The historical ethnography of the Micmac of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Part 2

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CHAPTER II - HISTORY OF ACADIA AND THE MICMAC

II. THE HISTORY OF ACADIA AND OF THE MICMAC

Introduction

Along with the Beothuk of Newfoundland and the Esquimeaux of the southeastern coast of Labrador, the Micmac of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton have the dubious distinction of being among the first North American Indians to have been contacted by Europeans. For the Beothuk, the historic period began with the discovery of their domain by John Cabot in 1497; for the Micmac, it apparently began with the discovery of Cape Breton by the French Bretons in 1504. The Micmacs were exposed to European influence and trade thus for almost 100 years before a successful attempt was made to colonize their territory, and before the written records become at all adequate. Despite the paucity of sources this period must be touched upon, however, because of its importance in the cultural history of these people.

Because of certain unfortunate incidents and phases in the historiography of the discovery of North America, the sequence of events in the very early history of our area is poorly established or not generally known. For this reason, and also because the historical reconstruction for this period rests heavily upon inference from known conditions in one region to neighboring areas, it will be necessary for us to consider this early period in somewhat more than usual detail. For the first

half of the 16th century we may omit detailed references to sources and attempt to present a general picture of the events of the period. A reader desiring to acquire a greater knowledge of this era is referred to the historical collections and studies by Biggar (1901; 1911; 1924; 1930), Ganong (1929-1937), Hoffman (MS.), Williamson (1929), and Winship (1900a-b).

The discovery of North America by Giovanni Cabotto Montecalunya (commonly known as John Cabot) came as the climax to a long series of ventures westward into the "Ocean Sea" by Spaniards, Portuguese, and Englishmen. Previous to 1497, Atlantic exploration had passed from the hands of the Norsemen into those of the Mediterranean merchants trading northward to England and Ireland, into the hands of Portuguese merchants and noblemen exploring southward around the west coast of Africa and westward into the Atlantic, and into the hands of Bristol merchants searching the north Atlantic for a fishing station to replace their recently lost outpost in Iceland. This pattern was partly the result of increasing commercial activity on the part of the countries bordering upon the "Western Ocean," and partly the result of strange and provocative signals given up by the ocean itself. As the Europeans ventured ever westward these signs became ever more frequent; one time a pilot of the King of Portugal sailing west of the Azores found wood artificially carved—but not by means of iron tools; another time wood of a strange nature came ashore upon the islands; other times the sea threw up "the bodies of two dead men who seemed very broad in the

face and of an appearance different from that of Christians," as well as hollowed trunks or canoes. On different occasions, sailors proceeding to Ireland from Portugal were blown out of their course, and thought they saw a land to the west, "and they imagined it was Tartary which projected that way by the east." Thus, it soon became a matter of time before some venturer, bolder than the rest, would sail ever westward to the end of the "Ocean Sea." The first such venturer was Columbus.

Early Discovery and Fur Trade

At the time when Columbus discovered his westward islands—the "Indies," as he called them, the Portuguese and the Bristol merchants had for many years already sent ships westward in search of islands. These expeditions seem to have failed, however, because the navigators were looking for small islands relatively close to Europe and to the Azores. Therefore they spent their time and supplies in ceaselessly and minutely sweeping the neighboring sections of the ocean, instead of running westward as far and as fast as they could. After 1492 we must suppose that the Bristol seamen soon learned of Columbus's exploit, and of their error; but, either because they lacked the means to undertake such a voyage, or because their government failed to sanction it for fear of infringing upon the Spanish claim, nothing was done for several years.

During this interval John Cabot had become personally acquainted with the Columbus venture, for he was engaged in a

project for the development of the harbor of Valencia between 1492 and 1493. During this period he undoubtedly became acquainted with Columbus's success, and first conceived the idea of duplicating the venture. For this it was necessary for him to acquire a Royal sponsor, which he could not do in Spain (Ballesteros-Gaibrois, 1943).

The circumstances and details of John Cabot's arrival in England are unknown to us. We hear only from the Spanish ambassador there, who in the spring of 1496 informed his employers of the "arrival there of one like Columbus for the purpose of inducing the King of England to enter upon another undertaking like that of the Indies, without prejudice to Spain or Portugal" (Williamson, 1929, pp. 24-25). By March 5th Cabot had already obtained backing from the Bristol merchants, the venture had been proposed to the English Crown and had been approved, and the letters patent had been issued. But for some reason a delay arose, and the expedition did not leave Bristol until May 2, 1497. Fifty-three days later, on June 24th, land was sighted, claimed for England in the name of Henry VII, and hastily coasted. Thus North America officially became known to Europeans, and entered the realm of "history."

The discovery of the "New Lands" first launched the English upon the venture of reaching the Spice Islands by sailing to the west; during the first flush of success it was thought that Cabot's "New-Found Land" was the most northeastern extension of Asia itself, and that all that remained to be done was to sail

southwestward along the coast until Cathay itself was reached; the first decade of exploration revealed the "New-Found Land" for what it was, an obstacle between England and the Indies, and the first of a long series of bitter and costly ventures upon the Northwest Passage was attempted.

In this early exploration the Cabots played no small part. After his initial success in 1497, John Cabot carried out a second exploration upon the coasts of the new continent, with unknown results. In 1500 a Portuguese "llabrador" from the Azores discovered Greenland, and communicated this fact to the King of England, who dispatched John Cabot on the joint English-Portuguese expedition of 1501—an expedition on which both John Cabot and the llabrador, João Fernandez, may have perished. In the following year the association of Bristol and Azorean merchants was formalized under the title of the "Company Adventurers to the New Found Lands," and this organization apparently sent out another expedition in that year, and still others in 1503, 1504, and 1505. The results of this formal venture are unknown; tradition states, however, that the Bristol fishermen abandoned Iceland almost immediately after Cabot's discovery, and thereafter did their fishing "on the New Found Land" (Hoffman, MS.; Williamson, 1929, pp. 176-224).

While Cabot, Fernandez, and their Bristol compatriots were thus engaged, another important explorer was operating in the waters of the North Atlantic, namely, Gaspar Cortereal, nobleman of the Court of King Manuel of Portugal. This adventurer's

success was little better than that of John Cabot. Obtaining his letters patent on May 2, 1500, Cortereal sailed on his first expedition that same spring and explored most of the east-central coast of Newfoundland. In the spring of 1501 he set out again with three ships; of these, the two consorts returned, but Gaspar's ship disappeared with all hands. In 1502, Miguel Cortereal set sail with three ships in search of his brother—and also disappeared. In 1503 the King of Portugal sent out two of his own ships on an unsuccessful search for the missing brothers, and shortly thereafter he banned further exploration in northern waters, permitting only fishery activities (Biggar, 1911, pp. 23-96; Hoffman, MS.)

As a result of all this activity and exploration it had become obvious to all interested maritime circles by 1506 that the "New Found Land," far from being a highway to the Indies, was a most formidable obstacle. This viewpoint having crystallized, a new theory was advanced—one that in one form or another was to dominate Arctic exploration for almost 400 years. This was the theory that a strait could be found through North America, or to the north of this continent, which would provide passage to the Pacific and to the East Indies. The first attempt to test the theory—the Sebastian Cabot explorations upon Newfoundland and Greenland between 1507 and 1509—was as unsuccessful as the earlier voyages, and further Arctic exploration was not attempted again for almost a decade.

While the grandiose schemes of the statesmen thus foundered, somewhat more prosaic venturers had begun exploiting the resources of the "New Found Land" itself. As we have already indicated, the discovery by John Cabot was probably soon followed by a shift of the Bristol fishery from Iceland to Newfoundland. Other nationalities soon entered the scene. According to tradition, Cape Breton was discovered by the French Bretons in 1504; in the year 1506 Jean Denys of Honfleur and Gamart of Rouen first mapped the more northern coasts of Newfoundland and brought back a cargo of fish; two years later Thomas Aubert and Jean Ango of Dieppe displayed the first Newfoundland natives in the city of Rouen. In this same period the Portuguese were also active, discovering Sable Island, then known as John Estevez's Island. According to Alonso de Santa Cruz (1541),

> ...south of this land of the Bacallaos and of St. Mary's Bay, at a distance of 50 leagues, lies an island named John Estevez's island which was so named in memory of the pilot who discovered it, when on his way there to fish. And others lying to the west of this one have also been accidentally discovered in this manner by those who were on their way to fish in these waters. All are uninhabited and are of little value. They lie in 46° latitude... (Biggar, 1911, p. 186).

By 1506 the Portuguese fishery in Newfoundland water had reached such proportions that the Portuguese government removed it from the protected category and laid a tax upon it (Biggar, 1911, pp. 96-100; Hoffman, MS.; Williamson, 1929, pp. 225-243).

From the available evidence it seems reasonable to conclude that during the second decade of the 16th century the European fishery upon the Newfoundland coast extended from southeastern Labrador (i.e., from the northern shore of the Strait of Belle Isle) southward along the entire coast of eastern Newfoundland, and westward from Cape Race as far as the Miquelon Island group. The eastern coasts of Cape Breton island and of Nova Scotia were known, but because of the nature of the early fishery were seldom visited.

The Newfoundland fishery of the second decade of the 16th century (and for several decades thereafter) was exclusively of the type known as "wet" or "green." The basic principle of a "wet fishery" was that a product could be obtained by heavily salting fish, transporting them to a home port, and then drying them, which would revert to the original edible state upon the addition of water. The flesh of codfish responded best to such a cure, since it was rich and gelatinous without being fatty, and readily lent itself to curing by salting and drying. The Newfoundland fishery therefore was one of codfish, and remained such for a very long time.

The prosecution of a "wet fishery" upon the Newfoundland coast entailed the satisfactory solution of a number of problems; of these, the most important was a large supply of solar salt (obtained by the solar evaporation of sea water). In this respect the Portuguese were most fortunate, for they were in a position to produce large quantities of this essential

item themselves, and could also easily buy it from other Mediterranean countries. This fact, and their early start, made the Portuguese dominant in the early Newfoundland fishery. The French and Spanish also possessed large quantities of cheap solar salt, but labored under the disadvantage of being somewhat later in the field than the Portuguese. They therefore were forced to take up fishing stations in somewhat more distant and less advantageous localities. The importance of salt in the early fishery put the English under a severe handicap, for they could neither produce it themselves nor buy it cheaply. This situation had a number of effects: first, the town of Bristol remained the sole important English factor in the fishery, since it alone had extensive trade connections with Portugal and relatively easy access to salt; the Bristol fishermen were forced to use the salt more sparingly, therefore had to return home quicker after obtaining a catch; they came to depend upon making several short trips in one season.

These factors largely defined the position of the various nationalities upon the fishing banks. The English occupied stations relatively close to England, namely, the northeastern coast of Newfoundland and the southeastern coast of Labrador. The Portuguese occupied the choice stations about the Avalon Peninsula and upon the Grand Banks. The French and the Spanish occupied stations to the north and west of those of the Portuguese; among the French fishermen the Bretons and Normans seem

to have been particularly active in searching out fishing grounds to the east and north of the Avalon Peninsula, and as a result discovered Cape Breton and Nova Scotia at a very early date.

We thus see that a fishery came to be established in Nova Scotian waters very early in the 16th century. It is not at all apparent, however, that this had any significant effect upon the aboriginal population until much later. One reason for the seeming lack of contact lies in the nature of the "wet fishery" itself. Both the Portuguese and French fishermen exploiting this area seem first to have restocked their ships with fresh water and meat at the island of Baccalieu (or Funk), and at the ports of southern Newfoundland, and then to have proceeded westward to the different banks, locating their fishing areas by soundings, and by observing the bird life and the surface of the water—in contrast to the method of using shore features and landmarks, as was done further to the north. Although the fishermen knew of a coast lying to the west, a voyage to it was unnecessary and wasted precious time and supplies. Only when the Newfoundland fishery became overcrowded did it become requisite for them to take stations along the Cape Breton and Nova Scotian coasts themselves; this seems to have happened only around 1540 (Innis, 1940, pp. 23-26).

Towards the close of the second decade of the 16th century official interest in the lands of the West revived, and a new cycle of exploration was inaugurated. The first of the new

explorers was João Alvares Fagundes, a Portuguese. From a study of the letters patent granted to him by King Emmanuel of Portugal in 1521, and of contemporary maps, we conclude that at this date Fagundes had just completed a survey of the eastern and southeastern coasts of Newfoundland, apparently resurveying territory already discovered. At some unknown later date (perhaps between 1520 and 1525), Fagundes extended his operations towards the south, for in an old genealogical manuscript quoted by Harrisse (1892, p. 184) we are told that,

> ...Joam Alvarez Fagundes discovered Terra Nova, or the country now called Cabo Bretão, which the king granted to him, and where he established cod fisheries, which became a large source of profit to Portugal...

