost, snow, ice, and sunshine...
>
> Kuhkw means Earthquake; this mighty personage can pass along under the surface of the ground, making all things shake and tremble by his power... (Rand, 1894, pp. 232, 234).

Rand's passage concerning these two unusual individuals is repeated by Leland (1884, pp. 96-97), and is confirmed by Hagar (1896a, p. 173) and Parsons (1925, pp. 69-72). In the latter work, which presents material obtained in Cape Breton, three individuals appear: Ugluchopt (=Coolpŭjŏt), the Thunderers (Katuga'), and the "Animals-bring-back-man." The Micmac material concerning this latter personage has already been presented; we need only note that definite similarities exist between him and Glooscap.

Although the view is often expressed in the legend material that Glooscap was the "lord of men and beasts," the Micmac do not seem to have thought of him as the most powerful of the MEGŬMOOWĔSOO, but merely as being more powerful than any of the evil MEGŬMOOWĔSOO. A number of other supernatural beings appear in the legends who were the equals of Glooscap, but who did not carry their altruism for Mankind to the same lengths that he did. The most important of these was a being known variously as Kĭtpooseăgŭnow, Muspusye'genan, and Ketpusye'genau, all of which are forms of "Taken from Guts."

Kĭtpooseăgŭnow's mother had been a human, but his father was a cannibal giant (KOOKWĔS). While the wife was bearing her second child her first-born accidentally hit with a toy arrow her husband's food sack, which contained his MEMĂJOOOKŬN or life principle, thereby causing the husband to lose his strength. He therefore told his father, "Father, you may have my wife for

food." The wife was thereupon killed and dressed, and her intestines with the unborn baby thrown into a well. Thus Kĭtpooseăgŭnow was born, and from this manner of birth he acquired vast supernatural powers, soon growing up and avenging his mother by killing his father, his grandfather, and his grandfather's wife. After this he went forth "as a deliverer of the oppressed and a general benefactor to his race."

Kĭtpooseăgŭnow appears only in the Micmac version of the Glooscap cycle, being met by the hero-transformer after the Turtle episode. Although friends, the two cannot resist a match of supernatural power: Glooscap kills a giant beaver; for his part Kĭtpooseăgŭnow spears a giant whale; the friends then try to freeze each other to death, but fail (Leland, 1884, pp. 74-77; Rand, 1894, pp. 62-73, 290-291; Speck, 1915b, pp. 61-64; Michelson, 1925, pp. 56-59).

Other MEGŬMOOWĔSOO who may have been equals of Glooscap include the "Liver-colored Giants," the man given power by Glooscap (not named), and the "Invisible Boy" (Leland, 1884, pp. 303, 309, 368; Rand, 1894, pp. 23-29, 101-109, 142-149, 185-189; Parsons, 1925, pp. 77-78).

Passing now from the MEGŬMOOWĔSOO to the BISANĂTKWETCH, we come to the supernatural monsters, beasts, and little people. Of these, the most powerful and the most dreaded were the horned serpents, known to the Micmac as the CHEPĔCHCALM, and to the Passamaquoddies and Penobscots as the WIWILIMECQ'

The concept of the CHEPĔCHCALM is one of the most interesting of the Micmac philosophy, and also one of the most refractory. It has been discussed at length for the Penobscots and the Passamaquoddies by Eckstorm (1945, pp. 39-48, 89-95), who would explain its origin as due to an Indian's fleeting glimpse of a giant squid. This is not satisfactory, however, for we find the concept of a horned serpent widely distributed throughout North and Central America (Barbeau, 1952). The native picture of this being is vague and replete with contradictions; the general consensus of opinion seems to have been that it was some sort of snake, eel, worm, or slug: that it could be smaller than the smallest worm and larger than the greatest serpent: that it had two horns—one of which had two branches, the other being straight and smooth: and that these horns were either red or yellow in color. All sources are in agreement that the CHEPĔCHCALM inhabited water, and that its favorite dwelling places were murky ponds and caves. The horns of a CHEPĔCHCALM were particularly magical, and were greatly desired by shamans (Leland, 1884, pp. 85-86, 239-241, 324-333, 346-347; Rand, 1894, pp. 25-26, 53-57; Parsons, 1925, pp. 60-63, 95-96).

Among the various sky beings of the Micmac one frequently encountered in the legend material is the CULLOO, or wind-bird. This supernatural animal was thought to be white in color, to be as large as a thunder cloud, and to have an enormous nest

on top of an inaccessible cliff. It could eat any animal at a single swallow. One Micmac legend recites how a Micmac hunter survived his capture by this being, gained the good graces of the young CULLOO birds by cutting up their food for them, and eventually escaped by killing one of the young birds and using its wings. It must be noted that the CULLOO is always distinguished in native belief from the Thunderers; it is not equivalent to the Thunder Bird (Leland, 1884, pp. 111-112, 155-156, 319, 359-361; Rand, 1894, pp. 360-361; Hagar, 1895, p. 41; Mechling, 1914, p. 45).

The Micmac concept of the Thunderers is difficult to reconstruct, largely because of contradictory sources. According to Hagar (1897, pp. 104-105), these,

> ...are seven flying rattlesnakes who dwell in the west under a mountain seven miles high. They cause the thunder by crying to each other, and rattling their tails as they fly across the sky. For every now and then they mount to the top of the mountain in the west, put on a magic cloak called minoos, and start out through the air hunting serpents, which with frogs form their only food. Their sight is so strong that they can perceive the serpents hiding in the grounds under-trees. Then they leap upon their victims, cutting them into pieces, and we see the flash of lightning. Having quickly collected their prey, they return to their homes on the third or seventh day. In the latter period they pass over the entire world...

Parsons (1925, pp. 69-72, 84-85) pictures the Thunderers somewhat differently. In her account they are anthropomorphic beings capable of taking on the form of thunder birds, traveling with "big lightning, heavy wind, heavy storm." In Mechling's Malecite versions the Thunderers seem to have only human form; also it is stated that these beings once had almost unlimited power, and that this was reduced by Glooscap:

> ..."Never again shall any Thunder destroy the mountains," said Gluskap, "all that Thunder shall have power to do will be to destroy the serpents which are under the earth" (Mechling, 1914, p. 14).

The concepts here expressed—that the Thunderers are sky beings, that they wage war against serpents, and that they eat only reptiles—raise many fascinating questions. We have already noted that the original MEGUMOOWESOO, Glooscap's father, ate only snakes; was he a Thunderer? The rattlesnake does not occur in the Maritime Provinces, but definitely does appear in Micmac mythology (Hagar, 1895; 1896a; 1897; Speck, 1923b); does this reflect southern religious influence? And what is the significance of the similarities between the Micmac Thunderer beliefs and the following concepts reported from the Oklahoma Delaware:

> ...Long ago when the ancestors of the Delawares still lived on the shore of "the Great Water where Daylight Appears," some of their mighty nimrods succeeded in making captive the great horned serpent that lives in the depths

> of the sea, and while they held it prisoner they scraped some of the scales from its back.
>
> Now the Thunderers are the great enemies of the horned serpent and are constantly on the watch to destroy him. Thus it happens that when a medicine man puts in an exposed place one of these scales taken from the horned serpent, the Thunderers hasten to the spot darting their lightning at it and bringing the rain—which is just what the Indians desire... (Skinner, 1914, pp. 71-72).

A similar concept is known from the Huron-Iroquois (Barbeau, 1952, pp. 116-117).

Among the supernaturals that inhabited the woods and forests of the Micmac were the "little people," known under a variety of names: MIKULWESSOS (Micmac) or OCNAHGEMESSŪK (Passamaquoddy), WÍKULAMUJ (Micmac, "little men"), HAMAJA'LU (Micmac, "little beings"), and WIGGULADULOOCH-K (Micmac, "little people"). These were considered to have human form and to be friendly to mortals, often giving them supernatural power as a gift. Usually they were invisible, but their footsteps could be heard and their footprints seen (Leland, 1884, pp. 18, 81; Hagar, 1896a, pp. 171-172; Parsons, 1925, p. 96).

It may be noted that the concept of "little people" is extremely widespread in native North America, and almost certainly is aboriginal. In this respect the similarity between the Micmac

"little people" and those of the Cherokee and Iroquois (see Barbeau, 1915, p. 65; Witthoft and Hadlock, 1946) is of considerable interest.

One supernatural creature which may possibly be limited to the Micmac is the cannibal giant or KOOKWĔS (KOGWE'SK, GUGWĔS', GUGUS'). This being was a hairy, giant cannibal, half animal and half man. After capturing his human prey he placed it in a pouch upon his back, or else brought it home on a sled. We have already mentioned this being in connection with the birth of Kĭtpooseăgŭnow, Glooscap's friend and contemporary; this constitutes the longest legend dealing with these giants (Rand, 1894, pp. 62-68, 183-184; Hagar, 1896a, p. 170; Speck, 1915b, pp. 61-63; Parsons, 1925, pp. 56-60).

The KOOKWĔS of the Micmac seems to figure in one of the rare accounts we have in the early French sources which describes a supernatural being of the Micmac. Champlain tells us that,

> ...there is another strange thing worthy of narration, which many savages have assured me was true; this is, that near Chaleur bay, towards the south, lies an island where makes his abode a dreadful monster, which the savages call Gougou. They told me it had the form of a woman, but most hideous, and of such a size that according to them the tops of the masts of our vessel would not reach his waist,

> so big do they represent him; and they say that he has often devoured and still devours many savages; these he puts, when he can catch them, into a great pocket, and afterwards eats them; and those who had escaped the danger of this ill-omened beast said that his pocket was so large that he could have put our vessel into it. This monster, which the savages call the Gougou, makes horrible noises in that island, and when they speak of him it is with unutterably strange terror, and many have assured me that they have seen him. Even the above-mentioned Sieur Prevert from St. Malo told me that, while going in search of mines, as we have mentioned in the preceding chapter, he passed so near the haunt of this frightful beast, that he and all those on board his vessel heard strange hissings from the noise it made, and that the savages he had with him told him it was the same creature, and were so afraid that they hid themselves wherever they could, for fear it should come to carry them off.., (Champlain, 1603; in 1922, pp. 186-187).

Ganong identified this monster as the KUHKW or earthquake being of Micmac legend, but this does not seem to be correct.

Similar to the KOOKWĔS in habits, but differing in form and origin, are the dreaded CHĔNOO, or ice giants of the north (the WINDIGO or WITIGO of the Algonquian tribes north of the St. Lawrence). These were also thought to be half human and

half beast, and cannibalistic; unlike the KOOKWĔS, however, these were simply common Indians transformed. Leland (1884, p. 250) tells us that "this horrible being, this most devilish of devils, is at first human, perhaps an unusually good girl, or youth. From having the heart once chilled, she or he goes on in cruelty, until at last the sufferer eats the heart of another Chenoo, especially a female's. Then utter wickedness ensues." The heart of a CHĔNOO was a block of ice, shaped in the form of a human being; this heart was almost impossible to melt and to destroy, but it was necessary to destroy the CHENOO (Leland, 1884, pp. 233-254, 330-332; Rand, 1894, pp. 190-199, 246-249, 250-252; Hagar, 1896a, p. 172; Mechling, 1914, pp. 75-77).

Other supernatural monsters or creatures which we may note include: the WEGOOASKUNOOGWEGIT, invisible spirits like humans which can be controlled by BOOÖIN (Hagar, 1896a, p. 172); an evil spirit of the night air (Leland, 1884, p. 72); water fairies (Leland, 1884, p. 142; Rand, 1894, p. 307; Hagar, 1895, pp. 38-40); the ABLÄUMOOAGIT, or omen of ill luck—a centipede-like animal which annoys hunters (Hagar, 1896a, p. 170); the SINAMA'JU, or Sucker-man (Parsons, 1925, pp. 65, 67); and the KOPEECH, or Canadian owl (Hagar, 1896a, p. 170).

Leaving the supernatural beings of fabulous form and shape, we now need to consider those which appear in animal form or are animals. This first necessitates a consideration of the

position of animals in the Micmac weltanschauung.

