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# Sexual Mores among the Eastern Woodland Indians

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# SEXUAL MORES AMONG THE EASTERN WOODLAND INDIANS

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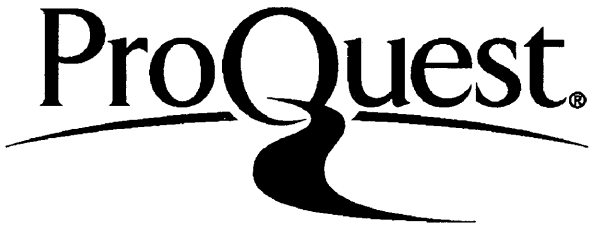

APPROVAL SHEET

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to determine the eastern Woodland Indians' definition of normal and deviant sexual behavior. In this paper "eastern woodland Indians" refers to those Indians who inhabited North America east of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, north of Florida and south of Hudsons Bay during the contact period.

Since the Indians wrote very little autobiographical information, the sources for this paper are early European travelers' accounts, diaries, histories, and the Jesuit Relations, in addition to some nineteenth-, and early twentieth-century materials. For all sources, the writers' biases and the amount of prior European contact with the particular Indian groups were considered in searching for Indian attitudes towards sex. This examination indicated that each tribe had its own definition of deviance and normality. In fact almost the only generalities one can draw are that the Indians abhorred incest, they abstained from sex during menstruation and they did not usually condone homosexuality. Usually these definitions reflected certain general values and concerns characteristic of the Indians, such as economic status determining the number of wives an individual had and the importance of saving face. Two other factors determining the observance of particular mores was whether or not the tribe depended mainly upon agriculture or hunting to provide the majority of food and geographical proximity to tribes bordering on the area defined as the eastern woodlands. European contact, with its accompanying missionaries and alcohol changed Indian attitudes towards sex considerably.

# SEXUAL MORES AMONG THE EASTERN WOODLAND INDIANS

## I. Introduction

The initial purpose of this paper was to define normal and deviant behavior from the viewpoint of the eastern woodland Indians. This, however, proved difficult. Generalizing about sexual norms would be simple if the indians of the eastern woodlands had the same values. Although a few basic attitudes and beliefs were similar, different tribes stressed them differently. Tribes often adopted beliefs and practices from neighboring tribes. The eastern Dakotah and the Ojibwa, for example, followed certain practices which were more common among the plains Indians than with their eastern and southern woodland neighbors.

Then as now, there were conventional people and unconventional people in Indian as well as European society.[1] Indian communities punished any sexual behavior which "substantially departed from normative standards beyond the tolerance limits of the community" and which was regarded as "contrary to the best interests of the community."[2] Different tribes defined their sexual norms in different ways. Normal sexual behavior in one tribe may have been deviance in another. Often tribal lifestyles offer explanations for certain taboos and beliefs. Sexual customs were not static, however. Sexual attitudes began to change after European contact. Missionaries, alcohol, and

disease contributed to the change of Indian sexual norms.

In some cases European standards which were either adopted or imposed were more strict than the Indian norms they replaced. In other cases the Indians norms required more physical and emotional restraint than European, as evidenced by the observance of abstinence during the first year of marriage. In situations such as this the impact of European norms weakened Indian standards.

## II. Childhood and General Attitudes

Indian children began learning their tribe's definition of proper sexual behavior early by observing their parents and other lodge members and playing house.[3] Sometimes children were also encouraged to use sexual innuendoes jokingly with their cross cousins (cousins of the opposite sex born to their mother's brother or their father's sister).[4] When a girl began to menstruate, or sometime before, her grandmother or other older, unrelated woman began to instruct her in proper sexual behavior.[5] Usually young girls were taught to avoid young men after the onset of menses.[6] They could no longer talk with boys because to do so would encourage the boys unduly, and might ruin the girls' reputations.[7] Instead, modesty and decorum guided the young womens' actions.

Most sources agree on the modesty of Indian women. Onondaga women whom John Bartram, a naturalist, saw in 1743

ran away from approaching men.[8] According to one traveler's account from the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Saponi women would not allow men to touch them.[9] On hot days Narragansett women removed a great deal of their clothing but kept it nearby so that they could easily dress rather than allow men (at least white men) to see them naked.[10] Generally, Indian women's language was "always chaste and their expressions proper in the presence of anyone who is to be respected." Lafitau found them almost irreproachable in their modesty: "They walk very modestly and, unless they are entirely lacking in prudence or entirely dissipated they guard their reputations carefully for fear they will not find a suitable husband since every man wishes to have a wife who passes for being and, indeed, is well behaved."[11]

Young men also "maintained certain reserves in public."[12] If a man boasted of his intrigues with women "none of the Girls value [him] ever after, or admit of [his] company in their Beds."[13] Indians could not initiate lovemaking in the daytime for fear of shaming the sun.[14] If a man did, the woman replied that "'Night-time is the most proper season for that' or 'I love thee more than the Light of the Sun (such is their Phrase) listen to what I say etc..' She would give him some affront, and withdraw."[14] In the opinion of Marc Lescarbot, a French lawyer who lived at Port Royal from 1606-1607, the Indians were brutal before the French arrived because they did not kiss or caress in public.[15] In fact, if any Iroquois observed "such behavior

among the Netherlanders they reprove the parties, and bid them seek retirement."[16] Roger Williams, a minister living among the Narragansetts in the first half of the seventeenth century, felt that the reason for such exemplary behavior was that "custome used their minds and bodies to it [abstinence and control]", and lamented that the Europeans did not lead such model lives.[17] Lescarbot's account agrees with Williams' and also suggests that the Indians' lack of "wanton behavior" may have been caused chiefly by "their keeping bare the head, where lies the fountain of the spirits which excite to procreation; partly to the lack of salt, of hot spices, of wine and of meats which provoke desire, and partly to their frequent use of tobacco, the smoke of which dulls the senses, and mounting up to the brain hinders the functions of Venus."[18]

In actuality this behavior was probably the result of the Indians' emphasis on self control and the mastery of all their passions. Lafitau said that the Indians showed "passion very little and do not seem capable of the excesses to which one is often borne by the violence of passion."[19] He found them "little addicted to the act of love. with the exception, however of the people of Florida and hotter countries."[20] The Baron de Lahontan, a gentleman explorer in Canada and the Great Lakes in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the described Indian love as "a tender Friendship that is not liable to all the Extravagancies that the passion of Love raises in such

Breasts as harbor it. In a word," he continued, "they live with such Tranquility, that one may call their Love Simple Goodwill, and their Discretions upon that Head is unimaginable."[21] He noted that the young men "always act with a command over themselves and engage in sex infrequently" and then "only for the Propagation of their Families and the Preservation of their Health."[22] According to some European informants,the women did not always act with as much self control as the men.[23]

Modesty usually kept other activities from the public eye and ear. William Byrd, a plantation owner in early eighteenth-century Virginia, found Saponi women "so bashful they wou´dnot mount their ponys til they were quite out of sight."[24] Nicolas Denys, a settler in Acadia in the seventeenth century, discovered a similar bashfulness among Micmac women who often "held their water twenty-four hours" rather than let men see them "in this action."[25]

Although certain rules of modesty generally guided Indian actions, most tribes usually allowed women some fredom of action prior to their first menstruation. The Ojibwa bands Ruth Landes, an anthropologist, observed in the early twentieth century allowed children to mimic adult sexual behavior without regard to promiscuous or unconventional behavior until the girl´s first menstruation. At that time she must "forget her past freedom, and be guided instead by a standard of primness and timidity."[26] The girl´s parents or grandmother began to serve as her

protectors. The parents often stayed awake at night to prevent young men from visiting, hoping these precautions would prevent premarital intercourse and pregnancy.

In some tribes girls began to engage in sexual intercourse after menstruation whereas other tribes allowed sexual activity before. Samuel de Champlain said that a Canadian Indian girl began to take suitors when she "has reached the age of eleven, [or older] . more or less according to her attractions."[27] Another informant tells us that "The Girls at twelve or thirteen Years of Age, as soon as Nature prompts them, freely bestow their Maidenheads on some Youth about the same age."[28]

Usually native girls were allowed to marry after they began to menstruate.[29] However, girls in the Carolinas waited for several years after their first menstruation to marry, "till a greater number of years . made her capable of managing domestick affairs."[30] On the other hand, men generally married later--between the ages of twenty and thirty, or after they had proven themselves in war or in hunting.[31] In many cases European contact changed tribal custom and Indians began marrying earlier, either because the introduction of European norms caused a weakening of Indian custom. or the Indian population was utilizing early marriage as a survival technique, hoping to increase the number of children born to replace those tribemembers lost to disease.[32]

No matter what the marriage age, it was wrong for

Micmac, Illinois, and Fox girls to have premarital sex, or at least if they did indulge their passions they kept it secret.[33] Talking with boys or associating with girls who did speak with men caused Illinois and Fox girls to look immoral and made it difficult for them to marry well.[34]

Some tribes maintained a dual sexual standard toward premarital sex. These tribes allowed some sexual relationships before marriage, but not between couples who were courting. This emphasized the importance associated with mastering emotion and marrying out of mutual respect and affection rather than lust.[35] In other tribes sexual relationships were permitted before marriage because "a young woman, say they, is Master of her own body, and by her natural Right of Liberty is free to do what she pleases."[36] In some tribes parents offered their daughters to strangers; "to be liked by a great number of gallants increases their merit."[37] The Natchez believed that "on leaving this world there is a plank, very narrow and difficult to pass" at the edge of the spirit world. Only the girls who were the most promiscuous could pass it.[38] If a Micmac girl became pregnant she merely named the father and he would marry her. Bastardy occurred only "when (the child's birth) has taken place in secrecy."[39] Although the Micmacs had formerly considered premarital sex wrong, by the early seventeenth century it was "no longer a crime for a girl to bear children; indeed she is earlier married thereby because there is assurance that she is not sterile."[40] Since a

series of epidemics decimated the Micmac population just prior to 1600, it is likely that this change in attitude was related to the epidemics. The Micmacs suddenly did not have to worry about too many people competing for food, and tribal elders who formerly played a large role in passing on traditions and norms died, leaving fewer persons to enforce the old taboo against premarital sex.[41]

Rather than seeing illegitimate babies as an advantage, some tribes enforced taboos against premarital sex and children being born out of wedlock. In some tribes it was wrong to have a baby out of wedlock. In Indian societies that depended on men to supply most of food and clothing the community supported households and individuals without male providers. Sexual norms among some tribes reflected this communal burden. Although certain tribes allowed girls to engage in premarital relationships, several tribes counted unwed mothers fools and never considered them to be marriageable.[42]

Among the Natchez, however, a girl had a choice. If a Natchez girl became pregnant, her parents asked her if she wanted the child or not. If she said no, and the family was unable to nourish it, the parents strangled the child. If she wanted it, the family and the girl accepted the responsibility to nourish and raise it without the benefit of a father.[43] The Natchez may have allowed this practice because they were not greatly dependent on males for their food.

European contact did much to change attitudes toward premarital sex. Among some of the tribes with which the Catholic missionaries worked, virginity became a cult, an expression of faith in the Blessed Virgin. Where premarital sex had formerly been permitted, after contact it became severely limited by the Indians` new faith.[44] Some Hurons emphasized chastity so much that they no longer allowed little girls to play with little boys.[45] In contrast some tribes that forbade premarital intercourse permitted it after contact with the Europeans.[46] European introduced diseases may have played a large role in the change of Indian norms as the Indians tried to combat the loss of population and through the social disruption caused by the epidemics.

In general, before European contact, most tribes allowed sexual experimentation before marriage. An exception occurs in tribes were in the far North, the Micmac, Illinois, and Fox. Forbidding premarital sex may have been a way to discourage illegitimate births, which were undesirable because of the additional burden placed on the girl´s family and clan when she did not have a provider. All tribes emphasized a control of passion and frowned upon the expression of emotion, especially during courtship.

## III. Courtship and Marriage

Despite the fact that women attained marriageable age

before men, both had to follow tribal norms and prove their capacity for adult responsibility. When a man sought to marry he usually looked for a woman who was quiet, well trained in the management of the household, and a hard worker. A woman looked for a man who had distinguished himself in the hunt and at war.[47] Both parties' families tried to make good alliances. Parents disregarded some suitors because their families were "not very numerous and were consequently poor and held in small esteem" or ones in "which there are personalities difficult to live with, association with whom is carefully avoided."[48]

While everyone sought a handsome spouse, individuals looked for different attributes as one Indian explained to Lahontan:

> Our Women are as fickle as yours, and for that reason the most despicable Man here never despairs of having a Wife; for as everything appears naked and open to sight, so every Girl chooses according to her fancy, without regarding the measures of proportion Some love a well shaped man let a certain matter about him be never so little. Others make choice of an ill shap'd sorry like fellow, by reasons of the goodly size of I know not what; and others again pick out a Man of Spirit and Vigour tho' he be neither well shap'd nor well provided in the nameless quarter.[49]

Personal preference played a large part in an individual's choice, but in some cases more detailed soul searching was in line as when choosing a spouse rather than a hunting companion. Individuals had a greater freedom of choice in some cases because most Indian tribes applied fewer rules to brief alliances than to courtships leading to

a full, ceremonial marriage.[50] A young man seeking a wife among the Hurons first obtained the consent of the girl's parents. He then visited the girl at night, offering her presents. If she accepted, they would be married; if not, he withdrew his suit.[51] In other tribes the suitor first went to the girl, who either turned him away or referred him to her parents, saying her mother was "mistress of her person."[52] Most girls obeyed their parents, and if they did not like their prospective husbands they hid it. Likewise, if the father rejected a man whom the daughter already loved, she was required to forget the match. However, Indian fathers could not force strong-willed daughters to accept men the girls abhorred.[53] A Sauk or Fox man sounded out the girl's opinion of him by making friends with a male relative of the girl.[54] Among the Ottawas and Ojibwas, all the suitor needed to do was to stay with the girl until morning, and they were considered married. a custom more in common with neighboring tribes to the north than with other hunting-farming tribes. In most cases both members were happy with each other. At times, however, parents or guardians objected to such marriages; usually the resentment seemed "to be an expression of sheer wounded pride" at the couples not bringing them into the matter.[55] The parents and grandparents watched the girl's bed to make sure that undesirable young men did not gain access to the girl. If the girl did not know who her visitor was, or wished to refuse him, she awakened the cabin, or struck him.

The girls were taught "to think twice before driving a suitor away lest he be 'shamed' and retaliate by sending bad medicine." If a girl accepted a boy's attentions, he had the right to "return at his pleasure."[56]

Iroquois girls were seldom faced with the necessity of driving off unwanted visitors in the night as Iroquois parents or lodge matrons were "charged with the responsibility of marrying off the boys and girls in it." The girl and the girl's family must not show any "haste to be married" but appear indifferent to the idea. Sometimes the relatives asked the individuals about the matter. "The spirited young people of both sexes are careful to suggest those of the opposite sex whom they like and find honest pretext to avoid those not to their tastes."[57] Some girls could not attract men and were "kept waiting a little longer than reasonable." In this case the "matrons did not fail to intrigue underhandedly for any suitable matches."[58] Oneida women who wished to marry veiled themselves and sat "covered as an indication of their desire whereupon propositions are made to such persons.[59]

Father Louis Hennepin, a Recollect missionary who accompanied La Salle, described a method of courtship among the Iroquois which had very little courting attached at all. "A savage unmarried man goes to a maid or unmarried Woman; without more Courtship, he tells her, if she will go with him, she shall be his wife. She makes no reply at first," Hennepin tells us, "but pauses a little while holding her

head betwixt both her Hands while she is considering what to do." Meanwhile the man "holds his head in the same posture, and stands silent." If the woman agreed, she said, "Netho or Niaoua, which signifies I am content. That night the woman then takes as much wood as she can carry and places it at the entrance of the man's lodge, and sits near him. Neither caress, but sometime later lay down next to each other and are considered man and wife."[60] Although Hennepin is not considered a wholly reliable source, enough of this description fits in with other Indian practices--such as laying the wood at the lodge door, staying the night being recognized as marriage that it is quite possible that this description is true.

