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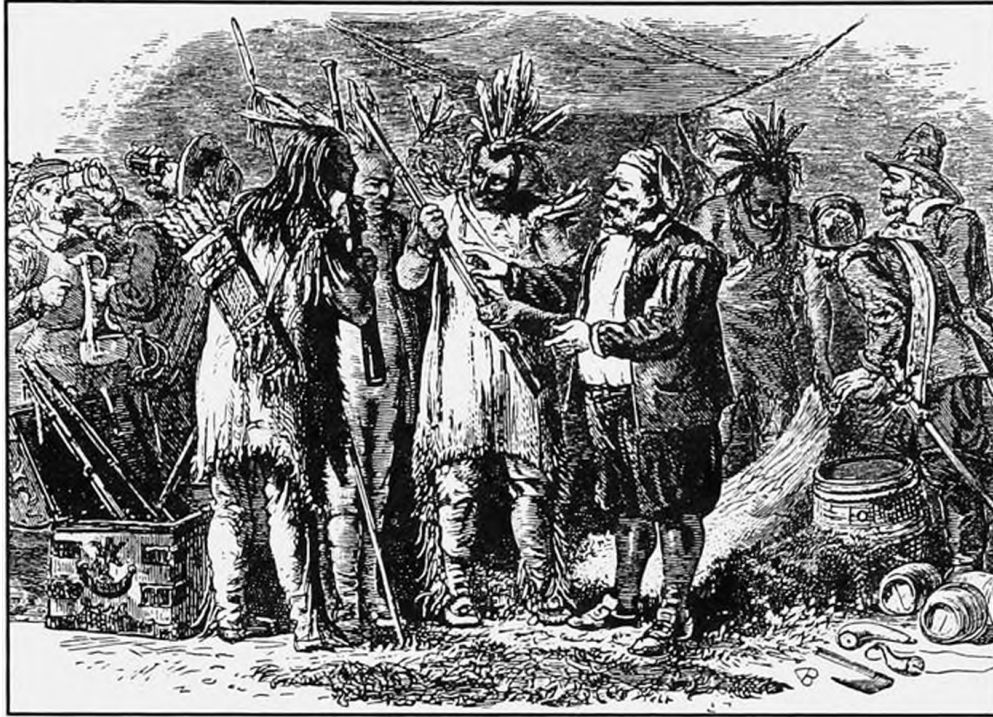
PAULEENA M. MacDOUGALL

GRANDMOTHER, DAUGHTER, PRINCESS, SQUAW:  
NATIVE AMERICAN FEMALE STEREOTYPES IN  
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

*One consequence of the English-Algonquin interaction was the development of certain female stereotypes. The Algonquin language term for female evolved into the English word "squaw" and assumed new meaning as it was applied to all Native American women. Similarly, the daughter of a tribal leader, married to a British man, acquired the attributes of European royalty, becoming a "princess."*

Algonquian-speaking people in the Northeast were among the first to encounter French and English explorers, missionaries, and traders who came here seeking gold, souls, and furs in the early 1600s. The native people who lived in the Northeast subsisted largely upon game, fish, and wild vegetables, agricultural crops being of only minimal significance. The development of the fur trade resulted in the introduction of new commodities, such as guns, blankets, wheat flour, and iron kettles to Native Americans, and the introduction of snowshoes, canoes, pemmican, and moccasins to Europeans. One consequence of this interaction was the development of certain stereotypes. For Indian women, these were encapsulated in the term "squaw," the Algonquian term for female.<sup>1</sup> A second stereotype, based on European concepts of royalty, hinged on the term "princess," which applied to daughters of tribal leaders who married Europeans. This paper examines the historical development and persistence of these two stereotypes.

Algonquian, first defined as a family of related languages by Truman Michelson in 1912, is subclassified into two major groups: Central Algonquian, which includes Arapaho, Cheyenne, Blackfoot, Fox, Cree, Menomini, Ojibwa, Potawatomi, and



As Native Americans and Euroamericans exchanged commodities, they also exchanged certain stereotypes. The word "squaw," originally from the Algonquin language, came to have more universal usage as adapted by English-speaking fur traders.