An analysis of the nature of animals as reflected in the legend materials and confirmed by the historical and ethnographical sources, indicates that the Indians projected their own manner of living, their social organization, and their political structure upon their animal neighbors. That is to say, each species (as recognized by the Indians) constituted a separate race and a separate tribe; lived in its own village or villages; and had its own chiefs and shamans. In the story of Kĭtpooseăgŭnow, for example, the hero first comes to the region and village of the MADOOESES (Porcupines), and then to the region and village of the ADOODOOECHKU (Red Squirrels), where the chief greeted him very hospitably (Rand, 1894, pp. 70-71). Other animal tribes mentioned in the legends include: Pigeon, Partridge, Nighthawk, Flying Squirrels, Fisher, Raccoon, Otter, Bear, Wild-cat, Weasel, and Mouse (Rand, 1894, pp. 389, 428, 438-439, 443). From the historical sources we have Le Clercq's comment that the Indians thought "the Beavers have sense, and form a separate nation; and they say they would cease to make war upon these animals if these would speak, howsoever little, in order that they might learn whether the Beavers are among their friends or their enemies" (Le Clercq, 1910, p. 277).

Associated with this belief in animal tribes is another, to the effect that,

> ...In olden times..., in the beginning of things, men were as animals and animals as men; how this was, no one knows. But it is told that all were at first men, and as they gave themselves up to this and that desire, and to naught else, they became beasts. But before this came to pass, they could change to one or the other form; yet even as men there was always something which showed what they were... (Leland, 1884, p. 31).

According to Hagar, it was thought until recently that "all animals can think and talk, and even transform themselves to men, whenever occasion requires," although this rarely happened anymore (Hagar, 1896a, p. 170).

In the Passamaquoddy material we find associated with these concepts of animal tribes and of animals being able to transform themselves into men still another—a belief in "animal masters." These were apparently the "archetypes or ultimate progenitors of the particular animals" concerned, and seem to appear in the legend materials as the chiefs of the various animal tribes. Some of the animal-man supernaturals encountered in the Passamaquoddy and Micmac legends may also fall into this category. In the Micmac Glooscap cycle, Turtle definitely appears as a progenitor, for Glooscap gives to him all the features characteristic of the tribe of Turtles (Rand, 1894, p. 290). The legend about Turtle is exceptional in this respect; in other Micmac legends this concept is never explicitly expressed. In the Passamaquoddy mythology the animal masters

departed from this world with Glooscap, after which the animal tribes broke up and the animals fled from each other (Leland, 1884, p. 69; Mallery, 1890, p. 65).

The concept of animal masters here mentioned is one of considerable interest. It is best known from the Eskimo and the Montagnais-Naskapi; for the latter group Speck gives caribou, beaver, and fish masters, for example (Speck, 1935, pp. 86-121). Among these northern Indians these animal masters were of critical importance, for they controlled the supply of important food animals and released them only to those hunters who properly observed the game and food taboos. This is particularly clear in the case of the "Man of the Caribou," who lived in the ATI`K^{W}UDZ WA'P ("Caribou House"). Speck tells us that,

> ...the mountain abode of the game king and his subjects, its inviolable boundaries, its miraculous qualities, all indicate that it is the abode of the caribou tribe, both of the living animals and the caribou ghosts. The living caribou emerge in a migration from their summer domain apportioned to the hunters whose religious observances have been properly carried out under the instructions of their individual dream mentors. And next the souls of the slain caribou return to the "haven" with their king, where they remain until they are again ordered to issue forth to be killed... (Speck, 1935, p. 86).

Among the Micmac we have knowledge only of the existence of rituals associated with the killing of game and of a system of taboos concerning the disposal of body parts; we have no statement that these were carried out to satisfy the requirements of the animal masters. In fact, the supernatural concerned with returning the animals to the land of the Micmac seems to have been the "Animals-bring-back-man." It is possible that the functions divided up among different animal masters by the Naskapi were concentrated by the Micmac on this individual. In any case, the Micmac practiced animal ceremonialism in a manner remarkably similar to the Montagnais-Naskapi, and we must consider the possibility that a similar philosophy was in operation.

For the Micmac animal ceremonialism is best known with respect to moose and bears. In the case of the latter Le Clercq informs us that,

> ...if some hunter has killed, or taken in a trap, one of these animals, many precautions are taken to prevent its entering by the usual door of the wigwam. Custom wills, and superstitution orders, that a new door be made on the right or the left, because, say they, the Indian women do not deserve to pass through the place by which the bear enters the wigwam. The girls, and the women who have not yet had children, leave the wigwam at the moment the bear approaches, and they never return there until

it is wholly eaten... (Le Clercq, 1910, p. 227).

Closely similar observances are known from the Montagnais, Cree, Tinneh, Tungus, and Lapps (Hallowell, 1926, pp. 64-65, 66, 73, 86, 102-103).

The ceremonies associated with the moose seem to have been in the nature of a first-food rite, for Le Clercq states,

> ...those who kill the first moose at the beginning of January or February, a time at which those people suffer greatly, since they have consumed all their provisions, make it a pleasure to carry some of it themselves very promptly to those who have none, even if these are distant fifteen to twenty leagues. And, not content with this liberality, they invite these latter also, with all possible tenderness, to join their company and to remove closer to their wigwams, in order that they may be able to aid these people more conveniently in their necessity and in their most pressing need, giving a thousand promises to share with themhalf of their hunting... (Le Clercq, 1910, p. 117).

Among the animals, those which possessed the greatest BOOÖIN were the bears, this being the result of their ability to resurrect themselves annually from life in death. In this connection some mystical relation is thought to exist between the "Celestial Bear" and those on earth. When a bear lies upon

his back, his BOOÖIN becomes so strong that hunters can find him only with the greatest of difficulty (Hagar, 1896a, p. 170; 1900, pp. 93-95).

A number of stories exist relating to marriages with bears, and to children brought up by them. Two of these resemble the social origin tales of the Penobscots in deriving the modern Indian Bear family (Mooin or Sylliboys) from a boy brought up by bears (Leland, 1884, p. 311; Rand, 1894, pp. 259-261; Mechling, 1914, pp. 50-51, 99-104; Parsons, 1925, pp. 63-65, 96-97).

Compared to most of the other creatures thus far considered, the animal-humans are presented to us as quite "human" and humerous beings. Trickster elements are frequently to be found, giving these tales a tone strikingly different from those dealing with Glooscap, or with other more powerful supernaturals. Judging from the frequency of occurrence in the collections, the most popular figure was that of Rabbit (Leland, 1884, pp. 208-232; Rand, 1894, pp. 304-305, 300-303; Mechling, 1914, pp. 79-81; Speck, 1915a, pp. 52-54; 1915b, pp. 64-66; Parsons, 1925, pp. 83-84), followed by Badger (Rand, 1894, pp. 160-166, 263-269, 306-320; Speck, 1915b, pp. 66-69; Parsons, 1925, pp. 65, 67-69), Turtle (Leland, 1884, pp. 51-58; Rand, 1894, pp. 276-278, 289-290, 375; Mechling, 1914, pp. 22-30), Fox (Leland, 1884, pp. 140-207; Rand, 1894, pp. 390-395; Mechling, 1914, pp. 81-82), and others (Leland, 1884, pp. 106, 140, 281; Rand, 1894, pp. 306-

308, 389-394, 409-412; Mechling, 1914, pp. 59-65, 77-79, 82-83, 95, 104-105; Parsons, 1925, pp. 82-84). We may suspect, and Denys confirms, that these were tales told by the Micmac for entertainment and amusement (Denys, 1908, pp. 418-419).

Passing from the animate supernatural beings of the Micmac to inanimate supernatural objects, we have abundant evidence that these Indians attributed great supernatural power to specific places and objects. Denys tells us about a number of such localities. One was located within the Bay of Lunenburg, being a small island,

> ...a quarter of a league in circuit; it is only a rock covered with little trees like heathers. I was [once] in this bay with Monsieur de Razilly and some Indians who were guiding us; an interpreter told us, as we were passing near this island, that the Indians never landed upon it. When we asked of him the reason, he made answer that when a man set foot upon this island instantly a fire would seize upon his privy parts, and they would burn up, so the Indians said... (Denys, 1908, p. 153).

Another supernatural place existed at the whirlpool just above Union Point at the mouth of the St. John river. Here,

> ...in the pitch of the falls is a great hollow, of about three or four hundred feet around; this is made by the rush of the water as it passes between two rocks which

> form a narrow place in the river, an arrangement rendering it more swift at this spot. In this hollow is a great upright tree which floats, but no matter how the water runs it never gets out; it only makes its appearance from time to time, and sometimes is not seen for eight, ten or fifteen days. The end which appears above the water is a little larger around than a hogshead, and when it appears it is sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other. All of the Indians who passed by there in former times, and they are in great number in these parts, rendered it homage, but they give it little at present, having been undeceived. They called this tree the Manitou, that is to say the Devil. The homage which they formerly rendered it consisted of one or two beaver skins, or other peltry, which they attached to the top of the tree with an arrow head made of a moose bone sharpened with stones. When they passed this spot and their Manitou did not appear, they took it for a bad omen, saying that he was angry with them. Since the French have come to these parts, and they have been given arrowheads of iron, they no longer use any others, and the poor Manitou has his head so covered with them that scarcely could one stick a pin therein... (Denys, 1908, p. 117).

If such homage was not given it was thought that illness would result, through possession by the Manitou, for Denys informs

us that in the case of a serious illness the shamans,

> ...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 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 did get well through imagination. And if the patients 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... (Denys, 1908, p. 418).

This is confirmed by Biard (1616; in JR., Vol. 3, p. 119).

Shamanism

As far as we can determine, the Micmac shaman was an individual, either male or female, who possessed supernatural power (acquired through gift or inheritance); who could employ this power to accomplish anything he desired, whether good or evil; who had an intimate relationship with certain supernatural animals (NTI·ÓMKL, "animal spiritual helpers"), whose form the shaman could assume; and who could be hindered in his undertaking

only by interference from another shaman with greater power or by an error in magical procedure. Micmac shamanism, and that of the Wabanaki group as a whole, is therefore distinctly different from that of the more northern Algonquian tribes, among which an individual's supernatural power derives from a friendly guardian spirit or from one's "soul-spirit," and is strengthened and increased only by carrying out the wishes and directions of this "external" supernatural entity.

Among the Micmac BOOÖIN, or supernatural power, could be acquired in a number of ways. An individual could either obtain it through inheritance; as a gift from a shaman or a supernatural (especial from the "little people"); from mystic herbs and other inanimate objects; and by a power quest (Hagar, 1896a, p. 172).

Our information concerning the inheritance of power is somewhat contradictory. Lescarbot tells us that Membertou's eldest son was scheduled to inherit his father's supernatural powers (Lescarbot, 1914, p. 111), while Hagar informs us that the seventh son, or seventh child, becomes a "powerful healer and magician by virtue of his birth" (Hagar, 1896a, p. 174). It is possible, however, that both of these assertions are correct.

The motif of supernatural power being obtained as a gift from a supernatural occurs frequently in the Micmac legend material. In the story of "Noojekesigumodasit" or the "Magical

Dancing-Doll," for example, the poor and abused seventh son flees from his elder brother and encounters in the woods a very old man, a supernatural in disguise, who gives him as a gift a small box with a tightly secured cover.

> ...After a while the boy begins to wonder what the box contains. He takes it out and opens it. As soon as he has removed the cover, he starts with an exclamation of surprise; for he sees a small image in the form of a man dancing away with all his might, and reeking with perspiration from the long-continued exertion. As soon as the light is let in upon him, he steps dancing, looks suddenly up, and exclaims, "Well! what is it? What is wanted?" The truth now flashes over the boy. This is a supernatural agent, a manitoo, a god, [a MIKUMWESS] from the spirit-world, which can do anything that he is requested to do... (Rand, 1894, pp. 7-9).

