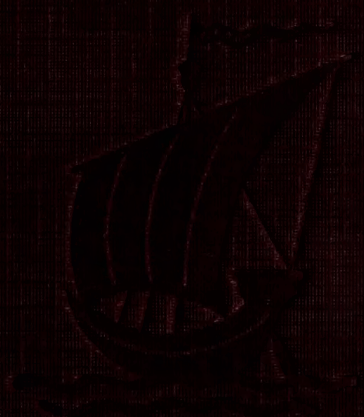


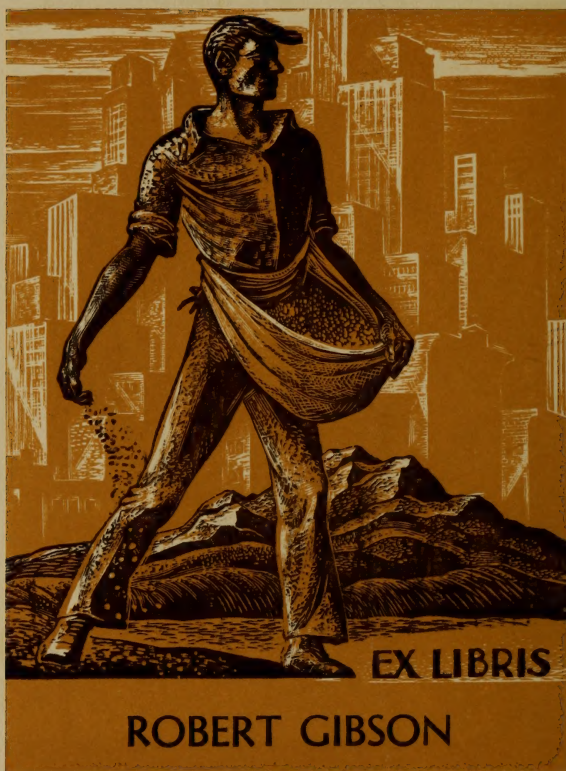
MARC LESCARBOT

Nova Francia

H. P. BIGGAR



THE HODWAY TRYPHENS











**MARC LESCARBOT**

**NOVA FRANCIA**

**1609**

**BROADWAY TRAVELLERS**

## THE BROADWAY TRAVELLERS

EDITED BY SIR E. DENISON ROSS  
AND EILEEN POWER

TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES  
OF PERO TAFUR, 1435-1439  
AKBAR AND THE JESUITS

By FATHER P. DU JARRIC  
DON JUAN OF PERSIA,  
A SHICAH CATHOLIC, 1560-1604

THE DIARY OF HENRY TEONGE, 1675-1679  
MEMOIRS OF AN XVIII CENTURY FOOTMAN:  
TRAVELS OF JOHN MACDONALD, 1745-1779  
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THE TRAVELS OF

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THE NEW-FOUND WORLDE OR

ANTARTICKE. By ANDRÉ THEVET, 1568

VOYAGES OF FRANCESCO CARLETTI,

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CHANG CHUN AND WILLIAM OF RUBRUCK

LETTERS OF CORTES

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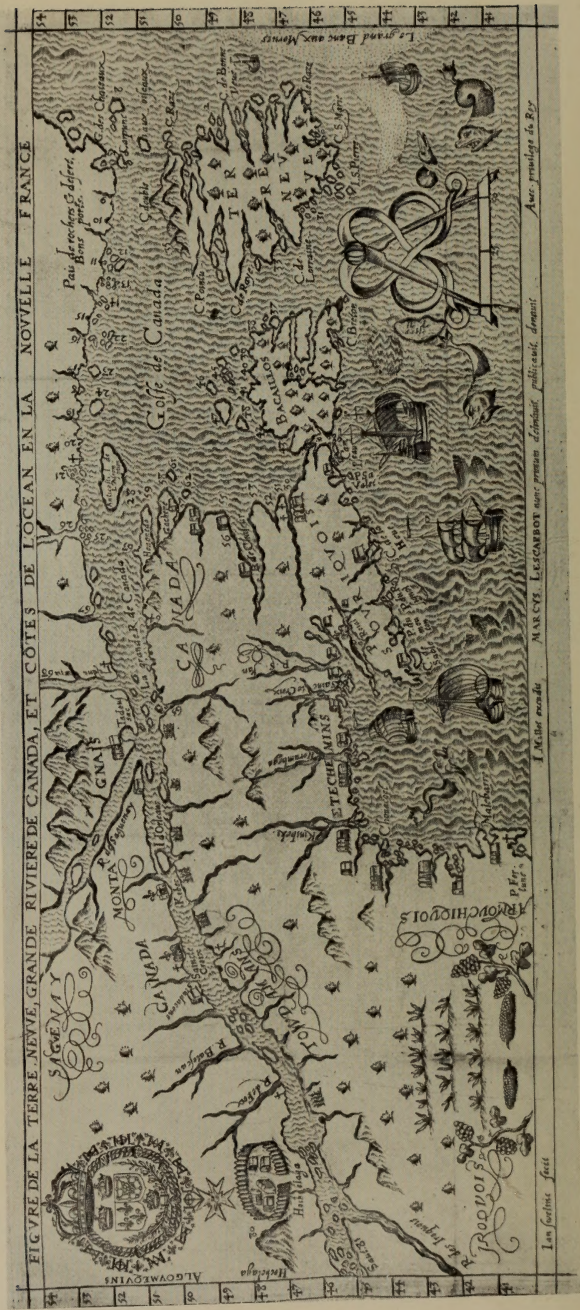
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[Front

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MAP I.]

THE BROADWAY TRAVELLERS

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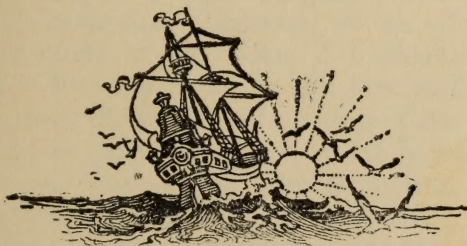
MARC LESCARBOT

NOVA FRANCIA

A DESCRIPTION OF  
ACADIA, 1606

*Translated by*  
P. ERONDELLE, 1609

*With an Introduction by H. P. BIGGAR, D.Litt.*



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## THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY

TO

THE BRIGHT STAR OF THE NORTH  
HENRY, PRINCE OF GREAT BRITAIN

MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE,

My author (knowing that there are some works so naturally great of themselves that they challenge the gracious protection of Princes) hath offered this his history to the Royal patronage of the most Christian King, two Queens, and the Dauphin, to the end it might stir them the more to prosecute the populating of the lands herein described, to bring the Naturals thereof (savage and miserable people) to civility and right knowledge of God, and so to the salvation of their souls. Assuming the like presumption, I have hoped (notwithstanding the defects which necessarily attend a stranger, who can never attain the natural *idiom* of this eloquent language) that it might not be an injury to your Highness, but an addition of honour, and safety of this work, if I should dare to inscribe your Princely name on the forehead thereof. Which boldness, the noble undertaking of the English nation hath nourished, who have so lately begun (by the permission, and under the protection, of his excellent Majesty, your most Royal Father) to plant Christianity in Virginia, being one continent, and next adjoining land to these. For who may better support and manage magnanimous actions, such as be the peopling of lands, planting of colonies, erecting of civil governments, and propagating of the Gospel of Christ (which are Royal and Princely foundations)

## THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY

than those whom the King of Kings hath established as Atlases of kingdoms and Christian commonweals? God hath necessitated in his prophecy Kings and Queens to be nursing fathers and nursing mothers of his Church, so that he hath not only committed the government of a ripe and strong body, able to subsist, but hath imposed the care of the tenderness and infancy thereof upon them. Alexander, being yet young, would have run in the Olympian games if kings had run there: now Kings do run; now Princes do work in the Lord's harvest to spread that name which must gather the elect from the utmost ends of the world, if not in their persons yet with their authority and means. I know your Highness would not be inferior, but rather excel in so noble an action: such an emulation is pleasing to God; your birth leadeth unto it; Christian charity inviteth you to be chief worker in the saving of millions of souls. The necessity of your country of Great Britain (over-populous) doth require it. And lastly your poor Virginians do seem to implore your Princely aid, to help them to shake off the yoke of the devil, who hath hitherto made them live worse than beasts, that henceforth they may be brought into the fold of Christ, and (in time) to live under your Christian government. So then, having thus run, you shall obtain an everlasting crown of glory, being as well planter as defender of the Faith.

Your Highness' humblest servant,

P. ERONDELLE.

## TO THE READER

GENTLE READER: The whole volume of the navigations of the French nation into the West Indies (comprised in three books) was brought to me to be translated, by Mr Richard Hakluyt, a man who for his worthy and profitable labours is well known to most men of worth not only of this kingdom but also of foreign parts; and by him this part was selected and chosen from the whole work, for the particular use of this nation, to the end that—comparing the goodness of the lands of the northerly parts herein mentioned with that of Virginia, which (though in one and the selfsame continent and both lands adjoining) must be far better, by reason it stands more southerly, nearer to the sun—greater encouragement may be given to prosecute that generous and godly action, in planting and peopling that country, to the better propagation of the Gospel of Christ, the salvation of innumerable souls, and general benefit of this land, too much pestered with over-many people. Which translation (as I have said) is but a part of a greater volume. If therefore you find that some references of things mentioned in the former part of the said volume are not to be found in this translation, do not think it strange, inasmuch as they could not well be brought in except the whole volume should be translated, which of purpose was left undone, as well to avoid your farther charges as because it was thought needless to translate more than concerneth that which adjoineth to Virginia. What good the English nation may reap of this work, by the only description that is found therein of nations, islands, harbours, bays, coasts, rivers, rocks, shoals,



## TO THE READER

sands, banks, and other dangers, which the sailors into those parts may now the more easily find and avoid, by the knowledge that this translation giveth them of it, let the navigators judge thereof, who (for want of such knowledge) have found themselves in evident peril of death, and many altogether cast away. If a man that showeth forth effectually the zealous care he hath to the welfare and common good of his country deserveth praises of the same, I refer to the judgment of them that abhor the vice of ingratitude (hateful above all to God and good men) whether the said Mr Hakluyt (as well for the first procuring of this translation as for many works of his set out by him for the good and everlasting fame of the English nation) deserveth not to reap thanks. As for this my labour, if it be censured favourably, and my good affection (in undertaking the translating of this work for the benefit of this land) taken in good part, it will encourage me to endeavour myself to do better hereafter.

## INTRODUCTION

BY H. P. BIGGAR

MARC LESCARBOT, part of whose *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* is here translated, was born at Vervins near Laon about the year 1570. After receiving a good education, he took up the study of law, and, though only *licentier és droits*, pronounced in 1598 two Latin orations before the Papal Legate, Cardinal de Medecis (afterwards Leo XI), who had come to Vervins for the conclusion of a treaty of peace with Spain. To the edition in French of the second oration Lescarbot added a few original poems. In the following year, during which he was called to the Bar, he published translations of two short works in Latin by Cardinal Baronius, the first on the reunion of the Coptic Church with Rome and the second on the application of the Synod of Kieff for amalgamation with the Holy See.

Of Lescarbot's work at the Bar at Paris we know little. In his History he tells us that "Lawsuits are the bane of man's existence, for in the pursuit of them men waste their money and their health. And often justice is not obtained after all, either through the ignorance of the judge, from whom the truth is withheld, or through malice or from the wickedness of the Attorney General, who sells his case."

Among Lescarbot's clients was Jean de Biencourt, Seigneur de Poutrincourt, who stood high in the favour of Henry IV. In 1604 this man accompanied the Sieur de Monts on his expedition to the Bay of Fundy where the land about Port Royal, or Annapolis Basin, as it is now called, was made over to him. During Poutrincourt's absence Lescarbot was placed in charge of his affairs, which seem to have given him plenty of

## INTRODUCTION

employment. However, on Poutrincourt's return, "those," says Lescarbot, "who had attacked him savagely during his absence at once became silent and gracious."

De Monts having transferred his settlement in 1605 from Ste. Croix to Port Royal, invited Poutrincourt to go out and take charge of it. Poutrincourt accepted, and asked Lescarbot to bear him company. After some reflection, he consented. He was induced thereto, he tells us, "by his desire to flee a corrupt world and to examine this land with his own eyes." An injustice done to him at the Law Courts was the principal motive of this determination.

Setting sail from La Rochelle in May, 1606, they reached Port Royal at the end of July. On July 30, 1607, Lescarbot set out on his return. In addition to the rivers St. John and Ste. Croix, he visited Canso, whence the vessel set sail for France. He reached St. Malo in safety at the end of September.

Reparation having been made to him in court, Lescarbot resumed his practice at the Bar. It was during the Easter Law Vacation of 1608 that, at the instance of his friends, he was persuaded to write a history of French efforts to establish a foothold in the New World. His plan was, after describing the voyages of Verrazano, Cartier, Villegagnon, and Laudonnière from books in the King's Library, to write an original account of the attempt recently made by de Monts to colonize Acadia. This work, which was finished at the end of November, was published early in 1609 under the following title: *Histoire de la Nouvelle France contenant les navigations decouvertes et habitations faites par les François és Indes Occidentales et Nouvelle France sous l'avœu et autorité de noz Rois Tres-Chrétiens et les diverses fortunes d'iceux en l'exécution de ces choses depuis cent ans jusques à hui.*

The translation into English, as stated in the notice



## INTRODUCTION

“To the Reader,” was made at the instance of Richard Hakluyt. Only Chapters XXXI to XLVIII of Book II and the whole of Book III, on the Manners and Customs of the Indians, were translated by Pierre Erondelle. The thirty chapters of Book I, describing the voyages of Verrazano, Ribaut, Laudonnière, and Villegagnon, as well as the first thirty chapters of Book II, describing those of Cartier, Roberval, and Champlain, were omitted. Lescarbot’s French translation from the Latin of the *Histoire merveilleuse de l’abstinence triennale d’une fille de Confolens en Poitou*, published in 1602, had already appeared in English in 1604, but without his name.

Pierre Erondelle, whom tradition holds to have been a Huguenot refugee, had settled in London as early as 1586, in which year he brought out a *Remonstrance and Exhortation Catholick aux Princes Chrestiens* in French and English. He styles himself on the title-page *natife de Normandie*. In 1605 he had published *The French Garden for English Ladyes and Gentlewomen to walke in*, and in 1615 brought out *The French Schoole-Maister, wherein is most plainely shewed the true and perfect way of pronouncing the French tongue*. In it he described himself as “professor of the said tongue.” Copies of these three works are in the Bodleian. One can find no trace of this man in the Huguenot registers, but mention is made in 1629 of an Adrienne Erondelle, wife of Jerome Soyé, whose daughter Anne was baptized on November 29 of that year.

Shortly after the publication of his History, Lescarbot was thrown into prison on the charge of having written a work against the Jesuits. He must have been soon released, for in 1610 appeared his *Conversion des Sauvages*, giving an account of Poutrincourt’s return to Port Royal and of his efforts to convert the neighbouring Indians.

## INTRODUCTION

Lescarbot brought out a second edition of his History in 1611, and a third in 1617. From 1612 to 1614 he lived in Switzerland, in the suite of the French representative Pierre Jeannin de Castille, who had married the only daughter of President Jeannin, to whom Lescarbot had dedicated the second edition of his History. In 1612 he published his *Relation dernière de ce qui s'est passé au voyage du sieur de Poutrincourt en la Nouvelle France depuis 20 mois ença*, where he describes events at Port Royal from 1610 onwards.

In 1619 Lescarbot, probably as a result of his appointment as Naval Commissioner, married Françoise de Valpergue, whereby he came into possession of the seigneuries of Wiencourt and St. Audubert, near Amiens. We do not know the date of his death, but it was after 1629, for in that year appeared *La Chasse aux Anglois en l'ile de Rez*, his last work of which we have any record.

His friend Poutrincourt had been killed in 1615 at Mery-sur-Seine in an attempt to take it out of the hands of his own Commander-in-Chief, the Marquis de Vieuville.

Lescarbot's complete history has been translated into English from the third edition of 1617 by Principal W. L. Grant, LL.D., of Upper Canada College, Toronto, in volumes i, vii, and xi of the Champlain Society, published at Toronto in 1907, 1911, and 1914. The French text is also given for each portion of these three volumes. In volume xi have also been reprinted Lescarbot's *Muses de la Nouvelle France*, containing a number of poems connected with his sojourn in the New World, while in appendix i of that volume will be found a complete bibliography of Lescarbot's works.

The first part of Erondelle's translation was abridged in the fourth part of *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, book viii, chapter vii, pp. 1619-1641, 1625, but book ii was

## INTRODUCTION

omitted. The work was reprinted in full, however, in 1745, in the second volume of the *Harleian Collection*, pp. 795-917. This volume was reissued two years later as volume vii of H. and J. Churchill's *Collection*, but since then it has never been reprinted.

Lescarbot had an inquisitive mind and an original manner of looking at life. The result is that, thanks to an agreeable style, he gives us a most entertaining account of the foundation of the first French colony in Acadia and of his own journey across the Atlantic in 1606. He tells us that during the long winter evenings in Canada he used to retire to his room, which contained the few volumes he had brought with him from Paris. Here, far from the company, he read and wrote as at home. At this time he composed several of the poems printed in his *Muses de la Nouvelle France*. "I am not ashamed to confess," he tells us farther, "that at the request of our chief, M. de Poutrincourt, I devoted some hours each Sunday to the religious instruction of our men, both in order to improve their minds and to offer an example to the Indians of our manner of living. And these efforts did not prove fruitless: for several admitted they had never heard the matters pertaining to the Deity so well set forth, having previously been ignorant of the doctrines of Christianity, which is indeed the state of the greater portion of Christendom."

It was this independent outlook, with a faculty for clear thinking, which give to this work its special value. No work on the early history of America has been written with anything like the same vivacity and alertness of mind. To read Lescarbot is to enter again into the outlook of an intelligent Frenchman of the sixteenth century. This contemporary translation certainly has a flavour of the times, and in Dr. Grant's opinion "ranks not far below John Florio's celebrated translation of Montaigne."





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MAP OF NEW FRANCE

MAP OF PORT ROYAL







NOVA FRANCIA:  
*Or the*  
DESCRIPTION  
OF THAT PART OF  
NEW FRANCE,  
*which is one continent with*  
VIRGINIA.

Described in the three late Voyages and Plantation made by  
*Monsieur de Monts, Monsieur du Pont-Grané, and*  
*Monsieur de Poutrincourt*, into the countries  
called by the French men *La Cadie*,  
lying to the Southwest of  
*Cape Breton.*

Together with an excellent severall Treatie of all the commodities  
of the said countries, and maners of the naturall  
inhabitants of the same.

*Translated out of French into English by*  
*P. Esmondelle*



LONDINI,  
*Impensis* GEORGII BISHOP.  
1609.



# NOVA FRANCIA

## CHAPTER I

PATENT TO M. DE MONTS

HENRY by the grace of God King of France and Navarre. To our dear and well-beloved the Lord of Monts, one of the ordinary Gentlemen of our Chamber, greeting. As our greatest care and labour is, and hath always been since our coming to this Crown, to maintain and conserve it in the ancient dignity, greatness, and splendour thereof, to extend and amplify, as much as lawfully may be done, the bounds and limits of the same. We, being of a long time informed of the situation and condition of the lands and territories of La Cadie,<sup>1</sup> moved above all things with a singular zeal and devout and constant resolution which we have taken with the help and assistance of God, author, distributor, and protector of all kingdoms and estates, to cause the people which do inhabit the country, men (at this present time) barbarous, atheists, without faith or religion, to be converted to Christianity, and to the belief and profession of our faith and religion; and to draw them from the ignorance and unbelief wherein they are. Having also of a long time known by the relation of the sea-captains, pilots, merchants, and others who of long time have haunted, frequented, and trafficked with the people that are found in the said places, how fruitful, commodious, and profitable may be unto us, to our estates and subjects, the dwelling, possession, and habitation of those countries, for the great and apparent profit which may be drawn by the greater frequentation and habitude which may be had

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with the people that are found there, and the traffic and commerce which may be by that means safely treated and negotiated. We then for these causes fully trusting on your great wisdom, and in the knowledge and experience that you have of the quality, condition, and situation of the said country of La Cadie: for the divers and sundry navigations, voyages, and frequentations that you have made into those parts and others near and bordering upon it: Assuring ourselves that this our resolution and intention, being committed unto you, you will attentively, diligently, and no less courageously and valorously execute and bring to such perfection as we desire: Have expressly appointed and established you, and by these presents, signed with our own hands, do commit, ordain, make, constitute, and establish you, our Lieutenant General, for to represent our person, in the countries, territories, coasts, and confines of La Cadie. To begin from the 40th degree unto the 46th. And in the same distance, or part of it, as far as may be done, to establish, extend, and make to be known our name, might, and authority. And under the same to subject, submit, and bring to obedience all the people of the said land and the borderers thereof: And by the means thereof, and all lawful ways, to call, make, instruct, provoke, and incite them to the knowledge of God, and to the light of the faith and Christian religion, to establish it there: And in the exercise and profession of the same, keep and conserve the said people and all other inhabitants in the said places, and there to command in peace, rest, and tranquillity, as well by sea as by land: to ordain, decide, and cause to be executed all that which you shall judge fit and necessary to be done, for to maintain, keep, and conserve the said places under our power and authority, by the forms, ways, and means prescribed by our laws. And for to have there a care of the same with you, to appoint, establish, and con-



## DESCRIPTION OF ACADIA

stitute all officers as well in the affairs of war as for justice and policy, for the first time and from thenceforward to name and present them unto us, for to be disposed by us; and to give letters, titles, and such provisos as shall be necessary. And, according to the occurrences of affairs, yourself, with the advice of wise and capable men, to prescribe under our good pleasure laws, statutes, and ordinances conformable, as much as may be possible, unto ours, specially in things and matters that are not provided by them: To treat, and contract to the same effect, peace, alliance, and confederacy, good amity, correspondency and communication with the said people and their Princes or others having power or command over them: To entertain, keep, and carefully to observe the treaties and alliances wherein you shall covenant with them: upon condition that they themselves perform the same of their part. And for want thereof to make open wars against them, to constrain and bring them to such reason as you shall think needful, for the honour, obedience, and service of God and the establishment, maintenance, and conservation of our said authority amongst them: at least to haunt and frequent by you, and all our subjects with them, in all assurance, liberty, frequentation, and communication, there to negotiate and traffic lovingly and peaceably. To give and grant unto them favours and privileges, charges, and honours. Which entire power abovesaid, we will likewise and ordain that you have over all our said subjects that will go in that voyage with you and inhabit there, traffic, negotiate, and remain in the said places, to retain, take, reserve, and appropriate unto you what you will and shall see to be most commodious for you and proper to your charge, quality, and use of the said lands, to distribute such parts and portions thereof, to give and attribute unto them such titles, honours, rights, powers, and faculties as you

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shall see necessary, according to the qualities, conditions, and merits of the persons of the same country or others. Chiefly to populate, to manure, and to make the said lands to be inhabited, as speedily, carefully, and skilfully, as time, places, and commodities may permit. To make thereof, or cause to be made to that end, discovery and view along the maritime coasts and other countries of the mainland, which you shall order and prescribe in the foresaid space of the 40th degree, to the 46th degree, or otherwise as much and as far as may be, along the said coast and in the firm land. To make carefully to be sought and marked all sorts of mines of gold and of silver, copper, and other metals and minerals, to make them to be digged, drawn from the earth, purified and refined, for to be converted into use, to dispose according as we have prescribed by edicts and orders which we have made in this realm of the profit and benefit of them, by you or them whom you shall establish to that effect, reserving unto us only the tenth penny of that which shall issue from them of gold, silver, and copper, leaving unto you that which we might take of the other said metals and minerals, for to aid and ease you in the great expenses that the foresaid charge may bring unto you. Willing in the meanwhile that—as well for your security and commodity as for the security and commodity of all our subjects who will go, inhabit, and traffic in the said lands: as generally of all others that will accommodate themselves there under our power and authority—you may cause to be built and frame one or many forts, places, towns, and all other houses, dwellings, and habitations, ports, havens, retiring places, and lodgings as you shall know to be fit, profitable, and necessary for the performing of the said enterprise. To establish garrisons and soldiers for the keeping of them. To aid and serve you for the effects abovesaid with the vagrant, idle persons and

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masterless, as well out of towns as of the country: and with them that be condemned to perpetual banishment or for three years at the least out of our realm: Provided always that it be done by the advice, consent, and authority of our officers. Over and besides that which is above mentioned (and that which is moreover prescribed, commanded, and ordained unto you by the commissions and powers which our most dear cousin the Lord of Ampville<sup>2</sup> Admiral of France hath given unto you, for that which concerneth the affairs and the charge of the Admiralty, in the exploit, expedition, and executing of the things above said) to do generally whatsoever may make for the conquest, peopling, inhabiting, and preservation of the said land of La Cadie, and of the coasts, territories adjoining, and of their appurtenances and dependencies, under our name and authority, whatsoever ourselves would and might do if we were there present in person, although that the case should require a more special order than we prescribe unto you by these presents: To the contents whereof we command, ordain, and most expressly do enjoin all our justicers, officers, and subjects to conform themselves: And to obey and give attention unto you in all and every the things abovesaid, their circumstances, and dependencies. Also to give unto you in the executing of them all such aid and comfort, help and assistance, as you shall have need of and whereof they shall be by you required; and this upon pain of disobedience and rebellion. And to the end nobody may pretend cause of ignorance of this our intention, and to busy himself in all or in part of the charge, dignity and authority which we give unto you by these presents: We have of our certain knowledge, full power, and regal authority, revoked, suppressed, and declared void and of none effect hereafter and from this present time all other powers and commissions, letters and expeditions given and delivered to any

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person soever, for to discover, people, and inhabit in the foresaid extension of the said lands, situated from the said 40th degree, to the 46th, whatsoever they be. And furthermore we command and ordain all our said officers, of what quality and condition soever they be, that after these presents or the duplicate of them shall be duly examined by one of our beloved and trusty Counsellors, Notaries, and Secretaries, or other Notary Royal, they do upon your request, demand, and suit, or upon the suit of any our Attorneys, cause the same to be read, published, and recorded in the records of their jurisdictions, powers, and precincts, seeking, as much as shall appertain unto them, to quiet and appease all troubles and hindrances which may contradict the same. For such is our pleasure. Given at Fountainbleau the 8th day

of November, in the year of our Lord 1603, and  
of our reign the 15th. Signed HENRY: and  
underneath, by the King, Potier;  
And sealed upon single label with yellow  
wax.



## CHAPTER II

### THE VOYAGE

MONSIEUR DE MONTS, having made the commissions and prohibitions before said to be proclaimed through the realm of France and especially through the ports and maritime towns thereof, caused two ships to be rigged and furnished, the one under the conduct of Captain Timothy of Newhaven,<sup>3</sup> the other of Captain Morel, of Honfleur. In the first he shipped himself, with good number of men of account, as well Gentlemen as others. And forasmuch as Monsieur de Poutrincourt was, and had been of a long time, desirous to see those countries of New France, and there to find out and choose some fit place to retire himself into with his family, wife, and children—not meaning to be the last that should follow and participate in the glory of so fair and generous an enterprise—would needs go thither, and shipped himself with the said Monsieur de Monts, carrying with him some quantity of armours and munitions of war; and so weighed anchors from Newhaven the seventh day of March, 1604. But being departed somewhat too soon, before the winter had yet left off her frozen weed, they found store of ice-banks, against the which they were in danger to strike, and so to be cast away; but God, which hitherto hath prospered the navigation of these voyages preserved them.

One might wonder, and not without cause, why, in the same parallel, there is more ice in this sea than in that of France. Whereunto I answer that the ices that be found in those seas are not originally from the same climate, but rather come from the Northerly parts, driven without any let through the vast of this

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great sea by the waves, storms, and boisterous floods which the Easterly and Northerly winds do cause in winter and spring-time, and drive them towards the South and West: But the French seas are sheltered by Scotland, England, and Ireland, which is the cause that the ices cannot fall into it. Another reason also might be alleged, and that is the motion of the sea, which beareth more towards those parts, because of the larger course that it maketh towards America than towards the lands of these our parts. The peril of this voyage was not only in the meeting of the said banks of ice, but also in the storms that vexed them: one of them they had that brake the galleries of the ship. And in these turmoils a joiner was carried away by a sea or flash of water to the next door of death—overboard, but he held himself fast at a tackling which by chance hung out of the said ship.

The voyage was long by reason of contrary winds, which seldom happeneth to them that set out in March for the Newfoundlands, which are ordinarily carried with an East or Northern wind fit to go to those lands. And having taken their course to the South of the Isle of Sablon (or Sand) for to shun the said ices, they almost fell from Carybdis into Scylla, going to strike towards the said Isle, during the thick mists that are frequent in that sea.

In the end, the sixth of May, they came to a certain port, where they found Captain Rossignol of Newhaven, who did truck for skins with the savages, contrary to the King's inhibitions, which was the cause that his ship was confiscated. This port was called Le Port du Rossignol,<sup>4</sup> having (in this his hard fortune) this only good, that a good and fit harbour or port in those coasts beareth his name.

From thence coasting and discovering the lands, they arrived at another port, very fair, which they named Le Port du Mouton,<sup>5</sup> by reason that a mutton or wether

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having leaped overboard and drowned himself came aboard again, and was taken and eaten as good prize. By such accidents many names have anciently been given on the sudden and without any great deliberation. So the Capitol of Rome had his name because that, in digging there, a dead man's head was found. So the city of Milan hath been called Mediolanum, that is to say, half-wool, for that the Gauls, casting the foundation thereof, found a sow half-covered with wool: and so of sundry others.

Being at the Port du Mouton, they cabined and lodged themselves after the savage fashion, expecting news of the other ship, wherein was the victuals and other necessary provision for the food and entertainment of them that were to winter there, being about an hundred men in number. In this port they tarried a month in great perplexity, for fear they had that some sinister accident had happened to the said other ship,<sup>6</sup> who set out the tenth of March, wherein was Monsieur du Pont of Honfleur, and the said Captain Morel. And this was so much the more important, for that of the coming of the said ship depended the whole success of the business. For even upon this long tarrying it was in question whether they should return into France or no. Monsieur de Poutrincourt was of advice that it were better to die there, whereto the said Monsieur de Monts conformed himself. In the meanwhile many went a-hunting, others to fishing, for to store the kitchen. Near the said Mouton Port there is a place so replenished with rabbits and conies that they almost did eat nothing else. During that time Monsieur Champlain<sup>7</sup> was sent with a shallop to seek farther off a fitter place to retire themselves, at which exploit he tarried so long that, deliberating upon the return, they thought to leave him behind: for there was no more victuals; and they served themselves with that that was found in the said Rossignol's ship,



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without which they had been forced to return into France, and so to break a fair enterprise at the very birth and beginning thereof; or to starve, having ended the hunting of conies, which could not still continue.

Now the causes of the stay of the said Monsieur du Pont and Captain Morel were two: the one that, wanting a cock-boat, they employed their time in the building of one in the land where they arrived first, which was the English port; the other that, being come at Campseau Port,<sup>s</sup> they found there four ships of Baskques, or men of Saint John de Luz, that did truck with the savages contrary to the said inhibitions: from whom they took their goods, and brought the masters to the said Monsieur de Monts, who used them very gently.

Three weeks being expired and the said Monsieur de Monts having no news of the ship he looked for, he deliberated to send along the coast to seek for them, and for that purpose dispatched some savages, to whom he gave a Frenchman for company with letters. The said savages promised to return at the time prefixed, being eight days, whereof they failed not. But as the society of man and wife, agreeing well together, is a powerful thing so these savages before their departure had a care of their wives and children, and required victuals for them, which was granted. And, having hoisted up sails, within few days after they found those that they sought for, at a place called La Baie des Iles, who were themselves in no less fear or grief for the said Monsieur de Monts than he of them, because they found not during their voyage those marks and signs that were agreed upon between them, which is, that Monsieur de Monts should have left at Campseau some cross on a tree, or letter there fixed, which he did not, having far overshot the said Campseau, by reason that for the said iced banks he took his way somewhat far on the



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South, as we have said. So, having read the letters, the said Monsieur du Pont and Captain Morel gave up the victuals and provision that they had brought for them that should winter there, and so returned back towards the great river of Canada, for the trade of skins or furs

## CHAPTER III

### LEAVING PORT DU MOUTON

ALL NEW FRANCE in the end being contained in two ships, they weighed anchors from Port du Mouton, for to employ their time and to discover lands as much as they might before winter. We came to Cape de Sable,<sup>9</sup> or the Sandy Cape; and from thence we sailed to the Bay of Saint Marie,<sup>10</sup> where our men lay at anchor fifteen days, whilst the lands and passages as well by sea as by river might be descried and known. This Bay is a very fair place to inhabit, because that one is readily carried thither without doubling. There are mines of iron and silver, but in no great abundance, according to the trial made thereof in France. Having sojourned there some twelve or thirteen days, a strange accident happened, such as I will tell you. There was a certain Churchman of a good family in Paris that had a desire to perform the voyage with Monsieur de Monts, and that against the liking of his friends, who sent expressly to Honfleur to divert him thereof and to bring him back to Paris. The ships lying at anchor in the said Bay of Saint Marie, he put himself in company with some that went to sport themselves in the woods. It came to pass that, having stayed to drink at a brook, he forgot there his sword, and followed on his way with his company; which when he perceived he returned back to seek it; but, having found it, forgetful from what part he came and not considering whether he should go East or West or otherwise (for there was no path), he took his way quite contrary, turning his back from his company, and so long travelled that he found himself at the sea-shore where no ships were to be seen (for they were at the

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other side of a nook of land far reaching into the sea): he imagined that he was forsaken, and began to bewail his fortune upon a rock. The night being come, everyone being retired, he is found wanting: he was asked for of those that had been in the woods; they report in what manner he departed from them, and that since they had no news of him. Whereupon a Protestant was charged to have killed him, because they quarrelled sometimes for matters of religion. Finally, they sounded a trumpet through the forest; they shot off the cannon divers times—but in vain; for the roaring of the sea, stronger than all that, did expel back the sound of the said cannons and trumpets. Two, three, and four days pass; he appeareth not. In the meanwhile the time hastens to depart; so, having tarried so long that he was then held for dead, they weighed anchors to go further, and to see the depth of a Bay that hath some 40 leagues length, and 14 (yea 18) of breadth, which was named La Baie Française, or the French Bay.<sup>11</sup>

In this bay is the passage to come into a port, whereinto our men entered, and made some abode, during the which they had the pleasure to hunt an elan, or stag, that crossed a great lake of the sea which maketh this port, and did swim but easily. This port is environed with mountains on the North side: towards the South be small hills, which (with the said mountains) do pour out a thousand brooks, which make that place pleasanter than any other place in the world: there are very fair falls of waters, fit to make mills of all sorts. At the East is a river between the said mountains and hills, in the which ships may sail fifteen leagues and more, and in all this distance is nothing of both sides the river but fair meadows, which river was named l'Equille,<sup>12</sup> because that the first fifth taken therein was an equille. But the said port, for the beauty thereof, was called Port Royal. Monsieur

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de Poutrincourt, having found this place to be to his liking, demanded it, with the Lands thereunto adjoining, of Monsieur de Monts, to whom the King had by commission, before inserted, granted the distribution of the lands of New France from the 40th degree to the 46th. Which place was granted to the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, who since hath had letters of confirmation for the same of his Majesty, intending to retire himself thither with his family, and there to establish the Christian and French name, as much as his power shall stretch, and God grant him the means to accomplish it. The said port containeth eight leagues of circuit, besides the river of l'Equille. There is within it two isles very fair and pleasant: the one at the mouth of the said river, which I deem to be of the greatness of the city of Beauvais<sup>13</sup>; the other at the side of the mouth of another river, as broad as the river of Oise or Marne, entering within the said port: the said isle being almost of the greatness of the other: and they both are woody. In this port, and right over against the former isle, we dwelt three years after this voyage. We will speak thereof more at large hereafter.

From Port Royal they sailed to the copper-mine, whereof we have spoken before elsewhere.<sup>14</sup> It is a high rock between two bays of the sea, wherein the copper is conjoined with the stone, very fair and very pure, such as is that which is called rozette copper. Many goldsmiths have seen of it in France, which do say that under the copper-mine there might be a golden mine: which is very probable. For, if those excrements that nature expelleth forth be so pure, namely small pieces that are found upon the gravel at the foot of the rock when it is low water, there is no doubt that the metal which is in the bowels of the earth is much more perfect; but this is a work that requireth time. The first mining and working is to have bread, wine, and cattle, as we have said elsewhere. Our felicity



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consisteth not in mines, specially of gold and silver, the which serve for nothing in the tillage of the ground nor to handicrafts' use. Contrariwise, the abundance of them is but a charge and burden, that keepeth man in perpetual unquiet, and the more he hath thereof, the less rest enjoyeth he, and his life lesser assured unto him.

Before the voyages of Peru great riches might have been set up in a small place, instead that in this our age by the abundance of gold and silver the same is come at no value nor esteem: one hath need of huge chests and coffers to put in that which a small budget might have contained. One might have travelled with a purse in one's sleeve, and now a cloak-bag and a horse must expressly be had for that purpose. We may justly curse the hour that greedy avarice did carry the Spaniard into the West, for the woeful events that have ensued thereof. For, when I consider that by his greediness he hath kindled and maintained the war through all Christendom, and his only study hath been how to destroy his neighbours (and not the Turk), I cannot think that any other but the devil hath been the author of their voyages. And let not the pretence of religion be alleged unto me; for (as we have said elsewhere) they have killed all the offspring of the country with the most inhuman torments that the devil hath been able to excogitate. And by their cruelties have rendered the name of God odious, and a name of offence to those poor people, and have continually and daily blasphemed him in the midst of the Gentiles, as the Prophet reproacheth to the people of Israel (Isaiah 52, 5). Witness him that had rather be damned than to go to the Paradise of the Spaniards.

The Romans (whose covetousness hath been insatiable) have made cruel wars to the nations of the earth, but the Spanish cruelties are not to be found out in their histories. They have contented themselves

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to ransack the nations which they have overcome, and not to deprive them of their lives. An ancient, heathenish author, making trial of his poetical humour, findeth no greater crime in them but that, if they found out or discovered some people that had gold, they took them for their enemies. The verses of this author have so good a grace that I must needs insert them here, though I intend not to allege much Latin.<sup>15</sup>

*Orbem iam totum Romanus victor habebat,  
Qua mare, qua terra, qua sidus currit utrumque,  
Nec satiatu erat. gravidis freta pulsa carinis  
Iam peragrabantur : siquis sinus abditus ultra,  
Si qua foret tellus quæ fulvum mitteret aurum,  
Hostis erat : fatisque in tristia bella paratis  
Quærebantur opes.*

But the doctrine of the wise son of Sirach teacheth us a contrary thing. For knowing that the riches which are digged up, even from as deep as Pluto's dens, are that which someone hath said: "*irritamenta malorum*," he declared "*That man to be happy that hath not run after gold, and hath not put his hope in silver and treasures*"; adding that "*he ought to be esteemed to have done wonderful things among all his people, and to be the example of glory, which hath been tempted by gold and remained perfect*" (*Ecclesiast.* 31, 8, 9, 10). And so by a contrary sense the same to be unhappy that doth otherwise.

Now to return to our mines. Among these copper rocks there is found sometimes small rocks covered with diamonds fixed to them.<sup>16</sup> I will not assure them for fine, but that is very pleasing to the sight. There are also certain shining blue stones, which are of no less value or worth than Turkey-stones. Monsieur de Champdoré, our guide for the navigations in those countries, having cut within a rock one of those stones,

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at his return from New France he brake it in two, and gave one part of it to Monsieur de Monts, the other to Monsieur de Poutrincourt, which they made to be put in gold, and were found worthy to be presented the one to the King by the said Poutrincourt, the other to the Queen by the said de Monts, and were very well accepted. I remember that a goldsmith did offer fifteen crowns to Monsieur de Poutrincourt for that he presented to his Majesty. There be many other secrets, rare and fair things within the ground of those countries, which are yet unknown unto us, and will come to the knowledge and evidence by inhabiting the province.

## CHAPTER IV

### RIVER ST. JOHN: ISLE STE. CROIX

HAVING viewed the said mine, the company passed to the other side of the French Bay, and went towards the bottom of the same: then, turning back, came to the river of Saint John, so-called<sup>17</sup> (as I think) because they arrived thither the four and twentieth of June, which is St John Baptist's day. There is a fair port, but the entry, or mouth, is dangerous to them that know not the best ways, because that before the coming in there is a long bank of rocks, which are not seen nor discovered but only at low water, which do serve as for defence to this port, within which, when one hath gone about a league, there is found a violent fall of the said river, which falleth down from the rocks, when that the sea doth ebb, with a marvellous noise; for, being sometimes at an anchor at sea, we have heard it from above twelve leagues off. But at full sea one may pass it with great ships. This river is one of the fairest that may be seen, having store of islands and swarming with fishes. This last year, 1608, the said Monsieur de Champdoré, with one of the said Monsieur de Monts his men, hath been some fifty leagues up the said river, and do witness that there is great quantity of vines along the shore, but the grapes are not so big as they be in the country of the Armouchiquois.<sup>18</sup> There are also onions, and many other sorts of good herbs. As for the trees, they are the fairest that may be seen. When we were there we saw great number of cedar-trees. Concerning fishes, the said Champdoré hath related unto us that, putting the kettle over the fire, they had taken fish sufficient for their dinner before that the water was hot. Moreover this river, stretch-



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ing itself far within the lands of the savages, doth marvellously shorten the long travels by means thereof. For in six days they go to Gaspé coming to the bay, or gulf, of Chaleur,<sup>19</sup> or heat, when they are at the end of it, in carrying their canoes some few leagues. And by the same river in eight days they go to Tadousac by a branch of the same which cometh from the North-West. In such sort that in Port Royal one may have within fifteen or eighteen days news from the Frenchmen dwelling in the great river of Canada, by these ways; which could not be done in one month by sea, nor without danger.

Leaving Saint John's River, they came following the coast twenty leagues from that place, to a great river<sup>20</sup> (which is properly sea), where they fortified themselves in a little island seated in the midst of this river, which the said Champlain had been to discover and view. And, seeing it strong by nature and of easy defence and keeping, besides that the season began to slide away and therefore it was behoveful to provide of lodging without running any farther, they resolved to make their abode there. I will not sift out curiously the reasons of all parts upon the resolution of this their dwelling; but I will always be of opinion that whosoever goes into a country to possess it must not stay in the isles, there to be a prisoner. For, before all things, the culture and tillage of the ground must be regarded. And I would fain know how one shall till and manure it, if it behoveth at every hour in the morning, at noon and the evening, to cross a great passage of water, to go for things requisite from the firm land. And, if one feareth the enemy, how shall he that husbandeth the land, or [is] otherwise busy in necessary affairs, save himself if he be pursued?—for one findeth not always a boat in hand, in time of need, nor two men to conduct it. Besides, our life requiring many commodities, an island is not fit for to begin the establishment and seat of a Colony, unless there be currents

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and streams of sweet water for to drink and to supply other necessaries in household which is not in small islands. There needeth wood for fuel, which also is not there. But, above all, there must be shelters from the hurtful winds and cold; which is hardly found in a small continent environed with water of all sides. Nevertheless the company sojourned there in the midst of a broad river, where the North wind and North-West bloweth at will. And because that two leagues higher there be brooks that come crosswise to fall within this large branch of sea, the isle of the Frenchmen's retreat was called Sainte-Croix, twenty-five leagues distant from Port Royal. Whilst that they begin to cut down cedars and other trees of the said isle to make necessary buildings, let us return to seek out Master Nicolas Aubry, lost in the woods, which long time since is holden for dead.

As they began to visit and search the island, Monsieur de Champdoré (of whom we shall henceforth make mention by reason he dwelt four years in those parts, conducting the voyages made there) was sent back to the Bay of Saint Mary, with a mine-finder that had been carried thither for to get some mines of silver and iron, which they did. And, as they had crossed the French Bay, they entered into the said Bay of Saint Mary, by a narrow strait, or passage, which is between the land of Port Royal and an island called the Long Island; where, after some abode they going a-fishing, the said Aubry perceived them, and began with a feeble voice to call as loud as he could; and for to help his voice he advised himself to do as Ariadne did heretofore to Theseus:

*Candidaque imposui longae velamina virgae,  
Scilicet oblitos admonitura mei.*<sup>21</sup>

For he put his handkerchief and his hat on a staff's end, which made him better to be known. For, as

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one of them heard the voice and asked the rest of the company if it might be the said Monsieur Aubry, they mocked and laughed at it. But, after they had spied the moving of the handkerchief and of the hat, then they began to think that it might be he. And, coming near, they knew perfectly it was himself, and took him in their barque with great joy and contentment the sixteenth day after he had lost himself. Divers in this later age have stuffed their books and histories with many miracles, wherein is not to be found so great cause of admiration as in this. For during these sixteen days he fed himself but by (I know not what) small fruits like unto cherries, without kernel (yet not so delicate), which are scarcely found in those woods.<sup>22</sup> And indeed in these last voyages a special grace and favour of God hath been evident in many occurrences, which we will mark as occasion shall be offered. The poor Aubry (I call him so by reason of his affliction) was, as one may easily think, marvellously weakened. They gave him food by measure, and brought him back again to the company at the Island of Sainte-Croix, whereof everyone received an incredible joy and consolation, and especially Monsieur de Monts, whom it concerned more than any other. Do not allege unto me the histories of the maid of Confolens,<sup>23</sup> in the country of Poitou, which was two years without eating, some six years ago, nor of another near Berne in Switzerland which lost (not yet full ten years ago) the desire and appetite of eating, during all her lifetime, and other like examples: for they be accidents happened by the disordering of nature. And concerning that which Pliny reciteth [lib. 7, cap. 2], that in the remotest parts of the Indies, in the inferior parts of the fountains and spring of the River Ganges, there is a nation of Astomes (that is to say mouthless People) that live but with the only odour and exhalation of certain roots, flowers, and fruits, which they assume



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through their noses: I would hardly believe it, but would think rather that in smelling they might bite very well of the said roots and fruits: As also those that James Cartier mentioneth<sup>24</sup> to have no mouths, and to eat nothing, by the report of the savage Donnacona, whom he brought into France to make recital thereof to the King, with other things as void of common sense and credit as that. But imagine it were true, such people have their nature disposed to this manner of living, and this case is not alike. For the said Aubry wanted no stomach nor appetite, and hath lived sixteen days, partly nourished by some nutritive force which is in the air of that country, and partly by those small fruits before spoken, God having given him strength to endure this long want of food, preserving him from the step of death. Which I find strange, and is so indeed. But in the histories of our time there be found things of greater marvel. Among other things of one Henry de Hasseld,<sup>25</sup> merchant trafficking from the Low Countries to Bergen in Norway, who, having heard a belly-god preacher speaking ill of the miraculous fasts, as though it were not in God's power to do that which he hath done in times past, provoked by it, did essay to fast, and abstained himself three days from eating: at the end whereof, being pinched with hunger, took a morsel of bread, meaning to swallow it down with a glass of beer; but all that stuck so in his throat that he remained forty days and forty nights without either eating or drinking. That time being ended, he vomited out by the mouth that which he had eaten and drunk, which all that while remained in his throat. So long an abstinence weakened him in such sort that it was needful to sustain and restore him with milk. The Governor of the country, having understood this wonder, called him before him, and inquired of the truth of the matter: whereof being incredulous, would



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make new trial of it, and, having made him carefully to be kept in a chamber, found the thing to be true. This man is praised for great piety, specially towards the poor. Sometime after being come for his private affairs to Brussels in Brabant, a creditor of his, to bereave him of his due, accused him of heresy, and so caused him to be burned in the year 1545.

And since one of the canons of the city of Liège, making trial of his strength in fasting, having continued the same even to the seventeenth day, felt himself so weakened that unless he had been suddenly succoured by a good restorative, he had quite perished.

A young maid of Buchold, in the territory of Munster in Westphalia, afflicted with grief of mind, and unwilling to stir or go abroad from home, was beaten by her mother for the same, which redoubled her dolour, in such sort that, having lost her natural rest, was four months without either drinking or eating, saving that sometimes she did chew some roasted apple and washed her mouth with a little ptisane.<sup>26</sup>

The ecclesiastical histories (Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.*, i., 3; Baronius, *Martyrol. Rom.*, 9 [? 5] Jan.), among a great number of fasters, make mention of three holy hermits, all named Simeon, which did live in strange austerity and long fasts, as of eight days, and fifteen days, continuance, yea longer, not having for all their dwelling but a Column or hermitage where they dwelt and led their lives: by reason whereof they were named Stylites, that is to say columnaries, as dwelling in columns.<sup>27</sup>

But all these before alleged had partly resolved themselves to such fasts, and partly had by little and little accustomed themselves to it, so that it was not very strange for them to fast so long: which was not in him of whom we speak. And therefore his fast is the more to be admired by so much as that he had not in any wise disposed himself thereto and had not used these long austerities.

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After he had been cherished, and they sojourned yet some time to order the business and to view the lands round about the Isle Sainte-Croix, motion was made to send back the ships into France before winter, and so they that went not thither to winter prepared themselves for the return. The meanwhile the savages from about all their confines came to see the manners of the Frenchmen, and lodged themselves willingly near them: also, in certain variances happened amongst themselves, they did make Monsieur de Monts judge of their debates, which is a beginning of voluntary subjection, from whence a hope may be conceived that these people will soon conform themselves to our manner of living.

Amongst other things happened before the departing of the said ships, it chanced one day that a savage called Bituani, finding good relish in the kitchen of the said Monsieur de Monts, settled himself therein, doing there some service: and yet did make love to a maid, by way of marriage; the which not being able to have with the good liking and consent of her father, he ravished her and took her to wife. Thereupon a great quarrel ensueth. And in the end the maid was taken away from him, and returned to her father's. A very great debate was like to follow, were it not that, Bituani complaining to the said Monsieur de Monts for this injury, the others came to defend their cause saying (to wit, the father assisted with his friends) that he would not give his daughter to a man unless he had some means by his industry to nourish and maintain both her and the children that should proceed of the marriage: As for him he saw not any thing that he could do: That he loitered about the kitchen of the said Monsieur de Monts, not exercising himself a-hunting. Finally, that he should not have the maid, and ought to content himself with that which was passed. The said Monsieur de Monts having heard both parties,

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told them that he detained him not, and that the said Bituani was a diligent fellow and should go a-hunting to make proof of what he could do. But yet for all that they did not restore the maid unto him until he had showed effectually that which the said Monsieur de Monts had promised of him. Finally, he goeth a-fishing, taketh great store of salmons; the maid is redelivered him, and the next day following he came clothed with a fair new gown of beavers well set on with matachias<sup>28</sup> to the fort which was then a-building for the Frenchmen, bringing his wife with him, as triumphing for the victory, having gotten her, as it were, by dint of sword: whom he hath ever since loved dearly, contrary to the custom of the other savages, giving us to understand that the thing which is gotten with pain ought to be much cherished.

By this action we see the two most considerable points in matter of marriage to be observed among these people, guided only by the law of nature: that is to say, the fatherly authority and the husband's industry—a thing which I have much admired, seeing that in our Christian Church, by I know not what abuse, men have lived many ages during which the fatherly authority hath been despised and set at naught, until that the ecclesiastical conventions have opened their eyes, and known that the same was even against nature itself; and that our Kings by laws and edicts have re-established in his force this fatherly authority, which notwithstanding in spiritual marriages and vows of religion hath not yet recovered his ancient glory; and hath (in this respect) his prop but upon the Courts of Parliaments' orders, the which oftentimes have constrained the detainers of children, to restore them to their parents.



## CHAPTER V

### THE ISLAND OF SAINTE-CROIX

BEFORE we speak of the ships' return into France, it is meet to tell you how hard the Isle of Sainte-Croix is to be found out to them that were never there. For there are so many isles and great bays to go by before one be at it, that I wonder however one might pierce so far for to find it. There are three or four mountains,<sup>29</sup> imminent above the others, on the sides; but on the North side, from whence the river runneth down, there is but a sharp pointed one above two leagues distant. The woods of the mainland are fair and admirable high and well grown, as in like manner is the grass. There is right over against the island fresh-water brooks, very pleasant and agreeable, where divers of Monsieur de Monts his men did their business, and builded there certain cabins. As for the nature of the ground, it is most excellent and most abundantly fruitful. For the said Monsieur de Monts, having caused there some piece of ground to be tilled and the same sowed with rye (for I have seen there no wheat), he was not able to tarry for the maturity thereof to reap it; and notwithstanding, the grain, fallen, hath grown and increased so wonderfully that two years after we reaped and did gather of it as fair, big, and weighty as any in France, which the soil had brought forth without any tillage; and yet at this present it doth continue still to multiply every year. The said island containeth some half a league of circuit, and at the end of it on the sea side, there is a mount, or small hill, which is (as it were) a little isle severed from the other, where Monsieur de Monts his cannon was placed. There is also a little chapel built after the



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savage fashion. At the foot of which chapel there is such store of mussels as is wonderful, which may be gathered at low water, but they are small: I believe that Monsieur de Monts' people did not forget to choose and take the biggest, and left there but the small ones to grow and increase. As for the exercise and occupation of our Frenchmen during the time of their abode there, we will mention it briefly, having first conducted back our ships into France.

The sea and maritime charges in such enterprises as that of Monsieur de Monts be so great that he who hath not a good stock and foundation shall easily sink under such a burden, and for to supply in some sort those expenses, one is forced to suffer and bear infinite discommodities, and put himself in danger to be discredited among unknown people, and, which is worse, in a land which is unmanured and all overgrown with forests. Wherein this action is the more generous, by so much as the peril is more evidently dangerous; and, notwithstanding all this, fortune is not left unattempted, and to tread down so many thorns that stop the way. Monsieur de Monts his ships returning into France, he remaineth in a desolate place, with one barque and one boat only. And, though he is promised to be sent for home at the end of the year, who may assure himself of Æolus' and Neptune's fidelity, two evil, furious, unconstant and unmerciful masters? Behold the estate whereunto the said Monsieur de Monts reduced himself, having had no help of the King, as have had all those voyages that have been heretofore described (except the late Lord Marquis de la Roche<sup>30</sup>), and yet it is he that hath done more than all the rest, not having yet lost his hold. But in the end I fear he shall be constrained to give over and forsake all, to the great shame and reproach of the French name, which by this means is made ridiculous and a byword to other nations. For

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(as though one would of set purpose oppose himself to the conversion of these poor westerly people and to the setting forward of the glory of God and the Kings) there be men start up, full of avarice and envy; men which would not give a stroke or draw their swords for the King's service (as Monsieur de Poutrincourt showed one day to his Majesty); men which would not endure the least labour in the world for the honour of God, which do hinder that any profit be drawn from the very province itself to furnish to that which is necessary to the establishment of such a work, having rather that Englishmen and Hollanders reap the profit thereof than Frenchmen, and seeking to make the name of God unknown in those parts of the world. And such men, which have no fear of God (for if they had any they would be zealous of his name) are heard, are believed, and carry things away at their pleasure.

Now let us prepare and hoist up sails. Monsieur de Poutrincourt made the voyage into these parts with some men of good sort, not to winter there but, as it were to seek out his seat and find out a land that might like him. Which he, having done, had no need to sojourn there any longer. So then, the ships being ready for the return, he shipped himself and those of his company in one of them. The meanwhile the same was from all sides in these parts of the wonders made in Ostend,<sup>31</sup> then besieged by their Highnesses of Flanders already three years passed. The voyage was not without storms and great perils, for, amongst others, I will recite two or three which might be placed among miracles, were it not that the sea-accidents are frequent enough, not that I will, for all that, darken the special favour that God hath always showed in these voyages.

The first is of a gust of wind which in the midst of their navigation came by night instantly to strike in the sails with such a violent boisterousness that it over-

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turned the ship in such manner that of the one part the keel was on the face of the water, and the sail swimming upon it, without any means or time to right it or to loose the tackles. On the sudden the sea is all a-fire, and the mariners themselves, all wet, did seem to be all compassed with flames, so furious was the sea (the sailors call this fire Saint Goudran's<sup>32</sup> fire), and by ill-fortune, in this sudden surprise, there was not a knife to be found for to cut the cables or the sail. The poor ship, during this casualty, remained overturned, carried continually one while upon mountains of waters, then another while sunken down even to hell. Briefly, everyone did prepare to drink, more than his belly full, to all his frends—when a new blast of wind came which rent the sail in a thousand pieces, ever after unprofitable to any use. Happy sail! having by his ruin saved all this people, for, if it had been a new one, they had been cast away, and never news had been heard of them. But God doth often try his people, and bringeth them even to death's door, to the end they may know his powerful might and fear him. So the ship began to stir and rise again by little and little; and well was it for them that she was deep-keeled, for, if it had been a flyboat with a flat bottom and broad belly, it had been quite overturned upside-down, but the ballast which remained beneath did help to stir her upright.

The second was at Casquets<sup>33</sup> (an isle or rock in the form of a cask, between France and England, on which there is no dwelling): being come within three leagues of the same, there was some jealousy between the Masters of the ship (an evil which oftentimes destroyeth both men and fair enterprises), the one saying that they might double well enough the said Casquets, another that they could not, and that it behoved to cast a little from the right course for to pass under the island. In this case the worst was that one knew not the hour of



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the day, because it was dark by reason of mists, and by consequent they knew not if it did ebb or flow. For if it had been flood they had easily doubled it; but it chanced that it was turning water, and by that means the ebb did hinder it. So that approaching the said rock they saw no hope to save themselves, and that necessarily they must go strike against it. Then everyone began to pray to God, to crave pardon one of another, and (for their last comfort) to bewail one another. Hereupon Captain Rossignol (whose ship was taken in New France, as we have said before) drew out a great knife, to kill therewith Captain Timothy, Governor of this present voyage, saying to him; "Dost thou not content thyself to have undone me, but wilt thou needs yet cast me here away?" But he was held and kept from doing of that he was about to do. And in very truth it was in him great folly, yea rather madness, to go about to kill a man that was going to die, and he that went to give the blow in the same peril. In the end, as they went to strike upon the rock, Monsieur de Poutrincourt, who had already yielded his soul and recommended his family to God, asked of him that was at the top if there were any hope; who told him there was none. Then he bade some to help him to change the sails, which two or three only did, and already was there no more water but to turn the ship, when the mercy and favour of God came to help them, and turned the ship from the perils wherein they saw themselves. Some had put off their doublets for to seek to save themselves by climbing upon the rock, but the fear was all the harm they had for that time: saving that some few hours after, being arrived near to a rock called *Le Nid à l'Aigle* (the Eagle's Nest), they thought to go board it, thinking, in the darkness of the mist, it had been a ship, from whence being again escaped they arrived at Newhaven, the place from whence they first set out: the said Monsieur



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de Poutrincourt having left his armours and provisions of war in the Isle of Sainte-Croix, in the keeping of the said Monsieur de Monts as a gage and token of the good will he had to return thither.

But I may yet well set down here a marvellous danger from which the same vessel was preserved, a little after the departing from Sainte-Croix, and this by a bad accident, which God turned to good. For a certain tippling fellow, being by night stealthily come down to the bottom of the ship, for to drink his belly full and to fill his bottle with wine, he found that there was but too much to drink, and that the said ship was already half full of water: in such sort that the peril was imminent, and they had infinite pains to staunch her by pumping. In the end, being come about, they found a great leak by the keel, which they stopped with all diligence.

## CHAPTER VI

### BUILDING AT ISLE STE. CROIX

DURING the foresaid navigation Monsieur de Monts his people did work about the fort, which he seated at the end of the island, opposite to the place where he had lodged his cannon. Which was wisely considered, to the end to command the river up and down. But there was an inconvenience—the said fort did lie towards the North, and without any shelter but of the trees that were on the isle shore, which all about he commanded to be kept and not cut down. And out of the same fort was the Switzers' lodging, great and large, and other small lodgings, representing (as it were) a suburb. Some had housed themselves on the firm land, near the brook. But within the fort was Monsieur de Monts his lodging, made with very fair and artificial carpentry-work, with the banner of France upon the same. At another part was the store-house, wherein consisted the safety and life of everyone, likewise made with fair carpentry-work, and covered with reeds. Right over against the said store-house were the lodgings and houses of these gentlemen, Monsieur d'Orville, Monsieur Champlain, Monsieur Champdoré, and other men of reckoning. Opposite to Monsieur de Monts his said lodging there was a gallery, covered for to exercise themselves either in play or for the workmen in time of rain. And between the said fort and the platform, where lay the cannon, all was full of gardens, whereunto everyone exercised himself willingly. All autumn quarter was passed on these works, and it was well for them to have lodged themselves, and to manure the ground of the island, before winter; whilst that in these parts pamphlets were set out under the

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name of Maistre Guillaume,<sup>34</sup> stuffed with all sorts of news, by the which, amongst other things, this prognosticator did say that Monsieur de Monts did pull out thorns in Canada: and, all well considered, it may well be termed the pulling out of thorns, to take in hand such enterprises, full of toils and continual perils, with cares, vexations, and discommodities. But virtue and courage that overcometh all these things, makes those thorns to be but gilliflowers and roses to them that resolve themselves in these heroical actions, to make themselves praiseworthy and famous in the memory of men, despising the vain pleasures of delicate and effeminated men, good for nothing but to coffer themselves in a chamber.

The most urgent things being done, and hoary, snowy father being come, that is to say winter, then they were forced to keep within doors, and to live everyone at his own home: during which time our men had three special discommodities in this island, videlicet, want of wood (for that which was in the said isle, was spent in buildings), lack of fresh water, and the continual watch made by night, fearing some surprise from the savages that had lodged themselves at the foot of the said island, or some other enemy. For the malediction and rage of many Christians is such that one must take heed of them much more than of infidels—a thing which grieveth me to speak. Would to God I were a liar in this respect, and that I had no cause to speak it! When they had need of water or wood, they were constrained to cross over the river, which is thrice as broad of every side as the river of Seine. It was a thing painful and tedious, in such sort that it was needful to keep the boat a whole day before one might get those necessities. In the meanwhile the cold and snows came upon them, and the ice so strong that the cider was frozen in the vessels, and everyone his measure was given him out by weight.

