The historical ethnography of the Micmac of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Part 7

Bernard Gilbert Hoffman

Claims and Historical Research Centre: F.20

CHAPTER VII -- SOCIAL LIFE

VII. SOCIAL LIFE

Political Structure

As in the case of our discussion of the Micmac religious Weltanschauung, our understanding of the social life and institutions of these Indians is rendered difficult by the inadequacy of our sources. It will again be necessary for us to turn to all possible aids—both historical and ethmographical—for us to reconstruct a coherent picture of this body of Micmac culture.

Of our early authors, Biard presents us with the most complete description of the Micmac type of political organization.

> There can be no more polity than there is Commonwealth, since polity is nothing else than the regulation and government of the Commonwealth. Now these Savages not having a great Commonwealth, either in number of people, since they are few; nor in wealth, since they are poor, only living from hand to mouth; nor in ties and bonds of union, since they are scattered and wandering; cannot have great polity. Yet they cannot do without it since they are men and brethern. So what they have is this. There is the Sagamore, who is the eldest son of some

powerful family, and consequently also its chief and leader. All the young people of the family are at his table and in his retinue; it is also his duty to provide dogs for the chase, canoes for transportation, provisions and reserves for bad weather and expeditions. The young people flatter him, hunt, and serve their apprenticeship under him, not being allowed to have anything before they are married, for then only can they have a dog and a bag; that is, have something of their own, and do for themselves. Nevertheless they continue to live under the authority of the Sagamore, and very often in his company; as also do several others who have no relations, or those who of their own free will place themselves under his protection and guidance, being themselves weak and without following. Now all that the young men capture belongs to the Sagamore; but the married ones give him only a part, and if these leave him, as they often do for the sake of the chase and supplies, returning afterwards, they pay their dues and homage in skins and like gifts. From this cause there are some quarrels and jealousies among them as among us, but not so serious. When, for example, some one begins to assert himself and to act the Sagamore, when he does not render the tribute, when his people leave him or when others get them away from him; then as among us, also among them, there are reproaches and accusations, as that such a one is only a half Sagamore, is newly hatched like a three-days'

chicken, that his crest is only beginning to appear; that he is only a Sagamochin, that is, a Baby Sagamore, a little dwarf. And thus you may know that ambition reigns beneath the thatched roofs, as well as under the gilded, and our ears need not be pulled much to learn these lessons.

These Sagamies divide up the country and are nearly always arranged according to bays or rivers. For example, for the Pentegoet river there is one Sagamore; another for the Ste. Croix; another for the St. John, etc. When they visit each other it is the duty of the host to welcome and to banquet his guests, as many days as he can, the guests making him some presents; but it is with the expectation that the host will reciprocate, when the guest comes to depart, if the guest is a Sagamore, otherwise not.

It is principally in Summer that they pay visits and hold their State Councils; I mean that several Sagamores come together and consult among themselves about peace and war, treaties of friendship and treaties for the common good. It is only these Sagamores who have a voice in the discussion and who make the speeches, unless there be some old and renowned Autmoins, who are like their priests, for they respect them very much and give them a hearing the same as to the Sagamores. It happens sometimes that the same person is both Autmoin and Sagamore, and then he is greatly dreaded. Such was the renowned Membertou, who became a Christian, as you will soon hear. Now in these

assemblies, if there is some news of importance, as that their neighbors wish to make war upon them, or that they have killed some one, or that they must renew the alliance, etc., then messengers fly from all parts to make up the more general assembly, that they may avail themselves of all the confederates, which they call Ricamanen, who are generally those of the same language. Nevertheless the confederation often extends farther than the language does, and war sometimes arises against those who have the same language. In these assemblies so general, they resolve upon peace, truce, war, or nothing at all, as often happens in the councils where there are several chiefs, without order and subordination, whence they frequently depart more confused and disunited than when they came.

Their wars are nearly always between language and language, or country and country, and always by deceit and treachery. They have the bow and shield, or buckler, but they never place themselves in a line of battle, at least from what I have been able to learn. And, in truth, they are by nature fearful and cowardly, although they are always boasting, and do all they can to be renowned and to have the name of "Great-heart." Meskir Kameramon, "Great-heart," among them is the crowning virtue.

If the offenses are not between tribes, but between compatriots and fellow-citizens, then they fight among themselves for slight offenses, and their way of fighting is like that of women here, they fly for the hair, holding

on to this, they struggle and jerk in a terrible fashion, and if they are equally matched, they keep it up one whole day, or even two, without stopping until some one separates them; and certainly in strength of body and arms they are equal to us, comparing like to like; but if they are more skillful in wrestling and nimble running, they do not understand boxing at all...

Returning to my subject. The little offenses and quarrels are easily adjusted by the Sagamores and common friends...The great offenses, as when some one has killed another, or stolen away his wife, etc., are to be avenged by the offended person with his own hand; or if he is dead, it is the duty of the nearest relative; when this happens, no one shows any excitement over it, but all dwell contentedly upon this word habenquedouĭc, "he did not begin it, he has paid him back: quits and good friends." But if the guilty one, repenting of his fault, wishes to make peace, he is usually received with satisfaction, offering presents and other suitable atonement... (Biard, 1616; in JR., Vol. 3, pp. 87-95).

Further insight into the political structure of the Micmac is obtained from Biard's recitation of the Micmac reasons for the practice of polygyny on the part of the chiefs:

...One [reason] is, in order to retain their authority and power by having a number of children; for in that lies

> the strength of the house, in the great number of allies and connections; the second reason is their entertainment and service, which is great and laborious, since they have large families and a great number of followers, and therefore require a number of servants and housewives; now they have no other servants, slaves, or mechanics but the women... (Biard, 1616; in JR., Vol. 3, p. 101).

Biard's account of the political institutions of the Micmac receives confirmation from Le Clercq; this last author, furthermore, gives us indications of cultural change, if he is not basing his statements upon a theoretical concept of an earlier condition, based either upon native tradition or European philosophy.

> ...One cannot, it seems to me give to-day a more convincing reason for the decadence of the Gaspesian nation, formerly one of the most numerous and flourishing of Canada, than their disregard for the fundamental laws which the elders had established, but which our Indians have not observed, and still do not observe at present, except in so far as it pleases them; for it is truth to say that they have neither faith, nor kings, nor laws. One sees no more among these people those large assemblies in the form of councils, nor that supreme authority of the heads of families, elders, and chiefs, who regulated civil and criminal affairs, and in the last resort decided upon war and upon peace, giving such

orders as they thought absolutely essential, and enforcing the observance thereof with much submission and fidelity. There are now only two or three Indians who, in their own districts still preserve, though feebly, a sort of power and authority, if one can say that is found among these peoples. The most prominent chief is followed by several young warriors and by several hunters, who act always as his escort, and who fall in under arms when this ruler wishes particular distinction upon some special occasion. But, in fact, all his power and authority are based only upon the good will of those of his nation, who execute his orders just in so far as it pleases them. We had among us, at the River of Saint Joseph [Restigouche], one of these old chiefs whom our Gaspesians considered as their head and their ruler, much more because of his family, which was very numerous, than because of his sovereign power, of which they have shaken off the yoke, and which they are not willing any longer to recognize.

The occupation of this chief was to assign the places for hunting, and to take the furs of the Indians, giving them in return whatever they needed. This man made it a point of honour to be always the worst dressed of his people, and to take care that they all were better clothed then he. He held it as a maxim, as he told me one day, that a ruler, and a great heart like his, ought to take more care for others than for himself, because , good hunter as he was,

he always obtained easily everything which he needed for his own use, and that as for the rest, if he did not himself live well, he should find his desire in the affection and the hearts of his subjects. It was as if he wished to say that his treasures and riches were in the hearts and in the affection of his people.

It happened that a stranger wished to dispute his right of command, or at least to share with this ruler that government, with its imaginary grandeur, for which he had as much regard as if it were the greatest empire of the world. This competitor arrived well provided with axes, with guns, with blankets, with beavers, and with everything which could give him some prominence and some entrance into the sovereignty which he claimed was properly due him by right of hereditary succession, because his father had been formerly head and chief of the Gaspesian nation. "Very well," said our Indian, "show that thy heart is a true chief's heart and worthy of absolute empire over the people whom I rule. There," continued he, "are some poor Indians who are wholly naked; give them thy robes of otter and beaver. Thou seest, again, that I am the worst dressed of all, and it is through this that I wish to appear chief—through despoiling and depriving myself of everything in order to aid my Indians. Therefore, when following my example, thou shouldst be as poor as I. Let us go a-hunting when the time is right, and

the one of us who kills the most moose and beavers shall be the legitimate king of all the Gaspesians." The stranger accepted this challenge with spirit. In imitation of our chief, he gave away everything he had, and kept back nothing except the bare necessaries. He went hunting, but he was so unfortunate as to do it very badly, and consequently he was obliged to abandon the enterprise which he had formed of commanding our Gaspesians, who did not wish to recognize any other head than their old and brave chief whom they obeyed with pleasure.

The Gaspesians have at present no fundamental laws which serve them as regulations. They make up and end all their quarrels and their differences through friends and through arbiters. If it is, however, a question of punishing a criminal who has killed or assassinated some Indian, he is condemned to death without other form of law. "Take care, my friend," say they, "if thou killest, thou shalt be killed." This is often carried out by command of the elders, who assemble in council upon the subject, and often by the private authority of individuals, without any trial of the case being made, provided that it is evident the criminal has deserved death...

It is the right of the head of the nation, according to the customs of the country, which serve as laws and regulations to the Gaspesians, to distribute the places of

> hunting to each individual. It is not permitted to any Indian to overstep the bounds and limits of the region which shall have been assigned him in the assemblies of the elders. These are held in autumn and spring expressly to make this assignment.
>
> The young people must strictly obey the orders of the chiefs. When it is a question of going to war, they must allow themselves to be led, and must attack and fight the nation which they wish to destroy, in the manner which has been planned by the head of their council of war...
>
> It is the duty of the head man and chief to have care over the orphans. The chiefs are obliged to distribute them among the wigwams of the best hunters, in order that they may be supported and brought up as if they were the own children of the latter... (Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 234-238).

As we have already mentioned in the chapter on the life-cycle (under "Premarital Adulthood"), Dièreville confirms this picture of chieftanship resulting from individual merit and superiority (Dièreville, 1933, p. 149).

From these accounts, and from implications scattered throughout the early historical literature, the foundations of Micmac political organization become relatively clear—these being, (a), kinship affiliations, and (b), superior personal ability.

The first of these factors--kinship--seems to have been the most important. Basic to the power of any chief was a large, cohesive, and stable kinship group of which he was the recognized leader. The larger this unit was, and the greater the number of alliances and affiliations which could be traced between it and other groups, the greater was the potential power of its head.

Given a large and cohesive kin group, the second all-important factor was individual ability. To be a chief it was first necessary to be recognized by one's kin group as one deserving to lead and to command, and to gain the loyal following of this group. To obtain this recognition the following qualities seem to have been required:

(a) the ability to lead men,
(b) to inspire confidence,
(c) superior intelligence, insight, and knowledge,
(d) a grave and dignified demeanor (to "act like a chief"),
(e) lavish generosity towards one's people; a concern for their welfare,
(f) the greatest courage and valor in warfare,
(g) superior ability in hunting.

Not absolutely necessary, but a distinct advantage to any would-be chief, was the possession of supernatural powers.

With the existence of these prerequisites, the Micmac chiefs usually derived from families already having a tradition of chieftanship— a tradition which seems usually to have been passed from a chief to his elder son by deliberate and constant education and training. If this elder son was obviously not qualified for the position, some other son may have been prepared for the role; otherwise the office passed to some other family and some other candidate.

The territory or domain of local chiefs seems to have been coextensive with the area commonly occupied by the inhabitants of a single summer village. Within this village the local chief was the recognized head of the "council of elders," which consisted of the heads or representatives of the families represented in the settlement. We conclude, from the comment made by Biard, that decisions of the council depended upon a unaminous vote on the part of the members, and that only such decisions were regarded as giving the chiefs authority to act upon a certain matter. We may therefore characterize Micmac political organization as being dependent upon the voluntary association of the adult male members of the community—women, children, and young men who had not yet killed their first moose having no part in the system. The latter were apparently required to obey without question the decisions of the councils and of the chiefs.

Upon certain occasions, and at certain times of the year, the various local chiefs of different regions assembled themselves

for the "council of chiefs," in which the shamans also participated. It was here, apparently, that the chiefs resolved "upon peace, truce, war, or nothing at all, as often happens in the councils where there are several chiefs, without order and subordination."

According to traditional accounts collected at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, the Micmac tribe or "nation" was divided into seven districts (seven being the magic number of the Micmac). These districts included several summer villages, and therefore several local chiefs; we may suspect that they were identical with the areas represented by the locals chiefs accustomed to meet in a general assembly or "council of chiefs." And, as we shall see, there seems to have been a system of district chiefs, and one of "grand chiefs."

In order for us to establish the regional groupings of the Micmac chiefs as it probably existed during the 17th century, it is necessary for us to supplement our early sources with a list of Micmac chiefs compiled in 1760, with material collected by Harry Piers in 1912, and with material, both traditional and ethnographical, collected by Frank Speck and Father Pacifique. The first of these sources presents us with some difficulties. It consists of a list of Micmac chiefs compiled by Father Manach, of the Miramichi-Richibucto district, for Colonel Frye; this list was first published in the Pennsylvania Gazette, from whence it was copied by Dr. Stiles; this copy was then published in

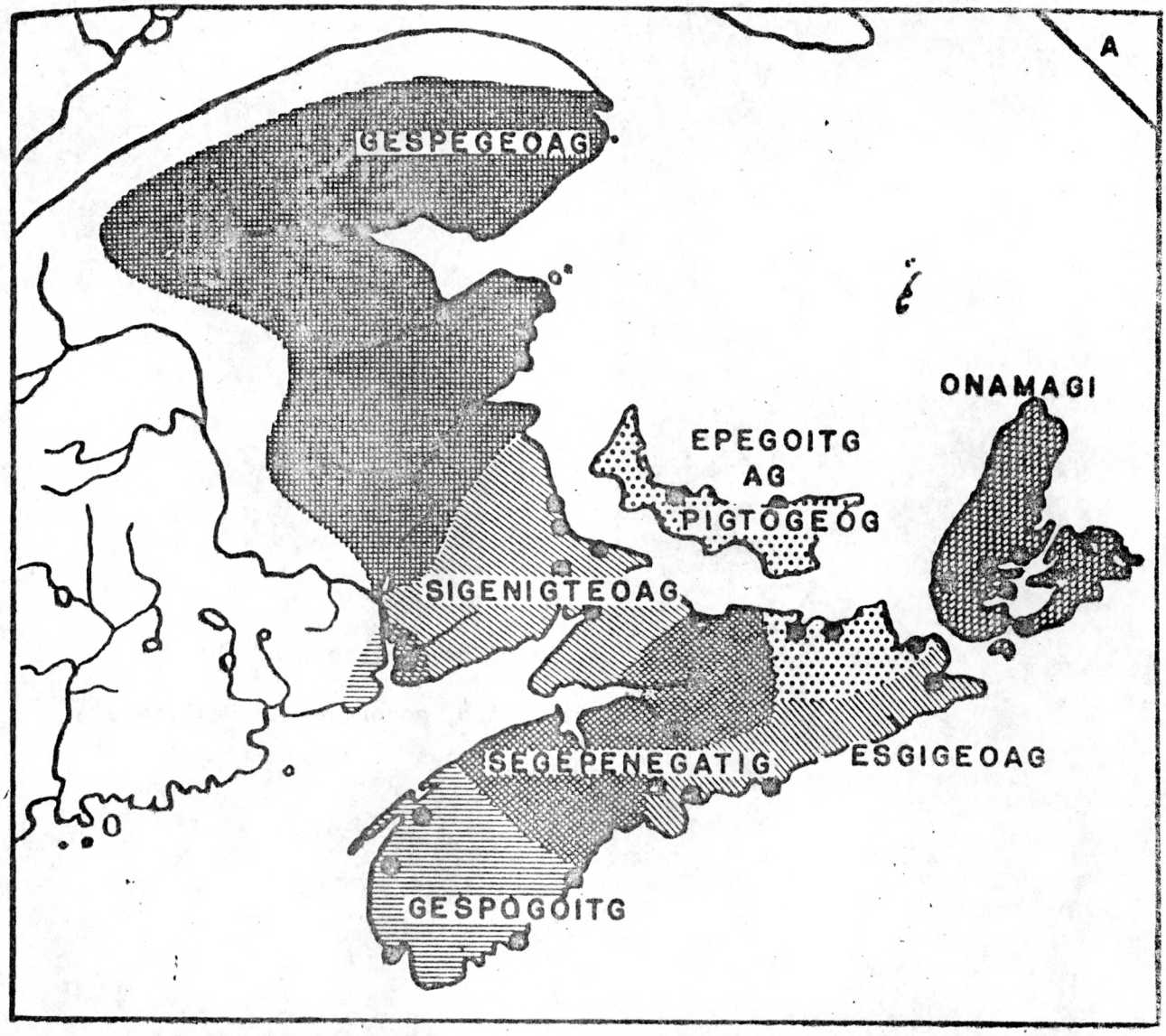
the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1809. Another version of the Manach list was also published in 1832, by the historian R. Cooney; although commonly used, this variant seems somewhat corrupt, as can by seen by the following comparison.

Fig. 15. Manach's 1760 list of the Micmac chiefs.

Frye (1809, p. 116)	Cooney (1832, pp. 37-38)	District
Louis Francis	Louis Francis	Merimichi
Dennis Winemowet	Denis Winemowet	Tobogimkik
Etienne Abehabo	Etiene Abchabo	Pohomoosh
Claud Atanaze	Claud Atanage	Gediaak
Paul Laurence*	Paul Lawrence	La Have
Michael Algoumatimpk		Kashpugowitk
Joseph Algiman	Joseph Algemoure	Chignecto
John Newit	John Newit	Pictou
Baptist La Morue	Baptist Lamorne	Isle St. John
Reni La Morue	Rene Lamorne	Nalkitgoniash
Jeannot Piguidawalwet		Cape Breton
Claud Piguidawalwet		Chigabennakadik
Michael Algoumatimpk	Bartlemy Aungualett	Keshpugowitk
Batelemy Aunqualett	Jeannot Piguidauduet	Minas
Augustine Michael	Augustin Michael	Rishebouctou

The district names here used need some comment. The first, Merimichi, is the present-day Miramichi. The others may be identified as follows: Tobogimkik=TAPOSIMGEG=Tabusintac; Pohomoosh=

Fig. 16. The divisions of the Micmac tribe, according to Pacifique and Piers.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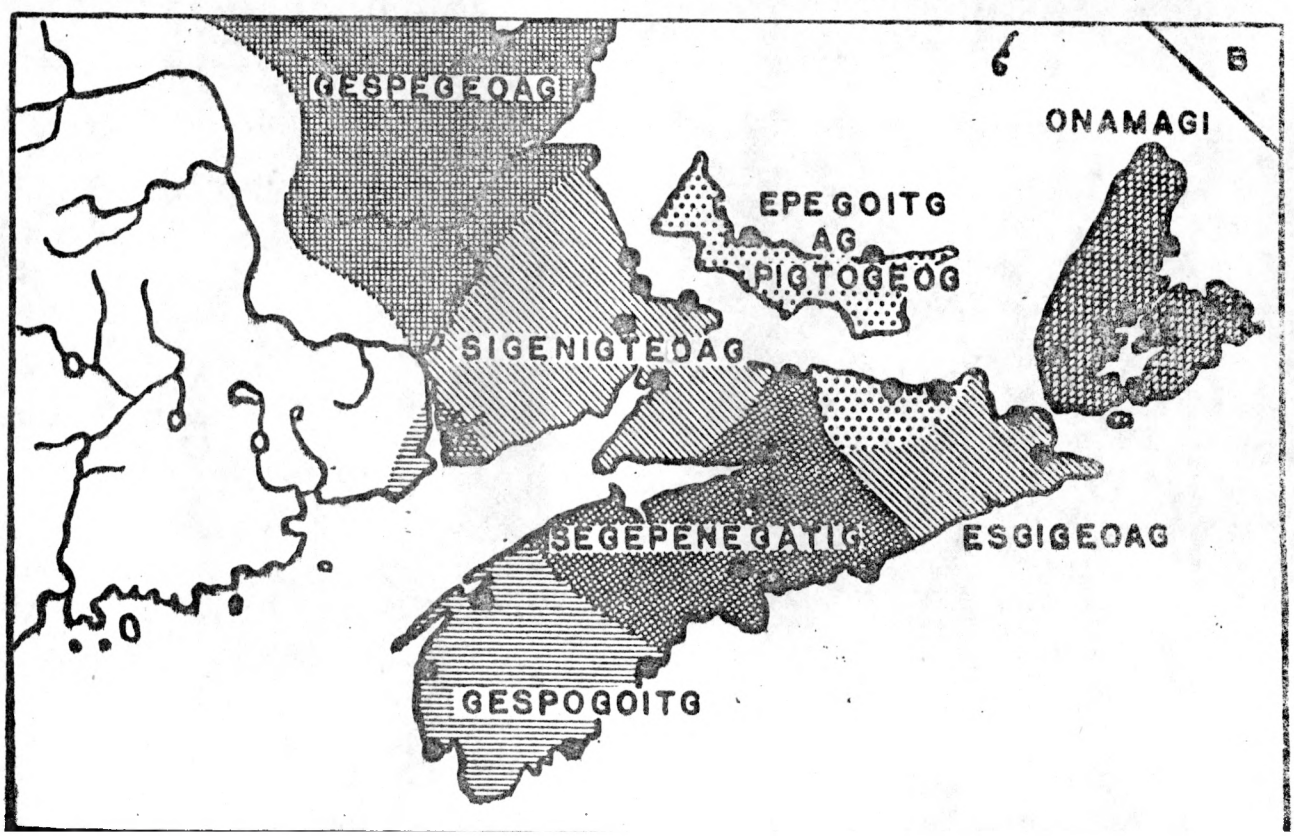
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GESPOGOITG

PÔGÔMOTJG=Pokemouche; Gediaak=ESETAIG=Shediac; Kashpugowitk=Keshpugowitk=GESPOGOITG=Cape Sable; Nalkitgoniash=NALIGITGONIETJG=Antigonish; Chigabennakadik=SEGEPENEGATIG=Shubenacadie; and Rishebouctou=LSIPOGTOG=Richibucto. The list deriving from Frye is peculiar in that Michael Algoumatimpk's name is given twice, but it must be noted that this individual is associated with the same area both times. Cooney apparently attempted to correct his version, for Algoumatimpk's name is deleted, a different chief is associated with Keshpugowitk, and this latter district is identified as being the same as Kishoubuguaak, that is, the modern Kouchibouguac River above Richibucto (Cooney, 1832, p. 38). Cooney also dropped the names of the chiefs from Cape Breton and Shubenacadie, switching several other names in the process. We will here accept the 1809 version of the list as the more correct one.

Both Piers and Pacifique agree that the Micmac nation was divided into seven traditional districts, and except for some minor details these districts coincide. In the following table these districts have been correlated with each other and with the local chieftanships indicated by Manach.