In the tale of the two abandoned children, the son acquires power from the Great Spirit, this being the result of their mistreatment by their mother and her people (Rand 1894, pp. 44-58; Parsons, 1925, pp. 79-81). In still another legend, a poor, ugly, and awkward Indian is taken in and befriended by a MEGUMOOWESOO, and is eventually transformed into one himself (Rand, 1894, pp. 94-98). One of the most interesting of this type of tale is that which tells how an ugly and stupid boy is aided in securing a wife by a supernatural (here called a

"witch") who gives him a magic hair-string. The same individual later becomes a great shaman by going through a series of acts involving imitative magic:

> One day the young chief asked his friend if he would like to learn to be a swift runner. He said, "I would." "I will tell you how you can do it," said the other. "Go, gather some feathers, and let them fly when the wind blows hard, and run after them. You will soon be able to outstrip the wind; and the art once acquired will be permanent. You will be able to run swiftly ever after." He went and tried it; he found that it was even so. Having thus by the aid of magic and practice acquired the power of fleet running, he made further progress. The young chief showed him how he could become strong, and improve his eyesight and his skill in discovering animals in hunting... (Rand, 1894, pp. 357-358).

Although the young chief in this story could give his friend instructions as how to acquire power, he apparently did not have it himself, or at least did not have it to the degree which his friend soon did. Possibly the directions would have been of little use if the man had not been favored by a supernatural to begin with.

Hagar (1896a, p. 172) tells us that the "little people" were particularly noted for their gifts of supernatural power to mortals who gained their favor.

We have already mentioned some of the magical objects associated with the MEGŬMOOWĔSOO which possess magical power of their own; these include flutes, pipes, divination bowls, bows, hair-strings, and wands. The possession of any of these by a mortal was thought to give him almost unlimited power, and to make him among the greatest of the BOOÖIM. The same effect could be obtained from a number of mystic herbs, and by combinations of these. One of the most interesting was that known as MEDEDESKOOÏ:

> ...or, as the Micmac translate it, "rattling plant," because its three leaves strike each other constantly with a sound like that of the rattlesnake. I have not been able to identify the plant, nor can I positively assert that it really exists. I have met but one Micmac who claimed to have seen it, and generally the Micmacs are reluctant to talk about it, because of its highly mystical associations...The Micmacs describe the plant as resembling the wild turnip. It stands about knee high, with leaves about eight inches long, like those of the poplar. Its root is the size of one's fist, and the stalk is surrounded by numerous brownish yellow balls as large as buckshot. Others describe the plant as being much smaller. Stephen Bartlett, who thinks he saw the plant, buried some of the yellow balls, but next morning they and the plant had disappeared. As Stephen

admits, however, that he did not go through any of the ceremonies necessary in approaching the plant, he is considered a doubtful authority, even by himself. To find the plant, one must first hear the bird called cocasconeeh ("dwelling in old logs") singing in an intervale in the forest, otherwise the plant is invisible. This bird is brown and very small, but is chosen chief of all the birds because he is quickest and can hide in the smallest holes. He is sometimes called booëin, "the magician," from his aptitude for quick disappearance, and his ability to fly through fire without being injured. When he sings, one should follow him at once, although, like the mystic songster known in Yucatan, he often leads one on and on through the forest depths, leaving him at last lost and forlorn. But the fortunate one will at length hear the rattling leaves of the magic plant as he approaches it, and then the plant itself will soon be seen. He must now gather thirty sticks and lay them in a pile near the plant. Next he must induce a girl, the more beautiful the better, to accompany him to the plant. Under circumstances of the greatest temptation, both must have no wish save to obtain the medicine or the plant will disappear. Now the plant is inhabited by the spirit of a rattlesnake, which comes forth as they near the plant, and circles around it. The man must pick up the serpent, which will then

> disappear without harming him. These tests of perserverance, self-control, and courage are all I have heard, but there may be others. The plant must be divided in four portions, of which three may be taken, but one must be left standing. The three parts are scraped and steeped and a portion worn about the person. Some say that, divided in seven parts, this medicine will cure seven diseases, but the great majority believe that it will cure any disease and gratify any wish. It is held to be especially potent as a love-compeller. No woman can resist it... (Hagar, 1896a, pp. 175-176).

Many of the mystical, magic-giving herbs seem to have had largely medicinal purposes, and we will therefore consider them later.

In all the Micmac literature we have only one clear and explicit account of a power quest; this derives from that collecter of so much other Micmac lore relating to magic and medicine—Stansbury Hagar. We are told that,

> ...generally, when a Micmac wishes to gain this [magic] power, he must, while keeping his object a secret, go into the woods alone and dwell there. His camp must be constructed to shelter two, and in all his equipments he must likewise provide for two. Even at his meals he must set apart an equal share for an unexpected visitor.

> At length he will find his food already cooked, upon his return to camp, and soon after he will begin to observe a faint and shadowy being flitting in and out of his wigwam. Gradually he will see this being more and more clearly, until it grows as plainly visible as any man. Then the two will become friends and companions, and the Micmac will receive the gift of magic power. Thenceforth he can understand the language of animals and birds, and converse with them; he can assume any shape of beast, bird, or fish; he can walk through fire without being burned, through water without being drowned, through the earth without being suffocated; or he can translate himself through the air with the quickness of thought. Moreover, he can control the elements, to say nothing of walking upon the surface of the water, or sitting upon it with his legs crossed. Indeed, the power of these magicians is thought to be almost limitless... (Hagar, 1896a, p. 172).

It presumably was at this time that the shaman-to-be received his spirit or animal familiars, but Hagar does not discuss this.

As noted by Frederick Johnson, Micmac shamanism differs greatly from the better known North American types, particularly in its concept of the "guardian spirit." Johnson states that,

> ...there is one importance difference between the shamanism of the Micmac, Penobscot and Malecite and

shamanism as practiced by people north of the St. Lawrence. That is, among the peoples south of the river, the inspiration to perform some feat or to answer some question comes from the shaman himself. In one way or another he initiates the action which is performed for some purpose which was recognized before the action is begun. There was certainly a need at times for locating game, but also, among the Micmac particularly, conjuring was frequently competitive, acquisitive, or used to acquire honor. Among the people north of the river, the Montagnais for example, the initial inspiration comes from the "soul-spirit" and is not controlled by the will of the shaman. All is prompted by the economic need for food, hunting grounds and such; it is a need to know what may be the prevailing conditions governing such vital conditions as the location of the caribou.

In addition to this variation there is another present among the Micmac. The shaman does not project himself but rather sends his nti·ómel to do his bidding. It is impossible to say whether this is a survival of an ancient idea or whether it is a specialized development peculiar to the modern Micmac. It should be mentioned that the animal-messenger concept prevails in the area of the Midewiwin society....The Penobscot or the Passama-

quaddy shaman, it would seem, decides upon a course of action, not because his soul demands it but because he himself desires that it should be done. His actions are dependent upon his own whims and self-centered aims which are pointed toward human rather than animal objectives. When he has decided upon what should be done he turns himself into his guardian animal and goes off to do what he wishes. His power seems to lie in and depends upon the power possessed by the guardian animals which he controls. Whether he or his guardian animal is considered responsible for unethical conduct is not wholly clear but it would appear that the shaman himself has to bear the brunt of the blame for unfortunate or disastrous happenings in his community.

The Micmac shaman and his guardian animal fall into still another category. We find the buówin the possessor of a certain spiritual power whose origin we cannot account for as yet. With this power the shaman does nothing but direct a certain animal whose services he has acquired, to mention one source, by dreaming. The transference of power does not take place directly between him and his animal helper but apparently passes through the bones or the representations of the animals which he influences.., (Johnson, 1943, pp. 70-72).

These conclusions, based upon modern ethnographic field-work in Cape Breton, are largely confirmed by the materials in the historical literature; some differences may be noted, however.

The concept that a shaman had complete control over his familiar or "guardian" animal and could direct this being to do whatever he wanted is also known from the Passamaquoddies, being clearly expressed in the Passamaquoddy tale of the "Fight Against the Great Witch" (Mallery, 1890). It occurs in similar form in the Micmac tale of "Robbery and Murder Revenged," where the hero, Partridge, pits his animal familiar against that of an opponent (Rand, 1894, pp. 4-5). Johnson's statement that the shaman could transform himself into the shape of his animal familiar also receives confirmation from the legend materials. In the tale about Ababĕiĭt, for example, we read,

> ...The chief fires, but he is too late; the other has got his eyes open and his "magical steam" up before the trigger is drawn, and the ball cannot touch him. With one spring he capsizes the kwedŭn, and leaps into the water. His teōmŭl is the loon, whose form and habits he immediately assumes; he dives, and remains under the water a long time... (Rand, 1894, p. 133).

Another legend seems to imply that a shaman's life and existence depended closely upon the welfare of his NTI·ÓMEL:

> ...The old chief himself is a great beösin ("medicine man" or "wizard"), whose tutelar deity is a chepĕchcalm (a huge horned serpent...). He is chagrined to find himself outdone by his son-in-law. So he makes one more effort to rid himself of him. He says quietly to him one day, "I want you to bring me the head of a chepĕchcalm for my dinner." "I will do so," he replies. The dancing-doll is commanded to bring one of these frightful monsters to the village. He does so. The inhabitants see the danger, and they scream and fly in every direction. Our hero walks out boldly to meet him, and gives battle; the fight is long and fearful, but finally victory declares for the man, and he severs the dragon's head from his trunk. He takes this head in his hand, and walks over to the chief's ledge and tosses it in. He finds the chief alone, weak and exhausted, and sitting bent nearly double; he walks up to him and pounds him on the head with the dragon's head. The old necromancer's magic is gone; his teömŭl, his "medicine," his "tutelary deity," is destroyed, and he falls and dies... (Rand, 1894, p. 12).

This last element seems to appear also in the legend of the "Invisible Boy," where the accidental breaking of a leg-bone of his animal familiar (the Moose) resulted in his breaking his own leg and in his eventual death (Rand, 1894, p. 108). After his death, the "Invisible Boy" changes from his human form to that of a moose.

The examples just considered by us—the shaman being able to assume the form of his familiar, and the fate of the shaman being intimately tied up with that of the NTI·ÓMEL—enable us to identify the Micmac shaman-animal helper concept as another example of the phenomenon or "complex" designated as "nagualism." In Middle America the word nagual "has had the double significance of animal-companion, guardian being, and sorcerer, wizard, priest, that can assume the shape of his guardian being" (Hultkrantz, 1953, p. 365). It is conceived that the "identification of human being with a spirit, usually an animal, is so close that both are thought to share the same soul. Both are, really, manifestations of the same being, and should either animal or human die, the other also ceases to exist" (Foster; in Leach and Fried, 1950, Vol. 2, p. 714). It is apparent that these conceptions are also present among the Micmac, and that the NTI·ÓMEL or ÖUAHICHE of this group is equivalent to the nagual or tonal of the Middle American groups. Nagualism, in Hultkrantz' sense, therefore is present (Hultkrantz, 1953, p. 364; see also pp. 365-374; Foster, 1944; Brinton, 1894; Oakes, 1951, pp. 170-177; Parsons, 1939, pp. 66, 189 fn., 1011; Rojas, 1947).

Closely associated with the BOOÖIN and his animal familiar were fetishes which were kept in "medicine bags" or BUÓWIN·DI ("BUOWIN containers"). According to Johnson,

> ...the "buówin containers may either contain plain pieces of bone or pieces which have been carved to represent animals. These pieces of bone are called nti·ómel

meaning "spiritual agents." Speck has translated this term as "animal-spiritual helpers" and Rand believed the term Oteoosmul meant "totem"...

The bones described by my informants may be obtained in two different ways and each way produces a slightly different type of thing, although they seem to have been used in the same manner. In one case an animal was selected, it might be a cat or some other small animal, or more commonly it was some reptile. The last, in the Micmac way of thinking is a more powerful creature. It would appear that, in recent times at least, the disagreeable characters of the creatures employed for this purpose are associated with the present idea of the unpleasant attributes of the buówin. The bones of these creatures were obtained by macerating them for a certain number of days. The person who was doing this might pray or fast but, at any rate, for fear of public opinion, he must keep his doings secret. Whether this secrecy is a modern idea or not cannot be said. When the bones had been obtained they were cast into a brook and their movements watched. The bones which moved upstream were considered those which would do the bidding of the buowin. The consensus of opinion was that the skull and "breast bones" most commonly went upstream but that the hind legs should also be watched carefully. The second manner in which the bones were obtained was to bury a toad or frog in an ant-hill

Fig. 13. Wabanaki terms relating to shamanism, illustrating the isolated position of the Micmac forms. Compiled from the following sources: Hagar (1896a, p. 173); Johnson (1943); Le Clercq (1910, pp. 90, 216, 218, 220-223); Leland (1884, p. 68); Parsons (1925, p. 73); Rand (1894, p. 245); and Speck (1919, p. 254).