A similar item also appears in the Tratados das Ilhas Novas..., written by Francisco de Souza in 1570, which work also states that,

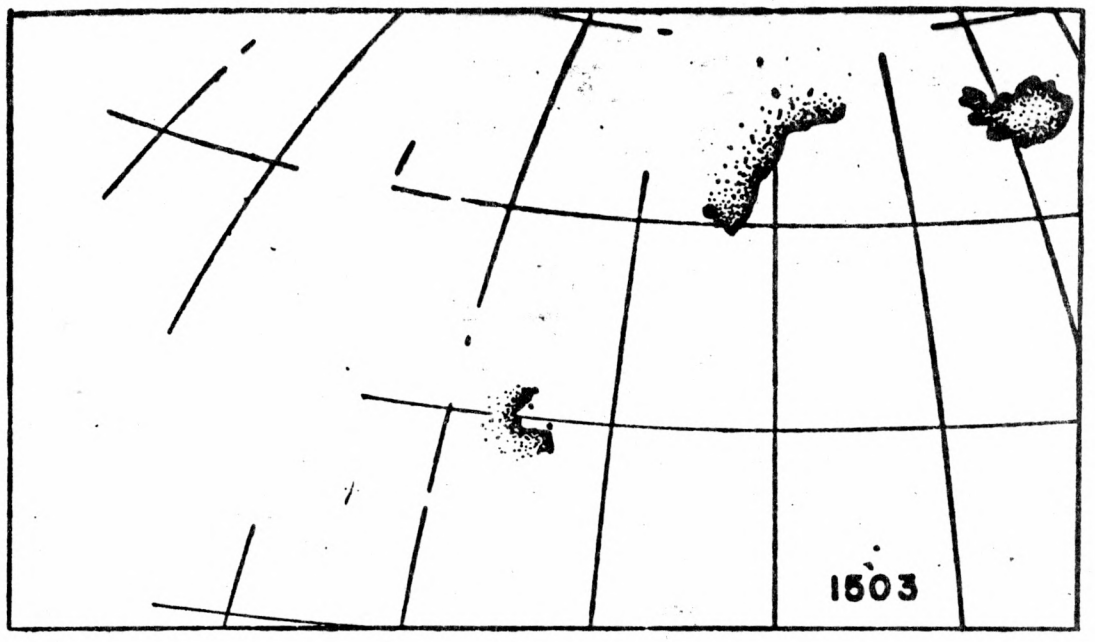
> ...it will be 45 or 50 years ago [i.e., 1520 or 1525] that certain noblemen of Vianna associated themselves together and in view of the information in their possession regarding the Codfish-land of Newfoundland determined to settle some part thereof, as in truth they did in a ship and a caravel, but finding the region to which they were bound, very cold, they sailed along the coast from east to west until they reached that running northeast, and there they settled. And as they had lost

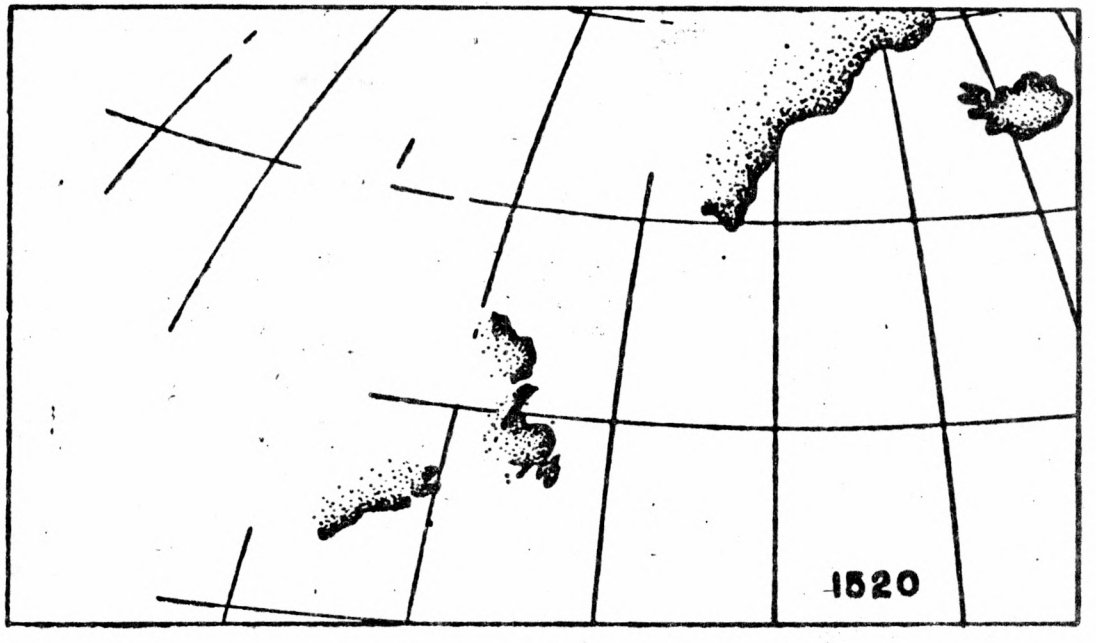
> their ships, nothing further was heard of them, save from the Basques who continue to visit that coast in search of the many articles to be obtained there, who bring word of them and state that they [the settlers] asked them to let us know how they were, and to take out priests; for the natives are submissive and the soil is very fertile and good, as I have been more fully informed, and is well known to those who sail thither. This is at Cape Breton, at the beginning of the coast that runs north, in a beautiful bay, where there are many people and goods of much value and many nuts, chestnuts, grapes, and other fruits, whereby it is clear the soil is rich. And in this company also went some families from the Azores islands whom they took on board on their way out, as is well known. May our Lord in his mercy open a way by which to succour them... (Souza, 1570, fol. 80; in Biggar, 1911, pp. 195-197).

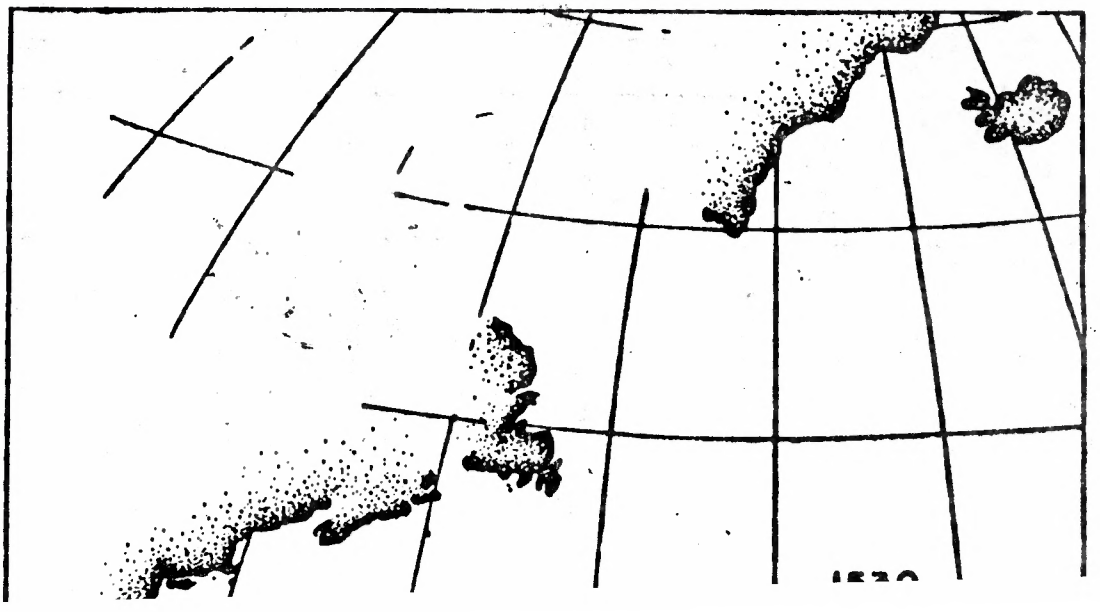
(N.F. Hoffman)

We may suspect, although we have no proof, that Fagundes was involved in this enterprise. But whether this passage refers to his venture or not, we have some indication that he met with financial failure, since in the will of Dona Violante, his daughter, we encounter the statement that, "after the said will was made, he went to explore Newfoundland, in which [endeavor] he suffered heavy expenses and borrowed money, whence he contracted many debts" (Violante, 1548; in Violante, 1878, p. 170). Another passage which seems to refer to the

Fig. 1. European discovery in the North Atlantic between 1503 and 1530, reconstructed from textual and cartographical sources.


1503


1520




LE CANADA, ou
NOUVELLE FRANCE, &c.
Tirée de diverses Relations des
Francois, Anglois, Hollandois, &c.
Par N. Sanson de Abb.
Geogr. ordre du Roy.
Golfe de Hudson
ESTOTILANDE OU TERRE DE
LABORADOR et
NOUVELLE BRETAGNE
Lac Superieur
Lac des Puans
Kiristinous
Nadouessoueronons
LE CANADA, ou NOUVELLE FRANCE
LE SAGUENAY
Oumouqui
Bersiamites
GOLFE DE ST LAURENS
ISLE DE TERRE NEUVE
ACADIE
Ontario
Erie
Iroquois
MER DE CANADA ou DE
MER DE NORT
FLO
Isle de Sable
C. Breton
Hudson
Karegnondi
Attiouandarons
Aouentsiouaeron
Chaouanons
Irimnadous
Squenquioronons
Ontarraronons
Assistaeronons ou Nation du Feu
Aictaeronons
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Arataeronons
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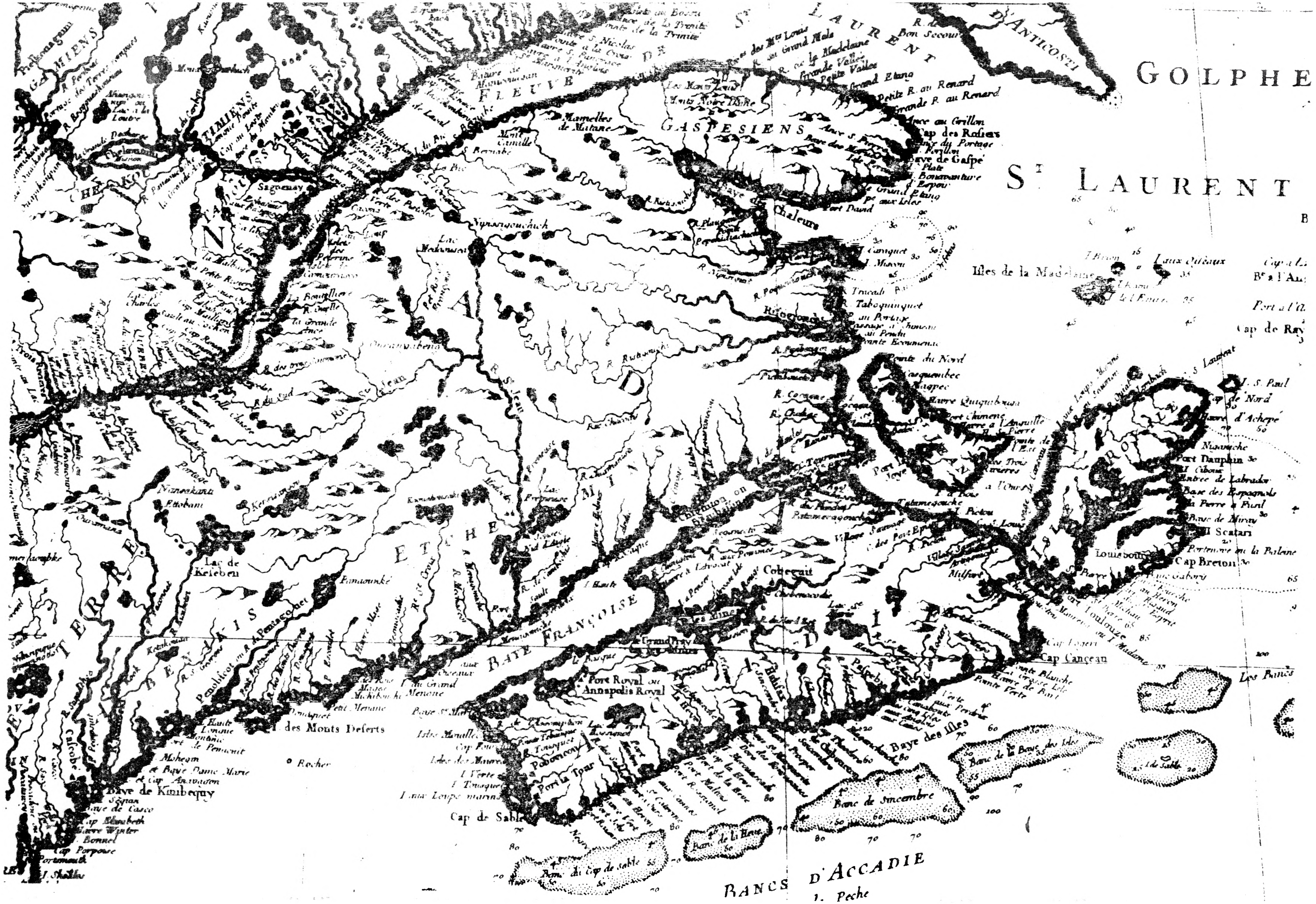

GOLPHE
St LAURENT
D'ANTICOSTI
FLEUVE
GASPESIENS
Mamelles de Matane
Cap des Rosiers
Baye de Gaspé
Baye de Chaleurs
Isles de la Madelaine
Cap de Ray
Port Dauphin
Louisbourg
Cap Breton
Cap Canceau
Collequit
BAYE FRANÇOISE
Port Royal ou Annapolis Royal
Baye des Isles
Banc de Sincembre
BANCS D'ACCADIE
Cap de Sable
des Monts Deserts
Baye de Kinibequy
Tadoussac
Sagenay

venture of the Vianna noblemen is to be found in the Les Voyage auanterueux dv capitaine Ian Alfonce..., written by Jean Alphonse de Sanctoigne in 1559:

> ...Formerly the Portuguese sought to settle the land which lies the lowest, but the natives of the country put an end to the attempt, and killed all of those who came there... (Ganong, 1933, p. 157).

