Remote Places with an Unheard Language

A Study into the Portrayal of the Native Languages of Northern America by Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth French and English Voyagers

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I hereby declare that, in line with the Faculty of Arts' code of conduct for research integrity, the work submitted here is my own original work and that any additional sources of information have been duly cited.

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Introduction

Yet are they not a little proud that they can speake the English *tongue, using it as much as their owne, when they meete with such as understand it, puzzling stranger* Indians, *which sometimes visite them from more remote places, with an unheard language.*
(William Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, 1634)

When French and English explorers arrived on the Northern coast of America, various factors brought them into contact with the native population. Although Natives were generally viewed as 'lesser' beings due to their presumed lack of civilization, Europeans voyagers became highly dependent on their goodwill not only for survival and trade, but also for colonial expansion. When the need for complex communication arose, European travelers began to learn Native American languages and collect information about them to be published for European audiences. The earliest indications of written Native languages often describe the most basic words and phrases the voyagers found most useful to learn. They therefore provide a good picture of the knowledge these Europeans had of the languages they encountered, and of the parts of this knowledge they assumed most useful to document.

This study looks at any kind of travel writing – by both French and English explorers, who traveled to North America and sought contact with the Native peoples – that contains information about the degree of knowledge Europeans had of the Native language they encountered, about the way in which they preserved this knowledge, and about the assumptions they made regarding these languages. For reasons detailed below, a hundred-year period is analyzed, in which three contextual trends in the portrayal of Native languages can be distinguished. Within these trends, this study analyzes the discourse on language and how translations into Native languages were presented.

As a first remark, I would like to point out that much of the historiography on this topic is still focused on the uncovering of historical facts. Due to the ambiguous nature and content of the sources concerning the period of early exploration of the North American continent, historians continue to struggle to come to a consensus on the nature of transpired events. J.H. Kennedy for example, who published his work in 1950, studied how the actions of French missionaries in New France were mainly influenced by the broader political context.[1] More recent research, by contrast, tends to focus on the

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[1] John Hopkins Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France*, Yale Historical Publications. Miscellany 50 (New Haven (Conn.): Yale university press, 1950).

psychological impact of missionary work in a foreign and unfamiliar environment.[2] But this change of approach is not conspicuous in all aspects of scholarship on the Early Modern period, as the focus continues to lie on the explorers and their actions. The Great Man Theory does not seem to have diminished in strength as has been the case in other branches of historiography. As the writings of the great explorers continue to intrigue historians, publications focusing on travel writers continue to be published at a steady rate.[3] Although they do go into more specific aspects of each historical figure, they provide little more than a detailed framework for other historians to build upon. Moreover, they are too numerous to provide a clear overview at this point. Nevertheless, they will be used as the foundation of the first chapter of this study, which goes deeper into the author of each selected source individually. An overview can easily be obtained there.

Although the Great Man Theory remains prevalent, scholars prefer to focus on the genre of travel writing as such. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt are prominent in this field, working either together or separately to sketch the roots and foundations of this kind of scholarship in broader historiographical trends of New Historicism.[4] Varying introductions to the genre were also provided by John Pau Rubiés, Laura Lisy-Wagner, and Zweder von Martels.[5] In this trend, historians turned their sources to the historical context. In studies such as Carey and Jowitt's and David Read's, a comparison of travelogues lay the foundation of a framework that enables the interpretation of the discourse in such sources and its impact in Early Modern societies.[6]

Research that is more relevant to my work turns towards the context, minimizing the role of the author. These studies attempt to construct a general framework for reliable interpretations of the Early Modern conceptions of America and its inhabitants, as is the case in the works of Peter Mason

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[2] For more information concerning this aspect, see: Matteo Binasco, "Few, Uncooperative, and Endangered: The Troubled Activity of the Roman Catholic Missionaries in Acadia, 1610-1710", *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 10 (2007): 147–62.

[3] To give the example Gabriel Sagard, reliable studies on Jesuits are found throughout the twentieth century, for example in Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France*; Victor Egon Hanzeli, *Missionary Linguistics in New France: A Study of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Descriptions of American Indian Languages*, Janua Linguarum. Series Major 29 (The Hague: Mouton, 1969). Literature on their efforts continue throughout the 21st century. To name a few: Binasco, "Few, Uncooperative, and Endangered"; Éva Guillorel, "Gérer la « confusion de Babel » : politiques missionnaires et langues vernaculaires dans l'Est du Canada (XVIIᵉ-XIXᵉ siècles)", *Revue d'Histoire de L'Amérique Française* 66, no. 2 (Autumn 2012): 177–203; Marie-Christine Pioffet, "Gabriel Sagard, l'insoumis : archéologie d'une historiographie polémique", *Études littéraires* 47, no. 1 (2016): 39–50.