	PENOBSCOT	MALECITE and PASSAMAQUODDY	MICMAC	MONTAGNAIS
Supernatural power	Ktahán·de	Ktahan't̸	Buẃwin or beoöin Buewinu·di Buewinwadagan	Menite
Possessor of supernatural power	Medeolinu	Madéolin	Buẃwin or beoöin	
Shaman	Medeolinu	Medeolin	Buẃwin or beooin Ginap	Metéolmu Wabi·ńu Kamantsci't
Animal spirit helper or spiritual agent	Bachi'gan	Puhi·'gan	Oüahiche } Waichi'ch } Nti·'emel (my ___) } Uti·'emel (his ___) } Mindee } Mendeu } ?	
Fetish in general	Wulelmugwéwangan	Wulelmugwewágen	Ebat·e'gen	Newélcipâlowagan
Medicine bundle			Upsakume·di Buẃwine·di	

until the meat was eaten off; these were then thrown into the brook. .

The second type of fetish used was the bones which were carved into conventionalized animal shapes. Just how this was done is not known today. Neither could the people tell me how a buéwin knew which animals to carve. They did say that a shaman could have several different bones representing different animals. It is possible to guess that the shaman dreamed of the animals which he represented in bone... (Johnson, 1943, pp. 66-69).

The early historical sources relating to the Micmac give us a considerable amount of information concerning the use of "medicine bundles" or "bags," and of the sacred objects kept in them. From our earliest source we learn that,

...Membertou, of whom we have spoken, as a learned Aoutmoin, carries at his neck the mark of this profession, which is a purse trianglewise, covered with their embroidery, i.e., with matachias; within which there is I know not what, the size of a hazel nut, which he says is his devil, called Aoutem [=UTI·ÓMEL, "his spiritual agent"] ... (Lescarbot, 1914, p. 110).

Our longest account of a Micmac medicine bundle comes, however, from Le Clercq, and is of the greatest importance.

In fact these Indians imagine that certain ones among them have communication with the Devil, from whom they hope to learn that which they wish to know, or to obtain that which they ask. They believe that in all their maladies there is, in the part afflicted, a Devil, or germ [literally, a worm], which these barbarians, whom we call jugglers, have the power to make come out, and they believe that these jugglers can restore health to the sick through their breathings, their songs, and the horrible postures which they take in their wigwams. They imagine also that their jugglers can know from their Devil, whom they call Ouahich ["WAICHI'CH, "little animal helpers"], the best places for hunting, and that all the dreams of these impostors are just so many revelations and prophesies, of which the success and the realisation seem to them infallible. This credulity of a people who are extremely susceptible to these follies, and to all sorts of errors, has brought the jugglers so much into credit that these master frauds pass for the most important persons of the nation. In a word, that one is the most esteemed who makes himself distinguished among the others by the most extraordinary and most infallible results...

You will take notice that each juggler has his own particular bag in which are all the articles that 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. One of these bags has come into my hands, having been given me by a juggler for the purpose of testifying to me that he wished to pray to God and to be instructed...

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 of the size of a nut wrapped in a box which he called the house of his 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 be well distinguished, for it was neither the representation of a man nor of any animal, but rather in 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 little children in the wombs of their mothers. I utilised this cord to make a line for fishing trout, and with it I took

more than two hundred, in three hours' time, in a place where they were very abundant. That surprised our Indians a little—to see that I made so little account of a thing which the jugglers esteem so much.

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, 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 last 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.

Our Indian juggler was, however, much troubled as to what had become of his bag, and as to the use I had made of it. Five to six weeks after he had given it to me, he wished to inform himself on this point, and some

for the purpose to the wigwam where I was. I told him that he had no further need to be concerned about his bag, which had deserved to be thrown into the fire, since it was the property of the Devil who had dwelt therein so long a time, and that no ill had befallen either me or the house, although in giving it to me he had threatened me with some misfortune. Being convinced straightway that I had burnt it, he said, "Alas! I have indeed discovered as much during the voyages I have made since I have given it to thee, for I have been hungry and I have been weary, something which never happened to me when I had my bag. I used to take my Devil in my hands and press it strongly against my stomach. 'Hey, how is this,' I used to say to him, 'wilt thou permit that I be overwhelmed by hunger and fatigue, thou who hast never abandoned me? Grant, for mercy's sake, that I get something to eat; give me some comfort in the fatigues and the need which overwhelm me.' He would hear my prayer and promptly grant my vows"... (Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 215-216, 220-223).

A number of comments may be made upon this passage. The small stones mentioned as belonging in the medicine bundle are very common throughout the Northeast, and some deriving from the Micmac-Montagnais of Newfoundland have been pictured by Speck (1922, p. 56). Johnson states, however, that the rattle

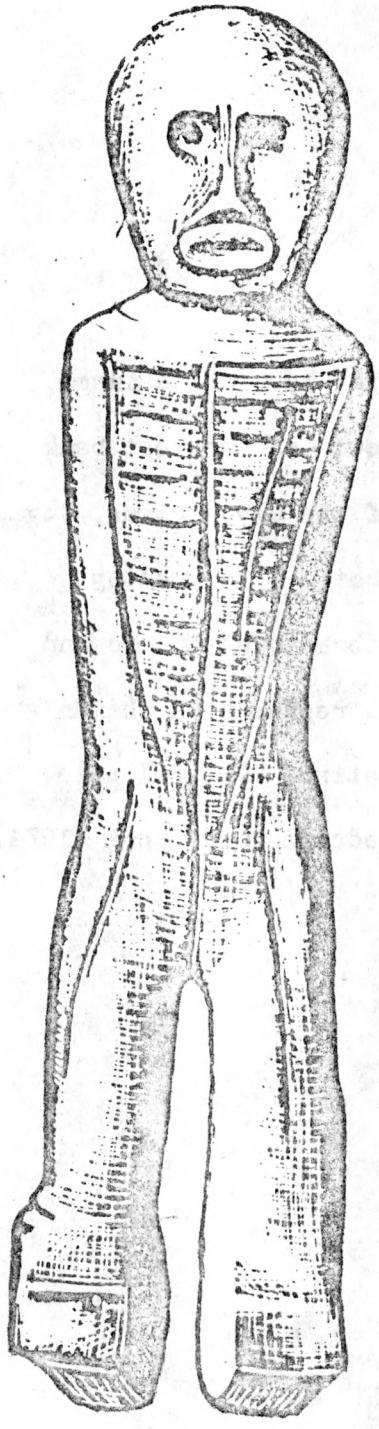
made from the dew-claws of a moose or deer is not known to other Wabanaki tribes, but becomes common among the Algonkin, Ojibwa, Pottawatomi, and other Central Algonquian tribes. The presence of this item may indicate that rattling and singing were important factors in shamanistic practice; the legends seem to confirm this to some extent (Johnson, 1943, pp. 67-68).

The birch-bark figures, embroidered with shell, mentioned by Le Clercq, are not known to the modern Micmac; on the other hand, the carved bone figures and plain pieces of bone described by Johnson do not appear in this early medicine bundle. Nevertheless, from Le Clercq's account, it would seem that these birch-bark figures, as well as the wooden figure of a bird, did represent the shaman's NTI·ÓMEL (Johnson, 1943, p. 68).

Another important piece of information given to us by this passage is that the Oüahich or WAICHI'CH was important in determining the whereabouts of game—the Oüahich apparently communicating this information to the shaman through the medium of dreams. On this point we have additional information. Lescarbot tells us, for example, that,

> ...if it is a question of having news of things absent, after consulting with his spirit, he [Membertou] gives oracles commonly doubtful, very often false, but sometimes true; as when on being asked whether Panoniac were dead, he said, that unless he returned within fifteen days, they need not expect him any more, and that he was killed

Fig. 14. Slate image, found on the west bank of the Clyde river, Nova Scotia. Assumed by Speck to be Micmac and to represent a shaman's fetish. Natural size. Redrawn from Speck (1924).



> by the Armouchiquois; and in order to have this answer, he must be given a gift...So too when the savages are a-hungered, they consult Membertou's oracle, and he tells them, "Go to such a place and you shall find game." It happens sometimes that they find some, and sometimes none. If it chance that none be found, the excuse is, that the beast is wandering and has changed place; but very often they find some; and this it is which makes them believe that this devil is a god... (Lescarbot, 1914, pp. 104-105).

Le Clercq gives us further information on the role of dreams in Micmac life in two more passages in his work; in the first Le Clercq reports being told by an Indian:

> ..."I am then," responded Ejougouloumoüet, "somewhat better than the Patriarchs, since God has spoken to me during my sleep, and has revealed to me that without fail, before it is midday, we shall kill moose and beavers in abundance with which to feast ourselves... (Le Clercq, 1910, p. 174).

Here it seems possible that the Christian God has taken the place of the guardian spirit. In the second passage Le Clercq makes a general statement to the effect that,

> Some of these jugglers also meddle with predictions of future affairs, and in such a way if their predictions are found correct, as happens sometimes by chance, they

> derive credit and reputation from this fact. If, on the contrary, they are found false, as is usually the case, they get out of it be saying that their Devil is angry against the whole nation... (Le Clercq, 1910, p. 223).

From the materials available to us it would seem that this divination was carried out by three different methods: dreaming, scrying, and possession.

The materials concerning dream-divination have already been presented; we need only add that it occurs frequently in the Micmac legends relating to the Kwĕdĕch wars, here giving warning of enemy attack (Rand, 1894, pp. 127, 147, 207, 212, 225, and 238).

Our information concerning Micmac scrying comes principally from one source—Abbé Maillard.

> ...Most of them also value themselves on being descended from their Jugglers, who are a sort of men that pretend to foretel futurity by a thousand ridiculous contorsions [sic] and grimaces, and by frightful and long-winded howlings.
>
> 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 Corakin, 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, till he finds the 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, that the Manitoo, or Miswndoo, (the great spirit) or genius, which, according to them, has all knowledge of future events, would not declare himself till 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 obliges 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 hank 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 perore, 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 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 an obstacle yet 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 assigna-
"tion, 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's 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 beast 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... (Maillard, 1758, pp. 36-42).

The divination dish (WOLTES) is also briefly mentioned by Hagar (1896a, p. 173), who also describes a divining pipe, the bowl of which filled up with blood when the person about whom an enquiry had been made died. This pipe is also referred to by Mechling (1914, p. 51).

In contrast to the account presented by Maillard, that of Dièreville indicates the occurrence of possessional divination. We are told that:

> ...at the slightest suspicion that a war is about to break out, they have recourse to their Jugglers to be definitely informed, so that they should not be taken by surprise, & might be prepared to repulse their enemies.
>
> Let us explain this Jugglery,
> Some might be puzzled by the term.
> It is pure devilment, for to confer
> With Demon or with Juggler is the same.
> He is the common Oracle of all
> These Forest Folk, nor will
> They an affair of import undertake

Unless upon the project he expounds.
And most surprising will appear to you
The way he is invoked. Assembled in
A section of the Woods, apart, shunning
The bright light of the Sun, they carry out
The rituals of their diabolic art.
This is the way: the Indian chosen as
The Juggler in contortions writhes
With vile grimaces, so appalling that
The Demon should himself be terrified.
His flaming eyes roll in his head,
Then he thrusts out a foot of tongue,
Frothing just like a Dog. And this
Demented Creature never stops
Until the wished for moment, when
The Demon to predict, or weal or woe
Prepares. Before he makes his meaning clear,
Before his voice is heard, all that is in
That portion of the Woods, quivers and snaps;
A diabolic hubbub this, what else?
The Band listen to all he has to say,
With close attention, and they have no doubt
That what the Demon has foretold, shall be,..
(Dièreville, 1933, pp. 157-158).

Lescarbot reports something similar, in which the shamans made "invocations or conjurations, in a language unknown to

the others that are about, and this with beatings and howlings, until they sweat with the effort" (Lescarbot, 1914, p. 105).