The "land which lies the lowest" here is Cape Breton and Nova Scotia.

Despite these explicit statements concerning the Portuguese colony of c.1525, information of an even more startling nature is to be obtained from a series of roughly contemporaneous maps—of which the earliest are the Homem maps of 1550-1570. Upon the Lopo Homem chart of c.1550, for example, we find the Newfoundland-Cape Breton region portrayed by a pre-Cartier configuration; placed unmistakably upon the northern part of Cape Breton island are Indian place-names. The position of these names corresponds to that of the modern Glace Bay-St. Ann Bay sector of Cape Breton, and the names correspond to Micmac place-names still known in this area! No other type of evidence could more strikingly illustrate the intimate (though brief) contact which must have existed between the Portuguese colonists and the Micmac tribesmen of this region. The determination of the exact location of the site, and its excavation by archaeological methods would greatly increase our knowledge of this early contact period (Ganong, 1930, pp. 162-164; Hoffman, MS.)

Although Fagundes is our most important explorer of the Nova Scotian region in terms of Indian-European contact, several others were in the area at about the same time. In 1524, in the course of coasting the North American continent from Florida to Newfoundland, Giovanni da Verrazano landed at a point at 43° 2/3'N. latitude (presumably around the mouth of the Kennebec River, in Maine) and encountered what he called the "Bad People":

> ...We found a high land full of very thick forests, the trees of which were pines, cypresses and such as grow in cold regions. The people [were] all different from the others, and as much as those passed were of cultivated manners, these were full of uncouthness and vices, so barbarous that we were never able, with howsoever many signs we made them, to have intercourse with them. They dress with ths skins of bear, lynxes, sea-wolves, and other animals. Their food, according to that which we were able to learn through going many times to their habitations, we think is of the chase, fish and some products which are of a species of roots which the ground yields by its own self [ground nut]. They do not have any pulse [corn], nor did we see any signs of cultivation, nor would the ground, on account of its sterility, be adapted to produce fruit or any grain. If, trading at any time with them, we desired their things, they came to the shore of the sea upon

> some rock where it was very steep, and—we remaining in the small boat,—with a cord let down to us what they wished to give, continually crying on land that we should not approach, giving quickly the barter, not taking [anything] in exchange for it except knives, hooks for fishing, and sharp metal. They had no regard for courtesy, and when they had nothing more to exchange, at their departing the men made at us all the signs of contempt and shame which any brute animal could make...We do not know any value of any moment in this land except the very great forests, with some hills which possibly have some metal, because on many natives we saw "paternosters" of copper in the ears... (Bacchiani, 1910, pp. 196-197).

Skirting the entrance to the Bay of Fundy, Verrazano came at length "near the land which the Bretons found in the past, which stands in fifty degrees" [northcentral Newfoundland], and, having exhausted all of his stores, he turned east and returned to France (Bacchiani, 1910, p. 197).

In 1525 Verrazano's exploration of the east coast of the North American continent was repeated by the Spaniard Esteban Gomez, sailing for His Most Catholic Majesty, Charles V. Gomez seems to have approached the coast in the latitude of 42°N., making landfall on, or slightly north of, Cape Cod. From there he ran northward along the coast, discovering in the process the Penobscot River (called Deer River), the St. John River, and the Bay of Fundy (St. Julian's Channel). As

Alonso de Santa Cruz, official Spanish cartographer and cosmographer, tells us:

> The pilot Estevan Gomez, of whom we have already spoken, in the expedition made by him at the command and by the licence of the emperor, our master, in search of and in order to discover Cathay or the eastern city of India, as well as that so-much-sought-for strait or passage leading to the sea commonly called the South sea, discovered, during the 10 months he was absent, a large number of islands along the coast of this continent, and especially a very wide, deep river which he named Deer river on account of the number of these found there. This river was everywhere dotted with islands, on which in summer the Indians from the mainland took up their quarters for the sake of the quantities of salmon, shad, pickerel and other varieties of fish found in those waters. Gomez sailed for some distance up this river, thinking it was the strait of which he was in search... (Biggar, 1911, pp. 187-193).

Gomez apparently did not land upon Nova Scotia (St. John's Island), but saw "many fires and signs of habitation" (Biggar, 1911, pp. 187, 192). From there he turned to the south, eventually reaching Cuba and making port at Santiago.

The explorations of Verrazano and Gomez demonstrated to Europeans the improbability of a strait to the "Western Ocean" below 46 degrees of latitude, and forced them to turn their

attentions to the more northern regions. Three possibilities were indicated: the "Bay of the Bretons" or Cabot Strait; the "Grand Bay" or Baye des Chasteaux, between Newfoundland and Labrador; and the region between Labrador and Greenland. The first of these does not seem to have been considered; the last was ignored as the result of a current cartographical theory that Labrador and Greenland were parts of a continuous landfront (only the disastrous English expedition of 1527 venturing near the region). All factors thus combined to make the "Grand Bay" the scene of the next venture.

In the year 1532 the first action was taken toward an exploration of this possible route to Cathay. In this year, as we are told by Judge Henault in his Genealogical extract of the House of Le Veneur, Counts de Tillières de Carrouges:

> ...In 1532, King Francis I had made a pilgrimage to Mont St. Michel. He was accompanied by the Dauphin and Cardinal Duprat, ambassador to the Pope. They were received by Jean Le Veneur in the double capacity of Grand Almoner of France and Abbot of Mont St. Michel.
>
> It was during this pilgrimage that Jean Le Veneur presented to the king sieur Jacques Cartier, Pilot Mariner of St. Malo, a relative of the Bursar of Mont St. Michel Abbey, as being capable, in consideration of his voyages to Brazil and Terre-Neuve, of conducting ships in the discovery of new lands in the New World for the king. Jean Le Veneur pledged himself, if the

> king consented to give this mission to Jacques Cartier, to furnish the chaplains and to contribute from his funds to the expenses of these voyages of discovery. His Majesty having accepted, Jacques Cartier made several voyages and gave to the king New France, called Canada... (Henault, 1913; Lanctot, 1944, pp. 238-239).

The allusion here made to an earlier voyage by Cartier to the Terre-neuve is corroborated by a statement made by Pierre Biard in 1614, apparently based upon information obtained by him at Dieppe:

> Acadie, or the Souriquoys country farther south, is next to Canada, and still farther down, on the other side of French Bay [Bay of Fundy], is Norambegue. Of these two words, Norambegue and Acadie, there no longer remains any remembrance in the country; yet there is of Canada, which was discovered principally by Jacques Cartier in 1524 and then again in a second voyage ten years afterward in 1534... (Biard, 1616; in JR., Vol. 3, pp. 39-41).

Since Cartier must have been an experienced seaman to have attained the post of Pilot Mariner of St. Malo and to have been recommended to the king, he undoubtedly served a long apprenticeship with the French merchant seamen and fishermen. Previous voyages to the New World, especially to Newfoundland, are therefore entirely probable.

Jaoques Cartier undertook his first voyage for the French king in the year 1534, leaving the port of St. Malo on April 20 with two ships. After making landfall on Cap de Bonne Viste in Newfoundland, he proceeded almost immediately to the Baye des Chasteaulx (Strait of Belle Isle), entered it, and began his well-known discovery and exploration of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. After first running briefly along the south coast of Labrador, Cartier turned south and discovered the west coast of Newfoundland. From the southwestern tip of this latter island he turned westward and then to the southwest, passing by Magdalen Island and making landfall on the northern part of Prince Edward Island. Passing to the mainland he proceeded north, discovering la baye de Chaleur and Anticosti, and again encountering the north shore of the Gulf. Cartier then turned eastward, passing out of the Gulf through the Grand Bay, and returned to France, dropping anchor in the harbor of St. Malo on September 5.

Wh. discovered St. Lawrence?

Encouraged by their success, and by the stories told by their Indian captives of a great river running far into the land, the French prepared a second expedition. Cartier received his commission for this venture already on October 31, 1534, and other preparations were rapidly carried out. Cartier sailed this time with three ships, leaving the port of St. Malo on May 19th. After a stormy passage Cartier reached Newfoundland and proceeded to Blanc sablon immediately inside the Strait of Belle Isle, where he rendezvoused with his consorts. Proceeding westward he soon reached Anticosti Island and passed

into the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, which he understood from his captives to be,

> ...the river and route to the kingdom and country of the Saguenay...[and] the way to the mouth of the great river of Hochelaga and the route towards Canada... (Biggar, 1924, pp. 106-107, 114).

Sailing up the St. Lawrence, the French soon arrived at their distination—the so-called "Kingdom of Canada"—the land and country lying between Montreal and Quebec, and inhabited by an Iroquois-speaking farming and fishing people. Here they established themselves near the native village of STADACONA, at the present site of Quebec, and began preparations for a stay through the winter. After these had been well initiated, Cartier and a small party visited the village of HOCHELAGA on the present site of Montreal, and surveyed the St. Lawrence along the route (Biggar, 1924, pp. 142-171).

At the close of the winter of 1535-1536, the French buried those of their company who had died of scurvy during the months of December, January, and February, and prepared for their departure. When everything was ready they seized the native chief of STADACONA, his two sons, and two other tribal chiefs. Despite the attempts of the natives to ransom them, Cartier retained them and took them back to France with him (Biggar, 1924, pp. 204-230).

As the result of the information acquired by them during their 1534 and 1535-1536 expeditions, it had become apparent to the French that the "great river of Canada" was not a strait or route to Cathay, although it did present indications of leading to lands of wealth and riches. The route of the Saguenay was seized upon as the last possible hope, and was the object of a third expedition—the so-called "Roberval-Cartier Venture" of 1541-1543. This was marked, however, by misfortunes, blunders, and bad-faith, and accomplished little else than the alienation of the Iroquois peoples of "Canada," a fact which was to impede French exploration and commerce in the St. Lawrence region for some 40 years. Only Roberval's pilot, Jean Alphonse de Saintonge, accomplished anything of note—discovering and exploring the entrance into Davis Strait. The end result of the venture was to discourage large scale French enterprises in the region for a very long time.

For the anthropologist, however, the Cartier voyages are of great importance since they give a most tantalizing glimpse of the inhabitants of the Gulf of St. Lawrence at a time when most groups had not yet been seriously disturbed by the contact situation. During the period of Cartier's "first" and "second" voyages (1534, 1535-1536), the "Canadians" or St. Lawrence Iroquois still occupied Gaspé Peninsula and the St. Lawrence river valley from Montreal to the Saguenay, and at this time they were already in a state of irreconcilable warfare with the Indians residing to the south of the river, who were known to them under the collective name of "Toudamans" and included

the Micmac. The trading and hunting activities of the Canadians are of great interest, for they apparently were in the habit of making summer expeditions along the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence as far as the Strait of Belle Isle, there to engage in seal hunting and in a trade of skins for iron objects with the fishermen. The accounts of Spanish sailors are most enlightening in this respect, one informing us that around 1541;

> ...many Indians came to his ship in Grand Bay, and they ate and drank together, and were very friendly, and the Indians gave them deer and wolf skins in exchange for axes and knives and other trifles; and for Indians dressed in skins they are men of skill...;

while another states,

> ...Five years ago this witness was at the harbour called Grand Bay, and fifty leagues farther on at a port called Brest, where he loaded his ship with a cargo of cod, and there are no houses but only huts made of the bark of trees; and there is an abundance of cattle and birds of all kinds, and skins, and the people trade in marten skins and other skins, and those who go there take all kinds of ironware. And that the Indians understand any language, French, English, and Gascon, and their own tongue... (Biggar, 1930, pp. 453-454, 460-464).

The congeniality of relationships existing between the Indians and the fishermen at this time is demonstrated by the fact that

the former told the fishermen that they had killed 30 of Cartier's men at his fort on the St. Lawrence, and that the fishermen did not seem to have been worried by this.

In the fishing areas around the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the second half of the 16th century was marked by a radical change in fishery techniques and by equally striking changes in the nature of Indian-European contact. The technological innovation was that of the "dry fishery" method of curing codfish—a method involving light salting and immediate drying at a suitable locality near the fishing grounds. In practice this necessitated the use of rocky beaches or frame racks for drying the cod, as well as the building of wharfs and barges, of workshops and dwelling facilities for the drying crews. In areas where the "dry fishery" came to be established the contact situation changed from one of accidental and intermittent association to one of long seasonal acquaintance. In the second half of the 16th century the principal regions of "dry fishery" were northern Newfoundland, the southeastern coast of Labrador, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Except for Newfoundland, where Indian-European relations went from bad to worse and ultimately resulted in a war of annihilation, the most important effect of the increased contact resulting from the "dry fishery" was a great increase in the fur trade. The advantages of this were obvious to both sides: for the fishermen it meant an opportunity for additional (and often private) income; for the ship owners and financers the

trade meant security against heavy losses if the fishery was unsucoessful and an opportunity to deversify their investments; for the Indians the trade was a welcome source of iron objects, such as knives, axes, swords, guns, and kettles, as well as such luxury items as clothes (dresses, capes, red jackets, hats, and medals), food (peas, beans, biscuits, and dried fruit), and beads and trinkets. Not only did some of these items become indispensable in native life, but they also gave the seacoast tribes an enormous advantage in trade and war. The end result was that the fur trade soon became a fundamental part of the Indian economic structure, and led to an intensification of the native hunting activities and to a shift in the cultural pattern.

