

THE MONTAGNAIS INDIANS, 1600-1640

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is a description of the culture of the Montagnais Indians during the first forty years of the 17th century—i.e., in the period beginning with the first permanent French settlement of Canada and ending with the outbreak of the Iroquois Wars. The study deals only with the materials to be found in the contemporary sources, and no attempt has been made to delineate Montagnais culture as it may have been before or after the period named. We are therefore dealing with a culture which has already been in intermittent contact with European influence for almost a hundred years.

The Montagnais described are those who were accustomed to hunt and camp around the French settlements on the lower St. Lawrence River—the Montagnais of Tadoussac, Quebec, and Three Rivers.

History

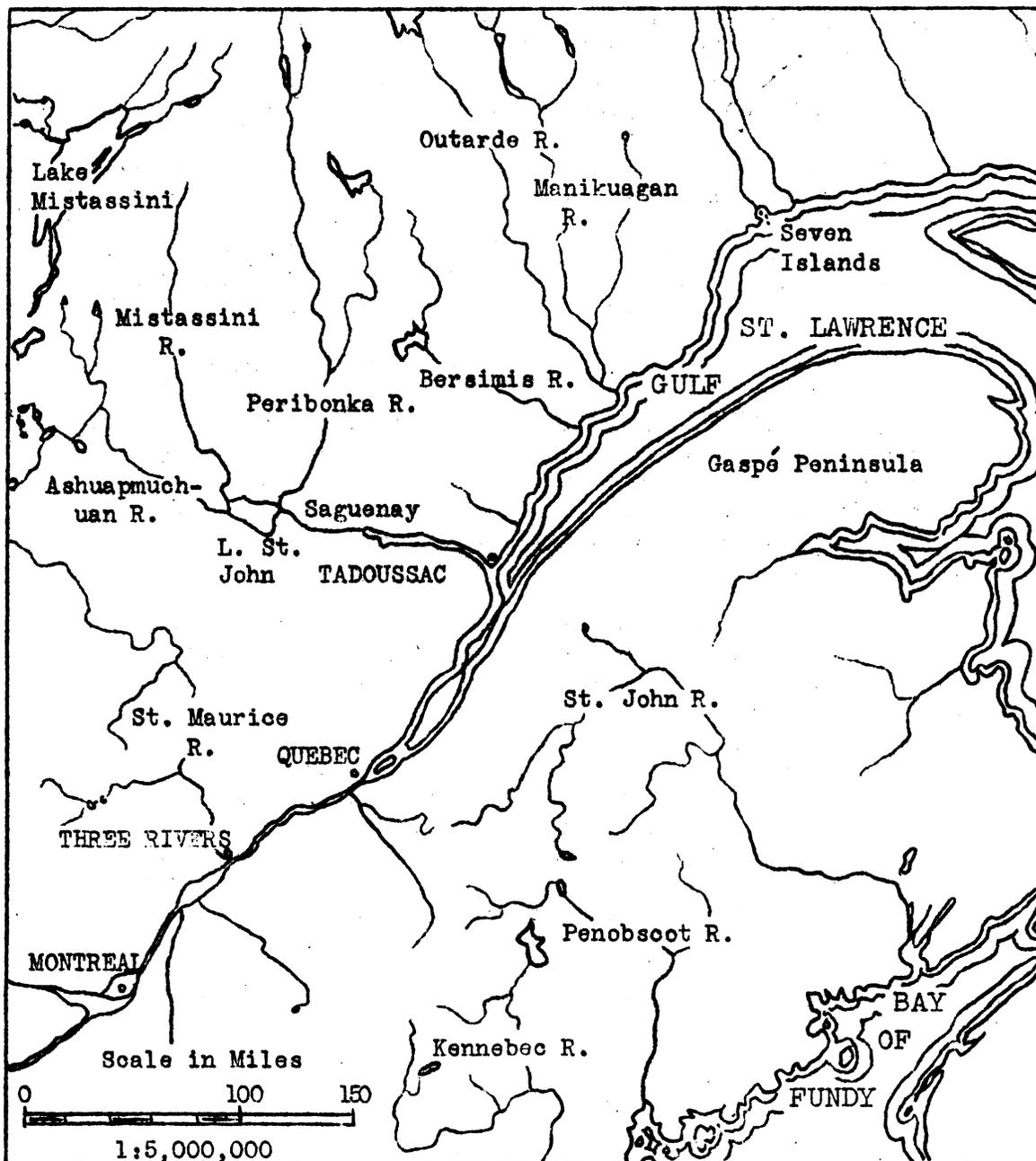
French, Spanish, and Portuguese fishermen had worked in the waters around Newfoundland since about 1510. Tadoussac, on the Saguenay river, early became a favorite harbor and trading station of the French. By 1535, Cartier, and perhaps others, had visited the site of Quebec (Thwaites, 1896, vol. 1, pp. 1-2, 15). As will be seen, by the beginning of the 17th century the Montagnais along the St. Lawrence were fairly well acquainted with French ways and goods.

The descriptions of the Montagnais deriving from the first part of the 17th century provide a basis for comparison of Montagnais culture at later periods in its history, although such a comparison is not attempted in this paper. Prior to 1600 the writings of Cartier, Roberval, and Thevet give descriptions which probably apply in part to the Montagnais, but it would be necessary to correlate their tribal names with those used in more recent times. After 1640 the Jesuits began to penetrate the Montagnais country to the north and west of the Saguenay, and fair descriptions of the culture of this area and period are therefore probably available (Thwaites, 1896, vol. 1, p. 16).

Sources

The period covered here is one for which fairly complete descriptions are available from people who, in a large number of cases, had observed the Indians over a considerable span of time. Samuel de Champlain fought several battles against the Iroquois with Indian war parties in which the Montagnais were represented, and he seems to have spoken their language. In 1615, Champlain brought four Recollect missionaries to Quebec. Two of these, Father Joseph Le Caron and Father John d'Olbeau, left descriptions of the Montagnais that have been published in fragmentary form by a somewhat later Recollect missionary, Father Chrétien Le Clercq, who was in Canada from 1673-1687. Le Caron wintered with the Montagnais near Tadoussac in 1618. Gabriel Sagard, a lay brother of the Recollect order, arrived in Canada in 1623 and remained there one year. His account of a trip to the Huron country contains some information on the Montagnais (Thwaites, 1896, vol. 1, pp. 6-7; Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, pp. 5-22, 31, 82; Sagard, 1939, pp. xiv-xvi).

Although some Jesuits, notably Father Jerome L'Allemant, were aiding the Recollects by 1625, the British drove them out during their occupation of New France from 1629 to 1632. In 1632 three Jesuit



Map of the lower St. Lawrence and surrounding environs, showing localities frequented by the Montagnais.

missionaries returned to Quebec. Their superior, Father Paul Le Jeune, remained in Canada for about twenty years, and his descriptions of Montagnais life form the main source material for this paper.

Le Jeune was born in France in 1591, of Huguenot parents. He later became a Catholic, and in 1613 a Jesuit. He taught in various Jesuit schools, including the one at Dieppe. When the French returned to Canada in 1632 he went along as the superior of the Canadian mission. He retained this position until 1639, when he was replaced as superior by Father Barthelemy Vimont. Le Jeune went to France in 1641, but returned to Canada the next year and continued his missionary work at Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal. In 1649 he returned to France and became procuror of foreign missions. He went to Canada again in 1660 but did not remain. Le Jeune died at Paris in 1664 (Thwaites, 1897, vol. 5, p. 275, note 1; McDonnell and Labelle, 1948, p. 482).

Le Jeune spent the winter of 1633-1634 with a group of Montagnais Indians and his Relation for that year contains a wealth of information on Montagnais culture. As various events occurred he noted them down in a kind of journal, which he later drew upon in preparing his report. However poor this "field notebook" may have been, therefore, he did not have to rely on memory alone (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 117). In his Relation of 1634 Le Jeune tells us the following about his sources of information:

All that I shall say regarding the Savages, I have either seen with my own eyes, or have received from the lips of the natives, especially from an old man very well versed in their beliefs, and from a number of others with whom I have passed six months with the exception of a few days, following them into the woods to learn their language. It is, indeed, true that these people have not all the same idea in regard to their belief, which will some day make it appear that those who treat of their customs are contradicting each other (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 111).

The implications of this last statement will be discussed under "Religion."

Culture Change

During the period covered by this paper the Jesuits did their best to change the ways of the Indians, especially the Montagnais, who were nearest at hand. By 1638 Le Jeune could write that the shamans had lost all prestige among the Indians who frequented the French settlements and that they no longer cured the sick or beat their drums in the presence of the French. Eat-all feasts had ceased, as had

divination in the soaking-tent. "The other superstitions will be suppressed little by little" (Le Jeune, 1638b-JR, vol. 14, p. 223).

When the Indians did practice these customs they tried to keep the French from learning of it for fear of losing French assistance. Smallpox epidemics, along with Jesuit teachings, famines, and a strong fear of the Iroquois had forced the Montagnais into at least periodic dependence on the good will of the French. By 1638 many Montagnais were seeking baptism, not only those living along the St. Lawrence, but also the Attikamegues of the upper St. Maurice river and the "Porcupine Nation" of Lake St. John, both of which were Montagnais-speaking groups (Le Jeune, 1638b-JR, vol. 14, pp. 223-229, *et passim*). By 1639, due to Jesuit influence, some of the baptized Montagnais and Algonkins had become sedentary agriculturists at Sillery, near Three Rivers (Le Jeune, 1640-JR, vol. 16, pp. 75-111).

Throughout the Relations there occasionally occur passages concerning the "Savages." In these it is not always clear which tribe is being referred to. Le Jeune usually uses this designation to refer to the Montagnais—but sometimes it seems to refer to the Algonkins proper. In a number of cases the group can be identified fairly certainly from its location. For example, except for occasional transients the Tadoussac natives were apparently all Montagnais. Three Rivers was frequented by both Montagnais and Algonkins. The Quebec villages seem to have been principally Montagnais. All the authors, however, seem to have made a sharp distinction in their minds between the "nomadic" Montagnais and Algonkins on the one hand and the settled, village-dwelling Hurons on the other. "Savages" rarely seems to mean Hurons in Le Jeune's usage.

Where there has been doubt as to whether the Montagnais or the Algonkins were being referred to I have tried to indicate the fact. A few statements interpreted as applying to the Montagnais were probably actually written about the Algonkins, but this should not seriously affect the general validity of this description of Montagnais culture. The cultures of the Montagnais and of the Algonkins, at least during the period covered here, appear to have been very similar in religion, social organization and political organization.

PHYSICAL AND MENTAL CHARACTERISTICS

The French described the Montagnais as having been tall, strong and well-proportioned. Their skin was dark and their long black hair was greasy and shiny. Women were "well shapen, filled out and plump." The younger Indians almost all had a skin disease resembling scrofula (Le Jeune, 1632-JR, vol. 5, pp. 23-25; 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 229, 263; L'Allemand, 1627-JR, vol. 4, p. 205; Champlain, 1922, p. 118).

The French sources depict some of the general personality traits of the Montagnais. These traits are somewhat contradictory, and the rather anti-Indian bias of the French sources should be borne in mind. Nevertheless, the French did see some good traits in the Montagnais, and their descriptions probably have some basis in fact.

The Montagnais were happy, free from ambition and avarice, contented with a mere living. A culture pattern for the avoidance of anger apparently preserved personal contentment as well as group harmony. They believed that no one should be contradicted and that everyone should be left to his own way of thinking. However, when angered they became dangerous and unrestrained. Under most hardships they were patient and cheerful, but they were very saddened by death. During the famine of 1633-1634 they became sad and discouraged, walking about with bowed heads. Toward their enemies, the Iroquois, they were vindictive and cruel. Unlike the Huron, the Montagnais did not steal. They laughed frequently but were rather phlegmatic. On the other hand, they were haughty and proud. They promised much but performed little and were given to revenge (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 123; 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 229-233, 243; 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 173; Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, p. 221; Champlain, 1922, pp. 110-111; L'Allemant, 1627-JR, vol. 4, p. 199).

FOODS

The Montagnais ate elk, moose, beavers, seals, caribou, bears, badgers, porcupines, foxes, hares, marmots, turtles, and squirrels. For fish they ate salmon, pike, carp, sturgeon, "goldfish," whitefish, a fish said to resemble the European barbel, eels, lamprey, and smelt. When these foods were scarce, rats and mice were hunted, shellfish were gathered, and, in a severe famine, skin clothing and dogs were eaten. Normally there seems to have been a religious taboo against eating dogs (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 267, 271; Champlain, 1925, pp. 46, 56).

For vegetable foods the Montagnais gathered strawberries, raspberries, blueberries, nuts, cherries, wild grapes, and some kind of wild apple. Red lily bulbs and various roots were eaten. The bark of the sugar maple was split in the spring to obtain the sap. In time of famine, maple bark was eaten (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 271-273).

The Montagnais used oil as a condiment on berries and other foods; solid grease was considered a great delicacy.

In addition to eating foods found locally, the Montagnais traded moose skins with the Huron in return for maize. The Huron came annually to Three Rivers and to Quebec for this purpose. The Montagnais were fond of "Sagamiteou," a gruel or broth, especially of one made with cornmeal. If cornmeal was lacking they sometimes obtained flour from

the French, boiling it in water to make a kind of paste. Sea biscuit, bread, prunes, peas, roots and figs were also obtained through trade with the French. By 1630, the Montagnais had become very fond of bread and peas (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, pp. 97, 167; 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 273).

METHODS AND IMPLEMENTS OF HUNTING AND FISHING

There seems to be no description of the Montagnais bow and arrow. Their spears were made from sword blades bought from the French. The blades were fastened to long wooden shafts and were used for hunting and warfare by hurling them "straight and hard" (Sagard, 1939, p. 155).

The Montagnais hunter knew that elk were in the vicinity when he saw a certain kind of wood that had been gnawed. Apparently this wood was gnawed only by elk. If there was a little snow on the ground, elk and moose were stalked with the bow and arrow. Usually these animals could scent the hunter at a great distance and escape, however, unless the snow was deep. Then they were easily killed with a thrown spear. If the snow was frozen after a slight rain or thaw, the legs of the moose were cut by the ice and the animal could be dispatched easily. If the snowfall was light it was often necessary to pursue an elk or moose for several days before killing it. A warm winter with a light snowfall was usually the cause of the periodic famines that harassed the Montagnais.

When an elk or moose was killed, part of the animal was taken back to the camp and part was left buried under the snow until the group was ready for it (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 167; 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 235, 295; 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 163).

In the spring, beavers were taken by means of deadfalls baited with a piece of some wood which they liked. A heavy log was made to fall on the animal in order to kill it. Dogs were used to help run down beavers and a good hunting dog was highly prized.

In winter, beavers were caught in nets under the ice. A hole or slit was made in the ice near the beavers' house and a net was placed in the water along with some wood to serve as bait. The net was made of a strong double cord. When the beaver tried to emerge from the net through the hole in the ice it was killed with a large club.

Another method of catching beavers under the ice was to use a hatchet to chop up the beavers' house, driving them out into the water beneath the ice. There they sought hollow places under the ice where they could breathe. The Montagnais hunter then walked over the ice carrying a long club, a chisel-like iron blade, and a bone that Le Jeune believed was a whalebone. The bone was used to sound the ice and

find hollow spots. Then the ice was cut with the chisel and the water examined to see if the breathing or movement of a beaver could be detected. If so, a curved stick was thrust into the hole to feel for the beaver. If found, the animal was killed with the large club (called ca ouikachit). If the beaver somehow escaped through the hole in the ice, the waiting dogs soon caught it. If a river happened to be connected to the beavers' pond by a stream, the beavers tried to swim from the pond to the river in order to escape. To avoid this, the Montagnais blocked the stream by breaking the ice and putting a number of stakes into the bed of the stream. The hunting of beavers under air pockets in the ice was not successful on large lakes or ponds, since the beavers had too many hiding places (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 299-303).