Lescarbot's phrase "beatings and howlings" brings us to another unusual aspect of Micmac shamanism—the fact that drums as such do not seem to have been used. Instead the evidence points to the shamanistic use of bark, usually folded. In Rand's story of "The Adventures of Kâktoogwasees," in which Keekwahjoo drums to charm enemy sorcerers, a tambourine fashioned from a thick or folded piece of bark—and called a CHEEGŬMÂKŬN—is used (Rand, 1894, p. 115). In Parsons' tale of the "Animals-bring-back-man" we are told that he "began to beat on bark and to sing" in order to resurrect the animals (Parsons, 1925, p. 73). From information collected at Cape Breton in 1930, Johnson tells us that:

> ...during repeated and detailed questioning I failed to obtain any terms which were cognate to the Wabanaki terms for drum. The instrument which the Micmac do use is called djí·gamaYən, a term of obscure derivation. This is a piece of birch bark folded once. It is held in the hand and beaten with a stick. Neither the birch bark nor the stick is carefully made or decorated in any way; both are discarded after being used... (Johnson, 1943, p. 62).

Johnson continues to inform us that:

> ...in the Wabanaki dialects the term for shaman is mədéolinu. This term has been derived tentatively from the Algonkian stem mədə referring to the sound of "drumming." The Montagnais form is metéolinu, and we find cognate forms meaning shaman in most Algonkian languages, for example, Delaware, Ojibwa, Central Algonkin and Cree. The shamans of these tribes, then, are associated with the drum, theoretically at least. In most cases there is, in actual shamanistic practice, a close association between the shaman and the drum or the noise which the drum makes... (Johnson, 1943, p. 60).

In the Micmac language, however, neither the early term AOUTMOIN, possibly deriving from UTI·ÓMEL ("his spiritual agent"), nor the present term BUÓWIN, which seems to mean "mystery man" or "sacred man," have anything to do with drumming. Since these terms are quite aberrant it is possible that the Micmac concept of shamanism was also aberrant; this is purely speculation, however (Johnson, 1943, pp. 59-62).

All of our early sources agree that the Micmac shaman was an individual of great power and importance. Not only could he control or essay the forces of nature—by determining the whereabouts of game, the suitability of the weather for hunting or fishing, the coming of storms, and by calling game—but he could also determine the presence or machinations of other evil supernatural powers, such as angry spirits causing

illness, or enemy shamans. If he was really powerful shaman he could divine future events, giving warning of enemy attack or forewarning of misfortune. The shaman seems also to have been the guardian of public welfare, morals, and conduct in general, for it was felt that the infraction of the traditional laws of the nation brought misfortune upon the entire nation (e.g., Le Clercq, 1910, p. 261). The affects of such infraction could only be removed by confession to the shaman, or by the location of the guilty party by divination and the punishment thereof.

The shaman therefore was of necessity a superior man—superior in intelligence, perception, intuition, and judgment. If, as sometimes happened, the office of shaman was combined with that of chief, the religious, judicial, and executive aspects of authority and government were embodied in a single individual, and his powers and responsibilities were correspondingly broad. The Souriquois chief Membertou appears to have been such an individual; others are also known (Lescarbot, 1914, pp. 104-105, 111; Biard, 1616; in JR., Vol. 3, pp. 91, 133).

As symbols of their office the early historic Micmac shamans wore small bags (possibly called BUĆWIMO·DI) containing the symbol of their spirit familiar. The medicine bundle (UPSĀKŬMOODE or UPSĀKŬMO·DI) mentioned by Le Clercq (and also by the legend materials—see Rand, 1894, pp. 106-109, 239, 256)

seems to have been too large to be worn in this manner, and was probably kept in the shaman's lodge. One of our earliest sources mentions a sacred robe worn by shamans, but nothing else is known about this garment (Biard, 1616; in JR., Vol. 3, p. 133).

As has been stated before, other objects sometimes displayed by the shamans included rattles of dew-claws, divining pipes and bowls, magic flutes, wands, and bows.

One important function of the shamans was the curing of disease, and sometimes, though not always, this involved very spectacular ritual. According to our sources the shaman was called in after the usual herbs, decoctions, or emetics had failed, or if there was no apparent cause for illness (Denys, 1908, p. 417; Le Clercq, 1910, p. 299).

> ...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 or 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...

Le Clercq fully confirms this account by Denys, and provides us with some additional details:

...They summon the juggler and have him enter the wigwam of the sick person. This Bouhinne informs himself exactly as to the nature of the illness, and having made the sick one hope that he will cause recovery, he asks and receives the present that he wishes, having the right to choose the most important, most beautiful, and the best article in the wigwam of the sick person who asks recovery of the juggler, and who implore him to obtain this from his Oühaiche, speaking to him these words, Emkadoui, as if he were to say, "Lend me thy Devil." 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." He has no sooner received them than he chants some song in praise of the Oüahiche, and makes some postures and frightful contortions: he blows several times upon the affected part: he plants and drives deep into the ground a stick, to which he attaches a cord, and through this he passes his head as if he would strangle himself. Here he makes his invocations until he has worked

himself all into a sweat and lather, making believe that, because of all these shameful and violent contortions, the Devil has at length come out, and that he even holds him bound in order that he may grant health to the sick person. He then calls the Indians and makes them enter the wigwam; and he shows them the cord which, says he, holds the Devil enchained. He cuts from it a piece, and thus lets him escape, promising that the sick man will infallibly get well. Each one testifies to the juggler his gratitude for the service by means of the usual presents; and they all sing in unsion some song to the praise of the Devil, for the sake of rendering him propitious and favourable not only to the sick man, but also to the Gaspesian nation... (Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 217-218).

The use of such a "conjuring stick" was also noted by Biard; according to this latter author this was a last remedy, so to speak, and was not employed until after several days of blowing.

...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...

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 a 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 impositor cries out in another and more joyous tone: "There is the accursed one with the horn [the CHEPECHCALM?]: 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 [Basque for Aoutmoin] 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 deathblow.

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... (Biard, 1616; in JR., Vol. 3, pp. 119-123).

Denys, generalizing from a somewhat different set of observations, tells us that after seven or eight days of blowing and speaking to their manitou the shamans finally,

...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 patients 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... (Denys, 1908, p. 418).

According to later ethnographic sources diseases could also be cured by the use of certain magical and mystic herbs or other ingredients; the legend materials seem to indicate that these were also made up and prepared by the shamans, although the possibility remains that there were practitioners who dealt only with herbs. Hagar informs us that,

> ...the most interesting part of Micmac magic is connected with the mystic and medicinal herbs. Seven of these boiled together in water constitute a magical potion of great potency. The ingredients of this are: Alum bark (wikpĕ), hornbeam (owĕlĭkch), beechen (sooömooseel), wild willow (elemojeechmokse), wild blackcherry (wāqwŏnŭminokse), ground hemlock (kastuk), red spruce (kowotmonokse). All these ingredients must be gathered in autumn, otherwise the mixture will be worthless. Moreover, they must be gathered in the order given. The bark of the first five is used, and the roots of the last two. The trunk of every tree is divided into four sections supposed to face the

> sun between sunrise, at dawn, noon, sunset, and midnight. In the forenoon one should cut the bark from the direction of sunrise as far as the direction of the sun at noon, but no farther. This is the most propitious quarter, hence medicine gathered from it will yield the best results. In the afternoon cut from the noon point to the sunset point. This quarter is propitious, though less so. Bark gathered from the other two quarters or from the right quarter at the wrong time is at least useless, often poisonous. For the sunlight purifies the sides it touches, but the shadow is hostile to life. The roots should extend from the trunk towards the propitious side. This medicine is used both externally and internally. There is another, the most powerful of all known in Micmac materia medica. This consists of a mixture of seven such compounds as the one just described. It therefore contains forty-nine ingredients... (Hagar, 1896a, p. 174).

We have already mentioned another mystical herb—the MEDEDESKOOÏ or "rattling plant"—in our discussion of the means of acquiring magical power.

Although our material relating to these magical and medicinal herbs and herbal compounds comes from a relatively late source, distributional evidence argues for its aboriginality. Specifically, similar medicinal potions are known to have been used by the Creek, Choctaw, and Natchez; for the latter tribe

Swanton informs us that "they always got bark, roots, or limbs from the east side of a tree or bush because that was the good luck quarter and stood for strength while the west meant weakness and death" (Swanton, 1946, pp. 798-799).

One more clue concerning ritual associated with magical medicine may be noted. In his discussion of the Micmac rattlesnake or serpent dance (CHOOGICHOO YAJIK), Hagar tells us that,

> ...the traditional object of the dance was to obtain the poison of the serpent for medicinal use, and that at one time long ago their ancestors used to dance it so much that nearly all of them were turned to serpents. The symbolism of the dance evidently coincides with the time of exuviation... (Hagar, 1895, p. 37).

Hagar also mentions in passing another Micmac dance, secret in the extreme, which was performed only at night and was associated with the "rattling plant" and with the Pleiades (Hagar, 1896a, p. 177).

The presence of rattlesnake lore among the Micmac and their neighbors affords us with an interesting example of southern influence, for the rattlesnake is absent throughout the area. This point is discussed to some extent by Speck (1923b).

From the sources at our disposal we may conclude that the shamans played a very important part at public feasts, ceremonies, and rites, and that they often seized upon the occasion to

display in spectacular fashion their supernatural powers. On this point Diereville's account is most explicit.

Let us speak of the tricks of the Indian Conjurers. The most skilful Performers on the Pont Neuf would but pale before them; in their hands, marvels appear to be ordinary occurrences. You will see this is so from the two tricks, which are all I shall describe to you, although I could tell you about a thousand, & you will agree that the Devil must be mixed up in them; I believe it myself. Here is the first trick: they chew a piece of flintstone in their mouths, & grind it up like Gravel; they spit it out into their hands, to show it to you, & afterwards they swallow it to the last grain. Thus far, one has seen nothing which any one might not do without giving himself to the Devil, providing he has good teeth & a well lined gullet. This is the finish of it; when the flintstone, ground to gravel, is in their stomachs, they take a little stick, & offer it the fumes of the Tobacco, mumbling some words from the Black Book; then they thrust it down their throats, their faces become completely livid & it seems as though they were about to choke; they rummage, so to speak, with the stick, &, after a few grimaces, they draw it out with the flintstone whole at the end of it.

Here is the second trick, which is as good as the first. The skin of an Otter which had been flayed, perhaps six

months before, is made to walk, & this is how they go about it. After spreading it on its belly, they bring the head toward the hinder part by means of folds, made in such a way that it appears to be all in one piece. A little tin mirror is placed on the right of the head, at a distance of four or five feet; they like to look at their own reflections so much, that they doubtless believe it is the same with animals; but whether that be so or not, there is the skin of the Otter, ready to walk on its own four feet, for these are always in the skinning when they wish to keep the pelt whole, without slitting it along the belly, Chipotis, as it is termed there. Then the Indian, who by craft or by magic, whichever way one chooses to take it, is trying to make the skin move, performs grotesque manoeuvres around it.

He dances and capers, and then he leaps over it,
Throws himself on the ground, rolls and wallows,
Beats together his hands and his feet, then he rises
And makes the air ring with a thousand shrill cries.
Like a Demon, he tortures himself, and he sweats,
He's covered with water, his eyes flash with fire,
There's foam at his lips; so much does he do,
That one does see the skin walk in the end.

It is only with great difficulty that it moves at first, but, little by little, it stretches out & drags

> itself as far as the Mirror where it stops. When the skin is slow in starting to walk, the Indian says to Onlookers from other Countries, before whom he is doing this trick, that their Spirit is stronger than his... (Diereville, 1933, pp. 182-184).

From indirect statements, it would seem that Le Clercq also witnessed such displays of shamanistic power. He gives us no detailed description, but merely states his conviction that the shamans were in league with the Devil,

> ...for in fact it is difficult to believe that it is by natural means that a juggler makes trees appear to be all on fire, and to burn visibly without being consumed, or gives the blow of death to Indians, even if forty to fifty leagues distant, when he buries his knife or his sword in the earth and draws for the one or the other all covered with blood, saying that such a one is dead, who in fact does die and expire at the same moment that the juggler pronounces the sentence of death against him... (Le Clercq, 1910, p. 217).

It is possible, as some students have stated, that Le Clercq's last example derives from Le Jeune's relation of 1634 (JR., Vol. 6, pp. 195-199), but we must also remember that Biard mentions a closely similar shamanistic rite in connection with curing.