The period 1550 to 1570 thus saw a steady expansion of the fur trade within the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Some areas, such as Prince Edward Island, saw as many as 200 ships a year, with "lively trade in furs." During this period, however, the upper St. Lawrence seems to have been forbidden territory (as a result of the activities of the Cartier-Roberval expedition) and therefore closed to commerce. In 1581, however, some merchants from St. Malo seem to have succeeded in re-establishing relations with the natives of this area, and trade was renewed. The barque used in 1581 was of only 30 tons burden; the profits were such however that in 1582 a ship of 80 tons was employed. In 1583 three ships were sent out; in 1584, five; and in 1585, ten. By 1588 the trade had grown to

such proportions that it had become the subject of political maneuvering. In consideration of the debt still owed to Jacques Cartier by the French king, his two nephews—Stephen Chaton, Sieur de la Jannaye, and Jacques Nouel—petitioned the king for a monopoly of the fur trade within the Gulf, and obtained it. Their triumph was short-lived, for the protest was so great that the order was withdrawn four months later. Until the beginning of the 17th century the trade of the St. Lawrence remained free (Biggar, 1901, pp. 32-35).

As the financial value of the northern regions of the New World thus increased they once more attracted the attention of the contemporary "men of enterprise." We find, therefore, the first attempts on the part of the French and English at colonization, and an increase of interest on the part of the kings. In 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert attempted to establish a colony in Newfoundland, and in the following year Troïlus du Mesgouez, Marquis de la Roche-Helgomarc'h made a similar attempt. In Hakluyt's Discourse on Western Planting we are told that:

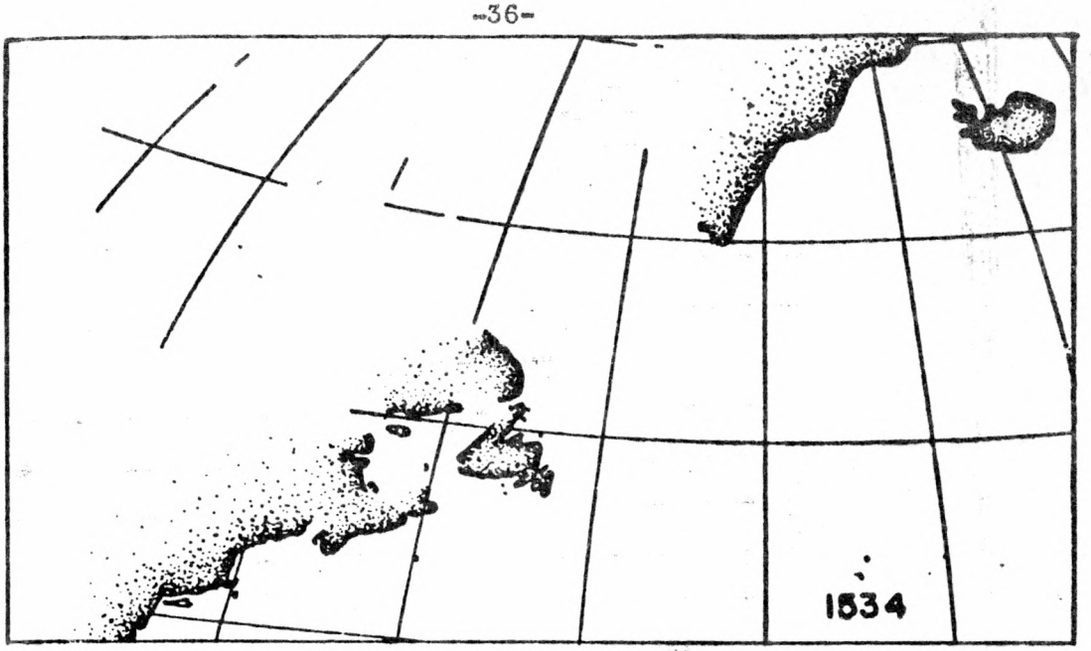
> ...this coaste, from Cape Briton CC. (200) leagues to the south west, was again discovered at the chardges of the cardinall of Burbon by my frende Stephen Bellinger of Roan, the laste yere, 1583. whoe founde a towne of fourscore houses, covered with the barkes of trees, upon a rivers side, about C. leagues from the aforesaid Cape Briton. He reporteth that the contrie is of the temperature of the coaste of Gascoigne and Guyan. He broughte home a

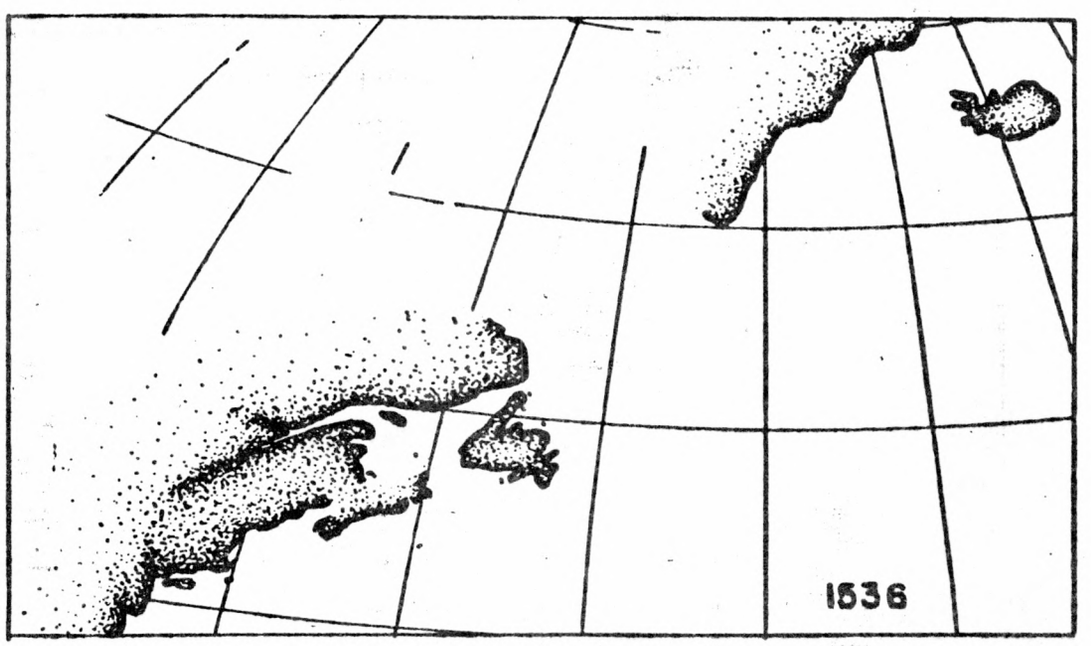
> kinde of mynerall matter supposed to holde silver, whereof he gave me some; a kynde of muske called castor; divers beastes skynnes, as bevers, otters, marternes, lucernes, seales, buffs, dere skynnes, all dressed and painted on the innerside with divers excellent colours, as redd, tawnye, yellowe, and vermillyon,—all which thinges I sawe; and divers other marchandize he hath which I saw not. But he told me that he had CCCC. and xl crownes for that in Roan, which, in trifles bestowed upon the savages, stoode him not in fortie crownes. And this yere, 1584, the Marques de la Roche wente with three hundred men to inhabite in those partes, whose voyadge was overthrowen by occasion that his greatest shippe of CCC. tonnes was caste awaye over against Burwage, and so the enterprize for this yere ceseth... (Hakluyt, 1877, p. 26).

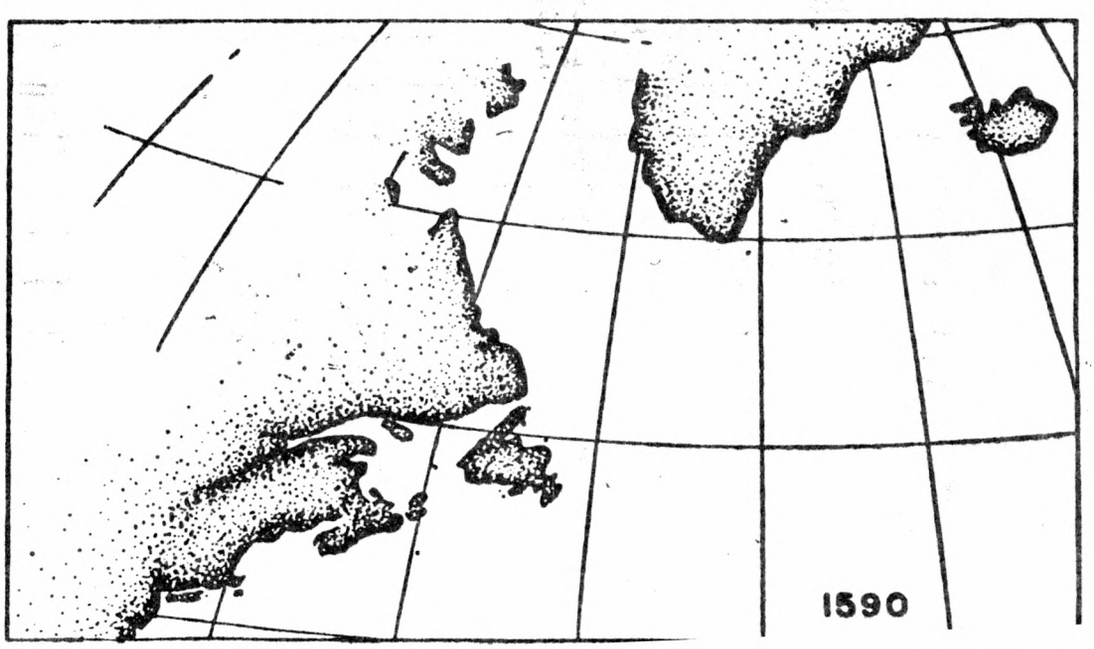
The competition between the French and English became serious, with omens for the future, during the year 1591, at which date the Bristol seamen captured the French vessel Bonaventure which was returning from the Gulf, and learned the exact location of the island of Ramea (Magdalen Islands), where it had shipped a cargo of walrus-oil. From the accounts of the voyage, given in Hakluyt (1599-1600, Vol. 3, p. 191), we learn that:

> ...about the said Island are very great beasts as great as oxen, which haue two great teeth in their mouthes like vnto Elephants teeth, and liue also in the sea. Wee saw

Fig. 2. European discovery in the North Atlantic between 1534 and 1590, reconstructed from textual and cartographical sources.


1534


1536


1590

one of them sleeping vpon the banke of the water, and thinking to take it, we went to it with our boates, but so soone as he heard vs, he cast himselfe into the sea. Touching these beasts which Iaques Carthier saith to be as big as Oxen and to haue teeth in their mouthes like Elephants teeth: True it is that they are called in latine Boues Marini, or Vaccae Marinae, and in the Russia tongue Morsses, the hides whereof I haue seene as big as any Oxe-hide, and being dressed I haue yet a piece of one thicker then any two Oxe or Buls hides in England. The Leather-dressers take them to be excellent good to make light targets against the arrowes of the Sauages; and I hold them farre better then the light leather targets which the Moores vse in Barbarie...The teeth of the sayd fishes, whereof I haue seene a dryfat full at once, are a foote and some times more in length: and haue bene sold in England to the combe and knife-makers, at 8 groats and 3 shillings the pound weight, whereas the best Iuory is sold for halfe the money: the graine of the bone is some-what more yellow then the Iuroie...

With these spoils in the offing, the English wasted little time in sending their own vessels into the Gulf. The first of these--the Marigold and the "shippe of Master George Drake of Apsham"--sailed in 1593. The latter ship reached the ialand of Ramea too late in the season to obtain walruses, and seized

a ship from St. Malo instead. The Marigold missed the island completely, and finally fell in with Cape Breton.

Here diuerse of our men went on land upon the very Cape, where, at their arriuall they found the spittes of Oke of the Sauages which had roasted meate a litle before. And as they viewed the countrey they sawe diuers beastes and foules, as blacke Foxes, Deere, Otters, great foules with redde legges, Pengwyns, and certain others. But hauing found no people here at this our first landing wee went againe on shipboorde, and sayled farther foure leagues to the West of Cape Briton, where wee sawe many Seales. And here hauing neede of fresh water we went againe on shore. And passing somewhat more into the land, wee founde certaine round poundes artificially made by the Sauages to keepe fish in, with certaine weares in them made to take fish. To these pondes wee repayred to fill our caske with water. Wee had not bene long here, but there came one Sauage with blacke long hayre hanging about his shoulders, who called unto us, weauing his hands downewarde towardes his bellie, vsing these wordes, Calitogh — Calitohg: as wee drewd towardes him one of our mens musket unawares shot off: whereupon hee fell downe, and rising up suddenly againe hee cryed thrise with a loude voyce Chiogh, Chiogh, Chiogh. Thereupon nine or tenne of his fellowes running right up ouer the bushes with great agilitee and swiftnesse came towardes us with white staues in their

hands like halfe pikes, and their dogges of colour blacke not so bigge as a greyhounde followed them at the heeles; but wee retired unto our boat without any hurt at all receiued. Howbeit one of them brake an hogshead which wee had filled with fresh water, with a great branche of a tree which lay on the ground. Upon which occasion we bestowed halfe a dousen muskets shotte upon them, which they auoyed by falling flatte to the earth, and afterwarde retired themselues to the woodes. One of the Sauages, which seemed to bee their Captaine, ware a long mantle of beastes skinnes hanging on one of his shoulders. The rest were all naked except their priuities, which were couered with a skinne tyed behinde. After they had escaped our shotte they made a great fire on the shore, belike to giue their fellowes warning of us... (Hakluyt, 1599-1600, Vol. 3, p. 192).