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As for wine, it was distributed but at certain days of the week. Many idle, sluggish companions drank snow-water, not willing to take the pains to cross the river. Briefly, the unknown sicknesses like to those described unto us by James Cartier, in his relation,<sup>35</sup> assailed us. For remedies there was none to be found. In the meanwhile the poor sick creatures did languish, pining away by little and little, for want of sweet meats, as milk or spoon-meat for to sustain their stomachs, which could not receive the hard meats by reason of let, proceeding from a rotten flesh, which grew and over-abounded within their mouths: and, when one thought to root it out, it did grow again in one night's space more abundantly than before. As for the tree called *annedda*, mentioned by the said Cartier, the savages of these lands know it not. So that it was most pitiful to behold everyone, very few excepted, in this misery, and the miserable sick folks to die, as it were full of life, without any possibility to be succoured. There died of this sickness 36, and 36 or 40 more that were stricken with it recovered themselves by the help of the spring, as soon as the comfortable season appeared. But the deadly season for that sickness is in the end of January, the months of February and March, wherein most commonly the sick do die, everyone at his turn according to the time they have begun to be sick: in such sort that he which began to be ill in February and March may escape, but he that shall over-haste himself, and betake him to his bed in December and January, he is in danger to die in February, March, or the beginning of April—which time being passed, he is in good hope, and, as it were, assured of his safety. Notwithstanding, some have felt some touch thereof, having been sharply handled with it.

Monsieur de Monts, being returned into France, did consult with our doctors of physic upon the sickness, which (in my opinion) they found very new and



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unknown, for I do not see that, when we went away, our apothecary was charged with any order for the cure thereof: and notwithstanding it seemeth that Hippocrates hath had knowledge of it, or at least of some that was very like to it. For in the book *De Internis Affectionibus* he speaketh of a certain malady where the belly, and afterward the spleen, do swell and harden itself, and feel grievous and sharp gripes; the skin becometh black and pale, drawing towards the colour of a green pomegranate; the ears and gums do render and yield a bad scent, the said gums disjoining themselves from the teeth; the legs full of blisters; the limbs are weakened, etc.

But specially the northerly people are more subject to it than other more southerly nations: witness the Hollanders, Friesland men, and other thereabout, amongst whom the said Hollanders do write in their navigations that, going to the East Indies, many of them were taken with the same disease, being upon the coast of Guinea—a dangerous coast, bearing a pestiferous air a hundred leagues far in the sea. And the same (I mean the Hollanders), being in the year 1606 gone upon the coast of Spain, to keep the same coast and to annoy the Spanish navy, were constrained to withdraw themselves, by reason of this disease, having cast into the sea two and twenty of their dead. And if one will hear the witness of Olaus Magnus [lib. 16, cap. 51], writing of the northerly nations, of which part himself was, let him hearken to his report, which is this: “*There is (saith he) yet an other martial sickness (that is, a sickness that afflicteth them which follow the wars) which tormenteth and afflicteth them that are besieged, such whose limbs thickened by a certain fleshy heaviness and by a corrupted blood which is between the flesh and the skin, dilating itself like wax: they sink with the least impression made on them with the finger; and disjoineth the teeth as ready to fall out: changeth the white colour of the skin into*

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*blue : and causeth a benumbing, with a distaste to take physic, and that disease is called in the vulgar tongue of the country scorbute, in Greek καχεξία, peradventure because of this putrefying softness which is under the skin, which seemeth to proceed of indigesting and salt meats, and to be continued by the cold exhalation of the walls. But it shall not have so much force where the houses are inward wainscotted with boards. If it continue longer, it must be driven out by taking every day wormwood, as one expelleth out the root of the Stone by a decoction of stale beer drunk with butter.”* The same author doth yet say in another place a thing much to be noted: *In the beginning (saith he) [bk. ix., cap. 38] they sustain the siege with force, but in the end, the soldier being by continuance weakened, they take away the provisions from the invaders, by artificial means, subtleties, and ambushments—specially the sheep, which they carry away and make them to graze in grassy places of their houses for fear that through want of fresh meats they fall into the loathsomest sickness of all sicknesses, called in the country language scorbute, that is to say, a wounded stomach, dried by cruel torments and long anguishes : for the cold and indigesting meats, greedily taken, seem to be the true cause of this sickness.*

I have delighted myself to recite here the very words of this author, because he speaketh thereof as being skilful, and setteth forth sufficiently enough the land disease of New France, saving that he maketh no mention of the stiffening of the hams, nor of a superfluous flesh which groweth and aboundeth within the mouth, and that, if one think to take it away, it increaseth still; but well speaketh he of the bad stomach. For Monsieur de Poutrincourt made a negro to be opened that died of that sickness in our voyage, who was found to have the inward parts very sound except the stomach, that had wrinkles, as though they were ulcered.

And as for the cause proceeding from salt meats, it is very true there are many other causes concurring

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which feed and entertain this sickness: amongst which I will place in general the bad food, comprehending with it the drinks; then the vice of the air of the country, and after the evil disposition of the body: leaving the physicians to sift it out more curiously. Whereunto Hippocrates saith [in the beginning of the book *De Aere, sqq.*] that the physician ought also carefully to take heed in considering the seasons, the winds, the aspects of the sun, the waters, the land itself, the nature and situation of it, the nature of men, their manner of living and exercise.

As for the food, this sickness is caused by cold meats, without juice, gross, and corrupted. One must then take heed of salt meats, smoky, musty, raw, and of an evil scent, likewise of dried fishes, as Newfoundland fish, and stinking rays: briefly, from all melancholy meats, which are of hard digesting, are easily corrupted, and breed a gross and melancholy blood. I would not (for all that) be so scrupulous as the physicians, which do put in the number of gross and melancholy meats, beeves-flesh, bears, wild boars, and hog's-flesh (they might as well add unto them beaver's-flesh, which notwithstanding we have found very good), as they do amongst fishes the tunnies, dolphins, and all those that carry lard: among the birds, the herons, ducks, and all other water-birds; for, in being an over-curious observator of these things, one might fall into the danger of starving and to die for hunger. They place yet among the meats that are to be shunned, biscuit, beans, and pulse, the often-using of milk, cheese; the gross and harsh wine, and that which is too small, white wine, and the use of vinegar, beer which is not well sodden nor well scummed and that hath not hops enough: also waters that run through rotten wood and those of lakes and bogs, still and corrupted waters such as is much in Holland and Friesland, where is observed that they of Amsterdā are more subject to palsies



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and stiffening of sinews than they of Rotterdam, for the abovesaid cause of still and sleepy waters—which besides do engender dropsies, dysenteries, fluxes, quartan agues, and burning fevers, swellings, ulcers of the lights, shortness of breath, ruptures in children, swelling in the veins, sores in the legs: finally, they wholly belong to the disease whereof we speak, being drawn by the spleen, where they leave all their corruption.

Sometimes this sickness doth also come by a vice which is even in waters of running fountains, as if they be among or near bogs, or if they issue from a muddy ground, or from a place that hath not the sun's aspect. So Pliny [lib. xxv., c. 3] reciteth that in the voyage which the prince Cæsar Germanicus made into Germany, having given order to his army to pass the river of Rhine to the end to get still forward in the country, he did set his camp on the seashore, upon the coast of Friesland, in a place where was but one only fountain of fresh water to be found, which notwithstanding was so pernicious that all they that drank of it lost their teeth in less than two years space, and had their knees so weak and disjointed that they could not bear themselves. Which is verily the sickness whereof we speak, which the physicians do call *stomaccacé*, that is to say, mouth's-sore, and *scelotyrbé*, which is as much to say as the shaking of thighs and legs. And it was not possible to find any remedy but by the means of an herb called *britannica*, or scurvy-grass (which besides is very good for the sinews), against the sores and accidents in the mouth, against the squinancy, and against the biting of serpents. It hath long leaves, drawing in colour to a dark green, and produceth a black root, from which liquor is drawn, as well as from the leaf. Strabo saith that the like case happened to the army that Ælius Gallus brought into Arabia by the commission of Augustus the Emperor. And the like also



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chanced to king St Louis his army in Egypt, as the Lord de Joinville reporteth. Other effects of bad waters are seen near unto us, to wit in Savoy, where the women (more than men, because they are of a colder constitution) have commonly swellings in their throats, as big as bottles.

Next to waters, the air is also one of the fathers and engenderers of this sickness, in boggy and waterish places and opposite to the South, which is most often rainy. But there is yet in New France another bad quality of the air, by reason of lakes that be thick there and of the great rottenness in the woods, whose odour the bodies having drawn up during the rains of autumn and winter, easily are engendered the corruptions of the mouth and swelling in the legs before spoken, and a cold entereth insensibly into it, which benumbeth the limbs, stiffeneth the sinews, constraineth to creep with crutches, and in the end to keep the bed.

And for as much as the winds do participate with the air, yea are an air running with a more vehement force than ordinary, and in this quality have great power over the health and sicknesses of men, we will speak some thing of it, not, for all that, straying ourselves from the sequel of our history.

The easterly wind, called by the Latins *Subsolanus*, is held for the healthfullest of all, and for that cause wise builders give advice to set their buildings towards the aspect of the East. The opposite to it is the wind called *Favorinus*, or *Zephyrus*, which our seamen do name West, which in these parts is mild and fructifying. The southern wind (called *Auster* by the Latins) is in Africa hot and dry; but in crossing the Mediterranean Sea it gathereth a great moistness, which maketh it stormy and putrefying in Provence and Languedoc. The opposite to it is the northern wind, otherwise called *Boreas*, *Bize*, *Tramontane*, which is cold and dry, chaseth the clouds and sweepeth the airy region. It

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is taken for the wholesomest next to the East wind. But these qualities of the wind, found and noted in these parts, make not one general rule through over all the earth. For the North wind beyond the equinoctial line is not cold as in these parts, nor the South wind hot, because that by a long crossing they borrow the qualities of the regions through which they pass: besides that the South wind at his first issue is cooling, according to the report of those that have travelled in Africa. In like manner there be regions in Peru (as in Lima and the plains) where the North wind is unwholesome and noisome. And through all that coast which is above 500 leagues in length, they take the South wind for a sound and fresh cooling wind, and, which more is, most mild and pleasant: yea also that it doth never rain by it (according to that which Joseph Acoſta writeth of it) clean contrary to that we see in this our part of Europe. And in Spain the East wind, which we have said to be sound, the same Acoſta ſaith [lib. 3, cap. 3] that it is noisome and unsound. The wind called Circius, which is the North-west, is so stormy and boisterous in the westerly shores of Norway that, if there be any which undertaketh any voyage that way, when that wind bloweth, he must make account to be lost and cast away: and this wind is so cold in that region that it suffereth not any tree, small or great, to grow there, so that for want of wood they must serve themselves with the bones of great fishes, to seethe or roast their meats, which discommodity is not in these parts [*Olaus Magnus, lib. 1, cap. 10*]. In like sort we have had experience in New France that the North winds are not for health. And the North-east (which are the cold, strong, sharp, and stormy Aquilons<sup>36</sup>) yet worse, which our sick folks, and they that had wintered there the former year, did greatly fear, because that likely some of them drooped away when that wind blew, for indeed they had some sensible

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feeling of this wind: as we see those that be subject to ruptures endure great pangs when that the South wind doth blow; and as we see the very beasts to prognosticate by some signs the change of weather. This noisome quality of wind proceedeth (in my judgment) from the nature of the country through which it passeth, which (as we have said) is full of lakes, and those very great, which be (as it were) standing and still waters. Whereto I add the exhalation of the rottenness of woods that this wind bringeth, and that in so much greater quantity, as the north-west part is great, large, and spacious.

The seasons are also to be marked in this disease, which I have not seen nor heard of, that it begins to work neither in the spring-time, summer, nor autumn, unless it be at the end of it, but in winter. And the cause thereof is that as the growing heat of the spring maketh the humours closed up in the winter to disperse themselves to the extremities of the body, and so cleareth it from melancholy, and from the noisome humours that have been gathered in winter: so the autumn, as the winter approacheth, draweth them inward, and doth nourish this melancholy and black humour, which doth abound specially in this season, and the winter being come sheweth forth his effects at the costs and grief of the poor patients. Galen [*Galen, Com. 35, lib. 1: de nat. hum.*] yieldeth a reason for the same, saying that the humours of the body, having been parched by the burning of the summer, that which may rest of it, after the heat is expulsed, becometh forthwith cold and dry: that is to say, cold by the privation of the heat, and dry in as much as in the drying of these humours all the moistness that was therein hath been consumed. And thereby it cometh that sicknesses are bred in this season, and the farther one goeth, the weaker nature is, and the intemperate coldness of the air, being entered into a body



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already thereto disposed, doth handle it (as it were) at a beck and at will, without pity.

I would add willingly to all the foresaid causes the bad food of the sea, which in a long voyage brings much corruption in man's body. For one must of necessity, after four or five days, live of salt meat, or to bring sheep alive, and store of poultry; but this is but for Masters and Commanders in ships; and we had none in our voyage but for to reserve and multiply in the land whither we did go. The mariners then and passengers do suffer discommodity as well in the bread as in meat and drink: the biscuit becometh dampish and rotten, the fishes that are given them alike, and the waters stinking; they which carry sweet meats, be it flesh or fruits, and that use good bread, good wine, and good broths, do easily avoid those sicknesses; and I durst (in some sort) be answerable unto them for their healths, unless they be very unhealthful by nature. And, when I consider that this disease is as well taken in Holland, Friesland, in Spain and in Guinea as in Canada, I am brought to believe that the chief cause thereof is in that which I have said, and not peculiar nor particular to New France.

After all these causes and considerations, it is good in every place to have a well disposed body, for to be in health and live long. For those which naturally gather cold and gross humours, and have the mass of their body pory: *item* they that be subject to the oppilations<sup>37</sup> of the spleen, and they that use not a stirring life, but sitting and without frequent motion, are more apt and subject to these sicknesses. Therefore a physician might say that a student is not fit for that country, that is to say, he shall not live there in health; nor those which overtoil in labours; nor melancholy people, men which have drowsy, dreaming spirits, nor those that be often visited with agues; and such other sort of people. Which I might easily believe, because that



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these things do heap much melancholy, cold, and superfluous humours. Notwithstanding I have tried the contrary, both by myself and by others, against the opinion of some of ours—yea, of Sagamos Member-tou<sup>38</sup> himself, which playeth the soothsayer among the savages, who (arriving in that country) said that I should never return into France, nor Monsieur Boullet (sometimes captain of Monsieur de Poutrincourt his regiment), who for the most part of the time hath had agues there (but he did fare well). And they themselves did advise our labourers to take but small labour in their work (which counsel they could very well observe); for I may say (and that truly) that I never made so much bodily work for the pleasure that I did take in dressing and tilling my gardens, to enclose and hedge them against the gluttony of the hogs, to make knots, to draw out alleys, to build arbours, to sow wheat, rye, barley, oats, beans, peas, garden-herbs, and to water them—so much desire had I to know the goodness of the ground by my own experience. So that summer's days were unto me too short, and very often did I work by moonlight. Concerning the labour of the mind, I took a reasonable part of it, for at night, everyone being retired, among the pratings, noises, and hurlyburies, I was shut up in my study, reading or writing of something. Yea, I will not be ashamed to speak that, being requested by Monsieur de Poutrincourt, our Commander, to bestow some hours of my industry in giving Christian instructions to our small company, for not to live like beasts and for to give to the savages an example of our manner of life, I have done it according to the necessity, and being thereof requested, every Sunday and sometimes extraordinarily, almost during all the time we have been there. And well was it for me that I had brought my Bible and some books unawares<sup>39</sup>; for otherwise it had been very difficult for me, and had been cause

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to excuse me of that work. It hath not been without fruit, many witnessing unto me that they had never heard so much good talk of God, not knowing before any principle of that which belongeth to Christian doctrine: and such is the state wherein live the most part of Christendom. And if there were any edifying of one part, there was backbiting on the other, by reason that, using a French liberty, I willingly spake the truth. Whereupon I remember the saying of the Prophet Amos: "*They have hated (saith he) him that reproveth them in the gate, and have had in abomination him that spake in integrity*" [5, verse 10]. But in the end we became all good friends; and amongst these things God gave me always a sound and a perfect health, always a good taste, always merry and nimble saving that having once lain in the woods near to a brook in snowy weather, I was touched with a cramp or sciatica in my thigh a fortnight's space, not losing my appetite nor stomach for the same; for indeed I took delight in that which I did, desiring to confine there my life, if it would please God to bless the voyages.

I should be over-tedious if I would set down here the disposition of all persons, and to speak concerning children that they are more subject to this sickness than others, for that they have very often ulcers in the mouth and gums, because of the thin substance that abound in their bodies; and also that they gather many crude humours by their disorder of living, and by the quantity of fruits they eat, being never filled with it, by which means they gather great quantity of waterish blood, and the spleen being stopped cannot soak up those moistures. And as for old folks that have their heat weakened and cannot resist the sickness, being filled with crudities and with a cold and moist temperature which is the quality proper to stir up and nourish it, I will not take the physician's office in hand, fearing the censuring rod; and notwithstanding (with their

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leave) not touching with their orders and receipts of agaric, aloes, rhubarb and other ingredients, I will write here that which I think more ready at hand for the poor people which have not the ability and means to send to Alexandria as well for the preservation of their health as for the remedy of this sickness.

It is a certain axiom that a contrary must be healed by his contrary. This sickness proceeding from an indigestion of rude, gross, cold, and melancholy meats, which offend the stomach, I think it good (submitting myself to better judgment and advice) to accompany them with good sauces, be it of butter, oil, or fat, all well spiced, to correct as well the quality of the meat as of the body inwardly waxen cold. Let this be said for rude and gross meats, as beans, peas, and fish: for he that shall eat good capons, partridges, good ducks, and good rabbits, he may be assured of his health, or else his body is of a very bad constitution. We have had some sick that have (as it were) been raised up from death to life: for, having eaten twice or thrice of a coolice<sup>40</sup> made of a cock, good wine taken according to the necessity of nature is a sovereign preservative for all sicknesses, and particularly for this. Master Macquin and Master Georges, worshipful merchants of La Rochelle, as associates to Monsieur de Monts, did furnish us with 45 tuns of wine, which did us very much good. And our sick folks themselves, having their mouths spoiled and not being able to eat, have never lost the taste of wine, which they took with a pipe. The same hath preserved many of them from death. The young buds of herbs in the springtime be also very sovereign. And, besides that reason requireth to believe it, I have tried it, being myself gone many times to gather some for our sick people, before that those of our garden might be used, which restored them to their taste again and comforted their weak stomachs.



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And as for that which concerneth the exterior parts of the body, we have found great good in wearing wooden pantooffes,<sup>41</sup> or patins, with our shoes, for to avoid the moistness. The houses need no opening nor windows on the north-west side, being a wind very dangerous; but rather on the east side, or the south. It is very good to have good bedding (and it was good for me to have carried things necessary to this purpose), and above all to keep himself neat. I would like well the use of stoves, such as they have in Germany, by means whereof they feel no winter, being at home but as much as they please. Yea, they have of them, in many places, in their gardens, which do so temper the coldness of winter that in this rough and sharp season there one may see orange-trees, lemon-trees, fig-trees, pomegranate-trees, and all such sorts of trees, bring forth fruit as good as in Provence—which is so much the more easy to do in this new land, for that it is all covered over with woods (except when one comes in the Armouchiquois country, a hundred leagues further off than Port Royal). And in making of winter a summer one shall discover the land, which, not having any more those great obstacles that hinder the sun to court her and from warming it with his heat, without doubt it will become very temperate, and yield a most mild air, and well agreeing with our humour, not having there, even at this time, neither cold nor heat that is excessive.

The savages that know not Germany, nor the customs thereof, do teach us the same lesson, which, being subject to those sicknesses (as we have seen in the voyage of James Cartier), use sweatings often, as it were every month, and by this means they preserve themselves, driving out by sweat all the cold and evil humours they might have gathered. But one singular preservative against this persidious sickness, which cometh so stealthingly and which having once lodged



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itself within us will not be put out, is to follow the counsel of him that is wise amongst the wise, who, having considered all the afflictions that man give to himself during his life, hath found nothing better than “*to rejoyce himself, and do good, and to take pleasure in his own works*” [Ecclesi, 3, iii., 12 and 22]. They that have done so, in our company, have found themselves well by it: contrariwise, some always grudging, repining, never content, idle, have been found out by the same disease. True it is that for to enjoy mirth it is good to have the sweetness of fresh meats, fleshs, fishes, milk, butter, oils, fruits, and suchlike, which we had not at will (I mean the common sort, for always some one or other of the company did furnish Monsieur de Poutrincourt his table with wild fowl, venison, or fresh fish). And, if we had had half a dozen kine, I believe that nobody had died there.

It resteth a preservative, necessary for the accomplishment of mirth and to the end one may take pleasure on the work of his hands, is everyone to have the honest company of his lawful wife; for, without that, the cheer is never perfect: one's mind is always upon that which one loves and desireth. There is still some sorrow—the body becomes full of ill-humours, and so the sickness doth breed.

And for the last and sovereign remedy, I send back the patient to the tree of life (for so one may well qualify it), which James Cartier doth call anneda, yet unknown in the coast of Port Royal, unless it be peradventure the sassafras, whereof there is quantity in certain places. And it is an assured thing that the said tree is very excellent. But Monsieur Champlain who is now in the great river of Canada, passing his winter in the same part where the said Cartier did winter—hath charge to find it out, and to make provision thereof.

## CHAPTER VII

### DISCOVERY OF NEW LANDS

THE rough season being passed, Monsieur de Monts wearied with his bad dwelling at Sainte-Croix, determined to seek out another port in a warmer country and more to the south; and to that end made a pinnace to be armed and furnished with victuals, to follow the coast and, discovering new countries, to seek out some happier port in a more temperate air. And because that in seeking, one cannot set forward so much as when in full sails one goeth in open sea, and that finding out bays and gulfs, lying between two lands, one must put in, because that there one may as soon find that which is sought for as elsewhere, he made in this voyage but about six score leagues, as we will tell you now. From Sainte-Croix to 60 leagues forward, the coast lieth East and West; at the end of which 60 leagues is the river called by the savages Kinibeki.<sup>42</sup> From which place to Malebarre it lieth North and South, and there is yet from one to the other 60 leagues, in right line, not following the bays. So far stretcheth Monsieur de Monts his voyage, wherein he had for pilot in his vessel Monsieur de Champdoré. In all this coast so far as Kinibeki there is many places where ships may be harboured amongst the islands, but the people there is not so frequent as is beyond that; and there is no remarkable thing (at least that may be seen in the outside of the lands) but a river, whereof many have written fables one after another, like to those that they (who grounding themselves upon Hanno his *Commentaries*, a Carthaginian captain [Pliny, lib. iii., cap. 1]) have feigned of towns built by him in great number upon the coasts of Africa, which is watered

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with the ocean-sea, for that he played an heroical part in sailing so far as the isles of Cape Verde, where long time since nobody hath been, the navigation not being so secure then, upon that great sea, as it is at this day by the benefit of the compass.

Therefore, without alleging that which the first writers (Spaniards and Portuguese) have said, I will recite that which is in the last book, entitled *The Universal History of the West Indies*, printed at Douai the last year (1607)<sup>43</sup> in the place where he speaketh of Norombega: for, in reporting this, I shall have also said that which the first have written, from whom they have had it.

“Moreover, towards the North (saith the author, after he had spoken of Virginia) is Norombega, which is known well enough by reason of a fair town, and a great river, though it is not found from whence it hath his name, for the Barbarians do call it Agguncia: at the mouth of this river there is an island very fit for fishing. The region that goeth along the sea doth abound in fish, and towards New France there is great number of wild beasts, and is very commodious for hunting; the inhabitants do live in the same manner as they of New France. If this beautiful town hath ever been in nature, I would fain know who hath pulled it down: for there is but cabins here and there made with perchs, and covered with barks of trees or with skins, and both the river and the place inhabited is called Pemptegoet,<sup>44</sup> and not Agguncia. The river (saving the tide) is scarce as the river of Oise. And there can be no great river on that coast, because there are not lands sufficient to produce them, by reason of the great river of Canada, which runneth like this coast, and is not four-score leagues distant from that place in crossing the lands, which from elsewhere received many rivers falling from those parts which are towards Norombega: at the entry whereof it is so far from having but one island that rather the number



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thereof is almost infinite, for as much as this river enlarging itself like the Greek *lambda*  $\Lambda$ , the mouth whereof is all full of isles, whereof there is one of them lying very far off (and the foremost) in the sea, which is high and markable above the others.

But some will say that I equivocate in the situation of Norombega, and that it is not placed where I take it. To this I answer that the author whose words I have a little before alleged is in this my sufficient warrant, who in his Geographical Map hath placed in the mouth of this river in the 44th degree, and his supposed town in the 45th, wherein we differ but in one degree, which is a small matter. For the river that I mean is in the 45th degree, and, as for any town, there is none. Now of necessity it must be this river, because that the same being passed and that of Kinibeki (which is in the same height), there is no other river forward whereof account should be made till one come to Virginia. I say furthermore that, seeing the barbarians of Norombega do live as they of New France and have abundance of hunting, it must be that their province be seated in our New France; for fifty leagues farther to the south-west there is no great game, because the woods are thinner there, and the inhabitants settled and in greater number then in Norombega."

True it is that a sea-captain named Jean Alfonse,<sup>45</sup> of Saintonge, in the relation of his adventurous voyages hath written that, having passed Saint John's Island (which I take for the same that I have called heretofore the Isle of Bacaillos), the coast turneth to the West and West South-west, as far as the river of Norombega, newly discovered (saith he) by the Portuguese and Spaniards, which is in 30 degrees, adding that this river hath, at the entry thereof, many isles, banks, and rocks, and that fifteen or twenty leagues within it is built a great town, where the people be small and blackish, like them of the Indies, and are clothed with



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skins, whereof they have abundance of all sorts. Item, that the bank of Newfoundland endeth there; and that, that river being passed, the coast turneth to the West and West North-west, above 250 leagues towards a country where there is both towns and castles. But I see very little or no truth at all in all the discourses of this man; and well may he call his voyages adventurous, not for him, who was never in the hundreth part of the places he describeth (at least it is easy so to think), but for those that will follow the ways which he willeth mariners to follow. For if the said river of Norombega be in thirty degrees, it must needs be in Florida, which is the contrary to all them that ever have written of it and to the very truth itself.

Concerning that which he saith of the bank of Newfoundland, it endeth (by the report of mariners, about the Isle of Sablon,<sup>46</sup> or Sand) about Cape Breton. True it is that there is some other banks, that be called Le Banquereau and Le Banc Jacquet, but they are but five or six or ten leagues, and are divided from the great bank of Newfoundland. And touching the men in the land of Norombega, they are of fair and high stature. And to say that, this river being passed, the coast lieth West and West North-west, that hath no likelihood. For from Cape Breton so far as the point of Florida, that lieth over against the Isle of Cuba, there is not any coast standing West North-west, only there is in the parts joining upon the true river called Norombega, some fifty leagues coast that standeth East and West. Finally, of all that which the said Jean Alfonse doth report, I receive but that which he saith that this river whereof we speak hath at the coming in many islands, banks, and rocks.

The river of Norombega being passed, Monsieur de Monts went still coasting, until he came to Kinibeki, where a river is, that may shorten the way to go to the

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great river of Canada. There is a number of savages cabined there, and the land beginneth there to be better peopled. From Kinibeki going farther, one findeth the bay of Marchin, named by the captain his name that commandeth therein. This Marchin was killed the year that we parted from New France, 1607. Farther is another bay called Chouakoet,<sup>47</sup> where (in regard of the former countries) is a great number of people; for there they till the ground, and the region beginneth to be more temperate, and for proof of this there is in this land store of vines. Yea, even there be islands full of it (which be more subject to the injuries of the wind and cold), as we shall say hereafter. There is between Chouakoet and Malebarre many bays and isles, and the coast is sandy, with shallow ground, drawing near to the said Malebarre, so that scarce one may land there with barks.

The people that be from Saint John's River to Kinibeki (wherein are comprised the rivers of Sainte-Croix and Norombega) are called Etechemins; and from Kinibeki as far as Malebarre, and farther, they are called Armouchiquois. They be traitors and thieves, and one had need to take heed of them. Monsieur de Monts, having made some stay at Malebarre, victuals began to be scarce with him, and it was needful to think upon the return, specially seeing all the coast so troublesome that one could pass no further without peril for shoals that stretch far into the sea, in such wise that, the farther one goeth from the land, lesser depth there is. But, before departing, a carpenter of Saint Malo died casually, who, going to fetch water with some kettles, an Armouchiquois, seeing fit opportunity to steal one of those kettles when that the Frenchman took no heed, took it, and ran away speedily with his booty. The Malouin, running after, was killed by this wicked people; and, although the same had not happened, it was in vain to pursue after

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this thief; for all these Armouchiquois are as swift in running as greyhounds—as we will yet further say in speaking of the voyage that Monsieur de Poutrincourt made in the same country, in the year 1606. It grieved sore Monsieur de Monts to see such a thing, and his men were earnest for revenge (which they might do, for the other barbarians were not so far from the Frenchmen but that a musket shot might have scared them, which they had already on rest to level everyone at his man), but the said Monsieur de Monts, upon some considerations which many other of his place and dignity might have missed to consider, made everyone to put down their musket-cocks, and left them alone, not having hitherto found a fit place to make a settled dwelling. And so the said Monsieur de Monts caused all things to be in a readiness for the return to Sainte-Croix, where he had left a good number of his men, yet weak by the winter sickness, of whose health he was careful.

Many that know not what belongeth to the sea do think that the setting of an habitation in an unknown land is easy; but by the discourse of this voyage and others that follow they shall find that it is far easier to say than to do, and that Monsieur de Monts hath exploited many things this first year in viewing all the coast of this land even to Malebarre, which is 400 leagues, following the same coast, and searching to the bottom of the bays—besides the labour he was forced to in causing houses to be made at Sainte-Croix, the care he had of those which he had brought thither, and of their return into France, if any peril or ship-wreck should come to those that had promised him to fetch him at the end of the year. But one may run and take pain to seek ports and havens where fortune favoureth; yet she is always like to herself. It is good for one to lodge himself in a sweet mild climate, when one may choose, notwithstanding death follows us everywhere.

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I have heard of a pilot of Newhaven that was with the Englishmen in Virginia 24 years ago, that, being come thither, there died 36 of them in three months. Nevertheless, Virginia is taken to be in the 36th, 37th, and 38th degrees of latitude, which is a good temperate country. Which considering, I yet believe (as I have already said before) that such mortality cometh by the bad fare. And it is altogether needful to have in such a country, at the very beginning, household, and tame cattle of all sorts, and to carry store of fruit-trees and grafts, for to have there quickly recreation necessary to the health of them that desire to people the land. That if the savages themselves be subject to the sickness whereof we have spoken, I attribute that to the same cause of evil fare. For they have nothing that may correct the vice of the meats which they take, and are always naked amongst the moistures of the ground, which is the very means to gather quantity of corrupted humours, which cause those sicknesses unto them as well as to the strangers that go thither, although they be born to that kind of life.



## CHAPTER VIII

### THE TRANSFER TO PORT ROYAL

THE springtime season being passed in the voyage of the Armouchiquois, Monsieur de Monts did temporize at Sainte-Croix for the time that he had agreed upon, in the which, if he had no news from France, he might depart and come to seek some ship of them that come to Newfoundland for the drying of fish, to the end to repass in France within the same, he and his company, if it were possible. This time was already expired, and they were ready to set sails, not expecting more any succour nor refreshing, when Monsieur du Pont, surnamed Gravé, dwelling at Honfleur, did arrive [1605] with a company of some forty men for to ease the said Monsieur de Monts and his troupe, which was to the great joy of all, as one may well imagine; and cannon-shots were free and plentiful at the coming according to custom, and the sound of trumpets. The said Monsieur du Pont, not knowing yet the state of our Frenchmen, did think to find there an assured dwelling and his lodgings ready; but, considering the accidents of the strange sickness whereof we have spoken, he took advice to change place. Monsieur de Monts was very desirous that the new habitation had been about 40 degrees, that is to say, 4 degrees farther than Sainte-Croix; but, having viewed the coast as far as Malebarre and with much pain, not finding what he desired, it was deliberated to go and make their dwelling in Port Royal until means were had to make an ampler discovery. So everyone began to pack up his things: that which was built with infinite labour was pulled down, except the store-house, which was too great and painful to be transported, and in

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executing of this many voyages are made. All being come to Port Royal, they found out new labours: the abiding place is chosen right over against the island, that is at the coming in of the river l'Équille, in a place where all is covered over and full of woods as thick as possible may be. The month of September did already begin to come, and care was to be taken for the unlading of Monsieur du Pont his ship, to make room for them that should return back into France. Finally, there is work enough for all. When the ship was in a readiness to put to sails, Monsieur de Monts, having seen the beginning of the new habitation, shipped himself for his return with them that would follow him. Notwithstanding, many of good courage (forgetting the griefs and labours passed) did tarry behind, amongst whom were Monsieur Champlain and Monsieur Champdoré, the one for geography and the other for the conducting and guiding of the voyages that should be necessary to be made by sea. Then the said Monsieur de Monts hoisted up sails, and leaveth the said Monsieur du Pont as his lieutenant and deputy in these parts, who wanting no diligence (according to his nature) in making perfect that which was needful for to lodge both himself and his people, which was all that might be done for that year in that country. For to go far from home in the winter and after so long a toil, there was no reason. And as for the tillage of the ground, I believe they had no fit time to do it; for the said Monsieur du Pont was not a man to be long in rest, nor to leave his men idle, if there had been any means for it.

The winter being come, the savages of the country did assemble themselves from far to Port Royal, for to truck with the Frenchmen for such things they had, some bringing beavers' skins, and otters (which are those whereof most account may be made in that place) and also elans<sup>48</sup> or stags, whereof good buff may be







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made; others bringing flesh newly killed, wherewith they made many good *tabagies*,<sup>49</sup> or feasts, living merrily as long as they had wherewithal. They never wanted any bread, but wine did not continue with them till the season was ended. For, when we came thither the year following, they had been above three months without any wine, and were very glad of our coming, for that made them to take again the taste of it.

The greatest pain they had was to grind the corn to have bread, which is very painful with hand-mills, where all the strength of the body is requisite; and therefore it is not without cause that in old time bad people were threatened to be sent to the mill, as to the painfullest thing, that is: to which occupation poor slaves were set to, before the use of water- and wind-mills was found out, as the profane histories make mention: and the same of the coming of the people of Israel out of the land of Egypt, where, for the last scourge that God will send to Pharaoh, he declareth by the mouth of Moses [Exod. xi. 4, 5] that "*about midnight he will pass through Egypt, and every first-born shall die there, from the first-born of Pharaoh, that should sit upon his throne, to the first-born of the maid-servant which grindeth at the mill.*" And this labour is so great that the savages (although they be very poor) cannot bear it, and had rather to be without bread than to take so much pains, as it hath been tried, offering them half of the grinding they should do, but they chose rather to have no corn. And I might well believe that the same, with other things, hath been great means to breed the sickness spoken of, in some of Monsieur du Pont his men; for there died some half a dozen of them that winter. True it is that I find a defect in the buildings of our Frenchmen, which is, they had no ditches about them, whereby the waters of the ground next to them did run under their lowermost rooms, which was a great hindrance to their

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health. I add besides the bad waters which they used, that did not run from a quick spring but from the nearest brook.

The winter being passed and the sea navigable, Monsieur du Pont would needs achieve the enterprise begun the year before by Monsieur de Monts, and to go seek out a port more southerly, where the air might be more temperate, according as he had in charge of the said Monsieur de Monts. He furnished then the bark which remained with him to that effect. But, being set out of the port and full ready, hoisted up sails for Malebarre, he was forced by contrary wind twice to put back again, and at the third time the said bark strake against the rocks at the entry of the said port. In this disgrace of Neptune, the men were saved with the better part of provision and merchandise; but as for the bark it was rent in pieces. And by this mishap the voyage was broken, and that which was so desired intermitted. For the habitation of Port Royal was not judged good. And notwithstanding it is on the North and North-west sides well sheltered with mountains, distant some one league, some half a league, from the port and the river l'Equille. So we see how that enterprises take not effect according to the desires of men, and are accompanied with many perils. So that one must not wonder if the time be long in establishing of colonies, specially in lands so remote, whose nature and temperature of air is not known, and where one must fell and cut down forests, and be constrained to take heed, not from the people that we call savages, but from them that term themselves Christians and yet have but the name of it—cursed and abominable people, worse than wolves, enemies to God and human nature.

This attempt then being broken, Monsieur du Pont knew not what to do but to attend the succour and supply that Monsieur de Monts promised, parting

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from Port Royal at his return into France, to send him the year following. Yet for all events he built another bark and a shallop for to seek French ships in the places where they use to dry fish, such as Campseau Port, English Port, Miramichi Port,<sup>50</sup> the Bay of Chaleur (or heat), the Bay of Morues (or cods), and others in great number, according as Monsieur de Monts had done the former year, to the end to ship himself in them and to return into France, in case that no ship should come to succour him. Wherein he did wisely, for he was in danger to hear no news from us, that were appointed to succeed him, as it shall appear by the discourse following.

But in the meanwhile we must consider that they which in these voyages have transported themselves in these parts have had an advantage over those that would plant in Florida, which is in having that refuge before-said of French ships that frequent the Newfoundlands for fishing, not being forced to build great ships, nor to abide extreme famines, as they have done in Florida, whose voyages have been lamentable for that respect, and these by reason of the sicknesses that have persecuted them, but they of Florida have had a blessing for that they were in a mild and fertile country and more friendly to man's health than New France, spoken of elsewhere. If they have suffered famines, there was great fault in them, for not having tilled the ground, which they found plain and champion<sup>51</sup>: which before all other thing is to be done, of them that will lodge themselves so far from ordinary succour. But the Frenchmen and almost all nations at this day (I mean of those that be not born and brought up to the manuring of the ground) have this bad nature, that they think to derogate much from their dignity in addicting themselves to the tillage of the ground, which notwithstanding is almost the only vocation where innocency remaineth. And thereby cometh that every-

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one shunning this noble labour our first parents' and ancient kings' exercise, as also of the greatest captains of the world, seeking to make himself a gentleman at others' costs, or else willing only to learn the trade to deceive men or to claw himself in the sun, God taketh away his blessing from us, and beateth us at this day, and hath done a long time, with an iron rod, so that in all parts the people languisheth miserably, and we see the realm of France swarming with beggars and vagabonds of all kinds, besides an infinite number, groaning in their poor cottages, not daring, or ashamed, to show forth their poverty and misery.



## CHAPTER IX

### DE POUTRINCOURT'S THIRD VOYAGE

ABOUT the time of the before-mentioned shipwreck, Monsieur de Monts being in France, did think carefully upon the means how to prepare a new supply for New France. Which seemed hard and difficult to him, as well for the great charges that that action required as because that province had been so discredited at his return that the continuing of these voyages any longer did seem vain and unfruitful. Besides, there was some reason to believe that nobody would adventure himself thither. Notwithstanding, knowing Monsieur de Poutrincourt his desire (to whom before he had given part of the land, according to the power which the King had given him), which was to inhabit in those parts, and there to settle his family and his fortune, together with the name of God, he wrote unto him, and sent a man of purpose to give him notice of the voyage that was in hand: which the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt accepted of, leaving all other affairs to attend on this action, though he had suits in law of great weight, to the prosecuting and defence whereof his presence was very requisite: and that at his first voyage he had tried the malice of some, which during his absence prosecuted against him with rigour, and at his return gave over and became dumb. He was no sooner come to Paris but that he was forced to depart, not having scarce time to provide for things necessary. And I having had that good hap to be acquainted with him some years before, asked me if I would take part in that business, whereunto I demanded a day's respite to answer him. Having well consulted withm yself, not so much desirous to see the country

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(for I knew well that there was woods, lakes, and rivers, and that one must go over seas, which I had before done in the Straits<sup>52</sup>) as to be able to give an eye judgment of the land, whereto my mind was before inclined; and to avoid a corrupted world I engaged my word unto him, being induced thereto specially for the injustice done to me a little before by some presidial judges,<sup>53</sup> in favour of a personage of eminent quality, whom I have always honoured and revered: which sentence at my return hath been recalled; by order and sentence of the Court of Parliament, for which I am particularly obliged to Monsieur Servin,<sup>54</sup> the King his Advocate General, to whom doth belong properly this éloge, attributed according to the letter, to the most wise and most magnificent of all Kings, "*Thou hast loved justice and hated iniquity*" [Psalms v. 4].

So it is that God awakeneth us sometimes to stir us up to generous actions, such as be these voyages, which (as the world doth vary) some will blame, other some will approve. But, without answering anybody in this respect, I care not what discourses idle men, or those that cannot or will not help me, may make, enjoying contentment in myself, and being ready to render all service to God and to the King in those remote lands that bear the name of France, if either my fortune or condition call me thither, for there to live in quiet and rest, by an acceptable pleasing labour, and to shun the hard and miserable life whereto I see reduced the most part of men in this part of the world.

To return, then, to Monsieur de Poutrincourt: as he had dispatched some businesses, he inquired in some churches if some learned priest might be found out that would go with him, to relieve and ease him whom Monsieur de Monts had left there at his voyage, whom we thought to be yet living. But because it was the Holy Week, in which time they are employed, and wait on confessions and shrivings, there was none to be

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found—some excusing themselves upon the troubles and discommodities of the sea and the length of the voyage, other deferring it till after Easter. Which was cause that none could be had out of Paris: by reason the season hastened on; time and tide tarry for no man; so then we were forced to depart.

There rested to find out fit and necessary workmen for the voyage of New France, whereunto was speedily provided, price agreed upon for their wages, and money given beforehand in part thereof to bear their charges to La Rochelle, where the rendezvous was, at the dwelling-houses of Master Macquin and Master Georges, worshipful merchants of the said town, the associates of Monsieur de Monts, which did provide our furniture and provision.

Our meaner people being gone, three or four days after we took our way to Orleans upon Good Friday, for there to solemnize and pass our Easter, where everyone accomplished the duty usual to all good Christians, in taking the spiritual food, that is to say the Holy Communion, seeing we did undertake and were going on a voyage. From thence we came down the river Loire to Saumur, with our carriage; and from Saumur we went by Tours and Maran to La Rochelle by hackney horses.

## CHAPTER X

### DELAYED AT LA ROCHELLE

BEING come to La Rochelle, we found there Monsieur de Monts and Monsieur de Poutrincourt, that were come in post, and our ship called the *Jonas*, of the burthen of 150 tons, ready to pass out of the chains of the town, to tarry for wind and tide. The tide I say, because that a great ship laden cannot come to sea from La Rochelle but in spring tides, upon the new and full moon, by reason that in the town road there is no sufficient depth. In the meanwhile we made good cheer, yea, so good that we did long to be at sea to make diet, which we did but too soon, being once come thither; for during two whole months we saw not a whit of land, as we will farther tell anon. But the workmen, through their good cheer (for they had every one two shillings a day's hire) did play marvellous pranks in Saint Nicholas quarter, where they were lodged, which was found strange in a town so reformed as La Rochelle is, in the which no notorious riots nor dissolutions be made; and indeed one must behave himself orderly there, unless he will incur the danger either of the censure of the mayor or of the ministers of the town. Some of those disordered men were put in prison, which were kept in the town-house till the time of going, and had been further punished had it not been upon consideration of the voyage, where they knew they should not have all their eases, but should afterwards pay dear enough their mad bargain in putting the said Master Macquin and Master Georges to so much trouble to keep them in order. I will not, for all that, put in the number of this disordered people, all the rest, for there were some very civil and respective.



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But I will say that the common people is a dangerous beast. And this maketh me remember the Croquans' war,<sup>55</sup> amongst whom I was once in my life, being in Quercy. It was the strangest thing in the world to see the confusion of those wooden-shoed fellows, from whence they took the name of Croquans (that is to say Hookers) because that their wooden shoes, nailed before and behind, did hook or stick fast at every step. This confused people had neither rhyme nor reason among them; everyone was Master there; some armed with an hedge-hook at a staff's end, others with some rusty sword, and so accordingly.

Our *Jonas*, having her full load, was in the end rowed out of the town into the road, and we thought to set out the 8th or 9th of April. Captain Foulques had taken the charge for the conducting of the voyage. But as commonly there is negligence in men's businesses, it happened that this captain (who notwithstanding I have known very diligent and watchful at sea), having left the ship ill-manned not being in her himself nor the pilot but only 6 or 7 mariners good and bad, a great South-east wind arose in the night, which brake the *Jonas'* cable, fastened with one only anchor, and driveth her against a forewall which is out of the town, backing and proping the tower of the chain, against which she strake so many times that she brake and sunk down; and it chanced well that it was then ebbing, for, if this mishap had come in flowing time, the ship was in danger to be overwhelmed with a far greater loss than we had; but she stood up, and so there was means to mend her, which was done with speed. Our workmen were warned to come and help in this necessity, either to draw at the pump, at the capstan, or to any other thing; but few there were that endeavoured themselves to do anything, the most part of them going away, and most of them made a mock of it. Some having gone so far as to the oar, went back complaining that one

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had cast water upon them, being of that side that the water came out of the pump, which the wind did scatter upon them. I came thither with Monsieur de Poutrincourt and some other willing men, where we were not unprofitable. Almost all the inhabitants of La Rochelle were beholding this spectacle upon the ramparts. The sea was yet stormy, and we thought our ship would have dashed oftentimes against the great towers of the town. In the end, we came in with less loss than we thought of. The ship was all unladen, being forced to tackle and furnish her anew. The loss thereby was great, and the voyages almost broken off for ever; for I believe that after so many trials none would have ventured to go plant colonies in those parts; that country being so ill spoken of that everyone did pity us, considering the accidents happened to them that had been there before. Notwithstanding, Monsieur de Monts and his associates did bear manfully this loss. And I must needs be so bold as to tell in this occurrence that, if ever that country be inhabited with Christians and civil people, the first praise thereof must of right be due to the authors of this voyage.

This great trouble hindered us above a month, which was employed in the unlading and lading again of our ship. During that time we did walk sometimes unto the places near about the town, and chiefly unto the Convent of the Cordeliers, which is but half a league off from the town; where being one Sunday, I did marvel how in those places of frontier there is no better garrison, having so strong enemies near them. And, seeing I take in hand to relate an history of things according to the true manner of them, I say that it is a shameful thing for us that the Ministers of La Rochelle pray to God every day in their congregations for the conversion of the poor savage people, and also for our safe conducting, and that our churchmen do not the like. In very truth we never required neither the one

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nor the other to do it, but therein is known the zeal of both sides. In the end, a little before our departing, it came to my mind to ask of the parson or vicar of La Rochelle if there might be found any of his fraternity that would come with us, which I hoped might easily be done, because there was a reasonable good number of them; and besides that, being in a maritime town, I thought they took delight to haunt the seas; but I could obtain nothing; and for all excuses it was told me that none would go to such voyages unless they were moved with an extraordinary zeal and piety; and that it would be the best way to seek to the fathers Jesuits for the same. Which we could not then do, our ship having almost her full lading. Whereupon I remember to have heard oftentimes of Monsieur de Poutrincourt that after his first voyage, being at the Court, an ecclesiastical person, esteemed very zealous in the Christian religion, demanded of him what might be hoped for in the conversion of the people of New France, and whether there were any great number of them. Whereunto he answered that a hundred thousand souls might be gotten to Jesus Christ (naming a number certain for an uncertain). This clergyman, making small account of such a number, said thereupon by admiration: "*Is that all!*"—as if that number did not deserve the labour of a churchman. Truly, though there were but the hundredth part of that, yea yet less, one must not suffer it to be lost. The good shepherd, having among an hundred sheep one astray, left the 99 for to go and seek out the one that was lost [Matt. xviii. 12, 13]. We are taught (and I believe it so) that, though there were but one man to be saved, our Lord Jesus Christ had not disdained to come as well for him as he hath done for all the world. In like manner, one must not make so small account of the salvation of these poor people, though they swarm not in number as within Paris or Constantinople.



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Seeing it availed me nothing in demanding for a churchman to administer the sacrament unto us, be it during our navigation or upon the land, the ancient custom of the Christians came into my mind, which going in voyage did carry with them the holy bread of the Eucharist, and this did they, because they found not in all places priests to administer this sacrament unto them, the world being then yet full either of heathens or heretics. So that it was not improperly called *viaticum*, which they carried with them travelling on the way; yet notwithstanding I am of opinion that it hath a spiritual meaning. And, considering that we might be brought to that necessity, not having in New France but one priest only (of whose death we heard when we came thither), I demanded if they would do unto us as to the ancient Christians, who were as wise as we. I was answered that the same was done in that time for considerations which are not now at this day. I replied that Satirus, Saint Ambrose's brother, going on a voyage upon the sea, served himself with this spiritual physic (as we read in his funeral oration made by his said brother Saint Ambrose), which he did carry *in crario*, which I take to be a linen cloth, or tafeta; and well did it happen unto him by it. For, having made shipwreck, he saved himself upon a board, left of his vessel's wreck. But I was as well refused in this as of the rest. Which gave me cause of wondering; seeming to me a very rigorous thing to be in worse condition than the first Christians. For the Eucharist is no other thing at this day than it was then; and, if they held it precious, we do not demand it to make lesser account thereof.

Let us return to our *Jonas*. Now she was laden and brought out of the town into the road; there resteth nothing more than fit weather and tide, which was the hardest of the matter. For in places where is no great depth, as in La Rochelle, one must tarry for the high



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tides of the full and new moons, and then peradventure the wind will not be fit, and so one must defer till a fortnight's time. In the meanwhile the season goeth away: as it was almost with us. For we saw the hour that, after so many labours and charges, we were in danger to tarry for lack of wind, because the moon was in the wane and consequently the tide. Captain Foulques did not seem to affect his charge, making no ordinary stay in the ship; and it was reported that other merchants, not being of Monsieur de Monts his society, did secretly solicit him to break off the voyage. And indeed it hath been thought that he caused us to make wrong courses; which kept us two months and a half at sea, as hereafter we shall see. Which thing the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt perceiving, himself took upon him the charge of captain of the ship, and went to lie in her the space of five or six days, for to get out with the first wind and not to lose the opportunity. In the end, with much ado, the eleventh day of May, 1606, by the favour of a small easterly wind, he went to sea, and made our *Jonas* to be brought to La Palisse,<sup>56</sup> and, the next day being the 12th of the same month, came again to Chef de Baie (which be the places where ships put themselves for shelter from winds), where the hope of New France was assembled. I say the hope, because that of this voyage, did depend the continuance or total breach of the enterprise.

## CHAPTER XI

### DEPARTURE FROM LA ROCHELLE

THE Saturday, Whitsun-eve, 13th of May, we weighed our anchors, and sailed in open sea, so that by little and little we lost the sight of the great towers and town of La Rochelle, then of the Isles of Ré and Oleron, bidding France farewell. It was a thing fearful for them that were not used to such a dance, to see them carried upon so movable an element, and to be at every moment (as it were) within two fingers' breadth to death. We had not long sailed but that many did their endeavour to yield up the tribute to Neptune. In the meanwhile we went still forward, for there was no more going back, the plank being once taken up. The 16th of May we met with 13 Hollanders going for Spain, which did inquire of our voyage, and so held their course. Since that time we were a whole month seeing nothing else out of our floating town but sky and water, one ship excepted, near about the Azores, well filled with English and Dutchmen. They bare up with us, and came very near us. And, according to the manner of the sea, we asked them whence their ship was. They told us they were Newfoundland men, that is to say going a-fishing for Newfoundland fish. And they asked us if we would accept of their company: we thanked them—thereupon they drank to us, and we to them, and they took another course. But, having considered their vessel all set with green moss on the belly and sides, we judged them to be pirates, and that they had of a long time beaten the sea in hope to make some prize. It was then that we began to see, more than before, Neptune's sheep to skip up (so do they

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call the frothy waves), when the sea beginneth to stir and to feel the hard blows of his trident. For commonly in that place before-named the sea is stormy. If one ask me the cause why, I will answer that I think it to proceed of a certain conflict between the east and westerly winds, which do encounter in that part of the sea, and especially in summer, when the west winds do rise up and with a great force pierce and pass through a great distance of sea, until they find the winds of these parts, which do resist them; then it is dangerous for a ship to be at these windy encounters. This reason seemeth the more probable unto me in this, that until we came near the Azores, we had the wind fit enough, and afterward, we had almost always either South-west or North-west, little North and South, which were not good for us, but to sail with the bowline: for Easterly winds we had none at all but once or twice, which continued nothing with us (to speak of). Sure it is that the Westerly winds do reign much along that sea, whether it be by a certain repercussion of the East wind which is stiff and swift under the equinoctial line, whereof we have spoken elsewhere, or because that this Western land, being large and great, also the wind that issueth from thence doth abound the more. Which cometh especially in summer, when the sun hath force to draw up the vapours of the earth, for the winds come from thence, issuing from the dens and caves of the same. And therefore the poets do feign that Æolus holdeth them in prisons, from whence he draweth them, and giveth them liberty when it pleaseth him. But the spirit of God doth confirm it unto us yet better, when he saith by the mouth of the prophet that Almighty God, among other his marvels, draweth the winds out of his treasures, which be the caves whereof I speak. For the word "treasure" signifieth in Hebrew secret and hidden place.

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*He bringeth forth the clouds from the earth's furthest parts.*

*The lightnings with the rains he makes, and them imparts,*

*On some in his anger, on others for pleasures :*

*The winds he draweth forth out of his deep treasures.*  
[Psalm 135.]

And upon this consideration Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, first navigator of these last ages unto the islands of America, did judge that there was some great land in the West, having observed, sailing on the sea, that continual winds came from that part.

Continuing then our course, we had some other storms and hindrances procured by winds, which we almost had always contrary by reason we set out too late; but they that set out in March have commonly good winds, because that then the East, Nor-east, and Northern winds do reign, which are fit and prosperous for these voyages. These tempests were very often foretold us by porpoises, which did haunt about our ship by thousands, sporting themselves after a very pleasant manner. Some of them did pay for their so near approaching. For some men waited for them at the beak-head (which is the fore-part of the ship) with harping irons in their hands, which met with them sometimes, and drew them in a-board with the help of the other sailors, which, with iron hooks (which they call gaffs) tied at the end of a long pole, pulled them up. We have taken many of them in that sort, both in going and coming, which have done us no harm. There be two sorts of them, some which have a blunt and big nose, others which have it sharp: we took none but of these last, but yet I remember to have seen in the water some of the short-nosed ones. This fish hath two fingers'-breadth of fat, at the least, on the back. When it was cut in two, we did wash our hands



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in his hot blood, which, they say, comforteth the sinews. He hath a marvellous quantity of teeth along his jaws, and I think that he holdeth fast that which he once catcheth. Moreover, the inward parts have altogether the taste of hog's-flesh, and the bones not in form of fish-bones, but like a four-footed creature. The most delicate meat of it is the fin which he hath upon the back, and the tail, which are neither fish nor flesh, but better than that, such as also is in substance of tail that of the beavers, which seemeth to be scaled. These porpoises be the only fishes we took before we came to the great bank of *Morues*, or codfish. But far off we saw other great fishes, which did show, out of the water, above half an acre's length of their backs, and did thrust out in the air above a spear's height of great pipes of water, through the holes they had upon their heads.

But to return to our purpose of storms: during our voyage we had some which made us strike down sail, and to stand our arms across, carried at the pleasure of the waves, and tossed up and down after a strange manner. If any coffer or chest was not well made fast, it was heard to roll from side to side, making a foul noise. Sometimes the kettle was overturned; and in dining or supping, our dishes and platters flew from one end of the table to the other, unless they were holden very fast. As for the drink, one must carry his mouth and the glass according to the motion of the ship. Briefly, it was a sport, but somewhat rude to them that cannot bear this jogging easily. For all that, the most of us did laugh at it; for there was no danger in it, at least evident, being in a good ship and strong to withstand the waves. We had also sometimes calms, very tedious and wearisome, during which we washed ourselves in the sea, we danced upon the deck, we climbed up the maintop, we sang in music. Then, when a little small cloud was perceived to issue from under the horizon, we were forced to give over

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those exercises for to take heed of a gust of wind, which was wrapped in the same cloud, which dissolving itself, grumbling, snorting, whistling, roaring, storming, and buzzing, was able to overturn our ship upside-down, unless men had been ready to execute that which the master of the ship (which was Captain Foulques, a man very vigilant) commanded them. There is no harm in showing how these gusts of wind, otherwise called storms, are formed, and from whence they proceed. Pliny speaketh of them in his *Natural History* [lib. ii., cap. 48], and saith that they be exhalations and light vapours raised from the earth to the cold region of the air; and, not being able to pass further but rather forced to return back, they sometimes meet sulphury and fiery exhalations, which compass them about and bind so hard that there come thereby a great combat, motions and agitation, between the sulphury heat and the airy moistness, which, being constrained by the stronger enemy to run away, it openeth itself, maketh itself way, whistleth, roareth and stormeth, briefly becometh a wind, which is great or lesser according that the sulphury exhalation which wrappeth it, breaketh itself and giveth it way, sometimes all at once, as we have showed before, and sometimes with longer time, according to the quantity of the matter whereof it is made, and according as, either more or less, it is moved by his contrary qualities.

But I cannot leave unmentioned the wonderful courage and assurance that good sailors have in these windy conflicts, storms, and tempests, when as a ship being carried and mounted upon mountains of waters, and from thence let down, as it were, into the profound depths of the world, they climb among the tacklings and cords, not only to the maintop and to the very height of the mainmast, but also, without ladder-steps, to the top of another mast, fastened to the first, held only with the force of their arms and feet, winding about the

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highest tacklings. Yea, much more, that if in this great tossing and rolling it chanceth that the mainsail (which they call "paphil" or "papefust") be untied at the higher ends, he who is first commanded will put himself straddling upon the mainyard (that is the tree which crossed the mainmast) and, with a hammer at his girdle and half a dozen nails in his mouth, will tie again and make fast that which was untied, to the peril of a thousand lives. I have sometimes heard great account made of a Switzer's boldness, who (after the siege of Laon<sup>57</sup> and the city being rendered to the King's obedience) climbed and stood straddling upon the thwart branch of the cross of Our Lady's church-steeple of the said town, and stood there forked-wise, his feet upward: but that, in my judgment, is nothing in regard of this, the said Switzer being upon a firm and solid body, and without motion, and this contrariwise hanging over an unconstant sea, tossed with boisterous winds, as we have sometimes seen.

After we had left these pirates spoken of before, we were until the 18th of June tossed with divers and almost contrary winds, without any discovery but of one ship far off from us, which we did not board, and yet notwithstanding the very sight thereof did comfort us. And the same day we met a ship of Honfleur, wherein Captain La Roche did command, going for Newfoundland, who had no better fortune upon the sea then we. The custom is at sea that when some particular ship meeteth with the King his ship (as ours was) to come under the lee, and to present herself, not side by side but bias-wise: also to pull down her flag, as this Captain La Roche did, except the flag, for she had none, no more had we, being not needful in so great a voyage, but in approaching the land or when one must fight. Our sailors did cast then their computation, on the course that we had made. For in every ship the Master, the Pilot, and Master's Mate



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do write down every day of their courses, and winds that they have followed, for how many hours, and the estimation of leagues. The said La Roche did account that they were then in the forty-five degrees, and within a hundred leagues of the Bank. Our Pilot, called Master Oliver Fleuriot, of Saint Malo, by his computation said that we were within 60 leagues of it; and Captain Foulques within 120 leagues. I believe he gave the best judgment. We received much contentment by the meeting of this ship, and did greatly encourage us, seeing we did begin to meet with ships, seeming unto us that we did enter in a place of acquaintance.

But, by the way, a thing must be noted, which I have found admirable, and which giveth us occasion to play the philosophers. For about the same 18th day of June we found the sea-water, during three days' space, very warm, and by the same warmth our wine also was warm in the bottom of our ship, yet the air was not hotter than before. And the 21st of the said month, quite contrary, we were two or three days so much compassed with mists and colds that we thought ourselves to be in the month of January, and the water of the sea was extreme cold. Which continued with us until we came upon the said Bank, by reason of the said mists, which outwardly did procure this cold unto us. When I seek out the cause of this anti-peristase, I attribute it to the ices of the North, which come floating down upon the coast and sea adjoining to Newfoundland and Labrador, which we have said elsewhere is brought thither with the sea by her natural motion, which is greater there than elsewhere because of the great space it hath to run, as in a gulf, in the depth of America, where the nature and situation of the universal earth doth bear it easily. Now these ices (which sometimes are seen in banks of ten leagues' length, and as high as mountains and hills, and thrice



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as deep in the waters), holding (as it were) an empire in this sea, drive out far from them that which is contrary to their coldness, and consequently do bind and close on this side that small quantity of mild temperature that the summer may bring to that part where they come to seat and place themselves. Yet, for all that, I will not deny but this region in one and the selfsame parallel is somewhat colder than those of our part of Europe, for the reasons that we will allege hereafter when we shall speak of the foulness of seasons. Such is my opinion: being ready to hear another man's reason. And, being mindful hereof, I did of purpose take heed of the same at my return from New France, and found the same warmth of water (or very near), though it was in the month of September, within five or six days' sailing on this side of the said Bank, whereof we will now entreat.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE GREAT BANK OF MORUES

BEFORE we come to the Bank spoken of before, which is the great Bank where the fishing of green cod-fishes is made (so are they called when they are not dry, for one must go a-land for the drying of them), the sea-faring men, besides the computation they make of their course, have warnings when they come near to it, by birds which are known: even as one doth them of these our parts, returning back into France, when one is within 100 or 120 leagues near it. The most frequent of these birds, towards the said Bank, be godes, fouquets, and other called *happe-foies*,<sup>58</sup> for a reason that we will declare anon. When these birds then were seen, which were not like to them that we had seen in the midst of the great sea, we began to think ourselves not to be far from the said Bank. Which made us to sound with our lead upon a Thursday the 22nd of June, but then we found no bottom. The same day in the evening we cast again with better success, for we found bottom at 36 fathoms. The said sound is a piece of lead of seven or eight pound weight, made pyramidal-wise, fastened at one or divers lines; and at the biggest end, which is flat, one putteth some grease to it, mingled with butter; then all the sails are stricken down, and the sound cast; and, when that the bottom is felt and the lead draweth no more line, they leave off letting down of it. So our sound, being drawn up, brought with it some small stones, with a white one, and a piece of shell, having, moreover, a pit in the grease, whereby they judged that the bottom was a rock. I cannot express the joy that we had, seeing us there where we had so much desired to be.