Another method of hunting beavers involved the use of a barbed iron point fixed to a shaft. A string or cord was then attached to the shaft. When the beaver was struck by this type of harpoon, it dove beneath the surface of the water, taking the harpoon with it. The hunter held the cord that was attached to the shaft until the beaver grew weak from loss of blood. Then he drew the beaver out of the water by pulling in the cord (Le Jeune, 1632-JR, vol. 5, p. 61).

Porcupines were caught in traps (not described) or with the aid of dogs. Once the dogs had discovered it the porcupine would usually be killed by the hunters unless it could scramble beneath a large rock. In winter porcupines were easily killed on the snow. In the spring, some type of trap (also not described) was used for catching bears. In winter the Montagnais looked for a hollow tree where a bear was hibernating, cut the tree down, and killed the bear as it started to emerge. Seals were clubbed to death while they were sunning themselves on rocks or when they were emerging from the water (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 305, 307, 313).

Hares, martens and squirrels were caught in nets (snares?) or killed with bows or with some kind of dart (1) (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 307).

Birds were killed with bows, arrows, and "darts." The Montagnais obtained a few firearms during the English occupation of Quebec (1629-1632). A few hunters became skilled in using firearms to kill ducks, bustards, and snipe. However, they were hindered by a lack of gunpowder (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 309).

Fishing was done with nets obtained through trade with the French and the Hurons. Le Jeune mentions a special technique used to take salmon but he does not describe it.

Eels were taken with harpoons or with weirs. The Montagnais' weirs were capable of holding five or six hundred eels. At low tide the weirs were securely fastened in the sand in a somewhat protected spot so that the tide would not carry them off. At each end of the weir a low wall of stones extended out from the shore so that the eels, which usually swam

near the bottom, were guided toward the weir. When the tide rose, it covered the weir and the eels apparently were carried over the top of it. When the tide fell, the eels were trapped behind the weir. Up to three hundred eels were caught if the water was rough.

Weirs were ineffective in calm water and then the Montagnais resorted to harpooning. The eel harpoon was a long pole, two or three fingers thick, with a pointed piece of iron fastened to the end. On both sides of this point two little curved sticks were fastened so that they almost touched at the end of the iron point. When an eel was struck, the force of the thrust pushed the curved sticks apart, allowing the eel to become fixed upon the iron point. Then the sticks snapped back, holding the eel on the point.

Eel harpooning was usually done at night on the St. Lawrence from a canoe. One person paddled in the stern and another sat in the bow with the harpoon. A bark torch was fastened to the prow. The canoe moved slowly along the banks of the river and when the man in the bow spotted an eel he thrust the harpoon, without letting go of the shaft. Then he raised the harpoon out of the water, removed the eel from the point, and placed the eel in the canoe. Up to three hundred eels were taken in one night by this method. According to Le Jeune, eels were very numerous in the St. Lawrence during September and October, even as far upriver as Quebec (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 309-311).

PREPARATION OF FOODS

The Montagnais preserved meat and fish by smoking and drying them. When a number of elk or moose were killed, several days were spent in feasting. Then the meat was dried. The bones were removed and a whole side of moose or elk was stretched upon poles. The flesh was slashed or cut into strips so that the smoke would thoroughly penetrate the meat. The meat was walked upon and pounded with stones to remove all moisture. Then it was smoked, folded, and arranged in packages or bundles. Smoked meat became almost as hard as wood (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 265, 297).

Eels were apparently the only food besides elk and moose that the Montagnais preserved. Eels were dried by women at the summer camp. After the eels had been brought to the camp they were allowed to drain for a while. Then the heads and tails were cut off and they were slit up the back, emptied, and washed. Next they were suspended on poles outside the cabin to drain and then hung up in the cabin to smoke. The flesh was slit in a number of places so that the smoke would penetrate. After being well smoked they were piled together in large bundles of about one hundred.

Fresh eels formed the main food while they were available. They were cooked by roasting them on a small wooden spit near the fire (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, pp. 89-91; 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 311-313).

In winter, fresh meat was often cooked by putting snow in a kettle and placing it over the fire. Then large pieces of meat were put in and cooked until rare. So that no grease would be lost, meat was never washed. When one piece was cooked it was removed from the kettle and another piece put in. This was the usual method of cooking meat. Beaver, and probably most other meat, was sometimes roasted. Porcupines were singed, scraped, and then roasted or boiled (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 165; 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 291, 305).

Bulbs were cooked by boiling them in a little water. Soup was often made by placing broken bones in a kettle, along with water or snow, and boiling them. Grease was a favorite food. It was either skimmed from a kettle of boiling meat by means of a large wooden spoon and eaten from a bark dish, or else it was eaten in a solid state after it had been cooled with snow. The broth resulting from boiled meat was also eaten. The Montagnais made no alcoholic beverages. Liquids were generally consumed while hot or warm; cold water was believed to cause chills and to make one thin (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 103; 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 265, 267, 273-275).

The kettles of the Montagnais were made of copper. Before the French brought copper kettles, or whenever these were broken, meat was cooked by stone boiling in bark baskets or dishes called 'ouragana. Meat and water were placed in the baskets. Then five or six stones were heated in the fire and put into the basket successively until the meat was cooked, each stone being returned to the fire as it cooled (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 97; 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 53).

Intoxicants Obtained from the French

With the coming of the Europeans the Montagnais grew addicted to brandy and wine. This was particularly true of those Indians who camped near French settlements. They liked to get drunk and to get others drunk. Women and girls were as fond of alcohol as were men. When drunk, the Indians often fought among themselves; once an Iroquois prisoner was killed by a drunk Montagnais, ending peace negotiations that had been under way.

The Montagnais blamed the Europeans, or the wine itself, for whatever happened while they were drunk. Some of the chiefs asked that the liquor traffic be stopped, and Champlain and other French authorities attempted to prohibit the sale of intoxicants to the Indians. These attempts seem to have been unsuccessful (Le Jeune, 1632-JR, vol. 5, pp. 49-51; 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 251-253; 1638a-JR, vol. 11, pp. 195-197).

Tobacco and Smoking

The Montagnais were exceedingly fond of tobacco, which they obtained from the Hurons who came to Three Rivers and Quebec to trade for moose skins. Tobacco was believed to satisfy hunger. If no game was found during the day's hunting the Montagnais invited one another to their cabins and passed around a little earthen dish containing tobacco (2). Each person took a pipeful of tobacco and smoked it, taking another if he wished. Pipes were made of reed and wood. The Montagnais often smoked before going to sleep; sometimes they arose at night to smoke. They usually smoked when returning to their cabins after an absence and also while paddling a canoe. It is not clear whether or not women smoked (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 137).

Nearly all the Indians living near Quebec had a small tobacco pouch. Sometimes these were made from a whole muskrat skin whose original shape was preserved, except for a small opening in the head that was made when the animal was skinned. Other animal skins were also used. Occasionally, part of the arm or hand of an Iroquois was made into a tobacco pouch, complete with fingernails, so that when it was filled with tobacco it looked like a recently severed arm or hand (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 131).

ANNUAL CYCLE

In September and October the Montagnais caught eels and smoked them. They lived on fresh eels during that time. In November, December, and January they lived on smoked eels, and also on porcupines and beavers which they caught during the lighter snowfalls. During this early winter hunting they often left part of their smoked eels and other baggage at the French settlements for safe-keeping. About February, they returned to the woods and stayed until spring or summer, living on fresh moose and elk and also drying some to use until September. Birds, bears, and beavers were hunted in spring and summer, or whenever they were available (Le Jeune, 1632-JR, vol. 5, pp. 59-61; 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 277; 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 107; Champlain, 1925, pp. 44-45).

During the six months, more or less, spent near the French settlements on the St. Lawrence, the Montagnais traded the furs they took during the winter. In return they got such French goods as cloaks, blankets, nightcaps, hats, shirts, sheets, hatchets, iron arrowheads, bodkins, swords, picks for breaking the ice in winter, knives, kettles, prunes, raisins, Indian corn, peas, sea biscuit, and tobacco. In exchange for these goods the Indians gave hides of moose, lynx, fox, otter, marten, badger, muskrat, and, especially, beaver. According to

L'Allemand, twelve or fifteen thousand furs were traded annually at Tadoussac (ca. 1625) (L'Allemand, 1627-JR, vol. 4, p. 203).

The Montagnais were amused by the high value Europeans placed on furs. One man said that the English, during their occupation of Quebec, gave twenty beautiful knives for one beaver skin (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 297-299).

It seems certain that none of the Montagnais practiced agriculture in the period 1600-1635. According to Champlain, the "Algonkins" grew Indian corn, like the Iroquois and the Hurons. This was probably true of only a part of the Algonkins, and it may have been introduced by the Recollect missionaries or other Frenchmen. Or, if it was pre-European, it may be that Iroquois raids had forced the Algonkins to give up agriculture in favor of a more mobile economy, for in the period 1630-1640 the sources depict the Algonkin economy as similar to that of the Montagnais (Champlain, 1925, p. 57; L'Allemand, 1627-JR, vol. 4, p. 195).

More certain is the fact that about 1637 some of the Montagnais and Algonkins began to ask for French aid in setting up a permanent village and in raising crops. They complained that their country was becoming barren of elk and other animals. The Jesuits had long been urging the nomadic tribes to adopt a settled economy, since that would facilitate their missionization. Also, by about 1637 the Iroquois were beginning to raid around Three Rivers and the Montagnais there were in constant fear of attack. A fortified village would have given them added protection. Eventually, a few families, mostly converts, began farming. Many Montagnais strongly opposed the idea of giving up their hunting economy (Le Jeune, 1638a-JR, vol. 11, p. 143; 1638a-JR, vol. 12, pp. 161-167).

During the winter the Montagnais hunted in groups of two or three families or households. In summer up to twenty or thirty households came together and camped near settlements like Tadoussac and Quebec. In spite of their summer proximity to the French, the sources actually give more information on the winter activities of the Montagnais than on their summer routine (L'Allemand, 1627-JR, vol. 4, p. 203).

As stated above, Le Jeune spent the winter of 1633-1634 with a group of Montagnais. This group went downstream from Quebec, crossed the St. Lawrence, and wintered on the east side of the river, south of Gaspé. When the party set out there were twenty individuals, including men, women, and children. The principal males or family heads included three brothers, one of whom was a shaman, one a very poor hunter, and the third a very skilled hunter. This last man seems to have provided most of the food (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 47, 69-71).

By the time this group entered the forests for the winter they had been joined by several other groups, so that there were three "oabins" (households?) all told, composed of nineteen, sixteen, and

ten persons respectively, or forty-five persons in all. The winter of 1633-1634 had a very light snowfall, so moose and elk were rarely obtained. The group usually had a little food to eat every two days, but other nearby Montagnais groups sometimes found food only once in five days (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 47, 107).

Le Jeune's party entered the forests on November 12, 1633, and returned to the St. Lawrence on April 4, 1634. While in the forests they made about twenty stops, camping in valleys, near rivers and lakes, and in the mountains. To give some idea of the frequency of moving a winter camp, the following are the dates on which the group was in process of moving (this was a winter of light snowfall and consequent famine; the Montagnais no doubt remained longer in one place during a normal winter): 1633 — Nov. 20, Nov. 28, Dec. 3, Dec. 6, Dec. 20, Dec. 24, Dec. 30; 1634 — Jan. 4, Jan. 9, Jan. 16-29, Feb. 5, Feb. 9, Feb. 14-15, Mar. 6 (food now became more plentiful), Mar. 18, Mar. 23, Mar. 30, Apr. 1-2, Apr. 4. While on the march the Indians obtained water by eating snow or by melting snow in a small kettle. While they lasted, smoked eels served as food during a march (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 165; 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 107-193, passim).

CLOTHING AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Clothing

By 1634 Montagnais clothing had become a mixture of native and French-made garments. Both sexes wore red, green, or gray hoods if they were available. Children sometimes wore large coats of European manufacture, handed down to them from their fathers. Such coats were gathered around the child's body and tied up to make them fit. Women were seen wearing long shirts, hooded cloaks, large coats, blankets, or skin capes, all tied in various ways to keep out the wind. Men sometimes wore one leather stocking and one made of cloth. Old garments were cut up to make sleeves or stockings.

Except in the severest cold the Montagnais went bareheaded. They made no hats of their own, buying them ready-made or ready-cut from the French; Le Jeune believed they had no hats before the Europeans came. D'Olbeau indicates that in 1615 the Montagnais always went bareheaded. Those of the Montagnais who could afford to bought shirts from the French. These shirts were worn over their other clothes and were allowed to become very greasy so that water could not penetrate (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 9-13, 17-19; Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, p. 89).

In 1636 a Montagnais chief from Tadoussac passed through Quebec on his way to raid the Iroquois. He was dressed like a Frenchman, "with a very handsome coat under a scarlet cloak." He wore a hat and bowed in the

French fashion (Le Jeune, 1637-JR, vol. 9, p. 227).

However, the Montagnais also made clothing themselves out of moose, elk, beaver, bear, fox, or other skins. They preferred skins from "a kind of little black animal found in the Huron country; it is about the size of a Rabbit, the skin is soft and shiny, and it takes about sixty of them to make a robe" (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 13). A robe of moose hide required only one animal; those of beaver required five or six pelts. Robes were nearly square in shape. Those made of the preferred skins had the tails of the animals fastened to the bottom as a fringe, with the heads fastened above as a border. The women painted them with colored stripes about "two thumbs wide," the stripes running from top to bottom. Robes were worn with the fur side out.

In fairly warm weather men wore their robes over one arm and under the other, or else like a cape, stretched across the back and tied over the chest with two thongs. When it was cold, both men and women wore their robes under one arm and over the shoulder of the other, then crossing the ends of the robe. A cord of dried intestine was worn around the waist. The bottom of a robe was sometimes turned up and fastened near the middle of the body to form a flap for carrying small belongings. Fur robes reached to the knees. The robes of men and women were identical.

Since robes did not cover the arms, separate sleeves were made of the same skin as the robe. They were also painted with stripes, sometimes lengthwise and sometimes around. Sleeves were quite broad at the top so that they covered the shoulders and almost joined at the back. They were fastened with thongs in front and behind. Sleeves were worn only in colder weather. In warm weather a man often discarded all clothing except his breechcloth, but women always retained their robes (Le Jeune, 1632-JR, vol. 5, pp. 23-25; 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 11-15; L'Allemand, 1627-JR, vol. 4, pp. 203-205).

A kind of inner boot or stocking was made of dehaired moose skin. The seam was along the inside of the leg. Stockings were very long, especially in front where they covered the thigh. At the top of this front part a thong was attached for tying the stocking to a leather belt worn next to the body. Another thong fastened it around the foot. The seam on this garment (and probably on others as well) was made so that an edge of the skin protruded. This was cut into fringes, to which beads, shells, or other ornaments were sometimes attached (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 15).

In winter the Montagnais wore soft moccasins of moose or elk skin. Old robes, well-oiled, were used for making moccasins, so that they would not shrink too much when placed near a fire. Moccasins were made very full, especially if they were to be worn in winter, so that rabbit skin, an old piece of blanket, or moose hair could be wrapped around the foot for added warmth. Occasionally two pairs of moccasins were

worn. Moccasins were held on the foot by a thong wound around the ankle and tied over the instep.

Moccasins were always used with snowshoes, but they quickly became saturated in wet weather. In spring and summer the Montagnais went bare-foot (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 127; 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 15-17).

Sometimes the Montagnais wore surprisingly little clothing, even in coldest weather. All clothing, including moccasins, was made by the women (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 125; 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 17).

Ornaments and Personal Adornment

The Montagnais often decorated the bottom of a garment with small ornaments made from bears' claws. This was done so that bears could be more easily and more safely killed. Small red roots were used for dyeing bead, shell, and other ornaments (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 81; 1637-JR, vol. 9, p. 117).