[4] A good introduction into this topic is: Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt, "Introduction: Early Modern Travel Writing", *Studies in Travel Writing* 12, no. 1 (March 2008): 1–5.

[5] Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Travel Writing as a Genre: Facts, Fictions and the Invention of a Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe", *Journeys* 1, no. 1/2 (December 2000): 5–35; Laura Lisy-Wagner, "Travel Narratives from the Age of Discovery: An Anthology", *Journal of Early Modern History* 11, no. 6 (2007); Zweder von Martels, *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing,* Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 55, (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

[6] Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt, *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, Hakluyt Society. Extra Series 47 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012); David Read, "Colonialism and Coherence: The Case of Captain John Smith's 'Generall Historie of Virginia'", *Modern Philology* 91, no. 4 (1994): 428–48.

and Stuart B. Schwartz.[7] Another important figures in this field is Anthony Pagden. His works uncover the influence of the Renaissance on European authors/colonizers, the conceptions of the nature of the Native Americans and early 'racism', and the polarized relationship between Native Americans and European settlers. They are all valuable contributions to historiography and will be referred to throughout this study.[8] Furthermore, although written like a Cambridge-styled monologue, John H. Elliott's internationally comparative research on the boundaries of perception of European travelers provides a much needed nuance to the Great Man Theory by pointing out the limitations of their abilities as voices of history.[9] This nuance is also conspicuous in the studies of Andrew Hadfield and Karen Kupperman, who focus primarily on English colonial writing.[10] Debates on these topics were also held in conferences, the conclusions of which are published in proceedings, for example Fredi Chiappelli's (ed.) *First Images of America*, which includes an article by Steven Greenblatt, which directed the attention of historians towards linguistics.[11]

It comes as no surprise that Native American languages and language theory have attracted scholars of other fields as well. In the fields of sociology and anthropology, the first studies on the impact of language in communication were published in the early twentieth century, and they have been updated continually ever since.[12] In addition, linguists have been able to piece the original language of the Native Americans back together after genocidal waves during the past centuries.[13] It goes without saying that their efforts have been combined with the efforts of historians to locate and

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[7] Peter Mason, *Deconstructing America: Representations of the Other* (London: Routledge, 1990); Peter Mason, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 1998); Stuart B. Schwartz, *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: University press, 1994).

[8] Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*, Cambridge Iberian and Latin American Studies (Cambridge: University press, 1982); Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism*, Repr. (New Haven (Conn.): Yale university, 1998); Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden, *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World: 1500-1800* (Princeton (N.J.): Princeton university press, 1987).

[9] John H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New: 1492-1650*, Canto edition, Cambridge Paperbacks: History (Cambridge: University Press, 1992).

[10] To list a few of their studies, Andrew Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels: Travel and Colonial Writing in English, 1550-1630 : An Anthology* (Oxford: University Press, 2001); Karen O. Kupperman, "English Perceptions of Treachery, 1583-1640: The Case of the American 'Savages'", *The Historical Journal* 20, no. 2 (1977): 263–87; Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580-1640*, First Edition (London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Incorporated, 1980).

[11] Stephen J. Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse: Aspects of Linguistic Colonialism in the Sixteenth Century", In *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, F. Chiappelli ed., II (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 561-80.

[12] The first was the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis on language relativity (John A. Lucy, "Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis", In *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences (Second Edition)*, edited by James D. Wright (Oxford: Elsevier, 2015), 903–6.) and changes have continued up to recent research in how people look at other languages: Dennis R. Preston, "Language Regard: What, Why, How, Whither?", In *Language Regard*, edited by Betsy E. Evans, Erica J. Benson, and James Stanford, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2018), 3–28.

[13] A good example of such an overview is: Lyle Campbell, *American Indian Languages: The Historical Linguistics of Native America*, Oxford Studies in Anthropological Linguistics 4 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

interpret historical sources.[14] However, historical research has also continued on its own. Two reputable works form the foundation of this research field: Peter Burke's study of languages and communities on the European continent and Norman Fiering and Edward Gray's collection of essays on American language encounters.[15] These works transparently uncovered the cultural meaning of languages in a European context and their influence on the communication with Native American peoples. *The Language Encounter in the Americas* is especially interesting due to the large variety of topics discussed in the selected essays. Furthermore, its broad temporal delineation enables the reader to see both synchronic and diachronic links between the histories.