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There was not any one of us more sick; everyone did leap for joy, and did seem unto us to be in our own country, though we were come but to the half of our voyage, at least for the time that passed before we came to Port Royal, whither we were bound.

Here I will, before I proceed any further, decipher unto you what meaneth this word "Bank," which peradventure putteth some in pain to know what it is. They sometimes call banks a sandy bottom which is very shallow or which is a-dry at low water. Such places be mortal for ships that meet with them. But the Bank whereof we speak,<sup>59</sup> are mountains grounded in the depth of the waters, which are raised up to 30, 36 and 40 fathoms, near to the upper face of the sea. This Bank is holden to be of 200 leagues in length, and 18, 20, and 24 leagues broad, which being passed there is no more bottom found out then in these parts, until one come to the land. The ships being there arrived, the sails are rolled up, and there fishing is made of the green fish, as I have said, whereof we shall speak in the book following. For the satisfying of my reader, I have drawn it in my geographical map of Newfoundland with pricks, which is all may be done to represent it. There is, farther off, other banks, as I have marked in the said map, upon the which good fishing may be made; and many go thither that know the places. When that we parted from La Rochelle, there was (as it were) a forest of ships lying at Chef de Baie (whereof that place hath taken his name), which went all in a company to that country, preventing us (in their going) but only of two days.

Having seen and noted the Bank, we hoisted up sails and bare all night, keeping still our course to the West. But the dawn of day being come, which was Saint John Baptist's Eve, in God's name we pulled down sails, passing that day a-fishing of cod-fish, with a thousand mirths and contentments by reason of fresh

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meats, whereof we had as much as we would, having long before wished for them. Monsieur de Poutrincourt and a young man of Rethel<sup>60</sup> named Le Fèvre, who by reason of the sea-sickness were not come out from their beds nor cabins from the beginning of the navigation, came upon the hatches that day, and had the pleasure not only of fishing of cod but also of those birds that be called by French mariners *happe-foies*, that is to say *liver-catchers*, because of their greediness to devour the livers of the cod-fishes that are cast into the sea after their bellies be opened, whereof they are so covetous that, though they see a great pole over their heads ready to strike them down, yet they adventure themselves to come near to the ship to catch some of them, at what price soever. And they which were not occupied in fishing did pass their time in that sport. And so did they by their diligence, that we took some thirty of them. But in this action one of our shipwrights fell down in the sea. And it was good for him that the ship went but slow, which gave him means to save himself by taking hold of the rudder, from which he was pulled in a-board, but for his pains was well beaten by Captain Foulques.

In this fishing we sometimes did take sea-dogs,<sup>61</sup> whose skins our joiners did keep carefully to smoothe their work withal. Item, fishes called by Frenchmen *merlus*, which be better than cod; and sometimes another kind of fish called *bass*: which diversity did augment our delight. They which were not busy in taking neither fishes nor birds did pass their time in gathering the hearts, guts, and other inward parts (most delicate) of the cod-fish, which they did mince with lard and spices; and with those things did make as good Bologna sausages as any can be made in Paris, and we did eat of them with a very good stomach.

On the evening we made ready to continue our course, having first made our cannons to roar, as well



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because of Saint John his holy day, as for Monsieur de Poutrincourt's sake, which beareth the name of that Saint. The next day some of our men told us they had seen a bank of ice. And thereupon was recited unto us how that, the year before, a ship of Olone<sup>62</sup> was cast away, by approaching too near to it, and that two men, having saved themselves upon the ice, had this good fortune, that another ship, passing by, the men took them in a-board them.

It is to be noted that from the 18th of June until we did arrive at Port Royal, we have found the weather quite otherwise to that we had before. For (as we have already said) we had cold mists or fogs before our coming to the Bank (where we came in fair sunshine), but the next day we fell to the fogs again, which (a-far off) we might perceive to come and wrap us about, holding us continually prisoners three whole days, for two days of fair weather that they permitted us: which was always accompanied with cold by reason of the summer's absence. Yea, even divers times we have seen ourselves a whole sennight continually in thick fogs, twice without any show of sun, but very little, as I will recite hereafter. And I will bring forth a reason for such effects which seemeth unto me probable. As we see the fire to draw the moistness of a wet cloth opposite unto it, likewise the sun draweth moistness and vapours both from the sea and from the land. But for the dissolving of them there is here one virtue, and beyond those parts another, according to the accidents and circumstances that are found. In these our countries it raiseth up vapours only from the ground and from our rivers, which earthly vapours, gross and weighty, and participating less of the moist element, do cause us a hot air, and the earth discharged of those vapours becomes thereby more hot and parching. From thence it cometh that the said vapours, having the earth of the one part and the sun on the other,

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which heateth them, they are easily dissolved, not remaining long in the air, unless it be in winter, when the earth is waxen cold and the sun beyond the equinoctial line far off from us. From the same reason proceedeth the cause why mists and fogs be not so frequent nor so long in the French seas as in Newfoundland, because that the sun, passing from his rising above the grounds, this sea, at the coming thereof, receiveth almost but earthly vapours, and by a long space retaineth this virtue to dissolve very soon the exhalations it draweth to itself. But when it cometh to the midst of the ocean and to the said Newfoundland, having elevated and assumed in so long a course a great abundance of vapours from this moist wide ocean, it doth not so easily dissolve them, as well because those vapours be cold of themselves, and of their nature, as because the element which is nearest under them doth sympathize with them and preserveth them, and the sunbeams being not holpen in the dissolving of them as they are upon the earth. Which is even seen in the land of that country, which (although it hath but small heat by reason of the abundance of woods) notwithstanding it helpeth to disperse the mists and fogs which be ordinarily there in the morning during summer, but not as at sea, for about eight o'clock in the morning they begin to vanish away and serve as a dew to the ground.

I hope the reader will not dislike these small digressions, seeing they serve to our purpose. The 28th day of June we found ourselves upon a little small bank (other than the great Bank whereof we have spoken) at forty fathoms; and the day following one of our sailors fell by night into the sea, which had been lost if he had not met with a cable hanging in the water. From that time forward we began to descry landmarks (it was Newfoundland) by herbs, mosses, flowers, and pieces of wood that we always met abounding the more

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by so much we drew near to it. The 4th day of July our sailors which were appointed for the last quarter watch descried in the morning, very early, everyone being yet a-bed, the Isles of Saint Peter.<sup>63</sup> And the Friday the seventh of the said month we discovered, on the larboard, a coast of land high raised up, appearing unto us as long as one's sight could stretch out, which gave us greater cause of joy than yet we had had, wherein God did greatly shew his merciful favour unto us, making this discovery in fair calm weather. Being yet far from it, the boldest of the company went up to the maintop, to the end to see it better, so much were all of us desirous to see this land, true and most delightful habitation of man. Monsieur de Poutrincourt went up thither, and myself also, which we had not yet done. Even our dogs did thrust their noses out of the ship, better to draw and smell the sweet air of the land, not being able to contain themselves from witnessing, by their gestures, the joy they had of it. We drew within a league near unto it, and (the sails being let down) we fell a-fishing of cod, the fishing of the Bank beginning to fail. They which had before us made voyages in those parts did judge us to be at Cape Breton. The night drawing on, we stood off to the seaward. The next day following, being the eighth of the said month of July, as we drew near to the Bay of Campseau, came, about the evening, mists, which did continue eight whole days, during the which we kept us at sea, hulling still, not being able to go forward, being resisted by West and South-West winds. During these eight days, which were from one Saturday to another, God (who hath always guided these voyages, in the which not one man hath been lost by sea) shewed us his special favour in sending unto us, among the thick fogs, a clearing of the sun, which continued but half an hour; and then had we sight of the firm land, and knew that we were ready to be cast away upon the rocks



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if we had not speedily stood off to seaward. A man doth sometimes seek the land as one doth his beloved, which sometimes repulseth her sweetheart very rudely. Finally, upon Saturday, the 15th of July, about two o'clock in the afternoon, the sky began to salute us, as it were, with cannon-shots, shedding years, as being sorry to have kept us so long in pain. So that, fair weather being come again, we saw coming straight to us (we being four leagues off from the land) two shallops with open sails, in a sea yet wrathed. This thing gave us much content. But, whilst we followed on our course, there came from the land odours incomparable for sweetness, brought with a warm wind so abundantly that all the Orient parts could not procure greater abundance. We did stretch out our hands, as it were to take them, so palpable were they, which I have admired a thousand times since. Then the two shallops did approach, the one manned with savages, who had a stag painted at their sails, the other with Frenchmen of Saint Malo, which made their fishing at the Port of Campseau, but the savages were more diligent, for they arrived first. Having never seen any before, I did admire, at the first sight, their fair shape and form of visage. One of them did excuse himself for that he had not brought his fair beaver gown, because the weather had been foul. He had but one red piece of frieze upon his back, and *matachias* about his neck, at his wrists, above the elbow, and at his girdle. We made them to eat and drink. During that time they told us all that had passed a year before at Port Royal (whither we were bound). In the meanwhile, them of Saint Malo came, and told us as much as the savages had. Adding that the Wednesday when that we did shun the rocks they had seen us, and would have come to us with the said savages but that they left off by reason we put to the sea; and moreover that it had been always fair weather on the land: which made us



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much to marvel; but the cause thereof hath been shewed before. Of this discommodity may be drawn hereafter a great good, that these mists will serve as a rampart to the country, and one shall know with speed what is passed at sea. They told us also that they had been advertized some days before, by other savages, that a ship was seen at Cape Breton. These Frenchmen of Saint Malo were men that did deal for the associates of Monsieur de Monts, and did complain that the Basques, or men of Saint John de Lus (against the King his inhibitions), had trucked with the savages, and carried away above six thousand beavers' skins. They gave us sundry sorts of their fishes, as *bass*, *marlus*, and great *fletans*.<sup>64</sup> As for the savages, before to depart, they asked bread of us, to carry to their wives, which was granted and given them, for they deserved it well, being come so willingly to shew us in what part we were. For since that time we sailed still in assurance and without doubt.

At the parting, some number of ours went a-land at the Port of Campseau, as well to fetch us some wood and fresh water, whereof we had need, as for to follow the coast from that place to Port Royal in a shallop, for we did fear lest Monsieur du Pont should be at our coming thither already gone from thence. The savages made offer to go to him through the woods, with promise to be there within six days, to advertize him of our coming, to the end to cause his stay, for as much as word was left with him to depart unless he were succoured within the 16th day of that month, which he failed not to do: notwithstanding, our men desirous to see the land nearer did hinder the same which promised us to bring unto us the next day the said wood and water, if we would approach near the land, which we did not, but followed on our course.

The Tuesday, 17th of July, we were, according to our accustomed manner, surprised with mists and

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contrary wind. But the Thursday we had calm weather, so that, whether it were mist or fair weather, we went nothing forward. During this calm, about the evening, a shipwright, washing himself in the sea, having before drunk too much *aqua-vitæ*, found himself overtaken, the cold of the sea water striving against the heat of this spirit of wine. Some mariners seeing their fellow in danger, cast themselves into the water to succour him, but, his wits being troubled, he mocked them and they not able to rule him. Which caused yet other mariners to go to help; and they so hindered one another that they were all in danger. In the end, there was one of them which, among this confusion, heard the voice of Monsieur de Poutrincourt, who did say to him: "John Hay, look towards me," and with a rope that was given him he was pulled up, and the rest withal were saved. But the author of the trouble fell into a sickness that almost killed him.

After this calm we had two days of fogs. The Sunday, 23rd of the said month, we had knowledge of the Port Du Rossignoll, and the same day in the afternoon, the sun shining fair, we cast anchor at the mouth of Port du Mouton, and we were in danger to fall upon a shoal, being come to two fathoms and a half depth. We went a-land, seventeen of us in number, to fetch the wood and water whereof we had need. There we found the cabins and lodgings, yet whole and unbroken, that Monsieur de Monts made two years before, who had sojourned there by the space of one month, as we have said in his place. We saw there, being a sandy land, store of oaks bearing acorns, cypress-trees, fir-trees, bay-trees, musk-roses, gooseberries, purslen, raspies, ferns, *lysimachia*<sup>65</sup> (a kind of *simmony*), *calamus odoratus*, *angelica*, and other simples, in the space of two hours that we tarried there. We brought back in our ship wild peas, which we found

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good. We had not the leisure to hunt after rabbits that be there in great number, not far from the Port, but we returned aboard as soon as we had laden ourselves with water and wood; and so hoisted up sails.

Tuesday, the 25th day, we were about the Cap de Sable, in fair weather, and made a good journey, for about the evening we came to sight of Long Island, and the Bay of Saint Mary; but because of the night we put back to the seaward. And the next day we cast anchor at the mouth of Port Royal, where we could not enter by reason it was ebbing water, but we gave two cannon-shot from our ship to salute the said Port, and to advertize the Frenchmen that we were there.

Thursday, the 27th of July, we came in with the flood, which was not without much difficulty, for that we had the wind contrary and gusts of wind from the mountains, which made us almost to strike upon the rocks. And in these troubles our ship bare still contrary, the poop before, and sometimes turned round, not being able to do any other thing else. Finally, being in the Port, it was unto us a thing marvellous to see the fair distance and largeness of it, and the mountains and hills that environed it; and I wondered how so fair a place did remain desert, being all filled with woods, seeing that so many pine away in the world which might make good of this land, if only they had a chief governor to conduct them thither. By little and little we drew near to the Island, which is right over against the fort where we have dwelt since: an Island, I say, the most agreeable thing to be seen in her kind that is possible to be desired, wishing in ourselves to have brought thither some of those fair buildings that are unprofitable in these our parts, that serve for nothing but to retire wildfowle in, and other birds. We knew not yet if Monsieur du Pont was gone or no,



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and therefore we did expect that he should send some men to meet us; but it was in vain, for he was gone from thence twelve days before. And whilst we did hull in the midst of the Port, Membertou, the greatest Sagamos of the Souriquois (so are the people called with whom we were), came to the French fort, to them that were left there, being only two, crying as a mad-man, saying in his language: "What! You stand here a-dining (for it was about noon) and do not see a great ship that cometh here, and we know not what men they are." Suddenly these two men ran upon the bulwark, and with diligence made ready the cannons, which they furnished with pellets and touch-powder. Membertou, without delay, came in a canoe made of barks of trees, with a daughter of his, to view us: and, having found but friendship and knowing us to be Frenchmen, made no alarm. Notwithstanding, one of the two Frenchmen left there, called La Taille, came to the shore of the Port, his match on the cock, to know what we were (though he knew it well enough, for we had the white banner displayed at the top of the mast), and on the sudden four volley of cannons were shot off, which made innumerable echoes. And from our part the fort was saluted with three cannon-shots and many musket-shots, at which time our trumpeter was not slack of his duty. Then we landed, viewed the house, and we passed that day in giving God thanks, in seeing the savages' cabins, and walking through the meadows. But I cannot but praise the gentle courage of these two men: one of them I have already named; the other is called Miquelet—which deserve well to be mentioned here for having so freely exposed their lives in the conservation of the welfare of New France. For Monsieur du Pont, having but one barque and a shallop to seek out towards Newfoundland for French ships, could not charge himself with so much furniture, corn, meat, and merchandises as were there;



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which he had been forced to cast into the sea (and which had been greatly to our prejudice, and we did fear it very much) if these two men had not adventured themselves to tarry there for the preserving of those things: which they did with a willing and joyful mind.

## CHAPTER XIII

### MEETING WITH DU PONT

THE Friday, next day after our arrival, Monsieur de Poutrincourt affected to this enterprise, as for himself, put part of his people to work in the tillage and manuring of the ground, whilst the others were employed in making clean of the chambers, and everyone to make ready that which belonged to his trade. In the meantime those people of ours that had left us at Campseau, to come along the coast, met (as it were miraculously) with Monsieur du Pont, among islands that be in great number in those parts. To declare how great was the joy of each side is a thing not to be expressed. The said Monsieur du Pont, at this happy and fortunate meeting, returned back to see us in Port Royal, and to ship himself in the *Jonas*, to return into France. As this chance was beneficial unto him, so was it unto us, by the means of his ships that he left with us. For, without that, we had been in such extremity that we had not been able to go nor come anywhere, our ship being once returned into France. He arrived there on Monday the last of July, and tarried yet in Port Royal until the 28th of August. All this month we made merry. Monsieur de Poutrincourt did set up and opened a hogshead of wine, one of them that was given him for his own drinking, giving leave to all comers to drink as long as it should hold, so that some of them drunk until their caps turned round.

At the very beginning we were desirous to see the country up the river, where we found meadows almost continually above twelve leagues of ground, among which brooks do run without number which come from

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the hills and mountains adjoining. The woods very thick on the water-shores, and so thick that sometimes one cannot go through them. Yet, for all that, I would not make them such as Joseph Acosta reciteth [*lib. iv., cap. 30*] those of Peru to be, when he saith: “*One of our brethren, a man of credit, told us that being gone astray and lost in the mountains, not knowing what part nor which way he should go, found himself among bushes so thick that he was constrained to travel upon them, without putting his feet on the ground, a whole fortnight’s space.*” I refer the believing of that to anyone that will; but this belief cannot reach so far as to have place with me.

Now, in the land whereof we speak, the woods are thinner far off from the shores and waterish places: and the felicity thereof is so much the more to be hoped for in that it is like the land which God did promise to his people, by the mouth of Moses, saying [*Deut. viii. 7, 8*]: “*The Lord thy God doth bring thee into a good land, of rivers of waters, with fountains and depths, which do spring in fields, etc. A land where thou shalt eat thy bread without scarcity, wherein nothing shall fail thee, a land whose stones are of iron, and from whose mountains thou shalt dig brass.*” And further, in another place [*Deut. xi. 10*], confirming the promises for the goodness and state of the land that he would give them: “*The country (saith he) wherein you are going for to possess it is not as the land of Egypt, from whence you are come forth, where thou diddest sow thy seed, and wateredst it with the labour of thy feet, as a garden of herbs. But the country through which you are going to pass for to possess it is a land of mountains and fields, and is watered with waters that raineth from heaven.*” [Hereupon the 3rd chap.] Now according to the description that heretofore we have made of Port Royal and the confines thereof, in describing the first voyage of Monsieur de Monts, and as yet we do mention it here, brooks do there abound at will, and (for this respect) this land

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is no less happy than the country of the Gauls (now called France) to whom King Agrippa (making an oration to the Jews recited by Josephus in his *War of the Jews*) attributed a particular felicity, because they had store of domestical fountains: and also that a part of those countries is called Aquitaine, for the same consideration. As for the stones which our God promiseth that should be of iron, and the mountains of brass, that signifieth nothing else but the mines of copper, of iron, and of steel, whereof we have already heretofore spoken and will speak yet hereafter. And as for the fields (whereof we have not yet spoken), there be some on the West side of the said Port Royal. And above the mountains there be some fair ones, where I have seen lakes and brooks, even as in the valleys. Yea, even in the passage to come forth from the same fort, for to go to sea, there is a brook which falleth from the high rocks down, and in falling disperseth itself into a small rain, which is very delightful in summer, because that at the foot of the rock there are caves wherein one is covered whilst that this rain falleth so pleasantly. And in the cave (wherein the rain of this brook falleth) is made (as it were) a rainbow when the sun shineth, which hath given me great cause of admiration. Once we went from our fort as far as the sea through the woods the space of three leagues, but in our return we were pleasantly deceived, for at the end of our journey, thinking to be in a plain champion country, we found ourselves on the top of a high mountain, and were forced to come down with pain enough by reason of snows. But mountains be not perpetual in a country. Within 15 leagues of our dwelling the country through which the River l'Equille passeth is all plain and even. I have seen in those parts many countries where the land is all even, and the fairest of the world. But the perfection thereof is that it is well watered. And for witness whereof,



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not only in Port Royal but also in all New France, the great river of Canada is proof thereof, which at the end of 400 leagues is as broad as the greatest rivers of the world, replenished with isles and rocks innumerable; taking her beginning from one of the lakes which do meet at the stream of her course (and so I think), so that it hath two courses, the one from the East towards France, the other from the West towards the South sea; which is admirable, but not without the like example found in our Europe. For the river which cometh down to Trent and to Verona proceedeth from a lake which produceth another river, whose course is bent opposite to the river Linz, which falleth into the river Danube. So the Nile issueth from a lake that bringeth forth other rivers which discharge themselves into the great ocean.

Let us return to our tillage, for to that must we apply ourselves: it is the first mine that must be sought for, which is more worth than the treasures of Atahualpa: and he that hath corn, wine, cattle, woollen and linen, leather, iron, and afterward cod-fish, he needeth no other treasures for the necessities of life. Now all this is (or may be) in the land by us described: upon the which Monsieur de Poutrincourt, having caused a second tillage to be made, in fifteen days after his arrival thither, he sowed it with our French corn, as well wheat and rye as with hemp, flax, turnip-seed, radish, cabbages, and other seeds. And the eighth day following he saw that his labour had not been in vain, but rather a fair hope, by the production that the ground had already made of the seeds which she had received. Which being shewed to Monsieur du Pont, was unto him a fair subject to make his relation in France, as a thing altogether new there.

The 20th day of August was already come when these fair shows were made, and the time did admonish them that were to go in the voyage, to make ready.

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Whereunto they began to give order, so that the 25th day of the same month, after many peals of ordnance, they weighed anchor to come to the mouth of the Port, which is commonly the first day's journey.

Monsieur de Monts, being desirous to reach as far into the South as he could, and seek out a place very fit to inhabit beyond Malebarre, had requested Monsieur de Poutrincourt to pass farther than yet he had done, and to seek a convenient Port in good temperature of air, making no greater account of Port Royal than of Sainte-Croix, in that which concerneth health. Whereunto the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, being willing to condescend, would not tarry for the springtime, knowing he should have other employments to exercise himself withal. But, seeing his sowings ended and his field green, resolved himself to make this voyage and discovery before winter. So then he disposed all things to that end, and with his barque anchored near to the *Jonas*, to the end to get out in company. Whilst they lay there for a prosperous wind the space of three days, there was a whale of mean bigness (which the savages do call *maria*) who came every day into the Port with the morning flood, playing there within at her pleasure, and went away back again with the ebb. And then, taking some leisure, I made in French verses a farewell to the said Monsieur du Pont and his company, which I have placed among the *Muses of New France*.

The 28th day of the said month each of us took his course, one one way and the other another diversly to God's keeping. As for Monsieur du Pont, he purposed by the way to set upon a merchant of Rouen named Boyer, who (contrary to the King's inhibitions) was in those parts to truck with the savages, notwithstanding he had been delivered out of prison in La Rochelle by the consent of Monsieur de Poutrincourt, under promise he should not go thither; but the said

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Boyer was already gone. And as for Monsieur de Poutrincourt, he took his course for the Isle of Sainte-Croix, the Frenchmen's first abode, having Monsieur de Champdoré for master and guide of his barque. But, being hindered by the wind and because his barque did leak, he was forced twice to put back again. In the end, he quite passed the Baie Française, and viewed the said Isle, where he found ripe corn of that which two years before was sowed by Monsieur de Monts, which was fair, big, weighty, and well-filled. He sent unto us some of that corn to Port Royal, where I was requested to stay, to look to the house and to keep the rest of the company there in concord. Whereunto I did agree (though it was referred to my will), for the assurance that we had among ourselves that the year following we should make our habitation in a warmer country beyond Malebarre, and that we should all go in company with them that should be sent to us out of France. In the meanwhile I employed myself in dressing the ground, to make enclosures and partitions of gardens, for to sow corn and kitchen herbs. We caused also a ditch to be made all about the fort, which was very needful to receive the waters and moistness that before did run underneath among the roots of trees that had been fallen down: which peradventure did make the place unhealthful. I will not stand in describing here what each of our other workmen and labourers did particularly make. It sufficeth that we had store of joiners, carpenters, masons, stone-carvers, locksmiths, tailors, board-sawyers, mariners, etc., who did exercise their trades, which (in doing their duties) were very kindly used, for they were at their own liberty for three hours' labour a day. The overplus of the time they bestowed it in going to gather mussels, which are at low water in great quantity before the fort, or lobsters, or crabs, which are in Port Royal under the rocks in great abundance, or cockles, which are in every part



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in the oase,<sup>66</sup> about the shores of the said Port: all that kind of fish is taken without net or boat. Some there were that sometimes took wildfowl; but, not being skilful, they spoiled the game. And as for us, our table was furnished by one of Monsieur de Monts' men, who provided for us in such sort that we wanted no fowl, bringing unto us sometimes half a dozen of birds called by Frenchmen *outards* (a kind of wild-geese), sometimes as many mallards, or wild-geese, white and gray, very often two or three dozen of larks, and other kinds of birds. As for bread, nobody felt want thereof, and everyone had three quarts of pure and good wine a day. Which hath continued with us as long as we have been there, saving that, when they who came to fetch us, instead of bringing commodities unto us, helped us to spend our own (as we shall have occasion hereafter to declare), we were forced to reduce that portion to a pint; and notwithstanding there was very often something more of extraordinary. This voyage (for this respect) hath been the best voyage of all, whereof we are to give much praises to the said Monsieur de Monts and his associates Monsieur Macquin and Monsieur Georges of La Rochelle, in providing so abundantly for us. For truly I find that this Septembrall liquor (I mean wine) is, among other things, a sovereign preservative against the sickness of that country; and the spiceries, to correct the vice that might be in the air of that region, which nevertheless I have always found very clear and pure, notwithstanding the reasons that I may have alleged for the same, speaking heretofore of the same sickness. For our allowance, we had peas, beans, rice, prunes, raisins, dry cod, and salt flesh, besides oil and butter. But whensoever the savages dwelling near us had taken any quantity of sturgeons, salmons, or small fishes—item, any beavers, elans, carabous, (or fallow-deer), or other beasts, mentioned in my *Farewell to New*



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*France*—they brought unto us half of it; and that which remained they exposed it sometimes to sale publicly, and they that would have any thereof did truck bread for it. This was partly our manner of life in those parts. But, although every one of our workmen had his particular trade or occupation, yet for all that it was necessary to employ himself to all uses, as many did. Some masons and stone-carvers applied themselves to baking, which made us as good bread as is made in Paris. Also one of our sawyers divers times made us coals in great quantity.

Wherein is to be noted a thing that now I remember. It is that, being necessary to cut turfs to cover the piles of wood heaped to make the said coals, there was found in the meadows three-foot deep of earth, not earth but grass or herbs mingled with mud, which have heaped themselves yearly one upon another from the beginning of the world, not having been moved. Nevertheless the green thereof serveth for pasture to the elans, which we have many times seen in our meadows of those parts, in herds of three or four, great and small, suffering themselves sometimes to be approached, then they ran to the woods; but I may say moreover that I have seen, in crossing two leagues of our said meadows, the same to be all trodden with tracks of elans, for I know not there any other cloven-footed beasts. There was killed one of those beasts not far off from our fort, at a place where Monsieur de Monts, having caused the grass to be mowed two years before, it was grown again the fairest of the world. Some might marvel how those meadows are made, seeing that all the ground in those places is covered with woods. For satisfaction whereof, let the curious reader know that in high spring tides, specially in March and September, the flood covereth those shores, which hindereth the trees there to take root. But everywhere where the water overfloweth not, if there be any ground, there are woods.

## CHAPTER XIV

### DEPARTURE FROM SAINTE-CROIX

LET us return to Monsieur de Poutrincourt, whom we have left in the Isle Sainte-Croix. Having made there a review and cherished the savages that were there, he went in the space of four days to Pemtegoet, which is that place so famous under the name of Norombega. There needeth not so long a time in coming thither, but he tarried on the way to mend his barque, for to that end he had brought with him a smith and a carpenter and quantity of boards. He crossed the Isles, which be at the mouth of the river, and came to Kinibeki, where his barque was in danger by reason of the great streams that the nature of the place procureth there. This was the cause why he made there no stay but passed further to the Bay of Marchin, which is the name of a captain of the savages, who at the arrival of the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt began to cry out aloud: " Hé Hé "; whereunto the like answer was made unto him. He replied, asking in his language: " What are ye ? " They answered him: " Friends "; and thereupon, Monsieur de Poutrincourt approaching, treated amity with him, and presented him with knives, hatchets and *matachias*, that is to say scarves, *karkenets*,<sup>67</sup> and bracelets made of beads, or quills made of white and blue glass; whereof he was very glad, as also for the confederacy that the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt made with him, knowing very well that the same would be a great aid and support unto him. He distributed to some men that were about him, among a great number of people, the presents that the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt gave him, to whom he brought store of *orignac*, or elan's flesh (for the Basques

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do call a stag or elan *orignac*), to refresh the company with victuals. That done, they set sails towards Chouakoet, where the river of Captain Olmechin is, and where the year following was made the war of the Souriquois and Etechemins, under the conduct of the Sagamos Membertou, which I have described in verses, which verses I have inserted among the *Muses of New France*. At the entry of the Bay of the said place of Chouakoet there is a great island, about half a league compass, wherein our men did first discover any vines (for, although there be some in the lands nearer to Port Royal, notwithstanding there was yet no knowledge had of them), which they found in great quantity, having the trunk three and four foot high, and as big as one's fist in the lower part; the grapes fair and great, and some as big as plums, other lesser, but as black that they left a stain where their liquor was spilled: those grapes, I say, lying over bushes and brambles that grow in the same island, where the trees are not so thick as in other where but are six or seven rods distant asunder, which causeth the grapes to be ripe the sooner; having besides a ground very fit for the same, gravelly and sandy. They tarried there but two hours; but they noted that there were no vines on the North side, even as in the Isle Sainte-Croix are no cedar-trees, but on the West side.

From this island they went to the river of Olmechin, a Port of Chouakoet, where Marchin and the said Olmechin brought to Monsieur de Poutrincourt a prisoner of the Souriquois (and therefore their enemy), which they gave unto him freely. Two hours after there arrived two savages, the one an Etechemin named Chkoudun, Captain of the river Saint John, called by the savages Oigoudi; the other a Souriquois named Messamoet, Captain or Sagamos of the river of the Port de Lahave,<sup>68</sup> where this prisoner was taken. They had great store of merchandises trucked with French-



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men, which they were coming to utter, that is to say great, mean, and small kettles, hatchets, knives, gowns, short cloaks, red waistcoats, biscuit, and other things: whereupon there arrived twelve or fifteen boats, full of savages of Olmechin's subjection, being in very good order, all their faces painted, according to their wonted custom when they will seem fair, having their bow and arrow in hand, and the quiver, which they laid down a-board. At that hour Messamoet began his oration before the savages, shewing them how that in times past they often had friendship together; and that they might easily overcome their enemies if they would have intelligence and serve themselves with the amity of the Frenchmen, whom they saw there present, to know their country, to the end to bring commodities unto them hereafter, and to succour them with their forces, which forces he knew, and he was the better able to make a demonstration thereof unto them by so much that he which spake had before time been in France, and dwelt therewith Monsieur de Grandmont, Governor of Bayonne. Finally, his speech continued almost an hour with much vehemency and affection, with a gesture of body and arms, as is requisite in a good orator. And in the end he did cast all his merchandises (which were worth above 300 crowns brought into that country) into Olmechin his boat, as making him a present of that, in assurance of the love he would witness unto him. That done, the night hastened on, and everyone retired himself. But Messamoet was not pleased, for that Olmechin made not the like oration unto him, nor requited his present, for the savages have that noble quality, that they give liberally, casting at the feet of him whom they will honour the present that they give him. But it is with hope to receive some reciprocal kindness, which is a kind of contract, which we call, without name: "I give thee, to the end thou shouldest give me." And that



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is done through all the world. Therefore Messamoet from that day had in mind to make war to Olmechin. Notwithstanding, the next day in the morning he and his people did return with a boat laden with that which they had, to wit, corn, tobacco, beans, and pumpkins, which they distributed here and there. Those two Captains Olmechin and Marchin have since been killed in the wars. In whose stead was chosen by the savages one named Bessabes, which since our return hath been killed by Englishmen. And instead of him they have made a Captain to come from within the lands named Asticou, a grave man, valiant and redoubted, which, in the twinkling of an eye, will gather up 1,000 savages together, which thing Olmechin and Marchin might also do. For our barques being there presently the sea was seen all covered over with their boats, laden with nimble and lusty men, holding themselves up straight in them; which we cannot do without danger, those boats being nothing else but trees hollowed after the fashion that we will shew you in the book following. From thence Monsieur de Poutrincourt following on his course, found a certain Port very delightful, which had not been seen by Monsieur de Monts; and during the voyage they saw store of smoke and people on the shore, which invited us to come a-land; and, seeing that no account was made of it, they followed the barque along the sand; yea, most often they did outgo her, so swift are they, having their bows in hand and their quivers upon their backs, always singing and dancing, not taking care with what they should live by the way. Happy people! Yea, a thousand times more happy than they which in these parts make themselves to be worshipped, if they had the knowledge of God and of their salvation.

Monsieur de Poutrincourt having landed in this Port, behold among a multitude of savages a good number of fifes, which did play with certain long pipes,

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made as it were with canes of reeds, painted over, but not with such an harmony as our shepherds might do: and to shew the excellency of their art, they whistled with their noses in gambolling, according to their fashion.

And as this people did run headlong to come to the barque, there was a savage which hurt himself grievously in the heel against the edge of a rock, whereby he was enforced to remain in the place. Monsieur de Poutrincourt his chirurgion at that instant would apply to this hurt that which was of his art, but they would not permit it until they had first made their mouths and mops about the wounded man. They then laid him down on the ground, one of them holding his head on his lap, and made many bawlings and singings, whereunto the wounded man answered but with a "Ho!" with a complaining voice, which having done, they yielded him to the cure of the said chirurgion and went their way, and the patient also after he had been dressed; but two hours after he came again, the most jocund in the world, having put about his head the binding cloth wherewith his heel was wrapped, for to seem the more gallant.

The day following our people entered farther into the Port, where, being gone to see the cabins of the savages, an old woman of an hundred or six score years of age came to cast at the feet of Monsieur de Poutrincourt a loaf of bread, made with the wheat called *mahis*, or maize, and in these our parts Turkey or Saracen wheat, then very fair hemp of a long growth; item, beans, and grapes newly gathered, because they had seen Frenchmen eat of them at Chouakoet. Which the other savages seeing that knew it not, they brought more of them than one would, emulating one another; and for recompense of this their kindness, there was set on their foreheads a fillet, or band, of paper, wet with spittle, of which they were very proud. It was shewed

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them, in pressing the grape into a glass, that of that we did make the wine which we did drink. We would have made them to eat of the grape, but, having taken it into their mouths, they spitted it out, so ignorant is this people of the best thing that God hath given to man next to bread. Yet, notwithstanding, they have no want of wit, and might be brought to do some good things if they were civilized and had the use of handy crafts. But they are subtle, thievish, and traitorous, and, though they be naked, yet one cannot take heed of their fingers, for if one turn never so little his eyes aside, and that they spy the opportunity to steal any knife, hatchet, or anything else, they will not miss nor fail of it; and will put the theft between their buttocks, or will hide it within the sand with their foot so cunningly that one shall not perceive it. Indeed, I do not wonder if a people poor and naked be thievish; but when the heart is malicious, it is inexcusable. This people is such that they must be handled with terror, for if through love and gentleness one give them too free access, they will practise some surprise, as it hath been known in divers occasions heretofore, and will yet hereafter be seen. And, without deferring any longer, the second day after our coming thither, as they saw our people busy a-washing linen, they came some fifty, one following another, with bows, arrows and quivers, intending to play some bad part, as it was conjectured upon their manner of proceeding; but they were prevented, some of our men going to meet them with their muskets and matches at the cock, which made some of them run away, and the others, being compassed in, having put down their weapons, came to a peninsula, or small head of an island, where our men were, and, making a friendly show, demanded to truck the tobacco they had for our merchandises.

The next day the Captain of the said place and Port came into Monsieur de Poutrincourt's barque to see



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him: we did marvel to see him accompanied with Olmechin, seeing the way was marvellous long to come thither by land and much shorter by sea. That gave cause of bad suspicion, albeit he had promised his love to the Frenchmen. Notwithstanding, they were gently received. And Monsieur de Poutrincourt gave to the said Olmechin a complete garment, wherewith being clothed he viewed himself in a glass, and did laugh to see himself in that order. But a little while after, feeling that the same hindered him, although it was in October, when he was returned unto his cabins, he distributed it to sundry of his men, to the end that one alone should not be overpestered with it. This ought to be sufficient lesson to so many finical, both men and women, of these parts, who cause their garments and breast-plates to be made as hard and stiff as wood, wherein their bodies are so miserably tormented that they are in their clothes unable to all good actions. And, if the weather be too hot, they suffer in their great bummes with a thousand folds unsupportable heats, that are more intolerable than the torments which felons and criminal men are sometimes made to feel.

Now during the time that the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt was there, being in doubt whether Monsieur de Monts would come to make an habitation on that coast, as he wished it, he made there a piece of ground to be tilled, for to sow corn and to plant vines, which they did with the help of our apothecary Master Louis Hébert, a man who, besides his experience in his art, taketh great delight in the tilling of the ground. And the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt may be here compared to good father Noah, who, after he had made the tillage most necessary for the sowing of corn, he began to plant the vine, whose effects he felt afterwards.

As they were a-deliberating to pass farther, Olmechin came to the barque to see Monsieur de Poutrincourt,



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where having tarried certain hours, either in talking or eating, he said that the next day 100 boats should come, containing every one six men; but the coming of such a number of men being but troublesome, Monsieur de Poutrincourt would not tarry for them, but went away the same day to Malebarre, not without much difficulty, by reason of the great streams and shoals that are there. So that the barque having touched at three foot of water only, we thought to be cast away, and we began to unlade her and put the victuals into the shallop, which was behind, for to save us on land; but being no full sea, the barque came a-float within an hour. All this sea is a land overflowed, as that of Mount Saint Michael, a sandy ground, in which all that resteth is a plain flat country as far as the mountains, which are seen 15 leagues off from that place. And I am of opinion that as far as Virginia, it is all alike. Moreover, there is here great quantity of grapes, as before, and a country very full of people. Monsieur de Monts, being come to Malebarre in an other season of the year, gathered only green grapes, which he made to be preserved and brought some to the King. But it was our good hap to come thither in October, for to see the maturity thereof. I have here before shewed the difficulty that is found in entering into Malebarre. This is the cause why Monsieur de Poutrincourt came not in with his barque, but went thither with a shallop only, which thirty or forty savages did help to draw in; and when it was full tide (but the tide doth not mount here but two fathoms high, which is seldom seen) he went out, and retired himself into his said barque, to pass further in the morning, as soon as he should ordain it.

## CHAPTER XV

### DANGERS, ACCIDENTS, PERILS

THE night beginning to give place to the dawning of the day, the sails are hoisted up, but it was but a very perilous navigation. For with this small vessel they were forced to coast the land, where they found no depth; going back to sea, it was yet worse: in such wise that they did strike twice or thrice, being raised up again only by the waves, and the rudder was broken, which was a dreadful thing. In this extremity they were constrained to cast anchor in the sea, at two fathoms deep and three leagues off from the land. Which being done, Daniel Hay (a man which taketh pleasure in showing forth his virtue in the perils of the sea) was sent towards the coast to view it, and see if there were any port. And as he was near land he saw a savage, which did dance, singing: "Yo, yo, yo!"—he called him to come nearer, and by signs asked him if there were any place to retire ships in, and where any fresh water was. The savage having made sign there was, he took him into his shallop, and brought him to the barque, wherein was Chkoudun, Captain of the river of Oigoudi, otherwise Saint John's River; who, being brought before this savage, he understood him no more than did our own people: true it is that by signs he comprehended better than they what he would say. This savage shewed the places where no depth was, and where was any, and did so well indenting and winding here and there, always the lead in hand, that in the end they came to the port shewed by him, where small depth is: wherein the barque being arrived, diligence was used to make a forge for to mend her with her rudder, and an oven

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to bake bread, because there was no more biscuit left.

Fifteen days were employed in this work, during the which Monsieur de Poutrincourt, according to the laudable custom of Christians, made a Cross to be framed and set up upon a green bank, as Monsieur de Monts had done two years before at Kinibeki and Malebarre. Now among these painful exercises they gave not over making good cheer with that which both the sea and the land might furnish in that part. For in this port is plenty of fowl, in taking of which many of our men applied themselves: specially the sea-larks are there in so great flights that Monsieur de Poutrincourt killed 28 of them with one caliver shot. As for fishes, there be such abundance of porpoises and another kind of fish called by Frenchmen *souffleurs*, that is to say *blowers*,<sup>69</sup> that the sea seems to be all covered over with them. But they had not the things necessary for this kind of fishing; they contented themselves then with shell-fish, as of oysters, scallops, periwinkles,<sup>70</sup> whereof there was enough to be satisfied. The savages of the other side did bring fish, and grapes within baskets made of rushes, for to exchange with some of our wares. The said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, seeing the grapes there marvellously fair, commanded him that waited on his chamber to lay up in the barque a burthen of the vines from whence the said grapes were taken. Our apothecary, M. Louis Hébert, desirous to inhabit in those countries, had pulled out a good quantity of them, to the end to plant them in Port Royal, where none of them are, although the soil be there very fit for vines. Which nevertheless (by a dull forgetfulness) was not done, to the great discontent of the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt and of us all.

After certain days, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, seeing there great assembly of savages, came ashore, and, to give them some terror, made to march

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before him one of his men flourishing with two naked swords. Whereat they much wondered, but yet much more when they saw that our muskets did pierce thick pieces of wood, where their arrows could not so much as scratch. And therefore they never assailed our men as long as they kept watch. And it had been good to sound the trumpet at every hour's end, as Captain James Cartier did. For (as Monsieur de Poutrincourt doth often say): "One must never lay bait for thieves," meaning that one must never give cause to an enemy to think that he may surprise you; but one must always shew that he is mistrusted, and that you are not asleep, chiefly when one hath to do with savages, which will never set upon him that resolutely expects them; which was not performed in this place by them that bought the bargain of their negligence very dear, as we will now tell you.

Fifteen days being expired, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, seeing his barque mended and nothing remaining to be done but a batch of bread, he went some three leagues distant within the land, to see if he might discover any singularity. But in his return he and his men perceived the savages running away through the woods in divers troops of twenty, thirty, and more—some bowing themselves as men that would not be seen, others hiding themselves in the grass not to be perceived, others carrying away their stuff and canoes full of corn, for to betake them to their heels: besides the women transporting their children and such stuff as they could with them. Those actions gave cause to Monsieur de Poutrincourt to think that this people did plot some bad enterprise. Therefore, being arrived, he commanded his people, which were a-making of bread, to retire themselves into their barque. But as young people do often forget their duty, these having some cake or such like thing to make, had rather follow their likerish appetite than to



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do that which was commanded them, [and] tarried till night without retiring themselves. About midnight Monsieur de Poutrincourt, thinking upon that which had passed the day before, did ask whether they were in the barque, and, hearing they were not, he sent the shallop unto them to command and bring them aboard, whereto they disobeyed, except his chamberlain, who feared his master. They were five, armed with muskets and swords, which were warned to stand still upon their guard, and yet (being negligent) made not any watch, so much were they addicted to their own wills. The report was that they had before shot off two muskets upon the savages, because that some one of them had stolen a hatchet. Finally, those savages, either provoked by that or by their bad nature, came at the break of day without any noise (which was very easy to them, having neither horses, waggons, nor wooden shoes), even to the place where they were asleep; and, seeing a fit opportunity to play a bad part, they set upon them with shots of arrows and clubs, and killed two of them. The rest being hurt began to cry out, running towards the sea-shore. Then he which kept watch within the barque, cried out all affrighted: "O Lord! our men are killed, our men are killed!" At this voice and cry everyone rose up; and hastily, not taking leisure to fit on their clothes, nor to set fire to their matches, ten of them went into the shallop, whose names I do not remember but of Monsieur Champlain, Robert Gravé (Monsieur du Pont his son), Daniel Hay, the chirurgion, the apothecary, and the trumpeter: all which (following the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, who had his son with him) came a-land unarmed. But the savages ran away as fast as ever they could, though they were above three hundred besides them that were hidden in the grass (according to their custom) which appeared not. Wherein is to be noted how God fixeth I know not

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what terror in the face of the faithful against infidels and miscreants, according to His sacred Word, when he saith to his chosen people [*Deut. xi. 25*]: "*None shall be able to stand before you. The Lord your God shall put a terror and fear of you over all the earth, upon which you shall march.*" So we see [*Judg. vii. 8*] that 135,000 Midianites, able fighting men, ran away and killed one another before Gideon, which had but 300 men. Now to think to follow after these savages, it had been but labour lost, for they are too swift in running; but, if one had horses there, they might pay them home very soundly, for they have a number of small paths, leading from one place to another (which is not in Port Royal), and their woods are not so thick, and have besides store of open land.

Whilst that Monsieur de Poutrincourt was coming ashore, there was shot from the barque some small cast pieces<sup>71</sup> upon some savages that were upon a little hill, and some of them were seen fall down, but they be so nimble in saving their dead men that one knew not what judgment to make of it. The said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, seeing he could get nothing by pursuing of them, caused pits to be made to bury them that were dead, which I have said to be two; but there was one that died at the water's side, thinking to save himself, and a fourth man which was so sorely wounded with arrow-shots that he died being brought to Port Royal; the fifth man had an arrow sticking in his breast, yet did scape death for that time; but it had been better he had died there, for one hath lately told us that he was hanged in the habitation that Monsieur de Monts maintaineth at Quebec in the great river of Canada, having been the author of a conspiracy made against his Captain Monsieur Champlain, which is now there. And as for this mischief it hath been procured by the folly and disobedience of one whom I will not name, because he died there, who played the cock and ring-

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leader among the young men that did too lightly believe him which otherwise were of a reasonable good nature; and, because one would not make him drunk, he sware (according to his custom) that he would not return into the barque, which also came to pass. For the selfsame was found dead, his face on the ground, having a little dog upon his back, both of them shot together, and pierced through with one and the selfsame arrow.

In this bad occurrence, Monsieur du Pont's son above named had three of his fingers cut off, with a splint of a musket, which being overcharged did burst, which troubled the company very much, that was afflicted enough by other occasions. Nevertheless, the last duty towards the dead was not neglected, which were buried at the foot of the Cross that had been there planted, as is before said. But the insolency of this barbarous people was great, after the murders by them committed; for that as our men did sing over our dead men the funeral service and prayers accustomed in the Church, these rascals, I say, did dance and howled a-far off, rejoicing for their traitorous treachery, and therefore, though they were a great number, they adventured not themselves to come and assail our people, who, having at their leisure done what we have said before, because the sea waxed very low, retired themselves unto the barque, wherein remained Monsieur Champdoré for the guard thereof. But, being low water and having no means to come a-land, this wicked generation came again to the place where they had committed the murder, pulled up the Cross, digged out and unburied one of the dead corpses, took away his shirt, and put it on them, showing their spoils that they had carried away; and, besides all this, turning their backs towards the barque, did cast sand with their two hands betwixt their buttocks in derision, howling like wolves: which did marvellously vex our people, which spared no cast pieces shots at them;



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but the distance was very great, and they had already that subtlety as to cast themselves on the ground when they saw the fire put at it, in such sort that one knew not whether they had been hurt or no, so that our men were forced, nill or will, to drink that bitter potion, attending for the tide, which, being come and sufficient to carry them a-land, as soon as they saw our men enter into the shallop, they ran away as swift as greyhounds, trusting themselves on their agility. There was with our men a Sagamos named Chkoudun, spoken of before, who much disliked their pranks, and would alone go and fight against all this multitude, but they would not permit him, so they set up the Cross again with reverence, and the body which they had digged up was buried again, and they named this Port Port Fortuné.<sup>72</sup>

The next day they hoisted up sails, to pass further and discover new lands, but the contrary wind constrained them to put back and to come again into the said Port. The other next day after, they attempted again to go farther, but in vain; and they were yet forced to put back until the wind should be fit. During these attempts, the savages (thinking, I believe, that that which had passed between us was but a jest and a play) would needs come again familiarly unto us, and offered to truck, dissembling that they were not them that had done those villainies, but others, which, they said, were gone away. But they were not aware of the fable, how the stork, being taken among the cranes which were found doing some damage, was punished as the others, notwithstanding she pleaded that she was so far from doing any harm that contrariwise she did purge the ground from serpents, which she did eat. Monsieur de Poutrincourt then suffered them to approach, and made as though he would accept of their wares, which were tobacco, carkenets, and bracelets made with the shells of a fish called *vignaux*<sup>73</sup> (and



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esurni by James Cartier in the discovery of his second voyage), of great esteem among them: item of their corn, beans, bows, arrows, quivers, and other small trash. And as the society was renewed the said Poutrincourt commanded to nine or ten that were with him to make the matches of their muskets round, like to a round snare, and that, when he should give a sign, every one should cast his string upon the savage's-head that should be near him, and should catch him even as the hangman doth with him that he hath in hand. And for the effecting of this, that half of his people should go a-land, whilst the savages were busy a-trucking in the shallop: which was done; but the execution was not altogether according to his desire. For he intended to serve himself with them that should be taken as of slaves to grind at the hand-mill and to cut wood; wherein they failed by over-much haste. Nevertheless, six or seven of them were cut in pieces, which could not so well run in the water as on the land, and were watched at the passage by those of our men that were a-land.

That done, the next day they endeavoured to go farther, although the wind was not good; but they went but a little forward, and saw only an island six or seven leagues off, to which there was no means to come, and it was called L'Ile Douteuse, the Doubtful Isle, which being considered, and that of one side the want of victuals was to be feared, and of the other that the winter might hinder their course, and besides they had two sick men of whom there was no hope of recovery; counsel being taken, it was resolved to return into Port Royal: Monsieur de Poutrincourt, besides all this, being yet in care for them whom he had left there, so they came again for the third time into Port Fortuné, where no savage was seen.

Upon the first wind the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt weighed anchor for the return, and, being mind-

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ful of the dangers passed, he sailed in open sea; which shortened his course, but not without a great mischief of the rudder, which was again broken: in such sort that, being at the mercy of the waves, they arrived in the end as well as they could among the islands of Norombega, where they mended it. And after their departure from the said islands they came to Menane, an island about six leagues in length, between Sainte-Croix and Port Royal, where they tarried for the wind, which being come somewhat favourable, parting from thence new mischances happened. For the shallop, being tied at the barque, was stricken with a sea so roughly that with her nose she brake all the hinder part of the said barque, wherein Monsieur de Poutrincourt and others were. And, moreover, not being able to get to the passage of the said Port Royal, the tide (which runneth swiftly in that place) carried them towards the bottom of Baie Française, from whence they came not forth easily; and they were in as great danger as ever they were before, forasmuch as, seeking to return from whence they came, they saw themselves carried with the wind and tide towards the coast, which is high rock and down-falls where, unless they had doubled a certain point that threatened them of wreck, they had been cast away. But God will, in high enterprises, try the constancy of them that fight for his name, and see if they will waver: He bringeth them to the door of death, and yet holdeth them by the hand, to the end they fall not into the pit, as it is written [*Deut. xxxii. 39*]: "*It is I, it is I, and there is none other God with me. I kill, and make alive; I wound, and I heal: and there is nobody that may deliver any out of my hand.*" So we have said heretofore, and seen by effect, that although in those navigations a thousand dangers have presenced themselves, notwithstanding not one man hath been lost by the sea, although that of them which do only go for fishing and to trade for skins, many there be

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that perish there: witness four fishermen of Saint Malo that were swallowed up in the waters, being gone a-fishing, when as we were upon our return into France: God being willing that we should acknowledge to hold this benefit of him, and to manifest by that means his glory, to the end that sensibly men may see that it is he which is the author of these holy enterprises, which are not made of covetousness, nor by unjust effusion of blood, but of a zeal to establish his name and his greatness among nations that have no knowledge of him. Now after so many heavenly favours, it is the part of them that have received them to say as the kingly Psalmist, well-beloved of God:

*Yet nevertheless by thy right hand thou hold'st me ever fast :  
And with thy counsel dost me guide to glory at the last.  
What thing is there that I can wish but thee in Heaven  
above ?*

*And in the Earth there is nothing like thee that I  
can love [Psal. lxxiii. 23, 24.]*

After many perils (which I will not compare to them of Ulysses, nor of Æneas, fearing to defile our holy voyages with profane impurity) Monsieur de Poutrin-court arrived in Port Royal the 14th day of November, where we received him joyfully, and with a solemnity altogether new in that part. For about the time that we expected his return (with great desire, and that so much the more that, if any harm had happened him, we had been in danger to have confusion among ourselves) I advised myself to show some jollity going to meet him, as we did. And forasmuch as it was in French verses made in haste, I have placed them with the *Muses of New France* by the title of *Neptune's Theatre*, whereunto I refer the reader. Moreover, to give greater honour to the return and to our action, we did place over the gate of our fort the arms of France, environed with laurel crowns (whereof there is great

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store along the woods' sides) with the king's poesy: "*Duo protegit unus.*"<sup>74</sup> And under, the arms of Monsieur de Monts, with this inscription: "*Dabit Deus his quoque finem*"; and those of Monsieur de Poutrincourt, with this other inscription: "*In via virtuti nulla est via,*" both of them also environed with garlands of bays.



## CHAPTER XVI

### WINTER AT PORT ROYAL

THE public rejoicing being finished, Monsieur de Poutrincourt had a care to see his corn, the greatest part whereof he had sowed two leagues off from our fort, up the river l'Equille, and the other part about our said fort; and found that which was first sown very forward, but not the last that had been sowed the sixth and tenth days of November, which notwithstanding did grow under the snow during winter, as I have noted it in my sowings. It would be a tedious thing to particularize all that was done amongst us during winter: as to tell how the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt caused many times coals to be made, the forge-coal being spent: that he caused ways to be made through the woods: that we went through the forests by the guide of the compass; and other things of such nature. But I will relate that, for to keep us merry and cleanly concerning victuals, there was an order established at the table of the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, which was named "*L'Ordre de bon temps*" (the order of good time, or the order of mirth),<sup>75</sup> at first invented by Monsieur Champlain, wherein they (who were of the same table) were every one at his turn and day (which was in fifteen days once) steward and caterer. Now his care was that we should have good and worshipful fare, which was so well observed that (although the belly-gods of these parts do often reproach unto us that we had not La Rue aux Ours<sup>76</sup> of Paris with us) we have ordinarily had there as good cheer as we could have at La Rue aux Ours, and at far lesser charges. For there was none but (two days before his turn came) was careful to go a-hunting or fishing, and brought some

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dainty thing, besides that which was of our ordinary allowance. So well, that at breakfast we never wanted some modicum or other of fish or flesh; and, at the repast of dinners and suppers, yet less; for it was the great banquet, where the Governor of the feast or Steward (whom the savages do call *atoclegic*), having made the cook to make all things ready, did march with his napkin on his shoulder and his staff of office in his hand, with the collar of the order about his neck, which was worth above four crowns, and all of them of the order following of him, bearing every one a dish. The like also was at the bringing in of the fruit, but not with so great a train. And at night, after grace was said, he resigned the collar of the order, with a cup of wine, to his successor in that charge, and they drank one to another. I have heretofore said that we had abundance of fowl, as mallards, outards, geese, grey and white, partridges, and other birds: item, of elans (or stag-flesh), of caribous (or deer), beavers, otters, bears, rabbits, wild-cats (or leopards), nibachès, and such like,<sup>77</sup> which the savages did take, wherewith we made as good dishes of meat as in the cook's-shops that be in La Rue aux Ours (Bear Street) and greater store; for of all meats none is so tender as elan's flesh (whereof we made good pasties), nor so delicate as the beaver's tail. Yea, we have had sometimes half a dozen sturgeons at one clap, which the savages did bring to us, part whereof we did take, paying for it, and the rest was permitted them to sell publicly, and to truck it for bread, whereof our people had abundantly. And as for the ordinary meat brought out of France, that was distributed equally, as much to the least as to the biggest. And the like with wine, as we have said. In such actions we had always twenty or thirty savages, men, women, girls, and boys, who beheld us doing our offices. Bread was given them gratis, as we do here to the poor. But as for the Sagamos Membertou

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and other Sagamos (when any came to us), they sat at table eating and drinking as we did; and we took pleasure in seeing them, as contrariwise their absence was irksome unto us: as it came to pass three or four times that all went away to the places where they knew that game and venison was, and brought one of our men with them, who lived some six weeks as they did without salt, without bread and without wine, lying on the ground upon skins, and that in snowy weather. Moreover, they had greater care of him (as also of others that have often gone with them) than of themselves, saying that, if they should chance to die, it would be laid to their charges to have killed them. And hereby it may be known that we were not (as it were) pent up in an island as Monsieur de Villegagnon was in Brazil. For this people love Frenchmen, and would all, at a need, arm themselves for to maintain them.

But, to use no digression, such government as we have spoken of did serve us for preservatives against the country disease. And yet four of ours died in February and March, of them who were of a fretful condition or sluggish. And I remember I observed that all had their lodgings on the West side, and looking towards the wide-open Port, which is almost four leagues long, shaped oval-wise; besides they had, all of them, ill bedding. For the former sicknesses, and the going away of Monsieur du Pont, in that manner as we have said, caused the quilt beds to be cast away, for they were rotten. And they that went with the said Monsieur du Pont carried away the sheets and blankets, challenging them as theirs. So that some of our people had sore mouths and swollen legs, like to the phthisis, which is the sickness that God sent to his people in the desert, in punishment for that they would fill themselves with flesh, not contenting themselves with that whereof the desert furnished them by the divine providence [*Num.* xi. 33; *Psalms* cvi. 25].



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We had fair weather almost during all the winter. For neither rains nor fogs are so frequent there as here, whether it be at sea or on the land. The reason is because the sunbeams, by the long distance, have not the force to raise up vapours from the ground here, chiefly in a country all woody. But in summer it doth, both from the sea and the land, whenas their force is augmented and those vapours are dissolved suddenly or slowly, according as one approacheth to the equinoctial line. For we see that between the two tropics it raineth in more abundance both at sea and on the land, specially in Peru and Mexico, than in Africa, because the sun by so long space of sea, having drawn up much moistness, from the main ocean, he dissolveth them in a moment by the great force of his heat; where contrariwise towards the Newfoundlands they maintain themselves a long time in the air before they be turned into rain or be dispersed: which is done in summer (as we have said) and not in winter, and at sea more than on the land. For on the land the morning mists serve for a dew, and fall about eight o'clock; and at sea they dure two, three, and eight days, as oftentimes we have tried.

Seeing then we are speaking of winter, we say that rains being in those parts rare in that season, the sun likewise shineth there very fair, after the fall of snows, which we have had seven or eight times, but it is easily melted in open places, and the longest abiding have been in February. Howsoever it be, the snow is very profitable for the fruits of the earth, to preserve them against the frost, and to serve them as a fur-gown. Which is done by the admirable providence of God for the preservation of men, and as the Psalm saith [*Psa.* cxlvii. 16]:

*He giveth snow like wool, hoar-frost  
Like ashes he doth spread,  
Like morsels casts his ice.*



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And as the sky is seldom covered with clouds towards Newfoundland in winter-time, so are there morning frosts, which do increase in the end of January, February, and in the beginning of March, for until the very time of January, we kept us still in our doublets. And I remember that on a Sunday, the 14th day of that month, in the afternoon, we sported ourselves singing in music upon the river l'Equille, and in the same month we went to see the corn two leagues off from our fort, and did dine merrily in the sunshine. I would not for all that say that all other years were like unto this. For as that winter was as mild in these parts, these last winters of the year 1607, 1608 have been the hardest that ever was seen; it hath also been alike in those countries, in such sort that many savages died through the rigour of the weather, as in these our parts many poor people and travellers have been killed through the same hardness of winter-weather. But I will say that the year before we were in New France, the winter had not been so hard as they which dwelt there before us have testified unto me.

Let this suffice for that which concerneth the winter season. But I am not yet fully satisfied in searching the cause why in one and the selfsame parallel the season is in those parts of New France more slow by a month than in these parts, and the leaves appear not upon the trees but towards the end of the month of May; unless we say that the thickness of the woods and greatness of forests do hinder the sun from warming of the ground; item, that the country where we were is joining to the sea, and thereby more subject to cold, as participating of Peru, a country likewise cold in regard of Africa; and besides that, this land having never been tilled is the more dampish, the trees and plants not being able easily to draw sap from their mother the earth. In recompense whereof the winter there is also more slow, as we have heretofore spoken.

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The cold being passed, about the end of March the best disposed amongst us strived who should best till the ground, and make gardens to sow in them, and gather fruits thereof. Which was to very good purpose, for we found great discommodity in the winter for want of garden herbs. When everyone had done his sowing, it was a marvellous pleasure in seeing them daily grow and spring up, and yet greater contentment to use thereof so abundantly as we did; so that this beginning of good hope made us almost to forget our native country, and especially when the fish began to haunt fresh water, and came abundantly into our brooks in such innumerable quantity that we knew not what to do with it. Which thing when I consider, I cannot wonder enough how it is possible that they which have been in Florida have suffered so great famine, considering the temperature of the air, which is there almost without winter, and that their famine began in the months of April, May, and June, wherein they could want for no fish.

Whilst some laboured on the ground, Monsieur de Poutrincourt made some buildings to be prepared, for to lodge them which he hoped should succeed us. And considering how troublesome the hand-mill was, he caused a water-mill to be made, which caused the savages to admire much at it. For indeed it is an invention which came not into the spirit of men from the first ages. After that, our workmen had much rest, for the most part of them did almost nothing. But I may say that this mill, by the diligence of our millers, did furnish us with three times more herrings than was needful unto us for our sustenance. Monsieur de Poutrincourt made two hogsheads full of them to be salted, and one hogshead of sardines, or pilchards, to bring into France for a show, which were left in our return at Saint Malo, to some merchants.