Women rubbed themselves with an olive-colored pigment. It is likely that this was done only when they were going visiting. Women painted their husbands' and children's faces red or grayish brown and oiled their hair with bear or moose grease. Le Jeune saw some natives at Tadoussac whose faces were highly decorated. Some had their noses painted blue and their eyebrows and cheeks black, with the rest of the face painted red. Others had black, red, and blue stripes drawn from their ears to their mouths, and still others were painted entirely black except for the upper part of their brows, around the ears and the end of the chin. Another pattern had one black stripe drawn from ear to ear across the eyes and three little stripes on the cheeks. The colors of these patterns were bright and shining (Le Jeune, 1632-JR, vol. 5, p. 23; 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 105; Champlain, 1922, pp. 118-119; L'Allemant, 1627-JR, vol. 4, p. 205).

Montagnais men plucked their beards. Both sexes wore their hair long, so that it fell to the shoulders. It was cut shorter in front of the eyes. Women (and perhaps men) fastened their hair in bunches at the back of the head, except during mourning. Women often ornamented these bunches of hair with shells (Le Jeune, 1632-JR, vol. 5, p. 23; 1640-JR, vol. 16, p. 205; L'Allemant, 1627-JR, vol. 4, p. 205; Sagard, 1939, p. 143).

SHELTER

The Montagnais winter dwelling, or cabin, was made by drawing the floor plan in the snow and then clearing with a snowshoe the part

intended as the interior. Shovels, which the men made and carried for the purpose, were also used to clear snow. Le Jeune speaks of this part of the dwelling as "a great ring or square in the snow, two, three, or four feet deep, according to the weather or the place where they encamp" (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 37). The snow formed the walls of the cabin on all sides, except where it was broken through to form a doorway. The framework of the cabin consisted of twenty or thirty poles, depending on the size of the dwelling. These poles were placed in the snow, not in the ground, and converged somewhat at the top. Then, beginning at the bottom, two or three rolls of bark, sewed together, were placed over this frame. Pine branches were spread on the dirt floor and the snow walls were also covered with small branches. A skin was fastened to two horizontal poles as a door, the snow walls serving as doorposts. The cabin roof was so low that a person could not stand upright inside (3). The cabin was very narrow and had a smoke hole at the top.

According to Le Jeune, Montagnais winter dwellings were very drafty because the bark was loosely fitted, yet they were also filled with smoke from the fire. Sometimes even the Indians had to put their faces to the ground in order to breathe. The usual positions of people in the cabin were sitting, crouching, or lying down. People slept on the floor; there were no beds or seats. The heat from the fire was intense, but it usually did not melt the snow walls. If the snow did soften, it quickly froze into ice. The branches covering the floor soon became covered with feathers, hair, and wood shavings or whittlings, but the cabins were never cleaned (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 261; 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 35-41).

Although they were more familiar with the summer houses than with the winter dwellings of the Montagnais, none of the French writers gives a very complete description of the former. Summer cabins were made of poles, covered with rolls of barks. They were rather low, with a smoke hole about one foot in diameter in the top. One, belonging to a chief, is described by Le Jeune (1632) as being long and narrow, with three fires in the center. The fires were five or six feet apart from one another. It must have been at least twenty feet long. Another Montagnais chief's cabin, described by Champlain in 1603, contained eight or ten kettles of meat, each on its own fire. These fires were about six paces apart. However, Champlain describes the Montagnais summer dwelling as having been built like a tent. Assuming that this structure was more or less circular in plan, it would have been considerably smaller than if the fires had been in a straight line within a long, narrow, rectangular structure. Also, this cabin had been erected at a big intertribal victory feast and it may have been somewhat larger than usual. The Montagnais slept on skins in the summer cabins. Dogs were kept inside at night (Le Jeune, 1632-JR, vol. 5, p. 27; Champlain, 1922, pp. 101, 105).

When travelling from place to place, the Montagnais made less elaborate temporary shelters. A shelter of fir branches was made if no bark

was available. In mild weather people sometimes simply slept in the open, using a piece of bark as a cover if it rained. When a man was travelling by canoe he made a temporary shelter by placing the canoe behind him and putting a skin on some poles as a roof to keep out rain (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 77, 203).

While travelling in winter, a temporary camp might be made by clearing a circular space in the snow with a snowshoe. A fire was built in the center, and the snow wall helped to protect the camper from the wind. A man travelling alone carried blankets with which to cover himself, but little else if the journey was a short one, except perhaps some smoked eel (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, pp. 161-165).

MISCELLANEOUS MANUFACTURES

Each adult Montagnais seems to have had his own bark dish (ouragan) and wooden spoon, but there is no description of these objects. Roasted eel was served on a small piece of bark. To drink water, a bark dish or dipper was used (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, pp. 91, 97; 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 279).

To wipe their hands the Montagnais used powdered rotten wood. Moose fur, pine branches, or the backs of the dogs were also used (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 269). Packages to be stored were neatly wrapped in bark. Trees were blazed to indicate the way when moving camp in winter, but only before the snows got deep (Le Jeune, 1632-JR, vol. 5, p. 61; 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 109).

The Montagnais made fire by striking together two "metallic stones." Tinder was a dry, rotten wood that burned easily. When this caught a spark it was placed in pulverized cedar bark and gently blown upon until the bark caught fire. Fire was also made by twisting a small cedar stick in a hearth until the friction caused sparks to light some tinder. Le Jeune states that he never saw this done, and that this method of drilling fire was more familiar to the Hurons than to the Montagnais (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 217).

Some kind of torch or lamp was made from a wick and the down-covered skin of an eagle's thigh. When a man got lost in the woods such a torch was hung on a pole near his cabin to help him find his way back (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 217).

The Montagnais drum was round; it varied in diameter from three or four finger-lengths to two palm-lengths. It was made by tightly stretching a skin over each edge of a circular frame. Small pebbles were placed inside the drum. Drums seem to have usually been used by shamans, although others occasionally used them too. The drum was not struck with a stick but was turned and shaken so that the pebbles within it

rattled. It was also hit against the ground, either on the edge of its frame or on one of its faces.

During the singing and drumming at ceremonies, spectators often held two sticks of wood and beat them on other pieces of wood, on hatchet handles, or on the bottom of their bark dishes (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 187).

TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION

The Montagnais travelled by canoe whenever the rivers were not frozen. Canoes were eight or nine paces long and a pace or a pace and a half wide amidship. They were pointed at each end. Little information is given on their construction. They were made of birch bark, strengthened within by "little circles of wood." The bark was sewn with willow withes or with similar small woods. Canoes were easily carried by one man, yet held about a thousand pounds. The smallest canoes carried four or five persons, plus a little baggage. Montagnais canoes were very swift. Ordinarily they were paddled by a man in the bow and his wife in the stern (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 133; Champ-lain, 1922, pp. 104-105; L'Allemant, 1627-JR, vol. 4, p. 205).

By 1634 the Montagnais sometimes attached a sail to their canoes. Sails were used in addition to paddles, for added speed. The Jesuits gave a large sheet to every native canoe carrying one of their priests, so that the priest would not have to paddle so much (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 203; 1637-JR, vol. 9, p. 277).

Canoes could not be used on the St. Lawrence in a strong wind. When ice was floating in a river, the Montagnais left the canoe and jumped onto the ice, hopping from floe to floe, pushing the ice aside to make passage for the canoe. If there was too much ice in the river, they carried the canoe on their shoulders over the ice until the open water was reached. Blocks of ice were tested with canoe paddles to see if they would hold a man's weight (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 141; 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 197).

If the bark of a canoe became cut or torn, by ice for example, the canoe was drawn out of the water and turned upside down. A fire was built and the tear was sewed and smeared from a gum obtained from trees. This whole process took only a short time. Men sometimes had to repair canoes in this manner during the spring when river ice was breaking up (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 195).

The Montagnais made sledges (toboggans?) for moving sick people, food, and other objects over the snow. They were made from a wood that split into long thin strips. Sledges were very narrow so that they could be pulled through dense forests. To make up for their lack of

width, they were quite long, sometimes extending twice as high as a man could reach when the sledge stood against a tree. Sledges were pulled by means of a cord passing around the chest and attached to the front of the sledge (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 109).

For winter travel and hunting, snowshoes were always used by the Montagnais. Champlain describes them as having been two or three times as big as those used in France (Champlain, 1922, p. 119).

Baggage was often arranged in long bundles carried on the back by means of a tump line. The forehead was padded with a piece of bark (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 111).

ARTS AND AMUSEMENTS

The Montagnais divided the year into ten moons. The "February" moon was longer than the others and was called the great moon. Longer periods of time, such as years, were called winters; shorter periods were called nights. Thus, an event was said to have happened seven winters ago, or six nights ago (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 223; 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 181).

Montagnais children played hide-and-seek. They also played a game in which a small bunch of pine sticks was thrown into the air and caught on the end of a pointed stick (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 95-97).

Le Jeune says that the natives of New France, presumably including the Montagnais, were very fond of gambling, men as well as women. The games themselves are not described. Sometimes they were religiously motivated and were played to cure a sick person. People sometimes staked themselves in gambling. If such a person lost, he (or she) acted as a kind of servant of the winner for one or two years. He was employed in hunting, fishing, or doing household tasks. After a year or two he was set free again. Such bondsmen were never maltreated.

The usual stakes in gambling were shells or shell necklaces, which seem to have had considerable value and to have functioned as a kind of currency. After a gambling game the Indians never expressed joy in winning or sorrow in losing. There was no cheating (Le Jeune, 1640-JR, vol. 16, pp. 197-201).

The Montagnais were fond of singing and of hearing others sing. They sang for secular entertainment and at religious ceremonies. Secular tunes were usually grave and heavy, although girls occasionally sang something light and gay. There was no harmony in singing, and few words were used, the tones instead of the words being varied (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 183).

SWEATING AND MEDICINES

The three most common Montagnais curing methods were sweating, covering the area of a pain with blood by cutting the skin, and drinking an emetic made by scraping and boiling the inner bark of a certain tree (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 129).

The Montagnais sweat lodge was a low tent made by placing sticks in the ground and covering this frame with skins, robes, or blankets. They seem to have been built inside the cabins. Sweat lodges were low, so that the head of a tall man seated inside would have touched the top. The Montagnais sweated completely naked. Women occasionally took sweat baths also, usually together with the men. The sweat lodge was heated with five or six red-hot stones that had been placed in a fire outside the lodge. People stayed in the sweat lodge for about three hours.

The Montagnais believed that sweating would be useless unless it were accompanied by singing. Besides singing, speeches were sometimes made in the sweat lodge, and occasionally the shaman beat his drum while sweating, in order to divine the whereabouts of game. Sweating was done to cure illness, to have a successful hunt, or to have mild weather. In all cases, singing was essential. Le Jeune observed that when men took a sweat bath they were reluctant to use women's robes as covers for the lodge. Perhaps a fear of menstrual contamination was involved (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 105; 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 191; Le Clercq, 1881, vol.1, p. 196).

A sick person was sometimes bled by making a cut on his head. A headache was cured by making several cuts on the upper part of the forehead. One woman remained in her cabin and chewed a lump of snow in order to cure a cold (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 143).

The bark and leaves of a certain tree, called annedda in Montagnais, were boiled in water and used as a general internal medicine. Also, the dregs of this liquid were placed on the legs if they were swollen from disease. This medicine was used to cure a great variety of internal and external ailments. Dysentery was cured by drinking a medicine made from boiled cedar leaves (Le Jeune, 1638a-JR, vol. 12, p. 25; Sagard, 1939, p. 196).

Another method of curing the sick was to have a man, woman, or child remain with the patient. This companion did nothing, simply sitting idle beside the sick person. If a patient requested someone to do this, it was considered very impolite to refuse (Le Jeune, 1638a-JR, vol. 12, p. 25).

Shamanistic curing will be discussed under "Shamanism and Witchcraft."

WARFARE

In warfare the Montagnais used shields, bows and arrows, clubs, and spears made by fastening a sword to the end of a pole. One shield is described as having been long and wide, reaching from the ground to the chest. It was made of a single piece of light cedar, somewhat curved or bent to cover the body more effectively. So that it would hold together if split by an arrow, it was sewed at the top and bottom with leather thong. It was held on the body by means of cords passing over the right shoulder, so that the shield protected the left side. After a weapon was discharged or hurled, the warrior could immediately crouch behind his shield (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, pp. 95-97).

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 (Le Jeune, 1637-JR, vol. 9, p. 111; Champlain, 1922, pp. 179-180).

The best account of an actual attack is Champlain's detailed description of the famous battle on Lake Champlain in July, 1609. In this battle he and two other Frenchmen aided the Huron, Algonkin, and Montagnais warriors. Champlain's description of how this raid was carried out presumably indicates the general pattern of most Montagnais warfare, which usually did involve Algonkin or Huron allies. Information given by Le Jeune and others helps to fill out Champlain's description.

When the 1609 raiding party began to ascend the Richelieu river, some of the Indians returned to their own country because of a dispute that had arisen. Disputes of this kind were frequent, and proposed raiding parties often failed to materialize. Sixty men in twenty-four canoes finally participated in this raid.

When camping for the night, the Indians cut trees and bark to make shelters. To avoid being surprised by the Iroquois, a barricade of logs was constructed. It surrounded the camp on all sides, except at

the river bank, where the canoes were drawn up. It took about two hours to set up a camp.

Each time the Indians camped, three canoes with three men in each were sent a few leagues ahead to reconnoitre. These men stayed out all night; no guard was posted at the camp. During the day the raiding party was divided into three groups, one to hunt game, another to scout ahead for the enemy, and another, the largest, remained ready for battle. Scouts looked for certain conventional signs by which the chiefs of various tribes, both friendly and hostile, identified themselves to anyone who might pass by. The hunters stayed behind the scouts and behind the main body.

When the raiding party was within two or three days' travel of the enemy's territory it moved only at night, as one group, except for the scouts. During the day everyone remained hidden in the forests. No cooking fires were built; the only fires were for smoking. The warriors ate cornmeal cakes, saved until the group had neared the enemy. These were also eaten when the party hastily retired after the attack.

At each stop someone entered the shaking tent to divine the outcome of the raid. The chiefs gave most of the men a stick about a foot long; the rest of the men were given somewhat longer sticks which designated them as leaders. Everyone retired to the woods where a space about six feet square was cleared. Each leader arranged the sticks in the way his men were supposed to arrange themselves in combat. The men watched closely and then arranged themselves in the order indicated by the sticks. They mixed themselves up and again assumed their places, until they knew them perfectly. Then they returned to the camp (4).

Dreams were carefully analyzed each morning to determine the outcome of the battle. The presence of three Frenchmen during the 1609 raid seems to have given the Indians unusual confidence.

Finally, the war party encountered some Iroquois. It was night. Champlain's group drew out into the lake. Both sides prepared their weapons. The Iroquois landed and built a stockade. The invaders tied their canoes together with poles so as not to become separated and then sent two canoes to ask the Iroquois if they would fight. Both sides agreed to wait until daybreak.

Each group spent the night singing, dancing, and hurling insults at the other. Champlain and his two companions kept out of sight until the actual battle. When the Montagnais and their allies landed, about two hundred Iroquois left their stockade. They were led by three chiefs. Both groups advanced to within thirty yards of each other. The Frenchmen opened fire with their arquebuses. The three Iroquois chiefs were slain, and the other Iroquois fled to the woods. They were pursued, and ten or twelve prisoners were taken. The scalps of all those killed in battle were cut off as trophies.

After this victory the allies took the corn and cornmeal left behind by the Iroquois. They also took the shields the Iroquois had dropped in their flight. They feasted and danced for three hours and finally set off with the prisoners.

According to Le Jeune, when the members of a war party began to turn back toward their own country, they hung to a tree as many small sticks as there had been warriors. This sign showed how many raiders had been there, and how far they had penetrated the Iroquois territory (Le Jeune, 1638a-JR, vol. 12, p. 27).