A last kind of historical research on the languages of Northern America is of a more specific nature. These case studies go deeper into a single aspect of language encounters in the Early Modern context. The most prominent study into New France was done by Victor E. Hanzeli, a household name in the field of missionary linguistics.[16] While the importance of the missionary texts cannot be ignored, scholarship into missionary linguistics is often too dominant in historical research concerning North American languages, eclipsing research into other forms of linguistic works during the Early Modern period. These other forms were highly variable. Peter Bakker, for example, chose to focus on how foreign influences are visible in Native languages by studying pidgins and mixed languages.[17] Other historians, such as Colleen Ebacher focus instead on communication rather than on language.[18] Yet another perspective investigates the impact of linguistics on colonization efforts, as is done in the works of Ursula Haskins Gonthier and James J. Errington.[19]

This study will focus on the perception and knowledge of Native languages that was distributed by travel writers who resided in Northern America at some point during the delimited period and

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[14] A good example of an overview of sources is Ives Goddard, *Languages*, Handbook of North American Indians 17, (Smithsonian Institution, 1996). which present the currently found sources which include language information per region. An overview of the linguistic/historical developments can be found in: Ernst F. K. Koerner, *Essays in the History of Linguistics,* Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science, Series 3: Studies in the History of the Language Sciences (Amsterdam Philadelphia: JBenjamins Pub, 2004).

[15] Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, The Wiles Lectures given at the Queen's University Belfast 2002 (Cambridge: University Press, 2004); Norman Fiering and Edward G. Gray, *The Language Encounter in the Americas, 1492-1800: A Collection of Essays*, Repr., European Expansion and Global Interaction 1 (New York (N.Y.): Berghahn, 2003).

[16] Hanzeli, *Missionary Linguistics in New France*.

[17] Peter Bakker, "'The Language of the Coast Tribes Is Half Basque': A Basque-American Indian Pidgin in Use between Europeans and Native Americans in North America, ca. 1540-ca. 1640", *Anthropological Linguistics* 31, no. 3/4 (1989): 117–47; Bakker, "A Language of Our Own: The Genesis of Michif: The Mixed Cree-French Language of the Canadian Métis" (Oxford: University Press, 1997).

[18] Colleen Ebacher, "The Old and the New World: Incorporating American Indian Forms of Discourse and Modes of Communication into Colonial Missionary Texts", *Anthropological Linguistics* 33, no. 2 (1991): 135–65. In this study, Ebacher used engravings in manuals to determine how Native Americans understood printed texts.

[19] Ursula Haskins Gonthier, "Une colonisation linguistique? Les Mémoires de l'Amérique septentrionale de Lahontan", *Études françaises* 45, no. 2 (2009): 115–29; James Joseph Errington, *Linguistics in a Colonial World: A Story of Language, Meaning, and Power* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007).

purposefully included information about Native languages in their (later) publication. This focus on the European perspective is partly motivated by the difficult and disputed presence of the Native Americans in colonial travel writing.[20] Even when studying the language, for which at least a minimum of the information can be attributed to an actual Native speaker/teacher, the knowledge is still presented in a European framework, the most obvious of which the alphabet – which dictated the spelling of sound – or connotations of words, etc. In order to avoid the hot debates of postcolonial and subaltern studies, I will focus instead on what the Europeans aimed to present when collecting, drafting, editing, and publishing their own and others' knowledge of Native American languages. In order to uncover this, I will look at the different approaches to presenting language information, and at the way in which these approaches were employed and personalized by each source's author. Other questions, such as which parts of the languages were most common and whether these reflect the European objectives at that time, will also be posed and answered. Furthermore, I will investigate changes in language perception or presentation within the defined period. At the end of this study, I will reflect on the differences, if there are any, between French and English authors.

This study aims to uncover the presentation of Native languages in a period where language was not the main concern of colonial actors or the European states that sent them. Because other themes were more dominant in this period, previous historical scholarship of this period only superficially makes notes on the perception of language – if it is at all mentioned – as a small part of the larger discourse. While these general historical considerations are mentioned in preliminary examinations throughout this study, the main focus will instead be on the presentation of language information, not as an expression of dominant ideas but as an active element in the formation of these ideas. Furthermore, this topic has mainly been studied within the framework of one colonial entity. I wish to move away from this framework, as it is my belief that the developments of the outlined regions were not so irrevocably different that they cannot be studied as a whole. Ultimately, this study aims to distinguish itself from previous historiography by investigating a hiatus in the scholarship of the delineated period and by using a renewed approach to the context of exploration in general, which connects French and English colonial expansion.