Among all these things the said Monsieur de

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Poutrincourt did not neglect to think on his return. Which was the part of a wise man, for one must never put so much trust in men's promises, but one must consider that very often many disasters do happen to them in a small moment of time. And therefore, even in the month of April, he made two barques to be prepared, a great one and a small one, to come to seek out French ships towards Campseau, or Newfoundland, if it should happen that no supply should come unto us. But the carpentry-work being finished, one only inconvenience might hinder us, that is, we had no pitch to caulk our vessels. This (which was the chiefest thing) was forgotten at our departure from La Rochelle. In this important necessity, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt advised himself to gather in the woods quantity of the gum issuing from fir-trees. Which he did with much labour, going thither himself, most often with a boy or two; so that in the end he got some hundred pounds weight of it. Now after these labours, it was not yet all, for it was needful to melt and purify the same, which was a necessary point and unknown to our ship-master Monsieur de Champdoré, and to his mariners, forasmuch as that the pitch we have cometh from Norway, Sweden, and Danzig. Nevertheless, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt found the means to draw out the quintessence of these gums and fir-tree barks; and caused quantity of bricks to be made, with the which he made an open furnace, wherein he put a limbeck<sup>78</sup> made with many kettles, joined one in the other, which he filled with those gums and barks: then, being well covered, fire was put round about it, by whose violence the gum enclosed within the said lembeck melted, and dropped down into a basin; but it was needful to be very watchful at it, by reason that, if the fire had taken hold of the gum, all had been lost. That was admirable, especially in a man that never saw any made. Whereof the savages

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being astonished did say, in words borrowed from the Basques: *Endia chavè Normandia*, that is to say, that the Normans know many things. Now they call all Frenchmen Normans, except the Basques, because the most part of fishermen that go a-fishing there be of that nation. This remedy came very fitly unto us, for those which came to seek us were fallen into the same want that we were.

Now, as he which is in expectation hath neither contentment nor rest until he hath that which he desireth, likewise our men in this season had often their eyes upon the great compass of Port Royal, to see if they might discover any ship a-coming; wherein they were oftentimes deceived, imagining sometimes they had heard a cannon-shot, other while to perceive a sail; and very often taking the savages' boats that came to see us for French shallops. For at that time great number of savages assembled themselves at the passage of the said Port to go to the wars against the Armouchiquois, as we will declare in the book following. Finally, that which was so much expected and wished for came at length, and we had news out of France on the Ascension Day in the forenoon.



## CHAPTER XVII

### ARRIVAL OF CHEVALIER

THE sun did but begin to cheer the earth and to behold his mistress with an amorous aspect, when the Sagamos Membertou (after our prayers solemnly made to God and the breakfast distributed to the people, according to the custom) came to give us advertisement that he had seen a sail upon the lake which came towards our fort. At this joyful news everyone went out to see, but yet none was found that had so good a sight as he, though he be above 100 years old; nevertheless, we spied very soon what it was. Monsieur de Poutrincourt caused in all diligence the small barque to be made ready for to go to view further. Monsieur de Champdoré and Daniel Hay went in her, and, by the sign that had been told them being certain that they were friends, they made presently to be charged four cannons and twelve falconets,<sup>79</sup> to salute them that came so far to see us. They on their part did not fail in beginning the joy, and to discharge their pieces, to whom they rendered the like with usury. It was only a small barque under the charge of a young man of Saint Malo, named Chevalier, who, being arrived at the fort, delivered his letters to Monsieur de Poutrincourt, which were read publicly. They did write unto him that, for to help to save the charges of the voyage, the ship (being yet the *Jonas*) should stay at Campseau Port, there to fish for cod, by reason that the merchants associate with Monsieur de Monts knew not that there was any fishing farther than that place: notwithstanding, if it were necessary, he should cause the ship to come to Port Royal. Moreover, that the Society was broken, because that, contrary to the King his edict, the

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Hollanders, conducted by a traitorous Frenchman called La Jeunesse, had the year before taken up the beavers and other furs, of the great river of Canada—a thing which did turn to the great damage of the Society, which for that cause could no longer furnish the charges of the inhabiting in these parts, as it had done in times past. And therefore did send nobody for to remain there after us. As we received joy to see our assured succour, we felt also great grief to see so fair and so holy an enterprise broken; that so many labours and perils past should serve to no effect; and that the hope of planting the name of God and the Catholic faith should vanish away. Notwithstanding, after that Monsieur de Poutrincourt had a long while mused hereupon, he said that, although he should have nobody to come with him but only his family, he would not forsake the enterprise.

It was great grief unto us to abandon (without hope of return) a land that had produced unto us so fair corn and so many fair adorned gardens. All that could be done until that time was to find out a place fit to make a settled dwelling and a land of good fertility. And, that being done, it was great want of courage to give over the enterprise, for, another year being passed, the necessity of maintaining an habitation there should be taken away, for the land was sufficient to yield things necessary for life. This was the cause of that grief which pierceth the hearts of them which were desirous to see the Christian religion established in that country. But, on the contrary, Monsieur de Monts and his associates reaping no benefit but loss, and having no help from the King, it was a thing which they could not do but with much difficulty to maintain an habitation in those parts.

Now this envy for the trade of beavers with the savages found not only place in the Hollanders' hearts but also in French Merchants', in such sort that the

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privilege which had been given to the said Monsieur de Monts for ten years was revoked. The insatiable avarice of men is a strange thing, which have no regard to that which is honest so that they may rifle and catch by what means soever. And thereupon I will say, moreover, that there have been some of them that came to that country to fetch us home that wickedly have presumed so much as to strip the dead, and steal away the beavers which those poor people do put, for their last benefit, upon them whom they bury, as we will declare more at large in the book following. A thing that maketh the French name to be odious and worthy disdain among them, which have no such sordid quality at all, but rather having a heart truly noble and generous, having nothing in private to themselves, but rather all things common, and which ordinarily do present gifts (and that very liberally, according to their ability) to them whom they love and honour. And, besides this mischief, it came to pass that the savages, when that we were at Campseau, killed him that had showed them the sepulchres of their dead. I need not to allege here what Herodotus reciteth of the vile baseness of King Darius, who, thinking to have caught the old one in the nest (as saith the proverb), that is to say, great treasures, in the tomb of Semiramis, Queen of the Babylonians, went away altogether confounded, as wise as he came thither, having found in it a writing, altogether contrary to the first he had read, which rebuked him very sharply for his avarice and wickedness.

Let us return to our sorrowful news, and to the grief thereof. Monsieur de Poutrincourt, having propounded to some of our company whether they would tarry there for a year, eight good fellows offered themselves, who were promised that every one of them should have a hogshead of wine and corn sufficiently for one year, but they demanded so great wages that they could not agree. So resolution was taken for the return.



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Towards the evening we made bonfires for the nativity of my Lord the Duke of Orleans,<sup>80</sup> and began afresh to make our cannons and falconets to thunder out, accompanied with store of musket-shots, having before sung for that purpose *Te Deum Laudamus*.

The said Chevalier, bringer of the news, had borne the office of captain in the ship that remained at Campseau, and in this condition there was given to him, for to bring unto us six wethers, 24 hens, a pound of pepper, 20 pounds of rice, as many of raisins, and of prunes, a thousand of almonds, a pound of nutmegs, a quarter of cinnamon, two pounds of maces, half a pound of cloves, two pounds of citron-rinds, two dozen of citrons, as many oranges, a Westphalia gammon of bacon, and six other gammons, a hogshead of Gascony wine and as much of sack, a hogshead of powdered beef, four pottles and a half of oil-of-olive, a jar of olives, a barrel of vinegar, and two sugar-loaves; but all that was lost through Gutter Lane, and we saw none of all these things to make account of: nevertheless I have thought good to name here these wares, to the end that they which will travel on the seas may provide themselves therewith. As for the hens and wethers, it was told us that they died in the voyage, which we easily believed, but we desired at least to have had the bones of them: they told us yet, for a fuller answer, that they thought we had been all dead. See upon what ground the consuming of our provision was founded. For all that, we gave good entertainment to the said Chevalier and his company, which were no small number, nor drinkers like to the late deceased Monsieur le Marquis de Pisani. Which made them like very well of our company; for there was but cider well watered in the ship wherein they came, for their ordinary portion. But as for the said Chevalier, even the very first day he spake of a return, Monsieur de Poutrincourt kept him some eight days in delays, at the end whereof, this



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man willing to go away, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt put men in his barque, and detained him, for some report that he had said that, being come to Campseau, he would hoist up sails and leave us there.

Fifteen days after, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt sent a barque to Campseau, with part of our workmen, for to begin to pull down the house. In the beginning of June the savages, about 400 in number, went away from the dwelling that the Sagamos Membertou had newly made in form of a town, compassed about with high pales, for to go to wars against the Armouchiquois, which was at Choüakoet some 80 leagues distant from Port Royal; from whence they returned victorious, by the stratagems which I will declare in the description that I have made of this war in French verses. The savages were near two months in the assembling themselves thither. The great Sagamos Membertou had made them to be warned during, and before, the winter, having sent unto them men of purpose, namely his two sons, Actaudin and Actaudinech, to appoint them there the rendez-vous, or place of meeting. This Sagamos is a man already very old, and hath seen Captain James Cartier in that country at which time he was already married and had children, and notwithstanding did not seem to be above fifty years old. He hath been a very great warrior in his young age, and bloody during his life; which is the cause why he is said to have many enemies, and he is very glad to keep himself near the Frenchmen, to live in security. During this gathering of people, it behoved to make presents unto him, and gifts of corn and beans, yea, of some barrel of wine, to feast his friends. For he declared to Monsieur de Poutrincourt in these words: "I am the Sagamos of this country, and am esteemed to be thy friend and of all the Normans (for so call they the Frenchmen, as I have said), and that you make good reckoning of me. It would be a

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reproach unto me if I did not show the effects of this love." And, notwithstanding, whether it be through envy or otherwise, another Sagamos, named Chkoudun, who was a good friend to the French, and unfeigned, reported unto us that Membertou did plot some thing against us, and had made an oration to that purpose. Which being understood by Monsieur de Poutrincourt, he sent suddenly for him, to astonish him and to see if he would obey. Upon the first sending he came alone with our men, not making any refusal. Which was the cause that he was permitted to return back in peace, having first been kindly used, and had some bottle of wine, which he loveth, because (saith he) that, when he hath drunk of it, he sleepeth well, and hath no more fear nor care. This Membertou told us, at our first coming thither, that he would make the King a present of his copper-mine, because he saw we make account of mines, and that it is meet that the Sagamos be courteous and liberal one towards the other. For he, being Sagamos, esteemeth himself equal to the King, and to all his Lieutenants; and did say often to Monsieur de Poutrincourt that he was his great friend, brother, companion, and equal, showing his equality by joining the two fingers of the hand, that be called *indices*, or demonstrative fingers. Now although this present which he would give to his Majesty was a thing that he cared not for, notwithstanding that proceedeth from a generous and good mind of his, which deserveth as great praises as if the thing had been of greater value. As did the Persian King, who received with as good a will a handful of water from a poor countryman, as the greatest presents that had been made unto him. For if Membertou had had more, he would have offered it liberally.

Monsieur de Poutrincourt, being not willing to depart thence until he had seen the issue of his expectation, that is to say the ripeness of his corn, he deliber-

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ated, after that the savages were gone to wars, to make voyages along the coast. And because Chevalier was desirous to gather some beavers, he sent him in a small barque to the River of Saint John, called by the savages Oüigoudi, and to the Isle Sainte-Croix; and he, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, went in a shallop to the said copper-mine. I was of the said Chevalier his voyage: we crossed the French bay to go to the said river, where, as soon as we arrived, half a dozen salmons newly taken were brought to us. We sojourned there four days, during which we went into the cabins of Sagamos Chkoudun, where we saw some eighty or a hundred savages, all naked except their privy members, which were a-making Tabagy (that is to say, a-banquetting) with the meal that the said Chevalier had trucked with them for their old skins full of lice (for they gave him nothing but that which they would cast away). So made he there a traffic which I little praise. But it may be that the odour of lucre is savoury and sweet, of what thing soever it be, and the Emperor Vespasian did not disdain to receive in his own hands the tribute which came unto him from the pissing vessels of Rome.

Being among those savages, the Sagamos Chkoudun would needs give us the pleasure in seeing the order and gesture that they held going to the wars, and made them all to pass before us, which I reserve to speak of in the book following. The town of Oüigoudi (so I call the dwelling of the said Chkoudun) was a great enclosure upon an hill, compassed about with high and small trees tied one against another, and within it many cabins great and small, one of which was as great as a market-hall, wherein many households retired themselves; and as for the same where they made their Tabagie, it was somewhat less. A good part of the said savages were of Gachepé, which is the beginning of the great river of Canada; and they told us that they came from their dwelling thither in six days, which



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made me much to marvel, seeing the distance that there is by sea, but they shorten very much their ways, and make great voyages by the means of lakes and rivers, at the end of which being come, in carrying their canoes three or four leagues they get to other rivers that have a contrary course. All these savages were come thither to go to the wars with Membertou against the Armouchiquois.

But because I have spoken of this river of Oüigoudi, in Monsieur de Monts' voyage, I will not at this time speak more of it. When we returned to our barque, which was at the coming in of the Port, half a league off from thence, sheltered by a causeway that the sea hath made there, our men, and specially Captain Champdoré that conducted us, were in doubt lest some mischance should happen unto us; and, having seen the savages in arms, thought it had been to do us some mischief, which had been very easy, for we were but two, and therefore they were very glad of our return. After which, the next day came the wizard or soothsayer of that quarter, crying as a madman towards our barque. Not knowing what he meant, he was sent for in a cock-boat, and came to parley with us, telling us that the Armouchiquois were within the woods which came to assail them, and that they had killed some of their folks that were a-hunting; and therefore that we should come a-land to assist them. Having heard this discourse, which according to our judgment tended to no good, we told him that our journeys were limited, and our victuals also, and that it was behoveful for us to be gone. Seeing himself denied, he said that before two years were come about they would either kill all the Normans, or that the Normans should kill them. We mocked him, and told him that we would bring our barque before their fort to ransack them all; but we did it not, for we went away that day. And, having the wind contrary, we sheltered ourselves under a small



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island, where we were two days: during which, some went a-shooting at mallards for provision; others attended on the cookery; and Captain Champdoré and myself went along the rocks with hammers and chisels, seeking if there were any mines. In doing whereof we found quantity of steel among the rocks, which was since molten by Monsieur de Poutrincourt, who made wedges of it, and it was found very fine steel, whereof he caused a knife to be made, that did cut as a razor, which at our return he shewed to the King.

From thence we went in three days to the Isle Sainte-Croix, being often contraried with the winds. And because we had a bad conjecture of the savages, which we did see in great number, at the river of Saint John, and that the troop that was departed from Port Royal was yet at Menane (an isle between the said Port Royal and Sainte-Croix) which we would not trust, we kept good watch in the night time: at which time we did often hear seals' voices, which were very like to the voice of owls: a thing contrary to the opinion of them that have said and written that fishes have no voice.

Being arrived at the Isle Sainte-Croix, we found there the buildings left there all whole, saving that the storehouse was uncovered of one side. We found there yet sack in the bottom of a pipe, whereof we drank, and it was not much the worse. As for gardens, we found there coleworts, sorrel, lettuces, which we used for the kitchen. We made there also good pasties of turtle-doves, which are very plentiful in the woods; but the grass is there so high that one could not find them when they were killed and fallen in the ground. The court was there, full of whole casks, which some ill disposed mariners did burn for their pleasures; which thing when I saw, I did abhor, and I did judge, better than before, that the savages were (being less civilized) more humane and honest men than many that bear the

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name of Christians, having during three years spared that place, wherein they had not taken so much as a piece of wood, nor salt, which was there in great quantity, as hard as a rock.

Going from thence, we cast anchor among a great number of confused isles, where we heard some savages, and we did call to make them come to us. They answered us with the like call. Whereunto one of ours replied: "*Oüen Kirau?*" that is to say "*What are ye?*"; they would not discover themselves. But the next day Oagimont, the Sagamos of this river, came to us, and we knew it was he whom we heard. He did prepare to follow Membertou and his troop to the wars, where he was grievously wounded, as I have said in my verses upon this matter. This Oagimont hath a daughter about eleven years old, who is very comely, which Monsieur de Poutrincourt desired to have, and hath oftentimes demanded her of him to give her to the Queen, promising him that he should never want corn nor anything else; but he would never condescend thereto.

Being entered into our barque he accompanied us until we came to the broad sea, where he put himself in his shallop to return back; and for us we bent our course for Port Royal, where we arrived before day, but we were before our fort, just at the very point that fair Aurora began to shew her ruddy cheeks upon the top of our woody hills; everybody was yet asleep, and there was but one that rose up, by the continual barking of dogs; but we made the rest soon to awake by peals of musket-shots and trumpets' sound. Monsieur de Poutrincourt was but the day before arrived from his voyage to the mines, whither we have said that he was to go; and the day before that was the barque arrived that had carried part of our workmen to Camp-seau. So that, all being assembled, there rested nothing more than to prepare things necessary for

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our shipping. And in this business our water-mill did us very good service, for otherwise there had been no means to prepare meal enough for the voyage, but in the end we had more than we had need of, which was given to the savages, to the end to have us in remembrance.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### DEPARTURE FROM PORT ROYAL

UPON the point that we should take our leave of Port Royal, Monsieur de Poutrincourt sent his men, one after another, to find out the ship at Campseau, which is a port being between seven or eight islands, where ships may be sheltered from winds; and there is a bay of above 15 leagues depth, and 6 or 7 leagues broad: the said place being distant from Port Royal above 150 leagues. We had a great barque, two small ones, and a shallop. In one of the small barques some men were shipped that were sent before. And the 30th of July the other two went away. I was in the great one, conducted by Monsieur de Champdoré. But Monsieur de Poutrincourt, desirous to see an end of our sowed corn, tarried till it was ripe, and remained there eleven days yet after us. In the meantime, our first journey having been the passage of Port Royal, the next day mists came and spread themselves upon the sea, which continued with us eight whole days, during which all we could do was to get to Cape de Sable, which we saw not.

In these Cimmerian darknesses, having one day cast anchor in the sea, by reason of the night, our anchor drived in such sort that in the morning the tide had carried us among islands, and I marvel that we were not cast away striking against some rocks. But for victuals, we wanted for no fish, for in half an hour's fishing we might take cod enough for to feed us a fortnight, and of the fairest and fattest that ever I saw, being of the colour of carps, which I have never known nor noted but in this part of the said Cape de Sable; which after we had passed, the tide (which is swift in this place) brought us in short time as far as to the



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Port de la Heue, thinking that we were no further than the Port du Mouton. There we tarried two days, and in the very same port we saw the cods bite at the hook. We found there store of red gooseberries, and a *Marcassite* of copper-mine<sup>81</sup>: we also made there some trucking with the savages for skins.

From thence forward we had wind at will, and during that time it happened once that, being upon the hatches, I cried out to our pilot, Monsieur de Champdoré, that we were ready to strike, thinking I had seen the bottom of the sea; but I was deceived by the rainbow which did appear with all his colours in the water, procured by the shadow that our bowsprit sail did make over the same, being opposite to the sun, which, assembling his beams within the hollowness of the same sail, as it doth within the clouds, those beams were forced to make a reverberation in the water, and to show forth this wonder. In the end we arrived within four leagues of Campseau, at a port, where a good old man of Saint John De Luz, called Captain Savalet,<sup>82</sup> received us with all the kindness in the world. And forasmuch as this port (which is little, but very fair) hath no name, I have qualified it in my Geographical Map with the name of Savalet. This good honest man told us that the same voyage was the 42nd voyage that he had made into those parts, and nevertheless the Newfoundland men do make but one in a year. He was marvellously pleased with his fishing; and told us moreover that he took every day fifty crowns' worth of fish, and that his voyage would be worth 1,000 pounds. He paid wages to 16 men, and his vessel was of 80 tons, which could carry 100,000 dry fishes. He was sometimes vexed with the savages that did cabin there, who too boldly and impudently went into his ship and carried away from him what they listed. And for to avoid their troublesome behaviour, he threatened them that we would come thither, and that we would put them all

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to the edge of the sword, if they did him wrong. This did fear them, and they did him not so much harm as otherwise they would have done. Notwithstanding, whensoever the fishermen came with their shallops full of fish, they did choose what seemed good unto them, and they did not care for cod, but rather took merlus, or whittings, basses or fletans, a kind of very great turbot, which might be worth here in Paris above four crowns a-piece and peradventure six or more, for it is a marvellous good meat, specially when they be great, and of the thickness of six fingers, as are those that be taken there. And it would have been very hard to bridle their insolency, because that for to do it one should be forced to have always weapons in hand, and so the work should be left undone. The good nature and honesty of this man was extended not only to us but also to all our people that passed by his port, for it was the passage to go and come from Port Royal. But there were some of them that came to fetch us home who did worse than the savages, using him as the soldier doth the poor peasant, or country farmer, here: a thing which was very grievous for me to hear.

We were four days there, by reason of the contrary wind. Then came we to Campseau, where we tarried for the other barque, which came two days after us. And as for Monsieur de Poutrincourt, as soon as he saw that the corn might be reaped, he pulled up some rye, root and all, for to show here the beauty, goodness and unmeasurable height of the same. He also made gleans of the other sorts of seeds, as wheat, barley, oats, hemp, and others, for the same purpose: which was not done by them that have heretofore been in Brazil and in Florida. Wherein I have cause to rejoyce, because I was of the company and of the first tillers of that land. And herein I pleased myself the more, when I did set before mine eyes our ancient father Noah, a great king, great priest, and great prophet, whose occupation was to

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husband the ground, both in sowing of corn and planting the vine; and the ancient Roman Captain Seranus, who was found sowing of his field when that he was sent for to conduct the Roman army; and Quintus Cincinnatus, who all dusty did plough four acres of lands, bare-headed and open stomached, when the Senate's herald brought letters of the dictatorship unto him; in sort that this messenger was forced to pray him to cover himself before he declared his embassy unto him. Delighting myself in this exercise, God hath blessed my poor labour, and I have had in my garden as fair wheat as any can be in France, whereof the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt gave unto me a glean, when he came to the said Port de Campseau.

He was ready to depart from Port Royal, when Membertou and his company arrived, victorious over the Armouchiquois. And because I have made a description of this war in French verses, I will not here trouble my paper with it, being desirous rather to be brief than to seek out new matter. At the instant request of the said Membertou he tarried yet one day. But it was piteous to see at his departing those poor people weep, who had been always kept in hope that some of ours should always tarry with them. In the end, promise was made unto them that the year following households and families should be sent thither, wholly to inhabit their land and teach them trades for to make them live as we do, which promise did somewhat comfort them. There was left remaining ten hogsheads of meal, which were given to them, with the corn that we had sowed, and the possession of the *manoir*, if they would use it, which they have not done. For they cannot be constant in one place, and live as they do.

The eleventh of August the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt departed, with eight in his company, from the said Port Royal, in a shallop to come to



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Campseau—a thing marvellously dangerous to cross so many bays and seas in so small a vessel, laden with nine persons, with victuals necessary for the voyage and reasonably great quantity of other stuff. Being arrived at the Port of Captain Savalet, he received them all as kindly as it was possible for him: and from thence they came to us, to the said port of Campseau, where we tarried yet eight days.

The third day of September we weighed anchors, and with much a-do came we from among the rocks that be about the said Campseau. Which our mariners did with two shallops that did carry their anchors very far into the sea, for to uphold our ship, to the end she should not strike against the rocks. Finally, being at sea, one of the said shallops was let go, and the other was taken into the *Jonas*, which, besides our lading, did carry 100,000 of fish, as well dry as green. We had reasonable good wind until we came near to the lands of Europe. But we were not overcloyed with good cheer, because that (as I have said) they who came to fetch us, presuming we were dead did cram themselves with our refreshing commodities. Our workmen drank no more wine after we had left Port Royal; and we had but small portion thereof, because that which did over-abound with us was drunk merrily in the company of them that brought us news from France.

The 26th of September we had sight of the Sorlingues,<sup>83</sup> which be at the land's end of Cornwall in England, and the 28th, thinking to come to Saint Malo, we were forced (for want of good wind) to fall into Roscoff<sup>84</sup> in Basse Bretagne, where we remained two days and a half, refreshing ourselves. We had a savage who wondered very much seeing the buildings, steeples, and windmills in France; yea, also of the women, whom he had never seen clothed after our manner. From Roscoff (giving thanks to God) we came with a good wind unto Saint Malo: wherein I



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cannot but praise the watchful foresight of our Master, Nicholas Martin, in having so skilfully conducted us in such a navigation, and among so many banks and dangerous rocks wherewith the coast from the Cape of Ushant to Saint Malo is full. If this man be praiseworthy in this his action, Captain Foulques deserveth no less praises, having brought us through so many contrary winds, into unknown lands, where the first foundations of New France have been laid.

Having tarried three or four days at Saint Malo, Monsieur de Poutrincourt's son and myself went to Mount Saint Michael, where we saw the relics, all saving the buckler of this holy archangel. It was told us that the Lord Bishop of Avranches had, four or five years ago, forbidden to show it any more. As for the building, it meriteth to be called the eighth wonder of the world, so fair and great is it, upon the point of one only rock, in the midst of the waves at full sea. True it is, that one may say that the sea came not thither when the said building was made. But I will reply that, howsoever it be, it is admirable. The complaint that may be made in this respect is that so many fair buildings are unprofitable in these our days, as in the most part of the abbeys of France. And would to God that by some Archimedes' means they might be transported into New France, there to be better employed to God's service and the King's. At the return we came to see the fishing of oysters at Cancale.

After we had sojourned eight days at Saint Malo, we came, in a barque, to Honfleur, where Monsieur de Poutrincourt his experience stood us in good stead, who, seeing our pilots at their wits' end when they saw themselves between the isles of Jersey and Sark (not being accustomed to take that course, where we were driven by a great wind East-South-East, accompanied with fogs and rain), he took his sea-chart in hand and played the part of a pilot in such sort that we passed

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the Raz Blanchart<sup>85</sup> (a dangerous passage for small barques), and we came easily, following the coast of Normandy, to Honfleur: for which, eternal praises be given to God. Amen.

Being at Paris, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt presented the King with the fruits of the land from whence he came, and especially the corn, wheat, rye, barley, and oats, as being the most precious thing that may be brought from what country soever. It had been very fit to vow these first-fruits to God, and to place them in some church among the monuments of triumph, with more just cause than the ancient Romans, who presented to their country Gods and Goddesses Terminus, Seja, and Segesta the first-fruits of their tillage, by the hands of the priests of the fields, instituted by Romulus, which was the first order in New Rome, who had for blason a hat of the ears of corn [Pliny, lib. xviii., cap. 2].

The said Monsieur de Poutrincourt had bred ten Outards,<sup>86</sup> taken from the shell, which he thought to bring all into France; but five of them were lost, and the other five he gave to the King, who delighted much in them; and they are at Fontainebleau.

Upon the fair show of the fruits of the said country the King did confirm to Monsieur de Monts the privilege for the trade of beavers with the savages, to the end to give him means to establish his colonies in New France. And by this occasion he sent thither in March last families, there to begin Christian and French commonwealths, which God vouchsafe to bless and increase.

The said ships being returned, we have had report by Monsieur de Champdoré and others, of the state of the country which we had left, and of the wonderful beauty of the corn that the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt had sowed before his departure, together of the grains that be fallen in the gardens, which have so increased

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that it is an incredible thing. Membertou did gather six or seven barrels of the corn that we had sowed; and had yet one left, which he reserved for the Frenchmen whom he looked for, who arriving, he saluted with three musket-shots and bonfires. When it was laid to his charge that he had eaten our pigeons which we left there, he fell a-weeping, and, embracing him that told it him, said that it was the macharoa, that is to say, the great birds which are eagles, which did eat many of them, while we were there. Moreover, all great and small, did inquire how we did, naming every one by his own name, which is a witness of great love.

From Port Royal the said Champdoré went as far as Chouakouet, the beginning of the Armouchiquois' land, where he pacified that nation with the Etechemins, which was not done without solemnity. For as he had begun to speak of it, the Captain who is now instead of Olmechin, named Astikou, a grave man and of a goodly presence how savage soever he be, demanded that some one of the said Etechemins should be sent to him, and that he would treat with him. Oagimont, Sagamos of the river Sainte-Croix, was appointed for that purpose, and he would not trust them; but under the assurance of the Frenchmen he went thither. Some presents were made to Astikou, who, upon the speech of peace, began to exhort his people and to show them the causes that ought to induce them to hearken unto it. Whereunto they condescended, making an exclamation at every article that he propounded to them. Some five years ago Monsieur de Monts had likewise pacified those nations and had declared unto them that he would be enemy to the first of them that should begin the war and would pursue him. But, after his return into France, they could not contain themselves in peace. And the Armouchiquois did kill a Souriquois savage called Panoniac, who went to them for to truck merchandise, which he took at the storehouse of the

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said Monsieur de Monts. The war above-mentioned happened by reason of this said murder, under the conduct of Sagamos Membertou: the said war was made in the very same place where I now make mention that Monsieur de Champdoré did treat the peace this year. Monsieur Champlain is in another place, to wit in the great river of Canada, near the place where Captain James Cartier did winter,<sup>87</sup> where he hath fortified himself, having brought thither households, with cattle and divers sorts of fruit-trees. There is store of vines and excellent hemp in the same place where he is, which the earth bringeth forth of itself. He is not a man to be idle, and we expect shortly news of the whole discovery of this great and incomparable river, and of the countries which it washeth on both sides, by the diligence of the said Champlain.

As for Monsieur de Poutrincourt, his desire is immutable, in this resolution to inhabit and adorn his province, to bring thither his family and all sorts of trades necessary for the life of man. Which, with God's help, he will continue to effect all this present year 1609. And, as long as he hath vigour and strength, will prosecute the same, to live there under the King's obeisance.



# THE SECOND BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF NOVA FRANCIA

CONTAINING THE FASHIONS AND MANNERS  
OF LIFE OF THE PEOPLE THERE AND THE  
FERTILITY OF THE LANDS AND SEAS  
MENTIONED IN THE FORMER BOOK

## *The Preface*

*Almighty God, in the creation of this world hath so much delighted himself in diversity that, whether it be in heaven or in the earth, either under the same or in the profound depth of waters, the effects of his might and glory do shine in every place. But the wonder that far exceedeth all others is that in one and the selfsame kind of creature, I mean in Man, are found more variety than in other things created. For if one enters into the consideration of his face, two shall not be found who in every respect do resemble one another : if he be considered in the voice, the same variety shall be found : if in the speech, all nations have their proper and peculiar language, whereby one is distinguished from the other. But in manners and fashion of life there is a marvellous difference, which (without troubling ourselves in crossing the seas to have the experience thereof) we see visibly in our very neighbourhood. Now forasmuch as it is a small matter to know that people differ from us in customs and manners, unless we know the particularities thereof, a small thing is it like wise to know but that which is near to us ; but the fair science is to know the manner of all nations of the world, for which reason Ulysses hath been esteemed, because he had seen much and known much. It hath seemed necessary unto me to exercise myself in this second Book upon this subject, in that*

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*which toucheth the nations spoken of by us, seeing that I have tied myself unto it, and that it is one of the best parts of an history, which without it would be defective, having but slightly and casually handled hereabove those things that I have reserved to speak of here. Which also I do, to the end, if it please God to take pity of those poor people and to work by his holy spirit that they be brought into his fold, their children may know hereafter what their fathers were, and bless them that have employed themselves in their conversion, and reformation of their incivility. Let us therefore begin with man from his birth, and having in gross marked out what the course of his life is, we will conduct him to the grave, there to leave him to rest, and also to repose ourselves.*

## THE SECOND BOOK

### CHAPTER I

#### OF THE NATIVITY OF MAN

THE author of the *Book of Wisdom*, called Solomon, witnesseth unto us a most true thing, that *All men have a like entrance into the world, and the like going out.* But each several people hath brought some ceremonies, after these were accomplished. For some have wept, seeing the birth of man upon this worldly theatre. Others have rejoiced at it, as well because Nature hath given to every creature a desire to preserve his own kind, as for that, Man having been made mortal by sin, he desireth to be in some sort restored again to that lost right of immortality, and to leave some visible image issued from him by the generation of children. I will not here discourse upon every nation, for it would be an infinite thing. But I will say that the Hebrews at the nativity of their children did make some particular ceremonies unto them, spoken of by the Prophet Ezekiel [xvi. 2, 3, 4], who, having in charge to make a demonstration to the city of Jerusalem of her own abomination, doth reproach unto her, saying that she is issued and born out of the Canaanites' country, that her father was an Amorite and her mother an Hittite. And *as for thy birth (saith he) in the day that thou wast born thy navel was not cut, neither wast thou washed in water to soften thee, nor salted with salt, nor any wise swaddled in clouts* [Julian. *imp. Sidon., car. 7*; Claudian, *in Ruffin., lib. 2*]. The Cimbri did put their new-born children into the snow to harden them; and the Frenchmen did plunge theirs into the river Rhine,

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to know if they were legitimate: for if they did sink unto the bottom they were esteemed bastards, and if they did swim on the water they were legitimate, meaning (as it were) that Frenchmen ought naturally to swim upon the waters [August., *Epist. ad Maxim. Philos.*]. As for our savages of New France, when that I was there, thinking nothing less than on this history, I took not heed of many things which I might have observed; but yet I remember that as a woman was delivered of her child they came into our fort, to demand very instantly for some grease or oil to make the child to swallow it down before they give him the dug<sup>88</sup> or any food: they can render no reason for this, but that it is a custom of long continuance. Whereupon I conjecture that the devil (who hath always borrowed ceremonies from the Church, as well in the ancient as in the new law) would that his people (so do I call them that believe not in God, and are out of the Communion of Saints) should be anointed like to God's people; which unction he hath made to be inward, because the spiritual unction of the Christians is so.



## CHAPTER II

### OF THE IMPOSITION OF NAMES

As for imposition of names, they give them by tradition, that is to say, they have great quantity of names which they choose and impose on their children. But the eldest son commonly beareth his father's name, adding at the end some diminutive: as the eldest of Membertou shall be called Membertouchis, as it were the lesser, or the younger, Membertou. As for the younger son, he beareth not the father's name, but they give him such name as they list; and he that is born after him shall bear his name, adding a syllable to it, as the younger of Membertou is called Actaudin, he that cometh after is called Actaudinech. So Memembourré had a son named Semcoud, and his younger was called Semcoudech. It is not for all that a general rule, to add this termination -ech. For Panoniac's younger son (of whom mention is made in Membertou's war against the Armouchiquois, which I have described in the *Muses of New France*), was called Panoniagues; so that this termination is done according as the former name requireth it. But they have a custom that, when this elder brother or father is dead, they change name, for to avoid the sorrow that the remembrance of the deceased might bring unto them. This is the cause why, after the decease of Memembourré and Semcoud (that died this last winter), Semcoudech hath left his brother's name, and hath not taken that of his father, but rather hath made himself to be called Paris, because he dwelt in Paris. And after Panoniac's death, Panoniagues forsook his name, and was, by one of our men, called Roland which I find evil and indiscreetly done, so to profane Christians' names and to impose them upon infidels: as I remember of another

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that was called Martin. Alexander the Great (though he was an heathen) would not that any should bear his name unless he should render himself worthy thereof by virtue. And as one day a soldier bearing the name of Alexander was accused before him to be voluptuous and lecherous, he commanded him either to forsake that name or to change his life.

The Brazilians (as John de Léri saith,<sup>89</sup> whom I had rather follow in that which he hath seen, than a Spaniard) impose names to their children of the first thing that cometh before them, as, if a bow and string come to their imagination, they will call their child Ourapacen, which signifieth a bow and a string, and so consequently. In regard of our savages, they have at this day names without signification, which peradventure in the first imposing of them did signify something, but as the tongues do change the knowledge thereof is lost. Of all the names of them that I have known, I have learned none, saving that Chkoudun signifieth a trout, and Oüigoudi the name of the river of the said Chkoudun, which signifieth "to see." It is very certain that names have not been imposed to what thing soever without reason. For Adam gave the name to every living creature according to the property and nature thereof, and consequently names have been given to men signifying something: as Adam signifieth "Man," or "that which is made of earth"; Eve signifieth "the Mother of all living"; Abel, "weeping"; Cain, "possession"; Jesus "a Saviour"; Devil, "a Slanderer"; Satan, "an adversary," etc. Among the Romans, some were called Lucius, because they were born at the break of day; others Cæsar, for that the mother's belly was cut at the birth of him that first did bear this name: in like manner Lentulus, Piso, Fabius, Cicero, etc.—all nicknames, given by reason of some accident, like our savages' names, but with some more judgment.

## CHAPTER III

### OF THE FEEDING OF THEIR CHILDREN

ALMIGHTY GOD, shewing a true mother's duty, saith by the Prophet Isaiah [xlix. 15]: "*Can a woman forget her child, and not have compassion on the son of her womb?*" This pity which God requireth in mothers is to give the breast to their children, and not to change the food which they have given unto them before their birth. But at this day the most part make their breasts to serve for allurements to whoredom, and, being willing to set themselves at ease, free from the children's noise, do send them into the country, where peradventure they be changed or given to bad nurses, whose corruption and bad nature they suck with their milk. And from thence come the changelings, weak and degenerate from the right stock whose names they bear. The savage women bear a greater love than that towards their young ones, for none but themselves do nourish them; and that is general throughout all the West Indies: likewise their breasts are no baits of love, as in these our parts, but, rather, love in those lands is made by the flame that nature kindleth in everyone, without annexing any arts to it, either by painting, amorous poisons, or otherwise. And for this manner of nursing their children are the ancient German women praised by Tacitus, because that everyone did nurse their children with her own breasts, and would not have suffered that another besides themselves should give suck to their children. Now our savage women do give unto them, with the dug, meats which they use, having first well chewed them; and so by little and little bring them up. As for the swaddling of them, they that dwell in hot countries and near the

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tropics have no care of it, but leave them free unbound. But drawing towards the North, the mothers have an even smooth board, like the covering of a drawer or cupboard, upon which they lay the child wrapped in a beaver fur, unless it be too hot, and tied thereupon with some swaddling band, whom they carry on their backs, their legs hanging down: then, being returned into their cabins, they set them in this manner up straight against a stone or something else. And as in these our parts one gives small feathers and gilt things to little children, so they hang quantity of beads and small square toys, diversely coloured, in the upper part of the said board or plank, for the decking of theirs.



## CHAPTER IV

### OF THEIR LOVE TOWARDS THEIR CHILDREN

THAT which we have said even now is a part of true love, which doth shame the Christian women. But after the children be weaned, and at all times, they love them all, observing this law that Nature hath grafted in the hearts of all creatures (except in lewd slippery women) to have care of them. And when it is question to demand of them some of their children (I speak of the Souriquois, in whose land we dwelt) for to bring them into France, they will not give them; but, if any one of them doth yield unto it, presents must be given unto him, besides large promises. We have already spoken of this at the end of the 17th chapter. So then I find that they have wrong to be called barbarous, seeing that the ancient Romans were far more barbarous than they; who oftentimes sold their children for to have means to live. Now that which causeth them to love their children more than we do in these parts is that they are the maintenance of their fathers in their old age, whether it be to help them to live or to defend them from their enemies; and Nature conserveth wholly in them her right in this respect. By reason whereof that which they wish most is to have number of children, to be thereby so much the mightier as in the first age of the world, when virginity was a thing reprobable, because of God's commandment to men and women to increase, multiply, and replenish the earth [*Genesis* i. 28]; but after it was filled, this love waxed marvellous cold, and children began to be a burden to fathers and mothers, whom many have had in disdain, and have very often procured their death. Now is the way open for France to have a remedy for the same.

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For if it please God to guide and prosper the voyages of New France, whosoever in these parts shall find himself oppressed may pass thither, and there end his days in rest, and that without feeling any poverty; or if anyone findeth himself overburdened with children, he may send half of them thither, and with a small portion they shall be rich and possess the land, which is the most assured condition of this life. For we see at this day labour and pain in all vocations, yea, in them of the best sort, which are often crossed through envy and wants: others will make a hundred cappings and crouchings for to live, and yet they do but pine away. But the ground never deceiveth us, if we earnestly cherish her. Witness the fable of him who by his last will and testament did declare to his children that he had hidden a treasure in his vineyard, and as they had well and deeply digged and turned it they found nothing, but, the year being come about, they gathered so great a quantity of grapes that they knew not where to bestow them. So through all the holy Scripture, the promises that God maketh to the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and afterwards to the people of Israel, by the mouth of Moses, is that they shall possess the land, as a certain heritage that cannot perish, and where a man hath wherewith to sustain his family, to make himself strong and to live in innocency: according to the speeches of the ancient Cato, who did say that commonly husbandmen or farmers' sons be valiant and strong, and do think on no harm [Pliny, lib. xviii., cap. 5].

## CHAPTER V

### OF THEIR RELIGION

MAN being created after the image of God, it is good reason that he acknowledge, serve, worship, praise, and bless his Creator, and that therein he employ his whole desire, his mind, his strength, and his courage. But the nature of man having been corrupted by sin, this fair light that God had first given unto him hath been so darkened that he is become thereby to lose the knowledge of his beginning. And forasmuch as God showeth not himself unto us by a certain visible form, as a father or a King might do, man finding himself overcome with poverty and infirmity, not settling himself to the contemplation of the wonders of this Almighty workman, and to seek him as he ought to be sought for, with a base and brutish spirit, miserably hath he forged to himself gods, according to his own fancy. And there is nothing visible in the world but hath been deified in some place or other, yea, even in that rank and degree imaginary things hath also been put, as virtue, hope, honour, fortune, and a thousand such like things: item infernal gods, and sicknesses, and all sorts of plagues, everyone worshipping the things that he stood in fear of. But notwithstanding, though Tully hath said, speaking of the nature of the gods, that there is no nation so savage or brutish nor so barbarous but is seasoned with some opinion of them; yet there have been found, in these later ages, nations that have no feeling thereof at all: which is so much the stranger that among them there were, and yet are, idolaters, as in Mexico and Virginia. If we will, we may add hereunto Florida. And, notwithstanding, all being well considered, seeing the

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condition both of the one and of the other is to be lamented, I give more praise to him that worshipping nothing than to him who worshipping creatures without either life or sense, for at least, as bad as he is, he blasphemeth not, and giveth not the glory due to God to another, living (indeed) a life not much differing from brutishness; but the same is yet more brutish that adoreth a dead thing, and putteth his confidence in it. And, besides, he which is not stained with any bad opinion is much more capable of true adoration than the other, being like to a bare table, which is ready to receive what colour soever one will give to it. For when any people hath once received a bad impression of doctrine, one must root it out from them before another may be placed in them. Which is very difficult, as well for the obstinacy of men, which do say our fathers have lived in this sort, as for the hindrance that they give them which do teach them such a doctrine, and others whose life dependeth thereupon, who do fear that their means of gain be taken from them, even as that Demetrius the silversmith, mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles* [xix. 24]. This is the reason why our savages of New France will be found more easy to receive the Christian doctrine, if once the Province be thoroughly inhabited. For (that we may begin with them of Canada) James Cartier, in his second relation,<sup>90</sup> reciteth that which I have said a little before, in these words, which are not here laid down in the former Book.

“This said people (saith he) hath not any belief of God (that may be esteemed), for they believe in one whom they call Cudoüagni, and say that he often speaketh to them, and telleth them what weather shall fall out. They say that when he is angry with them he casteth dust in their eyes. They believe also that when they die they go up into the stars, and afterwards they go into fair green fields, full of fair trees, flowers, and rare



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fruits. After they had made us to understand these things, we showed them their error, and that their Cudoüagni is an evil spirit that deceiveth them, and that there is but one God, which is in Heaven, who doth give unto us all, and is Creator of all things, and that in him we must only believe, and that they must be baptized, or go into hell. And many other things of our faith were showed them, which they easily believed, and called their Cudoüagni, Agoiuda. So that many times they requested our Captain to cause them to be baptized, and the said Lord (that is to say Donnacona) Taiguragni, Domagaia, with all the people of their town came thither for that purpose; but because we knew not their intent and desire, and that there was nobody to instruct them in the faith, we excused ourselves to them for that time, and bade Taiguragni and Domagaia to make them understand that we would return another voyage, and would bring priests with us and Chrême, telling them for an excuse that one cannot be baptized without the said Chrême, which they did believe. And they were very glad of the promise which the Captain made them to return, and thanked them for it."

Monsieur Champlain, having of late made the same voyage which the Captain James Cartier had made, did discourse with savages that be yet living, and reporteth the speeches that were between him and certain of their Sagamos, concerning their belief in spiritual and heavenly things, which I have thought good (being incident to this matter) to insert here. His words are these<sup>91</sup>: "The most part of them be people without law, according as I could see and inform myself, by the said great Sagamos, who told me that they verily believe there is one God, who hath created all things. And then I asked him, seeing that they believe in one only God, by what means did he place them in this world, and from whence they were come ?

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He answered me that, after God had made all things, he took a number of arrows, and did stick them into the ground, from whence men and women sprung up, which have multiplied in the world until now, and that mankind grew by that means. I answered him that what he said was false; but that indeed there was one only God, who had created all things both in heaven and earth. Seeing all these things so perfect, and being nobody that did govern in this world, he took slime out of the earth, and created thereof our first father Adam; and, while he did sleep, God took one of his ribs, and formed Eve thereof, whom he gave to him for company, and that this was the truth that both they and we were made by this means, and not of arrows, as they did believe. He said nothing more to me, but that he allowed better of my speech than of his own. I asked him also if he believed not that there were any other but one only God? He said unto me that their belief was there was one only God, one son, one mother, and the sun, which were four. Notwithstanding, that God was over and above all; but that the son was good, and the sun, by reason of the good which they received of them; as for the mother, she was naught and did eat them; and that the father was not very good. I showed him his error according to our faith, whereunto he gave some credit. I demanded of him if they never saw nor heard their ancestors say that God was come into the world: he told me he had not seen him, but that anciently there were five men, who, travelling towards the setting of the sun, met with God, who demanded of them: 'Whither go ye?' They answered: 'We go to seek for our living.' God answered them: 'You shall find it here.' But they passed further, not making any account of that which God had said unto them; who took a stone and therewith touched two of them, who were turned into stones. And he said again to the three others: 'Whither go ye?' and they answered

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as at the first time; and God said unto them again: 'Pass no further; you shall find it here'; and seeing that they found no food they passed further; and God took two staves, and touched therewith the two foremost, who were transformed into staves. But the first man stayed and would pass no further. And God asked him again: 'Whither goest thou?' Who made answer: 'I go to seek for my living'; and God told him: 'Tarry and thou shalt find it'; and he stayed without passing any further. And God gave him meat, and he did eat of it; and after he had made good cheer he returned among the other savages, and told them all that you have heard. He also told me that at another time there was a man who had store of tobacco (which is an herb the smoke whereof they take), and that God came to this man and asked him where his pipe was. The man took his tobacco-pipe and gave it to God, who drank very much tobacco. After he had taken well of it, God brake the said tobacco-pipe into many pieces, and the man asked him: 'Why hast thou broken my tobacco-pipe, and thou see'st well that I have none other?' And God took one which he had, and gave it him, saying unto him: 'Lo, here is one which I give to thee; carry it to thy great Sagamo, let him keep it, and if he keep it well, he shall not want anything, nor any of his companions.' The said man took the tobacco-pipe, which he gave to his great Sagamo, who (whilst he had it) the savages wanted for nothing in the world. But that since the said Sagamo had lost this tobacco-pipe, which is the cause of the great famine which sometimes they have among them. I demanded of him whether he did believe all that; he told me Yes, and that it was true. Now I believe that this is the cause why they say that God is not very good. But I replied and said unto him that God was all good, and that without doubt it was the Devil that had showed himself to those men, and that, if they did



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believe in God as we do, they should want nothing that should be needful for them; that the sun which they saw, the moon, and the stars were created by the same great God, who hath made both heaven and earth, and that they have no power but that which God hath given them; that we believe in that great God, who by his goodness did send unto us his dearly beloved Son, who, being conceived by the Holy Ghost, took human flesh within the virgin womb of the Virgin Mary, having been 33 years on earth working infinite miracles, raising up the dead, healing the sick, driving out devils, giving sight to the blind, showing unto men the will of God his Father, for to serve, honour, and worship him, hath spilled his blood, and suffered death and passion for us, and for our sins, and redeemed mankind, being buried and risen again, went down into hell, and ascended up into heaven, where he sitteth at the right hand of God his Father.\* That this was the belief of all Christians, which do believe in the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, which be not for all that three Gods, but are one selfsame and only God, and one Trinity, wherein there is nothing before nor after, nothing greater nor lesser. That the Virgin Mary, Mother to the Son of God, and all men and women that have lived in this world doing God's commandments and suffered martyrdom for his name, and who, by the permission of God, have wrought miracles, and are Saints in heaven in his Paradise, pray all for us unto this great divine Majesty, to pardon us our faults and sins, which we do against his law and commandments; and so by the Saints' prayers in heaven, and by our own that we make to his divine Majesty, he giveth us what we have need of, and the Devil hath no power over us; and can do us no hurt. That if they had this belief they should be even as we are. That

\* I do not think that the theology may be expounded to these people, though one could perfectly speak their language.



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the Devil should not be able to do them any more harm, and they should not want what should be needful for them. Then the said Sagamo said unto me, that he granted all that I said. I demanded of him what ceremony they used in praying to their God: he told me that they used no other ceremony but that everyone did pray in his heart as he would. This is the cause why, I believe, there is no law among them, neither do they know what it is to worship or pray to God, and live the most part as brute beasts; and I believe that in short time they might be brought to be good Christians, if one would inhabit their land, which most of them do desire. They have among them some savages whom they call Pilotoua, who speak visibly to the devil, and he telleth them what they must do, as well for wars as for other things; and if he should command them to go and put any enterprise in execution, or to kill a Frenchman or any other of their nation, they will immediately obey to his command. They believe also that all their dreams are true; and, indeed, there be many of them which do say that they have seen and dreamed things that do happen or shall come to pass; but to speak thereof in truth they be visions of the Devil, who doth deceive and seduce them." So far Monsieur Champlain's report. As for our Souriquois and other their neighbours, I can say nothing else, but that they are destitute of all knowledge of God, have no adoration, neither do they make any divine service, living in a pitiful ignorance; which ought to touch the hearts both of Christian princes, and prelates, who very often do employ upon frivolous things that which would be more than sufficient to establish there many colonies, which would bear their names, about whom these poor people would flock and assemble themselves. I do not say they should go thither in person, for their presence is here more necessary, and besides everyone is not fit for the sea;

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but there are so many persons well disposed that would employ themselves on that, if they had the means: they then that may do it are altogether unexcusable. Our present age is fallen, as one might say, into an astorgie,<sup>92</sup> wanting both love and Christian charity, and retain almost nothing of that fire which kindled our fathers either in the time of our first kings, or in the time of the Crusades for the Holy Land; yea, contrariwise, if any venture his life and that little means he hath upon this generous Christian work, the most part do mock him for it, like to the salamander, which doth not live in the midst of flames, as some do imagine, but is of so cold a nature that she killeth them by her coldness. Everyone would run after treasures, and would carry them away without pains taking, and afterward to live frolic; but they come too late for it, and they should have enough if they did believe, as is meet to do, in him that hath said: "*Seek first the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be given unto you over and above*" [Luke xii. 31].

Let us return to our savages, for whose conversion it resteth unto us to pray to God that it will please him to open the means to make a plentiful harvest to the further manifestation of the Gospel; for ours, and generally all those people, even as far as Florida inclusively, are very easy to be brought to the Christian religion, according as I may conjecture of them which I have not seen, by the discourse of Histories. But I find that there shall be more facility in them of the nearer lands, as from Cape Breton to Malebarre, because they have not any show of religion (for I call not religion unless there be some *latría* and divine service) nor tillage of ground (at least as far as Chouakoet), which is the chiefest thing that may draw men to believe as one would, by reason that out from the earth cometh all that which is necessary for the life, after the general use we have of the other elements. Our life hath chiefly need of meat, drink,

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and clothing. These people (as one may say) have nothing of all that, for it is not to be called covered, to be always wandering and lodged under four stakes, and to have a skin upon their back; neither do I call eating and living, to eat all at once and starve the next day, not providing for the next day. Whosoever then shall give bread and clothing to this people, the same shall be, as it were, their God: they will believe all that he shall say to them, even as the Patriarch Jacob did promise to serve God if he would give him bread to eat and garments to cover him [*Genesis* xxviii. 20]. God hath no name, for all that we can say cannot comprehend him. But we call him God, because he giveth. And man in giving may by resemblance be called God. Cause (saith St Gregory Nazianzen) that thou be-est a God towards the needy, in imitating God's mercifulness, for man hath nothing so divine in him as benefits. The heathen have known this, and amongst others Pliny [lib. ii. 7], when he saith that it is a great sign of divinity in a mortal man to help and aid another mortal man. These people then enjoying the fruits of the use of trades and tillage of the ground will believe all that shall be told them, *in auditum auris*, at the first voice that shall sound in their ears; and of this have I certain proofs, because I have known them wholly disposed thereunto by the communication they had with us; and there be some of them that are Christians in mind, and do perform the acts of it in such wise as they can, though they be not baptized: among whom I will name Chkoudun, Captain (*alias* Sagamos) of the river of Saint John, mentioned in the beginning of this work, who, whensoever he eateth, lifteth up his eyes to heaven and maketh the sign of the Cross, because he hath seen us do so: yea, at our prayers he did kneel down as we did. And because he hath seen a great Cross planted near to our fort, he hath made the like at his house, and in all his cabins; and carrieth one at



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his breast, saying that he is no more a savage, and acknowledging plainly that they are beasts (so he saith in his language), but that he is like unto us, desiring to be instructed. That which I say of this man, I may affirm the same almost of all the others; and, though he should be alone, yet he is capable, being instructed, to bring in all the rest.

The Armouchiquois are a great people, which have likewise no adoration; and being settled, because they manure the ground, one may easily make a congregation of them, and exhort them to that which is for their salvation. They are vicious and bloody men, as we have said heretofore [Bk. i., ch. 7]; but this insolency proceeds for that they feel themselves strong by reason of their multitude, and because they live more at ease than the others, reaping the fruits of the earth. Their country is not yet well known, but in that small part that we have discovered, I find they have conformity with them of Virginia, except in the superstition and error, in that which concerneth our subject, forasmuch as the Virginians do begin to have some opinion of a superior thing in nature which governeth here this world. They believe in many gods (as an English historian that dwelt there reporteth<sup>93</sup>), which they call Montóac, but of sundry sorts and degrees. One alone is chief and great, who hath ever been, who purposing to make the world made first other gods, for to be means and instruments wherewith he might serve himself in the Creation and in the government. Then afterwards the sun, the moon, and the stars, as demi-gods and instruments of the other principal order. They hold that the woman was first made, which by conjunction with one of the gods had children. All these people do generally believe the immortality of the soul, and that after death good men are in rest and the wicked in pain. Now them that they esteem to be the wicked are their enemies, and they the good



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men, in such sort that, in their opinion, they shall all after death be well at ease, and specially when they have well defended their country and killed many of their enemies. And as touching the resurrection of the bodies, there are yet some nations in those parts that have some glimpse of it. For the Virginians do tell tales of certain men risen again, which say strange things: as of one wicked man who after his death had been near to the mouth of Popogusso (which is their Hell), but a god saved him, and gave him leave to come again into the world, for to tell his friends what they ought to do for to avoid the coming into this miserable torment. Item, that year that the Englishmen were there, it came to pass within 60 leagues off from them (as said the Virginians) that a body was unburied, like to the first, and did show that, being dead in the pit, his soul was alive, and had travelled very far through a long and large way, on both sides of which did grow very fair and pleasant trees, bearing the rarest fruits that can be seen; and that in the end he came to very fair houses, near to the which he found his father, which was dead, who expressly commanded him to return back and to declare unto his friends the good which it behoved them to do for to enjoy the pleasures of this place; and that after he had done his message he should come thither again. The *General History of the West Indies* reporteth [Bk. iv., ch. 124] that before the coming of the Spaniards into Peru, they of Cusco and thereabout did likewise believe the resurrection of the bodies. For seeing that the Spaniards, with a cursed avarice opening the sepulchres for to have the gold and the riches that were in them, did cast and scatter the bones of the dead here and there, they prayed them not to scatter them so, to the end that the same should not hinder them from rising again; which is a more perfect belief than that of the Sadducees, and of the Greeks, which

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the Gospel [*Luke* xx. 27] and the *Acts of the Apostles* [xvii. 32] witness unto us that they scoffed at the resurrection, as also almost all the heathen antiquity hath done.

Some of our Western Indians, expecting this resurrection, have esteemed that the souls of the good did go into heaven, and them of the wicked into a great pit, or hole, which they think to be far off towards the sun setting, which they call Popogusso, there to burn for ever; and such is the belief of the Virginians. The others (as the Brazilians), that the wicked go with Aignan, which is the evil spirit that tormenteth them; but as for the good, that they went behind the mountains to dance and make good cheer with their fathers. Many of the ancient Christians, grounded upon certain places of Esdras [iv. 7, 31-32], of St. Paul [*Heb.* xi.], and others [Orig., 2nd Book of Principles], have thought that after death our souls were sequestred into places under the earth, as in Abraham's bosom, attending the judgment of God; and there Origen hath thought that they are as in a school of souls and place of instruction, where they learn the causes and reasons of the things they have seen on the earth, and by reasoning make judgments of consequences of things past and of things to come. But such opinions have been rejected by the resolution of the Doctors of Sorbonne in the time of King Philip the Fair, and since by the Council of Florence. Now, if the Christians have held that opinion, is it much to these poor savages to be entered in those opinions that we have recited of them?

As concerning the worshipping of their gods, of all them that be out of the Spanish dominion, I find none but the Virginians that use any divine service (unless we will also comprehend therein that which the Floridians do, which we will recite hereafter). They then represent their gods in the shape of a man, which

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they call Kevuasovuoock. One only is named Kevuas. They place them in houses and temples, made after their fashion, which they call Machicómuck, wherein they make their prayers, singing and offering to those gods. And, seeing we are fallen to speak of infidels, I praise rather the ancient Romans who were above 173 years without any images of Gods, as St Augustine saith [*De Civit. Dei*, cap. 31]: Numa Pompilius having wisely forbidden to make any, because that such a foolish and senseless thing made them to be despised, and from this contempt came that the people did cast out all fear, nothing being better than to worship them in spirit, seeing they are spirits. And indeed Pliny saith [lib. ii., cap. 7] that "*there is nothing which showeth more the weakness of man's wit than to seek to assign some image or figure to God. For in what part soever that God showeth himself he is all sense, all sight, all hearing, all soul, all understanding; and finally he is all of himself, without using any organ.*" The ancient Germans, instructed in this doctrine, not only did admit no images of their gods (as saith Tacitus), but also would not that they should be drawn or painted against the walls, nor set in any human form, esteeming that to derogate too much from the greatness of the heavenly power. It may be said among us that figures and representations are the books of the unlearned; but, leaving disputations aside, it were fitting that everyone should be wise and well-instructed and that no body should be ignorant.

Our Souriquois and Armouchiquois savages have the industry both of painting and carving, and do make pictures of beasts, birds, and men as well in stone as in wood, as prettily as good workmen in these parts; and, notwithstanding, they serve not themselves with them in adoration, but only to please the sight and the use of some private tools, as in tobacco-pipes. And in that (as I have said at the first), though they be without



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divine worship, I praise them more than the Virginians and all other sorts of people which, more beasts than the very beasts, worship and reverence senseless things.

Captain Laudonnière<sup>94</sup> in his *History of Florida* saith that they of that country have no knowledge of God, nor of any religion but of that which appeareth unto them, as the sun and the moon; to whom, nevertheless, I find not in all the said *History* that they make any adoration saving that when they go to war, the Paracousi maketh some prayer to the sun for to obtain victory, and, which being obtained, he yieldeth him praises for it with songs to the honour of him, as I have more particularly spoken in my First Book, the 10th chapter. And, notwithstanding, Monsieur de Belleforest writeth to have taken from the said *History* that which he mentioneth of their bloody sacrifices, like to them of the Mexicans, assembling themselves in one field and setting up there their lodges, where, after many dances and ceremonies, they lift up in the air and offer to the sun him upon whom the lot is fallen to be sacrificed. If he be bold in this thing, he presumeth no less where he writeth the like of the people of Canada, whom he maketh sacrificers of human bodies, although they never thought on it. For if Captain James Cartier hath seen some of their enemies' heads, dressed like leather, set upon pieces of wood, it doth not follow that they have been sacrificed, but it is their custom to do so, like to the ancient Gauls, that is to say to take off the heads of their enemies whom they have killed, and to set them up in or without their cabins as a trophy, which is usual through all the West Indies.

To return to our Floridians, if anyone will call the honour they do to the sun to be an act of religion, I will not contrary him. For in the old time of the golden age, when that ignorance found place amongst men, many (considering the admirable effects of the sun and of the moon, wherewith God useth to govern things



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in this low world) attributed unto them the reverence due to the Creator; and this manner of reverence is expounded unto us by Job, when he saith [xxxix. 26, 27]: *If I have beholden the sun in his brightness, and the moon running clear; and if my heart hath been seduced in secret, and my mouth hath kissed my hand, this also had been an iniquity to be condemned; for I had denied the great God above.* As for the hand-kissing, it is a kind of reverence which is yet observed in doing homages. Not being able to touch the sun, they stretch[ed] forth their hands towards it, then kissed it; or they touched his idol, and afterwards did kiss the hand that had touched it. And into this idolatry did the people of Israel sometime fall, as we see in Ezekiel [viii. 16].