After going about eight leagues, Champlain's group stopped to camp. One of the prisoners was tortured in the usual manner (see below). Champlain was finally allowed to shoot the captive, prematurely ending the proceedings. The prisoner's intestines were thrown into the lake and his head, arms, and legs were scattered about. His scalp was saved as a trophy, and his heart was cut up and given to the other prisoners to eat. They refused to swallow it, spitting the pieces into the lake.

Then the group continued on its homeward way. At the Richelieu river the three tribes separated. Each tribe kept some of the prisoners. Champlain returned with the Montagnais. When someone dreamed that the Iroquois were pursuing them, the Montagnais became very frightened and moved their camp immediately, even though it was raining at the time.

When a war party neared its home camp, the scalps of the enemy were decorated with beads and hung on long poles raised in the air, like banners. The men began singing. As soon as the women at the camp saw the canoes approaching, they ran to the bank of the river, removed their clothing, and swam out to the canoes. There they fought to see who could seize one of the scalps. Later, they wore those scalps around their necks, sang and danced with them, and hung them in their cabins. Women who captured scalps in this way were very proud of the fact (Le Jeune, 1637-JR, vol. 9, p. 253; Champlain, 1925, pp. 67-106).

As soon as the warriors' canoes landed, the prisoners were attacked by the women and children and the torturing began. Whenever the Jesuits or other Frenchmen rebuked the Montagnais for the cruel way in which they tortured prisoners, the women replied that the Iroquois did even worse things to their husbands, fathers, and sons. The men and women who performed most of the tortures were those whose husbands or close relatives had been similarly treated by the Iroquois. Women gave presents to the men to be allowed to torture prisoners. Prisoners were sometimes tortured for several days before they finally died or were killed. They were sometimes scalped after they died (Le Jeune, 1632-JR, vol. 5, pp. 51-55; 1637-JR, vol. 9, pp. 257-259, 271, 299).

The Montagnais tortured prisoners by burning them with flaming brands, whipping them, puncturing their skins or scalps with awls, and by other methods. Part of the time prisoners were bound to stakes.

When they seemed to faint, cold water was thrown on them. Their fingers and ears were cut off and they were made to eat them. Sinews were torn out of their arms and hot sand was thrown beneath their raised scalps. An Iroquois prisoner always tried to be as brave as possible, singing loudly and dancing when told to do so. Some prisoners never uttered a cry of pain and sang continually until they died, to the amazement of the French. Women are consistently reported to have surpassed the men in their cruelty toward prisoners.

Eventually a prisoner's body became so roasted by the fires and hot brands that the skin fell from him. When he finally died, his body was pounded with clubs and cut into pieces. Every worthy person cut off a piece and fed it to the dogs. Occasionally, the Montagnais ate part of the corpse. If a prisoner had been exceptionally brave during the tortures, his chest was cut open and his heart given to the children to eat, while the rest of him was eaten by the adults. The prisoner's bones were thrown into the river. (For more detailed descriptions of Montagnais torture, see the following; Le Jeune, 1632-JR, vol. 5, pp. 27-31, 51-55; 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 245; 1637-JR, vol. 9, pp. 297-299; Champlain, 1925, pp. 101-103, 134, 136-137; L'Allouant, 1627-JR, vol. 4, pp. 199-201).

According to Le Jeune, one reason the Montagnais feared the Iroquois so greatly was that they knew they would be tortured in a similar fashion if they were captured. When a war party had been defeated, someone was sent ahead to the camp in order to break the news. As soon as he reached the cabins he shouted the names of those killed or captured. The daughters and wives of those named spread their hair over their faces, painted themselves black, and began to weep (Le Jeune, 1632-JR, vol. 5, p. 55; 1638a-JR, vol. 12, p. 27).

The Montagnais did not usually harm women and children when they raided the Iroquois, except during the first sudden battle. Women were sometimes taken as captives, but they were not tortured as were the men. Often a young Montagnais man married a female Iroquois prisoner if she was very industrious. She seems to have then become a full member of her husband's group. Young Iroquois boys were occasionally adopted by the Montagnais. One such boy was treated just like the biological children of the family that adopted him (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 259; 1637-JR, vol. 9, p. 255).

Le Jeune was told that once a Montagnais chief, spying on the Iroquois, met an Iroquois spy face to face. To avoid a battle between their people, the Iroquois proposed a wrestling match to see which one could carry off the other. The Montagnais won. He bound his enemy and carried him off as a captive (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, pp. 93-95).

There are many indications that the Algonkins and Montagnais, although supposedly allied against the Iroquois, nevertheless quarreled frequently during their joint raids and were not strongly united.

About 1635, private traders attempted to incite the Montagnais to war on the Hurons. The traders did this so that the Hurons would not be able to trade with the French at Three Rivers and Quebec, where all trade was legally in the hands of the "Compagnie de la Nouvelle France" (Le Jeune, 1636-JR, vol. 8, p. 61; 1637-JR, vol. 9, pp. 245, 249, 253).

SOCIAL GROUPS AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Some information concerning social and political groupings has already been presented. That which remains is very sketchy, since the sources give few descriptions of these aspects of Montagnais culture.

Montagnais chiefs were apparently elected or selected at some kind of meeting or council. The only prerequisite to the office that is mentioned in the sources is that a chief had to be a great orator. Chiefs had little power. They were obeyed in proportion to their eloquence. People did not hesitate to disregard the advice or instructions of their chief. No matter how much a chief harangued, he could not obtain obedience unless what he said pleased his people. The Montagnais often laughed at their chiefs (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, pp. 139, 219; 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 243; 1636-JR, vol. 8, p. 55).

Nevertheless, a chief seems to have enjoyed a certain amount of prestige and some prerogatives. Champlain describes some Algonkians coming to a French settlement to barter furs. Before beginning to trade, they offered some presents to the son of a recently deceased Montagnais chief, in order to appease and comfort him. In 1618, Le Caron witnessed an argument between a Montagnais chief and a French merchant. The chief complained that the French were charging too much for their goods, and the merchant offered to sell cheaper to the chief but not to the rest of his people. The chief indignantly refused, saying that he did not speak for himself but for his people (Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, p. 136; Champlain, 1925, p. 208).

What remains most obscure concerning Montagnais chiefs is the size and composition of the groups which they headed. Equally, it is not clear just how, if at all, chiefs functioned during the winter.

It was a common practice for the Recollect missionaries working among the Montagnais, at least prior to 1629, to seek out a prominent chief who was well-disposed toward the French. This chief then adopted the missionary, either as a son or as a brother, depending on the Recollect's age and rank. The missionary then became a member of the tribe and a relative of each member of the chief's family. This adoption took place at a special feast held for the purpose. There is no indication as to whether such a feast was held in other cases of adoption that did not involve chiefs (Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, pp. 131-132).

The Montagnais held councils at which proposed actions were discussed and debated. These were attended by the principal men of the group, who were the elders. Women and children were never present. In fact, young unmarried women, and married women still without children, took no part whatsoever in managing group affairs. They were said to have been treated like children. Speeches at Montagnais councils were delivered in a slow, deliberate style. Singing was a part of all council meetings. (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 193; 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 89; Champlain, 1922, p. 110).

The Montagnais, the Algonkins, and perhaps other tribes along the St. Lawrence, had some kind of band or "tribal" territories. When people arrived from other "nations," they did not dare pass through one of these territories without obtaining permission from the chief of the inhabitants of the area. If the foreigners attempted to pass without this permission, their canoes would have been smashed. They asked for such permission by offering some presents to the chief. If he preferred not to let them pass, he refused the gift, telling them he had stopped the way and they could go no farther. At these words, the foreigners had to turn back or run the risk of war. This custom may have only operated in summer, but the information is not clear. When Sagard and some Hurons tried to paddle past a Montagnais summer camp, located on a bank of the St. Lawrence above Quebec, the Montagnais chief and several other men came in a canoe to meet the Hurons. The Montagnais tried to seize a portion of the Hurons' cornmeal, saying that their chief was entitled to such payment if the Hurons wished to pass through their territory. There are indications that by 1640, the lure of the fur trade was causing some groups, notably the Abnaki, to ignore the demands and wishes of Montagnais chiefs in regard to boundaries (Le Jeune, 1638a-JR, vol. 12, pp. 187-189; Sagard, 1939, p. 268).

Some information on the size of Montagnais hunting groups has already been given. The size of a group living in one camp seems to have been much larger during the summer than in the winter. In winter, it split up into several smaller parties. Le Jeune states that the family, or living group, of a certain Montagnais man consisted of two or three households (ménages). Ordinarily, there seems to have been several fires in each cabin, possibly one fire for each household. Champlain, probably speaking of the Montagnais summer cabins, states that sometimes ten households lived in one cabin (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 103; 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 163; Champlain, 1922, p. 105).

Summer camps and social groupings could be larger than winter ones due, it seems, to an abundance of eels and dried moose in summer. Le Jeune gives the impression that in the period 1630-1640, Montagnais camp groups were much smaller than those described by Champlain in 1603, having only two or three cabins with few households in each in the later period. There is no indication as to how camp groups were related to the "territories" described above, or to the institution of chieftainship.

Camp groups were apparently rather unstable in their composition. There is some evidence that by 1633, people hunted more or less where they pleased in winter, at least in the St. Lawrence area. When the group Le Jeune wintered with learned that there already were many Montagnais near the place they had intended to pass the winter, they decided to go elsewhere so that the several hunters would not cause one another to starve. Furthermore, at the height of the 1633-1634 famine there were only nineteen members left in Le Jeune's party, the rest of the original forty-five having gone elsewhere to seek food (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 47,97).

The Montagnais settled intragroup murders by blood feuds or by compensation. If a man killed or wounded another of his group, the relatives and friends of the injured person would kill the murderer, thus starting a feud. However, the killer was released from all punishment by offering presents to the friends and relatives of the dead or injured party. There is no information on the form or size of these gifts (Le Jeune, 1634, JR-vol. 5, p. 219; 1638a-JR, vol. 12, p. 169; Champlain, 1929, p. 191).

If a Montagnais man was wounded in a raid on the Iroquois and later died, his kin would have to avenge his death, unless the chiefs gave them presents. Otherwise, they would have taken revenge by killing someone of another tribe, or even of their own, according to Champlain (Champlain, 1922, pp. 178-179).

KINSHIP, DESCENT, AND INHERITANCE

The Montagnais seem to have preferred, at least in theory, that a child inherit from his mother's brother rather than from his father. Le Jeune attributes this to their doubt as to the true paternity of a child, due to "loose morals" of the Montagnais (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 255). Probably speaking of the Montagnais, Le Jeune also says that if a father had two children, they were called "brother and sister." Their children were also "called brothers and sisters, and the descendants of these will bear the same title of brothers and sisters, and will never intermarry, if they follow the good customs of their nation..." (Le Jeune, 1640-JR, vol. 16, p. 205).

This latter statement seems to imply that kinship was reckoned bilaterally but no further information is given. The rule of inheritance has a matrilineal emphasis, but it is not clear how strictly this was adhered to, since the relatives of the deceased are also said never to have used anything that had been used by the deceased.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth to Puberty

Montagnais women usually had no difficulty in being delivered of a child. Women were seen to gather firewood two hours after giving birth (L'Allemand, 1627-JR, vol. 4, p. 205).

Small children were cleaned with powdered, rotten wood. Some kind of birch bark cradle was used. If a child's mother died while giving birth, or when the child was still young, the child was sometimes killed. The Montagnais said that such a person (i.e., an orphan) would be abandoned by everyone during his lifetime. However, the child might also be raised by one of his uncles or other relatives (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, pp. 91, 137; 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 117).

It is repeatedly stated that the Montagnais never chastised their children, and would not permit the Jesuits to do so. Only a simple reprimand was allowed. This treatment seems to have been the ideal, and also the usual practice. However, a man who got angry at his wife was seen to throw their three or four year old child to the ground in order to kill it (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 197; 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 127).

Montagnais children were taught to be brave in time of famine and not to complain or cry when there was no food. When a group moved camp in winter, the children were given a load to carry. The adults encouraged children to compete in carrying or dragging baggage when moving camp (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 111, 127).

Girls (and women?) did not live in the cabin with the others when they were menstruating, the men fearing even to meet them. One Indian attributed his illness to the glance of a menstruating girl (Le Jeune, 1637-JR, vol. 9, p. 123).

The Montagnais did not like to tell their names to other people, but a person would freely tell what someone else's name was. Individuals were named at birth. Another name was taken in manhood, but it is not clear whether any puberty rites were involved. Still another name was taken in old age. If a person was very ill and did not improve, he sometimes changed his name for a luckier one (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 93; 1640-JR, vol. 16, p. 203).

Marriage and Divorce

Champlain describes what were probably the marriage customs of the Montagnais and Algonkians. Other authors help fill out the picture. When a girl was fourteen or fifteen years old she could have several suitors. She saw whichever of them she wished. At the end of five

or six years, she chose one of them as her husband. The husband gave presents to the father or relatives of the girl he married. If the couple lived together for some time and had no children, the man left his wife and married another woman. Husbands were jealous, and the sexual freedom of married women was more limited than that of younger girls (Champlain, 1922, pp. 119-120).

When a girl agreed to marry one of her suitors, she had her hair cut so that it was "hanging over her forehead." If she left her husband after marriage, or if she refused to marry a man after having accepted gifts from him, the jilted man might cut off part of her hair. This spoiled her appearance and prevented her from getting another husband for a while. Le Jeune states that this custom was more closely followed by the Algonkins than by the Montagnais (Le Jeune, 1640-JR, vol. 16, p. 205).

Young men sometimes went two or three months after marriage without approaching their wives sexually. The Jesuits were told this while they were teaching some baptized Indians the virtues of chastity. The Indians said they already had such a custom (Vimont, 1641-JR, vol. 19, p. 69).

Le Jeune was not certain of all the degrees of relationship within which marriage was prohibited, but ideally none of those calling each other brother and sister could marry. However, if more remote cousins did marry, even though calling one another by these terms, they were merely said to have no sense; no further action was taken (Le Jeune, 1640-JR, vol. 16, pp. 205-207). One man at Quebec was said to have married his own daughter, even though the others strongly disapproved. It seems doubtful that this was his biological offspring. It may have been his step-daughter, since divorce and remarriage were fairly common (L'Allemant, 1627-JR, vol. 4, p. 199).

Polygyny was practiced. One chief had three wives at the same time. Sororal polygyny was probably preferred, two sisters being married at the same time. If a man had already married one sister, he could marry another during the lifetime of his first wife, "for if he waited until after her death he must reckon her as his niece, and could not marry her without reproach" (Le Jeune, 1640-JR, vol. 16, p. 207; Le Jeune, 1638a-JR, vol. 11, p. 167; L'Allemant, 1627-JR, vol. 4, p. 199).

Men sometimes married women from another tribe, or "nation." One such woman, dying of smallpox at Tadoussac, told Le Jeune she was originally from the interior below Tadoussac, on the west side of the St. Lawrence. She said her people still used stone hatchets. They spoke the Montagnais language. They did not come to trade with the French because the Montagnais of Tadoussac killed them on sight (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 69; 1636-JR, vol. 8, p. 41).

If a woman became dissatisfied with her husband she left him and, presumably, dissatisfied husbands simply left their wives. The Indians told the Recollects that if a couple did not get along, the only sensible thing to do was to separate and marry elsewhere. Divorce was fairly frequent unless a couple had several children; then they did not separate so readily (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 111; Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, p. 221).

A person was not supposed to remarry within three years of the death of a spouse, or the relatives of the dead person regarded it as an affront. If a woman remarried within three years without the permission of the dead man's relatives, they not only bore her ill-will, but also took the shell necklaces and everything else of value belonging to the woman's new husband. He had to submit to this without protest. Le Jeune saw such an event happen (Le Jeune, 1640-JR, vol. 16, pp. 203-205).