On some occasions, Ojibwa fathers initiated their daughter's courtship. The father announced to the village that he had had a vision or dream instructing him to organize a war party which included his daughter. Each warrior was encouraged to act boldly and to prove himself, marriage to the daughter being the reward. This was relatively unusual; the daughter had to be very desirable and the father willing to use "her popularity to further his own ambition of raising a large command, since he knows that more warriors will flock to him in hope of love than in hope of mere glory."[61]

While courting, the couple guarded their behavior carefully. A Micmac or Algonquin suitor could not look at the girl, "nor speak to her, nor stay near her, unless

accidentally, and then he must force himself not to look her in the face, nor to give any sign of his passion, otherwise he would be the laughingstock of all and his sweetheart would blush for him."[62] The admonition not to speak with young men became even more important while courting, "for as soon as a young man notices that a girl looks at him frequently and afterwards whispers to some one of her companions, he conjectures that she is in love with him, and usually he is not mistaken," Pierre Liette, an explorer in the seventeenth century, tells us. The man "neglects no opportunity to take advantage of this and spies out the time when she goes to the woods or to her field. He begs her to listen to him, and assures her of his love. The girl, half overcome already, does not answer a word, which is an infallible sign among them that she loves him." He then "appoints a rendezvous with her and sometimes obtains without delay all that he desires. Accordingly a really well-conducted girl should avoid gatherings where men are present, in order to be esteemed and married with ceremony."[63]

Many tribes limited nocturnal activity during courtship to talking.[64] Some missionaries had difficulty believing this. In 1640 Father Paul Le Jeune related one of these misunderstandings among his Hurons:

> A young man not yet baptized, who was wooing a Christian girl, went to see her at night. At first this girl did not rebuff him, but listened to his conversation, which so scandalized the

> Christians that we were immediately informed of it. We summoned her and reprimanded her sharply, reproaching her with behaving like a profligate who did not believe in God, and telling her that even the caresses of this young man at such a time were sinful. This poor girl, greatly surprised, replied to the Father who chided her, "My Father, it is true that I have listened to this young man, but he did not caress me. I am not French; I have seen Frenchmen trifling with girls, caressing and kissing them, but this is not our custom,--those who seek us only talk to us, and then go away. Believe me," said she, "when this young man was speaking to me I remembered very well that I was a Christian, and that I was unwilling to offend God. I merely told him that he should address himself to you in this matter. . . I assure you that I have done nothing wrong, beyond listening to him, conducting myself according to our ancient customs.[65]

In most marriages among the Northeastern hunter-farmers a young man made marriage presents (valuable items such as guns, furs, horses, etc.) to the "intended father-in-law, or if he is dead or absent, to the girl's nearest relative."[66] Often the bride was expected to return the honor by giving objects needed in housekeeping such as pots, blankets, and wood.[67]

In addition to the bridal presents, or sometimes in place of them, a groom served the girl's family. During this time "he must give all the furs of moose and beavers which he kills in hunting" to her family.[68] This period of servitude commonly lasted a year, but in the Illinois country it lasted until the couple's first child was born.[69] This custom may have been borrowed from neighboring tribes to the north.[70] The origin of the practice may lie in the difficulty of obtaining food during the winter. The new

husband's servitude may have been acceptable as proof that the man could provide for his new family. Divorce based on the grounds that a spouse could not provide for his or her family was allowed. However, this does not prove or disprove this theory.

Frequently women who chose not to marry became "hunting companions." A man took a woman along with him on the hunt so that he would have someone to do all the womanly chores such as make moccasins, dress the meat, and tan the hides. At the end of the hunt, the man gave her "a Bever or two and send/s/ 'em back to [her] Cabin." If the man was already married, he "[goes] home to [his wife] as tho [he] has done nothing blameable: but if the last pleases [him] best, [he] take/s/ her [and] turns away the first without more ado."[71] Sometimes the couple married upon their return. In this case the youth gave "her parents part of his hunt, probably a horse, or some goods and a little whiskey, telling them that he means to keep their daughter as his wife: if the old people accept of the presents, the young couple live peaceably together with his or her relations and so end that ceremony."[72]

Some women preferred life as a hunting companion and never married, contending that they were of "too indifferent a temper to brook the conjugal yoak, to bear the passing of the whole Winter in the Villages." Instead of censuring this behavior, parents and relations usually approved.[73] Both parties were "free from any engagement with the

former."[74] The tribe considered children of such alliances legitimate and lawful, except for "one thing, namely, that the noted Warriors or counsellors will not accept of 'em for their sons-in-law, and that they cannot enter into Alliances with certain Ancient Families."[75] This was probably because they did not come from powerful or respected families. Women who engaged in these relationships often took pride in them. Adriaen Van der Donck, a Dutch lawyer who observed the Mohawks in the mid-seventeenth century, noted that when these women became "old they will frequently boast of their connexion with many of their chiefs and great men. This I have heard from several aged women, who deemed themselves honoured for having been esteemed."[76]

Father Gabriel Sagard, a Recollect working among the Hurons in 1623, described these hunting companionships. Huron men could keep girls "on terms of supplying food and fire," Sagard wrote. "They call them, not wives, Atenonha, because the ceremony of marriage has not been performed, but Asqua, that is to say, companion, or rather concubine; and they live together for as long as suits them . going freely at times to see their other friends, male or female and without fear of reproach or of blame, such being the custom of the country."[77]

Among the Iroquois these common-law arrangements could turn into recognized marriages. Iroquois law specified that if a man and woman lived together for a certain length of time, the two became man and wife just as if they had

married in a ceremony. Often the bridegroom was not willing. Sometimes just before the "wedding hour" the man chased away the woman who claimed to be his wife, saying she was a concubine.[78]

Most tribes allowed a man as many wives as he could support. A few tribes, however, may have practiced strict monogamy.[79] The majority of men in a village might have had one wife while powerful men (the chiefs or shamans) or excellent hunters had more than one, giving the appearance of a monogamous society when in reality the tribe accepted polygyny.

Several accounts describing the Hurons graphically illustrate this point. In 1635 Father Brebeuf, a Jesuit missionary, found the Hurons to be monogamous, but in 1637-38, a co-worker, Father Le Mercier, mentioned one Huron captain who had several wives.[80] Father Le Jeune also recorded that the Hurons were polygynous.[81] Father Hennepin elaborated, saying that the Huron men often had two wives "but not for any long time" which may also explain the discrepancy.[82] Pierre Charlevoix, a Jesuit explorer and teacher in Canada in the early eighteenth century, also noticed that "some nations have wives in every quarter where they have occasion to sojourn for a while in hunting time and I have been assured," he continued, "that this abuse has crept in some time since amongst the nations of the Huron language who were always before satisfied with one wife."[83]

In most tribes a man rarely had more than one wife

because it was difficult to maintain a large family. In other cases a man had only one wife because he feared strife between the wives.[84] Some men among the Illinois and a few other tribes preferred to marry sisters "as they agree better together in the same lodge."[85] This custom is more in keeping with plains tribes than other Eastern woodland Indians. One tribe in Virginia only allowed men to take another wife if their first wives were past childbearing age.[86]

Some tribes theoretically allowed polygyny but censured those who actually practiced it.[87] This may, however, be a misunderstanding of the levels of recognition accorded particular wives. Usually in tribes practicing polygyny, one wife had more authority and recognition than the others. "The Algonquin give especial distinction to this one whom they call 'the one of the entrance of the lodge,' where the place of honor is, as distinguished from the others whom they call those of the center," Lafitau wrote. "The latter are, as it were, servants of the former, and their children are thought of as bastards and plebians in comparison with those born of this first, legitimate wife."[88]

Several justifications for polygyny existed, especially among the upper echelons of Indian society. Indian men commonly regarded polygyny as a sign of power. Having more than one wife increased the number of children the family could have, which was an advantage in gathering followers for war parties and acts of revenge. Large families also

multiplied the number of alliances possible through marriage connections. Large households helped sagamores or "captains" entertain because women did the most of the domestic work and were responsible for preparing feasts. The more women these men had, the more impressive their feasts were likely to be.[89] Among tribes whose women maintained sexual abstinence from conception until the end of lactation (such as the Narragansetts, Micmacs and Algonquins), a second wife relieved the sexual stress placed upon the husband.[90]

Although many sagamores were powerful enough to have several wives, some chose to have only one. One of these chiefs named Membertou had only one wife in order to avoid the squabbling that would occur between the wives.[91] One powerful Abenaki sagamore, however, had eight wives. Some of the Fox men Father Allouez met during his missionary efforts in the last quarter of the seventeenth century had ten wives, one wealthy Natchez husband had twelve, and Samuel Hearne's northern Indian guide had "no less than seven, most of whom would for size have made good grenadiers."[92]

European contact greatly affected the number of wives Indians had. The Jesuits arduously discouraged polygyny and soon began to abolish the practice.[93] Proselytizing often confused Indians caught in the cross-currents of two radically different cultures and had many sad results. One Huron convert typified this dilemma in 1637: "On the one

hand you forbid me to kill, and on the other you prohibit me from having several wives; these commandments do not agree," he said to one of the missionaries. "Of the three wives I have married I love only one, whom I wish to keep with me; I send the other two away, but they return in spite of me, so that I must either endure them or kill em."[94]

Rather than abandon their wives and adopt Christianity, some Indians clung to tradition and followed their shamen.[95] Other Indians were set adrift between European and Indian values. Mary Jemison, a white woman who was raised as a Seneca, had a metis son whose polygynous marriage caused his more acculturated brother to chastise him. Unable to bear his brother's rebukes, the first son murdered his brother and became an outcast in both societies.[96] In a "holy uprising" among the Delawares in 1748-1749, a band of Indian prophets "introduced" polygyny, saying that by marrying two or more wives religious men could "lead them [the wives] in the way to God and the enjoyment of eternal felicity."[97]

European contact produced different results for the Micmacs. Denys remarked that the Indians did not have as many wives as before because they could no longer support more than one wife. The drive for furs and the addition of European hunters to the hunting population reduced the number of animals in the forest; while brandy affected the Indians' marksmanship.[98]

Although polygyny was common, polyandry was not.

Lafitau and Charlevoix mentioned that among the Senecas "there prevails . a much greater disorder still, namely a plurality of husbands."[99] Landes cited one case of polyandry among the Ojibwas in the early twentieth century, but in this situation the Indian woman believed that her first husband was dead. When he returned, her current husband, a white man, allowed the first husband to remain. The Indian couple probably accepted the situation because the woman owed a great deal to the white man, and the white man, an authoritative figure, had sanctioned the situation. In most cases if a woman committed polyandry the tribe ridiculed the man greatly--wondering what sexual powers the woman had, and what kind of man would share a wife. Gossip usually prevented such a situation from lasting long. If a man found that his wife had married another he usually divorced her. Landes points out that when an individual was "succeeded or replaced in love" he was "defeated in general or shamed. To be sure, co-wives are faced with the same emotional problem, but the forms dictate that their resentment is improper; whereas with the men such an attitude is obligatory."[100]

Women's roles in marriage and courtship were always different from those of men. Women played a passive role and were married earlier than men. The most autonomy a woman could enjoy was if she was a hunting companion or a concubine--and even then she did not have much. Among the Northeast hunter-farmers the family or couple was the basic

unit and life depended on having a male provider. Whereas men could care for themselves in the woods doing women's work if forced to, it was less common to have a woman supporting herself and her family singlehandedly. Because of this situation, the Ottawa and Ojibwa put little ceremony upon marriage, and only tried to prevent undesireables from sleeping thru the night. Other more sedentary tribes seem to have had more ritual associated with courtship and marriage. Parents usually played a large role in the choice of a spouse and may be the origin of the practice of limiting nocturnal visits to talking, thus preventing an unwanted child or marriage by fait-accompli. European contact again changed the course of courtship and marriage. Priests and missionaries discouraged nocturnal courting visits and encouraged monogamy which a great number of Indians accepted.

IV. Abstinence

Marriage, however, did not always signal the beginning of a couple's sexual life together. Indian tribes commonly observed periods of abstinence during menstruation, pregnancy and lactation, and at other times through their lives. In many tribes couples abstained from sexual intercourse for six months to one year after marriage.[101] Charlevoix noted that "a young woman would even be pointed at who should prove with child the first year of her

marriage."[102]

Abstinence for newlyweds served several purposes. Sometimes the marriages were child marriages, and consummation was delayed for several years.[103] Carolina fathers found abstinence to be good financial insurance since the tribe forbade intercourse until the groom remitted the bride payments in full.[104] Northern tribes thought that abstinence after marriage proved that the couple married "not to satisfy lust, but out of admiration and friendship."[105] One newly married Micmac convert assumed that his wife's rejection of Indian religion meant a rejection of Indian ethics; "lacking due respect for the ancient customs," he "wished to prevail in the European way." But "the bride was so much horrified and so angry that, although the marriage arrangers had sufficiently consulted her inclinations, they could never force her to return to this indiscreet husband."[106]

The general motive for encouraging abstinence just after marriage was to prevent the birth of children during the first year of marriage in case the couple proved incompatible. Usually Indian divorces for childless couples were easy and had no stigma attached. This was not the case after children arrived.[107]

Indian couples tended to stay together for the children's sake. If a couple divorced after they had children, the divorce put stress on the Indian community. In most societies the children stayed with the mother; this

increased the burden on her family and kinsmen who had to provide her with game since she had no husband to hunt for her.

European influence did much to change the practice of abstinence for newlyweds. The Sieur de Diereville, a surgeon in Acadia at the begining of the eighteenth century, mentioned that in 1708 the Abenakis still observed this convention but noted that "they have since realized that they were wasting in chastity the most precious period of their lives" and in observing it "had to endure too much misery in depriving themselves of the joys natural to their youth."[108] A few years later Lafitau wrote that the tribe abolished the custom, although vestiges remained which were strong enough so that "any wife who is pregnant before the end of the first year becomes the subject of gossip and looses a little of her reputation."[109]

Whether they were married or not, women in most tribes abstained from sexual intercourse during menstruation. The majority of woodland tribes believed that menstruating women had great evil powers and were dangerous to the masculine community. For most tribes, women separated themselves from their families, living out the period in huts especially built for this purpose.[110]

Many tribes also restricted sexual activity during pregnancy.[111] It was a woman's duty to inform her husband as soon as she suspected she was pregnant. "Her husband, glad she is with child, will have no further contact in the fear

of doing harm," Diereville wrote. "But this rule is not very consistently observed, and there are many husbands who are willing to endanger the packet."[112] If Fox couples did not abstain, they feared that the fetuses would "begin to move around" and "be filthy when they are born," possibly referring to birthmarks.[113] Other women in the Great Lakes region maintained that "sexual intercourse ruins the nourishment which the child receives from its mother, weakens it, and may cause an abortion."[114]

The length of time required before sexual relations resumed after the birth of the child varied from tribe to tribe. Some women remained in special huts on the edge of the villages for thirty to forty days for purification rites after giving birth,[115] during which time the husband was not to see the child or its mother.[116] Lahontan specified that this purification period lasted "30 days if the Child be a Boy, and for forty if it be a Girle."[117] Cherokee wives absented themselves "from their husbands and all public company for a considerable time . Muskogee women separated for three moons exclusive of that moon in which they are delivered."[118]

Evidently the purification period ended the practice of sexual abstinence. John Lawson, a naturalist traveling in the Southern colonies in the early eighteenth century, and Alexander Mackenzie, an explorer in Canada in the last decades of the eighteenth century, found that a mother nursed the child until she became pregnant again.[119] A

Micmac women would abort the fetus if she became pregnant while nursing because she felt she could not nourish two children at one time.[120] In fact it was for this reason that women in most tribes continued the period of abstinence until they weaned the child, usually when it was three to four years old, but sometimes not for six or seven years.[121] In a society which faced certain lean periods this fear of not being able to nourish more than one child is understandable, especially when mother's milk was the child's main source of food.