In regard of the Brazilians, I find by the discourse John de Leri<sup>95</sup> (whom I had rather follow than a of Spanish author in that which he hath seen) that not only they are like unto ours, without any form of religion or knowledge of God, but that they are so blind and hardened in their anthropophagy that they seem to be in no wise capable of the Christian doctrine. Also they are visibly tormented and beaten by the devil (which they call Aignan) and with such rigour that, when they see him come—sometimes in the shape of a beast, sometimes of a bird, or in some strange form—they are as it were in despair. Which is not with the other savages more hitherward, towards Newfoundland, at least with such rigour. For James Cartier reporteth that he casteth earth in their eyes, and they call him Cudoüagni; and there where we were (where they call him Aoutem) I have sometimes heard that he had scratched Membertou, being then, as it were, a kind of soothsayer of the country. When one tells the Brazilians that one must believe in God, they like that advice well enough, but by and by they forget their lesson and return again to their own vomit, which is a strange brutishness, not to be willing at the least to

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redeem themselves from the devil's vexation, by religion: which maketh them inexcusable, seeing also they have some memory remaining in them of the general flood, and of the Gospel (if it be so that their report be true), for they make mention in their songs that the waters, being once overflowed, did cover all the earth, and all men were drowned except their grandfathers, who saved themselves upon the highest trees of their country. And of this flood other savages, mentioned by me elsewhere [Bk. I., ch. 3], have also some tradition. As concerning the Gospel, the said de Leri saith that, having once found occasion to show unto them the beginning of the world, and how it is meet to believe in God, and their miserable condition, they gave ear unto him with great attention, being all amazed for that which they had heard; and that thereupon an ancient man, taking upon him to speak, said that in truth he had recited wonderful things unto them, which made him to call to mind that which many times they had heard of their grandfathers, that of a long time since a *Mair* (that is to say, a stranger, clothed and bearded like to the Frenchmen) had been there, thinking to bring them to the obedience of the God which he declared unto them, and had used the like exhortation unto them; but that they would not believe him. And therefore there came another thither, who in sign of a curse, gave them their armours, wherewith since they have killed one another; and that there was no likelihood they should forsake that manner of life, because that all their neighbour nations would mock them for it.

But our Souriquois, Canadians, and their neighbours are not so hardened in their wicked life, no neither the Virginians nor Floridians, but will receive the Christian doctrine very easily, when it shall please God to stir up them that be able to succour them; neither are they visibly tormented, beaten, and torn by the Devil, as

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this barbarous people of Brazil, which is a strange malediction, more particular unto them than to other nations of those parts. Which maketh me believe that the voice of the Apostles may have reached so far, according to the saying of the said old ancient man, to which, having stopped their ears, they bear a particular punishment for it not common to others which peradventure have never heard the word of God, since the universal flood, whereof all those nations, in more than three thousand leagues of ground, have an obscure knowledge, which hath been given them by tradition from father to son.

## CHAPTER VI

### OF THE SOOTHSAYERS AND MASTERS OF THE CEREMONIES AMONG THE INDIANS

I WILL not call (as some have done) by the name of priests them that make the ceremonies and invocations of devils among the West Indies, but inasmuch as they have the use of sacrifices and gifts that they offer to their Gods, forasmuch as (as the Apostle saith [*Heb.* viii. 3]) every priest or bishop is ordained to offer gifts and sacrifices: such as were them of Mexico, the greatest whereof was called Papas, who offered incense to their idols: the chief of them was that of the god whom they did name Vitzilipuztli, although nevertheless the general name of him whom they held for supreme Lord and author of all things was Viracocha, to whom they attributed excellent qualities, calling him Pachacamac, which is Creator of Heaven and Earth, and Vsapu, which is admirable, and other such like names. They had also sacrifices of men, as them of Peru have yet, which they sacrificed in great number, as Joseph Acosta discourseth thereof at large [lib. v., chs. 20, 21]. Those may be called priests or sacrificers; but, in regard of them of Virginia and Florida, I do not see any sacrifices they make, and therefore I will qualify them with the name of wizards, or masters of the ceremonies of their religion, which in Florida I find to be called Jarvars and Joanas; in Virginia, Vuiroances; in Brazil, Caribes; and among ours (I mean the Sori-quois), Aütmoins. Laudonnière, speaking of Florida: They have (saith he) their priests, unto whom they give great credit, because they be great magicians, great soothsayers, and callers on devils. These priests do serve them for physicians and chirurgeons, and carry



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always with them a bag full of herbs and drugs to physick them that be sick, which be, the most part, of the great pox, for they love women and maidens very much, whom they call the daughters of the sun. If there be anything to be treated, the King calleth the *Jarvars* and the ancientest men, and demandeth their advice. See moreover what I have written heretofore in the sixth chapter of the First Book. As for them of Virginia, they are no less subtle than them of Florida, and do procure credit to themselves, making them to be respected, by tricks or show of religion, like to them that we have spoken of in the last chapter, speaking of some dead men risen up again [Acoſta, Bk. vi., ch. 19]. It is by such means and under pretext of religion that the Inguas made themselves heretofore the greatest princes of America. And them of these parts that would deceive and blind the people have likewise used of that subtlety, as Numa Pompilius, Lisander, Sertorius, and other more recent, doing (as saith Plutarch) as the players of tragedies, who, desirous to show forth things overreaching the human strength, have refuge to the superior power of the Gods.

The Aoutmoins of the last land of the Indies which is the nearest unto us are not so blockish but that they can make the common people to attribute some credit unto them. For by their impostures they live and make themselves esteemed to be necessary, playing the part of physicians and chirurgeons as well as the Floridians. Let the great Sagamos Membertou be an example thereof. If anybody be sick, he is sent for; he maketh invocations on his devil; he bloweth upon the part grieved; he maketh incisions, sucketh the bad blood from it: if it be a wound, he healeth it by the same means, applying a round slice of the beaver's stones. Finally, some present is made unto him, either of venison or skins. If it be question to have news of things absent, having first questioned with his spirit,

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he rendereth his oracles commonly doubtful, very often false but sometimes true; as, when he was asked whether Panoniac were dead, he said that unless he did return within fifteen days they should not expect him any more and that he was killed by the Armouchiquois. And for to have this answer he must be presented with some gift. For there is a trivial proverb among the Greeks which beareth: that without money Phoebus' oracles are dumb. The same Membertou rendered a true oracle of our coming to Monsieur du Pont when that he parted from Port Royal for to return into France, seeing the 15th day of July passed without having any news. For he did maintain still and did affirm that there should come a ship, and that his devil had told it him. Item, when the savages be a-hungred they consult with Membertou's oracle, and he saith unto them: "*Go ye to such a place and you shall find game.*" It happeneth sometimes that they find some, and sometimes none. If it chance that none be found, the excuse is that the beast is wandering and hath changed place; but, so it comes to pass, that very often they find some. And this is it which makes them believe that this devil is a God, and they know none other, to whom notwithstanding they yield not any service nor adoration in any form of religion.

When that these Aoutmoins make their mows and mops, they fix a staff in a pit, to which they tie a cord, and, putting their head into this pit, they make invocations or conjurations in a language unknown to the others that are about, and this with beatings and howlings, until they sweat with very pain; yet I have not heard that they foam at the mouth as the Turks do. When this devil is come, this master Aoutmoin makes them believe that he holdeth him tied by his cord, and holdeth fast against him, forcing him to give him an answer before he let him go. By this is known the subtlety of this enemy of nature, who beguileth thus

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these miserable creatures, and his pride withal, in willing that they which do call upon him yield unto him more submission then ever the holy Patriarchs and Prophets have done to God, who have only prayed with their faces towards the ground.

That done, he beginneth to sing some thing (as I think) to the praise of the devil, who hath discovered some game unto them; and the other savages that are there do answer, making some concordance of music among them. Then they dance after their manner, as we will hereafter say, with songs which I understand not, neither those of ours that understood their speech best. But one day going to walk in our meadows along the river, I drew near to Membertou's cabin, and did write in my table-book part of that which I understood, which is written there yet in these terms: *haloet ho ho hé he ha ha haloet ho ho hé*, which they did repeat divers times. The tune is in my said table-book in these notes: *re fa sol sol re sol sol fa fa re re sol sol fa fa*. One song being ended, that all made a great exclamation, saying *E!* Then began again another song, saying: *Egrigna hau egrigna he he hu hu ho ho egrigna hau hau hau*. The tune of this was: *fa fa fa sol sol fa fa re re sol sol fa fa re fa fa sol sol fa*. Having made the usual exclamation, they began yet another song which was: *Tameia alleluia tameia dou veni hau hau hé hé*. The tune whereof was: *sol sol sol fa fa re re re fa fa sol fa sol fa fa re re*. I attentively harkened upon this word *alleluia* repeated sundry times, and could never hear any other thing. Which maketh me think that these songs are to the praises of the devil, if notwithstanding this word signify with them that which it signifieth in Hebrew, which is "Praise ye the Lord." All the other nations of those countries do the like; but nobody hath particularly described their songs, saving John de Leri, who saith that the Brazilians do make as good agreements in their



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Sabbaths. And, being one day at their solemnity, he doth report that they said: *Hè hè hè hè hè hè hè hè hè*, with this note: *fa fa sol fa fa sol sol sol sol sol*. And, that done, they cried out and howled after a fearful manner the space of a quarter of an hour, and the women did skip violently in the air until they foamed at the mouth—then began again their music, saying: *Heu heür aüre heür a heür aüre heüra heüra ouech*; the note is: *fa mi re sol sol sol fa mi re mi re mi ut re*. This author saith that in this song they bewailed their deceased fathers which were so valiant, and nevertheless they comforted themselves for that after their death they were assured to go to them behind the high mountains, where they should dance and be merry with them. Likewise, that they had with all vehemency threatened the Ouetacas their enemies to be in very short time taken and eaten by them, according as the Caraibes had promised them; and that they had also made mention of the flood spoken of in the former chapter. I leave unto them that do write of Demonomania to philosophize upon that matter. But, moreover, I must say that, whilst our savages do sing in that manner before said, there be some others which do nothing else but say *hè* or *het* (like to a man that cleaveth wood) with a certain motion of the arms, and dance in round, not holding one another nor moving out of one place, striking with their feet against the ground, which is the form of their dances, like unto those which the said de Leri reporteth of them of Brazil, which are above 1,500 leagues from that place. After which things, our savages make a fire and leap over it, as the ancient Canaanites, Ammonites, and sometimes the Israelites did [*Levit.* xx. 2, 3; *Deut.* xii. 31; xviii. 10; 2 *Kings* xvii. 17, 31; *Psa.* cvi.]; but they are not so detestable, for they do not sacrifice their children to the devil, through the fire. Besides all this, they put half a pole out of the top of the cabin where they are, at the



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end whereof there is some matachias or something else tied, which the devil carrieth away. Thus have I heard the discourse of their manner of doing in this matter.

There may be here considered a bad use to leap over the fire, and to make the children to pass through the flame in the fire made upon St John Baptist's day, which custom endureth yet to this day among us, and ought to be reformed. For the same cometh from the ancient abominations that God hath so much hated, whereof Theodoret speaketh in this wise [upon the xvi. chap. of Fourth Bk. of Kings]: "*I have seen (saith he) in some towns piles of wood kindled once a year, and not only children to leap over them, but also men, and the mothers bearing their children over the flame, which did seem unto them to be as an expiation and purification. And this in my judgment was the sin of Achaz.*"

These fashions have been forbidden by an ancient Council holden at Constantinople. Whereupon Balsa mon doth note that the 23rd day of June (which is Saint John Baptist eve) men and women did assemble themselves at the seashore and in houses, and the eldest daughter was dressed like a bride, and after they had made good cheer and well drunk, dances were made, with exclamations and fires all the night, prognosticating of good and bad luck. These fires have been continued among us, upon a better subject. But the abuse must be taken away.

Now as the Devil hath always been willing to play the ape and to have a service like to that which is given to God, so would he that his officers should have the mark of their trade, to the end to deceive the simple people the better. And, indeed, Membertou, of whom we have spoken as a learned Aoutmoin, carrieth hanged at his neck the mark of this profession, which is a purse triangle-wise, covered with their embroidery-work, that is to say with matachias, within which there is I

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know not what as big as a small nut, which he saith to be his devil called Aoutem, which they of Canada do name Cudouagni, as saith James Cartier. I will not mingle sacred things with profane, but according as I have said that the Devil playeth the ape, this maketh me to remember of the Rational or Pectoral of judgment, which the High Priest did carry before him in the ancient law, on the which Moses had put Urim and Thummim. Now Rabbi David saith that it is not known what these Urim and Thummim were, and it seemeth that they were stones. Rabbi Selomoh saith that it was the name of God Jehovah, an ineffable name, which he did put within the folds of the Pectoral, whereby he made his word to shine. Josephus doth think that they were twelve precious stones. St Jerome doth interpret these two words to signify "Doctrine" and "Truth."

And as the priestly office was successive, not only in the house of Aaron, but also in the family of the great priest of Memphis, whose office was assigned to his eldest son after him, as Thyamis saith in the *Ethiopian History* of Heliodorus: even so among these people this office is successive, and by tradition they do teach the secret thereof to their eldest sons. For Membertou's eldest son (who was named Judas, in jest, for which he was angry, understanding it was a bad name) told us that, after his father, he should be Aoutmoin in that precinct: which is a small matter, for every Sagamos hath his Aoutmoin, if himself be not so, but yet they covet the same, for the profit that cometh thereof.

The Brazilians have their Caraibes, who travel through the villages, making the people believe that they have communication with spirits, through whose means they can not only give them victory against their enemies but also that of them depends the fertility or sterility of the ground. They have commonly a

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certain kind of bells or rattles in their hands, which they call maraca, made with the fruit of a tree, as big as an ostrich's egg, which they make hollow, as they do here the bottles of the pilgrims that go to Saint James<sup>96</sup>; and, having filled them with small stones, they make a noise with them, in their solemnities, like the bladders of hogs; and going from town to town they beguile the world, telling the people that their devil is within the same. These maracas or rattles well decked with fair feathers; they stick in the ground the staff that is through it, and do place them all along and in the midst of the houses, commanding that meat and drink be given to them. In such wise that these cogging mates, making the other poor idiots to believe (as the sacrificers of the idol Bel did heretofore, of whom mention is made in the history of Daniel) that those fruits do eat and drink in the night: every householder giving credit thereto doth not fail to set near these maracas meal, flesh, fish, and drink, which service they continue by the space of fifteen days or three weeks; and during that time they are so foolish as to persuade themselves that in sounding with these maracas some spirit speaketh unto them, and attribute divinity unto them. In such sort that they would esteem it a great misdeed to take away the meat that is presented before those fair bells, with which meats those reverend Caraibes do merely fatten themselves. And so under false pretexts is the world deceived.

## CHAPTER VII

### OF THEIR LANGUAGE

THE effects of the confusion of Babel are come in as far as to those people whereof we speak, as well as in the hither world. For I see that the Patagonians do speak another language than them of Brazil, and they otherwise than the Peruvians, and the Peruvians are distinct from the Mexicans; the Isles likewise have their peculiar speech; they speak not in Florida as they do in Virginia; our Souriquois and Etechemins understand not the Armouchiquois; nor these the Iroquois. Briefly, every nation is divided by the language; yea, in one and the self-same province there is difference in language, even as in Gallia the Fleming, they of Basse Bretagne, the Gascon, and the Basque do not agree. For the author of the *History of Virginia* saith that there every Wiroans, or Lord, hath his peculiar speech. Let this be for example that the chief man or Captain of some precinct (whom our historians James Cartier and Laudonnière do call by the name of King) is called in Canada, Agohanna; among the Souriquois, Sagamos; in Virginia, Wiroans; in Florida, Paracussi; in the isles of Cuba, Cacique; the Kings of Peru, Inguas, and so forth. I have left the Armouchiquois and others, which I know not. As for the Brazilians, they have no Kings; but the old ancient men, whom they call Peoreropichech because of the experience they have of things past, are they which do govern, exhort, and dispose of all things. The very tongues are changed, as we see, that with us we have not the language of the ancient Gauls, nor that which was in Carolus Magnus' time (at least it doth differ very much); the Italians do speak no more Latin, nor the Grecians the ancient



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Greek, specially in the sea-coasts, nor the Jews the ancient Hebrew. In like manner James Cartier hath left unto us a kind of Dictionary of the language of Canada, wherein our Frenchmen that haunt therein these days understand nothing; and therefore I would not insert it here: only I have there found Caraconi, which signifieth bread, and now they say Caracona, which I esteem to be a word of Basque. For the satisfaction of some I will set here some numbers of the ancient and new language of Canada.

The old	The new
1 <i>Segada</i>	1 <i>Begou</i>
2 <i>Tigeni</i>	2 <i>Nichou</i>
3 <i>Ashe</i>	3 <i>Nichtoa</i>
4 <i>Homacou</i>	4 <i>Rau</i>
5 <i>Oniscon</i>	5 <i>Apareta</i>
6 <i>Indaic</i>	6 <i>Coutouachin</i>
7 <i>Ayaga</i>	7 <i>Neouachin</i>
8 <i>Adaegue</i>	8 <i>Nestouachin</i>
9 <i>Madellon</i>	9 <i>Pescoüadet</i>
10 <i>Assem</i>	10 <i>Metren</i>

The Souriquois do say:

- 1 *Negout*
- 2 *Tabo*
- 3 *Chicht*
- 4 *Neou*
- 5 *Nan*
- 6 *Kamachin*
- 7 *Eroeguenik*
- 8 *Meguemorchin*
- 9 *Echkonadek*
- 10 *Metren*

The Etechemins:

- 1 *Bechkon*
- 2 *Nich*
- 3 *Nach*
- 4 *Iau*
- 5 *Prenchk*
- 6 *Chachit*
- 7 *Coutachit*
- 8 *Erouiguen*
- 9 *Pechcoquem*
- 10 *Petock*

For the conformity of languages, there are sometimes found words in these parts which do signify something

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there, as John de Leri saith, that Leri signifieth an oyster in Brazil; but very few words are found which come in one and the selfsame signification. In Maffeus his *Oriental History* I have read Sagamos in the same signification as our Souriquois do take it, to wit a King, a Duke, a Captain. And they that have been in Guinea say that this word Babougie signifieth there a little child or a fawn of a beast, in that sense as the said Souriquois take that word, as this French word Moustache, which cometh of Mistax, and that which we say in French *boire a tire-larigot*, which I construe in English to drink till one's eyes be out, cometh of *Larygx Lariggos*, etc. And the Greek words *Paradeisos*, *Bosphoros* come from the Hebrew פֶּרֶדֶס and כֶּסֶפֶר.

But concerning the cause of the change of the language in Canada whereof we have spoken, I think that it hath happened by a destruction of people. For it is some eight years since the Iroquois did assemble themselves to the number of 8,000 men, and discomfited all their enemies, whom they surprised in their enclosures. To this I add the traffick which they make from time to time for their skins, since the Frenchmen came to fetch them; for in the time of James Cartier beavers were not cared for. The hats that be made of it are in use but since that time; not that the invention thereof is new, for in the ancient orders of the hat-makers of Paris it is said that they shall make hats of fine beavers (which is the castor), but, whether it be for the dearness or otherwise, the use thereof hath been long since left off.

As for the pronounciation, our Souriquois have the Greek (*v*) which we call (*v*), and their words do commonly end in (*a*) as Souriquois, Souriquoa; Captain, Capitaina; Norman, Normandia; Basque, Basquoa; une Martre (a marten), Martra; a banquet, Tabaguaia; etc. But there are certain letters which they cannot

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well pronounce, that is to say an (*v*) consonant and (*f*) instead whereof they put (*b*) and (*p*), as for fevre (which is a smith) they will say pebre. And for sauvage (which signifieth savage) they say Chabaia, and so call they themselves, not knowing in what sense we take that word. And yet they pronounce the rest of the French tongue better than our Gascons, who, besides the turning of (*v*) into (*b*) and of the (*b*) into (*v*), were yet discerned in the last troubles and badly handled in Provence, by the pronouncing of the word Cabre, instead whereof they did say Crabe; as aforetime the Ephraimites [*Judges* xii. 6] having lost the battle against the Gileadites, thinking to scape away, were well known in passing the river Jordan in pronouncing the word Shibboleth, which signifieth an ear of corn, instead whereof they did say Sibboleth, which signifieth the ford of a river, asking if they might well pass. The Greeks had also a sundry pronunciation of the selfsame word, because they had four distinct tongues, varying from the common speech. And in Plautus we read that the Peanestins not far distant from Rome did pronounce *Konia*, instead of *Ciconia*. Yea, even at this day, the good wives of Paris do yet say: *mon courin* for *mon cousin*, which is my cousin, and *mon mazi*, for *mon mari*, which signifieth husband.

Now to return to our savages: although that by reason of traffick many of our Frenchmen do understand them, notwithstanding they have a particular tongue, which is only known to them; which maketh me to doubt of that which I have said, that the language which was in Canada in the time of James Cartier is no more in use. For, to accommodate themselves with us, they speak unto us in the language which is to us more familiar, wherein is much Basque mingled with it; not that they care greatly to speak our languages, for there be some of them which do sometimes say that they come not to seek after us; but by long

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frequentation they cannot but retain some word or other.

I will farther say that concerning the numbers (seeing we have spoken of it) they do not reckon distinctly, as we do, the days, the weeks, the months, the years; but do declare the years by number of sums, as for 100 years they will say *Cachmetren achtek*, that is to say 100 sons; *bitumetrenaguè achtek* 1,000 sons, that is to say 1,000 years; *metren knichkaminau*, ten months; *tabo metren guenak* 20 days. And for to show an innumerable thing, as the people of Paris, they will take their hairs or hands full of sand; and after that manner doth the Holy Scripture likewise use sometimes to number, comparing (hyperbolically) armies to the sand that is on the seashore. They also signify the seasons by their effects, as for to make a man to understand that the Sagamos Poutrincourt will come at the spring-time, they will say: *nibir betour, Sagmo* (for Sagamos, a word shortened) *Poutrincourt betour kedretch*, that is to say, the leaf being come, then will the Sagamos Poutrincourt come certainly. Therefore as they have no distinction neither of days nor of years, so be not they persecuted, by the ungodliness of their creditors, as in these parts; neither do their Aoutmoins shorten nor lengthen the years for to gratify the brokers and bankers, as did in ancient time the idolatrous priests of Rome, to whom was attributed the government and disposing of times, of seasons, and of years, as Solin writeth [*Polit. hist.*, cap. 5].



## CHAPTER VIII

### OF THE USE OF LETTERS

IT is well-known that these Western nations have no use of letters, and it is that which all them that have written of them do say they have most admired, to see that by a piece of paper I give knowledge of my will from one end of the world to the other; and they thought that there should be enchantment in this paper. But that is not so much to be wondered at if we consider that in the time of the Roman Emperors many nations of these parts knew not the secrets of letters, amongst whom Tacitus putteth the Germans (who at this day do swarm with men of learning), and he addeth a notable sentence, that good manners are in more credit there than good laws elsewhere.

As for our Gauls, it was not so with them. For even from the old time of the golden age they had the use of letters, yea (by the leave of those godly doctors who do call them barbarous) before the Greeks and Latins. For Xenophon (who speaketh largely of them, and of their beginning in his *Æquivoques*),<sup>97</sup> doth witness unto us that the letters which Cadmus brought to the Greeks were not so much like to the Phœnician letters, as the Galatees were, that is the Gauls. Wherein Cæsar did *Æquivocate* in saying that the Druids did use of Greek letters in private matters; for contrariwise the Greeks have used of the Gallic letters. And Berosé saith that the third King of the Gauls, after the flood, named Sorron, did institute universities in these parts; and Diodorus doth add that there was in the Gauls philosophers and divines, called *Saronides* (much more ancient than the Druids), which were greatly revered, and unto whom all the people did

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obey. The same authors do say that Bardus, first King of the Gauls, did invent both rhymes and music, brought in poets and rhethoricians, who were called bards, whereof Cæsar and Strabo make mention. But the same Diodorus writeth that poets were among them in such reverence that, when two armies were ready to strike, having their swords drawn and the javelins in hand to give the onset, those poets coming, every one did surcease and put up their weapons; so much doth wrath give place to wisdom, yea, among the wildest barbarians, and so much doth Mars reverence the Muses, saith the author. So I hope that our most Christian, most august, and most victorious king Henry the Fourth, after the thundering of besieging of towns and battles is ceased, reverencing the Muses and honouring them, as he hath already done, not only he will reduce his eldest daughter to her ancient glory, and give unto her being a royal daughter, the propriety of that basilisk, fastened to the temple of Apollo, who, by an hidden virtue, did hinder that the spiders should weave their web along his walls; but will also establish his New France, and bring to the bosom of the Church so many poor souls which that country beareth, all starved for the want of the word of God, who are as a prey unto hell; and that for to do this he will give means to conduct thither Christian Sarronides and bards bearing the flower-de-luce in their hearts, who will instruct and bring to civility those barbarous people, and will bring them to his obedience.

## CHAPTER IX

### OF THEIR CLOTHING AND WEARING OF THEIR HAIRS

GOD in the beginning did create man naked and innocent, made all the parts of his body to be of honest sight. But sin hath made the members of generation to become shameful unto us, and not unto beasts which have no sin. It is the cause why our first parents, having known their nakedness, destitute of clothes, did sow fig-leaves together for to hide their shame therewith; but God made unto them coats of skins, and clothed them with it; and this before they went out of the garden of Eden. Clothing, then, is not only to defend us from cold but also for decency, and to cover our shame. And nevertheless many nations have anciently lived, and at this day do live, naked, without apprehension of this shame, decency, and honesty. And I marvel not of the Brazilian savages that are such, as well men as women, nor of the ancient Piëts (a nation of Great Britain), who (Herodian saith) had not any use of clothes, in the time of Severus the Emperor; nor of a great number of other nations that have been and yet are naked; for one may say of them that they be people fallen into a reprobate sense, and forsaken of God. But of Christians which are in Æthiopia under the great Negus, whom we call Prester John, which, by the report of the Portuguese that have written histories of them, have not their parts which we call privy members any ways covered. But the savages of New France and of Florida have better learned and kept in mind the lesson of honesty than those of Æthiopia. For they cover them with a skin tied to a latch or girdle of leather, which, passing between their buttocks, joineth the other end of the said latch behind. And for

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the rest of their garments they have a cloak on their backs, made with many skins, whether they be of otters or of beavers, and one only skin, whether it be of elan, or stag's skin, bear, or luserne,<sup>98</sup> which cloak is tied upward with a leather riband, and they thrust commonly one arm out, but being in their cabins they put it off, unless it be cold. And I cannot better compare it than to pictures that are made of Hercules, who killed a lion and put the skin thereof on his back. Notwithstanding they have more civility, in that they cover their privy members. As for the women, they differ only in one thing, that is they have a girdle over the skin they have on; and do resemble (without comparison) the pictures that be made of Saint John Baptist. But in winter they make good beaver sleeves, tied behind, which keep them very warm. And after this manner were the ancient Germans clothed, by the report of Cæsar and Tacitus, having the most part of the body naked.

As for the Armouchiquois and Floridians, they have no furs, but only chamois; yea, the said Armouchiquois have very often but a piece of mat upon their back, for fashion's sake, having nevertheless their privy members covered. God having so wisely provided for man's infirmity that in cold countries he hath given furs, and not in the hot, because that otherwise men would make no esteem of them. And so for that which concerneth the body: let us come to the legs and feet; then we will end with the head.

Our savages in the winter, going to sea or a-hunting, do use great and high stockings, like to our boot-hosen, which they tie to their girdles, and at the sides outward there is a great number of points without tags. I do not see that they of Brazil or Florida do use of them, but, seeing they have leather, they may as well make of them, if they have need as the others. Besides these long stockings, our savages do use shoes, which they call



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*mekezin*,<sup>99</sup> which they fashion very properly, but they cannot dure long, specially when they go into watery places, because they be not curried nor hardened, but only made after the manner of buff, which is the hide of an elan. Howsoever it be, yet are they in better order than were the ancient Goths, which were not thoroughly hosed but with buskins or half-boots, which came somewhat higher than the ankle of the foot, where they made a knot, which they bound with horse-hairs, having the calf of the leg, the knees, and thighs naked. And for the rest of their garments they had leather coats pleated, as greasy as lard, and the sleeves down to the beginning of the arm. And on those jerkins instead of gold lace they made red borders, as our savages do. Behold the state of those that ransacked the Roman Empire, whom Sidonius Apollinaris, Bishop of Auvergne [*Carm.*, vii., and *Ep.* xx., lib. 4], doth describe after this manner, going to the Council of Avitus the Emperor, for to treat of peace:

*Squalent vestes, ac sordida macro  
Lintea pinguescunt tergo, nec tangere possunt  
Altatæ suram pelles, ac poplite nudo  
Peronem pauper nudis suspendit equinum; etc.*<sup>100</sup>

As for the head-attire, none of the savages have any, unless it be that some of the hither lands truck his skins with Frenchmen for hats and caps; but rather both men and women wear their hairs flittering over their shoulders, neither bound nor tied except that the men do truss them upon the crown of the head, some four fingers' length, with a leather lace, which they let hang down behind. But for the Armouchiquois and Floridians, as well men as women, they have their hairs much longer, and they hang them down lower than the girdle when they are untrussed; for to avoid then the hindrance that they might bring to them, they

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truss them up as our horse-keepers do a horse's tail, and the men do stick in them some feather that like them, and the women a needle or bodkin with three points after the fashion of the French ladies, who also wear their needles or bodkins that serve them partly for an ornament of the head. All the ancient had this custom to go bareheaded, and the use of hats is but lately come in. The fair Absalom was hanged by his hairs at an oak, after he had lost the battle against his father's army [2 Sam. xviii. 9, 15], and they did never cover their heads in those days, but when they did mourn for some misfortune, as may be noted by the example of David, who, having understood his son's conspiracy fled from Jerusalem, and went up the Mountain of Olives weeping and having his head covered, and all the people that was with him. The Persians did the like, as may be gathered by the History of Haman, who, being commanded to honour him whom he would have to be hanged, to wit Mordecai, went home to his house weeping, and his head covered, which was a thing extraordinary [*Esth.* vi. 12]. The Romans at their beginning did the like, as I gather by the words which did command the hangman to do his office, recited by Cicero and Titus Livius in these terms: *Vade liſtor, colliga manus, caput obnubito, arbori infelici ſuſpendito.*<sup>101</sup> And if we will come to our Weſterly and Northerly people, we ſhall find that the moſt part did wear long hairs, like unto them that we call ſavages. That cannot be denied of the Tranſalpine Gauls, who for that occaſion gave the name to Gallia Comata, whereof Martial ſpeaking ſaith:

*Mollesque flagellant colla comæ.*<sup>102</sup>

Our French Kings have been ſurnamed hairy, becauſe they did wear their hairs ſo long that they did beat down to the back and the ſhoulders, ſo that Gregory of Tours, ſpeaking of King Clovis' hairs, he

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calleth it *Capillorum Flagella*. The Goths did the like, and left to hang over their shoulders great flocks of hairs curled, which the authors of that time do call *granos*, which fashion of hairs was forbidden to priests, also the secular apparel, in a Council of the Goths [*Concil. Braccarens.*, i., *Can.* 29]; and Iornandes in the *History of the Goths* reciteth that King Atalaric would that the priests should wear the *thiare*, or hat, making two sorts of people, some whom he called *Pileatos*, the others *Capillatos*, which these took for so great a favour to be called hairy that they made mention of this benefit in their songs; and notwithstanding they braided not their hairs. But I find by the testimony of Tacitus that the Suevians, a nation of Germany, did wreath, knit, and tie their hairs on the crown of their heads, even as we have said of the Souriquois and Armouchiquois. In one thing the Armouchiquois do differ from the Souriquois and other savages of Newfoundland, which is that they pull out their hairs before, which the others do not. Contrary to whom, Pliny reciteth that at the descent of the Ripheen mountains anciently was the region of the Arimpheons, whom we now call Muscovites, who dwelt in forests, but they were all shaven as well men as women, and took it for a shameful thing to wear any hairs [*lib. vi.*, *cap.* 13]. So we see that one selfsame fashion of living is received in one place and rejected in another. Which is familiarly evident unto us in many other things in our regions of these parts, where we see manners and fashions of living all contrary, yea, sometimes under one and the same prince.

## CHAPTER X

OF THE FORM, COLOUR, STATURE, AND ACTIVITY OF THE SAVAGES; AND INCIDENTALLY OF THE FLIES IN THOSE WESTERN PARTS; AND WHY THE AMERICANS BE NOT BLACK; ETC.

AMONGST all the forms of living and bodily creatures that of man is the fairest and the most perfect. Which was very decent both to the creature and to the Creator, seeing that man is placed in this world to command all that is here beneath. But, although that Nature endeavoureth herself always to do good, notwithstanding she is sometimes short and forced in her actions, and thereof it cometh that we have monsters and ugly things contrary to the ordinary rule of others. Yea, even sometimes after that Nature hath done her office, we help by our arts to render that which she hath made ridiculous and misshapen; as, for example, the Brazilians are born as fair as the common sort of men, but coming out of the womb they are made deformed in squeezing of their nose, which is the chiefest part wherein consisteth the beauty of man. True it is that as in certain countries they praise the long noses, in others the hawk noses, so among the Brazilians it is a fair thing to be flat-nosed, as also among the Moors of Africa, which we see to be all of the same sort. And with these large nostrils, the Brazilians are accustomed to make themselves yet more deformed by art, making great holes in their cheeks and under the lower lip, for to put therein green stones and of other colours, of the bigness of a tester; so that, those stones being taken away, it is a hideous thing to see those people. But in Florida, and everywhere on this side the tropic of Cancer, our savages be generally



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goodly men, as they be in Europe; if there be any short-nosed one, it is a rare thing. They be of a good stature, and I have seen no dwarfs there, nor any that drew near to it. Notwithstanding (as I have said elsewhere), in the mountains of the Iroquois, which are beyond the great fall of the great river of Canada, there is a certain nation of savages, little men, valiant and feared everywhere, which are more often assailers than defenders. But although that where we dwelt the men be of a good height, nevertheless I have seen none so tall as Monsieur de Poutrincourt, whose tallness becometh him very well. I will not speak here of the Patagonians, a people which is beyond the river of Plate, whom Pighafetta in his voyage about the world saith to be of such an height that the tallest among us could scarce reach to their girdle. The same is out of the limits of our New France. But I will willingly come to the other circumstances of body of our savages, seeing the subject calleth us thereunto.

They are all of an olive colour, or rather tawny colour, like to the Spaniards—not that they be so born, but, being the most part of the time naked, they grease their bodies, and do anoint them sometimes with oil, for to defend them from the flies, which are very troublesome not only where we were but also through all that new world and even in Brazil, so that it is no wonder if Beelzebub, prince of flies, hath there a great empire. These flies are of a colour drawing towards red, as of corrupted blood, which maketh me to believe that their generation cometh but from the rottenness of woods. And, indeed, we have tried that the second year: being in a place somewhat more open, we have had fewer of them than at the first. They cannot endure great heat, nor wind; but otherwise (as in close dark weather) they are very noisome by reason of their stings which they have, long for so small a body; and they be so tender that if one touch them never so little they are

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squeezed. They begin to come about the 15th of June, and do retire themselves in the beginning of September. Being in the Port de Campseau in the month of August I have not seen nor felt any one; whereof I did wonder, seeing that the nature of the soil and of the woods is all one. In September, after that this vermin is gone away, there grow other flies like unto ours, but they are not troublesome, and become very big. Now our savages, to save themselves from the stinging of these creatures, rub themselves with certain greases and oils, as I have said, which make them foul and of a tawnish colour. Besides that always they lie on the ground, or be exposed to the heat and the wind.

But there is cause of wondering, wherefore the Brazilians and other inhabitants of America between the two tropics are not born black as they of Africa, seeing that it seemeth it is the selfsame case, being under one and the selfsame parallel and like elevation of the sun. If the poets' fables were sufficient reasons for to take away this scruple, one might say that Phaeton, having done the foolish deed in conducting the chariot of the sun, only Africa was burned, and the horses set again in their right course, before they came to the New World. But I had rather say that the heat of Lybia, being the cause of this blackness of men, is engendered from the great lands over which the sun passeth before it come thither, from whence the heat is still carried more abundantly by the swift motion of this great heavenly torch. Whereunto the great sands of that province do also help, which are very capable of those heats, specially not being watered with store of rivers as America is, which aboundeth in rivers and brooks as much as any province in the world: which do give perpetual refreshing unto it, and makes the region much more temperate: the ground being also there more fat, and retaining better the dews

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of heaven, which are there abundantly, and rains also, for the reasons above said. For the sun finding in the meeting of these lands those great moistnesses, he doth not fail to draw a good quantity of them, and that so much the more plentifully that his force is there great and marvellous, which makes there continual rains, especially to them that have him for their zenith. I add one great reason, that the sun leaving the lands of Africa, giveth his beams upon a moist element by so long a course that he hath good means to suck up vapours, and to draw together with him great quantity thereof into those parts; which maketh that the cause is much differing of the colour of these two people, and of the temperature of their lands.

Let us come to other circumstances, and seeing that we are about colours, I will say that all they which I have seen have black hairs, some excepted which have auburn colour hairs; but of flaxen colour I have seen none, and less of red; and one must not think that they which are more Southerly be otherwise, for the Floridians and Brazilians are yet blacker than the savages of Newfoundland. The beard of the chin (which our savages call *migidoni*) is with them as black as their hairs. They all take away the producing cause thereof, except the Sagamos, who for the most part have but a little. Membertou hath more than all the others, and, notwithstanding, it is not thick as it is commonly with Frenchmen. If these people wear no beards on their chin (at the least the most part), there is no cause of marvelling. For the ancient Romans themselves, esteeming that that was a hindrance unto them, did wear none, until the time of Adrian the Emperor, who first began to wear a beard. Which they took for such an honour that a man accused of any crime had not that privilege to shave his hairs, as may be gathered by the testimony of Aulus Gellius [lib. iii., cap. 4], speaking of Scipio, the son of Paul. As for the inferior



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parts, our savages do not hinder the growing or increasing of hairs there. It is said that the women have some there also. And, according as they be curious, some of our men have made them believe that the Frenchwomen have beards on their chins, and have left them in that good opinion, so that they were very desirous to see some of them, and their manner of clothing. By these particularities one may understand, that all these people have generally less hairs than we; for along the body they have none at all: so far is it then that they be hairy as some think. This belongeth to the inhabitants of the Isles Gorgades, from whence Hanno the Carthaginian captain brought two women's skins, which he did set up in the temple of Juno for great singularity. But here is to be noted what we have said, that our savage people have almost all their hairs black; for the Frenchmen in one and the selfsame degree are not commonly so. The ancient authors Polybius, Cæsar, Strabo, Diodorus the Cicilian, and particularly Ammianus Marcellinus, do say that the ancient Gauls had almost all their hairs as yellow as gold, were of high stature, and fearful for their ghastly looks—besides quarrelsome and ready to strike; a fearful voice, never speaking but in threatening. At this time those qualities are well changed. For there are not now so many yellow hairs, nor so many men of high stature, but that other nations have as tall. As for the fearful looks, the delicacies of this time have moderated that; and as for the threatening voice, I have scarce seen in all the Gauls but the Gascons and them of Languedoc, which have their manner of speech somewhat rude, which they retain of the Goth and of the Spaniard, by their neighbourhood. But as for the hairs, it is very far from being so commonly black. The same author Ammianus saith also that the women of the Gauls (whom he noted to be good shrews, and to be too hard for their husbands, when they are in



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choler) have blue eyes; and consequently the men; and notwithstanding in that respect we are much mingled, which maketh that one knoweth not what rareness to choose for the beauty of eyes. For many do love the blue eyes, and others love them green, which were also in ancient time most praised. For among the Sonnets of Monsieur de Couci (who was in old time so great a clerk in love-matters that songs were made of it) green eyes are praised.

The Germans have kept better than we the qualities which Tacitus giveth them, likewise that which Ammianus reciteth of the Gauls. In so great a number of men (saith Tacitus) there is but one fashion of garments: they have blue eyes and fearful, their hairs shining as gold, and are very corpulent. Pliny giveth the same bodily qualities to the people of the Taprobane, saying that they have red hairs, their eyes blue, and the voice horrible and fearful. Wherein I know not if I ought to believe him, considering the climate, which is in the 8, 9, and 10 degrees only; and that in the kingdom of Calicut, farther off than the equinoctial line, the men are black. But as for our savages concerning their eyes, they have them neither blue nor green, but black for the most part, like to their hairs; and nevertheless their eyes are not small, as they of the ancient Scythians, but of a decent greatness. And I may say assuredly and truly that I have seen there as fair boys and girls as any can be in France. For as for the mouth, they have no big moorish lips, as in Africa and also in Spain; they are well-limbed, well-boned, and well-bodied, competently strong; and nevertheless we had many in our company who might have wrestled well enough with the strongest of them; but, being hardened, there would be made of them very good men for the war, which is that wherein they most delight. Moreover, among them there is none of those prodigious men whereof Pliny maketh mention [lib. vi., cap. 31],

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which have no noses in their faces or no lips or no tongue: item, which are without mouth and without nose, having but two small holes, whereof one of them serveth for to breath, the other serveth instead of a mouth: item, which have dogs' heads, and a dog for king: item, which have their heads on the breast, or one only eye in the midst of the forehead, or a flat broad foot to cover their heads when it raineth, and such like monsters. There is none also of them which our savage Agohanna told Captain James Cartier that he had seen in Saguenay,<sup>103</sup> whereof we have spoken heretofore. If there be any blind with one eye, or lame (as it happeneth sometimes), it is a casual thing, and cometh of hunting.

Being well composed, they cannot choose but be nimble and swift in running. We have spoken heretofore [Bk. I., ch. 15] of the nimbleness of the Brazilians, Margaias, and Ou-etacas; but all nations have not those bodily dispositions. They which live in mountains have more dexterity than they of the valleys, because they breath a purer and clearer air, and that their food is better. In the valleys the air is grosser, and the lands fatter, and consequently unwholesomer. The nations that be between the tropics have also more agility than the others, participating more with the fiery nature than they that are farther off. This is the cause why Pliny speaking of the Gorgones and Isles Gorgonides (which are those of Cape Verde) saith that the men are there so light of foot that scarce one may follow them by the eyesight, in such manner that Hanno the Carthaginian could not catch any one of them. He maketh the like relation of the Troglodytes, a nation of Guinea, whom he saith are called Therothoens, because they are as swift in hunting upon the land, as the Ichthyophages are prompt in swimming in the sea, who almost are as seldom weary therein as a fish. And Maffeus in his Histories of the Indies reporteth that

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the Naires (so the nobles and warriors are called) of the kingdom of Malabar are so nimble and so swift as it is almost incredible, and do handle so well their bodies at will that they seem to have no bones, in such sort that it is hard to come to skirmish against such men, forasmuch as with this agility they advance and recoil as they list. But, for to make themselves such, they help nature, and their sinews are stretched out even from seven years of age, which afterward are anointed and rubbed with oil of sesamum [Pliny, lib. i., cap. 10]. That which I say is known even in beasts, for a Spanish genet or a barbe is more lively and light in running than a Russian or German Curtall,<sup>104</sup> an Italian horse more than a French horse. Now, although that which I have said be true, yet for all that there be nations out of the tropics who by exercise and art come to such agility. For the Holy Scripture maketh mention of one Asahel, an Israelite, of whom it witnesseth that he was as light of foot as a roebuck of the fields [2 Sam. ii.]. And for to come to the people of the North, the Heruli are renowned for being swift in running, by this verse of Sidonius:

*Cursu Herulus, jaculis Hunnus, Francusque natatu.*<sup>105</sup>

And by this swiftness the Germans sometimes troubled very much Julius Cæsar. So our Armouchiquois are as swift as greyhounds, as we have said heretofore, and the other savages are little inferior unto them, and yet they do not force nature, neither do they use any art to run well. But as the ancient Gauls, being addicted to hunting (for it is their life) and to war, their bodies are nimble and so little charged with fat that it doth not hinder them from running at their will.

Now the savages' dexterity is not known only by running but also in swimming, which they all can do; but it seems that some more than others. As for the Brazilians they are so natural in that trade that they



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would swim eight days in the sea if hunger did not press them, and they fear more that some fish should devour them than to perish through weariness. The like is in Florida, where the men will follow a fish in the sea, and will take it unless it be too big. Joseph Acosta saith so much of them of Peru. And as for that which concerneth breathing, they have a certain art to sup up the water and to cast it out again, by which means they will remain easily in it a long time. The women likewise have a marvellous disposition to that exercise, for the *History of Florida* maketh mention that they can pass great rivers in swimming, holding their children with one arm; and they climb very nimbly up the highest trees of the country. I will affirm nothing of the Armouchiquois, nor of our savages, because I took no heed to it; but it is very certain that all can swim very cunningly. For the other parts of their bodies they have them very perfect, as likewise the natural senses. For Membertou (who is above an hundred years old) did see sooner a shallop or a canoe of the savages, to come afar off unto Port Royal than any of us; and it is said of the Brazilians and other savages of Peru hidden in the mountains that they have the smelling so good that, in smelling of the hand, they know if a man be a Spaniard or a Frenchman; and, if he be a Spaniard, they kill him without remission, so much do they hate him for the harms that they have received of them. Which the abovesaid Acosta doth confess when he speaketh of leaving the Indians to live according to their ancient policy, reproving the Spaniards in that [lib. vi., cap. 1]. And therefore (saith he) this is a thing prejudicial unto us, because that they take occasion to abhor us (note that he speaketh of them who do obey them) as men who in all things, whether it be in good, whether it be in evil, have always been, and still are, contrary unto them.



## CHAPTER XI

### OF THE PAINTINGS, MARKS, INCISIONS, AND ORNAMENTS OF THEIR BODY

IT is no marvel if the ladies of our time do paint themselves; for of a long time and in many places that trade hath had beginning. But it is reprovèd in the Holy Books, and made a reproach by the voices of the Prophets, as when Jeremiah threateneth the city of Jerusalem [iv. 30]: *When thou shalt be destroyed* (saith he), *what wilt thou do? though thou clotheſt thyſelf with ſcarlet, though thou deckeſt thyſelf with ornaments of gold, though thou painteſt thy face with colours, yet ſhalt thou trim thyſelf in vain; for thy lovers will abhor thee and ſeek thy life.* The Prophet Ezekiel [xxiii. 40] maketh the like reproach to the cities of Jerusalem and Samaria, which he compareth to two lewd harlots, who, having ſent to ſeek out men coming from far, and being come, they have waſhed themſelves, and painted their faces, and have put on their fair ornaments. The Queen Jeſebel, doing the ſame, was for all that caſt down out of a window, and bare the puniſhment of her wicked life [2 Kings ix. 30]. The Romans did anciently paint their bodies with vermilion, as Pliny ſaith [lib. xxxiii., cap. 7], when they entered in triumph into Rome, and he addeth that the Princes and great Lords of Æthiopia made great account of that colour, wherewith they wholly painted themſelves red; alſo both the one and the other did ſerve themſelves therewith to make their god fairer; and that the firſt expenſe which was allowed of by the cenſors and maſters of accounts in Rome was of the monies beſtowed for to colour with vermilion the face of Jupiter. The ſame author reciteth in another place [lib. vi., cap. 30] that the

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Anderes, Mathites, Mosagebes, and Hipporeens, people of Libya, did plaster all their bodies over with red chalk. Briefly, this fashion did pass as far as to the North. And thereof is come the name that was given to the Picts, an ancient people of Scythia, neighbours to the Goths, who in the year 87 after the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the Empire of Domitian, made courses and spoils through the isles which lie Northward, where having found men who made them resistance, they returned back without doing anything, and lived yet naked in their cold country until the year of our Lord 370. At which time under the Empire of Valentinian being joined with the Saxons and Scots, they tormented very much them of Great Britain, as Ammianus Marcellinus reciteth [lib. xxvi., xxvii.]; and, being resolved to remain there (as they did), they demanded of the Britons (which now are Englishmen) wives in marriage. Whereupon, being denied, they retired themselves to the Scots, of whom they were furnished upon condition that, the masculine race of the Kings coming to fail among them, then the women should succeed in the realm. Now these people were called Picts because of the paintings which they used upon their naked bodies, which saith Herodian [bk. iii.], they would not cover with any clothing for fear to hide and darken the fair painting they had set upon it, where were set out beasts of all sorts, and printed with iron instruments, in such sort that it was impossible to take them off. Which they did (as Solin saith) even from their infancy: in manner that as the child did grow, so did grow those fixed figures, even as the marks that are graved upon the young pompions.<sup>106</sup> The poet Claudian doth also give us many witnesses of this in his *Panegyrics*, as when he speaketh of the Emperor Honorius his grandfather:

*Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos  
Edomuit.*<sup>107</sup>

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And in the Gothic war:

*Ferroque notatas*  
*Perlegit exanimis Picto moriente figuras.*<sup>108</sup>

This hath been noted by Monsieur de Belleforest, and afterward by the learned Savaron upon the observation that Sidoine de Polignac maketh thereof. And albeit that our Celtic Poitevins, called by the Latins *Pictones*, be not descended from the race of those (for they were ancient Gauls even in Julius Cæsar's time), nevertheless I may well believe that this name hath been given them for the same occasion as that of the Picts. And as customs once brought in among a people are not lost but by the length of many ages (as we see yet the follies of Shrove Tuesday to continue), so the uses of painting, whereof we have spoken, remaineth in some Northerly Nations. For I have heard sometimes Monsieur Le Comte d'Egmond<sup>109</sup> tell that he hath seen in his young years them of Brunswick come into his father's house with their faces greased with painting, and their visage all blacked, from whence peradventure this word of "bronzer" may be derived, which signifieth in Picardy to black. And generally I believe that all those Northerly people did use painting when they would make themselves brave. For the Gelons and Agathyrses, nations of Scythia like the Picts, were of this fraternity, and with iron instruments did colour their bodies. The Englishmen likewise, then called Britons, by the saying of Tertullian [*De veland. virgin.*]. The Goths, besides the iron instruments, did use vermilion to make their faces and bodies red [Iornandes, *De Bello Got.*; Isidor., lib. xvi., cap. 23]. Briefly, it was a sport in the old time to see so many *antikes*, men and women; for there are found yet old pictures which he that hath made the history of the Englishmen's voyage into Virginia hath cut in brass, where the Picts of both sex are painted out,



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with their fair incisions, and swords hanging upon the naked flesh, as Herodian describeth them.

This humour of painting having been so general in these parts, there is no cause of mocking, if the people of the West Indies have done, and yet do the like; which is universal and without exception among those nations. For if any one of them maketh love, he shall be painted with blue or red colour, and his mistress also. If they have venison in abundance, or be glad for any thing, they will do the like generally. But when that they are sad, or plot some treason, then they overcast all their face with black, and are hideously deformed. Touching the body, our savages apply no painting to it, which the Brazilians and Floridians do, the most part whereof are painted over the body, the arms and thighs with fair branches, whose painting can never be taken away because they are pricked within the flesh. Notwithstanding, many Brazilians do paint only their bodies (without incision) when they list; and this with the juice of a certain fruit which they call *genipat*, which doth black so much that, though they wash themselves, they cannot be clean in ten or twelve days after. They of Virginia, which are more of this side, have marks upon their backs like to those that our merchants do put upon their packs, by the which (even as the slaves) one may know under what lord they live: which is a fair form of government for this people, seeing that the ancient Roman Emperors have used the like towards their soldiers, which were marked with the Imperial mark, as Saint Augustine [*Contra Parmen*, lib. ii., cap. 13], Saint Ambrose [in the funeral oration of Valentin], and others do witness unto us. Which thing Constantine the Great did likewise, but his mark was the sign of the Cross, which he made to be printed upon the shoulders of his soldiers, as himself saith in an epistle which he wrote to the King of Persia, reported by Theodoret in the *Ecclesiastical History*. And the



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first Christians, as marching under the banner of Jesus Christ, did take the same mark, which they printed in their hand or on the arm, to the end to know one another, specially in time of persecution, as Procopius saith, expounding this place of Isaiah [xliv. 5]: "*One will say, I am the Lord's, and the other will call himself with the name of Jacob ; and the other will write with his hand, I am the Lord's, and will surname himself with the name of Israel.*" The great Apostle St Paul did bear the marks of the Lord Jesus Christ in his flesh [Galat. vi.], but it was yet after another manner, that is to say by the bruises which he had on his body of the stripes that he had received for his name. And the Hebrews had for mark the Circumcision of the foreskin, by the which they are sequestered from other nations, and known for God's people. But as for other bodily incisions, such as anciently the Picts did make and the savages do yet make at this day, they have been anciently very expressly forbidden in the Law of God given to Moses [Lev. xix. 28 ; Deut. xiv. 1]. For it is not lawful for us to disfigure the image and the form that God hath given unto us. Yea, the pictures and paintings have been blamed and reproved by the Prophets, as we have noted elsewhere. And Tertullian saith that the Angels which have discovered and taught unto men their paintings and counterfeited things have been condemned of God, alleging for proof of his saying the *Book of Enoch's* prophecy. By these things above recited, we know that this hither world hath anciently been as much deformed and savage as they of the West Indies; but that which seemeth unto me most worthy of wondering is the nakedness of those people in a cold country, wherein they delight even to harden their children in the snow, in the river, and among the ice, as we touched heretofore in another chapter, speaking of the Cimbri and Frenchmen. Which also hath been their chiefeſt strength in the conquests that they have made.

## CHAPTER XII

OF THEIR OUTWARD ORNAMENTS OF THE BODY, BRACE-  
LETS, CARKANETS,<sup>110</sup> EAR-RINGS, ETC.

WE that do live in these parts under the authority of our Princes and civilized commonwealths have two great tyrants of our life, to whom the people of the New World have not been yet subjected, the excesses of the belly and the ornament of body, and briefly all that which belongeth to bravery, which if we should cast off it would be a mean to recall the golden age, and to take away the calamity which we see in most part of men. For he which possesseth much, making small expense, would be liberal, and would succour the needy, whereunto he is hindered, willing not only to maintain but also to augment his train, and to make show of himself, very often at the costs of the poor people whose blood he sucketh: *Qui devorant plebem meam sicut escam panis*, saith the Psalmist.<sup>111</sup> I leave that which belongeth to food, not being my purpose to speak of it in this chapter. I leave also the excesses which consisteth in household implements, sending the reader back to Pliny [lib. xxxiii., cap. 11], who hath spoken amply of the Roman pomps and superfluity, as of vessels after the Furvienne and Clodienne fashion, of bedsteads after the Deliaque fashion, and of tables all wrought with gold and silver embossed; where also he setteth out a slave Drusillanus Rotundus, who, being treasurer of the higher Spain, caused a forge to be made for to work a piece of silver-plate of five quintals' weight, accompanied with eight other, all weighing half a quintal. I will only speak of the *matachias* of our savages, and say that, if we did content ourselves with their simplicity, we should avoid many troubles that

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we put ourselves unto to have superfluities, without which we might live contentedly (because Nature is satisfied with little) and the coveting whereof makes us very often to decline from the right way, and to stray from the path of justice. The excesses of men do consist the most part in things which I have said I will omit, which notwithstanding I will not leave untouched if it come to purpose. But ladies have always had this reputation, to love excesses in that which concerneth the decking of their bodies; and all the moralists who have made profession to repress vices have mentioned them, where they have found a large subject to speak of. Clement of Alexandria [the first book *Padag.*, cap. 10], making a long numeration of women's trinkets (which he hath the most part taken out of the Prophet Isaiah), saith in the end that he is weary to speak so much of it, and that he marvelleth that they are not killed with so great a weight.

Let us take them then by those parts wherein they be complained of. Tertulian marvelleth of the audaciousness of man, which setteth himself against the word of our Saviour, which said: *that it is not in us to add anything to the measure or height that God hath given unto us; and notwithstanding ladies endeavour themselves to do to the contrary, adding upon their heads cages made of hairs, fashioned like to loaves of bread, to hats, to panniers, or to the hollowness of scutcheons. If they be not ashamed with this superfluous enormity, at least* (saith he) *let them be ashamed of the filth which they bear; and not to cover a holy and a Christian head with the leavings of another head, peradventure unclean or guilty of some crime and ordained to a shameful death.* And in the same place, speaking of them which do colour their hairs: *I see some* (saith he) *who do change the colour of their hairs with saffron. They are ashamed of their country, and would be Gaulish women or German women, so much do they disguise themselves.* Whereby is known



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how much red hairs were esteemed in the old time. And indeed the Holy Scripture praiseth that of David, which was such. But to seek it out by art, St Cyprian [in the Book of the Virgins' Clothing] and St Jerome [*Ep. to Lata*], with our Tertullian, do say that the same doth presage the fire of hell. Now our savages, in that which consisteth in the borrowing of hairs, are not reprovabie, for their vanity stretcheth not so far; but for the colouring of them, for as much as when they are merry and paint their faces, be it with blue or with red, they paint also their hairs with the same colour.

Now let us come to the ears, to the neck, to the arms, and to the hands, and there we shall find wherewith to busy ourselves: these are parts where jewels are easily seen, which ladies have learned very well to observe. The first men which have had piety in them have made conscience to offer any violence to Nature, and to pierce the ears for to hang any precious thing at it; for none is lord of his own members to abuse them, so saith the civilian Ulpian. And therefore when the servant of Abraham went into Mesopotamia for to find out a wife for Isaac and had met with Rebecca, he put upon her forehead a jewel of gold hanging down between her eyes, and also bracelets of gold upon her hands: for which reason it is said in the *Proverbs* [xi. 22] that: "*A fair woman which lacketh discretion is like a golden ring in a swine's snout.*" But men have taken more licence than they ought, and have defaced the workmanship of God in them to please their own fancies. Wherein I do not wonder at the Brazilians (of whom we will hereafter speak) but of civilized people which have called other nations barbarous, but much more of the Christians of this age. When Seneca [*De Benef.*, 7] did complain of that which was in his time: "*The folly of women (saith he) had not made men subject enough, but it hath been yet behoveful to hang two or three patrimonies at their ears.*" But what patrimonies?



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*“They carry (saith Tertullian) islands and farmhouses upon their necks, and great registers in their ears containing the revenues of a great rich man, and every finger of the left hand hath a patrimony to play withal.”* Finally, he cannot compare them better than to condemned men that are in the caves of Æthiopia, which the more they are culpable, so much the richer are they, because that the fetters and bolts wherewith they are tied are of gold. But he exhorteth the Christian women not to be such, forasmuch as those things are certain marks of lasciviousness, which do belong to those mischievous oblations of public unchastity. Pliny, albeit he was an heathen, doth no less abhor those excesses [lib. ix., cap. 35]. “For our ladies (saith he) for to be brave do bear hanging at their fingers those great pearls which are called *elenchus*, in fashion of pearls, and have two of them, yea three, at their ears. Yea, they have invented names to serve themselves therewith in the cursed and troublesome superfluities. For they call bells them which they carry in number at their ears, as if they did take pleasure to hear pearls jingling at their ears. And that which is more, the huswifly women, yea, the poor women also, deck themselves therewith, saying that a woman ought to go as seldom without pearls as a Consul without his Ushers. Finally, they are come so far as to adorn their shoes with them, and garters, yea, their buskins are yet full and garnished therewith. In such sort that it is not now any more question to wear pearls, but they must be made to serve for pavement, to the end to tread but upon pearls.” The same author doth recite [lib. xxxiii., cap. 3] that Lollia Paulina, forsaken by Caligula, in the common feasts of mean men was so overladen with emeralds and with pearls on her head, her hairs, her ears, her neck, her fingers, and her arms, as well in collars, necklaces, as bracelets, that all did shine at it, and that she had of them to the worth of a million of gold. The same was

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excessive; but she was the greatest princess of the world, and yet he doth not say that she did wear any on her shoes: as he doth yet complain in some other where that the dames of Rome did wear gold on their feet. "*What disorder!*" (saith he). *Let us permit the women to wear as much gold as they will in bracelets, at their fingers, at their necks, at their ears, and in carkanets and bridles, etc., must they for all that deck their feet with it?*" etc. I should never make an end if I should continue this speech.