*Inset illustration from Parker McCobb Reed,  
HISTORY OF THE LOWER KENNEBEC, Deering Collection.*

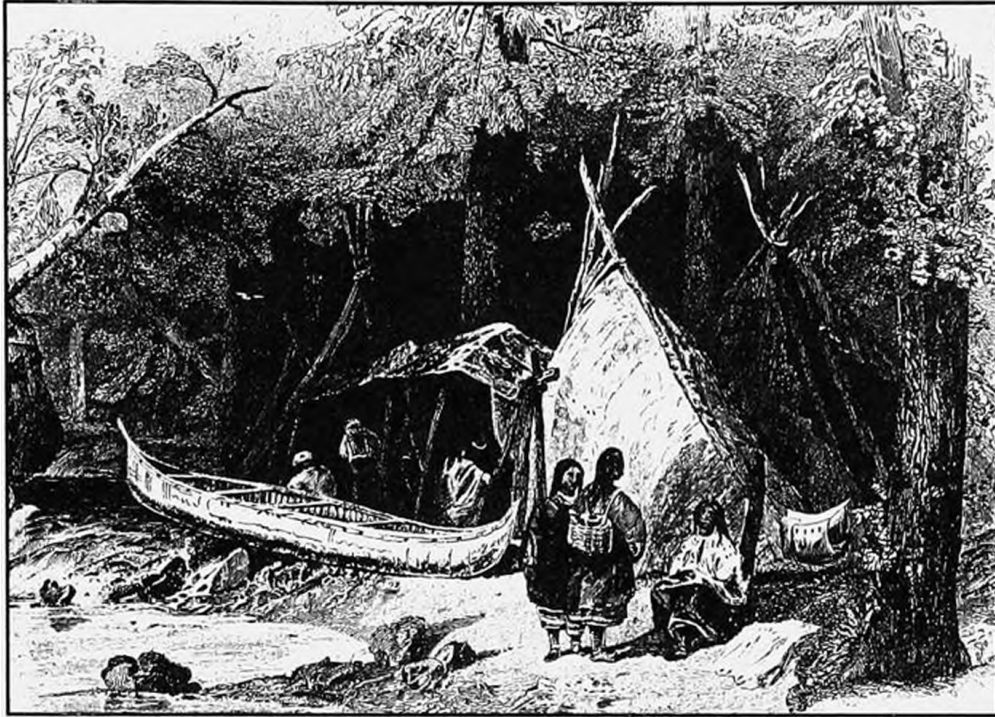
Shawnee; and Eastern Algonquian, the languages of the Delaware, Natick-Narragansett, Penobscot-Abnaki, Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, and Micmac.<sup>2</sup> Within the eastern Algonquian languages there are two types of words that may be used in regards to the female gender. One is a term of address, or vocative term, such as (in English) "O, mother" or "Mama." In Eastern Abenaki, one might address one's mother as *nikaw*, one's daughter as *nətos*, one's grandmother as *nòhkemi*.<sup>3</sup> There are also terms for spouse, but not specifically for wife. Terms for sister, parallel cousin, and cross cousin differ according to the gender of the speaker. The other type of word is a descriptive term of reference. For example, "girl" would be *nákske* (P), or *nokskwa* (A).<sup>1</sup> These words are quite similar in the eastern languages: in Maliseet, *nox* is "girl."<sup>5</sup> In some languages the initial *n*+vowel is missing, so that we have "squas" in Pequot, "squauhse" in Narragansett, "squaas" in Natick, and "skwa" in

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Shinnecock.<sup>6</sup> The root form simply means female, and is found as a prefix or suffix in many words. In Penobscot, for example there is *skèhkənahk*, (female turtle), *skèhki*, (female small mammal), *skèhle* (female bird), *skèhsəm* (female dog, wolf, vixen), and *skèmek* (female fish). In Penobscot literature there is also a term used to describe a kindhearted sprite who lived alone in the swampy wilderness and aided distressed hunters and travelers. She was known as *Skéwtəmo*, or "Swamp Woman." However, in Penobscot, as well as in the other Abenaki languages, *skwe* (or *skwa*) is not used as a referent to woman or girl, as it is in the southern New England languages. The only kinship term that uses the *skwe* suffix is *nələksəskwe*, "my sister's daughter" or "my brother's daughter." The term for woman in Penobscot is *phənəm*; in Western Abenaki, it is *phanəm*. Neither is found in southern New England languages or Micmac; they occur in Maliseet only as the word for "my sister."