My hypothesis when beginning this study, although rather simplistic, was that there are certain similarities between the words and phrases presented by sources at the same phases of contact. I believed that all Europeans, independent from their goals in America, relied on a general basis of words and phrases through which they can express the needs for which they require Native help. Moreover, I believed that aside from these words, Europeans translated and recorded certain aspects more often,

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[20] Whether the colonial subject is present in colonial literature written by the colonizer is debated in the field of colonial anthropology and Subaltern Studies. Perhaps the most prominent work in this field is Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's *Can the Subaltern Speak?*

or in different ways, according to their personal reason for learning the Native's language. Lastly, I hypothesized that the rest of the words and phrases can be categorized as belonging to the direct environment of the author.

In order to formulate clear and falsifiable answers to the research question, this study will proceed through five phases. First, the geographical and thematical parameters that outline this study will be presented. In the second phase, the chronological delimitations are established. In order to properly understand the information presented in the sources, based on the historical context, the reports of the colonization of French and English Northern American territories will be grouped into three trends. The first two phases will be competed in the introduction, as they provide the foundation for the selection of sources presented in phase three. The selected sources will then be further analyzed following the standard method of historical criticism. From this analysis, two possible techniques to present language information can be delineated. In phase four, a framework will be created to substantiate and contextualize the analysis of both techniques. This framework will integrate the general European conceptions of America into this study and will investigate the opinions on Native culture presented in the selected sources. A fifth and final phase will analyze the language information based on this framework.

The spatial and thematical delineations appear in the first phase because of their elementary role in this study's aim. From the sixteenth century onward, there were two dominant colonial spheres on the North-East coast of the American continent: the English sphere which encompassed the Carolinas, Virginia, and New England; and the French sphere which related to New France.[21] I selected these geographical sites because of the similarity of the developments in these regions: both were first explored and then settled by their respective colonial states.[22] In the English sphere, the first explored territory was Carolina, although its appearance in colonial expansion was rather brief. The Native Americans living in this region spoke what is now called Carolina Algonquin.[23] Virginia and the Jamestown settlement provided the second region to be colonized by the English; the language that was spoken there Powhatan.[24] In the region to the North – New England – the Native language is hard to determine, as many different languages were spoken there, although the most dominant language

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[21] See map in Annex.

[22] Colonial activities relating to other geographic regions are excluded from this study because of different colonial contexts which cannot be integrated into the comparative analyses of this study. Some examples of the excluded forms of colonial activity are the French exploration and settlement of Florida and the Mississippi valley, which was motivated by Spanish competition; English piracy, because it cannot be seen as the colonization of a region; and English exploratory efforts into the far North, because these aim to locate the North-West Passage to the Pacific ocean and, as a result, the explored region was not settled by the English.

[23] Ives Goddard, "Eastern Algonquin Languages", in *Northeast*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger, vol. 15, Handbook of North American Indians (Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 70-77. The true name of the language and the people was never uncovered.

[24] Goddard, "Eastern Algonquin Languages", 73.

was Massachusett or Wampanoag.[25] The French exploration began in the Bay of Saint Lawrence, spreading out into Acadia and going up the Saint Lawrence River to present day Quebec and Montreal. In these regions, two language families were present. The Iroquois speaking Natives lived along the river, while further inland several Algonquin-speaking communities were found.[26] Inland of the western banks, the Natives spoke Cree dialects, referred to in the Early Modern period by several names, the most common 'Montagnais' and 'Laurentian'.[27] In Acadia to the east, different Algonquin-speaking tribes spoke Mi'kmaq, Masileet-Passanaquoddy, and Abenaki.[28] The river's origins at Lake Huron was the third territory, named 'Huronia' by the French, and was inhabited by Wendat Natives who spoke an Iroquois language with the same name.[29]

As for the theme of the analyzed material, it is important to note that a certain disinterest in Northern America is also visible in contemporary sources of the time. In sixteenth century England, only a small part of the printed books contained information regarding Northern America, especially when compared to the representation of other parts of the world.[30] The kind of books that were the first to provide information on what was found in America were travelogues. Because this study's focal point is the perception and presentation of Native languages, it will exclusively work with these first travelogues, more specifically their vernacular publications.[31] In so doing, it is guaranteed that the author came into contact with the indigenous population himself, and therefore presents – at least in part – his own knowledge of the examined subject. A second parameter delineates the geographical context of the travelogues. The selected sources only present information on one region, in which case the author actively aimed to learn the languages thereof and portray his knowledge in his account.[32]

A third point within this thematical delimitation must be illuminated. Information about America was unpopular in France and England, but information concerning the languages of the Native Americans however was even more scarce. Most pioneers and travel writers were sent to Northern America with a clear purpose, a purpose that was never explicitly related to the language of the peoples they encountered. Because of this, the sources selected to this study need to be carefully selected and properly understood against their historical background. Only when the most important motivations for each voyage and author are clear, can the motivations for presenting language in any