In 1594, the Grace of Bristol sailed to the island of Assumption or Naticostec hoping to find the place where whales went to die. Not being successful, the ship sailed back to Newfoundland and made up a cargo of fish. In 1597, the Hopewell of London sailed to the island of Ramea to obtain a cargo of walrus-oil, and became embroiled in a skirmish with ships from St. Malo. Withdrawing from the imbroglio, the ship set sail for Cape Breton, and engaged in fishing. Here they encountered natives, who, after a preliminary meeting, came to trade in considerable numbers:

> ...The next day being the first of July, the rest of the Sauages came unto us, among whom was their king, whose name was Itarey, and their queene, to whom also we gaue coats and kniues, and other trifles. These Sauages called the harborow Cibo.. (Hakluyt, 1599-1600, Vol. 3, p. 198).

From here the Hopewell proceeded to Newfoundland, where she captured one Spanish ship and one from Bell Isle (France), The voyage thus being a success, she proceeded home.

At the end of the sixteenth century, therefore, the coasts of the Micmac country had been largely explored and surveyed, and were yearly visited by large numbers of ships engaged not only in the fishery but also in a fur trade. The magnitude of this trade is difficult to estimate, but with as many as 200 ships reported gathering annually at Prince Edward Island the total number along the entire coast must have run into several thousand. Not only did these ships come from the west French ports, but also from the Basque country, from Spain, Portugal, England, Ireland, and the Netherlands—many of these latter nationalities in fact had French pilots to guide them in their navigation. The number of furs obtained by these various ships is also difficult to estimate, but from one account we hear that Basque interlopers obtained 6000 skins from the Port Royal sector of Nova Scotia in 1606 (Biggar, 1901, pp. 62-63). The extensive contact implied by this trade and barter system is one of the most difficult things of all to evaluate—but is

crucial for any understanding of the "aboriginal" nature of the Micmac culture as described to us in the numerous 17th century sources. As we shall later, certain of the implications of this trade are of considerable importance in any consideration of Micmac economic and subsistence activities.

In the foregoing pages we have been concerned at some length with the events taking place along the Micmac shores during the 16th century—at some length because the nature and condition of the source materials is such that a simple, cohesive, and continuous synthesis cannot easily be made. We have only items scattered in time as well as in space, and it is necessary for this fact to be fully appreciated before the significance of the information available can be understood to full advantage. Now that we have covered the larger part of the enterprises known to us upon these shores it is possible and desirable for us to review it briefly.

Taking all the facts into consideration, it seems fairly safe to accept the date of 1504 for the discovery of Cape Breton; the discovery certainly could not have taken place much later since this landmark appears on Italian maps of c.1508. The nature of contact and discovery is unknown to us—tradition states merely that the discoverers were French Bretons, and we may reasonably assume that they were fishermen. This being the case, we may suspect that these men returned to their newly-found fishing grounds and possibly traded on various occasions with the inhabitants of the region. By the time

of Verrazano's voyage, contact between Indians and Whites in the region seems to have been sufficient to give the natives a perfectly clear picture of the character and interests of their visitors—and even to give some of the inhabitants (e. g., Verrazano's "bad people") some strong opinions with respect to the Whites. The Cartier sources confirm this impression of Indian familiarity with European trading practices, and indicate that some of the tribes went to great trouble and labor to meet the fishing fleets and to trade with them. Although the sources decline after the Cartier-Roberval-Alphonse enterprises, we have adequate reason to think that the fisheries and the fur-trade expanded greatly during the period 1543-1580, and the materials from the end of the century seem to reflect this. For the ethnology of the Micmac this history holds several implications of considerable importance—in fact, this early contact and trade may have been crucial for Micmac culture and population. Unfortunately the anthropologist can only guess as to the specific effects of the contact, and must proceed to the materials deriving from the 17th century and later. When dealing with these later materials he must always remember that the events of the 16th century may have been sufficiently important to render the 17th century culture of the Micmac definitely unaboriginal.

The French Colonization

The history of the Micmac lands during the 17th century is considerably easier to tell than that of the 16th. This

was the century of the first large scale and successful attempts at colonization, of French governmental interest and control, and of the first "official" French and English conflict. This is also the period from which we obtain our best descriptions of the natives and their way of life—a fact which makes it largely unnecessary for us to turn to scattered and isolated accounts as we did for the foregoing interval. The nature and origin of these accounts will be discussed in the course of the historical summary.

At the beginning of the 17th century the French government, faced with an increasing intrusion of foreign vessels into the St. Lawrence Gulf and with the danger of losing its claim and hold on the region, changed its policy from one permitting free trade to one of granting a monopoly of the fur-trade within to certain companies for limited amounts of time. One basic condition attached to all of these monopolies was that the company transport and establish a given number of colonists. Due to various circumstances, however, all of the monopoly companies failed to satisfy this requirement.

The first of the monopoly companies was that organized and headed by Pierre Chauvin, Sieur de Tonnetuit, which was given control of the fur-trade within the Gulf. The site proposed for settlement by this organization was Tadoussac, and in 1600 it transported 16 colonists to this locality and disembarked them. These colonists were removed the following summer, after having spent a miserable winter, and they were

not replaced; instead the company spent its time solely in the fur-trade. Trading also constituted the sole activity in the 1602 season, in which year the monopoly was revoked. At this time the government set up a Commission to investigate ways and means of regulating the trade, and appointed Sieur de Chaste, vice-admiral in the navy and governor of Dieppe, as regulators, as well as Captain Chauvin. In 1603 this Commission allowed only two ships to trade within the region in question. The Commission also sent out a ship commanded by Dupont-Gravé and Samuel de Champlain with the task of re-exploring the St. Lawrence and finding a favorable site for a new settlement. This exploration, described by Champlain in his Des Savvages, ov, Voyage de Samuel Champlain de Brovage, fait en la France nouuelle, l'an mil six cens trois... (1603), took the French up the St. Lawrence river from Tadoussac as far as the "river of the Iroquois" (the Richelieu river), and yielded considerable information concerning the condition of the natives and the nature of the land. Upon the expedition's return to France, however, it was learned that the leader, Sieur de Chaste, had died, and that the future of the Commission and its task was in doubt. After an appeal on the part of Champlain to the king, the monopoly was granted to Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Monts, and preparations were begun for a new attempt at colonization (Biggar, 1901, pp. 38-50).

As a result of the survey made by Dupont-Gravé and Champlain, de Monts decided to direct his colony to warmer regions, to the coasts of Acadia, which region had been added to his monopoly.

Unfortunately, the site chosen for the first settlement was the island of Ste. Croix, at the mouth of the St. John river on the west coast of the Bay of Fundy. The establishment suffered from exposure to the elements, shortage of fuel and drinking water, as well as of a power supply (water power for a mill) and little or no game. After a bright start in the summer and autumn of 1604, the situation of the colony rapidly became grim, so that only 44 of the original 79 settlers survived.

While de Monts was establishing his colony upon Ste. Croix during the late summer and fall of 1604, Champlain was carrying out an exploration of the coast to the south, the important account of which he published as chapter five of his Les Voyages dv Sievr de Champlain Xaintongeois, Captaine ordinaire pour le roy, en la marine... (1613). The information here presented on the location of tribes in the Penobscot region is invaluable to us, and we will refer to it at a later time.

After the arrival of de Monts' ships in June of 1605, it was decided to move the settlement to a better location. For this purpose de Monts and Champlain undertook another voyage to the south, this time reaching as far as Cape Cod. The account of this venture occupies chapters seven to nine of Champlain's Les Voyages... (1613).

At the conclusion of this 1605 exploration the question of where to locate the settlement still remained, and it was decided finally to move for the next season to the harbor of

Port Royal (the present-day Annapolis Royal) in western Nova Scotia. The winter here proved to be milder, yet 12 of the 45 colonists died from scurvy, and others were left in a weak condition. Nevertheless, with the arrival of spring the men of the settlement attempted another exploration to the south, but the expedition was shipwrecked before it was fairly started. After this disaster, another pinnance which had been building was completed, and it was decided to sail it to Cape Breton for aid. Before the voyage was six days old, however, the relief-ships of de Monts were sighted, and a return was made to Port Royal. Since no new localities for a settlements had been found, it was decided to remain at Port Royal. This time somewhat more adequate preparations were made for the winter, some gardens being planted which provided the colonists with some badly needed fresh vegetables. This third winter of 1606-1607 again brought deprivation and scurvy, but the losses were not as great as during previous winters. In the spring of 1607 the news came that the company was faced with dissolution, and the colony was abandoned.

Among the passengers on the ships coming to the relief of the Port Royal colony in the summer of 1606 was Marc Lescarbot, later author of the important work entitled Histoire de la Novvelle-France, Contenant les navigations, découvertes, & habitations faites par les François és Indes Occidentales & Nouvelle-France..., first published in 1609. Lescarbot seems to have been born at Vervins near Laon about 1570, and was

educated for a law practice. His experiences at the Bar seem to have left him rather disenchanted, however, a fact which often expresses itself in his poetry and other writing, and which seems to have been the basic factor in his decision to visit the New World. Through his acquaintance with De Poutrincourt, who had been granted the site of Port Royal by de Monts, Lescarbot received an invitation to join the venture, and quickly accepted it.

At Port Royal, Lescarbot seems to have engaged in the task of preparing gardens with enthusiasm, and when De Poutrincourt and Champlain left for a voyage of exploration between August and November of 1606, Lescarbot was left in charge of the settlement. With the waning of winter, Lescarbot seems to have been a leading force in the preparation of fields for cultivation, and the forced abandonment of the site disappointed him greatly.

After his return to France in the autumn of 1607, Lescarbot resumed his law practice. In the Easter Law Vacation of 1608 his friends prevailed upon him to write up his experiences, which he did, adding also a résume of the explorations of other Frenchmen in the New World. This work was finished in the fall of the same year, and appeared in press early the next year. A second edition was brought out in 1611, which was reprinted without changes in 1612. A third extensively revised edition appeared in 1617, and is the standard text for this work.

For us the most important aspect of Lescarbot's work is to be found in Books II and III of his Histoire, in which he deals directly with the incidents of the voyage in which he took part and presents us with a short but important ethnography of the natives of the Port Royal region, with comparative notes thrown in regarding other inhabitants of the area. As Biggar comments:

> ...In comparing him with Champlain, who was also present during the same period, one sees that while each is correct in his own way their points of view are so different that they seldom touch upon the same matters. Champlain is above and beyond all a discoverer and geographer, while Lescarbot's interests lie more in the system of government of the colony and in the customs of the savages. To one brought up on the classics these strange people offered a most interesting field for comparative study. Book III gives the results of inquiries into Indian customs and as a study of their habits deserves much more attention than has hitherto been paid to it... (Biggar, 1901, p. 255).

Besides his Histoire, Lescarbot also wrote some shorter works on New France, among which we may mention his La Conversion des Sauvages qui ont esté baptizes en la Nouvelle France, cette année 1610, and his Les Muses de la Nouvelle France. In summary, we may state that this French lawyer presents us with some of the best information we have on the early experiences of the

French around Nova Scotia, and gives us our first relatively complete description of the natives of this region.

While the French were attempting to establish a permanent settlement in their more northerly possession, the English were engaged in a similar enterprise to the south. After the loss of their Roanoke colony in 1587 there had been a temporary cessation of activity. In 1602 Bartholemew Gosnold led a venture to the coast of Massachusetts and established a fort and storehouse on Cuttyhunk Island of the Elizabeth Islands group near Martha's Vineyard. The colonists revolted two months after being installed, however, and the entire party returned to England in the same season. The venture was recorded for posterity by Gabriel Archer (The Relation of Captain Gosnold's Voyage to the North Part of Virginia...) and John Brereton (A Brief and True Relation of the Discovery of the North Part of Virginia; Being a Most Pleasant, Fruitful and Commodius Sail; Made this Present Year 1602...). Upon Gosnold's return, two vessels, the Speedwell and the Discoverer were equipped, placed under the command of Martin Pring, and dispatched in April of 1603. From the account of this voyage preserved in Purchas His Pilgrimes... we know that the scene of operations lay in the vicinity of the Penobscot river. In the year 1605 George Waymouth conducted further explorations around the mouth of the Penobscot, and obtained an important vocabulary from the Etechemin tribe living there, preserved only in Purchas' version of the Rosier account.