Fear of inability to nourish a child was not enough to encourage all couples to abstain. Most tribes censured women who weaned their children early or did not observe abstinence.[122] If Cherokee or Muskogee women violated "this law of purity" not only were they censured, but they would also "suffer for any sudden sickness, or death that might happen among the people, as the necessary effect of the divine anger for their polluting sin."[123]

Although many woodland women were required to abstain from sexual activity, their husbands were free to engage in sex with other partners. Sometimes men were allowed to have extramarital affairs to relieve sexual stress, while polygyny provided an outlet in other tribes.[124]

Some men, however, observed a period of sexual abstinence beginning three days before going to war and ending three days after their return.[125] One common explanation for abstinence in this case was that "commerce

with Women exhausts their [the warriours] strength, weakens their knees and renders them heave in the Course."[126] Abstinence before going on the warpath was practiced partially to produce dreams favorable to war and to obtain good luck.[127] Huron men abstained from their wives before gambling for similar reasons.[128]

A Cherokee warrior wounded in battle was protected from sexual intercourse; his only nurse was a "superannuated woman who was past the temptations of sinning with men." This tribe feared that a younger woman would "either seduce [the patient] to folly, or she having committed it with others . might thereby defile the place and totally prevent the cure." The Indian physician worried a great deal about allowing "polluted persons" to visit his patients "lest the defilement should retard the cure, or spoil the warriors." In order to prevent accidental defilement he would ask a visitor "to assert . that he has not known even his own wife, in the space of the last natural day," even if the visitor was one of the priests.[129]

Indian women also used abstinence as a method of birth control. Diereville tells us that although the Micmacs were "very amorous," they would "deprive themselves for long periods of the pleasures they enjoy with their husbands, regarding as concubines those who have numerous children."[130] This may have been a hold-over from a time when the Indians were more concerned with overpopulation. Denys found that the Indians of Acadia did not fear having

many children (which may have been a male view) and that they could have many children several wives rather than one.[131] Sometimes women drank mixtures in order to produce abortions but not usually unless they were already nursing one child, or for other extenuating circumstances. Other potions simply prevented pregnancy.[132]

Reasons for Indian observance of periodic abstinence seems to fall in one of two categories: as a method of birth control necessitated by economic considerations, or spiritual considerations. Two examples of economic considerations were the payment of marriage debts and the avoidance of divorce between couples with children. Considerations involving the spirit world were beliefs such as the supernatural powers associated with pregnant or menstruating women and in the pursuit of favorable spirits such as in gambling and while on the warpath. European example aided in the breakdown of the observance of abstinence at least in the case of abstinence for newly-weds.

## V. Celibacy, Barreness, Love Potions and Sexual Cures

In addition to abstinence for the encouragement of friendly spirits, certain religious ceremonies emphasized sexual abstinence. Many other sexual observances had religious associations. Certain Indian religious practices required celibacy or virginity in order to gain the aid of

the spiritual world. at other times intercourse was used as a cure. The spirit world also played a part in the manufacture of aphrodesiacs, sterility, and cures for barrenness. In the sixteenth century the St. Lawrence Iroquois had a religious order of virgins (the Ieouinnon) who lived in a community somewhere near the island of Montreal in "public houses" reserved for them.[133] These girls never left their cabins except to attend ceremonies dedicating bark used in canoe manufacture. Usually they spent their days in "busy-work," not doing any heavy labor. Tribal elders chose a young boy, who was replaced "before maturity had been able to render him suspect", to take food, water, wood, and other "essential things" to the Ieouinnon.[134] The Iroquois kept this order until Europeans gave the virgins brandy, which evidently caused them to break their vows; "When some of them had too conspicuously dishonored their profession," the tribe's elders secularized them.[135]

The Iroquois and Hurons also had a celibate order for men. These men lived somewhat like hermits--outside the community and without any personal possessions. Although it is difficult to determine the celibates' exact role, Father Francois du Peron wrote his brother that "they must obey perfectly all that the devil suggests to them."[136] Thus they may have been a special type of sorcerer or apprentice. The Iroquois sorcerors also could not eat "any food cooked by a married woman," but instead had to satisfy themselves with

the food old women or maidens prepared.[137]

Another Huron custom emphasizing virginity was the annual "marriage" of their fish nets to two young virgins. "The ceremony of these espousals took place at a fine feast where the seine was placed between the two virgins."[138] This ceremony blessed the nets so they would catch many fish.

European writers found practices requiring virginity interesting. They were scandalized, however, by practices requiring sex, such as the prescription of sexual intercourse by medicine men. If a dream instructed the patient or if the medicine man himself called for it, the medicine man announced an "orgy" to cure an extreme illness. In one case the medicine man assembled all the young girls in the village and asked them "which young men they would like to sleep with the next night."

> Each named one, and these were immediately notified by the masters of the ceremony and all came in the evening to sleep with those who chose them in the presence of the sick woman, from one end of the lodge to the other, and they passed the whole night thus, while the two chiefs at the two ends of the house sang and rattled their tortoise-shells from evening to the following morning, when the ceremony was concluded.[139]

Rather than have all the village youth participate, one Huron man dreamed of twelve particular couples and named a thirteenth girl for himself.[140]

Medicine men also administered love potions and fertility drugs. Patients consumed some of these medicines, but one Delaware love charm was constantly carried "by one or the other of the parties and is believed to keep man or

woman faithful. Such a charm is even declared to have had the effect of making a woman run always after her husband, until weary of life she has destroyed herself, or of similarly affecting a man."[141] Wampanoags used white salmon as an aphrodesiac for unamorous partners.[142]

William Byrd who was interested in Indian drugs wondered why few Indian women failed to have children. While surveying the boundary line between Virginia and the Carolinas, he asked his Indian guide. The Indian told Byrd that if any woman "did not prove with child at a decent time after marriage" the husband went on a six-week-long bear meat diet. Byrd attested to the efficacy of the prescription, mentioning that after eating much bear on this trip and returning home, "all the men of our company were joyful fathers within forty weeks after they got home and most of the single men had children sworn to them within the same time, our chaplain always excepted."[143] The Montagnais, however, believed that bear meat caused sterility among women and prohibited all young married women and girls of marriageable age from eating it.[144]

Indians feared that other things would cause sterility. In addition to bear meat, Montagnais thought that pike heads resulted in sterility if women ate them.[145] In 1639 Huron women feared that contact with converts caused barrenness.[146] Women feared sterility as it was just cause for divorce in many tribes. Barren Delaware women changed husbands "until some man who has children already takes

her."[147]

Most women did not have anything to fear, however. In 1827 Thomas Forsyth an Indian agent among the Fox and Sauk, estimated that "the proportion of sterile women to them who bear children, are about one to 500" and that the average Fox and Sauk woman had three children.[148] The threat of sterility from eating certain meats was probably related to concern over the offense of game animals' spirits if their bodies were not eaten, cooked or disposed of properly. Several accounts said that Indian women were prolific, but performing heavy labor caused miscarriages and birth defects.[149] Although some missionaries thought that the number of children any one woman had was low, they generally agreed that barrenness was rare.[150]

## VI. Extramarital Relationships

Missionaries often mistakenly blamed the low birth-rate on promiscuity among the Indian women. They probably believed them to be promiscuous because they worked among tribes that allowed extramarital relationships and freedom in premarital sex and divorce. Extramarital relationships, although allowed in some societies, were taboo in others.[151] Sometimes Europeans mistook the ease of separation, sexual experimentation before marriage, polygyny, and the agreement between hunting companions for adultery. The tribes may also have practiced marital fidelity prior to the advent of

the Europeans but were no longer so strict afterward, or they may have recognized particular instances when extramarital relationships were allowed.[152]

Two persons who accompanied La Salle upon his voyages, Henri Joutel and Father Louis Hennepin, may have had such misconceptions about the Illinois. Joutel informs us that "Adultery is not reckon'd any great Crime among them, and there are Women who make no Secret of having had to do with French men."[153] It may be that Joutel used the term "adultery" in a broad sense, perhaps including sexual relationships with unmarried women since all other accounts referring to the Illinois agree that they punished tribesmen who committed adultery.[154] Another reason for Joutel's comment may be that wives were punished for adultery, but husbands were not always punished. Hennepin mentioned that Indian women "have no inclination to Constancy they can't keep their Conjugal Vows inviolated, and are very ready to leave their Husbands."[155] He probably confused the ease of divorce with adultery. Some writers only mentioned that wives were constant; whether this means that extramarital affairs were immoral is uncertain.[156] In some tribes men tried to start adulterous relationships because they considered stealing another man's wife a "brave thing," even though the tribe considered extramarital relationships wrong.[157]

Several tribes permitted extramarital relationships only under certain circumstances, and usually allowed more

opportunities for men than for women. Iroquois men could have extramarital affairs during their wife's periods of prescribed abstinence during menstruation, pregnancy, and lactation.[158] In some tribes women could have extramarital relationships only with their husbands' permission. In these cases the husbands usually chose the extramarital partner for their wives.[159] Noblewomen among the Natchez reversed the prevailing order of things. They were free to have extramarital affairs with anyone they wanted, but they punished their erring husbands.[160] These women only married men from a lower caste offers an explaination for why they were able to punish when other women endured.

Other tribes did not allow extramarital activities in any circumstances. In these tribes the wronged spouse could choose from a variety of punishments for transgressing couples.[161] In most cases the injured party executed the punishment on the adulterous partner. If an Iroquois husband committed adultery, his wife could meet the concubine to recover any portion of the hunt the husband had given her. The husband took "no interest in this matter but if his wife takes occasion to torment him by her bad humour and reproaches, he bows his head and says nothing." However, if the wife was the adulterous party, the husband punished her directly, "dissimulating his jealousy as best he can, and making it a point of honor not to appear upset." Instead, the husband returned "to his wife with interest her infidelities to him, thus preparing her to suffer less pain

when he leaves, abandoning her."[162]

More evidence exists for husbands punishing wives than wives punishing husbands, and for the husband to punish the woman and allow the man to go free rather than punishing both. A Massachusett man or a husband in the Great Lakes region could choose to punish both the usurped wife and her lover.[163]

A Muskogee husband was obliged to punish both the wife and her lover. As soon as he discovered his wife's infidelity, he roused his relatives to go off and catch his rival because "of the two, he is the more capable of making his escape." He could not "allow partiality," because "if he punished one of them, and either excused or let the other escape from justice, . . . he would become liable to such punishment as he had inflicted upon either of the parties."[164] On the other hand, husbands in the Carolinas demanded retribution from their rivals because a woman was considered a "weaker creature, and easily drawn away by the Man's persuasion for which Reasons they lay no blame upon her."[165]

Most women were not as fortunate as their Carolina sisters. A Wampanoag woman faced a "sound thrashing," the loss of her husband and "everything that she has," in addition to public ridicule if she "addicted herself to fornication." If she caught her husband with another woman, however, she was "permitted to draw off his right shoe and left stocking" and tear off "the lappet that covers his

private parts, give him a kick behind, and drive him out of the house."[166] This treatment did little more than expose the unfaithful spouse to ridicule, but loss of face was no light matter. Emphasis on pride and self-esteem was often so great among the Delaware that when the wronged party discovered his or her spouse's unfaithfulness, he or she sometimes committed suicide rather than face the ridicule of the community.[167]

Usually, the least punishment an adulterous spouse could expect was separation.[168] Most often spouses had no choice in the matter, but Huron and Iroquois couples separated on mutual consent after the disclosure of an extramarital affair.[169]

Separation did not carry with it a great stigma, but other punishments differentiated sexual offenders. Many women convicted or suspected of adultery lost their noses, which were either bitten or cut off.[170] Others lost both their ears and noses.[171] Sometimes the husband or his relatives scalped the woman as if she were an enemy, as indeed they believed she was.[172] The Miamis fashioned a less painful alteration in the adulterous woman's hairstyle when they completely shaved her head.[173]

Another method of punishment was for the wronged party to beat the offender. Sometimes the enraged spouse beat the adulterous spouse, sometimes the lover, and sometimes both of them.[174] Among the Narragansetts, if the cuckold killed his wife's lover, the murdered man's family could not

revenge his death.[175] This was not the case among the Illinois, however, who expected the husband to pay the dead man's family the gifts normally required in murder cases.[176]

Instead of beating or killing their rivals, Delaware husbands devised a punishment with an ironic twist. "If one has seduced the wife of another, the offended party will seek to seduce the wife of the offender," wrote David Zeisberger, a Moravian missionary among the Delawares in the late eighteenth century. "He will keep his purpose a secret and not rest until he has obtained satisfaction, when he makes known to others what he has done so the original offender may hear of it."[177]

Illinois and Miami husbands administered a punishment with a more sarcastic bite: "They post about thirty young men on a road along which they know their wives must pass in going to the woods," wrote Pierre Liette, a trader, explorer, and army officer at the turn of the eighteenth century. "As soon as they see her, the husband issues from the ambuscade and says to his wife: As I know you are fond of men, I offer you a feast of them--take your fill. Her cries are futile. Several of them hold her, and they enjoy her one after the other."[178] Antoine La Mothe de Cadillac, a government official and explorer also in the Great Lakes region at the turn of the eighteenth century, elaborated: "All the others follow suit, sometimes two or three hundred men, who are not disinclined to assist in such a punishment. Usually the woman dies, but sometimes she recovers." The

Illinois thought this punishment "befits the vice of an unfaithful woman and that, since she is so lustful, it is just that she should be satiated."[179]

Such instances of gang rape were basically punishments devised for the wronged individuals to regain face. Among the Indians of the Carolinas, the lover made restitution to the husband in the form of gifts in order to help the husband overcome his shame and regain position in the community.[180] In other cases the only way for the injured party to regain his self-esteem was to put the adulterous party to death.[181]

In general most tribes punished a woman's extramarital affair if she conducted them without the consent of her husband. Men had much more freedom in contracting extramarital affairs as the only two tribes which recognized a woman's "injury" from their husband's infidelities were the Natchez (and then only in the case of Noblewomen) and Iroquois, a fact which reflects the larger amount of authority allowed women in these two tribes. The most common punishment for extramarital affairs was separation. New England tribes, Hurons, Iroquois and Micmacs did not seem to use physical mutilation as a deterrent, although it was common for Indians in New England to beat their erring wives. Only the Illinois and Miami used gang rape as a punishment--a custom more commonly found among the plains and subarctic tribes.

