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THE MYTH OF THE SAVAGE
AND THE BEGINNINGS OF FRENCH COLONIALISM IN THE AMERICAS

by

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A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate
Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Ph.D. in History

UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA
OTTAWA, CANADA, 1976

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is axiomatic that no one can research and write a thesis without considerable help from a wide variety of persons. The one who must bear the brunt of the project is the adviser; in my case, Dr. Cornelius J. Jaenen has been both generous and unfailingly prompt with advice and comments. His searching questions did much to improve the quality of my work. The doctoral fellowship program of Canada Council provided essential financial backing. Among others to whom I owe particular debts are Margaret Carter, National Historic Sites; Dr. Gordon Day, National Museum of Man; Joe Gatner, Parliamentary Library; Corrie Klugkist, The Hague; Hugh Honour, whose area of research coincided with my own while he was preparing the exhibition "The European Vision of America;" Dr. Julian Dent, University of Toronto; Rev. Lucien Campeau, Université de Montréal; Dr. Nicholas Wickenden, University of Alberta; Robert Mandrou, Université de Paris; and Betsy Comstock, editor. There are also the many archivists, librarians and other personnel of such institutions as La Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the municipal libraries of Rouen, La Rochelle and Dieppe; La Bibliothèque de Versailles; the departmental archives of Charente-Maritime, Seine-Inférieure and Seine-et-Oise; La Bibliothèque de Versailles; Jesuit Archives at Chantilly; the Reading Room, British Museum; John Carter Brown Library, Brown University; and above all, Canada's Public Archives and National Library. Also very helpful were the directors of the Musée des Antiquités and the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Rouen. I would like to express my warmest appreciation to the Computer Services of the University of Alberta, whose Dave Holberton, Ella Ritz, Rose d'Haêne and Heather Bishop, to mention only a few, transformed my much worked-over manuscript into presentable copy. And finally, a word of thanks to Dr. Jacques Monet, University of Ottawa, whose sympathy and support did much to make it all possible.

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THE MYTH OF THE SAVAGE
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Introduction

The fifteenth-century meeting of Amerindians and Europeans was decisive for both, but in opposite ways. For the Amerindians, it meant the destruction of their way of life, from the divine despotism of the Incas and the elective monarchy of the Aztecs, through a variety of hierarchies to the egalitarianism of the peoples without states. For the Europeans, it meant an enormous impetus for forces already in action---the centralization of their nation-states and the rise of capitalism; and eventually, the opening of new intellectual horizons.

This meeting has been commonly characterized as an encounter between civilization (European) and savagery (American). But when one tries to define these terms in relation to the cultures involved, their meanings become elusive. The word "civilized" is usually applied to societies possessing a state structure and an advanced technology which is presumed to imply that its members must therefore have attained a relatively high degree of

refinement in their manner of living.¹ The term "savage" is applied to societies at an early stage of technology, believed to be functioning according to the laws of nature. This line of reasoning infers that Amerindian societies did not match the refinements of those of Europe, and that they were more cruel. Neither of these premises stands up under examination; the sophistication of a cultured Peruvian or Aztec of the fifteenth century stemmed from value systems so different from those of the French, English or Spanish as to elude comparison; yet we know that it was highly developed. On both sides of the Atlantic, public executions of selected victims were ritually practised. In other words, the ocean did not separate civility on one side from savagery on the other.²

¹A recent definition of civilization says it has seven characteristics: subsistence based on agriculture; a relatively large and dense population; efficient system of distribution; diversity of settlement types; centralized state structures; intensive social stratification; extensive occupational specialization. (Edward P. Lanning, Peru Before the Incas, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1967), 3.) Lanning arrived at this definition by listing ancient and modern societies considered civilized, and determining what they had in common. According to Lanning, "tribal" societies may possess one or more of these characteristics, but only civilizations possess them all. See also Colin Renfrew, Before Civilization, (London, 1976), 212-213.

²Efforts to establish this could result in some strained exposition. Consider, for instance, the Jesuit Jean-Paul Mercier trying to explain the French concept of torture to a Huron. (Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, 73 vols., (Cleveland, 1896-1901), XIII: 74.) A recent work dedicated to the idea that Amerindians were "true barbarians" is that of J.H. Kennedy, Jesuit and Savage, (New Haven, 1950: Reprint, Hamden, Conn., 1971.)

This study is not about the clash of civilizations; as A.I. Hallowell has observed, cultures do not clash---people do. However, the reactions aroused in such encounters are profoundly influenced by the cultural orientations of the individuals involved. It is from this point of view that I will examine some of Europe's responses to the richly varied spectrum of Amerindian societies during the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries. This was a crucial period in the development of European-Amerindian relations, as these early reactions were important to the development of attitudes which directly affected later political action. Quite naturally, both Europeans and Amerindians responded in terms that were expressive of their respective cultural values. We know that for the Europeans at least, this was true at all levels of perception, ranging from the physical to the ideological.³ Information from the Amerindian side is scanty, when it exists at all. The inter-play of action and reaction, of attitudes and reality, of the dazzling wealth of the Americas, quickly formed a complex web of motivations and relationships. By classifying Amerindians as savages, Europeans were able to create the ideology that made it

³European perception of Amerindians as expressed in pictorial arts is the subject of an exhibition in honour of the American bicentennial which has been organized by English art historian Hugh Honour. Entitled "The European Vision of America," it was highly acclaimed at its opening in Washington, D.C. Perceptual difficulties are not peculiar to Europeans. The Chinese, in extending their sway over the "barbarians" of Nam-Viet were also the "prisoners of their ecological lexicons." (Edward H. Schafer, The Vermilion Bird, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), 42.)

possible to launch one of the great movements in the history of western civilization: the colonization of overseas empires.

At this point it would seem appropriate to take a brief look at the civilizations Europeans found in the New World. From the aspect of political organization, fifteenth-century America possessed a greater variety of societies than did Europe of the same period. In the Old World, the formation of states had reached the stage where only a few of the earlier types of societies remained in remote areas. In America the situation was reversed and the majority of societies were still without states. Their characteristics were the ones which Europeans identified with the New World.

The most striking of these characteristics were that the people for the most part did not wear clothes and they did not have externalized institutions, such as written codes of law. Power was not vested in a class or an individual; it existed in the society itself, and each man was his own master. Not only did these societies not vest power in their chiefs, they were organized to prevent such a development from taking place. The chief's influence was based on his eloquence and generosity; the result was that he was often the poorest man in the community. He could persuade, but not command, as then no one would follow him. If a rival succeeded in attracting followers, and a split occurred within the group, there was always the option of

breaking away. This tendency of stateless societies toward fragmentation was a major factor in their helplessness when confronted with centralized, aggressive nation-states. In the cases of Peru and Mexico, where centralization had occurred, the process had not been well enough advanced for the people to make a united stand against the Spanish invaders. It is well known, for example, that Hernán Cortés owed much of his success in conquering Mexico to the help of tribes which had not yet been assimilated by the Aztecs. In the northern regions of North America, it was lack of unity which more than any other single factor that assured the destruction of native cultures. Not even such a great leader as Tecumseh, who understood the problem, was able to overcome Amerindian aversion to separating power from the corpus of society.

While such societies could be, and often were, in a state of continual warfare with their neighbours, rather like European nations of the period, they fought for prestige and booty rather than for territorial aggrandizement. In their manner of conducting a war, they did not make the same distinctions as did Europeans in regard to women and children; on the other hand, neither did they seek total destruction of the enemy as did Europeans. The goal of Amerindian wars was to defeat the enemy and to take prisoners. (An illustration of this is the 1615 expedition of the Hurons against the Five Nations, in which Champlain took part. The Huron were content to lift their

siege of a village after they had taken some prisoners, which disgusted Champlain.)

In the realm of subsistence also, Amerindian goals were different from those of Europeans. Amerindians sought to produce only enough for their needs, on the basis of mutual sharing. Surpluses were accumulated for specific purposes such as the feasts which were part of the ritual calendar, or the needs of the chief. In economics (if one can use that term) as well as in warfare, Amerindians and Europeans operated on different principles.

It is evident that the civilizations of the two worlds had little in common.⁴ When their members came into contact, their separate realities were not nearly as important as the perceptions Europeans and Amerindians developed about each other. Europeans formulated their first impressions largely within the framework of their burgeoning printing industry. Accordingly, I will begin my thesis with a brief publications history of some early New World reports, and the rise of a new fashion in reading -- travel literature. New information was at first assessed in the light of established tradition, which besides religion also involved the authority of the ancients. One immediate result was to

⁴The differences, however, could well be more apparent than real. According to Joseph Campbell, all of our world's civilizations share the same concept of cosmic order, which was first formulated in ancient Mesopotamia on the basis of long observations of the heavens. See The Mythic Image, (Princeton, 1974), 72ff.

give new strength to old beliefs, such as the existence of monsters. Folkloric beings flourished in an astonishing array during the Age of Discovery. In the first three chapters I will examine how such attitudes, as well as those of Christian orthodoxy, contributed to the belief that New World people were savage, without order or morals in their lives. In the fourth chapter I will contrast this with a view of what some Amerindians were actually like when they first met the French, as closely as modern ethnography can estimate. The peoples I have chosen for this series of sketches are those of the northern Atlantic coast and along the St. Lawrence, as it was in these areas that the French first colonized Canada.

In the remaining five chapters I deal with some of the consequences of European attitudes and beliefs in terms of the colonization and settlement of the New World. The fifth chapter is concerned with some of the political and legal aspects of Europe's trans-Atlantic expansion, as well as with practical considerations involved in the ocean crossing and in settlement under strange conditions. After describing some Amerindian visits to Europe in the next chapter, I then, in Chapter VII, examine the first encounter of the French with Amerindians of the St. Lawrence. This leads into attempts at colonization: the discouraging experience on the St. Lawrence, 1541-1543: the abortive Brazilian colony of 1555-1560: and that of the Carolinas, 1562-1565. The lessons learned from these failures helped in the successful which

is the subject of Chapter IX. I am not including the French colonization of the West Indies, as that was a later development, and so is outside the scope of this thesis.

The rationale behind this format is based upon the importance of the first impact upon Europe of the discovery of the New World, and the reasons for the effect it had at that particular time. It would be difficult to overstress the significance of this, as those first impressions set the pattern by which Europeans saw and evaluated Amerindians, a pattern that has remained until this day, and which has only recently shown signs of changing. It was not substantially modified by subsequent first-hand relations, such as occurred when Amerindians visited Europe or when Europeans went to the New World. The fact that it was a view that had little to do with reality did not for that reason mitigate its fundamental importance in colonization. In summary, my first three chapters deal with the formation of the European view of the Amerindian, while in the fourth chapter, I attempt a reconstruction of what Amerindians were actually like during the seventeenth century; in the remaining five chapters I deal with aspects of the beginnings of France's colonization, an experience that was profoundly influenced by the attitudes discussed in the first three chapters.

While this study is primarily concerned with the French experience, I have relied on non-French sources when it seemed pertinent. This means that in the period with which I

am dealing, which begins with Columbus's 1492 voyage and ends with the establishment of New France early in the seventeenth century, I have drawn particularly from Spanish sources. Throughout this period, Spain was the dominant power both in Europe and in the New World. Spaniards were the first to meet Amerindians and to colonize them; their experiences set the tone and, to a large extent, the pattern of New World colonialism. While France was a principal challenger to Spain, nevertheless in the Americas she followed in her rival's footsteps. To consider the French experience without taking cognizance of this setting would be to present at best an incomplete picture, with its implications of distortion if not actual falsification. This is particularly true when dealing with beliefs and attitudes.

The ideas which the French brought to their colonial experience did not develop in isolation. Although the spread of concepts across language barriers can be difficult to assess, it should be remembered that during the Age of Discovery, Latin was in international use. Navigation and discovery were the cynosure of international attention, just as nuclear physics is today. Material dealing with these matters received wide and careful consideration: voyage accounts were quickly published in Latin as well as in an astonishing array of vernacular languages. The example of Columbus's letter, with which I open my first chapter, could be extended to much of the published writing on exploration.

In this connection the role of religious orders was fundamental, a position assured by the importance of missionary work. These orders were often international, and in any case had well-developed avenues of communication within their own ranks, with other orders, and with Rome. The great bulk of New World accounts was written by missionaries; as expressions of the realization of the universal church, these accounts often transcended national boundaries. All this is not to say that the French colonial experience was not distinct from that of Spain or England. It was; the French added their own particular dimension to Europe's basic intellectual and societal baggage. It is this petite difference which gives the distinctive quality to the story of French overseas expansion.

Because attitudes and ideas cannot be reduced to a calendar, as can events, I have not maintained a strict chronology. For one thing, it is often difficult to trace origins of concepts, as most of them are far older than is usually credited. In this sense, it is profoundly true that "plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose;" even in the midst of a changing climate of social opinion, concepts can be remarkably persistent. Sometimes an idea becomes identified with a particular nation at a certain period although it may have had quite different origins, both as to time and place. Le bon sauvage is usually thought of in the context of eighteenth-century France, but it is clearly present in the writings of Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (1457-

1526), an Italian scholar who lived at the court of Spain at the time of Columbus's voyages. It is also found in Tacitus, the Roman historian who wrote at the turn of the first century. What "caught on" during the eighteenth century was the phrase "le bon sauvage," which, along with the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, gave the concept a new importance. In other words, it was not the idea that was new, but its formulation, a process which had received new impact from the technology of printing. What is more, formulations of ideas in the written word sometimes bear little relation to their period of greatest influence in the realm of practical politics. The concept of l'homme sauvage, for example, was at its most influential during the first part of the sixteenth century, when it was used to help justify the destruction of millions of Amerindians in what could well have been genocide on the largest scale the world has ever seen. Yet we have to wait for the middle of the century for a full-scale identification of the Amerindian as l'homme sauvage.⁵ And it was not until the nineteenth century that this concept developed into its most extreme form, with the

⁵This can probably be said to have occurred at the Valladolid debate, 1550, between Bartholomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda. In printed literature, it started with the appearance in 1526 of Oviedo de la natural hystoria de las Indias... by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo. This work appeared in French as l'Histoire naturelle et générale des Indes..., traduite...[par J. Poleur], (Paris, 1555). The process was well established by the time that Francisco López de Gómara published his Historia general de Las Indias in 1552. (The French version, Histoire Generale des Indes Occidentales et Terres neuves..., traduite en françois par M. Fumée, appeared in Paris in 1569.)

aid of Darwin's and Spencer's "survival of the fittest."⁶

As I am dealing with concepts rather than events, I have used those sources which seemed most likely to reflect the climate of opinion in the age under consideration. This has meant a reliance on printed works, as they would have had the widest distribution. (It will be noted that where authoritative English translations exist, I sometimes use them instead of the original French. My only reason for this is easy readership.) The actual influence of a given work can be extremely difficult if not impossible to assess at this late stage; the number of its editions, as well as that of the languages into which it was translated can be used as guides, as can the reputation of the house of publication. However, that in no way implies that works with less impressive publication records were ignored. On the contrary, I have tried to include as wide a sampling as time and resources would permit, on the premise that any pertinent work that was published at all would by that very fact reflect an element of contemporary opinion. If Renaissance literature is truly a window to the opinions of the age, it reveals a very wide spectrum. Theoretically, Renaissance man may have been dedicated to absolutes in

⁶The difficulties of reconciling the synchronic and diachronic approaches to history --- treating time as setting and as sequence simultaneously --- were touched upon by Wilcomb E. Washburn in "The Writing of American Indian History: A Status Report," Pacific Historical Review, XL, (1971), 261-281.

religion (one God, one truth) as well as in politics (one King), not to mention other matters; but in actual fact, he had by no means realized these ideals. However, one of the areas where unanimity was reached, for all practical purposes, was in the characterization of Amerindians as savages.

A word about names. In the interest of simplicity, I have used national forms, with the major exception of Christopher Columbus. The names of Capuchin missionaries present another problem. Claude [d'Abbeville] was baptized Clement Foulon; Claude is his religious name. "D'Abbeville" identifies his religious affiliation and is not part of his name. The same applies to Yves [d'Evreux], Candide [de Nant] and Arsène [de Paris]. Accordingly, I refer to them as Père Claude, Père Yves, etc.

THE MYTH OF THE SAVAGE
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Chapter I

First Impressions and Some Early Reactions

It has frequently been noted that Columbus's voyage to Guanahani and other West Indian islands toward the end of 1492 did not immediately produce the reactions in Europe that could have been expected from an event of such far-reaching consequences. To begin with, the implications of the voyage were a long time in being fully realized. While the news of the discovery of "immense multitudes" living outside the known world was disseminated with previously unheard-of speed, thanks to the new technology of the printing press, it did so largely among an élite.¹ Even here news of New World peoples had to compete with the opening of the Orient and with Europe's rediscovery of its own classical antiquity.² Europe found itself acquiring new information almost in spite of itself; the task of sorting

¹John Huxtable Elliott, The Old World and the New, 1492-1650 (Cambridge 1970), Ch. 1. It is interesting to note in this connection that France's "littérature de colportage" maintained a complete silence on the subject of New World discoveries. (Robert Mandrou, De la Culture populaire aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: la Bibliothèque bleue de Troyes, (Paris, 1964), 66.)

²Between 1450 and 1550 an immense number of antiquities were unearthed in Rome and its neighbourhood, filling many palaces and wealthy homes and giving impetus to the development of museums. (David Murray, Museums. Their history and their use, 3 vols., (Glasgow, 1904), I: 13.)

out and classifying its impressions was to be both long and difficult. But dissemination was comparatively easy and, as we shall see, was done with considerable efficiency.

The first aspect of the New World to catch the interest of Europe was its immense riches. This was immediately followed by the conviction that it was Christian Europe's duty to remould New World people into acceptable European patterns of belief and behavior. But riches could not be exploited nor conversions attempted without some basic knowledge of Amerindians. In the midst of reports of monstrous men and bestial customs, Europeans asked some basic questions. What manner of men were these strangers? How did they live and worship? How did they fight? What did they eat and what were their marriage customs? Amerindians also made such queries, and responded in a different way than Europeans. And yet the differences of these reactions could well have been more superficial than fundamental, for each side sought to assess the spiritual conformation of the other, and to fit the answer into an acceptable world-view.

But first, let us take a brief look at how word of the New World was spread through Europe. Columbus reported the findings of his first voyage in a letter to a high Spanish official dated 15 February-14 March 1493. The letter was published in its original Spanish in Barcelona in April, and Latin versions appeared in Rome, Antwerp, Basel and Paris that same year. Because of the international standing of

Latin at the time, these versions can be presumed to have been the most widely read. But the letter was also translated into other languages, such as the Italian version published in Rome in 1493, in the form of a poem by Giuliano Dati, which also appeared twice that year in Florence, and twice again in 1495. Strasbourg saw a German translation in 1497, the same year that a second Spanish edition was issued in Valladolid. In all, 17 editions of Columbus's letter are known, represented by about 80 copies.³ Although the size of these editions is unknown, they are usually assumed to have been not less than 200 copies and only rarely to have passed

³La carta de Colón, anunciando la llegada a las Indias y a la Provincia de Catayo (China). Descubrimiento de América, annotated by Carlos Sanz, (Madrid, 1958). See also The Columbus letter of 1493; a facsimile of the copy in the William L. Clements Library, translated by Frank E. Robbins (Ann Arbor, 1952). An eighteenth edition of the letter, supposed to have been published in Ulm, is most doubtful. It was included by Rudolf Hirsch in his listing of the various editions of the Columbus letter in his paper, "The Impact of the Discovery of the Western Hemisphere, Measured by the Printing History of Reports, from Columbus to Cortés," presented at the conference, The First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old, held February 6-9, 1975, at the Centre of Medieval and Renaissance Studies of the University of California, Los Angeles. The three Paris reprints of the letter are all presumed to date from 1493, although the year is not indicated on the title pages. According to Henry Harrisse, the printer, Guyot Marchant, had ceased to publish after 1501. (Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima. A Description of Works Relating to America Published Between the Years 1492 and 1551, 2 vols. (New York, 1866-1872), I:9.)

500. ⁴ Neither is it known how widely they were circulated; however, news of the discoveries apparently reached Poland between 1495 and 1501, and published accounts began to appear there in 1512.⁵

The publication of Columbus's letter heralded a new fashion in literature, the voyage account, which was to reach its peak during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was a development which drew the comment from a chancellor of France that

Nostre nation a changé de goust pour les lectures et au lieu des romans, qui sont tombé avec la Calprenède, les voyages sont venus en crédit et tiennent le haut bout dans les Cours et dans la ville.⁶

In France, the new fashion can be traced to the appearance in Paris in 1497 of Sebastian Brant's Le Nef des folz du

⁴Hirsch, "Impact," 3, n4. Apart from the letter, only four other reports of Columbus's discoveries are known to have been published before 1522. These are a relation of Columbus's second voyage published in Pavia in 1494-1495; Pietro Martire d'Anghiera's first decade (Venice, 1504); an account of Columbus's fourth voyage (Venice, 1505); and the only English-language report of the Columbus voyages, Of the new landes, published in Antwerp by J. Doersborch probably between 1520 and 1522 and possibly as early as 1505. (Hirsch, "Impact," 3-4, and appendix I.)

⁵Janusz Tazbir, "La Conquête de l'Amérique à la lumière de l'opinion polonaise," Acta Poloniae Historica XVII (1968), 6. On the role of the printing press in the geographical distribution of the news of discovery, see Pierre Chaunu, L'Expansion européenne du XIIIe au XVe siècle, (Paris, 1969), 235-237.

⁶Lettres de Jean Chapelain de l'Academie Francaise, 2 vols., edited by Ph. Tamizey de Larroque (Paris, 1880-1883), II: 430-341. J.R. Hale says that voyage accounts began to receive significant readership about mid-sixteenth century (Renaissance Europe: Individual and Society, 1480-1520, (New York, 1971), 53.)

monde,⁷ only 20 years after the publication in that city of the first book in the French language.⁸ Interestingly enough, Brant was not enthusiastic about voyages of discovery; rather, he criticized the desire to "descrire & s'enquerir de toutes regions" as one of the follies of mankind. He reported that a man who knew that there were unknown lands that were inhabited had received permission from King Ferdinand to go in search of them, and had found people there in great numbers. When his work had first appeared in German in 1494 it had been the only commentary to be published during Columbus's second voyage;⁹ in France, it appears to have been the first printed reference to the New World and its inhabitants following the appearance of Columbus's letter. It was also probably the first in French.¹⁰

Brant's criticisms did not prevent the taste for travel literature from developing. The letters of Amerigo Vespucci (1451-1512), describing his voyages were given far more

⁷Brant (1458-1521) had first published Das Narrenschiff in Basel in 1494. It was reprinted in Latin in 1497 and 1498, and in French in 1497, 1498 and 1499. See Justin Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, 8 vols., (Boston, 1886), II: 58.

⁸I.D. McFarlane, "France in Transition," in The Age of the Renaissance, edited by Denys Hay, (London, 1967), 169.

⁹Winsor, Narrative and Critical History, II: 58. Winsor lists the earliest printed references to Columbus.

¹⁰The English version of Brant's work, The Shyppe of Fools, published in 1509, portrayed the men of the New World living "as beestes." Harrissee maintained that this was the first reference to the New World in English (Harrissee, Bibliotheca Americana, II: 45, #33.) However, Of the new landes may have been earlier (supra, n4).

exposure than the reports of Columbus had received.¹¹

Between 1502 and 1529, Vespucci's letters saw 60 editions in various cities in what is today Switzerland, Germany, France, Italy and The Netherlands, but none in Spain.¹² One of the best-known editions appeared in the Cosmographiae Introductio of Martin Waldseemüller (1470-1521?) and his collaborators, published in Saint-Dié in Lorraine in 1507. Besides Vespucci's "Four Voyages", the Waldseemüller edition included a map in which the New World was labelled America. The name had found ready acceptance by geographers perhaps because it was already in popular use. It had been adapted by early voyagers from aboriginal place names that had been found along the coasts of Brazil, Guiana and Venezuela. Variations included Amaracao, Maraca, Maracaibo, Emeria and Amaricocapana. Its usage was given an added fillip by its

¹¹The initial burst of publicity given to Columbus's voyages was followed by what has been called a "conspiracy of silence." Columbus's letter drops from sight during the sixteenth century, and is not referred to in the writing of that period. The scarcity of the two fifteenth-century Spanish imprints of the letter, each known by only one copy, suggests that it was printed for private circulation, perhaps for the court. (Hirsch, "Impact," 4). It has also been suggested that Columbus's report of gold and other riches in abundance in the New World had caused Spanish officials to impose a belated censorship. However, as very little, if any, effort was made to preserve these early works at the time of their publication, the rate of their destruction has been substantial. That point was made by Thomas R. Adams in "Some Bibliographical Observations on and Questions about the Relationship between the Discovery of America and the Invention of Printing," a paper presented to the conference, First Images. Also, as Elliott points out, the full import of the discoveries was slow in being realized. (Old World and New, 1-28).

¹²Hirsch, "Impact," 3 and Appendix I. Such a lacuna could suggest censorship.

resemblance to Vespucci's baptismal name.¹³

In 1515, 22 years after Columbus's letter had been printed in Paris in Latin, and about 10 years after the appearance of Vespucci's letters in that same language, a collection of voyage accounts appeared in French. They had been translated and abridged by Lawyer Mathurin Du Redouer from Professor Fracanzano da Montalboddo's prototype compilation, Paesi novamente ritrovati, first published in Italian in Vicenza in 1507.¹⁴ Besides the accounts of Columbus and Vespucci, it included those of Pigafetta, Cadamosto, Cortés and others. Du Redouer's adaptation, Sensuyt le nouveau monde & navigations faictes par Emeric Vespuce Florentin Des pays & isles nouvellement trouvez auparavant a nous inconnuez tant en l'Ethiope que Arrabie, Calichut et aultres plusieurs rezions estranges, went through five editions after its first appearance in Paris.¹⁵

The comparative speed with which news of the New World

¹³This theory as to the origin of the term "America" was presented by Harold Jantz in "Images of America in the German Renaissance," a paper given at the conference, First Images.

¹⁴Its full title was Paesi novamente ritrovati e Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino intitulate. By 1521 it had been through three editions in Milan and two in Venice, all in Italian. (Arthur A. Tilley, Studies in the French Renaissance (New York, 1968), 26-29).

¹⁵There were also two editions in German; all told, it saw 15 editions before the end of the century. (J.H. Parry, The European Reconnaissance (New York, 1964), 172; and Elliott, Old World and New, 9.) The facsimile of the 1515 Paris edition of Sensuyt le nouveau monde published by Princeton University Press in 1916 is the one that will be cited.

was diffused in Europe becomes clearer when it is realized that during the late sixteenth century, it took approximately 10 days for news to travel from Paris to London. At the time of contact, Inca postal service between Lima and Cuzco took only three days; in seventeenth-century Europe, the same distance took 12 days.¹⁶ Before the days of the printing press, when dependence had been greater on word of mouth, it had not only taken longer for news to be disseminated, but its acceptance had been very slow. For example, Greenland first appeared on maps during the fifteenth century, although it had been discovered during the tenth.¹⁷ Neither the voyages of Marco Polo (1254-1323?) nor those of the Friars Minor (fl. 1240) to the Orient had exercised the least influence on medieval cartography; until the beginning of the fourteenth century, maps were a continuation of Greco-Roman geography.¹⁸ It was not until the fifteenth century that the influence of Marco Polo began

¹⁶Henry Kamen, The Iron Century: Social Change in Europe, 1550-1660, History of Civilization, (New York, 1971) 9. An ancient system of nearly two hundred miles of paved highways has recently been discovered in Chaco Canyon in the United States. These highways connected pueblos as well as distant settlements. (James Ebert and Robert Hitchcock, "Chaco Canyon's Mysterious Highways," Horizon, XVII, #4, (1975) 48-53.)

¹⁷Manuel Francisco de Barros, Vicomte de Santarem, Essai sur l'histoire de la Cosmographie et de la Cartographie pendant le Moyen-Age, 3 vols., (Paris, 1849), III: XIX.

¹⁸Ibid., III: XIII.

to be noticeable.¹⁹ The excitement generated by Columbus's voyages stemmed from the presumption of the discovery of a fabled land of great riches, as cartographers clung to the classical belief in the existence somewhere in the Orient of "Cryse" and "Argyre", islands of gold and silver.²⁰

Columbus's conviction that he had reached the Orient would have been reinforced by the sight of Amerindians wearing golden ornaments. It was an excitement that was encouraged and given new avenues of expression because of the printing press.

As European voyages increased so did the "rage to know"

¹⁹Ibid., III: XVIII. It was during the fifteenth century that Portugal's Prince Henry the Navigator sent out mariners to ascertain the physical reality of the world. Widely held was the belief that it was a disc floating in a surrounding ocean; there were also those who interpreted the Gospel of St. Matthew to mean that the world was square. Gauthier de Metz in his Image du Monde (c. 1245) depicted the earth as a circle enclosed in a square in deference to Church Fathers. (Ibid., II: 248-254. It is interesting to compare this with a Chinese Han dynasty representation of the universe as a wheel enclosing earth, shown as square. See Campbell, Mythic Image, 162-163.) Columbus himself inclined toward the theory that the earth was pear-shaped, although Pierre Cardinal d'Ailly (1350-1420?), basing himself upon Aristotle, had held out for a sphere. (Edmond Joseph Pierre Buron, Ymago mundi, de Pierre d'Ailly, 3 vols., (Paris, 1930-1931), I: 104-111.) This was the position of the majority of sophisticated scholars.

²⁰This was reinforced by the legend of Rio Doro, the river of gold, which at the time of Columbus was being hunted in Africa. See Paul Herrmann, Conquest by Man, (London, 1954), 13.

and to collect curiosities.²¹ Ferdinand of Hapsburg owned Mexican carvings and feather work which Hernán Cortés (1485-1547) had brought to Europe; a feather mosaic owned by the Polish King Sigismond III Vasa may have had the same provenance.²² Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592) owned Tupinamba items such as a hammock, a sword club, a wrist guard and a stamping tube.²³ Although it is far easier to collect objects or information than it is to put them into context,²⁴ at least one early collector began to put objects into series. Michele Mercati of San Miniato (1541-1593), keeper of the botanic garden of Pius V and museum organizer for the Vatican, was among the first to establish that flint arrowheads were man-made.²⁵ Noting that they had been used by ancient Jews as well as contemporary Amerindians, he speculated that they had also been employed by early

²¹For contemporary references to this "vertige de curiosité," which reached such proportions among the literate during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Pierre Belon de Mans, Les Observations de plusieurs singularités et choses memorables, trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie, & autres pays estranges..., (Paris, 1553) I:1. Also, Maurile de Saint-Michel, Voyages des isles Camercanes, en l'Amerique qui font partie des Indes occidentales..., (Mans, 1652), Au Lecteur. A recent discussion of the same phenomenon is found in Margaret Hodgen, Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, (Philadelphia, 1964), lllff; and in a paper by Michel de Certeau, "La parole sauvage et l'écriture savante," 29-30. The paper was presented to the Colloque Franco-Canadien held in Paris, May 1974.

²²Tazbir, "La Conquête," 7.

²³John Howland Rowe, "Ethnography and Ethnology in the Sixteenth Century," in The Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, No. 30 (1964), 3.

²⁴Elliott, Old World and New, 32.

²⁵Murray, Museums, I: 28-29, 82.

inhabitants of Italy.²⁶

However, Mercati's was a rare effort; generally, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, information and objects were collected fervently but haphazardly. In the material published during the sixteenth century, the only New World culture to receive fairly full treatment was that of the Tupinamba of Brazil, as it was principally in their territory that Europeans obtained dye-wood. Even though it was to their economic advantage to learn about the Tupinamba, Europeans did not systematize the information they collected about the Brazilians until the present century.²⁷ Thus, in spite of the genuine desire of Europeans to increase their knowledge, information accumulated very slowly, and observations formed at best a patchwork of scattered references. Some characteristics of New World natives---nudity, cannibalism, skill in archery, running speed and swimming excellence---were endlessly repeated, in the midst of maddening lacunae.²⁸

Stereotypes were accepted and even encouraged as that had been the form used by the ancients such as Pliny and

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 82.

²⁷ Rowe, "Ethnography," 2-3.

²⁸ Sometimes this repetition became straight copying. For just one example, Jean Macer in Les Trois Livres de l'histoire des Indes..., (Paris, 1555) has reproduced whole passages from Guillaume Postel's Des Merveilles du Monde..., (s.l., 1553).

Herodotus in describing people of other lands.²⁹ The ancients were the only models, and there was no great desire to break away from them. In spite of this, a good deal of first-rate ethnographic material was collected, particularly by the Spanish, who were mainly interested in conquest and administration. Because of their motives, however, as well as their penchant for secrecy, most of this material was slow in being published, and some of it not until comparatively recently.³⁰

Thus the authority of the ancients continued to maintain its grip on the minds of Europeans even after it had been proved to be incompletely informed if not completely wrong about the nature of the world, a process that was reinforced by the fact that some classical

²⁹For instance, a writer in 1527 asked, "Do not we know the Frenchmen by their modest goinge, by their wanton gestures, by their merrie countenaunce, by their pleasaunte voice, by their gentle speeche, by their modest manners and by their gorgeous apparell; and the Spaniards...by their loughtie lookes, by their lamentable voyce...and neate apparel. Wee see the Italians go somewhat slowly grave in gesture, unconstaunte in countenaunce, slacke in their voice, captious in their communication, noble in their manners, and handsome in their apparell...the Italians doo bleate in their singing, the Spaniards doo waile, the Germans doo howle, and the Frenchmen singe with pleasaunte tune and accent." (Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, Of the vanitie and uncertaintie of Artes and Sciences, Englished by James Sandford, Gent. (London, 1569), 72 verso.) For more examples of this type of description, see Hodgen, Early Anthropology, 162-201.

³⁰E.g., the works of Bernard de Sahagun, Cristobal de Molina, etc. (Rowe, "Ethnography," 2-3; Elliott, Old World and New, 35-37.)

geographical ideas were vindicated.³¹ Still, reason, to be effective, had to take into account an array of strange new facts that did not accord with some cherished beliefs. But it was easier to prove authorities wrong than it was to change patterns of thought, and we find the anomalous situation of authority still being relied upon while its errors were reported with undisguised satisfaction. Writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries apparently never tired of pointing out that Aristotle had erred when he had argued against the habitability of the torrid zone, as had Lactantius Firmanianus (c.260-c.340) and St. Augustine (354-430) in making the same argument about the Antipodes. Reason had its pitfalls---witness the logic of Lactantius's arguments against man in the Antipodes---so experience should not be ignored.³² When Jacques Cartier (1491-1557), in his report on his second voyage (1534-1535) wrote that the ancients had theorized about the habitability of the

³¹Elliott, Old World and New, 40. See also Edmundo O'Gorman, The Invention of America, (Bloomington, 1961). It should be remembered that the New World as revealed in the sixteenth century was more strongly differentiated from the Old World in its flora and fauna than it is today. See Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., The Columbian Exchange, (West Port, Conn., 1972).

³²How men could stay on earth was a favorite topic of discussion. See Gaillard de Terraube, Discours des choses plus necessaires & dignes d'estre entendues en la Cosmographie, (Paris, 1566), 35. The medieval illustration of four figures standing opposite each other with their soles touching inside a circle was replaced during the Renaissance with four men standing opposite each other on the circumference of the earth. (Hildegard Binder Johnson, "New Geographical Horizons---Concepts, Percepts and Images," a paper presented at the conference, First Images.)

world without testing their statements by actual experience,³³ he was repeating a point that had been made again and again since Columbus. But while authority and even tradition might be questioned on specific points, fundamental patterns of thought were not altered. Even after certain authors were discredited, they were still cited.³⁴

European thought of the early Renaissance had been controlled by the concept of the three-fold oikoumene of the Christian cosmos, which held that the world was divided into three parts, Europe, Africa, and Asia, which had been peopled by the three sons of Noah. This concept was symbolized by the Pope's triple crown,³⁵ and had prevented Ferdinand of Aragon from believing that Columbus could find new worlds, and was one of the factors that at first influenced Europeans to think that the explorer must have discovered part of Asia. Long prior to actually encountering Amerindians, Europeans had been aware of "strange" men across the ocean. Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas (1559-1625) told the story of Columbus in the Azores hearing about wood of an unknown type being washed up after a storm;

³³The Voyages of Jacques Cartier, translated and edited by Henry Percival Biggar, (Ottawa, 1924) 86-87.

³⁴Lynn Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science, 8 vols., (New York, 1964-1966), VI: 276. Also by the same author, "The survival of medieval intellectual interests into modern times," Speculum II (1927), 148-159.

³⁵Hodgen, Early Anthropology, 34-35; 56ff. For a discussion of the Greek concept of oikoumene, see Boies Penrose, Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1620 (Cambridge, Mass., 1955) 1-6.

sometimes it was artificially wrought and apparently not by iron. Another time it was the bodies of two men with broad faces "and different features from Christians". There were found two canoes or "almidies" which did not sink and which had a removable covering.³⁶ But as long as it was possible to do so, such hints were ignored; as Brant had made plain in Le Nef des folz, the urge to enquire into strange regions was considered one of the follies of mankind.

Where Europeans had been reluctant to believe in the existence of unknown races of men, they willingly (even eagerly) accepted monsters. Columbus had not only expected to find Asians living in the Indies, he had half-expected they would be monsters. During his first visit to the West Indies he accepted without question a report that on another island which he did not visit "the people are born with tails."³⁷ Such an easy acceptance could well have been based

³⁶Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, The General history of the vast continent and islands of America, commonly called the West-Indies..., translated into English by Capt. John Stevens, 6 vols. (London, 1725-1726.) I: 6-7. Herrera's 10-volume Historia General de los hechos de los Castellanos had first appeared in 1603-1613; a three-volume French adaptation had followed in 1659-1671. The author was historiographer to the King of Spain.

³⁷The Spanish Letter of Columbus to Luis de Sant'Angel, Escribano de Racion of the Kingdom of Aragon, Dated 15 February 1493. A reduced facsimile of the original edition printed by Johann Rosenbach at Barcelona, April 1493. (London, 1893), 14-15. Ironically, 150 years later, Louis Hennepin (1626-c1705) was to hear reports from Amerindians that Europeans had tails, and that European women had only one breast and bore five or six children at a time. (A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America, 2 vols., edited by R.G. Thwaites, (Chicago, 1903), II: 84.)

on the legendary existence of people with tails who were the descendants from the time when men and apes mated.³⁸ He also repeated that on still another island the people were said to have no hair.³⁹ From his own observations he reported that sirens were not beautiful, as was commonly believed, but had a face like that of a man.⁴⁰ However, he frankly admitted that he saw no monsters "as many expected" (apparently he did not classify the mermaids as such), although he heard of cannibals.⁴¹ Cannibals were traditionally classed as monsters, and had peopled European geographies since classical times. Columbus never did find that favorite variety that was supposed to inhabit the

³⁸Wayland D. Hand, "New Peoples and New Climes: the Knowledge of the New World Folklore and Ethnology in Europe During the Age of Discovery," a paper presented at the conference, First Images. He is citing Georg Friederici, Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europaer..., 3 vols, (Osnabruck, 1969) I: 409.

³⁹Spanish Letter, 17.

⁴⁰The Journal of Christopher Columbus, translated by Cecil Jane, (New York, 1960), 143. Mermaid sightings continued up until the twentieth century; a number were reported by solid citizens of Victorian England. (Richard Carrington, "The Natural History of the Mermaid," Horizon, II #3 (1960), 129-130.)

⁴¹Spanish Letter, 16.

Orient, the dog-headed man,⁴² but belief in such creatures was not easily shaken. Had not even St. Augustine discussed whether the descendants of Adam or of the sons of Noah had produced monstrous races of men?⁴³ A popular tale of the late Middle Ages told of Adam warning his daughters against eating certain plants which could make women conceive of monsters who would be semi-homo, with plant-like souls.⁴⁴ It was not considered unscientific for a cartographer to show Cabot being welcomed to the New World by a mermaid.⁴⁵ In fact, the immediate effect of the discoveries was to produce an efflorescence of monsters as new varieties were reported faster than the more obviously unverifiable ones died

⁴²Dog-headed men were called cynocéphales, a term also generally applied to baboons. A Chinese legend attributed the origin of cynocéphales to an emperor who promised his daughter to anyone who would kill a hated subordinate chieftain. The palace dog showed up with the head, and the emperor kept his word. The dog took the princess to a remote mountain area, where their descendants were "fond of living in high altitudes and averse to plains." (Thomas F. Gossett, Race: The History of an Idea in America, (Dallas, 1963), 4.) Aulus Gellius (fl. second century AD) in Attic Nights 9.4. 6-10, placed dog-headed men in the mountains of India, and reported that they barked and fed upon birds and wild animals taken in the chase. European map-makers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries tended to place them in the north. (Santarem, L'histoire de la Cosmographie, III: XXII.) Their physical resemblance to the Egyptian Anubis is obvious. The classical term for cannibals was "anthropophages."

⁴³Aurelius Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, The City of God against the Pagans, translated by Philip Levine, (London, 1967), Book VIII: XVL.

⁴⁴Horst Waldemar Janson, Apes and ape lore in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, (London, 1952) 94.

⁴⁵Theodore de Bry's engraving of this event was reproduced by Joachim Leithauser in Mappaemundi. Die geistige Eroberung der Welt, (Berlin, 1958), 251.

out.⁴⁶

The process of eliminating men with one foot, faces in their chests, without mouths or with ears so large they could use them for blankets, to name only a few, was to take the better part of three centuries. For example, years of experience in Cuba did not prevent Governor Diego Velasquez in 1519 from instructing Cortés to look for men with great flat ears and dog's faces in his projected expedition to Mexico.⁴⁷ One seventeenth-century historian extolled the bravery of those who crossed the seas and fought monsters. Another wrote that he did not believe there were Amerindians who lived on odors⁴⁸ but such defiance of general belief was rare. Later, in the same century, Pliny's pygmies were

⁴⁶Thorndike, A History of Magic, VI: 275. Unfamiliar varieties of animals were sometimes transformed into monsters by the time their descriptions reached Europe. One such case is that of a scaly creature with a second head at the end of its tail. It may have been inspired by an armadillo, or perhaps an alligator. It is illustrated in Ch. Fontaine, La Description des terres trouvées de nostre temps..., (Lyon 1559), B4. Medieval and Renaissance fascination with imaginative animals is evident in statuary, as well as in manuscript drolleries. See J.B. Post, comp., An Atlas of Fantasy (Baltimore, 1973).

⁴⁷Lewis Hanke, Aristotle and the American Indians; a study in race prejudice in the modern world, (Bloomington, 1970), 5.

⁴⁸Antonio de La Calancha, Histoire du Perou, partie principale des Antipodes, ou Nouveau Monde, (Toulouse, 1653) preface; Saint-Michel, Voyage des isles Camercanes, Au Lecteur. The idea for such people had come from Pliny's Natural History. Aulus Gellius, in Attic Nights 9.4, 6-10, had described a people living in farthest India who had bodies "that are rough and covered with feathers like birds, who eat no food but live by inhaling the perfume of flowers." Reports that Brazilians covered themselves with feathers must have led to the conclusion that they also lived on odors, as the ancients had written.

reported living in seclusion in mountainous regions of coastal New Spain; and in the Arctic, a tribe of Inuit were said to consist of persons with "une seule jambe et un seul pied qu'on peut justement appeller moitié d'homme."⁴⁹ Cartier had reported unipeds on the Saguenay, and as late as 1724 Joseph-François Lafitau (1681-1746) included a drawing of an anecophale (man with his head in his chest) among illustrations of Amerindians, despite some reservations on the subject.⁵⁰ As Goya was to illustrate in his series of engravings entitled Caprichos 43, the sleep of reason produces monsters.⁵¹

Learned physicians of the Middle Ages and Renaissance thought that monsters were generated because of the influence of the stars which in certain conjunctions prevented the foetus in a woman's womb from assuming human form.⁵² Others believed that an abnormal quantity of semen was responsible, or perhaps illicit intercourse. Cornelius Gemma (1535-1579), professor of medicine at Louvain, was

⁴⁹"Description du Voyage de l'Amerique fait par M. de Gabaret avec son Escadre et de tous les Lieux ou il a esté" in Le Mercure Galant, 1683, 180-181; PAC AC C11A 122: 82, Lettre pour Monsieur de Brouage, s.d.

⁵⁰Customs of the American Indians Compared With the Customs of Primitive Times, ed. and trans. by William N. Fenton and Elizabeth L. Moore, 2 vols., (Toronto, 1974). To date only the first volume has appeared.

⁵¹The series was published in 1799. It is at the Museo del Prado. Descriptions of some monsters which Renaissance travellers claimed to have encountered are given by Edouard Fournier, Variétés historiques et littéraires, 10 vols., (Paris, 1885-1863), II: 159.

⁵²Thorndike, A History of Magic, V: 248.

more sweeping and pointed to sin in general, although he indicated that the universal cataclysm and confusion of Babel had been factors.⁵³ Apart from such moralizing, credulity had its limits; some huge bones found in the Dauphiné in 1613 and exhibited in Paris as those of the Giant Theutobochus were finally pronounced to be fraudulent, in spite of the universal belief at the time in giants.⁵⁴

Monstrous men receded from the popular imagination as the slow intrusion of other worlds on the European consciousness revealed peoples with cultures diverse enough to satisfy the most developed taste for the bizarre. When Columbus met the Arawaks and later the man-eating Caribs, he found physical differences to be less than previously imagined, but differences in culture were much greater. He caught something of this in his first description of New World men:

The people all go naked, men and women, just as their mothers bring them forth...They have no iron or steel, nor any weapons; nor are they fit thereunto; not because they be not a well formed people and of fair stature, but that they are most wondrously timorous...they are artless and generous with what they have, to such a degree as no one would believe but him who had seen it... And whether it be a thing of value, or of little worth, they are straightways content with whatsoever trifle of whatsoever kind be given them in return for it...They took even pieces of broken barrel-hoops, and gave whatever they had, like senseless brutes; inso much that it seemed to me ill. I forbade it, and I gave gratuitously a thousand useful things that I carried, in order that they may conceive affection, and furthermore may be made Christians; for they are inclined to the love and

⁵³Ibid., VI: 408.

⁵⁴Troisième tome du Mercure françois, seconde continuation, (Paris, 1617), 266-273. Also Murray, Museums, I: 46.

service of their Highnesses and of all the Castillian nation, and they strive to combine in giving us things which they have in abundance, and of which we are in need....they are of very subtle wit, who navigate all those areas, and who give a marvellously good account of everything.⁵⁵

Columbus's somewhat naive vision of New World natives in a state of primordial innocence awaiting the privilege of being exploited by the "men from heaven", as they called the Spaniards, did not endure past his second voyage. To his amazement he found that the garrison he had left behind at La Navidad had been annihilated in a dispute with those very Amerindians who the previous year had been so helpful when the Santa Maria had been wrecked. In the interval, the Amerindians had apparently realized that the Spaniards were all too human. What Columbus had taken to be artless generosity and boundless cooperation had been actually anxious manoeuvres to establish good relations with these strange new beings, whatever they might be. Spaniards were later to exploit this initial reaction on the part of Amerindians by claiming descent from the Sun whenever they met new peoples.⁵⁶ This was to simplify and accelerate the process of conquest, at least in the beginning.

Another unpleasant realization awaited the Admiral on his second voyage: cannibal Caribs were more difficult to deal with than he had anticipated. In fact, he reported,

⁵⁵ Spanish Letter, 12-17.

⁵⁶ Paul Herrmann, The World Unveiled. The Story of Exploration from Columbus to Livingstone, (London, 1958), 40.

These Islanders appeared to us to be more civilized than those we have hitherto seen; for although all the Indians have houses of straw, yet the houses of these people are constructed in a much superior fashion, are better stocked with provisions, and exhibit more evidence of industry, both on the part of the men and the women. ⁵⁷

"Cannibal" was a Carib word meaning "valiant man", an appellation which soon turned out to be apt from the European point of view. Even when captured, after a brush with the Spaniards, "leur atrocité et diabolic regard" inspired fear in the beholders.⁵⁸ "I spoke with a man who told me he had eaten 300 men," Vespucci later reported, adding that fathers ate their children and husbands their wives. He had seen preserved human flesh hanging from the beams of houses "as we hang pork". He insisted on the veracity of his observations:

De cette chose soyez assurez, parce qu'elle a este veu...Et je vous dis que eulx ilz esmerveilloyent pourquoy nous ne mengions noz ennemys et disent que la chair humaine est une chose très savoureuse.⁵⁹

⁵⁷Christopher Columbus, Four Voyages to the New World. Letters and elected Documents, translated and edited by R.H. Major, (New York, 1961), 28.

⁵⁸Fracanzano, Sensuyt le nouveau monde, 123.

⁵⁹Ibid., 155. A story that became a favorite toward the end of the sixteenth century told of some Caribs who died as a result of eating a friar; after that, men of the cloth were safe. (Juan González de Mendoza, Histoire du grand royaume de la Chine..., traduite de l'espagnol par Luc de La Porte, (Paris, 1600), 243 verso; Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre, Histoire générale des Antilles habitées par les François..., 3 vols., (Paris, 1667-1671), II: 452; Herrera, Description des Indes Occidentales, 15.) Apparently mainland Amerindians had not shared this experience, as Nicolas Le Challeux reported that they were worse than heretics, not only eating meat during Lent, but also four Spanish priests sent to evangelize them. (Brief discours et histoire d'un voyage de quelques François en la Floride..., revue et augmentee de nouveau par M. Urbain de Chauveton, (Geneva, 1579), 32-34.)

One could argue from this as well as from Columbus's remarks that the more "civilized" a people become, the more fierce they are. Cannibalism seems to have been universal among human societies at one time or another, and has been practised by advanced cultures.⁶⁰ In any event, Columbus's reaction was to send his captured Caribs to Spain as slaves in order, he said, to get them to abandon their bad habits.⁶¹

Vespucci agreed with Columbus that Amerindians lived in

⁶⁰Edwin Meyer Loeb, "The Origin and Evolution of Human Sacrifice," PhD thesis, (Yale University, 1922) xxvii. Cannibalism was not unknown in the Europe of Columbus's day, often as the result of famine. Also, it was accepted medical practice to use parts of the human body for medicinal purposes. Egyptian mummies were preferred for this purpose, but when they could not be had, which was most of the time, bodies of criminals were used. They were "mummified" by filling them with bitumen to which aloes and other ingredients were added, and baked in an oven until the embalming matter had penetrated so thoroughly that the flesh would keep and could be transported to wherever it was needed. Such artificial mummy was advocated as being every bit as efficacious as the Egyptian product. (Murray, Museums, 50-55. Also, Brian Fagan, "Mummies, or the Restless Dead," Horizon, XVII, #3 (1975), 62-77.)

⁶¹Martin Fernández de Navarrete, Relations des Quatres voyages..., 3 vols., (Paris, 1828), II: 469.

"great multitudes",⁶² that they were well-formed, generally good-looking and remarkably free from deformities. But he found that although they had "honest" faces, they destroyed them by piercing cheeks and lips, nostrils and ears. "I have seen as many as seven holes in one man's face, which holes they fill with colored stones as well as other objects. It makes them look like monsters."⁶³ He added, apparently with some relief, that the women did not indulge in this custom. Antonio Pigafetta, returning in 1522 from the three-year voyage headed by Ferdinand Magellan which circumnavigated the globe, reported that the color of the natives was olive.⁶⁴ Others agreed that the people were all about the

⁶²The "great multitudes" of the New World peoples were consistently reported by European travellers of this period, beginning with Columbus (Spanish Letter, 11), and Vespucci, who found the land "very thickly populated." (Waldseemüller, Cosmographie, 111.) A century later it was being reported that "tout ce quartier est remply d'une incroyable multitude d'habitans." (Cinquième tome du Mercure François (Paris, 1619), 165.) Supportive contemporary estimates are presented by Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah in two works, Essays in Population History: Mexico and the Caribbean, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1974); and The Aboriginal Population of Central Mexico on the Eve of the Spanish Conquest, (Berkeley, 1963). Europeans of the Age of Discovery were sensitive on this point, as they had not yet fully recovered from the demographic disasters of the Black Death. Concerning the difficulties of estimating America's pre-Columbian populations, see H. Paul Thompson, "A Technique Using Anthropological and Biological Data," Current Anthropology, VII (1960) 417-449.

⁶³Fracanzano, Sensuyt le nouveau monde, 154. Vespucci calculated the stones in one man's face to weight 16 ounces.

⁶⁴Antonio Pigafetta, Le Voyage et navigation faict par les Espaignolz és Iles de Mollucques..., [traduict par Jacques-Antoine Fabre], (Paris, 1522), 5. Vespucci has said "pulling toward red" (Fracanzano, Sensuyt le nouveau monde, 154), while Columbus had written, "they are the color of the people of the Canaries, neither black nor white." (Journal of Christopher Columbus, 24).

same color, a light brown.⁶⁵ They were without any hair on their bodies except for their heads, men as well as women,⁶⁶ and what they had was always black. Childbirth was observed to be easy and to be treated casually; Vespucci had noted that the women maintained their youthful figures even though they nursed their own babies.⁶⁷ These people practiced polygamy, and Vespucci could detect no order in their sexual relations: "le fils se mesle avec la mère, le frère avec la soeur et le premier avec la première," whenever they pleased.⁶⁸ When the matriarchal line of descent was recognized, it was in an unflattering way:

Ils institute pour heritiers les enfans de leurs soeurs, dautant qu'ils savent pour certain et sont asseurez que ceux la sont de leur sang, & de leur parentage.⁶⁹

In other aspects as well, apart from the sexual, Europeans could not at first detect order in the Amerindian way of life, although their manner was sweet and gentle,

⁶⁵Oviedo, Natural History, 13, 28.

⁶⁶Pigafetta, Le voyage, 5.

⁶⁷Fracanzano, Sensuyt le nouveau monde, 155.

⁶⁸Ibid., 154. Also, Macer, Les Trois Livres, 78 verso. This particular item of misinformation was not only one of the earliest to be picked up, but became one of the most widespread. It was included in the caption for the cannibal scene illustrated in the Augsburg woodcut. (Harrisse, Bibliotheca Americana, I: 51, #20.) Both woodcut and caption are reproduced by Winsor, Narrative and Critical History, II: 19. The woodcut by itself was reproduced by Hodgen in Early Anthropology, 149, and more recently in How They Saw The New World, by Ernst and Johanna Lehner, (New York, 1966), 104. The later habit of describing Amerindians as "pourceaulx" reflected the European impression of their sexual habits rather than their manner of eating. See Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium, (London, 1957), 62.

⁶⁹Pietro Bembo, L'Histoire du Nouveau Monde decouvert par les Portugalovs, (Lyon, 1556) 17.

"very like the manner of the ancients."⁷⁰ It was "wonderful that we never saw a quarrel among them."⁷¹ Columbus had reported that they had no government. Vespucci also noted they were without churches, without faith, living according to nature.⁷² Neither did they have art nor order in their combat, and after battle, they ate their prisoners of war.

More positively, Amerindians lived mainly on fish, which to the European thinking of the day provided a contrast in virtue with the evil of cannibalism.⁷³ But certain elements in the diet of Amerindians very quickly raised the suspicion that they were in association with devils. To Europeans this seemed to be indicated by the fact that they ate serpents, even poisonous varieties, as well as

⁷⁰Cellèrè Codex, translated by Susan Tarrow. In Lawrence C. Wroth, The Voyage of Giovanni de Verrazzano, 1524- 1528 (New Haven, 1970), 138.

⁷¹The Letters of Amerigo Vespucci, edited by Sir Clements Robert Markham, (London, 1894), 7. Later Charles Lalemant was to write from New France that the French were not "si paisibles et si patiens que ces barbares." (Auguste Carayon, Première mission des Jésuites au Canada, (Paris, 1864), 129.)

⁷²Fracanzano, Sensuyt le nouveau monde, 154. Vespucci in effect was corroborating Columbus, who had reported that Amerindians had no creed. (Journal of Christopher Columbus, 24, 33, 58.)

⁷³Eating fish was seen as virtuous where eating meat was not. Ethiopian Ichthyophagi were considered to be models of virtue. See Richard Bernheimer, Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in art, sentiment and demonology, (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), 105-106.

lizards, toads and other "ordures".⁷⁴ A question discussed during a thesis examination at the Université de Montpellier in 1574 asked, "Is the flesh of poisonous animals poisonous to eat?"⁷⁵ Amerindians, it was noted, "esteem serpents as we do capons;"⁷⁶ in fact, they ate serpents instead of bread.⁷⁷ However, the issue was not clarified when Jean de Léry, a Huguenot minister (1534-1611), who showed an aversion to stereotypes, tasted and found lizard so good that he "ne chantaïs que lézard."⁷⁸ The experiment was repeated by Jean Mocquet (1575-après 1617), geographer to the king, who found crocodile meat "assez bône, since qu'elle est un peu douce et fade, encore que je l'eusse fort salee et espisser."⁷⁹ The question of the connection between devils and diet faded away rather than ever being formally settled; but suspicion lingered, and certain elements of

⁷⁴Geoffrey Atkinson, Les Nouveaux Horizons de la Renaissance Française, (Paris, 1935), 76-77; Cohn, Pursuit of the Millennium, 74; Thorndike, History of Magic, VI: 572. This was based on the belief that one acquired the characteristics of the food one ate. Thorndike also pointed out that during the fifteenth century, the use of frogs was considered legal proof of sorcery. (History of Magic, IV: 301.)

⁷⁵Thorndike, "The survival of medieval intellectual interests," 156, citing Cartulaire de l'Université de Montpellier, edited by A. Germain, II: 1912.

⁷⁶Nicolas Barre, Copie de quelques lettres sur la navigation du Chevalier de Villegaignon es terres de l'Amerique..., (Paris, 1557), 24.

⁷⁷Ch. Fontaine, Les Nouvelles et antiques merveilles..., (Paris, 1554), Aiii verso.

⁷⁸Jean de Léry, Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil, (Lausanne, 1972: Based on the Geneva edition of 1580), 127. Iguana is eaten to this day in Mexico.

⁷⁹Jean Mocquet, Voyages en Afrique, Asie, Indes orientales et occidentales..., (Paris, 1617), 125.

Amerindian diet never were considered "civilized".⁸⁰

Some New World foods were readily accepted as being "merveilleusement bon"---pineapple, for instance, which to this day is known in France by the Amerindian name with which it was introduced during the sixteenth century, "ananas". Vespucci tried a "bread" made of fish paste, and found it good.⁸¹ Chocolate also eventually proved eminently acceptable. Montaigne tasted cassava, found it sweet and bland. According to one report, Cartier, being offered a muskrat, found it "bon à merveille à manger."⁸²

The general impression was that Amerindians ate very well, which Jacques Cartier explained was because "they took

⁸⁰An early example of this type of reaction was that of Dr. Diego Alvarez Chanca, who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage. "It seems to me," he observed of the Amerindians, in connection with their diet of lizards, snakes, worms and spiders, "that their degradation is greater than that of any beast in the world." (Select Documents Illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus, edited by Cecil Jane (London, 1930), 70.) French cuisine was later proposed as a means of luring Amerindians into alliance with the French. See Adrien Huguet, Jean de Poutrincourt, (Paris, 1932), 167.

⁸¹Amerigo Vespucci, The First Four Voyages..., reprinted in facsimile and translated from the Florence edition of 1505-1506, (London, 1893), 16.

⁸²The Complete Works of Montaigne, translated by Donald M. Frame, (Stanford, 1957), 154; Gabriel Hanotaux and Alfred Martineau, Histoire des colonies françaises et de l'expansion de la France dans le monde, 6 vols., (Paris, 1929-1933), I: 12. Hanotaux and Martineau do not give their source for Cartier's appreciation of muskrat. As for chocolate, it remained an Amerindian drink until the end of the sixteenth century, when it began to gain popularity in Spain; by the end of the seventeenth century, it was the fashionable drink of Western Europe. See Murdo J. MacLeod, Spanish Central America, (Berkeley, 1973), 242, 440n19.

care of nothing else."⁸³ Thevet, referring to the same people whom Cartier visited, reported that they ate a lot,⁸⁴ which accords with Columbus's report that the people of the West Indies ate "luxuriously." On the other hand, Amerindian moderation in food intake impressed Europeans in an age when eating to excess was a status symbol. "Les Sauvages sont fort modérés au manger, de peur de tomber en quelque maladie. Plût à Dieu qu'entre nous Chrétiens, nous eussions une telle discretion, car nous serions exempts de tant de mal qui nous advient par nos banquets grands et excessifs."⁸⁵ An Amerindian would walk all day on six biscuits, Melchisédech Thévenot (c1620-1692) reported. An Englishman concurred:

It may puzzle belief to conceive how such lustie bodies should have their rise and daily supportment from so slender a fostering.⁸⁶

It was the consensus that their houses were mean, their food intake moderate in the midst of plenty, and their drink consisted of water, but still they were healthy and lusty.

⁸³Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 269.

⁸⁴André Thevet, La Cosmographie universelle, (Paris, L'Huillier, 1575), 1013 verso.

⁸⁵Th. Hariot, Merveilleux et estrange rapport toutesfois fidèle, des commoditez qui se trouvent en Virginie..., (Frankfurt am Main, 1590), 26. For a similar sentiment, see Saint-Michel, Voyage des isles Camercanes, 175. Marc Lescarbot also concurred: he reported no gluttony in New France to compare with that of Europe. "I have no evidence that our savages wax fat or that they have big bellies; rather, they are nimble and swift." (History of New France, trans. and ed. by W. L. Grant, 3 vols., (Toronto, 1907-1911), III:172-173.)

⁸⁶William Wood, Wood's New England Prospect (Boston, 1865: Based on London edition of 1634), 70-71.

On the rare occasions when they were sick, they cured themselves with herbs, the uses of which they knew very well. Reports that they lived as long as 150 years were generally accepted.⁸⁷

The "great stores" of food maintained by the Amerindians was a point of high interest to sixteenth and seventeenth century Europeans, in whose homelands the spectre of famine was continuously present for the peasants.⁸⁸ They quickly developed techniques for taking advantage of Amerindian hospitality, going from village to village and moving on before their welcome wore out.⁸⁹ Herrera reported that the Spanish made themselves unwelcome

⁸⁷ Fracanzano, Sensuyl le nouveau monde, 155; Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, 96; Thevet, Cosmographie, 1004, reported that Amerindians lived as long as 250 years. The "coarse" foods of Amerindians caught the attention of Robert Burton (1577-1640) in reference to their long lives. He pointedly observed that such diets were not favored by European physicians. The European impression of the longevity of New World peoples could have reflected their own short life expectancy. Today, in Canada, Amerindians have a life expectancy one-third shorter than the average. (Donald G. Baker, "Color, Culture and Power: Indian-White Relations in Canada and America," The Canadian Review of American Studies III, #1 (1972), 3.)

⁸⁸ "Nothing new here," reported a Rome newsletter of February 1558, "except that people are dying of hunger." Particularly severe were the famines of 1594-1597 and of 1659-1662. (Kamen, The Iron Century, 35.) According to Robert Mandrou, hunger was the great pre-occupation of the French peasantry of this period. He wrote that meat or fish rarely found its way into the peasant diet, which was based on bread and wine. The contrast was total with the conspicuous consumption of the privileged classes. (Introduction à la France moderne (1500-1640), (Paris, 1961), 20-35.)

⁸⁹ Yves [d'Evreux], Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil fait durant les années 1613 et 1614, edited by Ferdinand-Jean Denis, (Leipzig and Paris, 1864), 109.

by billeting their men with Amerindian families, which the latter found to be a burden as the Spaniards "ate more in a day than the Indians in a month."⁹⁰ Consequently, Amerindians preferred to pay tribute to having the Castillians in their houses,⁹¹ although in spite of their gold, which they did not particularly value in its unworked state, they were "gens très pauvres, demunis de tout."⁹²

Not only did the Amerindians impress Europeans that they ate well, but that they did so without much effort.⁹³ Women, it was generally agreed, worked harder than the men: "Elles sont non seulement chargées des soins de ménage, mais encore des travaux pénibles de la culture des champs."⁹⁴ But toil in the European sense was noticeably absent, and individuals were not worn down with excessive labor. The type of sustained effort needed to be a good hunter does not seem to have been considered work.⁹⁵ Their skill in archery

⁹⁰Herrera, The General history, I: 139.

⁹¹Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, Histoire générale des voyages et conquêtes des Castillians dans les isles et terre ferme des Occidentales, traduite par N. de La Coste, 3 vols., (Paris, 1659-1671), I: 191.

⁹²Oeuvres de Christophe Colomb, traduites et annotées par Alexandre Cioranescu, (Paris, 1973), 44.

⁹³Carl Ortwin Sauer, Sixteenth Century America, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1971), 296.

⁹⁴Description de l'Amérique (Paris, s.d.), 2. It was rarely noted that it was the men who cleared the fields which the women cultivated.

⁹⁵An exception was Pierre Pelleprat, Relation des missions des P.P. de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les isles et dans la terre ferme de l'Amérique méridionale..., (Paris, 1655), 73. In listing the tasks of the men, Père Pelleprat included hunting and fishing, as well as repairing the houses and making furniture.

was much admired,⁹⁶ as was their craftsmanship.

Although these men were without iron, they built canoes after the manner of rowing galleys, some of them large enough to hold 80 men. The speed of these craft was "a thing beyond belief".⁹⁷ Columbus, in spite of regarding Amerindians as "wild" people, felt that they were "fit for any work...very intelligent, and who, when they have got rid of the cruel habits to which they have become accustomed, will be better than any other kind of slave."⁹⁸

In spite of such lapses into opportunism and expressions of horror at the Amerindian way of life in general, not to mention the tendency to look for monsters, the first descriptions of New World men were temperate and moderate in tone, although a note of condescension was

⁹⁶Claude [d'Abbeville], for example, noted that Brazilian archers could fire six arrows for a Frenchman's three (Histoire de la Mission des Pères Capucins en l'Isle de Maragnan et terres circonvoisins, (Paris, 1614), 289.) There were even reports that Amerindians were better archers than the English, considered by Europeans to be the best. Such an observation in "Extracts of the Historie of John Leryus [Jean de Léry], a Frenchman, who lived with Mons. Villegaignon Ann. 1556 and 58" drew the retort from Samuel Purchas, "bee it spoken by the Englishmen's leave, who are yet accounted the most skilfull Archers." (Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes, 20 vols., (Glasgow, 1097), XVI: 544.) Verrazzano had seen another aspect of Amerindian archery: he reported that the arrows were worked with great beauty. (Wroth, The Voyages of Verrazzano, 139.)
⁹⁷Spanish Letter, 14. Later, Bernard Le Boyer de Fontenelle was to belittle Amerindian dugouts on the grounds that not only did they take a long time to make, but they were so easily capsized that only good swimmers could use them. (Dialogue des Morts, in Oeuvres Diverses, 8 vols., (Paris, 1815) II: 101-102.

⁹⁸Columbus, Four Voyages, 84-85.

usually detectable. Even such defenders of the Amerindians as Isabella could not resist observing, on being informed by Columbus that the trees of the New World did not have deep roots, "this land where the trees are not firmly rooted, must produce men of little truthfulness and less constance,"⁹⁹ However, many observers seemed to agree with Pigafetta that

Ils sont hommes et femmes disposez comme nous. Ils mangent chair humaine de leurs ennemies non point pource que leur semble bonne, mais par certaine coutume...Le peuple seroit facilement converty à la foy de Jesu Christ.¹⁰⁰

This reflected an attitude that had been expressed earlier in Rome, in a document presented to Pope Leo X in 1513:

"Most Holy Pontiff...they are our brothers."¹⁰¹ That was a point that was already being hotly debated, and which will be dealt with later.

In the meantime, in the New World, where the actual encounter was taking place, neither Amerindian nor European was convinced that there was any question of brotherhood. Two centuries after the event, Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle (1657-1757) tried to imagine what the effect had

⁹⁹Antonello Gerbi, The Dispute of the New World: The History of a Polemic, 1750-1900. Translated and edited by Jeremy Moyle, (Pittsburgh, 1973), 38.

¹⁰⁰Pigafetta, Le voyage, 4 verso.

¹⁰¹"Libellus ad Leonem X pontificem maximum", a church reform project prepared by two Venetian noblemen turned hermits, Paolo Giustiniani and Pietro Quirini. It was cited by John W. O'Malley in "The Discovery of America in the Context of Reform Thought at the Papal Court in the Early Cinquecento," a paper presented at the conference, First Images.

been on the Amerindians of the first arrival of the

Europeans:

De grands Corps énormes qui paroissent avoir des aîles blanches, qui volent sur la Mer, qui vomissent du feu de toutes barps, & qui viennent jeter sur la rivage des Gens inconnus tout écaillé de fer, disposant comme ils veulent des Montres qui courent sous eux, en tenant en leur main des Foudres dont ils terrassent tout ce qui leur resiste... Sont-ce des Dieux? Sont-ce les Enfants du Soleil?¹⁰²

When Amerindians first saw mounted Spaniards, they presumed man and horse were one;¹⁰³ later, discerning between man and his mount, they continued to believe that the horse was a god, or at least immortal. To put this reaction into context, it should be pointed out that the Amerindians concerned had never before seen an animal as large as a horse; the fauna native to the areas overcome by the Spaniards did not include any animal of that size. Eventually, realizing their error, some enterprising Mexicans skinned a horse, stuffed it to appear as in life

¹⁰²Fontenelle, Dialogue des Morts in Oeuvres II: 103. Voltaire was in his turn to find it difficult to believe that Amerindians had really looked upon Europeans as gods; he conjectured that perhaps they had also believed them to be monsters. ("Essai sur les mœurs," in Oeuvres Complètes de Voltaire, 52 vols., (Paris, 1878) XII: 380.

¹⁰³F. Dassié, Description générale des costes de l'Amerique..., (Paris, 1676), preface. The Greeks had had a similar reaction at their first encounter with mounted men from the north, who entered their legends as centaurs.

and displayed it in a temple.¹⁰⁴

As already indicated, it did not of course take the Amerindians long to begin doubting if the Spaniards really were children of the Sun, and they displayed a well-developed spirit of enquiry in their attempts to settle the question.¹⁰⁵ In one well-publicized instance, in Puerto Rico in 1508, they held a Spaniard under water to see if he would drown, and then sat by his body for three days to observe what would happen next.¹⁰⁶ Later, in Mexico, Amerindians, upon killing a Moor who was with the Spaniards, cut him into small pieces to make sure he was dead.¹⁰⁷ Once they lost their fear of horses and arquebuses "et sachant que

¹⁰⁴Paolo Giovio, Histoires de Paolo Jovio, comois, evesque de Nocera, sur les choses faictes et avenues de son temps en toutes les parties du Monde. Traduit de Latin en françois par Denis Sauvage, Seigneur de Parc-Champenois, 2 vols., (Paris, 1581) II: 324. Another version has the Aztecs worshipping a sculptured horse. (The Horizon Book of Lost Worlds, ed., Marshall B. Davidson, (New York, 1962), 400.) Later Urbain Chauveton was to theorize that it was not Spanish arms or artillery that had conquered Amerindians, as they had quickly adapted to that new technology, but rather the latter's fear of horses. (Histoire nouvelle du Nouveau Monde... extraite de l'Italien de M. Hierosme Benzoni, qui ha voyagé XIII ans en ces pays-la..., (Geneva, 1579), 189.) Chauveton, in translating Benzoni's work, added extensive annotations and wrote an introduction. He did the same thing with Le Challeux's Brief Discours. See Atkinson, Nouveaux Horizons, 134-236 passim; and Benjamin Keen, "The Vision of America in the Writings of Urbain Chauveton," a paper presented at the conference, First Images.

¹⁰⁵Claude Levi-Strauss has described those efforts as scientific. (Tristes Tropiques Paris 1955), 68.) See also his Race et histoire, (Paris 1961), 21-22.

¹⁰⁶Hanke, Aristotle, 24-26; Le Challeux, Brief Discours, 27.

¹⁰⁷Giovanni Battista Ramusio, Navigations et Voyages (XVIe siècle). A la découverte de l'Amérique du Nord, (Paris, 1933: based on Venice edition of 1556), 74.

l'Espagnol tombe aussi bien qu'un autre d'un coup de pierre, ou avec une flèche, se hasardent et entrent dans les piques, faisant leurs entreprises...Qu'aucune n'estime pas, en parlant des Indiens, [que] l'on doive entendre des hommes de rien."¹⁰⁸

These reactions also tell us something of the character of the two civilizations involved----the Amerindians regarded the Europeans as more than human, while the latter looked on the former as being of the lowest possible human denominator, if not actually subhuman. If one is to judge the merits of these positions on the basis of the survival of their respective cultures, the less generous response had the advantage. That the reaction of the Amerindians may have been in the nature of a self-fulfilling prophecy is suggested by the story of the bearded white-faced god they were reportedly awaiting from across the sea.¹⁰⁹

Attempts were made very early by Europeans to represent

¹⁰⁸José de Acosta, Histoire naturelle et morale des Indes, traduite par Robert Regnault, (Paris, 1598), 372 verso- 373.

¹⁰⁹Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "Indian Cultural Adjustment to European Civilization," in Seventeenth Century America, edited by James Morton Smith, (New York, 1972), 58. This legend was first reported from Mexico. According to Laurette Séjourné, Cortés arrived at a time when the Aztecs believed they were at the end of a religious cycle. They were expecting Quetzalcoatl's second coming, which would have implied the advent of a new spiritual order. (Burning Water, trans., Irene Nicholson from the Spanish, (London, c1956).) Apparently this expectation was not shared by the Incas; instead, an oracle had warned them against bearded beings who would topple the empire. But Atahualpa, the last Inca, was told by his personal oracle that he was invincible, and so he agreed to meet the invaders.

what these people looked like. The first illustrations appeared with early editions of Columbus's letter. The Basel edition of 1493, De Insulis Inventis, depicted a trading scene, while the Italian version that appeared in Rome the same year, Storia della inventione..., represented Ferdinand seated on a throne extending his hand across a body of water to some natives fleeing on the shore. Both versions illustrated points made by Columbus in his letter: that these people, of an "incalculable number", were naked with long flowing hair, and they tended to run away timidly at the first sight of Spaniards. Even in the trading scene, one group was fleeing as another timorously made its offerings to the reciprocating Europeans.

The best-known early pictorialization is the so-called Augsburg woodcut, believed to date from 1505.¹¹⁰ It illustrates a cannibal scene, with men and women dressed in feathers, the men looking not unlike Roman centurions with plumed crowns. The women also had feather headdresses, and all wore small feather capes over their shoulders. These figures set the pattern for European representation, and

¹¹⁰Supra, n 68. Léry may have had this illustration in mind when he criticized the tendency to depict cannibals in the midst of hanging pieces of humans, as at a butcher's. "Il est aisé de voir par l'ignorance de ceux qui font de telles cartes, qu'ils n'ont jamais eu connaissance des choses qu'ils mettent en avant." (Histoire d'un voyage, 180.)

became the stereotype for Amerindians.¹¹¹ A Portuguese painting from about the same date, called "The Adoration of the Magi," has one of the wise men looking like a Tupinamba from Brazil, with feathered crown. However, he is clothed in European shirt and breeches.¹¹² The first known actual portraits of Amerindians by a European were done in 1529 by Christoph Weiditz, a German artist who saw the Aztecs brought to the court of Charles V by Cortés.¹¹³ In the panel that he painted about 1535 for an altarpiece for the chapel of Casa de Contratación in Seville, entitled "Virgin of the Navigators", Alejo Fernández depicted a group of Amerindian converts in the background looking rather negroid.¹¹⁴ Francois Deserpz, in his work on fashions around the world published in Paris in 1567, included a pair of naked Brazilians, the woman with a large flower coquettishly

¹¹¹An example is the "bas-relief du trésor" of St. Jacques Church in Dieppe. Believed to represent the peoples with whom the ship-owner Jean Anco of Dieppe had trading contacts, it starts off with a family group that has been identified as Brazilian because of the feather headdresses and skirts. (Louis Vitet, Histoire des Anciennes Villes de France, 2 vols., (Paris, 1833) I: 117-129.) Such figures were used to indicate the New World in cartographical illustrations. A collection of engravings of the New World, published in 1638 under the title L'Amerique Historique (s.l.) begins with a feather-skirted couple to symbolize America, complete with a cannibal scene in the background. Another early method of portraying Amerindians was to show the men with curling locks and full beard. An example is in Epistola Albericij, De nuovo mundo (Paris, s.d.)

¹¹²This painting, from the Cathedral of Viseu, was shown in the exhibition "The European Vision of America," #4 in the section "Savages and Men of Ind."

¹¹³The American Heritage Book of Indians, edited by Alvin M. Josephy (New York, 1961), 102-103.

¹¹⁴John Hale, "A World Elsewhere," in The Age of the Renaissance, edited by Denys Hay (London, 1967), 322.

placed on one thigh, and a "sauvage en pompe" in feathered cloak, as well as a hairy man and woman labelled "l'homme sauvage" and "la femme sauvage". The latter two figures did not represent Amerindians at all, although they were frequently confused with them; they will be discussed later.¹¹⁵ Rivalling the cannibal feast as a subject for illustration were scenes showing Brazilians collecting dye-wood for waiting ships.¹¹⁶ One of the most effective of these is a bas-relief sculptured in wood dating from the middle of the sixteenth century. While the figures resemble those of classical antiquity rather than Amerindians, reflecting Europe's awakening interest in its own past, they display a striking vigor and sense of life.¹¹⁷ This period's most accurate representations of New World life are considered to be those illustrating Hans Staden's account of

¹¹⁵Francois Deserpz, Recueil de la diversité des habits qui sont a present en usage tant ès pays d'Europe, Asie, Affrique et Illes sauvages; le tout fait après le naturel, (Paris, 1567), 394-395 and 382-383. For a discussion of the hairy "homme sauvage," see infra, Chapter III.

¹¹⁶This was particularly true for cartographers. See Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica, edited by Armando Cortesão and Avelino Teixeira da Mota, 5 vols., (Lisbon, 1960).

¹¹⁷The bas-relief came from the facade of a house that once stood at 17, rue Malpalu in Rouen. The sculpture is now in the Musée des Antiquités de Rouen. One of its scenes is reproduced in the catalogue, The European Vision of America, #8 in the section, "Savages and Men of Ind."

his captivity among the Tupinamba.¹¹⁸ A mid-sixteenth century Portuguese painting entitled "Inferno" has the Devil sporting an Amerindian feather headdress.¹¹⁹

Some of the works of two artists who actually visited the New World have survived. Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues was in Florida with the Ribault-Laudonnière expedition (1556-1558); and John White was in the Arctic with Martin Frobisher in 1577 and in Virginia intermittently between 1585 and 1590. Drawings by both of these artists were engraved by Theodore de Bry in his 13-part series published at Frankfurt am Main between 1590 and 1634 under the general title Grands Voyages. It is only in White's drawings that something is caught of the characteristic postures of Amerindians;¹²⁰ Le Moyne, while providing a wealth of detail, did not differentiate Amerindians from Europeans, except to make them bigger and more athletic-looking, rather as if they had stepped out from the Coliseum. The De Bry engravings accentuate this tendency, which is also evident

¹¹⁸Johann von Staden (Hans Staden), Warhafftiger kurtzer bericht, aller von mir erfornen handel und sitten des Tuppin Inbas, derer gefangner ich gewesen bin, Wonen in America..., (Frankfurt am Mayn, 1557). An edition with the wording of the title changed somewhat also appeared that same year in Marburg; a facsimile was published in Frankfurt in 1925. Of less artistic merit are the illustrations in Oviedo's Natural hystoria.

¹¹⁹The painting is at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga at Lisbon.

¹²⁰The definitive work on this artist is that of Paul Hulton and David Beers Quinn, The American Drawings of John White, 1577-1590, with Drawings of European and Oriental Subjects, 2 vols., (London, 1964).

in the illustrations for the Cosmographie of André Thevet,¹²¹ In the latter case, the figures are treated in the manner of the school of Fontainebleau. In other words, if one is to judge from pictorializations alone, it took thirty years to present ethnographic detail accurately, and another half century to depict the people of the New World with an appreciation of their particular physical and gestural qualities. Even then, this was far from consistently achieved.¹²²

These difficulties were not unrecognized at the time.

In the words of Jean de Léry,

Finalement, combien que durant environ un an que j'ai demeuré en ce pays-là j'aie été si curieux de contempler les grands et les petits que m'étant avis que je les voie toujours devant mes yeux, j'en aurais à jamais l'idée et l'image et mon entendement, si est-ce néanmoins qu'à cause de leurs gestes et contenance du tout dissemblables des nôtres, je confesse qu'il est malaisé de les bien

¹²¹Comparisons of Amerindians with the men of classical antiquity can be dated to Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, whose Décadas began to be published in their original Latin in Seville in 1511. Some of these appeared in French as Extrait ou recueil des isles nouvellement trouvées en la grand mer océane on temps du roy d'Espagne Fernand..., (Paris 1532). Such comparisons were preferred over those with other contemporary peoples, as classical antiquity was considered the only "true" reality as far as civilization was concerned. The point could also be made that Europeans, in relating Amerindians to their own classical antiquity, were in effect relating them to themselves. See Elliott, Old World and New, 50.

¹²²Greatest success was enjoyed in the north, where the German, Dutch and Flemish genre painting flourished. In France, such art was at the bottom of the hierarchical ladder, a position approved by the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, founded in 1648. Consequently, despite France's reputation for accommodation with Amerindians, they appear comparatively rarely in her art during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

représenter, ni par écrit, ni même par peinture. Par quoi pour en avoir le plaisir, il faut les voir et visiter en leur pays.¹²³

Pictorial considerations apart, it was one thing to detect classical affinities in New World nudity, but quite another to accept such a custom in practice. It was not so much nudity itself which caused the surprise as the scale on which it was practised. Spaniards had subdued naked Canary Islanders during the fifteenth century, and varying degrees of nudity had been observed in Africa. Even in Europe, nudity was acceptable under certain circumstances, and indeed extreme indecency existed alongside an excessive formalism,¹²⁴ in an age when sartorial ostentation was approaching its climax. The much-acclaimed pageantry that marked the entry of Henry II into Rouen in 1550 included a tableau featuring 50 naked Brazilians and 150 Norman sailors playing at being Brazilians, all presumably naked, as that was how they were depicted in illustrations of the event.¹²⁵

¹²³Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, 108. Neither did Amerindian art influence European art. The major exception to this is to be found in certain capitals in the Palais des Princes-Evêques (ca 1526) in Liège, which display Aztec influence. (Interestingly enough, the map of Tenochtitlan which Cortés brought to the Spanish court, had also shown Aztec influence in its execution.) On the other hand, New World animals were readily incorporated, and were rendered in prevailing European styles. See Nicole Dacos, "Présents Américains à la Renaissance. L'Assimilation de l'Exotisme," Gazette des Beaux Arts, VIe période, LXXIII (1969), 57-64. Lynn Glaser has collected early illustrations from voyage accounts in Engraved America (Philadelphia, 1970).

¹²⁴Johann Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, (London, 1924), 97.

¹²⁵Entrée de Henri II à Rouen, (Rouen, 1551) 40 verso-41.

The tableau was much praised, without the nudity being referred to. What really surprised Europeans about New World nudity was to see everyone, including those in authority, naked all the time.¹²⁶ Very often, their nudity was the only thing reported of Amerindians, as it was the most obvious characteristic that differentiated them from Europeans.¹²⁷

Cannibalism had an even more profound impact than nudity. The word "cannibal" (cambialle, canibali---there was a variety of spellings) almost immediately became the appellation by which Amerindians were known in Europe. Columbus, in his will, referred to his discovery of numerous islands of Cannibals.¹²⁸ The ritual aspects of the practice were missed at first, and it was assumed that the New World men ate each other for food.¹²⁹ They hunted each other "comme si c'estait bestes sauvages pour les manger." Such a conclusion was perhaps to be expected, as in Europe cannibalism was, not infrequently, a result of famine. Why

¹²⁶François de Belleforest, Cosmographie universelle de tout le monde..., 2 vols., (Paris, 1575), II: 2087. This work is a revamping of Sebastian Münster's Le Cosmographie universelle (Basel, 1568). See Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 104-105. Münster, for his part, had already borrowed heavily from Johann Boemus. (Infra, 68.)