During the few years following Gosnold's venture, the coast of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine became favorite resorts for English fishermen, who especially congregated around Pemaquid and Monhegan. After 1605 Popham and Gilbert apparently sent several vessels upon the New England coast, and in 1607 and 1608 they attempted to establish a settlement at Sagadahock near the mouth of the Kennebec river. The history of this venture, which failed, is preserved in large part in Strachey's Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia...

In the year 1609 the French government switched from a policy of supporting the monopoly companies to one permitting free trade in the region. Thanks to contacts established in the St. Lawrence river region during their explorations there, and to the establishment of a factory at Quebec, the organization headed by de Monts and Champlain operated with a considerable advantage, and was soon able to control the trade over a very large sector of the best fur country. Champlain reinforced his friendship with the natives by aiding them in their wars with the Iroquois. The period of free trade continued until 1613, during which time the French made considerable progress in acclimating themselves and gaining experience in dealing with the natives. The company employees at Quebec no longer suffered from cold or scurvy; the settlement at Port Royal, which had been reinstalled by Poutrincourt in 1610, did not yet enjoy this immunity. In the next year, the situation at this latter colony suffered a setback of some proportions; one which boded

ill for the future of the entire French settlement (Biggar, 1901, pp. 69-91).

The 1610 season went largely as those previously, except that the competition was greater than before. In the fall, Poutrincourt sent his son, Saint-Just, back to France with a load of furs. After settling his business, the latter went to the French Court to give the Queen-Mother his regrets over the death of the king. Here he received a request from one of the Court ladies to transport two Jesuits to New France, who were to begin the conversion of the Savages of these parts. The presence of these Jesuits, Father Pierre Biard and Father Ennemond Massé, proved to be disrupting almost from the beginning. Due to the unpopularity of the Jesuit Order in France at the time, two half-partners in the company in Dieppe refused to transport the priests, and had to be bought out by the Court and their shares transferred to the Jesuits, who thus became half-owners in the ventures. Sailing in January of 1611, the priests arrived at Port Royal at the end of May, and became interested partners in the fur-trade, much to the annoyance of Saint-Just and the other merchants. Disputes became common, and feelings ran so high that the Jesuits wrote to their sponsor, Madame de Guercheville, asking her to provide funds so that they could establish an entirely separate colony. The small colony recived some additional supplies from Poutrincourt in January of 1612, as well as another Jesuit to add fuel to the fire. In March of 1613 a ship arrived from Madame de Guercheville and the Jesuit

Order and took on board the priests from Port Royal. Proceeding down the coast, they finally stopped at Frenchman's Bay, on the coast of Maine, and prepared to disembark. This activity was abruptly terminated, however, by the sudden appearance of an English ship from the Jamestown colony, under the command of Samuel Argall. The French vessel was seized, half of the crew and passengers captured, and their baggage plundered. Removed to Jamestown, they were threatened with death by hanging, but were preserved from this fate by Argall. The English governor of the colony decided to remove his competition, even though the two nations were at peace, and organized a raid upon the French settlements of Acadia, with Argall as commander. The French buildings on the Maine coast were destroyed, as well as those at Ste. Croix and Port Royal. After this the French priests and captives were taken to England, and were later released (Biggar, 1901, pp. 78, 91-93; Tebbel, 1948, pp. 30-42).

Father Pierre Biard, one of the Jesuit priests involved in this important encounter and controversy, constitutes one of our primary sources for this period, leaving us a number of accounts of the events in New France. He was born at Grenoble in the year 1557, and entered the Jesuit Order at some unknown date. Being a good student, he soon rose in favor and ended up with the chair of scholastic theology at Lyons. In 1608 he was ordered to take charge of the mission about to be sent to Acadia; the party did not actually leave, however, until the spring of 1611. His first letter of ethnographic importance

was written from Port Royal on June 10, one month after his arrival, and was entitled, "Lettre du P. Biard, au R. P. Christophe Baltazar, Provincial de France à Paris" (published in the Jesuit Relations [JR.], Vol. 1, pp. 138-183). In his second important dispatch, which bore the same title but was written on January 31, 1612, Biard described his difficulties with the native speech and presented considerable information on the nature of early Indian-English relationships in the Kennebec area (see JR., Vol. 2, pp. 4-55). A third letter, written the same day, and published as Missio Canadensis. Epistola ex Portu-regali in Acadia, was largely a Latin translation of the letter mentioned immediately preceeding, except for an important passage describing the nature of the country and the natives (see JR., Vol. 2, pp. 57-117). Biard's last work, and his important, was his Relation. This was written after his return to France, between May of 1614 and January of 1616, and was printed in two editions, which differ considerably from each other. The earliest, bearing the title, Relation de la Novvelle France, de ses Terres, Natvrel dv Païs, & de ses Habitans... (1616), is the longest, the most complete, and the most important. The second, entitled Relatio Rervm Gestarum in Novo-Francia Missione, Annis 1613 & 1614... (1618), seems to be largely a Latin abridgment of the earlier work, with most of the ethnographic information deleted (see JR., Vol. 3, pp. 21-283; Vol. 4, pp. 8-167; and Vol. 2, pp. 193-285). The information presented by Biard in his writing is of considerable importance, but must be used with some caution because of the

philosophical attitudes and biases associated with missionary status, and because of Biard's personal antagonisms and difficulties. These are discussed at some length by Biggar (1901, pp. 261-270).

Following the English attack the French abandoned their permanent settlements in the Acadian sector and concentrated their activities with the Gulf to the north. In their wake the fur-trade was taken over by the English, who had learned that it was an exceedingly profitable business. One of these English traders, and the one on whom we depend for the history of this interval, was no other than Captain John Smith, who left us several printed works relating to the trade and tribes of the New England coast. The earliest of these was A Description of New England: of the Observations, and Discoveries of Captain Iohn Smith (Admirall of that Countrey) in the North of America... (1616), while the second description appeared in Smith's The General History of Virginia, New England, and of the Summer Isles... (1624). The third and last appeared as Advertisements for the unexperienced Planter of New England, or any where... (1631). For many of the coastal tribes these works constitute our only source of information, and their importance therefore cannot be overestimated.

Between the years 1613 and 1621 no new action was taken towards colonizing Acadia, although trading was vigorous throughout the region. Saint-Just seems to have re-established

his trade and post at Port Royal, although it is not known whether, or how often, this site was inhabited through the winter. To the south both English and Dutch carried out a brisk business. In the year 1621, however, a new attempt at colonization arose in an unexpected quarter, for Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, at this time interested King James of England in the founding of a colony to lie between "New England and Newfoundland." At the request of the king, the Privy Council granted Sir William Alexander the tract of land embracing present-day Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, part of the State of Maine, and the portion of the Province of Quebec south of the St. Lawrence, designated by the title of "New Scotland." The grant completely disregarded all French claim to the area under consideration, the English not recognizing any French rights in the area. Sir William Alexander proposed to set up a colony along feudal European lines—purchasers of land being the only ones to receive any rights, and artisans and other workers being required, after a certain period of time, to give one-thirteenth of their land revenue to the Lieutenant-General. Although difficulties were encountered in obtaining volunteers, the first ship dispatched towards Cape Breton in the summer of 1622. This vessel was forced to take shelter at St. John's in Newfoundland, where the company decided to winter. When Sir William's second vessel arrived here late in the summer of 1623 it was discovered that the members of the earlier party had already hired themselves out among the numerous fishing

vessels of the area, and could not be reassembled. The second party therefore contented themselves with a survey of the coast of Acadia, and in obtaining a cargo of cod. Sir William Alexander's first enterprise thus ended without any progress having been made.

Sir William now endeavoured to encourage colonization of New Scotland by another device. By royal decree, 100 baronets of the kingdom of New Scotland were created, the only requirement being the payment to Sir William of 1000 "markis Scottis money." Farmers and laborers still served under a system of indenture, however. Since a sufficient number of candidates were still not forthcoming, the title of knighthood was added to the inducements. By the summer of 1626 enough titles had been sold to allow the venture to proceed, and preparations were made to send out colonists in 1627 or 1628.

While all this was going on, troubles were arising from another source. In 1626 Richelieu gained control of the offices of commerce of the French government, and moved to strengthen France at home and abroad. In 1627, therefore, he formed the "Compagnie de la Novvelle France," which took over the activities of all other French enterprises in the area. Plans were rapidly carried forward for a large number of colonists to be sent to Quebec to occupy the territory and to keep the English in check.

The English viewed this activity with alarm, since it constituted a threat to their own plans and since a state of war between the two countries was impending. An expedition of

three ships, under the command of Jarvis Kirke, was therefore formed. After escorting Sir William's colonists to Port Royal, Kirke then proceeded northward, destroying the French fishing huts and buildings at Miscou, raided Tadoussac, and captured 18 ships. In the following year, 1629, Kirke again raided into the St. Lawrence and captured Quebec, which had been starved into submission, and also captured most of the French fleet which had been sent out in that year. Thus, the English had, for the first time, gained complete control of New France and of the associated fur-trade. Much to their disappointment they were not allowed to keep it.

While Kirke was thus busily engaged in the battle for New France, the English colony at Latour's old quarters at Port Royal was engaged in strengthening its position and preparing for the winter, much to the amazement and alarm of La Tour, who was occupying the quarters at Cape Sable he had inherited from Saint-Just. Since the French were the weaker, however, they gave no opposition. Like the French, the English discovered that the most serious hurdle to colonization in New France was the winter; being relatively unprepared, and not knowing what to expect, the colonists suffered severely, some 30 dying out of 70. Like the French, they also discovered that the first winter was the worst, and they remained at Port Royal for three more seasons without any other such ill-effects. In 1630 the Compagnie de la Nouvelle France succeeded in reinforcing La Tour at Cape Sable, and he then decided to establish a fort at the mouth of the St. John to counterbalance the

English establishment at Port Royal. This fort was completed in 1631, in time to see the rival colony at Port Royal reinforced with a new consignment of immigrants. The French also managed to send supplies to their beleaguered countrymen, but due to a dispute which broke out between them and some Basques and Indians, and due to the capture of one of their vessels by Kirke, the fleet was forced to return home empty-handed. In 1632 this game of chess was interrupted by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, by the terms of which England returned Quebec and Port Royal to France, and evacuated her colonists. Once more the French were in sole possession of "La Nouvelle France" (Biggar, 1901, pp. 121-166; Patterson, 1893).

The part which the Indians played in this maneuvering is difficult to assess. The documents of this period rarely mention them, from which we may possibly deduce that they were merely taking the position of bystanders. The explanation of the situation is best given by a report of His Majesty's Commissioner, quoted by Patterson (1893, pp. 92-93):

> The remainder of this French collony (after Argall's raid), not having occasion to be transported to France, stayed in the contrie. Yet, they were neglected by the State not owning them any more, and hardly supplied in that which was necessary for them by voluntary aduenturers, who came to trade, in hopes of their commodities, in exchange of what they bought.

After that the Scottish Colonie was planted at Port Royall, they and the French who dwelt there hauing met with the Commanders of the nation, called by them Sagamoes, did make choice of one of the cheefe of them, called Sagamo Segipt, to come, in the name of the rest, to his Ma'tie's subjects, craueing only to be protected by his Ma'tie, who did promise to protect them, as he reported to the rest at his return.

Monsr. La Tour, who was chief commandr of the few French then in that countrie, being neglected (as is sayd) by his own countriemen, and finding his Ma'ties title not so much as questioned, after their beeing expelled from Port Royall, and the coming in of the Scottish necessary for his security, did along with the same, Sagamo, come offring and demanding the like in the name of the French who liue here: so that his Ma'tie hath a good right to Nova Scotia by discouery, by possession of his Ma'ties subjects, by removing of the French, who had seated themselves at Port Royall, and by Monsr. La Tour, commandr of them there his turning Tenant, and by the volontarie hauing tenents of the rest to his Ma'tie, and that no obstacle might remain, the very sauages, by their commissioner, willing offring their obedience vnto his Ma'tie; so that his Ma'tie is now bound in honor to maintaine them...

A further proof of the friendly relations existing between the

Indians and the English settlers, and corroboration of the above account, is to be found in a royal letter of February 12, 1630, describing the visit of "the king, queen, and young prince of New Scotland" to the English court (Patterson, 1893, p. 95). This state of affairs allows us to conclude that either the Micmac at this early period had not yet had any unfavorable experiences with the English, unlike the Armouchiquois of the Kennebec (Biard, 1612; in JR., Vol. 2, pp. 45-47), or that they were extremely opportunistic and diplomatic. Although the former possibility seems the more likely, the continued presence and persistence of the Micmac when all the surrounding tribes had been reduced leads us to suspect that the last alternative may also have been true.

After the defeat of the French armada by Kirke, Richelieu determined to regain the colony. At the time of the treaty of St. Germain another armada was being prepared for this purpose, and was to sail under the command of Isaac de Razilly, who was commissioned as Governor to take over Acadia. With the signing of the peace treaty the martial aspects of the fleet were rendered unnecessary. Nevertheless, the fleet sailed and proclaimed to the Acadian French their return to the folds of the Motherland, Razilly taking up a grant on the River and Bay of Ste. Croix; while Charles Ettiene de La Tour, eldest and surviving son of Claude de La Tour, received the Isle of Sable and ten leagues upon the adjourning sea coast and a correspond-

Fig. 3. Northeastern North America as depicted on the Sanson chart of 1656, here reproduced from the 1692 unedited reprint in Joannis Luyts, Philosophiae Professoris, Introductio ad Geographiam Novam et Veterem; ... (1692, opp. p. 694).

ing extent inland at La Have, and a similar one at Port Royal and at Minas, with all the adjourning islands. Monsieur Denys, the remaining grantee, received all that portion of Acadia lying between Canseau and the Bay of Gaspé and draining into the St. Lawrence Gulf. After taking office, Razilly built a fort at La Have (with the permission of La Tour), captured the English fort at Pemaquid, and settled between 100 and 200 permanent immigrants in the area.