Trumbull first suggested that *phanəm* might be a borrowing from the French *femme*, although this is disputed by other linguists.<sup>7</sup> The argument in favor of Trumbull's idea is the fact the *ph* sound is not found in any other word in any Algonquian language.<sup>8</sup> If Trumbull is right, it is very unusual; words are seldom borrowed into a language for which another term already exists. Usually borrowings are required only for previously unknown items of material culture or new ideas.<sup>9</sup> The borrowing of such a significant kin term would have to be the result of a very powerful shift in meaning. The term *squaw* came to represent not simply "woman," but a degraded, uncivilized, uneducated Indian woman and was rejected as an idea by the women themselves. The term came to be broadly accepted by English speakers in North America to describe any Native American woman who associated herself closely with her own people and her own culture.

**I**n numerous letters and reports, French Jesuits recorded their impressions of women in Indian society. The Jesuit Pierre Biard, writing to another priest in 1610, described the Algonquian people he met in this way: "The men have several wives and abandon them to others, and the



Early European accounts portrayed Indian women as overburdened by work and oppressed by Indian men. The impression of subjugation lingered in the term "squaw," as used in white society.

*Insert illustration from Charles E. Allen,  
LEAVES FROM THE EARLY HISTORY OF DRESDEN, Deering Collection.*

women only serve them as slaves, whom they strike and beat unmercifully, and who dare not complain; and after being half-killed, if it so please the murderer, they must laugh and caress him." In another report he wrote, "one day a certain Frenchman undertook to rebuke an Indian for...[striking his wife]; the Indian answered angrily: `How now, have you nothing to do but to see into my house, every time I strike my dog?'"<sup>10</sup> Another Jesuit wrote:

The care of household affairs, and whatever work there may be in the family are placed upon the women. They build and repair the wigwams, carry water and wood, and prepare the food; their duties and position are those of slaves, laborers and beasts of burden... they either suffer abortion, or forsake their new-born children, while engaged in carrying water, procuring wood and

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other tasks so that scarcely one infant in thirty survives until youth.”<sup>11</sup>

Lescarbot observed that the women were not present in feasts or councils, but “they must go to get game when it is killed to skin and fetch it. They make mats of rushes and color them, scrub and tan skins, make all the clothing, make baskets of rushes and roots to hold foodstuff, they also make purses of leather decorated with quill work, bark dishes, wigwams, assist with making canoes, till the ground for gardens.”<sup>12</sup>

Clearly the Jesuits saw Indian women as overburdened with work and oppressed by men. In a recent book about women in seventeenth century New France, Karen Anderson argued that women in Huron and Montagnais societies enjoyed egalitarian status before the Jesuits arrived. Her thesis, that Native women were subjugated to men as the result of Jesuit efforts to Christianize Indian society, assumes the egalitarian status of men and women in Indian society.<sup>13</sup> The argument is flawed in that Anderson provides only one page of discussion about Montagnais society and assumes Montagnais and Huron women had the same precontact experiences. There is plenty of evidence of oppression of Indian women by Indian men in North American cultures. A woman’s experience depended upon many factors, including the tribe with which she was affiliated, her family’s status within that tribe, the economic situation of her family at a given time, the personality of the individual she married, and the introduction of alcohol into her society. However, what is more germane to the present discussion is the European notion of civilization and the European attitudes towards women that Jesuits and fur traders introduced as part of the acculturation processes.