## VII. Divorce

Although separation often resulted from the disclosure of an extramarital affair, in most tribes couples could separate whenever they wanted.[182] Powhatan chiefs gave their wives away on such frivolous grounds as they "had grown wearie" of them.[183] Zeisberger observed that the frequency of divorce among the Delawares was directly proportional to age: "Only as the parties advance in age and cannot so readily form other connections were matrimonial relations apt to be permanent."[184]

Also among the Delawares some greedy individuals took advantage of the ease of divorce and urged girls who did not like their prospective husbands to live with them for a short time and told them that "if she is not pleased, to leave him again. Thus it happens that women will go from one to another for the sake of the gifts."[185] Couples in the Carolinas could separate, but if the woman remarried, her new husband had to repay the first husband the woman's bride price.[186]

Men among the Fox and other tribes tried for long marriages and did not divorce their wives unless they had very good reasons.[187] An individual did have the ability, however, to "oblidge his wife to return if he pleases."[188] Usually the "good reason" for divorce was sterility, adultery, or the inability to provide for a spouse.[189] Hennepin wrote that some couples stayed together from twelve

to fifteen years, and were "ready to go distracted if their Husband is a good Hunter and leaves them: sometimes they are so grieved at it, that they poison themselves."[190]

According to most accounts the Ottawas had the most stable of all marriages among the eastern North American, tribes and rarely divorced their wives. However, they too could separate given good reason.[191] There are two possible reasons for the success of Ottawa marriages. Since the couple chose each other in the first place they may have been more compatible. Also, since the basic unit was the family rather than the whole tribe for much of the year couples stayed together by necessity. Women whose husbands abandoned them without cause could take everything the men owned, "tear out his hair and disfigure his face. In a word there is no indignity or insult which she may not lawfully inflict on him without his being able to oppose her there in if he does not wish to become the butt of ignominy in the village", wrote Nicolas Perrot, former lay servant to the Jesuits, trader, interpreter, and government representative who was in the Great Lakes region at the end of the seventeenth century. "She may strip him when he comes back from hunting or trading, leaving him only his weapons; and she takes away (even) these if he positively refuses to return with her."[192] A woman who left her husband without "being forced to it by his ill conduct must pass her time still worse."[193] In tribes in which desertion or lack of a mate (male or female) could spell death or at least a burden

on the clan, it was necessary to have punishments such as this to discourage desertion on a whim.

In most tribes children complicated what for childless couples was an easy procedure. Couples rarely separated after having children, unless the offense was too great to overlook. If by chance the parents did divorce, they quickly found other mates.[194]

European missionaries succeeded in hindering the ease of divorce among several tribes. Although the Micmacs allowed divorce, they rarely practiced it by 1616, a change possibly brought about through the adoption of Christianity and the influence of the Catholic missionaries.[195] According to Cadwallader Colden, Surveyor General of New York in the mid-eighteenth century, by 1772 European ministers managed to eradicate, or at least seriously inhibit, divorce among the Mohawks.[196]

In general, all tribes allowed divorce upon mutual consent and in the event that a spouse could not perform his or her duties as in the case of sterility or inability to provide food or other things necessary to life. Although divorce was allowed in many cases, Indian couples tried to remain together. This inclination was strongest among the Fox, Iroquois and other tribes in which the parents or clan leaders arranged the marriages. In this case avoiding divorce was an indication of the unwillingness to affront the people who arranged the marriage as a separation would mean that the marriage arrangers did not do their job

properly.

## VIII. Mourning

The death of a spouse was another separation which had great impact on an individual's sexual life. Most tribes prescribed a period of mourning lasting from one to four years "even if they (the couple) have not been happy."[197] In 1820 Major Morrell Marston, commandant of Fort Armstrong in present-day Illinois, wrote that a Sauk or Fox woman had to wait one year before her mourning period was over, whereas a Fox woman in the early twentieth century said that her uncle advised her to wait four years to remarry.[198] It is possible that the difference lies in the interpretation of what constituted mourning. Charlevoix found that some Indians in the Great Lakes region observed two periods of mourning, a "grand mourning" and "another more moderate, which lasts for two or three years longer."[199] Some Huron and Illinois spouses prolonged their period of mourning in order to show their love and esteem for their lost spouse.[200] Although Micmac and other Acadian tribeswomen whose husbands had died of natural causes "tarryied a while" before remarrying, women whose husbands were murdered continued to mourn their loss until the death was revenged.[201]

In special circumstances the deceased's relatives shortened the bereaved's mourning period. Civil chiefs in the Great Lakes area were not under obligation to remain

widowers after six months' time, because they "cannot get along without women to serve them, and to cultivate the lands which produce their tobacco and all (else) that is necessary for them to be prepared and to receive those who come to visit them, and strangers who have any business regarding the tribe."[202] Warchiefs, however, were not exempt from the law and were "oblidged to spend two years as widowers."[203] If a man was not a good hunter, "or if he does not please the family of the dead woman, they content themselves with making him a present and telling him to look for his comfort where he can find it."[204]

During the mourning period the bereaved spouse performed many rites in order to show his or her grief and respect for the dead. Usually the period of mourning lasted longer and was more severe for widows than for widowers. Among some tribes permitting polygyny only the first wife observed the laws.[205]

Generally a new widow observed the mourning period "by cutting off her hair, and not using any grease on it; she combs it as seldom as she possibly can, and it is always bristling," Perrot wrote. "She also goes without vermilion

Her clothing is but a wretched rag, sometimes a worn-out old blanket, sometimes a hide black with dirt, so wretched that it cannot be used for anything else."[206] Although he may have been guilty of artistic licence, Lescarbot mentioned that women among the Micmacs and Abenakis "daubed their faces with coal dust and grease"

until it reached "the thickness of a knife."[207] Indian widows studiously neglected their appearance. "[They] must lay aside all ornaments, wash but little, for as soon as she makes some pretentions at cleanliness, combs and dresses her hair, it is reported that she is anxious to marry."[208]

In many cases widows could not speak to anyone unless it was absolutely necessary.[209] They always had to act as if they wanted to be left alone in their grief. They could not show any sign of pleasure or go to any of the tribal dances or other social events.[210] Father Lalemant wrote that Huron widows did "not warm themselves even in Winter, they ate cold food, they did not go to the feasts, they went out only at night for their necessities" for at least ten days during their great mourning.[211]

Some tribes did not believe in allowing excessive lamentation and women refrained from weeping for fear of tribemembers "mocking them" and saying "a thousand insulting things."[212] Muskogee and Chickasaw women, however, lamented in "very intense, audible strains" especially at sunrise and sunset, noon, and whenever they went out to their fields for the first year of their widowhood.[213]

In some cases a woman went to her husband's relatives' home to live. She had to work diligently and give the relatives all that she produced. "She continues to render the same services to the parents of her husband and yields in entire submission to all that they command her to do, as she did when he was alive."[214] Delaware women could not eat

any meat that was brought into the cabin "for the Indians were superstitiously persuaded that their guns fail if a widow should eat of the game they have killed."[215] Abenaki widows could eat only the game killed by a "married man, an old man, or a prominent person of the nation." One widow, Le Clercq heard, starved "rather than eat moose or beaver which was left in her wigwam even in abundence, because it was killed by a young man."[216] Micmac widows whose husbands were murdered could not "eat flesh until they have had vengeance for his death."[217]

In the early twentieth century the Fox believed that dreaming of the deceased was an omen of the dreamer's death;[218] this notion may have originated in a belief Lahontan recorded: In the Great Lakes region if the spouse dreamed of the "deceas'd bedfellow, they poyson themselves in cold blood . If the surviving Party dreams but once of the Deceased, they say that the spirit of Dreams was not sure that the dead person was uneasie in the Country of Souls, for as much as he only pas'd by without returning, and for that reason they think they are not obligd to go keep him Company."[219]

Lahontan also mentioned that a widow would "make herself Miscarry when the Father of the Child dies, or is killed before she is brought to bed . because without that Precaution she would never have another Husband."[220] But Lahontan is not entirely reliable and his is the only account of this belief. Many widows did not have the

problem of finding a husband at the end of their mourning period; if they had behaved well, the brother of the deceased married the woman in order to "raise up children to his dead brother."[221] If no male relative was available, the dead man's relatives suggested someone in the village or gave the widow presents "as a testimony rendered to her virtuous behavior," and told her to choose her own husband.[222]

The period of mourning for Cherokee widows normally lasted from three to four years; but if the deceased's family "deemed her circumstances of living so strait as to need a change of her station" and if she had been "known to lament her loss with a sincere heart," they would release her from her mourning. One of her brothers-in-law slept with her "thereby exempting her." This plan had its drawbacks because "warm-constitutioned young widows keep their eye so intent on this mild beneficient law, that they frequently treat their elder brothers-in-law with spirituous liquors till they intoxicate them, and thereby decoy them to make free, and so put themselves out of the reach of that mortifying law."[223] Among the Sauk and the Fox, if a man had been murdered his widow sometimes married the murderer. Relatives required replacement as well as many presents rather than demanding the criminal's death because the additional death "will not bring the dead to life."[224]

When a Micmac woman contracted a second marriage, the oldest son took care of his siblings in a second wigwam.

"This was for the purpose of avoiding bad treatment by their step-father, and in order not to cause any trouble in the housekeeping."[225] In most cases, however, if a woman already had children to support her, and she was not given a husband, she would not remarry.[226]

Since many tribes believed that the spirit of a dead individual lingered at his home for quite a while after death, it is not surprising that the Muskogees and Chickasaws utilized the same punishments for individuals who did not observe the mourning law as they did for adulterers.[227] Among the Illinois "the relatives of the deceased would lift [the widow's] scalp as if she were one of their enemies, and would put it in a hoop and hang it at the end of a pole at the top of their cabin."[228] In other tribes, however, the dead man's relatives merely derided a widow who remarried too hastily and "never troubled themselves about her again."[229]

Usually widowers did not have to follow as many rules and regulations as widows did, nor did the mourning period last as long--possibly because a man's position as a provider and defender was too important to the community.[230] Huron and Iroquois men and men in the Great Lakes area observed the same period of mourning as the women.[231] Generally the widower either went to live in the cabin of his wife's family or sent them "the best part of his game or fish or of any other gains" for at least one year.[232] Like the widow, the bereaved husband "neglects his personal

appearance and blacks his face."[233]

The deceased wife's family also gave him one of his wife's sisters or cousins to marry; "but if there are none of these, he accepts a girl who is regarded as suitable .

.He is prohibited from marrying again save with the knowledge and consent of his mother-in-law" or at the will of the dead woman's relatives.[234] If he married without consent "the relatives of his deceased wife would heap a thousand indignities on the woman he had taken .
The relatives would carry their animosity so far that the brothers or cousins of the deceased woman would league themselves with their comrades to carry away his new wife and violate her; and this act would be considered by disinterested persons as having been legitimately perpetrated."[235] Among the Illinois, the female relatives would "invade his cabin and cut up all the skins and break all the kettles."[236] Huron men could expect the relatives to come and "strip him of all he possessed at their first meeting."[237] If the man refused to marry a proposed candidate and took another wife instead, he "thereby exposed himself of all the outrages which the person he rejects shall think fit to offer him," and the tribe considered the second wife a concubine.[238]

Widowers usually did not have to observe as demanding a mourning period as widows. Fewer observers mentioned mourning rites for widowers than for widows. Those that did mention rites for widowers were commenting on northern

tribes. Other differences between northern tribes and southern are a higher frequency of the practice of the sororate and levirate (marrying the dead spouse's sister or brother--a trait common on the plains and sub-arctic) and serving the dead spouse's family during at least part of the mourning period in the north. Northern widows were less likely to remarry if they had children to support them. Great Lakes tribes limited the amount of emotion shown during mourning while southern tribes encouraged extreme expressions of grief. Dream visions again played a part in Fox customs as dreams of a deceased individual were viewed as a call to the spirit world. All widows had to absent themselves from public ceremonies, and studiously neglected their appearance, for to fail in this effort indicated their eagerness to remarry, and could be punishable by death.

## IX. Rape

European observers rarely mentioned rape except as a punishment for the infringement of mourning rites and adultery. It is difficult to determine from the records who the criminals and victims were in rape cases, and whether or not rape was present in Indian society prior to European contact. From the beginning European sailors and explorers raped Indian women;[239] but references to Indians raping each other are sketchy at best.

In 1664 an Indian sexually assaulted a French woman,

but the circumstances and other information are lacking.[240] Father Lafitau noted that the Indians put rapists to death just as they did any other deviant who had flagrantly violated Indian norms.[241] Although he may be incorrect, Van der Donck noted that one particular Indian who was known to have violated several women was allowed to go unpunished. Possibly this man was a powerful sorcerer and was feared by the community.[242] In reference to an extramarital affair, Forsyth said that a Sauk or Fox man would not be punished for adultery "if he has not made use of force " but does not mention rape other than as a punishment elsewhere.[243] Indian warriors did not rape female captives while on the warpath.[244] Adair does, however, mention that some "libidinous" Choktahs "forced their captives, not withstanding their pressing entreaties and tears" as soon as their "time of purgation" or abstinence while on the warpath, had expired.[245] Among the Ojibwas, raping a member of the same village was wrong, but men sometimes sneaked off to other villages and violated women who were alone in menstrual cabins.[246] In this case, rape probably was not punished because of the difficulty in finding the culprets.

Generally, rape seems to have been rare. Father Ragueneau, a missionary among the Abenakis in 1651-1652, wrote that they did not violate one another.[247] The only clear attitude toward rape is among the Miamis, and other tribes inhabiting the Great Lakes region who used rape as a deterrent for adultery and as a punishment for breaking

mourning observances.

## X. Prostitution

Because of the strict division of labor in Indian society, it was virtually impossible for a man to live without a woman. In order to make life more comfortable for visiting men, some tribes supplied women to take care of them. It is possible that this practice, the custom of giving presents while courting and for marriage, hunting companions, and premarital sexual freedom misled some European writers to think that prostitution was allowed in more cases than it really was.[248]

This does not mean that prostitution was not allowed in some tribes, or that it did not exist. On the contrary, in many tribes the community may have promoted prostitution. The Wateree Indians and the Natchez "set apart the youngest and prettiest Faces for trading girls . They are mercenary, and whoever makes use of them, first hires them, the greatest Share of the Gain going to the King's Purse."[249] It is possible, however, that these women were "prostituted" in order to cement friendships between traders, or to provide moccasins and do all of the other women's work unbefitting men. If a trader were to refuse one of these women, the Indians often did not take it well, as John Lawson attested:

> Our landlord was King of the Kadapau [Catawba] Indians, and always kept two or three trading Girls in his Cabin. Offering one of these to some of our Company,who refus'd his Kindness, his Majesty flew into a violent Passion, to be thus slighted telling the Englishmen, they were good for nothing.[250]

Sometimes the girls themselves obtained the majority of the profit. Because some Indian girls were "a little mercenary in their amours, and seldom bestowed their favors out of stark love and kindness,"[251] they augmented their fortunes with gifts gained by sleeping with traders. John Lawson told of the "marriage" of one of the men in his company to an Indian girl who agreed to the match only after seeing the trader's "riches," composed of beads, red worsted wool, and other trade items. Early in the morning the "groom awakened to find his new "bride" gone, along with the contents of his pockets, his "treasure,"and his shoes.[252] Other girls were not so fortunate. Illinois men "would prostitute their daughters or sisters a thousand times for a pair of stockings or other trifle."[253] Mohawk girls would "lie with a man for the value of one, two, or three schillings."[254]

The hardship of being without a man to hunt may have deterred several women from taking up this life. Sometimes women who became prostitutes were widows (possibly these widows found this a way to get necessary provision and protection) or women the tribe had punished for adultery and were dishonored already.[255] In some tribes, prostitutes had distinguishing marks "intended to prevent mistakes for the

Savages of America are desirous (if Possible) to keep their Wives to themselves."[256] Prostitutes in the Carolinas had "a particular Tonsure by which they are known."[257] Delaware women who were not prostitutes were "very careful and circumspect in applying their paint so that it does not offend or create suspicion in their husbands."[258]

European contact changed many tribes' attitudes toward prostitution. Jesuit missionaries did much to discourage the practice of prostituition among the Hurons. By 1637 the missionaries had progressed far enough in restraining it for a sorcerer to admit that if his wife or daughter prostituted herself she would be wrong. However, this may be an occasion where other men's wives and daughters were permitted to act in this manner, although his own were not.[259]

Before the Europeans came, Micmac women did not "barter their bodies."[260] But later Le Clercq noted the cause of a change. Indians had a particularly low alcohol tolerance level and were susceptible to alcoholism. Traders introduced rum and brandy into Indian society and sold the liquor to the women, who bartered all they had to obtain the spirits. Sometimes Indian women became so deeply indebted to the traders that the traders used them as prostitutes and set up brothels.[261] Some traders used brandy "in order to abuse the Indian women, who yield themselves readily during their drunkeness to all kinds of indecency," Le Clercq wrote, "although at other times, they would be more likely

to give a box on the ears than a kiss to whomsoever wished to engage them to evil, if they were in their right minds."[262]

Among the southern tribes prostitution seems to have been present before the Europeans' coming, or at least the basic structure was present. With the advent of white traders who were used to bartering for sexual favors some southern women turned prostitution in their favor and amassed large doweries. In the north, at least among the Micmac, prostitution was not common prior to the coming of the Europeans. It did not take long, however, for the women to fall prey to alcohol and become indebted to white traders who used them as prostitutes.