When Razilly died in 1636, his position was taken over by his lieutenant, Charles de Menou, Seigneur d'Aulnay de Charnisay, and Acadian history entered its most complicated and confused period. The highlight was an intensely bitter struggle for power between D'Aulnay and La Tour. Quoting Drebner (1927, pp. 28-29):

> ...They were rivals for control of the lucrative fur trade, particularly that of the mainland, and they were almost egged on to war by an ignorant grant of Feb. 10, 1638, which gave D'Aulnay the coveted north shore of the Bay of Fundy, but not the depot at St. John, and La Tour the peninsula, but not Port Royal. Razilly's chief station had been at La Hève (on the Atlantic Coast), but D'Aulnay founded the new and lasting fort-site on the south shore of Port Royal. Thus the rivals each had as his stronghold the natural headquarters of the other.

The feudal war which followed implicated Canada and Boston as well as Acadie and France. Its course was complicated and has been the subject of controversy ever since, and the attempts to make either one of the contestants a heroic patriot seem besides the mark. Each did his best to use Boston against the other, and the canny Puritans debated long and vigorously in order to make sure that their aid should preserve that kind of balance of power which weakens both enemies. In the course of the struggle, La Tour managed to borrow money in Boston by mortgaging all his property to a certain Major Gibbons, and his wife conducted a successful suit there for breach of charter party, neither a mean achievement. Ultimately, however, D'Aulnay discredited La Tour in New England and thereupon broke his strength in Acadie.

Throughout the vicissitudes of the struggle, as recorded in the highly contradictory contemporary records, D'Aulnay tended to be eclipsed by the daring irrepressibility of his rival. The latter could be discredited in France and needed only to visit the Court to convince it of his patriotic probity. He could be honored in Quebec by a salute of cannon and in Boston by a town meeting. Whatever his religious convictions may have been, he was able to adapt his outward profession to the varying environments of Paris and London, Boston and Quebec. He was alternately ruined and triumphant, but apparently did not know the mean-

ing of defeat. The record of his rival is distinctly less spectacular. He, too, had his ups and downs, but they were mild in comparison. By seventeenth century standards there is no question as to who was the better man. Combat, however, did not decide the issue. Indeed by that test the advantage was D'Aulnay's, for in his rival's absence he captured Fort St. John with its stores and goods, and saw its heart-broken gallant defendress, Mme. La Tour, die a prisoner in his hands. The end of the struggle was accidental. On May day in 1650 D'Aulnay's canoe capsized on a sand-bar at L'Esturgeon, about five miles up the river from his fort, and he died of the resultant exposure. La Tour, alone on the field, took full advantage of his opportunity. In 1651 he secured a new royal patent as Governor and Lieutenant General in Acadie, and in 1653 he obtained personal control of the local situation by the simple expedient of marrying D'Aulnay's widow. By the combination of their interests most of the causes of disorder in the province were dissolved and, although the groom was about sixty years of age, the bride bore him five children. It is a reminder of the times and an addition to the portrait of the man, that his will provided that Catholic and Protestant educators should divide between them the custody and education of his children...

After D'Aulnay's demise, La Tour's hold on Acadia was challenged by a certain La Tour le Borgne, a creditor of D'Aulnay, who accused La Tour of heresy and maintaining Protestant principles and obtained a decree in France empowering him to take over his deceased debtor's grant. Thus armed he prepared to make himself master of all Acadia. After attacking Chedabucto and destroying it, and sending Denys in chains to Port Royal, he attacked La Have and destroyed it also. He then proceeded to Port Royal and prepared to attack La Tour in his fort on the St. John.

Le Borgne's campaign was interrupted in 1654, however, by the appearance of an English force sailing under orders from Cromwell and the Commonwealth. This expedition captured La Tour's fort, and then proceeded to Port Royal, which fell with little opposition. La Tour, in typical manner, proceeded to take advantage of the situation by allying himself with the English Crown. For this purpose he dusted off a Scottish baroncy title which he claimed to have inherited from Sir William Alexander, and proceeded to London. Here he went into partnership with Thomas Temple (later to be knighted), William Crowne, and the Lord Protector. As token of his suzerainty, Cromwell was to receive twenty moose skins and twenty beaver skins, a tribute which a copyist's error in the letters-patent reduced to twenty "mouse skinns" and twenty beaver skins (Brebner, 1927, pp. 30-32).

This surprising English-French coalition had a short history, however. La Tour retired in favor of Temple and Crowne when they assumed responsibility for his mortgage with Gibbons. Temple and Crowne then fell out among themselves, dividing up their heritage so that the former received Nova Scotia south and west of the Machias River, and the latter what is now the part of Maine lying between that river and Muscongus Bay (Brebner, 1927, pp. 33-34). After this Temple found that his troubles were just beginning, for he found himself ranged against a field of opponents including a groom of the Bedchamber, agents of the Boston faction, the Kirkes, the heiresses of Viscount Stirling, the inheritors of the Gibbons claims, an agent for the Boston traders, and Le Borgne, who kept himself busy raiding Temple's establishments from La Have. As he emerged victorious from this scrimmage he received the coup de grâce, for his country signed the treaty of Breda with France in 1667 and liquidated his claims (Brebner, 1927, pp. 31-35; Haliburton, 1829, pp. 61-64).

Following this declaration there was a short period of peace. In 1670 the colony was formally taken over from Temple by Hubert de Grandfontaine, who set up his headquarters on the St. John river. Until 1688 the calm was broken only by occasional pirate raids on the Acadian villages and on the forts. Although Frontenac was already in Canada, and was engaged in his military reorganization, this did not directly effect the Acadians.

For the Acadians, the "time of troubles" began once more with the treaty of Whitehall (1686), by which England and France agreed that "though the two Countries might be in war in Europe their Colonies in America should continue in peace and neutrality (Webster, 1934, p. 1). In this connection Meneval was appointed Governor of Acadia in 1687, and was informed that his boundary extended to the Kennebec river, and that he was to prevent all foreigners from fishing or trading in his waters. New England naturally resented this action, and in 1688 Sir Edmond Andros ordered Baron St. Castin to surrender the fort of Pentagoet on the Kennebec. When Castin refused, Andros raided the installation and pillaged it. In retaliation, Castin provided the Abnaki with ball and powder, and sent them to raid the English—thereby initiating the "forest wars" of the New England-New France frontier. In 1689, on the eve of King William's war, the Indians attacked and recaptured Fort Pentagoet.

In 1690, the Colony of Massachusetts renewed its attacks upon Acadia, sending out an expedition under Sir William Phips. This force captured Port Royal and plundered the town, proceeded to Chedabucto, which was captured from Denys' successor, Montorgieul, after a brave battle, and then destroyed the town of Isle Percè. After this the defenceless Acadians experienced another attack from two pirate ships, who did much damage. When the new commander, Joseph Robineau de Villebon, arrived,

he replaced the English flag with the French, and used the King's money to succor the victims. While enroute to the fort at St. John, his ship was captured by pirates, and his aide tortured to death. When he finally arrived at St. John, Villebon received promises of aid from the Indians, and the fort (now called Fort St. Joseph) was made a rallying point from which the Indians received arms and supplies for their raids upon New England (Haliburton, 1829, pp. 72-74; Webster, 1934, pp. 8-11).

In 1691 the English frigate, the Sorrel, attempted to capture the supplies for Fort St. Joseph, but was beaten off. In the following year, three English vessels attempted the same achievement, but were engaged and beaten within St. John harbor by two French Men-of-War, who had two companies of soldiers and 60 Micmac Indians upon them. While all this had been going on at sea, Villebon and Father Thury had organized a large raid against the frontier town of York, which had been devastatingly successful, and another large attack against Wells, which failed. Later another attack was made against the English in the Pemaquid fort, but this also failed. The interval between 1693 and 1696 was marked by a slight lull, broken by diplomatic maneuvering and short and inconclusive clashes. In July of 1696, however, the French reduced the Pemaquid Fort. This success had the effect of stirring up the New Englanders to attempting the destruction of the Bay of Fundy settlements, for which purpose they sent out Colonel Benjamin Church with a strong fleet. After ravaging the

French villages he turned to attack the St. John forts, but was beaten off. Immediately afterwards, it was learned that the treaty of Ryswick had been signed, and the war formally came to a halt. Villebon continued to strengthen his establishments, however, and to organize the Indians against the English (Webster, 1934, pp. 11-18).

Acadia and the "Classic Historians"

In the midst of all these alarms and confusions it is relatively difficult to learn what the Indians and the Acadian settlers were doing. The latter are particularly little known, since almost all of the documents of the period derived from soldiers who were not especially concerned with the Habitants, except insofar as they could be called upon for shelter and food. Similarly, the later soldier chronicles were little interested with the Indians excepted insofar as they could be incited into taking up the warpath against the English towns. From the available references, however, Brebner (1927, pp. 37-40) has made the following general summary concerning the Habitants of Acadia:

> ...[In 1670]...there were three hundred and sixty settlers at Port Royal and perhaps another hundred, at the most, could be found in other parts of the colony. There had been, or still existed, settlements at half-a-dozen scattered points between Canso (Chedabucto) and

the Penobscot. All had suffered raids and destruction from time to time and none had known more than ten or fifteen years of uninterrupted existence. The posts on the Atlantic side of the peninsula were fishing stations with only the most vague and temporary agricultural development. Down at Cape Sable a few settlers had established themselves more permanently and securely near the old fort of the La Tours. The most successful farming colony was in the meadows around Port Royal, where a beginning had been made in building the dykes (aboiteaux) which were to characterize the cultivated area of the century almost exclusively for a century. Already, moreover, settlement had begun in the far more extensive marshlands about the Minas Basin and at the head of the Bay of Fundy on the south shore of the Isthmus. Between there and Pentagoet on the Penobscot, there was a gap broken only by the forts and trading stations on the St. John river. Fish and furs were stronger in their allure than farms, but those who sought them contributed very little to the strength of the colony. Ships and depots for supplies did not strike very deep roots in the country. Farms did, and it fell to the farmers to work out their fate in the fate of the land they had tilled and made their own.

We have seen that it is possible that the Acadians were descended through the La Tours and their followers

from some of the earliest settlers in the country. After 1632 their small company was supplemented by the settlers brought out by Razilly, and these again by sixty new arrivals under Grandfontaine. Doubtless the fishing craft from Canada or Newfoundland or France left an occasional man behind, but they and the fur-traders' vessels also afforded an escape from the rigors of the country. The feeble garrisons in the neglected colony were like subsidized groups of settlers and they occasionally augmented the population. Intermarriage with the Indians extended it still further. Yet the Acadian people, who were to number over twelve thousand by the middle of the eighteenth century, could trace back their lineage to about two hundred and fifty original immigrants. Except during very brief intervals they received little continuous aid or protection from their mother country. They were truly a self-made people, and by the opening of the eighteenth century they were native to Acadie. They conquered it to provide themselves with sustenence. They were almost independent of the outside world. They knew little of and cared less for its problems and its politics. The only strong tie connecting them with Europe was their religion, kept alive and real by devoted priests...

They were self-reliant French pioneers and it is important to remember that they were French, for their

Gallic nature differentiated them from their English contemporaries in many respects. For one thing, they were Catholic, and for another, they were gay!! They were not paragons of industry, nor did they produce as fruits of their civilization very much except their skillfully constructed dikes. They showed little passion for education, although their over-burdened priests taught a few of them to write. They were craftsmen of a most practical kind, and equipped themselves not only for agriculture, but for fishing as well. The men were axe-men, builders, and carpenters, and even made some of their tools, although for metal they were dependent on Europe, Quebec, or New England. The women practised the complete round of household tasks to be expected in an almost isolated frontier colony. We hear nothing, however, of decoration or design in their crafts except their love of color and their eagerness to obtain English scarlet cloth. In general, it may be concluded that they were completely competent in a practical way; blessed in the possession of a fertile and easily worked land, and therefore not ridden by a passionate industry; lacking stimulation and criticism from abroad; and content to live for generations much as their fathers had done...

As Brebner (1927, pp. 45-48) points out, "there were, in effect, two Acadies, each important in its own way. The one was the Acadie of the international conflict, the other the

the land settled and developed by the Acadians. They were almost separate geographical entities as well, and as such involved separate populations." The Acadia of the international scene lay south of the St. John river, bordering the English colonies. This was the area of the forts and supply depots, the area in which the Indian allies—Micmacs, Malecites, and Abnakis—regrouped and rested from attacks on the New England towns, and planned new attacks down the numerous war paths. The other Acadia lay to the north and east, along the shores of the Bay of Fundy. Here the Habitants had their peaceful farms and attempted to remain neutral. Unfortunately for them, the terrible Indian attacks from the frontier resulted in brutal reprisals, usually (and easily) directed against the defenceless villages of the Bay of Fundy. The recurrent destruction undoubtedly was a factor in the Acadian philosophy that the acummulation of wordly possessions was not a worthwhile enterprise.