Fig. 17. Micmac chieftanships and districts

Manach	Piers (1912, p. 104)	Pacifique (1934)
Keshpugowitk La Have	Annapolis	GESPOGOITG

Chigabennakadik Minas	Shubenacadie	GTJIPOGTOGEOAG or SEGEPENEGATIG
	Eshegawaage	ESIGIEOAG
Cape Breton	Cape Breton	ONAMAGI
Pictou I. St. John	Pictou	PIGTOGEOG and EPEGOITG
Chignecto Gediaak Rishebouctou	Memramcook	SIGENIGTEOAG
Merimichi Tobogimkik Pohomoosh	Restigouche	GESPEGEOAG

The district of GESPOGOITG

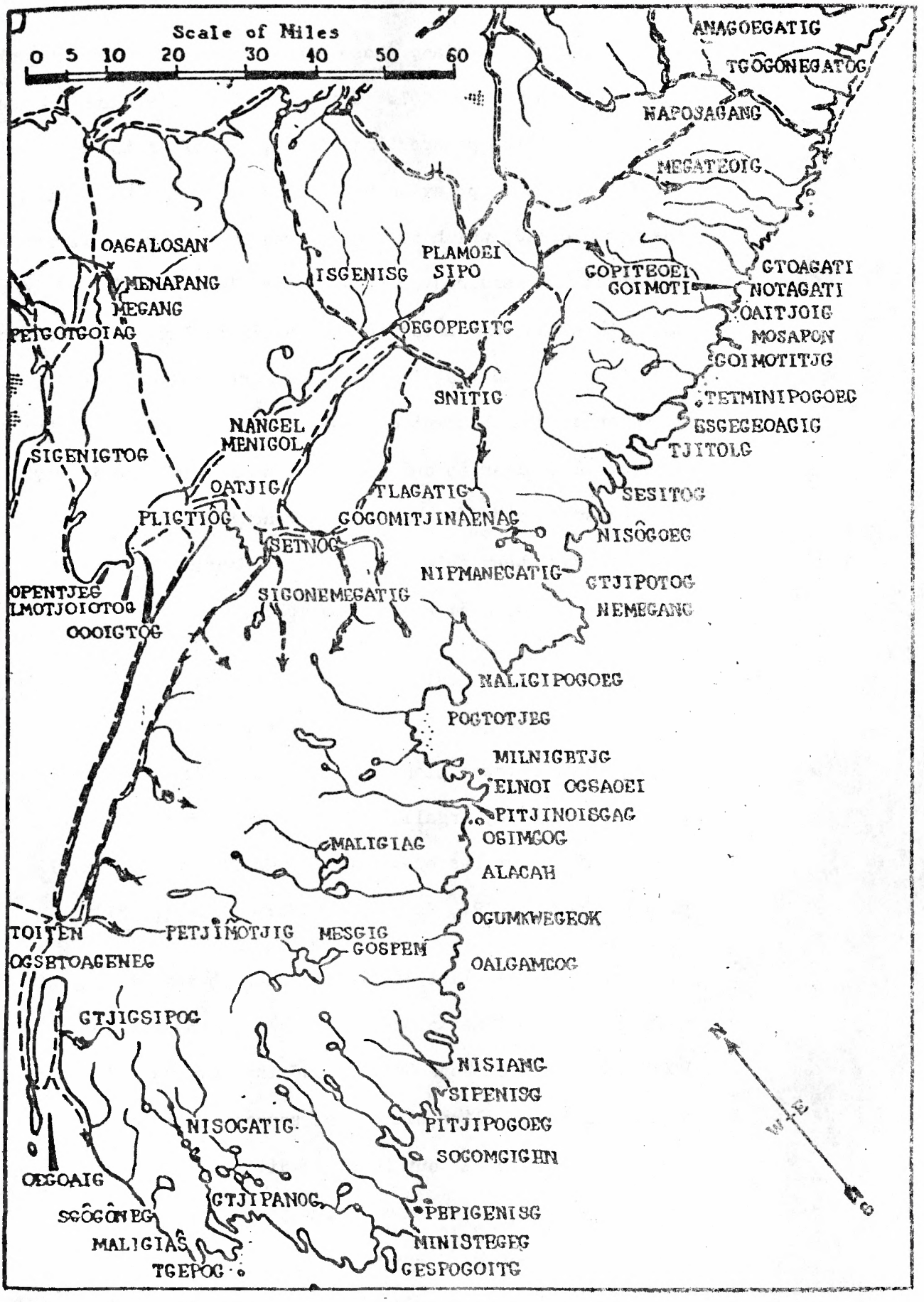
According to Pacifique, the first of the Micmac districts covered the southernmost part of the Nova Scotia peninsula, namely, the counties of Queens, Shelburne, Yarmouth, Digby, and Annapolis. The natives of the region, who were known as GESPOGOITNAG, seem to have been concentrated in at least four or five summer villages—not all of which were occupied at the same time, however. Skirting the area clockwise, the first was situated on the Lahave (La Hève) drainage; from the port map made by Champlain we learn that about 1604 an Indian village was located at the modern site of ELNOI OGSAOEI, or Indian Point, a little ways below the mouth of the river (Champlain, 1922, Pl. LXIV). Lescarbot tells us that in

1606 the chief SAKUMOW of the Lahave drainage was Messamoet, who had been France and had lived in the house of Sieur de Grandmont, Governor of Bayonne, and who became involved in Memberout's war against the Almouchiquois in 1607 (Lescarbot, 1911, pp. 323-324; Champlain, 1922, p. 458 fn.) In a slightly later work we learn that in 1610 Sieur de Poutrincourt stopped at Lahave, "expecting to find there a Chief, whom the French had for a long time called Martin." Since Martin had also been chief of Lahave in 1607, it seems probable that his Indian name was Messamoet. After Poutrincourt's visit, Martin went to Port Royal, where he was baptized, and where he died the following week (Lescarbot, 1612; in J.R., Vol. 2, pp. 143-149).

After the time of Messamoet or Martin, a long gap exists in the list of chiefs of Lahave. Pacifique tells us that in 1755 and 1760 this post was filled by Paul Laurent, who dealt with Governor Hopson on February 12, 1755 (Pacifique, 1934). From Frye's letter of March 7, 1760, giving Manach's list of the Micmac chiefs, we may conclude that most of the Lahave Indians had at that time moved to the Richibucto region, for Laurent told Frye that "he was a prisoner in Boston, and lived with Mr. Henshaw, a blacksmith. He is chief of a tribe, which before the war lived at La Have" (Frye, 1809, p. 115).

South of Lahave, Indian villages are known to have existed at Port Rossignol (now Port Liverpool), and at Port Mouton. In 1613 the chief at this latter site was Roland, who was the

Fig. 18. Map of Nova Scotia, showing Micmac sites and place names in the districts of GESPOGOITG, SEGEPENEGATIG, ESGIGEOAG, and SIGENIGTEOAG. Dashed lines indicate important canoe routes; these routes are not shown, however, for southern and eastern Nova Scotia, since these areas are completely interlaced by waterways. White land areas have elevations of 0-1000 feet; dotted land areas of 1000-2000 feet.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MALIGIAG
ALACAH
OGUMKWEGEOK
TOITEN
PETJINOTJIG
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younger son of Panoniac, whose death initiated the Souriquois-Almouchiquois war of 1607. Originally Roland's name had been Panoniagués ("the younger Panoniac"), but after the death of his father this appelation had been dropped and he had adopted the name Roland, which had been given to him by the French, and which was rendered as LÔLAN by the Indians. Pacifique postulates that the name Lôlan appears again in later times in the form Laurent, and that the Lôlan of Port Mouton in 1613 was the ancestor of Paul Laurent of Lahave. This is possible, but not proved. A similar speculation that we may indulge in would be that Lôlan's father Panoniac, and Panoniac's father Niguireet, may also have been chiefs of the Port Mouton district (Lescarbot, 1914, pp. 81-82, 283; Pacifique, 1934).

Lôlan is last mentioned in the sources for the year 1613, at which time he gave the party of Father Massé aid and comfort during their retreat along the coast after the destruction of Biard's mission by Argall, and informed them of the presence of French ships near Passepec or Sheet Harbor (Lescarbot, 1914, p. 65; Biard, in JR., Vol. 2, p. 263; Vol. 4, p. 27).

From Manach's list of 1760 we know that a Micmac chief resided at that time in the Cape Sable (Keshpugowitk or GES-POGOITG) region of Nova Scotia, and that his name was Michael Algoumatimpk. Earlier historical sources fail to mention a village in this area, but local traditions indicate that one

may have been located either near Cape Sable Island, or at Pubnico a little further to the west (Pacifique, 1934, p. 127).

In southwestern Nova Scotia the most important chief known to the early French was Membertou (MEMBERTOU), who resided at Port Royal (or Annapolis) but was apparently not only a district chief, but also a "grand chief." Lescarbot tells us that,

> ...at Port Royal, the name of the Captain or Sagamore of the place is Membertou. He is at least a hundred years old, and may in the course of nature live more that fifty years longer. He has under him a number of families whom he rules, not with so much authority as does our King over his subjects, but with sufficient power to harangue, advise, and lead them to war, to render justice to one who has a grievance, and like matters. He does not impose taxes upon the people, but if there any profits from the chase he has a share of them, without being obliged to take part in it. It is true that they sometimes make him presents of Beaver skins and other things, when he is occupied in curing the sick, or in questioning his demon (whom he calls Aoutem) to have news of some future event or of the absent: for, as each village, or company of Savages, has an Acutmoin, or Prophet, who performs this office, Membertou is the one who, from time immemorial, has practiced this art among his followers. He has done it so well that his reputation is far above that of all the other Sagamores of the country,

he has been since his youth a great Captain, and also having exercised the offices of Soothsayer and Medicine-man, which are the three things most efficacious to the well-being of man, and necessary to this human life. Now this Membertou to-day, by the grace of God, is a Christian, together witl all his family, having been baptized, and twenty others with him, on last Saint John's day, the 24th of June (1610). I have letters from Sieur de Poutrincourt about it, dated the eleventh day of July following. He said Membertou was named after our good late King HENRI IV., and his eldest son (Membertousoichis) after Monseigneur the Dauphin, to-day our King LOUIS X111., whom may God bless. And so, as a natural consequence, the wife of Membertou was named MARIE after the Queen Regent, and her daughter received the name of the Queen, MARGUERITE. The second son of Membertow, called Actaudin, was named PAUL after our holy Father, the Pope of Rome. The daughter of the aforesaid Louis was named CHRISTINE in honor of Madame, the eldest sister of the King. And thus to each one was given the name of some illustrious personage here in France... (Lescarbot, 1610; in JR., Vol. 1, pp. 75-77).

From the baptismal records of the Church of Port Royal, we find that the Membertou family included the following members:

1. Membertou, "a great Sagamore," named Emery.
2. Membertoucoichis, the eldest son of Membertou, over sixty years old, named Louis.

3. The eldest son of Membertoucoichis, aged five, named Jomi.
4. The eldest daughter of Louis, aged thirteen, named Christine.
5. The second daughter of Louis, aged eleven, named Elizabeth.
6. The third daughter of Louis, named Claude.
7. The fourth daughter of Louis, named Catherine.
8. The fifth daughter of Louis, named Jeanne.
9. The sixth daughter of Louis, named Charlotte.
10. Actaudinech, the third son of Henry Membertou, named Paul.
11. The wife of Paul, named Renée.
12. The wife of Henry, named Marie.
13. The daughter of Henry, named Marguerite.
14. A wife of Louis, named after Mme. de Sigogne.
15. The other wife of Louis, named after Madame de Dampierre.
16. Arnest, cousin of Henry, named Robert.
17. Agoudegoven, cousin of Henry, named Nicholas.
18. The wife of Nicholas, named Philippe.
19. The eldest daughter of Nicholas, named Louise.
20. The younger daughter of Nicholas, named Jacqueline.
21. A niece of Henry, named Anne.

(JR., Vol. 1, pp. 109-113).

From another source we know that the original name of Membertou's daughter (No. 13) was Membertouech'-coech' (Lescarbot, 1914, p. 216). Missing from this list is Membertou's second son, named Actaudin. Biard, in his 1612 letter (JR., Vol. 2, pp. 15-19), informs us that this individual was also baptized, although he does not give us his Christian name. It was from the rites associated with the expected death of this person (who recovered with Biard's aid), that Biard derived his account of Micmac funeral customs.

Biard tells us that Membertou "was the greatest, most renowned and most formidable savage within the memory of man; of splendid physique, taller and larger-limbed than is usual among them; bearded like a Frenchman, although scarcely any of the other have hair upon the chin; grave and reserved; feeling a proper sense of dignity for his position as commander" (Biard, 1612; in JR., Vol. 2, p. 23). Lescarbot augments this with the information that Membertou was,

> ...already a man of great age, and saw Captain Jacques Cartier in that country [in 1524, or later?], being already at that time a married man and the father of a family, though even now he does not look more than fifty years old. He has been a very great and cruel warrior in his youth and during his life. Therefore rumour runs that he has many enemies, and is well content to keep close to the French, in order to live in safety... (Lescarbot, 1911, pp. 354-355).

All this confirms the generally held conviction that Membertou was an unusual chief.

Membertou's residence before the arrival of the French colonists is a matter of speculation—Champlain giving us no pertinent information deriving from his early explorations, and other sources not mentioning this. Judging from his later locations, however, St. Mary's Bay and Annapolis Bay are possibilities. After the establishment of the Port Royal colony, Membertou seems to have had a village within the bay, but just where is not known. Lescarbot tells us that at the beginning of the war against the Almouchiquois,

> ...the savages, to the number of about four hundred, set out from the lodge which their Sagamos Membertou had fashioned anew in form of a town surrounded with high palisades, to go on the war-path against the Armouchiquois, at Chouakoet... (Lescarbot, 1911, p. 354).

Lescarbot's La Conversion des Savvages... (1610; in JR., Vol. 1, pp. 75-77) implies that Membertou's residence at the time of the return of the French to Port Royal in 1610 was again within the bay (see also Lescarbot, 1914, pp. 36-37). The following year, however, he had changed locations, for the Relatio Rerum Gestarum in Novo-Francica Missione... (Compagnie de Jésus, 1613; in JR., Vol. 2, p. 223) informs us that:

> ...Among this people the chief of each tribe is called a Sagamore, and Membertou was Sagamore among the Souriquois, in Acadia, to the St. John river, North of the fort at Port Royal. However, when he began to be afflicted with dysentery, he was residing at Bay Ste. Marie, as they call it, between Port Royal and the Southern coast, when he had ordered himself to be brought into the fort, in order that he might profit by the care of our physicians...

Since Membertou died on September 18, 1611, his camp on St. Mary's Bay would have been a summer installation (Lescarbot, 1914, p. 56).

In this connection a curious fact may be noted here: namely, that Membertou was not the only chief utilising St. Mary's Bay during the period 1610-1611, for Lescarbot tells us that in 1610, at the time that Membertou was baptised and was living at Port Royal, another chief was situated at the more southern site:

> ...another [chief] living at St. Mary's Bay, more than twelve leagues away, feeling ill, sent hastily to tell the said patriarch that he was ill, and desired to be baptized for fear of dying without becoming a Christian... (Lescarbot, 1914, p. 43).

Just what this means in terms of Micmac political structure is not clear; perhaps the chief referred to above was the local chief, and Membertou, being district chief as well as "grand

chief," may have had the privilege to reside anywhere he wished within the area.

In 1613, Louis Membertou (Membertoucoichis) was chief of a village near Cape Fourchu on the south coast, probably within the present Yarmouth Bay (Lescarbot, 1914, p. 65). In more recent times the residence of the district chief was again on Annapolis Bay, at Bear River; Piers tells us that in 1910 the chief's jurisdiction covered the counties of Annapolis, Digby, Yarmouth, Shelburne, and Queens (Piers, 1912, pp. 105-106).

The district of SEGEPENEGATIG

Compared to GESPOGOITG, the other districts of the Micmac nation are relatively little known. Some statements, however, can be made.

The second of the Micmac districts carried the name SEGEPENEGATIG (Pacifique) or SIGUNIKT (Speck, 1922, p. 95). Pacifique gives still another—GTJIPOGTOGEOAG—which is either an alternate or an error. According to Pacifique, this division took in the modern counties of Colchester, Hants. Kings, and Lunenburg up to Lahave, thus including the entire Minas Basin drainage system but only fronting upon the Atlantic between St. Margaret Bay and Lunenburg, and upon the St. Lawrence Gulf at Tatamagouche (Pacifique, 1934). Piers differs somewhat from Pacifique, stating that the jurisdiction of the district chief

extended over the counties of Halifax, Lunenburg, Kings, Hants, Colchester, and Cumberland (Piers, 1912, p. 105). Piers' inclusion of Cumberland may be an error, since this territory is equivalent to the Chignecto region represented by an independent chief in 1760; the position of Halifax county presents more of a problem, as we shall see.

Within the SEGEPENEGATIG district, three, and possibly four, summer village may be noted; these were located at Shubenacadie, Truro, Tatamagouche, and possibly at Halifax, or thereabouts. Of these, none are recorded within the early historical sources, largely because there was little French activity within this region during the 17th century. The name of the first village appears in the historical records around 1692, being mentioned at that time in the Cadillac Memoir on Acadia. We are told that the land up the Stewiake River is called "chicabenakady, that is to say, place of chicabenes" (Ganong, 1930a, p. 88); the presence of an Indian settlement is implied, but is not specifically stated. Pacifique tells us that the Indian name of Shubenacadie was SEGEPENEGATIG ("ground nut place"), and that Father Gaulin established a mission there in 1725 (Pacifique, 1934).

The existence of a village at Truro (OEGOPEGITG) on the Salmon River at the eastern end of Cobequid Bay is not specifically indicated in the early historical sources. However,

this must have been the residence of the chief in the Manach list designated as representing the "Minas" area, and the presence of a village there is documented by later sources. Tatamagouche (TAGAMIGOTJG), north of Truro on the shore of St. Lawrence Bay, is known to have been inhabited at the time of Father Maillard (Pacifique, 1934).

Several villages are known to have existed in the Halifax area, but it is not certain how many of them fell within the SEGEPENEGATIG district. In 1699, Dièreville met three Indian SAKUMOG or chiefs within Halifax Bay (PTJIPOTOG, "great bay"), indicating that it was some kind of Indian center (Dièreville, 1933, pp. 76-78). One Indian site is recorded at Beaver Bank, a little ways up the bay, and was known as NIPMANEGATIG ("cranberry place"); another is known on the west shore of Grand Lake, up the river from Halifax Bay, being occupied in the time of Father Maillard and being known as TLAGATIG ("camping ground"). Of these two village, the latter is more likely to have been included within the Shubenacadie precinct (Pacifique, 1933, p. 63).

Pacifique informs us, without citing any source, that the Shubenacadie chief in 1750 was Jean-Baptiste Cope (Pacifique, 1934, p. 111). If this was the case, this chief must have died before 1760, since the Manach list of this year gives the name of Claud Piguidawalwet. The list of Shubenacadie band chiefs given by Speck (1922, pp. 103-104) shows the Cope family to

have been the dominant one again around 1900, having seven hunting districts out of fifteen.

The district of ESGIGEOAGIG

The third political division of the Micmac nation was that of ESGIGEOAGIG ("skin dressers' territory"), also known in the literature as Acadie or TAGMOG (Maillard), as ESHEGAWAAGE (Piers, 1912, p. 105), and as ESKEGAWAAGE (Speck, 1922, p. 95). Piers and Pacifique differ considerably as to the former extent of this district: in one passage the first author tells us that it stretched from Canso to Halifax, and in another he states that it comprised the counties of Antigonish and Guysborough, with the chief residing at Pomquet (Piers, 1912, ~~1913~~, pp. 105-106); Pacifique informs us that the district took in the counties of Guysborough and Halifax (with the chief residing probably at ESGEGEOAGIG or Indian Point in Ship Harbor, north of Halifax), and places Antigonish county in the Pictou district (Pacifique, 1933b). These differences in opinion possibly reflect local differences in Micmac tradition, or changes in the district boundary in time.

Within the ESGIGEOAGIG district we must note seven sites at which settlements were, or may have been, located. These are:

1. NIPMANEGATIG, at Beaver Bank in Halifax Bay, if not to be included in the Shubenacadie district.

2. ESGEGEOAGIG, or Indian Point in Ship Harbor, traditionally the residence of the district chief.
3. GOIMOTITJG ("little harbor"), or Spry Bay Harbor.
4. MEGATEOIG ("big eels"), or Liscomb Harbor.
5. GAMSOG ("rock on the other side"), or Canso.
6. NOTOGETETOALNEG, at the mouth of Salmon River, emptying into SETAPOGTOGG ("running far back") or Chedabucto Bay.
7. OALAMGOAGANEG, or Port Mulgrave, at the entrance to the Gut or Strait of Canso.

Of these, only numbers (1) and (6) are definitely known to have been summer villages, but if native traditions are correct number (2) may also be added to the list. We know from the historical sources that Chedabucto Bay was an important fishing station at a very early date, and that a Capuchin mission was already established there by 1634—from which we may conclude that a relatively permanent Indian village must have been situated in the vicinity. Native tradition places such a village at the mouth of the Salmon River, and gives it the name indicated (Pacifique, 1933b).

Although history and tradition are silent, the site of OALAMGOAGANEG or Port Mulgrave must have been a very important one for the Micmac. According to Denys,

> ...those vessels which are going into the Great Bay of Saint Laurens to make their fishery, and which arrive on the coast at a very early time and are not able to enter into the Grand Bay of Saint Laurens by the Grand Passage [Cabot

> Strait] because of the ice-fields, come to seek this Little Passage, and place themselves at anchor in this cove to let the ice pass by. This place is called Fronsac [Port Mulgrave]. I have seen there as many as eight or ten vessels, and although the current was extremely strong in this Little Passage, the ice did not inconvenience the vessels at this place, because of a great point which advances and turns aside the tide which would carry the ice from the Great Bay... (Denys, 1908, p. 170).

Knowing that Port Mulgrave was, and still is, the only harbor on this coast giving protection from the spring ice packs, and knowing that it was used by the early fishing fleets attempting to slip into the Gulf of St. Lawrence behind the ice packs being carried out of the Cabot Strait by the Cape Breton current, we may reasonably suppose that both the Indians and the fishermen took advantage of this enforced stay on the part of the latter to engage in trading activities.

North and west of Port Mulgrave we find the disputed county of Antigonish. Here the important village seem to have been at TLAGATIG ("settlement"), now called Tracadie; at POGOMGEG ("dry sand"), now called Pomquet; and at NALIGITGONIETJG ("broken branches"), now called Antigonish. With respect to the first site we are told that,

> ...the islands in the harbour of Tracadie were thickly settled by the Indians before the white ever took possession

> of the place or came around its shores. The beauty of the groves and their convenience to sea and land would have rendered them a sort of happy hunting ground to the Red Man. Heaps of human bones, old coins, and various kinds of wooden utensils found on these islands bear witness to the prior Indian Settlement...The meaning of the name itself is most striking; it was THE Settlement, whilst the others were such and such settlement...(Rankin, 1929, pp. 376-377; quoted by Pacifique, 1931, p. 106).

To the west of Tracadie lies Pomquet Harbor, with the AMASIPOGOEG or Pomquet River, "by which the Indians come in canoes in the spring to bring their furs secretly to the fishermen, to whom this is not permitted, but who nevertheless give them tobacco and brandy in exchange" (Denys, 1908, p. 172). Piers (1912, p. 106) informs us that the native chief of Antigonish and Guysborough counties once resided here.