¹²⁷Atkinson, Nouveaux Horizons, 63ff; Hale, "A World Elsewhere," 335.

¹²⁸Columbus, Oeuvres, 345.

¹²⁹Fontaine, Description, A 6; Bembo, L'Histoire du Nouveau Monde, 11. Mircea Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane, translated by Willard R. Trask (New York, 1961), 100-102, makes the point that among early peoples, one became truly a man by conforming to the teachings of the myths, that is, by imitating the gods. It was the gods who first practiced cannibalism. For a general study on cannibalism, see Edwin Meyer Loeb, "Cannibalism," MA thesis, (Yale, 1921.)

would people eat each other if not for food? Could it be because they were less than human, perhaps even beasts?

New World men very quickly presented a problem of classification to Old World theorists: were they descended from the children of Noah, or did they present an earlier form of humanity, akin to beasts? Pope Alexander VI ruled in 1493 that these people "being in peace, and, as reported, going unclothed, and not eating flesh," were human and capable of being Christianized.¹³⁰ In declaring the Amerindians to be "sufficiently disposed to embrace the Catholic faith and be trained in good morals," Alexander was in effect including them in the family of men descended from Noah. Inferentially, he was reaffirming church doctrine. St. Augustine had written that no matter how strange a man may appear, "let no true believer have any doubt that such an individual is descended from the one man who was first created."¹³¹ The great authority of Cicero was also cited in support of this position, for he had written, "all the people of the world are men; and there is only one definition for each and every man, that he is rational."¹³²

¹³⁰Alexander actually issued four bulls in 1493 relating to the discovery of the New World, two of them called Inter Caetera. The texts and bibliographies of all four are reproduced by Francis Gardiner Davenport in European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies, 4 vols., Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1917, I: 56-83. See also Robert Streit, Bibliotheca Missionum, 29 vols., (Rome, 1963-), II: 1-4.

¹³¹Augustine, City of God, Book XVI: VIII.

¹³²Cited by Elliott, Old World and New, 48.

Alexander may have been encouraged by the first reports of Columbus, who felt that these people "could better be freed and converted to our Holy Faith by love than by Force."¹³³ More than 40 years later Cartier was to make a similar observation of the Laurentian Iroquois.¹³⁴ The next step, of course, was to acknowledge that Amerindians, as fellow humans, were also brothers. We have already indicated that this position had high-ranking support.

But there were others who were not so sure, and from the very first, opinion was strongly divided on the subject. Why had Amerindians not been informed about the Christian God? Pope Alexander's bulls notwithstanding, there were those, even in the Church, who held that the answer lay in the fact that Amerindians were brute beasts and incapable of learning the mysteries of the faith.¹³⁵ The Dominican Domingo de Betanzos was one of the most successful in propagating this view during the 1530's. Although he retracted the opinion on his deathbed in 1549, it had received wide currency in the meantime.¹³⁶ In the same

¹³³G.R. Crone, The Discovery of America, (London, 1969), 81.

¹³⁴Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 186. Such sentiments seem to have been widespread in regard to Amerindians. For instance, in a letter dated 27 August 1612, and published the following year, similar ideas were expressed concerning Brazilians. (Derniere lettre du Reverend Père Arsène de Paris estant de present en l'Inde Occidentale, en la cost du Brasil, en une Isle appelée Maragnan..., (Paris, 1613), 11.)

¹³⁵Lewis Hanke, "Pope Paul III and the American Indians," The Harvard Theological Review, XXX #2, (1937), 68-69.

¹³⁶Ibid., 96. Hanke reproduces the text of the retraction in Appendix I, 97-98.

school was Spain's official historian, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdès (1478-1557). He viewed Amerindians as "naturally lazy and vicious, melancholic, cowardly, and in general a lying, shiftless people. Their marriages are not a sacrament but a sacrilege. They are idolatrous, libidinous, and commit sodomy. Their chief desire is to eat, drink, and worship heathen idols and commit bestial obscenities."¹³⁷ The popular view, in an age when religious conformity was fervently supported by the people, appears to have been even more categorical. This is illustrated by André Thevet, the Cordellier turned cosmographer, who wrote that Amerindians were

gens merveilleusement estranges et sauvages, sans foy, sans loy, sans religion, sans civilité aucune, mais vivans comme bestes irraisonnables, ainsi que nature les a produits, mangeans racines, demeurans tousiours nuds, tant hommes que femmes.¹³⁸

Reports that Amerindians had no religion were bad enough; worse were those that claimed they were devil-worshippers. "Le principal Dieu qu'ont ceux de l'Isle Hispaniola est le Diable" wrote Francisco López de Gómara (1510-1560?), who never visited Mexico but who served as Cortés' private chaplain and secretary after the

¹³⁷Cited by Lewis Hanke in "The Cultural Contribution of Bishop Juan de Zumarraga to Mexican Culture," The Americas, V No. 2 (July 1948), 276-277.

¹³⁸André Thevet, Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique, edited by Paul Gaffarel, (Paris 1878: reprint of Paris edition of 1558), 135.

conquistadore had returned to Spain in 1540.¹³⁹ Peruvians, who had built great cities connected with a network of highways, each month sacrificed their most precious possessions, including their children, to their idol, washing its face as well as the doors of their temple in blood.¹⁴⁰ The Amerindians of the Caribbean propitiated the devil because he was thought capable of raising hurricanes, a belief shared by Europeans.¹⁴¹ Sir Francis Drake (1541?-1596) in his report of his 1577-1580 voyage around the world, said that the Brazilians could make it difficult for mariners by conjuring up hurricanes.¹⁴² Amerindians, for their part, were convinced that the arrival of the Spaniards had increased the intensity of the storms. Apparently the most violent hurricane in living memory struck Hispaniola in

¹³⁹Gómara, Histoire Generale, ch. 27, 27. Earlier Oviedo had reported that certain highly respected Amerindians called teguina were masters of communication with the devil. (Natural History, 33-35.)

¹⁴⁰L'Histoire de la Terre Neuve du Perou en l'Inde Occidentale, qui est la principale mine d'or du monde, naguere decouverte, & conquise..., traduite de l'Italien en françois [par Jacques Gohory], (Paris, 1545) Cij verso. The perfectly preserved body of a boy, apparently such a sacrificial victim, was found entombed near an Inca shrine at 17,712 feet on El Pomo peak in Chile. It is now in a deep freeze showcase in a Santiago museum. (Loren McIntyre, "The Lost Empire of the Incas," National Geographic, vol. 144, No. 6, (1973), 733.)

¹⁴¹Postel, Des Merveilles du Monde, 31; Macer, Les trois livres, 29 verso. Later, Amerindians of New France were reported to have sorcerers called Pillotoas (Pilotuas) who conversed with devils. (Johannes de Laet, L'Histoire du Nouveau Monde..., (Leyden, 1640), 50; The Works of Samuel de Champlain, ed., H. P. Biggar, 6 vols., (Toronto, 1922-1923) I:117.

¹⁴²Sir Francis Drake, Le voyage d'illustre seigneur et chevalier Francois Drach..., traduit par F. de Louvencourt, (Paris, 1627), 14.

June 1494.¹⁴³ Whatever the devil's association with hurricanes, Spaniards were so persuaded of Amerindian association with Satan that they sent out commissions to investigate.

Those Amerindian cultures which came the closest to the European ideal were the city-states of Mexico, Central America and Peru. Cortés wrote that Tenochtitlán had several marketplaces, one of which was larger than the one at Salamanca. He described the central temple as being in itself as large as a town of 500, with a tower as high as that of the cathedral of Seville. Its citizens were not so different from Spaniards:

Les mœurs en général y ont un très grand rapport avec les mœurs d'Espagne; comme on y remarque à peu près le même ordre & le même ensemble, on est frappé continuellement de la police étonnante d'une nation barbare, séparée de toutes les nations policées, & si éloignée de la cognoissance du vrai Dieu.¹⁴⁴

In other words, the sophistication of the city did not shake Cortés in his conviction that somehow this was not "civility", as indeed it was not, if the view of Renaissance Europe were strictly interpreted. Its yardsticks were religion, political organization and technology. Christian

¹⁴³De Orbe Novo de Pierre Martyr Anghiera, traduit avec commentaires par Paul Gaffarel, (Paris, 1907), 65. Oviedo reported the contrary: "every Christian should contemplate the fact that everywhere Holy Communion has been celebrated, these hurricanes and terrific storms have not occurred in large numbers, nor are they as destructive as they used to be." (Natural History, 37.)

¹⁴⁴Hernán Cortés, Correspondance...avec l'empereur Charles-Quint, sur la conquête de Mexique. Traduite par M. le vicomte de Flavigny, (Paris, s.d.), 100-101.

was superior to pagan; state to non-state; and the age of iron to the age of stone. A Christian sailing in a ship armed with artillery was not only technologically but also morally superior to a Pagan in a canoe armed with bows and arrows.¹⁴⁵ This position was summarized by a sixteenth-century anonymous writer, who said of the city-states

toutefois n'ont les espriz stilez & façonnez en tant d'exercices & usages divers que les nostres; ains tiennent quasi une moyenne nature entre les hommes & les bestes, n'estans duitz ny apriz es artz de paix & de guerre, comme sont les peuples des trois autres parties du monde habitable.¹⁴⁶

This attitude was, if anything, to intensify during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as early moderation became less in evidence.¹⁴⁷

In regarding Amerindians as less than themselves, Europeans were behaving true to one of the oldest characteristics of mankind, to regard themselves as the only

¹⁴⁵The ramifications of this attitude in missionary work are discussed by John F. Freeman, "The Indian Convert: Theme and Variation," *Ethnohistory*, XII (1965), 113-127.

¹⁴⁶*L'Histoire de la Terre-Neuve du Pérou*, Preface.

¹⁴⁷Atkinson said that the favorable notices received by the Amerindians far outweighed the unfavorable, in spite of which the image of Amerindians as "larrons, menteurs et idolâtres" persisted. (*Nouveaux Horizons*, 147, 211.) Gilbert Chinard wrote that from the mid-seventeenth century, there was only praise of the "good savage" in travel accounts. (*L'Amérique et le rêve exotique*, (Paris, 1934), 38-39.) Hodgen flatly disagrees; during the sixteenth century, she said, "misrepresentation of the savage was at its height." (*Early Anthropology*, 367.) But even the favorable notices were written from the viewpoint that these nations were savage, or at the very least heathen, and therefore needed to be "humanized." Thus the general tone of Renaissance writing is overwhelmingly unfavorable to the Amerindians, in spite of efforts of many writers to be impartial or even favorable.

"true men". This was usually made clear by uncomplimentary appellations; for instance, the word "Eskimo" comes from an Algonkian term meaning "eaters of raw meat", which explains why present-day Arctic peoples are insisting that the term be replaced with their own name for themselves, "Inuit", meaning "the people". The word "Iroquois" seems to be the French version of an Algonkian term that meant "adder" or "snake"; the Iroquois in their turn named the Sioux, which has the same meaning. Naskapi means "rude, uncivilized people"; their name for themselves is "Ne-e-no-il-no," "perfect people." In Africa, the Zulus called all other tribes "animals"; whites were not people, but "those whose ears reflect sunlight".¹⁴⁸ Greeks rejected those who were not of their own culture as barbarians, a word which refers to the speech of foreigners resembling the twittering of birds.¹⁴⁹ St. Augustine had been even more categorical when he said that a man was better off in the company of a dog he knew than of men whose language he did not know; he cited Pliny to the effect that a foreigner is not like a man.¹⁵⁰ "Chacun appelle barbarie ce qui n'est pas de son usage," Montaigne wrote with his usual perception, but with more than a little touch of irony. For Montaigne was well aware

¹⁴⁸Hanke, Aristotle, 104.

¹⁴⁹Compare this attitude with that expressed in Corinthians I: 14: 10-11: "They are, for example, so many kinds of languages in this world and none without meaning. If, then, I do not know the meaning of the language, I shall be to the one whom I speak, a foreigner; and he who speaks, a foreigner to me."

¹⁵⁰Cited by Frame, Works of Montaigne, 24.

of the pejorative implications of the word "barbarian", which at its kindest meant "foreigner", but with implications of coarseness, customs that were reprehensible if not downright wicked, and lack of manners.¹⁵¹ During the eighteenth century it was reported that "nos Barbares Indiens, quoyque les plus Sauvages du monde, se croyant les plus nobles des hommes, n'ont point de plus forte inclination après celle de la guerre que de se rendre parfaits dans le noble exercice de la chasse."¹⁵²

The Orient, in spite of deep and obvious differences, had at least one point in common with Europe: the existence of states, well enough organized and articulated to be able to face Europe on its own terms. In other words, Europeans could identify to some extent with Orientals.¹⁵³ In the struggle of strength which seems to inevitably follow contacts between disparate cultures, neither side was capable of destroying the way of life of the other; of necessity, a modus vivendi developed. The philosopher Anarcharsis, accused of being a barbarian because he was

¹⁵¹See W.R. Jones, "The Image of the Barbarian in Medieval Europe," Comparative Studies in Society and History, XIII, (1971), 376-407.

¹⁵²Louis Nicolas, "Histoire naturelle; ou la fidelle recherche de tout ce qu'il y a de rare dans les Indes occidentales," unpublished manuscript, XVIII century. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, 24225, f 126.) Antoine-Augustin Bruzen de la Martinière wrote of the Amerindians, "ils se croient encore avec justice plus philosophe & plus hommes que les uns & les autres." (Article "Canada" in Le grand dictionnaire géographique, historique et critique, 6 vols., (Paris, 1739-1741), II:88.)

¹⁵³Chinard, Rève, 223.

born in "vile Scythie" put his challenger in his place: "ma patrie me donne infamie, mais tu le donne à ta patrie."¹⁵⁴ Fascination with the East was reflected in the geographical literature of the sixteenth century. Between 1580 and 1609, there appeared in France twice as many works on Turkey as on America; and in the pamphlets, the proportion is 10 to one in favor of Turkey. If one were to add other parts of the Orient, the disproportion would become even greater.¹⁵⁵ This has been made much of; but as far as ethnology is concerned, these statistics are misleading, for in all that literature surprisingly little was written on the people of the Orient, while a comparatively large amount of space was devoted to the peoples of the New World.¹⁵⁶ As far as the East was concerned, it seems that Europe realized very quickly that

¹⁵⁴Guillaume Du Choul, Discourse de la religion des anciens Romains, (Lyon, 1567), 159. Anarcharsis was atypical; according to Herodotus, Scythians had such a hatred of foreign customs they killed their own countrymen who fell under outside influences. Anarcharsis himself met such a fate. (The Histories of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, trans., Harry Carter, (London, 1962), 255.)

¹⁵⁵Atkinson, Nouveaux Horizons, 10-11.

¹⁵⁶In assessing the interest shown in the Orient compared with that shown in the New World, Byron P. Gilmore found that the latter was "slighted" in favor of the former. "It remains surprising," he observed, "that on the eve of the great French colonization of Canada, there was not a popular demand for more information on the newly discovered lands." ("The New World in the French and English Historians of the Sixteenth Century," 3, a paper presented to the conference First Images.) However, as Rowe noted, a "surprisingly high proportion of the ethnographic data published in the sixteenth century relates to the New World." ("Ethnography," 2.) There was also a considerable increase in the amount of space devoted in official publications to Canada at the time of the De Monts-Champlain colonization and the first Jesuit missions.

its efforts to exploit and evangelize the people could only be undertaken by taking existing cultures into account. In the case of the New World, on the other hand, the cultures were so strange that Europe had difficulty in detecting their underlying order: at first the majority of these people seemed to present a tabla rasa ready to be moulded any way that Europeans wished.

This impression was reinforced by the Amerindian attitude toward the gold, silver and pearls which they possessed in abundance but which they did not particularly prize. In European eyes, this meant they did not appreciate their "true" value.¹⁵⁷ Early accounts abound with references to Amerindians fishing with golden fish-hooks, wearing golden breast-plates or golden rings in ears and noses, not to mention pearl necklaces and bracelets. Perhaps the culmination of such stories was the tale of the conquistadores shoeing their horses with gold because there was no iron to be had.¹⁵⁸ Spaniards reported counting 80 houses in Cuzco that were not only roofed with gold but also lined with it.¹⁵⁹ A house in Collao was stated to be roofed

¹⁵⁷For just one example, Cosmographer Petrus Bertius wrote that the people of the New World were stupid because they did not value gold and silver as did Europeans. (Description de l'Amerique qui est le Nouveau Monde, (Amsterdam, 1622) 246.)

¹⁵⁸Pieter Heyns, Le Miroir du Monde..., (Antwerp, 1583), 2. Acosta had the horses being shod with silver. (Histoire naturelle et morale, 134.)

¹⁵⁹Robert de Berquen, Les Merveilles des Indes Orientales et Occidentales..., (Paris, 1669), 108.

with pure gold worked to resemble straw.¹⁶⁰ The legend of the gilded chieftain El Dorado dates from about 1535, when Spaniards heard of the story from Amerindians.¹⁶¹ The chieftain lived in a land so rich in gold that each day he covered his body with a fine film of the dust, removing it at night and letting it lie where it dropped. His investiture was marked by the jettisoning of a cargo of gold and emeralds in the middle of Lake Guatavita, situated in northeastern Bogota.¹⁶² The legend shifted locations as the Spaniards sought to find the elusive cacique, a quest that was to haunt them for many generations.

In quite another mood was the story of Amerindians commiserating with the Spanish horses for having iron bits in their mouths, and bringing gold for the purpose because they thought it would be better for the horses.¹⁶³ If we are to believe Lescarbot, Spanish women living in Peru had their

¹⁶⁰L'Histoire de la Terre-Neuve du Pérou, preface.

¹⁶¹J.A. Manso, "The Quest for El Dorado," Bulletin of the Pan American Union, 34 (1912), 59-65; Friederici, Der Charakter, I: 410.

¹⁶²Manso, "The Quest for El Dorado," 59-65. Berquen reported another story of Amerindians jettisoning gold into a bottomless lake. This concerned a golden chain so heavy that 100 men were needed to carry it; it was being transported as ransom for Atahualpa, but was thrown into the lake when the Amerindians heard of Atahualpa's death. (Les Merveilles des Indes, 80). One can but wonder if this tale is not a fantastication of Inca bridge-building procedures. The Inca spanned rivers with keshwa chaca, bridges of gold-colored straw, the cables of which were braided and carried by long lines of men to the construction site. Such bridges had to be renewed every year.

¹⁶³Antoine Biet, Voyage de la France Equinoxiale en l'Isle de Cayenne..., (Paris, 1664), 154.

shoes plated with gold and silver and garnished with pearls.¹⁶⁴ Not surprisingly under the circumstances, tales later circulated of Amerindians hiding more gold than they yielded to the Spaniards.¹⁶⁵

However, while the gold and silver and pearls of the New World, not to mention its dye wood and fish, initially ensured the development of contact, it was the drive to save souls, to "humanize" the idolators and devil-worshippers, that was the principal factor in the European acceptance of the challenge. It was a drive that received tremendous impetus from the existence of attitudes, customs and practices among New World peoples which raised fundamental questions concerning Biblical accounts. For instance, how did the easy childbirth reported of New World women relate to the difficult childbirth imposed on Eve and her descendants?¹⁶⁶ Similarly, what about Amerindians' lack of shame in their bodies, and what about their social structures which allowed for absence of toil and often even

¹⁶⁴Marc Lescarbot, Nova Francia: or the Description of that part of New France which is one continent with Virginia. Translated by Pierre Erondelle, (London, 1609), 197.

¹⁶⁵Pierre Du Val d'Abbeville, Memoires geographiques de tous les pays du monde: avec plusieurs observations historiques, (Lyon, 1674), 13.

¹⁶⁶Atkinson, Nouveaux Horizons, mentions some of these considerations without going into their full implications. That early missionaries were aware of them is evident from references in their reports. A seventeenth century memoir noted that Illinois women sometimes had trouble in childbirth "car quoique sauvagesses, il s'en treuve qui sont aussi malades que les françoises." (PAC AC C11A 122: 147, Lettre 61, s.d.)

of hierarchy? All these ran counter to what was perceived as the Christian ethic; the concept of the universal church demanded that these strange people be brought within its fold.

The methods of handling these new challenges were to be as varied as the peoples who had to deal with them. The Portuguese conquered subjugated; so did the Spanish, but with a concern for justice and salvation that was to make them the principal protagonists in thrashing out the problems of cultural confrontation, both in theory and in fact. The French, not so dogmatic as either the Spaniards or the Portuguese, and motivated by a bitter rivalry particularly with Spain, moved to establish commercial relations, which were later to be reinforced if not overshadowed by evangelization. The vision of the apostolate was in its turn to become integral with that of empire. All of these reactions were encouraged by the urge to exploit and remodel the New World. In the words of Emery La Croix (c. 1590-1648), eminent theorist in politics and economics, *Il faut quitter ces moeurs barbares, & monstre au peuple le chemin d'humanité & vray honneur, afin qu'on ne vive plus d'une façon brutale. Il faut faire regner la raison et justice, et non pas la violence qui ne convient qu'aux bestes.*¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷Emery de La Croix (Emeric de Crucé), Le Nouveau Cynée... (Paris, 1623), 81. La Croix, a monk, was a pioneer advocate of international arbitration. René Gonnard, La légende du bon sauvage, (Paris, 1946), 11, cites Louis Hébert, the first farmer of New France: "J'ai passé les mers pour venir secourir les sauvages plutôt que pour tout autre intérêt particulier."

It was a Procrustean task that was to absorb the energies of generations of soldiers, traders, officials and missionaries. But the primary need was to sort out first impressions and to bring new facts into an Old World focus.

THE MYTH OF THE SAVAGE
AND THE BEGINNINGS OF FRENCH COLONIALISM IN THE AMERICAS

Chapter II

Rationalizing New-found Man

The unfolding multiplicity of the Americas challenged the Western World at a time when it was devoted to the Christian ideal of absolute truth. Europe reacted by re-emphasizing its belief that man was part of a cosmic hierarchical order, which was seen as a "great chain of being" of collective units enclosed one within another. But a statement of faith, no matter how deeply felt, did not mean that certain questions were easily resolved: had man risen from a state of bestiality or from a state of child-like innocence? If the world represented a single order, how had it been possible for other "civilities"¹ to develop value scales so totally different from those of Europe? Conversely, how could different civilizations possess similar cultural traits without having been in contact with

¹Civilization was a word that was not current until the end of the seventeenth century. In the sixteenth century, "civility" meant good citizenship, which implied familiarity with the ethics and political theory of Greek and Roman philosophers. (Rowe, "Ethnography," 7).

each other?² How did "civilities" develop in the first place? Renaissance Europe's attempts to answer these questions only multiplied the contradictions. In the face of such difficulties, the simplest solution was to place New World cultures beyond the pale of "civility" and to think of Amerindians as hommes sauvages. Thus the faith of theologians and the reasoning of scholars, after some doubts and hesitations, came to reinforce a conclusion that had already been reached at the popular level.

The basic work surveying the customs and manners of the world for the sixteenth century was Omnium gentium mores by Boemus, first published in Latin in 1520.³ It went through numerous editions in several languages, the first French version appearing in 1540 under the title Recueil de

²One reaction was to try and establish that there had been pre-Columbian contact. Corte Real, for example, on his 1501 voyage, found a gilded sword and silver earrings being worn by a northern Amerindian, which gave rise to a spate of such speculations. (Gabriel Marcel, Sur quelques documents peu connus relatifs a la découverte de l'Amérique (Paris 1893), 6.) Recently Samuel Eliot Morison cooled the debate by concluding that the items must have been left behind by John Cabot (Portuguese Voyages in the Fifteenth Century, (New York, 1965), 71.) Marineo Siculo, one of Ferdinand's historians, confined his interest in the New World to a report that a Roman coin had been found in Central America, which he contended proved that the Romans had been there before. (Hale, Renaissance Europe, 53.)

³Johann Boemus, Omnium gentium mores leges et ritus ex multis clarissimis rerum scriptoribus..., Augsburg, Marci Vuirsung, 1520.

diverses histoires.⁴ Boemus dealt with the cultures of Europe, Asia and Africa, but did not include the New World, and indeed little recent data from any source. Instead he relied principally upon existing compilations, particularly Coccio's Enneades.⁵ The 1542 Paris edition of Boemus's work, however, was enlarged to include information from contemporary explorations, and in 1556 a Spanish version added a 190-page section on America.⁶ The work was a major influence on writers who sought to describe the world during the years 1540-1575, a period which has been described as the great age of cosmographers.⁷

Although Boemus had looked backward to recognized authority for most of his information, in accord with the practice of the times, his synthesis of beliefs and speculations concerning the rise of man provided a convenient intellectual framework to accommodate new data. This framework was, of course, devoted to the principle of hierarchy; in Medieval and Renaissance times, the order of the world was seen in terms of ascending importance culminating with the Heavenly Host. One view of such a

⁴Johann Boemus, Recueil de diverses histoires touchant les situations de toutes regions & pays contenuz es trois parties du monde, avec le particuliers moeurs, loix & ceremonies de toutes nations & peuples y habitans. Nouvellement traduit de Latin en Francoys, (Antwerp, 1540). Two years later an edition appeared in Paris.

⁵Marco Antonio Coccio, (called Sabellico), Enneades (Venice, 1498.) According to Rowe, Boemus used the Venice edition of 1504, Secundor par Enneadum. ("Ethnography," 4.)

⁶Rowe, "Ethnography," 4.

⁷Atkinson, Nouveaux Horizons, 23.

hierarchy has been left to us by the Armenian geographer Vartan:

D'abord c'est le tabernacle où est le trône de la Divinité qui est au dessus de tout ce qui existe. Aucune être créée ne peut entrer ni voir dans ce tabernacle. La sainte Trinité seule y habite dans une lumière inaccessible. Après sont les demeures des anges; d'abord sont les ordres des séraphins, des chérubins et des trônes, perpétuellement occupés de glorifier Dieu. Ils lui sont enchaînés par l'amour, et ils ne veulent pas s'en éloigner: ce n'est pas par stabilité, mais par attachement et par amour. Comme ils sont incorporels, on ne peut pas dire qu'ils sont dans un lieu, mais les désirs et les amours sont comme leurs lieux, et c'est parce qu'ils le veulent qu'ils sont là. Ces trois ordres n'en font qu'un par le rang et la gloire. Après eux sont les Dominationes, les Vertus et les Puissances (potestates) qui forment les hiérarchies moyennes. Enfin après ceux-ci sont les Principautés (principatus), les archanges et les anges qui forment les dernières hiérarchies. Ces six ordres ont des places et des degrés de gloire différents, de même que les hommes tous d'une même nature, sont de divers rangs, que l'un est roi, tandis qu'un autre est prince, chef de ville, et ainsi de suite. Les cieux fixes et sans mouvement sont leur demeure. Ensuite est une ceinture aqueuse placée par la volonté du Créateur qui est toujours en mouvement et qui par cette raison est connue sous le nom de Premier Mobile. Après cela on rencontre les cieux du firmament où se trouve une grande quantité d'astres qui se meuvent circulairement. Au dessus sont les deux pôles des astres qui tournent entièrement en vingt-quatre heures et ne sont pas semblables à la ceinture aqueuse. Ensuite est la zone des Sept Planètes placées l'une au-dessus de l'autre; on trouve ensuite les quatre éléments qui s'enveloppent les uns les autres sphériquement. D'abord la Sphère du Feu qui environne tous les autres éléments, on trouve ensuite l'air, puis l'eau, et enfin la Terre qui est le dernier des quatre et qui est au milieu de tous les autres.⁸

At the centre of this world was man, for whose sake it had been created. Species were fixed, falling naturally into well-differentiated classes rather in a qualitative

⁸Antoine-Jean Saint-Martin, Némoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie, suivis du texte arménien de l'Histoire des princes Orpélians..., 2 vols., (Paris, 1818-1819), II: 407. Also cited by Santarem, L'Histoire de la cosmographie, III: XXVI-XXVIII.

continuum.⁹ However, there were imperfections to be ironed out, such as the existence of wild predators: "if all countries were peopled and made subject to law and order as they should be, then there would be no animals that would attack man."¹⁰

In terms of human history, Boemus saw the concept of the "great chain of being" as implying man's slow rise from a state of bestiality. However, because this theory had troublesome theological implications, he avoided the difficult question of man's fall from an original state of grace and began his account with the flood. The flood had dispersed man, who had then lived

sans faire aucune traffique de marchandise les ungs avecques les autres...ains estoient tous egallement tenuz les ungs aux autres, et jusques a avoir toutes choses communes entre eux...ains se contentoit chacun d'eulx de ce peu de bien dont il pouvoit passer la vie en plein champ...avec une ou plusieurs femmes... Et estoit le genre humain si peu soigneux d'estre en seurete, qu'il ne soucioit pour lors destre enclose en villes murees...ains estoit errant & vagabond, ne plus ne moins que les aultres animaulx & n'avoit aucun certain lieu pour prendre son repos, ains en ce lieu se reposoit auquel la nuict le surprenoit, & ce en grande tranquillité, & sans aucune crainte de larrons ou brigantz.¹¹

This primitive man ate human flesh, mated with whichever woman he encountered, "sans aucune discretion de sang ou parentage," and displayed other similar vices and

⁹Arthur O. Lovejoy, The Great Chain of Being, (Cambridge, Mass. 1936) 228.

¹⁰Ibid., 187. The idea of the "chain of being" enjoyed its widest popularity during the eighteenth century. (Ibid., 183.)

¹¹Boemus, Recueil, (1542), i-ii.

imperfections.¹² The descendants of Shem and Japhet "se contenterent de petites possessions par quoy ne se sont si largement dispersez par toute la terre comme les aultres."¹³ Coming down to particulars, Boemus described Tartars as having little hair, loving hunting and fishing, and living on little; despite their occasional predilection for roasting and eating their enemies, within their own communities they lived peacefully, never arguing with each other. The resemblance of this to early portrayals of New World men is obvious; the principal difference was that the Tartars were depicted as deformed, a condition that was seldom reported of Amerindians.¹⁴ It is interesting to note that the terms used to describe Old World "savages" were soon to become indistinguishable from those portraying similar men of the New World.¹⁵

It was one thing to find resemblances between New World and Old World men, particularly if the latter belonged to classical antiquity, but it was quite another matter to establish where New World men had originated. Awkward as the fact was to deal with, it seemed that the New World had been left out of the division of the world among Noah's three sons, Shem having peopled Asia, Japhet Europe and Ham

¹² Ibid., iii.

¹³ Boemus, Recueil, (1540), 3.

¹⁴ In one case mentioned in the Jesuit Relations, a misshapen Huron was a shaman. (XIII:101.)

¹⁵ For one example, in Olaus Magnus, Histoire des Pays Septentrionaux (Antwerp, 1561). Here we have "le bon sauvage" in a northern European setting.

Africa.¹⁶ The multitudes of the New World were not only unexpected (it had been easy to ignore previous tantalizing indications of unknown populations across the ocean, but that escape had vanished with the discovery of the riches of the New World), but they were difficult to fit into the three-fold oikoumene. The debate that arose as to the origins of the Amerindians was not so much inspired by scientific curiosity, although that was a factor, as it was by a concern to defend Christian dogma and traditions.¹⁷ The great volume of this writing gives us an indication of the seriousness accorded the theological problems posed by the mere existence of people in the New World.

If New World men were descended from Adam, they must also be descended from Noah---but from which of his three

¹⁶Supra, 14. Sir William Alexander, first Earl of Stirling (1567-1640), a Scottish colonizer, observed that the division of the world between Noah's three sons had been accomplished without taking "any notice of natives." (Sir William Alexander and American Colonization, (Boston, 1873), 156).

¹⁷Supra, 44-45. A major work was that of George Horn, De originibus Americanis (The Hague, 1652), which maintained that the Americas had been peopled by the Phoenicians from the west, Chinese from the east, and Scythians from the north. Dr. Benjamin H. Bissell characterized the sheer bulk of this "pseudo-scientific" theorizing during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as "amazing." (English Literature of the Eighteenth Century, (New Haven, 1925), 6.) A good résumé of the debate is found in Pierre-François Charlevoix's Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France, 6 vols., (Paris, 1744), V: 1-64.

sons?¹⁸ The two favored candidates were Japhet and Ham, with the former enjoying a preference as he was supposed to have fathered the Tartars and the western peoples generally.¹⁹ The belief that Amerindians were descended from either the Scythians or the Tartars seems to have been widely accepted in Renaissance Europe.²⁰ It received its first expression in print in Anghiera's First Decade, reporting the voyage of Vicente Yáñez Pinzón, who accompanied Columbus.²¹ The view was reinforced by José de Acosta's (c1540-1599) well-argued theory that the people of the Americas must have migrated from northern Asia, where "l'une & l'autre terre se joignent & continuent en quelque part, on á tout le moins s'avoisinent & approchent de bien pres,"²² and later by reports that the Amerindians themselves had a tradition of coming from the Northwest.²³ Ham was advocated because of his cursed destiny, which had caused his descendants for the

¹⁸One cosmographer went so far as to postulate that if Amerindians were descended from Adam, that meant "les habitants du Nouveau Monde sont descendu de nous." (Pierre d'Avity, Seigneur de Montmartin, Les Estats, empires et principautez du Monde..., (Paris, 1619), 262.)

¹⁹La Calancha, Histoire du Perou, 13; Guillaume de Saluste, Seigneur Du Bartas, Oeuvres poetiques et chrestiennes..., (Lyon, 1606), 167-167 verso; Postel, Des Merveilles du Monde, 41 verso; Macer, Les Trois Livres, 31 verso.

²⁰Lee Eldridge Huddleston, Origins of the American Indians, (Austin, 1967), 73-74, 92-93.

²¹De Orbe Novo, trans. and ed. by Francis Augustus MacNutt, 2 vols., (New York, 1912), I:161.

²²Acosta, Histoire naturelle, 41 verso. See, also, Huddleston, Origins of the American Indians.

²³Jean-Baptiste Le Mascrier, Mémoires historiques sur la Louisiane... 2 vols., (Paris, 1753), I: 120.

most part to fall inextricably into error.²⁴ The Huguenot pastor Urbain Chauveton (c1540-1614), however, took exception to this position, feeling that it slandered Amerindians.²⁵ Those who favored Shem as ancestor based their arguments on the existence of cannibals in the New World, a point of resemblance with the Orient.²⁶ By mid-seventeenth century Isaac de La Peyrère sought to circumvent the question by reviving Paracelsus's theory of two Adams; such a view, of course, ran afoul of Christian dogma, and Peyrère was forced to recant.²⁷

A sidelight to such speculations was the question of who were the first people on Earth. Boemus had cautiously observed that many accorded the honor to the Ethiopians, since their country, being nearest the sun, was the first to

²⁴Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, 206; Barent Langenes, Thrésor de chartes contenant les tableaux de tous les pays du monde, (La Haye, s.d.), 42; Gómara, Voyages et conquêtes du capitaine Ferdinand Courtois és Indes Occidentales, traduite de l'Espagnole par Guillaume le Breton, (Paris, 1588), Au Lecteur; Boemus, Recueil (1540), 2 verso.

²⁵Benzoni, Histoire nouvelle, Aux Lecteurs.

²⁶Antoine Couillard, Seigneur du Pavillon pres Lorriz, Les Antiquitez Et Singularitez du monde, (Paris, 1557), 97.

²⁷Isaac de La Peyrère, Prae-Adamitae..., (s.l., 1655). For a discussion of Peyrère, see David R. McKee, "Isaac de La Peyrère, a Precursor of Eighteenth Century Critical Deists", Publications of the Modern Language Association, LIX (1944), 456-485. The eighteenth century saw attempts to solve the riddle of the peopling of America by postulating that Amerindians were descended from Adam but not from Noah, as they had been missed by the flood, which had not been universal. See Samuel Engel, Essai sur cette question: Quand et comment l'Amérique a-t-elle été peuplée d'hommes et d'animaux? 5 vols., (Amsterdam, 1767). Also, Thomas Bendyshe, "The History of Anthropology," Memoirs read before the Anthropological Society of London, I, (1863-1864), 353-354.

be heated.²⁸ Renaissance historian Polydoro Vergilio (?1470-1555), repeated Boemus' arguments, but attributed the belief to the Ethiopians themselves.²⁹ Loys Le Roy (c1510-1577), professor of Greek at the University of Paris, listed the most ancient nations as Ethiopians, Indians (Asiatic) and Armenians, in that order.³⁰

However, the question of primacy never engaged attention as did that of origins. Boemus's version of man after the flood, blending aspects of an animal-like existence with those of the classical Golden Age, was widely accepted; the implied contradiction was not reconciled. If anything, it was to intensify with the passage of time.

Boemus hurried over this difficult question to theorize that whatever his beginnings, man eventually set about improving the land. He speculated that the pressures for such a development arose from scarcity of food caused by growing populations, which made hunting, fishing and gathering no longer practical. Small villages were established and slowly grew into large towns. In the words

²⁸Johann Boemus, Le Recueil des païs selon leur situation, avec les moeurs, loix est cérémonies d'iceux..., (Paris, 1558), 28. To Homer, the Ethiopians had been the happiest of men, tall and beautiful, living peacefully according to the laws of nature. In other words, a Greek version of "le bon sauvage". See Hodgen, Early Anthropology, 475.

²⁹Polydoro Virgilio, An abridgement of the notable works of Polidore Vergil conteynynge...rites and ceremonies commonly used in the Church, and the original beginnyng of the same, (London, 1546), vi.

³⁰Loys Le Roy, De la Vicissitude ou Variété des Choses en l'Univers, (Paris, 1579), 25.

of Cosmographer Sebastian Münster, who borrowed heavily from Boemus, "Par ainsi, ils vindrent petit à petit à depouiller leur barbarie & farouscheté & à vivre honnestment & civilement."³¹ During the process of acquiring civility man had so changed the world that someone who had seen it in its original state "la prendroit pour quelque terre du tout aultre, qui celle mesme qui premierement este cree, & la jugeroit ou plustost quelque jardin semblable au paradis terrestre."³²

Among the factors which were seen to influence this slow climb up the technological ladder were geography and climate. The appearance in 1484 of the first Latin version of Ptolemy's Tetrabiblos had given enormous impetus to this school of thought. Ptolemy had written that those who lived in the tropics were burned by the sun, had black skins, were shrunken in stature, sanguine of nature, and in habits were for the most part savage because their homes were continually oppressed by the heat; they were known as Ethiopians. Those of the north were the opposite. Being white, tall and somewhat cold by nature, they were also savage because of low temperatures; they were called Scythians. Those who lived in between were medium in

³¹ Münster, La Cosmographie universelle..., (Basel, 1556), 3. Münster (1489-1552), a Catholic turned Protestant, was renowned as a Hebrew scholar and geographer. The term "honnesteté" in the sixteenth century meant conventional integrity, polite respectability, and decent social behavior.

³² Boemus, Recueil (1542), iv verso.

coloring and were civilized; those in the east were more masculine, vigorous and frank, partaking of the nature of the sun; while those of the west were more feminine, softer of soul and secretive, as this region was lunar.³³ Leonardo da Vinci noted a variation of this---that the men of hot countries were black because they loved the refreshing nights and hated light, while Nordics were blond for opposite reasons.³⁴ Pierre Petit, a Paris physician, concluded that whatever is cold can be called white, and whatever is hot can be called black.³⁵ Ptolemy's theory was used by Le Roy without modification.³⁶

The ptolemaic explanation of the colors of mankind, which had appeared so logical in the Old World, simply did not apply to the New. Further, accounts flowing in from various parts of the New World soon made it apparent that instead of varying from white to black from the Arctic to the equator, Amerindians maintained "une ressemblance étonnante."³⁷ Columbus had noted that Amerindians at the same parallel as Ethiopians were not the same color. Anghiera, in reporting this, exaggerated the difference:

³³Claude Ptolemy, Tetrabiblos, translated and edited by F.E. Robbins, (Cambridge, Mass. & London, 1940), 121-127.

³⁴Thorndike, History of Magic, V: 34.

³⁵Pierre Petit, De Ignis et lucis natura exercitationes ad Is. Vossium, (Paris, 1663).

³⁶Le Roy, De la Vicissitude, 9 verso-14.

³⁷Almanach américain, ou Etat physique, politique, ecclesiastique et militaire de l'Amerique..., (Paris, 1784), 18-19. This uniformity had been noted very early. (Supra, 24-25). I am citing an eighteenth-century source because of its apt phraseology.

"The Ethiopians are black and have curly, wooly hair, while these nations are on the contrary white and have long, straight, blond hair."³⁸ Anghiera speculated that this puzzling discrepancy must have something to do with the disposition of the land in relation to the heavens in the American tropics. Eventually the phenomenon was widely explained as being due to the presence of rivers and lakes, which modified the effects of the sun so as not to turn the inhabitants black.³⁹ Another explanation for the uniformity of color of Amerindians was suggested by their assumed recent arrival in their lands. According to this theory, which was not explicitly formulated until the eighteenth century, Amerindians had come only a few hundred years before the Spaniards, and so the climate had not had time to

³⁸De Orbe Novo (MacNutt), I:133; a similar but more realistic observation is in "The Second Voyage to Guinea," in Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, 12 vols., (Glasgow, 1904), VI:176.

³⁹Lescarbot, History of New France, III: 139-140. This was a logical conclusion to draw from the discovery that the torrid zone abounded in water, contrary to the opinion of the ancients that it was arid and therefore uninhabitable. Acosta devoted considerable space to the subject of the temperature and humidity of the New World's torrid zone. Lescarbot also wondered why Amerindians' hair was black when that of French at the same latitude was not. (Lescarbot, op. cit., loc. cit.) Oviedo noted that the surface temperature of the soil in tropical America was temperate, which he saw as explaining why the root system of New World trees spread horizontally rather than vertically. Down below, said Oviedo, the earth in the New World was too hot to sustain life. (Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, Natural History of the West Indies, translated and edited by Sterling A. Stoudemire, (Chapel Hill, 1959), 30.) See also Garcilasso de La Vega, First part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas, 2 vols., (London, 1869-1871) I: 18.

do its work.⁴⁰

It was not only color that was affected by climate and geography. Jean Bodin (1530-1596), the great French jurist who was renowned for his learning, saw northerners as big and strong, southerners as small and weak; men living on fertile lands as easy going and timorous, those on sterile lands as vigilant and industrious.⁴¹ Later Montesquieu was to extend such views to theorize that southern peoples' cowardice was responsible for their becoming slaves, while northerners were able to maintain their liberty.⁴² Thevet, theorizing about the New World, took it for granted that northerners were more courageous than southerners among Amerindians.⁴³ Pierre Charron (1541-1603), theologian, philosopher and close friend of Montaigne, noted that the world could be divided into north (cold), south (hot) and middle (temperate), from which he concluded that "le cause de toutes ces differences corporelles et spirituelles est l'inégalité de la chaleur interne."⁴⁴

Ptolemy's observations about the personalities of

⁴⁰This line of reasoning is implicit in seventeenth century theorizing about the origins of Amerindians, particularly in the writings of Acosta. However, I could find no explicit formulation before Jeremy Belknap, A discourse intended to commemorate the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus..., (Boston, 1792), 127.

⁴¹Jean Bodin, Les Six Livres de la Republique, (Paris, 1577), 541.

⁴²Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu, Oeuvres, 7 vols., (Amsterdam, 1785), II:114.

⁴³Thevet, Singularitez, 408-409.

⁴⁴Pierre Charron, De la Sagesse, (Bordeaux, 1601), 217.

medium-colored easterners and westerners were extended by Renaissance thinkers to include the Orient and Occident and were then elaborated. Bodin reported that according to Spanish observations, the Chinese, being furthest east, were the most ingenious and cautious, while the Brazilians, being furthest west, were the most barbarous and cruel.⁴⁵

Guillaume Postel (1510-1581) professor of languages and mathematics at the University of Paris whom Francis I had once sent to Constantinople and Egypt in search of manuscripts, detected two heritages drawn from a common father, Noah: "l'une spirituelle, masculine, orientale, ascendante, supernale, immuable; l'autre le temporelle, feminine, occidentale, descendante, infernale, muable." The further west one got, the closer to the infernal, until in the New World the people worshipped the devil.⁴⁶

Theorists encountered even greater difficulties in applying Old World cultural patterns to the New World. How could the equable climate of Brazil have produced a people with such ferocious customs?⁴⁷ "C'est une chose étrange de ce que les habitants y sont encore si incivile & deshonestes en leur vivre, vue la douceur du pays."⁴⁸ Worse than that,

⁴⁵Bodin, Republique, 406.

⁴⁶Postel, Des Merveilles, 92-92 verso.

⁴⁷Giovanni Pietro Maffeo, (Jean-Pierre Maffée or Mafféi), Histoire des Indes..., (Lyon, 1603), 96; [Manoel Nobregá], L'Institution des loix, coustumes et autres choses merveilleuses & memorables tant du royaume de la Chine que des Indes..., (Paris, 1556), 5 verso.

⁴⁸Langenes, Thrésor, 165.

the people of Terre Australe "n'ont encore fait aucun effort pour se retirer de leur état primitif: car tout animal, l'homme comme la brute, naît également sauvage."⁴⁹ Geronimo Cardano (1501-1576) Italian physician and mathematician, thought he had the answer: the prevalence of savagery in the New World, he wrote, was due to the violent changes of the weather in those lands, which were caused by the great diversity between days and nights.⁵⁰ While it was generally agreed that climate affected physique and disposition and consequently character, others wondered whether the fertility of the land might not explain the existence of so many savage nations in America. That fertility made it possible to acquire the necessities of life with a minimum of labor, so that these people had felt no compulsion to pull themselves out of their unfortunate state.⁵¹ Herrera thought the Old World better adapted to human life than the New as it stretched further from east to west and so kept "more equality, with regard to the Cold of the North and the Heat of the South."⁵² But how did it happen in the New World that men developed different cultures in similar climates?

⁴⁹Charles de Brosse, Histoire des Navigations aux terres australes..., 2 vols., (Paris, 1756), II:374.

⁵⁰Thorndike, History of Magic, V: 577.

⁵¹This idea was to be given its classic formulation by Montesquieu, Oeuvres, II:133. However, it was implicit in the writings of such sixteenth century figures as Oviedo and Acosta. The eighteenth century produced a large body of writing on the effects of geography and climate on the human condition, following in the footsteps of writers of the previous two centuries.

⁵²Herrera, General History, I: 17.

How could civilized Peruvians and Mexicans be living in the midst of savages?⁵³ Bodin concluded that social conditions could modify the effects of climate. He illustrated this with the case of the French, who from being naturally courteous and humane had become ferocious through civil war.⁵⁴ Bodin also theorized that different customs could be produced by the personalities of princes who imposed their preferences on their people.⁵⁵

The beginnings of different customs were indeed hard to understand, admitted Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486-1535), writer, physician and by popular reputation, a magician. But once started, customs were handed down through generations

according to the use of time, and agreement of manner: whereof it cometh to passe that which at one time was vice, another time is accomplished vertue; and that in which in one place is vertue, in another is vice...according to the opinion, or lawes of time, of place, of estate and of men.⁵⁶

The scholar-printer Henri Estienne (1531-1598) observed that not only did customs vary among different peoples, but even among the same people in different areas.⁵⁷ Complicating the issue even further, he translated Horace (65-8 B.C.) to the effect that to travel and to change air did not necessarily

⁵³ Brosse, Histoire des Navigations, 376.

⁵⁴ Bodin, Republique, 540.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 198.

⁵⁶ Agrippa von Nettesheim, Of the vanitie, 71 verso.

⁵⁷ Henri Estienne, L'Introduction au Traité de la conformité des merveilles anciennes avec les modernes, ou Traité preparatif à "l'Apologie pur Herodote", (Geneva, 1566), 3-4 verso.

involve a change in customs. And such changes as did occur were not always for the best

car outre ce qu'avons ensuyvi la diligence de nos prédécesseurs, tant à garder soigneusement les vices dont nous estions demourez héritiers, qu'à en acquérir de nouveaux par nostre industrie, nous en avons aussi multiplié la nombre par le moyen des commerces et traffiques de pays à pays, beaucoup plus ordinaires que du temps de nos prédécesseurs: ausquels cent lieues sembloient aller plus loing qu'à nous cinq cents.⁵⁸

At the root of such ponderings lay the conviction that in the Golden Age mankind had possessed a uniform culture, and therefore the diversity now unfolding around the world could only indicate one thing: degeneration and decay, leading to eventual death. This idea was as generally accepted in the days of the Renaissance as that of progress is today.⁵⁹ Boemus reflected prevailing sentiment in holding that cultural diversity implied the introduction of evil; hence cultural diffusion could only hasten the process of degeneration. Bodin concurred that man, plants and animals degenerate when they undergo a change of environment.⁶⁰ The abundant array of languages and cultures in the New World

⁵⁸Henri Estienne, Apologie pour Hérodote, 2 vols., (Paris, 1879), I: 149-150. However, Père Saint-Michel was to later view travel as a means of recouping lost virtue and re-finding the faith of our fathers. (Voyages aux isles Camericanes, Au Lecteur.)

⁵⁹Hodgen, Early Anthropology, 264. An interesting sidelight on the dream of a world-wide uniform culture is provided by recent speculation as to whether Amerindian pictography shares a common origin with the prehistoric "rock art" of the Old World. (LaVan Martineau, The Rocks Begin to Speak, (Las Vegas, 1973), 147 ff.)

⁶⁰Jean Bodin, Méthode pour faciliter la connaissance de l'histoire, in Oeuvres Philosophiques de Jean Bodin, ed., Pierre Mesnard, 3 vols., (Paris, 1951), III:315.

only served to indicate how far Amerindians had degenerated from man's pristine state before the fall.⁶¹ The riches of the New World had complicated the issue by arousing the greed of Europeans, which was morally disastrous for themselves and physically so for the Amerindians.⁶²

But was cultural multiplicity necessarily inimical to the unity of the world? Le Roy thought not: "les affaires du monde, liez et correspondantes ensemble, ne peuvent être bien entendues les uns sans les autres ny comprises dans une histoire parfaite."⁶³ New and previously unknown worlds presented a challenge for the spreading of Christianity. The Spanish had shown great courage in the discovery and conversion of the New World "dont les uns ont resté absorbez en la mer vaste et non encore explorée, les autres mangiez par les Canibales, laissant memoire piteuse de leur audace miserable."⁶⁴ In his consideration of manners and morals from earliest times (in which he had included the Amerindian

⁶¹Hodgen, Early Anthronology, 378. See also Charlevoix, Histoire, V: 55-58, 63; and Joseph-François Lafitau, Moeurs des sauvages américains, comparées aux moeurs des Premiers Temps, (Paris, 1724). Toward the end of the seventeenth century, geographer Nicolas Sanson d'Abbeville theorized that continual wars and consequent lack of communication had contributed to the New World's luxuriant array of languages. (Atlas nouveau contenant toutes les parties du monde, 2 vols., (Paris, 1696), I: 16.)

⁶²Henry de Rochas, La Physique réformée, contenant la réfutation des erreurs populaires et le triomphe des veritez philosophiques..., (Paris, 1648).

⁶³Loys Le Roy, Considerations sur l'Histoire Françoisé et l'universelle de ce Temps, dont les merveilles sont succinctement recitées... (Paris, 1567), 404-405.

⁶⁴Le Roy, De la vicissitude, 98 verso.

and his canoe⁶⁵), Le Roy never doubted that Christian Europe represented the summit of man's development. It was destined to be the major factor in bringing together the disparate elements of the world, overriding the evils of cultural diffusion. The unity of the Christian God transcended all, "demeurant son essence eternelle toujours mesme & immuable."⁶⁶

Similarly, Charron opposed the prevailing pessimism, arguing that Scriptures applied to all people and all nations, "c'est une communion & consentement universel de toutes gens."⁶⁷ But he realized that converting the world would not be easy as customs control "nos ames, nos creances, nos jugemens d'une très injuste & tyrannique autorité."⁶⁸ Traditional attitudes did not provide a good basis for judging men "sans barbe, sans usage de feu (sic), de bled, de vin." Some customs were very strange indeed: for instance, to kill and eat one's aged or infirm parents as an act of devotion, a practice for which Charron found some justifications;⁶⁹ or allowing sexual freedom to single girls who when pregnant could abort at will, but who when married became chaste and faithful. Even more difficult was the phenomenon of similarity. The concept of universality took an unexpected turn when certain beliefs and customs, which

⁶⁵Ibid., 26 verso.

⁶⁶Ibid., 98 verso.

⁶⁷Pierre Charron, Les Trois Vérités, (Bordeaux, 1595), 367.

⁶⁸Charron, De la sagesse, 403.

⁶⁹Ibid., 401-402.

Europeans had believed to be exclusively theirs, were found to exist among Amerindians. The classic example of this was the story of the deluge, which was found to be widespread in Amerindian mythologies.⁷⁰ Europeans were also surprised to find Amerindians using a similar system to theirs for dividing the calendar year.⁷¹

As for going naked, which a substantial part of humanity had now been found to do, Charron maintained that there was every indication that this was the original condition of man, and that the custom of wearing clothes had developed later. It was inconceivable that man would have regressed to such a condition, ignoring considerations of health and modesty to divest himself of clothes to go naked. The need for shelter was more basic and pre-dated the need for clothes:

Nature ne nous a point appris y avoir des parties honteuses, c'est nous mesme qui par nostre faute nous nous le disons, & nature les a desia assez cachées, mis loin des yeux & couvert.⁷²

Such an argument, of course, raised the problem of the story of the Garden of Eden, of the sin of Adam and Eve causing them to become aware of their own nakedness. Charron

⁷⁰Nobregá, l'Institution, 6 verso. Observations about the Amerindian belief in a universal deluge are to be found in, among other authors, Gómara, Histoire générale, 142; and Lescarbot, History of New France, III: 101. A pre-Columbian Mayan pictorialization of the flood myth is reproduced by S.G. Morley in The Ancient Maya (Stanford, Calif., 1947), 215.

⁷¹Girolamo Garimberto, Les Problemes, traduit de tuscan en francoys par Jean Louveau d'Orleans, (Lyon, 1559), 115.

⁷²Charron, De la sagesse, 112-113.

contented himself with observing

le nature humaine, dit le Théologie, se maintenant en son premier original état, n'y eût senti aucune honte...cette action donc, en soi et simplement prise, n'est honteuse ni vicieuse, puisque naturelle et corporelle...mais ce qui la faict tant décrier est qui très rarement y est gardé la moderation...les bêtes qui suivent la simple nature, sont nettes de tout ce tracas.⁷³

Where Charron sought to put nudity into context as a natural stage in human development, others used it to argue that Amerindians were at best an inferior order of humanity, as obviously they had not shared in the experience of the Garden of Eden. In its extreme form, this argument was used to justify enslaving New World men.⁷⁴ In the books of costume that began to appear during the sixteenth century, dress symbolized the differences between peoples, the widest gap being between the totally naked Amerindian and the elaborately dressed European, whose clothing during the Renaissance was the heaviest in the history of the West. His dress indicated rank and authority; the more powerful the prince the more ostentatious his costume and retinue. The lavishly dressed prince epitomized civility; the naked

⁷³ Ibid., 330-331. Later, Gabriel de Foigny was to push the argument further, claiming that the nudity of Amerindians was "une preuve infaillible que nous ne pouvons être couverte sans default." (La Terre australe connue, c'est-à-dire la description de ce pays inconnu...par M. Sadeur, (Vannes, 1767), 105.)

⁷⁴ Herrera, Histoire générale, III:662.

Amerindian, the state of nature.⁷⁵ One theory even stated that it was the acceptance of clothes that had given rise to law, authority and power. To those taking such an attitude, reports of Europeans (usually Spanish because of their more extensive contacts, but also French and others) "going native" and living naked with the Amerindians were truly shocking.⁷⁶

It was thus the association of nudity with lack of social order, rather than nudity itself, that made it impossible for Europeans to accept Amerindian unconcern, or, as it was usually put, their lack of a sense of shame, about covering their bodies. Léry, for instance, while under no illusions that dress itself led to modesty, was astounded when he saw Amerindian women objecting to clothing because it interfered with their bathing:

A toutes les fontaines et rivières claires qu'elles rencontrent...elles se jettent avec les deux mains de l'eau sur leur tête et se lavent et plongent ainsi tout le corps comme canes, tel jour sera plus de douze fois. Elles disaient que ce leur serait trop de peine de se dépouiller si souvent. Ne voilà pas une belle et bien pertinente

⁷⁵Supra, 42-43; also, Hale, "A World Elsewhere?", 335. Reports that Amerindians refused to wear clothes on the ground that it interfered with bathing struck Europeans as being absurd. They were also astonished by the fact that Amerindians wore garments to adorn themselves rather than to conceal their nudity. For instance, see Père Claude, Maragnan, 273-274.

⁷⁶Juan González de Mendoza, Histoire du grand royaume de la Chine...avec un itinéraire du Nouveau-Monde et la découverte du Nouveau Mexique, traduite de l'espagnol par Lucas de la Porte, (Paris, 1600), 244.

raison?⁷⁷

Even whips used to force Amerindian women prisoners to wear clothes supplied by the French had only limited results:

Aussitôt que la nuit était close, elles dépouillant secrètement leurs chemises et les autres haillons qu'on leur baillait, il fallait que pour leur plaisir et avant que se coucher elles se promenassent toutes nues parmi notre île.⁷⁸

While such resistance to "civility" reinforced the position of those who regarded Amerindians as inferior beings, others continued to look for alternative explanations. Could it be, wondered one sixteenth-century writer, that nudity had something to do with the process of digestion, heating the body so that the need for clothes was not felt.⁷⁹ The struggle to clothe Amerindians was to be long and drawn-out; in 1722, Brazilians were still reported to be going naked,

⁷⁷Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, 107. Garcilasso de La Vega reported that Peruvian women told Spaniards they did not dress because they did not want to spin and that they did not spin because they did not want to dress. (Royal Commentaries, I: 58.) Another objection, reported by André Thevet, was that clothes interfered with freedom of action. (Singularitez, 54.)

⁷⁸Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, 107. The Christian concern about wearing clothes long puzzled Amerindians. A pictograph at Meyers Springs, Texas, attributed to the Lipan Apaches, reveals that these people were under the impression that wearing clothes was one of the Christian Ten Commandments. (Martineau, The Rocks Begin to Speak, 132-133.)

⁷⁹Garimberto, Les Problemes, 19-21.

except on feast days when they dressed for celebrations.⁸⁰

On this question as on others, the two themes of innocence and bestiality developed side by side, as they were opposite aspects of the same reality. Nudity symbolized the concept of man emerging from a state of primordial innocence.⁸¹ This was supported by the formidable authority of the ancients, who had depicted virtue as a nude figure, unconcerned about the acquisition of riches, and often accompanied by the slogan Nudo homine contente est. Such a "savage" lived in a golden age of purity of morals, of "ni mien ni tien", sharing and helping others, all of which qualities were at one time or another attributed to

⁸⁰ François Coréal, Voyages de François Coréal aux Indes Occidentales..., 2 vols., (Paris 1722), II: 164. Earlier, Père Claude had reported an amusing story of a Brazilian woman finding herself the only person naked at a baptism. (Maragnan, 128.) Missionaries sometimes found themselves embarrassed by the nudity of their charges, as did a group which barricaded itself behind locked doors to prevent the entry of a Toupinamba delegation "à cause qu'elles estoient toutes nues." The annoyed Brazilians then broke down the door. (Nouvelles des choses qui se passent en diverses et lointaines parties du monde..., (Paris, s.d.) 13.) This report was also reproduced as "L'Arrivée des Pères capucins et la conversion des sauvages à nostre sainte foy déclarée par le R.P. Claude d'Abbeville." in Diverses pièces curieuses, edited by A. Claudin (Lyon, 1876).

⁸¹ Charron, De la sagesse, 176; Du Choul, Discours de la religion, 191.

Amerindians.⁸² The opposing theme had man arising out of bestiality, for which his nudity was also symbolic.⁸³ He ate repulsive foods, had chaotic sexual habits and worshipped the devil, who was believed to be living on a Caribbean island.⁸⁴ Such attributes of bestial man were quickly identified with the "loathsome" habits of Amerindians. They were cited by the Dominican friar Tomas Ortiz in 1525 before the Council of the Indies, when he also said that Amerindians had no justice, no respect for law and truth, exercised none of the human arts and industries and were incapable of learning. On top of everything else, "Ils n'ont point de barbe et si par hasard il leur en pousse, ils s'empressent de l'épiler."⁸⁵

⁸²Bodin, Republique, 55; Bembo, L'Histoire du Nouveau Monde, 10; Anghiera, De Orbe Novo de Pierre Martyr Anghiera, translated and edited by Paul Gaffarel (Paris, 1907), 55; Markham, The Letters of Amerigo Vespucci, 10; Fontaine, Les nouvelles et antiques merveilles, Aiii verso. Some attributed the introduction of the distinction between "mine" and "thine", which had been instrumental in undermining the sentiment of fraternity, to Roman and Canon law. (Cohn, Millennium, 119.) As late as the nineteenth century, Russian priests were reported to have found a tribe on a Bering Sea island leading lives reflecting so well the teachings of Christ that the priests confessed the people were better left alone. (Hanke, Aristotle and the American Indians, 26.)

⁸³Oviedo, Histoire naturelle, 39-42.

⁸⁴Hanke, Aristotle and the American Indians, 5. Another island believed inhabited by evil spirits was Ile aux Démons off the Labrador coast. (Thevet, Cosmographie, 1018 verso.) An extension of this was to place the land of the barbarians Gog and Magog, descendants of Japhet, in the New World. See A.R. Anderson, Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog and the Inclosed Nations (Cambridge, Mass., 1932).

⁸⁵Cited by Claude Levi-Strauss, Tristes Tropiques, (Paris, 1955), 67-68. Also in Anghiera, De Orbe Novo, (MacNutt), II: 274-275; and Herrera, Histoire générale, II: 661-663.

At the time the friar aired his views, they represented the consensus of Spanish colonists and administrators in the New World. It was the overwhelming preponderance of such opinions which had led a 1517 Spanish enquiry to reject the proposal to grant civil liberty to Amerindians in Hispaniola, except for one man who seemed docile enough for the honor.⁸⁶ Spanish colonists had previously vigorously opposed the Laws of Burgos of 1512, which had been promulgated to safeguard the rights of Amerindians in territories claimed by Spain. The efforts of another Dominican, Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474-1560), to have forced labor of Amerindians suppressed also aroused colonial indignation: "Alors, on ne peut même plus se servir de bêtes de somme?"⁸⁷ There can be no doubt that Amerindian nudity was a factor in the development of such attitudes.

As these views became powerful in Spanish official circles, encouraged by the economics of colonization, the papacy once again intervened, as Alexander VI had done in 1493. The bull Sublimis Deus Sic Dilexit, issued by Paul III in 1537, declared that Amerindians were not to be treated as "dumb brutes created for our service" but "as truly

⁸⁶Lewis Hanke, Colonisation et conscience chrétienne au 16e siècle, traduit de l'Américain par François Durif, (Paris, 1957), 48-53; Hale, "A World Elsewhere", 340. The bull had been preceded by an edict addressed to Juan Cardinal de Tavera, Archbishop of Toledo, granting the Cardinal full powers to take whatever measures he deemed necessary to protect Amerindians. (Ludwig Pastor, The History of the Popes, 40 vols., (London, 1923-1953), XII: 518-519.)

⁸⁷Levi-Strauss, Tristes tropiques, 67.

men...capable of understanding the Catholic faith."

Furthermore, he added, "the said Indians and all other people who may later be discovered by Christians, are by no means to be deprived of their liberty or the possession of their property, even though they may be outside the faith of Jesus Christ...nor should they in any way be enslaved."⁸⁸

This stand was to be reiterated by Pope Urban VIII in 1639, when he decreed excommunication for those who deprived Amerindians of their liberty or property.⁸⁹ As the negative and positive views of Amerindians polarized and crystallized, the one upholding their superior virtue became chiefly a literary and theoretical position, while the one downgrading them became the guide for practical politics.

The negative view was expressed in negative terms; practically every description of New World men by Renaissance Europeans was presented in terms of what they did not have. "Ilz vivent ensemble sans Roy, sans empereur, & chacun de soy-mesme est seigneur."⁹⁰ Gómara reported, "Ces Indiens n'avoient aucun vêtement, ni lettres, ni monnaie, ni fer, ni grain, ni vin, ni aucun animal plus grand qu'un

⁸⁸Hanke, "Pope Paul III," 72. A bibliography of the bull, also known as Excelsis Deus and Veritas Ipsa, is in Streit, Bibliotheca Missionum, II: 281 and XXIV: 3.

⁸⁹Pastor, History of the Popes, XXIX: 262; Dauril Alden, "Black Robes Versus White Settlers: The Struggle for 'Freedom for the Indians' in Colonial Brazil" in Attitudes of Colonial Powers Toward the American Indian, edited by Harold Peckham et al., (Salt Lake City, 1969), 30.

⁹⁰Fracanzano, Sensuyt Le nouveau monde, 154.

chien."⁹¹ Many of them, such as the Inuit, did not cultivate the land,⁹² and besides, they had no seeds to sow.⁹³ Being "sans aucune police"⁹⁴ they had no alphabet, no printing,⁹⁵ no legal suits, no written books,⁹⁶ no arts or crafts.⁹⁷ It was not surprising, under the circumstances, that the New World people were also reported to be "estrange de toute honnesteté, sans souci";⁹⁸ in the words of Pierre de Ronsard (1524-1585), "il ne cognoist les noms des vertus ni des vices."⁹⁹ The negative list at times became a bit strained: Amerindians, besides being without wine, were also without bread.¹⁰⁰ Neither did they possess ports, firearms or swords;¹⁰¹ they were even without "conversation civile,"¹⁰² and on top of everything else "ils n'ont aucune cognoissance du malheur où ils sont plongés."¹⁰³ Missionaries in the

⁹¹ Gómara, Histoire Generale, Ch. XCII.

⁹² Martin Frobisher, La Navigation du capitaine Frobisher, Anglois, ez régions d'oest et Nord-West en l'année 1577, (Geneva, 1578), n.p.

⁹³ Fontaine, Les Nouvelles, Aiii verso.

⁹⁴ Gerónimo Girava in Petrus Apianus, Cosmographie ou description des quatre parties du Monde... corrigée et augmentée par Gemma Frison... (Antwerp, 1581), 166.

⁹⁵ D'Avity, Estats, Empires, 261. d'Avity also said they did not have dogs, perhaps having misread Gómara.

⁹⁶ Bembo, L'Histoire, 13.

⁹⁷ Thevet, Cosmographie, (l'Huillier) 1011 verso.

⁹⁸ Barre, Copie de quelques lettres, 23.

⁹⁹ Pierre de Ronsard, (1524-1585), "Discours contre Fortune à Odet de Colligny Cardinal de Chastillon" in L'Amérique et les poètes français de la Renaissance, edited by Roger Le Moine, (Ottawa, 1972), # 95.

¹⁰⁰ Guillaume Coppiet, Histoire et voyage des Indes Occidentales..., (Lyon, 1645), 33.

¹⁰¹ Dassié, Description générale, Preface.

¹⁰² André Chevillard, Desseins de Sou Eminence de cardinal Richelieu pour l'Amérique... (Rennes, s.d.), 171.

¹⁰³ Coppiet, Histoire et voyage, 146.

field also indulged in such descriptions. Pierre Biard (1567?-1622), for instance, characterized his flock as "sans bonne moeurs; elle est vagabonde, sans aucune arrest, ni des maisons ni de parenté, ni des possessions ni de patrie."¹⁰⁴

The negative position reached its culmination in

Leviathan, by Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679):

Hereby it is manifest that during the time men live without a common Power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called Warre, and such a warre, as is of every man against every man... In such condition there is no place for Industry; because the fruit thereof is uncertain, and consequently no Culture of the Earth; no Navigation, nor use of the commodities that may be imported by Sea; no commodious Building, no Instruments of moving, and removing such things as require much force; no knowledge of the face of the earth no account of Time; no Arts; no Letters; no Society; and which is worst of all, continuall feare, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, nasty, brutish and short.¹⁰⁵

Although this gloomy picture was inspired by the civil wars in England (1642-1649) rather than by New World societies, Hobbes assumed that it reflected man's condition in pre-state societies, or, as he thought, "pre-social" man. In this he was in accord with the most advanced anthropological thinking of his day,¹⁰⁶ which viewed Amerindians as undomesticated and inveterately belligerent toward their own

¹⁰⁴Carayon, Première Mission des Jésuites, 31.

¹⁰⁵Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, or the Matter, Forme and Power of A Common-wealth, ecclesiasticall and civill, (London, 1651), 62. The work was published in Latin in Amsterdam in 1668. Hobbes' position was a logical development of that of Sepúlveda during the Valladolid debate of 1550. Lewis Hanke deals with the debate in The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America, (Philadelphia, 1949).

¹⁰⁶Sir John Linton Myres, "The Influence of Anthropology on the Course of Political Science," University of California Publications in History, iv, No. 1, (1916), 8-12.

kind. This confusion apparently stemmed, at least in part, from early reports of the implacable hatred of New World men for their enemies. Overlooked were the unanimous statements that they got along "marvellously" well within their own communities.¹⁰⁷

A different but still negative idea of "pre-social " man, which can be traced back directly to Columbus's reports, was best summed up by Montesquieu, a century after the appearance of Leviathan:

Such a man would at first only be sensible of his weakness. His timidity would be extreme, and if we need experience of that, there have actually been found 'wild' men in the forests: they are afraid of, and run away from, everything.¹⁰⁸

However, Montesquieu was no more successful than Hobbes in selecting examples from which to argue, for the "wild men" he referred to were the insane, mentally retarded or otherwise handicapped individuals, all too familiar on the periphery of Medieval and Renaissance society, who scrounged for themselves in the woods. Montesquieu was depicting unsocial man, just as Hobbes had depicted anti-social man, and was equating him with man in pre-state societies. Neither Montesquieu nor Hobbes conceived of human society without a state, and it was the lack of state structure that

¹⁰⁷Père Claude, for one, reported that the Braziliams addressed each other as if they all belonged to one family. (Maragnan, 284 verso.)

¹⁰⁸Cited by Myres, "Influence of Anthropology," 38. Montesquieu also theorized that savages could only exist in a climate more favorable than that of Europe. (Gilbert Chinard, L'Homme contre la nature (Paris, 1949), 15).

caused them, along with most other early observers, to fail to see order in the majority of New World cultures. The logical conclusion of this line of thinking, as well as of the negative form of description, was another negative, the concept of New World society as essentially non-human.¹⁰⁹

Sometimes, however, descriptions in negatives led to positive conclusions:

Ilz on l'âge d'or. Ils ne fossoient ny enferment de hayes leurs possessions, ils laissent leurs jardins ouvertz, sans loix, sans livres, sans juges; mais de leur nature suyvens ce qui est juste et reputans mauvais et injuste celui qui se delecte à faire injure à autrui.¹¹⁰

Similarly, Capuchin missionary Père Claude (d. 1632) depicted Brazilians as noble savages "s'égayant et vivant, continuellement en allégresse, en liesse, en plaisir, en soulas, sans soins ny soucy, sans inquietude, ny affaires, sans tristesse et sans oppressions ou chagrins qui dessèchent et consomment l'homme en moin de rien."¹¹¹

Similarly, Pedro Fernandes de Queiros (d. 1615), petitioning the King of Spain for permission to discover the "fifth part of the world", spoke of "la bonté des habitans qui n'ont

¹⁰⁹A. Irving Hallowell, Culture and Experience, (Philadelphia, 1955), 249. For a discussion of the negative form of description, see Hodgen, Early Anthropology, 196-201. For an eighteenth-century argument against Hobbes' theory of early man in a continual state of warfare against his own kind, see Giacinto Cardinal Gerdil's Discours philosophique sur l'homme considéré Relativement à l'état de nature & à l'état de Société, (Turin, 1769). E. Burnet Tylor surveyed individuals who had been found living in a state of nature in "Wild Men and Beast Children," Anthropological Review, I (1863), 21-32.

¹¹⁰Anghiera, Extrait ou recueil, 23.

¹¹¹Père Claude, Maragnan, 265 verso.

point de forts ny de murailles, de Roy ny de Loix."¹¹² A seventeenth-century Frenchman in Guiana, enumerating the virtues of that country's Amerindians, did so by means of negatives: "ils ne sont ny dissolus ny dissimulez, ny menteurs, ny medisans, ny vains, ny glorieux, ny ingrats, ny voleurs, ny railleurs, ny fourbes, & qu'ils vivent aussi fraternellement entre ceux qui sont d'une mesme nation que jamais fraternité le puisse faire."¹¹³ Conversely the Jesuit missionary Pierre Biard sometimes resorted to positive terms to express his negative reactions to the Micmac whom he saw as "gens extremement paresseux, gourmans, irreligieux, traitres, cruels en vengeance et addonné à toute luxure, hommes et femmes, les hommes ayant plusieurs femmes et les abandonnant à autrui."¹¹⁴

The contradictions in these reports reflected not only the unresolved views of Europeans, but also different aspects of the Amerindian personality. Cosmographer François de Belleforest (1530-1583) expressed this in verse:

A ces Sauvages inhumains.
Desquels quand la façon viens lire
Avec tant d'inhumanitez,

¹¹²Fernandes de Queiros, Copie de la Requête présentée au Roy d'Espagne par le capitaine Pierre Ferdinand de Quir, sur la découverte de la cinquiesme partie du monde appelée terre Australle, incongneue et des grandes richesses et fertilité d'icelle, (Paris, 1617), 4-12. In spite of discovering the Marquesas Islands, Tahiti and other islands, he failed to interest the Kings of Spain in colonizing them.

¹¹³Paul Boyer, Sieur de Petit-Puy, Veritable Relation de tout ce qui s'est fait et passé au voyage que Monsieur de Brétigny fit à l'Amérique Occidentale, (Paris, 1654), 273.

¹¹⁴Carayon, Première Mission, 31.

D'horreur, de pitié, et puis d'ire,
 Je poursuis ces grands cruautéz.
 Quelquefois de leur politique
 Je loue la sainte pratique,
 Avecque leurs simplicitéz.¹¹⁵

For Etienne Jodelle the contrast was not between degrees of savagery, but between savagery and civility:

Ces barbares marchent tous nuds,
 Et nous nous marchons incognus,
 Fardez, masquez. Ce peuple estrange
 A la piété ne se range.
 Nous la nostre nous mesprisons,
 Pipons, vendons et deguisons.
 Ces barbares pour se conduire
 N'ont pas tant que nous de raison,
 Mais qui ne voit que la foison
 N'en sert que pour nous entretenir?¹¹⁶

The conflicting medley of observations did converge on one point: Amerindians had no God and no religion. The frequent charge that they were devil-worshippers does not seem to have been regarded as implying a contradiction. Léry, after nearly a year in Brazil, reported that although the people were frequently tormented by devils, he could find no trace of a "connaissance du seul et vrai Dieu."¹¹⁷ Yet it was generally admitted that Amerindians believed in immortality of the soul, and that not all the supernatural beings they believed in could be classed as devils. And had not Cicero written that there was not a people so savage that they did not have some idea of God?¹¹⁸ Le Roy used this

¹¹⁵Thevet, Les Singularitez, L.

¹¹⁶Ibid., XLV.

¹¹⁷Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, 187.

¹¹⁸Cicero, De Natura Deorum, I.xvi.43.

argument to prove that Amerindians must have a religion. When Amerindians for their part showed a tendency to identify their supernatural beings and ritual practices with those of Christianity, they met with missionary resistance.¹¹⁹ However, some missionaries themselves noted some puzzling resemblances, of which the flood was a favorite example, as has already been noted. More disturbing was the presence of the symbolism of the cross among both Mayas and Aztecs; indeed, the cross was the sign of Quetzalcoatl.¹²⁰ Peruvians even seemed to believe in a Trinity, and had a ceremony similar to Communion.¹²¹ Among Mexicans, there were also rituals that so closely resembled Christian forms of baptism and confession that they were regarded by the Spanish as satanic parodies, one more proof of Satan's determination to keep these people from accepting the true religion.¹²² European reaction to such revelations was to decide that Amerindians had no religion, although they worshipped the devil.

The immediate result of such a position was to

¹¹⁹A. Irving Hallowell, "Sociopsychological Aspects of Acculturation," The Science of Man in the World Crisis, edited by Ralph Linton, (New York, 1945), 190. Today, Joseph Campbell uses the resemblances between the mythologies of the Americas to those of Europe and trans-Pacific Asia to argue a common origin. (Mythic Image, 100-209).

¹²⁰Campbell, Mythic Image, 170-175.

¹²¹Acosta, Histoire naturelle, 248 verso; 260 - 265.

¹²²Robert Ricard, The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico; an essay on the apostolate and the evangelizing methods of the mendicant orders in New Spain, 1523-1572, translated by Lesley Byrd Simpson, (Berkeley, 1966), 28; Keen, "The Vision of America in Chauveton", 27.

strengthen those who believed that Amerindian cultures should be destroyed and rebuilt anew in accordance with Christian principles. In the words of Oviedo, it was because Amerindians were addicted to unspeakable abominations that God had permitted "qu'ilz fussent jettez et banniz de la superficie de la terre."¹²³ He supported this stand by citing Genesis 6.¹²⁴ Gómara also lauded the Spanish for having removed Amerindians from their stubborn idolatry and human sacrifices. What the Spaniards had taught New World peoples was worth more than the gold, silver and pearls they had taken. However, Gómara was honest enough to admit

il es bien vray que c'eust esté encor mieux faict de ne leur avoir rien osté de leurs biens, & de se contenter de celuy qu'on a depuis tiré des mines, & du creux de leurs sepultures & de dedans les fleuves, qui monte à plus de soixante millions d'or, sans les perles, esmerauldes qu'on a tiré de la mer, & de terre, laquelle somme est sans comparaison plus grande beaucoup que celle qu'on a prise sur eux.¹²⁵

He also regretted the Spanish practice of killing Amerindians through overwork in the mines. But these excesses on the part of the conquerors did not alter the

¹²³Oviedo, Histoire naturelle, 39 verso. Oviedo spent 34 years in the Caribbean in various official capacities, including that of governor of the province of Cartagena. His history was not published in complete 4 volume form until 1851-1855.

¹²⁴Genesis 6 says in part: "When the Lord saw the wickedness of man on the earth was great, and that man's every thought and all the inclination of his heart were only evil, he regretted that he had made earth and was grieved to the heart. Then the Lord said, "I will wipe from the earth man whom I have created----man and beast, crawling creature and bird of the air as well---for I regret that I made them." (Confraternity Text.)

¹²⁵Gómara, Histoire générale, 252 verso.

fact that Amerindians were idolators who had to be cured of their habits, by force if necessary. Gómara's sentiments were endorsed by Richard Hakluyt (1552?-1616), the clergyman who compiled the first major collection in English of voyage accounts from around the world. If anything, Hakluyt went further in his support of the use of force to prepare Amerindians for conversion:

...if gentle polishing will not serve, then we shall not want hammerours and rough masons enow, I meane our old soldiours trained up in the Netherlands to square and prepare them to our Preachers hands.¹²⁶

Thus, while missionary activity was to be the major factor in encouraging Europeans to learn about Amerindians,¹²⁷ its purpose was the supplanting of New World cultures with a model compatible with Christianity.

Apart from such individuals as Charron and Montaigne, Renaissance Europeans were a long way from being prepared to admit the value of any other civility than their own. In the political atmosphere of the sixteenth century this was understandable, as Europe was developing and consolidating its nation-states. It was a process that encouraged the age's profound committment to absolutes. Advanced political thinking favored the absolute monarchy and opposed power for

¹²⁶Taylor, E.G.R., The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, 2 vols., (London, 1935). II: 503, Document 89, "Epistle Dedicatory to the Council of Virginia", 1609. Hakluyt also expressed the same idea in "Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Walter Raleigh, 1587", here reproduced as Document 58, page 377.

¹²⁷Hale, "A World Elsewhere," 342.

the masses. It was not an atmosphere conducive to sympathetic consideration of any other value systems.

Yet the need remained to rationalize New World peoples, to incorporate them into Europe's scale of values. One method for achieving this, seized upon very early, was to identify Amerindians with peoples of Europe's classical antiquity, a process first evident in the visual arts.¹²⁸ This solution satisfied the desire for absolutes by placing Amerindians in the early stages of a universal cultural development, thus opening up the possibility that in time, they would become like Europeans.¹²⁹ "Whoever considers the Amerindians of this day, not only studies the manners of a remote present nation, but he studies, in some measure, the antiquities of all nations," wrote Edmund Burke.¹³⁰ This approach preserved the perceived unity of the world. It followed, then, that New World cultures were in their infancy, in an unevolved state. If this were so, then they must have remained unchanged while European societies were

¹²⁸Supra, 36-42. Among those who made this identification were Thevet, Les Singularitez, 424-425; Bodin, Republique, 37-50; Anghiera, Extrait ou recueil, 46 verso.

¹²⁹Favored candidates for this were the Scythians. Scholars such as Lafitau, Grotius and de Laet were struck by the fact that Scythians shared with Amerindians a high skill in working gold, a fondness for nomadism and the custom of scalping. In 1975, the Metropolitan Museum of Art held a much-acclaimed exhibition, "From the Land of the Scythians," in which the gold work of these early nomads was featured.

¹³⁰Edmund Burke, An Account of the European Settlements in America, 2 vols., (N.Y., 1972) I: 167.

developing,¹³¹ as their assumed youth was not sufficient in itself to explain existing disparities.

It has been realized today, of course, that American societies were no more stable than those of Europe.¹³² As with human societies everywhere, those of America were evolving, but in a manner that had little, if any, resemblance to the European model. Even now the nature of these civilizations is not fully understood, and some, such as the Olmec, which flourished 1500-900 B.C., and Chimú, conquered by the Inca in the late 15th century, remain mysterious, while others are even less known. It was not surprising, then, that Renaissance Europe, stumbling upon this New World, dazzled by the sudden appearance of great

¹³¹Clarence J. Glacken, Traces on the Rhodian Shore. Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century, (Berkeley, 1967), 117. Ronsard also saw "le bon sauvage" simply as an unevolved being, who was the slave to his own nature, "seul maistre de soy." (Ronsard, "Discours contre fortune", in Le Moine, L'Amérique et les Poètes français.) Acosta calculated from the evidence of the traditions of Amerindians concerning their origins, that they could not be more than 400 years old as a people. (Histoire naturelle, 50.) John Ogilby argued that the New World's multiplicity of languages proved that "America was Peopled presently after the Confusion of Tongues at Babel." However, they had been there long enough to develop arts. (America; being the latest and most accurate description of the New World..., (London, 1671), 13.)

¹³²Hallowell, Culture and Experience, 311. Adolf E. Jensen holds that "progress" is a term of limited value in considering the essence of a culture. Knowledge of physical reality and cognitive values may accumulate, but that does not diminish such achievements as the invention of pottery, the insights of a Newton or the creations of a Beethoven within the terms of their contemporary cultures. (Myth and Cult Among Primitive Peoples, (Chicago and London, 1973), 34.)

riches, controlled by a world view that relied on faith and authority, got the impression that American societies were unevolved, even static. This assumption remained throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and indeed is still with us. Even such an independent thinker as Montaigne fell in with it when he wrote, "Our world has first discovered another...so new and so infantile that it is still being taught its ABC."¹³³ Such a conclusion was reinforced by the persistent European habit of describing the New World in negative terms, which in itself assumed an incomplete, unfinished state. America was truly a new world in the eyes of Estienne Pasquier (1529-1615), advocate general at the Paris cour des comptes and minor member of the Pléiade, even though he recognized that its physical age paralleled that of Europe: "Et neantmoins vrayment neufves, si vous paragonnez les moeurs brusques de leurs peuples, avecque la civilité des notres."¹³⁴ Cannibalism and human sacrifice, because they were seen as manifestations of man in his early or bestial stage of development, were rationalized on the grounds that they were manifestations of immature

¹³³Frame, Montaigne, 693. The fact that many New World societies were pre-literate contributed to this impression.