It is a curious but true fact that more is known of the Indian inhabitants of Acadia during the seventeenth century than of the Habitants. We possess three major accounts describing the aborigines of Acadia, and a number of less important items. These three works are respectively: the Description Geographique et Historique des Costes de l'Amerique Septentrionale. Avec l'Histoire naturell du Pais, by Nicolas Denys; the Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspesie, que contient les Moeurs & la Religion des Sauvages Gaspesiens Porte-Croix, Adorateurs du Soleil, &

Fig. 4. The Bellin map of 1755, showing the tribal and place-names associated with the French regime in Canada. Reproduced from the chart entitled, Partie Orientale de la Nouvelle France par Mr. Bellin Ingenieur du Roy et de la Marine. 1755.

d'autres Peuples de l'Amerique Septentrionale, dite le Canada, by Father Chrestien le Clercq; and the Relation du Voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie, ou de la Nouvelle France..., by Sieur de Dièreville.

The first of these authors has already entered our account as a contemporary of La Tour, Razilly, D'Aulnay, Le Borgne, and Temple. He seems to have been born in Tours in 1598, of wealthy parents. From his faulty education it has been concluded that he probably ran away to sea at an early age, and he may have acquired his intimate knowledge of the fishery at this time. So this as it may, we do know that in 1633 he established his first sedentary fishery at Port Rossignol, near the present site of Liverpool in Nova Scotia. A little later he set up another fishery at La Have, at the present Riverport, opposite the fort of his friend Razilly. After Razilly's death, however, D'Aulnay refused to allow Denys to continue his enterprise, and forced him to abandon his post. In 1645 he planted himself at Miscou, and built another post there; this was seized by D'Aulnay in 1647, however, and Denys received no compensation for his loss. In 1650, Denys built another establishment at Saint Peters, and built a fort there, and another at Saint Annes, also in Cape Breton. These were seized by D'Aulnay's widow in 1651. After this loss, Denys retired to a new establishment at Nepisiguit. This, in turn, was seized by Le Borgne in 1653. In the same year, however, fortune turned in Denys' favor, for he received a verification of his grant and obtained powers

giving him full authority within it. Thus armed, Denys recovered his forts and establishments at Saint Peters, Saint Annes, and Nepisiquit, and settled down to some years of relative peace. Here he seems to have engaged in fishing, trading with the Indians, some farming, building small vessels, and lumbering. In 1664 his fortunes again changed, for in this year the Compaigne de la Nouvelle France began to break up his enormous grant into smaller divisions under the justification that Denys had failed to settle colonists as required. In 1667 he received a renewal of his grant and privileges, and was thus given a new opportunity to settle and hold his land. In the winter of 1668-1669, however, he lost his establishment at Saint Peters due to fire, and was almost completely ruined (Denys, 1908, pp. 9-14).

The next few years seem to have been spent either in France or at Nepisiguit, and during this time Denys was busy working on his book. From the King's License appearing in the first volume it seems that this section was completed before September of 1671. The entire work was published in 1672 by two separate publishers, Claude Barbin and Louis Billaine, and is now comparatively rare. A Dutch translation appeared in 1688, and an English translation in 1908, published by the Champlain Society. After the publication of his book Denys resided in France for many years, but finally returned to Nepisiguit, where he died in 1688, slightly short of the age of ninety.

Denys' work may be described as a nonliterary, factual production of some 800 pages. The style is monotonous, often technical, and sometimes ungrammatical. Its first great purpose was to justify the failure of the author's enterprises as being due to the scurilousness of his enemies. Its second purpose was to attract attention to Acadia, and to induce colonization. Therefore the natural advantages of the country are emphasized. It must also be remembered that the work was written largely from memory, and that some of the descriptions relate to events and places which the author had seen some 40 years previously—thus, unless explicitly qualified to the contrary, his descriptions of the Indians refer to their way of life about the period 1633-1640. Distortions and lapses of memory are sometimes obvious; fortunately, those items of greatest interest to Denys are also of greatest interest to us, namely, the cod-fishery and the Indians. Here the book can be trusted in detail, for all those items which we can check from other sources are found to be accurate (Denys, 1908, pp. 14-17, 25-28).

Our other author of importance, Father Chrestien Le Clercq, seems to have been born in the Department of Pas-de-Calais, sometime around the year 1641. He entered into the novitiate of the Recollects, or Reformed Franciscans, and was later chosen for the Canadian missions. In 1675 he landed for the first time in Canada, and took up a post in the Gaspé-Cape Breton mission, which had been assigned to the Recollect Order.

His first station was at Isle Percè, but shortly after he moved to Petite Rivière (Barachois), where Pierre Denys, Sieur de la Ronde, had a fishing and trading post. Here he set himself to learning the native language. In the spring he moved out into the field with the Indians, living in their wigwams on Gaspè Bay, while in the summer of 1676 he lived with the Indians of Restigouche. After spending the autumn at Nepisiguit, he traveled to the Miramichi and remained there until the following summer, preaching and tending the "Nation of the Cross Worshipers." In the summer of 1677 he visited briefly in Quebec. In 1679 he was sufficiently discouraged by his lack of progress in leading his natives up into the Light to write a letter to his Superior questioning the usefulness of continuing the mission. After receiving an unanswerable letter in reply he renewed his labors with renewed vigor. The winter of 1679-1680 was spent in Quebec, and in the summer of 1680 Le Clercq took a trip to France on Recollect business. Returning to New France the following year, he again took up his post among the Micmac, and remained with them until 1686. Then, after eleven years of missionary labor, he retired to France to become the Superior of the Monastery at Lens, a position he probably held until his death in 1695.

Father Le Clercq's work, the Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspesie, was published in the year 1691, and was reprinted in 1692 and 1758. The contents of the book, and the arrange-

ment of sections within it, closely parallel what at present would be called an ethnography. Le Clercq begins with a general sketch of the country of Gaspesia, and then discusses, in the chapter following, the origin of the Gaspesians, their birth, their clothes and finery, their wigwams and dwellings, their manner of life and their food, their ignorance, their language, their religion, the group called by him the "Cross-bearers," their beliefs concerning the immortality of the soul, their superstitions, their rulers and laws, their customs, their manner of marriage, their warfare, their hunting, their feasts, dances, and amusements, their remedies, diseases, and death. The author's own experiences are only mentioned incidentally, and are secondary in the organization of the work. Thus, Le Clercq's Nouvelle Relation practically constitutes an ethnography of the Micmac of the period 1675 to 1686, and stands as an invaluable source.

In contrast with our first two authors, almost nothing is known about Sieur de Dièreville. We know neither his date of birth or death, nor his full name. From remarks made within his work, he seems to have been a French surgeon fresh from medical school, and taking a years vacation visiting Acadia. His classical education led him first to write the story of his experiences in poetry, but the urgings of friends finally led him to recast half of it into prose. Unlike the classics by Lescarbot, Denys, and Le Clercq, the observations of the natives are not complete, in that they do not constitute a complete

picture. Nevertheless, they are of considerable value in helping us to round out our view of the Indians during the late French period. Dièreville's strong points are the Acadian Habitants and food, particularly the latter, for he displays some of the typical points of a French gourmet--to wit:

> I did not fare so ill, for what
> Displeases one, another likes;
> To me the flavour of these Partridges
> Was excellent, and I, at trifling cost,
> On them quite frequently regaled myself.
> I thought them better than in France;
> To me, those of Auvergne and Angoumois
> Have not such quality, and if I had
> To choose, in Banqueting, between the three,
> Those of Acadia I should prefer...
>
> (Dièreville, 1933, p. 104);

and again:

> A Land of Cocagne this might be.
> If but a Hillside of Champagne were there,
> Better than any other it would be.
>
> (Dièreville, 1933, p. 91).

In brief, Dièreville is the gentleman traveler in a frontier town. We have to treat his work accordingly.

Our author sailed from La Rochelle on August 20, 1699, and landed at Port Royal, where he seems to have spent most of his time. Sometime before July 5, 1700, he visited Villebon at Fort Nashwaak on the St. John River. He returned to France on November 9th of the same year, and in 1701 he became surgeon to the hospital at Pont-l'Evêque. His work was not published until 1708, however, and we may suspect from internal evidence that it was rewritten and repolished several times during the interval. In the latter year, three issues were brought; a second edition appeared in 1710 (a pirated version brought out in Amsterdam); a condensed English translation came out in 1714; and a condensed German translation in 1751. In more recent times a French edition, with extensive editorial additions of a rambling nature, appeared in Quebec (1885); and in 1933 the Champlain Society produced its definitive reprint and translation.

These three authors, then, are our major sources for the Micmac ethnography of the latter part of the 17th century, just as Champlain, Lescarbot, and Biard are the major sources for the first part of the period. A number of other works may be mentioned which give us valuable information—both contemporary and later; of these, many derive from the New England colony, and give us material reflecting an entirely different point of view.

The earliest New England relation of interest to us (following those of John Smith) is the work entitled, Relation or

Journal of the beginning and proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plimouth in New England..., written by William Bradfort and Edward Winslow in 1622 under the pseudonyum of Mourt. This was followed in 1630 by Higginson's New-Englands Plantation, and by numerous other accounts, of which we may mention Morton's New English Canaan; or, New Canaan... (1637); Roger Williams' A Key into the Language of America... (1643); Plantagenet's A Description of the Province of New Albion... (1648); Ferdinando Gorges' account of the attempted Kennebec colony, entitled A Briefe Narration of the Originall Undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations into the Parts of America... (1658); Jossolyn's An Account of Two Voyages to New England... (1674); Gookin's Historical Collections of the Indians of New England... (1792). From the French we may also mention a number of official and government documents, such as: Monsieur de Meulles' account of his voyage to Acadia in 1685 and 1686 (first printed in 1935); the Gargas census of Acadia taken in 1687-1688 (first printed in 1935), as well as Gargas' account of his visit; the lettors and papers of Villebon, written between 1690 and 1700 (published by Webster in 1934); and the Cadillac memoir on Acadia written in 1692.

One important account from the 18th century must be mentioned—the work entitled An account of the customs and manners of the Micmakis and Maricheets, savage nations... (1758), written by the Abbé Anthony S. Maillard. Although this does not derive from the time period in question, it must nevortheless be given

careful consideration, for it constitutes a most valuable and interesting source.

Unfortunately, our information about the activities of the Abbé Maillard is extremely scanty, but a preliminary outline can be drawn up. According to Lenhart (in Kauder, 1921, p. v), the Abbé first landed in Acadia at the port of Louisbourg on August 13, 1735, fresh from the Paris Seminary. Some time around 1738, Fathers Maillard, Courtain, and St.-Vincent took over the central Indian mission of MALIGEOETJG or Malagawatch on the western shores of the Labrador (Bras D'Or Lake) of Cape Breton Island. At this time both the church and the glebe house were in ruins, so that it was necessary for Maillard to winter at NALIGITGONIETJG or Antigonish (Pacifique, 1933a, p. 36).

Nothing more is known of Maillard's activities between 1738 and 1745; presumably he spent most of his time at the mission of Malagawatch. In the latter year, however, he was named head missionary of "des sauvages de l'Isle Royale, Naltigonech, Pikitout, et l'Isle Saint-Jean," that is to say, of Cape Breton, Antigonish, Pictou, and Prince Edward Island (Pacifique, 1931, p. 104). In this new capacity Maillard made yearly tours of his territory, ministering to the needs of his charges and presenting them with traditional gifts from the French government. In 1750 Maillard moved the mission from Malagawatch to POTLOTEG or Chapel Island (Indian Island, Port

Toulouse) at the southern entrance to the Labrador. In 1753 Maillard reunited the natives of Prince Edward Island at POGSEG or Charlottetown; previous to this many had lived at MAGPEG or Malpeque Bay, in the western part of the island (Pacifique, 1933a, p. 48; 1929, pp. 40, 42).

In the year 1758, after the fall of Louisbourg and the destruction of the Chapel Island mission, Maillard fled to MALIGOMITJG or Merigomish with his faithful companion Louis Petitpas. Here he was instrumental in negotiating a treaty of peace between the Indians and the English, this being formally signed on November 9, 1761. In recognition of his activities in this direction the English governor invited him to Halifax in 1760, gave him a chapel at the Battery itself, and a salary of £100, like any Minister of the Church of England. Maillard died in Halifax on August 12, 1762, known to the French, English, and Indians alike as the "Apostle to the Micmac" (Lenhart; in Kauder, 1921, p. v; Pacifique, 1931, pp. 100-101).

Maillard's account of the Micmac Indians was written in the form of a manuscript letter on March 27, 1755. Sometime after this date it apparently fell into the hands of the English, and was published in London in 1758, along with several other notes upon the Micmac Indians. The Abbé Maillard is not explicitly indicated in this published work as being the author of the "account," but internal evidence leaves little doubt of

this. Maillard also left a number of works upon the Micmac language, most of which are preserved in the library of the Archbishopric of Quebec.

More recent contributions to our knowledge of the Micmac come from such men as Silas Tertius Rand, Stansbury Hagar, Frank G. Speck, and Frederick Johnson. The information derived from those recent sources will here be employed to supplement and corroborate our historical materials.