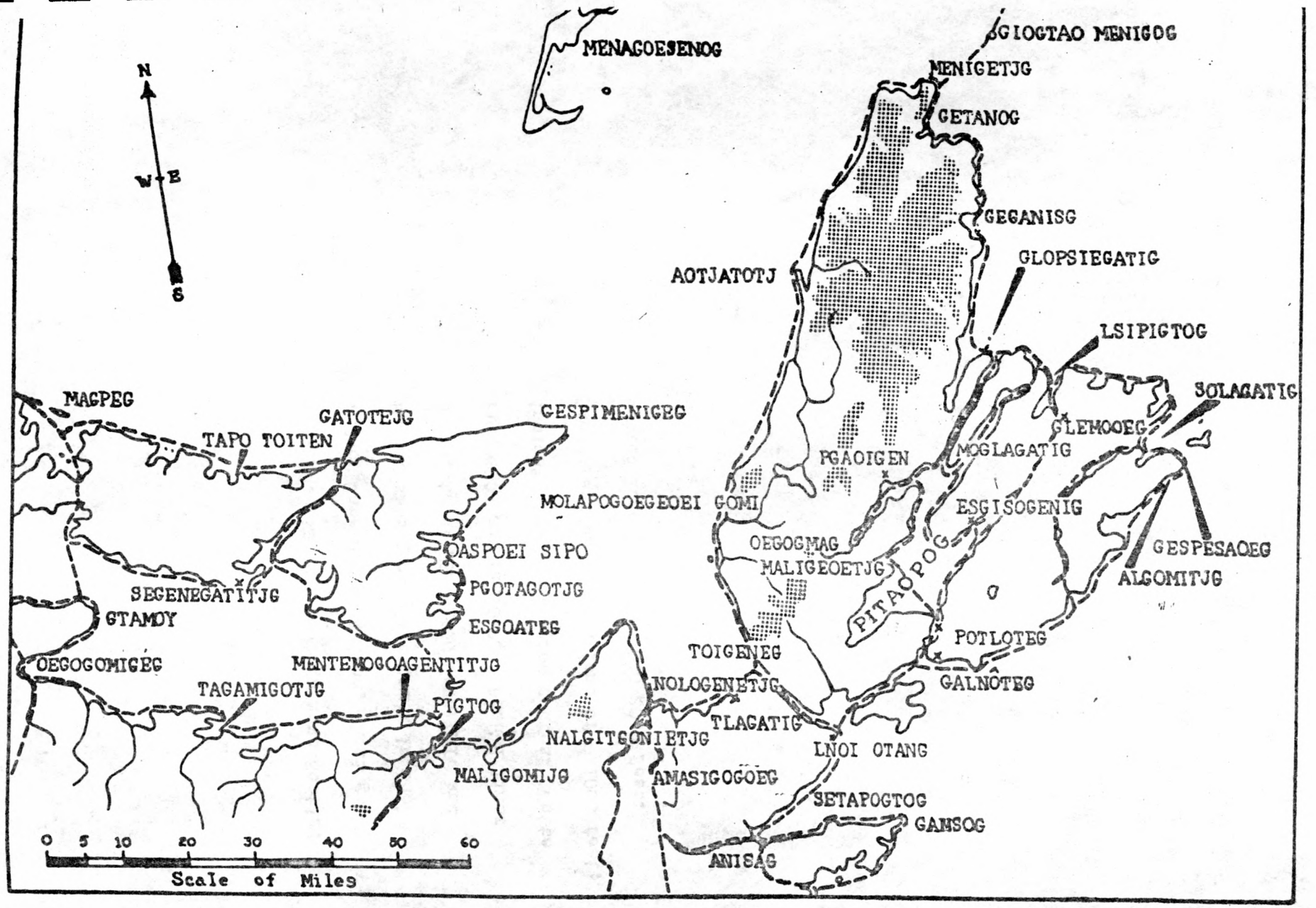
A little to the west of Pomquet we find the large harbor of Antigonish, and the last major village of the area. According to a manuscript source quoted by Pacifique, the Capuchin Fathers of St. Paters visited the natives here at various times between 1636 and 1658; after this they were ministered to by Father Antoine Gaulin, who left a relation dated 1726; and later by Father Maillard. From Gaulin's account we know that this was a favorite meeting place of the Micmac chiefs of the area, and from somewhat later sources it appears that the name of the

chief of this locality around 1760-1800 was Reni Nalkitgoniash or Reni La Morue (Pacifique, 1931, pp. 102-103; Frye, 1809, p. 116). From these, and other references, we have reason to suspect that this site was inhabited during the 16th and 17th centuries. Denys implies as much when he states that the rivers which empty into the bay "come from far inland and by them the Indians, who live there in great numbers, come in the spring to trade their furs" (Denys, 1908, p. 173), but does not specifically mention a settlement. The first proof of a village here is given on the Bellin map of 1755, which has the legend, "Village sauvage," associated with this geographical landmark.

The district of GWAMAGI

North of ESGIGEOAG we find the fourth district of the Micmac—GWAMAGI or the "foggy land," also known as L'Isle Royale and Cape Breton. In the Micmac world picture this was the "head" of the Micmac country, Nova Scotia being the "torso." Contrary to the conclusion of Speck (1922, pp. 107-108), the early French historical sources seem to indicate that Cape Breton possessed a heavy Indian population even before the middle of the 18th century. This population resulted from the natural advantages of the island—namely, its magnificent fishery—and, in the historic era, from the great French fishing fleets arrayed along its east coast and from the resulting fur trade. Denys tells us that,

Fig. 19. Map of northern Nova Scotia, and of Cape Breton Island, showing Micmac sites and place names in the districts of ESGIGEOAG, CNAMAGI, and PIGTOGEOG and EPEGOITG. Dashed lines indicate important canoe routes. White land areas have elevations of 0-1000 feet; dotted land areas of 1000-2000 feet.


MENAGOESENOG
GIOGTAO MENIGOG
MENIGETJG
GETANOG
GEGANISG
GLOPSIEGATIG
AOTJATOTJ
LSIPIGTOG
SOLAGATIG
GLEMOOEG
MOGLAGATIG
PGAOIGEN
MAGPEG
GATOTEJG
GESPIMENIGEG
TAPO TOITEN
MOLAPOGOEGEOEI GOMI
ESGISOGENIG
OASPOEI SIPO
OEGOGMAG
MALIGEOETJG
GESPESAOEG
ALGOMITJG
PITAOPOG
SEGENEGATITJG
PGOTAGOTJG
GTAMOY
ESGOATEG
POTLOTEG
TOIGENEG
OEGOGOMIGEG
MENTEMOGOAGENTITJG
NOLOGENETJG
GALNOTEG
TAGAMIGOTJG
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Scale of Miles

> ...that which makes it valued are the ports and roadsteads which the ships use to make their fishery. Mackerel and Herring are very abundant around the island, and the fishermen make their boitte or bait of them for catching the Cod, which is very fond of them, preferring them above everything else... (Denys. 1908. p. 186)

As we have noted earlier, the island seems to have been discovered in 1504, and we have some reason to suppose that the fur trade started shortly after this date. The importance which the early fishing interests attached to Cape Breton is illustrated by the fact that a Portuguese colony was established there as early as c.1520; cartographical materials apparently deriving from this venture, and appearing around 1550, imply intensive contact with the native population, for they preserve aboriginal place-names which can be correlated with Micmac names still in use there in recent times.

By the middle of the 17th century the native use of firearms secured through the fur trade resulted in at least one major ecological change taking place upon Cape Breton, for Denys informs us that,

> ...this island has also been esteemed for the hunting of Moose. They were found formerly in great numbers, but at present they are no more. The Indians have destroyed everything, and have abandoned the island, finding there

> no longer the wherewithal for living. It is not that the chase of small game is not good and abundant there, but this does not suffice for their support, besides which it costs them too much in powder and ball... (Denys, 1908, p. 187).

The results of this faunal change probably affected the Micmac of the island only in winter, and however serious it may have been at the time the moose later returned to the island, and a French official could still state in 1745 that "the Miramichi and the Labrador [Bras D'Or Lake] constitute the principal gathering places of the Micmac of the entire country" (Pacifique, 1933, p. 40).

From the available information we may list five important Indian villages situated on the Atlantic coast of Cape Breton. These are: PASLOEGATI or POTLOTEG, also known as Chapel Island, Indian Island, or Port Toulouse, at the southern entrance to Bras D'Or Lake (the "Labrador"); SOLAGATIG ("mussel place") or Mira Bay; MILETJG ("many shaped"), called by the French l'Indienne, corrupted by the English into Lingan; GLEMOOEG, in the south arm of Sydney Bay; and GEGANISG, or North Ingonish. On the west coast of Cape Breton only one site is known—that of MOLAPOGOE-GEOEI GÔMI ("deeply gutted out harbor"), now known as Mabou Harbor. Within the Bras D'Or Lake, four more sites are known: MALIGEOETJG or Malagawatch, at the southern entrance to Denys Basin; PGAOIGEN ("wigwams made of bark"), or Nyanza on St. Patrick's

Channel; and ESGISOGENIG or Escasoni, on the East Bay.

Of these sites, that at Mira Bay is one of the first to come to European attention, though not in a manner permitting us to conclude that a village was necessarily located there. The Micmac name appears on Portuguese maps of c.1550 in the forms Xoracade, Xaracada, and Xaracadi, where X represents the consonant cluster sh represented by S in Pacifique's semi-phonemic system, and Micmac L has been interpreted as Romance R. In later times a village was probably located there, but we have little direct evidence (Pacifique, 1933, p. 40).

The site of GEGANISG or Ingonish is known to us from the time of Champlain, and was described by Champlain himself in the year 1607, under the name Niganis, as being one of the two most important fishing stations in Cape Breton—the other being English Harbor (port aux Anglois) or Louisbourg (Champlain, 1922, p. 456; 1929, pp. 417-418). Denys uses the same name, spelling it Niganiche; it is not clear how this old French term was metathesized into the modern English form Ingonish (Denys, 1908, p. 184). According to local tradition this was the site of the Portuguese colony of c.1520; the same sources indicate an Indian village (Pacifique, 1933a, p. 38).

Our first reference to a village on the Labrador deals with Malagawatch, where Father Gaulin established the central Indian mission after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. The central mission

remainded here until 1750, at which time Maillard moved it to Port Toulouse or Chapel Island (Pacifique, 1933a, p. 35). Escasoni appears in the sources about 1759, being chosen at that time as a residence by the "grand chief" of the Micmac, Tomah Denys, who moved to Cape Breton with his family from Cumberland county (SIGENIGTEOAG district) after the battle of Quebec (Speck, 1922, p. 108). Previously, Cape Breton had had as its chief an individual named Jeannot Peguidalouet (PEGUIDEOUALOUET; called Petit Jean by l'Abbe Maillard), who was appointed first Captain of the Micmac Warriors at Louisbourg on November 8, 1750, and chief on September 10, 1751, by the French governor of Cape Breton, Comte de Raymond (Pacifique, 1933a, p. 48). We also know that this chief was wounded in the siege of Louisbourg in 1758; that he was still chief of the island in 1760, appearing on the Manach list as Jeannot Piguidawalwet; and that a relative, Claud Piguidawalwet, was chief of the Shubenacadie district at the same time (Frye, 1809, p. 116). Curiously enough, no Denys appears upon Manach's list of the Micmac chiefs, although the chieftainship remained in the Denys family, Speck informing us that the "grand chief" of the tribe about 1900 was Tomah Denys' great grandson, John Denys, of Escasoni (Speck, 1922, p. 108).

Of the remaining two villages within the Labrador, Whycocomagh is referred to as being a village by Speck (1922, p. 107); our evidence for the former existence of a village at Nyanza rests solely upon the native name—PGAOIGEN—meaning "wigwams made of bark."

Port Toulouse is known to us as the site to which Maillard moved the central Indian mission in 1750 (Pacifique, 1933a, p. 48). The former existence of a village at GLEMOOEG in Sydney Harbor is relatively well established, but that at Lingan or Indian Bay east of Sydney Harbor depends upon the fact that the early French used the name l'Indienne for this landmark. Mabou Harbor may be suspected as the site of a village since it has one of the very few beaches on the west coast of Cape Breton, is well protected, forms the mouth of one of the few rivers of the coast, and is famous for the great number of salmon which enter it to spawn.

The district of PIGTOGEOG and EPEGOITG

Leaving Cape Breton, we come to the fifth district of the Micmac—the one including the area around Pictou (PIGTOGEOG) and Prince Edward Island (EPEGOITG, "lying in the water"). Passing westward from Antigonish around Cape George, the first important site which we encounter within the district is MALIGOMITJG ("many coves"), now known as Merigomish. During the 18th century this was the headquarters of the district chief; in 1761 this individual was Jeanneoville Pectougawash, also known as Jean Noel or John Newil, and it was this chief who submitted to the English on behalf of his tribe; in 1783 the chief here was Paul Chackegonouet (Murdoch, 1865-1867, Vol. 2, p. 407; Pacifique, 1931, pp. 96, 100). This site is mentioned as being inhabited in the Micmac legend of the "Canibas" foray, which

we will discuss shortly; the date of this event is uncertain, but falls within the historic period.

Five miles west of the harbor of Merigomish we find the harbor of PIGTOG ("explosion," or "fart"), now called Pictou, within which are found a number of important sites. Two villages and a gathering place need to be mentioned; of these, the first, the village of OISASÔG ("yellow rock"), was located within Boat Harbor a little to the east of the entrance to Pictou Harbor; the second, OGOASGOG ("drawing up canoes"), located on the East River. Both of these first became known to Europeans in the 18th century, but native traditions indicate that they were the sites of settlements long before (Pacifique, 1931, pp. 98-99).

Indian traditions also indicate that Pictou has long been an important gathering place for the nation, and in the Glooscap cycle it is pictured as the center of the Indian country—the place at which all the Indians were when Glooscap taught them their arts and crafts (Speck, 1915b, p. 60). In this respect an account given us by Patterson (1877, pp. 106, 188) and quoted by Pacifique (1931, p. 98) is of great interest.

> A great alarm was excited here in 1779 by a large gathering of Indians from Miramichi to Cape Breton, probably a grand council of the whole Micmac tribe. In that year some Indians of the former place having plundered the

inhabitants, in the American interest, a British man-of-war seized sixteen of them, of whom twelve were carried to Quebec as hostages and afterwards brought to Halifax. This is what led to this grand gathering. For several days they were assembled to the number of several hundred, and the design of the meeting was believed to be, to consult on the question of joining in the war against the English. The settlers were much alarmed, but the Indians dispersed quietly...But every year, usually in the month of September they assembled in large numbers, from Prince Edward Island, Antigonish and other places, their usual place of rendez-vous being either this Fraser's Pt. [near Trenton, on the East River] or Middle River Pt. A person brought up at the latter place, has told me that he has counted one hundred canoes at one time drawn up on the shore, and it was said that they would sometimes number one hundred and fifty. Sometimes two days would be spent in racing or similar amusements. At night came feasting. My informant, on one occasion, when a boy, spent an evening at one of these entertainments. He says that they had twelve barrels of porridge prepared, which the squaws served out to the men, ladling it into dishes, that, he supposed, would hold near a peck each. Two moose were also served up on the occasion, with a quantity of boiled barley. Afterward they had various plays and games; but the last night they spent in singing and praying. These gatherings

> continued yearly, till a vessel with small pox was sent to quarantine at the mouth of the Middle River, about the year 1838. They have now similar gatherings annually, in the month of July, on Indian Island, Merigomish...

According to Pacifique (1931, p. 98) the name of this gathering place was OALETJG or OALITJG, meaning "little snow balls."

The harbor of Pictou also seems to have been the site of a number of Indian battles; one of these took place between the "Canibas" or Kennebec Indians of Maine and the Micmac—the story being preserved for us by Rand (1894, pp. 179-182). The incident apparently took place during historic times, probably during the 17th century. The initiating move was made by two parties of Indians from Kennebec, who established themselves in fortified positions at the mouth of the Pictou. The Micmac at this time were in a fortified position at Merigomish. After the Canibas had cut off a Micmac fishing party and killed all of its members except two, who escaped, the Micmac retaliated. Their chief Kaktoogō ("thunder") or Toonāle (the Micmac name translated into French Tonnerre, and then transferred back into Indian) loaded a fishing boat with men, arms, and amunition, sailed over to the Caniba forts, beached the boat, and rushed one of the fortifications, killing all of the enemy within. The remaining party then made a peace which lasted ever since.

The story of another war incident is preserved for us only in local tradition, and concerns the Micmac and their enemies,

the Kwŏdŏch, here confused with the Mohawks. At the western entrance to Pictou Harbor, where the coast turns to the west, we find a river known to the Indians as MENTEMOGOAGENTITJG ("little oyster fishing") and known to the whites as Carriboo River; immediately off shore is Carriboo Island, or GOMAGANEG; while the strait between the island and the mainland is known as TETOTGESIT ("running into the bushes"), and is the subject of the following tale:

> ...The Micmac having heard of the coming of a party of their foes, they concealed themselves in the woods on Little Carriboo Island. Between this and the main land the passage is very narrow, not 200 yards wide. The Mohawks had detected the hiding place of the Micmacs, and supposing that they might readily, by wading or swimming, pass that distance, resolved to cross by night and attack their enemies while they were asleep. But the tide is too powerful for any man to swim across it. The Mohawks, not knowing this, plunged in, and the tide ebbing at the time, they were swept away. In the morning the returning tide brought back their dead bodies, each with his tomahawk tied on his head. The Micmac, coming out of their place of concealment, were filled with joy at the sight of their dead foes, and danced in triumph for their deliverance. At the time of the arrival of the English settlers, the affair was still fresh in the memory of the Micmacs, and was represented as having taken place only a short time

> before, during the wars between the English and the French. The late James Harris mentioned that he found two or three iron tomahawks in the sand on the shore of Little Carriboo Island, which at the time were regarded as having belonged to the Mohawks... (Pacifique, 1931, pp. 96-97).

A little past this landmark, the mainland section of this Micmac district ends, giving way to that of Shubenacadie, which reaches to the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the vicinity of Tatamagouche. The district also takes in Prince Edward Island, however, and we may now consider this precinct briefly.

Three major sites, and a number of smaller ones, are known to us from EPEGOITG or Prince Edward Island. Of these, Malpeque Bay (MAGPEG, "large bay"), in the western part of the island, seems to have been the most important during the historic period. It was first mentioned in a letter of 1738, written by the Abbe Le Loutre, as Malpek, and was described as one of the three Micmac missions of his day. Le Loutre also informs us that the village was some "27 leagues from the port of La Joie [Charlottetown], with five or six other villages which are dependent upon it" (Pacifique, 1929, p. 40). The advantages of Malpeque Bay are such that it must have been favored aboriginal campsite; among other things, it is within easy distance of the three major walrus hunting grounds of the island (marked A, B, and C on the map of Micmac placenames). Malpeque was probably the residence of Baptiste La Morue, chief in 1760; around 1900 the chief was John

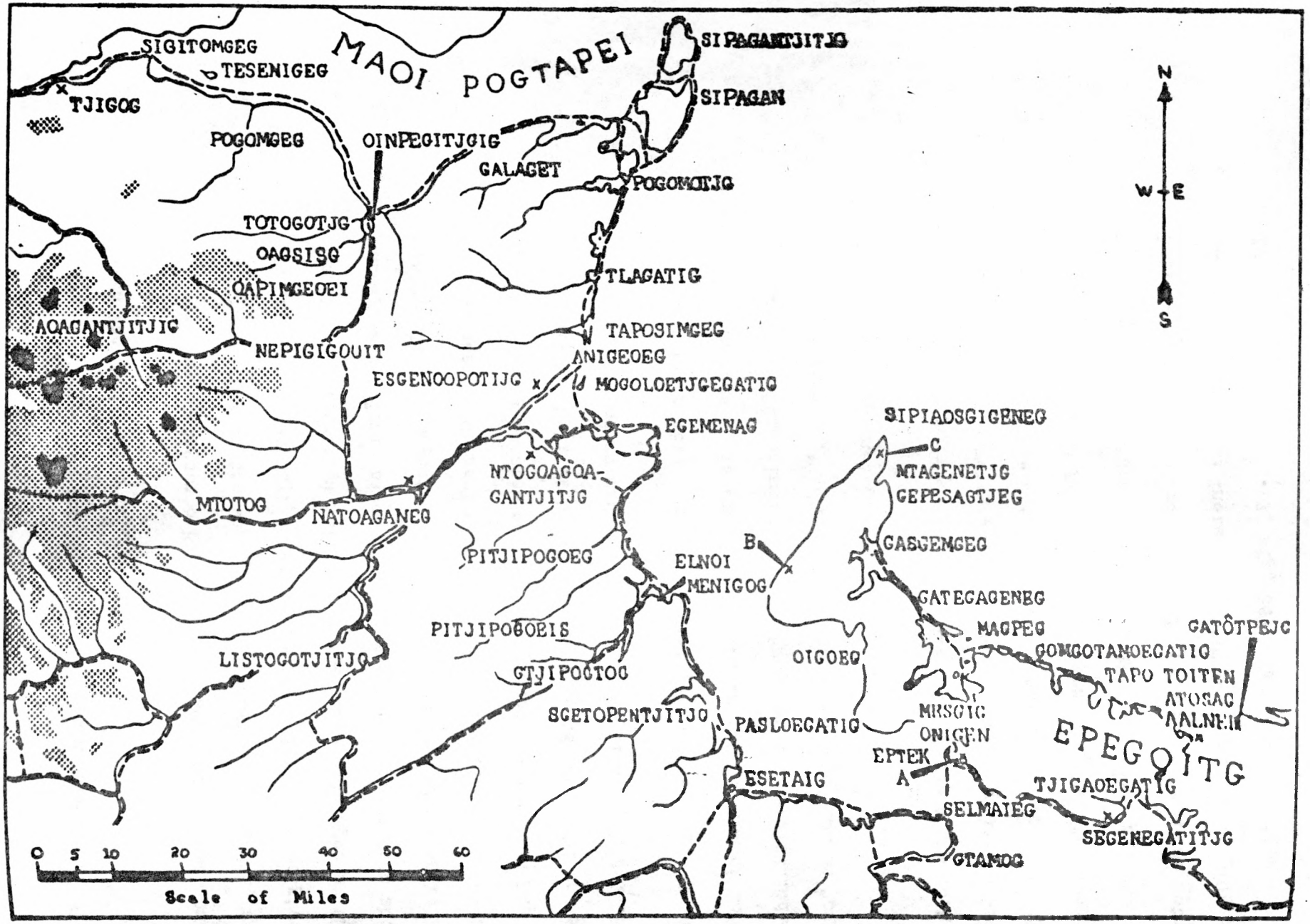
Sark, residing at Cascumpeque (GASGEMGEG, "sand bluff"), a little to the north (Pacifique, 1929, pp. 39-40; Speck, 1922, p. 116).

In the eastern part of the island, one of the more important recent villages seems to have been located up the Hillsborough River from Charlottetown, near Southport Ferry, being known as ATOSAG OAINEI ("trout cove"). Charlottetown (POGSEG, "rocky strait") was important in its own right as the place where Maillard distributed the traditional gifts from the French government to the Indians of the island (Pacifique, 1929, p. 42). Just north of ATOSAG OAINEI, on the northern coast of the island within Rustico Bay (TAPO TOITEN, "double entrance"), was another important site (Gesner, in Douglas, 1925, pp. 45-46).

The district of SIGENIGTEOAG

Leaving Prince Edward Island, we come to the sixth political division of the Micmac nation—that of SIGENIGTEOAG, which included the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, Albert, Kent, and—in the early historic period—the counties east of the St. John and south of Grand Lake, namely St. John, Kings, and Queens. The region thus contained a number of important drainage systems, each of which probably had a village and a local chief at some time during the early historic period. These drainage systems are: Cumberland Basin; Verte Baie; Petitcodiac; Shediac; Buctouche; Richibucto; Kouchibouguacis; and Kouchibouguac. Of these, the

Fig. 20. Map of northern New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, showing Micmac sites and place names in the districts of PIGTOGEOG and EPEGOITG, SIGENIGTEOAG, and GESPEGEOAG. Dashed lines indicate important canoe routes. White land areas have elevations of 0-1000 feet; dotted land areas of 1000-2000 feet; black land areas of above 2000 feet.


MAOI POGTAPEI
SIGITOMGEG
TESENIGEG
TJIGOG
POGOMGEG
OINPEGITJGIG
GALAGET
SIPAGANTJITJG
SIPAGAN
POGOMOTJG
TOTOGOTJG
OAGSISG
TLAGATIG
QAPIMGEOEI
AOAGANTJITJIG
NEPIGIGOUIT
TAPOSIMGEG
ANIGEOEG
ESGENOOPOTIJG
MOGOLOETJGEGATIG
EGEMENAG
SIPIAOSGIGENEG
C
NTOGOAGOA-
GANTJITJG
MTAGENETJG
GEPESAGTJEG
MTOTOG
NATOAGANEG
B
GASGEMGEG
PITJIPOGOEG
ELNOI
MENIGOG
GATEGAGENEG
MAGPEG
GATÔTPEJG
PITJIPOGOEIS
OIGOEG
GOMGOTANOEGATIG
LISTOGOTJITJG
TAPO TOITEN
GTJIPOGTOG
ATOSAG
SGETOPENTJITJG
PASLOEGATIG
MRSGIG
ONIGEN
EPEGOITG
EPTEK
A
ESETAIG
TJIGAOEGATIG
SELMAIEG
SEGENEGATITJG
GTAMOG
N
W
E
S
0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60
Scale of Miles

most important from the standpoint of the native population were the Petitcodiac and the Richibucto.