The Spanish women in Peru do go beyond that, for their shoes are set over with nothing but plates of gold and silver and garnished with pearls. True it is that they are in a country which God hath blessed abundantly with all these riches. But if thou hast not so much of them, do not vex thyself at it, and be not tempted through envy; such things are but earth, digged and purified with a thousand troubles, in the bottom of hell, by the incredible labour, and with the life of men like unto thee: pearls are but dew, received within the shell of a fish, which are fished by men that be forced to become fishes, that is to say to be always diving in the depth of the sea. And for to have these things, and to be clothed in silk, and for to have robes with infinite folds, we turmoil ourselves, we take cares which do shorten our days, gnaw our bones, suck out our marrow, weaken our bodies, and consume our spirit. He that hath meat and drink is as rich as all these, if he could consider it. And where those things do abound, there delights do abound, and consequently vices; and, to conclude, behold what God saith by his Prophet: "*They shall cast their silver out into the streets, and their gold shall be but dung, and shall not deliver them in the day of my great wrath*" [Ezek. vii. 19]. He that will have further knowledge of the chastisements wherewith God doth threaten the women that abuse carkanets and jewels, which have no other care but to

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attire and deck themselves, go with their breasts open, their eyes wandering, and with a proud gait, let him read the third chapter of the Prophet Isaiah. I will not for all that blame the virgins which have some golden things or chains of pearls or other jewels, also some modest vesture, for that is comeliness, and all things are made for the use of man; but excess is that which is to be blamed, because that under that very often is lasciviousness hidden. Happy are the people which, not having the occasions to sin, do purely serve God, and possess a land which furnisheth them of that which is necessary for life. Happy are our savage people if they had the full knowledge of God, for in that case they be without ambition, vainglory, envy, avarice, and have no care of these braveries, which we have now described, but rather do content themselves to have *matachias* hanging at their ears and about their necks, bodies, arms, and legs. The Brazilians, Floridians, and Armouchiquois, do make carkanets and bracelets (called *bou-re* in Brazil, and by ours *matachias*) of the shells of those great sea-cockles which be called *vignols*, like unto snails, which they break and gather up in a thousand pieces, then do smooth them upon a hot stone until they do make them very small, and, having pierced them, they make them beads with them like unto that which we call "porcelain." Among those beads they intermingle between spaces other beads, as black as those which I have spoken of to be white, made with jet, or certain hard and black wood which is like unto it, which they smooth and make small as they list, and this hath a very good grace. And if things are to be esteemed for their fashion, as we see it practised in our merchandises, these collars, scarves, and bracelets made of great periwinkles or porcelain, are richer than pearls (notwithstanding none will believe me herein), so do they esteem them more than pearls, gold, or silver. And this is that



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which they of the great river of Canada in the time of James Cartier did call Esurgin (whereof we have made mention heretofore), a word which I have had much ado to know, and which Belleforest, the cosmographer, understood not when he would speak of it. At this day they have not any more of them, or else they have lost the knowledge to make them: for they use *matachias* very much, that are brought unto them out of France. Now as with us, so in that country, women do deck themselves with such things, and will have chains that will go twelve times about their necks, hanging down upon their breasts and about their hand-wrists and above the elbow. They also hang long strings of them at their ears, which come down as low as their shoulders. If the men wear any, it will be only some young man that is in love. In the country of Virginia where some pearls be found the women do wear carkanets, collars, and bracelets of them, or else of pieces of copper (made round like small bullets), which is found in their mountains, where some mines of it are. But in Port Royal, and in the confines thereof, and towards Newfoundland, and at Tadousac, where they have neither pearls nor vignols, the maids and women do make *matachias* with the quills or bristles of the porcupine, which they dye with black, white, and red colours, as lively as possibly may be, for our scarlets have no better lustre than their red dye. But they more esteem the *matachias* which come unto them from the Armouchiquois country, and they buy them very dear; and that because they can get no great quantity of them, by reason of the wars that those nations have continually one against another. There is brought unto them from France *matachias* made with small quills of glass mingled with tin or lead, which are trucked with them, and measured by the fathom for want of an ell; and this kind of merchandise is in that country that which the Latins do call *mundus muliebris*. They also make of



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them small squares of sundry colours, sewed together, which they tie behind on the little children's hairs. The men do not much care for them, except that the Brazilians do wear about their necks half-moons of bones very white, which they call *y-aci* of the moon's name. And our Souriquois do likewise wear some jollities of like stuff, without excess. And they which have none of that do commonly carry a knife before their breasts, which they do not for ornament but for want of pocket, and because it is an implement which at all times is necessary unto them. Some have girdles made of *matachias*, wherewith they serve themselves only when they will set out themselves and make them brave. The Autmoins, or soothsayers, do carry before their breasts some sign of their vocation, as we will hereafter say. But as for the men of the Armouchiquois, they have a fashion to wear at their hand-wrists, and above the ankle-bone of the foot, about their legs, plates of copper, fetter-wise, and about their waists girdles fashioned with copper quills as long as the middle finger filed together the length of a girdle, even just of that fashion which Herodian reciteth [Bk. iii.] to have been in use among the Picts, whereof we have spoken, when he saith that they girded their bodies and their necks with iron, esteeming that to be a great ornament unto them and a testimony of their great riches, even as other barbarians do to have gold about them. And there are yet in Scotland savage men which neither ages nor years nor the abundance of men could yet reduce unto civility. And although that (as we have said) the men be not so desirous of *matachias* as the women, notwithstanding the men of Brazil, not caring for clothing, take great pleasure to deck and garnish themselves with the feathers of birds, and do use those wherewith we use to fill our beds whereon we lie, and chop them as small as pie-meat, which they dye in red with their Brazil-wood: then,

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having anointed their bodies with certain gums which serve them instead of paste or glue, they cover themselves with those feathers, and make a garment at one clap, after the antique fashion; which hath made (saith John de Leri in his *History of America*) the first of our men that went thither to believe that the men which be called savages were hairy over all their bodies, which is nothing so. For (as we have already said) the savages in what part soever have lesser hairs than we. They of Florida do also use this kind of down, but it is only about their heads, to make themselves more ugly. Besides this that we have said, the Brazilians do make frontlets of feathers, which they tie and fit in order of all colours—those frontlets being like in fashion to those rackets or periwigs which ladies use in these parts, the invention whereof they seem to have learned of those savages. As for them of our New France, in the days that be of solemnity and rejoicing among them and when they go to the wars, they have about their heads as it were a crown made with long hairs of an elan, or stag, painted in red, pasted or otherwise fastened to a fillet of leather of three fingers breadth, such as James Cartier saith he had seen with the King (so doth he call him) and Lord of the savages which he found in the town of Hochelaga. But they do not use so many ornaments of feathers as the Brazilians, which make gowns of them, caps, bracelets, girdles, and ornaments for their cheeks, and targets upon their loins, of all colours, which would be more tedious than delightful to specify, since it is an easy matter for everyone to supply the same, and to imagine what it is.

## CHAPTER XIII

### OF MARRIAGE

HAVING spoken of the savages' garments, deckings, ornaments, and paintings, it hath seemed good unto me to marry them, to the end the generation of them be not lost and that the country remain not desert. For the first ordinance that ever God made was to increase and multiply, and every creature capable of generation to bring forth fruit according to his kind. And to the end to encourage young folks that do marry, the Jews had a custom anciently to fill a trough with earth, in the which, a little before the wedding, they did sow barley, and, the same being sprung, they brought it to the bridegroom and the bride, saying: "*Bring forth fruit and multiply as this barley, which brings forth sooner than all other seeds.*" [This is in the gloss of the *Talmud* in the Treatise of Idolatry.]

Now to return to our savages, many thinking (as I believe) that they be some logs of wood or imagining a Commonwealth of Plato, do demand if they have any marriage, and if there be any priests in Canada to marry them. Wherein they seem to be very raw and ignorant. Captain James Cartier speaking of the marriage of the Canadians, in his second relation<sup>112</sup> saith thus: "They observe the order of marriage, saving that the men take two or three wives. And the husband being dead, the women do never marry again, but do mourn for his death all their life long, and do daub their face with coal beaten to powder and with grease the thickness of a knife, and thereby are known to be widows." Then he goeth further: "They have another bad custom with their daughters, for, being come to be marriageable, they are put all in a stew-house, abandoned to all

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comers, until they have found out a match: and all this have we seen by experience. For we have seen the houses as full of these maidens as is a school of boys in France." I would have thought that the said James Cartier had (touching this prostituting of maids) added somewhat of his own, but the discourse of Monsieur Champlain, which is but six years since, doth confirm the same thing unto me, saving that he speaketh not of assemblies: which keepeth me from contrarying it. But among our Souriquois there is no such thing: not that these savages have any great care of continency and virginity, for they do not think to do evil in corrupting it; but, whether it be by the frequentation of Frenchmen or otherwise, the maids are ashamed to do any unchaste thing publicly, and if it happen that they abandon themselves to anyone, it is in secret. Moreover, he that will marry a maid it behoveth him to demand her of her father, without whose consent she shall be none of his, as we have already said heretofore and brought forth the example of one that had done otherwise. And, if he will marry, he shall sometimes make love, not after the manner of the *Essenes*, who, as Josephus sayeth [*Wars of the Jews*, lib. ii., cap. 12] did try the maidens by the space of three years before they married them, but by the space of six months or a year, without abusing of them: will paint his face that he may seem the fairer, and will have a new gown of beavers or otters or of something else, well garnished with *matachias* guarded and laid over in form of parchment lace of gold and silver, as the Goths did use heretofore. It is meet, moreover, that he show himself valiant in hunting, and that they know him able to do something, for they do not trust in a man's means, which are none other than that which he getteth by his day's labour, not caring anywise for other riches than hunting, unless our manners make them to have a desire of it.



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The maidens of Brazil have liberty to prostitute themselves as soon as they are able for the same, even as them of Canada. Yea, the fathers do serve for panders to their daughters, and they repute for an honour to communicate them to the men of these parts that go thither, to the end to have of their race. But to consent unto it would be too damnable an abomination, and that would deserve rigorous punishment, as indeed for the slackness of men God hath punished this vice in such wise that the sore hath been communicated in these parts, even to them that have been too much addicted after Christian wenches and women, by the sickness which is called the pox, which before the discovery of those lands was unknown in Europe; for these people are very much subject to it, and even they of Florida: but they have the Guayac, the Esquin, and the Sasafras trees very sovereign for the cure of that leprosy, and I believe that the tree Annedda, whose wonders we have recited, is one of these kinds.

One might think that the nakedness of this people would make them more lecherous, but it is not so. For as Cæsar giveth the Germans this commendation, that they had in their ancient savages' life such a continency as they reputed it a thing most vile for a young man to have the company of a woman before he came to the age of twenty years; and in their own disposition also they were not moved thereunto, although that pell mell, all together, men and women, young and old, did bathe themselves in rivers: so also may I say for our savages that I never saw amongst them any unseemly gesture or unchaste look, and I dare affirm that they be lesser given to that vice than we in these parts. I attribute the cause thereof partly to this their nakedness, and chiefly to the keeping bare of their head, from whence the matter of generation hath his original; partly to the want of hot spices, of wine, and of meats that do provoke to that which is

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primary sign of unclean desires, and partly to the frequent use which they have of tobacco, whose smoke dulleth the senses, and mounting up to the brains hindereth the functions of Venus. John de Leri praiseth the Brazilians for this continency; nevertheless he addeth that when they are angry they call sometimes one another *Tiuiuré*, that is to say sodomite, whereby it may be conjectured that this sin reigneth among them, as Captain Laudonnière saith it doth in Florida; and that the Floridians love the feminine sex very much. And, indeed, I have heard that for to please the women the more they busy themselves very much about that which is the primary sign of unclean desires, whereof we spake even now; and, that they may the better do it, they furnish themselves with ambergris, whereof they have great store, which first they melt at the fire, then inject it (with such pain that it maketh them to gnash their teeth) even so far as to the bone *sacrum*, and with a whip of nettles, or such like thing, make that idol of Maacha to swell, which king Asa made to be consumed into ashes and cast it into the brook Cedron. On the other side the women use certain herbs, and endeavour themselves as much as they can to make restrictions for the use of the said *Ithyphalles*,\* and to give either party their due.

Let us return to our marriages, which are better than all these rogueries. The contractors do not give their faith between the hands of notaries, nor of their soothsayers, but simply do demand the consent of the parents; and so they do everywhere. But here is to be noted that they keep (and in Brazil also) three degrees of consanguinity, in the which they are not used to contract marriage, that is to wit of the son with the mother, of the father with his daughter, and of the brother with the sister. These excepted, all

\* The marginal note, twenty-one lines above, to the word "tobacco" is "*Itiphalles*. Tobacco contrary to Venus."

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things are permitted. As for dowry, there is no mention of it. Also when any divorce happeneth, the husband is bound to nothing. And although that (as it hath been said) there is no promise of loyalty given before any superior power, nevertheless, in what part soever, the wives keep chastity, and seldom is any found that breaketh it. Yea, I have heard oftentimes say that, in yielding the duty to the husband, they make themselves oftentimes to be constrained—which is rare in these parts. For the Gaulish women are renowned by Strabo to be good porters (I mean fruitful) and breeders; and, contrariwise, I do not see that the people do abound as in these parts, although that they all labour for generation, and that polygamy is ordinary with them, which was not among the ancient Gauls, nor among the Germans, though they be a more rustic people. True it is that our savages do kill one another daily, and are always in fear of their enemies, keeping watches upon their frontiers.

This frigidity of Venus bringeth an admirable and incredible thing among these women, and which was not to be found even among the wives of the holy Patriarch Jacob, which is that, although they be many wives to one husband (for polygamy is received through all that New World), notwithstanding there is no jealousy among them, which is in Brazil, a hot country as well as Canada. But as for the men, they are in many places very jealous, and, if the wife be found faulty, she shall be put away or in danger to be killed by her husband; and in that (as for the spirit of jealousy) there needs not so many ceremonies as those that were done amongst the Jews, recited in the book of *Numbers* [v. 12 *sqq.*]. And as for divorcement, not having the use of letters they do it not in writing, in giving to the wife a bill signed by a public notary, as St Augustine doth note [*Against the Manichæans*, bk. xix., ch. 16] speaking of the said Jews, but are contented to tell



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to the parents, and unto her, that she provide for herself; and then she liveth in common with the others, until that somebody do seek after her. This law of putting away hath been received almost among all nations, except among the Christians, which have kept this precept of the Gospel: "*that which God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.*" Which is most expedient and less scandalous; and very wisely did Ben-Sira answer (who is said to have been nephew to the Prophet Jeremiah) being asked of one who had a lewd wife how he should do by her: "*Gnaw (saith he) that bone which is fallen to thee.*"

As for the widows, I will not affirm that which James Cartier hath said of them in general,<sup>113</sup> but I will say that where we have been they stain their faces with black, when they please, and not always: if their husband hath been killed, they will not marry again, nor eat flesh, until they have seen the revenge of his death. And so we have seen the daughter of Member-tou to practise it, who after the war made to the Armouchiquois, hereafter described, did marry again. Except in that case, they make no other difficulty to marry again, when they find a fit match.

Sometimes our savages having many wives will give one of them to their friend, if he hath a desire to take her in marriage, and shall be thereby so much dis-burdened. Touching maidens that be loose, if any man hath abused of them, they will tell it at the first occasion, and therefore it is bad jesting with them, for the chastisement ought to be very rigorous against them that mingle the Christian blood with the infidels, and for the keeping of this justice Monsieur de Villegagnon is praised, even by his enemies. And Phinees, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, because he was zealous of the law of God and appeased his wrath, which was about to exterminate the people, for such a sin, had the covenant of perpetual priesthood, promised to him and to his posterity [*Numbers xxv. 11-13*].



## CHAPTER XIV

### THE "TABAGIE"

THE ancient have said "*Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus*," that is "without Ceres and Bacchus Venus is cold." Having then married our savages, it is meet to make dinner ready and to use them after their own manner. And for to do it one must consider the times of the marriage. For if it be in winter they will have venison from the woods, if it be in the spring-time or in summer, they will make provision of fish. As for bread, there is no talk of it from the North of Newfoundland until one come to the country of the Armouchiquois, unless it be in trucking with Frenchmen, for whom they tarry upon the seashores, sitting on their tails like apes, as soon as the spring-time is come, and receive in exchange for their skins (for they have no other merchandise) biscuit, beans, peas and meal. The Armouchiquois and other nations more remote, besides hunting and fishing, have wheat, called maize, and beans, which is a great comfort unto them in time of necessity. They make no bread with it, for they have neither mill nor oven, and they cannot knead it otherwise than in stamping it in a mortar; and in gathering those pieces the best they can they make small cakes with it, which they bake between two hot stones. Most often they dry this corn at the fire, and parch it upon the coals. And after that manner did the ancient Italians live, as Pliny saith [lib. xviii., caps. 2 and 10]. And therefore one must not so much wonder at these people, seeing that they which have called others barbarous have been as barbarous as they.

If I had not recited heretofore the manner of the savages' *Tabagie* (or banquet), I would make here a

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larger description; but I will only say that when we went to the River Saint John, being in the town of Ouigoudi (so may I well call a place enclosed replenished with people), we saw in a great thicket eighty savages all naked, except the middle parts, making *Tabagie* with meal they had of us, whereof they had kettles full. Every one had a dish made with the bark of a tree, and a spoon as deep as the palm of one's hand, or more; and with this they had venison besides. And here is to be noted that he which entertaineth the others doth not dine, but serveth the company, as very often the bridegrooms do here in France.

The women were in another place apart, and did not eat with the men. Wherein may be noted a bad use among those people, which have never been used among the nations of these parts, specially the Gauls and Germans, which have admitted the women not only in their banquets but also in their public councils (specially with the Gauls), after they had pacified a great war which arose between them, and did decide the controversy with such equity (as Plutarch saith) that thereby ensued a greater love than ever before. [See yet hereafter in the 18th chap. of the Constancy of Women.] And in the treaty that was made with Hannibal, being entered into Gaul, to go against the Romans, it was said that if the Carthaginians had any difference against the Gauls, it should be decided by the advice of the Gallic women. It was not so in Rome, where their condition was so base that by the law *Voconia*, the very father could not make them to inherit more than of the one third part of his goods; and the Emperor Justinian forbiddeth them in his decrees to accept the awardship which had been deferred unto them, which showeth either a great severity against them or an argument that in that country they have a very weak spirit. And after this sort be the wives of our savages, yea, in worse condition, in not eating with

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the men in their *Tabagies* ; and, notwithstanding, it seemeth unto me that their fare is not in their feasts so delicate, which ought not to consist only in eating and drinking but in the society of that sex which God hath ordained unto man for to help him and to keep him company.

It will seem to many that our savages do live very poorly, in not having any seasoning in those few messes that I have named. But I will reply that it was not Caligula nor Heliogabalus, nor such like that have raised the Roman Empire to his greatness; neither was it that cook who made an imperial feast all with hogsflesh, disguised in a thousand sorts, nor those lickerish companions who, after they have destroyed the air, the sea, and the land, not knowing what to find more to assuage their gluttony, go a-seeking worms from the trees—yea, do keep them in mew, and do fatten them, for to make thereof a delicate mess. But rather it was one Curius Dentatus who did eat in wooden dishes, and did scrape radishes by the fireside: item those good husbandmen whom the Senate did send for from the plough for to conduct the Roman army; and in one word those Romans which did live with sodden food, after the manner of our savages, for they had not the use of bread but about 600 years after the foundation of the city, having learned in tract of time to make some cakes grossly dressed and baked under the embers or in the oven. Pliny, author of this report, saith, moreover, that the Scythians, now Tartars, do also live with sodden food and raw meal as the Brazilians [lib. xviii., caps. 8, 10, 11]. And nevertheless they have always been a warlike and mighty nation. The same saith that the Arympheens (which be the Moscovites) do live in forests (as our savages do) with grains and fruits which they gather from the trees, without mention neither of flesh nor of fish. And indeed the profane authors do agree that the first men



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did live after that manner, to wit of corn, grains, pulse, acorns, and maſts, from whence cometh the Greek word *phagein*, to wit to eat. Some particular nations (and not all) had fruits, as pears were in uſe among the Argives, figs with the Athenians, almonds with the Medes, the fruit of Cannes with the Æthiopians, the cardamum with the Persians, the dates with the Babylonians, the trefoil or three-leaved graſs with the Egyptians. They which have had none of thoſe fruits have made war againſt the beaſts of the woods and foreſts, as the Getulians and all the Northern men, yea, alſo the ancient Germans, notwithstanding they had alſo meats made of milk. Others dwelling upon the ſhores of the ſea or lakes and rivers lived on fiſhes, and were called *ichthyophages*; others living of tortoiſes were called *chelonophages*. Part of the Æthiopians do live of graſshoppers, which they ſalt and harden in the ſmoke in great quantity for all ſeaſons, and therein do the hiſtorians of this day agree with Pliny. For there is ſometimes clouds of them, that is to ſay ſuch infinite numbers that they hide the clouds; and in the Eaſt likewise, which deſtroy all the fields, ſo that nothing remaineth unto them to eat but thoſe graſshoppers, which was the food of Saint John Baptiſt in the deſert, according to the opinion of St Jerome [*Againſt Jovian*, bk. ii.] and Auguſtine [upon *Rom.* xiv. 15], although Nicephorus thinketh [lib. i., cap. 14] that they were the tender leaves of the tops of trees, becauſe that the Greek word *achrides* ſignifieth both the one and the other. But let us come to the Roman Emperor, beſt qualified. Ammianus Mercellinus, ſpeaking of their manner of life, ſaith [lib. xviii.] that Scipio, Æmilian, Metellus, Trajan, and Hadrian did content themſelves ordinarily with the meat of the camp, that is to ſay with bacon, cheeſe, and bruvage.<sup>114</sup> If, then, our ſavages have veniſon and fiſh abundantly, I do not think them ill furniſhed; for many times we



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have received of them quantity of sturgeons, of salmons, and other fishes; besides their venison, and beavers which live in ponds, and live partly on the land, partly in the water. At least one laudable thing is known in them, that they are not men-eaters, as the Scythians have been aforetime, and many other nations of these parts of the world, and as yet are at this day the Brazilians cannibals, and others of the new world.

The inconvenience which is found in their manner of life is that they have no bread. Indeed, bread is a food very natural for man, but it is easier to live with flesh or with fish than with bread only. If they have not the use of salt, the most part of the world do use none. It is not altogether necessary, and the principal profit thereof consisteth in preserving, whereunto it is altogether proper. Notwithstanding, if they had any to make some provisions, they would be more happy than us. But for want of that they sometimes suffer some need, which happeneth when the winter is too mild, or the latter end of the same. For then they have neither venison nor fish, as we will declare in the chapter of hunting; and are then constrained to feed upon the barks of trees and on the parings of skins and on their dogs, which (upon this extremity) they do eat. And the history of the Floridians saith that in extremity they eat a thousand filths, even to the swallowing down of coals, and to put earth in their spoon meat. True it is that in Port Royal there is always shell-fish, so that in all cases one cannot die there for hunger. But yet have they one superstition that they will not feed on mussels, and they can allege no reason for it, no more than our superstitious Christians which will not be thirteen at a table, or which fear to pare their nails on the Friday, or which have other scrupulosities, true apish toys, such as Pliny reciteth [lib. xxviii., cap. 2] a good number of them in his *Natural History*. Notwithstanding, in our company

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seeing us to eat of them, they did the like; for we must say here by the way that they will eat no unknown meat, but first they must see the trial of it by others. As for beasts of the woods, they eat of all them, the wolf excepted. They also eat eggs, which they go gathering along the shores of waters, and they do lade their canoes with them, when the geese and outards have done laying in the spring-time, and they use all, as well them that be old as new. As for modesty, they use it being at table with us, and eat very soberly; but at home in their own houses (as the Brazilians) they stretch out their bellies as much as they can, and do not leave eating as long as there is any meat; and if any of ours be at their *Tabagie*, they will bid him do as they do. Notwithstanding, I see no gluttony like to that of Hercules, who alone did eat whole oxen, and did devour one from a peasant called Diadamas, by reason whereof he was called *Buthenes* or *Buphagos*, Ox-eater. And, without going so far, we see in the countries of these parts greater gluttonies than that which one would impute to the savages. For in the Diet of Augsburg was brought to the Emperor Charles the Fifth a great whoreson which had eaten a calf and a sheep, and yet was not full. And I do not know that our savages do wax fat, or that they have great bellies, but that they are nimble and swift, like to our ancient Gauls and high Allemans, or Germans, who by their agility did trouble very much the Roman armies.

The food of the Brazilians are serpents, crocodiles, toads, and great lizards, which they esteem as much as we do capons, leverets, and conies. They also make meal of white roots, which they call *Maniel*, having the leaves of pæoniamas, and the tree of the height of the elder-tree: those roots as big as the thigh of a man, which the woman do crumble very small, and eat them raw, or else they make them to seethe well in a great earthen vessel, stirring it always as the comfit-

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makers do make sugar-plums. They are of very good taste, and of easy digestion, but they be not fit to make bread, because they dry and burn themselves, and always return into meal. They have also with this *mahis*, or maize, which groweth in two or three months after it is sowed, and that is a great succour unto them. But they have a cursed and an inhuman custom to eat their prisoners, after they have well fatted them. Yea (a most horrible thing) they give them in marriage the fairest maidens they have, putting about their necks as many halters as they will keep him moons. And when the time is expired they make wine of the said *mais* and roots, wherewith they make themselves drunk, calling all their friends. Then he that hath taken him knocketh him on the head with a club, and divideth him into pieces, and make carbonadoes<sup>115</sup> of him, which they eat with a singular pleasure above all meats in the world.

Furthermore, all savages generally do live everywhere in common—the most perfect and most worthy life of man, seeing that he is a sociable creature, the life of the ancient golden age, which the Holy Apostles would have restored again; but, being to establish the spiritual life, they could not execute that good desire. If it happens, then, that our savages have venison or other food, all the company have part of it. They have this mutual charity, which hath been taken away from us since that *mine* and *thine* have come into the world. They have also hospitality, a virtue peculiar to the ancient Gauls (according to the witness of Parthenius in his *Erotics*, of Cæsar, Salvian, and others), who did constrain travellers and strangers to come into their houses and there to take their refreshing: a virtue which seemeth to have conserved herself only with the nobility and gentry, for among the other sort we see her very weak and at the point of death. Tacitus giveth the same praise to the Germans, saying that



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with them all houses are opened to strangers, and there they are in such assurance that (as if they were sacred) none dare do them any injury: Charity and Hospitality, which are mentioned in the law of God who said to his people: "*The stranger which sojourneth among you shall be unto you as he which is born among you, and you shall love him as yourselves; for you have been strangers in the land of Egypt*" [Levit. xix. 34]. So do our savages, which, stirred up with a human nature, receive all strangers (except their enemies), whom they accept in their commonalty of life.

But we have spoken enough of eating: let us now speak of drinking. I know not whether I ought to place among the greatest blindnesses of the West Indians to have abundantly the most excellent fruit that God hath given unto us, and they know not the use thereof. For I see that the ancient Romans were a long time (as Pliny saith: lib. xviii., cap. 4) without either vines or vineyards. And our Gauls did make beer, the use whereof is yet frequent in all Gallia Belgica; and this kind of drink did the Egyptians also use in former times (as saith Diodorus, who attributeth the invention thereof to Osiris). Notwithstanding, after that the use of wine was come among the Romans, the Gauls took so good a taste in it, in the voyages that they made there with their armies, that they continued afterwards the same way [Strabo]. And afterward the Italian merchants did draw much money from the Gauls with their wine that they brought thither [Cæsar]. But the Germans, knowing their own nature subject to drink more than is needful, would have none brought to them for fear that being drunk they might be a prey to their enemies; and contented themselves with beer [Tacitus]. And, notwithstanding, because the continual drinking of water engendreth crudities in the stomach, and thereby great indispositions, the nations have commonly found better the moderate use of wine



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which hath been given of God to rejoice the heart, as bread for to strengthen him, as the Psalmist saith [civ. 16, 17]; and the Apostle St Paul himself doth counsel his disciple Timothy to use it by reason of his infirmity. For “*wine (saith Oribasius<sup>116</sup> in the first book of things commodious and easy, ch. 12), recreateth and quickeneth our heat, whereby, by consequence, the digestures are made better, and good blood is engendered, and good nourishment through all the parts of the body where the wine hath force to pierce; and therefore they which be weakened by sickness do recover by it a stronger being, and do likewise renew by it an appetite to their meat. It breaketh the steam; it purgeth cholerick humours by the urine, and with his pleasant odour and lively substance gladdeth the heart of man, and giveth strength to the body. Wine taken moderately is the procurer of all those good effects, but if it be drunk unmeasurably it produceth effects quite contrary.*” And Plato, willing to show forth in one word the nature and property of wine : “*That which warmeth (saith he) both body and soul is that which is called wine*” [*Timæus*]. The savages, which have no use of wine nor of spices, have found out another means to warm the same stomach, and in some sort to break so many crudities proceeding from the fish that they eat, which otherwise would extinguish their natural heat: it is the herb which the Brazilians do call *petun*, that is to say tobacco, the smoke whereof they take almost every hour, as we will declare more at large when we come hereafter to speak of that herb. Then as in these parts one drinketh to another, in presenting the glass to him to whom one hath drunk (which is done in many places), so the savages willing to feast somebody and to show him sign of amity, after they have well taken of that smoke, they present the tobacco-pipe to him that they like best. Which custom to drink one to another is not new, nor particular to the Flemings and Germans, for Heliodorus in the *Æthiopian History*

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of *Chariclea* [bk. i., cap. 1; and iii. 3] witnesseth that the same was a custom altogether used in the countries whereof he speaketh to drink one to the other in token of friendship. And because it was abused and men were appointed to constrain them that would not pledge, Ahasuerus, King of the Persians, at a banquet that he made to all the principal Lords and Governors of his countries, did forbid by an express law to force any, and did command that everyone should be served after his own will [*Esh.* i. 8]. The Egyptians did use no forcing, but, notwithstanding, they drunk up all, and that by great devotion. For, after they had found out the invention to apply painting and *matachias* upon silver, they took great delight to see their God Anubis painted in the bottom of their cups, as Pliny saith [lib. xxxiii., cap. 9].

Our savages, Canadians, Souriquois, and others are far from these delights, and having nothing but the tobacco spoken of by us to warm their stomachs after the crudities of waters, and to give some smatch to the mouth, having that in common with many other nations, that they love that which is biting, such as the said tobacco is, which (even as wine or strong beer) taken (as it is said) in smoke, maketh giddy the senses and in some sort procureth sleep: so that this word drunkard is among them, by this word *escorken*, as well as amongst us. The Floridians have a certain sort of drink called *Casinè*, which they drink all hot, which they make of certain leaves of trees. But it is not lawful for everyone to drink of it, but only to the Paraousti, and to them that have made proof of their valour in the wars. And this drink hath such virtue that, as soon as they have drunken it, they become all in a sweat, which being past, they be fed for twenty-four hours by the nourishing force of the same. As for them of Brazil, they make a certain kind of drink which they call *caou-in*, with roots and a grain called *mil*, which they

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put to seethe and soften in great earthen vessels made in the manner of a tub, over the fire, and, being softened, it is the office of the women to chaw it all, and to set them again to seethe in other vessels; then, having left all to be settled and skimmed, they cover the vessel until that it must be drunken; and this drink is as thick as lees, after the manner of the *defrutum* of the Latins, and of the taste of sour milk, white and red as our wine is; and they make it in every season, because that the said roots do grow there at all times. Furthermore, they drink this *caouin* somewhat warm, but with such excess that they never depart from the place where they make their feasts until that they have drunk all out, though there were of the same a tun for everyone. So that the Flemings, High Dutchmen, and Switzers are but young novices in that trade in regard to them. I will not speak here of the ciders and perries of Normandy, nor of the hidromels, the use whereof, by the report of Plutarch [*Sympos.*, iv., cap. 5], was long before the invention of wine, seeing our savages use none of it. But I have thought good to mention the fruit of the vine, by reason that New France is plentifully furnished therewith.

## CHAPTER XV

### OF THEIR DANCES AND SONGS

WHEN the belly is full, then comes mirth (saith the proverb): it will not be then unfit to speak of dancing after feasting. For it is also said of the people of Israel that, after they had well-filled their bellies, they arose for to play and dance about their Golden Calf [*Exod.* xxxii. 6, 19]. Dancing is a thing very ancient among all people. But it was first made and instituted in divine things, as we did now mark an example of it; and the Canaanites, who did worship the fire, did dance about it, and sacrificed their children unto it: which manner of dancing was not invented by the idolaters, but rather by the people of God. For we read in the Book of *Judges* [xxi. 19, 21] that there was a solemnity to God in Silo, where the maidens came to dance at the sound of the flute [2 *Sam.* vi.]. And David, bringing back the Ark of Covenant into Jerusalem, went before it in his shirt, dancing with all his strength.

As for the heathen, they have followed this fashion. For Plutarch, in the life of *Nicias*, saith that the towns of Greece had a custom every year to go into Delos for to celebrate the dances and songs in the honour of Apollo. And in the life of Licurgus the orator saith that he did ordain a very solemn dance in the Pyræus unto the honour of Neptune, with a wager of a hundred crowns price to the best dancer, and to the second of eighty crowns, and to the third of sixty. The Muses, daughters of Jupiter, do love dancing; and all they that have spoken of them make us to go seek for them upon the mountain Parnassus, where (say they) they dance at the sound of Apollo's harp.

As for the Latins, the same Plutarch saith, in the life



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of Numa Pompilius, that he did institute the college of the Salians (which were priests dancing and gambolling, and singing songs in the honour of God Mars), when that a buckler of brass fell miraculously from heaven, which was a gauge from that God for the conservation of the Empire. And that buckler was called *ancile*, but, for fear that it should be stolen away, he caused twelve others to be made alike named *ancilia*, which were carried in the wars, as we did heretofore our oriflamme, and as the Emperor Constantine did the *labarum*. Now the foremost of those Salians that did lead the others in the dance was called Præsul, that is to say first dancer, *præ aliis Salians*, saith Festus [lib. xvi.], who taketh from that the name of the French people, who were called Salians because they did love to dance, to skip, and to gambol; and of these Salians are come the laws which we call *salic*, that is to say laws of dances.

So then, to come again to our purpose, the dances have been first instituted for holy things. Whereto I will add the testimony of Arrian [of the gests of Alexander], who saith that the Indians which did worship the sun rising did not think to have duly saluted him unless their songs and prayers were accompanied with dances.

This kind of exercise was since applied to another use, that is to say for the government of health, as Plutarch saith in the treatment for the same. So that Socrates himself (howsoever precise and reformed) took pleasure therein, for which cause he desired to have a house large and spacious, as Xenophon writeth in his *Banquet*; and the Persians did expressly use the same, as Duris writeth in the seventh of his histories.<sup>117</sup>

But the delights, lasciviousness, and disorders did convert them since to their own use, and the dances have served for *proxenetes* and brokers of unchastity, as we find it but too much, whereof we have testimonies in the Gospel, where we find that it cost the life of the

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greatest that ever arose amongst men, which is Saint John Baptist. And Arcesilaus said very well that dances are venoms, sharper than all the poisons that the earth bringeth forth, forasmuch as by a certain incitement they insinuate into the soul, wherein they communicate and imprint voluptuousness and delectation, which the bodies properly do affect [Plutarch, *Sympos.*, vii., quest. 5].

Our savages, and generally all the people of the West Indies, have time out of mind the use of dances. But lascivious pleasure hath not yet so far prevailed against them as to make them dance at the pleasure thereof, a thing which ought to serve as a lesson to the Christians. The use, then, of their dances is for four ends, either to please their gods (let who will call them devils, it is all one to me) as we have marked in two places before, or to cheer up somebody, or to rejoice themselves of some victory, or to prevent sicknesses. In all these dances they sing, and make no dumb shows, as in those dances whereof the Pythian Oracle speaketh, when he saith: "*It behoveth that the beholder understand the dancing stage-player, although he be dumb: and that he hear him though he doth not speak*": But as in Delos they did sing to the honour of Apollo, the Salians to the honour of Mars, likewise the Floridians do sing to the honour of the sun, to whom they attribute all their victories: not, for all that so filthily as Orpheus, inventor of the heathenish devilishnesses, of whom Saint Gregory Nazianzen mocketh himself in an oration, because that among other follies in an hymn he speaketh of Jupiter in this wise: "*O glorious Jupiter! the greatest of all the gods, which art resident in all sorts of dung, as well of sheep as of horses and mules, etc.*" And in another hymn that he maketh to Ceres, he saith that she discovereth her thighs for to submit her body to her paramours, and to make herself to be tilled.

Our Souriquois do make also dances and songs to the

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honour of the Devil which showeth them their game, and that they think to gratify him, whereof one needeth not to marvel, because that we ourselves, that be better instructed, do sing psalms and songs of praise to our God, for that he giveth us our daily food. And I do not see that a man who is a hungered have any great lust either in singing or dancing: "*Nemo enim saltat fere sobrius,*" saith Cicero [*Oration for Murena*].<sup>118</sup>

Also, when they will feast anybody, they have no fairer gesture in many places than dancing; as in like manner, if anyone maketh them a feast, for all thanksgiving they betake themselves to dancing, as it hath been seen sometimes when Monsieur de Poutrincourt did give them their dinner, they did sing songs of praises unto him, saying that he was a brave Sagamos, who had made them good cheer, and which was their good friend; which they did comprehend very mystically under these three words: *Epigico iaton edico*<sup>119</sup>—I say mystically, for I could never know the proper signification of these words. I believe that it is of the ancient language of their forefathers, which is out of use, like as the old Hebrew is not the Jews' language at this day and was already changed in the time of the Apostles.

They sing also in their common *Tabagies* the praises of the brave Captains and Sagamos that have killed many of their enemies. Which was practised anciently in many nations, and is practised yet amongst us at this day; and is found to be approved and of decency in the Holy Scripture, in the Canticle of Deborah, after the overthrow of King Sisera [*Judg. v.*]. And when young David had killed the great Goliath, as the king did return victorious into Jerusalem the women came out of all the towns, and met him with tabrets, rebecks, and timbrels, dancing and singing merrily, saying by course and answering one another: "*Saul hath slain his thousand, and David his ten thousand*" [*1 Sam.*



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xviii. 6, 7]. Athenæus saith [Gallic Diodo Athenæus, in bk. vi. of the *Banquet of the Wise*] that the Gauls had poets named bards, whom they revered very much; and those poets did sing *viva voce* the deeds of virtuous and famous men, but they did write nothing in public, because that writing maketh men slothful and negligent in learning. Notwithstanding, Carolus Magnus was of another opinion; for he caused songs to be made in the vulgar tongue, containing the deeds and acts of the ancient, and commanded that the children should be made to learn them by heart, and that they should sing them, to the end that their memory should remain from father to son and from race to race, and by this means others should be stirred up to do good and to write the actions and deeds of valiant men. I will further say here by the way that the Lacedæmonians had a certain manner of dancing which they used in all their feasts and solemnities, which did represent the three ages: to wit the time past, by the old men which did say in singing this burthen: "*We were heretofore valorous*"; the present, by the young men in the flower of their youth, saying: "*We be so now at this time*"; the future, by the children, who did say: "*We shall be so too, when our turn comes*" [Plutarch, in the Life of Lyncurgus].

I will not busy myself in describing all the fashions of the gambols of their ancient predecessors, but it sufficeth me to say that the dances of our savages are made without removing from one place, and, notwithstanding, they are all in a round (or very near) and do dance with vehemency, striking with their feet upon the ground, and lifting themselves up as in half a leap. And as for their hands they hold them close, and their arms in the air, in form of a man that threateneth with a motion of them. As for the voice, there is but one that singeth, be it man or woman: all the rest do and say *Het, het!* as some that breatheth out with vehemency.



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And at the end of every song they all make a loud and long exclamation, saying *Héeee*. For to be more nimble, they commonly put themselves stark naked, because that their gowns made of skins do hinder them. And, if they have any of their enemies' heads or arms, they will carry them about their necks, dancing with this fair jewel, which they will sometimes bite, so great is their hatred even against the dead. And for to end this chapter as we began it, they never make any *Tabagie*, or feast, but that there is a dance after it. And afterward, if the Sagamos be disposed, according to the state of their affairs he will make an oration of one, two, or three hours' continuance, and at every demonstration asking the advice of the company: if they approve his proposition, everyone will cry out aloud *Héeee*, in sign of allowing and ratifying of the same. Wherein they give him very attentive audience, as we have seen many times; and also when that Monsieur de Poutrincourt did feast our savages, Membertou, after dancing, made an oration with such vehemency that he made the world to wonder, showing the curtesies and witnessses of friendship that they received of the Frenchmen, what they might hope of them hereafter, and how much their presence was profitable, yea, necessary unto them, because that they did sleep in security and had no fear of their enemies, etc.

## CHAPTER XVI

### OF THE DISPOSITION OF THEIR BODIES, AND OF THEIR PHYSIC AND CHIRURGY

WE have said in the last chapter that dancing is profitable for the preservation of health. Also it is one of the causes why our savages do delight so much in it; but they have yet some other preservatives which they use very often, that is to say sweats, whereby they prevent sicknesses. For they be sometimes touched with this phthisis wherewith the men of Captain James Cartier and Monsieur de Monts were annoyed [Bk. i., ch. 16], which notwithstanding is but seldom. But when it happeneth they have in Canada the tree called *annedda*, which I term the tree of life for the excellency thereof, wherewith they heal themselves; and in the country of the Armouchiquois they have *sassafras*, and in Florida *esquine*. The Souriquois, which have none of these kinds of woods, do use sweats, as we have said, and they have their *aoutmoins* for physicians, who for that purpose do dig in the ground, and make a pit which they cover with wood and big flat stones over it; then they put fire to it by a hole, and, the wood being burned, they make a raft with poles, which they cover with all the skins and other coverings which they have, so as no air entereth therein; they cast water upon the said stones, which are fallen in the pit, and do cover them; then they put themselves under the same raft, and with motions the *aoutmoin* singing, and the others saying (as in their dances): *Het, het, het!* they put themselves into a sweat. If they happen to fall into sickness (for one must die in the end) the *aoutmoin* doth blow, with exercisings, upon the member grieved, doth lick it and suck it; and, if that be not sufficient, he

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letteth the patient's blood, scotching his flesh with the point of a knife or something else. If they do not heal them always, one must consider that our physicians do not always cure their patients neither.

In Florida they have their *jarvars*, who continually carry a bag full of herbs and drugs hanging about their necks to cure the sick, which are for the most part sick of the pox; and they blow upon the parts affected, until they draw the very blood from it.

The Brazilians' physicians are named among them *pagés* (they be not their *caraibes* or soothsayers), who, in sucking as aforesaid, they endeavour themselves to heal diseases. But they have one sickness which is uncurable, which they call *pians*, proceeding of lechery, which, notwithstanding, little children sometimes have, even as them in these our parts that be full of pock-holes, which cometh unto them (as I think) from the corruption of their parents. This contagion doth convert itself into boils broader than the thumb, which disperse themselves throughout all the body and even as far as the face, and, being touched therewith, they bear the marks thereof all their lifetime, fouler than lepers, as well Brazilians as other nations. As for the sick body his diet, they give him not anything, unless he asketh for it; and, without taking any other care of them, they cease not to make their noise and hurly-burles before them, drinking, skipping, and singing, according to their custom.

As for the wounds, *aoutmos* of our Souriquois and their neighbours do lick and suck them, using the beaver's kidney, whereof they put a slice upon the wound, and so doth heal itself with that. The ancient Germans (saith Tacitus), not having yet the art of chirurgy, did the like: *They bring* (saith he) *their wounds to their mothers and to their wives, who are not afraid neither to number them nor to suck them—yea, they bring them victuals to the camp, and exhort them to fight valiantly;*

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*so that sometimes armies ready to run away have been restored by the prayers of the women, opening their breasts to their husbands. And afterwards they willingly used the women's advices and counsels, wherein they esteem some holy thing to be.*

And among the Christians, many (not caring for God no longer than they receive good gifts of him) do seek for the healing of their diseases by charms and help of witches: so among our savages the *aoutmoin*, having some sore in cure, enquireth often of his devil to know whether he shall heal or no; and hath never no answer but doubtfully, by *if* or *and*. There be some of them which sometimes do make incredible cures, as to heal one that hath his arms cut off. Which, notwithstanding, I know not why I should find it strange, when I consider what Monsieur de Busbeque<sup>120</sup> writeth in his discourse of his embassy into Turkey, the fourth Epistle.

"Coming near unto Buda, the Basha sent some of his household servants to meet us, with many heralds and officers; but among the rest a fair troupe of young men on horseback, remarkable for the novelty of their order. They had their heads bare and shaven, upon the which they had made a long bloody slash, and thrust divers feathers of birds within the wound, from whence the very pure blood did trickle down: but, instead of shrinking at it, they went lifting up their heads with a laughing countenance. Before me marched some foot men, one of them had his arms naked and hanging down on his sides—both which arms above the elbow was thrust quite through with a knife that stuck fast in them. Another was naked from his head to the naval, having the skin of his back so jagged up and down in two places, athwart which he had made to pass an hatchet of arms, which he did carry in scarfe-wise as we would do a cutlass. I saw another of them who had fixed upon the crown of his head a horseshoe with



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many nails, and of so long continuance that the nails were so fixed and fast in the flesh that they stirred not. We entered into Buda in this pomp, and were brought into the Basha's house, with whom I treated of my affairs. All this youthly company, little caring for their wounds, were in the lower court of the house; and, as I was a-looking on them, the Basha asked of me what I thought of it. 'All well,' said I, 'except that these men do with the skin of their bodies that which I would not do with my coat: for I would seek to keep it whole.' The Basha laughed, and we took our leave."

Our savages do very well sometimes make trial of their constancy, but we must confess that it is nothing in regard of the things above rehearsed. For all that they do is to put burning coals upon their arms, and to suffer their skins to burn, so that the marks thereof do remain there for ever; which thing they do also on other parts of the body, and show these marks to say that they have a great courage. But the ancient Mutius Scævola did much more than that, burning courageously his arm in the fire, after he had missed the killing of king Porsenna. If this were of my purpose, I would declare the customs of the Lacedæmonians, who did make every year a feast to the honour of Diana, where the young boys did show their trial by whipping of themselves: item the custom of the ancient Persians, who worshipping the sun, which they called Mithra, none could be received to that fraternity until he had given his constancy to be known, by four-score kinds of torments, of fire, of water, of fasting, of solitariness, and other things.

But let us return to our savages' physicians and chirurgeons. Although the number of them be but small, yet so it is that the hope of their living doth not consist wholly in that trade. For as concerning the ordinary sicknesses they are so rare in those parts that

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the verse of Ovid may be very well applied unto them in saying

*Si, pro quia*  
*Si valeant homines ars tua Phæbe jacet.*<sup>121</sup>

For these do also live a great age, which is commonly seven score or eight score year. And if they had our commodities to live by forecast, and industry to gather up in summer for the winter, I believe they would live above three hundred years. Which may be conjectured by the report that we have made heretofore of an old man in Florida, who had lived that great age. In such sort that it is no particular miracle of that which Pliny saith that the Pandorians do live two hundred years, or that they of Taprobane are lively and nimble at a hundred years old. For Membertou is above a hundred years old, and yet hath not one white hair on his head, and so ordinarily be the others. And that which is more, in every age they have all their teeth, and go bareheaded, not caring at least to make any hats of their skins, as the first did that used them in these parts of the world. For they of Peloponnesus the Lacedæmonians did call a hat *cynen*, which Julius Pollux saith to signify a dog's skin. And of these hats do yet the Northerly people use at this day, but they are well furred.

That which also procureth the health of our savages is the concord which they have among them, and the small care they take for the commodities of this life, for the which we torment and vex ourselves. They have not that ambition which in these parts gnaweth and fretteth the minds and spirits, and filleth them with cares, making blinded men to go to the grave in the very flower of their age, and sometimes to serve for a shameful spectacle to a public death.

I dare also, and that very well, attribute the cause of this disposition and long health of our savages to their

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manner of life, which is after the ancient fashion, without curiosity. For everyone doth grant that sobriety is the mother of health. And, although they sometimes exceed in their *Tabagies*, or feasts, they diet themselves afterwards well enough, living very often eight days more or less with the smoke of tobacco, not returning to hunting until they be a hungry. And that, besides being nimble, they want no exercise some way or other. Briefly there is no mention amongst them of those short ages which do not outpass forty years, which is the life of certain people of Æthiopia (as Pliny saith), which do live of locusts (or grasshoppers) salted in the smoke. Also corruption is not among them, which is the fostering mother of physicians and of magistrates, and of the multiplicity of officers, and of public extortioners, which are created and instituted for to give order unto it and to cut off the abuses. They have no suits in law (the plague of our lives), to the prosecuting whereof we must consume both our years and our means, and very often one cannot obtain justice, be it either by the ignorance of the judge, to whom the case is disguised, or by his own malice, or by the wickedness of an attorney that will sell his client. And from such afflictions do proceed the tears, fretfulnesses, and desolations, which bring us to the grave before our time. “*For sorrow (saith the wise man) hath killed many, and there is no profit in it. Envy and wrath shorten the life, and care bringeth old age before the time.*” But “*the joy of the heart is the life of man; and a man’s gladness prolongeth his days*” [*Ecclesiasticus xxx.*, at the end of the chapter].

## CHAPTER XVII

### THE EXERCISES OF THE MEN

AFTER health, let us speak of exercises, which be the maintainers and protectors thereof. Our savages have no base exercise, all their sport being either the wars, or hunting (whereof we will speak severally), or in making implements fit for the same (as Cæsar witnesseth of the ancient Germans), or a-dancing (and of that we have already spoken) or in passing the time in play. They make then bows and arrows, bows which be strong and without fineness. As for the arrows it is an admirable thing how they can make them so long and so straight with a knife—yea, with a stone only where they have no knives. They feather them with the feathers of an eagle's tail, because they are firm, and carry themselves well in the air. And when they want them they will give a beaver's skin—yea, twain—for one of those tails. For the head, the savages that have traffic with Frenchmen do head them with iron heads which are brought to them. But the Armouchiquois and others more remote have nothing but bones, made like serpents' tongues, or with the tails of a certain fish called *sicnau*,<sup>122</sup> the which fish is also found in Virginia by the same name (at least, the English historian doth write it *seekanauk*). This fish is like to a crayfish lodged within a very hard shell, which shell is of the greatness of a dish, a long tail, likewise hard (for it is shell and sharp). His eyes are upon his back, and is very good meat.

They also make wooden maces, or clubs, in the fashion of an abbot's staff, for the war, and shields which cover all their bodies, as did our ancient Gauls. As for the quivers, that is the women's trade.



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For fishing. The Armouchiquois, which have hemp, do make fishing lines with it, but ours, that have not any manuring of the ground, do truck for them with Frenchmen, as also for fishing-hooks to bait for fishes, only they make with gut bow-strings and rackets, which they tie at their feet to go upon the snow a-hunting.

And forasmuch as the necessity of life doth constrain them to change place often, whether it be for fishing (for every place hath his particular fishes, which come thither in certain season), they have need of horses in their remove for to carry their stuff. Those horses be canoes and small boats made of barks of trees, which go as swiftly as may be without sails. When they remove, they put all that they have into them, wives, children, dogs, kettles, hatchets, *matachias*, bows, arrows, quivers, skins, and the coverings of their houses. They are made in such sort that one must not stir nor stand up when he is in them, but crouching or sitting in the bottom, otherwise the merchandise would overturn. They are four foot broad or thereabouts in the midst, and are sharp towards the ends, and the nose is made rising, for to pass commodiously upon the waves. I have said that they make them of the barks of trees, for the keeping whereof in measure they garnish them within with half-circles of cedar-wood, a wood very supple and pliable, whereof Noah's ark was made. And to the end they leak not, they cover the seams (which join the said barks together, which they make of roots) with the gum of fir-trees. They also make some with willows very properly, which they cover with the said gum of fir-trees—a thing which witnesseth that they lack no wit, where necessity presseth them.

Many nations of these parts have had the like in times past. If we seek in the Holy Scripture, we shall find that Moses' mother, seeing she could hide her

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child no longer, she did put him in a little chest—that is to say in a little canoe [*Exod. ii. 3*] (for Noah's ark, and this same small chest is one same word in Hebrew), "*made of reed, and daubed it with slime and pitch; then put the child in it, and laid it among the bulrushes by the shore of the river.*" And the Prophet Isaiah threatening the Æthiopians and Assyrians: "*Woe*" (saith he) "*unto the country which sendeth by sea ambassadors in paper vessels (or rushes) upon the waters, saying: 'Messengers, go ye quickly,'*" etc. The Egyptians, neighbours to the Æthiopians, had in the time of Julius Cæsar the same vessels, that is to say of paper, which is a rind of a bark of a tree: witness Lucan in these verses [*lib. iv.*]:

*Conseritur bibula Memphitis cymba papyro.*<sup>123</sup>

But let us come from the East and South to the North. Pliny saith [*lib. iv., cap. 16*] that anciently the Englishmen and Scottishmen, fetched tin in the land of Miçtis, with canoes of willows sewed in leather. Solin saith as much, and Isidore [*lib. xix., cap. 1*], which calleth this fashion of canoes *carabus*, made of willows, and environed with ox-hides all raw, which (saith he) the Saxon pirates do use, who with those instruments are swift in flight. Sidoneus de Polignac, speaking of the same Saxons, saith [*Carm., 7*]:

*Cui pelle salam sulcare Britannum  
Ludus, et assuto glaucum mare findere lembo.*<sup>124</sup>

The savages of the North towards Labrador have certain small canoes of thirteen or fourteen foot long and two foot broad made of this fashion, all covered with leather, yea overhead, and there is but one hole in the midst, where the man putteth himself on his knees, having half his body out, so that he cannot perish, furnishing his vessels with victuals before he cometh in it. I dare believe that the fables of the Sirens or

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mermaidens come from that, the dunces esteeming that they were fishes, half men or women, as they have feigned centaurs by seeing men on horseback.

The Armouchiquois, Virginians, Floridians, and Brazilians do make another fashion of canoes, for, having neither hatchets nor knives (except some copper ones), they burn a great tree very straight, at the foot, and fall it down; then they take such length as they will, and use to burn it instead of sawing it, scraping the burnt part of the tree with stones; and for the hollowing of the vessel they do continue the same. In one of those boats six men will sail with some stuff, and will make long voyages. But these kind of canoes are heavier than the others.

They also make long voyages by land as well as by sea, and they will undertake (a thing incredible) to go twenty or thirty—yea forty—leagues through the woods without meeting with any path or inn, and without carrying any victuals but tobacco and a tinder-box, with their bow in hand, and their quiver at their backs. And we in France are much troubled when we have never so little lost our way in some great forest. If they be pressed with thirst, they have the skill to suck the trees, from whence do trickle down a sweet and very pleasant liquor, as myself have tried it sometimes.

In the countries where they use tillage, as in that of the Armouchiquois and farther off, the men do make an infinite quantity of earthen pots, like in fashion to night-caps, in which they seethe their meats, flesh, fish, beans, corn, pompions, etc. Our Souriquois did so anciently, and did till the ground, but since that Frenchmen do bring unto them kettles, beans, peas, biscuit, and other food they are become slothful, and make no more account of those exercises. But as for the Armouchiquois, which have yet no commerce with us, and them that are further off, they till the ground, do fatten it with shells of fish; they have their families



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distinct, and their plots of ground about them; contrary to the ancient Germans which (as Cæsar saith) had not any field proper; neither did they dwell above a year in one place, having almost no other living than milk, flesh, and cheese, thinking it too tedious a thing for them to tarry a whole year of purpose for to reap a harvest. Which is also the humour of our Souriquois and Canadians, who, and all others (as we must needs confess), are nothing laborious but in hunting. For the manuring of the ground, the women do take the greatest pains in it, who amongst them do not command at home, and do not make their husbands to go to the market, as they do in many provinces in these our parts, and especially in the country of jealousy.

As for the tillage of the Floridians, hear what Laudonnière saith of it: They sow their corn twice a year, that is to say in March and in June, and all in one and the selfsame land. The said mill, from the time that it is sowed until it be ready to be reaped, is not above three months in the ground. The six other months they suffer the ground to rest. They also gather fair pompions and very good beans. They do not dung their land; only when they will sow, they set the weeds on fire which are grown during the six months, and burn them all. They till their land with an instrument of wood, which is made like to a broad pickaxe, wherewith they dig their vines in France. They put two grains of mill together. When the lands are to be sowed, the King commandeth one of his men to call his subjects together every day to come to labour, during which the king causeth great store of that drink whereof we have spoken to be made. In the season that the corn is gathered, it is all carried into the common storehouse, where it is distributed to everyone according to his quality. They sow but so much as they think will serve them for six months, and that very hardly; for during the winter they retire



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themselves three or four months of the year into the woods, where they make little houses of palm-leaves to lodge themselves in, and there do live of acorns, of fish which they take, of oysters, of stags, Turkey hens, and other beasts that they take.

And seeing they have towns and houses, or cabins, I may yet well put this among their exercises. As for the towns, they be multitudes of cabins, made somewhat pyramid-wise, others in form of a cottage, others like garden bowers, compassed as it were with high pales of trees joined one near the other, even as I have set out the town of Hochelaga, in my map of the great river of Canada. Furthermore, one must not marvel of this shape of a town, which might seem simple, seeing that the fairest towns of Moscovy have no better enclosure. The ancient Lacedæmonians would have no other walls than their courage and valour. Before the general flood Cain did build a town, which he named Henoch (I believe it was no otherwise made than those of our savages), but he did feel the wrath of God which pursued him, and had lost all assurance. Men had but cabins and pavilions, and as it is written of Jabal the son of Adah "*that he was the father of the dwellers in tabernacles and of shepherds*" [Gen. iv. 20]. After the flood they builded the tower of Babel, but this was folly. Tacitus, writing of the manners of the Germans, saith that in his time they had not any use neither of lime nor stones. The English Britons much less. Our Gauls were then, from many ages before, come to civility. But yet were they a long time in the beginning without any other habitations than cabins; and the first Gaulish king that built towns and houses was Magus, who succeeded his father the wise Samothès, three hundred years after the flood, eight years after the nativity of Abraham, and the one and fiftieth year of the reign of Ninus, as Berosius the Chaldean doth say. And, although they had buildings, they lay

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notwithstanding on the ground upon skins, like to our savages. And as in the ancient times the names were given which contained the qualities and acts of persons, Magus was so called because he was the first builder. For in the Scythian and Armenian language (from whence our Gaullic came shortly after the flood) and in the ancient Gaullic tongue, Magus signifieth a builder, said the same author, and so hath John Annius of Viterbo very well marked: from whence came our names of the towns of Rothomagus, Neomagus, Noviomagus. So likewise Samothēs signifieth wise, and the old Gaulish philosophers were (before the Druids) called Samotheans, as Diogenes Laertius reporteth [beginning of *Lives of the Philosophers*: Games of the Savages], who confesseth that philosophy did begin from them whom the Greek vanity did call barbarous.

I will add here for an exercise of our savages their play at hazard, whereunto they are so addicted that sometimes they play out all that they have: and James Cartier writeth the same of them of Canada in the time that he was there. I have seen a kind of game that they have, but not thinking then to write this treatise, I took no heed to it. They put some number of beans, coloured and painted of the one side in a platter; and, having stretched out a skin on the ground, they play thereupon, striking with the dish upon this skin, and by that means the beans do skip in the air, and do not all fall on that part that they be coloured; and in that consisteth the chance and hazard—and according to their chance they have a certain number of quills made of rushes, which they distribute to him that winneth for to keep the reckoning.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### OF THE WOMEN'S EXERCISES

THE woman was given in the beginning unto man, not only for to aid and assist him but also to be the storehouse of generation. Their first exercise, then, that I will attribute unto her, after that she is married, is to bring forth goodly children, and to assist her husband in this work: for this is the end of marriage. And therefore is she very well and fitly called in Hebrew נקבת, that is to say *pierced*, because it is meet that she be pierced, if she will imitate our common mother the Earth, which in the spring-time, desirous to bring forth, openeth her bosom for to receive the rain and dews which the heaven poureth upon her. Now I find that this exercise shall be requisite for them that will inhabit New France to bring forth there store of creatures, which shall sing the praises of God. There is land enough to nourish them, so that they be willing to work; and their condition shall not be so miserable as it is with many in these parts which do seek to employ themselves and do not find wherein; and, albeit they find it, yet very often is their labour unrewarded and unfruitful. But in that country he that will take pleasure, and as it were sport himself with sweet labour, he shall be assured to live out of bondage, and that his children shall yet be in better state than himself was. The first exercise, then, of the woman is to work in generation, which is a labour so fair and so meritorious that the great Apostle St Paul, to console them in the pains they take in that labour hath said [1 Tim. ii. 15] that "*the woman shall be saved through bearing of children, if they remain in faith and love and holiness with modesty.*" That is to say, if she in-



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struct them in such sort that the godliness of the mother may be known by the good institution of the children.

This first and chiefest article being mentioned, let us come to the others. Our savage women, after they have brought forth the fruit of this exercise, by I know not what practice, do observe without law that which was commanded in the law of Moses touching purification [*Levit. xii.*]. For they shut up themselves apart, and know not their husbands for thirty, yea forty, days, during which time they do not leave for all that from going here and there where they have business, carrying their children with them, and taking care for them.

I have said in the chapter of the *Tabagie* that among the savages the women are not in as good a condition as they were anciently among the Gauls and Germans. For (by the report of James Cartier himself) they labour more than the men (saith he), whether it be in fishing, be it in tilling, or in anything else. And, notwithstanding, they are neither forced nor tormented; but they are neither in their *Tabagies* nor in their councils, and do the servile businesses, for want of servants. If there be any venison killed, they go to flay it and to fetch it, yea, were it three leagues off; and they must find it out by the only circumstance that shall be described to them by words. They that have prisoners do also employ them to that, and to other labours, as to go fetch wood with their wives: which is folly in them to go fetch dry and rotten wood very far off for to warm them, although they be in the midst of a forest. True it is that the smoke is very irksome to them, which it may be is the cause thereof.

Touching their smaller exercises: when the winter doth approach they prepare that which is necessary to oppose themselves against this rigorous adversary, and make mats of rushes, wherewith they garnish their cabins, and others to sit upon, and all very artificially, yea, also colouring their rushes; they make partitions



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in their works, like to them that our gardeners do make in their garden knots, with such measure and proportion as nothing is found amiss therein. And, because that the body must also be clothed, they curry and supple the skins of beavers, stags, and others, as well as can be done here. If they be little, they sew many together, and make cloaks, sleeves, stockings, and shoes, upon all which things they make works which have a very good grace. Item, they make panniers of rushes and roots, for to put their necessities in, as corn, beans, peas, flesh, fish, and other things. They make also purses of leather, upon which they make works worthy of admiration, with the hairs of porcupines, coloured with red, black, white and blue, which be the colours that they make, so lively that ours seem in nothing to be comparable to them. They also exercise themselves in making dishes of bark to drink, and put their meats in, which are very fair according to the stuff. Item, scarves, necklaces, and bracelets, which they and the men do wear (which they call *matachia*), are of their making. When the barks of trees must be taken off in the spring-time or in summer, therewith to cover their houses, it is they which do that work; as likewise they labour in the making of canoes and small boats, when they are to be made. And as for the tilling of the ground (in the countries where they use it), they take therein more pains than the men, who do play the gentlemen, and have no care but in hunting or of wars. And notwithstanding all their labours, yet commonly they love their husbands more than the women of these our parts. For none of them are seen to marry again upon their graves, that is to say presently after their decease, but rather do tarry a long time. And, if he hath been killed, they will eat no flesh nor will condescend to second marriage until they have seen the revenge thereof made: a testimony both of true love (which is scarce found among us) and also of chastity.

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Also it happeneth very seldom that they have any divorcements but such as are voluntary. And if they were Christians they would be families with whom God would dwell and be well pleased, as it is meet it should be so, for to have perfect contentment; for otherwise marriage is but torment and tribulation. Which the Hebrews, great speculators and searchers into holy things, by a subtle animadversion have very well noted, for Aben Hezra<sup>125</sup> saith [on the 2nd ch. of *Proverbs* 17] that in the name of the man אִישׁ and of the woman אִשָּׁה the name of God, *Jah*, is contained; and, if the two letters which do make this name of God be taken away, there shall remain these two words אֵשׁ אֵשׁ, which do signify *fire* and *fire*, that is to say that, God being taken away, it is but anguish, tribulation, bitterness, and grief.