¹³⁴Estienne Pasquier, Lettres, (Paris, 1586), 62 verso. Elliott, Old Word and New, 50-51, has taken this passage to mean that Pasquier believed Amerindians were actually a new race.

societies.¹³⁵

Montaigne, despite his too-easy acceptance of the belief in their immaturity, came closest to perceiving that Amerindians were fully fledged human beings. They had a point in common with Europeans, he wrote, and that was the use of reason. Interviewing sailors, merchants and "trois sauvages venue à Rouen du temps que le feu Roy Charles neuvième y estoit et avoit longtemps converser avec eux", he found that Amerindians could and did best Europeans in debates.¹³⁶ They were also industrious, as their cities testified.¹³⁷ Although he was against colonization, Montaigne was more interested in using Amerindians to evaluate European society than he was in Amerindian rights. Still, he denounced "les elements factices?" in Europe which prevented the appreciation of the qualities of Amerindian life and allowed the reasoning of New World men to be disregarded because they were "ils ne portent point de haut de chausses."¹³⁸ Cannibalism, he said, was not cruel in the sense that torture was. (At the time that Montaigne wrote, torture was an established part of the judicial processes

¹³⁵Maffeo, Histoire des Indes, 98-99; Niccolò Mastrilli, Relation des insignes progez de la religion chrestienne..., traduit en français par Père Jacques de Machault, (Paris, 1638). According to Eliade, cannibalism was not practiced at the oldest - i.e., the earliest - levels of culture. (The Sacred and the Profane, 100-104.)

¹³⁶Gilbert Chinard, L'Exotisme américain dans la littérature française au XVIe siècle, (Paris, 1911), 213.

¹³⁷Atkinson, Nouveaux Horizons, 354.

¹³⁸Les Essais de Michel de Montaigne, ed. by Pierre Villey (Paris, 1965), 214.

throughout Europe, and burning people alive was a common method of execution.¹³⁹ In the lists of vices attributed to Amerindians, particularly in the Spanish debates that had culminated with the confrontation of Las Casas against Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda at Valladolid in 1550-1551, torture had been noticeably absent.) Concluded Montaigne: better to eat your dead enemy, as do the Amerindians, than to eat a man alive, as European society does.

Renaissance Europe never succeeded in considering Amerindians in anything like their own terms. Part of the difficulty can be attributed to the fact that much of the written European commentary about the New World, including some of the best, was the work of men who never crossed the ocean. Pasquier, for instance, followed his comments on the New World with the remark, "Quant à moy, je vous debit ceste marchandise pour le prix qu'elle m'a cousté; aiment mieux le croire que de l'aller veoir."¹⁴⁰ Even Jacques-Philippe Cornut (c1606-1651) compiled his authoritative Canadensium plantarum aliarumque nondum editarum historia (Paris 1534) from samples brought to Paris.¹⁴¹ Geographers could and did

¹³⁹Europeans of this period had an undisguised appetite for horrors, as witness the popularity of public torture. For example, a mob in Bruges in 1488 asked that such a spectacle be prolonged as long as possible; and the people of Mons purchased a brigand for the pleasure of seeing him quartered. (J.R. Hale, Renaissance Europe: Individual and Society, (New York, 1971), 27.)

¹⁴⁰Pasquier, Lettres, 63.

¹⁴¹Charles-Henri Ternaux-Compans, Bibliothèque américaine, ou Catalogue des ouvrages relatifs à l'Amérique qui ont paru depuis sa découverte jusqu'à l'an 1700, (Paris, 1837.)

accumulate information which permitted them to draw increasingly accurate maps often without sallying forth themselves. Those who did report from first-hand experience viewed things through European lenses---in the words of Montaigne, "l'humanité...ne peut voir que de ses yeux, ny saisir que de ses prises."¹⁴²

But the major difficulty lay in the disturbing revelation of a new world that had not only developed outside the Christian ethos, but in some cases in contradiction to it. Some Amerindian practices, such as human sacrifice, violated European taboos, yet instead of involving fearful consequences as was to be expected, they seemed to lead to the reverse: New World peoples were reported to be happy, healthy and long-lived, attributes which Europeans had believed to have been possessed only by Patriarchs of the Old Testament.¹⁴³ Europeans reacted to these revelations according to the rigidity of their Christianity. It was no coincidence that the most impassioned debates as to the nature of Amerindians arose in intensely orthodox Spain. Similarly, it was in France, with its long tradition of intellectual tolerance, that the concept of "le bon sauvage" was to receive its fullest

¹⁴²Villey, Essais de Montaigne, 604.

¹⁴³Hayden White, "The Noble Savage Theme as Fetish", paper presented at the conference First Images, 8-9. It does not seem to have occurred to Europeans to regard their public executions of witches and criminals as a form of sacrifice.

expression, during the eighteenth century.¹⁴⁴ It was not a concept without antecedents: during the thirteenth century, the poetic image of the "noble heathen," represented by such men as Saladin, had influenced Europe to begin substituting missionary projects for the military campaigns of the crusades.¹⁴⁵ Intensified missionary activity in Asia was to pave the way for similar campaigns in the New World.

It was the presence of such attitudes which made it easy for Europeans to arrive at the consensus that the Amerindian was in a state of pre-civilization, or perhaps in its early "immature" stages. Such an appraisal would have been unlikely to have been tolerated during the twelfth century, when public opinion would have demanded that the infidel be put to the sword. As it was, the best that could be posited for the Amerindian was that he possessed the possibility of becoming fully a man; according to Christian doctrine, he was perfectible. Hence the use in French of the verb "humaniser" when referring to teaching and evangelizing Amerindians. There was never any doubt as to the meaning of "humaniser" : it signified the transformation of savages

¹⁴⁴Aldo Scaglione, in his paper "A Note on Montaigne's 'On Cannibals' and the Humanistic Heritage", presented to the conference First Images, makes the point that Italy, in spite of its early involvement in the voyages of discovery, did not develop such a tradition.

¹⁴⁵Hans Eberhard Mayer, The Crusades, (London, 1972) 220-222.

into Europeans.¹⁴⁶ If the idea of savagery made it possible for Europe to bypass the complexity and integrity of New World societies,¹⁴⁷ it also greatly eased the task of accepting and assimilating new facts which did not accord with cherished beliefs.

¹⁴⁶O'Gorman argued that Renaissance Europeans did not accept appearance as a criterion of humanity, but ideals and habits. If these did not conform to the "supreme and absolute" standards of Christianity, then the newcomer appeared as monstrous, possessing no true human significance. (Invention of America, 134.) Thus Francis I, after the burning of six heretics, publicly claimed that "France was the only Power which had not nourished monsters." (Desmond Seward, Prince of the Renaissance, (London, 1974), 186.) Such ideas are not yet dead; there are still those who see Amerindians as "villains desperately in need of Europe's civilizing hand." (E. Bradford Burns, A History of Brazil (New York, 1970), 15.)

¹⁴⁷Pierre-Louis-Joseph Villey, Les sources et l'évolution des "Essais" de Montaigne, 2 vols., (Paris, 1908), II: 157.

THE MYTH OF THE SAVAGE
AND THE BEGINNINGS OF FRENCH COLONIALISM IN THE AMERICAS

Chapter III

The Concept of l'Homme Sauvage

Europe's discovery of the Amerindian is usually represented as being her first large-scale encounter with man living in a state of nature. According to this view, it was that experience which was largely responsible for the development of the European idea of l'homme sauvage, the savage who could be either noble or debased, but who in any event was not civilized. Such achievements as the city-states of Mexico, Central America or Peru were either overlooked or else were dismissed as being at the best barbarous. An examination of the concept of savagery reveals that its origins are both more complex and far older than such a view would indicate. In fact, it involved the well-known Renaissance folkloric figure of the Wild Man, early Christian perceptions of monkeys, apes and baboons, and the classical Greek and Roman tradition of the noble savage.¹

Columbus's encounter with the Arawaks and Caribs did not introduce Europeans to a previously unknown kind of man; what it did was to add a new dimension to an already

¹Fenton discusses the concept of savagery in his introduction to Lafitau's Customs of the American Indians, li-liv, as does Francis Jennings, The Invasion of America, (Chapel Hill, 1975), 74-80.

existing idea, that of l'homme sauvage, by revealing multitudes in the New World that appeared to Europeans to fit the concept. Alternatively, Renaissance Europe applied the term "barbarian" to these new peoples, often as a synonym for "savage" but sometimes to indicate an ameliorated form of savagery. Eventually, the sheer weight of numbers of those they had so readily labelled "savage" caused Europeans to give new attention to its concept of l'homme sauvage, and consequently to the whole question of man in relation to his society. The idea of savagery had been around for a long time, but what exactly did it mean? How did it differ from civility?

A modern French definition of the word "savage", that of Larousse, says that among other things it means not cultivated, tamed or domesticated, that which frightens easily. Applied to men, it denotes a person who lives away from society, beyond the pale of its laws, without fixed abode; by analogy, one who is rude and fierce.² Larousse introduces these definitions with the statement that in old French the adjective "salvage" or "sauvage" simply signified the forest habitat, and was a synonym for the Latin sylvaticus. The time boundaries implied by the word "ancient" are not specified; but it can be assumed that the

²Pierre Larousse, (1917-8175), Grand Dictionnaire Universel, 17 vols (Paris, 1905). Similar definitions are given by Oxford and Webster. The latter adds another meaning, that of "a man holding radical political views".

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are included in that term. A survey of French writing during that period, however, does not support the thesis that at that epoch "sauvage" meant simply living in the woods. In that intensely religious age, the medieval habit of viewing man in moral terms was still far too deeply implanted for such a neutral use to have been anything but desultory. While shades of emphasis could and did vary from writer to writer, the general implication was always clear: to be savage meant to be living according to nature, in a manner "plus approchant des bêtes farouches que des hommes."³ In other words, as far as the word itself was concerned, the beast far outweighed the innocent.

Sainte-Pallaye said the word was used in this sense well before the Age of Discovery. He compiled his Dictionnaire historique during the eighteenth century; in it he traced the meanings of words from their origins to the time of Louis XIV. He listed eight meanings for "sauvage", of which the first was "not tamed" and the last, "extraordinary." In between are such definitions as solitary, uncivilized, ferocious, demented and foreign.⁴ Richelet, whose dictionary was published in 1680, said the

³Maffeo, Histoire des Indes, 98. Münster, in his Cosmographie (1556) placed barbarians, savages and monsters all in the same category.

⁴Jean-Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, (1697-1781), Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien langage françois; ou Glossaire de la langue françois depuis son origine jusqu'au siècle de Louis XIV, 10 vols., (Niort, 1875-1882).

word applied to fierce persons who were the enemies of society and agreeable conversation.⁵ Furetière in his Dictionnaire universel (1691), defined a savage as a man without regular habitation, without religion, law or civility. Nearly all of America, he said, had been found peopled with savages, most of whom were cannibals. He added, "Les Sauvages vont nuds, & sont velus, couvert de poil."⁶

That rather startling description of Amerindians as naked hairy savages will be dealt with later. But first let us see how Europeans initially spoke of Arawaks, cannibal Caribs and other New World men. Columbus called them "Indians" and, except in the case of armed encounters, did not refer to them as "savages".⁷ Neither did Vespucci, although he found some of them brutish and loathsome, cruel of nature and barbarous in their manner of living. Also, he reported that cannibals were "very savage."⁸ In general, however, apart from Columbus's "Indians", the terms generally used for referring to New World men were "hommes", "gens", "habitants", "indigènes", or most likely, "cannibals." But it is nonetheless evident, from reading early voyage accounts, that Europeans had quickly equated New World men with savagery. This is indicated, for example,

⁵Pierre Richelet, Dictionnaire François..., (Geneva, 1680.)

⁶Abbé Antoine Furetière, Dictionnaire universel..., 2 vols., (The Hague & Rotterdam, 1691.)

⁷Christopher Columbus, Oeuvres, translated and annotated by Alexandre Cioranescu, (Paris, 1973.)

⁸The First Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci; and Waldseemüller, Cosmographie.

by Cartier's comment, reporting on Amerindians he met on his first voyage:

This people may well be called savage, for they are the sorriest folk there can be in the world, and the whole lot of them had not anything above the value of five sous, their canoes and fishing nets excepted.⁹

Cartier did not explain what he meant by the word "savage" beyond the lack of material possessions and a consequent style of living which he did not consider acceptable. This equation of New World men with savagery is also evident in those early illustrations which attempted to depict "la frayeur subite" which Amerindians initially experienced at the approach of Spaniards.¹⁰ One of the definitions of "sauvage" considered above was "that which frightens easily." However, the term "savage" does not appear frequently in print until about the middle of the sixteenth century; by the third quarter, it was in general use. During the seventeenth century, writers were calling all the inhabitants of the New World "savages", whether they were descended from the court poets of the city-states of Central and South America, or were nomadic hunters following caribou in the austere north.

In his benign aspect, the savage was represented during these two centuries as living in "l'enfance de la Nature"

⁹Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 60.

¹⁰Supra, 37. This "frayeur subite" was later considered to be one of the reasons why the Spanish were able to conquer the Amerindians so rapidly. (Coréal, Voyages, II: 132; Andreas Lazarus von Imhof, Le Grand Theatre historique, 3 vols., (Leyden, 1703), III: Liv. IV: 176.)

or, more ideally, in a Golden Age, that concept from classical antiquity that had never ceased to haunt Europeans' minds. "Ils se content, en effet, de si peu;"¹¹ or, in the words of Vespucci, "they live content with what nature gives them."¹² In his adverse aspect, the savage was "une Statue vegetale, un Phantosme de chair et d'os, un Homme artificiel qui ne se remue que par force."¹³ He was without heart for his natural responsibilities, had no eye for the beauties of nature, did not even have names for painting and sculpture; he could not appreciate music or fine perfume, and ate his food raw, bloody and still living. Solitary and alone in the midst of others, he was indifferent to suffering and cruelty, "n'ayant pas affections honnestes et naturelles."¹⁴

¹¹Anghiera, De Orbe Novo (Gaffarel), 55

¹²Markham, Letters of Vespucci, 9.

¹³Pierre Le Moyne, Les Peintures Morales..., 2 vols., (Paris, 1640-1643), II: 620-629.

¹⁴Ibid. Le Mercure Francois, France's official newspaper during the first part of the seventeenth century, described Amerindians thus; "Quant aux façons de faire des Sauvages, c'est assez de dire qu'elles sont tout à fait sauvages. Depuis le matin jusques au soir, ils n'ont autre soucy que de remplir leur ventre...Ils sont de vrais gueux s'il en fut jamais, & neantmoins superbes au possible...les vices de la chair fort frequents chez eux...de netteté chez eux il ne s'en parle point, ils sont fort sales en leur manger & dans leurs cabanes..." (Troisième tome, (Paris, 1629), 16.) During the nineteenth century, Daniel G. Brinton was to theorize that a hunting culture bred a disregard for human suffering, a vindictive spirit, a tendency to sanguinary rites, and an inappeasable restlessness. "The law with reason objects to accepting a butcher as a juror on a trial for life; here is a whole race of butchers." (The Myths of the New World. A Treatise on the Symbolism and Mythology of the Red Race of America, (New York, 1876), 21-22.)

Such representations, while graphic, were not considered satisfactory explanations of savagery, even at the time. How was it to be defined? First of all, it was far removed from reason. In the words of d'Avity, "On doit estimer barbare ceux dont les façons & coustumes s'éloignent extraordinairement de la droite raison."¹⁵ The belief of the day held that this was a natural consequence of a lack of knowledge of God, which was a prerequisite for mental activity. This was St. Augustine's position. That it had long been held to be applicable to Amerindians is indicated by the commission Jacques Cartier received for his third Canadian voyage from Francis I, which refers to the people of Canada "vivans sans cognoissance de Dieu et Sans usaige de raison."¹⁶ La Croix wrote, "Je mets au rang des bestes les peuples sauvages qui n'usent point de raison."¹⁷ Oviedo's view of the mindless savage was equally unflattering:

Ilz ont...l'os de la teste si dur, si gros & espes, que la principale chose, de laquelle les Chrestiens se donnent garde, quand ils se batent avec eulx, c'est de ne leur donner aucun coup de taille sur la teste, pour ne rompre leurs espees.¹⁸

According to such views, the contemporary savage was a

¹⁵d'Avity, Estats, Empires, 315.

¹⁶Public Archives of Canada, Archives des Colonies, C11A 1: 10. The task of the missionaries was to render "les sauvages raisonnables," to enable them to become Christian and sedentary. (AC C11A 3: 299-300, Description du Canada, 1671.)

¹⁷La Croix, Le Nouveau Cynée, 26. In the Spanish colonies, the term "gente de razón" was reserved for whites and mestizos. (Ricard, Spiritual Conquest of Mexico, 291.)

¹⁸Oviedo, l'Histoire naturelle, 68 verso.

retrograde figure; the first man, living off acorns and chestnuts was more polite and polished than he.¹⁹ This position, however, was not so clear to Antoine de Montchrestien (c1575-1621), dramatist and economist, who found that Amerindians were

assez subtil d'esprit, mais ignorant de nos arts, soit de paix ou de guerre. Ils ne tiennent la terre appartenir à aucun particulier, non plus que la lumière du soleil... Ils ni labourent ni ne cultivent qu'autant qu'il est requis pour leur nourriture... Ils sont totalement nez à la liberté et pourtant peu laborieux. Ils estiment surtout la valeur... Bref, s'il étoit possible de leur ôter ce qu'ils ont de mauvais et de mettre au lieu ce que nous avons de bon, c'est à dire de leur donner nos vertus sans mélange de nos vices, ce seront de braves hommes."²⁰

In other words, it was not so much lack of reason or even retrogression that made them savages, as it was the fact they were not like Europeans.

To d'Avity, the non-use of reason was the most important of five "degrés de brutalité."²¹ By using the term "degré" he imparted a hierarchy to brutishness, a concept congenial to the Renaissance ethos. The second level of savagery he found in the manner of procuring food---hunting and gathering, living like beasts off the land, rather than

¹⁹The view of the savage as a retrograde figure reached its fullest development during the nineteenth century. For example, Pierre-Simon Ballanche (1776-1847) wrote: "L'état sauvage ou de barbarie n'est qu'une dégénération dont nous n'avons pas pu suivre les périodes, mais qui certainement n'est ni un état naturel, ni un état primitif." (Essai sur les institutions sociales, (Paris, 1833: Facsimile, Geneva, 1967), 224.)

²⁰Montchrestien, Traicté de L'Oeconomie politique, (s.l.n.d.), 269.

²¹D'Avity, Estate, Empires, 315.

practicing agriculture. There was also the nature of the food to consider. The Amerindian diet contained elements which in the eyes of Europeans could at best be considered "savage." Herrera said of the people of Cuba that they ate "many filthy things, as large Spiders, Worms breeding in rotten Wood and other nasty Places, and Fish half raw, for as soon as taken, before boiling, they pull'd out their eyes, and eat them, which things any Spaniard would loath."²²

This concern with the diet of the Amerindian was the logical consequence of the widespread belief "que nostre complexion suit la nourriture."²³ The implication of this, of course, was that "il faut que la nourriture sauvage soit suivi d'un complexion & nature sauvage."²⁴ Amerindians made similar observations concerning Europeans. A shaman accused Hennepin of eating serpents and poison, adding that such

²²Herrera, I: 58. The suspected connection of Amerindian diet with devils has already been noted. (Supra, 26-28.)

²³D'Avity, Estats, Empires, 316.

²⁴Ibid. This belief eventually faded before the necessity to adapt to Amerindian ways, including Amerindian diet, in order to survive in the New World. In 1687 an aide-de-camp to Denonville wrote that the Jesuits were hospitable enough "quoique le nourriture soit fort mechante n'ayant ny pain ny vin ny viande mais seulement un peu de bled d'Inde moulu que lon fait cuire dans leau avec un peu de poisson." (Ernest Serrigny, Chevalier de Baugy, Journal d'une expedition contres les Iroquois en 1687, (Paris 1883), 181). The reader will recognize the Amerindian recipe for sagamité.

folk as the Recollet missionary ate thunderbolts.²⁵ Amerindians also shared the European belief that one develops the characteristics of the food one eats----a hunter, for instance, who ate of a slow-moving animal risked losing his speed;²⁶ and as is well-known in the case of cannibalism, eating the heart of a brave enemy was motivated by the desire to acquire his courage. Lack of regular meal hours was also cited by Europeans to prove Amerindian savagery.²⁷ Even worse, Amerindians took their food from the ground, without napkin or any other cloth, eating out of earthen pots or calabashes.²⁸ According to one unsympathetic observer, "ils mangent souvent couché comme les chiens; Enfin ils ne se gênent aucunement dans leurs actions &

²⁵Hennepin, A New Discovery, II: 84. The same accusations were used by the Hurons against the French in an attempt to obstruct the efforts of Father Joseph de La Roche Daillon to establish a mission among the Neutrals in 1626. (Chrestien Le Clercq, First Establishment of the Faith in New France, edited and translated by John G. Shea, 2 vols., (New York, 1887) I: 267.

²⁶Thevet, Cosmographie (L'Huillier), 930.

²⁷Markham, Letters of Vespucci, 7.

²⁸Ibid.

suivent le pur animal."²⁹

Nudity was d'Avity's third degree of "brutishness", "Car quelqu'uns n'ayants nul sentiment de honnesté ne couvrent pas mesmes leurs parties honteuses."³⁰ In fact, held d'Avity, it was a sense of shame that distinguished men from animals. His fourth level concerned types of habitation: the most barbarous people lived in caves and trees, although nomads living in tents were not much better. Lack of government was fifth: "Car quelques un entierement barbares vivent sans aucune loix, & sans aucuns chefs, tant en temps de paix, mais seulement aux occurrences de guerres."³¹ On this point, however, d'Avity conceded that some New World peoples, such as those of "Tlascalla & Chilolla" and New Spain, had what qualified by European standards as government. Peruvians even had a form of civility, although they did not have the arch. But their ingenuity in building bridges had to be admired: "ils en

²⁹Louis Hennepin, Description de la Louisiane, nouvellement découverte au sud-ouest de la Nouvelle France, (Paris, 1683,), 55. Another missionary reported that Amerindians of the Caribbean thought nothing of defecating while eating. (Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre, Histoire generale des Isles des Christophe..., (Paris, 1654), 429.) Thevet, on the other hand, reported of the Brazilians that they ate "fort posément," not like Europeans, who devoured rather than ate at the table. (Singularitez, 148.) Equally inconsistent were the reports of the quantities of food consumed by Amerindians. Charles Lalemant, an unsympathetic observer, found that they thought only of filling their stomachs (Troisième tome du Mercure François, 20) while others got the impression they did not eat enough to keep a man alive. (Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, LXIII: 217.)

³⁰D'Avity, Estats, Empires, 316-317.

³¹Ibid.

font de très grands sur les rivières for larges & profondes...on voit...un de ces ponts long de 300 pieds."³² Others were not so prepared as d'Avity to grant that the Peruvian government could be classed as civilized. Acosta, for one, found it to be tyrannical because it treated the people as beasts and the rulers as gods.³³ To him that was barbarous, an ameliorated form of savagery.

Other attempts at defining brutishness included lack of writing³⁴ and the "elusive" or even "defective" structure of languages which impeded the communication of Christian doctrine.³⁵ Without the letters "f,l,r", how could

³² Ibid., 317-318.

³³ Acosta, Histoire naturelle, 287 verso-288. Acosta discerned three classes of barbarians: those who were not far from reason, had governments and cities (Chinese, Japanese); those who did not have writing but who still had government (Mexicans and Peruvians); those who lived in the woods without fixed abode (Caribs). The latter, Acosta believed, should be constrained to civility. (Wilcomb Washburn, Red Man's Land/ White Man's Law (New York 1971), 22.)

³⁴ It is now being speculated whether Amerindian pictography, based on sign language, was a precursor of writing. It was once used throughout North and South America, and was apparently universally understood, as it was associated with sight rather than with sound. See Martineau, The Rocks Begin to Speak. Alexander Marshack holds that the creation of a symbol system and a culture related to the processes of nature was at least as important as the development of tools in the rise of civilization. ("The Message of the Markings," Horizon, XVIII, #4, (1976).)

³⁵ Thwaites, Jesuit Relations I;11, 13; III: 193-197; XX:71. For a Spanish view on this subject, see the letter of Friar Domingo de Betanzos, written in 1544, which argued that the limitations of Indian languages could easily lead to gross errors in explaining Christian doctrine. It is reproduced by Hanke in "Pope Paul III, 102. Two centuries later, the same point was being argued. See H. G. Loskiel, History of the Missions of the United Brethren Among the Indians in North America, (London, 1794), 20-21.

Amerindians have "foy, loy et roy"?³⁶ A favorite word for describing their languages was "baragouin", gibberish.

These efforts at definition were based on the assumption that if savagery were a condition, it must have certain characteristics that would make it recognizable as such. From this point of view, d'Avity's list is as interesting for what it leaves out as for what it contains. Contemporaries would have been struck by the fact that the cosmographer did not include lack of order in sexual matters, although this had been widely reported of New World peoples. This indicates independence of judgement on his part, for although it was being realized that these reports were exaggerated, to say the least, this was by no means generally believed.³⁷ Neither did d'Avity include cannibalism as such, but rather as a manifestation of the lack of reason. Cannibals, he wrote, must be considered as enemies of humankind, or else as "fols furieux" who must be first rendered capable of reason and humanity, and then

³⁶Maifeo (Maffée,) in Claude Duret, Thresor de l'histoire des langues de cest univers, (Cologne, 1613), 945. Cited by Stephen J. Greenblatt in his paper "Learning to Curse: Aspects of Linguistic Colonialism in the Sixteenth Century" presented at the conference, First Images. Canadian Indians also had difficulties with the letters f, l, r. See PAC AC C11D 10, "Mémoire de Lamothe Cadillac," 1693. Also, Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, Old John Neptune and other Maine Indian Shamans, (Portland, 1946).

³⁷For instance, Frobisher's sailors, acting on the assumption that New World natives mated indiscriminately at first encounter, brought together an Inuit man and woman who had been captured separately, and watched in anticipation. The sailors were disappointed. (Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, VII: 306-307.)

instructed in virtue and the Christian faith.³⁸ D'Avity also omitted dirtiness, which came to be used by latter-day writers as one of the characteristics of savagery, Amerindian or otherwise. But during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Europeans were struck by the frequency with which Amerindians bathed. It was told of Montezuma ("the chief who shoots to heaven when he is angry") that he bathed every day "were it ever so cold."³⁹ Léry considered it worth reporting that the Tupinamba of Brazil washed their mouths and hands before eating.⁴⁰ European standards were not as high. Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) in a tract entitled De civitate morum puerilium that was first published in 1530, said that it was necessary to wash hands before sitting down at the dining table. Among European upper classes, this was done by extending the hands so that a page could sprinkle them with

³⁸ D'Avity, Estats, Empires, 318.

³⁹ Henry Hawks, in Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, IX: 397. Du Tertre noted in the Caribbean that as soon as the Amerindians awakened in the morning, they went down to the river to bathe. (Histoire generale, 421. Père Yves made similar observations concerning Brazilians. (Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil, 106.) Toward the end of the seventeenth century, Henry de Tonty was impressed how successfully Amerindian mothers kept their babies "bien propres, bien nets," without cloths. ("Memoire sent in 1693", in Historical Collections of Louisiana, edited by B.F. French, (New York, 1846), 25.)

⁴⁰ Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, 118. Cortés for his part was struck by the fact that Mexico's streets were kept clean by squads of cleaners. In 1607 a Paris physician suggested that the plague could be reduced in that city by keeping the streets clean. Nothing came of the suggestion. (Warren H. Lewis, The Splendid Century, (London, 1953), 202.)

perfumed water.⁴¹ There is no indication, in Erasmus or elsewhere, however, that such refinements were suggested for the masses. Generally speaking, Europeans were of the opinion that bathing could be followed by colic, fevers, headaches and vertigo, and that therefore the best course of action was to consult a physician before indulging in what was regarded as a pleasure rather than a health measure. In any event, it should be done only in summer and not in winter.⁴² As European standards of cleanliness developed, so did criticisms of those Amerindians who were found not to wash their hands before meals: "...ils se lavent point les mains pour manger, non plus que la viande, ny la chaudière avant que la mettre au feu."⁴³ However, one could wonder upon what standards such a comment was based, and whether the author was comparing a certain group of Amerindians with a comparable group of Europeans, if such would have been feasible or even possible.

An even more striking omission from d'Avity's list is that of cruelty, particularly as historians of the

⁴¹Norbert Elias, La civilisation des moeurs, traduit de l'allemand par Pierre Kamnitzer, (Paris, 1973).

⁴²Thorndike, A History of Magic, II: 207-208. However, contrarily enough, medicinal baths were approved. And at least one Renaissance writer wondered if the superior health of Amerindians was not due to their habit of bathing frequently. (Saint-Michel, Voyage des isles Camercanes, 175.)

⁴³Saint-Michel, Voyages des isles Camercanes, 143; Hennepin, Louisiane, 53. It has already been noted that Father Lalemant found the Amerindians of New France very dirty in their eating habits.

nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been at great pains to "prove" the savagery of Amerindians because of their war practices. Apart from their cannibalistic aspects, these practices were not considered in the days of d'Avity to be more cruel than those of Europe. Quite the contrary, in fact, as far as torture was concerned. Sixteenth century accounts are dominated by reports of Spanish torture of Amerindians, especially during the early part of the century, when decimation of the New World peoples was at its height. The description "très cruel" which Renaissance Europeans so often applied to New World men was a label habitually tagged onto unfamiliar people as well as onto enemies in war, and did not usually refer to specific practices.⁴⁴ However, in the case of Amerindians, it often referred specifically to their cannibalism.⁴⁵

Cardano did not consider cruelty a particular characteristic of savages, as he noted that such people were often very gentle. Observing that they could be more humane

⁴⁴The casual use of the word "cruel" is illustrated by Dassié's comment, "Les Iroquois sont cruels, les Hurons Algonquins sont amis des François." (Description generale, 253.) A contemporary English ballad was entitled, "The crueltie of ye Spaniardes toward th[e] Indians," (Edward A. Arber, A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640, 5 vols., (London, 1875-1894), II: 2086.)

⁴⁵For instance, Bodin, in speaking about the cruelty of Brazilians, is referring to cannibalism and not to torture. (Republique, 528.)

than many Greeks and Italians,⁴⁶ he went on to say that they were neither immoral nor lacking in intelligence. Their savagery lay, rather, in a psychological instability:

"Before a matter is understood they begin to rage and after they have become excited it is very difficult to quiet them."⁴⁷ This lack of emotional control made them liberty-loving and seditious; it also left them vulnerable to being imposed upon.

When he wrote this description, Cardano thought he was depicting men of the New World, among other "savages". In fact, both his description and the definitions we have been considering were strongly influenced by one of the most familiar of the folk figures of this period, the Wild Man of the Woods. In much of the sixteenth and seventeenth century

⁴⁶Later writers sometimes extended this, and reported that Amerindians were more humane than Europeans in general. François Froger, for one, wrote that black slaves often preferred Amerindians to Europeans as masters for that reason. (Relation d'un voyage fait en 1695, 1696 & 1697, (Paris, 1698), 148-149. An eighteenth century missionary at Kaskaskia observed that "The Savages, especially the Illinois, are of a very gentle and sociable nature." (Cited by Mary Elizabeth Good in Guebert Site: an 18th century Kaskaskia Indian Village, (Wood River, Ill., 1972), 47.) Such reports have been reinforced by the discovery in 1971 of the Tasaday, a small group of Stone Age people who have been living in isolation in southern Mindanao Island in the Philippines for six centuries. Their outstanding characteristic is a lack of aggressiveness; they have no words for weapons, hostility, anger or war. (L.S. Stavrianos, "Basic Myths of our Time," The Globe and Mail, (May 26, 1976), 7.) A report of these people by Kenneth MacLeish, "Stone Age Cavemen of Mindanao," appeared in National Geographic, Vol. 142, No. 2 (August 1972), 219-249.

⁴⁷Thorndike, History of Magic, V: 577, citing Girolamo Cardano (1501-1576), De Rerum Varietate, Lib. VIII: Ch. 40.

writing on savagery, the influence of this figure is evident. Found in folklore throughout Europe, but particularly in the northern and central regions, he was known by such names as Wildeman in Flanders and Germany; Wild Man, wodewose or woodhouse in England, Ireland and Scotland; and l'homme sauvage in France. He was also known as Pilosus, Orcus, Schrat and Ogre; or perhaps as homo sylvestris or homine agreste. All of these terms were more or less synonymous with savage, satyr or faun. "Wodewose" derived from the Old English "wode" or "wod", meaning furious or in a state of insanity. Like Odin or Wodin, the great God of the northern nations who presided over war and feasted on the slain, "wode" expressed the rage of battle. It also had implications of unrestrained sensuality and of the demonic. We get a glimpse of forerunners of wodewoses or wild men in Pausanias, who during the second century told of satyrs attacking a woman from a Greek ship and treating her "in such a way as we will not venture to describe."⁴⁸

The Wild Man was first pictorialized during the mid-thirteenth century in grotesques decorating manuscript margins.⁴⁹ His period of popularity began during the latter

⁴⁸Pausanias' Description of Greece, translated by Arthur Richard Shilleto, (London, 1886), I: XXIII:13. In another case reported the following century, a satyr caused panic among village women. (Flavius Philostratus, The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, translated by F.G. Conybeare, 2 vols., (London, 1948-50). VI:XXVII.)

⁴⁹H.W. Janson, "A 'Memento Mori' Among Early Italian Prints", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, III (1939-1941), 248.

part of the fourteenth century, reaching its peak during the Renaissance; after the seventeenth century he went into a decline. His origins can be traced back to classical antiquity or even to Babylon and Uruk, as well as to the ancient Hebrews. According to Roman belief, he was descended from the Titan Saturn whose reign was described as a Golden Age of innocence and purity, although Saturn himself was a monster who ate all but three of his own children: Jupiter (air), Neptune (water) and Pluto (earth, underworld). Orcus, also descended from Saturn, carried the dead to the underworld. Saturn has certain similarities with the Greek Cronos, the son of Gaia and Ouranos, Earth and Heaven, two aspects of the same identity before they were separated by their son. Although associated with the Golden Age, Saturn symbolized life-devouring hunger and insatiable desire. Incapable of allowing his people to evolve, he was emasculated by his son and returned to the heavens.⁵⁰ The Wild Man's physical resemblance to the satyr Silenus has frequently been noted,⁵¹ and he has also been identified with Hercules. For the Hebrews, the Wild Man was represented

⁵⁰Jean Chevalier, Dictionnaire des Symboles, (Paris, 1969). Also, Larousse World Mythology, edited by Pierre Grimal, (London, 1965).

⁵¹Silenus began as a woodland deity who presided over springs and running streams. According to Pausanias, Description, I:XXIII, the name "Silenus" at one point was applied to all satyrs. In any event, he was shaggy and full-bearded, had horse's ears and was extraordinarily wise. In the sixth century he became associated with Dionysus. Socrates was compared to Silenus in wisdom, irony and appearance.

as a spiritual rather than as a physical condition: he was a rebel against the Lord, insane, accursed and destructive.⁵²

These traditions merged, more or less under the influence of Christianity, to produce the Renaissance wodevose or l'homme sauvage. He was a minor figure representing the negation of the Christian ideal, a folk version of anti-Christ. In the days of courtly love he was the embodiment of brute sensuality as opposed to the chivalrous love of the knight. He was usually depicted as covered all over with hair, except for knees, elbows and face; and he had a full beard. His hairiness symbolized the enormous strength on which he depended as he stood alone against all, even his own kind. This strength was also indicated by his habit of carrying a knotty club or an uprooted tree. Unable to speak, he shunned man and was devoid of knowledge of God, which meant that he did not have the use of reason or that he did not possess it.⁵³ Unable to control his passions, he assaulted lone women in the woods.⁵⁴ However, he was intimately acquainted with nature's

⁵² Hayden White, "The Forms of Wildness" in Edward Dudley and Maximillian Novak, The Wild Man Within, (Pittsburgh, 1942).

⁵³ Bernheimer, Wild Men, 1-33.

⁵⁴ However, an extremely ancient version of the Wild Man, Enkidu, was the embodiment of natural innocence. Seduced by a harlot, and consequently rejected by his former companions the wild animals, he had no recourse except to go to the city and become civilized. (N.K. Sanders, The Epic of Gilgamesh, (London, 1964), 60-67.) Among French names for l'homme sauvage or similar beings are found Ankou and Annequin, the latter approaching Hellekin of Harlequin. (A. Van Gennep, Manuel de folklore français contemporain, (Paris, 1937-), IV: 622.)

secrets, which he sometimes shared with peasants; at times he would tend their cattle or would heal a wounded knight with herbs. But his closest associates were bears and devils.⁵⁵

In Edmund Spenser's vivid imagery, this figure is outsized, "all overgrowne with haire...with huge great teeth." He "fed on fleshly gore, the signe whereof yet stain'd his bloody lips afore." This unprepossessing figure lived on the "spoile of women", whom he raped and then ate. He had already caught and eaten seven by the time he appeared in The Faerie Queene.⁵⁶ A gentler version of the Wild Man in the same work is Satyrane, whose father was a satyr; he rescued ladies instead of preying on them. In the English folk imagination of the day, the hairy man was considered to be green, hair and all. But whether he was shown as fierce or gentle, physical portrayals of him were remarkably uniform in poetry, painting, manuscript illustration, tapestries and sculpture.

Although the first record of a theatrical play featuring a wild man dates back to 1208 in Padua,⁵⁷ it was in pageants and spectacles where he was most in evidence, particularly those of Carnival and Twelfth Night. Here his

⁵⁵Merlin, the master of nature, was descended from an incubus in the guise of a Wild Man. See Russell Hope Robbins, The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology, (New York, 1966), 462.

⁵⁶Spenser, The Faerie Queene, (Oxford, 1953). IV:VII.

⁵⁷Bernheimer, Wild Man, 51.

disguise was regarded as a licence for rampaging violence.⁵⁸ At one point he even took part in tournaments, challenging knights. One of the best-known incidents involving a wild man masquerade occurred on the 28th of January in 1392 at an event that later became known as the "Bal des Ardents" at the court of Charles VI "le fou" of France, when several revellers dressed as Wild Men burned to death.⁵⁹ Sometimes the carnival Wild Man, girdled and crowned with feathers, pretended to feed only on raw meat, which was handed to him on the end of a stick.⁶⁰ In Quercy the first Sunday of Lent was formerly called "lon dimenge dei Salvagi" which the youth celebrated "en contrefaisant les Satyrs."⁶¹ In the pageant celebrating the entry of Charles V into Bruges, Wild Men were shown as the city's earliest inhabitants.⁶² At other times they prefigured Amerindians, as in the entry of the "Damoiseulx de Valenciennes" into Lille in 1438, when masqueraders were dressed as Wild Men, some of them in animal skins, others in feathers: "beaucoup d'hommes sauvages étaient aussi couverts de plumes."⁶³ Father Paul Le Jeune, seeing his first

⁵⁸ Ibid., 58.

⁵⁹ Ibid. Also, Richard Barber and Anne Riches, A Dictionary of Fabulous Beasts, (London, 1971), 154.

⁶⁰ Van Gennep, Folklore, I: 924.

⁶¹ Ibid., 923. This could well have been a survival of the Bacchanales of classical times; ecclesiastical authorities banned the practice on several occasions during the seventeenth century.

⁶² Bernheimer, Wild Men, 120; Hale, Renaissance Europe, 174.

⁶³ Van Gennep, Folklore, I: 923. See also Gerbi, Dispute of the New World, 70.

Amerindians with painted faces at Tadoussac in 1632, remarked, "je voyois ces masques qui courent en France à Carême."⁶⁴

Le Jeune could not have foreseen that the tradition of carnival masquerades would cross the Atlantic with the settlers. Denonville, governor-general of New France in 1685-1689, noted that such practices had reached the point where his predecessor, Antoine Le Febvre de La Barre, had had to suppress them. However, he had not entirely succeeded: "A way of dressing up like savages, stark naked, not only on carnival days, but on all days of feasting and debauchery, has been treated as a nice action and a joke. These manners tend only to maintain the young people in the spirit of living like savages and to communicate with them to be eternally profligate like them."⁶⁵

From pageantry the Wild Man retired into heraldry, where he is still seen today as a supporting figure at times difficult to distinguish from Silenus. Such a position, in heraldic terms, indicates subjection. More than 200 European families have the subjected Wild Man in their crests,⁶⁶ and

⁶⁴Le Dix-huitième tome du Mercure Français, (Paris, 1633), 59.

⁶⁵PAC AC C11A V11:45-47. Denonville to the minister, 13 November 1685.

⁶⁶Bernheimer, Wild Men, 177. For a discussion of Amerindians as heraldic figures, see Conrad M.J.F. Swan, "American Indians in Heraldry", in Coat of Arms, XII No. 87, 96-107; and No. 88, 148-159. Two of Canada's provinces, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, have Amerindians as supporting figures in their coats of arms.

he is on the coat of arms of Charles V on a building in Tlaxcala.⁶⁷ In a pose similar to his heraldic stance he also occasionally appeared on the title pages of books.⁶⁸ There was also a Wild Woman, but she never attained the importance of the Wild Man. This may have been partially because the Church tolerated the latter, albeit reluctantly, whereas the rituals of the Wild Woman called for offerings, which the Church would not countenance. In Spain, for example, dancing in the disguise of Orca could draw a year's penitence.⁶⁹

Most Europeans who sailed to the New World must have been aware of the Wild Man, who was as familiar a figure to them as Santa Claus is today; indeed, in their facial representation, they were not unlike, both being bearded and having gentle expressions. From the very first, Europeans compared Amerindians with Wild Men. Columbus referred to West Indians as "wild" but suitable for slavery; an observer, describing the New World men brought to Lisbon by Corte-Real in 1501 (who have been variously identified as Inuit, Naskapi, Beothuk or Micmac), said they had most gentle countenances but most bestial habits and manners,

⁶⁷Elizabeth Wilder Weismann, Mexico in Sculpture 1521-1821, (Cambridge, 1950: Reprint, Westport, Conn., 1971), 27, figure 19.

⁶⁸For example, the colonization tract of Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, Encouragements for such as shall have intention to bee Under-takers in the new plantation of Cape Briton, now New Galloway in America, (Edinburgh, 1625). It was reproduced by Lehner, How They Saw The New World, 151.

⁶⁹Bernheimer, Wild Men, 43.

"like wild men."⁷⁰ The seven Amerindians brought to Rouen in 1509 were described as homines sylvestres.⁷¹ Shakespeare's Caliban, so often cited as a representation of the Amerindian,⁷² was in fact a depiction of the Wild Man in which the demonic aspects prevailed. This fusion of concepts can be seen in a map illustration in a Ptolemy geography of 1522, in which Terra Nova is decorated with a cannibal scene.⁷³ As we have already noted, cannibals were stock items in pre-Columbian geographies, and were usually located in the Orient. The Ptolemy cannibals have feather skirts, similar to those of the 1505 Augsburg woodcut. The figures are smooth-skinned, but have the heads and "gentle countenances" of Wild Men. Thus Ptolemy's scene could reflect simply the belief that the new-found-land was part of Asia; far more likely, however, it indicated that the people of the New World were believed to be like Wild Men.

The frequent reports throughout this period of hairy men in far-off places indicates that the Wild Man was

⁷⁰Henry Percival Biggar, The Precursors of Jacques Cartier 1497-1534, (Ottawa, 1911), 66. Letter of Pietro Pasqualigo, 18 October 1501.

⁷¹Eusebius Caesariensis Episcopi Chronicon, prepared by Prosper and Mathieu Paulmier, (Paris, 1512). Entry for 1509.

⁷²Leslie A. Fiedler, The Return of the Vanishing American, (New York, 1968), 45-49. Fiedler says The Tempest represented Europe's judgement and rejection of the Amerindian. Other authorities feel that Caliban represents the fickle mob of any society. This view was presented by Paul A. Jorgenson in his paper, "Shakespeare's Brave New World," 4, presented at the conference, First Images.

⁷³Claude Ptolemy, Opus geographiae... Hec bona mente L. Phrisius..., (Strasbourg, 1522).

thought actually to exist. Pliny, for example, had told of such creatures in India.⁷⁴ The Borgia Map, drawn in the fifteenth century before Columbus's voyage, is illustrated with hairy Amazons.⁷⁵ Occasionally hairy men appear in Renaissance voyage accounts, such as those of Pigafetta.⁷⁶ A century and a half later, the newspaper Le Mercure Galant reported on "les Sauvages de l'Amérique, Hommes cruels et sans raison, à qui no Pescheurs sont oblizez de faire la chasse comme à des Bestes, puis qu'ils ont outre leur férocité le corps hérissé de poil, armé d'ongles merveilleusement longs & crochus."⁷⁷

That the Wild Man had by this time become confused in the popular mind with Amerindians is evident not only from such obviously misinformed reports, but from the repeated efforts missionaries and colonial officials made to discredit the notion that New World men were hairy.⁷⁸ Their

⁷⁴Caius Plinius Secundus, (AD 23/24-79), Historia Naturalis. VII:II: 24.

⁷⁵A.E. Nordenskiöld, Periplus, An Essay on the Early History of Charts & Sailing Directions, (Stockholm, 1897), Plate XXXIX.

⁷⁶Voyage et navigation, Section 11: 54. Another contemporary reference is found in Faictz et dictz de feu de bonne mémoire maistre Jehan Molinet, (Paris, 1531), cvii.

⁷⁷Le Mercure Galant, April 1681, 143. This could have been a reference to the Beothuks or the Labrador Inuit, who were in a state of constant hostility with European fishermen.

⁷⁸The confusion exists even today. When I encountered the hairy man while researching in Paris, my first reaction was to regard this figure as being somehow derived from early reports of Amerindians. A recent edition of the mémoire of Nicolas Perrot, that of Editions Élysée, Montreal, 1973, has figures of the Wild Man and Wild Woman on its endpapers; obviously the editors were under the same impression.

efforts were unavailing. The first published denial appears to be that of André Thevet in Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique, which first appeared in 1557. In the chapter entitled "Contre l'opinion de ceux qui estiment les Sauvages estre pelus", Thevet asserted that those who insisted that Amerindians were hairy had obviously never seen them, for the truth was the opposite; they took great care to remove all body hair.⁷⁹ Later he theorized that the custom of the northern Amerindians of wearing furs had given rise to the belief.⁸⁰ Léry felt strongly enough about the matter to deny it repeatedly. "Je réserve aussi à refuter ci-après l'erreur de ceux qui nous ont voulu faire accroire que les sauvages étaient velues," he first wrote. Later, he was even more specific,

Et cependant tant s'en faut, comme aucuns pensent, et d'autres le veulent faire accroire, qu'ils soient velus ni couverts de leurs poils, qu'au contraire n'étant point naturellement plus pelus que nous.⁸¹

He speculated that the belief had arisen from the custom of the Brazilian Tupinamba of glueing themselves all over with down or little feathers, which gave them a furred appearance:

tellement qu'en cet état ils semblent avoir du poil folet, comme les pigeons et autres oiseaux nouvellement éclos. Et

⁷⁹Thevet, Singularitez, Chapter XXXI. Amerindians practiced depilation by using fingernails as well as certain shells. Metal pincers very quickly became an item Europeans offered in trade. Later, Thevet, in his Cosmographie, again stressed that Amerindians "ne portans aucun poil sur eux que celui de la teste." (Paris, L'Huillier, 1001 verso.)

⁸⁰Thevet, Singularitez, 413.

⁸¹Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, 60, 97.

vraisemblablement que quelque-uns de ces pays par-deça, les ayant vus du commencement qu'ils arrivèrent en leur terre accoutrés de cette façon, s'en étant revenus sans avoir plus grande connaissance d'eux, divulgèrent et firent courir le bruit que ces sauvages étaient velus; mais, comme j'ai dit ci-dessus, ils ne sont pas tels de leurs naturel, et partant, ça été une ignorance et chose trop légèrement reçue.⁸²

This was a line of reasoning that lawyer Marc Lescarbot (c1570-1642) was to repeat in his Histoire de la Nouvelle France.⁸³

The missionary Gabriel Sagard (fl. 1614-1636), who visited Huronia in 1623-1624, noted that "our savages are not as hairy as some might think." Referring to a well-known incident when the Admiral Hanno had brought what were believed to be two hairy women's skins from Gorgades Islands and had placed them in the Temple of Juno, Sagard continued, "hence the belief that all savages are hairy, although this

⁸²Ibid., 100. Theodore de Bry, who in 1592 published Léry's account in his series Grands Voyages, included among the illustrations a cannibal scene in which one of the Brazilians is covered all over with down as the author described. The idea of covering ones' self with feathers or down was quickly picked up in Europe and such masquerades were seen in pageants and carnivals until the nineteenth century. (Van Gennep, Folklore, I: 923.) Claude Haton (1534-1605), noted in his memoirs concerning Brazilians: "ilz ne sont velus ne pelus de grand poil comme sont une aultre manière de saulvages, qui cont couvers de grand poil commes les bestes, mais sont barbares, mangeant l'ung l'aultres, principalement leurs enemys." In Mémoires de Claude Haton contenant le récit des événements accomplis de 1553 à 1582, principalement dans la Champagne et la Brie, 2 vols., (Paris, 1857), I:39.

⁸³Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 200.

is not so, and one very seldom finds that they are."⁸⁴ "Les peintres ont grand tort de les peindres velus," wrote Jean de Laon, Sieur d'Aigremont, who had taken part in the colonizing attempt in Guiana in 1652.⁸⁵ "There is no occasion to think of them as half beasts, shaggy, black and hideous," complained Father Franciso Gioseppe Bressani (1612-1672) in the Jesuit Relations of 1653. "They are without a beard...[and are] more healthy than we."⁸⁶ A generation later the same point was still being made:

Les Hurons ne sont ny velus ny monstrueux comme le caprice des Peintres les represente, et excepté la longue chevelure & leur teint olivâtre, la plupart sont aussi bien faits que les Peuples de l'Europe.⁸⁷

Lahontan tersely corroborated this, "Ceux qui ont dépeint les Sauvages velus comme des Ours, n'en avoient jamais vû;" but added to the confusion by referring to Amerindians on another occasion as "satires et Faunes réels, vrais Habitans des bois" who were "naturaliser à sauter de rocher en rocher, à percer les ronces & les broussailles à courir à travers les épines & les buissons comme en rase

⁸⁴The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons by Father Gabriel Sagard, edited by George Wrong, (Toronto, 1939), 138. The incident occurred in 530 B.C.. (Herrmann, Conquest by Man, 79-80.) Father Le Clercq also referred to it. (New Relation of Gaspesia, edited by William F. Ganong (Toronto, 1910), 82.)

⁸⁵Jean de Laon, Sieur d'Aigremont, Relation du voyage des François fait au Cap de Nord en Amérique...avec une ample description du Pays, des moeurs et façons de vivre des Sauvages..., (Paris, 1654), 90.

⁸⁶Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XXXVIII: 257.

⁸⁷Allain Manesson Mallet, Description de l'univers contenant les systèmes du monde..., 5 vols., (Paris, 1683), V:280.

Campagne."⁸⁸ Such descriptions only confirmed the eighteenth-century European in his impression that Amerindians were hairy, as that was how satyrs and fauns were depicted.

Missionaries were the most assiduous in their efforts to disabuse the European public of its image of hairy Amerindians. Father Chrestien LeClerc (1641-after 1700) was particularly stern:

There is one error which is only too common, and of which it is desirable to disabuse the public. It is necessary to admit that some persons in our Europe are persuaded too easily that the peoples of North America...preserve of the nature of man nothing but the name of wild man, and that they have none of those finer qualities of body and of spirit which distinguish the human species from the beasts of the fields. And they even believe these people to be all hairy, like the bears, and more inhuman than the tigers and the leopards...as a matter of fact our Gaspeians have less hair than the French.⁸⁹

According to Father Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre (1610-1687), "à ce seul mot de Sauvage la plupart du monde se figure dans leurs esprits une sorte d'hommes Barbares, cruels, inhumains, sans raison, contrefaits, grands comme des geants, velus comme des ours...quoy qu'en verité nos

⁸⁸Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce de Lahonton, Mémoires de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 2 vols., (Amsterdam, 1705), II: 95 and I:47. Lahontan's comment dismissing the European belief that Amerindians looked like bears was repeated word for word by Bruzen de la Martinière in Le grand dictionnaire géographique, II: 88, in the article, "Canada."

⁸⁹Le Clercq, New Relation, 92. Charlevoix in his turn observed, "L'idée qu'on se formoit autrefois en Europe des Sauvages, qu'on y représentoit comme des Hommes tout velus, non-seulement ne leur convient en aucun manière, mais est précisément celle qu'ils ont d'abord eue de nous, parce qu'ils crurent que nous avions tout le corps, comme le menton & l'estomach." (Histoire et description, VI: 17.)

Sauvages ne soient Sauvages que de nom...Au reste, ils ne sont ny velus ny contrefaits.⁹⁰

Two centuries after Thevet had denied that Amerindians were furred, an officer in the French and Indian War wrote, "Les sauvages du Canada sont fort different de l'idée que l'on s'en fait communément en France. Loin d'être velus, comme on le croit, ils sont beaucoup moins couverts de poil que nous."⁹¹ As long as the Wild Man existed in folk imagination, he influenced the European conception of the Amerindian.

During these two centuries, l'homme sauvage continued his solitary way, "noir et velu com ours enchainé". Besides his descent from the mythologies of classical Greece, Rome and the Middle East, and his connection with bears, the Wild Man contained elements from early reports of anthropoid apes, which were usually described in the Renaissance as speechless human beings, homines sylvestres. According to Pliny, "the Choromandae are a savage and wild people; distinct voice and speech have they none, but in stead thereof, they keepe an horrible gnashing and hideous noise:

⁹⁰Du Tertre, Histoire générale, 296, 298.

⁹¹Jean-Baptiste d'Aleynrac, Avantures militaires au XVIIIe siècle d'après les mémoires de Jean-Baptiste d'Aleynrac (1737-1796), edited by Charles Coste, (Paris, 1925), 36. My thanks to Mme Marie Gerin-Lajoie for pointing out this reference to me. Other denials were also made during this period. For instance, Bruzen de La Martinière wrote under the rubric "Canada": "Ceux qui ont représenté les Sauvages du Canada velus comme des ours, n'en avoient jamais vu." (Le grand dictionnaire, II:88.)

rough they are and hairie all over their bodies, eies they have red like the houlets and toothed they be like dogs."⁹²

There is now no doubt that Pliny was actually describing a troupe of large monkeys or gibbons. The Medieval and Renaissance tendency was to transform these animals into quasi-human beings by exaggerating their human aspects. The Spanish, for instance, were reported to regard baboons as a race of people who refused to speak so that they would not be forced to live in subjection.⁹³ Similarly, the great apes and orang-outangs were said to be descended from people who had grown weary of work and the restraints village life, and so had retreated to the forests and an animal-like existence. They were supposed to have been the products of miscegenation between women and animals.⁹⁴ Albertus Magnus saw apes as being intermediate between man and beast, similitudines hominis, an early version of the

⁹²The historie of the world. Commonly called The Natural historie of C. Plinius Secundus, translated into English by Philemon Holland, (London, 1601), 156.

⁹³Janson, Ape Lore, 337.

⁹⁴Robert M. and Ada W. Yerkes, The Great Apes, (New Haven, 1929), 12; Janson, Ape Lore, 351 n47. In Greek mythology, the trickster figures known as Cercophithèques were bandits whom Zeus, in a moment of irritation, had transformed into monkeys. According to Chevalier, Trickster corresponds to the most primitive level of human life, having the mind of an infant and no control over his appetites. He is cruel, cynical and insensitive, but capable of becoming human. Such figures are found in Algonkian myths---for instance, Nanabozho of the Ojibway. See Chevalier, Dictionnaire des Symboles. Mayan myths also characterize monkeys as men who were not satisfactory as human beings. See Popol Vuh, translated by Ralph Nelson (Boston, 1976).

missing link.⁹⁵ Prester John's list of wild creatures, dated 1164, included homines agrestes,⁹⁶ which Cardano said resembled Wild Men.⁹⁷ As late as the mid-eighteenth century, an Englishman published an illustration of a "man in the wood", complete with his gnarled stick, and labelled him "The Satier, Savage, Wild-Man, Pigmy, Orang-outang, Chimp-anzee, etc."⁹⁸

From such hesitations and confusions, it had not been a long step to the idea of dual creation, of the Devil acting in competition with God but being capable only of producing a distorted version of the original being that had been divinely created. This concept was firmly established in Christian folklore: horse and ass, lion and cat, sun and moon, day and night.⁹⁹ An ape, as imperfected man, symbolized carnal desire; the apple-eating ape was seen in very much the same perspective as the sexually unrestrained Wild Man. In another aspect also the ape was seen as imperfected man: he was believed to remember injuries and to

⁹⁵Janson, Ape Lore, 83, citing Albertus Magnus, De animalibus.

⁹⁶Bernheimer, Wild Man, 92.

⁹⁷Janson, Ape Lore, 270, citing Cardano, De subtilitate, (Basel, 1547), Lib. X.

⁹⁸Yerkes, Great Apes, 18, citing George Edwards, Gleanings of natural history..., 3 vols., (London, 1758-64). Edward Tyson in 1699 published an essay in which he held that satyrs were monkeys or baboons, but not men. ("A Philological Essay Concerning the Satyrs of the Ancients," in Orang-Outang, Sive Homo Sylvestris..., (London, 1699).)

⁹⁹Janson, Ape Lore, 86.

harbor hatreds for a long time.¹⁰⁰ If that were so, then men who were of a vengeful disposition or who nursed the desire for revenge were acting in the manner of apes rather than as fully-fledged human beings. In describing Amerindians (with more or less truth) as people who never forgot an injury, who were so vengeful that they even ate the lice which tormented them, and who had no order in their sexual relations, Renaissance writers were putting them into a context popularly associated with apes and Wild Men.

This position of l'homme sauvage between man and animal meant that he could act in concert with beasts as an intermediary between human beings and the underworld. In Renaissance Flanders he was included with the wild animals who guarded the fountain of life in the forest: "un géant à figure et à membres chevelus, armé d'un sapin déraciné...ses sourcils s'unissent au dessus du nez. Il refuse ou accorde l'entrée du ciel."¹⁰¹ Near the forest was the Nobiskrug where passports to the other world were obtained; its insignia was a hairy giant. It was in this capacity as intermediary that the Wild Man was known as Orcus.¹⁰² In Rouen during the sixteenth century, this figure was

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 80, citing Thomas Cantimprensis, Liber de natura rerum, 1240.

¹⁰¹William Frederic Greeney, A Book of Fac-similes of Monumental Brasses of the Continent of Europe, with brief descriptive notes, (Norwich, 1884), 21.

¹⁰²See supra, 120, 121. To this day, the sign "In dem Wildeman" is a favorite for inns and taverns in Belgium and The Netherlands.

frequently placed above doors of houses, and appeared as a fireplace guardian¹⁰³ against the underworld. He is found on the North Portal of Rouen Cathedral, and guards the principal entrance to San Gregorio in Valladolid in Spain, as well as that of Casa de Montejo in Yucatan, built in 1549. In his demonic aspect he appears on tombs, particularly in northern and central Europe, where he is usually being trampled underfoot by the commemorated figure.

In Renaissance France the dark side of l'homme sauvage prevailed, and he became identified with the older Germanic comic devil, Hellekin, leader of the Wild Horde. Hellekin was particularly strongly entrenched in the north; his marriage to the mythical Luque La Maudite in Rouen during the thirteenth century is said to have resulted in a spree that caused considerable damage to the city.¹⁰⁴ When animal skins and feathers were not available for the costuming of Hellekin in pageants, rags were substituted, which eventually became stylized into the diamond design which is associated with his theatrical descendant, Harlequin.¹⁰⁵ In

¹⁰³Such a figure, cast in iron, is to be seen in the Musée Le Secq de Tournelles in Rouen.

¹⁰⁴Bernheimer, Wild Man, 65. Hellekin or Harlequin was also associated with La chasse sauvage, or, as it was known in Saintonge, la chasse-galerie. A bibliography of this mythical activity of the "wild horde" is found in Van Gennep, Folklore, I: 632-641.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 84. For an illustration indicating how this might have come about, see the Breughel painting reproduced in Bernheimer, Fig. 16. According to Chevalier, Arlequin (Harlequin) symbolized a malicious buffoon of unstable personality, a being who was not yet individualized.

this connection it is interesting to note that one of the theatrical successes of eighteenth-century Paris was Arlequin Sauvage, first presented at Théâtre des Italiens, 17 June 1721. This play, by Louis-François de Lisle de La Drévetière (1682-1756), concerns Arlequin, an Amerindian brought to Europe, who proceeded to run afoul of the law, both written (in an encounter with a merchant, when he mistakes proffered goods as a gift) and unwritten (his amatory adventures with Violette). Arlequin's simple truthfulness eventually prevails over social considerations and he wins Violette. This tale of the triumph of "le bon sauvage" reflects the later transmutation of the Wild Man into a "paragon of virtue lost in unfolding civilization."¹⁰⁶ This purging of l'homme sauvage of his bestial and demonic aspects resulted in his apotheosis into "le bon sauvage", a fate which he shared with the Amerindian

¹⁰⁶Bernheimer, Wild Man, 102. Bernheimer theorizes that this development indicated the uneasiness of Europeans with their own civilization, particularly its organized violence. Another type of mythic transformation can be discerned in The Faerie Queene. Among its woodland episodes, Hellenore deserted her husband to go and live with bag-pipe playing satyrs (Book II, Canto X); Amoret was snatched by a Wild Man (Book IV, Canto VII); and finally, Serena was captured by Salvages who "did live of stealth and spoile," depriving poor men of the fruits of their labor. These Salvages were prepared to make a cannibalistic sacrifice of Serena when she was rescued by Sir Calepine (Book VI: Canto VIII). In this presentation of evolutionary development, the half-animal Satyrs were dominated by their sensuality and given to dancing and festivities; the Wild Man combined sensuality and cannibalism; and the Salvages, although tempted by the charms of Serena, were convinced by their priest to make a sacrifice of her instead. And so bestial sensuality was transformed into a blood sacrifice to the Gods.

during the eighteenth century. This was the folkloric counterpart of the evangelization of the New World peoples, "auparavant sauvages & maintenant sacrez."¹⁰⁷

The idea of "le bon sauvage" is, of course, as ancient as that of the Wild Man, as it is another aspect of the same general concept. According to Boas and Lovejoy, "From the 4th century BC, the Scythians were to the ancients what the American Indians were to the primitivists of the 16th to the 18th centuries in modern Europe."¹⁰⁸ While several different peoples were cast in this role at various times, the Scythians were the favorite. Christian Europe, remoulding the ideal of the Golden Age into the vision of the Garden of Eden, developed two traditions concerning the Scythians. One presented them as admirable, the other as detestable,¹⁰⁹ but in either case they were regarded as savage. With the emergence of Amerindians within the European range of vision, it was a comparatively simple matter to fit them into existing perspectives, particularly as there seemed to be resemblances between the two "savage" peoples, from the Old World and the New. The speed with which this was done is evident in the writings of Martire: "Les nostre estiment estre gens vages comme Scythiens, vivans des fruicts de la

¹⁰⁷Charles Chaulmer, Le Nouveau Monde ou l'Amérique chrétienne... (Paris, 1659), 8.

¹⁰⁸Documentary History of Primitivism and Related Ideas, edited by George Boas and Arthur O. Lovejoy, (Baltimore, 1935), 289.

¹⁰⁹George Boas, Essays on Primitivism and Related Ideas in the Middle Ages, (Baltimore, 1948), 137.

terre sans certaine habitations."¹¹⁰ The Jesuits of New France were to report in their turn that the Iroquois waged war in the manner of the Scythians and Parthians.¹¹¹

The inaccuracy of the view that Amerindians lived "comme bêtes irraisonables, ainsi que nature les a produits."¹¹² was soon recognized by those associated with them. As Père Claude observed, "A la verité, je pensois toujours trouver des bestes feroces, des hommes totalement agrestes, rude & Sauvages (comme nous les appelons) mais je me trouvay bien esloignée de mon compte. Car pour ce qui est de la perfection de sens naturels, soit extérieurs soit intérieurs, je ne recontray jamais personne & n'ay ouy parler d'aucune nation qui les excellast."¹¹³ Du Tertre and others agreed that Amerindians were savage in name only, and in the Jesuit Relations we find several assertions that the

¹¹⁰Anghiera, Extraict ou recueil, 46 verso. Cotton Mather had his own version of the resemblance between Scythians and Amerindians when he wrote that the difficulties of Xerxes and Tamburlaine in finding the Scythians in order to conquer them was paralleled by the experiences of the English against the Amerindians. (Magnalia Christi Americana, 2 vols. (Hartford, 1820) 1: 166-167.) Later he described Amerindians as "worse than Scythian wolves." (Ibid., 1:193.)

¹¹¹Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XXII: 35. A latter-day echo of this can be discerned in the detection of Scytho-Siberian influences in some motifs found in Inuit designs. (Dean Snow, The American Indians: their archaeology and prehistory, (London, 1976), 228-229.)

¹¹²Thevet, Singularitez, 135. In the words of Jeremy Bentham, "If we suppose the least agreement among savages to respect the acquisitions of each other, we see the introduction of a principle to which no name can be given than that of law." Cited by Hallowell, Culture and Experience, 245.

¹¹³Père Claude, Maragnan, 311-311 verso.

procedures of Amerindians were not those of brute beasts.¹¹⁴ But instead of convincing Europeans that Amerindians were not savage, such statements were regarded as a defence of "le bon sauvage." The Jesuits, for instance, were sometimes accused of being more interested in proving that "savages" were really civilized than they were in evangelizing them. Europeans, by transforming the Amerindian into an idealized and thus essentially unreal image, not only deprived him of his position as a fellow human being with a viable civilization of his own, but also made it impossible for him to acquire such minor honors as being a credible hero a first-rate drama.¹¹⁵ At the same time, they quickly found a use for "le bon sauvage." He was moulded into an instrument for criticizing European society, as well as used as a basic ingredient for various Utopias, the creation of which became

¹¹⁴Du Tertre, Histoire generale, 396; Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XXI: 55; L: 171. Louis Jolliet and Jacques Marquette, the first white men to encounter many of the tribes of the Mississippi Valley, found these people on, the whole, to be civil, liberal and humane. (Voyages et découvertes de quelques pays et nations de l'Amerique Septentrionale, (Paris, 1845), 20.) This was echoed more than a century later by Père Louis Vivier among the Illinois: "Let us consider the Savages in particular. Nothing but erroneous ideas are conceived of them in Europe; they are hardly believed to be men. This is a gross error... They have wit... as much, at least, as most Frenchmen... I found in them many qualities that are lacking in civilized peoples." (Cited by Good, Guebert Site, 47-48.)

¹¹⁵Bissell, America Indian in English Literature, Introduction.

a literary tradition.¹¹⁶

The classification of New World men as savage was reinforced by the speed with which even the most sophisticated American cultures were destroyed. The argument was that the Aztec and Inca empires could not have been very civilized, or they would not have fallen so quickly:

Comme penserez vous qu'il ayt esté possible selon la teneur de cet histoire à une centaine de gens dessite ou peu d'avantage conquerir un si grand pays en si peu de temps? Et sans aucune comparaison de nombre ne de force desconfire une armée innumerable de Barbares en plein champ de bataille?¹¹⁷

One of the ironies of the situation was that the Incas and Aztecs both shared with Europeans the belief that their forebears had once lived as beasts,¹¹⁸ and the Inca looked down upon the people of the Amazon as being savages. But that did not imply that any Amerindian was prepared to consider himself as savage at the time of Europe's invasion of the Americas. According to a seventeenth-century report, some were reported to have retorted that as far as they were concerned, it was the French who were the savages, "parce que nous [that is, the French] ne vivons pas à leur mode;

¹¹⁶For one of the earliest examples of the use of the Amerindian "bon sauvage" as an instrument for criticizing European society, see Anghiera, Extrait ou recueil, 68 verso-69. Among the French writers who were inspired by Amerindians to create literary ideal societies were Abbé François Fénelon, Les Aventures de Télémaque..., (Paris, s.d.); Denis Vairasse d'Alais, Histoire des Sévèrambes..., (Paris, 1677-1679); and Foigny, La Terre Australe.

¹¹⁷L'Histoire de la Terre-Neuve du Pérou, preface.

¹¹⁸Garcilasso de La Vega, Royal Commentaries, I: 47; José de Acosta, The Naturall and Moral Historie of the East and West Indies, translated into English by E.G., (London, 1604), 497.

qu'ils ont leur science & nous la nostre, comme si il y avoit deux façons de sçavoir les choses dans la vérité."¹¹⁹ But the argument that counted in the end was that of force; might was equated with civilization. There might be sympathy for the defeated, but they had still been proven to be of an inferior order.

Another irony of Europe's confusion of the Wild Man with the Amerindian was the latter's horror of hairiness. Both Columbus and Vespucci were struck by this, as was anyone who had anything to do with Amerindians during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹²⁰ To cite Vespucci, "they do not allow any hair to grow on their eyebrows nor their eyelids nor anywhere on the body (with the exception of the head), for this reason----because they deem it coarse and animal-like."¹²¹ Jesuits in the Canadian missions observed that their charges were repelled by the hairiness of Europeans, and sometimes openly mocked them on the subject. But the crowning irony was that the Amerindians had a mythological hairy man of their own, who was also a forest figure. This personnage, who was sometimes female, preyed on young children rather than on women, and lived in the forests of the east as well as those of the west. Among its

¹¹⁹Sieur de La Borde, "Relation de l'origine, moeurs, coustumes, religion, guerres et voyages des Caraiibes, sauvages des isles Antilles de l'Amerique," 15, in Henri Justel, Recueil de Diverses Voyages Faits En Afrique et en l'Amerique..., (Paris, 1674).

¹²⁰See Thevet's comment, *supra*, 129.

¹²¹Waldseemüller, Cosmographiae, 92-93.

better-known contemporary manifestations is the Sasquatch of the Northwest Coast, who is as familiar to Canadians as Bigfoot is to Americans of the Pacific Coast.¹²²

So the processes of identifying Amerindians with savagery operated on the level of ideology as well as on that of popular mythology. To Europeans, reports that Amerindians lived "mangeans racines, demeurent tousiours nuds tant hommes que femmes"¹²³ implied not that they were living without rules at all, although that was how it was usually stated, but according to the rules of the non-human world around them. It is known today, of course, that this image does not equate with the facts: no human society has ever been found that conforms to the conditions of animal life.¹²⁴ For instance, every human society ever studied has been found to have rules against incest; notions of what constitutes incest vary from culture to culture, but the idea of degrees of relationship within which marriage is

¹²²Dr. Louise M. Jilek-Aall did a comparative study of European and Amerindian attitudes toward the Sasquatch in "What is a Sasquatch---or, the Problematics of Reality Testing," in Canadian Psychiatry Association Journal, XVII (1972) 243-347. A recent publication on the mythical being is that of Don Hunter with René Dahinden, Sasquatch, (Toronto, 1973). The universality of the concept of the hairy man is indicated by the Yeti, or "abominable snowman" of the Tibetans.

¹²³Thevet, Singularitez, 135.

¹²⁴Claude Levi-Strauss, Les Structures Elementaires de la Parenté, (Paris, 1949), particularly the introductory section; and Hallowell, Culture and Experience, 89, 249. Voltaire also did not believe that human nature was capable of the solitary, rootless life implied by the concept of l'homme sauvage. "Essai sur les Moeurs", in Oeuvres, XI: 19-20.

prohibited is universal. This concept has never been found to be operating in the animal world.¹²⁵ The Stone-Age men of America and Australia, of Melanesia and Polynesia, may have lived in close co-operation with the world of nature around them, but this in no way implies an identification between nature's rules and those of human society.

We do not know the line of demarcation between nature and human cultures, and when, if ever, one passes over into the other.¹²⁶ It is being realized more clearly all the time that even the most technologically complex of human societies ignore nature at their peril. But in the Europe of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the world of nature was seen as having been created for man's benefit. It was the task of man, created in God's image, to reduce nature to human concepts of order. From that point of view, the man who co-operated with nature and thought to live within its framework was regarded as living according to nature in the manner of "bêtes brutes."

Supported by such an ideological climate, Europe's belief in the hairy man was to prove extremely persistent in folklore despite mounting evidence against his existence. It

¹²⁵Levi-Strauss, Structures, 30. Similarly, tattooing, body painting and rites of passage are uniquely human institutions. Père Yves, while recognizing that tattooing was practiced by "nations polices", thought that the custom must be founded in nature as barbarous Brazilians "sans communication d'aucune autre Nation civilisee, l'aye inventee & exercee." (Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil, 44.)

¹²⁶Levi-Strauss, Structures, 9.

was easier to prove orthodoxy wrong about the habitability of the Antipodes than it was to dispel popular mythology. The first was a case of intellectual argument in which some glee was found in discomfiting authority; but the second was a type of belief that existed independently of scientific fact. The same phenomenon was illustrated by belief in the unicorn, that mythological animal which the Wild Man was able to overcome by sheer physical force, a feat which a pure young lady could match by love. Throughout the age of discovery, the unicorn was reported from various parts of the world, including Canada and Florida.¹²⁷ Thevet, in denying the existence of the unicorn, as well as that of dragons, sirens and griffons, displayed considerable courage.¹²⁸ But he was not successful in slaying the mythical beast; after all, had not Clement VII presented Francis I with a unicorn horn three feet long on the

¹²⁷These sightings included an eye-witness account from Mecca, (Belleforest, Cosmographie universelle, I:279), although Boemus held that unicorns were to be found only in India. (Recueil, (1540), 65). Alfonse wrote of Norumbega (New England): "Et dient les Sauvages qu'il y a des Lycornes." ("La Cosmographie" in Recueil de voyages et de documents pour servir à l'histoire de la géographie depuis le XIII^e jusqu'à la fin du XVII^e siècle, edited by Ch. Schefer, (Paris, 1904), 497.) The geographer John Ogilby (1600-1676) corroborated this by describing a wild animal to be found on the borders of Canada which he did not name but whose identity he indicates beyond doubt. (Ogilby, America, 172.) Sir John Hawkins, following his visit to the Ribault-Laudonnière colony in Florida, reported that the French had obtained pieces of unicorn horn from the Floridians, who wore them about their necks. (Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, X:59.)

¹²⁸Thevet, Cosmographie, (Guillaume Chaudière) 19, 114. Atkinson, Nouveaux Horizons, 279, said he was the only author of his period to do so.

occasion of the wedding of the latter's son, Henri d'Orléans, to Catherine de' Medici in 1533? The gift, considered to be beyond price, was also useful, as it was believed to sweat if placed near poison. As the Jesuits were to say of the Hurons, beliefs, no matter how apparently ridiculous, are hard to eradicate.¹²⁹

More importantly, however, Europe's belief in the savagery of Amerindians was to have profound consequences in the realm of practical politics in the New World. Equally important was to be the interplay of European attitudes with those of Amerindians, who far from being unformed savages "en l'enfance de la nature", were the products of cultures that had evolved over many centuries.

¹²⁹Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XII: 181.

THE MYTH OF THE SAVAGE
AND THE BEGINNINGS OF FRENCH COLONIALISM IN THE AMERICAS

Chapter IV

The Original People of New France

The Amerindian factor was of crucial importance in the establishment of New France: only after they adopted a policy of cooperation with the natives did the French succeed in founding their colony. Although they would retain this policy throughout the period of their presence in America, they never fully understood their New World allies. Their long and proud tradition of intellectual tolerance, of being able to see the other side, was not in itself enough for the French to make the ideological leap necessary to see their New World friends as anything other than "savage." Certain individuals might have realized that the label was inaccurate, but neither ecclesiastical nor secular officialdom as a whole shared in such an understanding.

Renaissance Europeans used savagery to explain everything about New World men, good and bad. For instance, was not the capacity of Amerindians to orient themselves in the wilderness an innate instinct that was the same as that possessed by animals? Experiments have since demonstrated

that this notion is without foundation;¹ orientation by human beings has been found to be based on observation, memory and experience. Capacity to find one's way in the wilderness depends upon intelligence and knowledge of the country; in a strange region, deprived of landmarks and with an overcast sky, an Amerindian could lose his way.² The difference between Amerindians and Europeans in this regard was one of cultural conditioning, because of which the former maintained constant directional orientation in contrast to the latter who did not. But to Europeans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Amerindian "sense of direction" was seen as a proof of savagery rather than as an indication of intelligence. In other words, where Amerindians and their societies were concerned, Europeans tended to see only men of nature who had not yet attained civility. A brief survey of the peoples first encountered by the French along the Atlantic coast, the St. Lawrence and in their hinterlands reveals a different picture from this prevailing image. It also reveals that these societies had been affected by contact with Europeans long before colonization, with highly variable results. Already discernible were patterns of alliances and antagonisms which

¹Pierre Jaccard, Le sens de la direction et l'orientation chez l'homme, (Paris, 1932); also, Hallowell, Culture and Experience, 190-200.

²The Jesuits told of a Huron, in strange country, climbing a tree to reconnoitre. (Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XLVI: 33-35.) Eckstorm also told of Father Gabriel Druillettes being accused of bewitching Amerindians so that they lost their way. (Old John Neptune, 104-105, footnote.)

would come into full bloom during the colonial period.³

Who were these people of the north, generally characterized during the sixteenth century as "idolâtres, brutaux, sans aucun police?"⁴ Thevet found that their customs were not much different from "autres peuples barbares" in the New World.⁵ This observation as to the underlying similarities of Amerindians and their way of life throughout the Americas, frequently noted during this period, has been confirmed by modern ethnography. For example, all of these societies divided labor along sex lines, and individual households were largely self-sufficient, whether in the city-states of Central America or on the Labrador coast. A sense of community responsibility ensured that fellow tribesmen were not left without food or shelter. This is far from saying, however, that the cultures of all the New World peoples were uniform; indeed, the

³Snow's American Indians contains a recent survey of the prehistory of the Eastern Woodlands.

⁴Apianus, Quatres parties du Monde, 166. All human skeletons that have been recovered in the Americas have been of homo sapiens sapiens; also, the discovery of Folsom points contemporaneous with long-extinct bison indicates the antiquity of man in the New World. This antiquity is constantly being extended as new archaeological sites are uncovered; most recently, the discovery of what may be Neanderthal skull caps raises the possibility that homo sapiens may have evolved in the New World even as he did in Europe.

⁵Thevet, Singularitez, 419; however, Thevet qualified his observation by adding that Canadians had "much more civiltie than inhabitants of America" (Brazil) because they covered themselves with animal skins, whereas the latter went totally naked. (Thevet, New found worlde or Antarctique, translated by T. Hackett, (London, 1568), 126.)

variety of their societies was exceeded only by that of their languages, of which about 2,000 were spoken. Nowhere else in the world has such diversity been found.⁶

Amerindians living on the Atlantic Coast from Cape Breton as far south as Cape Fear belonged to the Algonkian linguistic group, apart from the Inuit and perhaps the Beothuk (who may have been distant relatives of the Algonkians, although this is not universally conceded). Others of the same group inhabited the Great Lakes region. Iroquoians appeared seasonally on the coast for fishing; they lived for most of the year along the St. Lawrence in semi-sedentary towns such as Stadacona and Hochelaga. Iroquoians of the general area included the Five Nations of the Finger Lakes and Hudson River region, and the Hurons, Tionontati (Petun), Neutral and Erie of the Great Lakes. The Iroquoians were, in effect, surrounded by Algonkians.⁷

The Iroquoians, as well as some of the Algonkians (such as the Abenaki) practiced farming with varying degrees of intensity, rarely being entirely dependent upon it, as they were at the northern limits of agriculture practicable with Stone Age technology. The Stadaconans, for instance, depended more upon the river for subsistence than did the

⁶It has already been indicated that to the Renaissance mind this suggested degeneration. (*Supra*, 75-76.) This was reinforced by the Biblical story of the Tower of Babel.

⁷Champlain reported that the country south of the "great river" was much more thickly populated than the regions to the north. (Biggar, *Works of Champlain*, IV: 301.)

people of Hochelaga. The Micmac had a tradition of once being agriculturalists, but at the time of contact were hunters and fishermen, confining their farming to the cultivation of tobacco.⁸ The Abenaki, who during the early part of the seventeenth century were living in semi-sedentary towns, reverted under the pressures of contact to a nomadic hunting and fishing existence.⁹ The Algonkians and Inuit of the Far North, as well as the Beothuk, were hunters and fishermen. All of these people lived within the framework of well-developed societies of varying complexities which provided for their needs, both as individuals and as social beings.

Life patterns were, of course, at least partly conditioned by the means of subsistence. For the hunters and gatherers, seventeenth century observers unanimously reported fish as a principal means of subsistence, although moose---"very large stags like horses"¹⁰ ----bear, beaver

⁸Lescarbot, History of New France, III: 252.

⁹Kroeber said the long-range effect of European contact was to entrench Amerindians more firmly into being hunters. (A.L. Kroeber, Cultural and natural areas of native North America, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, XXXVIII (1939), 95-96. Also, Snow, American Indians, 83-155.) Similarly, in South America, the flourishing herds of horses and cattle, descended from animals introduced by the Spanish and turned wild, caused whole groups of Amerindians to give up agriculture and take to the saddle. (Crosby, Columbian Exchange, 102.) This was ironic, in view of the stated purpose of colonial powers to stabilize the nomads.

¹⁰"The Cabot Legends," Royal Society of Canada Proceedings and Transactions Second Series III (1897), Appendix to Section II, 446.

and caribou were important game; and in the spring and fall, geese and ducks. Fishing was a low-prestige occupation, as Amerindians considered that anyone could do it, although the French were often to find themselves dependent upon the bounty of Amerindian fishermen when they themselves had no "luck".¹¹

But hunting demanded skill, and the power that could be mustered by one's supernatural partners. These guardian spirits were acquired by the hunter in his puberty dream-vision.¹² Bezoars (a concretion found in the fourth stomach of ruminants) were a popular hunting charm;¹³ in Europe, the wearing of these stones was regarded as a safeguard against

¹¹Thwaites, Jesuit Relations. XLVIII, 119-121.

¹²Dreams in general were considered to be of first importance by most Amerindian peoples. Iroquois went to considerable lengths to interpret dreams and to act out their messages. According to Anthony F.C. Wallace, they considered that dreams expressed suppressed desires, which if given satisfaction would relieve psychic and psychomatic stresses. In this understanding of psychodynamics, Iroquoians were far ahead of Europeans of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. (The Death and Rebirth of the Senecas (New York, 1970), 63.)

¹³Elizabeth Tooker, An Ethnography of the Huron Indians 1615-1649, (Midland, Ont., 1967), 120-121. A sixteenth century doctor, Juan Fragoso, had his own version of the origin of bezoars. He wrote that they congealed "from the humors distilled from the eyes of deer when they stand in water up to their lips in order to suffer no ill effects from the poison of snakes which they have eaten in order to renew their youth or to free themselves from worms." (Cited by Thorndike, History of Magic, VI: 315.)

the plague.¹⁴ New World hunters had resort to scapulamancy (reading marks on shoulder bones) and scrying (crystal-gazing) to predict success in hunting, techniques which were also familiar to Europeans.¹⁵ North of the St. Lawrence, where survival was more difficult, the spectre of starvation was expressed in the fear of "wihtiko", the person who ate human flesh and turned into the most fearsome of beings.¹⁶ In those regions, hunters had status; in areas where agriculture was practised, it was warriors who had prestige.

Northern agriculture was based on the triple crop complex, known to the Iroquois as the three sisters.¹⁷

¹⁴Andreas Cesaipinus (1519-1603) was of the opinion that bezoars from the New World were less efficacious than those of Persia and the Orient (Thorndike, History of Magic, VI: 275, 335,) an opinion supported by Acosta, who ranked bezoars of Peru second to those of the Orient, but above those of New Spain. (Histoire naturelle, 207.) Bezoars were highly regarded in China for medicinal purposes. (Edward H. Schafer, The Golden Peaches of Samarkand, (Berkley, 1963), 191-192.)

¹⁵In fact, Kroeber wondered if scapulamancy had not been introduced by the French or perhaps from Siberia. (Cultural and natural areas, 101.)

¹⁶This is also known as the Windigo Psychosis. The fear of this type of cannibalism among the hunters of the north contrasts with the ritual cannibalism practised by the agriculturalists to the south. Wihtiko could also be a cannibal giant. See J. Anthony Paredes, "A Case Study of 'Normal Windigo'," Anthropologica, XIV, #2 (1972) 97-116.