Early on, English speakers began to use the term “squaw” to refer to Indian women of all tribes. For example, as early as 1708 John Oldmixon, author of *History of Hudson Bay*, described a feast given by some ethnic Cree Indians: “They continue this commonly all Night, and when they go home, carry what meat is left to their Squaws, it being very rare

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for them to admit the women to their feasts.”<sup>14</sup> Of course, squaw is not and never was a Cree word. Also, Oldmixon observed that “Every man has commonly two wives whom they keep in great subjection and make em do all slavery; as draw sleds, cut Wood make Fires and dress Moose hides.”<sup>15</sup> Like the Jesuits, English-speakers believed that Indian women lived a life of slavery and travail and were degraded and mistreated by their husbands. Indeed, most fur traders believed the condition of women in Indian society was deplorable. Gabriel Franchere of the Northwest Company remarked that some tribes thought women had no souls. Also, he confirmed the shameful and distressing drudgeries women performed and their debased and wretched lives.<sup>16</sup>

Yet women’s work embraced a broad knowledge of techniques essential to Indian survival. These important skills included making moccasins, netting snowshoes, preparing pemmican, sewing mittens, caps and leggings, and snaring small game. Sylvia Van Kirk, in her significant book about the role of women in the fur trade, pointed out the centrality of these skills to the survival and success of the fur traders. The simple act of snaring rabbits, for example, saved many lives at a trading post when provisions were low and hunting unsuccessful.<sup>17</sup>

Not only were Indian women’s skills important, but their kinship ties were crucial to the fur trade. Officers of the Hudson Bay Company found that marriage to the daughter of a leading hunter or prominent male member of a tribe could secure the services of the all of the hunters of the father-in-law’s kinship group. Thus fur traders valued Indian women for their political connections. In addition, European notions of royalty lifted these well-connected women from the status of “squaw” to that of “princess.” For example, Governor Joseph Adams in the 1730s had an Indian wife he described as being of “ye blood Royal”<sup>18</sup>. This idea crossed ethnic boundaries, just as the use of the word “squaw” was incorporated into European usage. Men of the Northwest Company and the Hudson Bay Company took wives among prominent Ojibwa, Cree, and Chipeweyan communities.

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In 1818 Peter Skene Ogden married a woman called "Princess Julia," who was the step-daughter of a French-Canadian trapper and his Nez Perce wife.<sup>19</sup> Alexander McKenzie of the Northwest Company married a woman he called "the Princess of Wales," the daughter of a Chinook chief named Concomely.<sup>20</sup> In the 1820s Archibald McDonald, a clerk, married a chief's daughter who became known as "Princess Raven." Other examples are too numerous to list. However, John Lee Lewes's description of his wife, the daughter of fur trade company employee John Ballenden and his Cree wife, offers some nuances:

"She is the daughter of an Indian woman, and much more the squaw than the civilized woman herself, delights in nothing so much as roaming around with her children making the most cunning snares for Partridges, rabbits and so on....She is moreover very good-natured and has given me two pairs of worked moccasins....She also gives me lessons in Cree."<sup>21</sup>

Governor Simpson of the Hudson Bay Company complained that his men were nearly "all *Family Men*," and too much influenced by the "Sapient Councils of their *Squaws*."<sup>22</sup>

In Maine, late seventeenth-century observers such as John Gyles and John Josselyn commented on Indian women. Gyles was captured in August 1689 by a group of Abenaki Indians and was taken first to Penobscot and later to a St. John River Maliseet village. His observances regarding women for the most part focus on their abuse and torture of captives, some of which he suffered himself. Throughout his narrative he used the term squaw to describe them. In one example, he stated that he "presently saw a number of squaws, who had got together in a circle, dancing and yelling....Some seized me by the hair and others by my hands and feet, like so many furies; but my master presently laying down a pledge, they released me."<sup>23</sup> Although Gyles did not describe the lives of women in particular, he did note that married women and youths under twenty were not allowed to partake of feasting. Old widows, along with captive men, were allowed to sit by the door.



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John Josselyn, in his narrative concerning a voyage to New England that took place fifty-one years before Gyles was captured, usually called Indian women "Indess" rather than squaws, although he did, in a poem, write about an "Indian SQUA, or Female Indian, trick'd up in all her bravery." Josselyn described Indian women as "comely, soft and plump," but he, too, believed they were treated poorly.<sup>21</sup>

The use of the stereotype "squaw," which took form in the early fur-trade creole, moved into the broader vernacular, incorporating popular notions about Indian women as degraded slaves. This usage can be found in popular literature written after the contact period. For example, historian Francis Parkman, who wrote some eight books on the struggles between France and Britain for American territory, created romantic images that dominated the interpretation of colonial history for decades. His view of Native Americans was that of a backward people who were the victims of European imperialism. *The Oregon Trail* (1849) was written from his own personal experiences traveling with the Dakota Sioux. The following quote from his description of Fort Laramie illustrates the way "squaw" had become part of American colloquial speech.