## XI. Incest

Tribes usually proscribed certain individuals as sexual partners. Almost universally, Indians held incest in abhorrence. A few European writers were confused about Indian attitudes toward incest, possibly because they misunderstood Indian terms. Indians called people they admired and respected "mother," "brother," "grandfather," and so on, which the Europeans misinterpreted.[263] Probably a good example of such a misunderstanding is Adriaen Van der Donck's comment on marriage customs among the Mohawks: "when the parties are young and related, the marriage usually takes place upon the counsel and advise of their

relatives, having regard to their families and character."[264] Van der Donck was very likely mistaken since most of the Iroquois nation had rather strict rules prohibiting incest. If Van der Donck had made this reference to the Ojibwa, a possible explanation is that he was referring to cross-cousin relationships. Some Ojibwa bands allowed sexual relationship between cross-cousins, while forbidding relationships between parallel cousins (children of siblings of the same sex).[265] Another explanation for Van der Donck's mistake reflects the Indians general practice of reckoning relationships unilaterally, an idea foreign to the Europeans. Thus the tribe may consider the father's sister's children in the pool for possible marriage partners, while the mother's sister's children were not, even though biologically the children bore the same relationship. Lafitau wrote of this occurrence among the Iroquois in the early eighteenth century. "The Athonni or father's household is foreign, as it were, to his children so that, in it, the ties of blood are not so binding." In the mother's family any relationship was so strong "that they can scarcely establish themselves in this lodge unless the relationship is so distant there is no other kinship except that of being of the same clan."[266]

Among the Micmacs the only forbidden partners were immediate family members, but for the majority of other tribes the "bounds of sanguinity" extended at least to first cousins.[267] The Cherokees prohibited marriage between second

cousins, while the Wampanoags even counted third cousins unmarriageable.[268] Hurons never allowed marriage "between Relations, let the degree be never so remote."[269] Since the Iroquois and Hurons believed that adopted captives assumed the identity of dead family members, adoptees also fell into the circle of forbidden partners, as one missionary to the Iroquois found out when he proposed the marriage of a captive to a member of the lodge to which she was given.[270] The Cherokees, as well as some other tribes, considered close family friends to be related, thus "the whole tribe reckons a friend in the same rank with a brother, both with regard to marriage, and any other affair in social life."[271] Indians in Virginia extended incest taboos to affinitive, or non-blood, relatives. For instance, a man could not marry a woman and then her sister, even though the man was not a blood relative to the sister.[272]

Punishments for those who ignored taboo lines and committed incest varied in intensity from tribe to tribe. Some tribes openly derided and verbally castigated individuals who lapsed into incest. For some the resulting shame and loss of self-esteem drove them from the village or to commit suicide.[273] The Indians of South Carolina regarded the matter more seriously. This tribe burned the male instigator of an incestuous relationship to death, then threw his body into a river.[274] For a society which maintained high standards of reverence toward the dead, this punishment was extremely dire.

Prior to European contact even the thought of desiring an individual with whom sexual relationships were prohibited was enough to cause shame; but after the introduction of alcohol to the Indian population this was not the case. The incest taboos lost much of their power. Drinking bouts often ended in incestuous orgies which the tribe did not punish because the participants "were not themselves" and "a spirit had possessed them."[275]

## XII. Homosexuality

Missionaries like Le Clercq fought against the use of alcohol because they understood its detrimental effects. The priests also tried to discourage the Indians from forming "particular friendships" among Indian youths, although the missionaries did not understand this institution. In most northern tribes a young man formed a close relationship with a member of the same sex and age "to whom he attaches himself by the most indissoluable bonds," Pierre Charlevoix informed us. "Two persons thus united by one common interest, are capable of undertaking and hazarding everything in order to aid and mutually succor each other," he continued. Even death did not separate them because "they are well assured of meeting again in the other world never to part, where they are persuaded they will have occasion for the same services from one another."[276]

Some missionaries felt that this friendship was much

too close to be natural and bore the taint of homosexuality. However the Jesuits recognized that these relationships were "very ancient in their origin, very clear in their constant usage, [and] sacred in the union which they form." These friendships were "as closely tied as those of blood and nature and can be broken only if one of them makes himself unworthy by cowardly acts which would dishonor his friend."[277]

Homosexuality was "never heard of" among the Carolina tribes, who were "so far from the Practice of that beastly and loathsome Sin, that they have no name for it in all their Language."[278] By contrast the Illinois, eastern Dakotas and Natchez had a special group of men called the "berdaches" who, if they were not homosexuals, were at least transvestites. The tribe prepared these men for their vocation from childhood. "When they are seen frequently picking up the spade, the spindle, the axe [women's tools], but making no use of the bow and arrows, as all other small boys do" their parents dressed them in women's clothes, allowed their hair to grow like a woman's and tatooed them like women. The child also imitated the women's accent which differed from the men's.[279] These men never married, but worked in "the cabins with the women, which the other men think it is beneath them to do."[280] Marquette tells us that if a berdache went to war he could use "only clubs, and not bows and arrows, which are the weapons proper to men."[281] The berdaches may not have limited their sexual

partners as Lahontan said they "frequented the company of both Sexes."[282] Liette, who was no prude in sexual matters, noted that "the women and girls who prostitute themselves to those wretches [berdaches] are dissolute creatures."[283]

The berdache seem to have had some religious and ceremonial significance. They went to all dances and "juggleries" where they sang but could not dance. Among the Illinois and eastern Dakotas, the councils decided no important matter without having each of these men speak.[284]

Although the particular friendships between Indian youths was widespread among both northern and southern tribes, homosexuality was not. The society of the berdache was limited to the Natchez, Eastern Dakotah, and Illinois.

## XIII. Conclusion

In a letter written in 1633 to Jesuit brethren in France, Paul LeJeune commented that

> after seeing two or three Savages do the same thing, it is at once reported to be a custom of the whole tribe. . . . There are many tribes in these countries who agree in a number of things and differ in many others, so that when it is said that certain practices are common to the Savages, it may be true of one tribe and not true of another.[285]

As Le Jeune said, defining normal and deviant sexual behavior is not as simple as it would seem. What was deviant behavior for one tribe was often normal in another.

However, three major considerations-- psychological, spiritual and economic-- reappear in Indian customs. Psychological considerations included the mastery of self and the importance of saving face. Spritual considerations emphasized such things as the importance of dreams, food taboos, and women's menstrual powers. Economic considerations encompassed items such as economic status determining the number of wives and the practice of offering women to visitors. Some tribes emphasized these points differently and thus defined taboos in ways peculiar to their tribe.

Although tribes maintained different taboos, almost all tribes shared a few basic norms. Most tribes promoted abstinence during menstruation and pregnancy, abhorred incest, allowed polygyny, exchanged marriage gifts, and prescribed mourning rites for women. Also, women did not have as much freedom as men. In most cases, women could have extramarital affairs only with their husbands' permission. Women's mourning rites were longer and more severe than men's. Women were subject to their husbands and fathers even among matrilinial/matrilocal tribes.

In other areas distinctions can be made between the hunter-farmers of the North and the farmers of the Southeast. The northeastern tribes allowed hunting-companions--single women who went on hunts to do the womanly tasks. This was necessary as the most fundamental group among the hunter-farmers was the family unit--a man

and a woman and their children, as opposed to the larger village units of the South. Among the Fox, Illinois, Micmac, and possibly the Iroquois premarital sex was originally prohibited, while in the South parents encouraged premarital sex--especially among the Natchez where girls' promiscuity had religious connotations. It is possible that the difference was rooted in the detrimental effect of a child without a father to provide for them in the areas where the feast/famine cycle was much more severe and frequent than in the farming tribes, which could more easily nourish the child without putting undue stress on the family or clan. For similar reasons, among the northern tribes desertion of a spouse without just cause resulted in punishing the deserter.

In many cases the practices of northern tribes were more related to those of their Plains and sub-arctic neighbors rather than to those of the farmers of the South. Northern tribes, like plains Indians such as the Blackfoot, practiced the sororate and levirate and in some cases sororal polygyny, none of which played a large role in the South. Physical disfigurement and use of rape as a punishment was more common to those tribes bordering the plains where this punishment was also used. Ottawa and Ojibwa marriage ceremonies (or lack of them) had more in common with subarctic tribes than with other eastern woodland groups. Among the eastern woodland tribes wife swapping occured only among the Iroquois, Natchez, and

Micmac. Demonstrating friendship by sharing a woman was more common among subarctic tribes such as the Cree and Assiniboines than among the southeastern farming tribes.

This is not to say that all unusual customs were borrowed from neighboring tribes. The Natchez observed many codes unique to themselves. Other tribes also had individual customs associated only with them (such as the punishment of the male instigator of an extramarital affair among the Carolinas).

Common or unique, Indian norms were altered by the coming of the European. The loss of population through disease caused a disruption of norms such as lowering of marriage age, and allowing premarital promiscuity and illegitimacy as the Indians sought to maintain population levels and as the older individuals who had formerly guided the young in codes of proper conduct died. European technology also altered Indian sexual norms by the introduction of alcohol.

Alcohol and the missionary effort probably caused the greatest change in Indian practices. Alcohol aided in the erosion of incest taboos and mourning rites while missionaries discouraged polygyny and other practices. Although Europeans who settled among the Indians and married Indian women may have had some effect in changing Indian ideas, their effect was negligible as the Indian mother bore the largest responsibility in raising the children, and usually the European adopted Indian customs rather than vice

versa. Traders did, however, negatively affected Indian practices in encouraging the shift away from some Indian norms such as abstinence for newly-weds.

Thus the differences are many. Like Le Jeune, we must remember that even among the eastern woodland Indians there was a wide difference in custom, and certain things true of one tribe were not true of others. And yet, many questions remain unanswered. What of oral sex and masterbation? Unfortunatly the cultural informants available do not answer these questions. We must take what we have, sort out the prejudices and circumstances and try to determine the definitions of deviant and normal behavior as each tribe defined them.

[1]Joseph Francois Lafitau, Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times, William N. Fenton, ed., and Elizabeth L. More, trans., 2 vols. (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1974), p. 352.

[2]Robert W. Winslow, Deviant Reality (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1976), p. 18.

[3]Ruth Landes, The Ojibwa Woman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1969), 20. Although Landes wrote this work in the twentieth century, most of the bands she worked with were from relatively remote areas and had not had much contact with Europeans.

[4]Ibid.

[5]"The Autobiography of a Fox Indian Woman," Truman Michelson, ed. and trans., U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Report, no. 40 (Washington, D.C., 1925), p. 307. Hereafter cited as Michelson, "Autobiography." This informant was also from a band which had had very little contact with Europeans.

[6]Landes, Ojibwa Woman, 31.

[7]Ibid., p. 41; Michelson, "Autobiography", p. 307.

[8]It is possible that they were running from him for fear of death, but that is not the inference Bartram gives. John Bartram, Lewis Evans and Conrad Weiser, A Journey from Pennsylvania to Onondaga in 1743 (London: 1751; reprint ed., Barre, Massachusetts: Whitfield J. Bell, Jr. for the Imprint Society, 1973.), pp. 74-75.

[9]John Fontaine, The Journal of John Fontaine, 1710-19, Edward Porter Alexander, ed. (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972), p. 94. See also: Father Chrestien Le Clercq, New Relation of Gaspesia, William F. Ganong,trans. and ed. (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1910), p. 94; Father Biard, "Relation of 1616", in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., The

Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 73 vols. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1901), 3: 103, hereafter cited as JR; Nicolas Denys, The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia), William F. Ganong, trans. and ed. (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1908), p. 407; "Mourt's Relation", in Samuel Eliot Morison, ed., Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), p. 60; Michelson, "Autobiography", p. 309; Father Gabriel Sagard, Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons, George M. Wrong, ed., H. H. Langton, trans. (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1939), p. 141.

[10]Roger Williams, A Key into the Language of America (London: Gregory Dexter, 1643; reprinted in the Collections of the Rhode-Island Historical Society, vol. 1, Providence, Rhode Island: John Miller, 1827.), p. 106.

[11]Lafitau, Customs,1:351. See also: Montagnais (Sagard, Long Journey, p. 141), Fox (Michelson, "Autobiography", p. 307.), Indians in Massachusetts (Edward Winslow, "Winslow's Relation," in Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth from 1602-1625, Alexander Young, ed. [Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1841], p. 364.); Illinois and Miamis (Pierre Liette,"Memoires", in The Western Country in the Seventeenth Century: The Memoirs of Lamothe Cadillac and Pierre Liette, Milo Milton Quaife, ed., [Chicago: Lakeside Press, R. R. Donnelley and Sons Co., 1947), pp. 113-114.), Iroquois (Adriaen Van der Donck, "A Description of New Netherlands", Jeremiah Johnson, trans.,in Collections of the New York Historical Society, Second Series, Vol. 1 [New York: New York Historical Society by H. Ludwig, Printer, 1841], p. 201.), Huron (Le Clercq, p. 250.).

[12]Lafitau, Customs,Ibid.

[13]John Lawson, A New Voyage to Carolina (London: 1709; reprint ed., Ann Arbor,Michigan: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966), p. 187.

[14]Baron de Lahontan,New Voyages to North America (London: 1703; reprint ed., Chicago: A. C. McClurg Co., 1905), 2 vols., 2:453. See also: Van der Donck,

"A Description", p. 199.

[15]Marc Lescarbot, The History of New France, W. L. Grant, trans. (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1914), 3 vols., 3:208. See also: Father Jean Brebeuf, 1635, JR, 8:125; Sagard, Long Journey, p. 121; Le Clercq, p. 150; and Father Louis Hennepin, A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America (London: 1698; reprint ed., Chicago: A. C. McClurg Co., 1903), 2 vols., 2:479.

[16]Van der Donck, "A Description", p. 201.

[17]Williams, A Key, p. 106.

[18]Lescarbot, History, 3:164.

[19]Lafitau, Customs,1:351.

[20]Ibid., 3:212.

[21]Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:452.

[22]Ibid., 2:451, 463, and 541. See also: Timothy Dwight, Travels in New England and New York, 4 vols. (New Haven: Timothy Dwight, pub., 1822; reprint ed., The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969), 4:138.