¹⁷The first mention of the triple crop complex is found in Cabeza de Vaca's account of the Narvaez expedition in Middle America in 1528. (Sauer, Sixteenth Century America, 42.) Its first representation in European art is in Hans Burgkmair's woodcut, "People of Calicut," which shows it being carried in a triumphal procession that includes Amerindians. (European Vision of America, #5.) All plants cultivated by natives of North America were of Mexican origin, except for the Jerusalem artichoke and sunflowers. (Kroeber, Cultural and natural areas, 221.)

Europeans noted that Amerindians understood the culture of their crops, and selected the proper soils "with rare discrimination."¹⁸ Enough food was grown to be used in trade and to allow for the development of symbiotic relationships. The Hurons, for instance, provided the Algonquins with farm produce in exchange for products of the hunt. The Tionontati of Lakes Erie and Ontario were called Petun by the French because they specialized in growing tobacco. The general practice at the time of contact was to abandon fields after about 10 or so years to cultivate new ones that had been cleared and prepared in the meantime.¹⁹ The reason usually given for this practice, that the soil was exhausted after that period, is not entirely satisfactory. Depletion of firewood was the principal factor, although growing scarcity of game should also to be considered.²⁰ In any event, the cyclical pattern of agriculture, along with the winter hunt and fishing, meant a semi-sedentary mode of existence for

¹⁸ Joseph B. Walker, "The Valley of the Merrimack" in Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, edited by Nathaniel Bouton, (Concord, 1863), VII: 417.

¹⁹ PAC, Archives de la Province de France de la Compagnie de Jesus, Fonds Brotier 160: 127-132, Jean de Lamberville à Onontague, 25 aout 1682. Archaeological evidence indicates that early town occupation was for much longer periods, up to 70 years. (James A. Tuck, Onondaga Iroquois Prehistory (Syracuse, 1971), 214.) Vespucci reported from his visits to the Caribbean and South America that the people of those regions changed residence every eight to 10 years, because of the soil, which became corrupted and unhealthy. (The First Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci, 11.)

²⁰ PAC, Archives des Jesuites, Fonds Brotier 160: 127-132. Also, Sagard, The Long Journey, 92. The farmers of the pueblos of the Southwest and of Mexico and Peru were more stable; but the city-builders of Central America, the Maya rebuilt or abandoned their temples in cycles of 52 years.

northeastern farming peoples.²¹ Such cyclical life patterns, whatever their degree of nomadism, called for considerable organization; in a word, of government, even in the absence of a state structure.

Both agriculturalists and hunters used snowshoes and toboggans drawn by a head-strap and, in the regions where birch was available, birch-bark canoes. The Five Nations, south of the birch tree area, used elm bark for their canoes, which made craft with a load capacity two or three times greater than was possible with the use of birch bark, but which were much slower. Skin clothing was used particularly toward the north, where hunting peoples such as the Montagnais, Naskapi and Cree retained aspects of early ice-age cultures.²² Sweat houses were popular throughout the Northeastern woodlands as a health measure.

Agricultural Iroquoians and Algonkians shared the use of ball-headed club, effigy pipes and longhouses; they pallisaded their villages, stored food in pits and ate dog flesh as a delicacy in ceremonial feasts. Among the customs they shared was the use of wampum in diplomacy and to compensate for murder, as well as the adoption and torture

²¹It was this cyclical pattern which probably influenced the Huron to identify the seasons of the year by wild beasts, fish, birds and vegetation. (Thwaites, Jesuit Relations XV: 157; also Tooker, Huron Ethnography, 71.)

²²Johnson, Man in Northeastern North America, 281ff.

of prisoners and burning at the stake.²³ Politically, they sometimes formed confederacies, of which the most successful was the Five Nations.

Iroquoians and southern Algonkians had kinship systems based upon clans (in contrast to northern Algonkians, who did not possess them), which, despite variations from group to group, had denominations corresponding to water (turtle, beaver, eel), earth (wolf, deer, bear) and air (hawk, eagle, crow). Bird denominations could also pertain to water, such as heron, duck, coot, etc.²⁴ Members claimed descent from a common ancestor; it was a fictive kinship, separate from blood kinship. However, social organization derived not so much from clans as from moities (from moitié, half), which often differed in structure and function from tribe to tribe. Among the Five Nations they were composed of clans and were exogamous; among the Fox (Algonkians of the Great Lakes), they were non-exogamous and without reference to clans.²⁵ Those belonging to the same moiety called each other "brother", and those of the other moiety "cousin". This dual organization was particularly important in social and ceremonial activities.²⁶ Descent was matrilineal among the Iroquoians, patrilineal among the Algonkians.

²³Ibid., 279; also Regina Flannery, An Analysis of Coastal Algonquian Culture, (Catholic University of America Anthropology Series, No. 7, 1939), 182 ff.

²⁴Claude Levi-Strauss, La Pensée Sauvage, (Paris, 1962), 77.

²⁵Ibid., 95, 96.

²⁶For examples of how this operated among the Five Nations, see infra, 195-196.

Resemblances and divergences were such as to lead Levi-Strauss to observe:

Dans les sociétés à clans unilinéaires et exogamiques, le système des appellations claniques est presque toujours à mi-chemin entre l'ordre et le désordre; ce que seule pourrait expliquer, semble-t-il, l'action conjuguée de deux tendances: l'une, d'origine démographique, qui pousse à la désorganisation, l'autre, d'inspiration spéculative, qui pousse à la réorganisation dans un ligne aussi proche que possible de l'état antérieur.²⁷

Underlying this variety of social structure was reciprocity, of fundamental importance to "tribal" societies throughout the world, and the basis of the most ancient known legal system.²⁸ Basic to this reciprocity was exchange, which had the character of gift-giving as much as of trade in the European sense.²⁹ Besides being economic, these exchanges had magical, social, religious, political, judicial and moral aspects---in other words, they represented "un fait social total."³⁰ Contact between Iroquoians or Algonkians and Europeans almost immediately developed into trade relationships which for Europeans were essentially economic, but which for Amerindians represented, among other things, alliances as well. Such differences in attitude were to lead later to misunderstandings.

Body-painting and tattooing---the "writing of pre-literate societies"----was shared by all the people of the

²⁷Levi-Strauss, Pensée Sauvage, 95.

²⁸Marcel Mauss, Sociologie et Anthropologie, (Paris, 1960), 264.

²⁹Ibid., 275; Levi-Strauss, structures, 66.

³⁰Mauss, Sociologie, 275.

northeastern woodlands and the Great Lakes.³¹ Early writers referred to tattooing under the general term matachias, which also included such items as hair and porcupine quill embroidery and, later, beadwork. These writers were struck with the variety and intricacy of designs with which the people of the New World adorned themselves.³² The importance of this preoccupation was indicated by the time and thought devoted to it, as well as by the conservatism of the designs.³³ Not only did patterns express individual taste, they also served as personal identification, clan affiliation, as a record of achievements and consequently of status; in other words, they were the mark of adulthood. Bressani, who had thought deeply on Amerindian culture, observed

The reasons they have for painting themselves---especially for a temporary purpose---are certainly not barbarous. This Painting serves them in Winter as a mask against the cold and ice; in war, it prevents their countenances from betraying them by revealing inward fear, makes them more terrible to the enemy, and conceals extreme youth or age, which might inspire strength and courage in the adversary. It serves as adornment at the public feasts and assemblies. They also paint the prisoners destined to the flames, as victims consecrated to the God of war, and adorn them as the ancients adorned theirs. They do the same also to their

³¹Levi-Strauss, Tristes Tropiques, 191-203; and supra III: n125.

³²Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia or New France by the Sieur de Diereville, edited by John C. Webster, (Toronto, 1933), 169-171; Denys, Description, 413; Le Clercq, New Relation, 97-98.

³³Levi-Strauss, Tristes Tropiques, 191.

dead, for the same reasons for which we adorn ours.³⁴

Body painting endured throughout the period of New France, although the active campaign of the missionaries against it had its effect, especially among converts. The clergy saw the practice as inspired by the devil, as man refusing to be a reflection of the divine image.³⁵ Such a stand, of course, was based upon a particular view of what the divine image was.

The egalitarianism that marked Amerindian social organization, which early missionaries tended to regard as indicating lack of order and subordination, was reflected in their spiritual relationships. Just as each individual was autonomous in dealing with the material world, so it was up to each person to establish his own contacts with the non-material world. Peoples of the northeastern woodlands practiced shamanism, bear ceremonialism and shaking-tent rituals. They also shared myths and culture heroes: the giant Gluskap of the Micmac, Malecite and Abenaki; the dwarf Tcikpai of the Montagnais-Naskapi; and Nanabozho, the trickster-transformer of the Algonquins, among others. The myths that attached to such personalities, as well as to Ataentsic of the Iroquoians, the mother of mankind, had to

³⁴Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XXXVIII: 253. Some of this was expressed in letters attributed to Antoine Silvy, but which seem to have been written by Intendant Jacques Raudot, Relation par lettres de l'Amerique Septentrionale (Annees 1709 et 1710), (Paris, 1904), 204-205. Oviedo had noted that tattooing indicated rank. (Natural History, 44.)

³⁵Levi-Strauss, Tristes Tropiques, 194-195.

do with the nature of the world, of how men came to be part of it, and of how they became civilized. In other words, they provided a point from which to grasp the universe as a whole, and to fit the particular tribe into the universal pattern. Geography tended to be interpreted in terms of totems and myths. The Micmac, Malecite and Abenaki saw evidences of their hero-civilizer Gluskap in the countryside---an elongated rock was Gluskap's canoe; a vein of white rock, the entrails of a moose he had killed. A mountain was his upturned cooking kettle.³⁶ This desire to relate to the whole world was also seen in the active role provided for the dead in ceremonies, although there was no ancestor worship as such.

BEOTHUK

First descriptions of the Beothuks of Newfoundland almost unanimously represented them as "inhuman and wild."

Cartier was more precise:

They wear their hair tied on the top of their heads like a handful of twisted hay, with a nail or something of the sort passed through the middle, and into it they weave a few birds' feathers. They clothe themselves with the furs of animals, both men as well as women.³⁷

Jean Fonteneau dit Alfonse (1483?-1557?), who was considered France's best navigator in his day, wrote of them:

Les gens sont grands, & tirent sur le noir...Ils n'ont plus de Dieu que les bestes, & sont mauvaises gens...les gens se

³⁶Levi-Strauss, Pensée Sauvage, 219.

³⁷Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 22-23.

nomment Tabios. Ils vivent de poisson, chair & fruitz d'arbres.³⁸

He had earlier remarked that "tous les gens de cette de Labrador ont queue."³⁹ The learned Pierre Crignon (c 1464-1540), who won prizes for his poetry at Rouen and who had accompanied the Parmentier brothers on at least one of their voyages, agreed:

Entre le Cap de Ras et le Cap des Bretons habitent des peuples rudes et cruels avec lesquels on ne peut ni pratiquer ni converser.⁴⁰

In spite of such attitudes, there are no indications that initial contacts were overtly hostile. During the early part of the sixteenth century, Basques left their fishing gear and boats in the whaling ports winter after winter, without loss or damage.⁴¹ But by the end of the century this had changed to the point where fishermen were arming their pataches to guard themselves against raids. The feud, which the Beothuks shared with the Labrador Inuit, was attributed

³⁸Jean Alfonse, Les Voyages aventureux du capitaine Ian Alfonse, Sainctongeais, (Poitiers, 1559), 27 verso. William Ganong speculated that Tabios was the name the Beothuk called themselves. If this is so, Alfonse's comment is the only record we have of the name. (Bernard Hoffman, Cabot to Cartier, (Toronto, 1961), 168.)

³⁹Alfonse, Voyages, 27 verso.

⁴⁰Ramusio, Navigations et Voyages, 111. Similar references are found in Thevet, Singularitez, 348; and Apianus, Cosmographie, 77 and 166. Lescarbot also seemed to be referring to Beothuks when he wrote of "a Savage tribe which carries on perpetual war with our sailors who are engaged in fishing." (History of New France, I:59.) Another reference is in Vincent Le Blanc, Les voyages fameux... (Paris, 1648), 65.

⁴¹Personal communication from Selma Barkham, researcher for the Public Archives of Canada, who is in Spain collecting documentation on the Grand Banks fishing fleets.

to the action of a Malouin sailor (or surgeon) who had killed the wife of an Inuit chief under brutal circumstances.⁴² The English also found their fishing operations hampered in certain areas "because the Savages of that country doe there inhabite; many of them secretly every yeare come into Trinity Bay and Harbor, in the nighttime, purposely to steale Sailes, Lines, Hatchets, Hookes, Knives, and such like."⁴³

At first contact these people apparently occupied most of Newfoundland, alternating between fishing on the coast and hunting caribou in the interior, depending upon the

⁴²Sixte Le Tac (1649?-1699) Histoire chronologique de la Nouvelle-France ou Canada, depuis sa découverte (1504) jusques en l'an 1632, (Paris, 1888), 34-35; and Georges Musset, manuscript for the second edition of Les Rochelais à Terre Neuve, Part II: 27. This manuscript is at La Bibliothèque de La Rochelle, Ms 2556. Another version of the story is given by Father Le Clercq, New Relation, 267. As hostilities continued, the town of St. Malo in 1610 sent out two armed vessels against the Newfoundland natives in retaliation for the killing of two sailors. (Henry Percival Biggar, Early Trading Companies (Toronto, 1901), 194-195; and H. Michelant and Alfred Ramé, Relation originale du voyage de Jacques Cartier au Canada en 1534..., (Paris, 1867), Part II: Documents Inédits sur le Canada, 34-35.)

⁴³Richard Whitbourne, A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland..., (London, 1620), 4. Hakluyt described a Beothuk attempt to take some small boats from the Grace of Bristol; the sailors were able to recover their property. (Principal Navigations, VIII: 164-165.)

seasonal availability of species.⁴⁴ They had corn, which indicates a trading relationship to the south, as they themselves did not practice agriculture. They quickly retreated before the fishermen who established themselves along the coast. By 1583 Edward Hayes, reporting on Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition, wrote that "in the South parts we found no inhabitants, which by all likelihood have abandoned these coasts, the same being frequented much by Christians; but in the North are savages, altogether harmless."⁴⁵ Sir Richard Whitbourne (c1579-1626), one of the best known of the "fishing admirals" of the Grand Banks, noted in 1620 that the natives were few in number.⁴⁶ Lahontan was under the impression the the island's only

⁴⁴Thevet reported of the Beothuk that they lived by the sea, "with little kind of other meate than fishe...whereof they take a great multitude...With the fat of this fish they make a certain Oyle, that after it has come to his perfection, hath a redde colour, which they drink at at their tables as we do wine or beere." In war, "their principall guide the which they honour as a King, shall goe the first, being armed with fair skins and fethers, sitting on the shoulders of two mighty men, to the end that everyone should see him, and know him also to be ready to obey him, whatsoever he shall command. And when they obtain victory, he shall lacke no honour, so they return joyfull to their houses with their banners displayed, which are braunches of trees garnished with fethers of swannes wavering in the aire, and wearing the skin of the face of their enemies spred in little circles in token of victorie." (New found worlde, 135 verso.) He also reported a similar custom among Canadians. (Cosmographie, 1013.) The resemblance to the manner in which the Inca, as well as the Floridian chiefs, were carried into battle is obvious. (Concerning the Inca, see Frame, Montaigne, 699.)

⁴⁵Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, VIII:58; Rev. George Patterson, "The Beothiks or Red Indians of Newfoundland," Royal Society of Canada, Proceedings and Transactions, Section II (1891) IX: 123-171.

⁴⁶Whitbourne Discourse, 2.

natives were the occasional Inuit passing through.⁴⁷ One estimate places the Beothuk population at 500 in 1600.⁴⁸

The Beothuk have been called the original "Red Indians" because of their practice of painting themselves, their clothing, and their belongings with red ochre.⁴⁹ But Brazilians could with equal justification be granted the distinction, as they also coloured themselves red. In their case they used "roucou", which like red ochre, was an insect repellent.⁵⁰

In spite of Whitbourne's opinion that a mission would have been helpful in bringing the Beothuks into line with European civility, none was established among them by either the French or the English. In fact, quite the opposite sentiment prevailed: according to one authority, the French placed a bounty on their heads,⁵¹ and the English hunted them at every opportunity. The last known representative of

⁴⁷Lahontan, Memoires, II: 33-34. Earlier, in 1583, the Hungarian Stephanus Parmenius had looked for natives about St John's but had found none. (Dictionary of Canadian Biography I: 532.)

⁴⁸John R. Swanton, The Indian Tribes of North America, (Washington, 1968), 549. However, Swanton's figures tend to be low.

⁴⁹Silvy, Relation par lettres, 208-209; also, Richard Whitbourne's "A Relation of the New-found-land" in Purchas, Hakluytus Posthumus, XIX: 438.

⁵⁰Caribs also coated themselves with red dye from the annatto tree (Bixa orellana) which was both decorative and a repellent of insects. (Nellis M. Crouse, French Pioneers in the West Indies (1624-1644), (New York, 1940), 4.) See also Oviedo, Natural History, 33. A recent discussion of the Archaic Red Paint culture of the Eastern Woodlands is that of Snow, American Indians, 34-37.

⁵¹Diamond Jenness, Indians of Canada, (Ottawa, 1958), 266.

the Beothuks, a woman, died in 1827.⁵² It has been speculated that their disappearance was at least partly due to their loss of access to the coast and its food resources.⁵³

MICMAC (Souriquois, Tarrantines, Toudamans, etc.)

In contrast to the Beothuk, the Micmac accommodated themselves comparatively well to Europeans; if population levels are an indication, they managed the best of all the coastal peoples. Although they were among the earliest of northern Amerindians to come into contact with Europeans, if not actually the first, they were able to maintain themselves in their ancestral lands as middlemen in trade and later as guerrillas in colonial rivalries. According to the testimony of Membertou in 1610, the Micmac had formerly been "as thickly planted as the hairs upon his head," but the "bad habits" they developed in connection with food and drink after the arrival of the French had greatly reduced their numbers.⁵⁴ Hoffman estimated that a pre-contact

⁵²For a recreation of the last days of the Beothuks, see Peter Such, Riverrun, (Toronto, 1973).

⁵³James A. Tuck, "A Current Summary of Newfoundland Prehistory," The Newfoundland Quarterly LXVIII #2 (summer 1971), 25.

⁵⁴Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, I:17, 177; III: 105-107; Nicolas Denys, The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia), edited by William F. Ganong, (Toronto, 1908), 444-450. Charges of poisoning, so frequently made by Amerindians against Europeans during the seventeenth century, may have stemmed from poor keeping methods of ships' supplies.

population of 6,000 is not out of the question.⁵⁵ Some support for a large pre-contact population was given by Etienne Bellenger, who told of one village, probably near Cape Sable, of 80 multi-family houses.⁵⁶ By 1612, Father Biard estimated their numbers at less than 2,000, a figure which he revised four years later to between 3,000 and 3,500.⁵⁷ A century and a half later they were estimated at almost the same number.

The Micmac lived on the Gaspé Peninsula, in present New Brunswick east of the rainage basin of the St. John River, throughout Nova Scotia, including Cape Breton Island, as well as on Prince Edward Island. They were the Toudamans mentioned by Cartier, probably Thevet's Tontaniens⁵⁸ and were the Tarantins of the English colonists.⁵⁹ To the early French the Micmac were Souriquois. Their language shares certain characteristics with Cree, the most widespread of the Algonkian group, as well as with Arapaho of the Central Plains.

⁵⁵Bernard Gilbert Hoffman, "Historical Ethnography of the Micmac of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," PhD thesis, (University of California, 1955), 230.

⁵⁶D.B. Quinn, "The Voyage of Etienne Bellenger to the Maritimes in 1583: A New Document," Canadian Historical Review, XLIII, NO. 4 (Dec. 1962), 332.

⁵⁷Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, II:73 III:111.

⁵⁸Bernard G. Hoffman, "Ancient Tribes Revisited: A Summary of Indian Distribution and Movement in the Northeastern United States from 1534 to 1779," Ethnohistory, XIV (1967), 27.

⁵⁹William Bradford, Of Plymouth Plantation, (New York, 1962), 79. Later, the Tarantins were confused with the Abenaki.

The sites of approximately 46 Micmac summer villages are known.⁶⁰ Their bark wigwams and lodges were so well fitted that it never rained within⁶¹ and they were decorated with paintings of animals.⁶² Archaeology has confirmed that the Micmac once used pottery, as Lescarbot reported.⁶³ That the pattern of cyclical activity was altered at about the time of contact is indicated by archaeological evidence. Along the coast of Maine, from about 200 AD to 1100 AD, campsites were occupied during the summer and early spring; but by 1500, occupancy had shifted to late spring and summer. European trade may have been a factor in the change; also, there is the possibility of climatic shifts.⁶⁴

The sea offered more easily accessible food than the land, providing the Micmac with 90% of their diet.⁶⁵ It follows from this that they were skilled seamen⁶⁶ who quickly adapted to European craft such as shallops. Bartholomew Gosnold (d. 1607) encountered Amerindians in a

⁶⁰Hoffman, "Historical Ethnography", 130.

⁶¹Denys, Description, 405-406.

⁶²Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, III:77; Denys, Description, 405; Le Clercq, New Relation, 100.

⁶³Lescarbot, History of New France, III: 194-195.

⁶⁴Bruce J. Bourque, "Aboriginal Settlement and Subsistence on the Maine Coast," Man in the Northeast #6 (fall 1973), 3-11. Consequences of contact for the early Micmac are discussed by Calvin Martin, "The European Impact on the Culture of a Northeastern Algonquian Tribe: An Ecological Interpretation," William and Mary Quarterly, XXI (1974), 3-54.

⁶⁵Lescarbot, History of New France, III:219-220; Hoffman, "Historical Ethnography", 151.

⁶⁶Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XLV: 65.

Basque shallop in 1602.⁶⁷ When Lescarbot made landfall at Canso, he was met with two shallops, one of which was manned by Amerindians with a "stagge" (moose) painted on the sail.⁶⁸ French and Basque whalers described the Micmac as "assés prompt au service des Européens, estans louées pour peu de vivre et de salaire, & d'employment par un labour continu à toutes sortes d'ouvrages, soit à découper les Baleines où a les esventrer ou bien à les cuire."⁶⁹

In their socio-political structure they were unique in maintaining an agricultural woodland-type of culture in a non-agricultural environment.⁷⁰ One of their clan totems, a cross, caused considerable astonishment among early missionaries,⁷¹ who took this to mean that the Micmac had had previous contact with Christians.⁷² Their regional chiefs, functioning with the aid of a council of elders, recognized "grand chiefs" whose hereditary was calculated

⁶⁷Hoffman, "Historical Ethnography," 145.

⁶⁸Lescarbot, History of New France, II: 309; Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, VII: 5. An illustration of a Peruvian sailing vessel with a figure painted on the sail is in Johann Ludwig Gottfried's Neue Welt un Americanische historien (Franckfurt am Mayn, 1655), 499.

⁶⁹De Laet, L'Histoire du Nouveau Monde, 36. Whitbourne, Description, 2, makes a similar observation, apparently referring to Micmacs on Newfoundland.

⁷⁰Hoffman, "Historical Ethnography", 705-708.

⁷¹Le Clercq, in particular wrote at some length on the subject. (New Relation, Chapter X and XI.)

⁷²Gustave Lanctot used it to support the theory of a ninth century colonization of Gaspesia by Irish monks. (Histoire du Canada, 3 vols., (Montreal, 1959) I: 50-51.) He also used as support the reference in the Icelandic sagas to the people of the mainland holding processions and carrying white banners. That description tallies very closely to Thevet's account of Amerindian war customs. (Supra, n44.)

though the male line. Membertou was one of these.⁷³ The power of such chiefs was based on kinship affiliations and above all on personal qualities, such as being a great shaman, rather than on coercion. This lack of coercive power characterized the leadership for all the people in the northeast, even those with a more structured society, such as the Huron-Iroquois.⁷⁴

Cartier found the Micmac at war with the Stadaconans, and was shown scalps taken by the latter in a recent encounter.⁷⁵ It was such a clash which led to the naming of Massacre Island.⁷⁶ Lescarbot described Micmac hostilities with the Armouchiquois to the south as being perpetual.⁷⁷ The Micmac also feuded with the Beothuk.

⁷³Hoffman, "Historical Ethnography", 530-531, 569. Also, Lescarbot, History of New France, II: 354-356; III: 81-82, 104, 265.

⁷⁴However, this was not true throughout North America; for instance, the Natchez of Louisiana and the Timucuans of Florida vested coercive powers in their chiefs.

⁷⁵Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 177.

⁷⁶Bernard G. Hoffman, "Souriquois, Etechemin, and Kwedech--- A Lost Chapter in American Ethnography," Ethnohistory II, No. 1 (1955), 77; Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 178.

⁷⁷Wendell S. Hadlock, "War Among the Northeastern Woodland Algonkians" American Anthropologist, XLIX (1947), 216. Lescarbot, besides making numerous references to these hostilities, wrote a poem entitled "La Deffaite des Sauvages Armouchiquois." (History of New France, III: 497-508.) See also Alvin H. Morrison and Thomas H. Goetz, "Membertou's Raid on the Chouacoet 'Armouchiquois' --- The Micmac Sack of Saco in 1607," National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Papers of the sixth Algonquian Conference, 1974, (Ottawa, 1975), 141-179.

MALECITE (Etchemin)

"The Mickmakis and Mariquets, who, though different in language, have the same customs and manners, ... are of the same way of thinking and acting," Abbé Pierre Maillard (c1710-1762) wrote in 1758.⁷⁸ The Malecite were also linked with the Abenaki to the south:

The Maricheets...chiefly settled at St John's...are often confounded with the Abenakis, so as to pass for one nation with them, though there is certainly some distinction. They used, till lately, to be in a constant state of hostility with the Mickmakis.⁷⁹

The "Etchemin" referred to by Champlain in 1604 on the St. Croix River may have included the Passamaquoddy, also closely related to the Malecite. In any event the latter were reported to have occupied the region from Port Royal to the Kennebec at the time of contact.⁸⁰ Biard in 1616 calculated that the "Eteminquois" numbered 2,500.⁸¹ The Etchemin seem to have been heavily affected by the epidemic of about 1617 which wrought such havoc among the coastal

⁷⁸[Antoine-Simon Maillard], An Account of the Customs and Manners of the Micmakis and Maricheets... (London, 1758), 33.

⁷⁹Maillard, Customs and Manners, iv. J-P-A Marault, Histoire des Abenakis depuis 1605 jusqu'à nos jours, (Montreal, 1866), included Malecite as one of seven Abenaki tribes.

⁸⁰Pierre-Francois-Xavier Charlevoix, History and General Description of New France, translated and edited by John Gilmary Shea, 6 vols., (New York, 1870), I: 275-276.

⁸¹Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, III:111. He also estimated the total population from Newfoundland to Chouacoet (Saco, Maine) as being 10,000.

people.⁸² Surviving remnants regrouped as Malecite-Passamaquoddy.⁸³

The Malecite shared a common culture with the Micmac, but their language was different, except for some loan words; the term "mel'asit" is Micmac for "corrupted speech" or "broken talk." The Micmac had another uncomplimentary appellation for the Malecite, "muskrat people." This referred to the fact that the animal was included in the Malecite diet; the Micmac for their part would not eat it. Malecite economy was based on fish (including porpoises and whales, which they hunted),⁸⁴ and caribou.⁸⁵ Malecite and Micmac had a common enemy in the Mohawk, and later, the English. Along with the Abenaki, they also shared a common ally, the French. But this shared alliance did not ensure accord among the Amerindians; for one thing, the French quarrelled among themselves, which spread dissension among their allies. Charles de Menou d'Aulnay (c1604-1650) and Charles de Saint-Etienne de La Tour (c1593-1666), both governors of Acadia, fought what amounted to a civil war,

⁸²Hoffman, "Souriquois", 69-72. Biggar, Early Trading Companies, 119, said the disease had been introduced by a French trader. See also John J. Heagerty, Four Centuries of Medical History in Canada, 2 vols., (Toronto, 1928), I: 57.

⁸³Eckstorm, Old John Neptune, 76. There are other hypothesis as to the identity of the Etchemin.

⁸⁴Eckstorm, Old John Neptune, 76.

⁸⁵White-tailed deer was not present in Maine and New Brunswick at the time of contact. Early settlers recorded the disappearances of caribou and the appearance of deer. (Johnson, Man in Northeast, 24. Also Hoffman, "Historical Ethnography", 122.)

1635-1650, over their conflicting jurisdictions. In general, the Malecite and Micmac supported La Tour, and the Penobscot supported d'Aulnay.⁸⁶ In spite of this, neither the Malecite, Micmac nor Abenaki wavered from their attachment to the French throughout the period of New France.

ABENAKI (Canibas, Penobscot, Arosagunticooks, Norridgewocks, Pigwackets, Pentagouet, Loup, etc.)

As can be inferred from the above listing, it has not been precisely determined which tribes of New Brunswick and Maine, westward to lake Champlain, were included during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries under the label "Abenaki" or "Wabanaki", "those living at the sunrise;" but we do know that their language fell into two distinct dialects, the Eastern and Western. At least some Eastern people were referred to in "The Description of the Country of Mawooshen" as totalling 14,000 in 1602 in the land of Bashabes, a ranking Abenaki chief.⁸⁷ Following the devastation of the 1617 epidemic, speakers of Eastern Abenaki coalesced around the Kennebec and Penobscot drainages.⁸⁸ Early in the eighteenth century four Eastern Abenaki mission villages were listed as being in Acadia, two

⁸⁶Sr. Mary Anna Joseph (Mary Genevieve Hennessey), "French and English Pressures on the Indians of Acadia and Eastern New England (1667-1727)", MA thesis, (University of New Brunswick, 1962), 45.

⁸⁷Purchas, Hakluytus Posthumus, XIX: 400-405.

⁸⁸Hoffman, "Souriquois and Etechemin", 80.

of which two (Narantsouak or Norencouan, and Panouamké) were said to be entirely Abenaki, while the other two (Pasamoquady or Pesmonquady, and Medockeck or Medoctet) were said to be part Malecite.⁸⁹ The Western Abenaki, from Saco River to Lake Champlain, were included by the French, along with other tribes, under their general rubric, "Loup".⁹⁰

The large population known to the early French as the Armouchiquois, bitter enemies of the Micmac, probably included the Penacock, Massachusetts, Nauset and Cowesit.⁹¹ A seventeenth century cosmographer said the land of the Armouchiquois extended from the Kennebec to Malebarre.⁹² The French shared the Micmac antipathy for their southern neighbours, if one is to judge by the highly unflattering accounts that have come down to us. Pierre-Victor-Palma Cayet (1525-1610) scholar and chronicler, described the Armouchiquois as being deformed, whose

teste est petite, le corps court, les bras memes comme d'un schelet, & les cuisses semblablement; les jambes grosses et longues qui sont toutes d'une venue, & quand ils sont assis sur leurs talons, les genoux leur passent plus d'un demy pied par dessus le teste... Ils sont neantmoins fort dispos & determinez: & sont aux meilleurs terres de toute la coste d'Arcadie; aussi les Souriquois les craignent fort.⁹³

Elsewhere we are told that the Armouchiquois "sont fort

⁸⁹Silvy, Relation par Lettres, 196; also, PAC AC C11A 122: 223-226. Lettre #82, Des Sauvages Abenakis et des 4 villages qu'ils ont à l'Acadie.

⁹⁰Dr. Gordon Day, The Mots Loups of Father Mathevet, (Ottawa, 1975).

⁹¹Hoffman, "Souriquois and Etechemin", 68.

⁹²D'Avity, Description générale, 30.

⁹³Cayet, Chronologie septenaire..., 2 vols., (Paris, 1605), II: 423.

rusez et traitres, & machinent toujours quelques surprises quand on les caresse; ainsi on est obligé de les faire craindre, & de les traiter avec hauteur."⁹⁴ The French were no more friendly with the agricultural Armouchiquois than they were with the hunting Beothuk.

As hostilities developed with the English colonists to the south, the Abenaki found themselves siding with the French and in alliance with their former enemies, the Micmac. It was the Christianized Abenaki who, with the French, laid waste New England's northern frontier, beginning in the 1680's and lasting until the destruction of Norridgewock in 1724 and the defeat of Pequaket in 1725 by the English. "Mission" Abenaki also took part in the French expeditions against the Iroquois: those of De La Barre in 1684, Denonville in 1686⁹⁵ and Frontenac in 1693. Along with the Micmac, they were the allies of Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville (1661-1706), Simon-Pierre Denys de Bonaventure (1659-1711) and Jean-Vincent d'Abbadie de Saint-Castin (1652-1707) in the taking of Pemaquid in 1696. This involvement in colonial disputes was disastrous for the Abenaki, who were reduced to a fraction of their pre-contact

⁹⁴Thomas Corneille, Dictionnaire universel, géographique et historique, contenant la description Des Royaumes..., 3 vols., (Paris, 1708), I:article on "Armouchiquois."

⁹⁵During which they bore the brunt of the Seneca ambush. (Maurault, Histoire des Abenakis, 189.)

population.⁹⁶ They also lost their former homelands, and during the late seventeenth century remnants migrated to Canada, where they first established at Sillery, abandoning it about 1690 for the Chaudière, which was in turn abandoned in favor of St. François near Sorel, now Odanak.

MONTAGNAIS-NASKAPI

On the north shore of the St. Lawrence, from the Atlantic seaboard to the St. Maurice River and extending north to James Bay and the Arctic Ocean, these Algonkian hunting peoples shared a culture based on the taiga economy. The Naskapi in Labrador exploited maritime resources as well as caribou; the Montagnais, living in heavily forested inland regions, depended on moose in winter and river fishing during the summer. The Naskapi covered their lodges with caribou skin, and wore tailored clothes similar to those of the Inuit; the Montagnais used birchbark for their lodges, and were more casual about the tailoring of their garments.⁹⁷ The Naskapi adorned their garments with geometrical patterns, the "double-curve motif" painted or stamped predominantly in red. This was the "leather lace"

⁹⁶Olive Patricia Dickason, "Louisbourg and the Indians: A Study in Imperial Race Relations, 1713-1760," MA thesis, (University of Ottawa, 1971), 46.

⁹⁷Jenness, Indians of Canada, 271-272. The early French took this casualness to mean lack of technical knowledge. It would be nearer the truth, however, to say that the Montagnais did not attach the importance to tailoring that the French did.

described by Father Biard. Both Montagnais and Naskapi women carried their babies in moss bags, rather than in the "tikinagen" or wooden carrying boards of the peoples around them. They shared with the Micmac and other Algonkians to the south the custom of a bridegroom serving his bride's family for a year before being allowed to establish his own domicile. It was of the Montagnais that Father Paul Le Jeune (1591-1664) penned his well-known description, after living with them in their remote forests:

It seems as if innocence, banished from the majority of the Empires & Kingdoms of the World, had withdrawn into these great forests where these people dwell. Their nature has something, I know not what, of the goodness of the Terrestrial Paradise before sin had entered it. Their practices manifest none of the luxury, the ambition, the avarice, or the pleasures that corrupt our cities.⁹⁸

D'Avity reflected this when he wrote of the Attikamegues of the St. Maurice River, a people who disappeared as a separate entity during the seventeenth century, when they merged with the Montagnais:

lesquels quoy que soit la nation la moins instruite, donnent de plus solide d'une bonté vrayment chrestienne & ont plus de disposition & d'inclination à la Foy que les autres.⁹⁹

The Naskapi fought the Inuit while the Montagnais were enemies of the Iroquois. When Champlain first met the Montagnais, they were celebrating a victory; and it was as their ally that he fired the famous shot that knocked down

⁹⁸Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XXXII: 283.

⁹⁹D'Avity, Description générale, 30. Today the Têtes-de-Boules have revived the name "Attikameque" for themselves; they may be partly descended for the original people of that name.

three Iroquois chiefs.

Both the Montagnais and Naskapi seem to have traded and thus allied themselves with Europeans from the earliest days of contact, a position which could have been encouraged by their antipathy for the Inuit.¹⁰⁰

That the Montagnais prospered from the early fur trade is indicated by d'Avity's comment as to the great quantity of presents that characterized the installation of Etouat as chief.¹⁰¹ Etouat benefitted from being a Christian and a particular friend of the French; the ceremony of his installation reflected French influence.¹⁰² In spite of their favorable position to exploit the fur trade, and their remoteness, the Montagnais and the Naskapi suffered population declines followed contact with Europeans. Their population at time of contact has been estimated at 5,000, although Jenness thought this was conservative.¹⁰³ Today, the Montagnais and Naskapi together number fewer than 4,000.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰In 1625 Lope de Isasti described the Montagnais as friendly and the Inuit as inhuman. (Compendio Historial..., (San Sebastian, 1850), 154.)

¹⁰¹Ibid., 42-43.

¹⁰²Etouat also liked to wear French clothes. (C.H. Laverdière and H.R. Casgrain, eds., Le journal des Jésuites, (Québec, 1871), 53.)

¹⁰³Jenness, Indians of Canada, 274.

¹⁰⁴Ibid.

ALGONQUIN

Between the Montagnais on the east and the Ojibway on the west, the Algonquin were allies of both the Montagnais and the Huron against the Iroquois. They had a symbiotic relationship with the Huron, providing them with meat and skins in exchange for agricultural produce. Often they would winter with the Huron. However, their lively sense of their own separateness is indicated by the practice of the Algonquins of Allumette Island of charging a toll on passing Huron canoes laden with furs. Although the Hurons complained about this,¹⁰⁵ they themselves collected tribute on goods passing through Huronia.¹⁰⁶ This was in line with the general Amerindian practice of charging tolls for passage through another's territory for trade.¹⁰⁷

The Algonquin shared the general lifestyle of the Ojibway (Chippewa) and the Ottawa (Odawa) and the Cree to

¹⁰⁵Biggar, Champlain, V: 103. Champlain seems to have respected Amerindian feelings on this point, which was not often done by Europeans. According to Jacques-Auguste De Thou, Champlain, "voyant que le dessein qu'il avoit de naviger sur le Saguenay, n'étoit pas du goût des Sauvages ses alliés, l'abandonne," (Histoire universelle, 16 vols., (London, 1734) XV: 61.) De Thou's monumental history, the largest such project to have been undertaken up until his time, had first appeared in Latin in Paris between 1604 and 1620. The title of that edition was J.A. Thuani historiarum sui temporis pars prima.

¹⁰⁶Murray, "Fur Trade," 71.

¹⁰⁷Sagard, Long Journey, 87 and 99; concerning the Mohawk, see George T. Hunt, Wars of the Iroquois (Madison, 1967), 34. The Algonquins also tried to intimidate the French when the latter passed through their territory by predicting that the Huron would kill the French, as they had done with Etienne Brulé. (Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, VIII: 83).

the north and west. (The Nipissings, although an Algonkian people, shared some customs with the Huron, such as the Feast of the Dead.) However the western peoples, unlike those of the northeastern woodlands, did not torture war prisoners. The Ottawa became, for a brief period, the middlemen in the fur trade after the dispersal of the Hurons, until they in turn were driven from their Georgian Bay homeland by the Iroquois. Later, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Ojibway entered into a period of expansion of their own, apparently provoked by the disappearance of beaver from their lands, as had happened with the Iroquois about 60 years earlier. Toward the end of the seventeenth century and during the early eighteenth century, the Mississauga branch expelled the Iroquois from southern Ontario and north of Lake Ontario.¹⁰⁸

HURON (Ouendat or Wendat)

The Huron confederacy consisted of four principal Iroquoian-speaking tribes: the Attignawantan, referred to by the French as the Bear; the Attigeeenongzahac, the Cord; the

¹⁰⁸Donald Smith, "The Mississauga, Peter Jones, and the White Man: the Algonkian's Adjustment to the Europeans on the North Shore of Lake Ontario to 1860," PhD thesis (University of Toronto, 1975), 20-27, 82, 107-108. Hallowell has claimed that the Ojibway of the Great Lakes region, known as the Saulteaux, never engaged in war either with whites or with other Amerindians. (Hallowell, Culture and Experience, 278). However, besides the Iroquois, they also warred with the Dakota, which was at least one reason for the latter moving out of the woodlands onto the plains.

Arendahronon, Rock; and Tahontaerat, Deer. There were also some smaller communities, one at least of which spoke an Algonkian language.¹⁰⁹ The Bear was the largest, followed by the Cord; these two were also the seniors, having lived in the region 200 years or so at the time of the appearance of the French.¹¹⁰ The most recent arrivals were the Deer, who joined the league in 1610. There has been speculation that the Rock and the Deer were descendants of the Laurentian Iroquois met by Cartier but who had disappeared from the St. Lawrence by the time of Champlain.¹¹¹ The first Hurons who came to meet the French were of the Rock tribe, and it was with them that Champlain wintered in 1615-1616. But it was the Bear who were to become the most receptive to Christianity.¹¹² The name Huron is of French origin, referring to the bristly coiffures of the warriors:¹¹³ their name for themselves was Wendat, "Islanders", referring to

¹⁰⁹Jenness, Indians of Canada, 289. Trigger says the appellations Cord and Deer are by no means certain. (Bruce Trigger, The Huron Farmers of the North (New York, 1969), 14). Conrad Heidenreich has translated the name for the Cord as "Barking Dogs." (Huronian: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians 1600-1650, (Toronto, 1971), 28 and Appendix 1.) For this sketch of the Huron, I have drawn on this work, but principally on Trigger's writings and Tooker's Huron Ethnography.

¹¹⁰Tooker, Huron Ethnography, 10. Although the move to Huronia was comparatively recent, the Iroquoian tradition in Ontario dates back to about 1,000 A.D. (J.V. Wright, The Ontario Iroquois Tradition, (Ottawa, 1966), 13.

¹¹¹Tooker, Huron Ethnography, 3 n1.

¹¹²Ibid., 11; Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, X: 31.

¹¹³This was a fashion they shared with the Ottawa, whom the French called "Cheveux relevez," describing their coiffures as "mieux peigner" than those of French courtiers. (Cinquieme tome du Mercure Francois, (Paris, 1619), 297).

the earth which in their cosmology was an island on the back of a turtle. The Wyandot of Oklahoma are descendants of the remnants of the Huron and Tionontati, the Tobacco people.

Geographically, Huronia was concentrated in an area that measured only 35 miles east to west and 20 miles north to south¹¹⁴ between Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching on the east and Matchedash Bay on the west. At the time of the arrival of the Jesuits, it could be traversed in three or four days.¹¹⁵ It was a country "full of fine hills, open fields, very beautiful broad meadows bearing much excellent hay."¹¹⁶ Champlain estimated its population at 30,000, a figure later to be repeated by the Jesuits,¹¹⁷ although Sagard set the figure at between 30,000 and 40,000.¹¹⁸ These people lived close together in villages that were reported as numbering either 18, 20 or 25,¹¹⁹ and shared common hunting territory. This is strikingly different from the settlement pattern of the Five Nations, among whom the villages of each tribe were

¹¹⁴Trigger, Huron Farmers, 9.

¹¹⁵Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, 115.

¹¹⁶Sagard, Long Journey, 90. Two decades later Dr. François Gendron was equally impressed with Huronia's countryside. One of his letters was published by D'Avity, Description générale, 201-206; see also Dictionary of Canadian Biography, I:328.

¹¹⁷Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, VII: 225; VIII:115; X: 313.

¹¹⁸Sagard, Long Journey, 92. Heidenreich maintains that the Hurons did not number more than 21,000 before contact. (Huronia, 103). The epidemic of 1635-1640 reduced the numbers of the Huron by about half.

¹¹⁹Biggar, Champlain, III:122; Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, VIII:115; X: 313; X1: 7; and Sagard, Long Journey, 92.

separated by hunting territory.¹²⁰ This resulted in greater uniformity of language and culture among the Huron than was the case among the Five Nations. Archaeological evidence suggests that the Hurons of about 1550 had a settlement pattern that resembled that of the Iroquois 100 years later¹²¹ but that sometime late in the sixteenth century there was a movement northward in which the settlements were reorganized and former occupied areas became joint hunting territories. The new location, besides having soil suitable for Huron agriculture and providing a plentiful supply of fish, and, at least initially, of firewood, was strategically located at the head of a main water route for northern trade.

It has been speculated that trade, rather than fear of the Iroquois, motivated the move; it could also have been due to population pressure. The fur trade with Europeans had been developing throughout the sixteenth century along the Atlantic coast and up the St. Lawrence at least as far as the Saguenay, and had resulted in European goods reaching Huronia well before the arrival of Champlain. This could have caused the agricultural Huron, already in a dependent trading relationship with the hunting Algonquin, to relocate and to consolidate their settlements in order to exploit the

¹²⁰Trigger, Huron Farmers, 113. However, Onondaga villages were usually located in pairs. (Tuck, Onondaga, 3, 216.) The longhouses of the Onondaga were the largest in Iroquoia--- from 210 feet to 410 feet in length. (Ibid., 209.)

¹²¹Trigger, Huron Farmers, 23.

new development.¹²² However, archaeological evidence indicates that the Huron population expanded greatly during the 1300's.¹²³ By the time the Jesuits arrived, beaver had already been exterminated in Huronia.¹²⁴ The Iroquois, Susquehanna, Powhatan and Cherokee also became middlemen in the fur trade during this period.¹²⁵

The presence of Ontario Iroquoian pottery in Algonkian sites in northern Ontario gives archaeological evidence of prehistoric trade. The Jesuits referred to Huronia as "the granary of most of the Algonquins."¹²⁶ The elaborate trading conventions of the Huron, closely interwoven into their complex network of social relations, reflect the fundamental importance, as well as the antiquity, of this aspect of reciprocity. Trading missions were occasions for feasts, speeches and formal gift exchanges, rituals which could take several days before actual trading began. There was a recognized scale of values; haggling over price was disapproved of.¹²⁷ The first to exploit a certain trade route became its master, a right which was hereditary and was also shared with those of the same name. Others could

¹²²Bruce Trigger, "The French Presence in Huronia," Canadian Historical Review No. 2 (June 1968), 111ff. This explanation may give too much importance to trade as a factor.

¹²³Wright, Ontario Iroquois, 3.

¹²⁴Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, VIII:57.

¹²⁵John Witthoft, "Archaeology as a Key to the Colonial Fur Trade", 65ff in Aspects of the Fur Trade, edited by Dale Morgan et al., (St. Paul, 1967).

¹²⁶Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, VIII:115.

¹²⁷Sagard, Long Journey, 140.

receive permission to use a route in exchange for gifts.¹²⁸ According to this rule, the Arendahronon, the Rock people, being the first to meet the French controlled the rights to trade with them. However, they shared this with the other nations of the confederacy, while continuing to regard themselves as the special allies of the French.¹²⁹ Outside of the confederacy, they acknowledged that the Algonquins possessed particular rights as allies of the French, also because of their prior contact.¹³⁰ The Huron's principal trading activities were with the northern tribes, in such places as Nipissing, James Bay, Lake St. John and perhaps as far as Tadoussaac, as well as with the Algonquins of the Ottawa Valley. Exchange of children was an important feature of the trading relationship. Such an exchange provided hostages, and was also a gesture of good will that forged blood ties between the participants, as the children sometimes remained to grow up and marry within the adoptive tribes.

Still another indication of the importance of trade to the Huron concerned the compensation required in the case of murder. If a Huron killed a member of a friendly trading group, a higher compensation was paid than in the case of one Huron killed by another. It is interesting to note in passing that if the victim were a woman, reparations were

¹²⁸Supra, 179.

¹²⁹Thwaites, Jesuit Regulations, XX:19.

¹³⁰Biggar, Champlain, 103; Murray, "Fur Trade", 71.

higher than for a man. The argument for this was that it was women who produced children, and also that they had no defence.¹³¹ Gifts that were not acceptable had to be replaced with those that were.¹³² The largest payment of which there is a record was that of 100 gifts made to the Jesuits for the killing of a donné.¹³³

As closely as can be estimated today, the four Huron tribes were divided among eight exogamous clans. The Jesuits did not report on such structures, so what little is known has been largely inferred from a study of the Wyandot (the Hurons of Lorette, near Quebec City, have assimilated with the whites to the extent of having lost their traditional social structures). Clans were scattered throughout the villages; each grouping of any size had its own chiefs, who managed internal clan affairs as well as representing the group on tribal and confederacy levels. Clan offices were hereditary within the group, through the holder's sister's son. Among both the Huron and the Iroquois, it was the clans that were responsible for settling blood feuds.¹³⁴

The Huron resembled the Iroquois in having two kinds of chiefs: those for civil affairs, who had seats in the main tribal and confederacy councils, and those for war. The

¹³¹Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XXXIII: 243.

¹³²Ibid., XXXIII: 245.

¹³³Ibid., XXXIII: 241-247. Killing for vengeance on the part of the relatives of the dead person was considered a more serious crime than the original murder. (Ibid., X: 223).

¹³⁴Trigger, Huron Farmers, 57.

former inherited their offices through their clan lineage, although not in any particular order, so that personal merit had a great deal to do with it; the name of the holder of a particular office stayed the same through the generations, providing institutional continuity. War chiefs were elected on the basis of valor and personal qualities, although lineage may have been a factor. Neither type of chiefs' powers were coercive, as they did not have police forces at their disposal; influence was exercised through ability to gain the support of public opinion.¹³⁵ Civil chiefs had the most prestige. But age was much respected; an individual who was not a chief but who became recognized as an outstanding individual could gain considerable influence as an Old Man.

No amount of prestige, nor high rank, gave a chief the right to interfere in the affairs of a clan that was not his own. Indeed, even within his own clan, his influence was restricted to his particular group within his village. Council meetings at all levels were held with considerable formality, with gifts and wampum playing a vital role.

One means available to chiefs for exercising social control was provided by fear of witchcraft and treason. Both these crimes were considered so heinous that in theory the

¹³⁵Champlain did not see that the Huron had an effective legal system. (Biggar, Champlain, III: 142-143); however, Jesuit missionaries disagreed, and found that the Hurons did possess a system of law. (Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, X: 215).

guilty ones could be killed with impunity by anyone on the spot.¹³⁶ However, in practice the sanction of a chief or a council was relied upon in order to establish beyond doubt that the accused was generally recognized as being guilty; if there was any doubt, such a killing could conceivably trigger a feud. The most effective form of social control, however, was community approval; children were taught that unacceptable behavior could bring dishonor upon their names.

In contrast to witches or sorcerers, shamans (medicine-men) were much respected and were called arendiwane, "his supernatural power is great." They were also called oki, the term for those who performed extraordinary feats, as well as for certain spirits or charms. The office of the shaman was not hereditary, as it called for special personal qualities. It could only be attained after a long apprenticeship. Four kinds of shamanistic feats were recognized: control of the weather; predictions; finding lost objects; and curing. Of these, healing the sick was by far the most important. This often demanded ceremonies to satisfy soul desires, which had been expressed through dreams. The Huron looked to their dreams for guidance in their daily lives; so much so that the Jesuits wrote the the dreams were the "real masters of the country."¹³⁷

Burial customs formed the most distinctive aspect of

¹³⁶Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, VIII: 123; X: 223.

¹³⁷Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XVII: 163.

Huron culture. At the time of the arrival of the French, the Feast of the Dead was the most important of all their festivals, being held whenever a village moved. Its central feature was burial in an ossuary; the largest of these that have been found contained the bones of about 1,000 individuals. Bodies were disinterred from cemeteries where they had been placed immediately after death, and the bones were cleaned and washed and wrapped in new beaver skins. Only the bodies of those recently dead were exempted. Following about 10 days of ceremonies, these bones were reburied in pits lined with beaver robes. Sometimes those from allied nations were included. This mingling has been described as the most important of all rituals for uniting the Huron tribes among themselves as well as with their allies.¹³⁸

SOME NEIGHBORS AND OTHERS

To the west and south lived the Tionontati, the Tobacco People, a confederacy of two nations whose language and customs were similar to the Huron. They had nine villages, the largest of which, Ehwae, was burned by an unidentified hostile tribe in 1640. Some Algonquins lived with the Tionontati, as they did with the Hurons. Although the latter

¹³⁸Trigger, Huron Farmers, 102; Sagard Long Journey, 213-214. The Bear tribe at one point sought French participation in their Feast of the Dead so they could claim them as relatives and were disturbed at the French refusal. (Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, X: 311).

two had become allies shortly before the arrival of the French, they had formerly been enemies.¹³⁹ The Tobacco People were prevented from direct access to this new trade by the Huron, and because of that the Jesuits were not able at first to establish missions among them. Later, however, they were able to do so.¹⁴⁰

Further south but still north of Lake Erie were the people known to the Huron as "Attiwandaron", "people who speak a slightly different language," and to the French as the Neutrals because they managed to stay on peaceful terms with both Huron and Five Nations. (Attiwandaron was also the name by which the Neutrals knew the Huron). Although not as populous their northern neighbors, they also formed a confederation, inhabiting about 40 villages more widely dispersed and smaller than those of the Huron. The Neutrals, while managing to keep the peace to the north and east, were less successful toward the west, and fought bitterly with an Algonkian people of Michigan, the Assistaronon, "Fire Nation," (perhaps the Mascouten). The Assistaronon were more numerous than the Neutrals, Hurons and Five Nations combined.¹⁴¹ Among the battles of which there is a record, one occurred in 1642, when the Neutrals assembled an army of 2,000 to attack a pallisaded village of the Fire Nation.¹⁴²

¹³⁹Ibid., XX: 43.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., XXI: 177; XIX:125.

¹⁴¹Ibid., XXVII: 27.

¹⁴²Ibid., XXVII: 25.

Although the Neutrals resembled the Hurons very closely in both language and customs, they differed on certain points, such as burial customs. They kept their dead in their houses for long periods of time, only taking them to cemeteries when decomposition made the bodies insupportable. Later the bones were brought back to the houses until the Feast of the Dead. Like their close relatives the Tionontati, the Neutrals grew large quantities of good tobacco which they used in trade. When the Recollet father Joseph de la Roche Daillon visited the Neutrals in 1626 and sought to establish a trading relationship with them, he attracted the instant opposition of the Hurons who would not countenance such an infringement of their rights.¹⁴³

Other Iroquoians in the general area were the Nation of the Cat (Erie), and the Andastes or Susquehannock (Connestoga or White Minqua), allies of the Hurons, although separated from them by the Five Nations. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Huron had the Five Nations encircled by means of their alliances. The Susquehannock lived in the Susquehannah Valley, almost 400 miles away. Europeans had little contact with any of these peoples. The Five Nations, after dispersing the Hurons in 1649, defeated the Neutrals in 1651, the Erie in a series of attacks between 1654 and 1656; and the Susquehannock in 1675. One

¹⁴³Le Clercq, First Establishment, I: 267-268.

authority says that another Iroquoian group, the Scahentoarrhonons, were defeated by the Five Nations in 1652. In any event, the Five Nations had smashed the encircling ring of allies in an extraordinary series of victories. Of the 10 major Iroquoian tribes of the days of first contact with Europeans, only the Five Nations remained by the end of the seventeenth century.

FIVE NATIONS

The League of the Five Nations comprised, from west to east, the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida and Mohawk, spread out from the Genesee River on the west through the Finger Lake region to Schoharie Creek on the east. (By the eighteenth century, this range had expanded to the Ohio Valley in the west, and the lower reaches of Lake Champlain in the east.) Its total population in 1600 has been estimated at 16,000.¹⁴⁴ The largest tribe was the Seneca, "The Great Hill People" who were "keepers of the west door" of the League (about 7,000, according to Lloyd, whose figures we will follow); the smallest was the Oneida, "The People of the Stone", (1,000), who were next to the Mohawk, "People of the Flint", "keepers of the east door" (about 3,000). Politically, the important members were Seneca,

¹⁴⁴Lewis Henry Morgan, League of Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois, edited by Herbert M. Lloyd, (New York, 1901), 226-228. Trigger, however, estimates that before the epidemics of the 1630's and 1640's, it was not impossible that the Iroquois had numbered 18,000 to 20,000. (Trigger, Huron Farmers, 19.)

Mohawk and Onondaga. The latter, numbering about 3,000 were called the "People of the Mountain", or "keepers of the council fire"; they occupied a central position not only geographically but also in inter-league relations, serving as lawmakers and arbitrators. However, the French classified them as the most war-like.¹⁴⁵ It was the Seneca who played the major role in the defeat of the Huron in 1649 and later of the other western tribes. The Mohawk derived their importance from their direct contact with the Dutch and subsequently the English. The Cayuga (2,000), "People at the Landing", who specialized in rituals, and the Oneida played lesser roles; in fact, the Cayuga were said to be offshoots of the Onondaga as the Oneida were of the Mohawk.¹⁴⁶ At no time did the Five Nations count more than 2,500 warriors, and these were never fielded all at once.¹⁴⁷

The League is generally believed to have confederated sometime during the last half of the sixteenth century, under the leadership of Deganawidah, a Huron by birth but a Mohawk by adoption, and of his lieutenant, Hiawatha. However, it may have formed as early as 1500 or 1525, in response to the pressures of population increases known to have occurred at about that time. Archaeology has confirmed the presence of European trade goods among the Seneca as

¹⁴⁵Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XXXIII: 117.

¹⁴⁶Tooker, Huron Ethnography, 18.

¹⁴⁷Allen William Trelease, "Indian Relations and the Fur Trade in New Netherlands, 1609-1664," PhD thesis, (Harvard, 1955), 32.

early as 1500.¹⁴⁸ By the end of the sixteenth century, steel had already largely replaced stone for Seneca axe blades, and arrowheads were often cut from brass.¹⁴⁹ In any event, the League was formed with a central council of 49 permanent sachemships, which was the total number of such offices among the five tribes at the time.¹⁵⁰ As with the Huron, such offices were hereditary within the clans, although the actual person who succeeded to a vacant post was named by the clan mother acting on the advice of fellow members. In spite of unequal representation, each nation had only one vote. Regular meetings were held at the central fire at Onondaga, where the archival wampum was kept. An Onondaga sachem was permanent moderator, a position of great prestige but of closely circumscribed powers. What powers the council possessed related to external affairs, such as war, peace and trade; its decisions had to be unanimous. Each of the five nations was autonomous in its internal affairs. Two hereditary war chieftainships were held by the Seneca; otherwise, war leaders rose on individual merit as the conduct of war was a matter for personal initiative. The Iroquois, like the Huron, did not resolve the contradictions between their ideal of individual dignity and responsibility and the practical necessities of authority and cooperation

¹⁴⁸Witthoft, "Archaeology as Key", 56ff.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., 58. Even lead bullets and shot occur on Seneca sites, and have been dated at the end of the sixteenth century.

¹⁵⁰Trelease, "Indian Relationships," 37; also Lewis Henry Morgan, League of the Iroquois, (New York, 1969), 62-65.

in order to achieve united action. Although their political organization was relatively complex, it was still based on the principles of stateless societies, which were fundamentally opposed to centralization of power. In practice this meant that the Iroquois were far from achieving unity of action, as the French discovered when their peace treaty with the Mohawk in 1666 did not automatically mean peace with the other members of the Five Nations.

The Iroquois, like the Huron, were simultaneously members of their particular nation, which was a political unit, and of a clan, a social unit. There seem to have been nine clans which not only cut across national lines but were not evenly divided among the five members.¹⁵¹ Thus the Mohawk and Oneida each had only three clans, while the Seneca, Cayuga and Onondaga each had at least eight. A nation divided its clans into exogamous moities, a division that was reflected in social activities. In games, the moities were lined up against each other; at ceremonial occasions such as the Strawberry Festival or Green Corn Festival, the two halves faced each other, and the speakers

¹⁵¹PAC AC C11A 2:264-169, untitled memoir on the Iroquois, 1666. It is reproduced under the title "The Nine Iroquois Tribes, 1666" in Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, edited by E.B. O'Callaghan and J.R. Brodhead, 15 vols., (Albany, 1853-1887), IX: 47-51.

addressed the opposite side.¹⁵² Functionaries at burial ceremonies were always selected from the moiety opposite to that of the deceased. This was also true for the various medicine societies such as the "False Faces," "Little Water" or "Real Life". Similarly, in the dream-guessing ritual, the guesser must belong to the moiety opposite the dreamer. This dual division was also present in both national and League councils.

Much has been written about the importance of women in Iroquois life. On the family level, a man owned his tools, weapons and wearing apparel; a woman owned household utensils, the house itself and the land. Marriages were arranged by the mothers of the principals. On ceremonial occasions, each clan was represented by three male and three female officials. It was the women who elected new sachems to fill vacancies, a choice that had to be confirmed by the sachems of the moiety involved and ratified by the other side. If a sachem proved to be unsatisfactory, the women of his clan could impeach him, which if ratified by the confederate council would result in his deposition. While women were not members of the council, they sometimes made speeches before it, as well as during ceremonies.¹⁵³

¹⁵²Alexander A. Goldenweiser, "Iroquois Social Organization," in The North American Indians, A Sourcebook, edited by Robert C. Owen et al., (Toronto, Macmillan, 1972), 566.

¹⁵³Goldenweiser, "Iroquois Social Organization," 572.

As this outline indicates, Amerindians of the northeastern woodlands at the time of contact led structured lives within organized societies, whatever their cyclical patterns. The fact that this organization was often not centralized did not mean that it was any the less operative. Amerindians possessed a comparatively simple technology which contrasted strongly with the complexity and richness of their spiritual and ritual lives. It was a contrast some Europeans came to appreciate as they became more knowledgeable about Amerindians and realized that the latter had found workable answers to the problems of living within a context that was fundamentally different from their own. But these were not the considerations to which the French and other Europeans would give precedence when it came to establishing empires.

THE MYTH OF THE SAVAGE
AND THE BEGINNINGS OF FRENCH COLONIALISM IN THE AMERICAS

Chapter V

The Old World Embraces the New:

Some Aspects of Imperialism and Colonialism.

Europe moved very early to organize the Americas into what it considered to be an acceptable Christian social order. According to the advanced political thinking of the sixteenth century, such an order meant a centralized state based on an absolute monarchy.¹ Spain had achieved this with her expulsion of the Moors, from which contest she had emerged with a well-enough developed legal and administrative apparatus to take advantage of Columbus's discoveries by launching immediately into the conquest and colonization of the New World. It was a position that France

¹Particularly influential in their support of a strong monarchy were Bodin in République, and Loys Le Roy in De l'Excellence du gouvernement royal, (Paris, 1575). Le Roy especially exemplified the prevalent disdain for the masses: "Rien n'y a plus ignorant, ne plus insolent, qu'un populaire occupé en viles mestiers & gains deshonnestes, n'ayans apprins bien ny honneur, qui se ruë indiscrettement sur les affaires. Leur principal but est la liberté & equalité, procurans songneusement qu'aucun pour vertueux qu'il soit, sçavant, vaillant, ou habile, ne s'avance, ou eslevé par dessus les autres; qui est au grand avantage des mauvais & inutiles." (De l'excellence, 10 verso). According to Atkinson, it was the prevalence of that attitude which prevented the egalitarianism of Amerindians from being taken seriously. (Nouveaux Horizons, 375). An excellent recent study of the political thought of this period is by Pierre Mesnard, L'essor de la philosophie politique au XVIIe siècle, (Paris, 1969).

was not to achieve until the end of the century.

As a political theory, this type of absolutism placed the monarch at the centre of the state just as man was believed to be at the centre of the natural order of the earth and God at the centre of the universe. These interlocking systems,---the Great Chain of Being²---in which rank and order were accorded over-riding importance, were believed to be stable and static. Cultures could evolve, but only until the perfect---i.e., Christian---form had been reached. The squabbles about precedence that characterized the history of New France were the logical result of this social philosophy. Such quarrels were perhaps even more venomous in Europe than they were in her colonies. The rise of centralized states led to the development of international law, a movement accelerated by the need to establish a theoretical and legal basis for European power in the New World. As questions about the rights of discovery and procedures for claiming new territories were debated, France jockeyed to establish her trans-Atlantic presence. Her problems were not just political: they involved such practical matters as the selection of colonists, ocean crossings, and adaptations to strange and often unforeseen conditions.

Pope Alexander VI's bulls of 1493, issued in response

²Supra, 62.

to Spanish pressure to demarcate Spanish & Portuguese zones of influence in the new regions, had not been well received in France. The Pope, a Borgia, was Spanish by birth and needed support from Spain for his policy of family aggrandizement in Italy.³ Spain for its part was disturbed at Portuguese claims of sovereignty in the New World by right of the Treaty of Alcaçovas, which the two countries had signed 4 September 1479, before Columbus's discoveries had radically altered the importance of the new regions.

As Spain moved to exploit its sudden access to dazzling sources of wealth, France was by no means oblivious to the visions of imperial glory that were so soon to become reality:

Les François sur tous se sentirent piquez d'une envie de faire le semblable en quelques endroicts ou ceux-là n'avoient donné atteinte. Car ne s'estimans rien moindres qu'eux, ny en la navigation, ny au faict des armes, ny en autres vaccations: ils se persuadoient qu'ils n'auroient pas tout descouvert, & que le monde estoit d'assez grande estendue pour leur faire voir de jour à autre choses plu nouvelles & estranges que les accoustumées.⁴

Those were the words of Henri Lancelot-Voisin, Sieur de La Popelinière (1541-1608), a Huguenot who was one of France's leading historians of the sixteenth century. With disarming frankness, he added that there was a certain jealousy in

³Taylor, Two Richard Hakluyts, II: 290; and A.P. Newton, The European Nations in the West Indies 1493-1688, (London, 1933: Reprinted 1966), 8. See also H. Vander Linden, "Alexander VI and the Demarcation of the Maritime and Colonial Domains of Spain and Portugal, 1493-1494," American Historical Review, XXII (1916-1917), 1-20.

⁴La Popelinière, Les Trois Mondes, (Paris, 1582), Liv. II: 26 verso.

France of Spain's and Portugal's success. It was widely believed in French circles that Columbus had originally sought French support for his voyage of discovery, but had been turned down. "C'est conquête du Monde Neuf, proposée aux François et mesprisée d'eux, tesmoigne le peu d'affection des conseillers, qui ayment mieux perdre les royaumes pour leur maistre, que si leurs ennemis avoient la charge de les conquerir," Gaspard de Saulx, seigneur de Tavannes (1509-1573), later to become Marshal of France, noted bitterly in his diary in 1536.⁵ By the time of Montesquieu, 250 years later, the French were still bemoaning the blindness of the court of France for having repulsed Columbus's proposal to cross the western sea.⁶ Bartholomew Columbus was at the French court in 1490, apparently looking for support for his brother's project; he was still there when the news of the discovery of the New World arrived.⁷

La Popelinière felt that national pride demanded that his country should continue where Columbus left off:

Or, comme la terre est estrange et grande...Il se fault asseurer, en reste beaucoup plus à cognoistre, voire en quelque cartier des 4. principaux du monde...& qui ne

⁵Saulx, "Memoires" (1509-1573) in Claude Bernard Petitot, Collection complètes des mémoires relatif à l'histoire de France..., 52 vols., (Paris, 1819-1826). XXIII: 241. Huguenots generally deplored France's lack of aggressive enterprise in colonial matters. See Keen, "The Vision of of America," 16.

⁶Montesquieu, Oeuvres, II: 321.

⁷Samuel Eliot Morison, Admiral of the Ocean Sea, (Boston, 1942), 90-91.

peuvent estre moindres en quantité de toutes sortes de richesses, exquis singularitez & prodigieux miracles de nature si nous avons l'adresse & les moyens de les aller rechercher, notamment vers le Midy ou nation aucune n'a donné.⁸

As for the awkward question of the papal division, the historian held that it had not included "les terres Australes."⁹ Such a position, of course, took advantage of the vagueness of the wording of the original demarcation, as well as of the confirming Treaty of Tordesillas (1494).

While there was much criticism of the papal action in regard to its temporal aspects, no one yet challenged its spiritual basis. In the realm of practical politics, it was a powerful reinforcement to the New World claims of Spain and Portugal; so powerful, in fact, that officially Spain based her New World claims on the 1493 bulls, particularly the second Inter Caetera, without, however, excluding other grounds. Francis I for his part brought pressure to bear on Pope Clement VII to re-interpret the Alexandrine bulls to mean that Spain's and Portugal's claims only extended to territories already discovered, and not to unknown lands. The legality of the bulls was based on the doctrine of universal papal dominion in temporal as well as spiritual matters. While it long ante-dated him, the doctrine had come to be particularly associated with Henry of Susa, Cardinal of Ostia (d.1271), and was known as the Ostiensian (or

⁸La Popelinière, Trois Mondes, avant-discours.

⁹Ibid.

Hostiensian) doctrine.¹⁰ Henry had maintained that heathens had lost their right to political jurisdiction and to worldly possessions when Christ had become king of the earth. He held that Jesus had transferred His temporal and spiritual dominion to Peter and hence to the Popes.¹¹ In practical terms, this meant that a people without a knowledge of the true God could retain their lands only with the approval of the Church. The Pope had the right to appoint a Christian ruler to bring such people within the fold of the faith; however, the power of such a prince was carefully defined as politicum and not despoticum. It was an early version of this doctrine which had guided the popes in granting heathen lands to Christians during the Crusades. In 1156 Adrian IV had accorded Ireland to Henry II of England "as an inheritance" on condition that he should bring the Irish church to accept the authority of Rome, as well as

¹⁰J.H. Parry, The Spanish Theory of Empire in the Sixteenth Century, (Cambridge, 1940), 13. An interesting work in this connection is that of John of Paris, On Royal and Papal Power, translated by J.A. Watt, (Toronto, 1971).

¹¹Henry Folmer, Franco-Spanish Rivalry in North America 1524-1763, (Glendale, 1953), 21.

order to Ireland's government.¹² The Canaries had also been the subject of a papal grant. In 1454 Pope Nicholas V had given Portugal the right to possess non-Christian lands on the West Coast of Africa, and two years later Calixtus III granted to the Grand Prior of the Order of Christ, of which Prince Henry was the administrator, spiritual control of all Portuguese dominions then and thereafter existing.¹³ A corollary and even a justification for this was later detected in the fact it was a Catholic power which had discovered the New World. That was cited as proof positive that Roman Catholicism was the true faith, as God was thus indicating the religion He wanted taught to these strange peoples.¹⁴

Such reasoning made the papal demarcation even more

¹²Folmer, Franco-Spanish Rivalry, 20. There is doubt as to the authenticity of the bull Laudabiliter, which ostensibly armed Henry II with the required papal sanction; however, in 1171-1172, the Irish accepted obedience to Rome and submitted to Henry, which along with other supporting evidence, argues in favor of the papal donation. Luis Weckmann maintains that the justification for the papal donations was based on the doctrine of Saint Peter's Patrimony, in turn derived from the spurious Donation of Constantine, by which the Pope claimed the right to dispose of islands lying off the western part of Europe. According to Weckmann, Alexander VI thought he was dividing islands between Spain and Portugal when he issued his 1493 bulls. (Las Bulas Alejandrinas..., (Mexico, 1949)). See also Weckmann's paper, "The Alexandrine Bulls of 1493," presented to the conference, First Images.

¹³R. Pierce Beaver, "America and the Revival of Christian Missionary Motivation and Action," 4, paper presented at the conference, First Images.

¹⁴Saulx, Memoires, 238-239. This was, of course, an argument that could only have developed after the appearance of Protestantism, which occurred well after the European discovery of the New World.

galling to the national pride of many Frenchmen; by what right was France, a Catholic power, excluded from the New World?¹⁵ In the words of Alfonse, "Et on faict les dessusd, les dites partaiges sans y appeler Votre Majesté royalle ne aultres vos predecesseurs. Et n'est advis qu'ils ont mal party, actendu que vous y aviez aultant et si grand droict que eulx."¹⁶ Such indignation was compounded by the immensity of the gift to the Spanish and Portuguese, once it was realized that the new lands were continents and not just islands.¹⁷ "Je ne puis pas croire," complained Thevet, "que le Pape ait accordé toute ceste longue terre depuis un Pole jusques à l'autre, veu qu'elle suffiroit à une cinquantaine de Roys Chrestiens."¹⁸ France was not to be confined to Europe, an anonymous pamphleteer proclaimed. "Il faut que les Barbares esprouvent a l'avenir la douceur de sa domination, & se polissent a son exemple...Nous sommes dans un siecle ou tout ce qui est grand, tout ce qui est beau, tout ce qui est utile pour l'Etat, s'entreprennd et

¹⁵It is conceivable that this pique with papal politics helped influence Francis to sign an alliance with Sultan Suleiman II of Turkey in 1536. France was the first western Christian power to enter into such an agreement with the infidel; Christendom --- at least that part that was serious about its religion --- was outraged. The alliance was short-lived; two years later, Francis had joined forces with his erstwhile enemy Charles V against Suleiman the Magnificent. (Seward, Prince of the Renaissance, 188, 197, 199.) I am indebted to Dr. Nicholas Wickenden for this reference.

¹⁶Alfonse, Cosmographie, 83.

¹⁷Weckmann, "The Alexandrine Bulls."

¹⁸Thevet, Cosmographie, (Chaudière), 965.

s'execute."¹⁹ Montchrestien was just as vehement:

Or maintenant s'il appartient a quelque Nation de monde d'y mettre la main, c'est a la Française, a laquelle est demeuree comme en propre la gloire des lettres et des armes, des arts et de la civilité et davantage, du vrai christianisme, quoy que les aultres prétendent.²⁰

With such sentiments so deeply felt that they continued throughout the century, Francis I was on solid nationalist grounds when he asked to see Adam's will in order to verify the Pope's right to dispose of non-Christian lands. He formally inaugurated Franco-Spanish rivalry in the New World when he sent Verrazzano to explore the North American coast in 1524.

Francis I, for all his annoyance with the Pope, agreed with him on one fundamental point: that the Amerindians, as non-Christians, did not have the right of sovereignty. Francis' dream of empire could hardly have allowed for any other position. But there were dissenting voices, even in his own realm. One of the most influential was that of a Scottish Dominican theologian at the Sorbonne, John Major (Mair, 1469-1550). Major denied the Pope's temporal dominion of the world on the grounds that Jesus had declared that His kingdom was not of this world. Therefore such dominion lay not in faith, but in natural law, which gave the infidel as much right to his land as the Christian had to his. However, Christians had not only the right but the duty to preach the

¹⁹Relation de l'Esablissement de la Compagnie françoise pour le commerce des Indes Occidentales, (Paris, 1565), 1.

²⁰Montchrestien, Oeconomie politique, 270.

Gospel; if Amerindians resisted, then Christians had the right to resort to the use of arms. In such a case the Pope could authorize the seizure of political power and the levying of tribute. As for the Amerindians,

Those people live like animals...it is evident that some men are by nature free, and others servile. In the natural order of things the qualities of some men are such that, in their own interests, it is right and just that they should serve, while others, living freely, exercise their natural authority and command.²¹

More subtle and perhaps more humane was the stand taken by another Dominican, Francisco de Vitoria (1480-1552), professor of moral theology at the University of Salamanca, considered by many to have been the founder of international law. In a series of lectures delivered in 1532 under the overall title "De Indis et De Jure Belli Relectiones," he outlined his position on the bulls of demarcation, Spanish imperial claims, and the rights of Amerindians. He agreed with Major that the bulls had no legal validity as "the Pope has no civil or temporal dominion over the earth," nor did he have temporal power over Amerindians or other pagans.²² Even if the pope had possessed such power, he could not

²¹Parry, Spanish Theory, 18. My summary of Major's thought is based on Parry. Some historians have assumed that such reasoning implies that Medieval and Renaissance Christianity saw itself as ipso facto in a state of war with all infidels. (Fred M. Kimmey, "Christianity and Indians lands," Ethnohistory VII (1960), 44.)

²²Vitoria, De Indis et de Jure Belli Relectiones, edited by Ernest Nys. In The Classics of International Law, edited by James Brown Scott, (Washington, 1977). "On the Indians", II.3 and II.6. Carlos G. Noreña surveyed Vitoria's thought in his paper, "Francisco de Vitoria, America, and the Empire" presented at the conference, First Images.

transfer it.²³ Neither could the Spanish emperor legally claim to be the lord of the earth. Even if he were granted such a position, that would still not entitle him "to seize the territories of the aborigines, nor to erect new rulers, nor to dethrone the old ones and capture their possessions."²⁴ The aborigines, he found, "undoubtedly had true dominion in both public and private matters, just like Christians, and that neither their princes nor private persons could be despoiled of their property on the ground of their not being true owners."²⁵ However, having granted Amerindians their theoretical rights, Vitoria proceeded to qualify this position. He supported the doctrine of the Christian right to preach the gospel and to resort to force if the infidels refused to listen,²⁶ and even claimed an exclusive right for Spain in this regard as one of the rights of discovery.²⁷ Discovery also gave the Spanish the exclusive rights to trade²⁸ which could also be supported by

²³"On the Indians". II.4.

²⁴Ibid. II.1.

²⁵Ibid. I.24. The issue of sovereignty and proprietary rights was further complicated by doubts as to under what circumstances rights of conquest could be invoked. Strict interpretation of legal doctrine implied that such rights only applied in the case of states. This encouraged the search for other legal justifications for assuming sovereignty over peoples not recognized as belonging to the "family of nations." For some latter-day thoughts on the subject, see L.C. Green, "Aboriginal Rights or Vested Rights?", Chitty's Law Journal, XXII #6 (1974), 219-224.

²⁶"On the Indians," III:12.

²⁷Ibid. III:10.

²⁸Ibid. III.3; and III.7. Compare this with Amerindian custom of granting exclusive trading privileges to those who made first contact with a new source. Supra, 184-185.

the use of arms, if necessary.²⁹ Further, Spaniards had the right and duty to intervene in Amerindian states to rescue people from such tyrannies as human sacrifice and cannibalistic rituals.³⁰ In other words, the propagation of Christianity could legitimately lead to the subjection of Amerindians to Christian princes on civil as well as religious grounds so long as this was done for the benefit of Amerindians rather than of Spaniards.³¹ To these arguments Vitoria added, although with considerable reservation, that Amerindians could be considered unfit to administer a lawful state on the grounds that

they have no proper laws nor magistrates, and are not even capable of controlling their family affairs; they are without any literature or arts, not only the liberal arts, but the mechanical arts also; they have no careful agriculture and no artisans; and they lack many other conveniences, yea necessities, of human life.³²

This was reinforced, Vitoria thought, by the fact that Amerindians were by nature slaves "so they may be in part governed as slaves are;" also, "their food is not more pleasant and hardly better than that of beasts."³³

In spite of such ambivalences, his lectures are often

²⁹"On the Indians" III.12.

³⁰Ibid. III.15. Vitoria even argued that the King of Spain would have the right to intervene and compel obedience if the French people refused to obey their king. (Ibid., II.7.)

³¹Ibid. III.16.

³²Ibid. III.18.

³³Ibid.

cited as the first clear statement of aboriginal rights.³⁴ But it was his arguments in favor of intervention that influenced his contemporaries, perhaps because they reflected the consensus of his time. In this regard, it would be difficult to overestimate the affect of Vitoria's reasoning, which in spite of his personal humanity, provided an instrument for the rationalization of the Spanish wars of conquest and colonization procedures which resulted in the deaths of an estimated 13 to 14 millions.³⁵ In fairness to the Spaniards, it should be emphasized that a large proportion of these deaths were due to European-introduced diseases to which the Amerindians had no immunity. Also, oddly enough, the spectacular multiplication of Spanish-introduced cattle contributed to an Amerindian demographic

³⁴Parry points to the prior work of Matías de Paz, a Dominican, and Palacios Rubios, a civil jurist. Both of these writers declared the Amerindians to be rational beings and therefore possessing basic human rights. However, they did not see this as mitigating the Christian duty of bringing them within the fold of the church. (Spanish Theory, 12-19.)

³⁵Bartolomé de Las Casas, Histoire admirable des horribles insolences, cruautés & tyrannies exercées par les Espagnols es Indes Occidentales... Fidelement traduite par Jaques de Miggrode, (s.l., 1582), 6. An anti-Spanish pamphlet entitled Harangue d'un cacique Indien en voyage aux François pour se garder de la tyrannie de l'Espagnol, (s.l., 1596), estimated that the population of the West Indies had been at five or six millions before the Spaniards had arrived and reduced it to 6,000. However, even today, estimates vary enormously as to the extent of population destruction following European contact; I have cited median figures.

decline in some areas.³⁶ By the middle of the sixteenth century Spain was no longer debating its moral right to assume control of Amerindian lands, but was consolidating and extending its New World empire.

Widely claimed by Spaniards as by others were the so-called territorial rights of discovery. As Vitoria pointed out, such claims could only apply to unoccupied lands.³⁷ Even those who advocated such a right, however, did not contend that visual apprehension or primacy of exploration were in themselves enough; some symbolic act was also felt to be necessary for a claim to be justified.³⁸ Thomas Gage, a Dominican of English origin in the service of Spain, wrote that if the Spanish were to be accorded title to New World lands because they sailed by, then

on deust donner le titre au Roy d'Espagne, que si un Navire Indien, ou un Navire Anglois ayans voyagé sur les Costes d'Espagne, avoit investy leurs Princes de la Domination de ces Pays là. Il est certain que le juste droit & la propriété de ces Pays là appartient aux habitans originaires, lesquels s'ils invitent & appellent librement & volontairement les Anglois à leur Protection; il est certain qu'il leur peuvent legitiment transferer le droit qu'ils y

³⁶Crosby, Columbian Exchange, 99. Some native American animals suffered a similar fate, and for some of the same reasons---disease and brutal exploitation. The llama and the alpaca both declined heavily in numbers after the Spanish arrival. (*Ibid.*, 94.)

³⁷"On the Indians" II:7. This was also the position of Hugo Grotius. (J. Holland Rose *et al.*, Cambridge History of the British Empire, 8 vols., (Cambridge, 1929), I: 192.)

³⁸Arthur S. Keller, Oliver J. Lissitzyn and Frederick J. Mann, Creation of Rights of Sovereignty through Symbolic Acts, 1400-1800, (New York, 1938), 148.

ont.³⁹

Portuguese and French erected crosses or monuments bearing royal arms: for example, Ribault in Florida; Cartier in the Gaspé and later at Charlesbourg; Poutrincourt and De Monts along the New England coast; Champlain in the interior. Razilly in Brazil elicited the aid of the natives to erect crosses in two different locations. In the latter case, he then held a procession in which the arms of France were borne.⁴⁰ The fact that Amerindians might have been unaware of the significance of the act, or perhaps had even been misled as in the case of Cartier on the Gaspé, did not obviate the consequent French claim to those territories, at least in the eyes of France. Spaniards also read the requerimiento to the uncomprehending natives. This was a legal document which called upon the Amerindians to abjure their false beliefs and accept Christianity or else suffer the consequences.⁴¹ The English and the Dutch favored agreements, which usually took the form of a nominal "purchase", in which the goods given in exchange usually

³⁹Thomas Gage, Nouvelle relation contenant les voyages de Thomas Gage dans la Nouvelle Espagne... traduit de l'anglois par le sieur de Beaulieu Huës O'Neil, 4 vols., (Paris, 1676), I:Epistre.

⁴⁰Père Claude, Maragnan, 87 verso; Troisième tome du Mercure françois, (Paris, 1617), 7. The French, on planting their cross on Maragnan, told the Amerindians that it obliged them "a quitter leur mauvaise façon de vivre, & principalement de ne plus manger chair humain...d'obeir a les loys [des françois] et leur prêtes; troisiement, de deffendre la croix avec leurs vies." (Père Claude, op. cit., loc. cit.)