We were sitting...in the passage-way between the gates, conversing with the traders Vaskiss and May,...when an ugly, diminutive Indian, wretchedly mounted, came up at a gallop, and rode by us into the fort...Only a few minutes elapsed before the hills beyond the river were covered with a disorderly swarm of savages....For several rods the water was alive with dogs, horses, and Indians....The confusion was prodigious....Some of the dogs, encumbered by their load, were carried down by the current, yelping piteously and the old squaws would rush into the water, seize their favorites by the neck, and drag them out....Buxom young squaws, blooming in all the charms of vermillion stood here and there on the bank, holding aloft their master's lance....

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These newcomers were scarcely arrived, when Bordeaux ran across the fort, shouting to his squaw to bring him his spyglass. The obedient Marie, the very model of a squaw, produced the instrument, and Bordeaux hurried with it to the wall.<sup>25</sup>

One hundred years later in 1947, A.B. Guthrie wrote *Big Sky*, a heroic adventure story about a mountain man, based in good measure on Parkman's work. Guthrie's stereotypical rendering of Indian men and women can be at times shocking to 1990s sensibilities. The following is one of the least offensive quotes, in which the trader Jourdonnais is returning a young woman of the Blackfoot tribe to her home in hopes of being rewarded by her relatives with trading rights in this area. The scene takes place on a keelboat somewhere below Fort Leavenworth. Jourdonnais describes himself: "All hunters are crazy. You like the lonely fire, the danger, what you call the freedom and, sometimes, the squaw."<sup>26</sup> Later, the protagonist of the story muses:

Over his can of whisky Boone saw a little bunch of Crow girls coming on parade, dressed in bighorn skin white as milk and fancy with porcupine quills. Some of them would catch themselves a white man, and their pappies would get gifts of blankets or whisky or maybe a light fusee and powder and ball, and they would be glad to have a white brother in the family, and the white man would ride away from rendezvous with his squaw and keep her while she pleased him, and then he would up and leave her, and she would be plumb crazy for a while, taking on like kin had died, but after a while, like as not, she would find another mountaineer, or anyway an Indian, and so get all right again. Sometimes squaws got sure-enough dangerous when their men left them, especially if they left one to take up with another."<sup>27</sup>



Indian women who spoke their native tongue or exhibited the skills they learned in their culture risked being called "squaws."

*Insert illustration from John Francis Sprague, SEBASTIAN RALE, Deering Collection.*

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Indian women who spoke their native tongue or exhibited the skills they learned in their culture risked being called “squaws.” As an alternative, they could claim royal blood as daughters of chiefs, thereby becoming “princesses.” Although neither term was flattering, Indian women sometimes turned these stereotypes to their advantage. Just as Indian men were called “chief,” so Indian women were called “princess” as a term of respect, however patronizing.

One popular precedent was the well-known Pocahontas legend, in which the daughter of a chief saved the life of Captain John Smith, leader of the Virginia colony, when he was threatened by the Powhatan people. The legend of Pocahontas, a virtuous woman later converted to Christianity, idealized the image of the Indian woman turned gentlewoman, a symbol for the purity of native America. In a recent article, Christian Feest explored the Pocahontas story. In one sense, the myth legitimized the Anglo-American presence in North America. Through her marriage with John Rolfe she conveyed title to native lands to the English colonists, and her death made room for Euroamerican expansion.<sup>28</sup> Her son, Thomas, became a symbol of royal Native American blood transferred to the families of the colonial elite. Englishmen believed that conjugal ties between immigrant Americans and Native Americans were beneficial because they saw the taking of Indian wives as compensation for the Indians’ lands. Americans included Native people in their melting-pot ideology, blending the Indians’ identity with their own. Nineteenth-century racial integrity laws in the South reflect this: Indians might become white through marriage, but the slightest amount of Negro blood destined a person to colored status.<sup>29</sup>

Canadian culture shares the princess myth. Pauline Johnson, the talented daughter of a Mohawk chief, was a writer and poet who lived with her mother in rural Canada. Together with white promoter Frank Yeigh, Johnson hired Toronto’s Association Hall and read her poems to a sellout crowd. An instant celebrity, Johnson touring Ontario, the Maritimes, and the eastern U.S. and was lauded as the



Pocahontas symbolized the stereotypical "Indian princess."