[23]Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:606. De Rasieres said that women were very much given to promiscuous intercourse. Isack de Rasieres , "Letter of Isaack de Rasieres to Samuel Blommaert, 1628(?)", in Narratives of New Netherland, J. Franklin Jameson, ed. (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, a division of Harper and Row, Pub., Inc., 1909; reprint ed., 1937), p. 105.

[24]William Byrd, Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina including the Secret History of the Dividing Line (n.p.: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1929; reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1967), p. 311.

[25]Denys, Description, p. 407.

[26]Landes, Ojibwa Woman, p. 43.

[27]Samuel de Champlain, Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, W. L. Grant, ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), p. 319.

[28]Lawson, A New Voyage, pp. 34-35. See also: Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:451; and Pierre de Charlevoix , Journal of a Voyage to North-America, 2 vols. (London: 1761; reprint ed., Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966),2:51.

[29]Thomas Forsyth, "Account of the Manners and Customs of the Saulk and Fox Nations of Indians Traditions, January 15, 1827," as published in Emma Helen Blair, ed., The Indian Tribes of the Upper Missippi Valley and the Region of the Great Lakes, 2 vols. (Cleveland,Ohio: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1911), 2:216; Champlain, Voyages, p. 142; Major Morrell Marston, "Letter to Reverend Dr. Jedidiah Morse, November, 1820," in Blair, Indians. . . , 2:165; Lawson, A New Voyage, p. 84; Lafitau, Customs,1:340; Michelson, "Autobiography", p. 311; David Zeisberger, History of the Northern American Indians, Archer Butler Hulbert and William Nathaniel Schwarze, ed., (Cincinatti, Ohio: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, The F. J. Heer Printing Co., Printers, 1910), p. 20; and Thomas Campanius Holm, Description of the Province of New Sweden, Peter S. Du Ponceau, trans. (Philadelphia: M'Carty Davis, 1834; reprint ed., Millwood, New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1975), pp. 126-27.

[30]Lawson, A New Voyage, pp. 34-35.

[31]Liette, "Memoirs," p. 113; Holm, Description, p. 127; Lescarbot, History, Ibid.; Hennepin, A New Discovery, 2:483; Du Pratz, Histoire de La Louisianne, as cited in John R. Swanton, "Indian Tribes of the Lower Miccisippi Valley and Adjacent of the Gulf of Mexico," Smithsonian Institution, U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin, no. 43 (Washington, D.C.: 1911), p. 98; Dwight, Travels, Ibid.. de Rasieres mentions proving himself, but the age may be younger, p.

113-14. See also: Marston, "Letter",p. 165; Van der Donck, "A Description", 198; Zeisberger, History,, p. 20; suggesting a slightly earlier marriage age.

[32]John Heckewelder, History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations (Philadelphia: Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1876; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1971), p. 221; Liette, "Memoirs," Ibid. See also: Zeisberger, History,, Ibid.; and Marston, "Letter", Ibid.

[33]Lescarbot, History, 3:162; Michelson, "Autobiography", p. 321. See also: William Bartram, Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida (London: 1792; facsimile ed., Savannah, Ga.: The Beehive Press, 1973), p. 211.

[34]Michelson, "Autobiography", p. 313, and Lamothe Cadillac, in Milo Milton Quaife, ed., The Western Country in the 17th. Century: The Memoirs of Lamothe Cadillac and Pierre Liette (Chicago: Lakeside Press, R. R. Donneley Sons, Co., 1947), pp. 45, 69.

[35]Micmacs and Abenakis, c.1691 (Le Clercq, p. 238); Huron, c. 1640 (Paul Le Jeune, JR 18:139-41); Illinois, c.1702 (Liette, "Memoirs," pp. 113-14) ; Indians of the Great Lakes and the Missisippi Valley area, c. 1700 (Cadillac, "Memoirs," pp. 45-46; and Charlevoix, Journal, 2:51-52). See also: Le Jeune, 1636, JR 10:167.

[36]Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:453. See also: Narragansetts (Williams, A Key, p. 124); Miamis (Cadillac, "Memoirs,"p. 70); Carolinas (Lawson, A New Voyage, pp. 39-40, 184, 187); Mimac, Abenakis, and Algonquin (Champlain, Voyages, pp.142, 319; and Sieur de Diereville, Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia or New France, Mrs. Clarence Webster, trans., John Clarence Webster, ed. (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1933), p. 145.); Huron (Father Francis Du Creux, History of Canada or New France, Percy J. Robinson, trans., James B. Conacher, ed., 2 vols. (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1951), 1:109; Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:612; Sagard, Long Journey, p. 121, Charlevoix, Journal, 2:116.); Iroquois (Adriaen Van der Donck, "The Representation of New Netherland, 1650", in Jameson, Narratives of New Netherland, p.

302. Hereafter cited as Van der Donck, Rep.); Kadohadacho (Henri Joutel, The Last Voyage Perform'd by de la Sale [London: 1714; reprint ed., Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966), p. 143].

[37]William Byrd, A Journey to the Land of Eden and Other Papers, Mark Van Doren, ed. (n.p.: Macy Masius, The Vangard Press, 1928), pp. 34-35, 97. Hereafter cited as Byrd, Journey. See also: Sagard, Long Journey, pp. 121, 133-34; and Robert Beverly, The History and Present State of Virginia, Louis B. Wright, ed. (Chapel Hill,N.C.: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1947), p. 189.

[38]Penicault in Magry, ed., Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francais dans l'ouest et dans le sud de Amerique Septrionale (1614-1754), Paris, 1877-1886, V: 447-448, as cited in Swanton, Indian Tribes of the Lower Missisippi, p. 94.

[39]Diereville, Relation, p. 145. See also: Champlain, Voyages, p. 320.

[40]Denys, Description, p. 450.

[41]Henry F. Dobyns, Their Number Become Thinned (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennisee Press, 1983), pp. 9-32, and Calvin Martin, Keepers of the Game (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 42-59.

[42]Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:454, 463; Beverly, History, p. 170-71; Lawson, A New Voyage, p. 187; Mackenzie also found this to be the case among the Cree. Alexander Mackenzie, Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Laurence (London: 1801; reprint ed., Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966), p. xcvi (Cree).

[43]Penicault, Decouvertes. . ., p. 94.

[44]Alfred Goldsworthy Bailey, Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures (St. John, New Brunswick: New Brunswick Museum Monograph, 1937;

reprint ed.,Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 100-101.

45JR, 22:185.

46Denys, Description, p. 415, 450; James E. Seaver, A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison (1824, reprint ed., New York: Corinth Books, 1961), pp. 72-73; hereafter cited as Jemison.

47JR, 18:129; and Lawson, A New Voyage, pp. 39-40, 187.

48Lafitau, Customs,1:341.

49Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:608-09. See also: Lafitau, Customs,1:341; Lescarbot 2:247-48; Hennepin, A New Discovery, 2:481; Lawson, A New Voyage, p. 34; Marston, "Letter",p. 165; and Van der Donck, "A Description", pp. 198-99.

50JR, 18:139-41; Lawson, A New Voyage, pp. 39-41, 187.

51Sagard, Long Journey, p. 122. See also: Lawson, A New Voyage, Ibid; Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:454; Michelson, "Autobiography", p. 309; Le Clercq, pp. 260-62; Cadillac, "Memoirs,"pp. 45-46; Le Jeune, 1640, JR, 18:129, 139-141; Nicolas Perrot, "Memoir on the Manners, Customs and Religion of the Savages of North America," as cited in Emma Helen Blair, ed. and trans., The Indian Tribes of the Upper Missisippi Vally and Region of the Great Lakes, 2 vols. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1911), 1:67.

52Sagard, Long Journey, Ibid.; Lafitau, Customs,1:341; Le Clercq, Ibid.; Lawson, A New Voyage, Ibid.

53Perrot, "Memoir",1: 67. See also Lawson, A New Voyage, p. 187; Michelson, "Autobiography", p. 311; and JR, 18: 139-141.

[54]Marston, "Letter",pp. 165-67.

[55]Landes, Ojibwa Woman, p. 56.

[56]Ibid., pp. 43-44.

[57] Lafitau, Customs,1:341.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Van der Donck, "A Description", pp. 199-200. Holm also mentioned that Delaware girls also covered their heads to indicate that they were ready to marry at about thirteen or fourteen. This may actually be an indication that they had had their first menstruation and were thus eligible for marriage. Holm, Description, p. 127.

[60]Hennepin, A New Discovery, 2:478.

[61]Landes, Ojibwa Woman, p. 42.

[62]Biard's relatin of 1616, JR, 3:99. See also: Lawson, A New Voyage, pp. 39-40, 187; Du Creux, History, 1:109.

[63]Liette, "Memoirs," pp. 113-14.

[64]Le Clercq, p. 238; Cadillac, "Memoirs,"pp. 45-46; Lafitau, Customs,1:351; Michelson, "Autobiography", p. 307; Beverly, History, p. 171; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:51-52. The tribes which Alexander Henry saw in the Great Lakes area may also have restricted sexual activity during this period...at least he comments that "children born out of wedlock, are very rare among the Indians." Alexander Henry, Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760-1776 (New York: I. Riley, 1809; reprint ed., Ann Arbor, Michigan: 1966), p. 300.

[65]JR, 18:139-41.

[66]Cadillac, "Memoirs,"pp. 45-46.

[67]Marston, "Letter",pp. 165-67; Le Clercq, pp. 260-62; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:48-54; Perrot, "Memoir",1:64-70. See also: Williams, A Key, pp. 146-48.

[68]Le Clercq, p. 238. See also: Marston, "Letter",Ibid.

[69]Marston, "Letter",Ibid; Forsyth, "Account," p. 212.

[70]William W. Newcomb, Jr., North American Indians: An Anthropological Perspective (Pacifac Palisades, CA: Goodyear Publishing Co., Inc. 1974), p. 116.

[71]Hennepin, A New Discovery, 2:481-82; Joutel, The Last Voyage, p. 175.

[72]Forsyth, "Account," p. 214.

[73]Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:463-64.

[74]Charlevoix, Journal, 2:116.

[75]Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:463-64.

[76]Van der Donck, "A Description", p. 199.

[77]Sagard, Long Journey, pp. 121-22. If a Huron wife talked to a man she risked being punished for adultery.

[78]The differentiation here is between an agreement of cohabitation where the two parties are not considered man and wife and the tribally recognized methods of

becoming man and wife. Lafitau, Customs,1:343.

79Monogamy: Albanel, 1669-70, JR, 53:87-89; Cadwallader Colden, The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada, 2 vols. (New York: Allerton Book Co., 1922), p. xxxii. Polygyny: Cree (Lamberville, JR, 66:111; Henry, Travels, p. 249), Ottawas (Lalemant, 1662-64, JR, 48:117, 127; Allouez, JR, 50:271, 303-305; 50:21, Bailloquet, 1677-80, JR, 61:127; Nouvel, 1671-72, JR, 56:113.), Abenakis, Micmac, and Malecite (Biard, 1611-16, JR, 1:165, 2:79, 3:99-101; Anonymous, 1651-52, JR, 37:217; Bigot, 1681-83, JR, 62:49; Vimont, [1642-44] JR, 25:141; Lescarbot, History, 3:161,166-67; and Denys, Description, pp. 404, 410-11.), Montagnais (Biard [1611-1616], JR, 3:99-101), Catawba and other Indians of Virginia and the Carolinas (Lawson, A New Voyage, pp. 35, 183; and John Smith, General Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles [London: 1624; reprint ed., Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966], p. 38.[hereafter cited as Smith Generall.]), Indians who inhabited present day Rhode Island and Massachusetts (Smith, Generall, p. 240; and Williams, A Key, pp. 124-25.), the Papinachois (Albanel [1669-70], JR, 53:85; and Allouez [1666-68], JR, 51:75.), Iroquois (Van der Donck, "A Description", p. 201; Anonymous [1672-74], JR, 58:77.), Oneidas (Van der Donck, "A Description", pp. 198, 201, 302), Onondaga (Le Mercier [1669-70], JR, 53:47), Seneca (Jemison, A Narrative, p. 106), tribes along the Great Lakes (John Long, John Long's Voyages and Travels in the Years 1768-1788, Milo Milton Quaife, ed. [Chicago: Lakeside Press, R.R. Donnelley and Sons, Co., 1922], p. 121), Sauk and Fox (Forsyth, "Account," pp. 214, 237; JR, 54:219; 50:49, 166; 55:221.), Illinois (Hennepin, A New Discovery, 1:167, 2:468, 651; Allouez, JR, 60:161; Cadillac, "Memoirs,"p. 38; Liette, "Memoirs," pp. 134-35; Marquette, JR, 59:127.), Peoria (Hennepin, A New Discovery, 2:651), Chipewyan (Mackenzie, Voyages, p. cxxiii; Samuel Hearne, A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean in the Years 1769, 1770, 1771, and 1772, J. B. Tyrrell, ed. [Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1911], p. 128.), Delaware (David McClure, Diary of David McClure, Doctor of Divinity, 1748-1820 [New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1899], p. 91; Zeisberger, History,, pp. 21, 81; Holm, Description, p. 126.), Cherokee (James Adair, History of the American Indians, Samuel Cole Williams, ed. [Johnson City, Tenn.: The Watauga Press, 1930], pp. 145-46.), Woodland Souix (Charlevoix, Journal,

1:281), Algonquins (Charlevoix, Journal, 2:48.), Natchez (Hennepin, A New Discovery, 2:482; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:267; Cadillac, "Memoirs," pp. 79-80; Anonymous, "Journal of New Netherland, 1647", in Jameson, Narratives of New Netherland, p. 270.), Pottawatomi (Allouez [1666-68], JR, 51:27.); Miamis (Allouez [1669-71], JR, 54:233).

[80]Brebeuf, JR, 8:119-21; Le Mercier, JR, 14:133.

[81]Le Jeune, JR, 11:177, and 18:99; Du Creux, History, 1:108. See also: Charlevoix, Journal, 2:264-65.

[82]Hennepin, A New Discovery, 2:480. See also: Landes, Ojibwa Woman, p. 66.

[83]Charlevoix, Journal, 2:48.

[84]Some solved the problem of having their wives disagree by keeping them in different villages. This may in actuality be referring to the practice of offering a woman to men without women who pass through the country. Nicolaes Van Wassenaer, "From the 'Historisch Verhael,' by Nicolaes Van Wassenaer, 1624-30," in Jameson, Narratives of New Netherland, p. 70. See also: Charlevoix, Journal, Ibid.

[85]Forsyth, "Account," p. 214; Charlevoix, Journal, Ibid; Liette, "Memoirs," pp. 134-35; Marston, p. 167; Hennepin, A New Discovery, 2:631.

[86]Fontaine, Journal, p. 94.

[87]Le Jeune, 1632, JR, 5:35, concerning the tribes near Quebec.

[88]Lafitau, Customs, 1:336-37; Forsyth, "Account," p. 214; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:48.

[89]Father Biard was intrigued with the relationship of wives to work and power, mentioning the connections

several times in his relations from 1611-16. JR, 1:165; 2:23,79,227-29; 3:99-101, 103.

[90]Williams, A Key, pp. 124-25; Lafitau, Customs,1:339.

[91]JR, 2:23, 227-29. Another chief who did not have many wives was a Huron named Chiwatenhwa whom Le Jeune mentioned in 1638 (Ibid., 15:77-79).