⁴¹Parry, Spanish Theory, 6-8. Palacios Rubios drafted the requerimiento in 1510.

bore no relation to the value of the land received, even in the terms of the day. These agreements were ambiguous in the sense that Europeans used them as a device for peaceful occupation of the land rather than as a tool of international diplomacy, because the latter would have implicitly recognized the sovereignty of the Amerindians.⁴² It was partly to avoid this ambiguity in regard to acts of

⁴²Keller *et al.*, Sovereignty, 150-151. From the Amerindian point of view, such purchases were merely conveyances of residence and subsistence rights for as long a time as the interested parties were satisfied with the terms. Hence the Amerindians considered it quite within their rights to return later and ask for additional payments, giving rise to the derisory epithet, "Indian giving." (Allen W. Trelease, "Indian Relations and the Fur Trade in New Netherland." 48.) That the English did not consider purchase as implying recognition of Amerindian sovereignty is abundantly clear from the royal charters issued for the purpose of colonization. See Kimzey, "Christianity and Indian Lands," 44-60. The English also used evangelization as rationalization for the seizure of Amerindian lands. Trade was another means of peaceful occupation; in 1698, Gov. Francis Nicholson of Maryland urged a policy of furnishing "the inland Indians with goods in such quantity and so cheap that they may take the trade from the French or prevent their increasing it, and may make settlements among the Indians, as the French do, and build vessels upon their lakes." (Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 27 October 1697-31 December 1698, (London, 1905). Governor Nicholson to Council of Trade and Plantations, 20 August 1698, 392.) Similar sentiments were expressed by Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont, Governor of New York. (*Ibid.*, 547-548.) However, quite another method of procedure was indicated by a colonization tract of the early part of the century, which had not only made no mention of Amerindian territorial rights, but had said the English assured their peace "by killing the Barbarians." (Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, Encouragements for such as shall have intention to bee Undertakers in the new plantation of Cape Breton, (Edinburgh, 1625), 20.)

possession that the French never resorted to purchase.⁴³ Instead they turned the Amerindian practice of usufruct to their own advantage by inverting the Ostiensian doctrine with the argument that they received the use of New World lands in return for teaching Amerindians their new religion. This was perfectly acceptable to the latter, who for their part made use of this point in their negotiations with the English. There was no great debate in sixteenth century France on the question of aboriginal territorial rights, although such a literary figure as the Huguenot Urbain Chauveton insisted on the theoretical right of each man to live in liberty and free from the danger of assault from his neighbour.⁴⁴

This point was also supported by the papacy, first of all by Paul III⁴⁵ and later, in 1639, by Urban VIII. The fact that Urban had found it necessary to repeat the official Catholic position that Amerindians were not to be deprived of their liberty or the possession of their property indicates the prevalence of abuses in this regard. Indeed, the more firmly European powers became established

⁴³Earl Edward Muntz, "Race Contact, A Study of the Social and Economic Consequences of Contact Between Civilized and Uncivilized Races," PhD thesis, (Yale University, 1925), 81. This thesis was published in 1927. Also, Jean Leclerc, "L'expédition de Denonville, 1687; antécédents et suites," thesis for Doctorat ès Lettres, (Université de Laval, 1964), 52.

⁴⁴Le Challeux, Brief Discours, 7-8; and Benzoni, Histoire Nouvelle, Au Lecteur.

⁴⁵Supra, 84-85.

in the New World, the less was their inclination to recognize aboriginal rights. As Marc Lescarbot (1570-1642), the lawyer who spent a year at Port Royal with De Monts and Champlain put it,

there is here no question of applying the law and policy of Nations, by which it would not be permissible to claim the territory of another. This being so, we must possess it and preserve its natural inhabitants.⁴⁶

Amerindians in the meantime had no doubts as to their own sovereignty. One group, upon being informed of the papal donation, was reported to have laughed and replied

que le Pape devoit être très liberal de ce qui appartenoit à autrui...puisque'il donnoit ce qui n'étoit pas sien; et que leur Roi étoit quelque pauvre homme, puisque'il demandoit [des terres].⁴⁷

The French, in repeating such tales with obvious relish, were motivated less by concern about Amerindian territorial rights than they were by anti-Spanish sentiment. For the Amerindians, the problem was essentially one of power. They possessed neither the political hegemony nor the technology to defend their rights. Those who were not organized into city-states were further handicapped by their social philosophy, which called for the sharing of land and its

⁴⁶Lescarbot, History of New France, I: 17. Lescarbot had elaborated: "Que sert de prendre tant de peine pour aller à une terre de conquête, si ce n'est pour la posséder entièrement? Et pour la posséder, il faut se camper en la terre ferme et la bien cultiver." (Cited by Jean-Claude Wagnières in Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, 298.)

⁴⁷Gómara, Histoire Generale, 233; similar sentiments were reported by Le Challeux, Brief Discours, 7-8; Thevet, Cosmographie, 964 verso; and La Popelinière, Les Trois Mondes, Liv. II: 53 verso.

resources. This led them at first to welcome Europeans.⁴⁸

As these debates were going on, wealth from the New World was transforming the 1500's into Europe's Golden Century. Between 1500 and 1650, 181 tons of gold and 16,000 tons of silver reached Europe officially from America.⁴⁹ This movement reached massive proportions beginning with the 1530's and culminated during the first decade of the 1600's.⁵⁰ According to Acosta,

Et est chose incroyable de voir le grand nombre de ces marchandises, que l'on enlève en un flotte, n'estant quasi pas vraysemblable, qu'en tout l'Europe on en peust tant

⁴⁸Amerindians have various stories to illustrate this point, such as the that of the tribesman offering a European a seat on his log, and finally being shoved off. (Indians Without Tipis: A Resource Book, edited by D. Bruce Sealey and Verna J. Kirkness, (Vancouver, 1973), frontispiece. For another version of the same idea, see Katherine Turner, Red Men Calling on the Great White Feather, (Norman, Okla., 1951), xiii.)

⁴⁹Elliott, Old World, 60-61. A seventeenth-century writer set the amount at "66 millions" without specifying the unit of measure. (Berquen, Les Merveilles des Indes, 107.)

⁵⁰Kamen says the peak was reached during the decade of 1591-1600 when about 19 million grams of gold and about three million grams of silver reached Europe. (Kamen, Iron Century, 79.) Geographer Pierre Du Val d'Abbeville estimated in 1674 that Spain's annual revenue from the New World totalled 10 to 12 millions from various sources, such as pearls, cochineal and sugar, besides gold and silver. (Memoires geographiques, (Lyon, 1674), 13.)

gaster.⁵¹

From Peru alone in 1533, Spain received "cent millions d'or et deux fois autant d'argent, la rançon du roy Atabalira revenoit à 1,326,000 bezan d'or."⁵² A later writer set the ransom figure at 27,000,000 in gold, which he said was more than existed in all of Spain at that time.⁵³ Whether this treasure trove entered Europe officially through Spanish ports or unofficially through those of France or elsewhere,

⁵¹Acosta, Histoire naturelle, 118. Amerindians reacted to Europeans' search for wealth by considering themselves privileged in this regard. They were puzzled, however, by the claim of Christians that their God was all-rich and all-powerful: "Ils demanderent pourquoi il ne donnoit donc pas aux Chrestiens les richesses et necessitez; sans qu'ils prissent la peine avec tant de dangers d'en venir chercher en l'Amerique, & en emprunter de ceux qu'ils appelloient mecroysans." (Saint-Michel, Voyage des isles Camercanes, Au Lecteur.) The materialistic values of Christian Europe were later reflected by Jean-Baptiste Saint-Vallier, Bishop of Quebec, when he repeated, with unconscious irony, that before they were Christians, the people of New France buried their dead with all their best things; but since becoming enlightened by the Gospel, they bury their dead with their worst things. (Estat present de l'Eglise, et de la colonie française de la Nouvelle France, (Paris, 1688), 160-161.)

⁵²Jean Bodin, Les Paradoxes du seigneur de Malestroit...avec la responce de Jean Bodin..., (Paris, 1578), gii verso. I have made no attempt to work out equivalent values in currencies, as the subject is much too complex for the purposes of this thesis. An indication of this was given by Wyndham Beawes when he tried to simplify the matter: making equivalencies, he wrote, was "not over difficult, as it only consists in making the Comparison between the intrinsic value of the Gold and Silver Coins of each Country, and the Price they pass current at; it is therefore necessary that the exact Weight and Standard of such Monies be first known." (Lex Mercatoria Rediviva: or, A Complete code of commercial law, (fifth edition, revised by Thomas Mortimer), (London, 1792), 485.)

⁵³Berquen, Les Merveilles des Indes, 88. A conquistador complained that after a division of spoils in Peru, more than 180,000 livres of gold and silver remained which was not, however, divided among the men. (L'Histoire de la Terre Neuve du Perou, Niiij verso.)

the result was an unprecedented increase in Europe's supply of precious metals. Spanish coins struck with gold and silver from the New World became the legal tender of the West.⁵⁴

In spite of its enormous contribution, America was not the only source of wealth for Spain. Bodin, in his Réponse à Malestroit, published in 1568, pointed to the riches flowing in from the Orient and Africa as well as from the New World. In 1554, the Spanish Crown's American revenue represented only 11% of its total;⁵⁵ in other words, America was not the sole factor in the situation, although its bullion and silver provided a principal stimulus for European capital formation.⁵⁶

The influx, from whatever source, was such that gold "est devenu à bon marché" and prices jumped enormously:

⁵⁴George Masselman, The Cradle of Colonialism, (New Haven, 1963), 72. It was told of Cortés that toward the end of his life "il en empruntoit à gros intérêt des usuriers, pour la distribuer aux pauvres; disant que par cette pieuse profusion il effaçoit ses pechez & achetoit le ciel." (De Thou, Histoire Universelle, I: 214.)

⁵⁵Elliott, Old World, 85.

⁵⁶Ibid., 78. Earl Jefferson Hamilton demonstrated the importance of American bullion and silver to European capital formation in American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, (Cambridge, Mass., 1934). It should be remembered, however, that wealth from the New World came in other forms as well, such as sugar, which had been previously obtainable only at apothecaries. (Maffeo, Histoire des Indes, 91.) Gaffarel makes the point that the influx of moveable riches into Europe shifted the emphasis from land, which had been formerly considered the measure of wealth. This in turn affected concepts of class structure and human rights. (Histoire de la découverte, 422.)

Auparavant le vin estoit à un liard la pinte, la journée de trois sols; maintenant le depense est dix fois doublée, ainsi que l'or trouvé, par lequel ils ont autant de fois peu acheter le monde, avec moyen de retirer leur argent par les épiceries.⁵⁷

Saulx wrote those words in his journal in 1536, which, however, was not published until the nineteenth century.

Bodin later wrote in terms similar to Saulx: "l'or & l'argent est venu en si grande abondance de terres neuves, mesme du Peru, que toutes choses sont encheries dix fois plus qu'elles n'estoyent."⁵⁸ Before the discovery of the New World prices had been 10, 12 times cheaper.⁵⁹ The trouble with such a situation was that its effects spread quickly throughout Europe, whereas the influx of wealth was both slower and more restricted. France, however, managed very well, as its income increased 4 1/2 times during the sixteenth century.⁶⁰ International rivalries by this time were being expressed in terms of gaining control of sources of wealth. Robert de Berquen (fl. 1615-1661) observed that the Spanish were fortunate to have rich enemies, in contrast

⁵⁷ Saulx, Memoires, 239. Importations of New World gold and silver accentuated a trend rather than inaugurating it, as prices had begun to rise before the importations began. (Kamen, Iron Century, 64.)

⁵⁸ Jean Bodin, Les Six Livres de la République (Lyon, 1579), 614. This seems to have been a widely accepted conclusion at the time. Gómara had already made a similar observation in Historia general de las Indias (Madrid, 1522), 231.

⁵⁹ Bodin, op. cit., loc. cit. However, Spanish authorities apparently did not share this view, as their contemporary accounts of rising prices do not mention imports of American gold and silver. (Hamilton, American Treasure, 289.)

⁶⁰ Julian Dent, "The Historical Background of the French Renaissance," paper presented at the National Gallery of Canada 3 April 1973 in connection with the exhibition, "Fontainebleau".

to "nostre brave et genereuse noblesse de France" who fought the poor Germans. He added, "il y a plus d'honneur de combattre ou vaincre de braves gens que de miserables."⁶¹

In her pique at having been caught off guard, and confronted with the alliance of papal authority and overwhelming Spanish might in the New World, France resorted to a policy of harrassment. It was a policy that was to enjoy considerable success as French privateers became the scourge of the Spanish Main. (It must be admitted that they were not alone in this use of violence as an arm of diplomacy. The English and the Dutch contributed some spectacular personalities and episodes to this extraordinary development in international relations.) It was to be marked by such colorful incidents as Jean Florin's capture of the richest of the two ships whose cargo included Montezuma's treasures sent over by Cortés from Mexico in 1523.⁶² The Mexican ruler's treasure had been selected by Cortés for the Spanish emperor not only for its intrinsic value but also with the eye of a connoisseur; its value was placed by Martire at 150,000 ducats.⁶³ But Francis I was enamored with the arts of Italy, for which he was establishing a showcase at Fontainebleau; he had no place to accord to the arts of the New World. Besides, he was perennially short of money in his expensive pursuit of his country's aggrandizement; and

⁶¹Berquen, Les Nerveilles, 89.

⁶²Anghiera, De Orbe Novo, (MacNutt,) II:177.

⁶³Ibid, 196.

so Montezuma's golden treasure was melted into bullion. The total loss to Spain has been estimated at 800,000 ducats,⁶⁴ an estimate that does not take into account the loss to the art world.

Privateering and outright piracy led to an escalating series of armed encounters that by the middle of the century had developed into open warfare between the fishing fleets of the Grand Banks.⁶⁵ The Spanish attempt to destroy the French fishing fleet very nearly succeeded in 1554-1555.⁶⁶ As Europe relied heavily upon Newfoundland cod for food, the situation called for regulation. It was complicated by economic difficulties which were being felt throughout Europe, but particularly in Spain which had been hit by a series of crises: the influx of New World gold and silver was contributing to conditions which Old World economies were not yet equipped to handle.

Thus for a variety of reasons Henry II of France and Philip II of Spain were forced to the negotiating table in

⁶⁴Luis Diez del Corral, "L'Europe face à l'Amérique," La Découverte de L'Amérique (Paris, 1968) 325-335.

⁶⁵It was this conflict which gave rise to the flamboyant corsair Guillaume Pépin de La Broussadière, noted for his taste in clothes. In red boots, black doublet and cape, he sailed off to attack the Spanish fishing fleet. (Kenneth H.H. Umstead, "The French in the Americas During the Sixteenth Century," PhD thesis, (University of California, 1939), 40.)

⁶⁶Ibid., 174; Folmer, Franco-Spanish Rivalry, 66. The importance of the fishing fleet to France can be gauged by the report, although possibly exaggerated, that it provided a living for 100,000 persons. (André Malapart, La prise d'un seigneur écossais, (Rouen, 1630), 13.)

1559. In spite of the fact that the French had managed to isolate Spain in the New World by means of a treaty of neutrality with Portugal signed at Lyon the 14th of July 1536, they were again unsuccessful in obtaining Spanish recognition of their right to go to the New World.⁶⁷ But the treaty that was hammered out, that of Cateau-Cambrésis, did restore peace for a time. The Spanish and French monarchs apparently came to a verbal agreement during the negotiations, to the effect that never again would violence in the New World be considered a cause of war in the Old; also, that European treaties would not be automatically applicable in the Americas.⁶⁸ The monarchs, in trying to ensure peace in the Old World by divorcing it from the New, in effect left the latter in a perpetual state of war. It was a situation that was to last for almost two centuries.

France had to wait until 1598 for even a partial recognition by Spain of her New World claims, a reluctant move that had received its initial impetus from the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. In the Treaty of Vervins Philip II and Henry IV agreed upon a "ligne d'amitié," drawn north of the Canaries, which removed the threat of Spanish molestation from France's activities in northern North America. It was the first of several such lines which were

⁶⁷Earlier, at the Treaty of Vaucelles, 5 February 1556, Henry II had been forced to recognize Spain's exclusive right to the Indies. (Folmer, Franco-Spanish Rivalry, 67.)

⁶⁸Max Savelle, The Diplomatic History of the Canadian Boundary 1749-1763, (New Haven, 1940), vii, viii.

to progressively restrict the areas of activity for piracy.

The settlement of Vervins was especially important to the French Atlantic port cities with large numbers of Huguenots. These enterprising people, besides being deeply involved in imperial and commercial rivalries, had risked being persecuted for heresy whenever they had ventured into the New World.⁶⁹ The mercantile cities of Normandy and Brittany were the principal agents for French trans-Atlantic initiative, and so their stakes were high.

Although the western monarchs fought between themselves over the wealth of the New World, they were united in their belief that their divine mandates to convert the heathen included the right to make grants of New World territory to their own subjects. As they saw it, they also had the right to claim vast stretches of territory which in the European sense were not occupied at all, but were "ranged" rather

⁶⁹Portuguese had made similar use of religion against Huguenots. In 1573, they burned a Frenchman as a heretic at Bahia, the first auto-da-fé on Brazilian territory. (Henri Hauser, "Les huguenots français au Brésil (1560-1584), d'après des documents portugais," Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, 1937, 114.) Paul E. Hoffman touches on the situation in "Diplomacy and the Papal Donation," The Americas, XXX (1974), 151-183.

than settled by their nomadic inhabitants.⁷⁰ According to the Renaissance view, God had intended land to be farmed; and so the Divine mandate was extended to include the right to take over such territories in order to realize God's will. It was a theory that eventually was given its classic formulation by Emerich de Vattel (1714-1767) in Le Droit des gens (1758). Bolstered by such reasoning, western monarchs quickly began to make huge grants of New World lands, which was then used by the grantees to establish "legal" claims for colonization. When boundaries overlapped or grants conflicted, as inevitably happened, the ensuing disputes and hostilities were always between the rival claimants and never took into consideration the Amerindians whose territory was being disputed. When two New England Amerindians, Bombazeen and Esumuit, insisted that their lands were inalienable, the English regarded this as "insolent" and observed that "nobody doubts but that the French missionaries prompt 'em to."⁷¹ That incident indicates not only growing restiveness of Amerindians at

⁷⁰For instance, "A Good Speed to Virginia" in 1609 said "it is likely true that these savages have no particular property or parcell of that country, but only a general residence there as wild beasts have in the forest." (Cited by Ralph Horton, "The Relations Between the Indians and the Whites in Colonial Virginia," MA thesis, (University of Chicago, 1921), 20.) See also Francis Jennings, "Virgin Land and Savage People," American Quarterly (October 1971), 519-541.

⁷¹Joseph, "French and English Pressures," 94. However, the Virginia Assembly had recognized as early as 1622 that English encroachment on Amerindian lands was the chief cause of friction between the races. (Horton, "Relations in Colonial Virginia," 21.)

European infringements on their lands, but also the beginnings of French exploitation of that reaction as a weapon against the English.

It was very early realized that land grants were not effective unless they were reinforced with permanent settlement. France's quasi-permanent fishing establishments along the Atlantic Coast were not considered satisfactory for securing their claims, any more than were seasonal trading posts such as the one at Tadoussac. Neither the fishing nor the fur-trading interests were concerned with settlement; to the contrary, it was much simpler and more profitable to come to the New World for the appropriate season and to return home as soon as possible. This was particularly true for the fur trade, for which settlement was inimical. But political considerations prevailed; Francis I wanted forts, houses and churches built, the visible and permanent signs of France in America.

Politics were one thing, but actually living in the New World was something else again. In the north there was the climate, so different from that of France. According to the theory of the day, the St. Lawrence Valley, being at the same latitude as La Rochelle, should have had the same climate. But the logic of that position was not borne out by the facts. Something must be responsible, and so the forests

were blamed.⁷² The theory was that the forests held the cold; once the land was cleared and brought under cultivation, the climate would then become like that of France.⁷³ This concept of the forest as enemy prevailed throughout the period of the French presence in America, and even extended long afterward. The wilderness, far from being regarded as either beautiful or desirable, was habitually described with the aid of such adjectives as "affreux", "hideux", "rude", "desert", etc. Incidentally, Europeans, did not find an "untouched wilderness" as the cliché would have it; the forest had long been occupied and modified by various Amerindian cultures. However, the degree of modification did vary with the location and intensity of settlement. The clearings left behind by early agriculturalists were a boon to such settlements as Quebec and Montreal, providing the colonists with a base from which to attack the forest.

The contrast between hostile views and those expressed by proponents of exploitation of the new land could hardly have been sharper. Thevet described Canadian lands as "bien

⁷²Alfonse, Cosmographie, 495; Denys, Description, 250; Dièreville, Relation, 90. By mid-eighteenth century the forests were still being held responsible for the cold climate: "Je ne prétends pas dissimuler ici que, si l'Amérique se trouve plus froide que l'Europe dans les mêmes parallèles nord, la cause peut & doit en partie être attribuée au défaut de culture & aux vastes forêts qui le couvrent. Les grands bois entretiennent les brouillards & un grand degré de froid dans les contrées qui en sont trop fournies." (Brosse, Histoire des Navigations, I: 49).

⁷³Sauer, Sixteenth Century America, 278.

temperée et fertile comme est celle de Gascoigne propre à produire toutes sortes de grains."⁷⁴ Even fur traders saw benefits: "Quant aux pays, jamais je n'ay veu rien de si beau, meilleur ny plus fertile," observed one of them by the name of Bertrand.⁷⁵ Such sentiments were to be repeated by Champlain as well as by Nicolas Denys and others.⁷⁶ The health and vigor of the Amerindians was also thought to be at least partly due to the climate, which as a result was persistently described as "healthful." Once the French were established and flourishing along the St. Lawrence, their good health in turn was ascribed to the same cause.⁷⁷

But hazards were perceived in this strange new climate. For one thing, it had been cited as a factor in the beardlessness of Amerindians.⁷⁸ More seriously, what effect

⁷⁴André Thevet, "Le Grand Insulaire et Pilotage," PAC, Bibliothèques de Paris, Séries 1A2, Vol. 49: 110.

⁷⁵Sieur Bertrand, Lettre Missive touchant la conversion et baptême du grand Sagamos de la Nouvelle France..., (Paris, 1610), 4-5.

⁷⁶Biggar, Champlain, III:13; Denys, Description, 90, 106, 247-256.

⁷⁷Pierre Boucher, Histoire véritable et naturelle des moeurs et productions du pays de la Nouvelle France, vulgairement dite le Canada, (Paris, 1664:Facsimile by la Société Historique de Boucherville, 1964), 2, 142. Another chronicler of the New World, Charles Chaulmer, observed that where in Europe a draft in a house caused a person to catch cold, in the New World, the winters were long and the snow fell continually, and the cold "ne leur faisoit autre mal que de les tenir en bon appetit." (Le Nouveau Monde où l'Amérique chrétienne... (Paris, 1659), 42.)

⁷⁸Gregorio García had made this proposition in Origen de los indios de el nuevo mundo, e Indias occidentales, (Madrid, 1607). However, he modified his position by allowing that hereditary was also a factor, (Huddleston, Origins of the American Indians, 68-69).

would it have on the colour of colonists after a few years? What about their children? According to the beliefs of the day, the "olivâtre" tone of the aborigines was due to the climate.⁷⁹ While "olivâtre" was not as extreme as black, which denoted moral depravity,⁸⁰ it was still a long way from white, which as a colour was seen as the most pleasing to God.⁸¹ Would European settlers eventually turn the colour of Amerindians? Palma Cayet had written,

qu'il suffit qu'un homme blanc comme neige passe la ligne aequinociale...qu'il sejourne quelques années en Barbarie, pour devenir noir comme pix, & plus un homme est blanc tant plustost devient-il noir.⁸²

He illustrated this with the example of Dom Christophe, "fils puisné" of King Dom Antoine, who after three years as a young man in Morocco had become so dark that his old friends did not recognize him upon his return.⁸³ Cayet did not suggest that the tan would disappear with time. Ronsard alluded to this problem in "Les Isles fortunées":

De ne vouloir en France revenir
Jusques à tant qu'on voie devenir
Le More blanc, & le François encore
Se basanant prendre le teint d'un More.⁸⁴

⁷⁹Supra, 68-71. Also, Geography of Claudius Ptolemy, translated and edited by Edward Luther Stevenson, (New York, 1932), 31-32. Even Montaigne believed that climate affected personality and appearance. (Villey, Les sources de Montaigne, II: 314.)

⁸⁰Because the body was viewed as the dress of the soul black skin was taken to indicate moral depravity, (Chinard, L'Amérique et Le rêve exotique, 20.) At best, it argued "a natural melancholy." (Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, 181.)

⁸¹Du Choul, Discours de la religion, 297.

⁸²Cayet, Chronologie septenaire, II: 249 verso.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Le Moine, L'Amérique et les poètes français, 189.

There seems to have been comparatively little speculation as to why Amerindians and Negroes brought to Europe did not turn white.⁸⁵ This could have been a consequence of the Renaissance conviction that change, instead of leading to improvement, led to deterioration. Europeans were convinced that as white was superior to black or any of the shades in between, Amerindians or Negroes transplanted to Europe could hardly be expected to lighten. Such an attitude was a corollary to the belief that transplanted cultures tended to deteriorate.⁸⁶ From this was to develop the later conviction that a Frenchman or Spaniard or Englishman or indeed any European born and raised in Europe was superior to one born and raised in the colonies.

So firmly attached were Europeans to the theory that skin colour was the result of climate that they had difficulty in accepting what they saw in the New World. The climate for vast areas of these lands was very similar to that of Europe. Why were not the inhabitants white? Perhaps their nakedness had something to do with it. Vespucci wrote, "I believe that if they went clothed they would be as white as we."⁸⁷ This was also the impression of Cartier, who expressed himself in similar words.⁸⁸ From the north, there

⁸⁵ See Winthrop Jordan, White over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812, (Chapel Hill, 1968), 14-15.

⁸⁶ Supra, 75-76. On the general Renaissance fascination with mutability and decay, the "dance of death", see Hodgen, Early Anthropology, 257ff.

⁸⁷ Vespucci, First Four Voyages, 7.

⁸⁸ Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 268.

were persistent reports of white Amerindians.⁸⁹ More subtle minds tried to find evidence that the further north, the lighter were Amerindians,⁹⁰ or else, that the northern Amerindians were "demy-brun, non toutefois pour la chaleur du soleil, mais plutost à cause du grand froid, ou bien parcequ'ils frottent, brouillent leurs faces d'herbes & d'autres teintures noires."⁹¹

Another way of indicating that Amerindians were not really coloured, was to refer to them as "quelque peu basané." The term "basané" had strong connotations of rusticity and lack of sophistication, and so in effect

⁸⁹Corte-Real reported that the northern Amerindians were like the Brazilians, except that they were white. However, the cold caused them to turn a sallow brown with age. (Morison, Portuguese Voyages, 70.) Boucher repeated that idea in Histoire véritable, 92. Other references to white Amerindians in the north are found in Anghiera, De Orbe Novo (MacNutt), II: 259; Sagard, Long Journey, 136; Le Blanc, Voyages, 64; Girava in Apianus, Cosmographie, 166. White Amerindians were also reported from the south; for instance, Alfonse, Voyages aventureux, 33. Geographer Guillaume Le Testu illustrated Brazilians as being white in his 1555 New World map. It was reproduced in Horizon IX, #4, (1972), 32. See also Jordan, White over Black, 250; and Maurice Marc Wasserman, The American Indian as seen by seventeenth century chronicles, (Philadelphia, 1954), 36ff.

⁹⁰Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 182; "Rapport de Giovanni de Verrazzano, sur la terre qu'il a découverte au nom de Sa Majesté, à Dieppe, le 8 juillet 1524" in Ramusio, Navigations et Voyages, 100. It was also sometimes reported of Inuit that they were nearly white, and that the men occasionally had beards. See, for example, Almanach américain, 23; in this case, however, the author felt that this indicated that the Inuit were of a different race from Amerindians. Charlevoix doubted a report of a black people with thick lips, wide noses and white, straight hair living in far northern Labrador on the ground that it would be strange indeed to find "hommes noirs si près du Pole, & sous un climat, où les Ours mêmes sont blanc." (Histoire, I: 27.)

⁹¹Wytfliet, Histoire universelle, 126.

equated Amerindians with European peasantry. This was convenient, as a similar identification was frequently made in regard to intelligence. Such attitudes probably at least partly account for the persistence of reports that Amerindians were born white and turned "olivâtre" through the use of oils and paints. D'Avity, to cite only one writer, noted that Amerindians were

olivâtre ou basannez, non de naissance; mais pour ce qu'estans le plus du temps nuds, ils se frottent d'huile contre les mouches, outre qu'ils couchent toujours à terre, ou sont exposez à la chaleur & au vent.⁹²

On another occasion he referred to their colour being the same as that of Orientals.⁹³ Belief in the whiteness of Amerindians at birth was subscribed to by such diverse figures as Marie de l'Incarnation⁹⁴ and Père Claude, who persuaded an Amerindian father not to oil his baby, so that it would be left to its natural whiteness.⁹⁵ Père Claude had earlier expressed his conviction that Amerindians were born as white as the infants of France.⁹⁶ The worthy Capuchin did not report on the results of his experiment, but later another missionary noted rather testily

⁹² D'Avity, Description generale, 30; Sagard, Long Journey, 136; Coréal, Voyages, II: 36. William Wood, after noting that Amerindians were born fair, attributed their smooth skins to their habit of anointing themselves with oils. (New England Prospect, (Boston, 1865), 71.)

⁹³ D'Avity, Estats, Empires, 262.

⁹⁴ Marie de l'Incarnation, Ursuline de Tours: Fondatrice des Ursulines de la Nouvelle France, Ecrits spirituels et historiques, edited by Albert Jamet, 4 vols., (Paris, 1930), III:374.

⁹⁵ Père Claude, Maragnan, 315-315 verso.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 266 verso.

une preuve manifeste de la fausseté de cette proposition, est que nous avons quantité d'enfans Sauvages parmy nous, sur lesquels on n'a jamais appliqué aucune de ces couleurs, neantmoins ils ne laissent pas d'être bazannez comme les autres.⁹⁷

Other voices of dissent included that of Bernabé Cobo, who wrote in 1653 that color was part of the nature of man and was not caused by climate.⁹⁸ This, of course, supported the opinion that color could not be changed by the application of paints and oils. But, as had already been noted in connection with the hairy man, myths can be hard to kill. And so reports as to the essential whiteness of Amerindians persisted.⁹⁹

In other respects also, Amerindians were viewed as being similar to Europeans. According to Antoine Du Perier, they resembled the French "de la taille & des traits du

⁹⁷Du Tertre, Histoire general, 398-399. Martin Frobisher also noted that the "tawny or olive" color of Amerindians was natural, "as appeared by their Infants, and seems [to be] the complexion of all Amerindians." (Nathaniel Crouch (pseud. Robert Burton), The English Empire in America, (London, 1695). 20.)

⁹⁸Historia del Nuevo Mundo, ed., Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, 4 vols., (Seville, 1890-1893) III: 13-14.

⁹⁹Thomas Lechford, Plain Dealing: or Newes from New England, (London, 1642), 103, in Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, series 3, Volume 3; Antoine Du Pérrier, Les Amours de Pistion, (Paris, 1601), 9; and, during the eighteenth century, in "Un voyage inédit à la Nouvelle-France (Canada) sous Louis XV (1734) relation inédite de J. Navières," by L. Drapeyron in Revue de géographie, (Paris, 1882), I: 11. Wasserman also noted the persistence of the belief that Amerindians acquired their color by choice. (The American Indian as seen by seventeenth century chronicles, 36-41.) This attitude seems to have been reinforced by the observation that Europeans who lived in the New World did not change color, not even after several generations. Therefore, if climate was not the cause of Amerindians' color, then it must lie in their customs and practices.

visage plus que nation que j'aye jamais vue,"¹⁰⁰ a view which found many echoes.¹⁰¹ One sixteenth century English observer, John Guy, said of the people of Newfoundland that their hair was brown and yellow as well as black, an observation which apparently supports the theory that Vikings assimilated with the Inuit after the dissolution of the Greenland settlements during the fifteenth century. Or else it could be that men from the fishing fleets occasionally defected to the aborigines.¹⁰²

The idea of the basic whiteness of Amerindians was to give impetus to the seventeenth-century French drive to evangelize and intermarry with them. Whereas in New France this goal seemed to hold some prospect of realization,¹⁰³ in other parts of the New World it did not appear so hopeful. The Capuchin Père Yves reported from Brazil in 1613-1614 that the Tupinamba had suggested such an alliance with the

¹⁰⁰Du Périer, Amours de Pistion, 9.

¹⁰¹For example, Navières, "Un voyage inédit", 11.

¹⁰²Such a defection could be an explanation for an Amerindian grave, if one is to credit a report attributed to the Pilgrim Fathers. The grave was described as "much bigger and larger than any wee had yet seene," and its contents listed as including a skull which had fine yellow hair on it. It had been "bound up in a Saylers Canvas Casacke, and a payre of Cloth Breeches." (George Frederick Clarke, Someone Before Us: Our Maritime Indians (Fredicton, 1968), 91-92.) Surprise was still being expressed during the eighteenth century at different types of men living under the same climate. See Brosse, Histoire des Navigations, II: 376. For a general discussion of European notions about Amerindian colour, see Jordan, White Over Black.

¹⁰³Champlain said on at least two occasions that "our young men will marry your daughters, and we shall be one people." (Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, V: 211 and X:26).

French. Père Yves's words on this subject were almost exactly those of Champlain, but his conclusion was quite different: "nous ne verrons pas ces choses."¹⁰⁴ While the policy of creating one race was doomed to failure in New France as elsewhere--Amerindians and French were still distinct entities at the end of the French régime in 1760--still there was enough intermixing for a writer in a South Carolina newspaper in 1742 to refer to the French as "swarthy brethren" of Amerindians.¹⁰⁵ Shortly afterwards, in 1753, Abbé Pierre Simon Maillard noted that intermixing had already proceeded so far that in his opinion in 50 years it would be impossible to distinguish Amerindian from French in Acadia.¹⁰⁶

If the policy of creating one race had worked better, France might have avoided the difficulties of recruiting colonists. The question of population, of who to send over to settle in the New World, was not a simple one for France; as a land power fast developing to the point where she would be able to challenge successfully the predominance of Spain in Europe, she felt that she needed her population at home.

¹⁰⁴Yves [d'Evreux], Suite de l'histoire des choses plus memorables advenues en Naragan, ès annees 1613 & 1614..., (Paris, 1615), 270.

¹⁰⁵Jordan, White Over Black, 254.

¹⁰⁶Le Courtois de Surlaville, Les Derniers Jours de L'Acadie (1748-1758). Correspondances et mémoires extraits du portefeuille de M. Le Courtois de Surlaville, Lieutenant-Général des Armées du Roi Ancien Major des troupes de l'Ille Royale, edited by Gaston du Boscq de Beaumont, (Paris, 1899), 85.

Demographically, she was still recovering during the seventeenth century from the effects of the Black Death, which had had such devastating effects on all of Europe through the Middle Ages, particularly in 1348-1350 when close to half the population had been carried off. The threat of further population loss due to pestilence, famine and war always lurked close. It was generally believed that one way of measuring a nation's wealth was by the size of its population, and that sending large bodies of people out to the colonies could only result in depopulation at home. This was often cited as a reason for Spain's waning power during the second half of the century.¹⁰⁷ But to challenge Spain overseas France needed a more substantial base than was provided by her merchants and traders on the one hand and her privateers, filibustiers and buccaneers on the other.¹⁰⁸ Her first reaction was to turn to those elements of her population that were not far removed from pirates, those who had run afoul of the law. The main groups of

¹⁰⁷A seventeenth-century argument against this belief was presented by Sir Josiah Child, A New discourse of trade..., (London, 1694).

¹⁰⁸For a history of the buccaneers, see Alexandre Olivier Oexmelin, Histoire des Aventuriers qui se sont signalez dans les Indes..., 2 vols., (Paris, 1686); on the filibustiers, Jean-Bernard Desjeans, Sieur de Pointis, Relation de ce qui s'est fait à la prise de Carthagène, située aux Indes Espagnoles, (Brussels, 1698); Alain-René Lesage, Les Aventures du Monsieur Robert Chevalier dit de Beauchêne, capitaine de Flibustiers dans la Nouvelle France, 2 vols., (Paris, 1733); and J.W. Archenholtz, Histoire des Flibustiers, (Paris, 1804). On the corsairs, Gabriel Marcel, Les Corsaires français au XVIe siècle dans les Antilles, (Paris, 1902).

colonists brought out by Cartier and Roberval had been recruited from among such people. La Popelinière became the spokesman for this policy, basing his arguments on the belief that the negative aspects of cultural diffusion on emigrating Europeans could be neutralized, at least to some extent by sending unruly elements out to the colonies. According to this line of reasoning, Spain had been particularly fortunate in finding new worlds to conquer just at the time when she had driven out the Moors; the men who had performed this feat were not inclined to settle down to sedentary tasks after such exciting adventures, and could well have caused trouble at home if they had not found new diversions across the Atlantic.¹⁰⁹ The idea had earlier been discussed by Bodin, who had used ancient Rome as an example of the successful use of colonization to siphon off undesirables.¹¹⁰ Neither Bodin nor La Popelinière seemed to have been aware of the consequences of such a policy in Peru, where colonial governors had split into factions and had come close to revolting against Charles V. Michel de l'Hospital (1505-1573), who was later to become Chancellor of France, had drily observed that the New World governors were more concerned with fighting each other than with

¹⁰⁹La Popelinière, Les Trois Mondes, Avant-discours; Elliott, Old World and New, 83-103. The reabsorption of armed forces into civilian life was generally an unsolved problem in Renaissance Europe. For instance, in 1477, a horde of young Swiss soldiers, discharged from the Burgundian wars, vandalized their way from Lucerne to Geneva. (Hale, Renaissance Europe, 26.)

¹¹⁰Bodin, Six Livres de la Republique, 587.

serving the emperor. On top of everything else, their tyrannies were ruining the Amerindians.¹¹¹ Apparently oblivious to such considerations, La Popelinière theorized that perhaps France could resolve its civil war by undertaking a great colonial enterprise.¹¹² He seemed to believe that the scope of such an enterprise would attract unruly nobility as well as rogues from among the masses. In spite of such considerations, to be named leader of a colonizing expedition was considered to be an honour, and competition for such posts was keen. A powerful inducement, of course, was the prospect of wealth, particularly for the leaders and the "better sort"; even for the rank and file there was the possibility of improving one's lot.¹¹³ The glittering example of Spain in the Americas was sufficient to silence those who doubted the wisdom of such ventures. It also prevailed against those, such as Montaigne, who were

¹¹¹Michel de l'Hospital, Oeuvres inédites, 2 vols., (Paris, 1825), I: 102-103. Melchisédech Thévenot, eminent cosmographer, observed that very often the ministers of the King were the persecutors of the Amerindians as they profited "de ce que l'on oste aux Indiens." Such officials, he said, found it more convenient to pass the Amerindians off as rebels and criminals than to pay attention to their complaints. (Relations de diverse voyages curieux qui n'ont point esté publiés..., 4 vols., (Paris 1696), IV: 2.) That the control of the metropolis was difficult to enforce across the Atlantic is evident from complaints and petitions from colonists to the King. For example, Au roi sur la Nouvelle France, (s.l., 1626); and Plaintes et griefs présentés à Monseigneur de Colbert par Monsieur de Clodoré, gouverneur de l'Isle de la Martinique...contre Monsieur de La Barre, Lieutenant-General en l'Amérique, (s.l.n.d.)

¹¹²La Popelinière, Trois Mondes, Avant-discours.

¹¹³Mémoire pour servir d'instruction à la grande compagnie à la grande compagnie de l'Amérique..., (Paris, 1653), 11.

opposed to colonization in principle.¹¹⁴

During much of the sixteenth century, French ships going to the New World were referred to collectively as the "flotte du Canada." A look at shipboard life throws a sidelight on the European culture of the period, as well as providing a contrast to that of Amerindians. Subsistence set the pattern for both.

By early in the century, rations on French ships were more or less standardized. For a four-month voyage, these were calculated at the rate of 1 1/2 lbs of biscuit per man per day (the biscuit of Dieppe being considered the best as it was white and made of fine flour. It was thought so nourishing that some crews were only given three pounds for four days per man.)¹¹⁵ "Lard", which was salt pork, was calculated at 40 pounds per man; cod, at 50 fish per man; as many "boisseaux" of peas as there were men, and cider at the rate of a "pot" per head per day. Water as a drink was avoided as much as possible, as it was believed that combined with the shipboard diet of salted foods it could cause a bloody flux. Other recommended provision included

¹¹⁴A recent thesis maintains that France's official enthusiasm for colonization never did succeed in arousing popular support. See Philip Poulin Boucher, "France 'Discovers' America: The Image of Tropical America in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France and its Impact on Early French Colonialism," PhD thesis, (University of Connecticut, 1974).

¹¹⁵Georges Fournier, Hydrographie contenant la théorie et la pratique de toutes les parties de la navigation, (Paris, 1643), 180.

olive oil, butter, mustard, vinegar, wood, wine and "eau de vie."¹¹⁶ A well provisioned ship was expected to feed its crew salt pork for dinner and supper three or four times a week, and cod or herring on the other days at the rate of two cod for eight men or two herrings per man. Generally wine was served once a week, on Sunday. On longer voyages, eau-de-vie was recommended to be served once or twice a day, but particularly in the morning.¹¹⁷ Colonists were advised to provision themselves for the voyage with eau-de-vie "la plus forte & du vin de Canaries du meilleur & ce dans de bons flacons d'estain, bien bouchez et poissez, serrez sous le clef dans son coffre, & qu'il garde aussi soigneusement que son coeur, pour le temps de sa necessité & maladie."¹¹⁸ Such advice reflects not only the distrust that sometimes existed between passengers, but also between passengers and crew. Colonists sailing with Villegaignon, for example, were pillaged by the crew.¹¹⁹

For women who were making the voyage, it was

¹¹⁶Ibid. Eau-de-vie, which during the fifteenth century had been confined largely to medicinal use, during the latter part of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries came into general use as techniques of making it from grain were developed. Before the Thirty Years' War its manufacture was already established as an industry. However, this use of grain was the object of some religious scruples "comme étant un emploi profane de la matière qui constitue le pain quotidien." (Edouard Fournier, Curiosités des inventions et découvertes, (Paris, 1855), 61.)

¹¹⁷Fournier, Hydrographie, 180.

¹¹⁸Père Yves, Voyage dans le nord du Brésil, 215.

¹¹⁹Histoire des choses memorables advenues en la Terre de Bresil..., (Geneva, 1561), 13 verso.

recommended that each be supplied with 20 bottles of wine, four pots of the strongest vinegar, a bottle of "eau de canelle," and, among other items, "quelques odeurs" to distract from the pervading odor of tar.¹²⁰

Sailors' table manners were not distinguished for their niceties. According to Dièreville, "each man puts his hands into the dish without having washed them, although there was no lack of water, saying as he did so, that they were Man's most natural forks."¹²¹ Dièreville then burst into poetry:

How foul the Dishes and the Linen were!
The Plates were never scoured; and to protect
Them, if they fell, they were wrapped all about
With greasy rags; that was my pleasure then,
To see ten arms, in vain attempt
To keep things on the board, while in
Their mouths Men put the food, they picked
From off the floor.¹²²

It will be remembered that the Amerindian manner of eating was listed by some authors as indicating their barbarity.¹²³

The death rate on these voyages was high. It was a good trip if only a fifth of those on board died. While poor living conditions and bad diet were largely responsible for this, self-indulgence was also cited as a cause, "estant chose certaine qu'il meurt tous les ans dans ces Voyages plus de cinquante Personnes, par les excès qu'il font

¹²⁰H. Cahingt, "Documents dur le Canada," Bulletin de la Commission départementale des Antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure, Tome XVI, (Rouen, 1912), Document XVI, "Memoire de ce que les filles qui passent doivent fayre", 109.

¹²¹Dièreville, Relation du Voyage, 63.

¹²²Ibid.

¹²³Supra, 111-112.

d'abord de l'eau-de-vie qu'ils on portée pour leur rafraichissement."¹²⁴ Le Febvre de La Barre added that three or four sessions of debauchery with eau-de-vie were enough to put a person into the grave. That, of course, raises questions as to the quality of the liquor. Later he seemed to forget his strictures against eau-de-vie when he prescribed that it should be provided, along with wine, only for "gens" and not for "personnes."¹²⁵ When a member of the crew died, his wages were kept for his widow and children.¹²⁶

As for the perils of the sea, they lost nothing in the retelling.¹²⁷ Sometimes there was not much to choose between the perils of nature and those of man. Dièreville told about sailors on his ship deciding to flog a boy in order to get a favorable wind, a customary remedy for such a situation. In this case, the lad selected had stolen from one of the seamen, so he was flogged more severely than would otherwise have been the case. The boy's part in the ritual was to scream, "Northeast, good wind for the Ship!", which the

¹²⁴Antoine Le Febvre de La Barre, Description de la France équinociale, cy-devant appelée Guyenne..., (Paris, 1666), 50.

¹²⁵Ibid., 51.

¹²⁶Fournier, Hydrographie, 180.

¹²⁷Some typical tales are recounted in Histoire véritable de plusieurs voyages aventureux et périlleux faits sur la mer en diverses contrées..., (Rouen, 1600). A favorite myth was of an unkind people who profitted from sailors by selling them wind. One author placed these opportunists in "Vinslande". Jacques Signot, La Division du Monde..., (Lyon, 1555), 52-53.

unfortunate boy did. Dièreville reported that the desired wind sprang up, although he did not believe it was due to the flogging.¹²⁸

So much for the passage. By early in the seventeenth century, colonists were being advised that they should also provide beforehand for at least their first few months in the new land; the better prepared they were, the fewer the inconveniences they would suffer.¹²⁹ Père Yves, urged that they bring trade goods as well. Although he was speaking specifically of Brazil, this advice would have applied also to North America. Trade goods, he said, were needed not only for purchasing slaves but also for obtaining useful items.¹³⁰ In his list of merchandise that Amerindians would find acceptable, he included swords and guns, which he qualified by saying that the swords be old and the arquebuses "de peu de coust."¹³¹ Such trade was apparently being carried on in New France, as in 1613 it was forbidden

¹²⁸Dièreville, Relation of the Voyage, 57-58.

¹²⁹Père Yves, Voyage dans le nord du Bresil, 214.

¹³⁰Ibid., 214-216. this was corroborated by Le Febvre de La Barre, Description de la France équinociale, 52, and Boyer, Veritable Relation, 367-368, who pointed to the usefulness of trade for gaining Amerindian goodwill.

¹³¹Père Yves, Voyage dans le nord du Bresil, 216. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Lateran Council of 1179 prohibited the sale to Saracens of arms, iron, wood to be used in construction, and anything else useful for warfare. (Davenport, European Treaties, II: 11.) Nicholas V, in his bull Romanus Pontifex, 8 January 1455, accorded Portugal the right to trade with the infidel except in the prohibited articles. Thus the ban on trading guns with non-Christians had been in effect long before the discovery of America. For the text of the bull, see Davenport, op. cit., I: 9-26.

to trade guns to Amerindians on pain of a fine of 2000 livres.¹³² Gifts were also strongly recommended, to put Amerindians in good humour and to encourage their hospitality.¹³³

Among the items that colonists should bring over for their own use, said Père Yves, was clothing suitable for the country in which they would be settling. Besides a quantity of laundry soap, they would need plenty of shoes "car il ne s'en trouve point là, sinon ceux que l'on y a portez & sont chers, tellement que pour une paire, vous en auriez en France un douzaine."¹³⁴ Also needed were linens and "un beau matelas," and, "si vous desirez vivre à la Française c'est à dire nettement, ayez de la vesselle d'estain pour votre nécessité en maladie."¹³⁵ Colonists would do well to take along their own supply of sugar and good spices, well placed in a white iron box to avoid ants, reported to have an "incredible" taste for sugar. Above all, colonists should bring along as much of their accustomed food as they possibly could to provide a cushion against too-sudden an introduction to a strange diet. The most frequently-heard complaint of Frenchmen in the New World was the lack of

¹³²E. Gosselin, Nouvelles Glanes Historiques Normandes Puisées exclusivement dans des documents inédits, (Rouen, 1873), 33. However, Wood charged that the Tarranteens (Micmac) were armed with guns secured in trade with the French. (Wood's New England Prospect, 67).

¹³³Père Yves, Voyage dans Le Nord du Bresil, 217.

¹³⁴Ibid., 215.

¹³⁵Ibid.

bread and wine and of "des nourritures ordinaires qui adoucissent la vie en Europe."¹³⁶ One official did not think that a year was too long to plan for in this regard.¹³⁷ He added that colonists should be careful to bring necessities, not luxuries, and should be prepared to establish themselves in modest dwellings at first, as expenses were high enough as it was without one's being overly ambitious at the beginning.¹³⁸

Most important of all, colonists should be mentally and spiritually prepared before embarking. Whatever happened, they should maintain a good face, never quarrelling with the sailors "car vous n'y gagneriez rien."¹³⁹ Colonists should be particularly careful on disembarking, as the sailors were likely to take whatever they could lay their hands on if it was not watched.¹⁴⁰

That was also the advice of Le Febvre de La Barre, who was later to become an ill-fated governor-general of New France (1682-1685), but who in 1664 planted France's first successful colony in Guyana, more than half a century after the establishment of Acadia and Quebec. He wrote that the

¹³⁶August Carayon, Documents Inédits concernant la Compagnie de Jésus, (Poitiers, 1869), 29. Bread, of course, was in European eyes the symbol of civilization, and therefore an essential for a civilized person.

¹³⁷Le Febvre de La Barre, Description de la France équinoxiale, 48.

¹³⁸Ibid., 48-49.

¹³⁹Père Yves, Voyage dans le Nord du Bresil, 216-217.

¹⁴⁰Ibid.

prime requisite for colonists was health, particularly where the stomach was concerned. Almost equally important was the willingness to work: "il faut donc choisir les Paisans & des Gens accoutumez au travail, & cette sorte de nourriture dont se servent ordinairement les Gens de la Campagne."¹⁴¹

Settlers should have been briefed upon embarkation so as not to have come over with false expectations. In this De La Barre was benefitting from lessons learned from previous colonization attempts, particularly those of Villegaignon and Ribault-Landonnière. He was also reflecting the comments of Samuel de Champlain (c1570-1635), who had finally succeeded in establishing France permanently in the New World with the founding of Quebec in 1608. Champlain had pointed to insufficient preparation as the main obstacle to colonization---or, as he put it, lack of "judgement and reason."¹⁴² After criticizing Ribault and Laudonnière for not sufficiently provisioning their expeditions, he remarked that this was due to the unrealistic expectation that these new lands were so rich they would produce without cultivation. Besides, added Champlain, "such voyages are undertaken improperly without practice or experience."¹⁴³ Before attempting to settle a distant land, certain individuals should live there at least a year "to learn the quality of the country." Unfortunately, such precautions

¹⁴¹Le Febvre de La Barre, Description de la France équinociale, 46-48.

¹⁴²Biggar, Works of Champlain, III: 291.

¹⁴³Ibid., 293.

were almost never taken.¹⁴⁴

One point that had been established very early was that the quality of the colonists had much to do with the success or failure of a venture. Those early notions of ensuring peace at home by shipping dissidents overseas had not worked, because instead of setting about the hard tasks of planting settlements, such individuals "ne faisoient que se quereller, se battre & se tuer les uns les autres."¹⁴⁵ Even worse, they "n'avoient d'autre occupation que d'aller voler dans leurs [the Amerindians'] Jardins & Plantages tous ce qu'ils pouvoient en tirer pour leur subsistance,"¹⁴⁶ and had even further alienated Amerindians by trading defective merchandise. Some had become rich by such means, but colonization as a whole had suffered. De La Barre wrote with feeling when he said that young people who had passed their lives in libertinage in the cities were nothing but pests in the colonies.¹⁴⁷

Thus was tempered La Popelinière's optimistic vision of creating a New France overseas with those who did not meet the mother country's requirements at home. But even that historian had had his doubts when he had noted the "insatiable convoitise de s'enrichir" with which Europeans

¹⁴⁴Ibid.

¹⁴⁵Le Febvre de La Barre, Description de la France équinociale, 6.

¹⁴⁶Ibid.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., 46.

sallied forth to the New World. He admitted sadly that many "ont hazardé leur vie, leur bien, leur honneur & conscience, à troubler l'aise de ceux qui comme freres domestiques, en ceste grande maison mondaine, ne demandoient qu'à passer le reste de leurs jours en paix & contentement de ce que Ciel & la terre leur envoyoient pour le soustien de ceste vie humaine."¹⁴⁸ However, he philosophized, in behaving thus they were following "la plus ancienne de toutes les loix, qui donne aux plus forts ce que tenoient les plus faibles. Les Dieux mesmes usent de ce droict de Nature, & les bestes aussi."¹⁴⁹ The trouble with that line of argument was that it effectively put Europeans into the role of behaving like "brute beasts"---in other words, like savages.

Politically, the opening up of the New World had provided absolute monarchs with a powerful new weapon for their efforts at aggrandizement. An overseas empire had become a means by which they could enlarge their power and prestige in Europe. However, while the establishment of such empires undoubtedly contributed to the achievement of such goals, they also created new situations which strained the very ideologies upon which the monarchies were based. The universality of the hierarchically ordered society, which in Medieval Europe had seemed to be beyond question, in the New World did not appear so certain. The Atlantic crossing and

¹⁴⁸La Popelinière, Trois Mondes, Liv. I:37.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., Liv. II:47 verso.

unfamiliar New World conditions caused a shift in attitudes that Europeans brought with them. This was manifested as a change in expectations: soon it became a maxim that every Spaniard who crossed the ocean became a caballero, or every Frenchman a seigneur, no matter how humble his condition had been originally. But the process did not work in reverse--- Amerindians who came to Europe usually just became homesick and wanted to return home as quickly as they could, if they lived long enough. Europeans were more successful in overriding aboriginal rights than they were in including New World man within a Christian social framework, either as a visitor in the Old World or as a citizen within the new Europes being established in the Americas.

THE MYTH OF THE SAVAGE
AND THE BEGINNINGS OF FRENCH COLONIALISM IN THE AMERICAS

Chapter VI

Some Early Contacts: Amerindians in Europe

The first contact that most sixteenth-century Europeans had with Amerindians was not in the New World but in the Old. A survey of the cosmographies and travel accounts of the period, as well as those for the succeeding century, gives the distinct impression that Amerindians were seen more frequently in Europe than documented instances would indicate. This could be at least partly explained by the fact that Amerindians were first looked upon as little more than curiosities and their visits were reported, when they were noted at all, in much the same vein as the arrival on a Dutch ship of a live walrus from Canada for display in Flemish towns.¹

These trips to Europe, particularly in the beginning, were not usually voluntary on the part of the Amerindians. They first arose from the custom of early explorers of kidnapping New World men and bringing them to Europe as proof of where they had been. This practice led to another,

¹Troisième tome du Mercure françois, (Paris, 1617), 5. Sir Ferdinando Gorges told of a New England Amerindian who had been exhibited in London "for a wonder." He was apparently one of several who had been so used on that occasion. (A briefe Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England..., (London, 1622), 13.)

that of taking Amerindians to train as interpreters for subsequent voyages. Missionaries brought Amerindians to Europe for public appearances to enlist support for their evangelical projects; and in one well-publicized instance, a group of Iroquois were brought to France to serve as galley slaves. As colonization developed, so did the practice of sending over Amerindians, especially children and young people, for indoctrination in European ways. France became particularly active in this regard. Amerindians sometimes voluntarily sent over representatives, a measure that was initially encouraged by France in order to strengthen alliances. But the expense of such visits proved to be high in proportion to the results obtained, and eventually they were discouraged. By the latter part of the seventeenth century enforced visits had all but ceased, and voluntary ones were becoming very rare.

Columbus began the movement of Amerindians to Europe when he brought back six islanders whom he presented at the Spanish court. Actually he had taken 10, but one had died at sea and three others had been too ill upon landing at Seville to proceed further; the six survivors were baptized at Barcelona. One stayed in Spain with Don Juan of Castille and learned Castillian; but he died in two years.² Of the others, three survived long enough to return with Columbus on his second voyage. Upon his arrival in the West Indies,

²Oviedo, L'Histoire Naturelle, Liv. II: 17v.

the Admiral released one in the hope he would act as an ambassador. The other two escaped.³ On his second voyage, Columbus brought 30 Amerindians as prisoners of war from Hispaniola; they were sold in Seville as slaves.⁴ The extent of the resistance that the Spanish were meeting from the Amerindians is indicated by the report that 600 others were sent as war captives that same year (1494), also to be sold as slaves at Seville.⁵ In 1495, the number brought over was given as 500.⁶ In 1496, Don Barthelemy Columbus, brother of the Admiral, sent 300 islanders to Spain for having taken arms against the Spanish;⁷ that same year, Columbus estimated he could export as many slaves as could be sold, about 4000.⁸ Vespucci reported bringing back 250 Amerindians as prisoners of war to be sold at Cadiz, the result of an incident that occurred during his first voyage to the West

³Anghiera, De Orbe Novo, (Gaffarel) IV:2.

⁴Paul Gaffarel, Histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique depuis les origines jusqu'à la mort de Christophe Colomb, 2 vols., (Paris, 1892), II: 417; Navarrete, Quatres voyages, I: 469.

⁵Hodgen, Early Anthropology, 111. There is some doubt about this report as there is no word that the captives arrived at Seville. (Carl Ortwin Sauer, The Early Spanish Main, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), 87 n25).

⁶Navarrete, Quatre voyages, I: 492; Bartholomé de Las Casas, Histoire des Indes Occidentales ou l'on reconnoit la bonté de ces pais, & de leurs peuples: & les cruautés Tyranniques des Espagnols, (Lyon, 1642), II:85.

⁷Bartolomé de Las Casas, Evêque de Chiapa, Oeuvres ed. by J.A. Llorente, 2 vols., (Paris, 1822), I: 256; Herrera, Histoire générale, I: 188.

⁸Las Casas, Histoire des Indes Occidentales... (Lyon, 1642), II: 323; Gaffarel, Histoire de la découverte, II: 418.

Indies.⁹

However, such traffic quickly tapered to a trickle, due probably to the rapidity with which Amerindians died in the Old World. Often they starved themselves to death when first captured.¹⁰ Also, the source of supply was dwindling: of an estimated 300,000 Amerindians on Hispaniola, two-thirds had disappeared within three years after the arrival of the Spaniards.¹¹ In view of such considerations, official Spanish sentiment veered against importation of Amerindians. This was illustrated by the cool reception accorded Esteban Gomez, when he returned from his voyage in 1525 along the coast of New England and Cape Breton with his ship's hold filled with Amerindians, "people of both sexes, all innocent and half-naked, who had lived contentedly in their huts."¹² Gomez' action was in contravention of express instructions he had received before setting out on his search for the Northwest Passage.¹³ His return to Spain was marked by an incident that was to become a favorite with sixteenth and

⁹Vespucci, First Four Voyages, 22. The authenticity of this voyage, supposed to have occurred in 1497-1498, has been strongly disputed. Carolyn Thomas Foreman has assigned this episode to Vespucci's accepted 1499 voyage with Alonso de Ojeda.

¹⁰Johan Schöner, (1477-1547) A Reproduction of his globe of 1523, long lost, his dedicatory letter to Remy von Streytperck and the De Moluccis of Maximilianus Transylvanus... edited by C.H. Coote, (London, 1888), 118; René de Goulaine de Laudonnière, L'Histoire notable de la Floride... Mise en lumière par M. Basanier, (Paris, 1586), 30.

¹¹Newton, European Nations, 13.

¹²Anghiera, De Orbe Novo, (MacNutt) II: 418.

¹³Ibid., 419-420.

seventeenth century chroniclers. In the confusion of his arrival, the report ran through the streets to the court that he had brought back "clavos" (cloves) rather than "esclavos" (slaves). When Charles V learned the truth he was not at all pleased, and ordered the captives to be set at liberty. Their subsequent fate is unknown. It was not until 1550 that an ordinance outlawed the bringing of Amerindians to Spain.¹⁴

In the meantime, a spectacular group of Aztec musicians, singers, dancers and jugglers arrived under official auspices in 1529 to be presented to the court of Charles V. They had come in the entourage of Cortés and proved to be so successful that the enterprising conquistadore, seeking to legitimate his natural children, sent the jugglers to entertain the Pope.¹⁵ The sensation was such that a Polish magnate "fameux par sa vanité et sa predilection pour tout ce qui était exotique" asked diplomat Jan Dantiscus to intervene with Cortés to make him a gift from the New World---even if it were just an Amerindian.¹⁶ On another occasion Martire invited Amerindian Francisco Chicorana to dinner, and found him not unintelligent.¹⁷ Francisco for his part entertained his host with ingenious recipes for making giants; a custom which he said was

¹⁴Herrera, General History, VI: 339.

¹⁵Hanke, "Theological Significance." 5.

¹⁶Tazbir, "Conquête de l'Amérique", 7.

¹⁷Anghiera, De Orbe Novo, (MacNutt) II: 258.

practiced in the New World for making kings who could be looked up to. Martire was dubious, but reported it anyway.¹⁸

The earliest account we have of Amerindians from the northern regions being brought to the Old World concerns the Portuguese Gaspar Corte-Real (c1450/55-1501) who disappeared on a voyage to Greenland and the mainland coast in 1501.¹⁹ Corte-Real's Amerindians were different enough from the by-now familiar islanders and Brazilians to arouse considerable interest in Lisbon:

The hair of the men is long, just as we wear ours, and they wear it in curls, and have their faces marked with great signs, and these signs are like those of the (East) Indians...Their manners and gestures are most gentle; they laugh considerably and manifest the greatest pleasure...In fine, except for the terribly harsh look of the men, they appear to me to be in all else of the same form and image as ourselves.²⁰

The reaction of another observer was that the King of Portugal would be pleased at this new source of slaves, fit for every kind of labour, as according to reports this new land was well populated.²¹ Two years later, 13 July 1503, four Portuguese ships returned to Lisbon loaded with dye-

¹⁸Ibid., II:267-268.

¹⁹The account was first published in Fracanzano's Paesi novamenti ritrovati. Du Redouer's adaptation, Sensuyt le monde, did not include this episode.

²⁰Dispatch of Albert Cantino from Lisbon to Hercules d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, 17 October 1501, reproduced by Biggar in Precursors, 64.

²¹Letter of Pietro Pasqualigo to the signiory of Venice, 18 October 1501. Reproduced by Biggar, Precursors, 66.

wood and Amerindians.²²

Earlier, three men had been brought from Newfoundland to England, according to John Stow's Chronicle. An entry which begins "18. Henry VII AD 1502", reads:

This yeere were brought unto the king three men taken in the new found Island, by Sebastian Caboto, before named, in anno 1498, these men were clothed in beasts skins, and eat raw flesh, but spake such a language as no man could understand them, of which three men, two of them were seene in the kings court at Westminster two yeeres after clothed like Englishmen, and could not be discerned from Englishmen.²³

If the evidence of this account is to be credited, these New World men must have been very adaptable indeed. In another instance, the adaptation worked another way; when Sir Martin Frobisher (?1535-1594) brought Inuit along with a kayak to England in 1577, Queen Elizabeth allowed them to hunt on the Thames and did not exempt swans from their attentions, to the amazement of the English public.²⁴ Henry VII had previously been visited by a Brazilian cacique, who had agreed to come over with Sir John Hawkins in 1532 on condition that one of the latter's men stay in Brazil as a pledge for his safe return. At the sight of the cacique,

²²Henry Harrisse, The Discovery of North America, (Amsterdam, 1961), 128,694. These Amerindians, however, were probably Brazilians rather than northerners.

²³John Stow, Annales, or a Generall Chronicle of England, Begun by John Stow: and augmented with matters Foraigne and Domestique, Ancient and Moderne, unto the end of this present yeere, 1631, by Edmund Howes, (London, 1631), 483-484. The visit of the three Amerindians is also reported by Hakluyt in Principal Navigations XII:19.

²⁴Hale, "A World Elsewhere," 335. It is likely that Inuit had long since been seen Denmark and perhaps Norway. See Tryggvi Oleson, Early Voyages and Northern Approaches, 1000-1632 (Toronto, 1963).

Henry and "all the Nobilitie did not a little marvaile, and not without cause: for in his cheekes were holes made according to their savage manner, and therein small bones were planted, standing an inch out from the said holes, which in his owne Countrye was reputed for a great braverie...his apparel, behaviour, and gesture, were very strange to the beholders."²⁵ After a year in England the cacique set sail for his own land, but he died at sea, reportedly from the change of air and diet. His people back in Brazil believed Hawkins, and yielded up the hostage to return to England.

The first New World visitor to France of whom there is a record appears to have flourished. His name was Essomericq, and he came over from Brazil in 1503 with Captain Binot Paulmier de Gonneville of Honfleur. De Gonneville had gone to the New World to trade, taking a selection of merchandise which would indicate he possessed a clear idea of the type of item which would interest the natives.²⁶ He had remained in Brazil for six months; upon his departure, his host, Arosca, had agreed to send over his

²⁵Richard Hakluyt, The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation, and in some few places, where they have not been, of strangers, performed within and before the time of these hundred yeeres, to all parts of the Newfound world of America, or the West Indies..., (London, 1600), 700.

²⁶Paul Gaffarel, Les Découvreurs français du XI^{ve} au XV^{le} siècles..., (Paris, 1888), 86-87; Armand d'Avezac, Campagne du navire l'Espoir, de Honfleur, 1503-1505. Relation authentique du voyage du Capitain de Gonneville..., (Paris, 1869).

son on the understanding that he would be returned in approximately 20 months. De Gonnevillle was not able to fulfill this promise because on his voyage back he lost everything in an attack by English pirates off the island of Jersey. When he finally got to France, the young Brazilian apparently took to his new life. On the voyage over he had already indicated his willingness to try out French ways by accepting baptism after nearly dying of scurvy, which had claimed the life of his relative and companion, Namoa, as well as those of several members of the crew. In any event, Essomericq was reported to have married a relative of de Gonnevillle's, to have established a family, and to have lived in France until 1538.²⁷ His great-grandson, Abbé Jean Paulmier de Gonnevillle, canon of Lisieux (d. c1669) wrote a memoir to Pope Alexander VII in which he argued for the establishment of a French mission in the "third world" as he referred to the Americas, also known as "terres australes."²⁸ He asked that he be sent as a missionary, "auquels je le dois, et par naissance, et par profession."²⁹ In recounting his ancestor's story, the Abbé said that de Gonnevillle had arranged Essomericq's marriage "which made him an ally" in order to recompense him for the

²⁷Brosse, Histoire des Navigations, I: 102-120; Ch.-A. Julien, Les voyages de découverte et les premiers établissements (XVe et XVIe siècles), (Paris, 1948), 19-20.

²⁸Jean Paulmier de Courtonne, chanoine de Lisieux, Mémoire touchant l'établissement d'une mission chrestienne dans le troisième monde, autrement appelé la Terre australe, meridionale, antarctique et inconnue..., (Paris, 1663), 178.

²⁹Ibid., introductory letter.

good treatment the French Captain had received among the Amerindians.³⁰ In his arguments in favor of the missionary enterprise, the Abbé showed himself well informed about the New World, as well as about procedures for founding missions.

There is no record of the fate of the next Amerindians known to have arrived in France, seven "homines sylvestres" who in 1509 came to Rouen equipped with a bark canoe so light that "un seul homme peut avec ses mains la porter sur l'épaule."³¹ The French noted that these men "mangent de la chair desséchée et boivent de l'eau. Ils ne savent ce qu'est le vin, le pain ou l'argent."³² It is usually assumed that these men were brought to France by Captain Thomas Aubert, one of Jean Ango's pilots, known to have sailed from Dieppe in 1508.³³ The Jesuit missionary Biard wrote that in 1508 Capt. Aubert brought some natives "whom he exhibited to the wonder and applause of France."³⁴ However, there is no proof that these were the same as the seven men of Eusebius's account. A curious contemporary account tells of a French

³⁰One could speculate if Voltaire had this story in mind when he wrote l'Ingénue, a play about a "Huron"---really a Frenchman raised by Hurons---who came to Europe.

³¹Gaffarel, Découvreurs français, 128. This is a translation of a Latin account which appeared in the chronicle of Eusebius Pamphili of Caesarea (260?-340?) prepared by Prosper and Mathieu Paulmier and which was published in Paris by Henri Estienne in 1512.

³²Ibid.

³³Ramusio, Navigations et Voyages, 113; Harris, Discovery of North America, 181; Ganong, Crucial Maps, 197.

³⁴Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, III:39.

ship encountering a bark canoe off the English coast in which were seven men "aux faces larges et bronzées, couturées de stigmates, comme si des veines livides eussent dessiné leurs machoirs. Des Vêtements barriolés en cuir de phoque, une coiffure multi-colore de paille qu'on eût dite formée de sept oreilles...ces sauvages se nourrissaient de chair crue et buvaient du sang."³⁵ Six of these men quickly succumbed on arriving in Normandy, but the seventh was sent to the court of Louis XII as an object of curiosity.³⁶

A few years later, the story was told of a young Amerindian woman successfully resisting capture. The incident occurred during the voyage of Giovanni da Verrazzano along the coast of North America in 1524. The young woman raised such a fuss that the sailors let her go; however, they kept a boy whom they brought back to France.³⁷ Among the French, such incidents seem to have continued on a desultory and individual level, although there were exceptions to this. Jacques Cartier provided the most notable examples. On his 1534 voyage he brought back the Stadaconans Taignoagny and Domagaya. As their names indicate they were not baptized; it can be speculated that

³⁵Raccolta di documenti e studi pubblicati dalla r. commissione Colombiana pel quarto centenario dalla scoperta dell' America, (Rome, 1892). Part III, Vol. II:377. This citation is taken from Pietro Bembo's Historia Veneziana (1530).

³⁶Ch. de La Roncière, Histoire de la marine française, 6 vols., (Paris, 1923), III: 139.

³⁷Ramusio, Navigations et Voyages, 100.

Cartier took them to act as guides and go-betweens for his second voyage which he was even then hoping to make. In this he was successful, as the pair learned French and were able to act as interpreters upon their return to Stadacona. It is also possible that Cartier was able to use them in order to procure his second commission.³⁸ In any event, this was not his first such action; in 1527, he had brought a girl from Brazil, who had been baptized 30 July 1528 at Saint-Malo with Cartier's wife, Katherine des Granches, acting as godmother.³⁹ There is no indication as to what prompted him in that particular case.

On his second Canadian voyage, Cartier's kidnappings increased in scale, as he not only retook Taignoagny and Domagaya, but also their father Donnacona and other head men, a total of about six.⁴⁰ On this occasion Cartier appears to have wanted spokesmen of stature to appear before the French king to tell him about their land; apparently a colonization project was already in the wind. Donnacona was at least partly responsible for being taken, as he had been telling Cartier tales of white men on the Saguenay who wore woollen clothes⁴¹ and who possessed immense quantities of

³⁸René Maran, Les pionniers de l'Empire. (Paris, 1943), 104.
³⁹Ibid., 97.

⁴⁰The figure of 10 that is usually given refers to Cartier's statement that he sailed back with 10 Amerindians. (Biggar, Voyages of Jacques Cartier, 249) That number would have included the four children that had been presented to him at Stadacona and Hochelay.

⁴¹Ibid., 201.

gold.⁴² Clearly Donnacona had been trying to tell Cartier what he thought the explorer wanted to hear. The chieftain was only too successful; Cartier took him to tell his stories to Francis I. The Spanish historian Andrés Gonzales de Barcia said that Cartier arrived back in Saint-Malo 9 July 1536 with his guests "who were travelling contentedly in the hope of returning quickly to Canada with a good share of wealth."⁴³ However, none of the group survived to accompany the French on their first colonizing attempt in North America. A little girl, apparently one of the children who had been presented to Cartier, seems to have reached adulthood. But as there is no indication that she was ever brought back to her native land, it is reasonable to assume that she spent her life in France.

That Francis I approved of Cartier's action is indicated by his payment of 50 écus for the maintenance of the Amerindians during two years at Saint-Malo.⁴⁴ We also get a hint of this in the wording of Francis I's commission dated 17 October 1540 for the establishment of a colony in Canada:

qui d'iceux pays nous auroient amené divers hommes que nous avons par longtemps tenu en nostre Royaume, les faisant

⁴² *Ibid.*, 221.

⁴³ Andrés Gonzáles de Barcia, Barcia's Chronological History of the Continent of Florida Containing the Discovery and Principal Events which came to Pass in this Vast Kingdom, edited by Anthony Kerrigan, (Gainesville, 1951), 20.

⁴⁴ Henry Percival Biggar, A Collection of Documents Relating to the Voyages of Jacques Cartier and Sieur de Roberval, (Ottawa, 1930) 69-70.

instruire en l'amour et crainte de Dieu, et de la sainte foi et doctrine chrétienne, en intention de les faire ramener ès dits pays en compagnie de bon nombre de nos sujets de bonne volonté, afin de plus facilement induire les autres peuples d'iceux pays à croire en notre sainte foi...en considération de quoi, de leur bonne inclination nous avons avisé et délibéré de renvoyer le dit Quartier.⁴⁵

By this time Saint-Malo seems to have been a centre of activity for bringing in Amerindians. A Newfoundland native was baptized there in 1553, and named Jehan.⁴⁶ Amerindians who were brought over were usually returned within a few months "pour d'autant plus faciliter leur trafic."⁴⁷ Jacques Noël, one of Cartier's nephews, was among those who carried on this practice. In applying in 1587 with Etienne Chaton de la Jannaye, another nephew of Cartier, for a monopoly of the Canadian fur trade, Noël claimed to have brought several Amerindians to France to be trained as interpreters.⁴⁸ The custom of preparing for colonization by bringing natives of the area concerned to the metropolis to learn European ways and above all the language, was well established before the birth of New France.⁴⁹ It was a formula that was also to prove useful to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and the English colonies.

⁴⁵Edits, Ordonnances royaux; déclarations et arrêts du Conseil d'Etat du roi concernant Canada, 3 vols., (Quebec 1854-1856), II: 1-4.

⁴⁶Jacques Cartier: documents nouveaux, edited by Frédéric Joün des Longrais, (Paris, 1888), 76 (Doc. XXIV).

⁴⁷Ibid., 77.

⁴⁸H.H. Michelant et Alfred Ramé, Voyage de Jacques Cartier au Canada en 1534, (Paris, 1865). Deuxième partie: 37.

⁴⁹Sagard prepared for his journey to Huronia in 1623 by learning something of the language beforehand, apparently in France. See Sagard, The Long Journey, xvi.

Some of the visits, however, do not appear to have been motivated by any particular ulterior purpose. One, at least, had a romantic story behind it, when a certain Diego Alvarez Correa, who had been shipwrecked on San Salvador where he had married a woman of the island, brought her as his wife to the court of Henry II and Catherine de' Medici. The queen bestowed her name on the lady, and the couple returned to live in the New World.⁵⁰ A Rouennais house at 17 Malpalu street, now demolished, had been apparently closely associated with Brazilian activities and may even have served as a residence for visiting Brazilians.⁵¹

By mid-sixteenth century it was fashionable in France for both royalty and wealthy nobles to have Amerindians in their entourages, a custom that was to continue until well into the next century. For instance, some boys taken captive by the Tupinamba and sold to Villegaignon were sent by the latter to Henry II, who in his turn made gifts of them to various nobles.⁵² Similarly, François Gravé du Pont, a fur trader who was associated with Champlain, in 1602 presented

⁵⁰Une Fête Brésilienne célébrée à Rouen en 1550..., ed. by Ferdinand-Jean Denis, 1850), 16.

⁵¹Paul Gaffarel, Histoire du Brésil français, (Paris, 1878), 137. Also, Eustache de La Quérière, Description historique des maisons de Rouen, les plus remarquables par leur décoration extérieure et par leur ancienneté..., 2 vols. (Paris, 1821). Two wooden bas-reliefs from the house, illustrating the gathering of Brazil-wood with the aid of natives, can be seen at the Musée des Antiquités, Rouen.

⁵²Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, 79.

Henry IV with Amerindians from Canada.⁵³ One of these was the young son of Begourat, a Montagnais chief, who had been sent by his father on the strength of favorable reports of two fellow tribesmen who had previously accompanied Gragé du Pont to France.⁵⁴ The lad was installed in the Château Saint-Germain as a companion to the Dauphin, where he died the following year.⁵⁵

Something of the role of Amerindians at court is indicated by a news report from Paris dated 23 March 1668 to the effect that Louis XIV had gone to Versailles "where he intends to divert himself upon the Lake with several guilt (sic) boats which are there provided for him; where there are also Hiroquois with their Gondolas brought from the Indies, made of one entire piece of Bark, in which they Row with extraordinary swiftness."⁵⁶ While Amerindians were kept as curiosities, there was a certain interest in their particular skills: as the above quotation indicates, their deftness as canoeists was much admired. So was their technique for making fire with two dry sticks; Mocquet told

⁵³Cayet, Chronologie septenaire, II: 415.

⁵⁴Ibid., 416.

⁵⁵A.-Léo Leymarie, "Le Canada pendant la jeunesse de Louis XIII," Nova Francia I, No. 4 (24 février 1926), 168-169; Guillaume de Vaumas, L'éveil missionnaire de la France d'Henri IV à la fondation du séminaire des missions étrangères, (Lyon, 1942), 43.

⁵⁶The London Gazette (No. 348) 1668, news item datelined "Paris March 23." In the Burney Collection of Newspapers, British Museum. For an admiring view of New World watercraft, in this case a kayak, see César de Rochefort, Histoire naturelle et morale des isles Antilles de l'Amérique..., (Rotterdam, 1658), 189.

of such a demonstration before Henry IV at Fontainebleau in 1605.⁵⁷

It was the Renaissance love of pageants, however, which was the most effective means of bringing Amerindians to the attention of the public. Indeed, they were on occasion expressly brought over to participate in such events, as in the celebrated entry of Henry II and Catherine into Rouen in 1550. This was a pageant so lavish that books were published about it, beginning with one the following year.⁵⁸ One of its most important tableaux illustrated life in Brazil; 50 natives were supplemented with 250 sailors who had frequented the New World sufficiently to be able to speak a native language, as well as to enact tribal customs and manners. In spite of the lateness of the season (it was the beginning of October), a park on the banks of the Seine was transformed into Brazilian woodland with the addition of artificial trees with trunks painted red (simulating Brazil-wood) and fruits "imitans le naturel." Houses were built in "la forme et manière des...habitans des Bresiliens..." with birds, monkeys, squirrels and other fauna and as well as flora from Brazil adding to the general effect. The naked Brazilians and sailors-turned Brazilian pursued activities

⁵⁷Mocquet, Voyages en Afrique, 80-81.

⁵⁸Entrée de Henri II à Rouen, (Rouen, 1551). A manuscript describing the event, illuminated in color and bound in velour, is at the Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen. Thomas Galiot described the two-day event as being superb and magnificent in his Inventaire de l'histoire journalière, (Paris, 1599).

of daily life, shooting at birds and animals, lying in hammocks, chopping wood, and carrying it to a fort near the river where a French ship in full sail provided an added touch of authenticity. A battle was staged, during which the mortuary and fortress of the defeated group was burned. Some of the sailors had lived so long in Brazil that their impersonation "sembloit estre veritable & non simulée."⁵⁹ Others who had lived in Brazil testified to the accuracy of the presentation.⁶⁰

The entry of Charles IX into Troyes, 23 March 1564,⁶¹ featured Amerindians, of whom the chief was mounted on a horse masquerading as a unicorn.⁶² Bordeaux honoured the same monarch on 9 April 1565 with a procession of captives from a dozen nations, including "sauvages américains et Bresiliens."⁶³ Each group made submission to the King in its own language, which was then interpreted to the King.⁶⁴ At a royal wedding pageant in 1619, where appropriately enough

⁵⁹ Entrée de Henri II, 40 verso-42.

⁶⁰ Ibid. See also Denis, Fête Brésilienne; and Gaffarel, Histoire du Brésil, 130-136. Margaret M. McGowan, in "Form and Themes in Henri II's Entry into Rouen", Renaissance Drama, ed. S. Schoenbaum, (Evanston, 1968), 199, said the pageant provided a good example of the range of talent needed when civic authorities decided to combine local traditions with a re-enactment of a Roman triumph. At the time the entry was held, Rouen had been a major centre for trade in Brazil wood for half a century. To this day Rouen remembers its Brazilian connection. In 1969, La Foire de Rouen featured ballets "Brasiliana" as a major attraction. The event was reported in Paris-Normandie, 19 mai 1969.

⁶¹ Gaffarel, Histoire du Brésil, 136.

⁶² Chinard, L'Exotisme, 105.

⁶³ Gaffarel, Histoire du Brésil, 136.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

the theme was love rather than conquest, the American entry was entitled "Heureux de l'Amérique".⁶⁵ Costuming "à l'Américaine" was also popular for special occasions. For instance, in 1524 Seweryn Boner, governor of Cracow, sent "deux sonneurs de trompettes habillées à l'indienne de plume de perroquet" to salute Elizabeth of Habsburg, wife of the King of Poland.⁶⁶

It was perhaps to be expected that Renaissance Europe would combine its fondness for display with its concern for souls. Usually the New World men who were brought to France were baptized as soon as possible.⁶⁷ One could consider as symbolic the experience of the Amerindian whose first view of Louis XIII was in "la maison de prières." Louis' reaction upon meeting the visitor was to ask him if he were baptized.⁶⁸ Under the circumstances the French could not resist transforming baptisms into galas. The most spectacular of such occasions, if one is to judge by the popular interest aroused, occurred in 1613 when François de Razilly (1578-1622)⁶⁹ brought a group of six Brazilians to

⁶⁵Cinquième tome du Mercure François, (Paris, 1619), 111.

⁶⁶Tazbir, "Conquête de l'Amérique", 7. It is difficult to determine at times the exact extent of the influence of America in such costuming, for in spite of the label "à l'Américaine," this type of masquerade ante-dated the discovery of the New World. However, the discoveries greatly boosted the popularity of "l'homme sauvage" for masquerades.

⁶⁷An example of such a ceremony is contained in Jean La Vacquerie, De multiplici haereticorum tentatione, per 10. vacquerium Roiensem, (Paris, 1560), 56ff.

⁶⁸Vaumas, L'Eveil, 155.

⁶⁹François's brother, Isaac, was lieutenant-general in New France, 1632-1635.

France under the care of the Capuchin Père Claude.⁷⁰ The Amerindians had agreed to come as a delegation to present their homage to the French king, and to ask for help in the form of missionaries and soldiers, artisans and merchandise.⁷¹ The occasion was considered important because the French were attempting to establish a colony in the territory of the Amerindians, on the island of Maragnan off the Brazilian coast. However, the colony lasted only three years before being destroyed by the Portuguese in 1615. In the meantime, the excitement generated by the arrival of the delegation was intense. There was a reception at Havre de Grace (Le Havre), marked by a church service during which the Brazilians recited aloud the Pater Noster and Ave Maria in their own language. Their entry into Paris almost a month later took on the aspects of a triumph, with the Amerindians dressed after their fashion in feathers and shaking maracas. They were accompanied by 26 Capuchins. Fashionable Paris turned out in such numbers for the event that the press of the crowd forced the Capuchins to retreat with their exotic charges to their convent. But still the visitors came, so that the King was constrained to send protecting guards; even so, the quiet walks of the convent became something of a public hall. "Who would have thought," mused Père Claude, "that Paris, used to the strange and the exotic, would have

⁷⁰A contemporary account of this event can be found in Troisième tome du Mercure françois, seconde continuation, (Paris, 1617), 164ff.

⁷¹Ibid., 172.

gone so wild over these Indians?"⁷² However, at least one contemporary Frenchman was not so impressed. François de Malherbe (1555-1628), poet and critic, observed:

En passant par Rouen, il les fit habiller à la françoise; car, selon la coutume du pays, ils vont tout nus, hormis quelques haillon noir qu'ils mettent devant leurs parties honteuses: les femmes ne portent de tout rien. Ils ont dansé une espèce de branle sans se tenir par les mains et sans bouger d'une place; leur violon étoit une courge comme celle dont les pèlerins se servent pour boire, et dedans il y avoit quelque chose comme des clous ou des épingles. L'un d'eux en avoit un, et leur truchement, qui est un Normand de Dieppe, en avoit un autre. Je crois que ce butin ne fera pas grande envie à ceux qui n'y ont point été d'y aller.⁷³

The ceremonies surrounding this entry of the Brazilians into Paris included their formal submission to the King. They referred to their people, before the arrival of the French, as living "une vie miserable, sans loy & sans foy."⁷⁴ One could wonder if the Brazilians believed the words put into their mouths by the enterprising Capuchins; in any event, it provided the King with the occasion to consent publicly to the sending of 12 Capuchins, as well as soldiers, to the New World, as duly reported in Le Mercure François.⁷⁵ Three of the Brazilians quickly succumbed under the pressures of an unaccustomed life style; the remaining three were prepared for baptism, scheduled for Saint Jean-Baptiste day at the Church of the Capuchins, which was

⁷²Père Claude, Maragnan, 339 verso-340.