Although Chignecto Bay and Cumberland Basin played an important part in the early French settlement of Acadia, and in the French and English wars, the historical sources give us little information relative to the native villages of the area, particularly since the maps are inadequate before about 1680. We may suspect, however, that the area about Sackville, at the head of Cumberland Basin, was an important one for the natives, being located on the main portage between the Bay of Fundy and the Gulf of St. Lawrence—this is confirmed to some extent by legendary materials (e.g., Rand, 1894, pp. 294-296).

Our information concerning Baie Verte, just north of Cumberland Basin, is somewhat better, for at the end of the portage from Cumberland Basin the Franquet map of 1752 indicates a "cabane sauvage," as well as a "tombe sauvage" and an "autre tombe plus ancienne" (Ganong, 1899, p. 286).

Despite the early French settlements on the Memramcook and Petitcodiac Rivers, information is almost completely lacking concerning these activities and those of the Indians. The first name, derived from the Micmac form AMLAMGOG ("many and varied streams") appears in 1686 in the De Meulles map as Mimramcou, while the second appears at the same time as Petcoucoye, and derives from the Indian PETGOTGOIAG ("bent stream")(Ganong, 1896, pp. 251, 261; 1897, Fig. 26). One of these sites, or that

at Cumberland Basin, may have been the residence of the "grand chief" Tomah Denys before his removal to Cape Breton Island. In more recent times, Piers (1912, p. 105) describes Memramcook as the residence of the district chief. The region is also noted in Micmac history as the scene of warfare between the KWEDECHES and the Micmac, the legend telling us that,

> ...The Kwedeches having retired to Fort Cumberland, and thence on to Tantama' (Sackville), before their enemies, and thence on beyond Petcootkweâk (Peticodiac), Ulgimoo built a mound and fortification at the place now called Salsbury, where the mound still remains... (Rand, 1894, pp. 294-295).

Some evidence exists pointing to the former presence of Indian villages at Shediac and Buctouche; the first is given by the Manach list as the residence of a chief in 1760, and a possible Indian fort is known to exist on Indian Island within the bay. At Buctouche, or SGETOPENTJITJG ("descending way"), an old Indian village site is known at Indian Point. A burial ground is also reported on the MTJIGGWEG or Black River a few miles to the north (Ganong, 1906, p. 80).

We are fortunate in possessing some very detailed information from Denys concerning the Micmac establishment on the Richibucto or LSIPOGTOG river. Denys informs us that,

...The Chief at Rechibouctou, named Denis, is a conceited and vicious Indian. All the others of the Great Bay [of S. Laurent] fear him. He has upon the border of the basin of this river a rather large fort of stakes, with two kinds of bastions; inside is his wigwam, and the other Indians are encamped around him. He has a great piece of wood placed upright to the top of a tree, with large pegs which pass through it in the manner of an estrapade and serve as steps for ascending to the top. There from time to time he sends an Indian to see if he can perceive anything along the coasts. From this place one can see far out to sea. If any vessels or canoes are seen, he has his entire force brought under arms with their bows and arrows and their muskets, places a sentinel on the approach to ask what persons they are, and then according to his whim he makes them wait, or has them come immediately. Before entering it is required that they make a discharge of their guns, as a salute, and sometimes two. Then the leader enters, and his suite after him. He never goes out from his wigwam to receive those who come to visit him. He is always there planted upon his haunches like an ape, his pipe in his mouth if he has any tobacco. He never speaks first. He expects that he shall be paid a compliment; and sometime later he replies with the gravity of a magistrate. If he goes to the wigwam of some Indian,

> on arriving he has a musket discharged to inform the other Indians, who come out from their wigwams, and go to meet him with their muskets. Then they accompany him to the wigwams, [and] when he goes inside they again fire each one a shot from his musket. Such is the manner in which he makes them receive him, more through fear than through friendship. They all wish for his death; he is not liked by a single one. If they are delinquent in their duty, he beats them, but not when they are together, for in this case he could not do it with impunity. But when he catches them alone he makes them remember their duty. If the Indians make a debauch, he is never of their number, [but] he hides himself; for in drunkenness they are as great chiefs as he, and if he were to say to them something which made them angry, they would murder him. At such times he is wise, and never speaks of his greatness... (Denys, 1908, pp. 195-196).

The problem of Chief Denis' chieftainship will be discussed later; here we may merely note that his fort probably was located on the present-day Indian Island (LHOI MENIGOG), where "the present Indians say their most important village was in early times. This island, now abandoned and grown up with scrubby woods, is rather more elevated than any other land in the vicinity of the basin, and moreover is the only one of the known Indian village sites of Richibucto...which commands the views mentioned by author along the coast" (Ganong; in Denys, 1908, p. 195, fn.)

This may also have been the village referred to at a later date as TETTOETJITTAGN ("village of poor prayers"), but this name may also have been applied to the site on the present location of the town of Richibucto, at Platt's, or Shipyard Point, just below the present Marine hospital (Pacifique, 1928b, p. 143).

The Shipyard site seems to have been the location of the Micmac village of c.1730, for it is here that Indian tradition places the rock upon which one of their members was excuted by stoning for the crime of having treasonable correspondence with the Mohawks imported by the English to terrify the Maritime Indians into submission (Ganong, 1906, p. 80; Pacifique, 1928, p. 143). An Indian uprising of a few years earlier seems to have been led by a chief from here, for Cooney (1832, pp. 136-137) tells us that:

> ...In the year 1723, or 1724, a very general war was commenced against the English by several divisions of the Micmac, or Eastern Nation, of which the most violent, as also the most sanguinary, were the Richibuctos. This tribe assisted by a party of Penobscots, and commanded by a formidable and stalwart fellow, called Argimoosh, or the Great Witch, attacked Canso, and other harbours in its vicinity, whence they took 16 or 17 sail of fishing vessels belonging to Massachusetts...

In Manach's time, the chief at Richibucto was Augustine Michael (Frye, 1809, p. 116).

Tradition reports other village sites on the Richibucto besides the two just discussed: one of these seems to have been located at the mouth of the Aldouin River about a mile or so from Richibucto, having associated with it a burial ground known as OTGOTAGANEGATIG; a few miles up the river another village site occurs just below the town of Rexton. Still another burial ground is to be found further up the river at a site opposite the Molus River. No historic information concerning these sites seems available, however (Pacifique, 1928, pp. 143-145).

The District of GESPEGEOAG

North of the Richibucto and its allied rivers, the Kouchibouguacis and the Kouchibouguac, we come to the seventh and last traditional district of the Micmac nation—known as GESPEGOAG, or the "last land." According to the Micmac legends, this is the most recently acquired section of the Micmac lands, being wrested from the KWĔDĔCH; it is also the largest, almost equaling all the other districts put together. Within the district of GESPEGEOAG, three rivers are of major importance: the Miramichi, the Nipisiguit, and the Restigouche. Although villages were also located on smaller drainages, the important chiefs seem to have been located upon these three large rivers.

The Miramichi drainage is the largest within the Micmac territory and, according to Denys, supported the largest part of the Micmac population (Denys, 1908, p. 199). Despite this

fact, few of the Miramichi villages are known to us through historical sources. The evidence is best for the very important site of Burnt Church, on the northern side of Miramichi Bay. This was originally known to the Indians under the name of ESGENOOPOTITJG ("watching and waiting"), and appeared in the French missionary accounts as Skinoubondiche (ESGENOOPOTITJG= Es-kum-oo-ob-a-dich=Skinoubondiche). Saint-Vallier tells us that a Recollect mission was established near there in 1685-1686 upon land given to the order by the Sieur Richard Denys de Fronsac. The site seems to have been continually occupied by the Indians after this date, although priests were absent for long periods. In 1758 or 1759 the church was burned by the English, whence the present name (Ganong, 1899, p. 238; 1906d, pp. 21-82; Pacifique, 1928a, p. 46). Other traditional native villages on the Miramichi include NATOAGANEG ("eel fishing"), near the junction of the Northwest Miramichi with the main Southwest branch; METEPENAGIAG ("high bank"), known now as Red Bank, at the junction of the Little Southwest branch with the Northwest; and ALNAO ("Indian town"), at the junction of the Renous with the Southwest Miramichi (Pacifique, 1928a, pp. 209, 213).

The Miramichi Indians are famous in the French sources as the "Cross-bearers." Despite this fact, the early accounts give us neither the names of their chiefs nor the locations of their principal settlements. In 1760 the chief on the Miramichi was

Louis Francis (Frye, 1809, p. 116). From Micmac legends we learn that a very important chief of the river, and the one who defeated the KWĔDĔCH for the last time, was called Mĕjelăbĕgadăsĭch or "Tied-in-a-hard-knot." We will return to this individual shortly (Rand, 1894, pp. 212-215).

North of Miramichi Bay lie the rivers of Tabusintac (TAPOSIMGEG, "the couple"), Tracadie (TLAGATIG, "camping ground"), Maltemque (MALTENGEG), and Pokemouche (POGOMOTJG, "where holes are made for fishing"). According to Ganong all of these had native settlements at their mouths—the one at the last named site being known as SAGAOETJOEGATIG (Ganong, [1906-1908], pp. 317-318; Pacifique, 1927, p. 185; 1928a, p. 44). The Manach list tells us that the chief at Tabusintac in 1760 was Dennis Winemowet, and that the one at Pokemouche was Etienne Abehabo (Frye, 1809, p. 116).

To the north of Pokemouche we come to the islands of Shipagan (SIPAGAN, "passage") and Miscou (SIPAGANTJITJG, "little SIPAGAN"), which were of great importance to the native because of the presence of walruses upon the beaches, and of a heavy concentration of French fishing boats offshore. No large villages seem to have been located in the immediate vicinity, however (Denys, 1908, pp. 200-204; Ganong, 1904b, pp. 240-241; 1906c, pp. 462-464; Pacifique, 1927, pp. 184-185).

West of the Miscou region lies Chaleur Bay (MAOI POGTAPEI, "the grand bay"), and the important rivers of Nepisiguit and

Restigouche. At the first of these, known to the Indians as OINPEGITJOIG, NEPIGIGOUIT, or WINKAPIGUWICK (all of which mean "roughly flowing" or "troubled and foaming water"), the Indian village was most likely located on St. Peter's Island (OINPEGITJOIG) within Nepisiguit Basin and opposite the modern town of Bathurst (Ganong, 1899, p. 232). The earliest French settlement here was that of the Recollects of the Province of Aquitaine, established in 1620. Somewhat later the Capuchins worked here, and in 1644 the Jesuits established a mission there. Denys' establishment was on the northwest side of the basin, and consisted of some houses, a trading post, and a fort (Denys, 1908, pp. 213-214; Ganong, 1899, p. 299; Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 161-163).

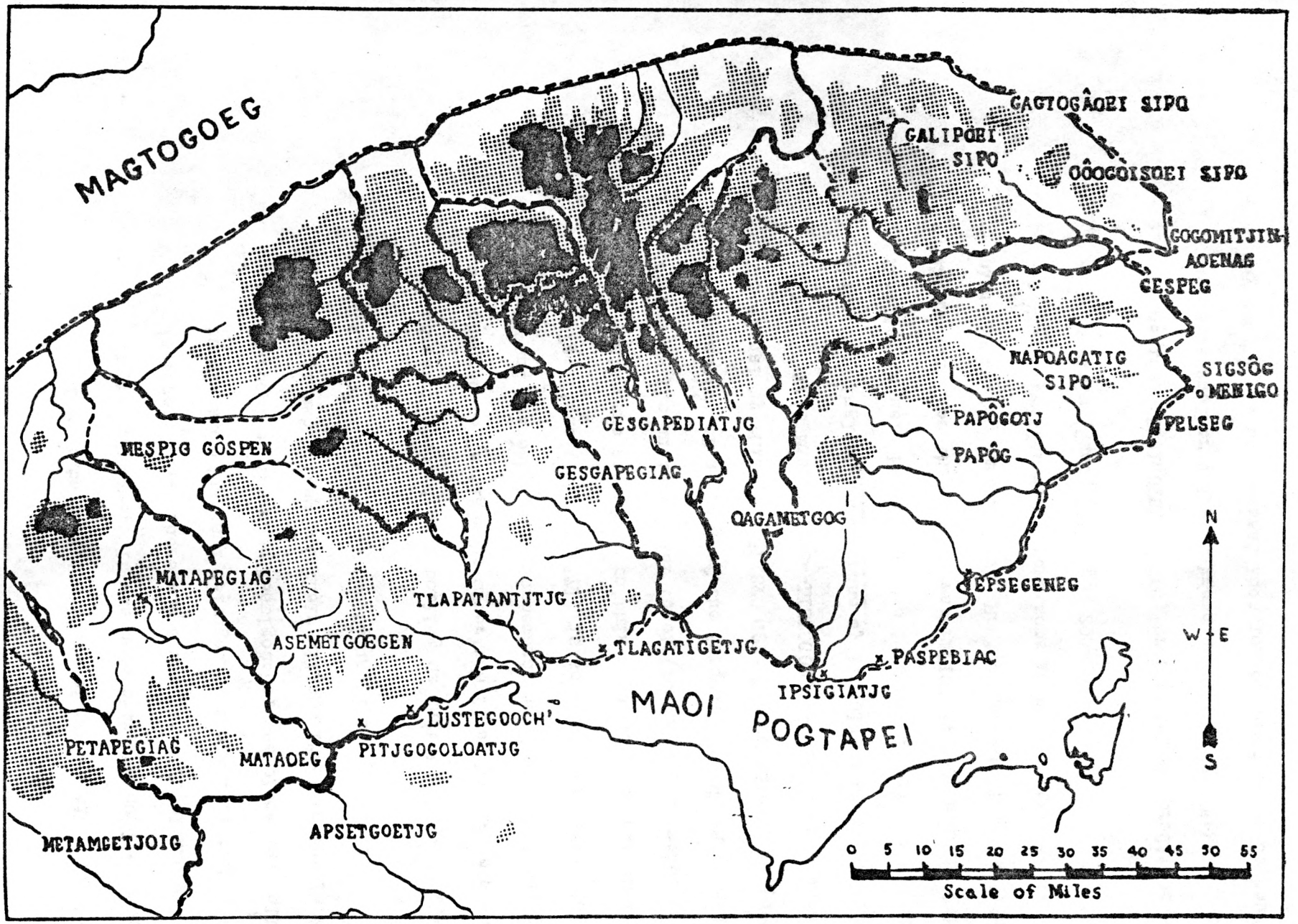
Le Clercq's description of the native settlement at Nepisiguit leaves much to be desired; we infer, however, that the village at Nepisiguit Basin must have been of significant size to have been the object of so much missionary effort, and Le Clercq implies as much (Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 164, 193). We known of no chiefs from this locality, but there undoubtedly were some.

The Restigouche is famous in Micmac traditional history as the river on which the Micmac-Kwĕdĕch war originated, and as the ancient boundary between these two tribes. The traditional and historical sources indicate a number of villages. Ganong tells us that,

> ...the tradition among both Indians and whites is that the settlement now at Mission Point, Quebec, opposite Campbellton, was formerly at Old Mission Point on the New Brunswick side. Herdman in his History of Restigouche states that at Old Mission Point was the land granted by Richard Denys in 1685 for a Mission, and that there was formerly a village there, stockaded, with a chapel and burying ground within. This is probably correct. Many Indian relics have been found on the point, and many skeletons have been unearthed by the washing away of the banks. This was no doubt the village of Restigouche mentioned in the Jesuit Relations of 1642, and by St. Valier in 1688. The movement across the river must have taken place about the middle of the last century, for the fine Survey map of about 1754 marks "Village Sauvage" on the Quebec side. Herdman states that they removed to the Quebec side in 1745, and Plessis places the formation of the mission in 1759. Von Velden's map of 1785 has "Indian Village La Mission," on the Quebec side, and he states they have a neat log church... (Ganong, 1899, p. 233).

Pacifique (1927, pp. 171, 179) informs us that the ancient name of the Old Mission Point site was TJIGOG ("dwelling place par excellence"), and identifies this settlement with the legendary Micmac-Kwĕdĕch village. Other place-name identifications seem to confirm this. In Mechling's version of the origin of the Micmac-Kwĕdĕch war, for example, we are told the following:

Fig. 21. Map of the Gaspé Peninsula, showing Micmac sites and place names in this section of the district of GESPEGEOAG. Dashed lines indicate important canoe routes. White land areas have elevations of 0-1000 feet; dotted land areas of 1000-2000 feet; black land areas of above 2000 feet.


MAGTOGOEG
GAGTOGÂOBI SIPO
GALIPOBI SIPO
OÔOGOISOEI SIPO
GOGOMITJIN-AOENAG
GESPEG
NAPOAGATIG SIPO
SIGSÔG o MENIGO
PAPÔGOTJ
PELSEG
PAPÔG
GESGAPEDIATJG
GESGAPEGIAG
MESPIG GÔSPEN
OAGAMETGOG
EPSEGENEG
MATAPEGIAG
TLAPATANTJTJG
ASEMETGOEGEN
TLAGATIGETJG
PASPEBIAC
IPSIGIATJG
MAOI POGTAPEI
LÛSTEGOOCH'
PETAPEGIAG
MATAOEG
PITJGOGOLOATJG
APSETGOETJG
METAMGETJOIG
N
W E
S
0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55
Scale of Miles

> I want to tell the story of how Restigouche obtained its present name. It was more than two hundred years ago [before 1911]. There was a man named Tunel who was buowin and ginap and belonged to the Micmac tribe. Before it received the name Restigouche, the place was called Tedjigukh. They had their village there on the left hand side of the river... (Mechling, 1914, p. 126).

The narrator concludes by telling us that the name of the village was changed to Restigouche after the first battle between the Micmac and Kwĕdĕch there, commemorating the event leading to the war. Pacifique (1927, p. 171) is somewhat more specific, stating that "this name was given to this river and to this entire region by the ancient chief Tonel (Tonnerre), in memory of the extermination of a party of the Iroquois, to which he had given the signal by this cry: "LISTO GOTJ," disobedience to your father." This Micmac name—LISTOGOTJG—thereafter became the French and English Restigouche by linguistic processes already familiar to us. Pacifique also informs us that another early Micmac name for this region was PAPISIGENATJG, meaning "the place of Spring amusements." Rand's account of the origin of the Micmac-Kwĕdĕch war throws some light upon the significance of this title (Rand, 1894, pp. 200-201).

Besides TEDJIGUKH, TJIGOG, or LISTOGOTJG, tradition indicates another village, known as GIGITOMGEG ("the way the bay runs"), at the present location of the town of Dalhousie.

Immediately to the south we find the site of OGPIGANTJIG ("huts in the ground"), now called Eel River. This was important throughout the historic period, and is now an Indian reserve, since the eel fishery is one of the best in the country. Ten more miles to the east we encounter TESENIGEG or Heron Island, the traditional burying of the Restigouche/Indians (Ganong, 1899, p. 233; Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 302-303; Pacifique, 1927, pp. 179-181).

Despite this abundance of information concerning the location of Indian settlements upon the Restigouche, and despite the fact that Le Clercq holds the Restigouche chief of his time up to us as the exemplar of Micmac chieftainship (Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 234-236), only the legendary Tumel or Tonel is known to us by name.

The Restigouche chieftainship is the last of which we have any definite information. From Father Richard's account of Micmac warfare, to be given shortly, it would seem that local chieftainships did exist along the southern shore of the Gaspé Peninsula. Other historical sources are silent, however.

Micmac "Grand Chiefs" and Head Families

In the survey of the Micmac political divisions and chieftainships just concluded, it has been necessary for us to distinguish between different kinds of chiefs, namely: local chiefs, district chiefs, and "grand chiefs." This arrangement, although well known from more southern agricultural tribes, is

quite unexpected among such a northern, nonagrioultural, Algonquian group, and deserves further consideration.

As has been stated previously, Micmac chieftainship was the product of kinship affiliations and superior personal ability, and was customarily passed down through families having a tradition of chieftainship and members capable of assuming the role. That such an arrangement also held for the "grand chiefs" is indicated by a number of sources. In one, for example, Speck (1915e, p. 506) mentions that "here [in Cape Breton] resides the Grand Chief John Denys in whose family the life chieftaincy of the tribe is an inheritance." Other authors support this assertion.

Faced with this pattern of chieftainoy residing in certain families, we may ask whether the information we have gathered concerning the various Micmac chiefs gives us any additional data upon specific families. We find that such is the case. Manach's list gives evidence that more than one chief could come from a single family: for example, Claud and Jeannot Piguidawalwet were chiefs at Shubenacadie and Cape Breton respectively; while Reni and Baptist La Morue were chiefs at Pomquet and Malpeque (P. E. I.). Evidence is also available to demonstrate the persistence of a line of chiefs in time, namely, the following list of legendary and historic renowned Micmac leaders.

1. Chief Tumel—legendary Micmac chief, warrior, and shaman, who lived at TJIGOG on the Restigouche,

who defeated the Kwĕdĕch in one of the first battles after the start of the Micmac-Kwĕdĕch war, and who gave the name LISTOGOTJG to the region.

2. Chief Ulgĭmoo—a famous legendary figure who was also a warrior and a shaman, who lived in the vicinity of Cumberland Basin, probably before 1600, and had a fort near Sackville. He was a major figure in the Kwĕdĕch war, and had a younger brother named,

3. Mŏjelăbegadăsĭch, or "Tied-in-a-hard-knot"—a legendary BUOWIN, GINAP, and SAKUMOW who lived near Miramich, probably before 1600. In his old age he took part in the last battle with the Kwĕdĕch, killing the Iroquois chief Wŏhoowĕh on PATGOITAGANETJG ("little anvil") near the mouth of the Tabusintac river.

4. Chief Membeltou (in French, Henri Membertou)—a famous BUOWIN, GINAP, and SAKUMOW who lived at St. Mary's Bay or Annapolis Bay, and was chief from circa 1550 to 1611. He was famous for his part in the wars against the Almouchiquois of the Kennebec region, and may have been a "grand chief."

5. Chief Kaktoogo or Toonāle ("Thunderer")—GINAP and SAKŬMOW at Merigomish sometime after 1600; famous his part in the last battle with the Kennebec Indians at Pictou.

6. "Chief Denis" (Micmac name unknown)—a powerful Richibucto chief who was greatly feared by his people and who probably was in his heyday around 1640-1670.

7. Chief Algimoosh ("Little Algimoo"; known to the English as Argimoosh)—a "formidable and stalwart" chief, called the "Great Witch" by Cooney, who led the Micmac and Penobscot attack against Canso around 1724. Chief at Richibucto.

8. Joseph Algiman—chief of Chignecto in 1760 according to the Manach list.

9. Tomah Denys—"grand chief" of the Micmac, residing in the Cumberland district before 1759, and then moving to Escasoni in Cape Breton.

10. John Denys—"grand chief" of the Micmac around 1900 and great grandson of Tomah Denys. Still located at Escasoni.

The first family to be considered is that of the Denysses. The line clearly runs back from John to Tomah Denys; beyond this last individual our historical sources fail us, but we

have reasonable grounds for supposing that Chief Denis of Richibucto may have been an earlier link in this line of chiefs.

From Lescarbot's comments on Micmac naming customs it seems highly probable that Argimoosh or Algimoosh of the Richibucto was a descendant of the line represented by Ulgĭmoo and Mĕjelăbegadăsĭch, his name being reducible to "Little Ulgĭmoo." We may also suspect Joseph Algiman of being a member of this line.

Two "head families" thus seem to be indicated: the Denyses and the Ulgĭmoos. Since both Chief Denis and Algimoosh resided at Richibucto, the question arises whether these might not actually have been related—whether the Denyses might not have been Ulgĭmoos? This question is intriguing, but its resolution with the present evidence is doubtful. With the information at our disposal the Membeltou family of southern Nova Scotia seems unaffiliated with those further to the north.

Rank

Despite many claims to the contrary, it is evident from the materials just considered that the Micmac were stratified socially, and that distinctions of rank were important in Micmac eyes. We may distinguish three general classes—chiefs, commoners, and slaves or war prisoners.