One shamanistic spectacle absent from our early sources is "earth-stamping." This shamanistic trick is frequently mentioned in the legend materials of the Micmac and their neighbors, and is mentioned in later ethnographic accounts; the following example is taken from the tale of "Glooscap and the Megŭmoowĕsoo":

> ...the wedding must be celebrated by a regular dance in which all may participate. A cleared, well-beaten spot near the chief's wigwam is the dancing-ground. When all is ready, the Megŭmoowĕsoo springs up and begins the dance. If there is any concealed plot connected with the dance, he determines to disconcert it; at all events he will show them what he can do. Round and round the circle he steps in measured tread. His feet sink deep into the smooth compact earth at every step, and plough it up into high uneven ridges at every turn. He sinks deeper and deeper into the earth, until at last naught save his head is seen above the ground as hs spins round the circle. He then stops; but he has put an end to the dancing for that day, as the ground has been rendered totally unfit for the exercise... (Rand, 1894, p. 27).

Shamanistic "earth-stamping" is also described for the Micmac by Leland (1884, pp. 88, 341), Hagar (1896a, p. 173), Speck (1919, pp. 262-264), and others; in fact, no other single exploit is so frequently mentioned.

Only Le Clercq specifically mentions a shamanistic practice which seems to fall into the category of sorcery—the killing of unborn infants by a magic bow, already described. If other similar practices were carried on they did not come to the attention of the early writers. The shaman's role in war will be discussed in the section on warfare, as well as that of the GIMAP, or shaman-warrior.

Our early sources agree in picturing the office of shaman as being exceeding lucrative, for its holders were the recipients of numerous gifts for payment and propitiation. Lescarbot states this explicitly:

> ...Membertoub eldest son...told us, that after his father, he would be Aoutmoin in that precinct, which is a small matter: for every Sagamos has his Aoutmoin, or is one himself, yet they covet the office for the profit which comes of it... (Lescarbot, 1914, Vol. 3, p. 111).

Biard pauses long enough in a tirade against the profession to give us some additional information, to the effect that,

> ...the general impression is, that they must make many and valuable presents to the Autmoin, so that he may have a more skillful hand: for they say that that counts a great deal in all kinds of deseases... (Biard, 1616; in JR., Vol. 3, p. 125).

Denys' comments upon the payment of the shaman for his part in curing have already been presented. Denys continues his discussion as follows:

> ..Those 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... (Denys, 1908, p. 418).

As has been mentioned previously, the ranks of the shamans included both men and women. Little is known about the latter; in the legendary materials they usually appear to be of considerable age—the Jug-Woman of the Glooscap cycle was young, however. Some clues exist that they may have specialized in the use of magical and curing herbs, and Le Clercq implies that they stood in a special relationship to the sun.

> It is a surprising fact that this ambition to act the patriarch [i.e., the respected elder, the shaman] does not only prevail among the men, but even the women meddle therewith. These, in usurping the quality and the name

> of religieuses, say certain prayers in their own fashion, and affect a manner of living more reserved than that of the commonality of Indians, who allow themselves to be dazzled by the glamour of a false and ridiculous devotion. 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... (Le Clercq, 1910, p. 229).

Our author tells us of one such, an exceedingly ancient women, who gave friends beads from an unthreaded rosary, telling them that these came to her from heaven.

> ...which was always continuing to give her the same favour just so many times as she, in order to worship the sun, went out from her wigwam and rendered it her homage and adoration. "I have only, then," said she to them, "to hold up my hand and to open it, in order to bring down from heaven these mysterious beads, which have the power and property not only of succouring the Indians in their sicknesses and all their most pressing necessities, but also of preserving them from surprise, from persecution, and from the fury of their enemies... (Le Clercq, 1910, p. 230).

Le Clercq did not know this interesting women personally; some other Frenchmen who did reported that in her wigwam,

> ...she held also in singular veneration a King of Hearts, the foot of a glass, and a kind of metal, and that she worshipped these trifles with so much respect that she prostated herself before them as before her divinities. She was of the Cross-bearer nation, as it was easy to see by her own cross, which she had placed in the most honourable part of her wigwam, and which she had beautified with beadwork, wampum, painting, and porcupine quills. The pleasing mixture thereof represented several and separate figures of everything which was in her devotions. She placed it usually between her and the French, obliging them to make their prayers before her cross, whilst from her side she made her own prayers, according to her custom, before her King of Hearts and her other divinities... (Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 232-233).

The "Nation of the Cross-bearers"

The "Nation of the Cross-bearers" which Le Clercq mentions in passing above and which was the designation of the Indians of the Miramichi river, forms one of the most interesting problems in the early historical literature. These Indians were distinguished from their neighbors by their habit of wearing a cross as their symbol. Le Clercq tells us "that it has always been the custom of all our Gaspesians to wear some particular figures, which are somewhat like coats of arms, to distinguish them from

the other Indians, in accordance with the different places where they ordinarily live," and gives the example of the Restigouche Indians, who "do not wear the Cross, but the figure of a salmon, which in old times they hung from the neck as the mark of honour of their country" (Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 192-193). Believing that the Indians must have obtained this symbol from Christians, Le Clercq questioned them on this point, but received a negative reply:

> ...Well, now, thou art a Patriarch. Thou wishest that we believe everything that thou tellest us, but thou art not willing to believe that which we tell thee. Thou art not yet forty years old, and for only two hast thou dwelt with the Indians; and yet thou pretendest to know our maxims, our traditions, and our customs better than our ancestors who have taught them to us. Dost thou not still see every day the old man Quioudo, who is more than a hundred and twenty years old? He has repeated to thee often that the Indians of Mizamichis have not received from strangers the use of the Cross, and that his own knowledge of it has been derived through tradition from his fathers, who lived for at least as long a time as he. Accordingly, thy canst judge whether we received it before the French came to our coasts. But if thou hast still any difficulty in yielding to this argument, here is another which ought to convince thee entirely of the truth which thou holdest in doubt. Thou hast sense, since thou art a Patriarch and since thou

speakest with God. Thou knowest that the nation of the Gaspesians extends from the Cape des Rosiers [a little above Cape Gaspé] as far as Cape Breton: thou art not ignorant of the fact that the Indians of Ristigouche are our brothers and our compatriots, who speak the same language as ourselves: thou hast left them to come to see us: thou hast instructed them: thou hast seen the old men who have been baptized by missionaries other than thee, although, nevertheless, we have been unfortunately deprived of this good fortune up to the present. If, then, the Cross is the sacred symbol which distinguishes the Christians from the pagans, as thou hast taught us, tell us why the Patriarchs should have given the usage of the Cross to us in preference to our brothers of Ristigouche, whom they have baptized but who nevertheless have not had the symbol of the Christian in veneration always, as have our ancestors who have never received Baptism? Thou seest then plainly that it is not from the missionaries that we have obtained the mystery of the Cross... (Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 191-192).

The origin of the cross as their symbol or crest was explained by the Miramichi Indians both to Le Clercq and to Saint Valier; since the latter's version seems textually closer to the original account we may cite it here:

If one trust in the matter to one of the oldest men who was still living a few years ago, one will find without doubt something most remarkable in that which it has

been possible to learn from him. This man, aged a hundred or a hundred and twenty years [and probably Quioudo], questioned one day by M. de Fronsac, son of M. Denis, said that he had seen the first ship from Europe which had landed in their country; that before its arrival they had already among them the usage of the Cross; that this usage had not been brought to them by strangers; and that everything he knew about it he had learned by tradition from his ancestors. This is then approximately how he explained himself.

"A long time ago," said he, "our fathers were afflicted by a cruel famine which depopulated the nation. After having in vain invoked the demon through their juggleries, that is to say through their superstitious ceremonies, one of the oldest of them saw in a dream a young man who, in assuring him of their approaching deliverance through the virtue of the Cross, showed him three of these, of which he declared that one should serve them in public clamities, the other in deliberations and councils, and the third in voyages and perils.

"On awakening he found nothing in his hands, but the image of these crosses remained so vividly impressed on his imagination that he immediately made some like those which he thought he had seen; and, relating to his children that which had occurred in his sleep, his family commenced from this time to place in the Cross that trust which communicated itself later to all the nation.

"They all placed a cross of wood in one of the ends of their canoes, and wore upon their persons another of wampum which rested comfortably upon their breasts. Many wore one around the neck, and the pregnant women sewed one, made from red and blue stuff, upon that part of their garment which covered the womb, so as to place their progeny under the protection of the Cross. Finally, these poor folk, after having worn the Cross upon their bodies during their life, had it buried with them after death, or erected upon their tombs. The chief was distinguished from the commonality in this, that he had a special one upon his shoulders adjourning that on his breast, and both had a border of porcupine quills dyed in red of the most vivid flame color. Besides that, the three crosses of wood, each of two feet and a half in height, of which he used one in the front of his canoe for voyages, and the two others of which he set in the midst of his wigwam and at the door against perils and for councils, bore each as a mark of distinction three cross bars which were an ever present token of the vision of the three crosses..." (Saint-Vallier, 1688, p. 35 et seq.; in Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 189-190, fn.)

At the particular time at which Le Clercq visited the Cross-bearers he found that they had lapsed somewhat from their original enthusiasm:

...Since this Gaspesian nation of the Cross-bearers has been almost wholly destroyed, as much by the war which they

> have waged with the Iroquois as by the maladies which have infected this land, and which, in three or four visitations, have caused the deaths of a very great number, these Indians have gradually relapsed from this first devotion of their ancestors...In brief, when I went into their country to commence my mission, I found some persons who had preserved only the shadow of the customs of their ancestors. They lacked respect for the Cross, and they had abolished the habit of meeting in Cross-Assemblies, those in which, with the Cross in the centre of the circle and of the Council as we have related, they decided, as a court of last resort, the affairs of the nation... (Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 151-152).

Even in his time, however, Le Clercq found many individuals wearing the cross on their clothes and displaying it in a position of honor within their wigwams. The case of the old women shaman has already been cited; we may also mention in this respect Le Clercq's rescuer, Ejougouloumoüet, who kept a fine cross, "embellished with beads, in the place of honour, and in the most important part of the camp, between the two wives which our Ejougouloumoüet possessed" (Le Clercq, 1910, p. 176).

Le Clercq's account of the use of the cross among the Miramichi Indians has caused much discussion and argument. Some authors, such as Father Lafitau (1724, Vol. 2, p. 133) and Father Charlevoix (1900, Vol. 2, p. 120) took the view that the whole thing was merely an exaggeration on the part of Le Clercq. Others, such as De Roo (1900, Vol. 1, pp. 441, 610; Vol. 2, pp. 274, 278),

took it as evidence of pre-Columbian contact with Christian Europeans; and still others, such as Ganong (in Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 37-40) have taken it as a subtribal totem mark. Two different problems here seem to have been intermixed: the use of the cross itself; and the use to which it was put among the Micmac. The first question-whether the use of the cross by the Miramichi Indians was an aboriginal custom, or the result of contact with Europeans-cannot be answered with certainity. The Indian view was that this was an aboriginal trait, handed down to them from their ancestors; given this attitude on the part of the natives, one may give arguments pro and con depending upon ones degree of scepticism. Granting Quioudo an age of 120, and assuming that the use of the cross originated before his time, we would have one terminal date of c.1550. At this time some of the Micmac would already have had contact with the Europeans for some 42 years; but on the other hand their knowledge of events over this time would still have been fresh, and they may have been telling the truth. The only way in which this problem could be settled would be to determine whether or not crosses occurred in the graves of pre-contact Miramichi Indians.