*Insert illustration from William Otis Sawtelle,  
SIR FRANCIS BERNARD AND HIS GRANT OF MOUNT DESERT, Deering Collection.*

"aboriginal voice of Canada." Whites were quick to project onto a single native American the voice of a "typical Indian," if that voice confirmed the white myths and stereotypes about Indians. Yeigh advertised Pauline as "the Mohawk Princess," and in 1892

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she began wearing a fringed buckskin dress, silver brooches, a necklace of ermine tails, a hunting knife, a Huron scalp she inherited from her great-grandfather, and a drape of rabbit pelts at one shoulder. In 1886 she took the name Tekahionwake, or "Double wampum," a name that technically belonged to her great grandfather. When she performed material that was non-Indian she wore a simple dinner gown.<sup>30</sup> In fairness, Johnson was a talented writer and performer but in all probability she would not have been able to reap as much success without taking advantage of the stereotypes that her audience expected. They saw her as another Pocahontas, a symbol of the beautiful, exotic New World and a model of the merger of Native and European. She was a "white man's Indian," exhibiting the polished manners of a well-bred, middle-class Victorian gentlewoman. Although she gave great dignity to the Native characters in her poems and stories, she never demanded more from her white audiences than sentimental regret. She did not ask to have her land returned to her people but indeed was an eager Canadian patriot, who sang the praises of Canada and the British-Canadian way of life.<sup>31</sup>

The use of the terms "squaw" and "princess" remained popular from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, without any apparent shift in meaning, moving into literature and later cinema. Both appear in the novel *Ramona*, written by Christian reformer Helen Hunt Jackson. Jackson wrote the story to call attention to the plight of Native Americans forced from their reservation lands. The heroine, Ramona, is the daughter of a Scottish father and an Indian woman of undisclosed tribal affiliation. The mother is referred to only as a "squaw." Ramona is raised by a Spanish woman as a duty to her sister, but without love. Unaware of her Indian blood, Ramona falls in love with the Indian man who works on the estate as a sheep shearer. When she discovers her true lineage, she reverts to her Indian identity, rejecting white ways and going off to live with her Indian husband. She epitomizes the "squaw" stereotype: Although loved by her husband, poverty and hardship dog her years, and in the end her husband is killed by whites. Her white foster



Indian women who could claim royal blood as daughters of chiefs became "princesses." Like "squaw," the term was unflattering, but some women turned it to advantage.

*Insert illustration from John Francis Sprague, SEBASTIAN RALE, Deering Collection.*

brother rescues her, bringing her back with him as a "princess."<sup>32</sup>

A few examples of this usage can be found in Maine folklore. One story is told of two "braves" who held a foot race to win the hand of an "Indian princess" undecided about which suitor to marry. Tragedy strikes, and both men die of exhaustion after the race. One account has it occurring at Schoppee's Point near Roques Bluff.<sup>33</sup> Another places the same story on Gardner's Island off the coast of Jonesport.<sup>31</sup> A third refers to the woman as a "squaw," rather than a "princess."<sup>35</sup>

A different use of the term "squaw" is found in the description of an event that took place in Newfoundland. The story-teller began by saying that his grandmother had been afraid of Indians. "An old Indian squaw" visited his grandmother's home when she was a little girl. The Indian woman was served tea with no milk. A neighbor was approached to supply the missing milk but refused to serve the Indian. The old woman declared: "Mrs. Buttery would have to drink her own tea black soon." Within

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three months the prophecy was fulfilled when Mrs. Buttery's cow died.<sup>36</sup> In this case "squaw" alludes to the magical or pagan powers of Indian culture. The woman is an anti-princess: old, debased, immoral, even evil. Where "princess" is proud and gentile, "squaw" lives a squalid, servile existence. Sometimes she is viewed as a sexual commodity as well.