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[25] Goddard, "Eastern Algonquin Languages", 72; Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, 7.
[26] Floyd G. Lounsbury, "Iroquoian Languages", in *Northeast*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger, vol. 15, Handbook of North American Indians (Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 335.
[27] Lounsbury, "Iroquoian Languages", 336.
[28] Goddard, "Eastern Algonquin Languages", 70.
[29] Lounsbury, "Iroquoian Languages", 335. Possible variation is Wyandot.
[30] Chiappelli, *First Images of America*, II, 520.
[31] All sources were originally printed in a vernacular language. Although not all authors shared the same ability to write their relations in Latin, this was a conscious choice based on the targeted audience.
[32] Works by author who authors who traveled to and described several colonial regions are more fitting for a comparison on a global scale, which this study does not aim to provide.

capacity be uncovered. Finally, to ensure that the presentations in the selected travelogues influenced the discourse on America, all selected sources needed to be in circulation during or shortly after the outlined period.[33]

With these outlines, the second phase can look into the chronology of the studied period. As can be ascertained from the state of the art, several temporal frameworks are possible. Because this study will examine both the French and the English colonial projects, I argue that a new framework is needed. The studied period starts in 1534 with the first exploratory voyage by Jacques Cartier. His voyage was the first officially state sanctioned journey to the Northern American continent. After the last Cartier voyage in 1542, however, French exploration lay dormant until ca. 1600. English territorial explorations, on the other hand, are more typically described to begin ca. 1580. Letting the studied period commence in 1534 for both colonial spheres invalidates the idea that French exploration had a head start, instead pointing to the periodical gaps in both spheres. These gaps were the result of political and religious unrest during which the established government was unable to divert their gaze to foreign affairs. Furthermore, it dissuades the idea that the English were colonially inactive before 1580.

The end of the period is placed in 1630. This date does not represent an event, but rather an increasingly different context in which colonial activity took place. The increase of European settlers on the continent who were no longer dependent on the indigenous population in terms of food and protection changed the relationship between these two groups. Political centralization, initiated by both the motherland and colonial governances, attempted to lay claim to many aspects of Native life hitherto undisputed, for example education. However, the contrary was also true. Together with the need to control Natives, Europeans increasingly wished for more distance from those they could not control. Because these elements impacted European and Native American language encounters, the period after 1630 is not included in this study. Furthermore, the English and French colonial projects – which up until then knew a comparable course – became increasingly variable. Political developments took their toll on the perception of the Natives, resulting in different portrayals in each colonial zone. For the French, this related to the organized structures of missionary orders that brought a permanent and stable presence of religious actors under the leadership of Jesuit Paul Le Jeune.[34] English mass

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[33] As will be uncovered in chapter 1, the publication date of the sources, although most commonly shortly after the voyage, is never a point of reference throughout this study. Because this study focuses on the gathering and portrayal of the authors' knowledge, the periods of travel and drafting are far more influential than the exact period of publishing. Furthermore, in several sources, the publication date distorts the image of the source: a point I will go into in more detail with a next chapter.

[34] Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France*, 39.

settlement commenced ca. 1630 due to renewed religious prosecution and the forced migration of colonial 'workers'.[35]

During this hundred-year period, several events changed the context in which Europeans traveled to Northern American and interpreted their encounters with its indigenous population. To provide insights into the knowledge of European colonizers of Native American languages and their presentation of this knowledge in their published accounts, this study outlines three trends in the delineated time period. To avoid confusion throughout this study, these trends will from now on be called *Waves of Knowledge Gathering*.[36] These reflect the kind of reporting on colonial matters, defining the unique elements visible in reports of each wave as well as differences in reporting between waves. The methodological value of the distinction between the waves is thus that it reflects the context of the factual voyage(s) of the selected authors and how these authors were influenced by the overall approach of the French and English exploration and colonization of Northern America when presenting information about language.