[92]The Abenakis sagamore, the "lord of port Saint John", was named Cocagous and had traveled to Bayonne sometime before 1611. He engaged Father Biard in many animated discussions (JR, 1:165). Another family head, "the Pike" of the Ottawa had four or five wives (Lalemant's Relation of 1662, JR, 48:117). Denys mentioned that the Micmacs generally had three or four wives (Denys, Description, p 404). Captains and great men among the Carolinas also had "three to four girls at a time for their own use" (Lawson, A New Voyage, p. 35.). Allouez, JR, 55:220, 54:219. Hearne, A Journey, p. 128.

[93]JR, 53:47, 85.

[94]JR, 11:177. For similar discussions see: Ibid., 14:133; 18:99, 125.

[95]Ibid., 18:95.

[96]Jemison, A Narrative, p. 106.

[97]Zeisberger, History, felt that whites taught the prophets because aspects of Christianity were mixed with older Indian beliefs. He further noted "that since that period adultery, fornications, and other such abominations have been more frequent among the Indians. The Young began to despise the counsel of the aged and endeavored to get into favor with the preachers whose followers multiplied very fast. Some of the preachers went even so far as to make themselves equal with God." Zeisberger, History,, p. 135. However, a Shawnee prophet said that the Indians were "not to take more than one wife in the future, but those who now had two,

three, or more wives might keep them, but it would please the great Spirit if they had only one wife." Forsyth, "Account," p. 274.

[98]Denys, Description, p. 450.

[99]Charlevoix, Journal, 2:48. Lafitau, Customs,1:336-37.

[100]Landes, Ojibwa Woman, pp. 77-79.

[101]Perrot, "Memoir",1:67; Lawson, A New Voyage, p. 186; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:51; Adair, History, p. 145. Wampanoags and Narragansetts waited six or more "if she be a young virgin." de Rasieres p. 107.

[102]Charlevoix, Journal, Ibid.

[103]Hennepin, A New Discovery, 2:478.

[104]Lawson, A New Voyage, p. 186.

[105]Charlevoix, Journal, 2:51; Perrot, "Memoir",1:67; Lafitau, Customs,1:347.

[106]Lafitau, Customs,Ibid.

[107]Micmac (Le Clercq, p. 262.); Huron (Sagard, Long Journey, pp. 124-25.), Delaware (Zeisberger, History,, p. 79.), Indians in the Great Lakes region (Cadillac, p. 38; Champlain, Voyages, p. 320; Perrot, "Memoir",1:66.), Natchez (Charlevoix, Journal, 2:265.) Montagnais (Le Jeune [1633], JR, 5:111.), New England (Van Wassenaer, "Historich Verhael," , p. 85.).

[108]Diereville, Relation, pp. 145, 142, 144.

[109]Lafitau, Customs,1:347.

[110]Huron (JR, 13:261, 9:123,308-309.), Abenakis (JR,3:105; Le Clercq, pp. 227-28.), Micmac (Denys, Description, pp. 409-10, and Diereville, Relation, pp. 161-62.), Narragansetts and other New England tribes (Edward Winslow, "Relation", p. 364.), Fox (Michelson, "Autobiography", pp. 303-05.),Miamis (Zeisberger, History,, pp. 77-78.), Cherokee (Adair, History, pp. 129-30.), Chipewyan (Mackenzie, Voyages, p. cxii.), Monseys (Zeisberger, History,, Ibid.), Delaware (Zeisberger, History,, Ibid.), Illinois (Liette, "Memoirs," pp. 132-33; Cadillac, "Memoirs,"p. 41; Marston, "Letter",pp. 170-72.) ,Iroquois (Van der Donck, "A Description", p. 201.). The Shawnees and Mingos of Ohio (Zeisberger, History,, pp. 77-78.) and the Hurons (Sagard, Long Journey, p. 67; and JR, 9:123, 308-309; and 13:261.) remained in the family dwelling but still had dangerous, mystical powers attributed to them. See also: Champlain, Voyages, p. 304; Charlevoix, Journal, p. 15; Van Wassenaer, "Historisch Verhael", p. 85; and Johannes Megapolensis, "A Short Account of the Mohawk Indians," p. 178.

[111]Michelson, "Autobiography", p. 317; Williams, A Key, p. 123; Zeisberger, History,, p. 80; Holm, Description, p. 126; Diereville, Relation, pp. 161-62; Van der Donck, "A Description", pp. 200-201; JR, 8:127; Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:458-59; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:55; Lafitau, Customs,1:339.

[112]Diereville, Relation, pp. 145-56, 162.

[113]Michelson, "Autobiography", p. 317.

[114]Cadillac, "Memoirs,"p. 112.

[115]Micmac, 30-40 (Lescarbot, History, 3:200.); Hudsons Bay, 30-40 days, (Hearne, A Journey, p. 131.); Fox 33 days (Michelson, "Autobiography", p. 321.); Cherokee, 40 (Adair, History, p. 224.); Carolinas and Virginia (Lawson, A New Voyage, p. 189.); Great Lakes, 40 (Cadillac, "Memoirs,"p. 41.), 1 month (Perrot, "Memoir",1:48; Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:458-59.).

[116]Chipewyan (Hearne, A Journey, Ibid.), Great Lakes (Perrot, "Memoir",Ibid.; Cadillac, Ibid.),

Carolinas and Virginia (Lawson, A New Voyage, Ibid.).

[117]Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:458-59.

[118]Adair, History, p. 130.

[119]Denys, Description, p. 404; Mackenzie, Voyages, p. cxxii; Lawson, A New Voyage, p. 189.

[120]Denys, Description, Ibid.;Diereville, Relation, p. 148.

[121]Williams, A Key, p. 125; Zeisberger, History,, p. 81; Brebeuf, JR, 8:127; Long, John Long's Voyages, p. 78; Le Clercq, p. 91; Van der Donck, "A Description", p. 201; Liette, "Memoirs," pp. 134-35; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:55.

[122]Van der Donck, "A Description", (Oneidas) p. 201; Adair, History (Cherokee and Muskogee), pp.130-31.

[123]Adair, History, Ibid.

[124]Liette, "Memoirs," pp. 134-35; Van der Donck, "A Description", p. 201; Zeisberger, History,, pp. 80-81; Williams, A Key, p. 125.

[125]Adair, History, p. 171; Marston, "Letter",pp. 157-58; Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:541. Other preparations for war having sexual overtones was a war dance in which women danced naked. JR, 11:215; Lescarbot, History, 2:169; Beverly, History, pp. 222-24.

[126]Hennepin, A New Discovery, 2:483.

[127]Marston, "Letter",pp. 157-58.

[128]Lalemant, JR, 17:203.

[129]Adair, History, pp. 131-32, 246. See also: Sagard, Long Journey, p. 120; Menard, JR, 46:133; Lalemant, JR, 17:147-49.

[130]Diereville, Relation, p. 162. Denys, Description, however, mentioned that the Indians of Acadia did not fear having many children, but this may be the male view, and they they could have many children by several wives rather than by one wife.

[131]Denys, Description, pp. 404, 411. See also: Lescarbot, History, 3:88; Cadillac,p. 39.

[132]Diereville, Relation, p. 145; Mackenzie, Voyages, p. xcviii; Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:607-608; Michelson, "Autobiography", p. 329.

[133]Cartier first saw them on one of his voyages and did not consider them to be the vestal virgins Lafitau described. Lafitau, Customs,1:129-30. See also: Charlevoix, Journal, 2:151-52.

[134]Lafitau, Customs,Ibid.

[135]Ibid.

[136]Letter to Joseph du Peron, 1639, in JR, 15; 181-83. See also Lafitau, Customs,1:130-31.

[137]Van Wassenaer, "Historisch Verhael", p. 68.

[138]Le Jeune [1636], JR, 10:167. See also: Charlevoix, Journal, 1:235-36.

[139]Sagard, Long Journey, p. 120.

[140]The Indians did not conduct this particular ceremony because of the displeasure and pain Father Lalemant and his brothers felt. The man died shortly later from an "ulcer" on his arm. JR, 17:147-49. See also: JR, 46:1133 for Ottawa "feast of fornication," c.

1660.

[141]All was not hopeless, however, as they also had an antidote for this particularly strong medicine. Zeisberger, History,, p. 83. See also: Heckewelder, History, p. 238; and Michelson, "Autobiography", p. 337.

[142]de Rasieres, "Letter,"p. 106.

[143]Byrd, Journey, p. 184.

[144]Le Jeune, 1634, JR, 6:219.

[145]Ibid, 9:119.

[146]Ibid., 17:129.

[147]Zeisberger, History,, p. 85.

[148]Forsyth, "Account," p. 216.

[149]JR, 1:257-58; 3:109.

[150]Zeisberger, History,, pp. 21, 81, 85; Williams, A Key, p. 125; Lawson mentioned that the Carolina soil cured barren women, pp. 84, 190; Van der Donck, "A Description", p. 220.

[151]Two tribes allowing extramarital sex were the Montaignais ( Mgr. Henry Faraud, Dix-Huit Ans Chez Les Sauvages: Voyages et Missions de Mgr. Henry Faraud Dans L'Extreme Nord de L'Amerique Britannique, [Paris: Regus Ruffet and Cie., Successeurs, Librarie Catholique de Perisse Freres, 1866; reprint ed., U.S.A.: 1966], p. 345-46.); and the Huron (Cadillac, "Memoirs,"p. 63; Sagard, Long Journey, pp. 124, 127, 134-35; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:116; and Ducreux, 1:108.). Although these are the only tribes which seemed to unconditionally allow extramarital affairs, many tribes were in a transitional state, allowing extramarital

affairs under certain circumstances, or have conflicting evidence about them due to confusion on the part of the European writers, see numbers 153 and 154 below.

[152]Jemison, A Narrative, pp. 72-73.

[153]Henri Joutel, The Last Voyage, The Last Voyage Perform'd by de la Sale (London, 1714; reprint ed., University Microfilms, Inc., 1966), p. 175.

[154]Hennepin, A New Discovery, 1:167 and 2:651; Liette, "Memoirs," pp. 117-119; Allouez, 1665-67, JR, 60:161; Marquette ,1667, JR, 54:187; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:55; and Champlain, Voyages, p. 143.

[155]Hennepin, A New Discovery, 2:480-81. Zeisberger, History, also made this error with the Delawares. Whereas he comments on their punishments for adultery, he mentions it along with the ease of separation and the great number of wives allowed. See Zeisberger, History,, p. 156.

[156]Fontaine, Journal, p. 94.; Henry Timberlake, The Memoirs of Lieutenant Henry Timberlake (Johnson City, TN: The Wautauga Press, 1927), p. 89.; Lawson, A New Voyage, p. 201.; Byrd, Journey, p. 98. See also Lescarbot, History, 3:165, and Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:458.

[157] p. 174.

[158]Van der Donck, "A Description", p. 201. Generally extramarital affairs were not allowed, but the taboos evidently were begining to deteriorate in some bands.

[159]Iroquois: Van der Donck, "A Description", pp. 199-201 (This reference may only refer to Chief's wives), and David Pietersz De Vries, "Korte Historael ende Journaels Aenteyckeninge", as cited in Jameson, Narratives of New Netherland, p. 218. Virginia: Smith, p. 99. See also: Robert Beverly, History, The History and Present State of Virginia, Louis B. Wright, ed. (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press,

1947. Orig. ed. written 1705.), p. 170. Du Creux, JR, 1:108; Hearne, A Jöurney, pp. 159-60; Mackenzie, Voyages, xcvi; Lescarbot, History, 3:167; Henry, Travels, p. 249; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:116. Natchez: Charlevoix, Journal, 2:276, and Le Petit, JR, 68:140-43. Montagnais: Faroud, pp. 345-46.

160Pierre de Charlevoix, Journal of a Voyage to North-America (2 vols., Ann Arbor: Univ. Microfilms, Inc. 1966, Reprint ed. London, 1761), 2: 265.

161Seminoles and Lower Creeks (William Bartram,Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, a facsimle of the 1792 London ed., Trans. Gordon DeWolf [Savannah, GA: The Beehive Press, 1973], pp. 211, 242.), Assiniboines (Charles Larpenteur, Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri, Milo Milton Quaife, ed. [Chicago: The Lakeside Press, R. R. Donnelley Sons Co., Dec. 25, 1933] , p. 327.), Miamis ( Liette, "Memoirs," pp. 117-119 Cadillac, "Memoirs,"p. 70; Charlevoix, Journal, 2: 49.) Louisiana Indians (Lafitau, Customs,1:353), Muskogee ( James Adair History of the American Indians, Samuel Cole Williams, A Key, ed. [Johnson City, TN: The Watauga Press, 1930], p. 149-53.), Nottoway (Byrd,Journey, p. 98). Massachusetts (William Wood, New England's New Englands Prospect [Boston: John Wilson and Son, for the Prince Society, 1865. reprinted New York: Burt Franklin, 1967], p. 77.; Winslow, "Relation", p. 364), Illinois (Hennepin, A New Discovery, 2:651; Liette, "Memoirs," pp. 117-19; Allouez, JR, 60:161; Marquette, JR, 54:187; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:55; Champlain, Voyages, p. 143.), Pottawatomi (Marston, "Letter",p. 167) Sauk and Fox (Forsyth, "Account," p. 214-15), Iroquois (Diereville,Relation, p. 187; Van der Donck, "A Description", p. 201; Lafitau, Customs,1:352; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:50.), Oneidas (Van der Donck, "A Description", p. 199), Chickasaw (Adair, History, p.149-53), Choctah (Adair, History, p. 152-53), Cherokee (Adair, History, pp. 113, 130, 149-53; Timberlake, Memoirs, p. 89.), Dakotah (Lalemant, 1659-60, JR 45:237; Charlevoix, Journal, 1:281); Narragansett (Williams, A Key, pp. 46, 121, 123-24, 126-27; Winslow, "Relation", p. 364.), Caddo (Joutel, The Last Voyage, p. 111), Virginia (Beverly, History, p. 170.), Cree (Mackenzie, Voyages, . xcvi.), Ottawa (Sagard, Long Journey, pp. 134-35; Perrot, "Memoir",pp. 64-65; Dablon, 1672-74, JR 58:99. See also: Cadillac, "Memoirs,"p. 63.).

[162]Lafitau, Customs,1:352-53.

[163]Liette, "Memoirs," pp. 118-19.; William Bartram, Travels, pp. 211, 242; Wood, New England's, pp. 91-92.

[164]Adair, History, pp. 149-50.

[165]Lawson, A New Voyage, p. 188.

[166]de Rasieres, "Letter,"p. 108.

[167]Zeisberger, History,, pp. 82-83. To further emphasize the importance of losing face see LeClercq, pp. 247-50.

[168]Miamis (Cadillac, "Memoirs,"p. 70.), Assiniboines (Larpenteur, p. 327.), Illinois (Liette, "Memoirs," p. 119; Allouez, JR 60:161.), Narragansett (Williams, A Key, pp. 124, 126.; Edward Winslow, "Relation", p. 364), Caddo (Joutel, The Last Voyage, p. 111.), Ottawa (Perrot, "Memoir",pp. 64-64.), Oneidas (Van der Donck, "A Description", p. 199.), Manhattan and Wampanoag (de Rasiers, p. 108.;Edward Winslow, "Relation", p. 364) Pottawatomi (Marston, "Letter",p. 167.), Massachusetts (Edward Winslow, "Relation", p. 364.; Wood, New England's, p. 77.). Delaware (Holm, Description, p.126.). In some cases separation was in addition to another punishment.

[169]Charlevoix, Journal, 2: 48-49.