Tragically, in that role she has often been abused, raped, and even murdered. One example of such an event took place in The Pas, Manitoba in 1971 where young Helen Betty Osborne was brutally murdered by a gang of young whites. The crime was hushed up by the community for years.<sup>37</sup> Closer to home was an incident in Machias:

Law enforcement officers converged on the downtown district in response to a fight between a Native American man, in town for the [blueberry] harvest, and a Caucasian man from Machias. Police arrived to find the local man standing on Main Street, his bloodied face covered by his hands.

The fight began after he had made racially and sexually tainted remarks about the other man's wife, referring to her as "squaw." The Native American calmly went to his truck, picked up a small sledge hammer, then hit the other man in the face with it. End of fight.<sup>38</sup>

In conversations with me, Native American women from Old Town described their feelings about the word "squaw," used as a means of taunting them. This is a very sensitive issue, and it was very painful for some women to talk about it. Native American men also find the term repugnant. One woman moved from Indian Island to an urban area of New England, where she started a health center for urban Indian people. She received much publicity and several awards for her public service efforts:

I used princess, before my name, because I was no squaw, I was not out running behind like the squaw, the demeaning word squaw meant. I was



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not out doing that. I was out with educated people, Non-Indian people, bringing them in to learn about Indian people. So I always went by the name Princess.

When asked about her experiences with the word "squaw" as a young girl growing up in New England she replied,

Oh, yeah, demeaning, .... Just an Indian woman uneducated. You know, not knowing life as she should and probably did.....But to me, I just think it's sad that they...call us Indian women squaws, and that's one of the reasons there's a fight inside of me....We're educated women.....And squaw is just...to me very demeaning. It is.

Now, I read a thing in a fashion magazine the other day it said, "Princess so and so"...from Iran or somewhere....They wrote her up as a squaw. Decked out in her turquoise and her feathers and fringed buckskin. I thought, "My God, these people..., don't they realize that they should have said Princess so and so came as a young Indian woman?" But what did they put in there? The word squaw. I thought, "My Good Lord, what are we dealing with here?"<sup>39</sup>

The word "squaw," originally from the Algonquian language, came to have a more universal usage as adapted by English-speaking fur traders and was applied to Native American women of any tribe. The term was at first patronizing, and later pejorative. A second stereotype grew out of the fur trade. Any woman who considered herself daughter of a chief, and who married a white man or took the trappings of European civilization, might be called a "princess." European notions of royalty transformed the degraded squaw into the noble savage princess, placing her firmly within the separate sphere with other American women. Some Indian women used the princess stereotype to advantage, particularly in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when reformers made the "Indian problem" a popular sentimental issue.

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The evolution of the terms “squaw” and “princess” illustrate the misuse of language and the persistence of stereotypes. Similar examples of words appropriated across cultural gulfs pervade our history, our literature, and our folklore – cultural expressions of an historical antagonism toward Native Americans, and especially Native American women. Only recently have historians begun to treat the contributions of Native American women in a positive light. Current scholarship about women in the fur trade, for instance, suggests the enterprise would not have been successful without women’s skills. It is ironic that a simple Algonquian referent for woman or girl should have assumed the burden of such powerful and enduring oppression.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The connection between “squaw” and the fur trade was suggested to me by Ives Goddard, Smithsonian Institution, personal communication.

<sup>2</sup>Truman Michelson, “Preliminary Report on the Linguistic Classification of Algonquian Tribes,” *Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology 1906-1907* (Washington, 1912), p. 221-290; Karl Teeter, “Genetic Classification in Algonquian,” in *Contributions to Anthropology: Linguistics* 1, National Museum of Canada Bulletin 214 (Ottawa, 1967), p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>All Penobscot terms from my notes taken while working as assistant to Frank T. Siebert, Jr. on the Penobscot Dictionary, 1980-1988.

<sup>4</sup>The term is Western Abenaki, probably Sokoki, from Joseph Laurent, *New Familiar Abenakis and English Dialogues* (St. Francis, Quebec, 1884), p. 21.

<sup>5</sup>Montague Chamberlain, “Maliseet Vocabulary,” *Harvard Cooperative Society* (Cambridge, 1899), pp. 18-23.