Old Age, Death, Burial

The Montagnais gave the sick or feeble only what they asked for; no extra attention was paid them. If a sick person did not want to eat at mealtime, a share was not saved for him. But if he grew hungry later he was given whatever food was at hand, such as smoked meat. As long as a patient could eat, he was carried or dragged (on a sledge) with the group. If he stopped eating, and the others believed he was about to die, they usually killed him, both to relieve him of his suffering and to relieve themselves of an added burden (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 245; 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 53).

Occasionally old people were treated rather harshly. One man rolled his aged mother down a snow-covered bank because he could not conveniently carry her down on a sledge. When food was scarce, or a long journey was to be made, old people were often abandoned in the woods, or simply killed with a hatchet. This was regarded as a service, since otherwise they would die of starvation if they were unable to keep up with a rapidly moving group (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, pp. 103, 141-143; L'Allemant, 1627-JR, vol. 4, p. 199).

About 1635, a great many Montagnais living near the French settlements died in a smallpox epidemic. Almost all those around Three Rivers were sick and a great many died (Brebeuf, 1636-JR, vol. 8, p. 87).

When a person died, the people at the camp took sticks and struck his cabin and shouted, in order to drive his soul away. If the soul of a dead person came near a child, the child would die. The soul was believed to leave the cabin through the smoke hole. It remained around the camp for a time after the death. A few of the best pieces of meat were thrown into the fire to feed the soul of the deceased. The corpse was not taken out the cabin door; instead, the bark at one side of the cabin was raised and the body was removed that way. The doorway was believed to be for the living; consequently the dead should not use it

(Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, pp. 129-131; 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 209-211; Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, p. 218).

The corpse was wrapped in robes. One dead child was wrapped in beaver skins, over which a large piece of linen cloth was placed. Finally, a double piece of bark was wrapped around the other materials. A corpse was placed on a high scaffold made of wood until it was to be buried. Burials apparently did not take place in the winter.

Aside from his clothes, a person was buried with most of his belongings, such as candlesticks, furs, knives, blankets, tobacco pouch, dishes, kettles, bowls, spoons, and, if a man, bow and arrows. Le Clercq also mentions the placing of food with the body. However, there seems to have been considerable variation in the number of grave goods placed with a corpse. One young child that died was placed in its grave with a cradle and a few other items. At the burial, the mother drew some milk into a little bark ladle and burned it in the fire. This was to provide milk for the soul of the dead child. Grave goods were for the use of the soul of the deceased in the other world. It was not the objects themselves which were used, but their spirits or souls (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 129; 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 125, 129-131; 1637-JR, vol. 9, p. 47; L'Allement, 1627-JR, vol. 4, p. 201; Sagard, 1939, pp. 208-209; Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, p. 218).

The Montagnais buried their dead in the woods near a large tree or other recognizable spot. The corpse was placed in a crouching position, like a person "seated upon his heels." The head faced west so the soul of the deceased would know the direction it should take to reach the land of the dead. A bit of hair was cut from the dead person's head and given to the nearest relatives. When two related Montagnais children died about the same time, they were placed in the same grave. Bark, logs, and earth were put over the grave. If anyone was found ransacking a grave the relatives of the deceased became very angry. Anyone caught doing this would be killed (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 211; 1637-JR, vol. 8, p. 253; 1640-JR, vol. 16, p. 207; Sagard, 1939, pp. 208-209).

Champlain describes the burial practices of the Indians he knew in 1603. It is not clear whether his description actually applies to the Montagnais or not, but it agrees fairly well with information given by other authors. However, Champlain states that the grave was covered with earth and that many large pieces of wood were then put over it. A stake, painted red near its top, was placed at one end of the grave. None of the other authors mention such a stake or grave post (Champlain, 1922, p. 120).

There is an account of burial practices in Le Clercq, taken from the 1624 memoirs of Father Le Caron. This account is unclear as to meaning and describes burial practices not mentioned by any other authors;

They take the body from the village, and bones, which they call bundles of souls, and change them from one tomb to another adorned with skins, beads,

belts, and other like riches of the country, believing that all this serves to render the dead more happy (Lo Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, p. 218).

The dead were not referred to, because doing so would renew the grief of the living relatives and cause them to cry. The relatives of a dead person never used anything that the deceased had used (5) (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 135).

ETIQUETTE AND DAILY LIFE

The sexual division of labor among the Montagnais made for interpersonal harmony. Men and women each had their tasks and never interfered with one another in their work. Men made canoe frames and women sewed the bark; men made snowshoe frames and women put in the netting. Men did the hunting, fighting, and trading; women skinned animals and dressed hides. A man who did a woman's work, when it was not absolutely necessary, was laughed at. One man, whose wife was sick, went in search of firewood at night, so the other men would not see him. Women frequently were not invited to feasts, yet they never complained about not getting the good pieces of meat or about having to work continually, gathering firewood, building cabins, dressing skins and doing other laborious tasks (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 133; 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 233-235; L'Allemant, 1627-JR, vol. 4, p. 205).

Although many people might be living in one cabin, harmony was preserved. They aided and helped one another generously, expecting similar treatment in return. When a person gave a present, he expected to receive one himself at a later date. If such reciprocity was not forthcoming, a person lost all prestige. The Montagnais made a point of not seeming to be attached to anything, so that whatever they lost would not be missed. It was a great insult to say that a man liked everything and was stingy. Ideally, people cared for relatives, friends, widows, and orphans when necessary, treating them as one of the family (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 105; 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 237-239, 259).

However, there appears to have been a strong undercurrent of hostility and ill-feeling beneath the more superficial cooperation and friendliness of Montagnais life. Le Jeune, speaking of malevolent magic, says it was "strange to see how these people agree so well outwardly and how they hate each other within." He adds that, while they rarely got angry and fought, in their hearts they intended one another a great deal of harm. He was puzzled at how to reconcile this hostile undercurrent with the outward show of kindness and assistance (Le Jeune, 1638a-JR, vol. 12, p. 13).

Among themselves the Montagnais were prone to sneer and banter, but this did not disturb their outward peace and harmony. Slander was frequent. If a person learned that another had slandered him, he said nothing.

If the two met, they acted as if nothing had happened (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 237, 243, 247).

Unlike the Hurons, the Montagnais were not usually given to stealing, not even from the French. A man who stole a large piece of moose meat during a famine was only sneered at, in his absence. Later he was even invited to live with the family he had previously robbed (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 235-237, 249).

A good hunter among the Montagnais gained considerable prestige. A poor hunter was mocked by men and women alike, but not usually to his face. Such a person was regarded as something of a burden and he had no prestige. Poor hunters had difficulty in finding wives, and still greater difficulty in keeping them. One very unskilled hunter had four or five wives at different times, his brothers having helped him to secure them. All his wives left him. Women are said to have possessed "great power" among the Montagnais. A man often promised something and then excused himself by saying that his wife would not agree to it (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 181; 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 241; 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 173-175).

The Montagnais entered a dwelling unannounced and without any word of greeting. When a man returned from hunting he sometimes dropped his kill outside the cabin and went in. No one spoke a word. He sat near the fire and undressed. His wife took his stockings (inner boots) and moccasins, wrung them out, and put them aside to dry. The man threw a robe over his shoulders, all this taking place in silence. If his wife had saved anything for him to eat she gave it to him on a bark dish, still without speaking. He ate in silence and afterwards smoked. Only then did he begin to speak. If no one had looked outside to see what game he had killed, he informed those present of his luck. The Montagnais said that a hunter had more need of rest than of talk when he returned to his cabin (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 123; 1638a-JR, vol. 11, pp. 211-213).

When the Montagnais awoke in the morning each person took his bark dishful of meat and began eating. After breakfast, they apparently ate periodically during the day. Just before retiring they had a last bite to eat or smoked a pipeful of tobacco (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 251).

At meals, the kettle was removed from the fire and each person was given his share. Meat was placed in bark dishes by hand, or with a small pointed stick. It was eaten by holding it in the hands and cutting pieces from it, or by holding one end in the teeth and the other end in the left hand, while a knife held in the right hand was used to cut it. In the absence of a knife, chunks were simply torn off the meat with the teeth. The Montagnais ate with their mouths closed. After a greasy meal a person wiped his hands on his hair, on the dogs, on his moccasins, or on some pulverized, rotten wood. Young women did not eat from the same dish as their husbands (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 91; 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 267-269, 291; 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 89).

Eating and drinking were not done at the same time during a meal. After the meat was distributed and eaten, the broth was divided. Sometimes each person went to the kettle after eating the meat and took what broth he wanted. No one complained if his food was hot or cold. Meat was divided without waiting for anyone not present, not even the head of the household. A share was reserved for him and served cold when he arrived (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 239, 275).

The Montagnais told Le Jeune that for a group of about thirty people to eat well during the winter, it was necessary to kill a large moose or elk every two days. When there was plenty of food the Montagnais ate "continually," even though there would be nothing left the next day. During a famine they often had to go two or three days without meat, hunting and working all the while. At such times they ate eel skins, old moose skins, and the bark of trees (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, pp. 165-167; 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 239; 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 47, 181).

Le Jeune says that if the Indians began to die of starvation (which did not happen in the group he wintered with), they fell into a state of despair, threw away their household utensils and abandoned all interest in the common welfare. Each person tried to find food for himself; women, children, and all who could not hunt, died of cold and hunger. Before they were reduced to such a state, one of the three cabins in Le Jeune's group moved elsewhere because not enough game for so many people could be found in one area. Even people from the same cabin sometimes separated for a period of time during the winter, in order to obtain more food. Later, they reunited at an appointed rendezvous. During a very severe famine in the winter of 1634-1635, many Montagnais near Tadoussac and Gaspé were said to have resorted to cannibalism and then to have hidden in the woods, not daring to appear before their people (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 47, 145, 185; 1636-JR, vol. 8, pp. 29-31).

When visitors appeared at a camp they were usually greeted with a meal, everyone immediately setting about preparing it. If there was game available, they were invited to remain a few days, and were given food to take along when they departed. Even during a famine, if visitors from nearby Montagnais camps arrived they were fed as long as there was anything at all to eat. It was an insult to refuse food when it was offered and a sign of good will and friendship to eat everything served. A host was highly complimented if a guest told him after a meal that he was really full. If a stranger joined a hunting party for a short period, he was treated just like a member of the group (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, pp. 95, 165-167; 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 249-251, 259; 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 177).

When a visitor arrived from another camp he often entered the cabin in silence and made himself comfortable, like a man returning from the hunt. Knowing he brought news, people came and sat near him. No one said a word. It was up to him to begin speaking. After resting for a while, he spoke without being questioned or interrupted. After he related his news, the older men asked questions and conversed with him. Young men

spoke with youthful visitors but did not question older ones (Le Jeune, 1638a-JR, vol. 11, p. 213).

When there was no longer any game within three or four leagues of a winter camp, a man well acquainted with the next stop called out that he was going to mark the way, so that the others could break camp at sunrise the next day. He then took a hatchet and set out, blazing trees so that the others could follow. The next day everyone ate breakfast, if there was any, and then arranged his baggage on sledges or tump lines. The women struck the cabins to remove the snow from the bark. Then they rolled the bark into bundles. When everyone was loaded, snowshoes were put on and they set out. A sick person who could not walk might be carried on a stretcher made of poles. The children went on ahead, starting early and often arriving quite late. Children were given a load to carry or a sledge to pull in order to accustom them to the work. Water was obtained on the march by breaking the ice in a brook. After breakfast, nothing was eaten during a one-day march until the destination was reached and the cabins were erected. It took about three hours to build a cabin (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 109-115).

When there was much meat to be moved the women pulled it on sledges. According to L'Allemant, the women did most of the work in moving a camp. When the group arrived at its new camp the women took hatchets and went into the forests to cut the poles for cabins. The men drew the floor plan of the cabins in the snow and then cleared away the snow (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 35-37; L'Allemant, 1627-JR, vol. 4, p. 205).

Champlain describes the moving of a large camp of Montagnais, Algonkins, and Etechemins in the summer of 1603. At daybreak the principal chief, or "grand Sagamore" (a Montagnais), left his cabin and shouted that they should break camp and go to Tadoussac. The cabins were taken down and each man got into his canoe with his wife, children, and furs (for bartering). There were about one thousand people at this camp and about two hundred canoes were launched, averaging five people to each canoe, plus a little baggage (Champlain, 1922, pp. 104-105).

The Montagnais had no word or phrase of greeting. To rejoice or to express thanks or approval they said "ho! ho!" When making a speech, especially at councils, they spoke slowly and deliberately, stopping often to reflect. One person spoke at a time, while the others listened patiently. There was no feeling that the parts of the body should not be mentioned and Le Jeune was often shocked by their "obscenity and lowdness." But only the shaman performed any "brutal action" (apparently a sexual act) in his presence (Le Jeune, 1632-JR, vol. 5, p. 25; 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 165; 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 253-255; Champlain, 1922, p. 110).

To drive away mosquitoes the Montagnais built a smoky fire. They ate lice and other vermin that they found on their bodies. They said they did this to avenge themselves by eating those that ate them (Le Jeune, 1632-JR, vol. 5, p. 31; 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 153; L'Allemant, 1627-JR, vol. 4, p. 199).

Although the muskrat was important in their religion, the Montagnais disliked the odor of musk and the smell of the muskrat. An old piece of fat was thought to have a pleasant odor (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 153).

The dogs of the Montagnais are described as having been large and numerous. They were kept inside the cabins at night. Since they were usually hungry, they ran around the cabin chewing things and tried to get at the food in the bark dishes at mealtime (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 43-45).

FEASTS AND CEREMONIES

Singing was an important part of Montagnais ceremonial and religion. During a famine they stayed in their cabins, drumming and singing in order to find food. The Indians said that once when two men were unable to find food and were almost dead from starvation, they were advised to sing. When they had sung they immediately found food. Since that time, singing was a basic part of their religious ceremonies. According to Le Jeune, they did not understand the words of their religious songs but only those of secular songs. Songs were accompanied by a drum (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 193).

Feasts

Champlain refers to a Montagnais feast by the word tabagio, but it is not clear whether this was the Montagnais word for feast, or whether it was from another language. Religious ceremonies and feasts often lasted four hours or more. According to Le Caron, they lasted "days and nights" (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 193; Champlain, 1922, p. 99; Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, p. 222).

Usually, only actual hunters or those who had been hunters were invited to a feast. Widows were often invited if it was not to be an "eat-all" feast. Girls, married women, and children were usually excluded. But there were feasts, called acoumagouchanai, to which everyone was invited, including children. At these feasts no food was supposed to be left uncaten. When there was a great deal of game, the women sometimes held a feast of their own at which men were not present.

No one was invited to a feast until all the food was cooked and ready to eat. Then the host went through the cabins of those he invited, or else called out an invitation from the cabin where the feast was being held. Each man answered ho! ho!, and then took his dish and spoon to the cabin of the host. When all the men in the camp were not invited, those desired were called by name.

Apparently there were two general types of feasts. At one, the guests ate only what they wished and took whatever remained home, to divide with their wives and children. The other type of feast was called an "eat-all" or "leave-nothing" feast by the French. Its purpose was to bring successful hunting. The Montagnais were very careful that the dogs did not get any of the food at an eat-all feast. If that happened, hunting would have been fruitless. Once, Le Jeune secretly tried to throw some meat to the dogs at an eat-all feast. He was detected and the Montagnais were extremely angry, believing they would be unable to find more food.

The greater the amount of food consumed at an eat-all feast, the better the results would be. A person was permitted to have another help him if he could not eat his entire share, but nothing should be left uneaten. After the feast, anything that remained was thrown into the fire. Men boasted about the quantity and parts of an animal they had eaten at these feasts (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 213, 283; 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 163; L'Allemand, 1627-JR, vol. 4, p. 201).