## CHAPTER XIX

### OF THEIR CIVILITY

ONE must not hope to find in our savages that civility which the Scribes and Pharisees did require in the Disciples of our Lord [*Matt.* xv. 2]. For which their over-great curiosity he made them such answer as they deserved. For they had brought in ceremonies and customs which were repugnant to God's commandment, which they would have straightly to be observed, teaching ungodliness under the name of Piety. For if a wicked child did give and put into the common box of the temple that which appertained to his father or to his mother, they (for to draw this profit) did justify this wicked son, against the commandment of God, who hath above all things commended and commanded the children's obedience and reverence towards them that have brought them into the world, which are the image of God, who hath no need of our goods, and doth not accept the oblation that is made unto him of the goods of another. The same Scribes and Pharisees did also bring in a civility to wash hands, which our Lord doth not blame but inasmuch as they made the not observing of it, to be a great sin.

I have no cause to praise our savages in those kind of civilities, for they wash not themselves at meals, unless they be monstrously foul; and, not having any use of linen, when their hands be greasy they are constrained to wipe them on their hairs or upon their dogs' hairs. They make no curiosity of belching, being at meals, which the Germans and others in these parts do as well as they. Not having the art of joiner's work, they dine upon the broad table of the world, spreading a skin where they eat their meat, and sit

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on the ground. The Turks also do the same. Our ancient Gauls were no better than they, who (Diodorus saith) did use the same, spreading on the ground dogs' skins, or wolves' skins, upon which they did dine and sup, making themselves to be served by young boys. The Germans were more rude. For they had not learning, philosophy, nor so much delicateness as our nation, which Cæsar saith to have had the use of a thousand things by the means of their navigations on the seas, whereby they helped the bordering people of Germany, who used some small civility, and more humanity than the others of their nation, by reason of the communication they had with our people.

As for the compliments that they use one towards another coming from far, they may very briefly be recited. For we have many times seen savage strangers to arrive in Port Royal, who, being landed, without any discourse went straight to Membertou's cabin, where they sat down taking tobacco, and, having well drunken of it, did give the tobacco-pipe to him that seemed to be the worthiest person, and after consequently to the others. Then some half an hour after they did begin to speak. When they arrived at our lodgings, their salutation was: "*Ho, ho, ho!*" and so they do ordinarily; but for making of curtsies and kissing of hands they have no skill, except some particulars which endeavoured themselves to be conformable unto us, and seldom came they to see us without a hat, to the end they might salute us with a more solemn action.

The Floridians do make no enterprise before they assemble their Council divers times; and in these assemblies when they arrive they salute one another. The Paraousti (whom Laudonnière calleth king) placeth himself alone upon a seat which is higher than the others, where, one after another they come to salute him, and the eldest begin their salutation, lifting up



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twice both their hands as high as their faces, saying: "*Ha, he, ya, ha, ha !*" and the others do answer "*Ha, ha !*" And they sit every one upon seats which are about the Council Chamber.

Now whether the salutation "*Ho, ho !*" do signify anything or no (for I know no particular signification in it), yet notwithstanding it is a salutation of joy, and the only voice "*Ho, ho !*" cannot be made but almost in laughing, testifying thereby that they are glad to see their friends. The Greeks have never had anything else in their salutations but a witnessing of joy by their word *chaire*, which signifieth "*Be ye merry,*" which Plato [*Charmides*] disliking was of advice that it were better to say "*Sophroney,*" "*be ye wise.*" The Latins have had their "*Ave,*" which is a wish of happiness; sometimes also "*Salve,*" which is a wishing of health to him whom one saluteth. The Hebrews had the verb *shalum*, which is a word of peace and of health. According unto which our Saviour did command his Apostles to salute the houses where they should enter in [*Matt. x. 12*], that is to say (according to the interpretation of the common translation) to pronounce peace unto them, which salutation of peace was from the first ages amongst the people of God. For it is written that Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, coming to rejoice with him for the graces that God had done unto him and unto his people, by the delivering of them from the land of Egypt: "*Moses went out to meet his father-in-law, and, having bowed himself, kissed him; and they saluted one another with words of peace*" [*Exod. xviii. 7*]. We Frenchmen do say: "*Dieu vous gard,*" that is, "God keep you," "*Dieu vous doint le bon jour,*" "God give you good morrow"; Item "*Le bon soir,*" "Good evening." Notwithstanding there be many who ignorantly do say: "*Je vous donne le bon jour,*" "*le bon soir,*" that is to say, "I give (or bid) you good morrow, good evening"—a manner of speech which

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would be more decent by desiring and praying to God that it be so. Angels have sometimes saluted men, as he who did say to Gideon: "*Most strong and valiant man, the Lord is with thee*" [*Judg.* vi. 12]. But God saluteth nobody; for it belongeth to him to give salutation, and not to wish it by prayer.

The heathen had yet a civility in saluting them which did sneeze, which custom we have kept of them. And the Emperor Tiberius, the saddest man in the world (saith Pliny) would be saluted in sneezing, although he were in his coach, etc. All those ceremonies and institutions (saith the same author) are come from the opinion of them which think that the gods will assist our affairs. Out of these words may be easily conjectured that the salutations of the heathen were prayers and vows for health or other felicity that they made to the gods.

And as they did such things in meetings, so did they use the word "*Vale*" ("Be ye well, be ye in health," as we use to say in English "Fare you well") at the departure; yea, in letters and epistles, which also they began always with these words: "*If you be in health, it is well: I am in health.*" But Seneca saith [*Ep.* 15] that this good custom was broken in his time, as at this day among us it is to write clownish like to put in the beginning of a letter "*God keep you in health,*" which was in times past a holy and Christian manner of writing. Instead of this "*Vale,*" which is often found in the Holy Scriptures, we say in our language "*Adieu,*" "*God be with you,*" wishing not only health to our friend but also that God do keep him.

But our savages have not any salutation at the departure, but only the "*A Dieu*" which they have learned of us. And to finish this discourse where we began, they are to be commended for their obedience that they yield to their fathers and mothers, to whose commandments they obey, do nourish them in their

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old age, and defend them against their enemies. And here with us (oh, miserable thing !) there is often seen the children's suits in law against their parents; books of the fatherly power are seen published concerning the children's withdrawing from their obedience. An unworthy act for children that be Christians, to whom may be applied the speeches of Turnus Herdonius, recited in Titus Livius [lib. i., decade 1] saying that "*there is no speedier deciding and taking up of any matter than between the father and the son, a thing that might be dispatched in few words; for if he would not obey and give place to his father, undoubtedly evil should come to him.*" And the word of God which is a thunderbolt saith: "*Cursed be he who honoureth not his father and his mother, and all the people shall say Amen*" [Deut. xxvii. 16].

## CHAPTER XX

### OF THE VIRTUES AND VICES OF THE SAVAGES

VIRTUE, like unto wisdom, disdaineth not to be lodged under a mean roof. The Northerly nations are the last that have been brought to civility; and, notwithstanding, before that civility, they have done great actions. Our savages, although they be naked, are not void of those virtues that are found in men of civility, for "*every one* (saith Aristotle [*Eth.* vi. 13]) *hath in him, even from his birth, the principles and seeds of virtue.*" Taking, then, the four virtues by their springs, we shall find that they participate much of them. For first concerning fortitude and courage, they have thereof as much as any nation of the savages (I speak of our Souriquois and of their allied) in such sort that ten of them will always adventure themselves against twenty Armouchiquois, not that they be altogether without fear (a thing which the fore-alleged Aristotle doth reproach to the ancient Celtien-Gauls, who feared nothing, neither the motions of the earth nor the tempests of the sea, saying that this was the property of an hairbrain fellow), but with that courage they have, they esteem that wisdom giveth unto them much advantage. They fear then, but it is that which all wise men do fear, and that is death, which is terrible and dreadful, as she that riflETH all through which she passeth. They fear shame and reproach, but this fear is cousin-german to virtue. They are stirred to do good by honour, forasmuch as he, amongst them, is always honoured and getteth renown to himself that hath done some fair exploit. Having these things proper unto them, they are in a mediocrity, which is the very seat of virtue. One point maketh this virtue



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of force and courage imperfect in them, that is they are too revengeful, and in that they put their sovereign contentment, which inclineth to brutishness. But they are not alone, for all those nations how far soever they may stretch themselves from one pole to the other, are infected with this vice. The Christian religion only may bring them to reason, as in some sort she doth with us (I say in some sort) because that we have men very imperfect as well as the savages.

Temperance is another virtue, consisting in the mediocrity in things that concern the pleasures of the body; for as for that which concerneth the mind, he is not called temperate or intemperate who is moved with ambition or with desire to learn, or that employeth his time in toys. And for that which concerneth the body, temperance or intemperance is not applied to all things that might be subject to our senses, unless it be by accident, as to colour, to a picture: item, to flowers and good scents: item to songs and hearing of orations or comedies; but rather to that which is subject to feeling, and to that which smelling seeketh by arts, as in eating and drinking, in perfumes, in the venereal act, to tennis-play, to wrestling, to running, and such like. Now all these things do depend of the will, which being so, it is the part of a man to know how to bridle his appetites.

Our savages have not all the qualities requisite for the perfection of this virtue. For as for meats, we must acknowledge their intemperance, when they have wherewith and they do eat perpetually, yea, so far as to rise in the night to banquet. But seeing that in these our parts many are as vicious as they, I will not be too rigorous a censurer of them. As for the other actions, there is no more to be reproved in them than in us—yea, I will say less, in that which concerneth the venereal action, whereto they are little addicted: not comprehending here, for all that, them of Florida,

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and in hotter countries, of whom we have spoken heretofore [chap. 13].

Liberality is a virtue as worthy praise as avarice and prodigality, her opposites, are blameworthy. It consisteth in giving and receiving, but rather in giving in time and place and according to occasion, without excess. This virtue is proper and befitting great personages, which be as it were stewards of the goods of the earth which God hath put into their hands, for to use them liberally, that is to say to distribute them to him that hath none, not being excessive in needless expenses, nor too sparing where magnificency is to be shewed.

Our savages are praiseworthy in the exercise of this virtue, according to their poverty. For, as we have said before, when they visit one another they give mutual presents one to the other. And when some French Sagamos cometh to them, they do the like with him, casting at his feet some bundle of beavers' or other furs, which be all their riches; and so did they to Monsieur de Poutrincourt, but he took them not to his own proper use, but rather put them into Monsieur de Monts his storehouse, because he would not go against the privilege given unto him. This custom of the said savages proceedeth but from a liberal mind, and which hath some generosity. And, although they be very glad when the like is done unto them, yet so it falleth out that they begin the venture and put themselves in hazard to lose their merchandise. And who is he amongst us that doth more than they, that is to say which giveth but with intention to receive? The poet saith:

*Nemo suas gratis perdere vellet opes.*<sup>126</sup>

There is nobody that giveth, intending to lose. If a great personage giveth to a mean man, that is for to draw some service from him. Even that which is given

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to the poor is to receive the hundredfold, according to the promise of the Gospel. And for to show the gallantness of our said savages: they do not willingly cheapen, and do content themselves with that which is given them honestly with a willing mind, disdaining and blaming the fashions of our petty merchants, which be an hour a-cheapening for to buy a beaver-skin, as I saw being [done] at the River Saint John, whereof I have spoken heretofore [Bk. i., ch. 17], that they called a young merchant of Saint Malo *mercatoria*,<sup>127</sup> which is a word of reproach among them borrowed of the Basques, signifying, as it were, a haggling fellow. Finally, they have nothing in them but frankness and liberality in their exchanging. And, seeing the base manners of some of our men, they demanded sometimes what they came to seek for in their country, saying that they came not into ours; and, seeing that we are richer than they, we should give them liberally that which we have.

Out of this virtue there groweth in them a magnificence which cannot appear and remaineth hidden, but for all that they are provoked by it, doing all they can for to welcome their friends. And Membertou was very desirous that so much honour should be done unto him as to shoot off our cannons when he did arrive, because he saw that the same was done to the French Captains in such a case, saying that it was due unto him, seeing that he was a Sagamos.

Here hospitality may be mentioned, but, having spoken thereof heretofore [p. 227], I will refer the reader to the chapter of the *Tabagi*, where I give them the praise attributed to the Gauls and ancient Frenchmen for this respect. True it is that in some places there be some which be friends for the time, and take their advantage in necessity, as hath been noted in Laudonnière his voyage. But we cannot accuse them in that, lest we also accuse ourselves, which do the like. One thing I will say that belongeth to fatherly Piety,



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that the children are not so cursed as to despise their parents in old age, but do provide for them with venison, as the storks do towards them that have engendered them. A thing which is the shame of many Christians, who, being weary of their parents' long life, do oftentimes strip them before they go to bed, and so do leave them naked.

They use also humanity and mercy towards their enemies' wives and little children, whose lives they spare, but they remain their prisoners for to serve them, according to the ancient right of servitude, brought in amongst all the nations of the other world against the natural liberty. But as for the men of defence they spare none, but kill as many of them as they can catch.

As for justice, they have not any law, neither divine nor human, but that which Nature teacheth them—that one must not offend another. So have they quarrels very seldom. And if any such thing do chance to happen, the Sagamos quieteth all, and doth justice to him that is offended, giving some bastinados to the wrongdoer, or condemning him to make some presents to the other, for to pacify him, which is some form of dominion. If it be one of their prisoners that hath offended, he is in danger to go to the pot. For, after he is killed, nobody will revenge his death. The same consideration is in these parts of the world. There is no account made of a man's life that hath no support.

One day there was an Armouchiquois woman, prisoner, who had caused a countryman of hers, prisoner, to escape away; and to the end to travel and pass on the way she had stolen from Membertou's cabin a tinder-box (for without that they can do nothing) and a hatchet. Which being come to the knowledge of the savages, they would not proceed on the execution thereof near unto us, but they went to cabin themselves four or five leagues from Port



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Royal, where she was killed. And, because she was a woman, our savages' wives and daughters did execute her. Kinibech-coech, a young maid of eighteen years of age, fair and well-spotted with colours, gave her the first stroke in the throat, which was with a knife; another maid of the same age, handsome enough, called Metembroech, followed on, and the daughter of Membertou, which we called Membertou-ech-coech, made an end. We reproved them sharply for this cruelty, whereof they were all ashamed, and durst not shew themselves any more. This is their form of justice.

Another time a man and a woman, prisoners, went clean away, without tinder-box or any provision of meat. Which was hard to be performed, as well for the great distance of way, which was above three hundred leagues by land because it behoved them to go secretly, and to take heed from meeting with any savages. Nevertheless those poor souls pulled off the bark of certain trees, and made a little boat with the bark of them, wherein they crossed the Baie Française, and got to the other shore over against Port Royal, shortening their way above one hundred and fifty leagues, and got home into their country of the Armouchiquois.

I have said in some place that they are not laborious but in hunting and fishing, loving also the labour taken by sea; slothful at all other painful exercise, as in the manuring of the ground, and in our mechanical trades; also to grind corn for their own use. For sometimes they will rather seethe it in grains than to grind it by handy strength. Yet, notwithstanding, they will not be unprofitable. For there will be some means to employ them, to that whereunto they be inclined by nature, without forcing it, as heretofore did the Lacedæmonians to the young men of their commonwealth. As for the children, having yet

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taken no bias, it will be easier to keep them at home and to employ them in those things that shall be thought fit. Howsoever it be, hunting is no bad thing, nor fishing neither. Let us see then how they behave themselves therein.

## CHAPTER XXI

### OF THEIR HUNTING

GOD, before sin, gave for food unto man every herb bearing seed upon all the earth [*Gen. i. 29*]*—*and every tree wherein is the fruit of a tree bearing seed*—*without making mention of the spilling of the blood of beasts. And, notwithstanding, after the banishment from the Garden of Pleasure, the labour ordained for the punishment of the said sin required a stronger and more substantial food than the former, so man, full of carnality, accustomed himself to feed upon flesh, and did tame certain number of beasts for to serve him to that effect, though some would say that before the flood no flesh was eaten: for in vain had Abel been a shepherd, and Jabal father of shepherds [*Gen. iv. 20*]. But, after the flood, God, renewing his covenant with man: “*The fear and dread of you (saith the Lord) shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the heaven, with all that moveth on the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea: they are given into your hands; all that moveth having life shall be unto you for meat*” [*Gen. ix. 2, 3*]. Upon this privilege is formed the right of hunting, the noblest right of all rights that be in the use of man, seeing that God is the author of it. And therefore no marvel if Kings and their nobility have reserved it unto them, by a well-concluding reason that, if they command unto men, with far better reason may they command unto beasts; and, if they have the administration of justice to judge malefactors, to overcome rebels, and to bring to human society wild and savage men, with far better reason shall they have it for to do the same towards the creatures of the air, of the forests and of the fields. As for them

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of the sea, we will speak of them in another place. And seeing that Kings have been in the beginning chosen by the people for to keep and defend them from their enemies whilst that they are at their necessary works, and to make war as much as need is for the reparation of injury and recovery of that which hath been wrongfully usurped or taken away, it is very reasonable and decent that as well them as the nobility that do assist and serve them in those things have the exercise of hunting, which is an image of war, to the end to rouse up the mind and to be always nimble, ready to take horse, for to go to encounter with the enemy, to lie in ambush, to assail him, to chase him, to trample him under feet. There is another and first aim in hunting: it is the food of man, whereunto it is destinated, as is known by the place of Scripture afore alleged—yea, I say, so destinated that in the holy language it is but one and the selfsame word צִיָּר for to signify hunting (or venison) and meat: as among a hundred places, this of the one hundred thirty two Psalm. Where our God, having chosen Sion for his habitation and perpetual rest, promiseth unto her that he will abundantly bless her victuals, and will satisfy her poor with bread. Upon which place Saint Jerome termeth “venison,” that which the other translators do call “*victuals*,” better to the purpose than *Widow* in the common translation.

Hunting, then, having been granted unto man by a heavenly privilege, the savages throughout all the West Indies do exercise themselves therein without distinction of persons, not having that fair order established in these parts whereby some are born for the government of the people and the defence of the country, others for the exercising of arts and the tillage of the ground, in such sort that by this fair economy everyone liveth in safety.

This hunting is made amongst them chiefly in the



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winter. For all the spring and summer-time and part of autumn, having fish abundantly for them and their friends without taking any pains, they do not much seek for other food. But in winter when that fish goeth away feeling the cold, they forsake the seashores and cabin themselves within the woods where they know to have any prey; which is done as far as the countries that approach near to the tropic of Cancer. In the countries where beavers are, as throughout all the great river of Canada and upon the coasts of the ocean, as far as the country of the Armouchiquois, they do winter upon the shores of lakes, for the fishing of the said beavers, whereof we will speak in due place; but first let us speak of the elan, which they call *aptapou*, and our Basques *ornac*.

It is the tallest creature that is, next unto the dromedary and camel, for it is higher than the horse. His hairs be commonly of grey colour, and sometimes of dun or fallow, almost as long as the fingers of one's hand. His head is very long, and hath almost an infinite order of teeth. He beareth his horns double like the stag, but as broad as a plank, and three foot long, garnished with sprigs growing upward all along upon one side. His feet be forked as the stag's, but much more flat. His flesh is short and very delicate. He feedeth in the meadows, and liveth also of the tender crops of trees. It is the plentifullest thing that the savages have, next to fish.

We may say, then, that the best and fittest time for the said savages to all hunting by land is the winter season, when that the forests be hoary, and the snow deep, and especially if upon the snow there comes a hard frost which doth harden it. Then, being well clothed with a cloak furred with beavers and sleeves on the arms tied together with a latch: item stockings made with the leather of elans like to buff (which they tie at their girdles) and shoes on their feet of the same leather,

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very finely made, they go with their bow in hand and the quiver on their backs, that way that their Aoutmoin hath showed them (for we have said heretofore that they consult with the oracle when they are a-hungry) or somewhere else, where they think they shall not lose their time and labour. They have dogs, or hounds, almost like to foxes in form and bigness, and of hairs of all colours, which follow them, and, although they do not spend nor call nevertheless, they can very well find the haunt of the beast which they seek for, which being found they pursue her courageously, and they never give her over until they have her down. And for to follow the game more easily, they tie rackets (thrice as great as ours) under their feet, with the which they run swiftly upon that hard snow without sinking. If it be not hard enough, yet they give not over hunting, but will follow the chase three days together, if need be. Finally, having wounded her to death, they so tire her with their hounds that she is forced to fall down. Then they cut and rip her belly, give relief to the hunters, and take their share of it. One must not think that they eat the flesh raw, as some do imagine, and as James Cartier himself doth write, for they carry always, going through the woods, a tinder-box before their breasts, for to make fire when hunting is done, where the night doth force them to tarry.

We went once to the spoil of an elan left dead upon the brink of a great brook about two leagues and a half within the lands; where we passed the night, having taken the snows for to lodge us. We made there a very dainty feast with this venison, more tender than any other kind of flesh; and after the roast we had sodden meat, and broth abundantly, made ready at an instant by a savage, who did frame with his hatchet a tub, or trough, of the body of a tree, in which he boiled his flesh. A thing which I have admired, and, having propounded it to many who thought themselves to have

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good wits, could not find out the invention of it, which, notwithstanding, is but brief, which is to put stones made red hot in the fire in the said trough, and to renew them until the meat be sodden. Joseph Accosta reciteth that the savages of Peru do the same.

The chief hunter, being returned to the cabins, telleth the women what he hath done, and that in such a place which he nameth to them they shall find the venison. It is the said women's duty to go and flay the elan, the deer, stag, bear, or other game, and to bring it home. Then they make good cheer as long as there is any provision; and he that hath hunted is he that hath the lesser share; for their custom is that he must serve the others and eateth none of his own purchase. As long as the winter continueth, they lack none of it; and there hath been some one savage that in a hard season hath killed fifty of them for his part, as I have sometimes heard.

As for the hunting of the beaver, it is also in winter that chiefly they use it—for two reasons, one of them we have alleged heretofore, the other because that after winter this beast sheddeth her hairs, and hath no fur in summer. Besides that when in such a season they would seek out for beavers, hardly should they meet with any, because this creature is *amphibious*, that is to say earthly and waterish, and more waterish than otherwise: and having no invention to take her in the water, they might be in danger to lose their pains. Notwithstanding, if by chance they meet any in summer-time, spring-time, or autumn, they fail not to eat it.

Behold, then, how they catch them in winter-time, and with most profit. The beaver is a beast very near as big as a shorn sheep; the young ones be lesser; the colour of his hair is of a chestnut colour. His feet be short; the forefeet have claws; and the hinder feet with fins, like geese; the tail is as it were scaled, almost of the form of a sole-fish, notwithstanding the scale goeth



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not off. It is the best and delicateſt part of the beaſt. As for the head, it is ſhort and almoſt round, having two ranks of jaws at the ſides, and before four great ſharp teeth one by another, two above and two beneath. With theſe teeth he cutteth ſmall trees, and poles in ſundry pieces, wherewith he buildeth his houſe. That which I ſay is an admirable and incredible thing. This creature lodgeth himſelf upon the brinks of lakes, and there he firſt maketh his couch with ſtraw or other things fit to lie upon, as well for him as for his female; raiſeth a vault with his wood, cut and prepared, which he covereth with turf in ſuch ſort that no wind enters therein, forasmuch as all is covered and ſhut up except one hole which leadeth under the water, and by that way he goeth forth to walk where he liſteth. And becauſe the waters of the lakes do ſometimes riſe, he maketh a chamber above the lower dwelling, for to retire himſelf in, if in caſe any inundation ſhould happen: in ſuch ſort that ſome beaver's cabin is above eight foot high, all made with wood, pyramid-wiſe, and daubed with mud. Moreover, it is held that being amphibious, as we have ſaid, he muſt always participate with water, and that his tail be dipped in it—which is the cauſe why he lodgeth himſelf ſo near a lake. But, being ſubtle, he contenteth not himſelf with that which we have ſaid, but hath moreover an iſſue into another place out of the lake, without any cabin, by which way he goeth on the land and beguileth the hunter. But our ſavages being aware of it take order for the ſame, and ſtop this paſſage.

When they will, then, take the beaver, they pierce through the ice of the frozen lake, about his cabin; then one of the ſavages thruſteth his arm into the hole, tarrying the coming of the ſaid beaver, whiſt that another goeth upon this ice, ſtriking with a ſtaff upon it for to aſtoniſh him and make him to return into his lodging. Then one muſt be nimble for to ſeize on



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his neck, for if one catch him by any part where he may bite, he will bite very sore. The flesh thereof is very good, almost as if it were mutton.

And as every nation hath commonly something peculiar that it bringeth forth, which is not so common with others, so anciently the realm of Pontus had the fame for the producing of beavers, as I learn it out of Virgil, where he saith:

*Virosaque Pontus castorea.*<sup>128</sup>

And after him of Sidonie de Polignac, Bishop of Auvergne<sup>129</sup> in these verses [*Apol. in Carm. 5*]:

*Fert Indus ebur, Chaldæus amomum,  
Assirius gemmas, Ser vellera, thura Sabæus,  
Attis mel, Phœnix palmas, Lacedæmon olivum,  
Argos equos, Epirus equas, pecuaria Gallus,  
Arma Calybs, frumenta libes, Campanus iacchum,  
Aurum Lydus, Arabs guttam, Panchaia myrrham,  
Pontus castorea, blattam Tyrus, æra Corinthus, etc.*

But at this day the land of Canada beareth the bell away for that respect, although that some of them are brought out of Moscovy, but they are not so good as ours.

Our savages have also made us to eat of beaver's flesh, which was very good and tender, and like to beef: item, of leopards, resembling much the wild cat; and of a beast which they call *nibachés*,<sup>130</sup> which hath his paws almost like to the ape's paws, by means whereof he climbeth easily upon the trees—yea, he layeth his young ones there. He is of greyish hairs, and his head like to a fox's. But he is so fat that it is almost incredible. Having described the principal game, I will not stand to speak of wolves (for they have some, and yet eat none of them), nor of lucerns, otters, conies, and others, which I have mentioned in my *Farewell to New France*,

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whereto I refer the reader, and to the recital of Captain James Cartier.<sup>131</sup>

Nevertheless, it is good to show here that our French cattle profiteth very well in those parts. We had hogs which have multiplied very much. And, although they had a sty, they did lie abroad, even in the snow and during the frost. We had but one wether, which proved very well, although he was not taken in by night, but was in the midst of our yard in winter-time. Monsieur de Poutrincourt made him twice to be shorn, and the wool of the second year hath been esteemed in France better by two sous in the pound than that of the first [8 sous make 6 English pence]. We had no other household cattle, but hens and pigeons, which failed not to yield the accustomed tribute, and to multiply abundantly. The said Monsieur de Poutrincourt took coming out of the shell small outards, which he did very well breed, and gave them to the King at his return. When the country is once stored with those creatures and others, they will increase so much that one shall not know what to do with them, like as in Peru, where are at this day, and long since, such quantity of oxen, kine, swine, horses, and dogs that they have no more owners, but do appertain to the first that do kill them. Being killed, they carry away the hides to traffick withal, and the carcasses are left there; which I have many times heard of them that have been there, besides the witnessing of Joseph Acosta.

Coming into the country of the Armouchiquois, and going farther towards Virginia and Florida, they have no more elans nor beavers, but only stags, hinds, roebucks, deer, bears, leopards, lucernes, ounces, wolves, wild-dogs, hares, and conies, with whose skins they cover their bodies, making chamois of them of the biggest beasts. But, as the heat is there greater than in the countries more Northernly, so they do not use furs,

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but pluck out the hairs from their skins, and very often for all garment they have but half-breeches, or a small cushion made with their mats, which they wear on that side that the wind doth blow.

But they have in Florida crocodiles also, which do assail them oftentimes in swimming. They kill some of them sometimes, and eat them. The flesh whereof is very fair and white, but it smelleth of musk. They have also a certain kind of lions, which little differ from them of Africa.

As for the Brazilians, they are so far from New France that, being as it were in another world, their beasts are quite differing from those that we have named, as the Tapiroussou, which, if one desireth to see, he must imagine a beast half an ass and half a cow, saving that her tail is very short. His hairs draw towards red, no horns, ears hanging, and an ass's foot. The flesh thereof is like to beef.

They have a certain kind of small stags and hinds, which they call *seou-assous*, whose hairs be as long as goats' hairs.

But they are persecuted with an evil beast which they call *janou-arè*, almost as tall and swift as a greyhound, much like to the ounce. She is cruel, and doth not spare them if she can catch them. They take sometimes some of them in snares, and do kill them with long torments. As for their crocodiles they be not dangerous.

Their wild-boars are very lean and unfleshy, and they have a fearful grunting and cry. But there is in them a strange deformity, which is that they have a hole upon the back through which they blow and breathe. Those three be the biggest beasts of Brazil. As for small ones, they have seven or eight sorts of them, by the taking whereof they live, and also of man's flesh; and are better and more provident husbands than ours. For one cannot find them unprovided, but rather having

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always upon the *buccan* (that is to say a wooden grate somewhat high built upon four forks) some venison or fish or man's flesh; and with that they live merrily and without care.

Now leaving there those anthropophages Brazilians, let us return to our New France, where the men there are more humane, and live but with that which God hath given to man, not devouring their like. Also we must say of them that they are truly noble, not having any action but is generous, whether we consider their hunting or their employment in the wars, or that one search out their domestical actions wherein the women do exercise themselves in that which is proper unto them, and the men in that which belongeth to arms and other things befitting them, such as we have said or will speak of in due place. But here one must consider that the most part of the world have lived so from the beginning, and by degrees men have been civilized when that they have assembled themselves and have formed commonwealths for to live under certain laws, rule, and policy.



## CHAPTER XXII

### OF HAWKING

SEEING that we hunt on the land, let us not overstray ourselves, lest, if we take the sea, we lose our fowls; for the wise man saith that "*in vain the net is spread before the eyes of all that have wings*" [Prov. i. 17]. If hunting, then, be a noble exercise wherein the very Muses themselves take delight by reason of silence and solitariness, which brings forth fair conceits in the mind, in such sort that Diana (saith Pliny) "*doth not more frequent the mountains than Minerva*" [Bk. i., second Ep. 6]. If, I say, hunting be a noble exercise, hawking is far more noble, because it aimeth at an higher subject, which doth participate of heaven, seeing that the inhabitants of the air are called in the sacred Scripture *volucres cæli*, the fowls of the air. Moreover, the exercise thereof doth belong but to kings and to the nobles, above which their brightness shineth as the sun's brightness doth above the stars. And our savages being of a noble heart, which maketh no account but of hunting and martial affairs, may very certainly have right of usage over the birds that their land doth afford them. Which they do likewise, but with much difficulties, because they have not (as we have) the use of guns. They have enough, and too many, birds of prey, as eagles, laynards, falcons, tiercelets,<sup>132</sup> sparrow-hawks, and others, which I have specified in my *Farewell to New France*, but they have neither the use nor industry to bring them to service, as the French gentlemen; and therefore they lose much good fowl, having no other means to seek after them or to take them but only with the bow and arrows, with which instruments they do like unto them who in

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France shoot at the *geay* in time of middle-Lent; or creep along the grass, and go to assail the outards, or wild-geese, which do graze in the spring-time and in summer along the meadows. Sometimes also they carry themselves softly and without making any noise in their canoes and light vessels made with barks of trees, even to the shores where the mallards and other water-fowl are, and there strike them down. But the greatest abundance they have come from certain islands, where such quantity of them are—to wit of mallards, margaux, roquettes, outards, or wild-geese, curlies, cormorants,<sup>133</sup> and others—that it is a wonderful thing—yea, that which Captain James Cartier reciteth will seem to some altogether incredible. When we were upon our return into France, being yet beyond Campseau, we passed by some of those islands, where in the space of a quarter of an hour, we laded our barque with them: we had no need but to strike down with staves, and not to go about to gather until one were weary a striking. If any man doth ask why they fly not away, one must consider that they be birds only of two, three, or four months old, which have been there hatched in the spring-time, and have not yet wings great enough to take flight, though they be well fleshy and in good plight. As for the dwelling of Port Royal, we had many of our men that furnished us with them, and particularly one of Monsieur de Monts his household servants, called François Addeni, whose name I insert here to the end he be had in memory, because he always provided for us abundantly with it. During the winter he made us to live only of mallards, cranes, herons, woodcocks, partridges, black-birds, and some other kinds of that country birds. But in the spring-time it was a sport to see the grey geese and the big outards (a kind of wild-geese) to keep their empire and dominion in our meadows; and in autumn the white geese, of which some did

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always remain for a pawn; then the sea-larks flying in great flocks upon the shores of the waters, which also very often were paid home.

Touching the birds of prey, some of our men took from the nest an eagle, from the top of a pine-apple tree, of the monstrousest height that ever I saw any tree, which eagle Monsieur de Poutrincourt did breed for to present her to the King, but she brake her ties, seeking to take her flight, and lost herself in the sea coming home. The savages of Campseau had six of them perched near to their cabins, at our coming thither, which we would not truck for because they had pulled off their tails to feather their arrows. There be such a quantity of them in those parts that often they did eat our pigeons, and it did behove us to look narrowly to them.

The birds that were known unto us, I have enrolled them (as I have said) in my *Farewell to New France*, but I have omitted many of them because I knew not their names. There also may be seen the description of a little small bird which the savages do call *Niridau*,<sup>134</sup> which liveth but with flowers, and she did come noising in my ears, passing invisibly (so small is she) when in the morning I went to take a walk in my garden. There will be seen also the description of certain flies, shining in the evening in the spring-time, which do fly up and down the woods in such a multitude that it is wonder. For the birds of Canada I also refer the reader to the report of Captain James Cartier.<sup>135</sup>

The Armouchiquois have the same birds, whereof there are many which are not known unto us in these parts. And particularly there is one kind of water-fowl which have their bills made like two knives, having the two edges one upon another; and, that which is worth the wondering at, the uppermost part of the said bill is shorter by the one half than the lowermost, in such wise that it is hard to think how this bird

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taketh her food. But in the spring-time the cocks and hens, which we call Indian or Turkey cocks, do fly thither as wandering birds, and sojourn there without passing further hitherward. They come from the parts of Virginia and Florida. There be yet, besides these, partridges, parrots, pigeons, stockdoves, turtle-doves, blackbirds, crows, tiercelets, falcons, laniers, herons, cranes, storks, wild-geese, mallards, cormorants, white aigrets, red, black, and grey ones, and infinite sorts of fowl.

As for the Brazilians, they also have store of Turkey-cocks and hens, which they name *arignan-oussou*,<sup>136</sup> of whom they make no account, nor of their eggs: in such manner that the said Turkey-hens breed their young ones as they can, without so much ado as in these parts. They have also ducks, but, because they go heavily, they eat none of them, saying that they would hinder them from running swiftly. Item, a kind of pheasants which they call *jacous*: other fowls which they name *mouton*, as big as peacocks; some kinds of partridges as big as geese, called *mocacoüa*; parrots of sundry sorts; and many other kinds altogether unlike unto ours.



## CHAPTER XXIII

### OF THEIR FISHING

OPPIAN, in the book that he hath made upon this subject, saith that in the hunting of beasts and of birds, besides the facility, there is more contentment and delight than in fishing, because that a man hath many retreats—one may get himself into the shadow, one may meet with brooks to quench his thirst, one may lie down on the grass, one may take his repast under some shelter. As for birds, one may take them in the nest and with bird-lime—yea, of themselves very often they fall into the nets. But poor fishermen cast their bait upon an uncertainty—yea, double uncertainty, as well because they know not what adventure shall happen unto them as because they are upon an inconstant and untamable element, whose very sight only is fearful. They are always wandering from place to place, subjects to tempests, and beaten with storms and winds. But yet in the end he concludeth that they are not destitute of all pleasure, but rather that they have enough when they are in a ship well built, well tight, well closed, and swift in sailing. Then, cutting the waves, they go to sea, where the great skulls of devouring fishes are, and, casting into the sea a line well twisted, the weight of it is no sooner in the bottom but that as soon the bait is snatched up, and suddenly the fish is drawn up with great pleasure. And in this exercise did Marcus Antoninus, the son of the Emperor Severus, delight himself very much, notwithstanding Plato's reason, who forming his commonwealth hath forbidden his citizens the exercise of fishing as unnoble and illiberal, and fosterer of idleness. Wherein he did grossly equivocate, specially

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when he chargeth fishermen with idleness. Which is so evident that I will not vouchsafe to refute him. But I marvel not of that which he saith of fishing, seeing that with the same he also rejecteth hawking, upon the same reasons. Plutarch saith that it is more laudable to take either a hart, a roebuck, or a hare, than to buy them; but he wadeth not so far as the other. Howsoever it be, the Church, which is the first order in human society, whose priesthood is called royal by the great Apostle Saint Peter, hath permitted fishing to churchmen, and forbidden hunting and hawking. And, indeed, to say that which is most probable, the food of fish is the best and soundest of all, for as much (as Aristotle saith) that it is not subject to any sickness [*Hist. of Beasts*, viii. 9], from whence cometh the common proverb: "*Sounder than a fish.*" So that in the ancient hieroglyphics a fish is the symbol of health. Which notwithstanding, I would mean eaten whilst it is new, for otherwise (as Plautus saith), "*Piscis nisi recens nequam est,*" it is nothing worth.

Now our savages do eat it new enough, as long as it lasteth, which I believe to be one of the best instruments of their health and long life. When winter cometh, all fishes are astonished, and shun the storms and tempests, everyone where he may: some do hide themselves in the sand of the sea, others under the rocks; others do seek a milder country where they may be better at rest. But as soon as the mildness of the spring-time doth return and the sea doth calm itself, as after a long siege of a town, truce being made, the people, being before a prisoner, issueth forth by troops to go and take the air of the fields and to rejoice themselves: so those citizens of the sea, after the gusts and furious storms be past, they come to enlarge themselves through the salted fields: they skip, they trample, they make love, they approach to the shore, and come to seek the refreshing of fresh water. And then our

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said savages, that know the rendezvous of every one and the time of their return, go to wait for them in good devotion to bid them welcome. The smelt is the first fish of all that presents himself in the spring. And to the end we go no further to seek out examples than at our Port Royal—there be certain brooks where such schools of these smelts do come that for the space of five or six weeks one might take of them sufficient to feed a whole city.<sup>137</sup> There be other brooks where after the smelt cometh the herring, with like multitude, as we have already marked elsewhere. Item, the pilchards do come in their season, in such abundance that sometimes, willing to have something more for our supper than ordinary, in less than the space of an hour we had taken enough of them to serve us for three days. The dolphins, sturgeons, and salmons do get to the head of the river in the said Port Royal, where such quantity of them are that they carried away the nets which we had laid for them, by reason of the multitude of them that we saw there. In all places fish aboundeth there in like manner, as we ourselves have seen. The savages do make a hurdle, or weir, that crosseth the brook, which they hold almost up straight, propped against wooden bars, arch-wise, and leave there a space for the fishes to pass, which space they stop when the tide doth retire, and all the fish is found stayed in such a multitude that they suffer it to be lost. And as for the dolphins, sturgeons, and salmons, they take them after that manner, or do strike them with harping-irons, so that these people are happy. For there is nothing in the world so good as these fresh meats. And I find by my reckoning that Pythagoras was very ignorant, forbidding in his fair golden sentences the use of fishes without distinction. One may excuse him, in that fish, being dumb, hath some conformity with his sect, wherein dumbness (or silence) was much commended. It is also said that he did it because that



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fish is nourished in an element enemy to mankind. Item, that it is a great sin to kill and to eat a creature that doth not hurt us. Item, that it is a delicious and luxurious meat, not of necessity (as indeed in the hieroglyphics of Orus Apollo fish is put for a mark of delicacy and voluptuousness). Item, that he (the said Pythagoras) did eat but meats that might be offered to the gods, which is not done with fishes; and other such toys recited by Plutarch in his *Convivial Questions*. But all those superstitions be foolish; and I would fain demand of such a man, if being in Canada, he had rather die for hunger than to eat fish. So many anciently to follow their own fancies, and to say these be we, have forbidden their followers the use of meats that God hath given to man, and sometimes laid yokes upon men that they themselves would not bear. Now whatsoever the philosophy of Pythagoras is, I am none of his. I find better the rule of our good religious men, which please themselves in eating of flesh, which I liked well in New France, neither am I yet displeased when I meet with such fare. If this philosopher did live with ambrosia and of the food of the gods, and not of fishes, of which none are sacrificed unto them. Our said good religious, as the cordeliers, or Franciscans of Saint Malo, and others of the maritime towns, together with the priests, may say that, in eating sometimes fish, they eat of the meat consecrated to God. For when the Newfoundland men do meet with some wonderful fair cod, they make of it a *sanctorum* (so do they call it), and do vow and consecrate it to Saint Francis, Saint Nicholas, Saint Leonard, and others, head and all, whereas in their fishing they cast the heads into the sea.

I should be forced to make a whole book if I would discourse of all the fishes that are common to the Brazilians, Floridians, Armouchiquois, Canadians, and Souriquois. But I will restrain myself to two or three,



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having first told that in Port Royal there is great beds of mussels, wherewith we did fill our shallops when that sometimes we went into those parts. There be also scallops twice as big as oysters in quantity. Item, cockles, which have never failed us; as also there is *chatagnes de mer*, sea-chestnuts,<sup>138</sup> the most delicious fish that is possible to be; item crabs and lobsters: those be the shell-fishes. But one must take the pleasure to fetch them, and are not all in one place. Now the said port being eight leagues compass, there is (by the abovesaid philosopher's leave) good sport to row in it for so pleasant a fishing.

And seeing we are in the country where the cods are taken, I will not yet leave off work until I have spoken something thereof. For so many people and in so great number go to fetch them out of all the parts of Europe every year, that I know not from whence such a swarm may come. The cods that be brought into these parts are either dry or wet. The fishing of the wet fish is on the bank in the open sea, on this side Newfoundland, as may be noted by my Geographical Map [see heretofore in Bk i., ch. 12]. Fifteen or twenty (more or less) mariners have every one a line (it is a cord) of forty or fifty fathoms long, at the end whereof is a hook baited, and a lead of three pounds weight to bring it to the bottom; with this implement they fish their cods, which are so greedy that no sooner let down but as soon caught, where good fishing is. The fish being drawn a-ship-board, there are boards in form of narrow tables along the ship where the fish is dressed. There is one that cutteth off their heads and casteth them commonly in the sea; another cutteth their bellies and garbelleth them, and sendeth back to his fellow the biggest part of the backbone which he cutteth away. That done, they are put into the salting-tub for four and twenty hours: then they are laid up; and in this sort do they work continually

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(without respecting the Sunday, which is the Lord's day) for the space of almost three months, their sails down, until the lading be fully made. And because the poor mariners do endure there some cold among the fogs, specially them that be most hasty, which begin their voyage in February: from thence cometh the saying that "it is cold in Canada."

As for the dry cod one must go a-land. There is in Newfoundland and in Bacaillos great number of ports, where ships lie at anchor for three months. At the very break of day the mariners do go two or three leagues off in the sea to take their lading. They have every one filled their shallop by one or two o'clock in the afternoon, and do return into the port, where being, there is a great scaffold built on the seashore, whereon the fish is cast, as one cast sheaves of corn through a barn window. There is a great table whereon the fish cast is dressed, as above said. After six hours they are turned, and so sundry times. Then all is gathered and piled together; and again at the end of eight days put to the air. In the end, being dried, it is laid up. But there must be no fogs when it is a-drying, for then it will rot; nor too much heat, for it would become red; but a temperate and windy weather.

They do not fish by night because then the cod will not bite. I durst believe that they be of the fishes which suffer themselves to be taken sleeping, although that Oppian is of opinion that fishes, warring and devouring one another as do the Brazilians and cannibals, are always watchful and sleep not; excepting nevertheless the Sargo only, which he saith putteth himself in certain caves to take his sleep. Which I might well believe, and this fish deserveth not to be warred upon, seeing he maketh wars upon none others, and liveth of weeds: by reason whereof all the authors do say that he cheweth his cud like the sheep. But as the same Oppian saith that this fish only in chewing his cud doth

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render a moist voice, and in that he is deceived, because that myself have heard many times the seals, or sea-wolves, in open sea, as I have said elsewhere [Bk. i., ch. 17]: he might also have equivocated in this.

The same cod leaveth biting after the month of September is passed, but retireth himself to the bottom of the broad sea, or else goeth to a hotter country until the spring-time. Whereupon I will here allege what Pliny noteth [lib. ix., cap. 16]: that fishes which have stones on their heads do fear winter, and retire themselves betimes, of whose number is the cod, which hath within her brains two white stones<sup>139</sup> made gundole-wise and jagged about; which have not those that be taken towards Scotland, as some learned and curious man hath told me. This fish is wonderfully greedy, and devoureth others, almost as big as himself—yea, even lobsters, which are like big *langousts*, and I marvel how he may digest those big and hard shells. Of the livers of cods our Newfoundland men do make oils, casting those livers into barrels set in the sun, where they melt of themselves.

There is great traffic made in Europe of the oil of the fish of Newfoundland. And for this only cause many go to the fishing of the whale, and of the hippopotamuses which they call the beast with the great tooth, or the *morses*, of whom something we must say.

The Almighty, willing to show unto Job how wonderful are his works: "*Wilt thou draw (saith he) Leviathan with a hook, and his tongue with a string which thou hast cast in the water?*" By this Leviathan is the whale meant, and all fishes of that reach, whose hugeness (and chiefly of the whale) is so great that it is a dreadful thing, as we have showed elsewhere, speaking of one that was cast on the coast of Brazil by the tide. And Pliny saith [lib. ix., cap. 3] that there be some found in the Indies which have four acres of ground in length. This



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is the cause why man is to be admired (yea, rather God, who hath given him the courage to assail so fearful a monster, which hath not his equal on the land). I leave the manner of taking of her, described by Oppian [*Of Fishing*, Bk. v.] and St Basil [10 *Ho.* upon the 6 days of creation], for to come to our Frenchmen, and chiefly the Basques, who do go every year to the great river of Canada for the whale. Commonly the fishing thereof is made in the river called Lesquemin<sup>140</sup> towards Tadoussac. And for to do it, they go by scouts to make watch upon the tops of rocks, to see if they may have the sight of some one; and, when they have discovered any, forthwith they go with four shallops after it, and, having cunningly boarded her, they strike her with a harping-iron to the depth of her lard and to the quick of the flesh. Then this creature, feeling herself rudely pricked, with a dreadful boisterousness casteth herself into the depth of the sea. The men in the meanwhile are in their shirts, which vere [=pay] out the cord whereunto the harping-iron is tied, which the whale carrieth away. But at the shallop side that hath given the blow there is a man ready with a hatchet in hand to cut the said cord, lest perchance some accident should happen that it were mingled, or that the whale's force should be too violent; which, notwithstanding, having found the bottom, and being able to go no further, she mounteth up again leisurely above the water, and then again she is set upon with glave-staves, or pertuisanes, very sharp, so hotly that, the salt water piercing within her flesh, she looseth her force, and remaineth there. Then one tieth her to a cable, at whose end is an anchor, which is cast into the sea; then at the end of six or eight days they go to fetch her; when time and opportunity permits it they cut her in pieces, and in great kettles do seethe the fat, which melteth itself into oil, wherewith they may fill 400 hogsheads, sometimes more and sometimes



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less according to the greatness of the beast, and of the tongue commonly they draw five—yea, six—hogs-heads full of train.

If this be admirable in us that have industry, it is more admirable in the Indian people, naked and without artificial instruments; and nevertheless they execute the same thing, which is recited by Joseph Acoſta [lib. v., cap. 15], saying that for to take those great monsters they put themselves in a canoe or barque, made of the barks of trees, and, boarding the whale, they leap nimbly on her neck, and there do stand as it were on horseback, attending the fit means to take her; and, seeing their opportunity, the boldest of them putteth a strong and sharp staff which he carrieth with him into the gap of the whale's nostrils (I call nostril the conduit, or hole, through which they breathe): forthwith he thrust it in far with another very strong staff, and maketh it to enter in as deep as he can. In the meanwhile the whale beateth the sea furiously, and raiseth up mountains of water, diving down with great violence; then mounteth up again, not knowing what to do through very rage. The Indian, notwithstanding, remaineth still sitting fast, and, for to pay her home for this trouble, fixeth yet another like stalk in the other nostril, making it to enter in in such wise that it stoppeth her wind quite and taketh away her breath, and he cometh again into his canoe, which he holdeth tied at the side of the whale with a cord, then retireth himself on land, having first tied his cord to the whale, which he vereth out on her, which whilst she findeth much water, skippeth here and there, as touched with grief, and in the end draweth to land, where forthwith, for the huge enormity of her body, she remaineth on the shore, not being able to move or stir herself any more. And then a great number of Indians do come to find out the conqueror for to reap the fruit of his conquest, and for that purpose they make an end of killing of

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her, cutting her and making morsels of her flesh (which is bad enough), which they dry and stamp to make powder of it, which they use for meat, that serveth them a long time.

As for the *hippopotamuses*, or morses,<sup>141</sup> we have said in the voyages of James Cartier that there be great number of them in the Gulf of Canada, and specially in the Isle of Brion, and in the Seven Isles, which is the river of Chischedec. It is a creature which is more like to a cow than to a horse. But we have named it *hippopotamus*, that is to say the horse of the river, because Pliny doth so call them that be in the river Nile, which, notwithstanding, do not altogether resemble the horse, but doth participate also of an ox or a cow. He is of hair like to the seal, that is to say dapple-grey and somewhat towards the red, the skin very hard, a small head like to a Barbary cow, having two ranks of teeth on each side, between which there is two of them of each part hanging from the upper jaw downward, of the form of a young elephant's tooth, wherewith this creature helpeth herself to climb on the rocks. Because of those teeth, our mariners do call it *La beste à la grand' dent*, the beast with the great teeth. His ears be short, and his tail also; he loweth as an ox, and hath wings, or fins, at his feet, and the female calleth her young ones on the land. And because that he is a fish of the whale's kind and very fat, our Basques and other mariners do make oil thereof, as they do with the whale; and they do surprise him on the land.

Those of Nile (saith Pliny: lib. viii., cap. 25) are cloven-footed, the main, the back, and the neighing of a horse, the teeth issuing forth as to a wild-boar. And he addeth that, when this creature hath been in the corn for to feed, he goeth away backwards, upon his return for fear he should be followed by his traces.

I do not purpose to discourse here of all the sorts of

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fishes that are in those parts, the same being too spacious a subject for my history, because also that I have specified a good number of them in my *Farewell to New France*. I will say only that by manner of pastime on the coasts of New France I will take in one day fish enough for to serve as food for a longer time than six weeks, in the places where the abundance of cod is, for that kind of fish is there most frequent. And he that hath the industry to take mackerels at sea may there take so many that he shall not know what to do with them, for in many places I have seen infinite numbers of them close together, which did occupy more space there three times than the market-halls of Paris do contain. And, notwithstanding, I see a number of people in our country of France, so reckless and so idle in these days, that they had rather die for hunger, or live in slavery, at the least to languish upon their miserable dunghill, than to endeavour to get out of the mire, and to change their fortune by some generous action, or to die in it.

## CHAPTER XXIV

### OF THE QUALITY OF THE SOIL

WE have made provision in the three last chapters of venison, of fowl, and of fish—which is much. But in our old ancient France, bread and wine being our usual sustenance, it would be hard unto us to make here our abode unless the land were fit for the same. Let us then enter into consideration of it, and let us put our hands into our bosom, to see if the duggs of this mother will yield any milk to nourish her children, and, as for the rest, we will take what may be hoped for of her. Attilius Regulus, twice Consul in Rome, did commonly say [Pliny, lib. xviii., cap. 5] that one must not choose places over-rank, because they are unhealthful, neither places over-barren, although one may live healthily in them. And with such a moderate soil did Cato content himself. The ground of New France is such, for the most part of fat sand, under which we have often found clay ground; and of that earth did Monsieur de Poutrincourt cause a quantity of bricks to be made, wherewith he builded a furnace to melt the gum of the fir-tree, and chimneys. I will say farther that one may make with this earth such operations as with the earth which we call *terra sigillata*, or *bolus Armenicus*, as in many occasions our apothecary, Master Louis Hébert, most sufficient in his art, hath made trial of it, by the advice of Monsieur de Poutrincourt: yea, even when that Monsieur du Pont his son had three fingers cut off with a musket-shot, which did burst being over-charged, in the country of the Armouchiquois.

This province having the two natures of earth that God hath given unto man for to possess, who may



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doubt but that it is a land of promise when it shall be manured? We have made trial of it, and have taken pleasure therein, which never did all them that have gone before us, whether it be in Brazil, whether it be in Florida, or in Canada. God hath blessed our labours, and hath given unto us fair wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, beans, hemp, turnips, and garden herbs; and this so plentifully that the rye was as high as the tallest man that may be seen, and we did fear that this height should hinder it from bringing forth seed; but it hath so well fructified that one French grain sowed there hath yielded one hundred and fifty ears of corn, such as by the testimony of my Lord Chancellor the island of Cicilia nor the country of Beauce do yield none fairer. I did sow wheat without suffering my land to rest and without dunging it at all; and, nevertheless, it grew up in as fair perfection as the fairest wheat in France, although the corn and all that we did sow was too long kept. But the new corn which the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt did sow before his departure from thence grew up so beautiful that it was wonderful, according to the report of them that have been there a year after our departure. Whereupon I will say that which was of mine own doing, that in the month of April in the year 1607, having sowed too thick and too near one to the other, some few grains of the rye that was gathered at Sainte-Croix (the first dwelling of Monsieur de Monts, some twenty-five leagues from Port Royal), these grains did multiply so abundantly that they choked one another, and came to no good perfection.

But as for the ground mended, dunged with our hogs' dung or with the sweepings of the kitchen, shells of fish, or such like things, I would not believe unless I had seen it, the excessive loftiness of the plants that it hath produced every one in his kind. Yea, the son of Monsieur de Poutrincourt, a young gentleman of

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great forwardness, having sowed grains of oranges and of citrons in his garden, they sprung plants of a foot high at three months' end. We did not expect so much, and, notwithstanding, we took pleasure therein, emulating one another. I refer to any man's judgment if the second trial will be done with a good courage. And here I must say by the way that the Secretary of the said Monsieur de Monts, being come into those parts before our departure, did say that he would not for anything in the world but to have made the voyage, and that, unless he had seen our corn, he would not have believed it. Behold how continually the country of Canada hath been discredited (under whose name all that land is comprized) not knowing what it is, upon the report of some mariners who only do go to fish for cods, and upon the rumour of some sicknesses, which may be avoided in maintaining of mirth. So that men be well furnished of necessaries.

But to continue our purpose of the mending of the ground, whereof we spake even now: one certain ancient author saith that the Censors of Rome did let to farm the dunghills and other uncleanness, which were drawn out of sinks for 1,000 talents a year (which is worth 600,000 French crowns) to the gardeners of Rome, because that it was the excellentest dung of all: and there was to that end Commissioners ordained for to cleanse them; likewise the bottom and channel of the River Tiber, as certain ancient inscriptions, which I have sometimes read, do record.

The land of the Armouchiquois doth bear yearly such corn as that which we call Saracen wheat, Turkey wheat, and Indian wheat, which is the *irio* or *erysimon fruges* of Pliny [lib. xviii., caps. 7, 10] and Columella.<sup>142</sup> But the Virginians, Floridians, and Brazilians, more southerly, make two harvests a year. All these people do till their land with a wooden pick-axe, weed out the weeds and burn them, fatten their fields with shell-fish,

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having neither tame cattle nor dung; then they heap their ground in small heaps two foot distant one from another, and, the month of May being come, they set their corn in those heaps of earth as we do plant beans, fixing a stick, and putting four grains of corn severally one after another (by certain superstition) in the hole, and between the plants of the said corn (which groweth like a small tree, and is ripe at three months' end) they also set beans spotted with all colours, which are very delicate, which by reason they be not so high do grow very well among these plants of corn. We have sowed of the said corn this last year in Paris in good ground, but with small profit, having yielded every plant but one ear or two, and yet very thin—where in that country one grain will yield four, five, and six ears, and every ear one with another above two hundred grains, which is a marvellous increase. Which sheweth the proverb reported by Theophrastus [*Of Plants*, bk. viii.] to be very true, that it is the year that produced the fruit, and not the field—that is to say, that the temperature of the air, and condition of the weather, is that which maketh the plants to bud and fructify more than the nature of the earth. Wherein is to be wondered that our corn groweth better there than their corn here—a certain testimony that God hath blessed that country, since that his name hath been called upon there; also that in these parts, since some years, God beateth us (as I have said elsewhere) with rods of iron, and in that country he hath spread his blessing abundantly upon our labour, and that in one parallel and elevation of the sun.

This corn growing high, as we have said, the stalk of it is as big as canes—yea, bigger. The stalk and corn taken green have a sugar taste, which is the cause why the moles and field-rats do so covet it, for they spoiled me a plot of it in New France. The great beasts, as stags and other beasts, as also birds, do spoil



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it. And the Indians are constrained to keep them as we do the vines here.

The harvest being done, this people layeth up their corn in the ground, in pits which they make in some descent of a hill, for the running down of waters, furnishing those pits with mats; and this they do because they have no houses with lofts, nor chests to lay it up otherwise; then the corn conserved after this manner is out of the way of rats and mice.

Sundry nations of those parts have had the same invention to keep corn in pits. For Suidas maketh mention of it upon the word *Seiroi*. And Procopius, in the second book of the Gothic War, saith that the Goths besieging Rome fell within the pits, where the inhabitants were wont to lay their corn. Tacitus reporteth also that the Germans had such pits. And, without particularizing any farther, in many places of France that keep at this day their corn after that manner. We have declared heretofore [ch. 4] in what fashion they stamp their corn and make bread with it, and how, by the testimony of Pliny, the ancient Italians had no better industry than they.

They of Canada and Hochelaga, in the time of James Cartier, did also till after the same manner, and the land did afford them corn, beans, peas, milions, pompions, and cucumbers; but since that their furs have been in request, and that for the same they have had bread and other victuals without any other pains, they are become sluggish, as the Souriquois also, who did addict themselves to tillage in the same time.

But both the one and the other nation have yet at this time excellent hemp, which the ground produceth of itself. It is higher, finer, whiter, and stronger than ours in these our parts. But that of the Armouchiquois beareth at the top of the stalk thereof a pod, filled with a kind of cotton, like unto silk, in which lieth the seed. Of this cotton, or whatsoever it be, good beds may be



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made, more excellent a thousand times than of feathers, and softer than common cotton. We have sowed of the said seed, or grain, in divers places of Paris, but it did not prove.

We have seen by our history how along the great river beyond Tadoussac vines are found innumerable, and grapes at the season. I have seen none in Port Royal, but the land and the hills are very proper for it. France had none in ancient time, unless peradventure along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. And the Gauls, having done some notable service to the Emperor Probus, they demanded of him for recompense permission to plant vines, which he granted unto them [Aurel. Victor, in *Prob.*], when the vine was first planted in France; but they were first denied by the Emperor Nero. But why do I allege the Gauls, seeing that in Brazil, being a hot country, there was none until that the Frenchmen and Portuguese had planted some there. So there is no doubt but that the vine will grow plentifully in the said Port Royal, seeing likewise that at the river Saint John (which is twenty leagues more Northward than the said Port) there be many of them; yet, for all that, not so fair as in the country of the Armouchiquois, where it seemeth that Nature did delight herself in planting of them there.

And forasmuch as we have handled this subject speaking of the voyage that Monsieur de Poutrincourt made thither, we will pass further to declare unto you that the most part of the woods of this land be oaks and walnut-trees, bearing small nuts with four or five sides, so sweet and delicate as any thing may be<sup>143</sup>; and likewise plum-trees which bring forth very good plums; as also *sassafras*, a tree having leaves like to oak-leaves, but less jagged, whose wood is of very good scent and most excellent for the curing of many diseases, as the pox and the sickness of Canada, which I call

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*phthisis*, whereof we have discoursed at large heretofore [Bk. i., ch. 13].

They also plant great store of tobacco,<sup>144</sup> a thing most precious with them and universally amongst all those nations. It is a plant of the bigness of *Consolida major*, the smoke whereof they suck up with a pipe in that manner that I will declare unto you for the contentment of them that know not the use of it. After that they have gathered this herb, they lay it to dry in the shade, and have certain small bags of leather hanging about their necks or at their girdles, wherein they have always some, and a tobacco-pipe withal, which is a little pan hollowed at the one side and within whose hole there is a long quill, or pipe, out of which they suck up the smoke which is within the said pan, after they put fire to it with a coal that they lay upon it. They will sometimes suffer hunger eight days, having no other sustenance then that smoke. And our Frenchmen who have frequented them are so bewitched with this drunkenness of tobacco that they can no more be without it than without meat or drink, and upon that do they spend good store of money. For the good tobacco which cometh out of Brazil doth sometimes cost a French crown a pound. Which I deem foolishness in them, because that, notwithstanding they do not spare more in their eating and drinking than other men, neither do they take a bit of meat nor a cup of drink the less by it. But it is the more excusable in the savages, by reason they have no greater deliciousness in their *Tabagies*, or banquets, and can make cheer to them that come to visit them with no greater thing, as in these our parts one presents his friend with some excellent wine: in such sort that if one refuseth to take the tobacco-pipe, it is a sign that he is not a friend. And they which among them have some obscure knowledge of God do say that he taketh tobacco as well as they, and that it is the true nectar described by the poets.

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This smoke of tobacco taken by the mouth, in sucking, as a child that sucketh his dug, they make it to issue through the nose, and passing through the conduits of breathing, the brains are warmed by it, and the humidity of the same dried up. It doth also in some sort make one giddy and as it were drunk; it maketh the belly soluble, mitigateth the passions of Venus, bringeth to sleep, and the leaf of tobacco or the ashes that remain in the pan healeth wounds. Yea, I will say more that this nectar is unto them so sweet that the children do sometimes sup up the smoke that their fathers cast out of their nostrils, to the end that nothing be lost. And because that the same hath a tart biting taste, Monsieur de Belleforest, reciting that which James Cartier (who knew not what it was) saith of it, will make the people believe that it is some kind of pepper. But whatsoever sweetness is found therein I could never use myself to it, neither do I care for the use and custom to take it in smoke.

There is yet in the land of the Armouchiquois, certain kind of roots as big as a loaf of bread,<sup>145</sup> most excellent for to be eaten, having a taste like the stalks of artichokes but much more pleasant, which being planted do multiply in such sort that it is wonderful. I believe that they be those which be called *afrodilles*, according to the description that Pliny maketh of them [lib. xxi., cap. 17]. These roots (saith he) are made after the fashion of small turnips, and there is no plant that hath so many roots as this hath; for sometimes one shall find four score *afrodilles* tied together. They are good roasted under the embers or eaten raw with pepper, or oil, and salt.