The statement is often made that the Micmac chiefs had little actual authority over their people, that they were

merely the heads of families, and that any male individual with some superior ability could attain chieftainship. The material which we have considered leads us to a different conclusion. It is true that by the European standards of the 17th and 18th centuries—standards based upon the conoept of the divine right and absolute authority of kings—the Indian system seemed anarchic in the extreme. Nevertheless, the examples given by Membeltou and by Chief Denis warn us that the Micmao political structure was far from being non-existent, or nonauthoritarian. It is also true that the Micmac seem to have considered it theoretically possible for a commoner to become a chief; the qualifications required, however, were such that this probably rarely happened, and the evidence available on specific chiefs, or lines of chiefs, seems to confirm this.

From the material previously presented we may distinguish local chiefs, district chiefs, and "grand chiefs"; how this ranking was reflected in the various privileges and honors accorded the various chiefs has not been preserved for us. The descriptions do tell of honors and privileges given to elders and "honored" men at feasts, but the accounts do not differentiate this category.

From comments made in various sources it is clear that the chiefs as a whole were rendered respect and attention. Their words and opinions carried weight, and the women, children,

and undistinguished young men were silent before them. The chiefs were supplied with the choicest pieces of meat deriving from the hunt, whether or not they had participated, and also received skins and furs. The chiefs and the old men also had reserved for them such special delicacies as roasted porcupines, footuses of bears, moose, otters, beavers, and porcupine, the entrails of bears, marrow, and certain other items. During the feasts of the Micmac nation, the chiefs were seated in the place of honor, and were served first with the tenderest parts. From the statements made by Biard, and by Denys concerning the Richibucto chief, it is also obvious that the chiefs had retinues of young men upon occasions requiring pomp, and that salutes of gunshots were accorded visitors and hosts. This last custom was extended to include the French, for Le Clercq informs us that,

> ...they are fond of ceremony, and are anxious to be accorded some when they come to trade at the French establishments; and it is, consequently, in order to satisfy them that sometimes the guns, and even the cannon, are fired on their arrival. The leader himself assembles all the canoes near his own and ranges them in good order before landing, in order to await the salute which is given him, and which all the Indians return to the French by the discharge of their guns. Sometimes the leaders and chiefs are invited for a meal in order

> to show to all the Indians of the nation that they are esteemed and honoured. Rather frequently they are even given something like a fine coat, in order to distinguish them from the commonalty. For such things as this they have a particular esteem, especially if the article has been use by the commander of the French. It was, perhaps, for this reason that a good old man who loved me tenderly was never willing to appear in any ceremony, whether public or private, except with a cap, a pair of embroidered gloves, and a rosary which I had given him. He held my present in so much esteem that he believed himself something more grand than he was, although he was then all that he could be among his people, of which he was still the head man and the chief at the age of more than a hundred and fifteen years... (Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 246-247).

Although those male commoners who were not associated with a large extended family or group holding many kinship affiliations could not hope to attain the necessary prerequisites for chieftainship, they could aspire to prestige and reputation through their activities in war or in hunting (although these usually were thought to require special supernatural power). We have already discussed the nature of the struggle for status, and its toll in terms of the individual's personality. We need only repeat again that with the accumulation of prestige and the attainment of old age a commoner could also look forward to certain honors and privileges, and to having his voice heard

and his words weighed in the councils of the nation.

Only Lescarbot treats Micmac slavery at length; from his description it is apparent that slaves were war captives, and could be either male or female. In his section on warfare, Lescarbot tells us that "in victory they kill all who can make resistance, but pardon the women and children" (Lescarbot, 1914, p. 269). Le Clercq, after stating that the Micmac sometimes tortured their male prisoners, informs us that "they are not, however, so cruel with regard to the women and the children; but, quite on the contrary, they support them and bring them up among those of their own nation. Or, indeed, they not infrequently send them back to their own homes again, without doing them any injury. However, sometimes they break their heads with blows of an axe or a club" (Le Clercq, 1910, p. 272).

Various passages in the sources seem to indicate that even warriors may have been taken alive and were later returned to their tribe. In one such passage we read that when Poutrincourt visited Saco in 1606,

> ...Marchin and the said Olmechin brought M. de Poutrincourt a Souriquois prisoner, and therefore their enemy, whom they freely handed over to him. Two hours later two Indians arrived, the one an Etechemin, named Chkoudun, the chief of the river St. John, which is called by the

> Indians Oigoudi, the other a Souriquois, named Messamoet, chief or Sagamos in the river of Port de Lahave, where this prisoner had been taken... (Lescarbot, 1911, p. 322).

From our best source, Lescarbot, we learn that captives often did not wait to be exchanged or sent back, but attempted to escape; the price of recapture seems to have been death.

> ...One day there was an Armouchiquois woman, a prisoner, who had aided a fellow-prisoner from her country to escape, and to aid him on his way had stolen from Membertou's cabin a tinder-box (for without that they do nothing) and a hatchet. When this came to the knowledge of the savages, they would not proceed to execute justice on her near us, but went off to encamp some four or five leagues from Port Royal, where she was killed. And because she was a woman the wives and daughters of our savages executed her. Kinibech'-coech', a young maid of eighteen years of age, plump and fair, gave her the first stroke in the throat, which was with a knife. Another maid of the same age, handsome enough, called Metembroech', followed on, and the daughter of Membertou, whom we called Membertouech'-coech', made an end of her...
>
> At another time two prisoners, a man and a woman, went off without any tinder-box or any provision of meat. This was a hard task owing to the great distance, being above one

> hundred leagues by land, because it behoved them to go secretly, and to avoid meeting with any savages. Nevertheless those poor souls pulled off the bark of certain trees, and made a little boat of bark, wherein they crossed French Bay, which is ten or twelve leagues broad, and got to the other shore, over against Port Royal, whence they got safe home into their country of the Armouchiquois... (Lescarbot, 1914, pp. 216-217).

If we may extrapolate from conditions in other tribes, a male prisoner may have considered his fate to be worse than death, because he—a warrior and a hunter—was reduced to gathering firewood and carrying water for women. Women prisoners undoubtedly also served as laborers, and as concubines.

Kinship and Residence

The early French sources give us little information bearing upon the Micmac system of recognizing kinship affiliations, or upon residence. Lescarbot (1914, pp. 117-118) presents us only with a list of kinship terms (inadequately specified), as follows:

Husband	Taoetch'
Married woman	Nidroech, or Roka
Father	Nouchich'
Mother	Nekich'
Elder brother	Necis

Full brother	Skinetch'
Brother of my wife	Nemacten
Dear brother	Nigmach'
Nephew	Neroux
Sister	Nekich'
Son	Nekouis
Daughter	Notouch', or Pecne-mouch
Child	Babougic

where the prefix Ne- or Ni- represents the possessive form "my." This list, by itself, tells us little—but we will return to it later.

Biard informs us that polygyny was allowed, and was in fact practised by some of the chiefs, while monogamy was endured by the remainder of the populace. This statement is confirmed by Denys, and by Le Clercq (Biard, 1616; in JR., Vol. 3, pp. 99-101; Denys, 1908, p. 404; Le Clercq, 1910, p. 176). According to Denys,

> ...they observe certain degrees of relationship among them which prevents their marrying together. This is never done by brother to sister, by nephew to niece, or cousin to cousin, that is to say, so far as the second degree, for beyond that they can do it... (Denys, 1908, p. 410).

To this we may add Lescarbot's comment that son and mother, father and daughter, and brother and sister marriages were prohibited (Lescarbot, 1914, p. 165), and that by Le Clercq, which confirms all the previous statements, and appends an uncle with niece taboo (Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 237-238). Le Clercq is also responsible for the information that the Micmac practised the levirate—that is, a widow married her husband's brother if she had had no children by her previous marriage (Le Clercq, 1910, p. 238).

It must also be noticed that residence among the Micmac seems to have been patrilocal, except for the period of bride-groom service required as a preliminary to every marriage. The historical sources fail to indicate the existence of moieties, phratries, clans, or sibs, but give clues (inconclusive in themselves) of the possible existence of a residential kin group, or of a consanguineal kin group of the bilinear or bilateral type (kindred).

Passing from historic sources to the more recent ethnographical materials we come first to the studies of Micmac kinship nomenclature published by Rand (1871), Speck (1918a), and Parsons (1926). From these authors we obtain a list of kinship terms covering most (but not all) kinship situations; this list is presented below, where the numbers refer to the individuals indicated on the diagram (Fig. 22), on which the circles represent females and rectangles males. All the terms

shown are descriptive; the asterisks (*) indicate those used by both male and female speakers.

Fig. 22. Recent Micmac kinship terms.

1.	Nu'ch', nuto.	* f.
2.	'Nkich, nki·to,	* m.
3.	'Nkwis, nquəs, 'nkĭs.	* so., b.so. (male speaking), s. so. (fem. speaking), stepso.
4.	'Ntus, ntus, n'-tŭs' (Rand).	* da., b.da. (m. speaking), s.da. (f. speaking), stepda.
5.	Niskamich, ni·tokami··to, nisgami'ch.	* f.f., m.f., great uncles, great grandumcles, etc., m.s.hus., f.-in-law, stepf.
6.	Nugamich, no'gomi·to, nugumi'ch.	* f.m., m.m., great aunts, great grandaunts, etc., m.b.wif., m.-in-law, stepm.
7.	Nujij, nuji'j, nŭ-jeech.	* so.so., so.da., da.so., da. da., children's grandchildren, stepchild.
8.	'Nklaumichich, nkla'muksi·s, klamuksis (C.B.)	* f.b., m.b., m.s.hus., f.s.hus., pat. and mat. uncles.
9.	'Nsahgwis, nsugwə's; 'nsukwis'.	* f.s., pat. aunts.

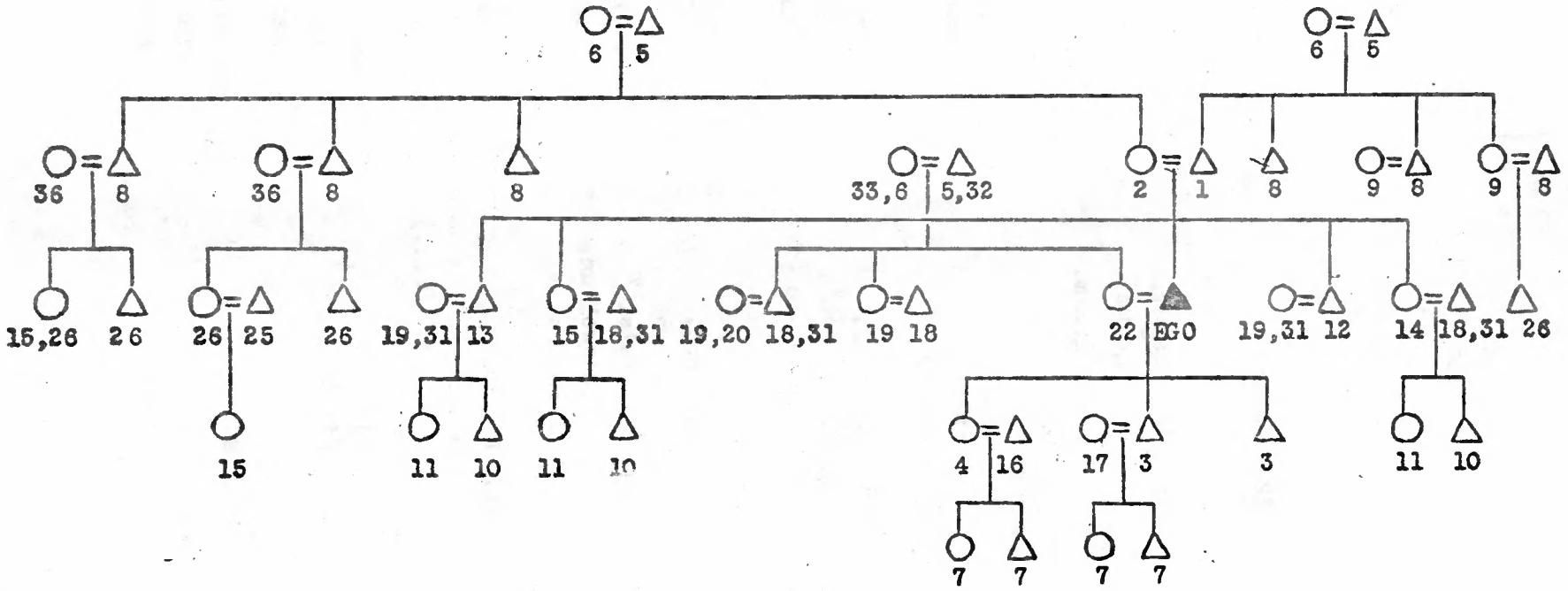


Fig. 22. Mionne kinship diagram (see text for explanation).

10.	Nuluks, nəlu'ks ʾnluksʼ	*	b.so., s.so.
11.	'Nsum, nsəm, ʾnsumʼ	*	b.da, s.da.
12.	'Nsis, 'nsi•'s.	*	older brother, cousin older than speaker.
13.	'Nchiganum, ʾnchiganumʼ, ntci•ʼgənəm.	*	younger brother, cousin younger than speaker.
14.	'Nmĭs, nĭmiʼs, nu-meesʼ, nəməʼs	*	older sister, female cousin older than speaker.
15.	'Ngwejij, ʾnkwechichʼ, nkweʼdji•tc.	*	younger sister, female cousin younger than speaker.
16.	'Ntlu-'suk, ndlo'zuk.	*	so.-in-law, any male married into family.
17.	Ntluswa'skʿwʼ, 'nklusawehkum, ʾntlusweskum.	*	da.-in-law, any female married into family.
18.	Nĕmatem, nema'ktem ʾnmaʿtumʼ (C.B.)	*	connection by marriage of same sex and generation.
19.	Nilmusʼ, ni•'ləmus.	*	connection by marriage of opposite sex and generation.
20.	Nichus, ni•'tcus, niʼohus	*	term used between two persons married into same family.

21.	E·dlu´ sugawit	s.d.hus.
22.	Nteh 'bidiem, nte'bi·dem, n-t-a-bĭ-tem´.	wife.
23.	'Nkis'igu, ntei·´nəməm, n-che´-nu-nŭs´.	husband.
24.	Wijiigetiek´, Wĭ-je-gu-dul-teek´, ni·dji·é	b., s., irrespective of age.
25.	Ha'ramagudiek	"some relation," cousin.
26.	Neh' gut´ elagudiek	first cousin.
27.	Tah' buh elagudiek	second cousin.
28.	Si·st elagudiek	third cousin.
29.	Neh'u elagudiek	fourth cousin.
30.	No'gumax´, no´ɣəmau.	all my relations (both sides).
31.	Nida'k'w	s.hus., wif.b., b.wif., (see 16 and 17).
32.	Ntcilto, n³-chilch´.	wif.f., hus.f., spouse's grandf., etc.
33.	Ntsogwi·'i·dji·tc, n³-chŭ-gwe´-jich.	wif.m., hus.m., spouse's grandm., etc.
34.	Ktci·.	great grandf., great grandm. (see 5 and 6).
35.	Hodji·'tc	grandchild (see 7).
36.	Hele's	maternal aunt.

From these terms the following conclusions may be drawn concerning Micmac kinship classification and social organization. First, descent seems to be bilateral, since: (a), the terms for the m.f. and f.f. are the same (term 5); (b), the terms for the m.m. and f.m. are the same (6); (c), the terms for the f.br. and m.br. are the same (8); (d), the terms for the br.da. and si.da. are the same (11); and (e), the terms for the br.so. and si.so. are the same (10). Because of this lack of distinction between the maternal and paternal sides of the family, we may suspect that the incest taboos are extended bilaterally—and this seems to be confirmed by other information. The cousin terminology is of the type known as "Hawaiian," since all cross and parallel cousins are called by the same terms as those used for brothers and sisters (terms 12-15). The aunt terms are bifurcate collateral, since the m., m.si., and f.si. are kept distinct (terms 2,9,36). The niece terms are bifurcate lineal, since the da. is distinguished from the br.da. and from the si.da (terms 4, 11).

The kinship terminology then, taken by itself, indicates a social organization lacking exogamous unilinear kin groups, but having bilocal and bilateral extended families. Age differences are of great importance. The levirate is not immediately obvious in the terminology arrangement, possibly because of its absence in recent times.

The picture thus obtained may be compared with that drawn up by Speck, who used his materials on both the kinship terminology and the cultural traditions of the modern Micmac.

> ...In the old days the families ordinarily spent the summer in villages located near the seacoast, and retired in the fall to their proper hunting claims, where they had temporary camps at convenient intervals. There were no clans, no regulation of exogamy, and no group totemism. In this unelaborate social scheme we find even no remembrance of groupings of any kind under names. The immediate members of the family constitute the family group with its inherited hunting territory. These tracts, as a rule, remain intact as long as there are sons, grandsons, or nephews in the male line to hold them. Nevertheless, gradual changes are taking place as the districts may become subdivided in part among male heirs, and, as sometimes happens, they may be augmented by the addition of adjacent lots through intermarriage with other families or inheritance from distant relatives. Parts of territories are, again, occasionally-bestowed as rewards upon friends for important services, such as supporting the aged or rasing adopted children. The families themselves, as the simplest kind of social units, form villages which seem to have some individual identity under local names. These exist nowadays as reservations, constituting small bands. Related and neighbor-

> ing smaller bands in turn comprise the larger bands, determined more or less by geographical features, known as the Micmac of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton island, and Newfoundland, respectively. Each village has its chief and each band has its head chief while the whole nation is represented by a heriditary life chief whose headquarters are at Cape Breton... (Speck, 1915f, p. 303).

We now need to ask inhowfar this recent ethnographical information agrees with, or enlarges upon, the historical materials deriving from the 16th and 17th centuries. We may first query whether or not the modern kinship terms are known from the early period, and whether any change in kinship structure is reflected. For this purpose fig. 23 compares the kinship terms given by Lescarbot to those given by Speck and Parsons.

Fig. 23. Ancient and Recent Micmac Kinship Terms.

Lescarbot (1606-1607)		Speck (1918a) and Parsons (1926)	
Relationship	Term	Term	Relationship
f.	Nouchich´	nu´ch⁴, nutc	f.
m.	Nekich	'nkich, nki·to	m.
so.	Nekouis	'nkwis, nqu s	so.
da.	Netouch´	'ntus, ntus	da.
	Pecene-mouch		
elder br.	Necis	'nsis, 'nsi·'s	elder br.
full br.	Skinetch´		
si.	Nekich´	'ngwejij, nkwechich	youmger si.

wif. br. br.so. si.so. hus.	Nemacten Neroux [i.e., neloux] Tacetch	nida'k^{w} nuluks, 'nluks 'nkis'igu, ntci·'nəməm	wif. br. br.so. si.so. hus.

The correspondences are here seen to be rather striking, when we take into account the fact that the French recorded Micmac L as R. The alternate term for daughter—pecene-mouch—is a diminutive apparently not known at present; the term for full brother corresponds (according to Pacifique) to the modern Micmac term for "little brother"—ETCHKINETCH; and Lesoarbot's term for husband is not known. Although not all of the terms are present, the ancient kinship system seems to follow the recent one in the matter of descent. Age distinctions are evident in the sibling terms, and the nephew terms are indicated to be bifurcate lineal. Thus, no contradictions seem to exist between the two lists and we may conclude that the kinship classification was essentially the same in ancient and recent times.

If we take the textual accounts into consideration, the picture remains largely unchanged—with this exception: where Speck pictures the basic unit of Micmac life to have been the patrilocal extended family, the early sources indicate the possible existence of the bilocal extended family. This conclusion derives largely from the materials bearing on the ancient form of chieftanship. We are told that in the case of a strong

chief, his following consisted of the other members of the family, the young men of the family and their families, and also "several others who have no relations, or those who do so of their own free will place themselves under his protection and guidance, being themselves weak and without following." Another passage tells us that "they have large families and a great number of followers" (Biard, 1616; in JR., Vol. 3, pp. 87, 101). It is thus quite likely that the basic unit in ancient times was a residential kin group consisting of a chief, his family, various of his married sons and their families, some of his married daughters and their families (whose husbands found it advantageous to reside in his village), and other relatives in the matrilineal and patrilineal line who desired his protection and benefits. Such a unit has been termed a bilocal extended family by Murdock (1949, pp. 34-35).

Additional circumstantial evidence may be cited in possible support of such a unit. One of these is the greater flexibility of hunting territory inheritance or distribution in earlier times, indicated by the fact that this was in the hands of the chief or council of elders and decided in the spring and autumn. Another is the shifting of alliance indicated by a statement by Biard describing the inter-chief rivalry. And also, we must mention the fact that the legendary accounts often tell us that men marrying the daughters of chiefs often chose to reside with their father-in-laws.

Personality Types and Social Attitudes

The ideal personality type of the Micmac is described by a number of our early authors. From the first of these—Lescarbot—we derive the following philosophical essay:

> ...Our savages, though naked, are not void of those virtues that are found in civilized men, for every one (says Aristotle) has in him, even from his birth, the principles and seeds of virtue. Taking then the four virtues in their order, we shall find that they share largely in them. For first concerning fortitude and courage, they have thereof as much as, indeed more than, any nation of the savages (I am speaking of our Souriquois and of their allies) in such sort, that ten of them will always adventure themselves against twenty Armouchiquois; not that they are altogether without fear..., but with the courage which they have they deem that wisdom gives them much advantage. They fear then, but it is that which all wise men fear, death, which is terrible and dreadful, as she that sweeps away all through which she passes. They fear shame and reproach, but this fear is cousin-german to virtue. They are stirred to do good by honour, forasmuch as he amongst them is always honoured and renowned who has done some fair exploit. Having these characteristics they are in the golden mean, which is the very seat of virtue. One point makes their virtue of force

and courage imperfect, that they are too revengeful; and therein they put their sovereign contentment, a trait which degenerates into brutishness...

Temperance is another virtue, consisting in moderation in the matters which concern the pleasures of the body; for in the things of the mind a man is not called temperate or intemperate who is driven by ambition, or with desire to learn, or who employs his time in trifles... Our savages have not all the qualities requisite for the perfection of this virtue, for when they have wherewith they eat perpetually, going so far as to rise in the night to banquet...

Liberality is a virtue as worthy of praise as avarice and prodigality, her opposites, are blameworthy...Our savages are praiseworthy in the practice of this virtue, according to their poverty; for as we have said before, when they pay visits to one another, they give presents one to the other. And when some French Sagamos visits them they do the like with him, casting at his feet a bundle of beaver or other furs, which are all their riches; and so did they to M. de Poutrincourt, but he did not take them to his own use, but put them into M. de Monts' storehouse, because he would not contravene his monopoly. This custom of the said savages could not come but from a liberal

mind, with much of good in it. And although they are very glad when the like is done into them, yet it is they who begin the venture, and run the risk of losing their merchandise...And to show the high-mindedness of our savages, they do not willingly bargain, and content themselves with that which is given them honestly, disdaining and blaming the fashions of our petty merchants, who bargain for an hour to beat down the price of a beaver-skin; as I saw how at the river St. John, whereof I have spoken above, they called Chevalier, a young merchant of St. Malo, Mercateria, which is a word of reproach among them, borrowed of the Basques, signifying a cheese-parer. In short, they have nothing but frankness and liberality in their exchanges... (Lescarbot, 1914, pp. 210-214).

These comments are in large part substantiated and repeated by Biard, except that this author takes a somewhat more critical attitude. Biard states that,

...in truth, they are by nature fearful and cowardly, although they are always boasting, and do all they can to be renowned and to have the name of "Great-heart." Moskir Kameramon, "Great-heart," among them is the crowning virtue.

If the offenses are not between tribes, but between compatriots and fellow-citizens, then they fight among

themselves for slight offenses, and their way of fighting is like that of women here...The little offenses and quarrels are easily adjusted by the Sagamores and common friends. And in truth they are hardly ever offended long, as far as we know. I say, as far as we know, for we have never seen anything except always great respect and love among them; which was a great grief to us when we turned our eyes upon our own shortcomings...