When guests arrived at a feast they entered the host's cabin without ceremony, each taking his place around the kettle, which hung over the fire. Each guest turned his dish upside down before him. They sat on pine branches that were spread on the floor. No rigid order or procedure was observed. Everyone sat in a circle with his legs against his thighs, "like a monkey."

If the feast was an eat-all, there usually was singing, accompanied by the drum of a shaman if one was present. Occasionally a little conversation was allowed. If it was not an eat-all feast, the guests talked about their hunting or about their jokes and pranks.

After some preliminary conversation the server of the feast, usually the man who was giving it, took the kettle (or kettles) from the fire and placed it before him. Then he made a speech or began a song and the others joined in. Sometimes he skipped these formalities and simply uttered the words that were always used to open a formal feast: he stated who was giving the feast, and the foods of which it was composed. As each dish was enumerated the guests exclaimed *ho!* At less formal feasts, the host addressed each of his friends or relatives, stating what would be eaten. Then everyone started to eat. At a feast where moose was served, the person who killed the moose (i.e., delivered the fatal blow with a club) was host. After distributing the meat he threw some grease into the fire, saying *papeouekou, papouekou*, "make us find something to eat" (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 283-287, 291).

If a feast contained liquid foods, such as a gruel of flour or cornmeal, the server divided the contents of the kettle as evenly as he could into the bark dishes of each guest. There was neither honor nor disgrace in being served first or last. If there was meat, the server drew it from the kettle with a pointed stick and placed it in bark dishes. Then he noted the number of guests and distributed it as he

pleased. Everyone was given a large portion but the portions were not of equal size. Single chunks of meat were not divided, so that only two or three people got the best parts.

The best pieces of meat were called mascanou, "the chief's part." These included the tongue and giblets of a moose, and the head and tail of a beaver. The fat intestines of the moose were also highly prized. They were usually roasted, and everyone was given a taste. The same was true of another favorite dish made from the large intestine of a moose. It was filled with grease and roasted by fastening it to a cord hanging near the fire. Only the better parts of an animal were served at a feast, the remainder being saved for ordinary meals.

The most desirable pieces of meat were given to the best friends of the host, beginning with those who did not live in his cabin. The host often served these friends a second or even a third helping, while the other guests were only served once. No one was offended at this, for it was the customary thing to do. Meat was offered on the end of a stick, the host calling out the name of the recipient and the part of the animal he was getting (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 283, 289-291).

The person giving and serving a feast took no food for himself. However, if game had been scarce, as soon as the meat was removed from the kettle a neighbor or friend set aside the best pieces and gave them to the host after he had served everyone else (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 289-291).

When the food was something especially good, a guest would compliment his host by saying tapoue nimitisou, "I am really eating." If the feast was not an eat-all, the bones were broken, sucked, and gnawed to get out the marrow. Then they were put back in the kettle of broth until it was served. At an eat-all feast there were no bones (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 293).

After the meat had been served, the broth was poured from the kettle, each person drinking his fill. If it was an eat-all feast, no broth could be left. The feast continued until the host spoke the words used to terminate it: "Now you will go away; return this feast when you please." Some of the guests usually remained to chat, while others left immediately without a word. Some simply said they were going to leave, and did so (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 293).

After the words ending a feast were pronounced, the server sometimes collected the grease from the kettles and ate it all himself; or, he might offer a large, deep dish of this grease to the guests, each eating his share in turn (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 287).

Usually all the guests retired to their cabins after a feast. It was very rare for a person to become sick, even after an eat-all feast. Feasts took place very frequently. According to Le Caron, there were farewell, complimentary, war, peace, death, health and marriage feasts.

During a famine, if a man finally caught a few beavers, day or night he immediately held a feast for all his neighbors in the camp. If any of the other hunters had been successful, they too gave a feast, so that up to four feasts might be given in succession (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 283, 285; Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, p. 222).

Bear Ceremonialism

When someone killed a bear he left it in the woods and returned to his camp to get some of the other men to go and see the prize. Then the bear was brought to the camp. All the girls above the age of puberty and all the married women without children were excluded from the cabins. They took no part in the feast but built little temporary shelters away from the camp and stayed in them until the feast and the ceremony were over. The dogs were sent away so that they could not lick the bear's blood or eat any part of it whatsoever.

The person who killed the bear roasted the entrails over some pine branches, uttering words that Le Jeune did not understand. The bear's killer kept the "heart bone" of the animal, carrying it in a little pouch hung around his neck.

Part of the meat was cooked and the men and older women (i.e., those with children) were invited to the feast. When this feast was over, the women left. Then the rest of the meat, which had been cooking in a separate kettle, was taken down and used for an eat-all feast at which only the men were present. The next day the remainder of the bear was eaten. The bones were buried under the hearth and any scraps of meat were burned. Only then did the young women and girls return.

Le Jeune says the Montagnais preferred bear meat to all other foods because it was fatter (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 217-219, 291).

Feasts for the Dead

Some kind of feast and accompanying ceremony were held when a chief or other man of influence died, but the descriptions are somewhat vague as to just what took place and why. Champlain mentions such feasts, with singing and dancing at the grave of the deceased. At these feasts a portion of food was set aside for the soul of the dead person and thrown into the fire. The Montagnais were careful to prevent the dogs from getting any of the food at such a feast. Anything left over, including bones, was thrown into the fire. At a feast for a very prominent dead chief, the chief's son was about to commit some kind of "brutal action" (sexual act) when two Jesuits drove him away, apparently with the approval of the other Montagnais present (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 131; 1637-JR, vol. 9, pp. 79-81; Champlain, 1925, p. 50; L'Allemant, 1627-JR, vol. 4, p. 201).

Probably speaking of the Algonkins as well as the Montagnais, Le Jeune says that when someone died, especially a man of influence, his name was transferred to another person at a great feast. This seems to have involved the idea that the dead man was in some way brought back to life by this method; at least that is how Le Jeune interpreted it. The relatives or friends of the deceased offered a gift at this time, and whoever accepted the gift and the name of the deceased obligated himself to take charge of the dead person's family. His wards called him their father after that time.

This same ceremony was observed when a brave man was slain in warfare. If the dead man had a shell necklace or other valuable object, his friends and relatives offered it to a good warrior. If necessary, they made a present from their own possessions. If the warrior accepted the gift and the dead man's name at this ceremony, he was bound to go to war and kill some of the enemy (Le Jeune, 1640-JR, vol. 16, pp. 201-203).

Le Jeune gives a rather vague description of a ceremony called ouechibouan. It was performed for a dead person. The shaman assembled the people and then went behind some blankets and robes in a quarter of the cabin, so that he could not be seen. A great many songs were sung. A woman marked a triangular stick half a spear in length each time a song was completed. This continued for five hours. Then the shaman made a pattern for a little sack, in the form of a log, and gave it to a woman to use in making such a sack out of leather. This leg-shaped leather sack was filled with what Le Jeune believed to be soft hair, but he was unable to learn the purpose of the object. It was called manitoukathi, "the leg of Manitou." For a long time it was hung in the cabin at the place where the shaman had been seated. Afterwards it was given to a young man who hung it around his neck (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 205-207).

Victory Feasts

Champlain witnessed a victory feast and accompanying ceremony held by a large group of Montagnais, Algonkins, and Etechemins in 1603, after a successful raid against the Iroquois. The feast was composed of moose, bear, seal, beaver, and a great quantity of fowl. The men sat on both sides of the kettles, each with his own bark dish. When the meat was cooked it was portioned out to each man. While they were waiting for the meat to cook a man rose, picked up a dog, and ran (danced?) around the kettles from one end of the cabin to the other. He threw the dog down when he arrived in front of the chief. Everyone exclaimed ho! ho! Then other men did the same thing until the meat was cooked.

After eating, the men danced with the scalps of the Iroquois, which had been hanging behind them. A few men sang, striking their hands on their knees in time to the music. The three tribes had taken about one hundred scalps. Champlain says there were approximately one thousand men, women, and children in this camp, which was near Tadoussac (Champlain, 1922, pp. 101-103).

After the feast the Algonkins gave a victory dance in which the women and girls danced naked, except for their ornaments made of dyed porcupine quills. This dance was probably similar to the victory dances of the Montagnais. The women danced in place, lifting one foot and then the other, stamping the ground and making various gestures. They sang while dancing. After this dance the Montagnais men removed their robes, but not their breechcloths, and presented the Algonkins with gifts of hatchets, swords, kettles, pieces of fat or meat, ornaments, and other items. Finally there was a foot race between two of the best runners from each of the three tribes (Champlain, 1922, pp. 107-109).

RELIGION AND BELIEF

Descriptions of Montagnais religion and belief that are given in the early sources are sometimes rather vague or even contradictory. One reason for this seems to be that Montagnais belief was not highly systematized, but actually was rather vague in many respects. Another reason is that several versions of similar beliefs seem to have been current among different groups of Montagnais. Some Indians appear to have had more knowledge about supernatural matters than others.

However, the main point to be held in mind concerning Montagnais religion is that most of the information presented here was obtained by zealous Jesuit missionaries who strongly scorned the native "superstitions." It is very obvious in Le Jeune's accounts of Montagnais religion that he often tried to argue points of theology with the Indians. In the course of his arguments he more or less forced them to answer questions they ordinarily gave no thought to. In a sense, some of the Montagnais "beliefs" presented here are individually invented answers that the Indians were prodded into producing through the supercilious questioning of the missionaries. Nevertheless, they could only give these answers in terms of their own culture. In this sense, such answers actually were a part of Montagnais religion.

An old Montagnais man and a shaman, both questioned by Le Jeune, told him they were not certain who had first created the world. They thought that perhaps it was Atachocam (also given as Atahocham, Atahocam, and Atahauta). They said one only spoke of Atachocam as one does of things so distant that certain knowledge about them is impossible. A being named Messou restored the world after it was destroyed by a flood (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, pp. 153-155; 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 157; Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, p. 217).

As described by Le Jeune, "Manitou" meant some kind of supernatural beings who were at best slightly dangerous and at worst very malicious. As Le Jeune understood it, the Manitou "himself" was not very evil and did not hate mankind. He was present only in war and combat. Those whom he looked upon were protected in warfare, while the others were

killed. One Montagnais man said he prayed daily to the Manitou not to cast his eyes upon the Iroquois and to give the Montagnais some Iroquois in all their wars.

The "wife" of the Manitou, according to Le Jeune, was thoroughly evil. It was she who caused the diseases in the world and killed men. Otherwise they would not die. She fed upon their flesh, gnawing them from the inside and making them emaciated in their illnesses. She had a robe made of the most beautiful hair of the men and women whom she had killed. She sometimes appeared in the form of a flame, and was heard roaring in the fire, but her language could not be understood (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 175).

On the other hand, Le Jeune also says that the Montagnais believed there were good and bad Manitous. In their conversations with the Jesuits, the Montagnais associated the good Manitou with the Christian God and the bad Manitou with the Christian devil. Somewhat later during his stay in Canada, Le Jeune writes that the Montagnais gave "the name Manitou to all Nature superior to man, good or bad" (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 157; 1638a-JR, vol. 12, p. 7). Le Caron gave this same interpretation to the word "Manitou" in 1624. According to him, the Montagnais understood by "Manitou only a kind of material mainspring, giving being and movement to all things..." (Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, p. 217).

The Montagnais were displeased when anyone spoke of death, misfortune, or sickness, because the Manitou might hear such talk and cause the people to become ill or to die. The word for death was avoided. Sometimes a few eels were thrown into the fire to feed the Manitou so he (she?) would not harm people. The wife of a sick Indian, probably a Montagnais or Algonkin, burned a piece of hide and rubbed it on his head so that the odor would drive away the Manitou (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 157; 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 85-87; 1637-JR, vol. 9, p. 117; Vimont, 1641-JR, vol. 19, p. 71).

The Montagnais believed in spirits of the light or of the air, called khichikouai (from khichikou, "light," or "the air"). These spirits were able to see far into the future and were consulted by diviners (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 173; Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, p. 135).

One man said that when still a young boy he had seen one of the khichikouai. The boy was alone in the forests. The spirit was dressed like an Iroquois and floated through the air. It stopped a short distance from him and the earth began to shake. The spirit told him not to be afraid for he would not die, although his people would not be so lucky. Then the spirit rose in the air and disappeared. The boy returned to his cabin and told the others what he had seen. They took it as a bad sign meaning that someone would be killed by the Iroquois. Soon after this, a member of the boy's group was surprised and slain by the Iroquois (Le Jeune, 1638a-JR, vol. 12, pp. 15-17).

One Indian said they believed that the eyes of the khichikouai were in an oblique line, one above and the other below. At feasts the Montagnais sometimes threw a few spoonfuls of grease into the fire, saying papeouekou, papeouekou, "make us find something to eat." Le Jeune surmised that these offerings were for the khichikouai (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 173; 1638a-JR, vol. 12, p. 17).

The Montagnais believed that all things, animate or inanimate, had souls or spirits. These souls were pictured as shadows of the real objects or beings. The soul of a man was a dark image of the living person. It had feet, hands, a mouth, and other bodily parts. When a person died, a piece of the best meat was thrown into the fire for his soul to eat. The Montagnais said that the next morning they found that the meat had been nibbled (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 175-177; Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, pp. 218, 220).

The world of the Montagnais was flat. It was out off perpendicularly at the ends. After death, the spirits or souls of all creatures went to the land of the dead, a large village located where the sun sets. There, the human souls built cabins on the edge of the precipice. At the base of the precipice there was nothing but water. The souls spent much of their time dancing. Fish, game, and tobacco were all abundant. Although there were trees along the edge of the precipice, they were slippery, and some of the souls occasionally fell into the abyss. They were immediately changed into fish.

After a person died, his soul went on foot to the land of the dead. It had to ford rivers in some places; it ate bark and old wood while traveling through the forests. In the land of the dead, the days and nights were the opposite of those in the living world, so that daytime among the living was night among the dead. The souls worked and hunted during their daylight hours; at night they sat with their elbows upon their knees and their heads between their hands. The souls of dead human beings hunted the souls of dead beavers and other animals, using the spirits of "dead" snowshoes and other implements.

Souls were believed to eat, drink, and even to marry in the land of the dead. Children who died in this world became the children of married souls and grew up in the land of the dead. Every soul went to this same place.

The milky way was called tchipai meskenau, "the path of souls," because the Montagnais believed that souls passed along it on their way to the land of the dead. They said that the souls of two of their people had returned once from the land of the dead and described it; that was how the living knew what it was like (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 177-179; 1638a-JR, vol. 12, pp. 27-29; 1640-JR, vol. 16, p. 193).

The Indians greatly feared the souls of their dead and tried to frighten them away from the cabins. If the soul of a dead person

lingered around the cabins of the living it tried to take someone away with it to the land of the dead (Le Jeune, 1640-JR, vol. 16, p. 197).

When a sick person could no longer speak, or had fainted or had any kind of a fit, the Montagnais believed that his soul had left his body. If the person recovered his normal behavior or faculties, it meant that his soul had returned (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 125).

The Montagnais placed great importance on what they dreamed. Dreams were believed to foretell the future or to indicate actions that must be performed. A person had to do whatever he dreamed about; otherwise he would die. Once a sick Montagnais tried to kill a Frenchman because he dreamed that doing this would cure him. Dreaming of animals meant that game would be found (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, pp. 159-161; 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 181-183).

Lucky hunting objects, such as stones, were sometimes revealed in dreams. These dreams were believed to come from the Manitou. The lucky object was carried in a little bag. No one was supposed to look in the bag or its owner would be very angry, perhaps even killing the person who did so (Le Jeune, 1638a-JR, vol. 12, pp. 13-15).

The Montagnais believed that all animals had an elder brother who was the source or origin of their species. These elder brothers were larger than the ordinary animal. The elder of the beavers was as large as a cabin. The elders of all the animals were the junior brothers of Messou; Messou was the elder brother of all species of animals.

If anyone saw the elder brother of an animal in his dreams, it meant that he would be successful in hunting that species. It was through the favor of the elder, who appeared to him in his dream, that the hunter obtained the actual animal.