⁷³Malherbe, Lettres de Malherbe [à Peiresc], dédiées à la ville de Caen, (Paris, 1822), 258.

⁷⁴Père Claude, Maragnan, 341 verso-342.

⁷⁵Troisième tome du Mercure françois, seconde continuation, 174.

richly decorated for the occasion.⁷⁶ The Brazilians were dressed in white taffeta, each being led by two white-robed priests to the baptismal font obscured by yards of white taffeta billowing to the floor against a backdrop of gold and silk tapestries. The Bishop of Paris officiated, and the King and Queen Regent were godparents; Père Claude interpreted. Sacred song and music accompanied the ritual. In the concluding procession, the Brazilians carried lilies and wore hats of flowers. Cloistered nuns were allowed to see them.⁷⁷ Père Claude's book on the Maragnan expedition was published in 1614; the part dealing with the entry into Paris frequently appeared in the anthologies so popular at this period. The Brazilians also became a favorite with illustrators, particularly in their baptismal finery or wearing French dress.⁷⁸

Another spectacular occurred in 1637 when two Montagnais girls were baptized in the great convent of the Carmelites of Paris. As with the Brazilians, the occasion

⁷⁶Gilbert Chinard, L'Amérique et le rêve exotique, (Paris, 1934), 22-24. Chinard gives the impression that all six were baptized and died afterward. This is not borne out by either Père Claude's account nor by that in Le Mercure François. Neither does Père Claude mention a plan to marry the Brazilians to suitable devots, as Chinard says.

⁷⁷Troisième tome du Mercure françois, seconde continuation, 174-175; Père Claude, 367 verso-374.

⁷⁸Some of these are reproduced in L'Amérique historique---Maragnan, Recueil des cartes, (s.l., 1638). Plate XXX illustrates the Brazilians as they appeared on arrival, and Plate CLXXXVII depicts them in their French finery. Their awkwardness in the unaccustomed clothing is only too evident.

was marked with a host of fashionable and important participants and guests, including the Princess de Condé as godparent.⁷⁹ The baptism of Amerindians had become a favorite event for the beau-monde of France.

All this makes it abundantly clear that visitors from the New World were familiar figures on the Old World scene by the time the French succeeded in establishing New France as a colony early in the seventeenth century. With the new colony the practice of sending over children to be educated in the French manner gained a new dimension. When the Jesuits of New France embarked upon this policy, they were following in the footsteps of their colleagues in Brazil. It was based on the belief that the recasting of Amerindian children into the French mould could best be accomplished through isolation from their native cultures.⁸⁰ It was even believed that in France, under ideal conditions for such an experiment, it would be possible to so condition the children that once returned to their native lands they would

⁷⁹Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XI:99-101. A contemporary report of other such events is found in Joseph Le Ber's Depart pour le Canada en 1639. Lettre inédite d'une Ursuline (Soeur Cécile de Sainte-Croix), (Dieppe, 1939).

⁸⁰Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, IX: 107. The Recollets had already begun the practice in New France. Denis Jamet wrote in 1620 of sending a 12-year-old to France for instruction. (Copie de la lettre Escripte par le R.P. Denys Jamet, Commissionnaire des PP. Recolletz de Canada a Monsieur de Rancé, grand vicaire de Pontoyse, 15 aoust 1620, (Paris, 1620), 7.) This could have been the same lad who, according to Le Clercq, "had been shown what was most important and beautiful at Paris and elsewhere, and the most holy spots." Unfortunately, the lad died at sea on his way back to Canada. (Le Clercq, First Establishment, I: 181-183.)

act and live like Frenchmen. The practice flourished for awhile---in 1637, at least five were sent over, including a young Iroquois woman----in the confident expectation that a few years in France would transform the selected Amerindians into ambassadors for Christianity and French civilization.

To quote Father Paul Le Jeune (1591-1664):

I see no other way than that which your Reverence suggests, of sending a child every year to France. Having been there two years, he will return with a knowledge of the language, and having already become accustomed to our way, he will not leave us and will retain his little countrymen.⁸¹

In 1635 he noted optimistically that "the Savages are beginning to open their eyes and to recognize that children who are with us are well taught."⁸² The next year, in 1636, he was still writing in the same vein, concerning a lad he was sending over as a "gift" to M. De Noyers, Secretary of State: "I have great hopes that so good a hand will return him to us some day, so well educated that he will serve as an example to the people of his nation."⁸³

The Jesuit Relations indicate that more girls than boys were sent to France. The rationale behind this was expressed by Father Le Jeune when a girl was sent to Madame la

Princesse:

If someone would give her a dowry, when she is of marriageable age, and then send her back to these countries, I believe that much would be accomplished for the glory of God. For a Savage girl, comfortably settled here, and married to some Frenchman or Christian Savage, would be a

⁸¹ Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, VI: 85.

⁸² Ibid., VI: 265.

⁸³ Ibid., IX: 105.

powerful check upon some of her wandering countrymen. This is the point to be aimed at if this nation is to be effectually succored. We hope to arrange for the marriage of another one who is now being reared and supported in the home of a Frenchman.⁸⁴

What we know of the behavior of the children while they were in France seemed to endorse these high expectations. A girl taken in 1635 to live with the Hospitalières in Dieppe was described as winning

the love of all; she was very obliging, very obedient, and as careful as a Nun not to enter forbidden places; and when it was desired to make her enter, either through inadvertence or to test her obedience, she answered very sweetly, "I have not permission; the Mother Superior does not wish it."...She already knew the Catechism and a great deal of French...she could say very well the Manitou was good for nothing; that she no longer desired to return to Canada.⁸⁵

A boy who had been baptized Bonaventure was reported transformed in France, becoming "Quite different from what he was. He has become quite obedient, astonishingly enough."⁸⁶ Even more surprising, "he was neither a liar, nor a scold, nor a glutton, nor lazy. These are the four vices which seem to be born in these People, who are lazy and dissolute to the last degree."⁸⁷ The change in Bonaventure confirmed Le Jeune in his belief that "education alone (was) lacking to the Savages."⁸⁸ The transformation aroused his expectations: "I am hoping he will be of great service to us

⁸⁴ Ibid., XI: 53-55.

⁸⁵ Ibid., VII: 287.

⁸⁶ Ibid., VI: 85. This was the lad who had been known as Fortuné when he had first come to the French as an orphan.

⁸⁷ Ibid., IX: 223-225.

⁸⁸ Ibid., IX: 223.

in our seminary."⁸⁹ But the hazards in the way of such hopes were many; the girl died of smallpox, and Bonaventure died as the result of being lost in the woods following an accident, for which the French feared reprisals from his relatives, although his parents were dead. However, as the French had offered gifts to find the lad, his people were appeased.⁹⁰

More disturbing were the early failures to remould Amerindians into the French pattern. These were at first explained away on the grounds that the Amerindians, "not being sufficiently instructed, and finding themselves without shepherds as soon as they returned to these shores, immediately resumed their former habits and traditions."⁹¹ The pill of failure had been particularly bitter in the cases of the Huron Louis Amantacha and the Montagnais Pierre-Antoine Pastedechouan. Louis had been sent to France in 1626, had been baptized as Louis de Sainte-Foy and

⁸⁹Ibid., VII: 297.

⁹⁰Later, the French behaved similarly when a young Iroquois woman died in France. The Iroquois had petitioned with gifts for her return (Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XXVII: 285). Charles Huault de Nontmagny, lieutenant-general and first governor of New France from 1636 to 1648, replied with gifts so that "her bones might be laid to rest in her own country, or that she might be brought back to life by making some other woman bear her name." (Ibid., XXVII: 293).

⁹¹Ibid., II: 87.

returned a little over two years later.⁹² Pierre for his part had practically grown up in France, so that he had all but forgotten his native tongue.⁹³ Both of these men were in New France when it fell to the English in 1629. Upon their repossession of the colony in 1632, the French found their two neophytes reverted to their traditional ways. Louis, however, had not lost all interest in his new religion, and actively worked with Champlain and the Jesuits to promote the French-Huron alliance. He was eventually captured by the Iroquois while on a raid in their country, and was heard of no more.⁹⁴ Pierre had become a misfit in both European and Amerindian society; Father Le Jeune observed sourly, "I may add that I have not seen a savage so savage and so barbarous as he is."⁹⁵ His exposure to the English was blamed for the failure.⁹⁶ In the end, only the priests were prepared to endure Pierre, and that only for the sake of learning his native language. Finally, in 1636, he was reported to have died of starvation, alone in the woods.⁹⁷ Thus were dashed the high hopes the French had entertained at his baptism,

⁹²The story of Louis is in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography I, entry "Amantacha." Louis's baptism in the Cathedral of Rouen had been another of those religious spectacles that characterized this age of missionary zeal. Le Tac describes the event in Histoire chronologique, 136-138.

⁹³Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, V: 107; VI: 85.

⁹⁴Ibid., VI: 215.

⁹⁵Ibid., VI: 85.

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷Dictionary of Canadian Biography, I: entry under the rubric "Pastedechouan."

when the Prince de Guémenée had stood as his godfather.⁹⁸

That the French were finding the task of remoulding the "savages" far less simple than they had at first expected is amply documented in their own frustrated admissions. "It was 38 years, as I have heard, before anything was accomplished in Brazil," Le Jeune observed in 1633.⁹⁹ By expecting results within such a short time limit, the French indicated how thoroughly they misunderstood Amerindians. Initially they had seen them as unformed personalities in an untutored state of nature, ready to accept the teachings of the civilized French. When this turned out not to be the case, it was easy to attribute the failures to the perversity of the Amerindians or perhaps to their alleged devotion to the devil.

Yet there is evidence that the Amerindians could and did cooperate with the French. For example, Louise, a Montagnais, wrote that she was glad to be in France; and the superior of the hospital at Dieppe where she was staying wrote:

Our little Louise is doing very well. She is very sweet, compliant, obedient and devoted. When there is some small act of devotion to be performed in the class of the little Seminary girls, she is the first to ask to do it; she is so modest and attentive...she puts our little French girls to shame; for my part, she inspires me with devotion.¹⁰⁰

Cooperation had also been found on the part of the parents,

⁹⁸Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, V: 107.

⁹⁹Ibid., VI: 25.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., XI: 95.

as in the case of another girl, brought up in French fashion, going to visit her natural parents in their bark lodge. They sent her back to the French.¹⁰¹

When boys or men were sent over, the occasion could assume some of the aspects of a diplomatic mission. As had occurred with Père Claude's Brazilians. In 1638, the son of Iwanchon, a captain, laid his "crown" of porcelain beads (wampum) at the feet of the French King "as a sign that he recognized the great Prince, in the name of all the nations, as their true and lawful monarch."¹⁰² The King and Queen responded by showing him their Dauphin, and making him a present of six suits of clothing "entirely of cloth of gold, velvet, satin, silk, plush, scarlet and everything else in keeping."¹⁰³ Back in Quebec the young man displayed these gifts to Montmagny, "who deemed it advisable to distribute them among several of the nations present. Therefore, three splendid suits were given to this young Savage---one for himself, one for his son, and the third for his father. The three other suits were presented to Christian captains of different nations."¹⁰⁴ They were worn in a procession for

¹⁰¹Ibid., XI: 93. That was not an isolated instance; however, they may have been exceptions that proved the opposite rule, for the generality seems to have been that Amerindian children living with the French became unmanageable as soon as their countrymen encamped nearby. They "no longer belonged to us, we dared say nothing," complained Father Le Jeune. (Ibid., VI: 85).

¹⁰²Ibid., XV: 223.

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Ibid.

the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, with the men wearing the six suits leading the Amerindian section. These chiefs responded by sending an Amerindian costume for the Dauphin. They explained, "It is not a present that we make him, for his riches are far greater than ours; but it is a matawagan----a small toy to amuse his little Son, who may perhaps take pleasure in seeing how our children are dressed."¹⁰⁵

Such exchanges continued throughout the period of New France, if one is to judge by the collection of "Les Enfants de France" at the Bibliothèque de Versailles. Two "porcelain collars" at Chartres Cathedral are mute testimony of another exchange, this time of a religious nature.¹⁰⁶

The French custom of sending war prisoners to France was described by an Englishman as "the great and most effectual means they have taken for confirming of their Indians, and for the subverting or corrupting of ours."¹⁰⁷ According to John Nelson, a Scottish merchant who was at one point a prisoner at Quebec and who reported on his observations, they have from time to time transported into France some of

¹⁰⁵Ibid., XV: 237.

¹⁰⁶François-Jules Doublet de Boisthibault, Notice sur un reliquaire donné en 1680 aux Hurons de Lorette en la Nouvelle France, par le chapitre de l'église de Chartres, (Paris, 1858).

¹⁰⁷O'Callaghan and Brodhead, New York Colonial Documents, IV:206-211, "Mr. Nelson's Memorial about the State of the Northern Colonies in America," 24 September 1696.

the most eminent and enterprizing Indians (not only of their own, but of ours whom they have happened to take their prisoners) for no other intent, than to amaze and dazzle them with the greatness and splendour of the French Court and Armie where the King hath so thought it worth his countenancing as to send them into Flanders, where the Armies have been expressly mustered before them, to show their greatness.¹⁰⁸

As a matter of fact, added Nelson, "there are actually at this instant now at Versailles six Sagamos or chiefs sent from Canada, Hudson's Bay and Nova Scotia to sollicite such help and assistance against us."¹⁰⁹

By the time Nelson penned his observations, the French had been sending Amerindian war prisoners to France for more than half a century. One of the most noted of these was an Iroquois who arrived at Havre de Grace on 7 December 1649. Known to the French as Berger, he had several years before been ransomed by Montmagny from Pieskaret, the Algonkin captain who waged his own private war against the Iroquois with such success that he had become a legend in his own time.¹¹⁰ Berger had returned to his own people, but did not forget that he owed his life to the French. He had opposed the killing of Father Isaac Jogues in 1646. Two years later he decided to give himself up to the French, which he did while on a hunting expedition near Three Rivers. The French were convinced that he had come to spy, and did not believe

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 208.

¹⁰⁹Ibid.

¹¹⁰For something of Pieskaret's story, see Cadwallader Colden, History of the Five Nations..., (New York, 1727), 8-15. For Berger, described by the Jesuits as intelligent, see Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XXXVI: 21-45.

him when he showed a scar on his arm where he claimed to have taken a blow intended for Jogues. They shackled his feet. To prove his sincerity, he arranged for some fellow Iroquois to be captured by the French. All of the prisoners managed to escape, except Berger, who determinedly remained. The French, fearful that he might one day return to his own country with information he had gathered while at Three Rivers, decided to send him to France. On board the ship, the sailors bound him for fear he would escape; in the morning he would be found free of his fetters. This happened several times, so that the sailors began to wonder if he were a sorcerer.¹¹¹ The sight of Havre de Grace so astonished him that he did not speak for two hours. Although it was in December, he preferred to go barefooted rather than to confine his feet in French shoes and stockings. He also went bareheaded. Injuring his foot, he was lodged in the hospital at Dieppe where the nuns reported that "he took his repast, not as a Barbarian, but as a temperate man; for, although he was tall and powerful, he ate rather sparingly."¹¹² Eventually, he was taken to Paris, where he was lodged in a house for recent converts; there he died.¹¹³ The concluding remark about Berger was to the effect that it was estimated that he had eaten 50 men in his day.

¹¹¹for another example of an Amerindian freeing himself from his bonds, see infra, 287.

¹¹²Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XXXVI: 37.

¹¹³Ibid., 43-45.

The most celebrated incident in the history of New France concerning sending Amerindians to Europe occurred when Denonville transported 30 to 60 Iroquois war prisoners for service as galley slaves.¹¹⁴ A terse note in Mercur Galant reported the arrival of the Iroquois "destiné aux galères, pour voir s'ils y seront propres."¹¹⁵ The experiment---if that is what it can be called---aroused bitter criticism at the time. Father Jean de Lamberville (1663-1714), for one, felt that it threatened his work among the Iroquois, particularly as the prisoners included "some who had been to France often."¹¹⁶ Lahontan also had some sharp words on the subject.¹¹⁷ As early as 1663 it had been proposed to destroy the Iroquois either by killing them "ou en envoyant de deça les meilleurs hommes pour servir dans les gallères";¹¹⁸ Talon three years later wrote in a similar vein;¹¹⁹ in 1684, de La Barre was urged to take as many

¹¹⁴Thirty-six were sent over according to Jean Leclerc in his thesis, "L'Expedition de Denonville, 1687; antécédents et suites," Doctorat ès Lettres, (Université de Laval, 1964), 144. This is the figure given by Père Thierry Beschefer. (Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, LXIII: 278). However, a report in Le Mercure Galant datelined November 1687, places the figure at between 50 and 60.

¹¹⁵Le Mercure Galant (1687), 102.

¹¹⁶Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, LXIV: 249.

¹¹⁷Lahontan, Voyages dans Amérique Septentrionale, I: 109ff. The argument has carried over until today. W.J. Eccles has taken the position that Denonville's action had not been planned beforehand. ("Denonville et les galériens iroquois," Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique française XIV No. 3 (décembre 1960) 408-429). Such a position is not borne out by official correspondence.

¹¹⁸PAC AC C11A 2: 37. Memoire pour la Nouvelle France, de La Rochelle, 22 janvier 1663.

¹¹⁹PAC AC C11A 2: 214 verso, de Talon à Québec le 11 novembre 1666.

Iroquois prisoners as possible for service in the galleys.¹²⁰ We can only speculate as to the fate of the Iroquois once they got to France; that at least some of them were sent to Marseilles is suggested by an account that concerns the expenses of four Iroquois travelling from Bordeaux and Castelnadary to that city.¹²¹ Perhaps the cries of outrage from the colony had their effect, or perhaps the Iroquois died too quickly to be of much use as galley slaves. According to de Lamberville, only 13 returned to Canada; he claimed the rest died from destitution.¹²² In any event, this episode is unique in the history of New France. When Frontenac returned for his second term as governor, he brought three of the Iroquois with him.¹²³ One of these, whose name is written Orecone, (Oreacona, Orcoué or Oréouache), was Frontenac's inseparable companion.¹²⁴ He became renowned for his exploits in the French cause, which he explained "with a modesty rare among Indians, that he

¹²⁰PAC AC C11A 6: 465-466, de Versailles à De La Barre, 31 juillet 1684.

¹²¹PAC AC F1A 4: 36, "Estat de la depense que le Roy veut", 1 mars 1688. The item concerns the payment of 50 livres for the subsistence of the Iroquois.

¹²²Jean Leclerc, "Denonville et ses captifs Iroquois: Jean de Lamberville et les quarante delegués Iroquois," Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique française, XV, No. 1 (1961), 53-54. He is citing a letter written by de Lamberville dated 23 June 1695 (Thwaites, Jesuit Relations LXIV: 243).

¹²³PAC AC C11A 10: 259, Frontenac au ministre, le 15 novembre 1689.

¹²⁴PAC AC F3 7: 154 verso, "Explication de trois colliers que deux Iroquois portent aux...Indiens catholiques de Canada." 9 février 1694.

still had not done enough to repay his father Onontio."¹²⁵

The English, in the meantime, remained convinced that the French policy of sending influential Amerindians to France was producing better results than it actually was.

Nelson makes this clear:

In regard to our Indians, no better methods can be taken, than by imitating the French, both as to their encouragements at home, as also to have some chiefs of the diverse nations of the Indians to be sent into England whereby to give a counterpoise unto the French reputation and greatness."¹²⁶

But the French had slowly become convinced that the policy "n'a produit qu'une depense inutile," at least as far as Amerindian chiefs were concerned.¹²⁷ First of all, Amerindian delegates displayed a tendency to consider themselves as equal even to the French king, in spite of all the pomp and circumstance with which he was surrounded; secondly, even when they were suitably impressed with French might, they were seldom able to fully convince their fellows in the New World of this. So that in terms of gaining new alliances or cementing existing ones, such visits proved ineffective, which finally led the French to discourage the

¹²⁵PAC AC F3 6: 401-401 verso, "Relation de ce qui c'est passé...le 27 novembre 1690 jusqu'au 15 octobre 1691."

¹²⁶O'Callaghan & Brodhead, New York Colonial Documents, IV: 208.

¹²⁷PAC AC B 57: 639, Maurepas à Beauharnois, 8 avril 1732.

practice.¹²⁸ Unofficial or casual visits also came to be discouraged, an attitude that intensified during the eighteenth century. In 1740, the unauthorized passage to France of a Micmac and his interpreter drew severe official displeasure on the head of the captain involved.¹²⁹ The Micmac, Denis d'Esdain, was given red cloth, gold braid, gold fringe, beads and ribbon in assorted colours and the missionary Jean-Louis Le Loutre was instructed "de faire valoir à ce sauvage ce present du roi et de lui dire Sa Majesté l'aurait fait mieux traiter s'il fut venu en France avec des gens autorisés."¹³⁰

Such reactions on the part of the French accorded with the attitudes of Amerindians, who during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seldom regarded going to Europe with any particular enthusiasm, to say the least. Early travellers reported, with apparent surprise, that while Amerindians travelled much in their own countries they were not eager to go to Europe. Jean Ribault (c1520-1565)

¹²⁸Americans were to later have a similar experience when they attempted to impress hostile Amerindians by bringing their chiefs to Washington, where they were wined and dined, met the president and had carefully arranged opportunities to see American military might. The reports of these delegates to their fellow tribesmen were not only often doubted, they were sometimes openly scoffed at, and the delegates themselves ran the risk of being regarded as traitors because they had associated with the Long Knives on their own ground. See Katherine C. Turner, Red Men Calling on the Great White Father, (Norman, Okla., 1951).

¹²⁹PAC AC B 76: 83 verso, Maurepas à Guillot, 2 mail 1740.

¹³⁰PAC AC C11B 23: 74-74 verso, Du Quesnel à Maurepas, 19 octobre 1741.

discovered this during his attempt to colonize "La Floride" (today the coast of the Carolinas) in 1562-1565. He was under instructions from the Queen to bring back two Amerindians, presumably for her court. Ribault obtained the consent of an Amerindian "king", who named two men, "lesquels se sentans mieux favorisez que les autres, s'estoimoient fort heureux de demourer."¹³¹ But the two quickly changed their minds when they realized they would be leaving their homeland; the best efforts of the French to cajole them into accepting their lot proved fruitless, and they escaped, carefully leaving behind the clothing and other items their hosts had given them.¹³² Similarly, Jean Mocquet, geographer to the King, told of a young Caribbean Indian who had indicated a willingness to go to France under the impression that it was the ship in which the French were sailing.¹³³ Upon learning the truth he sought to escape; the French tied him, but he freed himself from his bonds. By that time they were apparently too far out at sea for him to swim back to shore. The frustrated young man vented his fury on a shipmate, an Amerindian belonging to an enemy tribe. The captain ordered the belligerent one to be whipped, to which his only reaction was to tense his shoulders "sans crier ny dire en seul mot: ce qui m'estonna fort pour le voir si bien marqué des coups qu'il avoit receus."¹³⁴

¹³¹Laudonnière, l'Histoire notable de la Floride, 27.

¹³²Ibid., 27-31.

¹³³Mocquet, Voyages en Afrique, 94.

¹³⁴Ibid., 94-95.

Eventually, Mocquet presented him to the King.

The loneliness that Amerindians probably experienced in Europe was suggested by Mocquet's story of Yapoco, whom he saw in Paris with Père Claude's group. Mocquet had known Yapoco in Brazil; the latter, upon seeing a familiar face from his homeland, "me vient soudain sauter au col & embrasser, me contrant sa fortune."¹³⁵ Some Amerindians went to extraordinary lengths to return home.¹³⁶ Occasionally, particular circumstances modified this attitude, at least in the case of some individuals, and we read of a little girl crying so hard to join her companions who were being sent to France that she was allowed to go along too.¹³⁷ Noël Negabamat, the Montagnais captain who was a firm friend of the French, expressed a wish to go to France, but instead was sent to Boston on an unsuccessful embassy in 1650 with Father Gabriel Druillettes (1607-1685) to seek an alliance with the English against the Iroquois.¹³⁸

What were the reactions of Amerindians to Europe? Outside of Montaigne's celebrated interview with three Brazilians in Rouen, in which they expressed surprise at the social inequalities they saw in French society, there are very few reports from the sixteenth or even the seventeenth

¹³⁵Ibid., 98.

¹³⁶Rochefort, Histoire naturelle, 203. This is exemplified by the well-known story of Squanto.

¹³⁷Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XII: 125.

¹³⁸Ibid., XXXVII: 77.

centuries. We have already noted that the accounts of Amerindians who had gone over with Gravé du Pont had influenced Begourat to allow his son to go.¹³⁹ Obviously, impressions must have been expressed in terms of cultural experiences; thus the son of Iwanchon told of "rolling cabins drawn by moose."¹⁴⁰ In another case the visitor, seeing the street of metal workers' shops in Paris, wondered if the coppersmiths were not relatives of the king, and the copper trade a privilege of the seigneurs.¹⁴¹ Back in the New World, reports of such masses of people and houses seemed incredible. "They have bribed you" was an understandable reaction.¹⁴² It is also entirely possible that the Amerindians, once they recovered from their first astonishment, were not so overwhelmed by European cities as Europeans would have liked to assume. From the very beginning, Amerindians were loyal to their own cultural values and displayed a preference for their own way of life. Typical was Louis of Dominique, who after some time in France wanted only to return to his own people. Asked "s'il

¹³⁹Supra, 263-264.

¹⁴⁰Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XV: 235.

¹⁴¹Denys, Description géographique, 441. Sagard had observed: "Since they reckoned that the greatest captains in France were endowed with the greatest mind, and possessing so great a mind they alone could make the most complicated things, such as axes, knives, kettles, etc., they concluded therefore that the King, being the greatest captain and chief of them all, made the largest kettles, and regarding us in the capacity of captains they used sometimes to offer us kettles to mend." (Sagard, Long Journey, 183).

¹⁴²Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, LXVIII: 215. This reaction was reported for a visit in 1725.

n'avoit point quitté la France à regret; & s'il estoit plus aysé de retourner au desert de la Dominique que de demeurer à Paris, parler aux Princes, comme il avoit faict, voir la Cour, & les beaux édifices de nostre Royaume; respondit qu'il aymoît mieux son pais."¹⁴³ As soon as he was back home, "le comble de son plaisir, fut de quitter ses habits, & reprendre ses premieres costumes."¹⁴⁴

Europeans were trapped by their own preconceptions of Amerindians as "poor savages" who could not help but be impressed by a sophisticated civilization. The truth, of course, was that Amerindians had a sophistication of their own.¹⁴⁵ The French began to perceive something of this when they observed that the Amerindians were quite as devoted to their own self-interest as were the French, and were as willing to avail themselves of every means at their disposal to gain their own ends. Thus those chiefs who were impressed with French power reacted by trying to win it to the service

¹⁴³Saint-Michel, Voyage des isles Camercanes, 143.

¹⁴⁴Ibid. Similarly, Sieur de La Borde reported that love of Amerindians for their own land was so great "nous l'avons veu par experience de quelques-uns-uns qu'on avoit amenez en France, qui n'y ont jamais voulu demeurer." ("Relation de l'origine, moeurs, coustumes, religion, guerres et voyages des Caraïbes, sauvages des isles Antilles de l'Amerique," 16, in Justel, Recueil de Diverses Voyages.)

¹⁴⁵For example their retort to the raillery of certain ladies when they appeared at the French Court painted in their own Amerindian fashion. "They have no sense," these Amerindians remarked of the ladies, "and their reproaches are unjust, because they themselves have their own faces all mottled with black, like our Indians, from which it appears they are always in mourning, judging by, their manner of painting themselves." (Le Clercq, New Relation, 97-98).

of their particular interests. The French found themselves not overawing simple savages but negotiating with accomplished diplomats. Little wonder that their initial enthusiasm for bringing chiefs to France cooled.

The Europe which visiting Amerindians saw was not what Europeans expected them to see. The world views of the two civilizations were too utterly different for that to happen. The French concentrated so intensely on the undeniable glories of their civilization that they quite naturally tended to minimize its less attractive side. For instance, Cartier, in bringing his reluctant Iroquois guests to the court of Francis I, would quite reasonably have expected them to be impressed with France's royal splendours without taking into consideration the beggars outside the palace walls. Yet the sight of beggars very likely shocked the Iroquois as it was later to shock the Brazilians interviewed by Montaigne. The Paris in which the court was held was a fortress city in which public executions were at times daily occurrences and could hardly have been avoided by visiting Amerindians. In fact, the year after Cartier's Iroquois arrived, 1535, was when the practice of public burnings, tortures and mutilations of heretics was being stepped into

high gear.¹⁴⁶ The accounts of some of these executions are so horrifying that one could wonder whether visitors from the northeastern woodlands of North America, where torture was practised, did not learn a thing or two. It was an age, for one mild example, when counterfeiters were boiled in oil by being ever so slowly dipped into the bubbling liquid.¹⁴⁷ The filth and confusion of the crowded Paris streets could not be avoided by those who ventured out, unless they were rich enough to afford sedan chairs. By contrast, Father Le Jeune, in seeking to escape from the smoke and crowded conditions of an Amerindian lodge, found solitude and cleanliness in a snowbank, although it was too cold a comfort.¹⁴⁸

Amerindian visitors to Europe during both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw a young population; a study of 3,700 children of all classes born in Paris at the end of the seventeenth century indicates an overall life expectancy of 23 years.¹⁴⁹ The average life expectancy for ruling classes in Europe was 28 years for a man, 34 years for a

¹⁴⁶A vivid impression of the cruelty and frequency of these events is provided by contemporary journals, such as Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris... (1515-1536), ed. by V.-L. Bourrilly, (Paris, 1910); Chroniques du Roy Francois Ier (1515 à 1542), ed. by G. Guiffrey, (Paris, 1860); Chronique parisienne (1522 à 1535), publiée par P. Bournon dans Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Isle de France, tome XXII, 1895; and Thomas Galiot, Inventaire de l'histoire journalière, (Paris, 1599). See also Seward, Prince of the Renaissance, 185-186.

¹⁴⁷Mandrou, Introduction, 80.

¹⁴⁸Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, VII: 43.

¹⁴⁹Kamen, Iron Century, 13.

woman. More than half the children who were born alive died before their seventh year. At the end of the sixteenth century, France counted 230 cities and towns, and a population of 16,000,000 that consisted of 90% peasants, 8% bourgeoisie (who were mostly small merchants) and 2% nobility.¹⁵⁰ Epidemics were still recurrent. Paris and Marseilles had been hit in 1580; in 1630, the plague took nine out of 10 inhabitants in Pignerol,¹⁵¹ while in 1565 Naples and Genoa lost nearly half their populations.¹⁵² Plagues were inevitably followed by famines; in 1661 young Louis XIV distributed grain and bread.¹⁵³

The century's rising prices led to a series of popular revolts; in fact, the peasants could be described as being in a state of perpetual revolt.¹⁵⁴ There were riots in which wheat merchants, corrupt officials and usurers were killed by mobs. One such incident occurred in Dauphiné in 1588. Its leader, Jean Servé or Paulmier, apparently took the time during carnival to participate in festivities by dressing in a bear's skin and eating what passed for Christian flesh while sitting in the mayor's chair. According to one

¹⁵⁰Dent, "Historical Background of the French Renaissance." According to Warren H. Lewis, when St. Simon spoke of "all France", he was referring to 50,000 to 60,000 people. (The Splendid Century, (London, 1953), 77.)

¹⁵¹Mandrou, Introduction, 49.

¹⁵²Kamen, Iron Century, 29.

¹⁵³Ibid., 34.

¹⁵⁴This is the central thesis of Boris Porchnev, Les Soulevements Populaires en France au XVIIe Siècle, (Paris, 1972). Also, Mandrou, Introduction, 128, and Hale, Renaissance Europe, 27.

historian, the ceremonial eating of human flesh on such occasion represented the overturning of social values.¹⁵⁵ In Saintonge, a tax collector was cut to pieces alive in 1636. Between 1590 and 1630, witch hunting was at its height in France.¹⁵⁶ The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also saw France torn by extensive and extremely damaging wars. The Wars of Religion, 1559-1598, were marked by the 1572 massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, in which 3,000 Protestant were killed in Paris, and 20,000 in all of France. The civil war known as the Fronde, 1648-1653, caused a population loss of 20% in some areas.¹⁵⁷ It was the worst crisis of the Ancien Régime, which Louis XIV sought to remove from memory by destroying all public documents relating to it.¹⁵⁸

In other words, what visiting Amerindians saw was not a society in which living conditions were generally more comfortable than what they had been used to. Cold was such a hazard in Renaissance Europe that people frequently died of it. It was during this period that chimneys were perfected, so that the nuisance of smoke was eliminated, at least for those who could afford such a luxury.¹⁵⁹ Neither did Amerindians find a society with less violence than their own, rather they found one in which for all practical

¹⁵⁵Kamen, Iron Century, 334.

¹⁵⁶Mandrou, Introduction, 363.

¹⁵⁷Kamen, Iron Century, 42.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., 314; Porchnev, Soulevements, 324.

¹⁵⁹Mandrou, Introduction, 42.

purposes it was the prerogative of a privileged group.¹⁶⁰ Amerindians found this unacceptable, as they were accustomed to considering each man his own master, whether in trade, warfare or religion. They were astonished to see poverty in the midst of opulence, which did not accord with their practice of sharing. What the Amerindians saw in Europe only confirmed them in the belief that they were at least equal, if not superior, to the French, both as individuals and in respect to their civilizations. The people in France, for their part, continued to regard Amerindians as curiosities; apart from Montaigne, few Frenchmen seem to have considered that they had anything to learn from these exotic visitors. From the viewpoint of their contribution to the development of understanding and sympathy between the two worlds, the visits can only be considered as failures, as they were inadequately conceived and executed with unrealistic expectations, in so far as they were planned at all.

¹⁶⁰War was traditionally the principal activity of the nobles. (Mandrou, Introduction, 148.)

THE MYTH OF THE SAVAGE
AND THE BEGINNINGS OF FRENCH COLONIALISM IN THE AMERICAS

Chapter VII

More Early Contacts: the French in the New World

The French were late starters in the colonial sweepstakes that followed the opening of the New World. They had been forestalled in Brazil by the Portuguese, in spite of having developed extensive trading contacts there. The Spaniards, solidly entrenched in South and Central America, Mexico and even north of the Rio Grande, were not disposed to make room for the French in those areas. What remained was the northern part of North America, a land that did not lend itself to the formation of instant empires such as those created by the conquistadores. It was to take the better part of a century for the French to make New France an actual colony rather than just an explorer's claim. It was a period of slowly developing contacts, of trials, errors and false starts.

When Giovanni da Verrazzano named this northern territory "New France" in 1524, the appellation was widely accepted, although Portuguese, Spanish and British had all previously undertaken voyages to the northern coasts. Although the Portuguese were the principal challengers, none of their voyages matched Verrazzano's for thoroughness and scope in investigating the North American Atlantic

coastline. As France's first official explorer in North America, Verrazzano probed the coast from the Carolinas to Cape Breton.¹

In his report to Francis I, the explorer told of the astonishment of the natives on seeing Europeans:

Nous vîmes beaucoup de gens qui venaient au bord de la mer et qui fuyaient en nous voyant approcher. Quelquefois ils s'arrêtaient et se retournaient en nous regardant avec grand étonnement. Rassurés par nos signes, quelque-uns d'entre eux s'approchèrent de la mer en montrant une grande joie à notre vue, s'émerveillant de nos habits, de notre visage et de notre blancheur. Ils nous montraient par signes l'endroit où nous pouvions le plus commodément aborder avec la barque et nous offraient aussi à manger de ce qu'ils avaient.²

But nowhere in his account do we find a suggestion of the awed reactions that Columbus and Vespucci had reported. Neither did Verrazzano meet overt hostility, although he found the people of the north less than cordial.³ Sometimes, however, the Europeans had difficulty in ascertaining the intentions of the natives. Verrazzano reported an incident in which a young sailor daringly began to swim from the ship

¹Verrazzano (c.1485-c.1528), a Florentine by birth, had entered France's maritime service by 1522. His 1524 voyage was financed by Florentine bankers of Lyon. On a subsequent voyage in 1528 to the West Indies and South America, he was reported to have been killed and eaten by Amerindians before the eyes of his crew aboard ship. See Lawrence C. Wroth, The Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano, 1524-1528, (New Haven, 1970), and Michel Mollat, "Premières relations entre la France et le Brésil: des Verrazani à Villegaignon," in Cahiers de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes de l'Amérique latine, (Paris, 1964).

²Ramusio, Navigations et voyages, 96.

³In this connection it is interesting to note that Ponce de Leon's hostile reception in Florida, 20 April 1513, is the first record of such a reaction upon initial arrival. (Sauer, Sixteenth Century America, 28.) It could well have been that word about Spanish behavior had preceded them.

to a group of people on the shore. As he drew close he lost his courage, threw some articles to the attendant natives, and began to swim back to the ship. But a large wave reversed his course and tossed him ashore. In his fear he cried out, and his bewildered hosts, apparently to reassure him, cried out also. They built a fire and stripped him in order to dry out his clothes; the sailor was sure they were preparing to eat him. After he was warmed and dried he parted from the Amerindians on good terms and returned in a shallop that had been sent out by his ship.⁴

Verrazzano's account leaves us with the impression of well-populated land, as he was met by crowds of people whenever he ventured ashore.⁵ As usual with early explorers, he depended upon the Amerindians for supplies of fresh food; he found them generous, often expecting nothing in return. However, as he proceeded north, the people became more exacting. They were also less approachable:

...ils venaient sur certaines roches du rivages de la mer où les vagues étaient les plus fortes et tandis que nous restions dans le canot, ils nous envoyaient avec une corde ce qu'ils voulaient nous donner, en nous criant continuellement de ne pas nous approcher et en demandant immédiatement l'échange. Ils n'acceptaient que les couteaux, les hameçons de pêche, et le métal tranchant. Ils n'appréciaient nullement l'amabilité et, quand nous partions, n'ayant plus rien à échanger, les hommes nous faisaient tous les gestes de mépris et de honte que peut faire une créature sans humanité, ni politesse.⁶

⁴Ramusio, Navigations et voyages, 99.

⁵Hakluyt, principal Navigations, VIII: 427; Belleforest, Cosmographie universelle 2175ff.

⁶Ramusio, Navigations et voyages, 107.

Finally, Verrazzano reported, the people became "so barbarous that by no signs that ever we could make, we could have any kind of trafficke with them."⁷ This argues, of course, for an already-established familiarity with Europeans in those areas, probably as a result of fishing activities on the Grand Banks.

Verrazzano found that all along the coast the Amerindians preferred the colors red and blue, being particularly fond of blue beads and other "bagatelles pour se mettre aux oreilles ou au cou."⁸ They also liked little bells, but displayed no desire at all for cloth of silk or gold.⁹ He wondered about the type of settlements the northerners lived in, and thought their dwellings would probably be of wood, but as far as he could judge many of these people slept out in the open air.¹⁰ Further south he witnessed the manner of taking down and putting up dwellings "en un instant."¹¹ Unable to identify either temples or houses of prayer in their villages, he concluded that the inhabitants lived in complete liberty without religion.¹²

France did not seek to consolidate the position that had been established by Verrazzano in the New World until 10

⁷Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, VIII:437.

⁸Ramusio, Navigations et voyages, 103.

⁹Ibid. Visiting chiefs often wore embroidered skins "skillfully worked like damask." (Wroth, Verrazzano, 137-138.

¹⁰Ramusio, Navigations et voyages, 101.

¹¹Ibid., 105 106.

¹²Ibid., 108.

years later, in 1534, when Jacques Cartier was sent out to reconnoitre the St. Lawrence. This voyage apparently was not Cartier's first to the New World; d'Avity said the pilot's first trip had been in 1524, and comments in Cartier's reports of his St. Lawrence voyages imply that he had been to Brazil. He made several references to the corn of Canada being similar to the millet of Brazil,¹³ and wrote that the northern Amerindians "live with almost everything in common, much like the Brazilians."¹⁴

Not only did Cartier have an idea of what to expect, but the Amerindians did as well: instead of greeting the French captain in fear and wonder, they sought him out in order to trade. It has even been theorized that they had come to the shore expressly to meet European ships.¹⁵ In any event, Cartier offered the natives knives and iron goods, and a red cap for their chief. They expressed their joy by singing and dancing and throwing sea water on their heads.

It is generally believed that the first group encountered by Cartier were Micmac. They welcomed him warmly, "se monstrant bien affectionnez envers eux, et joyeux de telle venue, cognoissance, et amytié pratiquée et

¹³Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 62, 153, 183.

¹⁴Ibid., 181. He spoke Portuguese well enough to be used as an interpreter. (Biggar, Collection of Documents, 476.) For other evidence of a Brazilian connection, see supra, 260.

¹⁵Hoffman, "Historical Ethnography," 40. By 1534 French ships were sailing regularly on trading missions to Brazil. Upon arriving offshore they announced their arrival by firing cannon. (Mocquet, Voyages en Afrique, 88.)

conceue les uns avecques les autres."¹⁶ The second group he met were Iroquoians; Cartier noted that they spoke a different language from the first group, and had different customs. They were more reserved, and took the precaution of having their young women retire into the woods, at least at first.¹⁷ These Iroquois could well have been from Stadacona, a people whose lifestyle, based on hunting and fishing, resembled that of the Algonkians rather than that of the agricultural Huron or Five Nations. The Stadaconans came down to live by the sea each summer, and so probably came into contact with Europeans at a very early date, perhaps almost as early as the Micmac. Their initial suspicions of Cartier were to have some justification, although not for the reasons they had anticipated. For Cartier, on the eve of his departure, erected a cross on Honguedo (Gaspé) to claim possession, following the French practice begun in Brazil. This immediately aroused Donnacona, who thought it was a ruse implying an attack.¹⁸ He came with armed men to ask Cartier if the French were trying to make themselves masters of the land.¹⁹ According to his own testimony, Cartier replied that he intended the cross simply as a guidepost;²⁰ that crosses were used as such is indicated by his later

¹⁶Thevet, Singularitez, 401.

¹⁷Verrazzano had reported a similar reaction in one of his encounters. (Ramusio, Navigations et voyages, 104.)

¹⁸André Thevet, "Le Grand Insulaire et Pilotage," 156-156 verso.

¹⁹Ibid. Also, Belleforest, Cosmographie universelle, 2184.

²⁰Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 66.

reference to a cross as a landmark at Lobster Bay on the north shore.²¹

However, the cosmographer André Thevet, who regarded Cartier as "mon grand et singulier ami",²² reported that the French told the Amerindians they wanted to help them against their enemies, for which purpose he proposed to establish a colony.²³ To the Iroquois, this would have meant offering an alliance, and accordingly, they brought food. Cartier's actions in taking the two sons of Donnacona after such a commitment must have seemed the grossest treachery to the Stadaconans. One can but wonder if the two were as pleased as Cartier seemed to believe when the French dressed them in shirts and ribbons and put red caps on their heads and brass chains about their necks.²⁴ As has already been indicated, it was well known that while Amerindians wandered about a great deal in their own lands, they were not at all interested in going to foreign places.²⁵

The kidnapped Taignoagny and Domagaya were luckier than

²¹ Ibid., 100.

²² Thevet, "Grand Insulaire", 143.

²³ Ibid., 156 verso. Later, in boundary negotiations with Great Britain, France claimed that Cartier had made an alliance with the Stadaconans and had taken possession of the land. (Mémoires des commissaires du roi et de ceux de Sa Majesté Britannique, 4 vols., (Paris, 1755-1757), I:29.

²⁴ Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 67.

²⁵ Supra, 284-286. Also, Thevet, Cosmographie universelle, (Chaudière) 1018.

many of their fellows in similar circumstances.²⁶ Surviving their stay in France, they returned with Cartier to guide the French ships up the St. Lawrence. At the Saguenay, the party encountered four canoes of Stadaconans who, upon recognizing the French, displayed distrust and fear: obviously they remembered the kidnapping of the previous year. Later, near Stadacona, Cartier encountered a similar reaction. The Iroquois showed a tendency to flee, and at first did not recognize the two interpreters, probably because they would have been dressed and coiffed in the French manner. But when they realized who they were, the Stadaconans were transformed into welcoming hosts.

This rediscovered good will did not entirely dissipate the cloud of suspicion that hung between the French and the Stadaconans. This was manifested in the change of attitude of the two sons after their return. They no longer wanted to come aboard the French ships. It does not take a great effort of the imagination to appreciate what had happened. In France, Domagaya and Taignoagny had probably acted as they thought would best ensure their survival. In describing their homeland to the French, it is likely they embellished its attractions to the extent they thought necessary to

²⁶The death rate was high among Amerindians making the Atlantic crossing during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. If they survived the voyage, they usually did not long survive in Europe, often dying shortly after arrival. See, for instance, Père Yves, Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil, 1X.

assure their return.²⁷ They would have encouraged Cartier's desire to visit Stadacona and even Hochelaga with promises of guiding him wherever he wanted to go along the St. Lawrence, even though they knew perfectly well that such an action would contravene Amerindian custom. According to that custom, the Stadaconans, as the first to encounter the French, would have acquired the exclusive right to trade with them, and to be middlemen to the peoples of the interior.²⁸ Domagaya and Taignoagny, back in Canada, could not implement the promises so easily made in France; the Stadaconans firmly opposed Cartier's desire to penetrate up the river. If Cartier knew of the custom, he showed no inclination to respect it, and he regarded his erstwhile guests' reluctance to honor their promise as treachery.

The French presence at Stadacona must have been profoundly disturbing to Donnacona and the elders of the village. For although the French brought trade goods, they also brought an incomprehension of the Amerindian way of life, displaying little desire to tailor their behavior to its exigencies. For instance, the French went about fully armed even when the Stadaconans did not. When Donnacona objected, Cartier drily replied that it was the custom in

²⁷Biggar, Documents, LXXV.

²⁸Gilbert-Armand-François-Simon de la Grange de Chessieux, Le Conduite des François justifiée, ou observations sur un écrit Anglois..., (Paris, 1756) 255.

France, as Domagaya and Taignoagny well knew.²⁹ There is no record as to whether Donnacona continued the discussion, pointing out that such French customs were not necessarily appropriate, and in this case certainly not diplomatic, in Stadacona. The stories told by Domagaya and Taignoagny aroused curiosity about the artillery bristling on the French ships, and the Stadaconans asked Cartier to fire a cannon. The result, of course, was terror among the villagers, followed by a false rumor that two Amerindians had been killed in the episode.

It is revealing of the Stadaconan attitude that Cartier and his men were not invited upon their arrival to visit the village, which was back from the river by about half a league.³⁰ In fact, such an invitation was not forthcoming until Cartier's return from Hochelaga---and then it was carried out with a formality and a restraint that contrasted sharply with Cartier's reception by the Hochelagans.³¹ Cartier made his call at Stadacona accompanied by an armed

²⁹Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 129. The Stadaconans were not alone in this reaction. In Cayenne, the Amerindians were not pleased when the French appeared fully armed for a ceremonial ratification of a treaty of friendship. (Biet, France Equinoxiale, 105.)

³⁰Stadacona seems to have been the principal of a cluster of villages. Immediately downstream, in descending order, were Sitadin, Thegnignonde, Tailla, Starnatan and Ajoaste. Upstream between Achelacy and Stadacona were Tequenonday and Canada. (Bernard Hoffman, "Ancient Tribes Revisited," 25).

³¹Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 150-161.

escort of 50 men "bien en ordre."³²

In the meantime, the Stadaconans displayed a spirit of compromise in their efforts to accommodate their difficult new allies. In a presentation designed to dissuade Cartier from going to Hochelaga, they offered Cartier a girl, the daughter of Donnacona's sister, and two small boys, one of whom was Taignoagny's brother. The importance that would have been attached to such a gesture is evident, particularly if one keeps in mind the attachment of Amerindians for their children. Later, when the girl ran away, Donnacona, after some prodding from the French, brought her back---another indication of the importance of these gifts. As already indicated in a preceding chapter, an exchange of children was one of the traditional means by which Iroquoians, as well as other Amerindians, cemented their alliances.³³ Cartier only accepted the children on the understanding that it did not commit him to give up his Hochelaga visit; that the Stadaconans persisted in making the gesture in the face of this position supports the supposition that they were doing everything they could to win the French to their side. The Stadaconans were behaving in a manner characteristic of Amerindians generally by

³²Abbé Hospice Verreau, "Jacques Cartier: Questions de droit public, de législation et d'usage maritimes," Memoires, Société Royale du Canada IX. Sect. 1, (1891), 129.

³³Supra, 185. However, Bruce Trigger speculates that the willingness to present Cartier with children may have been at least partly inspired by the latter's predilection for kidnapping. ("The French Presence in Huronia," 115 n37.)

trying to win over angry spirits (or difficult humans) with gifts.

The efforts of the Stadaconans to reach an accord with the French did not stop there. They offered to permit Taignoagny and Domagaya to guide Cartier to Hochelaga if the French would leave a hostage at Stadacona.³⁴ But Cartier was not inclined to negotiate;³⁵ he refused to leave a hostage, ignored other Stadaconan attempts to dissuade him from his project, and went up the St. Lawrence without guides. His growing conviction that the Stadaconans were unreliable, to say the least, was reinforced by warnings he received from the chief of Achelacy (Hochelay, today's Port Neuf) against Donnacona and his two sons.³⁶

The implication of those warnings, that there was rivalry between the Stadaconans and the people of Achelacy and Hochelaga, was corroborated by Cartier's reception upriver. The chief of Achelacy immediately sought to establish an alliance with the French by presenting them

³⁴ Biggar, Voyages of Cartier.

³⁵ Ibid., 140.

³⁶ Ibid., 188, 256-257. Biggar has even speculated that Donnacona feared that Cartier might arm the upriver Iroquoians. (Early Trading Companies, 350). Such a fear could have developed if Cartier had refused arms to the Stadaconans. However, we have no hint that the question was even raised; at this period, as we have seen, it was not the European custom to trade firearms with "savages", even those who were considered allies. And there is no suggestion in any of the Cartier documentation that Donnacona solicited firearms.

with an eight-year-old girl.³⁷ That Cartier understood at least some of the ramifications of this gesture is suggested by his action on his third voyage in 1541, when he left two small boys along with other gifts with the "Lord of Hochelay".³⁸ His purpose was to have these boys learn the language and customs of the Amerindians and thus be able to act as interpreters and intermediaries in future dealings. It was a more limited goal than that of the Amerindians, who sought to forge blood ties that would help to bind an all-embracing alliance. There is no indication that Cartier left any children with the Stadaconans.

Similarly, the warmth of Cartier's reception by the Hochelagans, and his response to them, is in striking contrast to what happened at Stadacona. On his way up the river, Cartier at one point was carried by a big Amerindian "who took the Captain in his arms and carried him ashore as easily as if he had been a six-year-old child."³⁹ On arrival at Hochelaga, the French were thus carried ashore.⁴⁰ Such a gesture could have been misread by the visitors as Amerindian acknowledgement of French superiority, where in fact it seems to have been a ceremonial gesture of deference that was widely practised in the Americas. In "Florida",

³⁷Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 143. Cartier refused a boy of about two or three years of age as being too young.

³⁸Ibid., 259.

³⁹Ibid., 147.

⁴⁰This is illustrated in Gastaldi's drawing of Hochelaga published in Ramusio. It is reproduced in Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, opposite page 144.

René de Laudonnière and some of his men were carried on the shoulders of their Amerindian allies on a war march.⁴¹

Vespucci had reported of South Americans: "What greater wonder can I tell you than that they thought themselves fortunate when, in passing a river, they could carry us on their backs?"⁴²

That this was not a gesture of submission was demonstrated at Stadacona during the winter of 1541-1542, when the French, not used to the cold, could not go where they wished. "Les Barbares, gros, grands, forts et puissant ayans pitié d'eux les portoient sur leur col es lieux où ils desiroient et vouloient aller."⁴³ One of the French, a gentleman from Anjou, several times asked a certain Amerindian to thus take him for a walk. On the last such occasion, the Amerindian, with the Angevin on his shoulder, slipped on a rocky path, and the gentleman beat him with his cane. The Amerindian approached the shore, took the Angevin by the collar, strangled him and threw him in the water.⁴⁴ Another Frenchman drew his sword, and the Amerindian did the same thing to him. This frightened the company, according to Thevet, who said he received his information from the explorer in his house at St. Malo.⁴⁵

⁴¹Gaffarel, Histoire de la Floride, 85.

⁴²Markham, Letters Vespucci, 16.

⁴³Thevet, "Grand Insulaire," 157.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

The story of Cartier's first winter at Stadacona is one of mounting tensions. In the matter of trade, the Stadaconans became more exacting as Domagaya and Taignoagny told them they could get better value for their goods. They had probably heard stories in France of the great profits to be made in the New World because the Amerindians were content with so little. The French accordingly found that they had to pay better prices for their daily needs, such as fresh meat and fish, or else the Amerindians would refuse to trade.⁴⁶ Cartier complained of the niggardliness of the Stadaconans,⁴⁷ which, when contrasted with the usual stories of Amerindian hospitality at this period, strongly suggests that the French had displeased their hosts.

In another case, it was French suspicions that were aroused. Unfamiliar with the pattern of Amerindian winter activities, they did not believe Donnacona when he said he was going off on the winter hunt, and asked how long he would be absent. Domagaya replied, with typical Amerindian vagueness about time, about two weeks. When the chief's absence stretched into two months, Cartier began to wonder if Donnacona was collecting a force to attack the French in their weakened condition.⁴⁸ This seemed to be confirmed when

⁴⁶Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 8. The French in Brazil had a similar experience; Père Yves reported that the Brazilians "sçavent rehausser le prix des choses qu'ils croient que les François recherchent." (Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil, 70.)

⁴⁷Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 217.

⁴⁸Ibid., 217.

upon Donnacona's return, the French became aware of an unusual number of Amerindians in the village; Cartier immediately concluded that trouble was brewing for the French. (Winter was also the principal season for gatherings, when myths were recreated in rituals and ceremonies. The French were later to encounter the same practice at Port Royal.)

The French presence could well have exacerbated the factionalism which apparently existed in Stadacona. Taignoagny inferred as much when he asked Cartier to take a rival chief, Agona, to France, a request that incidentally revealed how the young man had felt about having been taken to Europe the year previous. Cartier's refusal did not ease relationships between the French and Donnacona's people. The culmination of this growing interplay of distrust was Cartier's seizure of Donnacona, his two sons and two other headmen. Ironically enough, an erection of a cross again marked the occasion. Ostensibly it had been set up in celebration of the feast of the Holy Cross; that there were other implications is evident from its size (it was 30 feet tall), as well as from the fact that it was emblazoned with the arms of France and the words Franciscus Primus Dei Gratia Francorum Rex Regnat.⁴⁹

However the Stadaconans felt about the French in the

⁴⁹Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 225.

New World, Francis I in the Old was pleased enough with the results of the two voyages to present Cartier with one of the second expedition's ships.⁵⁰ Also, Cartier's reports crystallized the colonization plans that had been largely responsible for his reconnaissance of the St. Lawrence.⁵¹ After delays caused by the war between Charles V and Francis I, Cartier sailed in 1541 with 276 people as part of the expedition of Jean-François de Roberval (c1500-1560) to establish France in North America.

What little is known of that episode indicates that he never achieved a satisfactory working arrangement with the Stadaconans. He told them that apart from Donnacona, who had died about two years previously, the other Iroquois he had taken on his previous voyage were happily settled in France as grand seigneurs and had refused to return to their native

⁵⁰Ch. de La Roncière, "Notre première tentative de colonization au Canada," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartres LXXIII (1912), 284.

⁵¹If one is to credit Barcia, this colonization project was originally opposed by Cartier. According to the Spanish historian, Cartier had been profoundly disillusioned upon his return from his second voyage: "Hardly were they in port before they began---Cartier more than anyone else---to spread word of their misfortunes. Cartier maintained the land was not fit for Europeans to live in, for even when there were no contagions such as they had suffered, the cold was intolerable. The few souls he brought back were proof of this fact, he said, and explained they had been forced to leave the place and to lose a ship. If they had remained another fifteen days, none would have returned." (Barcia, Chronological History, 20.) Charlevoix, however, disputes this report: "cela ne s'accorde nullement avec la maniere dont Cartier lui-même s'exprime dans ses Mémoires; ni avec ce qu'on lit dans les autres Relations de ses Voyages," (Histoire I: 22.)

land. Although Cartier reported that this was accepted, one wonders if the Stadaconans were so easily fooled, particularly after what they must have previously heard from Taignoagny and Domagaya. Cartier's own testimony indicates that they had grave doubts:

And when we arrived at our Fort [Charlebourg, Royal at the mouth of the river of Cape Rouge], wee understood by our people, that the Savages of the Countrey came not any more about our Fort as they were accustomed, to bring us fish, and that they were in a wonderful doubt and fear of us.⁵²

Hostilities became overt as the French attempted to establish themselves, and the Amerindians killed some carpenters who had been put ashore to start construction.⁵³ That this was followed by reprisals is indicated by the Stadaconan plot to set fire to the French ships which was foiled by Cartier.⁵⁴ The Amerindians had been provoked, according to Thevet:

Toutefois j'ay entendu que ces pauvres Sauvages n'avoient machiné ceste entreprise, que iustement et à bonne raison, considéré le tort qu'ils avoient receu des autres. C'est qu'estans les nostres descenduz en terre, aucuns ieunes folastres par pasetemps, vicieux toutefois et irraisonnables, comme par une maniere de tyrannie couppoient bras et jambes à quelques uns de ces pauvres gens, seulement disoient-ils pour essayer, si leurs espées trenchoient bien, nonobstant que ces pauvres Barbares les eussent receu humainement, avecques toute douceur et amytié.⁵⁵

Something of this is suggested by Christopher Carlysle, who said that the seizure of Donnacona as well as disputes

⁵²Biggar, *Voyages of Cartier*, 259.

⁵³Biggar, *Collection of Documents*, 456, 457.

⁵⁴Thevet, *Singularitez*, 422, and *Cosmographie* (L'Huillier), 1012 verso.

⁵⁵Thevet, *Singularitez*, 422-423; *Cosmographie* (L'Huillier), 1012 verso.

during Cartier's second winter and during Roberval's stay had "put the whole country into such dislike with the French, as never since they would admit any conversation, or familiarities with them..."⁵⁶ On his way back to France, Cartier told Roberval that he could not withstand the Amerindians, who went about daily to annoy him.⁵⁷ A seventeenth century cosmographer wrote that Cartier had abandoned his part of the colonization attempt "because he saw no hopes of subduing the Savages with so small Forces as he had brought with him from France."⁵⁸ Thevet put it even more strongly: "Et par ainsi depuis n'ont permis aucuns Chrestiens aborder et mettre pié à terre en leurs rivages et limites, ne faire traffique quelconque comme depuis lon a bien cogneu par experience."⁵⁹ Amerindians told fishermen they had killed 35 of Cartier's men at his fort on the St. Lawrence.⁶⁰

That this enmity was directed against Cartier and his group rather than against the French in general is suggested by the fact that Roberval did not at first encounter overt

⁵⁶ Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, XIII: 45. Henry Harrisse claimed the story was an invention of Thevet's (La Découverte de l'Amérique, (Amsterdam, 1968: Reprint London-Paris, 1900). But today, historians are not so sure. According to Hubert Deschamps, "Cartier y ajouta un certain laisser aller suivi de réactions brutales qui indisposaient les indigènes." (Les Méthodes et les Doctrines coloniales de la France, (Paris, 1953), 15.)

⁵⁷ Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 264.

⁵⁸ Ogilby, 136.

⁵⁹ Thevet, Singularitez, 423.

⁶⁰ Biggar, Collection of Documents, 463.

hostility. In fact, trading began and at one point the Amerindians brought a "great store" of fish.⁶¹ But Roberval does not seem to have been any more diplomatic than had been Cartier; in fact, from what we know of his character, he was inflexible and autocratic. The story of the courageous Marguerite, whom he abandoned with her lover on an island in the St. Lawrence because of their affair, would indicate as much.⁶² His method of governing his colonists was described by Montchrestien as leading to disorder, quarrels and fatigue.⁶³ He made liberal use of the whip for both men and women, did not hesitate to put people in irons and even to hang one.⁶⁴ Roberval had obviously thought such measures were necessary to keep his convict-colonists in line; but they must have shocked the Amerindians, who could not endure physical restraint and who killed their enemies rather than their own compatriots. Roberval made matters worse by mistreating Amerindians, which along with other factors "procède à la ruine de tout son dessein."⁶⁵ This may have influenced the King to recall him, although the reason usually given is "les grandes affaires du Roy."⁶⁶ In any event, "toute cette entreprise de si grand frais alla à

⁶¹ Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 267.

⁶² Thevet, Cosmographie, 1019-1020 verso. A different version of the story appears in Marguerite of Navarre's L'Heptameron, (Paris, 1559). It has the husband being abandoned and Marguerite voluntarily joining him.

⁶³ Montchrestien, Traicté, 214.

⁶⁴ Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 268.

⁶⁵ Montchrestien, Traicté, 214.

⁶⁶ Pierre Bergeron, Traicté de la navigation et des voyages de decouverte..., (Paris, 1629), 105.

néant n'y moyen de raffraichir des gens & de vivres."⁶⁷ That official disillusion had set in is indicated by an inscription on the Descelier map of 1550, which reads,

Et pource que Ilz na este possible (Avec les gens dudict pays) faire trafique a raison de Leur austerité intemperance dudict pays et petit profit sont retournés en France esperant y retourner quand il plaira au Roy.⁶⁸

The experiences of Cartier and Roberval suggest that the widely-acclaimed French capacity to find an accommodation with the Amerindians, which in New France was to come into its fullest flower toward the end of the seventeenth century and during the first half of the eighteenth century, was an ability that was developed through sometimes painful experiences.

Cartier's descriptions are the first to give us details about Amerindians of the St. Lawrence. He was an accurate if not profound observer, only occasionally slipping perilously close to propaganda in order to promote his colonization project. For instance, when in his dedication to the King in Brief Recit, he refers to "la bonté et paisibleté d'iceulx"⁶⁹ one wonders if he were not making use of "le bon sauvage" stereotype, supported by his own and others' often repeated observations of the gentleness of Amerindian manners, their low voices, their lack of quarrelling among

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ganong, Crucial Maps, 363.

⁶⁹ Jacques Cartier, Brief Récit et succincte narration..., (Paris, 1545), 5.

themselves. In any event, the tone of that comment is at variance with the asperity with which he reported his dealings with the Stadaconans. One gets the impression that while he had at first believed that they, as well as other Amerindians, "could easily be moulded in the way one could wish",⁷⁰ he had come to realize that this complaisance was deceptive. To Cartier as well as to his contemporaries, this characteristic appeared as treachery; however, it could have been a defensive mechanism, masking anxiety lest one give offense. In an uncertain world in which he depended primarily upon himself, the Amerindian did not feel that he was in the position to take such unnecessary risks as openly contradicting others.⁷¹ Amerindians, for their part, were not favorably impressed with the elaborate courtesies which the French often displayed toward avowed enemies.⁷² Conventional hypocrisies are acceptable only when one is familiar with the guidelines; neither the French nor the Amerindians were familiar enough with each other's social code to understand its nuances. In general, Cartier's tone indicates that he accepted the European consensus of his day that the stone-age technology of the Amerindians implied

⁷⁰Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 186.

⁷¹A.I. Hallowell, "Psychological Characteristics of Indians", 225, in Johnson, Man in Northeastern North America. Such an explanation may be more appropriate for more northern hunting tribes than for the Iroquois. In the case of the latter, this kind of behavior could have been part of treaty etiquette, as the Stadaconans considered themselves to be in alliance with the French.

⁷²Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XII: 117-123.

that they were inferior humans. On one point he held aloof from popular belief: there were no monsters in his bestiary. However, he did report without comment Amerindian tales of pygmies, unipeds and people who did not eat.⁷³

Roberval's pilot, Jean Fonteneau dit Alfonse of Saintonge was more credulous. One of France's leading navigators of his day, he published in 1559 his Voyages Avantureux, the first routier (navigational guide) to appear for certain parts of Newfoundland.⁷⁴ Less successful as an ethnographer than as a seaman, he reported that all the people of Labrador had tails, and in some regions, pigs' faces as well.⁷⁵ In this, he was probably reflecting the general European antipathy for the Beothuks and Labrador Inuit.⁷⁶ Similarly, when he wrote of the people of the St. Lawrence in his Cosmographie, he reflected the attitude of Cartier's reports:

Ochelaga est terre beaucoup meilleure que celle du Canada et sont les habitans d'icelle plus raisonnables. Toutes foyes on ne scait que c'est qu'ilz croient ny quel Dieu ilz adorent, tant les ungs que les aultres. En icelle terre se cueulle force milz duquelz ilz se nourrissent avec le poisson qu'ilz prenent en la riviere et en la mer. Car se sont grandz pescheurs de toutes sortes de poisson, comme anguilles, louns marins, saulmons, alonses, marsouins, grandz quasi

⁷³Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 221-222.

⁷⁴It went through five printings before 1609, indicating the high level of public interest in that part of the New World. (Atkinson, Nouveaux Horizons, 24.)

⁷⁵Alfonse, Les Voyages avantureux, 27 verso; Cosmographie, 179.

⁷⁶Supra, 161-163.

comme ballaines, et d'autres plus petits.⁷⁷

The other towns that dotted the north shore of the St. Lawrence during the first half of the sixteenth century are not mentioned by Alfonse. Cartier listed four of them besides Stadacona, Achelacy and Hochelaga. Two towns were on or near Montreal Island, and 13 were scattered between Trois Rivières and Isle d'Orléans. A village at Tadoussac was occupied seasonally; it may have developed as a result of trade with the fishing fleets.

⁷⁷Alfonse, Cosmographie, 494; it was also reproduced by Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 296. The 1904 edition of the Cosmographie was its first publication. Lazare Sainéan, in "Le Cosmographie de Jean-Alfonse Saintongeais," Revue des études québécoises, X, (1912), described the Cosmographie as being largely a literal translation of the Suma de geografía que trata de todas las partidas y provincias del mundo: en especial de las indias, by Martín Fernández de Enciso (Madrid, 1519). While Sainéan upholds his point regarding the translation from Enciso, the role of Alfonse is by no means clear. An annotation on the manuscript of the Cosmographie says it was the work of Alfonse and Raulin Secalarat, "cappitaines et pillotes de navires...Achevay de par moy Raulin Secalarat cosemographe de Honnefleure, desirant faire service a vostre maigestay reaille qui sera fin de se presente libre. 1545." (Biggar, Early Trading Companies, 224.) If Alfonse was the translator, it could well have been that his manuscript was given a direction different from what he had intended after he was killed in action against the Spaniards about 1544. In any event, its concluding section, which contains Cartier-Roberval materials, did not come from Enciso. Sainéan thought it was taken from "Discorso d'un Gran Capitano di mare Franceses de Luoco de Dieppa..." which Ramusio included in his collection published in 1565. This however, does not stand up under examination, as the "Discorso" contains no information from the Cartier-Roberval voyages. It is now generally believed that the "Discorso" was written by Pierre Crignon. In any event, the Cartier-Roberval section is still attributed to Alfonse. See Hoffman, Cabot to Cartier, 169-170. Lescarbot had a low opinion of Alfonse's accuracy of geographical description. (History of New France II: 275-276.)

Information from the Cartier-Roberval voyages can be found in the writings of the cosmographers who flourished toward the end of the sixteenth century. Most informative is Thevet's Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique published in 1557, and his Cosmographie Universelle, published in 1575. His "Le Grand Insulaire et Pilotage", never published as such, may have been written earlier than either of these, perhaps as early as 1550.⁷⁸

Thevet was a Cordelier who was more interested in travelling than in practising the monastic disciplines of the Franciscans. He eventually became King's cosmographer, taking advantage of his position to meet as many travellers and explorers as possible. In his techniques for collecting information, he presaged modern journalism. His bustling activity did not impress some of his contemporaries; Lry called him a liar.⁷⁹ An eminent contemporary historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou was equally harsh:

...il s'appliqua par une vanit ridicule crire des Livres, qu'il vendoit de misrables Libraires; aprs avoir compil des extraits de differens auteurs, il y ajoutait tout ce qu'il trouvoit dans les guides des chemins & autres Livres semblables, qui sont entre les mains du peuple. En

⁷⁸W.F. Ganong, Crucial Maps in the Early Cartography and Place-Nomenclature of the Atlantic Coast of Canada, (Toronto, 1964), 386, 428. "Le Grand Insulaire" seems to have been a partial draft for Thevet's Singularitez and Cosmographie, in both of which much of its information has been incorporated.

⁷⁹A similar assessment is found in the Mmoires-Journaux of P. de l'Estoile, IV: 381 and V: 61-62, in Petitot, Collection complte des mmoires, XLV-XLIX. Cited by Biggar, Early Trading Companies, 241.

effet, ignorant au-delà de ce que l'on peut s'imaginer, & n'ayant aucune connoissance ni des belles-lettres, ni de l'antiquité, ni de la chronologie, il mettoit dans ses livres d'incertain pour le certain, & le faux pour le vrai, avec une assurance étonnante....Je ne puis donc m'empêcher de plaindre plusieurs personnes, qui, quoique versées dans les sciences, non seulement ne s'apperçoivent pas des sottises de ce charlatan, mais le citent encore tous les jours avec honneur dans leurs écrits.⁸⁰

The trouble with such a criticism, of course, is that it can be so easily turned against the person who makes it. De Thou, for all his scholarly achievements, could no more escape being a man of his time than could Thevet. In his works De Thou noted a rain of grain in Carinthia in March, 1548; for 1560 he listed such signs as fires and horsemen in the sky as well as a comet as the "most sure announcer of death to the king." For 1572 he reported a flying dragon.⁸¹ Such statements would lead one to believe that De Thou shared the naiveté of which Thevet has been so often accused. However, it must be admitted that Thevet added his own dimension to the foibles he shared with his age. He was not above faking evidence, as when he concocted a conversation with words borrowed from Cartier's Iroquois vocabulary and attributed the result to people of the Penobscot;⁸² also, he claimed visits to lands that his own

⁸⁰De Thou, Histoire universelle, II: 651-652. This passage is cited in part by Winsor, Narrative and Critical History, IV: 31-32; and by Julien, Voyages de découverte, 380.

⁸¹Cited by Thorndike, History of Magic, VI: 490-491. André Stegman assesses De Thou in "L'Amérique de Du Bartas et De Thou," La Découverte d'Amérique, (Paris, 1968), 299-309.

⁸²J. Hammond Trumbull, "Thevet's Specimens of the Indian Language of Norumbega," Historical Magazine, Series II (1870), 239.

descriptions would lead us to believe he had never seen. He was possibly trying to justify his own position:

...en ces matieres-cy, les plus scavans n'y voient pas si clairement, que font les Matelots, & eux qui ont par cy devant long temps voyagé en ces terres, d'autant que l'experience est maistresse de toutes choses.⁸³

As we have already noted, Cartier had also said as much;⁸⁴ it was a cliché of the period. Thevet, in spite of his wide travels and official position, was neither learned nor sophisticated. He could not resist trying to sound more authoritative than he actually was. In all fairness to him, it should be pointed out that not all his contemporaries were as harsh as his own countrymen. Martin Frobisher, for one, set sail on his first voyage to the Arctic in 1576 with copies of two of Thevet's works: the just-published Cosmographie universelle, and Singularitez de la France antarctique.⁸⁵ It should be further noted that collecting information from explorers and travellers was standard procedure for cosmographers and geographers of the period, who seldom knew at first hand the areas they described. Belleforest, for example, relied on Cartier's materials just as Thevet did. The difference, of course, was that Belleforest did not claim to have gone to New France himself.

Thevet's version of his first visit to New France was a

⁸³Thevet, Cosmographie, (L'Huillier), 913.

⁸⁴Supra, 13-14.

⁸⁵Samuel Eliot Morison, The European Discovery of America, (New York, 1971), 502.

compound of fact and fancy:

quand nous eusmes mis pied en terre qui furst à mon premier voyage au retour des terres australes nous faision difficulté d'acoster ces Barbares. Un Roytelet du pays tout vestu de peau de beste sauvage accompagné de quelques autres estimant que nous estions fashés et que nous les craignons nous dit assés amiablement en sa langue..."allons, allons en terre mes frères et amis. Venez boire et manger de ce que nous avons. Nous vous jurons par le ciel, la terre, la lune et les étoiles que vous n'aurez non plus de mal que nos propres personnes"...Voyant la bonne affection et volonté de ce veillard, fusmes avec luy un jour entier, le lendemain prisme la route du goulfe du Canada.⁸⁶

On the other hand, one could also wonder if this was Donnacona's version of his first encounter with Cartier. We know that Thevet met Donnacona in France; it could well be that the cosmographer could not resist telling the story as his own.

With these reservations, it can be stated that Thevet's ethnographic accounts have stood up well under the test of time.⁸⁷ His descriptions of the Tupinamba of Brazil are comparable with and supplement those of the widely acclaimed Jean de Léry. When he deals with New France, he is the

⁸⁶Thevet, "Grand Insulaire", 150 verso. Ganong says that Thevet did not claim to have been in Canada, but only along the coast. (Crucial Maps, 429) However, as Biggar has pointed out (Early Trading Companies, 235), that applies only to what Thevet wrote in Singularitez; in his Cosmographie he claims to have spent 20 days in Canada. (II: 1009 verso).

⁸⁷For Ganong's assessment of Thevet, see Crucial Maps, 386-387 and 427-429; for Hoffman's Cabot to Cartier, 171-179. Julien also considered that Thevet's ethnographic descriptions contained much of value. (Voyages de découverte, 381-394). Also, Jean L. Roy, "Un français au Brésil au XVI^e siècle: André Thevet, Cosmographe," in Revue de l'histoire de l'Amérique française, XXI, #3 (1967), 363-396.

source of information that is not otherwise available. He described cradleboards;⁸⁸ snowshoes, which he said were used for hunting;⁸⁹ and making maple syrup, which he apparently believed was a French development.⁹⁰ He reported that Amerindian houses were covered with snow and ice during the winter and sometimes collapsed under its weight, which he took to indicate that they were badly constructed.⁹¹ In war, Canadians smoked out their enemy⁹² and used poison arrows. (Was Thevet thinking of the Tupinambas of Brazil?) The weapons of the Canadians were such that they fought wars in the manner of the ancients.⁹³ He cited vengeance as the principal cause of war, as Amerindians did not fight for land. Thevet did not see that they could be blamed for indulging in vengeance when Christians could not resist it.⁹⁴ Moreover, he did not think the northern people were cannibals.⁹⁵

⁸⁸Thevet, Singularitez, 417-418.

⁸⁹Ibid., 403; "Grand Insulaire," 152. Later Le Jeune, in trying to use snowshoes for the first time, was delighted when he did not end up with his nose in the snow. (Le Dix-Neufiesme tome du Mercure François, 784.)

⁹⁰Thevet, Cosmographie, (L'Huillier), 1014. Earlier, in Singularitez, 428, he told of drinking maple sap but with no mention of the reduction process.

⁹¹Thevet, Singularitez, 408.

⁹²Ibid., 421-422; Cosmographie, (L'Huillier) 1012.

⁹³Thevet, Cosmographie, (L'Huillier) 1011 verso-1013; Singularitez (Paris, 1558), 155 verso-158.

⁹⁴Thevet, Singularitez, (Gaffarel), 55, 68, 78.

⁹⁵Acquaintance with the Huron and Five Nations was to modify this view. (Langenes, Trésor, 190; Pierre Du Val d'Abbeville, L'Amerique françoise ou sont decrites la France Nouvelle, la France Insulaire, la France Equinoctiale et autres pays, (Paris, n.d.), 28.

On the whole, Thevet would sooner trust Amerindians than Moors or Turks, adding: "Et puis je suis sur le propos de leur douceur à l'endroit de l'étranger, je vous dirai, que soubz le ciel il n'y a nation plus liberale de ce qui croist en leur pays que ceux cy".⁹⁶ One looks in vain in Cartier for such an appreciation of Amerindian hospitality; Alfonse was also silent on this matter.

Thevet easily ranks with Léry and Staden as the period's leading source of New World ethonographic material. But he casts his net wider than the other two, who confined their attentions to Brazilians. Thevet not only added flesh to the bare bones of Cartier's published observations, but also he pondered on aspects of New France that Cartier had obviously considered but did not record. A major one of these was trade.

Europeans at this period already had well-established connections with Amerindian trade networks along the coast that penetrated at least as far west as Tadoussac. "Les marchands traffiquent avec les Sauvages du pays," Thevet remarked more than once.⁹⁷ Pre-historically, Tadoussac had

⁹⁶Thevet, Singularitez, 418; Cosmographie, (L'Huillier) 928 verso.

⁹⁷Thevet, "Grand Insulaire", 150; Cosmographie (L'Huillier) 1016. Also, Giovanni Antonio Magini, Histoire universelle des Indes et de la conversion des Indiens, (Douay, 1605), 97; Carlisle's discourse in Hakluyt, Principal Navigations VIII: 144-146. Champlain implied in his writings that French trading ships had visited Tadoussac annually from about 1550. (Biggar, Works of Champlain, II: 117; III: 307.)

been a trading rendez-vous for Amerindians from Hudson Bay as well as for those of New England. That Europeans recognized the importance of pre-existing networks is suggested by such comments as "les Canadiens sont en perpetuel trafique de marchandise,"⁹⁸ and "la plupart des Sauvages du Canada ont été de tout temps en commerce entre eux."⁹⁹ In 1603 Champlain encountered a band of Montagnais between Tadoussac and Gaspé on their way to barter arrows and moose meat with Etchemin, Algonquins and other Montagnais.¹⁰⁰ Maps of the middle of the sixteenth century have Micmac names on Cape Breton, implying intensive contact with native populations;¹⁰¹ one of the names the Micmac were known by, Tarrantines, may have meant traders.¹⁰² "La plus grande richesse & thresor qui se puisse de la Floride, Canada & Baccalaos, c'est la pelleterie & la pescherie de Morue et Baleins," wrote Thevet in 1575.¹⁰³ This was not mere theorizing; between 1550 and 1570, Prince Edward Island saw as many as 200 ships a year, probably attracted by walrus and seal as well as the fur trade.¹⁰⁴ When David Ingram walked up the coast from Mexico in 1568-1569, he claimed to have been finally picked up by a French vessel,

⁹⁸Cornelius Wytfliet, Histoire universelle des Indes, (Douay, 1605), 123-124.

⁹⁹Un festin de guerre chez les sauvages, (Limoges, 1861), 18. Also Jefferys, Natural and Civil History, 48, 68.

¹⁰⁰A.G. Bailey, The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures 1504-1700, (Toronto, 1969), 9.

¹⁰¹Hoffman, "Historical Ethnography," 21, 40.

¹⁰²Eckstorm, Old John Neptune, 75-76.

¹⁰³Thevet, Cosmographie, (L'Huillier) 1010.

¹⁰⁴Hoffman, "Historical Ethnography," 31.

Gargarine of Le Havre, commanded by a Captain Champagne, that had come to Cape Breton to trade.¹⁰⁵ Thevet reported 100 ships a year for fishing.¹⁰⁶ In 1578, 150 French ships were noted at Newfoundland, as well as 100 Spanish, 50 Portuguese and 50 English.¹⁰⁷ La Court de Pré-Ravillon's 1591 trip on the ship Bonaventure was to acquire train oil, tusks and walrus hides.¹⁰⁸

In spite of all this activity following Cartier's voyages, contact does not seem to have been re-established with the people of the upper St Lawrence until 1581:

Drawn on by giftes of many trifling things, which were of great value with them, they are, within these two or three years, content again to admit a trafique, which two years since [i.e. 1581] was begonne with a small barke of thirtie tunnes, whose return was found so profitable, as the next year following, being the last yeere, by those Merchants who meant to have kept the trade secret unto themselves, from any other of heir own Countreyemen.¹⁰⁹

Apparently the profits to be had from this trade were great,

¹⁰⁵According to Percy G. Adams, Ingram's report, for all its unreliability, was influential in the opening of the north. One who heard it, Sir Francis Walsingham, principal secretary to Queen Elizabeth I, later backed John Davis in his three unsuccessful attempts to find the North-West Passage; another, Richard Hakluyt, within seven years published the first edition of his Principal Navigations (in the second edition of which, 1598, he did not include Ingram's account); and a third, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, within months had sailed twice to North America, losing his life on the second attempt. (Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660-1800, (Berkeley, 1962), 133-134).

¹⁰⁶Thevet, "Grand Insulaire," 150 verso.

¹⁰⁷Georges Musset, "Manuscript de la seconde édition de Les Rochelais à Terre Neuve," Bibliothèque de La Rochelle, Ms 2566, deuxième partie.

¹⁰⁸Bergeron, Traicté de la navigation, 122.

¹⁰⁹"Carlyle's Discourse" in Hakluyt, Principal Navigations VIII: 146.

as the French were reported to be obtaining "fourteen of fifteene hundreth for every one hundreth."¹¹⁰

The same year that Carlysle made his report, 1583, a Malouin "discovered the sea on the backside of Hochelaga."¹¹¹ This may have been an exaggerated version of the statement of Cartier's nephew, Noël, to the effect that he had heard of a great lake to be found 10 days' journey westward, beyond the Lachine Rapids. This immediately aroused speculation that it could be the sea that would lead to the Orient.¹¹² Also in 1583, a French expedition traded at Cape Breton and in Norumbega. It was headed by a Rouen merchant who had previously been twice to the Acadian coast, Etienne Bellenger, sailing under the auspices of the Archbishop of Rouen, Charles Cardinal de Bourbon, and of Anne de Joyeuse, who was Duc de Joyeuse and Admiral of France. Apparently it was more than a trading trip, being also concerned with reconnaissance for colonization.¹¹³ About 100 leagues south of Cape Breton Bellenger found "a towne of fourscore houses covered with the barkes of trees, upon a river side."¹¹⁴ If this was a Micmac summer village, it was an unusually large one.¹¹⁵ Generally, he found the Amerindians good to deal with, "But those about Cape Briton

¹¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹¹Hakluyt, "Discourse on Western Planting," in Taylor, Two Richard Hakluyts, II.

¹¹²Montchrestien, Traicté, 283.

¹¹³D.B. Quinn, "The Voyage of Etienne Bellenger," 328-343.

¹¹⁴Ganong, Crucial Maps, 458-459.

¹¹⁵Quinn, "Voyage of Bellenger". 332.

and threescore or fowerscore leagues Westward are more cruell and subtill of norture then the rest."¹¹⁶ In that region he lost two of his men and a small pinnace "which happened through their owne follye in trusting the salvadges too farr."¹¹⁷ In spite of that incident, he brought back enough "beastes skynnes, as bevers, otters, marternes, lucernes, seales, buffs, dere skynnes, all drest and painted on the innerside with divers excellent colours"¹¹⁸ to have made the expedition a profitable one.¹¹⁹

By the last two decades of the sixteenth century, trade had reached such a volume that France decided to establish a monopoly in order to bring it under control. Accordingly, one was granted to Cartier's nephews, Jacques Noël, and sea captain Etienne Chaton de la Jannaye. In his application, Noël said he had been engaged in the Canadian trade for some years and had developed friendly relations with the natives, which could indicate that Cartier had recognized the trading potential of the region and had encouraged his relative to take advantage of it.¹²⁰ However, so violent was the reaction of rivals that the monopoly lasted only about four months and free trade was re-established. This situation continued until the end of the century.

¹¹⁶Ibid., 341.

¹¹⁷Ibid.

¹¹⁸Taylor, Two Richard Hakluyts, II: 227.

¹¹⁹Quinn, "Voyage of Bellenger", 335.

¹²⁰Biggar, Early Trading Companies, 34.

The Amerindians of New France also faced problems as the fur trade increased in volume and importance. Throughout the sixteenth century, Tadoussac was the principal centre for trade on the St. Lawrence for Europeans and perhaps for Amerindians as well. As Europeans goods spread into the interior, rivalries for direct access to the trade intensified. This could have been a factor in the disappearance of the Laurentian Iroquois from the St. Lawrence, which may have occurred as late as 1600, if Lescarbot's account is accepted.¹²¹ The Laurentian Iroquois may have been driven out by the Algonquins, who in their turn were pushed inland by the Five Nations.¹²² The Stadaconans may have been dispersed earlier than the Hochelagans; perhaps by about 1580, which could account for the penetration of French traders as far as Lachine Rapids after that date.¹²³ The continued presence of Hochelaga on maps of the later sixteenth century could mean that it was

¹²¹Lescarbot, History of New France, II: 267-268, and Nova Francia, translated by P. Erondelle, (London, 1928), 182. Hoffman discusses the implications of these references in Cabot to Cartier, 203.