They are in no wise ungrateful to each other, and share everything. No one would dare to refuse the request of another, nor to eat without giving him a part of what he has. Once when we had gone along way off to a fishing place, they passed by five or six women or girls, heavily burdened and weary; our people through courtesy gave them some of our fish, which they immediately put to cook in a kettle, that we loaned them. Scarcely had the kettle begun to boil when a noise was heard, and other Savages could be seen coming; then our poor women fled quickly into the woods, with their kettle only half boiled, for they were very hungry. The reason of their flight was that, if they had been seen, they would have been obliged by a rule of politeness to share with the newcomers their food, which was not too abundant. We had a good laugh then; and were still more amused when they, after having eaten, seeing the said Savages around the fire, acted as if they had never been near there and were about to pass us all by as

> if they had not seen us before, telling our people in a whisper where they had left the kettle; and they, like good fellows, comprehending the situation, knew enough to look unconscious, and to better carry out the joke, urged them to stop and taste a little fish; but they did not wish to do anything of the kind, they were in such a hurry, saying coupouba, coupouba, "many thanks, many thanks." Our people answered: "Now may God be with you since you are in such a hurry" (Biard, 1616; in JR., Vol. 3, pp. 91-97).

Denys adds little to what we have learned from Lescarbot and Biard, but confirms the picture already established:

> The law which they observed in old times was this—to do to another only that which they wished to be done to them. They had no worship. All lived in good friendship and understanding. They refused nothing to one another. If one wigwam or family had not provisions enough, the neighbours supplied them, although they had only that which was necessary for themselves. And in all other things it was the same. They lived pure lives; the wives were faithful to their husbands, and the girls very chaste... (Denys, 1908, p. 415).

Le Clercq gives us a long description of the ideal pattern and social philosophy of the Micmac which is most interesting and enlightening. He tells us that:

...They walk with dignity as if they had always some great affair to think upon, and to decide, in their minds...

They all have naturally a sound mind, and common sense beyond that which is supposed in France. They conduct their affairs cleverly, and take wise and necessary steps to make them turn out favourably. They are very eloquent and persuasive among those of their own nation, using metaphors and very pleasing circumlocutions in their speeches, which are very eloquent, especially when these are pronounced in the councils and the public and general assemblies.

If it is a great good to be delivered from a great ill, our Gaspesians can call themselves happy, because they have neither avarice nor ambition,—those two cruel executioners which give pain and torture to a multitude of persons. As they have neither police, nor taxes, nor office, nor commandment which is absolute (for they obey, as we have said, only their head men and their chiefs in so far as it pleases them), they scarcely give themselves the trouble to amass riches, or to make a fortune more considerable than that which they possess in their woods. They are content enough provided that they have the wherewithal for living, and that they have the reputation of being good warriors and good hunters, in which they reckon all their glory and their ambition. They are naturally fond of their repose, putting away from them, as far as they can, all the subjects

for annoyance which would trouble them. Hence it comes about that they never contradict any one, and that they let every one do as he pleases, even to the extent that the fathers and the mothers do not dare correct their children, but permit their misbehaviour for fear of vexing them by chastising them.

They never quarrel and never are angry with one another, not because of any inclination they have to practise virtue, but for their own satisfaction, and in the fear, as we have just said, of troubling their repose, of which they are wholly idolators.

Indeed, if any natural antipathy exists between husband and wife, or if they cannot live together in perfect understanding, they separate from one another, in order to seek elsewhere the peace and union which they cannot find together. Consequently they cannot understand how one can submit to the indissolubility of marriage. "Dost thou not see," they will say to you, "that thou hast no sense? My wife does not get on with me, and I do not get on with her. She will agree well with such a one, who does not agree with his own wife. Why dost thou wish that we four be unhappy for the rest of our days?" In a word, they hold it as a maxim that each one is free: that one can do whatever he wishes: and that it is not sensible to put constraint upon men.

It is necessary, say they, to live without annoyance and disquiet, to be content with that which one has, and to endure with constancy the misfortunes of nature, because the sun, or he who has made and governs all, orders it thus. If some one among them laments, grieves, or is angry, this is the only reasoning with which they console him. "Tell me, my brother, wilt thou always weep? Wilt thou always be angry? Wilt thou come nevermore to the dances and the feasts of the Gaspesians? Wilt thou die, indeed, in weeping and in the anger in which thou art at present?" If he who laments and grieves answers him no, and says that after some days he will recover his good humor and his usual amiability,—"Well, my brother," will be said to him, "thou hast no sense; since thou hast no intention to weep nor to be angry always, why dost thou not commence immediately to banish all bitterness from thy heart, and rejoice thyself with thy fellow-countrymen?" This is enough to restore his usual repose and tranquillity to the most afflicted of our Gaspesians. In a word, they rely upon liking nothing, and upon not becoming attached to the goods of the earth, in order not to be grieved or sad when they lose them. They are, as a rule, always joyous, without being uneasy as to who will pay their debts.

They have the fortitude and the resolution to bear bravely the misfortunes which are usual and common to all

it was as in the Golden Age, and everything was common property among them.

Hospitality is in such great esteem among our Gaspesians that they make almost no distinction between the home-born and the stranger. They give lodging equally to the French and to the Indians who come from a distance, and to both they distribute generously whatever they have obtained in hunting and in the fishery, giving themselves little concern if the strangers remain among them weeks, months, and even entire years. They are always goodnatured to their guests, whom, for the time, they consider as belonging to the wigwam, especially if they understand even a little of the Gaspesian tongue. You will see them supporting their relatives, the children of their friends, the widows, orphans, and old people, without ever expressing reproach for the support or the other aid which they give them. It is surely necessary to admit that this is a true indication of a good heart and a generous soul. Consequently it is truth to say that the injury most felt among them is the reproach that an Indian is Medousaouek, that is to say, that he is stingy. This is why, when one refuses them anything, they say scornfully: "Thou art a mean one," or else, "Thou likest that; like it then as much as thou wishest, but thou wilt always be stingy and a man without heart."

...They are sweet tempered, peaceable, and tractable, having much charity, affection, and tenderness for one another: good to their friends, but cruel and pitiless to their enemies: wanderers and vagabonds, but industrious, nevertheless, and very clever in all that they undertake, even to making the stocks of guns as well as it can be done in France...I can say with truth that I have specially devoted myself to the mission of Gaspesia because of the natural inclination the Gaspesians have for virtue. One never hears in their wigwams any impure words, not even any of those conversations which have a double meaning. Never do they in public take any liberty—I do not say criminal alone, but even the most trifling; no kissing, no badinage between young persons of different sexes; in a word, everything is said and is done in their wigwams with much modesty and reserve...

All the Gaspesians must without fail aid the sick; and those who have meat or fish in abundance must give some of it to those who are in need.

It is a crime among our Indians not to be hospitable. They receive all strangers who are not their enemies very kindly into their wigwams...

It is considered shameful to show anger or impatience for the insults that are offered, or the misfortunes which come, to the Indians, at least unless this is to defend

> the honour and reputation of the dead, who cannot, say they, avenge themselves, nor obtain satisfaction for the insults and affronts which are done them.
>
> It is forbidden them by the laws and customs of the country to pardon or to forgive any one of their enemies, unless great presents are given on behalf of these to the whole nation, or to those who have been injured... (Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 238-246).

From the picture here presented we may conclude that the Micmac concepts of the "ideal individual" placed each member of the tribe under severe and sometimes arduous responsibility and self-discipline. Not only did the culture require almost complete submergence of emotional expression, but also the inhibition of expressions of anger in interpersonal relations (even in warfare), the suppression of any open criticism in face-to-face relations, and the establishment and maintenance of a stern indifference to worldly objects. The pattern seems to have been such, however, that warm and intimate relationships could still develop within the family group, and that emotions could be displayed on such social occasions as story-telling. Other institutionalized emotional releases, of a somewhat different character, included slander, gossip, joking relationships, mocking (on certain social situations), and the torture of war prisoners (carried on mostly by the women). A release beyond native institutionalization came with the Europeans—

namely, drinking. The affects here have been well described by Le Clercq:

> ...Injuries, quarrels, homicides, murders, parricides to to this day the sad consequences of the trade in brandy; and one sees with grief Indians dying in their drunkness: strangling themselves: the brother cutting the throat of the sister: the husband breaking the head of his wife: a mother throwing her child into the fire or the river: and fathers cruelly choking little innocent children whom they cherish and love as much as, and more then, themselves when they are not deprived of their reason. They consider it sport to break and shatter everything in the wigwams, and to bawl for hours together, repeating always the same word. They beat themselves and tear themselves to pieces, something which happens never, or at least very rarely, when they are sober. The French themselves are not exempt from the drunken fury of these barbarians, who, through a manifestation of the anger of God justly irritated against a conduct so little Christian, sometimes rob, ravage, and burn the French houses and stores, and very often descand to the saddest extremes... (Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 255-256).

Denys' account of the effects of liquor introduced by the fur trade full confirms the above passage (Denys, 1908, pp. 444-451).

We thus see that the behaviour pattern requisite of any Micmac was such as to virtually eliminate any overt and direct forms of aggression. The ideal man was one who was restrained and dignified in all his actions, who maintained a stolid exterior under all circumstances, who deprived himself of his possession to take care of the poor, aged, or sick, or the less fortunate, who was generous and hospitable to strangers but implacable and cruel to his enemies, and brave in war. In such a situation, "with their emotions strongly weighted on the side of restraint not only in enduring the fortuitous circumstances of life, but in all the daily face-to-face relations with others that inevitably must have aroused emotions of annoyance, anger, or a desire to critize or correct, all of which had to be suppressed for fear of arousing resentment in others, [we see] that individuals must have developed an extreme sensitivity to overtones of anger or the overt expression of it. The whole psychological picture is one that suggests a suffusion in anxiety—anxiety lest one fail to maintain the standard of fortitude required no matter what the hardship one must endure; anxiety lest one give way to one's own hostile impulses; anxiety lest one provoke resentment or anger in others" (Hallowell, 1946, p. 210). As a result of this psychological pattern, the Micmac developed a stoicism that would have rendered credit to the Stoics.

Etiquette

Of our early authors, only one—Lescarbot—describes Micmac etiquette at any length. He tells us that:

> ...In this kind of civilities I cannot praise our savages, for they do not wash themselves at meals, unless they be monstrously foul; and having no use of linen, when their hands are greasy they are constrained to wipe them on their hair, or upon the hair of their dogs. They make no scruple about breaking wind at meals...
>
> Not having the art of joiner's work they dine upon the broad table of the world, spreading a skin where they eat their meat, and sitting on the ground...
>
> As for the compliments that they use one to another coming from afar, these may be told very briefly, for many times we have seen strange savages arrive at Port Royal, who on landing went without a word straight to Membertou's cabin, where they sat down, and began to smoke; and when they had well smoked, they gave the tobacco-pipe to him who seemed most prominent, and then in turn to the others; then some half an hour later they would begin to speak. When they arrived at our lodgings, their greeting was, Ho, ho, ho...

> Now our savages have no salutation on departure, save indeed Adieu, which they have learned from us... (Lescarbot, 1914, pp. 203-207).

In a somewhat distinct passage Lescarbot adds the information that at feasts "the women were in another place apart, and did not eat with the men" (Lescarbot, 1914, p. 169). Dièreville adds to this, making it clear that the women never ate with the men, "but with their children, to each of whom his share is given in a bark dish" (Dièreville, 1933, p. 155).

Le Clercq's account of Micmac etiquette substantiates that given by Lescarbot, and adds a few more details. Le Clercq observed that the mistress of the wigwam (wife with the first male child) had the duty,

> ...to assign his place to each one, according to the age and quality of the respective persons and the custom of the nation. The place of the head of the family is on the right. He yields it sometimes, as an honour and courtesy to strangers, whom he even invites to step with him, and to repose upon certain skins of bears, of moose, of seal, or upon some fine robes of beavers, which these Indians use as if they were Turkey carpets. The women occupy always the first places near the door, in order to be all ready to obey, and to serve promptly when they are ordered... (Le Clercq, 1910, p. 102).

Le Clercq also adds a few details to the greeting ceremony described by Lescarbot.

> ...They threw their presents on the ground at the feet of the one to whom they wish to give them, and they smoke a pipe of tobacco before speaking. "Listen!" say they, "Take the present which I give thee with all my heart." That is the sole compliment which they make on this occasion...

On matters of personal etiquette Le Clercq is not quite so noncommittal, finding fault with the Micmac for their habits of casually breaking wind and hunting for fleas. Also, "they find the use of our handkerchiefs ridiculous; they mock at us and say that it is placing excrements in our pockets" (Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 252-253).

War

To the Micmac male, there were no occupations more glorious than hunting and war: the one and the other provided the means of acquiring honor and prestige, of displaying one's courage and valor, and of receiving privileges in the councils and feasts of the nation. Warfare seems to have been practised largely for the purpose of obtaining honers, and for obtaining vengeance--and these two aims in great part defined the war complex as here found. Lescarbot informs us, that,

> ...Our savages do not found their wars upon the possession of the land. We do not see that they encroach one upon another in that respect. They have land enough to live on and to walk abroad. Their ambition is limited by their bounds. They make war as did Alexander the Great, that they may say "I have beaten you"; or else for revenge, in remembrance of some injury received, which is the greatest vice I find in them, because they never forget injuries... (Lescarbot, 1914, pp. 263-264).

These causes of conflict seem to have functioned only between the major tribal units. No cases of warfare are recorded, for example, between the different divisions of the Micmac nation. According to Biard (1616; in JR., Vol. 3, p. 91),

> ...Their wars are nearly always between language and language, or country and country, and always by deceit and treachery...

Within the historical and ethnographical sources the Micmac are depicted as fighting, at various times, the Kwĕdĕch, the Almouchiquois, the Esquimeaux, and the Malecite—in other words, all of their immediate neighbors.

Once cause for war had arisen, the matter was decided one way or the other in formal council. Lescarbot tells us that,

> ...when therefore they wish to make war, the Sagamos most in credit among them sends the news of the cause and the rendezvous, and the time of the muster. On their arrival he makes them long orations on the subject which has come up, and to encourage them. At each proposal he asks their advice, and if they consent they all make an exclamation, saying Hau, in a long-drawn-out voice; if not, some Sagamos will begin to speak, and give his opinion, and both are heard with attention... (Lescarbot, 1914, p. 264).

and seems to have witnessed this sort of procedure in the case of Panoniac (Lescarbot, 1914, pp. 273-283; Champlain, 1922, pp. 443-446). Biard's account fully confirms this description, and adds the fact that the confederates were called Ricamanen (i.e., LICAMANEN)(Biard, 1616; in JR., Vol. 3, p. 91); Dièreville's statement on the matter agrees with that given by Lescarbot (Dièreville, 1933, pp. 156-157).

Le Clercq gives us an account of Micmac warfare somewhat at variance with those already presented, in that the call upon the alliance is pictured as being done only as a last resort.

> Neither profit nor the desire to extend the boundaries of their province ever has influence in the councils of war; and they never attack their enemies with the intention of seizing their country or of subjugating them to the laws

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

They never ask the aid of their allies except in the last extremity, finding in their own ambition courage enough to fight and overcome their enemies, if these be not invincible. They ask, nevertheless, for auxiliary troops from their allies if they cannot themselves settle their quarrels; and they send ambassadors, with collars of wampum, to invite these to take up the hatchet against the enemies of the nation.

War, however, is never declared except by advice of the old men, who alone decide, in the last resort, the affairs of the country. They prescribe the order which must be followed in the execution of their military undertakings; they fix the day of departure; and they assemble the young warriors to the war feast. These come there with their usual arms, firmly resolved to fight valiantly for the good of the nation. They paint their faces in red before starting, in order, they say, to conceal from their comrades and from their enemies the various changes of colour which the natural fear of combat sometimes

makes appear in the face, as well as in the heart, of the bravest and the most intrepid... (Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 265-266, 269).

For a detailed description of the rites attendant upon a formal Micmac declaration of war, we must, however, turn to Maillard. The picture painted by this author and deriving from his observations of the Cape Breton and Antigonish Micmac greatly supplements that provided by the earlier writers.

To give you a idea of their preparatory ceremony for a declaration of war, I shall here select for you a recent example, in the one that broke out not long ago between the Micmaquis, and Maricheets. These last had put a cruel affront on the former, the nature of which you will see in the course of the following description: but I shall call the Micmaquis the aggressors, because the first acts of hostility in the field began from them. These who mean to begin the war, detach a certain number of men to make incursions on the territories of their enemies to ravage the country, to destroy the game on it, and to ruin all the beaver-huts they can find on their rivers and lakes whether entirely, or only half-built. From this expedition they return laden with game and peltry; upon which the whole nation assembles to feast on the meat, in a manner that has more of the carnivorous brute in it than of the human creature. Whilst they are eating, or

rather devouring, all of them, young and old, great and little, engage themselves by the sun, the moon, and the name of the ancestors, to do as much by the enemy-nation.

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

After this they bring out Oorakins, (bowls of bark) full of that coarse vermillion which is found along the coast of Chibucto, and on the west-side of Acadia (Nova-Scotia) which they moisten with the blood of the animal if any remains, and add water to compleat the dilution. Then the old, as well as the young, smear their faces, belly and back with this curious paint; after which they trim their hair shorter, some of one side of the head, some of the other; others leave only a small tuft on the crown of their head; others cut their hair entirely off on the left or right side of it; some again leave nothing on it but a lock, just on the top of their forehead, and of the breadth of it, that falls back on the nape of the neck. Some of them bore their ears, and pass through the

holes thus made in them, the finest fibril-roots of the fir, which they call Toobee, and commonly use for thread, but on this occasion serve to string certain small shells. This military masquerade, which they use at once for terror and disguise, being compleated, all the peltry of the beasts killed in the enemy's country, is piled in a heap; the oldest Sagamo, or chieftan of the assembly gets up, and asks, "What weather it is? Is the sky clear? Does the "sun shine?" On being answered in the affirmative, he orders the young men to carry the pile of peltry to a rising-ground, or eminence, at some little distance from the cabbin, or place of assembly. As this is instantly done, he follows them, and as he walks alone begins, and continues his address to the sun in the following terms:

"Be witness, thou great and beautiful luminary, of "what we are this day going to do in the face of thy orb! "If thou didst disapprove us, thou wouldst, this moment, "hide thyself, to avoid affording the light of thy rays "to all the actions of this assembly. Thou didst exist "of old, and still existeth. Thou remainest for ever as "beautiful, as radiant, and as beneficent, as when our "first fore fathers beheld thee. Thou wilt always be the "same. The father of the day can never fail us, he who "makes every thing vegetate, and without whom cold, dark-"ness, and horror, would every where prevail. Thou

"knowest all the iniquitous procedure of our enemies towards
"us. What perfidy have they not used, what deceit have
"they not employed, whilst we had no room to distrust them?
"There are now more then five, six, seven, eight moons
"revolved since we left the principal amongst our daughters
"with them, in order thereby to form the most durable
"alliance with them, (for, in short, we and they are the
"same thing as to our being, constitution, and blood); and
" yet we have seen them look on these girls of the most
"distinguished rank, Kayheepidetchque, as mere playthings
"for them, an amusement, a pastime put by us into their
"hands, to afford them a quick and easy consolation, for
"the fatal blows we had given them in the preceding war.
"Yet we had made them sensible, that this supply of our
"principals maidens was, in order that they should re-people
"their country more honorably, and to put them under a
"necessity of conviction, that we were now become sincerely
"their friends, by delivering to them so sacred a pledge
"of amity, as our principal blood. Can we then, unmoved,
"behold them so basely abusing that thorough confidence
"of ours? Beautiful, all-feeling, all-penetrating luminary!
"without whose influence the mind of man has neither
"efficacy nor vigor, thou hast seen to what a pitch that
"nation (who are however our brothers) has carried its
"insolence towards our principal maidens. Our resentment
"would not have been so extreme with respect to girls of

"more common birth, and the rank of whose fathers had not
"a right to make such a impression on us. But here we
"are wounded in a point there is no passing over in silence
"or unrevenged. Beautiful luminary! who art thyself so
"regular in thy course, and in the wise distribution thou
"makest of thy light from morning to evening, wouldst thou
"have us not imitate thee? And whom can we better imitate?
"The earth stands in need of thy governing thyself as
"thou dost towards it. There are certain places, where
"thy influence does not suffer itself to be felt, because
"thou dost not judge them worthy of it. But, as for us,
"it is plain 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. To
"imitate thee then, we cannot do better than no longer to
"countenance or cherish those, who have proved themselves
"so unworthy thereof. They are no longer, as to us, under
"a favorable aspect. They shall dearly pay for the wrong
"they have done us. They have not, it is true, deprived
"us of the means of hunting for our maintenance and
"cloathing; they have not cut off the free passage of our
"canoes, on the lakes and rivers of this country; but
"they have done worse; they have supported in us a tameness

"of sentiments, which does not, nor cannot, exist in us. "They have defloured our principal maidens in wantonness, "and lightly sent them back to us. This is the just motive "which cries out for our vengeance. Sun! be thou favorable "to us in this point, as thou art in that of our hunting, "when we beseech thee to guide us in quest of our daily "support. Be propitious to us, that we may not fail of "discovering the ambushes that may be laid for us; that "we may not be surprized unawares in our cabbins, or else-"where; and, finally, that we may not fall into the hands "of our enemies. Grant them no chance with us, for they "deserve none. Behold the skins of their beasts now a "burnt-offering to thee! Accept it, as if the fire-brand "I hold in my hands, and now set to the pile, was lighted "immediately by thy rays, instead of our domestic fire."

Every one of the assistants, as well men as women, listen attentively to this invocation, with a kind of religious terror, and in a profound silence. But scarce is the pile on a blaze, but the shouts and war-cries begin from all parts. Curses and imprecations are poured forth without mercy or reserve, on the enemy-nation. Every one, that he may succeed in destroying any particular enemy he may have in the nation against which war is declared, vows so many skins or furs to be burnt in the same place in honor of the sun. Then they bring and throw into the fire,

the hardest stones they can find of all sizes, which are calcined in it. They take out the properest pieces for their purpose, to be fastened to the end of a stick, made much in the form of a hatchet-handle. They slit it at one end, and fix in the cleft any fragment of those burnt stones, that will best fit it, which they further secure, by binding it tightly round with the strongest Toobee, or fibrils of fir-root above mentioned; and then make use of it, as of a hatchet, not so much for cutting of wood, as for splitting the skull of the enemy, when they can surprize him. They form also other instruments of war; such as long poles, one of which is armed with bone of elk, made pointed like a small-sword, and edged on both sides, in order to reach the enemy at a distance, when he is obliged to take to the woods. The arrows are made at the same time, pointed at the end with a sharp bone. The wood of which these arrows are made, as well as the bows, must have been dried at the mysterious fire, and even the guts of which the strings are made. But you are here to observe, I am speaking of an incident that happened some years ago; fo, generally speaking, they are now better provided with arms, and iron, by the Europeans supplying them, for their chace, in favor of their dealings with them for their poltry. But to return to my narration.

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

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

The next thing they agree on is to send a couple of messengers, in the nature of heralds at arms, with their hatchets, quivers, bows, and arrows, to declare war against the nation by whom they conceive themselves aggrieved. Those go directly to the village where the bulk of the nation resides, observing a sullen silence by the way, without speaking to any that may meet them.

> When they draw near the village, they give the earth several strokes with their hatchets, as a signal of commencing hostilities in form; and to confirm it the more, they shoot two of their best arrows at the village, and retire with the utmost expedition. The war is now kindled in good earnest, and it behoves each party to stand well on its guard... (Maillard, 1758, pp. 19-30).

Maillard's description, as given thus far, is unique in the insight it gives us into the Micmac philosophy of war, and in the wealth of detail presented concerning the ceremony of declaration of war. We have very few other accounts of war customs of Northeastern Indians which are in any way as detailed; we may, however, consider some of these to try to gain some idea of the comparative position of Micmac ceremonies relating to war within the general war complex of the area.