<sup>6</sup>These terms are from John Harrington, “An Ancient Village Site of the Shinnecook Indians: Cultural and Linguistic Position,” in *Anthropological Papers*, vol 22 (Washington, D.C.: American Museum of Natural History, 1924), p. 282.

<sup>7</sup>Sebastien Rasles, “A Dictionary of the Abnaki Language in North America,” edited by John Pickering *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 1 (Cambridge, 1833): 375-574.

<sup>8</sup>Ives Goddard, personal communication.

<sup>9</sup>Chamberlain, “Maliseet Vocabulary”; H.A. Gleason, *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1955), p. 397.

<sup>10</sup>Letter from Father Biard to the Reverend Father Christopher Baltazar, 1610, in *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* 1, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. (New York, 1959), p. 173.

<sup>11</sup>Joseph Jouveny, SJ, “Concerning the Country and Manners of the Canadians or the Savages of New France” (1710), *Jesuit Relations* I: 257-259.

<sup>12</sup>Marc Lescarbot, *Nova Francis: Or the Description of That Part of New France, Which*

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*Is One Continent with Virginia*, edited by W.L. Grant (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1914), pp. 200, 202.

<sup>13</sup>Karen Anderson, *Chain Her By One Foot: The Subjugation of Women in Seventeenth Century New France* (New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 155.

<sup>14</sup>John Oldmixon, "The British Empire in America," in J.B. Tyrrell, editor, *Documents Relating to the Early History of Hudson Bay* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1931), pp.388-89.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup>Gabriel Franchere, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America, 1811-1814*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, Ohio, 1904).

<sup>17</sup>Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, 1980), pp. 28-51.

<sup>18</sup>"An Account of the Chipwan Indians," p. 22, Masson Collection, no. 3, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.

<sup>19</sup>Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.239/b/79, fo.41, Fort Hall, Manitoba, cited in Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*.

<sup>20</sup>"John Porter's Journal," p. 29, Masson Collection, no. 6.

<sup>21</sup>John Henry Lefroy, *In Search of the Magnetic North: A Soldier-Surveyor's Letters from the North-West, 1843-44*, edited by G.F.G. Stanley (Toronto, 1955), pp. 113, 119.

<sup>22</sup>Frederick Merk, editor, *Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal, 1824-25* (Cambridge, 1931), pp. 11-12, 58 (Simpson's emphasis).

<sup>23</sup>John Cyles, *Memoirs of Odd Adventures. Strange Deliverances, Etc. in the Captivity of John Gyles, Esq., Written by Himself* (Cincinnati: Spiller & Gates, 1869), p. 13.

<sup>24</sup>John Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages to New England, Made During the Years 1638, 1663* (Boston: William Veazie, 1855), pp. 67, 91, 98-100.

<sup>25</sup>Francis Parkman, *The Oregon Trail* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), p. 88.

<sup>26</sup>A.B. Guthrie, *The Big Sky* (Boston: Houghton and Mifflin, 1965), p. 70.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>28</sup>Wolfgang Mieder, "'The Only Good Indian Is a Dead Indian': History and Meaning of a Proverbial Stereotype," *Journal of American Folklore* 106 (Winter 1993): 38-60.

<sup>29</sup>Christian Feest, "Pride and Prejudice: The Pocahontas Myth and the Pamunkey," in *The Invented Indian: Iconoclastic Essays* edited by James A. Clifton (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1990), pp. 50-54.

<sup>30</sup>Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), pp. 111-115.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>32</sup>Helen Hunt Jackson, *Ramona* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1939).

<sup>33</sup>Northeast Archives of Folklore and Oral History, 224:25, told by Howard Watts.

<sup>34</sup>Northeast Archives 343.17, told by Albert Pickard.

<sup>35</sup>Northeast Archives 840.14, told by Mrs. Grace Clark.

<sup>36</sup>Northeast Archives 227.26, told by Nathan Kettle.

<sup>37</sup>Daniel Francis, *Imaginary Indian*, p. 122.

<sup>38</sup>Paul Sylvain "Finding Racial Harmony In This World," *Bangor News*, August 7-8, 1993, p. 11.

<sup>39</sup>Author's interview with Rose Scribner, June 1993.