¹²²This is the thesis of Bruce Trigger and James F. Pendergast in Cartier's Hochelaga and the Dawson Site, (Montreal, 1972), 88-93; and of Trigger in "Trade and Tribal Warfare on the St. Lawrence in the Sixteenth Century," Ethnohistory IX (1962) 240-256. Other theories concerning the disappearance of the Laurentian Iroquois from the St. Lawrence are discussed by Tooker in Huron Ethnography, 3-4 n1.

¹²³A.G. Bailey, "The Significance of the Identity and Disappearance of the Laurentian Iroquois," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, XXVII (1933), Series III, Sect. II, 97-108.

still in existence at that time.¹²⁴ However, the fact that Cartier did not mention it in his fragmentary 1541 account has been construed by some to mean that it had already disappeared by that date.¹²⁵ But neither the silence of Cartier nor the conservatism of cartographers can be taken as providing conclusive evidence in this regard. The story of war along the St. Lawrence is found in Micmac legends¹²⁶ and in the Jesuit Relations.¹²⁷ It also appears in d'Avity, who obtained his material from Lescarbot:

les Hurons qui estoient en guerre avec les habitans les en ont chassez, il y avoit des bourgades remplies de quantité de sauvages, mais à cause des courses de leurs ennemies, ils se retirent vers le pays des Abinaquois les autres aux pays des Hiroquois, et une partie vers les Hurons même.¹²⁸

Quite apart from its fur trade, the land itself of New France was attracting attention. Once they recovered from the shock of the long winters and the accompanying low temperatures, the French began to note advantages for farming, mining and lumbering. Thevet was enthusiastic: "La terre canadienne est bien temperée et fertile comme est celle de Gascoigne propre à produire toute sortes de grain." Such was the natural wealth of the country that "si cette terre estoit habitée ils pourroient autant au plus recevoir de profit que les Roys d'Ecosse et D'Annemark reçoivent de

¹²⁴Hoffman, "Souriquois, Etechemin, and Kwedech," 79. However, cartography lagged behind the latest information, and cartographers often copied from existing maps.

¹²⁵Trigger, "Tribal Warfare", 247.

¹²⁶Hoffman, "Souriquois", 79.

¹²⁷Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XXII: 215-217; XXIX: 147.

¹²⁸d'Avity, Description, 29.

leurs Isles Hebrides et Orchades..."¹²⁹ In the domain of mining there was cause for optimism as Thevet repeated reports of copper, iron and lead mines in Norumbega (roughly, New England). An abundance of salt was foreseen in the new land "attendu que le pays est plat et fort propre."¹³⁰ Warehouses could be stocked with fish for food supplies, as this was true fishing country. Forests could provide for a shipbuilding industry. The air here was benign and although far north, not uninhabitable.¹³¹ However, it was subject to earthquakes;¹³² and it had not been found to contain gold or silver. But its potentialities far outweighed its disadvantages in the eyes of Montchrestien:

La chose est de telle importance, qu'elle oblige tout le mond d'y songer & travailler à bon escient; puis qu'elle est non seulement de desir de tous les grands & hasardeux marchands; mais qu'elle deust estre encore l'un des subjects principaux des grandes & Royales dépenses.¹³³

The character of the natives was also presented as an advantage: "Les peuples y sont bons, bénins, et gracieux qui

¹²⁹Thevet, "Grand Insulaire," 155 verso, and 152 verso. Thevet was consulted by Richard Hakluyt at the time the latter was preparing his "Discourse on Western Planting." (Taylor, Two Hakluyts, 207.)

¹³⁰Thevet, "Grand Insulaire", 150 verso. In connection with mining, it is interesting to note that one of the rights Cartier's nephews managed to retain when their monopoly was revoked in May, 1588, was that of exploiting copper mines. They were to be allowed 60 convicts a year for the task. (Biggar, Early Trading Companies, 34-35; and de La Roncière, Histoire de la marine française IV: 311.)

¹³¹Thevet, "Grand Insulaire", 152 verso.

¹³²Thevet, Singularitez, 432-436; Cosmographie, (L'Huillier) 1016; Wytfliet, Histoire universelle, 123-124.

¹³³Montchrestien, Traicté, 282.

ne taschent qu'à tirer l'amitié de l'étranger."¹³⁴ Still, Thevet tacitly admitted difficulties when he recommended the fortification of Assumption Island (Anticosti) to hold "en bride tous les Sauvages du pays de Baccalaos, Norumbegue, Canadiens et autres." The French were on hostile terms with the Beothuk of Newfoundland (Baccalaos); the Armouchiquois of New England (Norumbegue); and the Stadaconans (Canadian). He apparently had the difficulties of Cartier and Roberval in mind when he observed that any prince or great lord who wanted to make a colony would have to fortify a post besides taking possession of the land.¹³⁵ Apart from the Cartier-Roberval experiences, the French had scored some successes with the Amerindians:

Les gens de ce pays [speaking of Labrador to Florida] sont idolâtres et brutaux, sans aucune police, sinon le long de la mer, où il y a force Français, et en de tels endroits ils observent non seulement une bonne police, mais ils vivent aussi selon notre religion, et ne mangent de chair humaine si ce n'est fort secrètement.¹³⁶

Even better than that, the French had in some instances achieved the active cooperation of the natives, to the admiration of the English, who had a lively appreciation of the economic benefits involved:

...the French and Biscaynes report them [Amerindians] to be ingenious and tractable people (being well used:) they are ready to assist them with great labour and patience, and in the killing, culling and boyling of whales; and making the Train-oyle, without expectation of other reward, than a

¹³⁴Thevet, "Grand Insulaire," 150 verso.

¹³⁵*Ibid.*

¹³⁶Girava in Apianus, *Cosmographie*, 166. Thevet made a similar observation in his *Cosmographie*, (L'Huillier) 1016.

little bread, or some such small hire.¹³⁷

Montchrestien was of the opinion that all things considered, Amerindians had a natural sympathy for the French: "Ils nous aiment par inclination."¹³⁸ He advised his compatriots to learn from past experience; rather than despising Amerindians, it would be far more useful to turn them into Frenchmen. He added that the Greeks and the Romans would have done as much.¹³⁹

If it was the fisheries which first attracted European attention to Canada, it was the fur trade that slowly prepared the way for a successful attempt at colonization. This was achieved by encouraging the French to develop techniques of cooperation with Amerindians. The Cartier-Roberval episode was crucial in this development, as it illustrated the futility of attempting an establishment in the north without that cooperation. The French, who had originally been disposed to adopt a tolerant stance toward the Amerindian as much from reaction against Spanish practices as anything else, came to realize that it was essential for the exploitation of their claimed regions. It was a role they adopted easily, if not always consistently, as it accorded not only with their tradition of intellectual tolerance, but above all with their image of themselves as

¹³⁷Whitbourne, Discourse, preface, 2.

¹³⁸Montchrestien, Traicté, 269.

¹³⁹Ibid., 270.

being more humane than the Spaniards. But considerably more than a theoretical tolerance, or even humanity, would be needed to establish a New World Colony, as they found out in Brazil.

THE MYTH OF THE SAVAGE
AND THE BEGINNINGS OF FRENCH COLONIALISM IN THE AMERICAS

Chapter VIII

New France: a Dream that Proved Difficult to Realize

The failure of the Cartier-Roberval colonization attempt gave France pause, but did not destroy the dream of creating a New France. The attractions of the New World were obvious; and the successes of Spain and Portugal had proved that Europeans could establish colonies in these new lands. Had France not planned her venture properly, as Champlain was to claim?¹ Were Montchrestien's charges of maladministration justified, both in regard to the colony itself as well as to relationships with Amerindians? Perhaps the location of the attempted colony had been to blame; was the St. Lawrence too far north for a successful European plantation? Would France have better luck if she tried to colonize in more southerly latitudes, perhaps even in regions claimed by Portugal and Spain? Sa Majesté très chrétienne answered the latter question affirmatively; France's next two major attempts at establishing permanently in the New World were to be in Brazil and Florida.

The charges that she neither conceived nor planned her early colonization projects properly have, of course, the

¹Biggar, Works of Champlain, III: 291. Also cited supra, V: n142.

benefit of hindsight. At the time, her goals seemed clear enough. The official purpose of the Cartier-Roberval enterprise, according to a statement of issued during the planning stages, had been to

établir la Religion Chrestienne dans un pays de Sauvages éloigné de la France de toute l'étendue de la terre, et où il sçavoit bien qu'il n'y avoit point de mines d'or & d'argent, ny autres gain à esperer que la conquête d'infinies ames pour Dieu, & leur délivrance de la domination et tyrannie du Démon infernal, auquel elles sacrifoient jusqu'à leurs propres Enfans.²

This highly political declaration indicates the scope of the intentions of Francis I: he was challenging the papal demarcation of the New World and insisting on the right of France, a Catholic power, to share in the labours of evangelization. In one move, Francis sought to outmanoeuvre Spain in the New World, establish France as a missionary power, and create a New France overseas.

Francis, however, was clearer about his political goals than he was about the procedures of colonization. While he spared neither resources nor money in preparing for the Cartier-Roberval expedition, he had no appropriate model upon which to pattern his efforts. Neither Spanish nor Portuguese colonies provided suitable prototypes, first of all because they were in areas where the climate did not demand great adaptation; and secondly, in the case of the Spaniards at least, their New World empire had been largely based on the conquest of high civilizations. There was also

²Biggar, Collection of Documents, Doc. LXXIII.

the fact, of course, that it simply never occurred to the French to question the appropriateness of the cultural model they were seeking to establish under New World conditions.

Neither were their techniques the most efficient. For just one example, the custom of bringing kidnapped Amerindians to France in order to obtain information about the country to be colonized resulted in the accumulation of information that was at the very least dubious.³ Amerindians quickly detected what the Europeans wanted to hear, and did their best to oblige. If some solidly-based facts filtered through, it would have been in spite of, rather than because of, this particular method of gathering data.

To say that the planning and preparations were inappropriate or even inadequate is not to imply that great efforts were not made. What appear to be official recommendations in 1538 for a French colonizing expedition to Canada, apparently that of Cartier-Roberval, had suggested that it count six ships and 276 men, of whom 120 would be sailors, 40 soldiers and the rest representing the trades deemed necessary for such an enterprise. It should be provisioned for two years, and members of the crew should be paid their salaries before departure in order to provide for the families they were leaving behind in France. The expedition should leave by mid-March at the latest in order

³For a Portuguese estimate of the reliability of Donnacona's

to give the colonists as much time as possible to settle into their new homes before the arrival of winter. The total cost was calculated at 33,120 livres, which would have been comparatively large in the terms of the day.⁴ Even so, the expedition was more modest than had been envisioned by Cartier; he had asked for 150 tradesmen and soldiers appropriately outfitted and financially backed.⁵ As the expedition was being fitted out, a Spanish spy reported that it consisted of six ships for Cartier at St. Malo and four for Roberval at Rouen and Honfleur.⁶ In fact, Cartier finally sailed in May 1541 with five ships provisioned for two years, and Roberval followed a year later with three ships and 200 colonists. The final cost of the expedition was reported to have been 45,000 livres. In spite of the huge expense, it had been found necessary to abandon the settlement in 1543 as the King "n'y ayant moyen de les raffraichir de gens & de vivres," could no longer maintain it.⁷

In the meantime, quasi-permanent European settlements had sprung up along the Atlantic coast from a very early date as a result of the activities of the fishing fleets. These settlements were not permanent, and they largely disappeared during off-seasons, but some were substantial

⁴Guillaume Ribier, Letters et mémoires d'Estat..., 2 vols., (Paris, 1666), I: 212- 217.

⁵Biggar, Collection of Documents, Doc. XXII.

⁶Ibid., Doc. CXLVIII.

⁷Bergeron, Traicté de la navigation. 105.

enough to be listed as "towns" by early cosmographers. Hondius, for instance, listed the principal towns of "Terra de Labrador" (which, incidentally, is said by Sauer to be the geographic name that has persisted the longest north of the West Indies) as Ste. Marie, Cobo, Mazzo and Brest.⁸ The largest of these seems to have been Brest, sometimes referred to as a "metropole;"⁹ even after the establishment of a permanent colony, Brest was listed as the principal town of Canada, which was distinguished from New France, whose principal city was Québec.¹⁰ In 1705, the French merchant Augustin le Gardeur de Courtemanche, establishing himself at Phelypeaux Bay (known today as Bradore Bay), found traces of houses, roofs, stoves for melting oil from seals and "other similar things."¹¹ According to the Amerindians, this had been a Spanish establishment which had

⁸Langenes, Trésor, 190. See also Denis Henrion, Cosmographie, (Paris, 1676), 894.

⁹Johann Buno, Descriptio orbis terrarum veteribus et cogniti et incogniti..., (Leipzig, 1708), 84. A curious letter, datelined Brest, 13 February 1608, attributes a population of 50,000 to the settlement. The letter has been described by Atkinson as "imaginaire...un petit essai de roman sur le Canada." (Nouveaux Horizons, 311-312.) He theorizes that the author took some of his details from Champlain's account; if so, it was a point of departure for a flight of imagination. The letter was included in the exhibition "Canada" at the New York Public Library in 1935. (Sieur de Cōbes, Copie d'une Lettre Envoyée de la Nouvelle-France ou Canada..., (Lyon, 1609).)

¹⁰Mallet, Description de l'univers, V: 274.

¹¹Privy Council. Judicial Committee. In the Matter of the Boundary between the Dominion of Canada and the Colony of Newfoundland in the Labrador Peninsula, 2 vols., (London, 1927), VII: Courtemanche's Memoir, 1705, 3686. See also the unpublished report prepared by Norman Anick, "A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern Canada," for Parks Canada in 1973, 5-8.

been dispersed by the Inuit.¹² That there had been a settlement there of some sort, known under the French name of Brest, is attested to by the fact that maps indicated such a place throughout the seventeenth century. The name was sometimes accompanied by an illustration indicating a town, probably inspired by reports that the French had a fort there and a population of 1,000.¹³

Even more elusive is the tradition that a Baron de Leri attempted a settlement on Sable Island in 1518. The documentary evidence for this stems from Lescarbot.¹⁴ According to De Laet, the French had been attracted par "la commodité du lieu:"

Mais après l'avoir considerer de plus près, ils furent contraints de la quitter, sur tout pour la disette de victuailles & l'eau douce, laissant leur entreprise sans effect; ils y laissent seulement le bestail & pourceaux

¹²Anick, "History of the Fur Trade," 7-8. However, it could well have been the fortified settlement dispersed by the Basques in 1555. Five hundred survivors were sent back to France. (Folmer, Franco-Spanish Rivalry, 66-67.)

¹³Samuel Robertson, "Notes on the Coast of Labrador," Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, First Series (1841), IV, Pt. 1: 32-44. Noel H. Bowen believed that the settlement had been established by the Basques. ("The Social Condition of the Coast of Labrador," Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, First Series (1854), IV, Pt. 1V: 338-339.) That there were settlers from a very early date is supported by the traditions of the "liveyeres" of Newfoundland who have descended from these early residents, some of whom claim their families were established in the New World as early as the 1540's. Selma Barkham has prepared a report for the National Archives entitled "A note on the identification of Labrador ports in Spanish 16th century documents." It is dated 6 August 1975.

¹⁴Lescarbot, History of New France, I: 45. Various dates have been assigned to this enterprise, such as 1528, 1539 and 1553.

qu'ils y avoient amenés, qui n'y ont pas beaucoup profité par le deffault de pasture; car pour la plus grande partie l'Isle est sterile et du tout sable.¹⁵

Another version has it that De Leri was forced to land his livestock on Sable Island as his expedition had been so long at sea that it had run out of water and food.¹⁶ It could also be that the presence of livestock on the island was due to the frequent shipwrecks that occurred there, and did not have a necessary connection with colonization on the island at all. Both Champlain¹⁷ and Sir Humphrey Gilbert¹⁸ referred to the livestock as being of Portuguese origin, and Champlain infers that it had been there since before 1553. Later, Champlain¹⁹ says the animals were from the wreck of a Spanish ship on the way to colonize Cape Breton island.²⁰ A Portuguese map of about 1565 identified Sable Island as João Esteves' Island.²¹ What we do know is that the presence of the livestock was a boon to the 50 convict-colonists left there by Troilus Mesgouez de La Roche (?1540-1606) in 1598

¹⁵de Laet, L'Histoire du Nouveau Monde, 39.

¹⁶Bergeron, Traicté de la navigation, 102.

¹⁷Biggar, Works of Champlain, I: 235.

¹⁸Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, VIII: 63.

¹⁹Biggar, Works of Champlain, III: 302.

²⁰Ganong, Crucial Maps, 68-69. Ganong speculated that Champlain did not differentiate Spanish from Portuguese, as at the time he was writing the two had become one kingdom. The date 1552 for the arrival of the livestock was advocated by Rev. George Patterson in "Portuguese on the northeast coast of America, and the first European attempt at colonization there. A lost chapter in American History," Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada, (1890) VIII, Section II, 127-173.

²¹Armando Cortesão and Avelino Teixeira da Mota, Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica, 5 vols., (Lisbon, 1960), II: plate 405.

as a "sentinelle sur la route des pêcheries et de la traite de fourrures," protecting his monopoly.²² When one year the supply ship failed to appear, the livestock enabled 11 of the stranded men to survive until they were rescued in 1603.

Francis I was not alone in contemplating permanent occupation in order to support claims of exclusive territorial rights. A Portuguese, João Fagundes, made a colonization attempt of this sort either on Cape Breton Island or Prince Edward Island between 1521 and 1525, and there might have been a second attempt about 1553.²³ Fagundes may have been trying to capitalize on a grant of land he had received. Francisco da Sousa, writing in 1570, reported that

the natives are submissive and the soil very fertile and good...This is at Cape Breton, at the beginning of the coast that turns north in a beautiful bay, where there are many [native] 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 went also some families from the Azores Islands.²⁴

The Fagundes colonists established a works to make black and white soap,²⁵ and modelled their colony on settlements of the Azores, which depended upon agriculture and fishing. Basque fishermen who stopped by reported that the settlers

²²Gustave Lanctot, "L'Etablissement du Marquis De La Roche à l'Isle e Sable", Canadian Historical Association Report, 1933, 39.

²³Ganong, Crucial Maps, 69. De Laet, however, says that the second Portuguese attempt was on Sable Island. (L'Histoire du Nouveau Monde, 39.)

²⁴Biggar, Precursors, Doc. LXIVa.

²⁵Sauer, Sixteenth Century America, 49-50.

were in need of a priest.²⁶ After the colonists lost their ships, contact with them was broken. If available information is to be relied upon, such a settlement would have been in Micmac territory; however, the Micmac have no tradition of such a colony.²⁷ Somewhat tenuous evidence is provided by a Portuguese map of about 1576 which illustrates Labrador with two figures of peasants, each prodding oxen pulling ploughs.²⁸ Alfonse apparently believed the settlement had existed because he reported that it had been destroyed by the natives.²⁹ Champlain said that it had been abandoned after one winter because of the rigours of the climate.³⁰

Such an establishment on the part of the Portuguese would have been a stimulus to the French to make good their claims to the northern regions, and so could have been a factor influencing the authorization of Cartier's voyages, particularly the one of 1534. More important at this early stage of French experience in the New World was the prospect

²⁶Biggar, Precursors, 195-197.

²⁷W.D. Wallis, "Historical Background of the Micmac Indians of Canada," in National Museums of Canada Bulletin No. 173, (Contributions to Anthropology 1959), Ottawa, 1961, 42.

²⁸Cortese and da Mota, Portugaliae Monumenta, II: Plate 331. The illustration could also be in reference to the name "Labrador", which was derived from the Portuguese "llavrador", meaning small land-holder. However, in that case it could have been expected to have been more widely used; this is the only Portuguese map of Labrador of that period with such an illustration.

²⁹Alfonse, Voyages aventureux, 28.

³⁰Biggar, Works of Champlain, I: 468; and III: 418. A repetition of Champlain's version is found in De Laet, L'Histoire du Nouveau Monde, 39.

of finding gold and silver. The treasures being shipped by Cortés from Mexico must have made a strong impression on Francis I, who was perpetually in need of funds to support his policy of national aggrandizement. This is suggested by the fact that the king advanced 6,000 livres for Cartier's first voyage "pour descouvrir certaines ysles et pays ou l'on dit qu'il se doibt trouver grand quantité d'or et autres riches choses."³¹ Such visions were encouraged by the Stadaconans brought to France by Cartier, although by this time doubts were being expressed about gold mines being located so far north.³² In spite of Francis's protests that his main concern was saving Amerindian souls, and in spite of his genuine desire to establish the French presence in North America, his colonization attempt did not survive the realization that the visions of gold had been but a mirage. Without such a motive for enduring the dangerous Atlantic crossings and the unfamiliar rigours of the winters, the French turned their attention to more immediately promising fields.

Their next attempt at colonization was made in Brazil, between 1555 and 1560. From the beginning of the century, France had developed trade in Brazil-wood, the source of a red dye that was more satisfactory than any previously available in Europe. Rouen was the centre for this trade,

³¹ Biggar, Collection of Documents, Doc. XLIX.

³² Charlevoix, Histoire, I:23; Thevet, Cosmographie, 1010.

which by mid-century involved annual expeditions to Brazil³³ and had expanded to include other products, such as peppers. As in the case of the later fur trade, acquiring Brazil-wood required the cooperation of the native population. It was in Brazil that the French developed their tradition of alliances with indigenous peoples.³⁴ According to the papal demarcation, Brazil was Portuguese territory, and the Portuguese had lost no time in supporting their claim with settlement. But the territory was vast, and France was on good terms with several of its peoples, particularly with the Tupinamba. The situation seemed to be made to order to challenge both the demarcation and the Portuguese, as well as to establish the French presence in America.³⁵

Nicholas Durand de Villegaignon (c1510-1571) launched the first Brazil project with royal approval and the services of two armed ships of 200 tons each, with whose

³³Johann von Staden, Histoire d'un pays situé dans le nouveau monde, nommé Amérique..., (Paris, 1837: Reprint of the Marbourg 1557 edition in the series edited by Charles-Henri Ternaux, Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte d'Amérique), (Paris, 1837-1840)), 110.

³⁴A navigation manual published by Rouennais Jean Cordier in 1547 contained a guide to conversation for a Frenchman in Brazil. The phrases selected recall those of today's tourist manuals. (BN, ms.fr. 24269, ff53-54 verso. Cited by Mollat, "Premières relations," 72-73.)

³⁵Robert Southey, History of Brazil, 3 vols., (New York, 1969: Reprint, London, 1822), I: 280. See also Lescarbot, History of New France, I: 145-147.

captains he negotiated agreements.³⁶ His skills as a propagandist combined with the religious tensions of France at the time to cause many people to be attracted to the project, particularly as it was to be under the protection of the French flag. The king's approval was motivated by a desire to ease these tensions, "attendu que cette navigation ajouteroit à son honneur, à sa gloire, et au profit de son royaume."³⁷ There was also the fact that Brazil had become a sort of promised land, particularly for the commercial classes and the lesser nobility. The Brazilian tableau featured during the ceremonies of Henry II's entry into Rouen in 1550³⁸ indicated that in that port city at least, the New World meant Brazil. The pageant had also provided an occasion for a poem to be addressed to the king asking him to expel the Portuguese from Brazil.³⁹ Almost all the illustrations featuring New World people in sixteenth-century French-language geographical works were of Brazilians. For example, a copy of Les Heures à l'usage de Paris (Paris, Kerver, 1551) was bound in brown leather embossed with a design that included Brazilian heads decked with feather headdresses, painted in green, pink and black

³⁶Bref recueil de l'affliction et dispersion de l'Eglise des fideles au pays du Brésil..., (s.l., 1565), A verso. Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, Seigneur de Châtillon, (1519-1572), had been instrumental in obtaining the ships, as well as a supply vessel and 10,000 francs (at that time the equivalent of the livre) from the King for the enterprise.

³⁷Bref recueil de l'affliction, A verso.

³⁸Supra, 265-266.

³⁹Charles E. Nowell, "The French in Sixteenth-Century Brazil," The Americas, V, No. 2 (1948), 382.

and edged in gold.⁴⁰ The well-known "bas-relief du Trésor" of St Jacques church in Dieppe, which Louis Vitet believes was sculpted about 1530,⁴¹ and which may have been commissioned by Jean Ango to illustrate the regions visited by his ships, begins with a group in feather skirts and headdresses which had become the stereotype for Brazilians. Deserpz in his collection included naked Brazilians, the woman wearing a flower on a thigh. Another illustration in the same book, labelled "Le sauvage en pompe," depicting a man in a feathered cloak and hood, is probably also of a Brazilian.⁴² The major exception to this concerned the works of Las Casas. In that case, the intent was not so much to illustrate New World people as to depict Spanish atrocities. Here the taste for cruelty was given free reign; the result is a post-Gothic horror tale rather than a contribution to knowledge about different peoples.

The first Amerindian known to come to France was a Brazilian, as were the Amerindians interviewed by Montaigne

⁴⁰The book was displayed in the exhibition "France-Canada" at La Rochelle and Paris in 1955. It is listed as item # 20 in the exhibition catalogue. It is in the collection of La Bibliothèque de Versailles.

⁴¹Vitet, Histoire des Anciennes Villes de France, I: 121.

⁴²Deserpz, Diversité des habits, 392, 394-395.

toward the end of the century.⁴³ Brazilian words for New World items previously unknown in France were being incorporated into French, such as "ananas", "hamac" and "tapir". Francis I may have turned to the north for political reasons for the Cartier-Roberval attempt, but at that time by far the greater part of the attention of his subjects was firmly fixed on the gentle prospects of the Brazilian coast.

The charismatic personality of Villegaignon also contributed to the interest aroused by the Brazil project. Distinguishing himself in the King's service against the Turks, he had been made a Knight of Malta.⁴⁴ As Vice-Admiral of Brittany, he had been one of those chosen to bring Mary Stuart from Scotland to France, where she was to marry Francis II. His quarrel with the Governor of Brest drew the attention of Henry II, who supported the governor.⁴⁵ This rebuff spurred the tempestuous vice-admiral to plan his

⁴³The claim that these Amerindians were Canadians has little supporting evidence. The proposition was put forward by Rev. J.A. Cuoq (1821-1898), Lexique de la langue iroquoise (Montreal, 1882), 189-190, on the basis of tenuous linguistic evidence. It was discussed by Aristide Beaugrand-Champagne, in "Les anciens Iroquois du Québec," Cahiers des Dix I (1936), 195-197. However, an early seventeenth century writer refers to the visitors as "Toupinambos," in other words, Brazilians (Baudier, Histoire generale de la religion des Turcs, 122.) See also Trigger, Cartier's Hochelaga, 90.

⁴⁴While this was not a top-ranking honor, it did mean that Villegaignon was charged with defending Catholicism. (Lewis, Splendid Century, 129).

⁴⁵Jean-Daniel de Visme, Les précurseurs de l'idée missionnaire en France au XVIe et XVIIe siècles, (Paris, 1923), 2.

colony, which he envisioned as a haven for the persecuted of France and elsewhere, where religious tolerance would reign.⁴⁶ It was a vision for which he was quickly able to get sympathetic support from an influential spectrum of society.

Villegaignon tried to ensure the ecumenical character of his venture by taking out Catholic clerics (one of whom was André Thevet, who stayed but three months) and later, by bringing out Protestant ministers (one of whom was Jean de Léry, who stayed about nine months). However, as it was mainly Protestants who volunteered as colonists, and as Coligny later became a major backer, the project came to be identified with Protestantism.⁴⁷ Cosmographer François de Belleforest charged that Villegaignon had really aimed at planting Calvinism "au coeurs de ces barbares [the Brazilians] sans nulle connaissance de Dieu, ny de loy, ou police," and so cause division in those new lands.⁴⁸ When the colony's Fort Coligny fell to the Portuguese Mem de Sá

⁴⁶Bref recueil de l'affliction, A verso. La Popelinière corroborated this: "François dans peu de mois deliberoient de descendre à centaines pour y establir sous Villegaignon un lieu de refuge à tous ceux qui tourmentez pour quelque occasion que ce fust, eussent mieux aymé suivre le hazard du bien & du mal qu'ils y eussent peu trouver." (Trois Mondes, Liv. II: 17.)

⁴⁷It was not until about mid 1557, when the project was well on its way, that Coligny became a "more or less conscious Protestant," and by 1559 he was a fully fledged Huguenot. (Nowell, "The French in Sixteenth Century Brazil," 383.) However, it is evident that Protestants were more motivated to emigrate than were Catholics, particularly when Henry II moved to extirpate heresy.

in 1560, the only Catholic object found within was a defaced missal.⁴⁹

Even the much-advertised cannibalism of the Brazilians did not deter enthusiasm for the expedition. Villegaignon, in his promotional campaign, said that if Europeans were sometimes eaten by Amerindians, it was because "par leur avarice & ambition demesurée...ils avoient outragé et offensé les dicts barbares."⁵⁰ The fact that cannibalism was still practised was presented as proof of the lack of previous missionary zeal on the parts of both French and Portuguese, who, as everyone knew, "n'ont jamais parlé un seul mot de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ aux pauvres gens de ce pay là."⁵¹ However, apart from his recruiting campaign, Villegaignon displayed very little concern for the souls of Amerindians. The two religious figures connected with the colony who are best known to us, Thevet and Léry, were both more active in writing about Amerindians than they were in converting them.

In one vital area the chevalier's blandishments were unsuccessful: in spite of his best efforts, Villegaignon drew practically no response from tradesmen and labourers.⁵² Finally, in desperation, Villegaignon had to

⁴⁹Hauser, "Les Huguenots français au Brésil", 106.

⁵⁰Histoire des choses memorables advenues en la Terre du Bresil, 7.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²This was probably a reflection of the "énorme silence" of nonular literature on the New World. See supra I: n1.

resort to convicts to make up these sections of the colonial complement that sailed in 1555. One of the reasons given for this resistance was the fear of being stranded in the New World without means of returning.⁵³ Villegaignon sought to correct this in his second recruiting campaign in 1556, in which he instructed his agents to promise subsistence to the colonists until they were established, as well as to provide passage back to France should things not work out.⁵⁴ So many prospective colonists presented themselves that the three ships provided by the King could not accommodate them all.⁵⁵ All of the colonists were men, except for half-a-dozen women who sailed with the second group. Far from being interested in permanently establishing overseas, they came without proper or sufficient equipment; most of them were bent on making a quick fortune in the New World and then returning to the wives and families they had left behind. Not only did this work a hardship on the families involved,⁵⁶ it also contributed not a little to the instability of this as well as others of France's early efforts at colonization.⁵⁷ It was a major factor in Amerindian relations and helps to explain why the French

⁵³Haton, Mémoires, I: 37-38.

⁵⁴Histoire des choses, 13.

⁵⁵Bref recueil de l'affliction, B iii; also, Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, XVIII. This contrasted sharply with the Cartier-Roberval expedition, which had to depend almost entirely on the conscription of vagabonds and convicts to make up its complement of colonists.

⁵⁶Histoire des choses, 26.

⁵⁷Gaffarel, Histoire du Brésil, 174-175.

produced so many coureurs-de-bois.

Villegaignon's first colonists, wan from the rigours of the crossing, arrived at Guanabara Bay to be joyously greeted by the Tupinamba, who lit bonfires and turned out "en grand nombre pour les recevoir avec bon recueil; leur faisant present de vivres de leurs terre & autres choses singuliers, pour traiter avec eux une alliance perpetuelle."⁵⁸ Such a reception could be compared with that accorded Cartier at Hochelaga. But even more than Cartier, Villegaignon sought to keep as much distance as possible between his colonists and the Amerindians, and so he established his group on an island, off what is now Rio de Janiero. Villegaignon's reasoning was supported when a pestilence brought by the colonists spread to the Brazilians, killing more than 800 of them. They, not unnaturally, blamed the French and even contemplated war against them, but were prevented by the colony's island location.⁵⁹

Villegaignon's success as a propagandist was not matched by his record as an administrator. He did not

⁵⁸Bref Recueil de l'affliction, A vi verso- A vii. Nicolas Barre, a pilot who also acted as Villegaignon's secretary and who was later to take part in the Ribault-Laudonnière expedition, wrote that about 600 Amerindians were present. Barre was happy to relegate shipboard water to a bad memory as he noted that the new land was watered by "fort belles rivières d'eau doulces, de plus saine que je beu jamais." (Copie de quelques lettres, 22.)

⁵⁹Lescarbot, History of New France, I: 160; Gaffarel, Histoire de Brésil, 384.

sufficiently provide for an agricultural base for his colony; its second convoy arrived without even the necessary implements. Villegaignon made arrangements with the natives to supply the colony with food, paying them with knives and fish hooks and other trade goods.⁶⁰ However, when he began to insist that the Brazilians help with the construction of the French fort, instead of letting them volunteer as they had been doing, they disappeared into the woods.⁶¹ The colonists ran out of the bread and wine they had brought from Europe, and their rations were "en si petite quantité que c'étoit chose pitoyable à voir."⁶² Villegaignon modified his demands and was able to renegotiate with the Brazilians for provisions; however, the arrangement was far from satisfactory, and was aggravated by the difficulties of the French in adapting to native food.

The chevalier's efforts at isolating his colonists

⁶⁰Thevet, Singularitez, (Paris, 1558), 49 verso.

⁶¹Gaffarel, Histoire du Brésil, 194-195. According to Thevet, "la plus grande de Urgence que faire nous estoit possible y faision travailler bon nombre de Sauvages: & mesme les principaux d'entre nous ne s'y espargnoient pour donner exemple aux autres, qui par ce moyen furent tellement encouragez, qu'ils estoient tous prests d'esposer leur vie pour la perfection de ce nouveau fort." (Cosmographie, (L'Huillier), 908.) See also Père Claude Maragnan, 150 verso ff. Père Yves had been impressed with the attitude of Amerindians toward work: he reported they laughed and enjoyed themselves as they labored, encouraging each other. (Voyage dans le nord de Brésil, 16-17). Louis de Pezieu also noted Amerindian willingness to work on the French fort. (Bref recueil des particularitez (Lyon, 1613), 6).

⁶²Bref recueil de l'affliction, A vii. Lescarbot said they were reduced to drinking undiluted water. (History of New France, I: 159).

proved to be no wiser. The island location complicated supply problems and did not encourage the colonists to begin agriculture. Villegaignon's prescription of the death penalty for extra-marital unions with Brazilian women⁶³ was more successful in inspiring conspiracies and desertions to the Amerindians than it was in guarding French morals. It resulted in the decamping of 25 Norman interpreters, all men who had been established in the country before the arrival of the colony, one for as long as nine years.⁶⁴ This was a serious blow to the colony, as the interpreters had provided the principal liaison between the French and the Brazilians.

Like Roberval, Villegaignon was heavy-handed with his discipline, although presumably with less reason as he was dealing largely with volunteers. He killed engagés with overwork and insufficient food,⁶⁵ a form of social callousness which was characteristic of an age in which the masses were despised.⁶⁶ When religious quarrels added to the dissensions which were tearing the colony apart, Villegaignon sought to confirm his authority by means of executions, including drowning some of the dissidents. These factors, plus Villegaignon's falling out of favor with the King and his departure for France in 1558, left the colony

⁶³Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, 80; Hauser, "Les huguenots français," 104.

⁶⁴Barre, Copie de quelques lettres, 30.

⁶⁵Histoire des choses, 25 verso-26.

⁶⁶Oexmelin, Histoire des Avanturiers, I: 184-194.

vulnerable to the Portuguese attack of 1560.⁶⁷ It is surprising that the colony lasted that long, as the Portuguese had been under standing orders since 1526 to sink all French vessels that ventured into Brazilian waters.⁶⁸ Villegaignon's efforts to raise a retaliatory force against Portuguese settlements in Brazil failed because his colony had been of only marginal interest to the Catholics and he had betrayed the Protestants. Voices were raised to the effect that the colony's destruction had been the work of God, who was thus indicating He did not want a false faith implanted in Brazil.⁶⁹

Villegaignon was no more successful with the Amerindians than he was with his own colonists. Lacking manpower for construction work, he purchased prisoners of war from the natives; when they were recalcitrant about wearing clothes, he had them whipped.⁷⁰ When another committed an unspecified peccadillo, he was tortured.⁷¹ As a result of such treatment, the prisoners claimed they preferred to be eaten by their Amerindian captors than to be bought as slaves by the French.⁷² The French allies, the Tupinambas and Tamoyos, were also disgruntled at French

⁶⁷La Popelinière, Trois Mondes, Liv. III: 16 verso.

⁶⁸Hauser, "Les huguenots français," 94.

⁶⁹Southey, History of Brazil, I: 293.

⁷⁰Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, 107.

⁷¹Gaffarel, Histoire du Brésil, 257. Gaffarel cites Léry in support of this assertion: however, I could not find the reference.

⁷²Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, 175.

insistence of ransoming their captives, as that deprived them of more than half of those they would have otherwise eaten.⁷³ The only one pleased with the new arrangement were the Portuguese prisoners whom Villegaignon conscientiously tried to locate and ransom from the Amerindians.⁷⁴ But the presence of Pay Cola (as the Brazilians rendered Villegaignon's Christian name, Nicolas) and his colony did bring trade to the natives, as was evident from the Brazilian village which grew up close to the French fort.⁷⁵

In spite of the sympathetic picture he drew of Amerindians in his recruitment propaganda, Villegaignon did not have a high opinion of his Brazilian allies. He wrote to John Calvin in 1557: "il y avoit des gens farouches et sauvages, esloignez de toute courtoisie et humanitez, du tout différéns de nous en façon de faire et instruction...en sorte qu'il me venoit en pensée, assevoir si nous estions tombez entre des bêtes portant la figure humaine."⁷⁶ However, he was careful not to allow such sentiments to interfere with the alliance of the French with the Tupinamba and Tamoyos, which by Villegaignon's time had been long-

⁷³Nóbrega, L'Istitution, 17 verso. The acceptance on the part of Amerindians taken prisoner that their fate was to be eaten was frequently noted by early writers. (Wytfliet, Histoire universelle, 85; Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, 176-178.)

⁷⁴Hauser, "Les huguenots français," 104.

⁷⁵Thevet, Cosmographie, (L'Huillier), 909.

⁷⁶Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, 14; Gaffarel, Histoire du Brésil, 392-397. Apparently some effort was made to evangelize the Brazilians, but with little if any success. (Lescarbot, History of New France, I:158).

standing. The importance of this alliance to the French is illustrated by an episode which concerned a German, Hans Staden, who had been a prisoner of the Tupinamba from 1547 until 1555, immediately prior to the arrival of Villegaignon's colony. According to his own account, he was repulsed by French sailors in an attempt to escape aboard their vessel, "en disant que, s'ils m'emmenaient malgré les sauvages, ceux-ci se soulevaient contre eux et deviendraient leurs ennemis."⁷⁷ When another French vessel finally agreed to rescue Staden, the crew played an elaborate game to convince the Amerindians that Staden was a relative, and so avoided antagonizing them.⁷⁸ Conversely, the fact that Staden survived his captivity because of doubts as to his nationality even though he was with the Portuguese when taken---his beard was red rather than black, and he protested that his native Germany was friendly with France---indicates the importance the Tupinamba placed on their French alliance. The Amerindians were not at that point regretting the benefits of the civilization being brought to them by the French, although Ronsard wondered if they would some day.⁷⁹

The French, for their part, used the occasion of Villegaignon's colony to continue sending lads to live with

⁷⁷Staden, Histoire d'un pays, 177.

⁷⁸Ibid., 211-213.

⁷⁹Gaffarel, Histoire du Brésil, 208-209; Elliott, Old World and New, 102.

the Brazilians to learn their languages and way of life. Six boys were sent out for the purpose with the second convoy of colonists.⁸⁰ This was the practice almost from the beginning of trading relations. The Portuguese apparently began with Cabral in 1500 to leave condemned convicts to live with the Amerindians. Although one of Cabral's ex-convicts was to later prove very useful to the Portuguese in trade,⁸¹ it was not surprising that most of them antagonized their New World hosts to the point of getting themselves eaten.⁸² Villegaignon and his colonists benefitted, at least at first, from French interpreters already living in Brazil. Staden told of meeting one of them,⁸³ an encounter which nearly turned out badly for him, as the Frenchman thought he was Portuguese. Léry observed that these men not only surpassed the Amerindians in inhumanity, but were also cannibals.⁸⁴ Conversely, Villegaignon purchased 10 Amerindian boys who had been taken in war by the Tupinambas, and sent them to France for presentation to Henry II, who in turn made gifts of them to lords of his realm.⁸⁵

The French presence continued in Brazil until the end of the sixteenth century, in spite of the dispersal of Fort Coligny. Five years after that event, about 30 French were

⁸⁰Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, 36, 229.

⁸¹Maffeo, Histoire des Indes, 99.

⁸²Histoire des choses, 15.

⁸³Staden, Histoire d'un pays, 118.

⁸⁴Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, 182.

⁸⁵Ibid., 78-79.

known to be living in the vicinity of Rio de Janeiro, "hommes de basse condition, vivant avec les Indiens sauvages."⁸⁶ Trade with France also continued. The Portuguese Jesuits José de Anchieta and Manoel de Nóbrega, who organized the first Brazilian mission, found that they had often been preceded in Amerindian villages by French traders who had been lavish with their gifts.

It was Villegaignon's colony which provided the occasion for two major French works on the Brazilians: La France Antarctique by André Thevet, published in 1557, and Histoire d'un voyage by Jean de Léry, not published until 1578 but first written 20 years earlier. The two works present much the same picture of the Tupinamba, although they are complementary in some respects. However, of the two, Léry's has the most depth; today his work is considered the classic on the Tupinamba at the time of contact.⁸⁷ Although his work knew five printings between 1578 and 1609, Léry was far from being the most popular writer on distant places in his time. Atkinson noted that the reading public preferred Villamont,⁸⁸ who wrote on travels in the Middle East.

⁸⁶Hauser, "Les huguenots français," 112.

⁸⁷For the influence of Léry on Jean-Jacques Rousseau, see Atkinson, Nouveaux Horizons, 73-90. Léry has also been credited by Charles Julien with providing Lahontan with the prototype for the Adario-type of dialogue. This could well be; however, the dialogue between Amerindian and European is also found in Anghiera, who in turn could have taken the model from classical literature.

⁸⁸Atkinson, Nouveaux Horizons, 40-41.

While sharing his age's astonishment, that men, women and children lived their whole lives naked as when they were born, Léry presented this as due to simplicity and innocence rather than to the curse of Ham, from whom he was inclined to think New World people were descended.⁸⁹ Far from being misshapen or monstrous, Amerindians tended to be better-formed and healthier than Europeans.⁹⁰ Restrained in their eating habits, they ate first and drank afterward, which caused Europeans to observe, "Ils sont donc comme les chevaux?" The Amerindians for their part mocked Europeans for drinking during their meals. Generally, Léry found their food good⁹¹ and their domestic habits clean.⁹² Mothers nursed their own babies, not like those of Europe;⁹³ and the babies, in spite of not being swaddled, had perfectly straight legs. Léry suggested that European mothers should stop swaddling, at least in summer, as such a practice must be "gehenna" for the babies.⁹⁴ In almost a year in Brazil, Léry saw fighting among Amerindians only twice.⁹⁵ Danger to Europeans from Amerindians was often the result of ignorance of their customs; personally, wrote Léry, he would entrust himself more willingly to Amerindians than to Frenchmen in

⁸⁹Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, 205-207.

⁹⁰Ibid., 96.

⁹¹Ibid., 226-227.

⁹²Purchas, Hakluytus Posthumus, XVI: 568.

⁹³Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, 210-211.

⁹⁴Ibid., 214.

⁹⁵Ibid., 228.

certain parts of France.⁹⁶ Those who recoiled from the cruelty of "savages" should think of the practices of usurers in Europe;⁹⁷ such avarice and miserliness was despised by the Amerindians. As for cannibalism, Léry had experienced it in Europe after the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre.⁹⁸ Amerindians made war only against their enemies.⁹⁹

However, Léry could not see that Amerindians had a belief in God, in spite of Cicero's often-quoted remark that all people have a religion: "Pour la religion, il peut se dire ouvertement que non seulement ces pauvres Sauvages n'ent ont point."¹⁰⁰ But they did believe in immortality of the soul. In spite of their lack of a belief in God, Léry found that Amerindians used reason; indeed, they "discourent mieux que ne le font la plupart des paysans, voir d'autres par deça qui peuvent être fort habiles gens."¹⁰¹ He illustrated his point with an anecdote. Noting that Amerindians were frightened of thunder, Europeans took the occasion to tell them that this was God speaking, in order to prove His strength and power to shake heaven and earth. To this the Amerindians replied that if He had to frighten them so to prove that, His position could not be very

⁹⁶Ibid., 185.

⁹⁷Ibid., 185.

⁹⁸Ibid., 185-186; also, Julien, Voyages de decouverte, 409.

⁹⁹Jean de Léry, Histoire d'un voyage fait en la Terre du Bresil autrement dite Amérique, (Geneva, 1578), 256-258.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 258-261.

¹⁰¹Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, (1580). 205.

secure.

If the Amerindian way of life resembled classical antiquity, then the ancestors of Europeans could not have been so different from Amerindians.¹⁰² If Europeans had risen to their present degree of civility, it must be possible for Amerindians to do so; all they needed was to be taught. But if, as Léry was inclined to believe, they were descended from the accursed Ham, would education be effective? Léry did not pronounce himself on this point, but the general tenor of his work was "live and let live." In this he exemplified that strain of tolerance that ran through sixteenth-century thought and which culminated in Montaigne. It was a viewpoint which never dominated, yet was never entirely absent. Early in the eighteenth century it found expression through Lahontan, to be finally refined by Rousseau.

Quite apart from the writing of Léry and Thevet, Villegaignon's attempt at establishing a permanent French presence in Brazil aroused a great deal of interest in France. Accounts were published on the colony itself, as well as on the religious issues involved. The only other French colonial effort to arouse comparable interest during the sixteenth century was that of Ribault-Laudonnière in "Florida" (today South Carolina), 1562-1565, which also

¹⁰²Elliott, Old World and New, 50.

inspired several accounts.¹⁰³ Here, the point at issue was not so much religion as politics; specifically, rivalry with Spain.

The Ribault-Laudonnière expeditions, launched two years after the dispersal of Villegaignon's colony, were made in territory claimed, but not effectively occupied, by the Spanish.¹⁰⁴ The French King, in making his stand against such claims, encouraged the Huguenots to attempt to establish colonies in the disputed regions. Roberval, Villegaignon (who wavered between Calvinism and Catholicism before finally choosing the latter), Ribault and Laudonnière, Mesgouez de La Roche, Chauvin de Tonnetuit, de Monts---all were Protestant. The King's policy led Belleforest to observe sourly, "la premiere forteresse qu'ils y bastoient, ils la dedierent au nom du celuy qui pensoyt y establir aux despens du Roy une colonie qui servit de retraite aux heretiques."¹⁰⁵ Coligny, however, was as much motivated by a patriotic rivalry with Spain as he was by religious concerns in his second attempt to establish a New World colony. He selected Florida at least partly because the Spaniards had managed to antagonize the Amerindians to such an extent "que la Floride est leur cimetiere,"¹⁰⁶ which he hoped could be

¹⁰³De Thou included accounts of both projects in his Histoire universelle: on Villegaignon, II: 647-652; on Ribault-Laudonnière, V: 485-507. These works are included in my bibliography.

¹⁰⁴La Popelinière, Trois Mondes, Liv. II: 26 verso-27.

¹⁰⁵Belleforest, Cosmographie, 2037.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 2195.

turned to Fench advantage. The Englishman Henry Hawkins later reported that Spaniards called Amerindians "gente triste", bad people, "yet here the French found them so witty in their answers, that by the Captain's own report, a counsellor with us could not give a more profound reason."¹⁰⁷

In his new project Coligny demonstrated that he had learned from the experiences of the Villegaignon failure. More carefully thought out than the earlier attempt, it consisted of three voyages. The first (1562), under Jean Ribault of Dieppe (c1520-1565), was a voyage of reconnaissance¹⁰⁸ and of territorial claims; the second (1564), under René de Goulaine de Laudonnière, sought to establish the French presence, which the third voyage (1565) was to reinforce the colony by bringing out "un grand nombre de familles entières."¹⁰⁹

The French, arriving "à la vue de la Nouvelle France autrefois appelée la Floride, où nous sentismes une douceur odoriferante de plusieurs bonnes choses à cause du vent qui venoit de la terre,"¹¹⁰ found the Amerindians hospitable and hopeful that the newcomers would become allies in their wars

¹⁰⁷Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, X: 53.

¹⁰⁸Marcel Trudel, Vaines Tentatives 1524-1603, (Montreal, 1963) 195-201.

¹⁰⁹Le Blanc, Voyages fameux, 3e partie, 148. Also, Paul Bertrand de la Grassière, Jean Ribault, (Paris, 1971), 45.

¹¹⁰"Copie d'une lettre venant de la Floride," in Gaffarel, Histoire de la Floride française, 404.

against neighboring tribes. The French for their part, under instructions from Coligny to maintain good relations with the caciques, hoped to get information as to the location of gold and silver mines as well as to obtain food, as the people of the Florida Coast had the reputation of being liberal in trading provisions with visiting ships.¹¹¹ There was an element of arrogance on each side: the least valet among the French thought himself superior to the most prestigious cacique,¹¹² an attitude that almost certainly found its counterpart among the Floridians, judging by the frequency of such reports in general.¹¹³ In spite of such covert convictions, both sides looked for help against the Spanish.

French diplomatic relations with the Amerindians of Florida involved receiving and sending embassies, and listening to long discourses which were even more boring because of language difficulties. On a typical occasion a cacique, Satouriona, welcomed the French with gifts of a "penache d'aigrette" dyed red, a cunningly woven basket and

¹¹¹Verrazzano, for one, had no trouble in replenishing his supplies along that part of the coast. See Ramusio, Navigations, 95-108. Also, Julien, Les Français en Amérique, 9.

¹¹²Gaffarel, Histoire de la Floride, 89.

¹¹³William Wood described such Amerindian self-esteem particularly aptly, when he wrote of a New England sagamore that he "thinks himselfe little inferior to the great Cham; hee will not stick to say, hee is all one with King Charles. He thinkes he can blow down Castles with his breath, and conquer kingdoms with his conceit. This Pompey can endure no equall." (New England Prospect, 74).

a great skin on which wild animals were so well painted they seemed alive.¹¹⁴ The French were impressed with the dwelling of another cacique, Onadé, which was hung with feather tapestries. Onadé, seeing the admiration of the French for this work, presented them with six tapestries, woven with white feathers in ingenious compartments, and fringed with scarlet.¹¹⁵ When Ribault symbolically took possession of the land by erecting columns bearing the arms of France, Amerindians were in attendance, although not aware of the full significance of the act.¹¹⁶ Later, when the French were burned out at Charlesfort (at the mouth of the Broad River, below present-day Brantford), the Amerindians built them a new house almost as large as their first for "quelques serpes et haches" besides supplying them with food.¹¹⁷ Later, after the departure of Ribault for France for reinforcements and supplies, the Amerindians kept the French supplied with food and invited them to feasts.¹¹⁸ When the

¹¹⁴Laudonnière, Histoire notable, 17.

¹¹⁵Ibid., 48.

¹¹⁶Gaffarel said that Ribault was not so much asserting French dominance over the Amerindians as he was warning off the Spaniards. (Histoire de la Floride, 19-20.) Le Moyne's painting of one of these occasions was found at Château de Courance near Paris in 1901. See the catalogue, Canada: An exhibition Commemorating the Four Hundredth Anniversary of the Discovery of the Saint-Lawrence by Jacques Cartier, 1534-1535, (New York, 1935), 10.

¹¹⁷Gaffarel, Histoire notable, 50. Such helpfulness was often reported at this period. For example, when the French established themselves at Maragnan, in Brazil in 1612-1614, Amerindians not only built quarters for the Capuchins, but also a chapel. (Troisième tome du Mercure François, Second Continuation, (Paris, 1617), 170.

¹¹⁸Gaffarel, Histoire de la Floride, 30.

French decided to abandon Charlesfort, the Amerindians provided ropes for the boats the French built.¹¹⁹ Ribault, for his part, reported in Europe that the Amerindians were of a good and amiable nature, which willingly will obey: yea be content to serve those that shall with gentleness and humanitie goe about to allure them, as it is needful for those that be sent thither hereafter so to doe, as I have charged those that be left there to do, to the end they may aske and learne of them where they take their gold, copper, and turquesses, and other thinges yet unknown unto us...For if any rude or rigorous meanes would be used towards this people, they woulde flie hither and thither through the Woods and Forests, and abandon their habitations and countreys.¹²⁰

But it did not take long for the entente cordiale to develop complications. At least some of the French accepted Amerindian hospitality somewhat cavalierly, as a cacique found it necessary to rebuke them for laughing at a ceremonial.¹²¹ More serious, the French discovered that their dependence upon the Amerindians for food and services implied in the eyes of the latter that they were allies and they were expected to behave as such in local wars. This was not acceptable to Laudonnière, who did not envision the French playing a secondary role in Amerindian politics. He expressed this all too clearly when Satouriona announced his intention of playing the French a formal visit, and

¹¹⁹La Popelinière, Trois Mondes, Liv. II: 28; Gaffarel, Histoire de la Floride, 40. Gaffarel says that the Amerindians taught the French the use of resin and moss for shipbuilding, and provided them with ropes made of twisted vines. See also Gaffarel, Histoire notable, 56.

¹²⁰Richard Hakluyt, Divers Voyages touching the discoverie of America..., (London, 1582), F4 verso.

¹²¹Gaffarel, Histoire de la Floride, 30-32.

Laudonnière responded by refusing to accord him the expected honours. The Frenchman then broke his pledge to Satouriona when he refused the latter's request for help in his campaign against another cacique called Outina. When Satouriona returned victorious from the expedition, Laudonnière forced him to give up his prisoners to the French. As if that were not enough, the French leader then returned the prisoners to Outina and entered into an alliance with the latter, in the belief that his land contained deposits of gold and silver. But this new-found alliance did not last either, as the Amerindians tired of the Frenchmen's continual requests for food, and had the bad grace to mock them in their difficulties. The French reacted by seizing Outina as a hostage in order to reinforce their demands. Laudonnière later said this never would have happened if the French had been properly provisioned.¹²² Sir John Hawkins, coming upon Laudonnière's fort, found that the French, "in extremity" for want, had

made the inhabitants weary of them by their daily craving for maiz, having no wares left to content them withall, and therefore were forced to rob them, and to take away their victuals perforce, which was the occasion that the Floridians (not well contented therewith) did take certain of their company in the woods, and slew them; whereby there grew great warres betwixt them and the Frenchmen.¹²³

¹²²Gaffarel, Histoire notable, 170.

¹²³Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, X: 55. Later, the French were to behave similarly in the West Indies and in Cayenne. See Mathias Dupuis, Relation de l'établissement d'une colonie française dans l'isle de la Guadeloupe et des moeurs sauvages, (Caen, 1652), 27ff; and Biet, France Equinoxale, 244ff.

More than half a century later Lescarbot, upon observing the good results from gardens at Port Royal in Acadia, wrote, "I cannot wonder enough how it is possible that they which have been in Florida have suffered so much famine."¹²⁴

Although the French had come equipped to establish an agricultural colony,¹²⁵ they apparently could not settle down to working the land, which Laudonnière recognized as being fertile. Hawkins attributed this to the fact that most of the men were soldiers who "desired to live by the sweat of other men's browes." They would not even make the effort to procure fish; as long as they could depend upon their Floridian allies, they had sufficient; but when they had a falling-out, "then would not the Frenchmen take pains" to construct new weirs to replace those taken away by the Amerindians.¹²⁶

Tales of the golden treasure that had accrued to Spain had infected the French so that their ruling passion was to amass wealth. This was exemplified by Pierre Gambye, who established himself in a village, married the cacique's daughter, and proceeded to go to all lengths to acquire gold and silver. However, most of what he found among the Amerindians came from wrecks cast upon the shore; none of the precious metals were native to the region. He was

¹²⁴Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 56, 115.

¹²⁵Some of this equipment is listed by Gosselin in Nouvelles Glanes, 8.

¹²⁶Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, X: 56.

finally killed by the disenchanted Amerindians,¹²⁷ who by this time began to wonder if there was much to choose between the French and Spaniards.¹²⁸ Such attitudes on the part of the French may have been a result of the campaign that had been conducted in France to attract colonists: the emphasis seems to have been on the ease of amassing riches in this new land. In the rush of enthusiasm to take advantage of such an opportunity, men had left families behind "pour à l'aventure aller au pays estrange, chercher meilleurs & plus grande commodité de vivre, quelque belle couverture qu'il mette sur son entreprise."¹²⁹ In this the French had not learned from the Villegaignon experience, in which the colonists had also been concerned about searching for gold rather than working the soil. This deficiency, coupled with lack of support from France because of the civil war, meant that the colonists were unable to cope with New World conditions.¹³⁰ A defensive Laudonnière, upon being recalled to France to explain his actions, reported:

Neither should wee have had occasion to offend the Indians, which with all paines in the world I entertained in good amitie...that although I was sometimes constrained to take victuals in some few villages, yet I lost not the alliance

¹²⁷Gaffarel, Histoire notable, 139-140. Sir John Hawkins also described the French colonists' preoccupation with gold. (Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, X: 57-58).

¹²⁸Le Challeux, Discours et histoire de ce qui est advenue en la Floride, (s.l., 1566), 22-23; La Popelinière, Trois Mondes, Liv. II: 30 verso.

¹²⁹Ibid., 8-10.

¹³⁰Wytfliet thought the failure was due to lack of subordination, which had led, among other things, to wastefulness of supplies. (Wytfliet, Histoire universelle, 120.)

of eight Kings and Lords my neighbors...Yea, this was the principal scope of all my purposes, to win and entertain them. Knowing how greatly their amitie might advance our enterprise.¹³¹

Laudonnière does not seem to have been consistent; he vacillated between a desire for friendship and the desire to dominate,¹³² and could not bring himself to trust the Amerindians.¹³³ He described them as traitors and dissemblers, and expressed annoyance at the high prices they asked for food.¹³⁴ Neither had Laudonnière been able to control his own men. A group had deserted in 1564 and had gone privateering against the Spaniards. When the mutineers had run out of food, they had eaten one of their own members before returning to the French fort. Laudonnière's action in hanging the ringleaders did not undo the damage that had been done in this episode to relations with Spain.

Yet, in spite of everything, Le Challeux's pessimistic comment about the Amerindians preferring the Spaniards was not borne out: a French lad, native of Havre du Grace, who escaped the Spanish slaughter of the colony in 1565, was sheltered by Satouriona;¹³⁵ he was only one of about 200

¹³¹Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, VIII: 76.

¹³²Gaffarel, Histoire notable, 106-107.

¹³³Ibid., 141.

¹³⁴Hakluyt, Principal Navigations VIII: 52, 62.

¹³⁵Histoire memorable, 4.

survivors who were thus taken in by various Amerindians.¹³⁶ The lad acted as interpreter during negotiations between Amerindians and French when the Gascon captain Dominique de Gourgues came on his own initiative and at his own expense in 1568 seeking to avenge his nation's honour. The Amerindians' welcome to the French on this occasion probably reflected the fact that Gourgue's motives coincided with their own desire for revenge. After the elimination of the French in Florida, the Spaniards had proceeded to alienate the Amerindians of that region by kidnapping 40 of them for shipment to the mines as forced labour. The Amerindians reacted by starving themselves to death with the exception of one man, known to the Spaniards as Charles of Ciquola, who was baptized and presented to Charles V.¹³⁷ In any event, Satouriona was ready to forget past differences with the French. An alliance was formally sealed by an exchange of gifts. Gourgues presented such objects as daggers, knives, mirrors, axes, rings, little bells and shirts for

¹³⁶Maran, les pionniers, 330. The Spanish action as well as Gourgue's personal reprisal did not lead to war or threats of war between France and Spain because of the verbal agreement at the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, 1559. (*Supra*, 221-222). However, the French apparently soothed their national pride with a show of force by French galleys off "Ile Floride" during 1565. Galley slaves were given their liberty on condition that they settled there. (Copie d'une lettre envoyée au gouverneur de la Rochelle..., (Paris, 1565). This letter was reprinted, with a slight change in the title, in 1583. Also, Giles de Pyfière, Discours de l'Entreprise et saccagement que les Forsaires de l'Isle Floride avoient conclud de à leurs Capitaines & Gouverneurs, estans mis en liberté, (Paris, 1565).

¹³⁷Laudonnière, Histoire notable, 16.

ceremonial occasions and for burials; Satouriona presented the French with two strands of silver grains, hanging them around Gourgue's neck; and each of the chiefs presented decorated deerskins. There was also an exchange of hostages, Satouriona sending a son and his favorite wife, aged 18 years, dressed in tree moss.¹³⁸ Amerindians and French drank cassine to seal the contract, (cassine, brewed from leaves, had the effect of removing thirst and hunger for 24 hours), although Gourgues made only a pretense of drinking. This sealing of an alliance Amerindian fashion, which had also been done by Ribault at the beginning of his enterprise, was to become standard in French-Amerindian diplomatic relations. Dupont-Gravé was to also follow the Amerindian custom when he confirmed the French alliance with Anadabijou at Tadoussac in 1603. The practical basis for such a procedure lay in the fact that alliances, to be effective, had to be negotiated in terms the Amerindians could understand.¹³⁹

His pliability before Amerindian custom paid handsome dividends for Gourgues; his new allies informed him of the Spanish disposition of forces in their three forts, indicating the weak points in the fortifications. All three were destroyed by the French; the Spaniards, routed, preferred to die at the hands of the French rather than at

¹³⁸Ibid., 211.

¹³⁹Trigger, "French Presence," 118.

those of the Amerindians.¹⁴⁰ The Floridians for their part hailed the French as liberators, and loaded them with gifts. So many pressed about the French that Gourgues became uneasy; he called 40 sailors armed with pikes to ensure the safe return of the French to their ships.¹⁴¹ As had been the case with Cartier, Villegaignon and Ribault-Laudonnière, distrust was never far below the surface of their diplomacy when the French found themselves in these far-away lands. This was perhaps to be expected, as they were conscious of being invariably far outnumbered. Gourgues, in parting with the Amerindians, promised to come back in 12 months with presents, which he never did. An adventurer rather than a colonizer or an empire-builder, he had served as a galley-slave for both Spain and Turkey, and in 1582 he was in the pay of the Portuguese fighting the Spaniards.¹⁴²

The Ribault-Laudonnière episode marked the end of French attempts to colonize in areas actively claimed by the Spanish or the Portuguese. Le Challeux put it succinctly:

Qui veut aller à la Floride,
Qu'il y aille j'y ay esté...

Ca à manger; je meurs de faim.¹⁴³

One of the few positive results of the Ribault-Laudonnière attempt was the introduction of sassafras to European

¹⁴⁰Laudonnière, Histoire notable, 116-116 verso.

¹⁴¹Gaffarel, Histoire notable, 219.

¹⁴²Atkinson, Nouveaux Horizons, 114-116.

¹⁴³Le Challeux, Discours et histoire, title page verso.

medicine.¹⁴⁴ Le Challeux moralized that what happened in Florida was probably divine punishment for having encouraged so many men to abandon their families while they went off seeking a fortune.¹⁴⁵

The British could not resist the opportunity to jibe at their rivals:

There is no wonder that the French being so slightly planted, did not take deeper roote in America...for they....affecting more by making a needless ostentation than the World should know they had been there, than that they did continue still to inhabit there like them, they were more in love with glory than with vertue, then being always subject to divisions among themselves, it was impossible that they could subsist, which proceeded sometime from emulation or envie, and at other times from the laziness of the disposition of some who (lothing labor) could be commanded by none, who would impose more upon them then was agreeable with the indifferencie of their affections and superficial endeavours.¹⁴⁶

As for the Spaniards, their reaction to Gourgues' intervention was to establish promptly the first permanent European colony in Florida, St. Augustine, in 1565.¹⁴⁷

The Amerindians continued harassing the Spaniards, eating their missionaries. The latter reported that the Floridians were "pire qu'Hérétiques, parce qu'ils ne faisoient point de conscience de manger de la chair en carême, voir de la chair d'un Religieux...qu'ils ne portoient pas plus de respect à un Moine qu'à une bête

¹⁴⁴Sauer, Sixteenth Century America, 278.

¹⁴⁵Le Challeux, Discours et histoire, 6.

¹⁴⁶Sir William Alexander and American Colonization, (Boston, 1873), 203.

¹⁴⁷Gaffarel, Histoire de la Floride, 163-176.

sauvage."¹⁴⁸ The Spaniards responded with more suppression, and their usual charges that the natives were bestial, irrational and incapable of learning Christian ways. Such views prevailed and it came to be accepted in Europe that the Floridians were

barbares, sales & sauvage par dessus tout ce qui est du genre humain. Ils vivent de venins, de serpens et d'autres espèces de bêtes venimeuse & infectes. C'est pourquoi les Espagnols & les François sont souvent essayer de peupler cette region mais en vain.¹⁴⁹

Their Florida failure spurred the French to do some serious reassessment of their techniques of colonization. Montchrestien thought the French had shown up poorly because their "rude et tyrannique" behaviour had risked transforming their Amerindian allies into irreconcilable enemies; nevertheless the Amerindians had welcomed Gourgues with open arms and had made possible his mission against the Spaniards.¹⁵⁰ Montchrestien's point was clear: the key to success in these new lands was through co-operation with their original inhabitants. Another school of thought held that such co-operation, while helpful, was not in itself enough. Rather, colonization, to be successful, depended upon cohesive leadership-backed by sufficient military and naval force.¹⁵¹ It was neglect in these areas which had led

¹⁴⁸Le Challeux, Brief Discours, 32-34.

¹⁴⁹Philippe de Cluvier, Introduction à la géographie universelle..., (Paris, 1642), 489.

¹⁵⁰Montchrestien, Traicté, 218.

¹⁵¹"Mémoire du Chevalier de Razilly," Revue de Géographie, XIX (1886) 374-383 and 453-464. Similar sentiments are also to be found in Biet, France Equinoxale, preface.

to the failures in Canada, Brazil and Florida. As the two courses of action did not seem to be incompatible, the French adopted both. "La douceur," that is, co-operation with Ameridians, was brought to the fore; but armed support, never far in the background, sometimes overwhelmed humane intentions.

It proved simpler to dissect the anatomy of colonial failure than it was to construct a new corpus of colonial procedure. The French continued to expect the European model of civilization to function under all circumstances,¹⁵² an attitude that exacted a high toll in lives and money.¹⁵³ This expectation was particularly evident in agriculture. The French colonists tended to ignore Amerindian techniques; the result was that they often suffered from famine in the midst of potential plenty.¹⁵⁴ The trouble was not so much that the colonists were anti-Amerindian as that they did not take the natives into account: in the European-style communities which they sought to erect, there was no place for Amerindians or for their particular fund of

¹⁵²Jean-Marcel Hurault, Français et indiens en Guyane: 1604-1972, (Paris, 1972) 80.

¹⁵³Sauer says the only North American projects which succeeded during the sixteenth century were the cod and whale fisheries. He is forgetting the fur trade, which developed slowly but reasonably steadily along the Atlantic coast and up the St. Lawrence from the time of Cartier's voyages to the first permanent settlements early in the seventeenth century. (Sauer, Sixteenth Century America, 280).

¹⁵⁴Hurault, Français et indienne, 80. See Biet, France Equinoxale, on the disasters experienced by French colonists in Cayenne.

knowledge.¹⁵⁵ This attitude was to be pushed to its ultimate conclusion by New England colonists.¹⁵⁶

Of the colonial attempts considered in this chapter, only that of Ribault-Laudonnière made an effort at active co-operation with the Amerindians. Where Villegaignon had largely stayed aloof from native affairs, Ribault-Laudonnière had become deeply embroiled; in neither case did French-Amerindian relations tip the balance in favour of the survival of the colonies. However, the Florida episode marks a definite stage in French colonialism, as it was the first time that a French colony became involved in Amerindian politics to the point of joining in their wars; and in the case of Gourgues, we find Frenchmen actively seeking an Amerindian alliance in order to wage war on other Europeans, in this case, the Spanish. The policy of "douceur" here received a new dimension.¹⁵⁷ Not only was friendship of the Amerindians seen as being useful in providing a basis of power in the New World, it could be employed in attacking European rivals. It would no longer be enough to just get along with Amerindians; their active co-operation was to be sought wherever possible. In the northern regions where New

¹⁵⁵Hurault, Français et indiens, 80-82.

¹⁵⁶Lino Gomez Canedo, "Différentes attitudes face à l'Indien" in La Découverte de l'Amérique, (Paris, 1968), 334.

¹⁵⁷Some have held that the rapport between Laudonnière and Satouriona was unique during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See W.P. Cummings, R.A. Skelton and D.B. Quinn, The Discovery of North America, (Toronto, 1971), 17.

France was finally established, such co-operation would be essential to the survival of the colony.

THE MYTH OF THE SAVAGE
AND THE BEGINNINGS OF FRENCH COLONIALISM IN THE AMERICAS

Chapter IX

Traders, Missionaries, and the Establishment of New France

The successful establishment of New France in the land that was popularly known as Canada was the culmination of a century of contact with the New World. The broad lines of the policy of "douceur" had already been worked out and remained only to be developed in specific points by traders disseminating material goods and missionaries spreading the gospel. By the beginning of the seventeenth century French officialdom was familiar with those northern regions where French "Capitaines de navires, Pilotes, Marchands, & autres" had long "hanté, fréquenté & trafiqué avec ce qui trouve de peuples esdits lieux." Although their notions about Amerindians were still vague and even confused, officials understood very clearly how much trade with them "peut estre fructueuse, commode & utile à nous." Those were the words of Henry IV's commission of 8 November 1603 to Pierre Du Gua, Sieur de Monts (?1558-1628), the man who brought out

Champlain.¹ Personal fortunes had already been made in the fur trade, as the King implied when he referred to "le grand & apparent proffit" his subjects has amassed in those regions.² Trade was the immediate reason why the long-cherished dream of a New France overseas was finally realized on the North Atlantic Coast and along the St. Lawrence.

It was not just in furs, of course, that Europeans had found profit in trading in the New World. Trade in general with Amerindians was lucrative, as this comment from Brazil

¹Commissions du Roi, de Monseigneur l'Admiral, au sieur de Monts, pour l'habitation es terres de Lacadie, Canada et autres endroits en en la nouvelle France, (Paris, 1605), 4; also PAC AC C11D I: 30-39, Lettre par laquelle le roy fait son lieutenant-general le Sr De Monts au pays de l'acadie, 8 novembre 1603. According to one report, De Monts found that the Basques had been trading in the area for so long that the Amerindians used the Basque language for trade. (Pierre De Lancre, Tableau de l'Inconstance des mauvais anges, (Paris, 1612), 30.) A Spanish historian reported that the Montagnais and Basques were able to converse with each other. (Isasti, Compendio Historial, 164.) For information on De Monts, see Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Monts. Records: Colonial and 'Saintongeais', edited by William Inglis Morse, (London, 1939). Also, the article by George MacBeath in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, I.

²Commissions du Roi, 4. However, De Thou, in his Histoire universelle, referred to French voyages to Canada, "qui ont continué jusqu'en 1611, sans produire beaucoup de profit." (XIV: 336). Another observer noted that Champlain had returned to St. Malo from one of his New World voyages "en assez bon estat, plus chargé neantmoins des particularitez des moeurs des Sauvages, que de marchandise, ou de butin." (Charles Faye, Sieur d'Espesses, Memoires de plusieurs choses considerables avenues en France..., (Paris, 1607) 59). Amerindians had already long since incorporated European trade goods into their way of life. Whitbourne reported of Newfoundland Amerindians, for instance, that they wore hats fashioned like those of Europeans and adorned with beadwork. (A Discourse and Discovery, (London, 1620), conclusion (no pagination).)

indicates:

Les traites vous serviront pour gagner l'esprit des Sauvages, qui n'ayment rien au monde tant que cela, & sans lesquelles vous seriez tres-mal receu d'eux: outre que par leur moyen vous pouvez establir un commerce avec eux d'un profit presque incroyable, attendu qu'avec ces babioles, qui consistent en sonnetes, petites bagues de leton, trompettes & trompes de laquai, rassades, grains de verre & de cristal de differentes couleurs, pendans d'oreilles, caracoulis, dez à coudre, espingles & aiguilles: ou bien des miroirs, hameçons, alenes, cizeaux, couteaux, haches, scies, & serpes, vous en pouvez tirer un infinité de marchandises tres-precieuses.³

Two centuries later Europeans were still expressing surprise at the Amerindian attitude that made such profits possible:

On sçait assez quel est le gain prodigieux qui se fait avec les sauvages sur des bagatelles de vil prix. Ces peuples...paroissent avoir à la vérité une singulière philosophie, consistant à calculer si la peine de se procurer certaines commodités même ne sont agréables. En se déterminant pour l'affirmative, ils restent dans une indolence purement animale, vivans à peu près comme les lièvres & les cerfs de bois. Ils nous regardent comme des fols...d'essuyer tant de fatigues pour des choses frivoles, telle que des vêtements et des maisons...⁴

As that last comment illustrates, it was a different scale of social values rather than a lack of commercial perspicacity that created such a situation. As Cartier had long before discovered, Amerindians were perfectly capable of raising their prices if they thought the situation warranted it;⁵ Nicholas Denys attested to the fact that the natives often outwitted ships' crews in trade;⁶ and a Jesuit, bargaining for a goose he wanted to make broth for

³Boyer, Veritable Relation, 367-368.

⁴Brosse, Histoire des Navigations, 372.

⁵Supra, 308.

⁶Denys, Description, 446-451.

some patients, found himself paying what he considered to be an exorbitant price. However, that did not alter that "ils nous estiment fols et peu judicieux, de priser plus les choses qui ne servent de rien à l'entretien de la vie, que celles sans lesquelles nous ne pouvons vivre commodement."⁷ In other words, Amerindians did not see external trade in terms of making a profit, but as means of accumulating goods in order to honor community obligations, based on reciprocity. It was part of the apparatus for the redistribution of goods within a particular group which functioned without reference to cost or price in the Western sense. Amerindian social and economic institutions were not separated as they were in the West.⁸

The interplay of attitudes of these two profoundly different ways of life---the Amerindian and the European---provided the background against which the fur trade

⁷Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XIII: 97. Another missionary, Père Yves also observed that Amerindians were capable of capitalizing on situations for their own benefit. (Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil, 70).

⁸George Dalton, "Economic Theory and Primitive Society," American Anthropologist LXIII (1961), 21; Heidenreich, Huronie, 223-227. Both authors point out that "economy" in the Western sense does not exist in "tribal" societies, and that the external trade conducted by such a society is not necessarily a guide to its material well-being. Vespucci had observed something of this when he had reported that Amerindians neither bought nor sold, "for they are quite content with what nature freely offers them...Of their friends, they are just as eager to ask as to receive." (Waldseemüller, Cosmographie, 98). However, northern Amerindians were particularly active traders, and knew very well how to make a profit in their external dealings. (Wood's New England Prospect, 69-70).

developed to become "la meilleure profession du monde pour s'enrichir en très peu de tems."⁹ North America's wealth in furs had been noted by Corte-Real in 1500 and by Verrazzano in 1524.¹⁰ The sight of Amerindians dressed in martens (marten being of the sable family) obviously impressed hierarchy-conscious Europeans for whom the wearing of such furs was the privilege of rank which was enforced by sumptuary laws.¹¹ Exploitation soon began; during the first decades of the sixteenth century a typical summer of trading yielded 15,000 to 20,000 furs.¹² The English became exceedingly interested when they heard that ships were leaving New France laden with furs reported to be worth 8,000 pounds;¹³ they estimated France's annual revenue from

⁹Henri Abraham Chatelain, Atlas historique, ou nouvelle introduction à L'histoire...avec des dissertations sur l'histoire de chaque etat par par Mr Nicolas Gueudeville, 7 vols., (Amsterdam, 1718-1732), VI: 85.

¹⁰Belleforest, Cosmographie, 2176.

¹¹A seventeenth-century description reported that the people of Labrador "peignent leur corps pour paroistre beaux & portent des anneaux d'argent & de cuivre a leurs oreilles leurs accoustrements sont furrures de martres & autres especes." Description de l'Amerique et des parties d'icelle, comme de la Nouvelle-France, Floride..., (Amsterdam, 1619), 2.

¹²Biggar, Early Trading Companies, 129.

¹³Ibid., 93. Presumably the pound referred to is English. Although equivalent values are difficult if not impossible to determine with any degree of precision for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, at the beginning of the latter century a French livre approximately equalled an English shilling. As it took 20 shillings to make an English pound, this would have been a valuable cargo indeed in the terms of the day.

the trade at 30,000 crowns.¹⁴ Commercial competition assumed the aspects of a war in which the French fought each other almost as ardently as they fought other nations.¹⁵ Nevertheless, there was some differentiation of trading zones, with the Rouennais and Malouins frequenting Tadoussac and the Rochellais frequenting Gaspé.¹⁶ During free-trade days, as many as 20 vessels would be seen at one time at Tadoussac during the summer; but after the Company of New France became operative, these were reduced to two a year, and that only in summer.¹⁷ In Europe, Amsterdam became the centre of the fur trade during the seventeenth century, acting as an intermediary between the New World Moscow and the Orient. Moscow was the principal market; while from the Far East came a steady demand for otter. This demand, coupled with the need of European felters for New World beaver, as those of the Old World had been exterminated, resulted in a boom for New World furs that lasted until the 1670's, when oversupply resulted in the collapse of the Moscow market. The fur trade was not only the midwife for the birth of New France, it also played a primary role in

¹⁴Martin Pring, "A Voyage Set out from the Cities of Bristoll, 1603," in Early English and French Voyages..., ed., H.S. Burrage, (New York, 1906), 350. A crown was worth five shillings.

¹⁵Gosselin, Nouvelles Glanes, 40.

¹⁶Robert Le Blant, "Les Arrêts du Parlement de Rouen du 25 juin 1633 et les premières compagnies du Canada," Revue des Sociétés de Hautes Normandie---Lettres, No. 3 (1956), 41.

¹⁷Troisième tome du Mercure françois, 21-22.

maintaining the Plymouth colony for about 30 years.¹⁸ For New France, the fur trade was to be the major commercial activity throughout the French regime.

If the aim of the establishment of New France was the extension of commerce, as Montesquieu observed,¹⁹ there can be no doubt that in this regard it was successful. So much so, in fact, that early colonists often displayed a preference for trading to the hard work of farming. It was a tendency which colonial officials strove to counteract, for while such enterprise lead to the rapid penetration of the new lands, it was not helpful in developing the agricultural basis so desperately needed by the new colony. It was a perennial problem for French colonial administrators. What little we know of Roberval's effort indicates he was more interested in finding the fabled golden kingdom of the Saguenay than in establishing farms; De La Roche sought primarily to maintain a post to detect violations of his trading monopoly; and Chauvin de Tonnetuit concerned himself so exclusively with trade that he did not properly provide for the 16 men he left to winter at Tadoussac in 1600, and

¹⁸Bernard Bailyn, The New England Merchants of the Seventeenth Century, (Cambridge, Mass., 1955); Francis X. Moloney, The Fur Trade in New England 1620-1676, (Cambridge, Mass., 1931); William I. Roberts III, "The Fur Trade of New England in the Seventeenth Century," PhD thesis, (University of Pennsylvania, 1958). As early as 1671 the French foresaw the demise of the fur trade and the rise of agriculture and the timber industry as principal commercial activities in New France. (PAC AC C11A 3: 264-265. Description du Canada, 1671).

¹⁹Montesquieu, Oeuvres, II: 314.

they had to go and live off the charity of the Amerindians before the winter was out. It was open knowledge that he had made no attempt to honor his commitment to establish 500 colonists on the St. Lawrence in order to secure France's claim to the country.

The establishment of Quebec (in Montagnais territory, as was also Tadoussac,) altered the pattern of the fur trade.²⁰ In the days when it was carried on from ships, Amerindians made annual trips from far in the interior to such seaboard rendezvous points as Tadoussac, Miscou and the mouth of the St. John River. At the arrival of the first ships they lit bonfires along the coast,²¹ a signal for those in the area. As permanent posts developed along the coast, the immediate effect was to extend the trading time available to Amerindians. The establishment of Québec and later of Trois Rivières and Montréal shifted the location of rendezvous points into the interior. Annual trade fairs developed, the one at Montreal being particularly important.

²⁰ Murray, "Fur Trade," 49.

²¹ Le Dix-huitième tome du Mercure François (Paris, 1633), 59. Earlier, explorers such as Verrazzano and Gomez had reported that this new land was certainly occupied because of the fires they had seen along the coast. These were probably also signals; for instance, when Emery de Caën's ships approached Tadoussac in 1632, Amerindians immediately made fires along the shore and sent two of their number in a canoe to greet the French. (*Ibid.*, 59.) It has also been speculated that these fires were the work of Amerindians clearing land for agriculture. (Edgar F. Goad, "A Study of the Relations of the European Invaders with the North American Indians East of the Mississippi (1492-1608)," MA thesis, (University of California, 1932), 74.)

The posts also provided bases from which the French could send their agents into the interior instead of waiting for the Amerindians to come to them. This in turn affected the role of the Amerindian middleman.²²

The exigencies of the fur trade called for adaptation and accommodation on the part of both French and Amerindian. For the French, this adaptation was a variation of what had happened in Brazil where, in the words of Staden, "ils étoient bien obligés de se conformer aux moeurs des Indiens."²³ For one thing, realizing the importance of wampum to the people of the northeastern woodlands, the French adapted very quickly to its use in both trading and diplomacy.²⁴ For the Amerindians, the fur trade affected subsistence patterns as the northern Indian hunters concentrated on winter trapping, thus becoming more dependent upon the agriculturally-produced foods of the Huron.²⁵ In their turn the Huron grew more corn to meet this new demand. This move away from self-sufficiency toward interdependence increased the danger of famine, a

²²For the effect of the fur trade on the Hurons, see Trigger, "French Presence," and Heidenreich, Huronie, Chapter VII.

²³Staden, Histoire d'un pays, 151.

²⁴Biggar, Works of Champlain II: 194. Cartier, when he kidnapped Donnacona, received strings of wampum from Stadaconans who came to say farewell to their chief; returning to Stadacona on his third voyage, Cartier again received gifts of wampum, this time from Donnacona's successor, Agona. (Biggar, Voyages of Cartier, 232-233 and 252.)

²⁵Trigger, "French Presence," 118.

consequence of the trade which had been experienced very early by the Micmac.²⁶ In spite of this, the trade brought material benefits whose immediate effect was to encourage an efflorescence of the cultures of the northeastern woodlands during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a sort of swan-song before their disappearance in the tidal wave of European immigration.²⁷

Competition between Europeans for the fur trade put Amerindians in a strong position, providing them with the opportunity of playing off one trader against another. The initiative of the French in their early development of this trade did not free them from such unwelcome competition. Rather, it encouraged the aggressive attentions of the English and the Dutch. Henry Hudson, exploring the coast for the Dutch in 1609, learned from the natives that they were already trading with the French. A group "brought many Beaver skinnnes, and other fines Furres, which they would have changed for redde gowns. For the French trade with them for red Cassockes, Knives, Hatchets, Copper Kettles, Trevits, Beades and other trifles."²⁸ Robert Juet, a member of Hudson's crew, added in his journal, "they desire

²⁶Hoffman, "Historical Ethnography," 231-236.

²⁷This was a phenomenon that also occurred on the Prairies and on the West Coast. It seems to be characteristic of a contact situation marked first of all by trade, followed by domination by the stronger culture.

²⁸Juet's Journal, edited by Robert M. Lunny, (Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society No. 12), (Newark, N.J., 1959), 14.