We first need to consider the extent to which Maillard's account finds confirmation from other early writers on the Micmac. Most of the pertinent passages have already been quoted, and it can be seen that they neither support or deny Maillard's picture, devoting themselves largely to other matters. Only Lescarbot has something to add; speaking of the customs of the Souriquois, or of the Micmac of GESPOGOITG, he tells us:

> ...But before setting out, ours, I mean the Souriquois, have a special custom. They make a fort, within which all the young men of the army place themselves; and then the women come to compass them about, and to keep them as it were besieged. Seeing themselves so environed they make sallies, to slip away and deliver themselves out of prison. The women on the watch drive them back, arrest them, do their best to capture them; and if they are taken the women rush on them, beat them, strip them, and from such a success draw a favourable presage of the impending war, while if they escape it is an evil sign... (Lescarbot, 1914, p. 264).

Either the Micmac of Cape Breton or of the Pictou district did not have this specific custom, or this is a specific pre-war party ceremony not dealt with by Maillard.

For the Montagnais to the north of the Micmac we are told that

> ...before going off to war, the Montagnais hold a feast or ceremony at which there was singing and dancing. Everyone wore his best garments, decorated with colored beads or with necklaces. Each man apparently had a (war?) song of his own that no one else would sing. A man sometimes sang a song belonging to his enemies in order to insult them. During the dances the older men seem to have danced first, then the youths.

> In one dance the warriors marched in file with bows, arrows, clubs and shields. They assumed various postures and attitudes, imitating those of combat. Ordinary dancing followed, and then a feast. After the feast, the women removed all their clothing, retaining only their finest ornaments. They danced while naked. The purpose of this dance was to propitiate the Manitou. Then they entered canoes and paddled out into the middle of the river where they held a mock battle, splashing water on one another and striking blows with paddles. Then the women returned to their cabins and the men went off to attack the Iroquois... (Lane, 1952, p. 21).

To the west of the Montagnais, information on war customs is available from the Huron, Iroquois, Miami, and Ottawa. Among the first of these, war parties were raised by the "private" initiative of chiefs or recognized war leaders:

> As for the wars that they undertake, or for going into the country of enemies, two or three of the old or valiant chiefs will undertake the management for this time, and they go from village to village to make known their wish, giving presents to those of the said villages to persuade them and to get from them aid and help in their wars...
>
> While we were there, the time of going to war arriving, a young man of our town, desirous of honor, wished to give

the war feast himself and to entertain all his companions on the day of the general assembly; this was at great cost and expense to him, and he was greatly praised and esteemed for it, for the feast was of six large kettles with a great many smoked fish in the meals and the oils to grease them.

They were put on the fire before daybreak in one of the largest cabins of the place, then the council being ended and the resolutions of war taken, they all went to the feast, commenced to feast, and did the military exercises, one after another, that they are accustomed to do, during the feast; after having emptied the kettles and rendered compliments and thanks, they left and went to the rendezvous on the frontier to enter the enemies' lands... (Kinietz, 1940, pp. 82-83).

From the information available concerning the Iroquois customs of initiating warfare, the gneral procedure seems to have been the same as among the Huron. The pattern has been reconstructed by Snyderman (1948, p. 51) as follows:

1. The War Captain or would-be leader announces his intention to attack an enemy.

2. Warriors are volunteers and receive no pay.

3. War was correlated with death; the chief may have

painted himself black (the color of death) and may have sung his death song.

4. There is a period of feasting and purification for at least the chief. Sometimes the entire party underwent purification.

5. The expense of the war feast is borne by the commander.

6. Before leaving there is a war dance, which may last several days.

7. The War Party makes a grand exit from the village, dressed in its finest with much singing, firing of guns, etc. It is accompanied for part of the way by friends and relatives.

The war ceremonies of the Miami and Ottawa closely follow the pattern presented for the Iroquois, except that the sources indicate that a war party was initiated more commonly after some leader had received a favorable dream or vision from his guardian spirit. The evidence is clearest for the Ottawa, for the Cadillac memoir informs us that,

> ...a war chief abstains from eating and drinking and fasts sometimes for a week; he bedaubs and besmears his face with black: he says little, and ponders and dreams night and day, praying to the spirit he has chosen as

> his guardian or patron to give him men. This spirit, in which he trusts, is sometimes a raven, an eagle, an otter, a bear, a fox, or other animal; but each holds his own in esteem, and it is always the one which has appeared to him in his dreams and visions; so that, if during their sleep they have visions of their enemies, at certain times and places, and if finally their vision is favorable, they take it as a good omen and conclude that they will succeed in their attack on their enemies... (Kinietz, 1940, p. 251).

Among both the Miami and the Ottawa it seems that it was necessary for an enterprising war leader to secure a favorable omen from his guardian spirit before initiating a war party; no such custom is reported from the Iroquois. Instead Lafitau writes that,

> ...war is chanted in council cabin and it is the war chief who gives the feast. In this type of feast dogs are put into the pot as the principal material of the sacrifice. The sacrifice is marked by speeches which are made to the God of War,—Areskoui, to the Great Spirit and to the Sky or to the Sun to which they pray to give them victory over their enemies and bring them healthy and safe to their fatherland... (Snyderman, 1948, p. 52).

Thus, in the war complex of the Miami and Ottawa the war leader seems to obtain supernatural sanction for his venture before proceeding to raise a war party; among the Iroquois and Micmac supernatural protection is invoked by a sacrifice to the diety or Great Creator (Kinietz, 1940, pp. 197-198; 251-252; Trowbridge, 1938, pp. 19-20).

Materials from more southern tribes such as the Shawnee, the Creek, the Cherokee, and tha Natchez, indicate that a council and feast was held upon the occasion of a declaration of war, but it is not clear whether or not sacrifices or invocations were made to the dieties at this time (Trowbridge, 1939, pp. 17-18; Swanton, 1949, pp. 686-701). The Choctaw apparently had a somewhat different custom, for we are told that,

> ...when they are about to go to war they consult their Manitou, which is carried by the chief. They always exhibit it on that side where they are going to march toward the enemy, the warriors standing guard about. They have so much veneration for it that they never eat until the chief has given it the first portion... (Swanton, 1931, p. 163).

It is not clear whether this consultation of the supernatural took place before, during, or after the war dance, which sometimes lasted eight days (Swanton, 1931, p. 162). The material

on the Delaware pattern is inconclusive, but a vision seems to have been involved (Herman, 1950, p. 61).

The Micmac ceremony of declaration of war as reported by Maillard seems to be similar in its general configuration to those reported for other Woodland tribes to the south and west. The decision on the part of a war leader to go upon the war path seems usually to have been followed by a meeting of the tribal or district council, at which time the proposed action was discussed, and approved or rejected. Approval was followed by the leader mustering up members for his expedition, and by a war feast. During this latter rite the Micmac made a sacrifice to the sun (one of the aspects of the Great Spirit) to invoke his protection and aid—an act also performed by the Iroquois. The ust of the sacred sacrificial fire for the preparation of the war implements is unreported elsewhere. After the rites of declaring war had been completed, messages were sent to the enemy tribe to the effect that hostilities were about to begin.

The relation of the ceremony described by Maillard to those given by the authors of the 17th century is not completely clear. Maillard describes a declaration of war, made after it had been decided to open a general war; Lescarbot, Le Clercq, and Dièreville seem to describe the events of a war already in process, or at least already declared. Thus, Dièreville's account seems to be concerned with the mustering of forces for

a specific [illegible].

> The Sagamores who take offense
> At some outrage, or hostile acts
> Committed by New England on their Land,
> Summon their Followers for war.
> The better to arouse them, an Harangue
> Is given, and Indian Rhetoric
> Makes use of all its finest turns;
> It's bold, and it's pathetic too;
>
> ...
>
> These Sagamores inspire this noble resolve in those they govern; for each one has his own district, & his People raise the Hatchet, and ask the others if they do not wish, like themselves, to take it in hand.
>
> And with one voice they all agree; the Tribe
> Endorses the Discourse; then they contend
> With one another, each puts forth his skill,
> As though in a real combat he engaged.

(Dièreville, 1933, pp. 156-157).

The "play fort" ritual described by Lescarbot seems to have been performed after the declaration of war, immediately before a war party took the field.

After his description of the declaration of war, Maillard gives us a general account of the nature of Micmac warfare. The messengers having given the token of war to the enemy nation, they returned,

> ...to make a report of what they have done; and to prove their having been at the place appointed, they do not fail of bringing away with them some particular marks of that spot of the country. Then it is, that the inhabitants of each nation begin to think seriously, whether they shall maintain their ground by staying in their village, and fortifying it in their manner, or look out for a place of greater safty, or go directly in quest of the enemy. Upon these questions they assemble, deliberate, and hold endless consultations, and withal not uncurious ones: for it is on these occasions, that those of the greatest sagacity and eloquence display all their talents, and make themselves distinguished. One of their most common stratagems, when there were reasons for not attacking one another, or coming to a battle directly, was for one side to make as if they had renounced all thoughts of acting offensively. A party of those who made this feint of renunciation, would disperse itself in a wood, observing to keep near the borders of it; when, if any stragglers of the enemy's appeared, some one would counterfeit to the life the particular cry of

that animal, in the imitation of which he most excelled; and this childish decoy would, however, often succeed, in drawing in the young men of the opposite party into their ambushes.

Sometimes the scheme was to examine what particular spot lay so, that the enemies must, in all necessity, pass through it, to hunt, or provide bark for making their canoes. It was commonly in these passes, or defiles, that the bloodiest encounters or engagements happened, when whole nations have been known to destroy one another, with an exterminating rage on both sides, that few have been left alive on either; and to say the truth, they were generally speaking, more cannibals. It was rarely the case that they did not devour some limbs, at least, of the prisoners they made upon one another, after torturing them to death in the most cruel and shocking manner: but they never failed of drinking their blood like water; it is now, some time, that our Micmakis especially are no longer in the taste of exercising such acts of barbarity. I have, yet, lately myself seen amongst them some remains of that spirit of ferocity; some tendencies and approaches to those inhumanities; but they are nothing in comparison to what they used to be, and seem every day wearing out... (Maillard, 1758, pp. 30-33).

Lescarbot's account again supplements that of Maillard. In his section dealing with warfare he tells us that,

> ...their wars are carried on solely by surprises, in the dead of night, or if by moonlight, by ambushes, or subtility...And after this manner they travel over great countries through the woods in order to surprise their enemy, and to assail him on the sudden. This keeps them in continual fear. For at the least noise in the world, as of a moose passing among branches and leaves, they take the alarm. Those who have towns, after the manner that I have described above, are somewhat more assured; for having strongly barred the gate, they may ask, Who goes there? and prepare themselves for the combat. By such surprises the Iroquois, to the number of eight thousand men, some time ago exterminated the Algonquins, the people of Hochelaga, and others bordering upon the great river. Nevertheless, when our savages under the lead of Membertou went to war against the Armouchiquois, they embarked in skiffs and canoes; but then they did not enter the country, but killed them on their frontiers in the port of Choüakoet [Saco, Maine]... (Lescarbot, 1914, pp. 264, 267-268).

One of Lescarbot's most interesting descriptions relating to Micmac warfare derives from his visit to the village of Ouigoudi on the St. John river in 1607. The chief of this

place seems to have been an Etechemin named Chkoudun, who at that time was playing host to the Etechemin and Micmac warriors gathering to go on the warpath with Membertou against the Armouchiquois.

> ...A good portion of the said savages came from Gaspé, which is at the mouth of the great river of Canada. They told us that they had come from their homes in six days, whereat I was much amazed, seeing the distance it is by sea; but they greatly shorten their journeys, and make long voyages by means of the lakes and rivers, for when they have reached the end of one of these, by carrying their canoes three or four leagues they gain other rivers which have a contrary course. All these savages had assembled there to go with Membertou on the war-path against the Armouchiquois... (Lescarbot, 1911, p. 357).

While Lescarbot was observing these gathering warriors,

> ...the Sagamos Chkoudun, a Christian and a Frenchman in courage, showed a young man of Retel, called Lefevre, and myself, how they go to the wars; and after their feast they came forth to the number of fourscore from his town, having laid aside their mantles of fur, so that they were stark naked, bearing every one a shield which covered his whole body, after the fashion of the ancient Gauls...Besides these shields, they had every one his

wooden mace, his quiver on his back and his bow in hand; marching as it were in dancing wise. For all this, I do not think that when they come near to the enemy to fight, they are so orderly as the ancient Lacedaemonians...But rather they go furiously, with great clamours and fearful howlings, in order to astonish the enemy, and to give to themselves mutual assurance...

During this mustering, our savages went to make a turn around a hill, and as their return was somewhat slow, we took our way towards our long-boat, where our men were in fear lost some wrong had been done to us... (Lescarbot, 1914, pp. 268-269).

Our author continues his relation by informing us of the fate of the prisoners and of the dead:

The victory won by one side or the other, the conquerors keep the women and children prisoners, and cut off their hair...But of the dead they cut off the scalps in as great number as they can find, and these are divived among the captains, but they leave the carcass, contenting themselves with the scalp, which they dry, or tan, and make trophies with it in their cabins, taking therein their highest contentment. And when some solemn feast is held among them (I call it feast whenever they

make tabagie) they take them, and dance with them, hanging about their necks or their arms, or at their girdles, and for very rage they sometimes bite at them...

They have still another custom concerning any individual who brings in an enemy's scalp. They make great feasts, dances, and songs for many days; and whilst these are going on, they strip the conqueror, and give him some dirty rag to cover himself withal. But at the end of eight days or thereabouts, after the feast, every one presents him with something to honour him for his valour... (Lescarbot, 1914, pp. 270-271, 265).

Lescarbot is the only one of our sources to mention this "scalp rite."

While Lescarbot's views of Micmac warfare derive from the Micmac-Almouchiquois conflict of c.1607, those of Le Clercq derive from the Micmac-Esquimaux conflict of c.1630-1680. We are told that:

Although our Gaspesians enjoy the delights of peace (and I am speaking here especially of the wars of the ancestors of this nation rather than of those of the present day, who seem to have lost entirely that warlike disposition through which their ancestors formerly conquered and triumphed gloriously over the most numerous peoples of New France), they preserve, nevertheless even yet a

> remnant of cruelty and of a desire to wage war against the ancient enemies of their nation, and especially against the Indians who live on the north of the mouth of the River of Saint Lawrence, and who dread our Gaspesians as the most terrible and most cruel of their enemies.
>
> We call these barbarians the little Eskimaux, to distinguish them from the great, who live at the Baye des Espagnols (Newfoundland), where the Basques go to make their cod fishery...(Le Clercq, 1910, p. 266).

After a brief and general description of the Micmac manner of sending off a war party, Le Clercq continues in a more specific veing:

> The speeches, the feasts, the songs, and the dances are no sooner finished that they embark in boats and cross to the Isles aux Maingan, the land of the little Eskimaux. The women and girls without exception invoke their husbands and the young man to do their duty well.
>
> Having arrived at the home of the enemy, they reconnoitre the land and observe the place where the Eskimaux are encamped. Then they attack them vigorously, and take the scalps of all who succumb to the power of their arms, that is, if they are so fortunate as to remain masters of the field of battle.

It is in order to gratify their spirit of cruelty that every one of these barbarians wears always hung from his neck a knife, with which he makes incisions in the heads of their enemies, and removes the skin to which the hair is attached. These they carry off as the glorious mementoes of their valour and spirit.

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

If some one of their number has fallen in the combes, they go into particular mourning for him, and give up several days to grief and sorrowing. Then they make feasts for the dead, at which the chief sets forth in his speech the fine actions of those who have distinguished themselves

> and who have been killed in the combat. A profound silence follows forthwith, but it is broken suddenly by the relatives of the deceased, who cry alound with all their might and say, that it is not a question of lamenting further a misfortune for which there is no remedy, but rather of avenging the death of their countrymen by a complete ruin of their enemies. It is thus that our Indians live almost always at war with the Eskimaux. For it is impossible that somebody shall not remain dead on the battlefield whenever they fight with these barbarians, they are forever conceiving designs of revenging themselves, at whatsoever price this may be... (Le Clercq, 1910, pp. 269-271).

Further material relating to the Micmac-Esquimeaux war is to be found in the Jesuit Relations deriving from the years 1659 and 1662. The first important reference occurs in Lallement's letter concerning the Acadian missions, written in 1659 and published in 1660:

> Two years ago, the Savages of these coasts were at war with the Esquimaux. These latter are a nation dwelling at the extreme Northeastern end of New France, at about 52 degrees of latitude and 330 of longitude. It is wonderful how these Savage mariners navigate so far in little shallops, crossing vast seas without compass, and often without sight of the Sun, trusting to instinct for their guidance...

Some time ago, our Savages were waging war against these people. Having surprised and massacred some of them, they spared the lives of the others, whom they took as captives into their own country,--not to burn them, for that is not their custom; but to hold them in servitude, or to cleave their heads upon entering their villages in token of triumph. One of these captives, a woman whose husband had been killed in the fight, found her happiness in her captivity. Having been taken to Cape Breton, she was ransomed from the hands of the Savages; she was subsequently instructed and baptized, and now she lives in the French manner like a good Christian... (Lallemant, 1640; in JR., Vol. 45, pp. 65, 69).

Our second reference from the Jesuit Relations is much longer and much more important, giving us a detailed view of the treatment of prisoners and indirect confirmation of the "play fort" custom reported by Lescarbot. The source this time is Father Richard's report given in Lallemant's Relation de ce qui s'est passé... for the years 1661 and 1662.

...Father Martin Lyonne, recently deceased, and Father Andre Richard, both of our Society, for some years devoted their labors to the shores bathed by the waters of this Gulf, as well as to the surrounding districts. Father Richard gives us the following account of an expedition undertaken by certain Savages whom we call the Savages of

Gaspé, because they come and camp with considerable frequency near the Bay or Port bearing that name. "These Barbarians having assembled during the winter of last year, 1661, some of them proposed in their Councils to go and wage war against the Esquimaux. These are a people hostile to Europeans, and dwell on the shores of the Gulf toward the North and at no great distance from the great Island of Newfoundland, which is situated at the mouth of the great river and Gulf of Saint Lawrence. Ascending still higher, on the same banks, one comes to the Papinachiouekhi, next to the Bersiamites, and then to Tadoussac. The last two Nations, as well as some others allied to them, are good, simple people, fond of peace, who receive our Fathers from Kebec with great affection when the latter visit their country as Missionaries. But let us return to our Savages of Gaspé.

"When, therefore, some proposed in their Councils and feasts a hostile expedition, they were listened to by one party and opposed by another. But when the Bravees and Ruffians ridiculed those peacefully inclined, about thirty young men raised their hatchets, in sign of their advocacy of war.

"That moved me deeply," continues Father Richard, "because their war is nothing but a manhunt, quite often undertaken merely to fulfill some dreams which come to

them in their sleep, and make them believe that their departed relatives will not rest in peace unless some human beings are sacrificed to them. After the whole winter with this purpose in view, they repaired in the Spring to the banks of a River called Bacadensis, which empties into the Gulf. I was with them," proceeds the Father, "and testified to them the grief I felt at so thoughtless an undertaking, strongly suspecting that they would attack and kill the first persons they met beyond the Gulf, without heeding whether they were friends or enemies. They spurned my counsels and embarked amid ceremonies that were truly grotesque and superstitious.

While they were at their feasting, and in Council, two Shallops were prepared for them. These Shallops they buy of the French who frequent their shores for the sake of fishing, and they handle them as skillfully as our most courageous and active Sailors of France. They made a little Bridge of wood to enable them to embark dryshod in these Shallops, which were held for them ready-launched. That done, and the feast concluded, our warriors issued from a large Cabin, well armed after their fashion, singing, dancing, and running quickly to their Shallops. Those who embarked last immediately threw into the water the pieces of wood constituting their Bridges, and, taking the oars in hand with incredible celerity, were clear of

the bank in a moment. Had any one fallen into the water or wetted himself in embarking, or had the shallop run aground or been daleyed in the least degree, such an ill omen would have brought them to an instant halt and made them change their plans. When one is without the torch of the Faith, he easily mistakes darkness for light, night for day, and madness and folly for wisdom.

"While these Argonauts were plying their oars on the River Bacadensis, behold, two canoes issued as if from an ambuscade and started directly toward them to attack them, plunder them, and prevent their expedition. They were filled with young women, very active and well dressed, who came to convey an idea and present a picture of the battle these warriors were to fight with their enemies. They passed and repassed, turning and executing a thousand caracoles around these Shallops, trying to board them for the purpose of pillaging them, or, at least, of carrying off some little plunder. Bravely attacked, bravely defended. The men repulsed them, discharging their muskets frequently, rather to make a noise than to harm them.

"At length the young women withdrew, thoroughly tired, and without succeeding in plundering a single article. They returned to the bank where the other women, who were waiting for them, received them with shooting and hooting, as if they been vanquished enemies, pouncing upon them,

stripping them of their new robes and of their ornaments, and giving them some old rags instead. One of these Amazons was ridiculed and mocked because she had not put on her handsome robe and fine attire, having strongly suspected that she would be robbed of them. These women are very willing to be thus despoiled for the sake of furnishing a happy omen of the victory which they desire for their relatives and friends.

"But let us follow our Warriors. They had not proceeded far in the Gulf when one of them called a halt. 'I have just now recalled,' said he, 'an order given us by one of my relatives when dying. You know that the commands of the dying are important, and that, the deceased having been a man of influence among us, his wishes must be executed. Now, as they are opposed to the undertaking in which I have inconsiderately joined, from a lapse of memory, I am obliged to turn back, and abandon all thought of warfare.' Those who had engaged in this expedition simply from a fear of their comrades' opinion, told the speaker that they would accompany him, as being relatives or friends of the Deceased. Accordingly, the Band was divided in halves, one of the two shallops heading toward the land and returning to the shore, the other, manned by fifteen Hunters, proceeding forward.

"They at length reached the Island of Anticosti, where the Gulf begins, as it were, to change into a river. Leaving it to cross to the mainland on the North, they perceived a Canoe issuing from another Island, coming from a hunting expedition. The wind favoring them, they gave chase with sail and oar; and, without inquiring its Nationality, overwhelmed it with a discharge from their arquebuses. It was enough that it contained human beings; that was the prey and game they were seeking. This Canoe bore a man and a woman, a girl and a little boy. At the first volley the man, woman, and girl were killed, and the little boy wounded. Immediately the enemy pounced upon the slain, removing their scalps, and took the little boy into their boat, wounded as he was; and their war and hunt were accomplished. The wind changing, they turned their Shallop and came back to their own country, full of pride over so successful an issue...

"As their departure had been accompanied with superstitution, so their return was full of folly and cruelty. Approaching their country's shores, they uttered a loud cry in sign of their victory. Upon hearing the shout," says the Father who furnished these Notes, "I immediately concluded that they had not been so far as their enemy's country, which was too distant for a journey of so short duration. I judged that they might perhaps have met with

some Savages allied to those of Tadoussac, who might resent their action some day. As a matter of fact, I was told that they had killed some Papinachioueki, good friends to the French and to the latter's allies.

"At the noise and outcry made by these Warriors, all left their Cabins, the French who were then in the vicinity hastening to the spot with the rest. I determined not to appear, in order to show the indignation I felt at so cowardly a deed. When they were yet at a considerable distance from their proposed landing-place, they indulged in a bit of cruel barbarism toward their poor little prisoner, throwing him into the water, wounded as he was in various places. At the same time they threw in the scalps they had taken, surrendering to plunder all the spoils they had captured from their pretended foes. Forthwith most of the Savages, both men and women, plunged in and swam, the women straight toward the floating scalps, and the men toward the little boy, who was drowning. The women, after seizing the scalps, wished to snatch the little prisoner from the men, and the poor child found himself pulled and torn about like a victim fallen into the clutches of wolves or lions; but finally, after much altercation, he was adjudged and given to the Captain's wife. She, wishing to show that she had courage as well as her husband, and that she could witness human bloodshed without

weakness, drew a large knife from her bosom and plunged it with inhuman cruelty into the arm of that child,—half-dead as he already was, both from the wounds received in the encounter, and from the cruelty with which he been treated in the water. Yet he was forced to sing as he beheld his own blood, which drew from him neither tear nor cry. The training which parents give their children to display courage in such circumstances, and the noise and din made by those Barbarians, cause such a stupefaction of their prisoners' senses that even the youngest are not wanting in the manifestation of fortitude.