The reason behind this approach is twofold. First, I noted that after a certain point in time, authors began referring to reports of earlier voyages. Although 'wave-internal' influences were not uncommon, this was more often a result of societal criticism and mutual competition. In contrast, earlier wave influences were historiographical references and reflect the motive of the author to present the information of his predecessors as 'from another time', which already hints at a changed attitude. The second argument for this division is the factual changes that occurred – in Europe as well as on the American continent – that influenced the proceedings of colonization. What these occurrences were, and how they triggered a different perception of America in Europe, is outlined in the following paragraph and in more detail in chapter 1.[37]

This study recognizes three waves, each of which enveloped a subsequent period in time in which the context of the European debates on America was so significantly changed that the portrayal of Native American languages was undertaken in a different manner than before. The first wave is characterized by the hesitant approach of the exploring state due to its domestic unrest induced by various conflicts. In this first wave, voyagers aimed to present an image to their readers of what Northern America was, providing a legal claim to the explored regions in the name of their mother land. Furthermore, these explorations were brief and remained along the coastlines. I have roughly outlined this wave in the period between 1534 until ca. 1600, due to the varying chronology in French and British voyages. The French king only sent out three voyages to Northern America during the entire

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[35] Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, 2
[36] A metaphor that might be helpful to understand this rather abstract explanation is to think of a wave sentiment as a 'fashion'. It likewise influenced and was influenced by the preferences of contemporary actors.
[37] Chapter 1 will first provide the historical context and then outline the selected sources within this wave system.

sixteenth century (1534-1542), on all three of which Jacques Cartier was present.[38] English territorial colonization into Northern America – as opposed to its impermanent, economically motivated exploits throughout the sixteenth century – commenced around 1580 and continued to expand during the last decades of the sixteenth century.[39]

The second wave was heralded by the changed political contexts occurring ca. 1600. In contrast with the first wave, voyages during this period were marked by their invasive exploration of the American interior and the first attempts at colonial permanence.[40] These voyages were undertaken by militarily trained personnel who built settlements and defended their colonial claims against both the indigenous population and other European states. For French explorations, this period commences with the voyage of Samuel de Champlain in 1603, but is part of the larger trend of renewed French exploration starting just before 1600.[41] As for the English, voyages had increased steadily before 1600, but were reorganized by the new English monarch who came to power in 1603.[42]

A third wave came into being at the end of the exploration phase and the beginning of colonial expansion in the sense of the creation of permanent infrastructure. The resulting sense of security brought a new kind of voyager to the American coast. Where before only state sanctioned army men had been given leave to undertake the journey, religious actors now received permissions, their reports and writings on their experiences dominating the American discourse. In New France, Recollect missionaries began arriving ca. 1620, followed by the Jesuits some years later.[43] In English territories, the religious actors arrived without state sanction.[44] A noteworthy element of this wave is that colonial travel writing increased, although there was no increase in the number of books that described Native languages.[45] Furthermore, the writings of this wave were heavily influenced by the political developments in the Americas and in Europe, as will be demonstrated later on.

In the third phase of this study, a total of nine sources that provided sufficient information on the languages of the indigenous population of Northern America were selected based on these criteria.

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[38] G. Paquet and J. P. Wallot, "Nouvelle France/Québéc/Canada: A World of Limited Identities", in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. Nicolas Canny and Anthony Pagden (Princeton University Press, 1987), 95. The French 'gap' thus stretches from 1542 until ca. 1600.

[39] Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels*, 14-15. The English 'gap' thus stretches from 1534 until ca. 1580.

[40] Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels*, 15; Binasco, "Few, Uncooperative, and Endangered", 148.

[41] David Buisseret, "The Cartographic Technique of Samuel de Champlain", *Imago Mundi* 61, no. 2 (2009), 256.

[42] Herbert Eugene Bolton and Thomas Maitland Marshall, *The Colonization of North America 1492-1783* (Macmillan, 1920), http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/36619#download.

[43] Hanzeli, *Missionary Linguistics in New France*, 18-20. The first missionaries had arrived before 1620 and traveled to Acadia, but the tumultuous context of the second wave explorations impeded meaningful religious actions. No documents from these earliest missions survived. The success of missions and the endurance of their accounts is linked to the permanence created by the third wave.

[44] This refers to the religious dissidents that were exiled, the most famous group being Puritans. Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels*, xiii.

[45] Andrew Fitzmaurice, "The Civic Solution to the Crisis of English Colonization, 1609–1625", *The Historical Journal* 42, no. 1 (March 1999), 27.

Although the use of 'sufficient' as an indication of volume is ambiguous, I find it hard to describe this any other way. In sources that examine a local language in an insufficient manner, the author only noted – for example – its difference from European languages or how he did not understand it.[46] By contrast, the sufficient forms outlined below used at least one of two techniques to present language information: offering a discourse on language or including translations of the encountered language. In the short overview below, the sources were listed by chronology of the voyage of their author.