Cloathes, and are very civill."²⁹ Later the ship "Warwick", on a trading journey up the Potomac, encountered Anacostans, "who trade with Canadian Indians." The English were near the site that was to become Washington when

On the 11th of July 1632, there came from another place seven lusty men---they had red fringe and two of them had beaver coats. They had two axes, such as Captain Kirke traded in Cannida, which he bought at Whits of Wapping, and there I bought mine, and think I had as good as he...They called themselves Mostikums, but afterwards I found they were of a people three days' journey from these and were called Hereckeenes, who, with their own beaver, and what they get of those that adjoin them upon them, do drive a trade in Cannida, at the plantation, which is fifteen days' journey from this place. These people delight not in toys, but in useful commodities.³⁰

About two years later the Dutch, on an exploratory trading mission among the Mohawk, were told by the latter that the French had already been there and had offered better value than the Dutch; besides, they had also distributed gifts.³¹ Up in Huronia, at this same time, the French were also distributing gifts in order to pave the way for evangelization. In the words of Brébeuf, "This is a small thing in detail, but on the whole it exerts a great

²⁹Ibid., 28.

³⁰"Fleet's Journal," reproduced by Rev. Edward D. Neill, The Founders of Maryland..., (Albany, 1876), 30-31. The English, for their part, reported that French traders were making incursions into territory the English regarded as theirs. (Ralph Hamor, A True Discourse of the present estate of Virginia and the success of the affairs there till the 18 of June 1614, (London, 1615), 36-37.)

³¹"Narrative of a Journey into the Mohawk and Oneida Country, 1634-1635," in Narratives of New Netherland 1609-1664, edited by J. Franklin Jameson, (New York, 1910), 149; Trelease, "Indian Relations and the Fur Trade in New Netherland," 101-102.

influence and is of great importance in these regions."³²

The Dutch were impressed with the quality of the French goods they saw among the Amerindians, "very good axes to cut the underwood, and French shirts and coats and razors."³³

It was such competition which had encouraged De Monts to petition for a monopoly in New France, "land of the long cold where the bears are white."³⁴ In presenting his case he said he could see no better way to serve his country

que de s'appliquer...a decouvrir quelques costes & terres loingtaines despourveues de peuples, ou habitée par gens encor Sauvages, Barbares & desnuez de toute religion, loix et civilité, pour s'y loger & fortifier, et tascher d'en amener les nations à quelque profession de la Foy Chrestienne, civilisation de leurs moeurs, reglement de leur vie, pratique et intelligence avec les François pour l'usage de leur commerce: Et en fin à leur recognoissance & submission à l'autorité & domination de ceste couronne de

³²Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, VIII: 97.

³³Jameson, Narratives of New Netherland, 149.

³⁴Antoine de La Salle, La Salade, nouvellement imprimée, laquelle fair mention de tous les pays du monde..., (Paris, 1527), f xxviii verso.

France.³⁵

De Monts, in winning his mandate to colonize New France, received a commission that was drawn up "conformement à ceulx qui ont autrefois esté expédiés aux

³⁵Morse, Pierre Du Gua, 4. The lands referred to by De Monts included that section of the St. Lawrence specifically known as Canada, although the term was often applied to the whole St. Lawrence region. The generally accepted version of the origin of this name during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was that it derived from the Spanish "il capa di nada." However, Thevet thought the name derived from "Segnada Canada", which he said meant men hunting land. (La Cosmographie, (L'Huillier), 1010; "Grand Insulaire," 152 verso.) Charlevoix gives a variation of this in History and General Description of New France, translated and edited by John Gilmary Shea, 6 vols., (Chicago, 1866), I: 113.) Another version was presented by Belleforest, who thought the word signified "land" and could apply to any land in the world. (Belleforest, Cosmographie universelle, 2185.) Cartier said the word meant "town" and it became generally accepted that the name derived from the Iroquoian word "Kana-ta", meaning village. (Rev. Edward Ballard, "Indian Mode of Applying Names," Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society VIII, (Concord, 1866), 447-448.) Lescarbot held that both Belleforest and Cartier were wrong, and that Canada really meant "province." (History of New France, II: 25-26.) One of the more tortured explanations of the derivation of Canada was that of Thomas Jefferys, to the effect that it meant "mouth of the Country" from Can, mouth, and Ada, country. (Natural and Civil History, 1). The argument that the name derived from the Portuguese word meaning "narrow road" did not receive wide currency. (Patterson, "Portuguese on the northeast coast of America," 158-159.) The early preference for the Spanish derivation reflected the first impression that Canada was "un pauvre pays qui est cause qu'il est guerre recherches," (Hondius, Trésor, 190) or, as Cartier said of Labrador, that it was "the land God gave to Cain." Well before Cartier, in 1511 to be exact, Spain had been moved by Cabot's reports to authorize Juan de Agramonte to take two Breton pilots and check on the location as well as the potentialities of this new land. (Winsor, Narrative and Critical History, IV: 10. Also, Biggar, Early Trading Companies, 175.) Although nothing more is heard of this particular expedition, the currency of the "il capa di nada" story strongly suggests that the Spanish carried out some sort of reconnaissance.

Sieurs de Roberval et de Villegaignon pour la Floride et Terre Neuve."³⁶ In other words, French thinking in this regard had remained constant since the first attempts at colonization. In the case of De Monts, Henry IV named him lieutenant-governor of New France and proposed a monopoly in return for bringing out 100 colonists a year. De Monts was less sanguine; he had seen what had happened to Chauvin, who had not been able to honour his commission in regard to bringing out colonists. But his voyage of reconnaissance of 1603, in which he had been accompanied by Gravé Du Pont and Champlain, had confirmed him in his belief that the prospects for settlement were good. So he agreed to take out 60 colonists annually, whom he thought he could recruit from among vagabonds. In this, also, early ideas prevailed that colonies could be established using people who for one reason or another were having difficulties in Old World society.

As for the Amerindians concerned, they were willing to go along with the project insofar as they realized its implications, as they expected benefits for themselves. Besides, by this time, they liked the French, who, following the Cartier-Roberval failure, had made efforts to respect Amerindian formalities in their dealings with them. The French had by now worked out a general policy concerning

³⁶Morse, Pierre Du Gua, 7. Later, in 1627, the charter of the Company of New France also echoed the terms of Roberval's commission.

Amerindians:

Si on les traicte doucement & amiablement, on les trouvera dociles & amiables, & que l'on s'accommodera facilement avec eux: ce qui est fort necessaire à observer, mesmes au commencement, afin que ces peuples puissent estre conduicts à ceste fin si sainte & si salutaire, laquelle nous devons prendre & en avoir un grand zele & soin, tant aux petites chose qu'aux grandes.³⁷

Perhaps most important of all, continued Le Mercure François, it should be remembered that Amerindians "ne soucient aucunement des choses pour lesquelles nous nous tourmentons tant."³⁸ This, of course, was more easily said than realized in practice: the colonial society as finally achieved by the French never made more than a minimum allowance for values of Amerindians.³⁹ However, in New France at least, Frenchmen did respect the Amerindian ideal of personal liberty. For instance, Poutrincourt,⁴⁰ commander of the first permanent settlement in Acadia, returning from Port Royal, "au lieu de prendre et se servir pour esclaves des Sauvages, il tasche par tous moyens (selon le commandement qu'il en avoit du feu Roy) à les faire

³⁷Cinquième tome du Mercure Français, (Paris, 1619), 166, reporting the petition of De Queiros to the King. Le Mercure François was the official annual chronicle of events, and was backed by Richelieu. It appeared until the 1630's, when it was superceded by La Gazette de France. See Howard M. Solomon, "The Gazette and Anti-statist Propaganda: The Medium of Print in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century," a paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association, June 1973.

³⁸Cinquième tome du Mercure François, 171.

³⁹Supra, 376-377.

⁴⁰Jean de Biencourt de Poutrincourt et de Saint-Just, 1557-1615.

instruire en la Religion Catholique."⁴¹ The French colonial ideal was to suppress all distinctions between French and Amerindian by persuading the latter "à adopter la société et la manière de vivre des Français," and to change "l'esprit de libertinage qu'ont tous les sauvages en celui d'humanité et de société que les hommes doivent avoir naturellement."⁴² This approach, for all its self-conscious righteousness, contributed to the handsome dividends received by the French when the Amerindians fought so effectively beside them during the colonial wars.⁴³

One of the Amerindian names for the French was Adoresatouy, Iron men,⁴⁴ which in Huron was expressed in the designation Agnonha.⁴⁵ It was a name that the people of the

⁴¹La Continuation du Mercure François ou suite de l'histoire de l'Auguste Regence de la Royne Marie de Medicis, (Paris, 1615), 528 verso.

⁴²Jean Delanglez, Frontenac and the Jesuits, (Chicago, 1939), 49-50; Sigmund Diamond, "Le Canada français du XVIIe siècle: Une société prefabriquée," Annales. Economies. Sociétés. Civilisations, (mars-avril 1961) 327. The French were also motivated by the belief that Christianization would render the Amerindians docile and less likely to revolt against European domination. During the seventeenth century, Morgan Godwin cited the loyalty to the English of the "praying Indians" during the New England Amerindian wars. (The Negro's and Indians' Advocate, (London, 1680), 130.)

⁴³It was an approach that the French had adopted at least partly to demonstrate that it was possible to obtain better results than their rivals the Spaniards could show vis-à-vis the Amerindians. The French were not at first convinced of the truth of reports from Spain that the métis were a "génération meschants, qui ne s'addone ni à servir, ni à l'exercice de quelque manouvrange." (Pedro Ordóñez de Ceballos, Particuliere Description de l'Inde Occidentale (Amsterdam, 1622), 220.)

⁴⁴Biggar, Works of Champlain III: 221.

⁴⁵Ibid., III: 3; Sagard, Long Journey, 79.

Northwest Coast in their turn applied to the English and Yankees during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Montagnais name for the French meant "men who are workers of wood," of "men who are in a vessel of wood;"⁴⁶ Sagard said the term was Mistigoche, wooden canoe or boat. In the days of De Monts, Amerindian impressions were still vivid of the first view of the French in their "floating islands."⁴⁷ The French, they observed, were masters of iron and of merchandise. The Amerindians, welcoming them with their traditional hospitality---"they owe us nothing and we stay with them at their own expense," Sagard had observed---soon found that the French did not respond in kind.⁴⁸ Later, an Amerindian was to tell a missionary that he did not want to go to the French heaven, as he would get nothing to eat there.⁴⁹ Amerindians reacted to this by offering their hospitality only if the French would live with them in their manner; otherwise they asked for payment.⁵⁰ By the time Charles Lalemant arrived in New France, he found the Amerindians not at all hospitable; on the contrary, they expected food or payment from the French, although they

⁴⁶Le Dix-neufiesme tome du Mercure Francois, (Paris, 1636), 782.

⁴⁷Ibid., 781.

⁴⁸Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, II:79. In Brazil, the French had early been impressed with Amerindian hospitality. (Léry, Histoire d'un voyage, 225-227.) Later, they became adept at taking advantage of it, moving from village to village before their welcome wore out. (Père Yves, Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil, 109.)

⁴⁹Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XIII: 127.

⁵⁰Le Treizième tome du Mercure françois, (Paris, 1629), 15.

continued to exercise their traditional hospitality toward each other.⁵¹ It was a case of each side expecting the other to conform to rules about which it knew nothing: the French, for instance, finding that the Amerindians had no notion of paying debts European-style, refused to grant them any more credit.⁵² The process of accommodation and adaptation between the Iron Men and "the people" was already launched.

De Monts' project aroused considerable interest in France, if one is to judge by the amount of space it received in Le Mercure François, which contrasts so strongly with the usual brief mention accorded New France in cosmographies and travel accounts.⁵³ De Thou, in his Histoire universelle gave a comparatively lengthy report of the project,⁵⁴ in contrast to his brief references to the efforts of De La Roche and of Chauvin de Tonnetuit. However, even that was more attention than the latter two usually received. If Le Mercure François is as fair a reflection of public, as it is of official, interest in the efforts of De Monts and Poutrincourt, France was particularly concerned about the hard winters, such as the first one on Ile Ste Croix. An account of this was carried in the 1608 edition,

⁵¹Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, IV: 195-197; VIII: 95; XVIII: 19.

⁵²Ibid., V: 93-19.

⁵³Le Mercure François ou suite de l'histoire de la paix, sous le regne de Henry IV, (Paris, 1611), 294-297.

Champlain's subsequent reports also received considerable space.

⁵⁴De Thou, Histoire universelle, XIV: 329-336; XV: 14-17, and 60-67.

probably inspired by the "grand hyver" which Europe had just experienced, when rivers were so frozen that loaded wagons could drive on them, and the citizens of Antwerp saw the river Esdan frozen as it had not been since 1563.

Individuals died of the cold or were crippled by it----

"beaucoup eurent les pieds & mains engelez."⁵⁵

Such experiences gave added piquancy to Canadian reports that some of the colonists on Ile Ste. Croix, (which, incidentally, was in Eastern Etchemin territory,) "se cabanèrent à la mode des sauvages."⁵⁶ Such an adaptation seems to have been fairly frequent during the first days of colonization.⁵⁷ The hard winter at Ile Ste. Croix had brought a strange malady believed to have been caused by drinking water from melted snow.⁵⁸ The malady, of course,

⁵⁵ Mercure François (1611), 229-229 verso. The people had made a revelry out of hardship and had held banquets on the ice, which on one occasion cracked, trapping several persons "Et Presque en un instant le courant de l'eau les emmena tous vers la mer...ils furent sur cette glace jusques à Lilo, trois lieues au dessous d'Anvers là ou avec des bateaux on les sauva tous." (Ibid.)

⁵⁶ Ibid., 294 verso. Marie de l'Incarnation on another occasion referred to the portable bark houses which Amerindians erected very neatly and in which they preferred to stay during winter as such houses were not as cold as those the French erected in stone. (H.A. Innis, Select Documents in Canadian Economic History, 2 vols., (Toronto, 1929) II: 285-286.)

⁵⁷ For instance, when the Ursulines and Hospital Nuns had to wait for a favorable tide to go to Quebec, the party camped on shore in "cabannes à la façon des sauvages," (Mère Saint-Ignace, Les Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, 1636-1716, edited by Albert Jamet (Québec, 1939), 17-18.)

⁵⁸ Le Mercure françois, (1611), 294 verso-295. According to Joannes de Laet, scurvy had been unknown in Europe before the discovery of the New World, (L'Histoire du Nouveau Monde, 52.)

was scurvy. As the French were not familiar with the use of melted snow, they were understandably suspicious of it. Lescarbot, in describing that first winter when 35 or 36 colonists had died out of a total of 80, implied that one of the causes had been bad water: "many idle and sluggish companions drank snow-water, not willing to take the pains to cross the river."⁵⁹ Champlain also referred to being obliged to drink melted snow that winter,⁶⁰ but was not convinced it was the cause of the malady, particularly after his first winter at Quebec when he noted that an Amerindian, living with the French and sharing their diet of salted meat, died of it.⁶¹ More than 20 years later Champlain wrote positively that the disease was entirely due to eating salted food and to the lack of fresh provisions.⁶² In spite of their reservations as to the snow, the French seemed to have regarded the climate as healthful, as they attributed

⁵⁹Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, VII: 5.

⁶⁰Biggar, Works of Champlain, I: 206.

⁶¹Ibid., II: 63. He was probably aware that Amerindians generally did not like salt, which they claimed shortened life. See Belleforest, Cosmographie, 2191; Du Tertre, Histoire generale des Antilles, II: 389; Thevet, New found worlde, 46, and Cosmographie (L'Huillier), 930. According to one report, Amerindians even regarded salt as poison. (Dassie, Description generale, preface.) Champlain may also have known of Sagard's observation that Amerindians were healthy without salt, which made him wonder if it were necessary to keep alive, or even in health, as it was believed in Europe. (Sagard, Long Journey, 80.)

⁶²Biggar, Works of Champlain, VI: 181. In the meantime Purchas had reported, in "Occurrents in Newfoundland," 1612, that "turneps" were "as good to recover from the Scurvie as the Aneda tree to Jacques Cartier Company." (Hakluytus Posthumous, XIX:418.) The identity of Cartier's "anedda" had been lost.

the good health and long life of Amerindians to it. Later, second generation colonists were seen as being healthy for the same reason.⁶³

The high note of optimism as to the prospects of this new land, where wheat and oats grew as well as they did in France,⁶⁴ was particularly evident in hopes for evangelizing the natives. However, early estimates of the ease with which Amerindians could be expected to be converted were already being modified. The natives, so eager to enter into trading and military alliances, displayed much less interest in adopting a new religion. If the French were to proceed by persuasion rather than by force, the best way would be to obtain the affection of these people by learning their languages. Such a procedure would take time; in fact, warned Lalemant, the first six or seven years would seem sterile to certain people----perhaps even 10 or 12 years would not be stretching the truth.⁶⁵ Within a few years Father Le Jeune was speaking in terms of at least a generation being needed, basing this estimate on the experiences of the Jesuits in Brazil.⁶⁶ He wondered if an "imposing presence" on the part of the French would facilitate the process.⁶⁷ By 1642 Jérôme

⁶³Boucher, Histoire naturelle, 2, 4, 142. However, some French apparently did not like the spring break-up; Le Jeune referred to it as a "frightful spectacle," that caused destruction. (Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, V: 185.)

⁶⁴Treizième tome du Mercure françois, 14-15.

⁶⁵Ibid., 32.

⁶⁶Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, VI: 25.

⁶⁷Ibid., VIII: 15.

Lalemant was confessing that the early impressions as to the ease of converting the Amerindians had been totally mistaken:

experience has shown us that they [the Amerindians] are full of Diabolical Superstitions, looking upon their Dreams for their Divinities, upon whom the happiness of their lives depends. Besides that, we see that they acknowledge more powerful Genii who settle Public affairs, who cause Famines, who control Wars and give Victory to those who become most obedient to their will.⁶⁸

The Jesuits by that time had come to realize that changing religious beliefs meant changing a whole way of life:

The greatest opposition that we meet...consists in the fact that their remedies for diseases; their greatest amusements when in good health; their fishing, their hunting, and their trading; the success of their crops, of their wars, and of their councils----almost all abound in diabolical ceremonies...to be a Christian one must deprive himself not only of pastimes which elsewhere are wholly innocent, and of the dearest pleasures of life, but even of the most necessary things, and, in a word, to die to the world at the very moment that one wishes to assume the life of a Christian.⁶⁹

If it took centuries to convert other nations, even with the aid of miracles, why were immediate results expected without

⁶⁸Ibid., XXIII: 153. Such authorities as Bodin had maintained that education would in time alter the customs and ideas of a people, but unless it was consistently maintained primitive traits would reassert themselves. (Beatrice Reynolds, Jean Bodin: Method for the Easy Comprehension of History (New York, 1945), 145.)

⁶⁹Thwaites, Jesuits Relations, XXVIII: 53. The English, for their part, reported in detail the searching questions Amerindians asked of the missionaries concerning Christianity. For example, Thomas Thorowgood, Jewes in America..., (London, 1650), 105ff.; John Eliot, The Day Breaking..., (London, 1647), 4ff.

miracles in the New World?⁷⁰ But back in France, officials found it difficult to believe that "simple savages" could be so hard to convert, and the pressures continued.⁷¹ In the New World, a backlash developed in the form of a growing conviction on the part of some officials that preaching was useless.⁷² The missionaries were caught between two worlds.

This dilemma was perhaps best demonstrated by the spirit in which Amerindians accepted baptism. Donnacona, for instance, had formally requested it of Cartier at Stadacona during his second voyage. Membertou and his family were pleased to be accorded the honour in 1610, which the French were equally pleased to give them to satisfy official pressures in France. Observing the importance the French attached to their religion, the Amerindians reacted by assuming that participation in this ritual in honor of this

⁷⁰Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XXVIII:55; d'Avity, Estates, Empires, 319-21; Du Tertre, Histoire Générale, 459-462; Saint-Michel, Voyage des isles Camericanes, Au Lecteur; Rochefort, Histoire naturelle, 195; Ribier, Lettres et mémoires d'Etat, 215.

⁷¹Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, IX: 87-91. The attitude of the French in this regard stood in sharp contrast to that of the English, who were not nearly so convinced of the value of evangelizing Amerindians. The English approach is examined by Francis Godwin James in "Puritan Missionary Endeavors in Early New England," MA thesis, (Yale, 1938).

⁷²Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, IX: 91. Such opinions had long been heard in Spain. The argument was tenuously based on the fact that grapes were not indigenous to the New World, and indeed many cases were impossible to grow. If God Himself had not made it possible for Amerindians to make sacramental wine, He obviously was not concerned about them becoming Christian. (Was America a Mistake? An Eighteenth Century Controversy, ed. by Henry Steele Commager and Elmo Geordanetti, (Columbia, 1968), 30). See also Purchas, Hakluytus, XIV: 439.

new deity would cement an alliance with the Christians.⁷³ When Biard and Ennemond Massé arrived at Port Royal in 1611, they found that the baptized Amerindians considered themselves allies of the French, "already nearly Normans," but had very little knowledge of Christianity. Biard was particularly incensed to find one such "Christian" with eight wives.⁷⁴ Later, baptism was regarded sometimes as a cause of death,⁷⁵ or as an aid to health.⁷⁶ During the epidemic of the 1630's, trade goods were also suspect; one village rejected kettles as they were viewed as a cause of sickness,⁷⁷ while another saw its lack of kettles as the cause.⁷⁸

Could it be, wondered the Jesuits, that such misapprehensions had been caused by the language barrier?⁷⁹ Amerindians showed little inclination to learn French; if the program of evangelization was to be realized, it would be incumbent upon the missionaries to learn native

⁷³Ibid., XVIII: 105.

⁷⁴Ibid., I: 161-165.

⁷⁵Ibid., XXXI: 24i; XV: 21. In one case, a Huron woman in good health died so quickly after baptism that her relatives expected gifts from the Jesuits in reparation. (Ibid., XV: 105).

⁷⁶Ibid., X:13-15; XIV: 13, 23, 65, 125; XVII: 137; XX: 25.

⁷⁷Ibid., XI: 21.

⁷⁸Ibid., XIII: 233.

⁷⁹D'Avity, Estates, Empires, 320. Biard thought that mutual incomprehension had been a factor in the baptisms performed by Abbé Jessé Fleché at Port Royal in 1610. (Lucien Campeau, La Première Mission d'Acadie (1602-1616) (Quebec, 1967) I: 139-140.)

languages.⁸⁰ This was given top priority by Le Jeune in the four-pronged plan he devised to attack the kingdom of Satan. He placed language-study ahead of the establishment of seminaries for Amerindian children, the erection of a hospital, and the encouragement of a sedentary mode of life.⁸¹ Long before the founding of New France, it had been realized that the use of interpreters for evangelization was not satisfactory. The Council of Lima of 1567 had ruled against the use of interpreters for the preaching of sermons and for hearing confessions.⁸² Besides, the missionaries were not long in discerning the Amerindian admiration of rhetoric, of the man who had the power of words.⁸³ In order to gain supremacy among the Amerindians, it was necessary to master their language: "Anyone who knew their language

⁸⁰Traders had long since accepted the fact that if they wanted to do business with Amerindians, they would have to do so in their languages. (Supra, VIII:n34.) When Jacques Savary, for instance, said it was necessary to know the language of the country in order to trade there, he was endorsing accepted practice. (Le Parfait Negociant, (Paris, 1679), 205). However, the point was not easily conceded by French officialdom. In the words of Talon, "il est vray qu'on a deub des il y a long temps leur faire apprendre nostre langue, et ne pas necessiter les sujets du Roy a estudier la leur pour pouvoir communiquer avec eux." (PAC AC C11A 2: 222, Talon à Colbert, 13 novembre 1666).

⁸¹Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XIV: 125. The techniques used by the Jesuits for evangelization were studied by Theodore Vespasian Lee Harvey, "Missionary Methods of the French Jesuits Among the Hurons," Bachelor of Divinity thesis, (University of Chicago, 1924).

⁸²Bernard de Vaulx, History of the Mission. From the beginning to Benedict XV-1914, translated by Reginald F. Trevett, (London, 1961), 70.

⁸³Thwaites, Jesuit Missions, VI: 242. Sometimes Amerindian speeches lasted several hours. (John Erskine Hankins, "Oratory of the American Indian," MA thesis, (University of California, 1925), 19.)

perfectly would be powerful among them," Le Jeune observed.⁸⁴ Therefore, "first we take steps to go and attack the enemy on its ground with its own terms, that is, by the knowledge of the Montagnais, Algonquin and Huron languages."⁸⁵ But learning these languages turned out not to be the work of a day.⁸⁶ The missionaries quickly discovered that Amerindian languages, far from being simple or only partially developed as they had expected,⁸⁷ were fully formed and complex in their structures, and in a manner that was seldom compatible with European patterns of thought. Convinced as they were these people were "savages", the missionaries had difficulty in understanding how their languages could possess such "excellent systems."⁸⁸ "The astonishing thing," Brébeuf wrote of the Huron, "is that all their words are universally conjugated...we find ourselves

⁸⁴ Ibid., VI: 242.

⁸⁵ Ibid., XIV: 124; XXXIX: 47-49. Le Jeune did not include Micmac because at that time it was the Capuchins and not the Jesuits who were working in Acadia.

⁸⁶ Ibid., IX: 89; also, Hennepin, Description de la Louisiane, 102. The first superior of l'Hotel Dieu at Quebec, Soeur Marie Guenet de Saint-Ignace, was to write that the study of Amerindian languages was "la plus grande croix de Canada," adding wistfully that she had never thought it would be necessary "de parler sauvage," when she had volunteered for service in Canada. (Cahingt, "Documents sur le Canada," Bulletin, 94.)

⁸⁷ Biard, for instance, was convinced of the Micmacs that "cette miserable nation demeure toujours en une perpetuelle enfance de langue et de raison." (Carayon, Première mission, 49.) Such a belief had been fostered by misinformed reports from Brazil that the native languages were easy to learn and sterile in their content. (Biet, France Equinoxale, 394-395; François de Malherbe, Lettres, 258-259.)

⁸⁸ Those were Bressani's words. (Thwaites, Jesuit Relation, XXXIX: 119.)

hindered from getting them to say properly in their language, 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' Could we say, for instance, 'In the name of our Father, and of His Son, and of their Holy Ghost'?"⁸⁹ Later Bressani lamented that the mere sign of the cross had cost the mission a year of study.⁹⁰ Amerindian fondness for metaphor added to the missionaries' difficulties. "Unless you accustom yourself to it, you will understnd nothing in their councils," Brébeuf warned.⁹¹ On the other hand, Biblical metaphors were meaningless to Amerindians, abounding as they did with such words as "sheepfold" or "kingdoms", which had no counterpart in the native languages.⁹² In spite of such hazards, Charles Lalemant found Montagnais not ambiguous as French was;⁹³ eventually the priests learned to use metaphor in the Amerindian way to aid in their preaching.⁹⁴ When the fathers wrote of the "poverty" of Amerindian languages, they were attributing the difficulties they found in translating Christian concepts to

⁸⁹ Ibid., X: 119. The question of language also concerned Amerindians when it came to praying to the Christian God. According to one New England Amerindian, "Jesus Christ understood not what Indians speake in prayer, he had been used to heare English men pray and so could well understand them, but Indian language in prayer hee thought hee was not acquainted with it, but was a stranger to it, and therefore could not understand them." (Eliot, Day Breaking, 5.)

⁹⁰ Ibid., XXXIX: 119.

⁹¹ Ibid., X: 219.

⁹² Ibid., XVIII: 23; XX: 71.

⁹³ Ibid., VI: 289.

⁹⁴ Ibid., IX: 211.

defects in those languages.⁹⁵ Another "defect" was detected in the lack of words to express commonplaces of France or of Europe. But the same missionaries soon recognized the wealth of Amerindian languages within their own cultural frameworks: "They have so tiresome an abundance that I am almost led to believe that I shall remain for all my life in their language," Charles Lalement complained of the Montagnais.⁹⁶ Brébeuf echoed those sentiments for the Huron when he wrote, "I shall have to go a long time to the school of the savages, so prolific is their language."⁹⁷ Lalemant's letter on Montagnais is the first known sustained discussion of a Canadian language.⁹⁸ He was impatient with his incapacity in Montagnais, not being able to say what he wanted;⁹⁹ it was a triumphant day for Le Jeune when he gave a speech in Montagnais following an Amerindian-style feast at which the governor had distributed gifts.¹⁰⁰ By 1644 the Jesuits were speaking of the ease with which the missionaries were expounding the truths of the faith "which at the beginning seemed to us most difficult to explain."¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ Biards's comments illustrate this attitude. (Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, I: 11-13, and III:193-197.) Similar sentiments were expressed by Sagard, Long Journey, 73.

⁹⁶ Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, VII: 25-27.

⁹⁷ Ibid., VIII: 131-133.

⁹⁸ Ibid. VII: 21-33. See Victor Egon Hanzeli, Missionary Linguistics in New France; a study of seventeenth and eighteenth-century descriptions of American Indian languages, (The Hague, 1969).

⁹⁹ Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, VII: 29.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., XI: 185-189.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., XXVIII: 65.

The eloquence of Amerindians in their own languages was so frequently noted as to have become axiomatic. The Jesuits considered that it was of a calibre that would have done justice to the finest minds of France.¹⁰² Typical was the remark of Sebastian Rasles (1652-1724): "I fully believe that if I had written down what the Savage said to us, offhand and without preparation, you would readily acknowledge that the most able Europeans could scarcely, after much thought and study, compose an address that would be more forcible and better arranged."¹⁰³ Brébeuf had observed that "there is almost no one of them who is incapable of conversing and arguing well, and in good language, on the things with which he is acquainted."¹⁰⁴ He thought the custom of holding daily councils, in which each had the right to express his opinion, allowed them to develop this capacity, as well as to learn how to speak with moderation even when the subject was highly charged.¹⁰⁵ They mocked those who stumbled in their speech,¹⁰⁶ but with the

¹⁰²Ibid., LXX: 99.

¹⁰³Ibid., LXII: 163.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 234. A nineteenth-century missionary observed than an Amerindian in his speech "ne s'introduise point un mauvais mot, un terme impropre, une construction vicieuse; et que les enfants même en conservent, jusque dans le discours familier, toute la pureté. D'Ailleurs la manière dont ils animent tout ce qu'ils disent ne laisse aucun lieu de douter qu'ils ne comprennent toute la valeur de leurs expressions et toute la beauté de leur langue." (Un festin de guerre chez les sauvages, (Limoges, 1861), 19.)

¹⁰⁵Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, X: 259. Amerindians found shocking the French habit of interrupting each other and even speaking two at once. (Biet, France Equinoxale, 367.)

¹⁰⁶Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, X: 259.

missionaries they discreetly overlooked language blunders.¹⁰⁷

By this time the Jesuits had long been convinced that the "savages" had full use of their reason. It was probably because of the persistence in Europe of the myth of the unreasoning savage that the Fathers raised the point so often in their letters. Boldest of all was Du Peron: "They nearly all show more intelligence in their business, speeches, courtesies, intercourse, tricks and subtleties, than do the shrewdest citizens and merchants in France."¹⁰⁸ This, of course, is more far-reaching than the usually quoted remark that Amerindians equalled European peasants in intelligence. Considering the disdain with which the peasantry was habitually regarded, such a comparison cannot be regarded as a compliment to the Amerindian.¹⁰⁹

As they wrestled with the languages, the French also launched into an educational program "to capture the minds" of the young, the second part of Le Jeune's program.¹¹⁰ Day schools had been started very early both in Acadia and at Quebec, by the Recollets, Capuchins and Jesuits. When Le

¹⁰⁷Ibid., XV: 195. Earlier, the missionaries had not been so well treated in this regard, as Le Jeune's well-known experiences testify.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., X: 157.

¹⁰⁹Some other references to Amerindian intelligence in the Jesuit Relations are VIII: 160-162; XV: 77; Hennepin wondered how Amerindians could be so clear-sighted about mundane affairs, but so extravagant in their notions about religion. (A New Discovery, II: 65, 59.)

¹¹⁰Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, V: 32.

Jeune arrived at Quebec in 1632, he very quickly acquired two Amerindian boys, Fortuné and Bienvenu, whom he set about raising à la française.¹¹¹ By the following year he had 20 students attending his day school.¹¹² He found the children apt and eager to learn, and encouraged them by the distribution of little gifts as well as by awarding prizes for lessons well learned.¹¹³ But this was not enough; to win over the children to the French way of life, it would be necessary to put them into boarding school, away from the home environment. Champlain had expressed similar ideas in 1621 when he had appealed to Louis XIII for funds to build a seminary.¹¹⁴ Help was forthcoming and the seminary was built at Notre Dames des Anges,¹¹⁵ but before the Recollets had been able to solve the problems of acquiring Amerindian children and keeping them in school, they were driven out by the English in 1629. When the French regained Canada in 1632, only the Jesuits returned immediately; the Recollets were not allowed back until 1670. The former lost no time in re-opening the abandoned school at Notre Dame des Anges. But in five years' time it was closed again, for want of pupils, and also because the Jesuits had decided to concentrate on

¹¹¹Supra, 273-274, concerning Bonaventure (Fortuné).

¹¹²Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, IV: 187; V: 187.

¹¹³Ibid., X: 31; V: 187; XI: 221-237.

¹¹⁴Le Clercq, First Establishment, I: 172.

¹¹⁵Ibid., 176; PAC Archives National - Paris, Série E: Arrêts du Conseil d'Etat du roi, Vol. 72B, arrêt du 11 août 1622, f. 191.

another seminary they had just opened in Quebec.¹¹⁶

Acquiring Amerindian pupils had proved to be a major problem. Faced with parental reluctance to part with their children, the French resorted to diplomatic pressures. When a delegation arrived seeking the aid of the French in war, the latter replied,

you have not allied yourself up to the present with our French people, your daughters have married with all the neighboring Nations, but not with ours...You have not offered your children for instruction. If you had done this from the time of our first arrival in the Country, you would all know by this time how to handle arms as we do, and your enemies would not exist in your presence---you would not die every day as you are doing...Not that we have need of your daughters or your children; we are as populous as the leaves of your trees.¹¹⁷

Le Jeune added that it was obvious that the Amerindians did not care to be one people with the French, as they did not hesitate to send their children to other allies.¹¹⁸ This drew the exasperated retort that the French were continually asking for Amerindian children but never offering to give any of their own. The French placed the utmost importance on the matter, not only because of evangelization, but also because the children would serve as "so many hostages for

¹¹⁶The Capuchins established a school for Amerindian children at Port Royal in 1632, which lasted at least until 1652 and perhaps until the English occupation of 1654. (Candide [de Nant], Pages glorieuses de l'épopée canadienne, (Montreal, 1927), 141-143 and 281 ff. Also, "Une mission capucine en Acadie (1632-1655)," in Etudes franciscaines, XXXVIII (1926) and XXXIX (1927).) According to Macel Trudel, this date is impossible and would more likely be about 1644. (Personel communication. See also Trudel's Initiation à la Nouvelle-France, (Montréal 1971), 54).

¹¹⁷Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, IX: 217-219.

¹¹⁸Ibid., IX: 233.

the safety of the French who are among them, and for the strengthening of our commercial relations."¹¹⁹ In this, the Jesuits were speaking remarkably like the Amerindians they were determined to civilize; for such an exchange of hostages for such a purpose was a characteristic of native diplomacy.¹²⁰

In the end, the Fathers had to resort to giving presents to the parents in order to get children for their seminary. In other words, instead of the parents paying the school to educate their children, the school paid the parents in order to acquire pupils. To make matters worse, those who did not run away showed a distressing tendency to sicken and die. Realizing that the switch to the French diet was probably a factor, the priests compromised, and tried feeding the children half in the Huron way, half in the French. This improved things a little,¹²¹ but two years later, the Jesuits were admitting sadly that it was difficult to keep Amerindian children alive out of the homes of their kindred.¹²² As could be expected, such results increased the resistance of the parents.

Besides the seminary, which was for boys only, the Jesuits experimented with placing both boys and girls to

¹¹⁹Ibid., IX: 283.

¹²⁰Supra, 185.

¹²¹Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XII: 53.

¹²²Ibid., XVI: 187. In Brazil, Amerindians feared their children would not get enough to eat if they gave them to the French. (Père Yves, Voyage dans le Nord du Bresil, 107.)

live with French families. Le Jeune's pleasure was undisguised when he reported, in 1636, that an Amerindian had of his own accord brought him a gift of a little girl. The Father arranged for her to be boarded with a family and had her dressed as a French child.¹²³ The Fathers had high hopes for this procedure, particularly as far as the Christianized girls were concerned, as they would either marry Frenchmen or baptized natives and would "draw as many children from their nation as we would desire."¹²⁴ In the absence of reports to the contrary, it can be assumed that these children survived better than the seminarists. They also assimilated better; it was reported of some that they "do not look at the Savages except to flee from them, or make sport of them."¹²⁵ However, such results could be achieved only when the children had been raised in French centres of population. It was this realization which encouraged Father Le Jeune to develop his program of sending children, particularly girls, to France for their education.¹²⁶

When the Ursulines arrived in Quebec in 1639 along with the Hospital nuns, their specific purpose was to teach Amerindian girls. They began with Marie, the 10-year-old

¹²³Ibid., IX: 201. Champlain also had acquired three girls, which he had been forced to leave behind when driven out by the Kirkes in 1629.

¹²⁴Ibid., IX: 103; VII: 227.

¹²⁵Ibid., IX: 107.

¹²⁶Supra, 271-272.

daughter of Noël Negabamat, the Montagnais chief who had settled at Sillery and who was the first neophyte of importance in the colony. Marie was also the godchild of Mme de la Peltrie, the wealthy patron of the Ursulines who had come out with them to live at Quebec. Four days after Marie's arrival at the convent, she tore up the dress the nuns had given to her and ran off to join her family. Upon her father telling her to go back, she changed completely and became so docile that "si tôt qu'elle a fait une faute, elle en vient demander pardon à genoux."¹²⁷ The complete submission of this gesture is evident when one considers that kneeling was not posture that was used by Amerindians;¹²⁸ in fact, at one point, when distrust of the Jesuits was at its height, such gestures were highly suspect.¹²⁹ Both the Jesuits and the Ursulines reported examples of changes from defiance to total compliance among their difficult new charges, particularly the girls. There were even those who, once they reached such a point of acceptance, no longer displayed any overt desire to return to their families; "they seem to regard the sisters as mothers."¹³⁰ Those who did not adapt and who fell into a

¹²⁷Marie de l'Incarnation, Ursuline (1599-1672), ed., Guy Oury, (Solemes, 1971), 95.

¹²⁸Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XVII: 39; XXXI:269; LXVIII: 63; Le Dix-Neufiesme tome du Mercure François, 849-850. Nearly two centuries later the métis Methodist missionary to the Mississaugas, Peter Jones, noted in his diary that the "heathen Indian kneels only when he is resolved to become a Christian." Cited by Smith, "Mississauga, Peter Jones," 209.

¹²⁹Ibid., XVIII: 41.

¹³⁰Oury, Marie de l'Incarnation, 91.

melancholy were allowed to leave "de crainte qu'elles ne meurent." "Nous les laissons libres en ce point, car on le gagne plutôt par ces moyens, que de les retenir par crainte ou par prières."¹³¹ More than 20 years later, in 1663, after much labour and unexpectedly high expenses, Marie de l'Incarnation was able to write of some success in her educational efforts, although she found that in general Amerindian girls were not amenable to convent life. The nuns had succeeded in teaching a few how to read and write, and some of their charges had been married to Frenchmen. Just the previous year two had been provided with trousseaux; one of these had been with the Ursulines for seven years, another for four.¹³² They both were "habillées en leur menage, aussi sage et posée que les Françaises. On les prend pour françaises parce qu'en leur prononciation elles ne different point des françaises."¹³³ A high moment for the Ursulines was the visit of an Iroquois embassy in 1655 to see how students were "élevés à la française." One of the girls read before the visitors in Latin, French and Huron, and also sang in the three languages. Marie de l'Incarnation reported that the Iroquois were impressed, as they left

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 801.

¹³² Mère Adele de Sainte-Marie and Mère Catherine de Saint-Thomas, Les Ursulines de Québec depuis leur établissement jusqu'à nos jours, (Québec, 1863), I: 409. The longest that an Amerindian girl stayed with the Ursulines at Quebec was 10 years. While the Ursulines were making such efforts to encourage inter-marriage, the English in Virginia passed laws forbidding it. (Horton, "Relations in Virginia," 43.)

¹³³ Oury, Marie de l'Incarnation, 718-120.

"promettant qu'ils ne manquoient pas d'envoyer leurs enfans en une si bonne école."¹³⁴

Such a result, while modest enough, had called for plenty of resources, as in New France 30 students were more work than were double the number in France.¹³⁵ Maintaining Amerindian girls "à la française" was costly, a minimum of 200 livres per student according to Marie de l'Incarnation's estimate. Although the nuns had devoted everything they had to the project, "nous n'avons néanmoins francisé que celles dont les parents l'ont bien voulu, et quelques pauvres orphelines dont nous étions les Maitresses, les autres n'étoient que passagères."¹³⁶ Only about seven or eight had adopted French ways; the majority had returned to their people and their traditional lives, although some of them had remained good Christians. "La vie sauvage leur est si charmante à cause de sa liberté, que c'est un miracle de les pouvoir captiver aux façons d'agir des François qu'ils estiment indignes d'eux...Juger de là, s'il est de les changer après les habitudes qu'ils contractent des l'enfance, et que leur sont naturelles."¹³⁷

An ever-present problem was the conflict between the needs of the parents and the aims of the seminary. The nuns found that there were times when they could not refuse to

¹³⁴Ibid., 995.

¹³⁵Ibid., 801.

¹³⁶Ibid., 821.

¹³⁷Ibid., 828-829.

let their students join their parents on the hunt, particularly if the parents were Christian. But that, of course, entailed absence from the sacraments.¹³⁸ By the end of 1668, they had only one Amerindian student in residence. Of the girls they had educated, about eight had been adjudged suitable for religious vocations, but had all been prevented from taking the vows for a variety of reasons. The Ursulines, for all their labours, did not succeed in having an Amerindian girl enter their order during the seventeenth century.¹³⁹

However, there has been, among historians, too great a tendency to stress the negative aspects of these early attempts at educating Amerindians in the French manner and to assume that the children were unaffected by the earnest, if not always well-advised, efforts of the French.¹⁴⁰ Nothing could be further from the truth. The Amerindians were profoundly affected by these exotic and not readily comprehensible visitors who stayed to take over their

¹³⁸Mère Adele de Sainte-Marie, Les Ursulines, 80.

¹³⁹Ibid., 210.

¹⁴⁰Most recently, W.J. Eccles, France in America, (New York, 1972), 41; and in The Canadian Frontier 1534-1760, (New York, 1969), 45. In this, Eccles is following a traditional line of Quebec historians. It receives some support from Earl Edward Muntz, who holds that the formal education aimed at by the French and English for Amerindians was less effective than the industrial education sponsored by the Spanish. ("Race Contact, A Study of the Social and Economic Consequences of Contact Between Civilized and Uncivilized Races," PhD thesis, (Yale University, 1925), 224. The thesis was published in 1927.)

land.¹⁴¹ Not only did trade goods change the material aspect of their lives, but the teachings of the missionaries altered their myths. In spite of missionary resistance, Amerindians inevitably identified the Christian God with the most powerful of their own spiritual beings: a particularly good example of this is seen in the transformation of Gluskap of the Micmac, Malecite and Abenaki. This was the healthy reaction of a viable culture seeking to incorporate new concepts into the framework of its own tested and traditionally established means of solving fundamental

¹⁴¹Some of the earliest studies of these effects on eastern Canadian Amerindians are the work of Bailey, (Conflict; also, an article, "Social Revolution in Early Eastern Canada," (Canadian Historical Review, XIX (1938).) One of the most striking of these effects was the horror for Amerindians of contemplating the idea of blood relatives suffering the tortures of the damned; according to Bailey, this "struck many into a blind coma in which the will to live was submerged in a ubiquitous despair." ("Social Revolution," 274.) There are also examples given in the Jesuit Relations, such as the terror of an Algonquin at a French spectacle featuring the tortures of the damned. (XVIII: 87). Such reactions, if they could be prevented from taking extreme forms, placed a powerful weapon in the hands of the missionaries. Calvin Martin has also examined the disruptive spiritual consequences of contact for the Micmac in his article, "European Impact on Algonquian Culture." On the lighter side, Huron mothers immediately took to tansuring their infants in imitation of the early missionaries. (Sagard, Histoire de Canada, 391.)

problems of human living.¹⁴² It was only because spiritual experiences were so profoundly important to Amerindian peoples that the missionaries were listened to at all at first, and were able to eventually gain ascendancy from about mid-seventeenth century to mid-eighteenth century. According to Mircea Eliade, "despite the immense historical distances involved, the experiences of the monotheistic prophets can be repeated in the most backward and primitive tribes."¹⁴³ It is now recognized that the modal personality that is fostered by a particular culture is by its very nature highly resistant to change.¹⁴⁴ This is as true of Europeans as it is of Amerindians or any other peoples. Viewed in this light, it can be appreciated that it was not only the French who had to adapt to new conditions during the first days of colonization; the very faith they sought to disseminate did not have traditions wide enough to cover all the contingencies that arose. A similar situation faced the indigenous peoples. It was in the reactions of Amerindians and French to these challenges that their

¹⁴²A.I. Hallowell, "Sociopsychological Aspects," 171-200. Such a reaction would have been reinforced by Amerindian tolerance in religious matters. As Hennepin had observed, America was no place to seek martyrdom: "The Savages never put any Christian to death upon the score of his Religion; they leave everybody at liberty in Belief." (A New Discovery, II: 69.) If there were any martyrs for religious beliefs in the New World, they would have to be sought among Amerindian converts, whose withdrawal from traditional rituals and practices did lead to persecution and sometimes death.

¹⁴³Mircea Eliade, Shamanism: Archaic techniques of ecstasy. Translated by Willard R. Trask, (New York, 1964), xviii.

¹⁴⁴Hallowell, Culture and Experience, 308.

destinies were determined in New France.

To return to the 1630's, while educating the young was deemed essential for the long-term, more immediate results seemed to call for another course of action. For one thing, the young had no prestige in Amerindian communities, nor any voice in the councils. In one case, the Jesuits hesitated to baptize a boy because of his lack of influence; if he had been living in a French community, there would have been no doubts.¹⁴⁵ Very soon the Fathers realized the necessity of dealing with the Elders,¹⁴⁶ whose voices were heard in the community. But the family was the important unit; accordingly, in 1638, the priests decided to aim for heads of families, and called a meeting in Huronia to make an announcement to this effect.¹⁴⁷ Such a meeting was in itself an adaptation to the Amerindian way, and was called in order to engage the co-operation of the chiefs. It took more than two weeks to organize the required assembly of 150 Captains,¹⁴⁸ at which the Fathers gave a feast. Brébeuf announced the plans and one of the captains gave a supporting speech. It was a successful move; the immediate result was a noticeable improvement in the attitude within

¹⁴⁵Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XI: 233. Such conversions were also complicated by the problem of finding wives for the neophytes. (Ibid., XB: 125.)

¹⁴⁶Ibid., X: 15; XV: 23-25; XVII: 33.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., XV: 109.

¹⁴⁸"Captain" was the term by which the French designated the headmen; it roughly corresponded to the Spanish "cacique". Both these designations recognized the fact that Amerindian headmen were not "chiefs" in the European sense.

the cabins the Jesuits went to visit. "There were even some who made feasts expressly to announce that all their family desired to embrace the faith."¹⁴⁹ But such reactions were marked more by good intentions than by actual results. Still, the policy was being continued two years later.¹⁵⁰ Later, as the Jesuits started work among the Iroquois, they began with the "slaves"¹⁵¹ a policy that proved successful in gaining converts if not in influencing the community.

Medical care was the third part of Le Jeune's four-pronged program. Early accommodation for Amerindian patients at the French hospital was in bark cabins, particularly during times of epidemic when space was at a premium. Facilities and medical knowledge being what they were, the mortality rate was so high that the hospital became known as a house of death and was consequently shunned by the Amerindians. However, as the epidemic also struck in the woods, Amerindians eventually accepted the nuns' offer to care for the sick. In fact, they took advantage of it: ils nous quitterent pour y aller et nous laisserent

¹⁴⁹Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XV: 115-119. The next year, 1639, the fathers moved their residence from Ihonatiria to Teanaustayé, "the most important of Huron villages." (Ibid. XVII:11, 59.)

¹⁵⁰Ibid. VIII: 79. One of the problems was ostracism within the Amerindian communities. Those who accepted Christianity were often abused by their pagan colleagues. (Eliot, Day Breaking, 22.)

¹⁵¹"Slaves" were prisoners of war who were kept in servitude. However, slavery as practiced by Amerindians was not synonymous with the type of slavery as practiced by Europeans. For one thing, there was the possibility of adoption into the tribe.

seulement les enfans, les vieillards et les infirmes. Ils étoient fort contents d'en être ainsy dechargez et de n'être plus obliger de tuer ceux qui ne pouvoient pas les suivre dans leurs voyages comme ils faisoient autrefois.¹⁵²

But adaptation and accommodation had its limits, as the nuns discovered. The hunters returned with "boucan", smoked meat as a gift for their benefactors. The nuns feigned pleasure in accepting it, "mais comme nous n'étions pas accoutumées à cette sorte de mets, nous fussions plutôt morte de faim que d'en manger."¹⁵³ They gave it to their workers, along with wine to help mask the flavour. The nuns even found objectionable the odor of smoke that hung about the Amerindians: "l'odeur des Sauvages nous incommodoit si fort, qu'il nous sembloit que le pain et tout ce que nous touchions en était pénétré."¹⁵⁴ That the French eventually accommodated themselves to "boucan" is evident from the rise of the "boucanniers"---buccaneers---in the West Indies during the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁵

As the selfless devotion of the Hospital Nuns impressed

¹⁵² Saint-Ignace, Annales, 25.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 31. This reflected the general reaction among the French to smoked meat. See Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, V: 61; also Père Yves, Suite de l'histoire, 255.

¹⁵⁴ Saint-Ignace, Annales, 31-32. Père Yves, in describing the improvement in the Tupinamba since their association with the French, noted the transformation of "leurs puantes odeurs procédentes de leur Boucan en bonnes odeurs." (Suite de l'histoire, 255.) Marie de l'Incarnation had a similar reaction. (Jamet, Marie de l'Incarnation, II: 370.) This odor still elicits similar reactions among non-Indians today. For most city-dwellers, the only place they would encounter it would be in shops stocking smoke-tanned Amerindian leather goods.

¹⁵⁵ Oexmelin, Histoire des Avanturiers.

the Amerindians, the nuns in their turn were taken with the charity with which the natives cared for each other during their illnesses.¹⁵⁶ Sometimes this led to inconveniences as when they shared with their companions the medicines the nuns so carefully doled out. It was not surprising that it was the Hospital Nuns who received the first Amerindian girl to take vows in New France, in 1657. She was Geneviève-Agnès Skannudharoi, a Huron who had been educated by the Ursulines. She died within hours of the ceremony, at the age of 15.¹⁵⁷ The only other Amerindians to become nuns in New France during the seventeenth century were accepted into the Congregation of Notre Dame, which had been founded in Montreal by Marguerite Bourgeoys. They also died young.¹⁵⁸ It should be noted, however, that mixed-bloods very early became nuns. For instance, two of the daughters of Charles de la Tour entered religious orders.¹⁵⁹

As for ordaining Amerindian men into the priesthood, the Church in New France appears to have been constrained by the doubts of Rome on the subject. In any event, such a

¹⁵⁶This sentiment was shared by the Jesuits. (Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, VIII: 129; LI: 29.)

¹⁵⁷Saint-Ignace, Annales, 95-96; also, Soeur Jeanne-Françoise Juchereau de la Ferté, Histoire de l'Hotel-Dieu de Québec, (Montauban, s.d.), 108-109.

¹⁵⁸Saint-Ignace, Annales, 96. Apparently the Spanish had little better success. Bishop Palafox attributed this to lack of dowries. (Juan de palafox y Mendoza, L'Indien ou portrait au naturel des indiens..., (Paris, 1672), 9.) Others held that the difficulties were more profound.

(Ricard, Spiritual Conquest of Mexico, 231.)

¹⁵⁹George MacBeath, "Charles de Saint-Etienne de La Tour," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, I: 595.

possibility was not even raised in the Relations, although it is difficult to believe that it had not been discussed, and probably at some length. The Mexican synod of 1555 had ruled against such a step on the grounds that Amerindians, mestizos and Negroes were unable to acquire a full understanding of the mysteries of the faith.¹⁶⁰ Even if an Amerindian did achieve such an understanding, he would not be able to preach to his fellows as he could not have the required authority over them.¹⁶¹ In other words, the egalitarianism of Amerindians was viewed as being incompatible with anything other than a simple acceptance of Christianity. This had reversed the stand of an earlier assembly which had judged that Amerindians could well become priests, although none had yet been permitted to rise to that degree.¹⁶² Eventually, during the seventeenth century, some Amerindians were permitted into the priesthood in Mexico, but haphazardly, and they were relegated to humble

¹⁶⁰Ricard, Spiritual Conquest of Mexico, 230-231.

¹⁶¹Lewis Hanke, "The Theological Significance of America from 1492 to the Council of Trent," 10, a paper presented to the conference First Images. Oddly enough Protestants, while less eager than Catholics during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to undertake missionary work, were more willing to ordain Amerindians, and did so very early. See John Eliot, A brief narrative of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England, (London, 1671).

¹⁶²Gómara, Voyages de Courtois, 142 verso. It is interesting to compare this attitude with that of the New England Puritans, who resisted the idea of accepting Amerindians into full membership in the Church. See Francis Godwin James, "Puritan Missionary Endeavors in Early New England," MA thesis, (Yale, 1938).

positions in rural parishes.¹⁶³ That the Jesuits in Canada were ambivalent toward the issue could easily be read into their frequent comments on the intelligence of the Amerindians and of the profound fervour that characterized some of the converts.¹⁶⁴ What the Jesuits did do was to use their converts, both men and women, as catechists---defined by Bishop de Saint Vallier (1653-1727) as "maîtres de la prière et du chant"¹⁶⁵---called "dogiques" ---to assist in the work of evangelizing and to conduct prayers and certain portions of the services in the absence of the missionaries.¹⁶⁶ A Huron dogique even founded a church 500 leagues from Quebec.¹⁶⁷ These catechists proved to be extremely useful as intermediaries between converted and unconverted.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶³Ricard, Spiritual Conquest of Mexico, 294ff. This was a policy which was to have serious consequences as it caused division in the Mexican church, expressed by the two Virgins, the Amerindian Virgen de Guadalupe and the Spanish Virgen de los Remedios.

¹⁶⁴PAC, Archives de la Province de France de la Compagnie de Jésus, Fonds Brotier, 160: 28-31. Marie de l'Incarnation felt that in general, converted Amerindians were more devout than the French. (Cameron Nish, Le Régime Français 1534-1760 (Histoire du Canada Documentaire, Vol. I), (Scarborough, Ont., 1966), 38.)

¹⁶⁵Jean-Baptiste de la Croix de Chevrières de Saint-Vallier, Estat present de l'Eglise et de la colonie françoise dans la Nouvelle-France, (Paris, 1688), 161-162.

¹⁶⁶PAC, Archives de la Province de France de la Compagnie de Jésus, Fonds Brotier, 160: 24-25; Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XLV: 257; LII: 237; LV: 277.

¹⁶⁷Ibid., L: 117.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., XXVII: 67-69; XXXV: 249. The Jesuits were particularly pleased with Joseph Chihwatenhwa, whom they described as "ce levain de l'Evangile qu'on a faict lever toute la masse de cette nouvelle Eglise des Hurons." (Ibid., XVII:46.)

The fourth part of Le Jeune's program, the adoption of a sedentary mode of life, was transmuted into the idea of establishing reserves as was being done in South America.¹⁶⁹ It was realized with the founding of Sillery in 1637. Le Jeune had originally hoped that the nomadic Amerindians would follow the example of the French and would settle down voluntarily.¹⁷⁰ A village for nomadic hunters-turned-farmers had been envisioned by Père Denis Jamet in 1615.¹⁷¹ Le Jeune thought that such a project would become self-starting once one hunting family had agreed to take up farming;¹⁷² in the Relation of 1639, two families were reported established in Sillery,¹⁷³ with the French going to considerable trouble and expense to launch them on their new path. For the next six years, progress was encouraging; by 1645, there were 167 Christian Amerindians in residence. But Sillery never realized its founder's hopes, and eventually it had no more Amerindian residents. Title to the land was finally

¹⁶⁹Reports from Brazil had it that the natives, under the guidance of the Jesuits, were abandoning their vagabond life and organizing themselves into villages and towns, and even adopting laws and forming republics. (Wytfliet, Histoire universelle, Part I: 86).

¹⁷⁰Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, VI:151.

¹⁷¹Letter to François Cardinal de Joyeuse. (Ordoric-M. Jouve, Les franciscains et le Canada, 1616-1628, (Quebec, 1915), 67.) It was a vision that was opposed by the fur trading interests, on the grounds that it would be detrimental to their business. (Le Clercq, First Establishment, I: 110-111.)

¹⁷²Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, VIII: 57.

¹⁷³Ibid., XVI: 75. Also, "Lettre de Père Barthelemy Vimont à Sillery, 1er septembre 1640," reproduced by Cahingt, "Documents sur le Canada," in Bulletin, 95-101.

transferred from the Amerindians to the Jesuits, a move which has been questioned as to its ethics.¹⁷⁴

But the idea did not die, and other reserves were more successful. La Prairie de la Magdelaine was established in 1647, and in 1680 was moved to Sault St. Louis where it became known as St. Francis Xavier du Sault (today's Caughnawaga). Also in 1680, St. François de Bécancourt was founded as a refuge for the Abenaki, driven from their ancestral home in New England by the colonial wars. Two considerations had led Le Jeune to take this course of action: first of all, that the nomadic way of life was inimical to Christianity (a view that was to be later modified as missionaries joined their flocks in their wanderings in the northern forests: "Even if the Indians do not become sedentary, there will always be French around to continue instruction."¹⁷⁵); and secondly, that contact with Europeans was not always desirable, and therefore it would be best to segregate the Amerindians as much as possible. This was a radical departure from the original idea of "one people" to which French officialdom still clung. The royal government was to become increasingly critical of the

¹⁷⁴Léon Gérin, "La seigneurie de Sillery et les Hurons," Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, Série 2, VI (1900), section 1, 75-115.

¹⁷⁵Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XI: 237. The view that nomadism was contrary to the laws of the church was for a long time a basic assumption. See, for instance, "Description du Canada," written by a missionary in 1671. (PAC AC C11A 3: 300.)

slowness with which the "humanization" of the Amerindians was proceeding, and eventually decided to curtail the Jesuit dominance of missionary work with the reintroduction of the Recollets in 1670.¹⁷⁶

The problems considered so far represented only a small part of those facing the missionary church during the seventeenth century. The extremely difficult ones were presented by the pagan practice of polygamy and by the Christian doctrine of restitution. In 1524 a Mexican synod had ruled that converts with more than one wife had to choose one and dismiss the rest, or else keep them as servants.¹⁷⁷ Attempts to regulate which wife should be chosen were finally given up, as churchmen had not arrived at the necessary understanding of Amerindian marriage customs. So the convert was left free to make up his own mind. As can easily be imagined, abuses were not long in appearing, with converts developing ingenious ways of evading the new rules. In New France, the church very early realized that polygamy was an integral part of the Amerindian social fabric. Biard recognized this in Acadia, when he wrote that a chief needed several wives in order to retain authority and power by having several children, for in this lies the strength of houses, in a

¹⁷⁶The Recollets, as one of the Franciscan orders, did not endorse segregation of Amerindians from French.

¹⁷⁷Gómara, Voyages et conquestes, 356 verso-357; Père Yves, Suite de l'histoire, 243-254; Laurens Surius, Histoire ou commentaires de toutes choses memorables..., (Paris, 1571), 320 verso.

multitude of allies and cousins; the second reason is the maintenance and service of the heads of the households, which is great and laborious since they have great families and followings, and therefore a number of...housewomen, for they have no other servants, slaves or labourers but their wives.¹⁷⁸

Similarly, in Huronia, the wives provided the agricultural products needed for a chief's household. Also, they had a substantial role in village affairs, particularly while their husbands were away on trading missions or at war.¹⁷⁹ In the Hudson Bay region, Charles Albanel came across still another native rationalization for the custom: when a woman lost her husband, it was up to the nearest male relative to take care of her and "not to keep her in the quality of a slave but of a wife."¹⁸⁰

The missionaries sought to counter such situations by providing special privileges for the converts, such as the cherished one of possessing guns;¹⁸¹ converts also seem to have made up a high proportion of the Huron trade delegations.¹⁸² Later, as missionaries gained in authority, they were able to order chiefs openly to give up their extra

¹⁷⁸Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, III: 83-85. The point was also made by Louis de Gaya, Cérémonies nuptiales de toutes les nations du monde, (Paris, 1680), 182-183.

¹⁷⁹Chaulmer, Nouveau Monde, 9.

¹⁸⁰Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, LIII: 88. When an Iroquois protested to Père Chaumonot that without polygamy the Amerindian population would not grow, the latter replied by using the example of the French, who were more numerous than Amerindians even though monogamous. (Carayon, Le Père Chaumonot, 55.)

¹⁸¹Ibid., XXV: 27.

¹⁸²Bruce Trigger, "The Jesuits and the Fur Trade," Ethnohistory, XII (1965), 44.

wives¹⁸³ and to exert social pressure to get them to conform to the Christian pattern.¹⁸⁴ They used similar tactics against serial polygamy, which struck them as being an even greater danger¹⁸⁵ as Amerindians could not conceive how persons could tie themselves indissolubly to one marriage partner.¹⁸⁶ The battle was not a simple one, for while the missionaries were struggling to get the Amerindians to conform to Christian standards, French traders and even officials found it only too convenient to adopt the Amerindian way. Not only was this true of coureurs-de-bois, whose social position was ambivalent, but also of envoys on official missions who found that it could greatly facilitate matters during negotiations to take the daughter of a leading chief to wife, according to Amerindian custom, even though the delegate already had a wife back home whom he had married in the Christian way.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XXV: 269-271; XXXVII:221.

¹⁸⁴Ibid., XXXVII: 221. Bailey discusses the dislocations caused to Amerindian life by the missionaries' insistence on monogamy in "Social Revolution," 273-274.

¹⁸⁵Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, LI: 235. Hennepin reported that Amerindians "cannot conceive how people can tie themselves indissolubly to one person in marriage." (A New Discovery, II: 69.) In eighteenth-century Europe, free love was known as "l'amour à la sauvage." (Chinard, Rêve, 166).

¹⁸⁶Hennepin, A New Discovery, II: 70. One very sick woman refused baptism when she was told she would not be able to separate from her husband afterward. (Ibid., XIII: 141.)

¹⁸⁷Concerning the coureurs-de-bois, Sagard, Long Journey, 134; concerning envoys in general, Robert-Lionel Seguin, "La vie libertine en Nouvelle France au XVIIe siècle," thèse de doctorat ès lettres, (Sorbonne, 1972), 43, 483. This thesis was published that same year by Lemeac in Montreal. See also Berquen, Les merveilles des Indes, 90.

Equally as thorny, but in a different way, was the problem of restitution. According to this doctrine, the convert was called upon to make good injuries he had done before baptism. It was soon realized that such a doctrine had been less difficult to implement in Europe than it was in the totally different social atmosphere of the New World. An Amerindian, in order to be baptized, must "despoil himself, his wife and his children to repair an injury that he did to others at a time when he thought he was free to do anything."¹⁸⁸ And yet converts made such gestures, which in some cases entailed serious hardships.

The Jesuits achieved the conversions they did by a judicious accommodation and adaptation to the ways of the people among whom they were working. They recognized perhaps as clearly as anyone of their time that too much was made of the distinction between "savage" and "civilized;" that the Amerindians possessed a viable culture which, while it did not always correspond to the French way, still had its own logic that worked very well; however, this realization aroused considerable debate both within the order and within the church. The Jesuits made great efforts to adopt a pattern of behavior that would accommodate the Amerindians without compromising their own principles; for example, in Huronia, they found that the best way to get good attendance

¹⁸⁸Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, LX: 289; Fonds Brotier 160: 26 verso.

at their meetings was to go through the village making the announcement "according to the custom of the country for general assemblies" instead of ringing a bell.¹⁸⁹ At the arrival of a delegation in 1642, in which canoes were drawn up in line with the chief standing in his craft to state the purpose of the visit, the French displayed their gifts along with those of other nations. Their purpose was to be allowed to evangelize.¹⁹⁰ The early hesitancy of the French to participate in gift exchanges had vanished and they became skilful at this type of diplomacy. Père Simon Le Moyne (1604-1665), for instance, on his mission to Iroquoia, approached an Onondaga village calling by name all the Captains, families and persons of importance, speaking slowly and using the tone of a Captain.¹⁹¹ When the chiefs assembled, he presented two gifts: the first to wipe their faces, "that I may never see any sign of sadness on their brows;" and the second was to remove any gall remaining in their hearts.¹⁹² That was a long way from the occasion in 1636, when the French had come empty-handed to a parley and had been rebuked by an Old Man as a result.¹⁹³

The variety of the hazards in the way of creating "one

¹⁸⁹Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XVII: 93. Later, a missionary reported with satisfaction that he had been able to convoke a council of the Five Nations by ringing a bell. (Ibid., XLVII: 79.)

¹⁹⁰Ibid., XXIII: 211.

¹⁹¹Ibid., XLI: 99.

¹⁹²Ibid.

¹⁹³Ibid., IX: 231.

people" was very great. In the "Instruction for the Fathers of our Society who shall be sent to the Hurons,"¹⁹⁴ the neophyte missionary was advised, among other things, not to indulge in French civilities when offered anything by their hosts as "these ceremonies offend them."¹⁹⁵ A few years later at Tadoussac the priests were somewhat taken aback when their converts began to practise such courtesies, as they now considered themselves French in all things:

The savages and the French hold the two extremes in the matter of compliments: the former are insipid and boorish, and the French annoy by the excess of their ceremonies and [are] very often insincere in the too great demonstrations of friendship. Rustic candor is preferable to a feigned courtesy, excess was never good in anything: if these good

¹⁹⁴Ibid., XII: 117-123. Also, supra, 315.

¹⁹⁵Ibid. Hennepin reported, "les Sauvages se mettent fort peu en peine de nos civilités, bien au contraire, ils s'en mocquent quand nous en faisons." However, he later observed that those who had relations with the French followed the latter's custom of exchanging greetings. (Description de la Louisiane, 51, 56.)

neophytes assume it, they will soon weary of it.¹⁹⁶

At other times the priests were strongly reminded that there were certain French customs they would rather that their charges did not adopt. For instance, during the epidemics of the 1630's, when the Hurons were desperately looking for the reasons for the disease that was decimating their ranks, their suspicion focussed on the Jesuits, in accordance with their belief that such disasters were not impersonal, but were always caused by someone. At a meeting to discuss the issue, a Jesuit tried to turn the situation into an occasion to preach. A captain cried out that the missionaries were forever trying to speak about their Oki:

¹⁹⁶Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XXIX: 127-129. This recalls an episode in Brazil, when several Amerindians went to some lengths to be like the French. They learned to greet each other, kiss hands, "faire la reverence, donner le bon jour, dire Adieu;" to sit at table, take a napkin, "prendre la viande avec trois doigts;" in brief, they mastered the "honestez et civilitez qui sont entre nous, s'y sont si bien avancez, que vous diriez qu'ils ont été nourris toute leur vie entre les François." (Père Yves, Voyage dans le Nord du Bresil, 64.) To those who protested that such things were not enough, Père Yves replied that "qu'avec le temps ceste nation se rendra domestique bien apprise et honneste." (Ibid.) Razilly, who headed the colonizing expedition which Père Yves accompanied, told the Brazilians he was establishing French laws in their country; that he would like the people to continue wearing their hair long, as he approved of that fashion; but would prefer it if they did not pierce their faces. However, he would not force the issue. (Troisième tome du Mercure François, Seconde Continuation, 175.) At other times the missionaries insisted on Christian customs, as at burials. When Membertou's family prepared to bury him in the traditional manner, Poutrincourt sent an armed guard to demand the body for Christian burial. (Carayon, La Première Mission, 28-29.) On the more frivolous side, Lescarbot maintained that Amerindians were the losers for not knowing the joys of kissing. (History of New France, II: 208.)

the point at issue was the cause of the contagion. Would it not be more to the point if one of the priests were tortured to get at the truth?¹⁹⁷ Such a suggestion must have been particularly disturbing to the missionaries, as it was uncomfortably close to the French practice of the time.

The forces marshalled by France in her assault on the cultures of her Amerindian allies in New France were formidable. Her efforts were particularly intense during the seventeenth century: the wealthy shared in the expenses, all classes contributed manpower, and the bureaucracy orchestrated the campaign. The seven or eight years originally envisaged for transforming Amerindians into Frenchmen stretched into generations and through the whole century. In spite of genuine efforts of cooperation on the part of the Amerindians, the two world-views never became one. Even if France had been able to sustain her efforts, it is unlikely she would have succeeded. Both missionaries and officials became aware that it was easier to cause disorientation and disintegration than it was to reform a culture arbitrarily into another mould. Even yet, much remains to be understood as to the nature of a culture.

But the balance sheet was by no means all negative as far as France was concerned. Out of such tensions as inevitably arose in the realm of trade as well as that of

¹⁹⁷Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XV: 47-49.

religion, were forged the alliances of French and Amerindians that became legendary during the colonial wars. New France's first Intendant, Jean Talon, might scold the Jesuits for not having civilized the Amerindians,¹⁹⁸ but the loyalty and friendship of many of them had been engaged. The first major campaign in which the Amerindians marched as the allies of the French,¹⁹⁹ was that of Tracy and Courcelle against the Iroquois in 1666. It set a pattern that was to endure for a hundred years, until the downfall of New France.

¹⁹⁸PAC AC C11A 2: 317 verso, Talon à Colbert, 25 août 1667.

¹⁹⁹Up until that point, it had been the other way around, with the possible exception of the d'Aulnay-La Tour feud in Acadia. A contemporary report of the departure of the Carignan-Salières for Canada to fight the Iroquois is in Recueil des Gazettes nouvelles ordinaires et extraordinaires..., (Paris, 1666), 511. In at least one case in the West Indies, the pattern of the alliances was the contrary of that of New France, when the French and the English joined forces against the Caribs. (Crouse, French Pioneers, 17.)

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Conclusion

It would be difficult to overestimate the effect of Europe's classification of New World men as hommes sauvages, whether "bons" or "cruels." The French, for all their policy of douceur toward Amerindians, never officially accepted that they were anything other than "sans roy, sans loy, sans foy," in the words of the memorable sixteenth century phrase. Like the Wild Men of the Woods, Amerindians represented anti-structure, man before the acquisition of culture had differentiated him from animals. It mattered little whether these savage New World men were perceived as living in a Golden Age or as wallowing in unrelieved bestiality. The fact was that in the European folk-imagination, they, like the Wild Men, were metaphors for anti-social forces which could only be brought under control by evangelization and assimilation; in other words, transformation into the spiritual and cultural conformity that Europeans acknowledged as being civilized.

Such an approach was doomed to failure because it assumed a cultural dichotomy between "savage" (lack of order) and "civilized" (order) that did not in fact exist. Whatever the differences may be between "tribal" societies and "civilizations", order is not one of them. As we have

seen, the people of the New World all led highly structured lives, with or without agriculture and whatever their degree of nomadism. But this was not evident to Europeans in the first days of contact.

The terms in which the French conceived their association with New World peoples are readily apparent in what may be their earliest novel to be set in Canada. Actually, it is a European fantasy in which the Amerindian characters resemble nothing so much as Wild Men of the Woods. Antoine Du Perier's Les Amours de Pistion is a romance that includes Amerindians described as possessing a rustic grace. However, they were "pauvres gens n'ayant rien de l'homme que la forme; vivant des bestes comme les bestes...je les appelleray seulement hommes, parce qu'ils parlent...vivans sans delices en ce monde ils demeurent encore avec douleur eternelle en l'autre, à cause des demons qu'ils adorent."¹ Du Perier then forgets his description, and makes his Amerindians act like Europeans; an instant transformation into civilized man. This novel was adapted by Jacques Du Hamel into a play entitled Acoubar ou la Loyauté trahie, first published in 1603.² Another revealing glimpse of the French self-image in the New World is provided by

¹Du Perier, Les amours de Pistion, 6-7. The novel, first published in 1601, was reprinted in 1602 and 1606.

²Margaret Adams White, The Earliest French Play About America, (New York, 1931). In 1973 the University of Ottawa republished Acoubar in a critical edition edited by Romeo Arbour.

Sieur de Cōbes in his imaginary Coppie d'une Lettre envoyée de la Nouvelle-France. He represents Amerindians as wanting to adore the French as gods and install them as emperors; "mais les nostres leur faisant responce qu'ils n'estoient qu'hommes non plus que eux."³

In the realm of the politics of the age, such views implied a mandate to colonize these new territories. The duty of Christians, as the children of God, was clear: legally to claim non-Christian territory in order to implant the faith and to lead the inhabitants into civilization.⁴ In spite of Vitoria's defence of the sovereignty of Amerindians and the papal stand in favor of their proprietary rights, neither the French nor Europeans generally considered that Amerindians, as savages, possessed either. The French in New France sometimes negotiated alliances with Amerindians whose territories they claimed, but this involved neither acknowledgement of aboriginal rights nor payment of compensation.

However, the full implications of such attitudes never came into play in New France as the French did not become so numerous as to disbar their allies from their lands. In general, they sought to avoid doing so: in 1665, Louis XIV instructed Governor Daniel Rémy de Courcelle, "Qu'on

³Sieur de Cōbes, Coppie d'une lettre, 10.

⁴Lescarbot, History of New France, I: 16-17. Also, Native Rights in Canada, edited by Peter A. Cumming and Neil H. Mickenberg, (Toronto, 1972), 77-78.)

n'usurpe point les terres sur lesquelles ils sont habituez sous pretexte qu'elles sont meilleurs ou plus convenables aux François."⁵ When an Amerindian converted to Christianity, he was legally considered to be a French citizen, with full rights, including the privilege of living in France without any further declaration of naturalization. But whatever land he received was granted either by the French Crown or by French individuals, and not because of aboriginal rights.⁶ Thus, by the process of evangelization and assimilation, the Amerindian would be both humanisé as well as francisé, and France would have taken a step toward realizing the missionary ideal of one world, one god and one faith.⁷

This gave an enormous impulse to the missionary movement by opening up what seemed to be unlimited new fields at a time when missionary work had come to an end in Europe. The process was reinforced by the speed with which New World civilizations were conquered: on the one hand it confirmed Europeans in the belief that they were savage,

⁵Collection de Manuscrits contenant lettres, mémoires et autres documents historiques relatif à la Nouvelle-France, (4 vols, Québec, 1883-1885), I: 175, Instructions pour le Sieur de Courcelle au sujet des indiens, 1665.

⁶George F.G. Stanley, "The First Indian 'Reserves' in Canada," Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique française, IV (1950), 209-210.

⁷Vaumas, L'Eveil, 47. This was the Catholic ideal. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Protestants were not nearly so certain that such a goal was feasible. (Jean-Daniel de Visme, Les précurseurs de l'idée missionnaire en France aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles, (Paris, 1923).

otherwise they would not have fallen so quickly; and on the other hand, Europeans interpreted these conquests as divine approval of their actions. In that theocratically-minded age, the lure of creating a New Jerusalem was every bit as powerful as the lure of gold and silver. Missionary work was a privilege and a sought-after honour; nuns and priests vied to be sent to New World missions, particularly those of New France.⁸

Missionaries soon recognized the error of their initial belief that Amerindians were a tabla rasa awaiting the Christian imprint. This realization complicated evangelization, as it meant that existing cultures had to be destroyed, or at least radically altered, to allow for the acceptance of Christianity. The limits of accommodation with pagan beliefs and practices were outlined by Gregory XV when he reformed the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda in 1622. The alternative of leaving Amerindians to work out their own destinies was never seriously considered by either missionaries or government officials. But the extent to which Amerindians should be expected to change their customs was a troublesome issue. Finally, during the last decades of the seventeenth century, the matter was resolved against the syncretists---those who believed in working as much as

⁸Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, VII: 256. Because of rivalry with Spain and the fact that the Portuguese did not wish the presence of the French in the Orient, France's missionary aspirations focussed on Canada. (Vaumas, L'Eveil, 153.)

possible within the frameworks of native cultures----in favor of those who believed that such cultures should be totally supplanted by Christianity. The Jesuits had been the chief exponents of syncretism; in New France, they had used this technique to establish a native Christian church in Huronia, until the project had been destroyed by members of the Five Nations in 1649.

But even in Huronia, which had held out such promise, missionaries had encountered unexpected difficulties as natives displayed loyalty to their own ideals and lifestyle. Hurons had been astonished at first that missionaries should suggest that they change their ways. Their stock response initially was "We have our way of doing things, and you have yours."⁹ The frequency with which the Jesuits mentioned such conversations in their Relations suggests that they were disturbed by them. They reported that the Hurons not only believed that their country was different from France, but that they possessed a different God and another Paradise; that their customs were not those of France; and that they were entitled to their own customs.¹⁰ In one case the fathers used the Amerindian line of argument for their own ends. When they finally succeeded in getting the Hurons to accept being refused entry into the priests' quarters at certain times, (such a refusal being unheard-of

⁹Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XIII: 169-177.

¹⁰Ibid., VIII: 145-149; VI: 211-213; X: 19; VIII: 119.

among the Hurons), the fathers observed, apparently with unconscious irony: "They are reasonable, and are not surprised that our ways are different from theirs."¹¹

In other areas, such as trade and war, the French soon realized that it was in their best interests to work out means of cooperation and accommodation rather than to insist that Amerindians become Frenchmen. In trade, they sought to engage Amerindian self-interest.¹² In war, their network of tribal alliances testified to their skilful manipulation of the Amerindian love of honours and prestige.¹³ To put it in different terms, as the missionaries labored to transform Amerindians into Christians and Frenchmen, practical politics demanded that Frenchmen adapt to the ways of the Amerindians.¹⁴ In the pull and haul of these processes, a few French began to appreciate that Amerindians had a civilization of their own; but such an appreciation, when it did occur, remained an individual expression. Occasionally, such a conclusion was reached by fairly important officials,

¹¹ Ibid., XXI: 89.

¹² For example, the tenor of Louis XIV's instructions to Courcelle in 1665 was that the governor should strive to make the Amerindians consider it to their advantage to trade with the French. (Collection de Manuscrits, I: 175.)

¹³ Dickason, "Louisbourg and the Indians," 155-160. Also, Documents Relative to New York, IV: 206-211, London Document X, "Mr. Nelson's Memorial about the state of the Northern Colonies in America," 24 September 1696.

¹⁴ Alfred I. Hallowell studied the impact of Amerindian cultures on the United States in "The Backwash of the Frontier: The Impact of the Indian on American Culture," in The Frontier in Perspective, edited by Walker D. Wyman and Clifton B. Kroeber (Madison, 1957), 229-258.

as when an eighteenth-century commissioner, sent to report on the colony in Cayenne, noted that "cette vie sauvage qui nous paraît si miserable, nous y trouverons peut-être le degré de civilisation qui convient aux Indiens et qui suffit à leur bonheur."¹⁵ He elaborated:

Premièrement, ils sont en réalité dans un état de société; ils vivent en famille; ils ont une association nationale, car leur village est pour eux la cité; ils ont un magistrat ou chef, qui les représente dans leurs relations de voisinage, qui les commande à la guerre; ils n'ont pas besoin du Code civil, n'ayant ni terres ni procès; mais leurs usages, les coutumes de leurs pères sont religieusement observés...ils ont donc, tout considéré, la somme de connaissance et l'industrie nécessaire à leur existence individuelle et à leur existence sociale; leurs mœurs sont douces, hospitaliers, inoffensive.¹⁶

He thought that perhaps the difference between Amerindian and European forms of society lay in the fact that the former was natural while the latter was political. Both forms interfered with the happiness of mankind, the former by submitting to nature, the latter by outraging it.

Such an intellectual tolerance of Amerindian civilizations found little reflection in the politics of colonization. The French, being a practical people determined to make their colony function, adapted and accommodated where necessary in the fur trade, evangelization and in the exigencies of war. But at no time did they lose sight of their perspective of themselves as a

¹⁵Pierre-Victor Malouet, Mémoires de Malouet, (2 vols., Paris, 1868), I: 151.

¹⁶Ibid., 151-155 passim.

civilized, Christian nation whose mission it was to lead backward native peoples to a better life. The adaptations they found necessary in the beginning when they were founding their colonies were modified as their establishments became more secure. Perhaps the best-known illustration of this was inter-marriage, which at first was proposed to the not-particularly interested Amerindian allies, then was made official policy, and was finally discarded in favor of a stand against such marriages. By the end of the French régime in Canada, active measures were being taken to discourage such alliances. In other words, the successes of the French in finding working arrangements with Amerindians reflected the pragmatic necessities of colonial politics rather than any compromise with la mission civilisatrice. Throughout her stay as a colonial power in the New World, France took very seriously her self-imposed task of bringing order to the anti-social forces represented by l'homme sauvage.

The final irony was that douceur could not validate the fundamental misconception of viewing Amerindians as hommes sauvages. La mission civilisatrice, for all its good intentions, meant cultural disaster for Amerindians just as surely as the ostensibly less accommodating policies of other colonizing nations such as England or Spain. It is not entirely clear why this should have been so, except that it was part of a much wider phenomenon. The rise of states seems to have inevitably involved the destruction of pre-

state societies: in a cultural sense, man has always killed his brother just as Cain killed Abel.

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Thesis

THE MYTH OF THE SAVAGE

AND THE BEGINNINGS OF FRENCH COLONIALISM IN THE AMERICAS

Columbus's discovery of unsuspected populations in the Americas presented Europe with a greater array of new facts than could be assimilated all at once. The first to be grasped was the presence of fresh sources of wealth in the form of gold, silver and pearls, a situation that was eagerly exploited. More difficult was the existence of peoples and civilizations for which no provision had been made in Christian orthodoxy. For just one example, it was believed that the world had been peopled by Noah's three sons: Sem (the Orient), Ham (Africa) and Japhet (Europe, western Asia). Where did the people of the New World fit in? Obviously the Church Fathers had been misinformed when they had said that there was no part of the world which had not at least heard of Christian doctrine. Not only had the New World people no inkling of Christianity, their manners and morals in some cases were directly opposed to it. European reaction was to class these strange cultures as "savage".

The concept of savagery was well entrenched in European thinking and can easily be traced back to classical antiquity. In fact, it seems to be characteristic of all civilizations to class outsiders as barbarians---that is, as anti-structure. However, in Europe, the personification of anti-social forces as l'homme sauvage (woodwose or woodhouse in Great Britain, wildeman in Germanic and Flemish areas) became particularly popular about the thirteenth century. This was an easily recognizable figure, bearded and hairy, carrying a club or uprooted tree to indicate great strength, living a solitary life in the forests. A creature of uncontrolled passions and a tendency toward cannibalism as well as being devoid of reason, he seems to have emerged in this particular manifestation from a blending of classical woodland deities with reports of anthropoid apes, perhaps from early voyages along the coast of Africa. In any event, l'homme sauvage became a standard figure in carnivals and pageantry, even taking part in tournaments and finally becoming a figure in heraldry, where he remains to this day. Further, he became firmly identified with Amerindians in the minds of Europeans, in spite of efforts of colonial officials and missionaries to disabuse the latter of the idea.

This attitude was to profoundly influence Europe's relations with the New World. To illustrate this with just one point, if Amerindians were savage, then they could not be counted as belonging to the family of nations; consequently, they were not sovereign and, by extension, did

not possess proprietary rights. As a result the way was opened for one of the great movements of Western civilization, the colonization of the New World.

While the error of this assessment was quickly recognized on the intellectual level, it was never acknowledged on the practical plane where colonization was actually carried out. France added her own particular dimension to Europe's self-imposed task of "civilizing" the New World: she adopted the iron-hand-in-the-velvet-glove approach, with the aim of transforming Amerindians into Frenchmen. However, this spelled cultural disaster for Amerindians just as surely as did the ostensibly less accommodating practices of other colonizing powers. It is not entirely clear why this should have been so, except that it seems to be part of a larger pattern in the history of civilizations.