"Our Frenchmen, touched with pity at so sad a spectacle, sought means to liberate the child; but it was not yet time. I confess to you that, at the account they gave me of such a cruel proceeding, which I had been unwilling to see with my own eyes, my feelings were so outraged that when, towards evening, those haughty Thrasos presented themselves at the Chapel to receive instruction and be directed in their prayers, I drove them out and shut the door of the Church upon them, telling them that God did not countenance murders committed upon the persons of the Innocent. But, their hearts being still all inflated with pride, spite took possession of them, and made them say to the French whom they met that they were going to break the prisoner's head, and start out in their Shallop again for the purpose of continuing their man-hunt.

"Our Frenchmen reported this to me, and added that it was all over with the child's life unless I changed my tactics. That moved me, and hastening immediately to the spot where they were assembled, I said to them: 'My brothers and my nephews, I come to mingle my tears with your rejoicing. You have brought me within two finger-breadths of death; the love I bear you is the source of my pain and grief. When a father has lost his well-beloved son, you see only tears and hear only lamentations. Are you not my children? How would you have me laugh in your misfortune? You are dead in your souls, you have displeased God, you have yielded yourselves slaves to the Demon, and you wish me to rejoice with you! First wrest from my heart the love I bear you. Let me weep and bemoan your wrong-doing!' 'But dost thou really love us?' they asked. 'Yes, I love you, and more tenderly than you think.' 'Why, then, didst thou shut the Chapel door upon us?' 'Love made me adopt that course, to bring you to yourself again and open your eyes, in order that you might wash your hands, still all covered with blood, before entering into the presence of God.' 'We see plainly that thou lovest us,' they replied. 'Continue to love us, my Father; we are no longer vexed; we love thee.' 'If you love me,'" returned the Father, "'do not kill the child; spare its life.' 'Go, my Father; we love thee, and he shall not die.' I retired, satisfied with so fair a promise.

"The withdrawal of that band to Isle percée, whither I too betook myself, gav' an opportunity to the Surgeon of our Frenchmen who were fishing there, to dress this poor child's wounds. He had four bullets in his head, of which three were removed, while the fourth, and another which he had in his shoulder, could not be reached. Too great effort for this would have been manifestly dangerous to him. The poor child gave only one little gasp while under a treatment that was very severe and painful. Our Frenchmen made every effort to rescue him from those Barbarians' custody, but without any success. Seeing that they were on the point of carrying him away, and judging from his weak and reduced appearance that he was not over seven years old, I baptized him privately, after only slight instruction and with no ceremony whatever, the time and place not permitting it. That done, he was put into a boat to be conveyed elsewhere. The regret I felt at witnessing the removal of this poor little innocent, whose life might be sacrificed to the fancy or dream of some Savage, made me resolve to seek out the Captain's wife, to whom he had been given. She was about to take her departure, and I addressed her nearly as follows:

"'My Sister, I have a request to make to thee, and I beg thee not to refuse me. I have never asked anything of thee, nor do I feel inclined ever to do so. I confess

that my wish is great and my entreaty important. Thou knowest what I have done for thee, and the occasional aid I have rendered thee. Give me thy little prisoner; he is dying and will be of no service to thee. The presents that I will give thee will be a hundred times more useful and advantageous, since he will even be a source of expense to thee.' Then I approached her husband and offered him the same arguments. I succeeded so well that they granted me the boy. He was taken from the Shallop and put into my hands; they embarked, weighed anchor, and departed. I withdrew with my prey, highly delighted and not without astonishment that they had not asked me for payment before leaving. It is true, they knew me and felt assured that I would keep my promise.

"They had not been gone long when a contrary wind drove them back into port. They came to see me and spoke to me about the presents which I had led them to expect. I told them that I was all ready to fulfill my promise, but that it was for them to let me know what they would like. They convoked the Council and had me summoned. One of the elders took the word and, after exaggerating the importance of the present given me, assured me that the love and respect they bore me limited them to a very moderate demand. Nevertheless, he asked an exorbitant price.

> "I answered them that they were right in asking a large ransom, and that a human being's life was too precious to be adequately paid for by presents. But, as they knew, my arms were very short, my hands very small, and I could not hold very much in my embrace. For a long time my hands had been constantly open to assist them in their needs, and there was only left me what I offered them and displayed before their eyes. They accepted it with demonstrations of great satisfaction, while I was still more pleased, since my little ransomed boy could not be demanded back again, the transaction having occurred in the Council of the chiefs... (Lallemant, 1663; in JR, Vol. 47, pp. 221-239).

Passing from the historical sources to the legendary materials—and to the Micmac point of view—quite another aspect of the war complex appears. A reading of the legendary accounts reveals that the Micmac did not consider mere brawn and courage as the determining factors of battle. What was of crucial importance seems to have been the supernatural power of the war leader—the GINAP; the outcome of a battle was thus determined largely by the relative supernatural power of the rival GINAPG, and the common warriors functioned largely to "mop up," so to speak.

This Micmac attitude appears clearest in the incident reported in two separate legends—Rand's "Second Incident," and the story of Ulgimoo. The first of these is as follows:

...And old man of the Micmacs, together with his wife, his two sons, and their wives, had gone some distance up the Restigouche to spend the autumn and winter. The old man was a mighty magician, and an able hunter and warrior; he foresaw the attack [of the Kwĕdĕches], and fortified himself accordingly, but said nothing of the matter to his partners. They built one lodge for all; and he directed them to make it strong, as there would probably be a hard pressure of snow upon it during the winter. This was the reason he gave the boys; the one that influenced him was that an attempt would be made to crush it down over their heads by parties without, who would come down upon them before the snow was gone. The wigwam was accordingly built with stout poles and crossbars, and all lashed firmly together.

The young men spent the time during the fall and winter in bringing in meat and skins. Toward spring the father was watching, by his magic skill, the progress of events; he kept smoking all the time the magic pipe, made with a very large wooden bowl, boŏin-wadeg-get' (divining), and taking no notice of what was passing near him. He was thus enabled to ascertain the number of men who were on the march, the progress they were making, and the day when they would arrive. So one day, rousing himself, he directed the women to cook a large quantity of provisions, as they would have company the next day; this was accordingly done.

Meanwhile the war-party had reached the hunting-grounds and seen the snow-shoe tracks. They then proceeded cautiously, waited until night set in, when they came up to the solitary wigwam. "There is," said their leader, "but a single lodge here; let us just climb upon it and crush it right down, and kill them all at once." Several men accordingly ascended the sides of the wigwam; but they found it was a more difficult undertaking than they had anticipated. They were startled by the voice of an old men calling out to them, and saying very composedly, "What are you about up there? Come down; the door is down here,—it isn't up there." Whereupon down they came; the chief and his captains entered, and found a quantity of provisions all ready for them. The men built fires out-of-doors, and after they all had partaken of the hospitality of the quondam friend, stretched themselves down to rest.

The next morning breakfast was prepared for them, and they partook of it. But now the fighting had to be done; no advantage, however, was to be taken of him who had furnished bed and board to strangers. The Kwĕdĕch chief bade his host come out and try the fortunes of open, fair fight. "But no," said the old Micmac, "the boys may go; I shall remain here." So, arming themselves, the two young men went out, the fight began; their father remained

within, but helped them much by his supernatural powers. The boys cause many of the foe to fall, but after a while one of them rushed into the lodge wounded. The cure was summary and singular; his mother seized him by the "cue," and severed it from his head. He was now all right again, and rushed back to the fight. Soon the other entered wounded, and was treated in the same way. Fresh for the fight, but minus the scalp-lock, he was able to kill a good many more before he fell; but fall he did, as well as his brother, after a while. The old man then took their place, but not until he had taken precautions that the women should not fall alive into the enemies' hands; first he struck them all down, and then, uttering a terrible war-whoop, he rushed into the fight. Many a warrior fell by his hand that day, but he escaped without a scratch. Both parties grew tired, and paused, by mutual consent, for rest and refreshment. Each party sat apart, according to custom on such occasions, and smoked, after they had eaten their dinners. While sitting there, a youth of the other party aimed an arrow at the old Micmac, and wounded him slightly in the leg. When the Kwĕdĕch and his party were ready, they gave the word for a fresh attack. But the Micmac said, "No, I am wounded; I yield,—you can take me prisoner." So they took him and began to tie him. "Oh," said he, "you needn't do that; I shall not try to run away." So they trusted him, and let him have his liberty. But so

many of their warriors had fallen that their expedition had to be abandoned; and they returned home, taking their prisoner with them.

After they reach their home, they prepare in due time to dispose of their prisoner, according to custom. He is tied, and exposed to all kinds of insults, abuse, and torture, while his foes feast, dance, and sing around him, enjoying his bravery and his composure. Among other species of torture, they twitch off his finger-nails, and use the fingers to push down the fire in their pipes; but they cannot extort a groan from their sturdy prisoner. So passes the first day of the trial. They are baffled.

After a few days they have another feast, and the prisoner is again brought out and tied. Warrior after warrior engages in the exciting war-dance, works himself up into a furor, and then rushes upon the prisoner and strikes him on the head with all his might; but the tomahawk bounds off impotent, as though struck upon a rock of granite.

They make one more attempt. Another festival is summoned; and after the due preliminaries of feasting and dancing are over, the prisoner is bound hand and foot to a tree. Armfuls of dry wood and brush are gathered, and piled around him; the torch is applied, and the blaze and

smoke mount upward to the skies. Suddenly there comes a tremendous crash of thunder right overhead; and a deluging shower of rain pours down, extinguishes the fire, and drives the whole party into the wigwams. The prisoner now disengages himself, and is occupied in attempting to keep the fires burning. Soon the others come out and find him at his work. "Come and help me," says he. "What made you all run away? I could not keep the fires going all alone during such a shower."

They now have to own themselves beaten. "We cannot kill him," says the chief; "he is a mighty wizard, a great powwow. Let us adopt him, give him a wife, and appoint him to some office in the tribe." So they select a beautiful woman and place her by his side, and endeavor to persuade him to become a chief among them. But he refuses all their overtures. "You have deprived me of my wife," says he, "and I don't want another; nor do I wish to be raised to any post of honor in your tribe. I am going home."

They decide to let him have his own way, and fit him out for his journey. It is spring; the rivers and lakes are free from ice, and he can return by water. So they furnish him with a canoe, and a good supply of all necessary articles, and he bids them adieu. Down he goes with the stream; and they hear him singing all night, and

all the following nights, for seven in succession. On the seventh night, before he reaches his home, the inhabitants of the village hear the sounds of song in the distance, and wonder what it means. The next night it is nearer, and comes nearer and nearer every night. The necromancers are consulted; they rouse up their magical powers, and finally one of their number divines correctly. He understands all, and says, "Our friend still lives, and is coming back home." ...They are overwhelmed with joy at his return,—for he arrives on the seventh night after they first heard him sing. They gather around, and rejoice over the report he was able to render of what he had seen and said and done (Rand, 1894, pp. 207-211).

The importance of supernatural power in war, as expressed in this story of the Kwĕdĕch war, is reiterated by many other incidents in the Micmac legendary materials. In the story of the battle between Abăbĕjit and the Kwĕdĕch, for example, Abăbĕjit's party is caught unawares in their wigwam by the Kwĕdĕch; we are told then that:

...Abăbĕjit, believing that he has been admonished of the danger in his dreams, does not sleep, but keeps watch that night. Having been snubbed by his comrade for supposing that he possessed superior prophetic powers, he says nothing to him or to any of the rest respecting his suspicions, but quietly waits and watches all night in

the wigwam. He is aware when the war-party approaches, he knows when they are opposite the place, and when they are crossing the river. There he sits in the kŭtakŭmóók (the place opposite the door).

The strangers manage to construct a bridge there of floating ice-cakes, and just before daylight succeed in effecting a crossing. Ababŏjit sees them coming, and afterwards arranging themselves on the shore next to the wigwam. He sees them leveling their pieces at the wigwam, and then he touches his friend on the side with his gun, and says, "We are all killed. Now get up." He springs up just as the guns are discharged. Ababŏjit, being wide awake, has his magical power all in exercise, and is unscathed. The bullets cannot injure him. His comrade would have been just as safe had he been wide awake and watching. But as he was just arousing himself, his medicine was at fault. He is struck in the leg, and his thigh is broken. He cries out, "Comrade, I am killed"... (Rand, 1894, p. 128).

Later, in the same tale, the Kwĕdĕch chief survives the effect of Micmac gunfire in the same manner, and attempts to escape by changing into the form and habit of his TEŌMŬL—the loon. The Micmac chief wounds him, however, and he is then killed (Rand, 1894, pp. 133-134).

Similar examples of the importance of supernatural power in warfare occur in Rand's account of the origin of the Micmac-Kwĕdĕch war (Rand, 1894, pp. 200-206), in the account of Mĕjelăbĕgadăsĭch's battle with a Kwĕdĕch chief (Rand, 1894, pp. 212-215), in the story "Saved by a Chip" (Rand, 1894, pp. 238-240), in the story of Ulgĭmoo (Rand, 1894, pp. 294-297), and in the story "Fox-fire" (Parsons, 1925, pp. 75-76). The prevailing tone in all these tales is that the Micmac owed their success in war to the superior supernatural abilities of their leaders; reverses are explained as being due to these leaders not having their powers fully mobilized.

As has already been stated, the GINAP appears in the Micmac legends as a warrior, or, more accurately, as a war leader. The GINAP possesses definite supernatural abilities related to war, and is usually distinguished from both the BOÖIN and the SAKUMOW. In more recent times the meaning of the word seems to have changed somewhat, perhaps as the result of the BUÓWIN (or BOOIN) becoming associated with the devil and with evil. Johnson (1943, p. 57) reports that among the Micmac of 1930 the GINAP was thought to be,

> ...a shaman who is more powerful than the buówin. No buówin can harm him and the gínap may prevent the buówin from doing anything. The gínap is always trying to help the people in whatever way he can. At times, he

> may protect the people from the machinations of a buówin. One informant offered the suggestion that a gínap was a teacher. Whether this distinction is an old one cannot be said now...

Since the legendary materials often speak of the same individual as being both GÍNAP and BUÓWIN, it would seem that these two roles were not originally thought of as involving antagnostic or contradictory modes of behaviour. Perhaps the distinction lay in the BUÓWIN use of his powers to communicate with the supernaturals manifested by the sun and the moon, and to cure by exorcising evil spirits; while the GÍNAP was concerned with divination relating to warfare, and the cultivation of supernatural powers pertaining to this activity.

The Micmac legends deriving from the Kwĕdĕch war give us information concerning another important custom of the Micmac. In an account given previously we noticed that, the Kwĕdĕch attempt at a surprise attack on the Micmac failing, the relations between the attackers and the attacked became very formal—the Micmacs providing the Kwĕdĕch with food and sleeping facilities before the final battle. This situation receives confirmation from a number of other legends.

In brief, it was the custom of all war parties to attempt to surprise and ambush the enemy. If such surprise failed by the enemy discovering the attacking party, and if the situation was such that a counter-ambush could not be arranged or that

the attacking party could not retire without losing face, a formalized pattern of action based upon the host-guest relationship guided the behavior of both parties preliminary to an all-out battle. The relations between the two parties were limited to the chiefs, who used a formalized and pseudo-friendly form of speech. On some occasions the chief of the attacked village invited the attackers to a feast; this invitation was, of course, accepted. Following such a feast, the chief of each party rose to dance his war-dance and sing his war-song. The chiefs then engaged in a hand-to-hand duel between the lined-up warriors of both parties; as soon as one chief won, the battle became general.

The legend in which this formal ritual is best preserved for us is "Saved by a Chip." In this account, a party of Micmac become aware of the presence of enemies upstream from them by chips floating downstream from a bridge construction. They therefore retreated to their village.

> ...The Indian left a magic sentinel, however, behind. He took his wĭjepŏde (pouch) made of fox-skin, and doubled it across a branch of a tree near the wigwam. This was his teomŭl,—his charm, his tutelar manitoo,—which had the power to warn them if an enemy came there; and sure enough, about midnight, from the little island where they were encamped, they heard the fox bark. This was

sufficient; they hastened forward and sounded the alarm. All were immediately astir. The warriors armed themselves. According to the Indian custom, they prepared to feed their foes before the fight; they extemporized a large lodge for that purpose, and cooked up a bountiful supply of provisions.

It was not long before the war-party arrived; they were met in a friendly manner, and feasted preparatory to the fight,—or, as the story goes, to the play.

After the eating was over, the chief of the Kwĕdĕches rose and commenced the exercises by dancing the war-dance and singing a war-song. This was the song:—

"Ho-egānu! hogei-eganu!
Ho-egānu! hogei-eganu!"

The Micmacs answered this with a kind of defiant grunt:

"Hĕh, ĕh! hĕh, ĕh! hĕh, ĕh!"

After the Kwĕdĕch had danced and sung sufficiently, it was the Micmac's turn. His words and tune were different; but in both cases no particular meaning can now be attached to either of them.

The Micmac words were:—

"Kwĕd-ăl-look-tan-o'!
Kwĕd-ăl-look-tan-ŭ!"

> The play now commences. The Kwĕdĕch chief rushes upon the Micmac chief, and aims a deadly blow at his head with a hatchet; this is parried either by art or by magic, and all engage in the fray. The Micmacs conquer. All their enemies are killed but two, and they are dismissed to carry home the news; they are carefully instructed relative to the important part the two women had in the victory. "Tell your people," says the chief, "that your warriors were all defeated and destroyed by two women." The nature of this consolation can be readily appreciated... (Rand, 1894, pp. 238-240).

Rand adds the information that the full text of the war-song sung by the Micmac chief runs,

"Kwĕdalooktano´	"I must kill!
Kwĕdalook-tānoo	I must slaughter!
Kwĕdalooktano´	I must slaughter!
Kwĕdalooktan´	I must kill!"
Kwĕdalooktāno"	

Another example of this ceremony is given in the legend concerning Mĕjelābĕgadāsich's victory over the Kwĕdĕch. In this case it was the chief who discovered the enemy war party.

> The old chief sat in the prow and pulled for dear life, while his comrade sat in the stern and steered. Reaching the shore, the chief leaped out and directed

the other to wait while he ascended the bank to reconnoitre. He crept to the top of the bank, keeping close to the ground, and concealing himself, as though looking for ducks (teals). What should he see there but a party of Kwĕdĕches, to the number of about fifty, moving stealthily along in their canoes, -some containing three warriors, some four, and some five! Their leader, named Wŏhoowĕch, had two canoes lashed side by side, with a deck laid over the two, on which, near the prow, he was standing holding up a flag, and carefully looking around in all directions, as though expecting to see the enemy. The Micmac chief, exerting all his magical powers and his more natural sagacity, concealed himself, and moved down to the shore in advance of the fleet, where he awaited their approach. Old Wŏhoowĕch never noticed him until he was hailed: 'Nsees, tame ālēen? Cogoowā kwelāmŭn? ("My brother, where are you going, and what are you looking for?") The chief gave a start, confounded and ashamed that he should have been overlooked, from his exalted position, a man so near him, and immediately turned in to the shore and landed. They greeted each other in a friendly way, and the Kwĕdĕch explained the object of his expedition. "Do you know" says he to the Micmac, "of a celebrated chief about here named Mĕjelăbĕgadăsich (Tied-in-a-hard-knot)?" "No, I do not," answers the other; "I have heard tell of him, however; he resides a long distance along this extended

point." "Well," replies the other, "I am looking for him, and I mean najemoosiktum (to pick thoroughly this whole bone; that is, I mean to destroy every man, woman, and child in the whole region)."

The Micmac chief says: "This is my place of residence, and I have a few men under me who would be glad of an opportunity of meeting you and your men. Say the word, and I will call them over." To this proposal the Kwedech agrees; and so Tied-in-a-hard-knot, calling to his captain on the other side of the sand-hill, directs him to summon half the warriors (he had about three hundred there), and to leave the other half to guard the village, as there might possibly be a party coming down upon them by land. This is done; and the two parties, drawn up in battle array, stand in close proximity, facing each other and waiting the signal to begin. The two chief's must meet in single combat first; the armies are too close together for the use of bows and arrows,--the tomahawk and the knife must do the work. The chiefs begin, and victory for a long time holds the scales in even balance. So rapid are their movements in defence and attack, that sometimes they can scarcely be seen. Finally Victory declares for the Micmac; seizing his fee by the scalplock, he drags him to a stone that is near, lays his head upon it, and with one blow of his hatchet, crushes his skull.

The report is like a clap of thunder,—loud as a cannon; it is heard at the village. One old man, bowed down with age, unable to leave his wigwam, and almost deaf, as well as blind, hears the joyful sound; and new life and vigor bound through his veins. He straightens himself up and laughs, exclaiming: "There goes the head of a mighty powwow!" He had been one himself.

Tied-in-a-hard-knot is now completely exhausted; he rushes to the water, and plunges in to cool and rest himself. Meanwhile the lines close in, and the fight becomes general. The invading party is dishartened at the loss of the chief, and the others are proportionately elated. The air resounds with the yells of the warriors, and the clashing of their deadly weapons. The Micmac win the day. The next in command of the Kwĕdĕch army, who has assumed the direction on the fall of Wŏhoowĕh, calls for quarter. He "strikes his colors," and submits. Tā beak'! ("It is enough!") he shouts. "It was his business,"—referring to the fallen chief,—"not ours; let us quit, and make peace." To this the others agree. The chief now in command states that he knew Tied-in-a-hard-knot when he first saw him; that he had encountered him before, and was one of a very small party that had escaped destruction at his hands; but that he had not dared to tell old Wŏhoowĕh so, as it would have endangered his life to intimate to his chief that his

> magic was defective,—that he was unable to distinguish at sight so renowned a warrior as Tied-in-a-hard-knot was, and that the experience of a subordinate was superior to the intuition of a chief and a powwow...(Rand, 1894, pp.212-215).

Still other legends referring to this prebattle ceremony between enemies may be cited (i.e., Rand, 1894, pp. 132, 203-206; Nichelson, 1925, pp. 41-42), but this would add little more to what has already been given. We may, however, notice that Lescarbot makes one statement which tends to confirm the picture painted by the legendary materials, for after discussing the attempts of the war parties to achieve surprise and ambush, he tells us that,

> ...after the surprises, they come to close quarters, and fight very often by day...(Lescarbot, 1914, p. 264).

It is unfortunate that our author did not see fit to enlarge upon this point.

The legendary materials give us little additional information concerning the Micmac treatment of war parties; what little there is usually refers to the treatment of the one or two survivors of unfortunate war parties who were being prepared by the Micmac to deliver the news of the Kwĕdĕch misfortune to their home village. The following account is representative:

> ...All were killed but two. They took these, and running a knife under the cords of their wrists, they inserted a string under the cords, and thus bound their hands behind them; and fettering them with cords inserted under the sinews of their heels, they let them go to carry the tidings home and provoke another attack by way of revenge... (Rand, 1894, pp. 140-141).

Other methods of achieving the same result consisted of cutting off the noses, ears, and cheeks of the surviving warriors (Rand, 1894, pp. 177-178); in cutting the skin of the legs into several strips, of peeling the skin down "about half-way from the knee to the ankle, and letting it hang" (Rand, 1894, p. 218); or of cutting off an ear and slitting the under lip (Rand, 1894, p. 241).

One Micmac legend indicates that captives were sometimes left unharmed and were adopted (Rand, 1894, p. 245), and material from Lescarbot confirms this. Other legend material, on the other hand, indicates that the Micmac were familiar with the use of human skins as door-blankets for wigwams (Rand, 1894, p. 46). The more usual treatment of captives probably lay somewhere between these two extremes.

We may close our discussion of warfare with a description of what must have seemed to the Micmac as the ideal warrior type.

> Then Glooskap, who was much pleased with all this, for he loved a brave man, came among them looking terribly

ferocious; in all the land there was not one who seemed half so horrible. For he appeared ten feet high, with a hundred red and black feathers in his scalp-lock, his face painted like fresh blood with green rings round his eyes, a large clam-shell hanging from each ear, a spread eagle, very awful to behold, flapping its wings from the back of his neck, so that as he strode into the village all hearts quaked...(Leland, 1884, p. 117).