[170]Cherokee (Adair, History, pp. 152-53.), Chickasaw (Adair, History, pp. 149-53.), Sauk and Fox (Forsyth, "Account," pp. 214-15.) Pottawatomi (Marston, "Letter",p. 167.), Illinois (Hennepin, A New Discovery, 2:651, 1:167; Joutel, The Last Voyage, p. 175; Louisiana (Lafitau, Customs,1:353.), Miamis (Liette, "Memoirs," pp. 117-18.; Cadillac, "Memoirs,"p. 70.; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:49.), Ottawa (Perrot, "Memoir",pp. 64-65.), Cree (Mackenzie, Voyages, . xcvi.), Dakotah (Lalemant, JR 45:237.; Charlevoix, Journal, 1:281.).

[171]Illinois (Marquette, 1673-77, JR 59:127.; Hennepin, A New Discovery, 2:651), Muskogee (Adair, History, pp.149-53.), Sauk and Fox (Forsyth, "Account," pp. 214-15.).

[172]Eastern Dakotah (Lalemant, 1659-60, JR 59:127; Liette, "Memoirs," p. 119.), Illinois (Liette, "Memoirs," pp. 117-19.), Louisiana's Indians (Lafitau, Customs,1:353).

[173]Cadillac, "Memoirs,"p. 70.

[174]Beat spouse:Edward Winslow, "Relation", p.364; and Holm, Description, p. 126; Adair, History, pp. 149-53; de Rasieres, "Letter,"p. 108. Beat male: Williams, A Key, p. 124;Wood, New England's, pp.91-92; Liette, "Memoirs," p. 119; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:50; and Lafitau, Customs,1:352. Possibly punished both: Long, John Long's Voyages, p.119; Liette, "Memoirs," p. 119; Adair, History, pp. 149-53.

[175]Williams, A Key, Ibid.

[176]Liette, "Memoirs," p. 119.

[177]Zeisberger, History,, p. 77.

[178]Liette, "Memoirs," pp. 117-18.

[179]Cadillac, "Memoirs,"p. 70. See also: Adair, History, pp. 152-53.

[180]Lawson, A New Voyage, pp. 35, 188.

[181]One Iroquois woman was unjustly accused and burned at the stake. Lafitau, Customs,1:352-53. See also: Mackenzie, Voyages,(Cree) p. xcvi; Marquette, (Illinois) 1669-71, JR 54:187.

[182]Northern Tribes (Hennepin, A New Discovery, 2:468,478.); Abenakis (Lescarbot, History, 3:202.);

Chipewyan (Mackenzie, Voyages, p. cxxii.); Micmac (Denys, Description, pp. 404, 410, 450.; Le Clercq, pp. 242-43; Lescarbot, History, 3:165-66.); Mohawk (Colden, History, p. xxxii, xl; Megapolensis,"A Short Account. . . ," p. 174.); Montagnais (Le Jeune, 1633, JR, 5:111.); Mahican (Perrot, "Memoir",1:64,66.). Cherokee (Adair, History, pp. 145-46.); Delaware (Heckewelder, History, p. 162; McClure, Diary, p. 91; Zeisberger, History,, pp. 20-21.); Huron (Lalemant and Vimont, 1645-46, JR, 28:51-53; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:50; Le Jeune, 1636, JR, 10:63; Lalemant, 1616-29, JR, 4:199; Brebeuf, 1635, JR, 8:119- 20, 151-53.); Illinois (Joutel, The Last Voyage, p. 175.); Iroquois (Hennepin, A New Discovery, 2:480; Van der Donck, "A Description", p. 302; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:50; Dwight, Travels, 4:138; Lafitau, Customs,1:350.); Massachusett (Wood, New England's, p. 91; Edward Winslow, "Relation", p. 364; Smith, General, p. 240.); Micmac (Lescarbot, History, 3:165-66; Denys, Description, p. 240.); Oneidas, (Van der Donck, "A Description", p. 199.); Natchez (Charlevoix, Journal, 2:265.).

[183]Smith, Generall, p. 38.

[184]Zeisberger, History,, Ibid.

[185]Ibid., p. 79.

[186]Lawson, A New Voyage, pp. 186-87.

[187]General(Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:455-58; Hennepin, A New Discovery, 2:481.); Cherokee (Timberlake, Memoirs, p. 89; Adair, History, pp. 145-46.); New Netherlands (Van Wassenaer, "Historisch Verhael", pp. 77, 85.); Sauk and Fox (Marston, "Letter",p. 167; Forsyth, "Account," p. 215.); Virginia (Beverly, History, p. 170.).

[188]Forsyth, "Account," p. 215.

[189]Sterility: Abenakis, Le Clercq, pp. 242-43; Delaware, Zeisberger, History,, p. 85; Micmac, Denys, Description, pp. 404, 410; Sauk and Fox, Marston, "Letter",p. 167. Adultery: Massachusetts, Wood, New

England's, p. 91; Mohawk, Colden, History, p. xxxii. Provision: Huron, Lalemant, JR, 29:85.

[190]Hennepin, A New Discovery, 2:481.

[191]Charlevoix, Journal, pp. 80-81.

[192]Perrot, "Memoir",1:64-65; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:49; and Liette, "Memoirs," pp. 139-49. See also: Lafitau, Customs,1:354; Van Wassenaer, "Historisch Verhael", p. 85.

[193]Charlevoix, Journal, Ibid.; Perrot, "Memoir",Ibid.

[194]New Netherlands (Van Wassenaer, "Historisch Verhael", p. 85.); Iroquois (Perrot, "Memoir",1:64.); Illinois (Cadillac, "Memoirs,"p. 38.); Natchez (Charlevoix, Journal, 2:265.); Huron (Sagard, Long Journey, pp. 124-25.); Delaware (Heckewelder, History, pp. 154, 160; Zeisberger, History,, p. 79.); Cherokee (Timberlake, Memoirs, p. 89.); Abenakis (Le Clercq, pp. 242-43.); General (Champlain, Voyages, p. 320.).

[195]Biard, 1616, JR 3:103. Denys, Description, p. 450.

[196]Colden, History, p. xl.

[197]Van der Donck, "A Description", p. 202. See also: Perrot, "Memoir",1:73-74; De Vries, "Korte. . .",p. 223; Zeisberger, History,, p. 88; Holm, Description, p. 114; Denys, Description, pp. 438-39; Jouvency, JR, 1:265; Adair, History, p. 195, 198; Liette, "Memoirs," p. 117; Du Creux, History, p. 125; Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:459.

[198]Marston, "Letter",p. 173.

[199]Charlevoix, Journal, 2:190-92.

[200]Ibid.

[201]Lescarbot, History, 3:167, 301; Adair, History, p. 224(after Poutrincourt).

[202]Perrot, "Memoir",1:73-74.

[203]Ibid.

[204]Ibid.

[205]De Vries, "Korte. . .", p. 223.

[206]In some cases the women did not have to cut their hair, but refused to comb it. Perrot, "Memoir",1:70-73. See also: Anonymous, p. 301; Van der Donck, "A Description", p. 202; Marston, "Letter",p. 173; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:190-92; Adair, History, p. 195; Liette, "Memoirs," p. 117.

[207]Lescarbot, History, 3:162.

[208]Zeisberger, History,, pp. 150-51. Some women covered their heads during the mourning period. Charlevoix, Journal, 2:190-92.

[209]Great Lakes (Charlevoix, Journal, Ibid.; Perrot, "Memoir",1:70-73.); Sauk and Fox (Marston, "Letter",p. 173.).

[210]Marston, "Letter",Ibid.; Le Clercq, p. 228; Perrot, "Memoir",1:70-73; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:190-92; Liette, "Memoirs," p. 117; Holm, Description, p. 114.

[211]Lalemant, JR, 10:275. See also: Charlevoix, Journal, 2:190-92.

[212]Perrot, "Memoir",1:70-73; and Michelson, "Autobiography", pp. 329-31.

213Charlevoix, Journal, 2:190-92.

214Perrot, "Memoir",1:70-73. Forsyth, "Account," 206-07; Michelson, "Autobiography", pp. 329-30.

215Zeisberger, History,, pp. 87-90.

216Le Clercq, p. 228.

217Lescarbot, History, 3:167, 201.

218Michelson, "Autobiography", pp. 329-30.

219Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:459.

220Ibid., 2:607.

221Cadillac, "Memoirs,"pp. 40, 55; Le Clercq, p. 238; Forsyth, "Account," pp. 206-07; Perrot, "Memoir",1:70-73; Zeisberger, History,, p. 88; Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:462; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:49.

222Charlevoix, Journal, Ibid.; Perrot, "Memoir",Ibid.; Zeisberger, History,, pp. 87-88.

223Adair, History, p. 198.

224Forsyth, "Account," p. 187.

225Le Clercq, p. 238.

226Michelson, "Autobiography", p. 337; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:190-92; Denys, Description, pp. 438-39; Le Clercq, p. 228.

227Adair, History, p. 195.

[228]Liette, "Memoirs," p. 117.

[229]Du Creux, History, p. 125.

[230]Zeisberger, History,, p. 88.

[231]Lalemant, JR, 22:289-91; Van der Donck, "A Description", p. 202; Perrot, "Memoir",1:73-74.

[232]Perrot, "Memoir",Ibid.; Zeisberger, History,, p. 88.

[233]Marston, "Letter",p. 173; JR, 10:275; Perrot, "Memoir",Ibid.

[234]Perrot, "Memoir",Ibid.

[235]Ibid.

[236]Liette, "Memoirs," p. 139.

[237]Lalemant, JR, 22:289-91.

[238]Cadillac, "Memoirs,"pp. 39-40.

[239]Lescarbot, JR, 1:67. A Frenchman later tried to rape a Huron convert in 1657. See Paul LeJeune, JR 43:227.

[240]Lalemant, 1664, JR, 48:227.

[241]Lafitau, Customs,1:307-308.

[242]Van der Donck, "A Description", p. 212.

[243]Forsyth, "Account," p. 215.

[244]Colden, History, 1:xxvi. See also Adair, History, (Algonquins and Shawnee), p. 172. and James Axtell, School Upon a Hill; Education and Society in Colonial New England (Princeton: Yale University Press, 1974; Norton Library Edition, N.Y.: W. W. Norton and Co., 1976), pp. 265-7.

[245]Adair, History, Ibid.

[246]Landes, Ojibwa Woman, pp. 31-32, 43, 45.

[247]JR, 37:155.

[248]See LeClercq, pp.250-51; Sagard, Long Journey, p. 121; Lawson, A New Voyage, p. 44; and Clarence L. Ver Steeg, The Formative Years,(New York: Hill and Wang, 1964), p. 156.

[249]Lawson, A New Voyage, pp. 35-36; and Charlevoix, Journal, 2: 264. See also: Sagard, Long Journey, pp. 133-34; and LeClercq, pp. 250-51.

[250]Lawson, A New Voyage, p. 44.

[251]Lawson, A New Voyage, p. 187. See also: Hearne, A Journey, p. 158; Sagard, Long Journey, pp. 133-34; Megapolensis, "A Short Account. . . ," p. 174; Van der Donck, "A Description", p. 199; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:116; Liette, "Memoirs," p. 112; Cadillac, "Memoirs,"p. 69.

[252]Lawson, A New Voyage, pp. 40-41. This may actually be a case where the ability to divorce easily was abused. Zeisberger found that some Delaware girls were being urged to marry when they did not wish to, then to divorce soon after in order to obtain the gifts offered in marriage. Zeisberger, History,, p. 79.

[253]Liette, "Memoirs," p. 112.

[254]Megapolensis, "A Short Account. ," p. 174.

[255]Edward Winslow, "Relation", p. 364; Smith, Generall, p. 240.

[256]Lawson, A New Voyage, pp. 183-84.

[257]Ibid., pp. 35-36.

[258]Heckewelder, History, p. 203.

[259]LeJeune, JR 11:265.

[260]Denys, Description, p. 450; Lescarbot, History, 2:47.

[261]Le Clercq, pp. 251-52, 255.

[262]Ibid., p. 255. See also: Sagard, Long Journey, pp. 133-34.

[263]Ottawa, Ojibwa, Pottawatomi, and other Great Lakes tribes in the 1760s (Henry, Travels, p. 215).

[264]Adriaen Van der Donck, "A Description", pp. 198-99. See also: Peter Lindestrom, Geographia Americae (Philadelphia: Swedish Colonial Soc., 1925), p. 193.

[265]Landes, Ojibwa Woman, pp. 38-44.

[266]Lafitau, Customs,1: 335-6, 338.

[267]Lescarbot, History, 3: 165.Huron(Le Jeune, 1636, JR 10:213, Le Mercier, 1653, JR 38:255; Brebeuf, 1635, JR 8:119, Sagard, Long Journey, p. 123), Abenakis (Denys, Description, p. 410)Iroquois (Lafitau, Customs,1:335-6, Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:206), Indians

of the Carolinas(Lawson, A New Voyage, p. 186), Virginia's Indians (John Smith, "The Fourth Book,"an excerpt from The Generall Historie of Virginia in Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ed., Early Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907 reprint ed. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1946, p. 355. Hereafter cited as Smith, "Fourth Book." and Forsyth, "Account," p. 215) , Manhattan and Wampanoags (de Rasieres, p. 108), Narragansetts (John Lederer, The Discoveries of John Lederer, (London: 1671; reprint ed., Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 1958), p. 13), and Delewares (Zeisberger, History,, p. 81).

[268]Adair, History, p. 199; de Rasieres, "Letter,"Ibid.

[269]Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:206; Charlevoix, Journal, 2:48; Le Mercier, JR,38:255; Sagard, Long Journey, p. 123; Le Jeune, JR,10:213; Brebeuf, JR, 10:119.

[270]Lafitau, Customs,1:335-36. See also: Peter Kalm, Travels into North America, John Reinhold Forster, trans. (Barre, Mass.: The Imprint Society, 1972), p. 364.

[271]Adair, History, p. 199.

[272]Smith, "Fourth Book," p. 355.

[273]Huron and Iroquois (Charles Lalemant, 1616-29, JR 4:199, Chauchetiere, 1678, JR, 63:201), Ojibwa (Landes, Ojibwa Woman, p. 186), Indians in Virginia (Forsyth, "Account," p. 215, and Lederer, Discoveries, p. 13).

[274]Lawson, A New Voyage, p. 186.

[275]Iroquois (Chauchetiere, op. cit.) Abenakis and Micmac (Le Clercq, p. 255) Great Lakes Indians (Henry, Travels, p. 244) and Hudson's Bay area Indians (Mackenzie, Voyages, xcvii; Hearne, A Journey, p. 158, 161.). See also: Landes, Ojibwa Woman, pp.

22,31,33,49.

[276]Charlevoix, Journal, 2:89-90.

[277]Lafitau, Customs,1:361-62. See also: Zeisberger, History,, p. 119.

[278]Lawson, A New Voyage, p. 186.

[279]Liette, "Memoirs," p. 112. See also Dumont de Montigny, "Memoires Historiques sur La Louisiane," Le Mascrier, ed, (2 vols., Paris, 1753) I: 248-49, as cited in Swanton, Indian Tribes of the Lower Missisippi, p. 100.

[280]Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet, "An Account of the Discovery of Some New Countries and Nations in North America in 1673," in B. F. French, ed., Historical Collections of Louisiana, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Daniels and Smith, 1850, second ed.), p. 389.

[281]Marquette, 1673-77, JR, 59: 129. Lahontan and Hennepin disagreed with Marquette and said "they never appear either at Hunting or in the warlike expeditions." However, these two informants are often incorrect in their descriptions. Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:462 and Hennepin, A New Discovery, pp. 167-68.

[282]Lahontan, New Voyages, Ibid.

[283]Liette, "Memoirs," p. 112.

[284]Marquette and Jolliet, "An Account. . . ," p.389. See also: Marquette, 1673-77, JR 59: 129; Lahontan, New Voyages, 2:462.

[285]Le Jeune, JR, 6:27.

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