The Montagnais were not certain where these elder brothers were, but thought that the elders of the birds were in the sky and those of the other animals were in the water (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 159-161).

The Montagnais did not throw away certain bones of elk, porcupine, beavers, and lacustrine birds. They were particularly careful that the dogs did not get these bones; otherwise those animals whose bones the dogs ate would become difficult or impossible to catch. It did not matter if the vertebrae or rump of the animals were given to the dogs, but the other bones were carefully burned in the fire. The bones of beavers that had been taken in traps were sometimes thrown into a river. The Montagnais also believed that the blood of a beaver must not be spilled upon the ground, or then too it would be very difficult to catch beavers.

Before a beaver (and perhaps elk and other animals as well) was entirely dead, it was believed that its soul inspected the cabin of

the person who killed it. It carefully noticed the disposition of its bones. If they were given to the dogs, the other beavers would be told of it and would make themselves hard to capture, both in this world and in the land of the dead. But the beaver, or the trap which caught it, was very glad to have the bones thrown into the fire or into the river (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 179; 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 211-213; Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, p. 220).

One Montagnais man cut off the end of the tail of every beaver he killed. He strung these together, because of a resolution or promise he had made in order to take many beavers (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 213).

Moose embryos taken from the womb of the mother were not eaten except at the end of the moose season. This was because moose would become difficult to capture if their offspring were eaten so young. The Montagnais (perhaps the Algonkins) did not catch salamanders because they caused the wind to blow. Young women and girls did not eat the heads of pike for fear of not having children. A bird resembling a magpie was driven away if it tried to get into the cabins because it gave people headaches. The Montagnais did not eat the marrow in the vertebrae of animals because it caused backaches. If a stick were thrust into a vertebra, the person doing this would feel a pain in his back, just as if the stick had been thrust into his own backbone (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 219-223; 1637-JR, vol. 9, p. 119).

During the famine of 1633-1634, the Montagnais Le Jeune had accompanied would not eat their dogs. They said that if dogs were killed to be eaten, a man would be killed by blows from an ax (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 221).

The Montagnais apparently recognized two seasons, one consisting of spring and summer, the other of autumn and winter. These seasons were caused by two supernatural beings. Nipinoukhe (from nipin, "spring") brought the warm season. Pipounoukhe (from pipoun, "winter") brought the cold season. The Montagnais did not know just what form these supernatural beings had, but were sure they were alive, for they heard them talking or rustling when they came. What they said could not be understood. These two beings shared the world between them, one keeping on one side and the other on the opposite side. When his period of stay at one end of the world was over, each went to the place formerly occupied by the other. This cycle was called achitescatouath, meaning, according to Le Jeune, "they pass reciprocally to each other's places" (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 161-163).

If a winter was especially cold and severe, so that it was impossible to hunt, all those who were born in the summer left their cabins. They carried blazing torches which they threw at Pipounoukhe. This caused the winter to be less severe. But if anyone born in winter mingled with the others, the cold would increase rather than decrease (Le Jeune, 1637-JR, vol. 9, p. 121).

The Indians around Quebec believed that there was a hole pierced through the earth, and that when the sun set it went into this hole, emerging the next morning from the other end (L'Allemand, 1627-JR, vol. 4, p. 203).

One Montagnais version of the cause of an eclipse of the sun was that a certain being who was well disposed toward mankind got angry at a wicked woman, and even desired to kill her. This woman was the wife of the Manitou; she caused men to die. The sun was her heart, and the being who was friendly toward men did not kill her because it would have caused an eternal night on the earth. But sometimes he grew very angry and threatened her with death, so that her heart trembled and grew weak. This caused the sun to eclipse. At this point Le Jeune adds: "They vary so greatly in their belief that one can have no certainty about it" (Le Jeune, 1638a-JR, vol. 12, p. 31).

The Montagnais believed the moon was a woman. Lunar eclipses came when this woman held her son in her arms, preventing her light from being seen. The sun was the moon's husband. He walked all day and she walked all night. In this version, the sun was eclipsed because he also occasionally carried their offspring in his arms. The arms of the sun and moon were said not to be visible because they always held their drawn bows before them. The spots on the moon were believed to be a cap which she wore. The Montagnais said that the son of the moon and the sun (i.e., the darkness of an eclipse) sometimes came upon the earth. Many people died when he walked about in their country.

Comets were thought to be animals with long tails, four feet, and heads. At one time some Montagnais told Le Jeune that they were not sure what animal the thunder was, but that it ate snakes and sometimes trees. They said the Huron believed it to be a large bird (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 223-225). Another Montagnais (possibly Algonkin) version of thunder was that it came from the attempts of the Manitou to vomit up a great snake which he had swallowed. Flashes of lightning were serpents falling to the ground. The serpentine shape of the marks on lightning-struck trees was evidence of the presence of these snakes (Le Jeune, 1638a-JR, vol. 12, p. 27).

Spears were placed with their points up when around the cabins so that the thunder, seeing these bare points, would not come near. Flashes of light that seemed of too long duration to be lightning were interpreted by the Montagnais as a bad omen and a sign of death. They believed that the hail disliked light, and that if torches were carried outside at night, which was when it usually hailed, the hail would stop. They preferred the hail to continue because it helped them catch moose. They did not work when the sky was very red, believing that the wind would blow if one did not remain at rest (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 151; 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 115, 213; 1638a-JR, vol. 12, p. 25).

As a kind of prayer, upon leaving their cabins in the morning little Montagnais children shouted for the porcupines, beavers, and elk

to come that day. When someone sneezed he called out that he would be very glad to see the spring. The Montagnais prayed at various times for the spring, for deliverance from evils, and for similar things. These prayers were expressed as desires, a person calling out very loudly that he would be very glad if such-and-such would happen. No one could tell Le Jeune to whom these prayers were addressed (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 203-205).

The mothers of Montagnais or Algonkin children (or of both—the reference is not clear) hung a piece of the child's umbilical cord around its neck so that it would not grow up to be stupid. In order to have a long life, certain people observed a rigorous fast from time to time. They went alone into a little cabin set apart from the others. Sometimes they remained eight or ten days without eating or drinking. Occasionally the Montagnais put a little elk or moose meat under the fire in order to bring about the recovery of a sick person (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 157; 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 209; 1640-JR, vol. 16, p. 197).

Le Jeune discovered that the Montagnais language lacked a word for "sin." The only vaguely similar word was used to mean wickedness, malice, or a violation of purity (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 137).

SHAMANISM AND WITCHCRAFT

During the winter of 1633-1634 Le Jeune had frequent and bitter controversies with the shaman who was a member of his group. Le Jeune tried to "expose" the "tricks and nonsense" of the shaman and continually heckled him. Almost every passage dealing with his adventures during that winter expresses his hatred for the shaman (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 55-63). Part of this animosity seems to have arisen from the shaman's insistence on the validity of native beliefs and customs. The other Montagnais in the group were not so quick to defend their culture when Le Jeune criticized it.

This shaman was sick, but not seriously so, throughout the winter. Every night he sang and beat his drum in order to cure himself. He told Le Jeune that he had great influence and authority over his fellow tribesmen and that everyone followed his advice. But he admitted that in spite of all his power, his patients often died and he was unable to cure himself. However, his patients, and the Montagnais in general, were dying like flies from diseases introduced by the Europeans. His cures might have been more successful under pre-contact conditions (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 129, 133).

Shamans were called manitousiou or manitousiouekhi. They were said to kill one another with the aid of the Manitou, with charms, with imprecations, and with "poisons which they concoct." Some were supposed to be able to walk upon cabins without breaking them, to become "possessed"

and strike hard blows without injuring their bare hands, and to cover themselves with blood and be healed in a moment. One Montagnais shaman drew a stone from his bag of paraphernalia, placed it upon a shield, and burned it. The Jesuits believed that shamans communicated with the devil.

The Montagnais generally attributed sickness to witchcraft, and a death was usually thought to have been caused by malevolent magic. Shamans were employed to defeat the efforts of those trying to bring about a person's death. Since shamans could kill by magic, they were greatly feared. But they were also sought after, since a shaman could cure a disease caused by another shaman. Shamans also interpreted dreams; apparently certain conventional symbols were recognized. Dreaming of a lot of moose meat was a sign of life; dreaming of a bear was a sign of death. Shamans sang and beat their drums in order to cure the sick, to kill their enemies in war, and to control the success of the hunt. One shaman, possibly an Algonkin however, said he had learned a lucky hunting song in a dream. Shamans also claimed to be able to control the weather (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, p. 159; 1635-JR, vol. 7, p. 69; 1638a-JR, vol. 12, pp. 7-11, 21; L'Allemand, 1627-JR, vol. 4, p. 203; Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, p. 219).

Since shamans were potentially dangerous, the Montagnais greatly feared them and are said to have done whatever they wished. According to Le Jeune, when the shaman called the people to assemble, day or night, in time of plenty or famine, they came willingly. Champlain says that people did whatever a shaman said must be done. Le Caron confirms this (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 227; Champlain, 1922, p. 118; Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, p. 219).

According to Le Caron, shamans did nothing without "presents and recompense." He says that shamans were very clever at turning failures in prediction or curing to good account. This was a necessary talent, apparently, because otherwise the shaman might be "executed on the spot, without any other formality" (Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, p. 219).

The shaman often addressed the people while he was lying down. He drew up one leg and put the other on the knee of the first. He wore only his breechcloth. The others listened in a similar position (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 263).

Le Jeune gives no definite information on how a person became a shaman. One shaman, possibly an Algonkin rather than a Montagnais, said that in order to become a manitousiou he had spent five days and nights in an isolated cabin in the woods, without eating or drinking (Le Jeune, 1638a-JR, vol. 11, p. 265).

Shamans seem to have used several methods for curing sickness. Drums, songs, and beating sticks were usually involved, and a great deal of noise was made. Le Jeune describes an Algonkin shaman's attempt to cure a child. Montagnais procedures were probably very similar. The child lay naked upon some powdered, rotten wood in a bark cradle. The shaman beat and

shook his drum and sang. He approached the child and blew all over its body, beating his drum in the child's ears. The others in the cabin remained silent. The shaman said he believed something black in the child's body was causing the illness (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, pp. 235-237; 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 187).

Once when a Montagnais youth, the son of a dead chief, was ill, two shamans worked to cure him. They had him close his eyes and then they examined his body. They drew a large knife from a bag and seemed to open his side and probe inside him. Next, they produced a small knife covered with blood and showed it to those present, saying it had been placed in the boy's body by the Manitou and was causing the illness. The patient immediately said he felt better. The two shamans mixed some ashes and water and covered the side of the patient at the place where they had seemed to cut it open. They forbade the child and his mother to touch this application, which they said would cure him of his illness. A Jesuit uncovered the spot and showed those present that there was no wound. He tried to convince the people that the shamans were faking. However, the mother of the boy told the missionary that this was the surprising thing: the operation had been done so skillfully that the boy had been relieved, but in no way injured (Le Jeune, 1637-JR, vol. 9, pp. 81-83).

Le Jeune describes how the shaman of his group attempted to cure himself. This description is presented here as a quotation because it seems to give something of the spirit of shamanistic procedure, although it is that spirit as perceived by a missionary.

Occasionally this man would enter [the cabin] as if in a fury, singing, crying and howling, making his drum rattle with all his might; while the others howled as loudly as he, and made a horrible din with their sticks, striking upon whatever was before them; they made the little children dance, then the women; he lowered his head and blew upon his drum, then blew toward the fire; he hissed like a serpent, drew his drum under his chin, shaking and turning it about; he struck the ground with it with all his might, then turned it upon his stomach; he closed his mouth with the back of one hand, and then with the other; you would have said that he wanted to break the drum to pieces, he struck it so hard upon the ground; he shook it, he turned it from one side to the other, and, running around the fire several times, he went out of the cabin continuing to howl and bellow; he struck a thousand attitudes, and all this was done to cure himself. This is the way they treat their sick (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 189).

Le Jeune witnessed a feast at which this shaman seemed to become possessed or to have fallen into some sort of frenzy. When everyone was seated around the fire, waiting for the feast to begin, the shaman, who

had been lying silent, arose suddenly and began breaking the poles of the cabin. He rolled his eyes, cried that he had lost his mind, and asked that the hatchets and spears be kept from him for he was out of his senses. He shouted, fell silent, began to cry, and then to laugh. He sang, hissed, howled like a dog, and screeched like an owl. All the while he rolled his eyes and seemed to be looking for something to throw. He acted the same way the next evening. During this behavior the other Indians merely lowered their eyes. Le Jeune, thinking the shaman might have a fever, felt his pulse and found it normal; his forehead was cool (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 117-121).

One shaman was said to have been seen to enter a state of frenzy, to be lifted up, and to disappear before the eyes of the onlookers. Later that day his robe was found. A few days later he returned, exhausted and unable to say where he had been or what he had done (Le Jeune, 1638a-JR, vol. 12, p. 21).

Occasionally a shaman erected a cabin nearby the camp and stayed in it for eight or ten days. He sang and beat his drum day and night. Others went in to help him sing. Le Jeune believed that "great licentiousness" was carried on, but this is doubtful. He does not give the purpose of this retreat; it may have been some kind of purificatory rite, or part of the shaman's attempts to cure himself (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 209).

Witchcraft

A rival shaman in Gaspé had threatened to kill the shaman of Le Jeune's group, and this was what was causing his illness. He believed he would die in two days if he did not prevent it through his own magic. The shaman had all the women and children leave the cabin, except one woman who sat near him. All the men from the other cabins assembled and everyone sat down. A young man brought in two sharply pointed stakes. Another man prepared little pieces of wood sharpened at both ends. He also took iron arrow points, pieces of broken knives, bits of iron bent like big fish hooks, and similar items, and wrapped them in a piece of leather.

The shaman began to drum and everyone sang loudly. After a few songs, the woman arose and went all around the cabin, passing behind the backs of the men, and then resumed her seat. The shaman took the two pointed stakes and indicated a space on the ground, saying it was the head of his enemy at Gaspé. Then the man who had prepared the little pieces of wood dug a rather deep ditch in the ground, using the stakes to dig with. Meanwhile, the singing continued. The stakes were placed in the ground and the shaman was given a sword, with which he struck one of the stakes. Then he got into the ditch and began stabbing the ground with the sword and with the knife. He took the objects wrapped in leather and put this packet in the ditch, continuing to stab the

ground. The singing increased in volume. Finally he drew out the sword and knife, covered with blood, and threw them down before the others.

The ditch was immediately covered. The shaman said that his rival had been struck and would soon die. He asked if anyone had heard the victim's cries. Two young men said they had heard some very muffled wails, as if from afar. The shaman was highly pleased. The Montagnais said that the "Manitou" had carried the rival shaman's blood under the earth.

Le Jeune observed this rite several times. The only variation lay in what they placed in the little leather packet or "charm." Sometimes parts of porcupines or other animals were included. The shaman's assistant, who had prepared the charm, beat the drum while the shaman was in the ditch (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 195-203).

Another method the shaman used to kill his enemies was to enter the shaking tent and summon the spirits of light, or khichikouai (see under "Divination"). When the spirits came, he sent them after the soul of the person, or persons, he wished to kill. If his enemies belonged to another "Nation" the shaman changed his name. Otherwise his enemy's relatives, learning of his actions, would take vengeance on him. The spirits brought the soul of his enemy in the form of a stone or similar object which the shaman struck with a spear or hatchet until blood ran from it and the weapon was covered with blood. Then the person whose soul was struck fell ill and died. A man who hated another sometimes employed a shaman to kill his enemy in this way (the type and amount of payment is not mentioned). But if the victim happened to see in a dream who was bewitching him, he would recover and the shaman would die (Le Jeune, 1638a-JR, vol. 12, p. 11).