Considering all this, it seemeth unto me that these are men very miserable, who being able to live a country-life in quiet and rest, and take the benefit of the ground, which doth pay her creditor with so profitable an usury, do pass their age in towns in following of suits



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in law, in toiling here and there, to seek out the means how to beguile and deceive some one or other, taking such pains as do even bring them to their grave, for to pay their house-rent, for to be clothed in silk, for to have some precious movables: briefly, for to set out and feed themselves with all vanity, wherein contentment is never to be found. "Poor fools! (saith Hesiod) which know not how one half of these things with quiet is more worth then all heaped together with fretfulness; nor how great benefit is in the mallows and the daffodils. The Gods certainly have hidden from men the manner of living happily. For otherwise one day's labour would be sufficient for to nourish a man a whole year, and the day following he would set his plough upon his dunghill, and would rest his oxen, his mules, and himself" [*Book of Works and Days*].

This is the contentment which is prepared for them that shall inhabit New France, though fools do despise this kind of life, and the tilling of the ground, the most harmless of all bodily exercises, and which I will term the most noble, as that which sustaineth the life of all men. They disdain (I say) the tillage of the ground, and notwithstanding all the vexations wherewith one tormenteth himself, the suits in law that one follows, the wars that are made, are but for to have lands. Poor mother! what hast thou done that thou art so despised? The other elements are very often contrary unto us: the fire consumeth us, the air doth infect us with plague, the water swalloweth us up, only the earth is that which, coming into the world and dying, receiveth us kindly—it is she alone that nourisheth us, which warmeth us, which lodgeth us, which clotheth us, which contrarieth us in nothing; and she is set at naught, and them that do manure her are laughed at, they are placed next to the idle and blood-suckers of the people. All this is done here among us; but in New France the golden age must be brought in again: the



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ancient crowns of ears of corn must be renewed: and to make that to be the first glory which the ancient Romans did call "*Gloria adorea*" [Pliny, lib. xviii., cap. 3], a glory of wheat, to the end to invite everyone to till well his field, seeing that the land presenteth itself liberally to them that have none.

Being assured to have corn and wine, there resteth but to furnish the country with tame cattle; for they will breed there very well, as we have said in the chapter of hunting.

Of fruit-trees there be but few besides nut-trees, plum-trees, and small cherry-trees, and some hazel-nut-trees. [Heretofore, ch. 21.] True it is that all that which is within the land is not yet discovered, for in the country of the Iroquois there are orange-trees, and they make oils with the fruit of trees. But no Frenchmen nor other Christians have been there yet. That want of fruit-trees is not to be found very strange. For the most part of our fruits are come out of other places; and very often the fruits bear the name of the country from whence they have been brought. The land of Germany is good and fruitful; but Tacitus saith that in his time there were no fruit-trees.

As for the trees of the forests, the most common in Port Royal be oaks, elms, ashes, birch (very good for joiner's-work), maples, sycamores, pine-trees, fir-trees, whitethorns, hazel-trees, willows, bay-trees, and some others besides which I have not yet marked. There is in certain places store of strawberries and raspberries. Item, in the woods small fruit, blue and red. I have seen there small pears very delicate; and in the meadows all the winter long there be certain small fruits like to small apples coloured with red, whereof we made marmalade, for to eat after meat. There be store of gooseberries like unto ours, but they grow red.<sup>146</sup> Item, those other small round gooseberries which we do call *guedres*. And peas in great quantity along the

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seashores, the leaves whereof we took in spring-time and put among our old peas, and so it did seem unto us that we did eat green peas. Beyond the said Baie Française, that is to say in the river St John and Sainte-Croix, there is store of cedar-trees besides those trees that I have named. As for them of the great river of Canada, they have been specified in the second Book, in the relation of the voyages of Captain James Cartier and of Monsieur Champlain.

Those of Florida be pine-trees (which bear no kernels in the fruits that they produce), oaks, walnut-trees, black cherry-trees, lentiscus, chestnut-trees (which be not natural as in France), cedar-trees, cypress-trees, palm-trees, holly-trees, and wild vines, which climb up to the trees and bring forth good grapes. There is a kind of medlars, the fruit whereof is better and bigger than that of France; there are also plum-trees which bear a very fair fruit, but not very good; raspberries; a small grain which we call with us *bleues* (blewes),<sup>147</sup> which are very good to be eaten. Item, roots which they call *hassez*, whereof in their need they make bread.

The province of Brazil hath taken her name, as we think, of a certain tree which we call *brésil* and the savages of the country *arabouton*; it is high, and as big as our oaks, and hath the leaf like to the box-leaf. Our Frenchmen and others do go into that country for to lade their ships with it. The fire of it is almost without smoke. But he that would think to whiten his linen with the ashes of that wood would far deceive himself—for he should find it dyed in red. They have also palm-trees of sundry sorts; and trees the wood whereof, of some is yellow, and others violet. They have also some that have the scent of roses, and others stinking, whose fruits are dangerous to be eaten. Item, a kind of *guayac*, which they name *hinouraté*, which they use for to cure a disease called among them *pians*, as

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dangerous as the pox. The tree which beareth the fruit that we call the Indian Nut is called among them *sabauciae*. They have also cotton-trees, of the fruit whereof they make beds, which they hang between two forks, or posts. This country is happy in many other sorts of fruit-trees, as orange-trees, citron-trees, lemon-trees, and others, always green, whereby the loss of that country where the Frenchmen had begun to inhabit is so much the more grievous unto them that love the welfare of France. For it is more than evident that the dwelling is there more pleasant and delightful than the land of Canada, for the temperature of the air. True it is that the voyages thither are long, as of four and five months, and that in performing of them sometimes wants must be endured, as may be seen by the voyages made thither in the time of Ville-gagnon<sup>148</sup>; but to New France where we were, when one beginneth his voyage in due season, the voyages are but of three weeks or a month, which is but a small time.

If the sweetness and delicacies be not there, such as they are in Peru, one must not say therefore that the country is nothing worth. It is much that one may live there in rest and joyfully, without taking care for superfluous things. The covetousness of men hath caused that no country is thought good unless there be mines of gold in it. And sots as they be, they do not consider that the country of France is now unfurnished of the same; and Germany also, whereof Tacitus said that he knew not whether the gods in their anger or in their favour had denied gold and silver to that province. They do not see that all the Indians have not any use of silver, and live more contentedly than we. If we call them fools, they may say as much of us, and peradventure with better reason. They know not that God promising to his people a happy land, he saith that it shall be a land of corn, of barley, of vines, of fig-trees, of olive-trees, and of honey,



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where they shall eat their bread without scarcity, etc. [*Deut.* viii. 8, 9]. And for all metals, he giveth them but iron and copper, lest that gold and silver make them to lift up their heart and forget their God [*Deut.* xvii. 17]. And he will not that when they shall have kings they should hoard up much gold or silver. They do not consider that mines be the churchyards of men; that the Spaniard hath consumed therein above ten millions of poor Indian savages, instead of instructing them in the Christian faith; that there be mines in Italy, but that the ancients would not give leave to work in them for the preservation of the people [*Pliny*, lib. xxxiii., cap. 4]; that in the mines is a thick air, gross and infernal, where one never knoweth when it is day or night; that to do such things is to seek to dispossess the devil of his kingdom. That it is a thing unworthy to a man to bury himself in the entrails of the earth, to seek out for hell, and miserably to abase himself under all unclean creatures: he to whom God hath given an upright form, and his face looking upward for to behold the Heaven and to sing praises unto him; that in countries where mines be, the land is barren; that we do not eat neither gold nor silver, and that the fame of itself doth not keep us warm in winter; that he which hath corn in his barn, wine in his cellar, cattle in his meadows, and afterwards cod-fish and beavers, is more assured to have gold and silver than he which hath mines, to find victuals. And nevertheless there be mines in New France, as we have mentioned elsewhere. But that is not the first thing that one must seek for: men do not live with opinion only. And this consisteth but in opinion, nor the precious stones neither (which are fools' baubles) wherein one is most often deceived, so well art can counterfeit Nature: witness him that did sell, some five or six years since, vessels for fine emerald, and had made himself rich by the folly of others, if he could have played his part aright.



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Now, without making show of any mines, profit may be made in New France of divers furs that be there, which I find are not to be despised, seeing that we see so much envy against a privilege that the King did grant to Monsieur de Monts for to help to establish and settle there some French Colony. But there may be drawn a general commodity to France, that in the scarcity of victuals one Province may succour the other; which might be done now if the country were well inhabited, seeing that since we have been there the seasons have always been good in it, and in these our parts rough to the poor, which do die for hunger, and liveth but in want and penury: instead that there many might live at their ease, who it were better to preserve than to suffer to perish. Besides fishing being made in New France, the Newfoundland ships shall have nothing to do but to lade, arriving thither, instead that they are forced to tarry three months there; and shall be able to make three voyages for one.

Of exquisite woods I know none there, but the cedar and the *sassafras*; but good profit may be drawn from the fir and spruce-trees, because they will yield abundance of gum; and they die very often through overmuch liquor. This gum is very fair, like the turpentine of Venice, and very sovereign for medicines. I have given some to some churches of Paris for frankincense, which hath been found very good. One may, moreover, furnish the City of Paris and other places of France with soap-ashes, which at this present be all bare and without woods. They who find themselves afflicted may have there a pleasant place to retire themselves into, rather than to yield themselves subject to the Spaniard, as many do. So many families as be in France overcharged with children may divide themselves, and take there their portion with those small goods and movables as they have. Then time will discover something anew; and one must help all the

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world if it be possible. But the chiefeſt good one muſt aim at is the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtian religion in a country where God is not known, and the conversion of theſe poor people, whoſe damnation crieth vengeance againſt them that may, and ought, to employ themſelves thereto, and to contribute, at leaſt with their names, to that effect, ſeeing that they gather up the fat of the earth, and are conſtituted ſtewards of the things of this world.

## CHAPTER XXV

### OF THEIR WAR

OF possessing of land cometh war; and, when one hath established himself in New France, some greedy fellow peradventure will come to take away the labour of honest painful men. This is that which many do say. But the state of France is (God be praised) too well settled for to be afraid of such tricks. We are not now in the time of leagues and partialities. There is none that will begin with our King, nor make adventurous enterprises for a small purchase. And, though anyone would do it, I believe that the remedies have been thought upon already. And, moreover, this action is for religion, and not to take away another's goods. This being so, Faith maketh one to march boldly with assurance and to pass through all difficulties. For behold what the Almighty saith by his Prophet Isaiah to them whom he taketh in his tuition, and to the Frenchmen of New France: "*Hearken unto me you that follow justice and that seek after the Lord. Behold the rock out of which you were cut, and to the deep of the cistern from whence you have been drawn*"—that is to say, consider that you are Frenchmen. "*Look to Abraham your father and to Sara who hath brought you forth, how I have called him, he being all alone, and have blessed and multiplied him. Therefore assuredly the Lord will comfort Sion,*" etc.

Our savages do not ground their wars upon the possession of the land. We do not see that they encroach one upon another for that respect. They have land enough for to live and for to walk. Their ambition is limited within their bounds. They make war as Alexander the Great did make it, that they may

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say I have beaten you, or else for revenge in remembrance of some injury received, which is the greatest vice that I find in them, because they never forget injuries—wherein they are so much the more excusable, because they do nothing but that which ourselves do also. They follow Nature; and, if we refrain anything of that instinct, it is the commandment of God which maketh us to do it; whereunto many do stop their eyes.

Therefore, when they will make wars, the Sagamos who hath most credit among them maketh them to know the cause why, the rendezvous, and time of the assembly. Being arrived, he maketh long orations unto them upon the occasion which is offered and for to encourage them. At every proposition he demandeth their advice, and if they give consent they all make an exclamation, saying "*Hau!*"—if not, some Sagamos will begin to speak and say what he thinketh good of it: being both the one and the other well heard. Their wars are made but by surprises, in the dark of the night, or by moonshine, by ambushments or subtilty: which is general throughout all those Indies. For we have seen in the first Book in what fashion the Floridians do make war; and the Brazilians do no otherwise. And the surprises being done, they come to handy blows, and do fight very often by day.

But, before they go from home, ours (I mean the Souriquois) have this custom: to make a fort, within which all the young men of the army do put themselves; where being, the women come to compass them about and to keep them as besieged. Seeing themselves so environed, they make sallies, for to shun and deliver themselves out of prison. The women that keep watch do repulse them, do arrest them, do their best endeavour to take them. And, if they be taken, they lay loads at them,<sup>149</sup> do beat them, strip them, and by such a success they take a good presage of the war they go to make. If they escape, it is an evil sign.



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They have also another custom concerning some one particular man, who, bringing an enemy's head, they make great feasts, dances, and songs for many days; and, whilst these things be in doing, they strip the conqueror and give him but some bad rag to cover himself withal. But at the end of eight days or there about, after the feast every one doth present himself with some thing, to honour him for his valour.

The Captains amongst them take their degree by succession, as the regality in these our parts (which is to be understood if the son of a Sagamos imitateth the virtues of his father), for otherwise they do as in the old time when that first the people did choose kings: whereof John de Meung, author of the *Roman de la Rose*, speaking he saith that: "*They choosed the tallest, that had the biggest body and biggest bones amongst them, and made him their Prince and Lord.*" But this Sagamos hath not an absolute authority among them, but such as Tacitus reporteth of the ancient German Kings: the power of their Kings, saith he, is not free nor infinite, but they conduct the people rather by example than by commandment. In Virginia and in Florida they are more honoured than among the Souriquois. But in Brazil he that hath taken and killed more prisoners they will take him for Captain, and yet his children may not inherit that dignity.

Their arms are the first which were in use after the creation of the world, clubs, bows, arrows; for as for slings and crossbows they have none, nor any weapons of iron or steel, much less those that human wit hath invented since two hundred years to counterfeit the thunder; nor rams or other ancient engines of battery.

They are very skilful in shooting an arrow [Heretofore, Bk. i., ch. 15], and let that be for an example which is recited heretofore of one that was killed by the Armouchiquois, having a little dog pierced together with him with an arrow, shot afar off. Yet I would

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not give them the praises due to many nations of this hither world, which have been famous for that exercise, as the Scythians, Getes, Sarmates, Goths, Scots, Parthians, and all the people of the East, of whom a great number were so skilful that they had hit a hair: which the holy Scripture witnesseth of many of God's people, namely of the Benjamites, who going to war against Israel: "*Of all this people (saith the Scripture) there was seven hundred chosen men, being left-handed: all these could sling a stone at an hair's breadth, and not fail*" [Judg. x. 15]. In Crete there was an Alcon so skilful an archer that a dragon carrying away his son, he pursued after him and killed him without hurting his child. One may read of the Emperor Domitian that he could direct his arrow far off between his two fingers, being spread abroad. The writings of the ancients make mention of many who shot birds through, flying in the air, and of other wonders which our savages would admire at. But, notwithstanding they are gallant men and good warriors, who will go through every place being backed by some number of Frenchmen; and, which is the second thing next unto courage, they can endure hardness in the war, lie in the snow, and on the ice, suffer hunger, and by intermission feed themselves with smoke, as we have said in the former chapter. For war is called *militia*, not out of the word *mollitia*, as Ulpian, the lawyer [from whence cometh the word "malice" or "*militia*": Ulpian, lib. i., § ult.], and others would have it, by an antiphrastical manner of speaking; but of *malitia*, which is as much to say as *duritia*, *kakia*, or of *afflictio*, which the Greeks do call *kakosis*. And so it is taken in Saint Matthew [vi. 34], where it is said that "*the day hath enough of his own grief kakia,*" that is to say *his affliction, his pain, his labour, his hardness*, as Saint Jerome doth expound it very well [*Epist. ad 147*]. And the word in St Paul *Kakopatheson Hos kalos stratiotis*

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*Ieson Christon* had not been ill translated *dura*, that is: "Suffer affliction as a good soldier of *Jesus Christ*," instead of "*Labora, harden thyself with patience*," as it is in *Virgil* :

*Durate, et rebus vosmet servate secundis.*<sup>150</sup>

And in another place he calleth the *Scipio's duros belli*, to signify brave and excellent Captains, which hardness and malice of war *Tertullian* doth expound *imbonitas* in the book that he hath written to the Martyrs, for to exhort them to suffer afflictions manfully for the name of *Jesus Christ*: "*A soldier (saith he) cannot come to the wars with pleasures, and he goeth not to the fight coming forth from his chamber, but out of tents and pavilions stretched out and tied to stalks and forks, Ubi omnis duritia et imbonitas et insuavitas, where no pleasure is.*"

Now, although the war which is made coming forth out of tents and pavilions is hard, yet notwithstanding the life of our savages is yet harder, and may be called a true *milicia*, that is to say, *malice*, which I take for hardness. And after this manner do they travel over great countries through the woods for to surprise their enemy and to assail him on the sudden. This is that which keepeth them in perpetual fear. For at the least noise in the world, as of an *elan* which passeth among branches and leaves, they take an alarm. They that have towns after the manner that I have described heretofore [ch. 7] are somewhat more assured. For, having well barred the coming in, they may ask *Qui va là ?*, who goeth there? and prepare themselves to the combat. By such surprises the *Iroquois*, being in number eight thousand men, have heretofore exterminated the *Algunequins*, them of *Hochelaga*, and others bordering upon the great river. Nevertheless, when our savages under the conduct of *Membertou* went to the war against the *Armouchiquois*, they embarked themselves in shallops and canoes; but indeed they did



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not enter within the country, but killed them on their frontiers in the port of Choüakoet.<sup>151</sup> And forasmuch as this war, the cause thereof, the counsel, the execution, and the end of it hath been described by me in French verses, which I have annexed unto my poem entituled the *Muses of New France*, I refer the reader to have recourse to it, because I will not write one thing twice. I will only say that being at the river Saint John, the Sagamos Chkoudun, a Christian and Frenchman, in will and courage made a young man of Rethel, called Lefèvre, and myself to see how they go to the wars. And after their feast they came forth some four-score out of his town, having laid down their mantles of fur, that is to say stark naked, bearing every one a shield which covered all their body over, after the fashion of the ancient Gauls, who passed into Greece under the Captain Brennus—of whom they that could not wade the rivers did lay themselves on their bucklers, which served them for boats, as Pausanias saith. Besides these shields they had every one his wooden mace, their quivers on their backs, and their bow in hand, marching as it were in dancing-wise. I do not think, for all that, that, when they come near to the enemy for to fight, they be so orderly as the ancient Lacedæmonians, who from the age of five years were accustomed to a certain manner of dancing which they used going to fight, that is to say with a mild and grave measure, to the sound of flutes, to the end to come to blows with a cool and settled sense and not to trouble their minds: to be able also to discern them that were courageous from them that were fearful, as Plutarch saith [in the treatise of the Refraining of Choler, and in the *Apophth.*]. But, rather, they go furiously, with great clamours and fearful howlings, to the end to astonish the enemy and to give to themselves mutual assurance. Which is done amongst all the Westerly Indians.



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In this mustering, our savages went to make a turn about a hill, and, as their return was somewhat slow, we took our way towards our barque, where our men were in fear lest some wrong had been done unto us.

In the victory they kill all that may make resistance, but they pardon the women and children. The Brazilians contrariwise do take prisoners as many as they can, and reserve them for to be fattened, to kill and to eat them in the first assembly they shall make. Which is a kind of sacrifice among those people that have some form of religion, from whom those men have taken this inhuman custom. For anciently they that were overcome were sacrificed to the gods, who were thought to be authors of the victory, whereof it came that they were called *victims*, because that they were overcome: *victima a victis*: they were also called *hosties*, *ab hoste*, because they were enemies. They that did set forth the name of *supplice* did it almost upon the same occasion, causing *supplications* to be made to the Gods of the goods of them whom they condemned to death. Such hath been the custom among many nations to sacrifice the enemies to the false gods, and it was also practised in Peru in the time that the Spaniards came thither first.

We read in the Holy Scripture [1 Sam. xv. 33] that the Prophet Samuel cut in pieces Agag, king of the Amalekites, before the Lord in Gilgal. Which might be found strange, seeing that there was nothing so mild as this holy Prophet was. But one must consider here that it was by a special motion of the spirit of God which stirred Samuel to make himself executioner of the Divine Justice against an enemy of the people of Israel, instead of Saul, who had neglected the commandment of God, which was enjoined to smite Amalek and to put all to the edge of the sword without sparing any living soul: which he did not; and therefore was he forsaken of God. Samuel then did that which Saul

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should have done; he cut in pieces a man who was condemned of God, who had made many widows in Israel, and justly did receive the like payment: to the end also to fulfil the prophecy of Balaam [*Num.* xxiv. 7], who had foretold long before that the King of the Israelites should be raised up above Agag, and his kingdom should be exalted. Now this action of Samuel is not without example. For when they were to appease the wrath of God, Moses said: "*Put every man his sword by his side, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour*" [*Exod.* xxxii. 27; *1 Kings* xviii. 40; *Acts* v. 5]. So Elijah made the Prophets of Baal to be killed. So at Saint Peter's words Ananias and Sapphira fell down dead at his feet.

Now to return to our purpose: our savages, as they have no religion, so make they no sacrifices; and besides are more humane than the Brazilians forasmuch as they eat no man's flesh, contenting themselves to destroy them that do annoy them. But they have such a generosity in them that they had rather die than to fall into the hands of their enemies. And when Monsieur de Poutrincourt took revenge of the Armouchiquois, which murdered some of our men, there were some who suffered themselves rather to be hewed in pieces than that they would be carried away prisoners; or, if by main force they be carried away, they will starve or kill themselves. Yea, also they will not suffer the dead bodies of their people to remain in the possession of their enemies, and, in the peril of their own lives, they take them and carry them away; which Tacitus doth also testify of the ancient Germans, and it hath been an usual thing with all generous nations.

The victory being gotten of one side or other, the victorious cutteth off the heads of the enemies slain, how great soever the number of them is, which are divided among the Captains, but they leave there the

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carcase, contenting themselves with the skin, which they cause to be dried, or do tan it, and do make trophies with it in their cabins, taking therein all their contentment. And, some solemn feast happening among them (I call feast whensoever they make *Tabagie*), they take them, and dance with them, having them hanging about their necks, at their arms, or at their girdles, and with very rage they sometimes bite at them; which is a great proof of this disordinate appetite of revenge, whereof we have sometimes spoken.

Our ancient Gauls did make no less trophies with the heads of their enemies than our savages. For (if Diodorus [*Bibl.*, bk. vi.] and Titus Livius [1 Decade, bk. 10] may be believed), having cut them, they bring them back from the field hanging at the petral of their horses, and did tie or nail them solemnly, with songs and praises of the vanquishers (according to their customs), at their gates, as one would do a wild-boar's. As for the heads of the nobles, they did embalm them and kept them carefully within cases, for to make show of them to those that come to see them, and for nothing in the world they would restore them, neither to kinsmen nor any other [Strabo, *Geogr.*, lib. iv.]. The Boians (which be the Bourbonnois) did more [*idem*, lib. iii., decade 3]. For, after they had taken out the brains, they did give the skulls to goldsmiths for to garnish them with gold, and to make vessels of them to drink in, which they used in sacred things and holy solemnities. If any man thinketh this strange, he must yet find more strange that which is reported of the Hungarians by Vigenère<sup>152</sup> upon Titus Livius, of whom he saith that in the year 1566, being near Jauarin, they did lick the blood of the 'Turks' heads which they brought to the Emperor Maximilian; which goeth beyond the barbarousness that might be objected to our savages.

Yea, I must tell you that they have more humanity

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than many Christians, who within these hundred years have committed in divers occurrences, upon women and children, cruelties more than brutish, whereof the histories be full; and our savages do extend their mercy to these two sorts of creatures.



## CHAPTER XXVI

### OF THEIR FUNERALS

THE war being ended, humanity doth invite us to bewail for the dead, and to bury them. It is a work wholly of piety, and more meritorious than any other. For he that giveth succour to a man whilst he is a-life may hope for some service of him or a reciprocal kindness; but from a dead creature we can expect nothing more. This is that which made that holy man Tobias to be acceptable to God; and for that good office they that employed themselves in the burying of our Saviour are praised in the Gospel. As for tears and mournings, behold what saith the wise son of Sirach: "*My son, pour forth tears over the dead, and begin to mourn as if thou hadst suffered great harm thyself; and then cover his body according to his appointment, and neglect not his burial. Make a grievous lamentation, and be earnest in mourning, and use lamentation as he is worthy, and that a day or two, lest thou be evil spoken of*" [Eccles. xxxviii. 16, 17].

This lesson being come, whether it be by some tradition or by the instinct of Nature, as far as to our savages, they have yet at this day that common with the nations of these parts to weep for the dead, and to keep the bodies of them after their decease as it was done in the time of the holy Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and since. But they make strange clamours many days together, as we saw in Port Royal some months after our arrival into that country (to wit in November), where they made the funeral ceremonies for one of theirs named Panoniac, who had taken some merchandises out of Monsieur de Monts his storehouse, and went to truck with the Armouchiquois. This

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Panoniac was killed, and the body brought back into the cabins of the River Sainte-Croix, where our savages did both weep for him and embalmed him. Of what kind this balm is I could not know, not being able to enquire of it upon the places. I believe they jag the dead corpses and make them to dry. Certain it is that they preserve them from rottenness, which thing they do almost throughout all these Indies. He that hath written the history of Virginia saith that they draw out their entrails from the body, flay the dead, take away the skin, cut all the flesh off from the bones, dry it at the sun, then lay it (enclosed in mats) at the feet of the dead. That done, they give him his own skin again, and cover therewith the bones tied together with leather, fashioning it even so as if the flesh had remained at it.

It is a thing well-known that the ancient Egyptians did embalm the dead bodies, and kept them carefully. Which (besides the profane authors) is seen in the Holy Scripture, where it is said that Joseph did command his servants and physicians to embalm the body of Jacob, his father [*Gen.* l. 5]. Which he did according to the custom of the country. But the Israelites did the like, as it is seen in the holy *Chronicles* [2 *Chron.* xvi. 14; xxi. 19], where it is spoken of the death of the kings Asa and Joram.

From the River of Sainte-Croix the said deceased Panoniac was brought into Port Royal, where again he was wept for. But, because they are accustomed to make their lamentations for a long continuance of days, as during a month, fearing to offend us by their cries (forasmuch as their cabins were but some five hundred passes off from our fort), Membertou came to entreat Monsieur de Poutrincourt not to dislike that they should mourn after their wonted manner, and that they would be but eight days in performing of it. Which he easily granted them; and then afterwards they began the

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next day following, at the break of day, their weepings and cryings, which we did hear from our said fort, taking some intermission on the midst of the day. And they mourn by intermission every cabin his day, and every person his turn.

It is a thing worthy marvelling that nations so far distant do agree in those ceremonies with many of the hither world. For in ancient times the Persians (as we read in many places of Herodotus, and Q. Curtius) did make such lamentation, did rend their garments, did cover their heads, did clothe themselves with a mourning garment, which the Holy Scripture doth call "sackcloth," and Josephus *Schema tapeinon*. Also they shaved themselves, and their horses and mules, as the learned Drusius<sup>153</sup> hath noted in his observations, alleging for this purpose both Herodotus and Plutarch [*Esther* iv. 1; Drus., *Observ.*, xii., 6].

The Egyptians did as much, and peradventure more, in that which concerneth lamentations. For after the death of the holy Patriarch Jacob, all the ancients, men of calling, and the Counsellors of the house of Pharaoh, and of the country of Egypt went up in great multitude even as far as to the corn-floor of Atad in Canaan, and did weep for him with great and grievous complaints: in such sort that the Canaanites seeing it did say: "This mourning is grievous to the Egyptians"; and for the greatness and novelty of the same mourning they called the said floor *Abel Mizraim*, that is to say the mourning of the Egyptians.

The Romans had hired women to weep for the dead, and to relate their praises by long mournful complaints: and those women were called *præficæ*, as it were *præfectæ*, because that they did begin the motion when it was needful to lament, and to relate the praises of the dead.

"*Mercede quæ conductæ flent alieno in funere præficæ multo et capillos scindunt, et clamant magis,*"<sup>154</sup> saith



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Lucilius by the report of Nonius: sometimes the very trumpets were not neglected at it, as Virgil testifieth in these words:

*It cælo clamor, clangorque tubarum.*<sup>155</sup>

I will not here make a collection of all the customs of other nations, for it would never be at an end; but in France everyone knoweth that the women of Picardy do lament their dead with great clamours. Monsieur des Accords,<sup>156</sup> amongst other things by him collected, reciteth of one who, making her funeral complaints that she said to her deceased husband: "Good God! My poor husband, thou hast given us a pitiful farewell! O what farewell! It is for ever. O what long *congé*!" The women of Béarn are yet more pleasant. For they recount during the time of a whole day the whole life of their husbands. "*La mi amou, la mi amou; car a rident; œil de splendou; cama leugé; bet dansadou; lo mé balen balem, lo m'esburbat; mati de pès; fort tard cougat*"; and such like things, that is to say: "My love, my love; smiling countenance; bright eye; nimble leg; and good dancer: mine own valiant, mine own valiant; early up, and late abed," etc. John de Leri reciteth that which followeth of the Gascon women: "*Yere, yere, ô le bet renegadou, ô le bet iougadou qu'here*," that is to say: "Oh the brave swaggerer, oh what a fair player he was!" And thereupon he reporteth that the women of Brazil do howl and bawl with such clamours that it seemeth that it be some assembly of dogs and wolves. "He is dead (will some women say, drawing their voices); he was so valiant, and who hath made us to eat of so many prisoners": others, making a choir, apart will say: "Oh, what a good hunter and what an excellent fisher he was! Oh, what a brave knocker-down of Portuguese and of Margaias he was! of whom he hath so well avenged us!" And at the pause of every complaint they will say: "He is dead, he is dead for



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whom we do now mourn!" whereunto the men do answer, saying: "Alas it is true! we shall see him no more until we see him behind the mountains where we shall dance with him!" and other such things. But the most part of these people do end their mourning in one day, or somewhat more.

As for the Indians of Florida, when any of their Paraoustis dieth, they weep three days and three nights continually and without eating: And all the Paraoustis that be his allies and friends do the like mourning, cutting half their hairs as well men as women in token of love. And, that done, there be some women ordained who during the time of six moons do lament the death of their Paraousti three times a day, crying with a loud voice, in the morning, at noon, and at night; which is the fashion of the Roman *Præfices*, of whom we have not long since spoken.

For that which is of the mourning apparel, our Souriquois do paint their faces all with black, which maketh them to seem very hideous; but the Hebrews were more reprovably, who did scotch their faces in the time of mourning, and did shave their hairs, as saith the Prophet Jeremiah [xl. 3], which was usual among them of great antiquity: by reason whereof the same was forbidden them by the law of God in *Leviticus* [xix. 27, 28]: "*You shall not cut round the corners of your hairs, neither mar the tufts of your beards, and you shall not cut your flesh for the dead, nor make any print of a mark upon you. I am the Lord.*" And in *Deuteronomy* [xiv. 1]: "*You are the children of the Lord your God; you shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead.*" Which was also forbidden by the Romans in the laws of the Twelve Tables.

Herodotus and Diodorus do say that the Egyptians (chiefly in their Kings' funerals) did rend their garments, and besmeared their faces—yea, all their heads; and assembling themselves twice a day, did march in round,

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singing the virtues of their King; did abstain from sodden meats, from living creatures, from wine, and from all dainty fare during the space of seventy days, without any washing nor lying on any bed, much less to have the company of their wives—always lamenting.

The ancient mourning of our Queens of France (for as for our Kings they wear no mourning apparel) was in white colour, and therefore after the death of their husbands they kept the names of *Roines blanches* (White Queens). But the common mourning of others is, at this day, in black: *qui sub persona risus est*. For all these mournings are but deceits, and of a hundred there is not one but is glad of such a weed. This is the cause that the ancient Thracians were more wise, who did celebrate the birth of man with tears, and their funerals with joy, showing that by death we are delivered from all calamities wherewith we are born, and are in rest [Solin., cap. xvii.; Valer., lib. ii., cap. 1]. Heraclides, speaking of the Locrois, saith that they make not any mourning for the dead, but rather banquets and great rejoicing. And the wise Solon, knowing the foresaid abuses, doth abolish all those rending of clothes, of those weeping fellows, and would not that so many clamours should be made over the dead, as Plutarch saith in his Life. The Christians, yet more wise, did in ancient time sing "Alleluia" at their burials, and this verse of the Psalm: "*Revertere anima mea in requiem tuam, quia Dominus benefecit tibi*" [cvi. 7]:

*And now my soul sith thou art safe,  
return unto thy rest :  
For largely lo ! the Lord to thee,  
his bounty hath exprest.*

Notwithstanding, because that we are men subject to joy, to grief, and to other motions and perturbations of

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mind, which at the first motion are not in our power, as saith the philosopher, weeping is not a thing to be blamed, whether it be in considering our frail condition and subject to so many harms, be it for the loss of that which we did love and held dearly. Holy personages have been touched with those passions, and our Saviour himself wept over the sepulchre of Lazarus, brother to the holy Magdalene. But one must not suffer himself to be carried away with sorrow, nor make ostentations of clamours, wherewith very often the heart is never a whit touched. Whereupon the wise son of Sirach doth give us an advertisement, saying: "*Weep for the dead, for he hath lost the light [of this life], but make small weeping, because he is in rest*" [Eccles. xxii. 11].

After that our savages had wept for Panoniac, they went to the place where his cabin was whilst he did live, and there they did burn all that he had left, his bows, arrows, quivers, his beavers' skins, his tobacco (without which they cannot live), his dogs, and other his small movables, to the end that no body should quarrel for his succession. The same sheweth how little they care for the goods of this world, giving thereby a goodly lesson to them who by right or wrong do run after this silver devil, and very often do break their necks, or, if they catch what they desire, it is in making bankrupt with God and spoiling the poor, whether it be with open war or under colour of justice. A fair lesson, I say, to those covetous insatiable Tantaluses, who take so much pains and murder so many creatures to seek out hell in the depth of the earth, that is to say the treasures which our Saviour doth call the "*riches of iniquity*" [Luke xvi. 9]. A fair lesson also for them of whom Saint Jerome speaketh, treating of the life of clerks: "*There be some (saith he) who do give a little thing for an alm, to the end to have it again with great usury; and under colour of giving something, they seek*



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*after riches — which is rather a hunting than an alms. So are beasts, birds, and fishes taken. A small bait is put to a hook to the end to catch at it silly women's purses*” [Epist. ii.: ad Nepotian]. And in the epitaph of Nepotian to Heliodorus: “*Some (saith he) do heap money upon money, and, making their purses to burst out by certain kind of services, they catch at a snare the riches of good matrons, and become richer being monks than they were being secular.*” And for this covetousness the regular and secular have been by imperial edicts excluded from legacies, whereof the same doth complain, not for the thing but for that the cause thereof hath been given.

Let us come again to our burning of goods. The first people, that had not yet covetousness rooted in their hearts, did the same as our savages do. For the Phrygians (or Trojans) did bring to the Latins the use of burning, not only of movables but also of the dead bodies, making high piles of wood for that effect, as Æneas did in the funerals of Misenus [Virgil, *Æneid*, vi.]:

*Et robore secto*

*Ingentem struxere pyram*<sup>157</sup>

Then the body being washed and anointed, they did cast all his garments upon the pile of wood, frankincense, meats, and they poured on it oil, wine, honey, leaves, flowers, violets, roses, ointments of good smell, and other things, as may be seen by ancient histories and inscriptions. And for to continue that which I have said of Misenus, Virgil doth add:

*Purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota  
Conjiciunt : pars ingenti subiere feretro etc.*

*congesta cremantur  
Thura, dona, dapes, fuso crateres olivo.*<sup>158</sup>



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And, speaking of the funerals of Pallas, a young Lord, friend to Æneas [*Æneid*, xi.]:

*Tum geminas vestes, ostroque, auroque rigentes,  
Extulit Æneas—  
Multaque præterea laurentis præmia pugnæ  
Aggerat, et longo prædam jubet ordine duci:  
Addit equos et tela, quibus spoliaverat hostem.*

And underneath:

*Spargitur et tellus lachrimis, sparguntur et arma.  
Hinc alii spolia occisis direpta Latinis  
Conjiciunt igni, galeas, ensesque decoros,  
Frænaque ferventesque rotas : pars munera nota  
Ipsorum clypeos, et non felicia tela,  
Setigerosque sues, raptasque ex omnibus agris  
In flammam jugulant pecudes. . . .* <sup>159</sup>

In the Holy Scripture I find [*1 Samuel*, last chap.] but the bodies of Saul and of his sons to have been burnt after their overthrow, but it is not said that any of their movables were cast into the fire.

The old Gauls and Germans did burn with the dead body all that which he had loved, even to the very beasts, papers of accounts and obligations, as if by that means they would either have paid or demanded their debts. In such sort that a little before that Cæsar came thither, there was some that did cast themselves upon the pile where the body was burned, in hope to live elsewhere with their kindred, lord, and friends [*Gallic War*, lib. vi.]. Concerning the Germans, Tacitus saith the same of them in those terms: "*Quæ vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur in ignem inferunt etiam animalia, servos, et clientes.*" <sup>160</sup>

These fashions have been common anciently to many nations, but our savages are not so foolish as that; for they take good heed from putting themselves into the fire, knowing that it is too hot. They content them-

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selves, then, in burning the dead man his goods; and, as for the body, they put him honourably in the grave. This Panoniac, of whom we have spoken, was kept in the cabin of Niguiroet, his father, and of Neguioadetch, his mother, until the spring-time, when that the assembly of the savages was made for to go to revenge his death: in which assembly he was yet wept for, and before they went to the wars they made an end of his funerals, and carried him (according to their custom) into a desolate island, towards Cap de Sable, some five-and-twenty or thirty leagues distant from Port Royal. Those isles which do serve them for churchyards are secret amongst them, for fear some enemy should seek to torment the bones of their dead.

Pliny [lib. vii., cap. 56], and many others, have esteemed that it was foolishness to keep dead bodies under a vain opinion that after this life one is something. But one may apply unto him that which Portius Festus, Governor of Cæsarea, did foolishly say to the Apostle Saint Paul: "*Thou art besides thyself: much learning hath made thee mad*" [Acts xxvi. 24]. Our savages are esteemed very brutish (which they are not), but yet they have more wisdom in that respect than such philosophers.

We Christians do commonly bury the dead bodies, that is to say we yield them to the earth (called *humus*, from whence cometh the word *homo*, a man) from which they were taken, and so did the ancient Romans before the custom of burning them. Which amongst the West Indians the Brazilians do, who put their dead into pits digged after the form of a tun, almost upright, sometimes in their own houses, like to the first Romans, according as Servius the Commentator of Virgil, doth say. But our savages as far as Peru do not so, but rather do keep them whole in sepulchres, which be in many places as scaffolds of nine and ten foot height, the roof whereof is all covered with mats,

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whereupon they stretch out their dead, ranked according to the order of their decease. So almost our savages do, saving that their sepulchres are lesser and lower, made after the form of cages, which they cover very properly, and there they lay their dead. Which we call to bury, and not to inter, seeing they are not within the earth.

Now, although that many nations have thought good to keep the dead bodies, yet it is better to follow that which Nature requireth, which is to render to the earth that which belongeth unto her, which (as Lucretius saith):

*Omni parens eadem rerum est commune sepulchrum.*<sup>161</sup>

Also this is the ancientest fashion of burying, saith Cicero [in the 2nd book of the laws]: And that great Cyrus, King of the Persians, would not be otherwise served after his death than to be restored to the earth: “*Oh, my dear children! (said he before he died) [which Xenophon allegeth] when I have ended my life, do not put my body neither in gold nor in silver nor in any other sepulchre, but render it forthwith to the earth. For what may be more happy and more to be desired than to join himself with her that produceth and nourisheth all good and fair things?*” So did he esteem for vanity all the pomps and excessive expenses of the pyramids of Egypt, of the mausoleums, and other monuments made after that imitation: as the same of Augustus, the great, and magnifical mass of Adrian, the *septrizone* of Severus, and other yet lesser, not esteeming himself after death more than the meanest of his subjects.

The Romans did leave the entombing of the bodies, having perceived that the long wars did bring disorder unto it, and that the dead corpses were unburied, which by the laws of the Twelve Tables it was behoveful to bury out of the town, like as they did in Athens. Whereupon Arnobius, speaking against the Gentiles:



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*"We do not fear (saith he), as you think, the ransacking of our graves, but we keep the most ancient and best custom of burying"* [Arnobius, lib. iii.].

Pausanias (who blameth the Gauls as much as he can) saith in his *Phocica* that they had no care to bury their dead, but we have showed the contrary heretofore: and, though it were so, he speaketh of the overthrow of the army of Brennus. The same might have been said of the Nabateans, who (according to Strabo) did that which Pausanias doth object to the Gauls, and buried the bodies of their kings in dunghills.

Our savages are more kind than so, and have all that which the office of humanity may desire—yea, even more. For, after they have brought the dead to his rest, every one maketh him a present of the best thing he hath. Some do cover him with many skins of beavers, of otters, and other beasts; others present him with bows, arrows, quivers, knives, *matachias*, and other things: which they have in common not only with them of Florida, who for want of furs do set upon the sepulchres the cup wherein the deceased was accustomed to drink, and all about them they plant great number of arrows: item, they of Brazil who do bury with their dead things made of feathers and carkanets: and they of Peru, who (before the coming of the Spaniards) did fill their tombs with treasures; but also with many nations of these our parts, which did the same even from the first time after the flood, as may be conjectured by the writing (though deceitful) of the sepulchre of Semiramis, Queen of Babylon, containing that he of her successors that had need of money should make it to be opened, and that he should find there even as much as he would have. Whereof Darius, willing to make trial, found in it nothing else but other letters speaking in this sort: "*Unless thou wert a wicked man and insatiable, thou wouldst not have, through covetousness, so troubled the quiet of the dead, and*



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*broken down their sepulchres."* I would think this custom to have been only among the heathen, were it not that I find in Josephus his *History* [bk. vii., ch. 12] that Solomon did put in the sepulchre of David, his father, above three millions of gold, which were rifled thirteen hundred years after.

This custom to put gold into the sepulchres being come even to the Romans was forbidden by the Twelve Tables, also the excessive expenses that many did make in watering the bodies with precious liquors, and other mysteries that we have recited heretofore. And notwithstanding many simple and foolish men and women did ordain by will and testament that one should bury with their bodies their ornaments, rings, and jewels (which the Greeks did call *entaphia*) as there is a form seen of it, reported by the lawyer Scævola in the Books of the *Digests*. [*L. Medico. D de auro, arg. etc., leg. L. servo alieno. D. de leg. i. L. et si quis. D. de relig. et sump. sum.*] Which was reproved by Papinian and Ulpian, likewise civil lawyers: in such sort that for the abuse thereof the Romans were constrained to cause that the Censors of the women's ornaments did condemn, as simple and effeminated, them that did such things, as Plutarch saith in the lives of Solon and Sulla. Therefore the best course is to keep the modesty of the ancient Patriarchs, and even of king Cyrus, whom we have mentioned before, on whose tomb was this inscription, reported by Arrian:

*"Thou that passest by, whomsoever thou be-est, and from what part soever thou comest, for I am sure that thou wilt come: I am that Cyrus who got the dominion to the Persians. I pray thee envy not this little parcel of ground which covereth my poor body."*

So then our savages are not excusable in putting all the best ornaments they have into the sepulchres of the dead, seeing they might reap commodity by them. But one may answer for them that they have this

## NOVA FRANCIA

custom even from their fathers' beginning (for we see that almost from the very time of the flood the like hath been done in this hither world), and giving to their dead their furs, *matachias*, bows, arrows, and quivers, they were things that they had no need of.

And notwithstanding this doth not clear the Spaniards from blame, who have robbed the sepulchres of the Indians of Peru, and cast the bones on the dunghill; nor our own men that have done the like in taking away the beaver's skin in our New France, as I have said heretofore [Bk. i., ch. 17].

For as Isidorus of Damietta saith in an Epistle [*Ad Casium Scholasticum*, Lib. ii., Ep. 146]: "*It is the part of enemies void of all humanity to rob the bodies of the dead, which cannot defend themselves. Nature itself hath given this to many, that hatred doth cease after death, and do reconcile themselves with the deceased. But riches make the covetous to become enemies to the dead, against whom they have nothing to say, who torment their bones with reproach and injury.*" And therefore not

without cause have the ancient Emperors  
made laws and ordained rigorous  
pains against the spoilers and  
destroyers of sepulchres.

*All praises be given to God.*

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> La Cadie : probably of Indian origin, although the Ptolemy of 1548 has Arcadia. See Ganong's Denys' *Description and Natural History of Acadia*, 126 (Toronto : Champlain Society, 1908).

<sup>2</sup> Charles de Montmorency, duc de Damville, who was Admiral of France and Brittany from 1596 to 1612. See *Works of Champlain*, I, 85 (Champlain Society, 1922).

<sup>3</sup> Newhaven = Havre de Grace.

<sup>4</sup> Le Port du Rossignol, now Liverpool Bay. See *Works of Champlain*, I, Plate LXV, 237.

<sup>5</sup> Still so called.

<sup>6</sup> The other ship was *La Bonne Renommée*, commanded by Captain Morel of Honfleur, in which Dupont-Gravé also had sailed.

<sup>7</sup> Samuel de Champlain (1567-1635), "the Father of New France." See *Works of Champlain*, I, II. 1922-4.

<sup>8</sup> The English port is now Louisbourg. Canso lies at the entrance to the Gulf of Canso between Cape Breton Island and Nova Scotia.

<sup>9</sup> Cape Sable, the south-eastern extremity of Nova Scotia.

<sup>10</sup> St. Mary's Bay, at the south-western extremity of Nova Scotia.

<sup>11</sup> Now the Bay of Fundy.

<sup>12</sup> Annapolis basin and river. *Equille* is the French name for the sand-eel.

<sup>13</sup> Beauvais, south of Amiens.

<sup>14</sup> See Book III, chaps. xxviii and xxix in W. L. Grant's edition of the complete *Lescarbot*, II, 168 *et seq.* (Toronto : Champlain Society, 1911).

<sup>15</sup> From the *Satyricon* of Petronius Arbiter, chap. cxix :

"Now haughty Rome reigned Mistress of the Ball,  
Where'er the Aether shines with heavenly fires,  
Or Earth extends, or circling Ocean rolls ;  
Yet still infuriate, her wingèd navies ploughed  
The burdened Main, to each unplundered shore,  
For to the Rich she bore immortal hate."

<sup>16</sup> The diamonds were quartz crystals, and the blue stones amethysts, very abundant thereabouts.

<sup>17</sup> Still so called and for the reason given. The tides produce the reversing fall.

## NOTES

<sup>19</sup> The region from the Kennebec to Gloucester. North of them were the Etechemins.

<sup>19</sup> Gaspé, to the north of the bay of Chaleur. Tadoussac is at the mouth of the Saguenay river in the St. Lawrence.

<sup>20</sup> The Ste. Croix river. Docket's island now belongs to the United States. See *The Cornhill Magazine*, January, 1927, pp. 83-8.

<sup>21</sup> "On a long stick a cloth of white I tied  
To make them think anew of Theseus' bride."

(OVID: *Heroides*, Ep. X.)

<sup>22</sup> The partridge berry, *mitchella repens*.

<sup>23</sup> See *Histoire merveilleuse de l'abstinence triennale d'une fille de Confolens*, Paris, 1602, which had been translated into French by Lescarbot. An English translation is in the British Museum under Lescarbot's name.

<sup>24</sup> See Biggar, *Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, 221-2. Ottawa, 1924.

<sup>25</sup> John Wier (1515-1588), Court Physician to the Duke of Cleves.

<sup>26</sup> Tisane, herb-tea.

<sup>27</sup> See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Bury's edit., IV, 73-4 (London, 1898), for Simeon Stylites (A.D. 395-451).

<sup>28</sup> *Matachias* in Lescarbot means all kinds of personal ornament, including wampum or porcelain and other bead- and quill-work. See *infra*, Chap. XII, p. 211.

<sup>29</sup> Chamcook and Greenlaw mountains with McLaughlan's, Simpson's, and Leighton's. That two leagues off is on Cookson's Island in Oak Bay. See Grant's *Lescarbot*, II, 249.

<sup>30</sup> The Marquis de la Roche had placed a colony on Sable Island. See Biggar, *Early Trading Companies of New France*, 38-41, and Grant's *Lescarbot*, II, 194 *et seq.*

<sup>31</sup> Ostend was invested by the Spaniards on July 5, 1601, and did not surrender till September 22, 1604.

<sup>32</sup> No such saint is known.

<sup>33</sup> It was here that the White Ship perished, carrying the only son of Henry I of England.

<sup>34</sup> The Court fool of Henri IV. The extract is reproduced in Grant's *Lescarbot*, II, 356.

<sup>35</sup> See *Voyages of Cartier*, 204-15. The *annedda* was probably the hemlock; *ibid.*, 213, note 24.

<sup>36</sup> Aquilons = Boreas.

<sup>37</sup> Oppilations = obstructions.

<sup>38</sup> *Sagamos* is Micmac, the modern form being *Sakumow*.

<sup>39</sup> Unawares = *sans y penser*.

<sup>40</sup> Coolice = cullis, broth of boiled meat, fowls, etc.

<sup>41</sup> Pantoffles = *galoches*, a wooden shoe.

<sup>42</sup> *Kinibeki* = the Kinnebec. Malebarre = Wauset Harbour, near Cape Cod. See the *Works of Champlain*, Plates LXXII and LXXV.



## NOTES

<sup>43</sup> See *Histoire universelle des Indes Occidentales . . . faite en Latin par Ant. Magin, nouvellement traduite par Cornelius Wytfliet*. Devay, 1607.

<sup>44</sup> The Penobscot.

<sup>45</sup> See *La Cosmographie par Jean Fonteneau dit Alphonse de Saintonge*, etc., publié par Georges Musset, Paris, 1904, and the *Voyages of Cartier*, 278-303.

<sup>46</sup> Sable Island, lying off the coast of Nova Scotia.

<sup>47</sup> Saw Bay. See *Works of Champlain*, I, Plate LXXIII.

<sup>48</sup> The *elan* was the moose.

<sup>49</sup> *Tabagie* was a feast. See *Works of Champlain*, I, 99.

<sup>50</sup> Miramichi, south of Chaleur Bay. The Bay of Moruer is now Molne Bay, north of the Bay of Chaleur.

<sup>51</sup> Champion = level and flat.

<sup>52</sup> The Straits may mean those of Dover, although *le Detroit* was usually the Strait of Gibraltar.

<sup>53</sup> Juges Présidiaux = judges of an inferior court.

<sup>54</sup> Louis Servin (1555-1626) became Advocate General in 1589.

<sup>55</sup> *La guerre des Croquarts*, a revolt of the peasants in south-western France about 1593.

<sup>56</sup> La Pallice and Chef de Baie, three and two-and-a-half miles respectively from La Rochelle.

<sup>57</sup> Laon had joined the League, but was taken by Henri IV in 1594.

<sup>58</sup> Guillemots, ternes, and ruddies.

<sup>59</sup> The banks are supposed to have been formed by the detritus of the icebergs which melt on meeting with the Gulf Stream.

<sup>60</sup> Rethel, south-east of Rheims.

<sup>61</sup> Sea-dogs = dog fish. Merlin, the pollock. *Bars*, bass.

<sup>62</sup> Les Sables d'Olanne, on the west coast of France, south of La Rochelle.

<sup>63</sup> St. Pierre and Miquelon, off the south coast of Newfoundland: they still belong to France.

<sup>64</sup> Bass, pollock, and halibut.

<sup>65</sup> *Lysimachia*, the fire-weed; *epilobium angustifolium*, scammony; convolvulus, scammonia: the nearest Acadian species is *convolvulus sepium*; *celamus odoratus*, the sweet flag, *æcrus celamus*; wild-peas, the beach pea; *lathyrus maritimus*.

<sup>66</sup> Oase = mud.

<sup>67</sup> Karkenets = necklaces.

<sup>68</sup> Green Bay. See *Works of Champlain*, I, Plate LXIV, p. 236.

<sup>69</sup> Blowers, a species of porpoise.

<sup>70</sup> Oysters, clams, and crabs. The latter was the *siguenoc* described by Champlain (*Works*, I, 358).

<sup>71</sup> Cannon.

<sup>72</sup> Misfortune Harbour, now Stage Harbour, near Chatham. See *Works of Champlain*, I, Plate LXXVIII, p. 421.

## NOTES

<sup>73</sup> *Vignaux*, periwinkle shells. Cartier's *esurni* should be *esnonguy*. The modern form of which is *cytroghe*. See Biggar, *Voyages of Cartier*, 159.

<sup>74</sup>

"One protects two"

"To these toils also God shall give an end."

(VIRGIL: *Aeneid*, I, 1, 199.)

"To valour no path is pathless."

(OVID: *Metam.*, 14, 113.)

<sup>75</sup> "The Order of Good Cheer."

<sup>76</sup> A street still existing devoted to the sellers of cooked meat.

<sup>77</sup> Ducks, bustards, grey and white geese, partridges, larks, moose, caribou, beaver, otter, bear, rabbits, wild-cats, raccoons, and such like.

<sup>78</sup> Alembic, an apparatus formerly used in distilling.

<sup>79</sup> Falconets, light cannon.

<sup>80</sup> The second son of Henri IV, born April 16, 1607, and died in 1611.

<sup>81</sup> Pyrites.

<sup>82</sup> Savalet Harbour, in Tor Bay, in Nova Scotia. See *Works of Champlain*, I, 463.

<sup>83</sup> The Scilly Islands.

<sup>84</sup> Roscoff, near St. Pol de Léon and Morlaix, on the north coast of Brittany.

<sup>85</sup> A strait between Cape La Hogue and Alderney.

<sup>86</sup> Bustards.

<sup>87</sup> In 1608 Champlain founded Quebec near the mouth of the St. Charles. Cartier's Sainte-Croix, where he wintered in 1535-6.

<sup>88</sup> Dug = the pap.

<sup>89</sup> See Paul Gaffarel, *Jean de Léry*, 2 vols., Paris, 1880.

<sup>90</sup> See Biggar, *Voyages of Cartier*, 179-180.

<sup>91</sup> See *Works of Champlain*, I, 111-8.

<sup>92</sup> Astorgie = lethargy.

<sup>93</sup> See Quaritch's reprint of Hariot's *Briefe and True Report of Virginia*, 37 (London, 1893).

<sup>94</sup> Laudonnière in English in Hakluyt's *Collection*, Vol. III, 370 (London, 1810).

<sup>95</sup> Gaffarel's *Léry*, II, 62.

<sup>96</sup> Santiago de Compostella, near Corunna.

<sup>97</sup> There is no such work. Anniius of Viterbo published some forged fragments under this name as early as 1498.

<sup>98</sup> Luserne = lynx.

<sup>99</sup> *Mekezin* is Micmac, the modern form being *mküşün*.

<sup>100</sup> "Their garments are dirty, and the foul linen of their skinny backs is full of grease; nor can their scanty cloaks of skin reach their calves, and on his naked thigh the poor man drags a horse-hair boot." (Sidonius, 7, Epist. 20, Bk. IV.)

## NOTES

<sup>101</sup> "Go, Liſtor, bind his hands, veil his head, hang him on the accursed tree."

<sup>102</sup> "And soft locks lash their necks."

<sup>103</sup> See *Voyages of Cartier*, 221-2.

<sup>104</sup> German hack or crop-ear.

<sup>105</sup> "By speed the Herule, by his darts the Hun, to swim the Frank."

<sup>106</sup> Pompions = pumpkins.

<sup>107</sup> "He conquered the swift Moors and the Picts, rightly called painted."

<sup>108</sup> "He gazed on the bloodless tattoo-marks, wrought with iron, while the Pict lay dying."

<sup>109</sup> Probably Lamoral, the second son of the Count whom Alva murdered in 1568. This son lived for many years in France.

<sup>110</sup> Carkanets = collars of precious stones.

<sup>111</sup> "Who eat up my people as they eat bread."

<sup>112</sup> *Voyages of Cartier*, 181-2.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> Bruvage = drinkables.

<sup>115</sup> Carbonadoes = a piece of flesh scored across and grilled or broiled upon the coals.

<sup>116</sup> Oribasius was a celebrated Greek physician, born c. A.D. 325, died c. 400. Authorities differ as to his birthplace—Sardis or Pergamos. Julian (afterwards "The Apostate") made an intimate friend of him, and asked him to compile an abridgment of Galen's works. Three of his works only, in their entirety, are regarded as absolutely authentic; portions of others are extant; and many are doubtful. (*Nouv. Biog. Gen.*, Paris, 1862.)

<sup>117</sup> Duris of Samos, c. 340-280 B.C., mentioned by Plutarch.

<sup>118</sup> "For no one dances when quite sober."

<sup>119</sup> Probably the Micmac for "We have feasted well and we sing your praises often." See Grant's *Lescarbot*, III, 182.

<sup>120</sup> Augier Ghislain de Busbeque (1522-92), Imperial Ambassador at the Porte.

<sup>121</sup> "If men are well, thy art, Phœbus, takes to its bed."

<sup>122</sup> The horseshoe crab, common on the coast of Massachusetts.

<sup>123</sup> "The Memphian skiff is formed of thirsty papyrus."

<sup>124</sup> "Whose sport it is to furrow the salt sea of Britain with boat of skin, and to cleave the grey sea with pinnace sewn together."

<sup>125</sup> Abraham Ben Meir Ibn Egra (1092-1167), a Spanish Jew and celebrated medieval commentator.

<sup>126</sup> "No man gives, intending to lose."

<sup>127</sup> Perhaps allied to the Micmac *mejegaetuladegā*, signifying "to be mean."

<sup>128</sup> "And Pontus (produces) stinking beaver."

## NOTES

<sup>129</sup> Gaius Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius, a Christian writer of the fifth century who copied Virgil's *Georgics*, Book II: "India produces ivory, Chaldea balsam, Assyria gems, China silk, Sabuca frankincense, Attica honey, Phœnicia palms, Lacedæmon olives, Argos steeds, Epirus mares, Gaul cattle, the Chalybes arms, Libya corn, Campania wine, Lydia gold, Arabia oil, Panchaia myrrh, Pontus beaver, Tyre purple, Corinth bronze."

<sup>130</sup> The raccoon.

<sup>131</sup> *Voyages of Cartier*, 186.

<sup>132</sup> Tiercelets = pigeon-hawks.

<sup>133</sup> Ducks, gannets, puffins, wild or Canada geese, seagulls, and cormorants.

<sup>134</sup> The humming-bird.

<sup>135</sup> *Voyages of Cartier*, 198.

<sup>136</sup> Arignan-oussou, perhaps the smaller Tinamou Jacous, medium-sized Curassow. Mouton = *Mutun*, the larger Curassow. Mocacoïa = Macuco, the largest Tinamou.

<sup>137</sup> The Alewife or Gaspereau.

<sup>138</sup> Sea-chestnuts = sea-urchins.

<sup>139</sup> The otoliths.

<sup>140</sup> Lesquemin = Les Esecumains, near Tadoussac.

<sup>141</sup> Moses = walrus. See *Voyages of Cartier*, Appendix III, 304. Brion Island, near the Bird Rocks in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, still bears the same name. The Seven Islands, near Seven Islands Bay, in the north-west corner of the Gulf; *ibid.*, 109.

<sup>142</sup> The maize of the Armouchiquois was unknown in Europe.

<sup>143</sup> The small walnuts were hickories, and the plums the common beach-plum.

<sup>144</sup> The species was the so-called wild tobacco (*nicotiana rustica*). The *consolida major* was the comfrey.

<sup>145</sup> This was the Indian potato, *apios tuberosa*.

<sup>146</sup> The strawberries and raspberries are common in Acadia. The blue and red berries were the dwarf bilberry, and the *guedres* were the highbush cranberry.

<sup>147</sup> The common blueberry.

<sup>148</sup> See Grant's *Lescarbot*, I, 148 *et seq.*

<sup>149</sup> A mis-translation of *elles chargent dessus* = rush on them.

<sup>150</sup> "Endure and preserve yourselves for favouring fortune."

<sup>151</sup> Saco, in Maine.

<sup>152</sup> Blaise de Vigenère (1523-1596), French scholar and diplomat.

<sup>153</sup> Jean van der Driesche. Drusius (1550-1616), a Dutch-Belgian writer.

<sup>154</sup> "The hired mourners weep loudly at the funeral of another, and tear their hair and shout yet louder."

<sup>155</sup> "The shout goes up to heaven and the clangour of trumpets."

<sup>156</sup> Sieur des Accords, in his *Les Touches*, Paris, 1585.



## NOTES

- 157 "First from the ground a lofty pile they rear  
Of pitch-trees, oaks, and pines, and unctuous fir."  
VIRGIL: *Æneid*, VI, 214-5 (Dryden's translation).

158 *Æneid*, VI, 221-5 (Dryden):

"Then on a bier, with purple covered o'er,  
The breathless body thus bewailed they lay,  
And fire the pile, their faces turned away; . . .  
Pure oil and incense on the fire they throw,  
And fat of victims, which his friends bestow."

159 *Æneid*, XI, 72-80 and 791-6 (Dryden):

"Then two fair vests, of wondrous work and cost,  
Of purple woven and with gold embossed,  
For ornament the Trojans' hero brought . . .  
Besides, the spoils of foes in battle slain,  
When he descended on the Latian plain.  
Arms, trappings, horses, by the hearse he led  
In long array (the achievements of the dead).

Tears trickling down their breasts bedew the ground,  
And drums and trumpets mix their mournful sound.  
Amid the blaze their pious brethren throw  
The spoils in battle taken from the foe:  
Helms, bits embossed, and swords of shining steel,  
One casts a target, one a chariot wheel:  
Some to their fellows their own arms restore:  
The falchions which in luckless fight they bore . . .  
Whole herds of offered bulls about the fire,  
And bristled boars, and woolly sheep expire."

160 "They bear to the pyre all that the dead man held dear in his lifetime, even his beasts, slaves, and clients."

161 "The same all-parent is the common sepulchre of all."



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