The first source to meet all these criteria is Jacques Cartier's 1534 voyage report, which contains a four-page vocabulary list.[47] Next, Thomas Harriot's text, distributed in Theodor de Bry's 1590 *Great Voyages*-series, contains several Native words which are explained in English.[48] The following voyager is Samuel de Champlain, whose first voyage to Northern America took place in 1603, although his place in chronology is ambiguous due to the continuing revisions of his prints.[49] A number of these revised editions contain the Christian Doctrine translated by Jean de Brébeuf. In 1606, John Smith disembarked in Virginia under the leadership of Christopher Newport.[50] The voyage account commences with a three-page vocabulary list. In the same year, Marc Lescarbot journeyed to Acadia.[51] His first print contained a chapter explaining the Native American language to his readers. In the revised edition, this chapter is longer and includes a vocabulary list. In 1609, after a year delay, William

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[46] Many authors made notes like those, for example the Puritan Edward Winslow, who was a passenger on the famous *Mayflower*.

[47] Jacques Cartier, *Discours du voyage fait par le Capitaine Iaques Cartier aux terres-neufues de Canadas, Norembergue, Hochelage, Labrador, & pays adiacens, dite nouuelle France, auec particulieres moeurs, langage, & ceremonies des habitans d'icelle* (Rouen: Raphaël du Petit Val, 1598), b2221020, John Carter Brown Library, http://archive.org/details/discoursduvoyage00cart.

[48] Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia: Of the Commodities and of the Nature and Manners of the Naturall Inhabitants. Discouered by the English Colony There Seated by Sir Richard Greinuile Knight in the Yeere 1585. Which Remained Vnder the Gouernment of Twelue Monethes, at the Speciall Charge and Direction of the Honourable Sir Walter Raleigh Knight Lord Warden of the Stanneries Who Therein Hath Beene Fauoured and Authorised by Her Maiestie and Her Letters Patents*, ed. Theodor de Bry, English Edition, vol. 1, 14 vols., Great Voyages (Frankfurt am Mein: Ioannis Wecheli, 1590), J De Bry GV pt. 1 1590 Eng, John Carter Brown Library, http://archive.org/details/briefetruereport00harr.

[49] Samuel de Champlain, *Les Voyages de la Nouuelle France occidentale, dicte Canada, faits par le sr de Champlain Xainctongeois, capitaine pour le roy en la marine du Ponant, & toutes les descouuertes qu'il a faites en ce païs depuis l'an 1603. iusques en l'an 1629* (Paris: Claude Collet, 1632), b2221989, John Carter Brown Library, http://archive.org/details/lesvoyagesdelano01cham.

[50] John Smith et al., *A Map of Virginia: With a Description of the Countrey, the Commodities, People, Government, and Religion* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1612), D612 .S652m, John Carter Brown Library, http://archive.org/details/mapofvirginiavvi00smit.

[51] Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France : contenant les navigations, découvertes, & habitations faites par les Fançois és Indes Occidentales & Nouvelle-France souz l'avoeu & authorité de noz Rois Tres-Chréstiens, & les diverses fortunes d'iceux en l'execution de ces choses, depuis cent ans jusques à hui*, 1st Edition (Paris: Jean Millot, 1609), E609 .L624h, John Carter Brown Library, http://archive.org/details/lesmusesdelanouv00lesc; Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France : contenant les navigations, découvertes, & habitations faites par les Fançois és Indes Occidentales & Nouvelle-France souz l'avoeu & authorité de noz Rois Tres-Chréstiens, & les diverses fortunes d'iceux en l'execution de ces choses, depuis cent ans jusques à hui*, 2nd Edition (Paris: Jean Millot, 1611), E611 .L624h, John Carter Brown Library, http://archive.org/details/histoiredelanouv00lesc_2.

Strachey arrived in Virginia.[52] His print contains a fourteen-page vocabulary of the Powhatan language. Next, Gabriel Sagard assembled both a travel account and a dictionary of the Wendat language after traveling to the Huron lakes in 1623.[53] Shortly after, in 1625, Jean de Brébeuf traveled to this same region several times over the course of his life. [54] In his own publication, edited by his superior Paul Le Jeune, he dedicated a chapter in the print to the explanation of the Wendat language. He also made a translation of Christian Doctrine into Wendat, which was added to the 1632 print of Samuel de Champlain.[55] Finally, William Wood disembarked in New England in 1629, adding a short five-page vocabulary list at the end of his book.[56]

With the selected travelogues firmly divided into their wave contexts and thoroughly vetted in this study's first chapter, they will then be subjected to interpretation in the two final phases. The languages of the Native Americans in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries constitute a very specific topic in which several elements and external factors contributed to the formulations of attitudes and portrayals. This is not only true for the study of Native languages, but for other parts of Native life as well. It is therefore a habit in historical scholarship on the history of Native Americans to first uncover how the studied portrayals were influenced by the European interpretations of the Natives' Otherness. A good example is Karen Kupperman's *Settling with the Indians*.[57] It focuses on aspects of Native culture compared to – and perceived as opposed to – English culture, but first provides a clear picture on how Natives' 'savagery' was perceived by English explorers who travelled to English East coast territories from 1580 until 1640. The first part of Kupperman's book focuses on the elements that classified the Native as inferior, providing a well-thought out framework which

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[52] William Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile Into Virginia Britannia*, critical edition by Richard Henry Major (London: Hakluyt Society, 1849), http://archive.org/details/historietravail00majogoog.