The second problem-the use to which the cross was put-is less difficult to determine. The following events are reported as taking place: an elder of the tribe reported dreaming of a supernatural; this supernatural promised relief from the famine with which the tribe was afflicted if they employed three crosses; in accordance with his vision the elder made three crosses of the

proper form and,used them in the prescribed manner. This combination of elements is easily recognized as being essentially the same as those making up the vision or guardian spirit quest among more western and northern tribes, and therefore seems to be aboriginal. What is extremely interesting, however, is that these manifestations of an individual and personal vision experience were adopted by the other members of the family, and eventually by the whole tribe. From the information available, the crosses seem to have been regarded as crests and symbols of the group, and also as objects granting supernatural protection to the wearer or owner—i.e., they were amulets and fetishes. This latter characteristic of the symbols of the Cross-bearers seems to distinguish them from the animal or game symbols which designated other groups, not only of the Micmac, but also of the later Malecite, Passamaquoddy, and Penobscot. Le Clercq tells us of the Restigouche Indians, who wear "the figure of a salmon, which in old time they hung from the neck as the mark of honour of their country." From a passing comment by Lescarbot (1911, Vol. 2, p. 309) it is possible that the symbol or crest of the Canso natives was the moose. Much later, William Ganong learned from Lemey Renou, a Micmac of the Miramichi, that "the Indians of that river in old times had three totem [sic] signs—those of the Main Southwest had the sturgeon, those of the Little Southwest had a beaver, while those of the Northwest 'used the mark of a man with bow and arrow drawn, done in beadwork on the clothes and marked on to the canoes'" (Le Clercq, 1910, p. 39, fn.)

The Micmac use of the cross has at least one other parallel in North American ethnography, namely its use as the sacred post and symbol of the fourth degree of the Midē'wiwin society of the Ojibwa. Here the cross and its colors symbolizes the "four days struggle at the four openings or doors in the north, south, east, and west walls of the structure [the Midē wigân]." One such cross "bears the typical colors—red and green—upon the upper half, while the lower post is square and colored white on the east, green on the south, red on the west, and black on the north." The significance of these various colors is as follows:

> ...White represents the east, the source of light and the direction from which the sacred mī'gis came; green, sha'manō the southern one, refers to the source of the rains, the direction from which the Thunderers come in the spring, they who revivify the earth; red refers to the land of the setting sun, the abode of the shadows or the dead; and north being black, because that is the direction from which come cold, hunger, and disease" (Hoffman, 1891, pp. 155, 257, 275).

The use of such a symbol is known from the earliest historic source for the area, for Marquette tells us that in his 1673 visit to the Miami-Mascouten-Kickapoo village at Green Bay on Lake Michigan,

> ...I was greatly Consoled at seeing a handsome Cross erected in the middle of the village, and adorned with

> many white skins, red Belts, and bows and arrows, which these good people had offered to the Great Manitou (This is the name which they give to God). They did this to thank him for having had pity On Them during The winter, by giving Them an abundance of game When they Most dreaded famine... (Kinietz, 1940, p. 215).

In the area inhabited by the Miami, Mascouten, and Kickapoo Indians, and in the general region of the Mississippi river, archaeological evidence conclusively indicates the pre-Columbian nature of the cross symbol. Areally it is widely distributed in sites on the middle courses of the Mississippi and Tennessee rivers, and is known from the following states: New York, Illinois, Ohio, Arkansas, Missouri, Tennessee, and Georgia. Temporally it is known from sites of the Middle Woodland period (Napier Focus, Georgia) and of the Late Mississippi period (New Madrid, Duck River, Gray, Lamar, Savannah II, and Fort Coffee Foci). It also forms a characteristic element of the so-called "Southern Death Cult" complex (Griffin, 1952, figs. 80, 108, 120, 122, 137, 156, 174; Holmes, 1883, Pl. XXXVI, LI-LIII, LVIII, LIX, LXI; Holmes, 1903, Pl. XVII, XXXVIII, XLII, CXVIII; Shetrone, 1930, figs. 221, 226, 276, 282).

The Indians of the Miramichi district have apparently still another distinction of a religious nature, for we may conclude from a recently collected tale that they were the center of a Maritime Indian messianic revival sometime during the 18th century.

Our single source tells us the following:

> About one hundred years ago, in the region of Mirimichi [sic], there lived an Indian whose name was Abĭstănăooch' (Martem), who became deranged on the subject of religion, and persuaded also an entire village of Indians into the same fanaticism. He introduced new doctrines, new forms of worship, and new customs. Dancing was introduced into their worship; day was turned into night, and night into day, as they slept in the daytime and had their prayers and did their work in the night. This fanatic succeeded in obtaining so much reverence for himself that people would come in where he sat concealed from view behind a curtain, and would reverently kiss his feet, which were left exposed for that purpose.
>
> This state of things continued for some time; and such was the power of Satan over these foolish people that their food, after it was cooked, turned into charcoal.
>
> After a while an uncle of the fanatic—a brother of his mother—heard of his nephew's doings, and went to the village to oppose him. He inquired in a loud, authoritative voice where his nephew was. "Hush!" said the people; "don't speak so loud,—God is here." He answered, "I will speak as loud as I please; he is not God, but the Devil. He has given himself into the hands of the Devil, and you have all done the same thing. You are all deluded, crazy fools, and are

> going to eternal perdition." Rushing into the wigwam, where the impostor was hid behind his screen, he seized the curtain and tore it into shreds, and at the same time laid lustily over the back and sides of the impostor with a heavy bundle of rods, which he had taken care to provide for the purpose. Having soundly thrashed him, he exhorted him to repentance and to penance,—enforcing his exhortations with commands and threats, and addressing himself at the same time with energy to the guilty dupes of this fellow's imposture. They were directed to send for a priest, and to humble themself before God and him, to submit to his counsels and to the penance he might impose, and to entreat his prayers in their behalf, that they might be delivered from the power of Satan and forgiven.
>
> These exhortations, so earnestly urged, and enforced by such mental and physical energy, had the desired effect. A priest was called, penance was submitted to; and all parties, not excluding Abistănăooch' himself, were reclaimed and pardoned. This man's descendants were numerous, and are still to be found. The story is well known among the Indians ... (Rand, 1894, pp. 230-231).

According to the Indian, Stephen Hood, who told this tale to Rand on September 29, 1869, the story was regarded as fact.

Micmac Religion In Its Comparative Aspects

Having attempted a reconstruction of some of the basic features of Micmac supernaturalism and religion we are left with some general and important questions: what were the fundamentals of the religion; what was the philosophical and metaphysical framework upon which it was based; how did it fit into the religious systems of the rest of Northeastern North America? In thispresent section we will attempt to answer some of these questions.

The religion of the northern Woodland Indians may be characterized as having a basic substratum of widely held beliefs, while the ceremonies and ritual observances associated with these beliefs—and sanctified by them—demonstrated considerable regional diversity and temporal plasticity. This substratum included beliefs in a Great Spirit, a Great Creator, or a Great Mystery, thought to have created the Universe and the supernatural and living things. This Great Spirit was thought of as being invisible, immaterial, and nonanthropomorphic, but was also capable of manifesting himself in such aspects as the sun, the moon, or the heavens. The Great Spirit was also thought of as controlling the destinies of all things, material or immaterial, and of being omnipotent and omniscent. These last characteristics seem to have been of only theoretical interest to many Indians, however, for the Great Spirit was also

conceived of as being divorced from the affairs of this world, no longer being directly involved or interested.

Among those Indians who possessed a belief in a Great Spirit (the Algonquian Woodland tribes), the gap between this deity and Man was closed by a profusion of "pure" deities, trickster or transformer deities, and spirits. In most cases these were considered to be intermediaries between Man and the Great Spirit, having been brought into existence by the Supreme Being inorder to play a certain role the ultimate end of which was known only to the Great Spirit himself. All of these spirits and deities were more powerful than Man, and all were capable of acting benevolently or malevolently towards him. The ritual and ceremonial patterns of the Indians largely revolved about their relations with this second group of supernaturals.

For the Algonquians of the northern Woodland the most important of the "pure" deities were those of the sun, earth, moon, four directions, stars, thunder, weather, "Living Solid Face" or "Mask Being," etc. These lesser deities were often arranged in a pantheon, the sun and the moon usually being considered the more powerful. Among the Iroquois, who seem originally to have lacked the concept of a Great Spirit, the most important members of a similar pantheon were the Earth Mother and Sky Father. The dualistic concept of an Earth Mother and Sky Father also appeared among the eastern, central,

and western Algonquians, and among the Siouan tribes of the northern plains.

Dualism was strikingly evident in the concept of the trickster or transformer deities. Among the Algonquian and Iroquois-speakers these usually took the form of rival supernatural twins or brothers, one of whom was favorably disposed towards mankind and one unfavorably. Their conflict resulted in the defeat of the latter and the origin of death. Among the Central Algonquians the element of rivalry was absent; instead, one brother met death at the hands of enemy evil supernaturals and became the Ruler of the Dead. The incident was often used to explain the origin of the Mide'wiwin or "Grand Medicine Society." The dualism of the trickster or transformer twins also appears further west in the "Split-Boys" of Kiowa, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Gros Ventre, Crow, and Blackfoot mythology (Voegelin, 1931, pp. 6-7).

Within the territory inhabited by the northern and central Algonquians the spirit-beings manifest considerable uniformity. Most important were the animal masters or chiefs, the Horned or Plumed Serpent, the cannibal and ice giants, the windbird or thunderbird, and the "little people." Only the Iroquois show divergence; their spirit-beings including the Stone Throwers, the Gandayah, the underground and underwater people, the Great Heads, the Stony Giants, the Wind Spirits or Disease Bringers, and the spirits of various plants (such as corn, beans, squash,

Fig. 14a. Important and characteristic religious elements of 30 Northeastern tribes. Crosses (X) indicate known occurrences; slants (\) indicate the presence of elements; question marks designate questionable cases; and R indicates recency of the complex in question. Following are the sources employed: Alexander (1953); Beckwith (1937); Black Elk (1953); Bowers (1950); Brower (1904); Burgesse (1944); Collier (1944); Conrad (1901); Cooper (1944); Curtis (1908); Deliette (1934); Dorsey, [G](1903); Dorsey, [G] and Murie (1940); Dorsey, [J](1894); Dunbar (1880); Fenton (1953); Flannery (1939a-b; 1944); Fletcher (1900; 1904); Fletcher and La Flesche (1911); Gilmore (1926); Herman (1950); Hilger (1951; 1952); Hoffman, [W](1896); Jones (1939); Kinietz (1940); Kroeber (1902-1907); Lane (1952); Linton (1922); Lowie (1909-1954); Mandelbaum (1940); Matthews (1877); Michelson (1925b); Morgan (1904); Murie (1914); Radin (1915-1953); Rodnick (1938); Skinner (1912; 1913; 1914b; 1915;1924); Speck (1945); Speck and General (1949); Spier (1921); Trowbridge (1938, 1939); Voegelin (1944); Walker (1917); West (1911; 1934); Will (1930; 1934); Will and Spinden (1906); Wissler (1912; 1916).

TRIBES / CEREMONIAL ELEMENTS	Sacred Pipe Ritual	Sacred Tree Ritual	Sweatlodge Ritual	Mother Corn Ritual	Hako-type Ritual	Iruska-type Ritual	Sun Dance	"Midwinter" Festival	Corn Planting Fest.	New Fire	Medéwiwin	Feast of the Dead	Condolence Ceremony	Dance for Dead	Shaking Tent Rite	Eat-all Feast
Plains Cree	X	/	/			/	R					/		/	X	
Assiniboine	X	X	/			/	X								X	
Yankton	/	/	/		X	/	X				/					
Oglala	/	X	X		X	X	X					X	/			
Dakota	X	X	X		X	X	X									
Arapaho	X	X	X			X	X					/	/			
Arikara	X	X	/	X	X	X	X				/		X			
Hidatsa	/	X	/	X		X	X		X							
Mandan	/	X	/	X	/	X			X						X	
Pawnee	/	/	X	X	X	X	/		X	X	/	/	/			
Omaha	X	/	X	X	X	X	/		/		/					
Huron	/		/					X	?	/		X	X	X		
Iroquois	/			X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Delaware	/		/					/	X	X	X	X	X	?		
Ottawa	/		/								X	X	X		X	
Potawatomi	/					/					X	X	X	X		
Ojibwa	/		/			R					X	X	X	X	X	
Menomini	/		/	?		/					/	X	X	X	X	/
Sauk	/			/							X	X	X		X	
Fox	/		X								X	X	X	X		
Kickapoo	/										X	X	X			
Winnebago	/		/			R				/	X	X	X	X		
Miami	/			/							/	/	X	X		
Shawnee	/										/	X	X	X		
Illinois	/										X	/		X		
Micmac	P		P									X	X	X		X
Penobscot																
Montagnais-Naskapi			/												X	X
Forest Cree																X
Algonkin																

wild fruit, and nuts). To the west, however, among the Siouan, Caddoan, and Western Algonquian groups, the nature of the spirit-beings changes rather sharply and we must recognize that another realm has been entered.