Le Clercq cites a case in which a man consulted a famous shaman to determine what was causing his brother to be ill. The shaman entered the shaking tent and finally divined that the illness was being caused by an Indian living about sixty leagues away. The people present then decided that the sick man's brother should kill the guilty party at once. Apparently this was done, in spite of the objections of the Recollect missionary witnessing the whole event (Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, pp. 192-195).

DIVINATION

The Montagnais divined future events by means of the shaking tent rite. Le Jeune gives a detailed description of one of these performances which he witnessed in 1634. The shaking tents were called apitouagan.

Toward nightfall several young men erected the "tent" in the middle of the cabin by placing six poles deep into the ground so that they formed a circle. The poles were held in place at the top by a large ring which completely encircled them. Then the tent was covered with woolen blankets, except at the top. A tall man could barely reach to the top of the cylindrical tent; it was large enough to hold five or six men standing up.

The cabin fires were put out and the embers were thrown outdoors so that the flames would not frighten the khichikouai. The diviner, a young man, entered the tent by turning up the covering at the bottom. The Indians were careful that the only opening in the tent was at the top. The diviner began to murmur softly; the tent shook gently. A hollow whistling sound was heard, as if from afar, and then a hollow voice and a sound like the screech of an owl. Then singing was heard. The voice was not that of the diviner. The tones were varied and ended in syllables such as ho, ho, hi, hi, qui, qui, nioue. Sometimes the words were Algonkin (described by Le Jeune as more "vivacious" than Montagnais). As the singing continued the tent shook more and more violently until it seemed about to break. Le Jeune was astonished that a man could have such strength. Once the shaking began, it did not stop until the whole performance was over, three hours later.

Whenever the voice in the tent changed, the spectators cried moa, moa ("listen"); then, as an invitation to the spirits, they cried pitoukhecou, pitoukhecou ("enter"). At the sound of a certain voice, the spectators gave a shout of joy, saying that one of the spirits had entered. They said tepuouchi, tepouchi ("call"), meaning that it should call its companions. Then the new voice began to call for the others. The spirits sometimes spoke in a language not understood by the spectators sitting around the tent (Champlain, 1925, p. 88). In the meantime, a shaman who was present took his drum and sang with the voice in the tent, while the others answered. The shaman had some young men dance.

When the spirits were all in the tent the shaman consulted them. He enquired about his health and that of his wife (both were ill). The spirits replied by stating what the outcome of these illnesses would be. The spirits were then asked if there would be snow, if there would be good hunting, and similar things. They were asked where many animals would be found. The voices of the spirits (not the voice of the diviner) answered each time. Some of the answers were vague or ambiguous. At the end of the consultation the diviner quickly left the tent and the cabin. Some sparks had been seen to fly out of the tent during the performance and the spectators were greatly impressed, since the diviner seemed to enter the tent without fire. Some of those who witnessed the performance said that the diviner's body had been carried out of the tent; others said his body was lying on the ground and his soul was above the tent, calling the spirits and throwing sparks of fire from time to time (Le Jeune, 1636-JR, vol. 6, pp. 163-169, 173; 1638a-JR, vol. 12, p. 19).

A shaking tent observed by a Recollect missionary in 1622 is described in Le Clercq. This description agrees well with that of Le Jeune, except that the tent was covered with birch bark and "adorned with hideous figures representing the devil." During the divination the person in the tent rattled a drum. "The earth trembled under his leaps and bounds, while he shook with his hands the posts of his cabin till he sweated blood and water, without taking a moment's rest" (Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, p. 193).

Both men and women entered the shaking tent. Once a man had been unable to summon the spirits and he left the tent. Then a woman entered the tent and it began to shake. Soon the spirits came. They were being summoned to determine whether or not a sick person would die. They answered in the affirmative, indicating whom the sick man had insulted and who, therefore, was taking revenge by sending the wife of the Manitou to devour the inside of the patient's body. The spirits advised the people to make war on the Iroquois. One spirit said that it, or else Atchen (a kind of werewolf, according to Le Jeune), would come and devour them if they built a village and settled down to farming as they had contemplated (6) (Le Jeune, 1637-JR, vol. 9, pp. 113-117).

The Montagnais practiced other types of divination in addition to that done in the shaking tent. Once, at a gathering to determine the success that their hunting was likely to have, a shaman took a spear and turned its point downward. He put a hatchet near it, beat his drum, sang, danced, and walked around the fire. Then he took a nightcap and removed a "grinding stone" from it. He placed the stone in a wooden spoon, wiped for the purpose. Then he lit a bark torch and passed the torch, spoon, and striped stone from hand to hand. All those present carefully examined the stone, but there is no indication as to how the omens were read (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 193).

Sometimes the throat of a bird that resembled a magpie was split open and examined. This bird was believed to eat everything; if a beaver bone, a bear bone, or the bone of another animal was found inside the bird, it meant that the bird's captor would kill that particular animal (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 221).

The Montagnais put a certain flat bone of the porcupine (scapula?) on the fire and then carefully examined it to determine whether they would be successful in hunting porcupines. The gall of a bear was thrown into the fire to see if it would crackle. From the sounds produced, it was determined whether or not other bears would be killed. Once a man threw some pine branches into the fire and carefully listened to their noise in burning, pronouncing some words. The purpose of this was to capture some porcupines (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 215, 221; 1638a-JR, vol. 12, p. 25).

Some of the Montagnais believed they could tell when someone was about to appear from elsewhere by a beating or throbbing in their chests. One Montagnais chief stated that his grandfather had predicted that black

robes (i.e., Jesuits) would come and would be the cause of their death (Le Jeune, 1637-JR, vol. 9, p. 117; 1638a-JR, vol. 11, p. 239).

MYTHOLOGY

Both Le Jeune and Champlain heard the Montagnais relate some of their myths. These myths help to clarify Montagnais religious belief. But it is obvious that even in the longer myths recounted by Le Jeune, he did not feel like writing down the whole of any myth that he heard and remembered. Therefore these are abridged versions.

One myth concerns the flooding of the earth and its subsequent restoration. Messou was going hunting. He hunted with his brothers the lynxes, instead of with dogs. He was warned that it would be dangerous for his lynxes to go to a certain lake nearby. One day when Messou was hunting an elk, his lynxes chased it into this lake and followed it into the water. When they reached the center of the lake they sank beneath the water. Messou arrived and sought his brothers everywhere, but he failed to find them. A bird told him that certain animals or monsters held his lynxes under the lake. Messou jumped into the lake to rescue them, but instantly the lake overflowed and the waters increased until the whole earth was flooded.

Messou was greatly astonished. He began thinking about creating the world anew. He sent a raven to find a small piece of earth with which he could rebuild the world. The raven found none, because the whole earth was covered with water. Messou had an otter dive down to get some mud, but the waters were too deep for it to reach the bottom. At last, a muskrat descended and brought back some mud.

With this bit of dirt Messou restored everything. He remade the tree trunks and shot arrows against them; the arrows changed into branches. He reestablished everything and took vengeance on the monsters that had captured his lynxes. While doing this he transformed himself into many kinds of animals in order to fool the monsters. Finally he married a muskrat. The children of this union reseeded the earth (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, pp. 155-157).

A Montagnais chief told Champlain a shorter version of what may be the same myth. After some supernatural being (called "God" by Champlain) had made the world, he took a number of arrows and put them in the ground. Then he drew out men and women, who multiplied from that time up to the present (Champlain, 1922, p. 111).

Le Jeune gives the following myth. A man and a woman were in the woods when a bear came and strangled the man. Then the bear ate him. A very large hare attacked and devoured the woman. But it did not touch the child in her womb. A woman passed this place soon after and saw this child, still alive. She took him and raised him as her son, but called him her little brother. She named him Tchakabech. The child always kept his original stature, but he became so strong that he used tree trunks as arrows for his bow. After various adventures (not related by Le Jeune), Tchakabech killed the bear that had eaten his father. In its stomach he found some of his father's hair. He also killed the large hare which had eaten his mother, and found a bunch of her hair in its stomach. This great hare was one of the spirits of light. It was called Michta-bouchiou, "great hare." It was supposed to have been a skilled orator (7).

Tchakabech wished to go to the sky. He climbed a tree. When he had almost reached the top he blew upon the tree, which then grew taller. He continued climbing and blowing on the tree. Finally he reached the sky. The sky was the most beautiful country in the world. After viewing everything, Tchakabech climbed down the tree, building cabins at intervals in its branches. He brought the news to his sister, so that she might go to the sky to stay forever. At first she would not consent, but he described so strongly the beauty of the sky-land that she decided to undertake the difficult journey. She took one of her little nephews with her and went up the tree, Tchakabech going behind to catch them if they fell. At every halt they found a cabin ready. Finally they reached the sky. That no one else might follow them, Tchakabech broke off the top of the tree just low enough so that no one could reach the sky from it.

After they had admired the sky-country, Tchakabech went to set some snares. In the night he arose to look at his snares. He found them on fire and did not dare approach. He returned to his sister and told her what he had seen. She suspected what it was. She told him that it was a great misfortune, for he had caught the sun. She advised him to free it, saying that perhaps it had stumbled into the snares while walking in the night. Greatly surprised, Tchakabech went back. After looking carefully he saw that he really had caught the sun in his snares. Then he noticed a small mouse, took it, blew upon it, and made it become so large that he could use it to extend his snares and let the sun out. The sun, finding itself free, continued on its usual course. While it was caught in the snares, there was no light here on earth (Le Jeune, 1638a-JR, vol. 12, pp. 31-35).

The Montagnais told Le Jeune about a voyage taken by a Nipisirinien (Nipissing). This man traveled a long distance and finally reached the cabin of a supernatural being who gave him something to eat. This being was alone, but his daughter soon entered. It was not known how he came by this girl, for he had no wife. He was surrounded by all kinds of animals which allowed him to touch them without running off. This being did not eat, and hence did not kill animals. He asked the Nipisirinien

what he would like to eat. The man wanted a beaver, which the supernatural easily caught for him. He asked the Indian when he intended to depart; the man said in two nights.

These two nights were two years, for what was a year to ordinary people was only one day or one night to the being who procured food for them. A person was so contented with this being that two winters seemed like two nights. When the Nipisirinien returned to his people he was surprised at how long he had been gone. The Montagnais said that there was only one person who could occasionally go to this place, according to what the Nipisirinien had said (Le Jeune, 1637-JR, vol. 9, pp. 123-125).

A Montagnais chief said that in olden times five men went toward the setting sun. They met a supernatural being who asked them where they were going. The men said that they were looking for a livelihood. The supernatural replied that they would find it there, but the men went on without regard to what they were told. The supernatural touched two of the men with a stone and they were turned into stone. Again he asked them where they were going and was given the same reply; again he advised them to go no farther, saying they would find a livelihood there. But seeing that no food came to them, the men went on. The supernatural took two sticks and touched the first two men with them, turning them into sticks. The last man halted and would go no farther. Again, there was the same exchange of questions and answers. This man stayed there, without going on. The supernatural being gave the man meat, which he ate. Then the man returned to his people and told them what had occurred (Champlain, 1922, pp. 113-114).

The Montagnais believed that a certain man had received the gift of immortality from Messou. It was in a little package. The man was told never to open it. While it was closed, the man was immortal. His wife, being curious, wished to see what was inside the package. She opened it and it flew away. Since then, the Indians have been subject to death (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, p. 159).

A Montagnais chief told Champlain that once there was a man who had a good supply of tobacco. A supernatural being ("God") came to this man and asked him where his tobacco pipe was. The man gave his pipe to the supernatural and the latter smoked it for a while. Then it broke the pipe in many pieces. The man asked why it had broken the pipe, since he had no other. The supernatural took one of its own pipes and gave it to the man, saying that he should take it to his chief and tell him to keep it. If the chief kept it carefully, he and his people would never want for anything. The man took the pipe and gave it to his chief. As long as the chief kept it, the Indians had plenty of everything. But later the chief lost the pipe. Since that time, periodic famines had come to the Indians (Champlain, 1922, pp. 114-115).

A Montagnais said that once two Indians were consulting the khichikouai at the same time, but in different tents. One of these diviners had treacherously killed three men with his hatchet. The khichikouai came and killed this man. Then the spirits crossed to the other tent to kill his companion, but he defended himself so successfully that he killed one of the spirits. This spirit remained where it had been killed, so that the Indians found out how the spirits were made. It was as large as a fist, rather long, and with a somewhat cone-shaped body made of stone. There was flesh and blood in its body, for the hatchet which killed it was covered with blood (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 6, pp. 171-173).

LANGUAGE

By 1632, a kind of jargon had grown up between the Montagnais and the French. It was neither one language nor the other. This is probably the language Le Jeune used when talking to the Montagnais, although he certainly knew Montagnais far better than most of the Frenchmen then in Canada. Le Jeune says that Algonkin differed from Montagnais to the same degree that Provencal differed from Norman French (in the 17th century). He found that the Nibrisiriniens (Nipissings) could understand his Montagnais, imperfect though it was (Le Jeune, 1634-JR, vol. 5, pp. 113-115; 1637-JR, vol. 9, p. 193).

Le Jeune lists some traits of the Montagnais language. While it is far from clear or complete, his description may give some idea of early 17th century Montagnais as it was spoken around Quebec and Tadoussac.

Montagnais had an "infinite" number of proper nouns. It had verbs which Le Jeune calls "absolute," used when there was no specified object to an action. These were replaced by other verbs if the object of the action was specified (8). Different verbs were used to signify an action toward an animate or an inanimate object, although animate objects included such things as tobacco. Verb forms changed if an action terminated on several animate objects, instead of on just one. The verb also changed according to whether the action was a continuing one without specified object, whether it was directed toward objects belonging to the speaker, or whether toward objects belonging to the person spoken to. Actions performed upon land required different verbal forms from actions performed upon water. Again, if the object of the action in either place was animate or inanimate, different forms had to be used.

Different forms of "adjectives" were used according to the type of substantive and whether the substantive was large or small. Adjectives indicated whether the condition existed in the present, in the past, or in the future.

Many words indicated an action on several things together, even though these things were represented by different words at other times. Sometimes these combined forms bore no resemblance to the words used for these things at other times.

Phonetically, Montagnais had fewer "letters" in its "alphabet" than did 17th century French. B and P were not distinguished, nor were C, G, and K. There were no sounds for the French letters F, L, V, X, and Z. When pronouncing French personal names, the Montagnais substituted R for L, and P for V (Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 21-23).

Le Jeune gives two Christian prayers in Montagnais, with interlinear translations in French. The letters used for the Montagnais probably have French phonetic values. These prayers are to be found in Le Jeune, 1635-JR, vol. 7, pp. 152-156.

ENDNOTES

1. The French word used by Le Jeune is matras, which was the name given to a type of dart used with cross-bows. But there is no mention of the cross-bow, nor is there any indication that the atlatl was known or used.

2. If these dishes were not obtained by trade, this is the only indication that the Montagnais made pottery during the period from 1600 to 1640.

3. But see under "Divination," p. 100, where the cabin must have been much higher.

4. It is doubtful that this high degree of organization and planning was characteristic of most Montagnais-Algonkin raids.

5. It seems likely that this was an ideal pattern. Otherwise, the rule of inheritance mentioned previously would be meaningless.

6. As mentioned previously, there are other indications that about this time (1636) some of the Montagnais near Three Rivers and Quebec were contemplating adopting agriculture and a sedentary life, as the Jesuits had long urged. Many of the Montagnais strongly opposed giving up the old way of life. The woman diviner was apparently one of these opponents.

7. A letter written by Le Caron in 1618 mentions "michaboche" in connection with the creation of the earth, in a story resembling "the deluge." No other authors allude to this, and in a later memoir, written in 1624, Le Caron states that Messou restored the earth after the deluge, and no mention is made of Michaboche (Le Clercq, 1881, vol. 1, pp. 135, 217).

8. Often, it is not clear when a "verb" was actually replaced by another stem, or when the form alone was changed, the stem remaining the same.

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