As can be seen from figure 44a, upon which are tabulated the most important religious rituals of some 30 Northeastern tribes, Micmac ceremonialism corresponds closest with that of the Central Algonquians. Both show strongly developed and competitive shamanism and an often spectacular death cult. Both lack the elaborate public rituals of the Siouans, Caddoans, and Western Algonquians. In fact, as the figure shows, the ceremonials of these Indians fall into at least four distinct groupings: Siouan-Caddoan-Western Algonquian; Iroquois-Delaware; Central Algonquian; and Northeastern Algonquian.

The first of these divisions is characterized by a number of elaborate and spectacular public, social, and civic rites, usually carried out for the welfare of the entire tribe. Most commonly these performances were the concern of tribal societies or associations, who held the necessary rights, perogatives, and regalia. The following are the most important of these rituals, or the most characteristic elements thereof.

1. The Sacred Pipe Ritual, consisting of a ceremonial smoking by means of which men sought "to put themselves into tranquil accord with the powers which participate

with man in the life of nature." As expressed by the Oglala Sioux: "All these peoples [living beings], and all the things of the universe, are joined to you who smoke the pipe—all send their voices to Wakan-Tanka, the Great Spirit. When you pray with this pipe, you pray for and with everything."

The Sacred Pipe Ritual could stand by itself, but also commonly functioned as the initial consecrating act in longer rites. The complex of the Sacred Pipe appeared in an attenuated form among the Central Algonquians and the Iroquois, and even as far east as the Micmac and Delaware (Alexander, 1953, pp. 4-9; Black Elk, 1953, pp. 5-7; West, 1934, 1934, pt. 1, pp. 251-278).

2. The Sacred Tree Ritual, most commonly occurring as part of the Sun Dance, but also appearing in other contexts among the Arikara, Hidatsa, and Omaha. Among the tribes of the northern plains the tree was a symbol of life, "of the annually fading and renewing vegetation of the earth and of the unceasing drama of human passing and renewal." The ceremony consisted of a ritual discovery and capture of a tree, and of bringing it back to camp, setting it up, and covering it with gifts. It was "at once a prayer for prosperity and a blessing of the tribal life." Among more southern tribes the sacred

tree became a symbol of the tribe itself—a sacred palladium (Alexander, 1953, pp. 28-30; 32; 34-35; 38-41; Black Elk, 1953, pp. 72-80).

3. The Sweatlodge or Abiding Rock Ritual, by means of which a man was cleansed and purified by the elemental Powers of the world—fire, stony earth, water, and vaporous air. Within the sacred sweatlodge the stones, the Abiding or Aged Ones, symbolized the "being, immovable and steadfast, which is the 'dwelling-place' of all." The water represented "the Thunder-beings who come fearfully but bring goodness," while the steam symbolized the sacred breath of the Abiding Rock, which had the power of making the petitioners "long-winded as they walk the path of life" (Alexander, 1953, p. 46; Black Elk, 1953, pp. 31,37).

4. The Mother Corn Ritual, known from the Arikara, Hidatsa, Mandan, Pawnee, and Dakota, and representative of the very widespread corn dance, which was addressed to the powers which control the germination and development of maize, and also the fertility of plants and animals in general. Among the tribes mentioned these powers were objectified in the figure of Mother Corn, who was thought to have led Mankind up from the underworlds, to have led the First People to their future abodes, and to have given them their seeds and subsistence, their arts and crafts, their ceremonials, and their progeny. In the plains the

corn ritual usually involved ceremonial offerings to Mother Corn and prayers for good crops. Where the ceremony was included in the Hako rite it also included prayers for children (Alexander, 1953, pp. 74-76, 88-89).

5. The Hako Ritual, known in its "classic" form only from the Pawnee, and constituting the most important ceremony of these people. According to Alexander:

> ...the essentials of the rite are a mystic representation of the union of Father Heaven and Mother Earth and the resultant birth of a Spirit of Life, primarily a Vegetation Spirit, vegetation being the basis of animal life. This fundamental cosmical event gathers additional meanings: (1) as an account of creation, as a cosmogonic or theogonic myth; (2) as a forthfiguring and in some sense an explanation of animal procreation and of human parenthood; (3) as a symbol of the perpetuity of life, tribal and individual; and (4) in the highest developments as a symbol of rebirth in a life to come... (Alexander, 1953, p. 126).

6. The Iruska Ritual, deriving originally from the Pawnee, and involving spectacular displays of supernatural immunity to fire and ritual clowning. Closely similar and derivative ceremonies are known as the Crazy Dance of

the Arapaho, the Fire Dance of the Iowa, Cheyenne, and Gros Ventre, and the Hot Dance of the Arikara. Among the Omaha the dance evolved into the Grass Dance, in which fire symbolism was absent; this latter dance then spread to the Sarsi, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assinboine, Crow, Hidatsa, Arikara, Arapaho, Pawnee, Iowa, Ponca, Kansa, Dakota, Menomini, and Potawatomi. The Grass Dance reached the Ojibwa and Winnebago only in recent times, associated with the Messianic Dream Dance (Leach and Fried, 1949, Vol. 1, pp. 463, 528).

7. The Sun Dance, the most conspicuous and spectacular religious ceremony carried out by most of the Plains Indians. Its nature has been well described by Lowie (1915, pp. 251-252):

> ...Whatever may be the avowed purpose of this performance, certain elements are practically uniform throughout the area; for example, the selection and felling of a tree treated as an enemy, the erection of a preparatory and a main lodge, and a several-days' fast culminating (except among the Kiowa) in torture proceedings of the Okipa type. The Sun Dance of the Crows was performed exclusively in order to secure vengeance for the slaying of a tribesman; among the western Algonquian tribes it was vowed in the hope of delivering the pledger or his family from

> sickness and danger; while benefits of a vaguer and more public character were expected by the western Dakota, Hidatsa, and Kiowa...

Among the Mandan the Sun Dance was absent, its place being taken by the complex Okápa ritual.

When we turn to the ceremonials of the Iroquois and Delaware peoples we find that while these were also public rituals put on for the benefit of the entire tribe, the religious philosophy behind them was entirely different. The Iroquois ceremonies differed from those of their Algonquian, Siouian, and Caddoan neighbors in being largely concerned with agriculture and with the supernatural powers associated with plant life. This is best illustrated by Speck's list of the ceremonies performed through the year by the Cayuga; this list is corroborated by that presented by Morgan (Speck, 1949, pp. 34-36; Morgan, 1904, pp. 175-216):

1. Midwinter Ceremony ("midyear ceremonial mark"), held after the January new moon. Its purpose is the presentation of thanksgiving "to all spiritual forces, especially to the Great Spirit, for the blessings of life, health, and sustenance and the privileges of social life. Curative performances are carried out by the medicine societies. This is the major recurrent ceremony, a synthesis, capitulating all the ritual units of the

ceremonial system and marking the end of the ceremonial year past and the beginning of the new."

2. Maple Sap Ceremony ("gathering maple sap"), held when the maple sap begins to run, for the purpose of offering thanksgiving for the maple sap and syrup.

3. Corn Planting Ceremony (" to entertain what we live on [grains and fruits]"), consisting of an appeal to the food spirits in general.

4. Corn Sprouting Rites ("to entertain what we live on").

5. Strawberry Ceremony ("gathering berries"), for the purpose of offering "thanksgiving for life and the privilege of reunion for ceremony."

6. Sun Ceremony ("day sun"), given in late spring and consisting of an "appeal to the sun for continuation of the blessing of heat."

7. Corn Ripening Ceremony ("to entertain what we live on").

8. Raspberry Ceremony ("gathering berries").

9. Thunder Ceremony ("grandfather-continues-sounding performing rite"), consisting of an "appeal to the Thunders to continue their warfare on the evil spirits of the

underworld and to bring rain," performed during the dry season of midsummer.

10. Harvest Ceremony ("all being harvested will now sing"), consisting of thanksgiving for the crops.

In addition to these there were also some ceremonies of a different nature, such as the Feast of the Dead, which will be discussed later.

Of these ceremonies only two have been shown on figure 14a, the item "new fire" appearing as a rite within the Midwinter Ceremony. The latter ritual was commonly associated with the Festival of Dream Fulfillment, and was apparently limited to the Huron-Iroquois area (i.e., Huron, Iroquois, Tuscarora (?), and Narragansett). The Corn Planting Festival was also limited to the Huron-Iroquois region (Delaware, Huron, Iroquois), although the Green Corn and Corn Harvest Festivals had a much wider distribution (Mohegan, Massachusetts, Narragansett, Shinnecock, Delaware, Huron, Iroquois, Cherokee, "Virginia," and Southeast generally)(Flannery, 1939, pp. 133-135, 160).

Turning to the Central Algonquian area we find ourselves within another religious realm. Here the large and spectacular public and civic calendric ceremonials were completely absent; the agricultural and adoption rites that did occur were carried out when necessary by the individual clans, specifically, by the clan member possessing the necessary sacred bundle. The

integrative functions of the ceremonials of other areas were here fulfilled by the Mide'wiwin and by the Death Cult—the Mide'wiwin by its recitation and reinactment of the common traditional and religious heritage of the tribe; the Death Cult by ritually relating the living to sacred things (the dead), by re-enacting and reiterating the sacred beliefs, and by bringing the tribal members together for a collective and emotionally charged ritual.

The Mide'wiwin or Grand Medicine Society of the Central Algonquians was a secret and graded society of shamans or medicine men or women. Its diagnostic rite was a performance during which a "candidate for admission was magically shot with a shell, fell forward apparently lifeless, and was restored by the older members" (Lowie, 1954, p. 172). The society occurred among most of the Central Algonquian tribes, and elements appeared among such tribes as the Iowa, Oto, Yankton, Arikara, Pawnee, and Omaha. The Death Cult of the area involved elaborate feasts for the dead, wake and grievance ceremonies, mummification or secondary burial, and elaborate grave offerings of objects whose souls would be of use to the deceased in the Land of the Dead. It centered in the Ohio Valley region, and was practised by most of the Central and Eastern Algonquian tribes, by the Huron-Iroquois tribes, and by the Southeastern groups (Alabama, Catawba, Cherokee, Chickasaw , Choctaw, Creek, Yuchi), and seems to have a very great

antiquity throughout this area (Voegelin, 1944).

Passing northward from the Central Algonquians into the taiga or boreal forest we find that native ceremonialism becomes minimal, being carried on individually or by band shamans and being founded upon the individual soul-spirit concept. The Shaking Tent or Conjurer's Lodge here was the best known and most elaborate ritual, but other practices occurred relating to game animals, animal masters, and divination. The St. Lawrence river apparently served as a major barrier and ecological landmark, for as soon as we cross it from Montagnais to Micmac territory, items of southern ceremonialism appear and northern ones begin to drop out. Among the Micmac ceremonialism regarding hunting, respect of game animals and the animal master was retained, but the Shaking Tent was conspicuously absent, as was the use of the tambourine in shamanism. Southern and western elements included the following: deer-claw rattles; the concepts of the "Great Spirit," the Earth Mother and Sky Father, the Horned Serpent, and the Thunderers; serpent or rattlesnake magic and dances; thrusting a pole out of the top of the wigwam with an offering to the supernatural (Lescarbot, 1914, p. 109); jumping over a fire; the Feast of the Dead; the Condolence Ceremony and the Dance for the Dead; mummification; grave offerings. Not enough is known about their seasonal festivals to permit us to comment regarding them.

We thus see that within the Northeastern Algonquian Indians the Micmac form an enclave showing strong affinities in their ceremonialism with that of the Central Algonquians. This viewpoint receives further support if we consider the probable relationships between the Micmac UPSĀKUMŌ·DI or BUŌWINŌ·DI (medicine bundle) and the Central Algonquian sacred bundles; or between the shamanistic contests of the Micmac and those of the Mide'wiwin. Combining the evidence from the ceremonial patterns, from linguistics, and from the religious beliefs, the conclusion seems inavoidable that the Micmac were once closely related to the Central Algonquians. At some time in the distant past the two groups must have been in close proximity, and must have derived from a common ancestral unit. When and where this could have occurred is beyond present-day reconstruction.