[53] Gabriel Sagard, *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons, situé en l'Amerique vers la Mer douce, és derniers confins de la nouuelle France, dite Canada* (Paris: Denis Moreau, 1632), b2222863, John Carter Brown Library, http://archive.org/details/dictionairedelal01saga.

[54] Jean de Brébeuf, "Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans le pays des Hvrons en l'annee 1636: Enuoyée à Kébec au R.P. Paul le Ieune Superieur de la Mission de la Compagnie de Iesvs, en la Nouuelle France" in *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Novvelle France en l'année 1636: Enuoyée au R. pere provincial de la Compagnie de Iesvs en la Prouince de France. Par le P. Paul le Ieune de la mesme Compagnie, Superieur de la Residence de Kébec,* edited by Paul Le Jeune (Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy, 1637), b2222553, John Carter Brown Library, 2-223, http://archive.org/details/relationdecequis00brbe.

[55] Jean de Brébeuf, "Doctrine Chrestienne du R.P. Ledesme de la compagnie de Iesus", in *Les Voyages de la Nouuelle France occidentale, dicte Canada, faits par le sr de Champlain Xainctongeois* (Paris: Claude Collet, 1632), b2221989, John Carter Brown Library, 1-15, http://archive.org/details/lesvoyagesdelano01cham. See footnote 49.

[56] William Wood, *New Englands prospect. : A true, lively, and experimentall description of that part of America, commonly called New England: discovering the state of that countrie, both as it stands to our new-come English planters; and to the old native inhabitants* (London: Thomas Cotes, 1634), b3902623, http://archive.org/details/newenglandsprosp01wood.

[57] Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*.

transparently defines Early Modern parameters to determine savagery, which was then used to uncover how English society reacted when it was confronted with Native societies.

This study has opted for a similar approach, yet on a different subject matter. Since language has been categorized primarily as a part of 'culture', the fourth phase of this study will instead uncover the European conception of Native culture.[58] This framework for the perception of Native culture aims to provide an image of how well the authors understood the people they encountered. A detailed description of the methodological approach for the creation of this framework will be outlined after the travelogues have been thoroughly investigated, as much of the reasoning of the methodology is based on the nature of the travelogues – in time, space, and content – and the techniques used to present language information. In short, this study distinguishes between two techniques: presenting information through discourse and presenting information by means of translation. The latter technique can be divided into two types: 'direct' and 'necessary' translations.[59] The created framework will ultimately serve as a foundation for the analysis of the language information, which will be the fifth and final phase of this study.

The last phase of this study is exclusively focused on uncovering the presentation of the Native languages of Northern America in European travelogues. Like in Phase 4 – the details of which follow in a next chapter – the analysis on the presentation of Native languages will be divided into two parts, determined by the two techniques the authors used to present information on languages. In the first of these parts, the discourse available in the language chapters will be investigated by means of discourse analysis. Next, the translations will be analyzed and compared to those within a same wave, as well as to those outside of their waves. This study furthermore provides a division between the two types of translation, handling both types separately in order to clearly point out its elements and the reasoning behind each type.

The first part of this phase will contain a discourse analytical approach to the language chapters, integrating the framework from phase four to identify the elements of the text most usual to the authors' presentations and the elements that are out of character.[60] For this part of the study, the chapter from each source previously categorized as containing a chapter relating to the languages

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[58] The term 'culture' is used in the anthropological sense, encompassing everything that structures the workings of a society.

[59] As not to distract from the outline of methodology, these two types will be explained in full in chapter 1.2. To quickly summarize, 'direct' translations are found in vocabulary lists and dictionaries (one word directly translated to its equivalent in different language), while 'necessary' translations are integrated into the discourse (these words have no European equivalents, which is why the authors find it necessary to explain their meaning when referring to their objects).

[60] The four language chapters are: Lescarbot, "Chapitre VII: Du Langage", in *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (1611), 686-697; Gabriel Sagard, "Dictionnaire de la langue Huronne", in *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons* (1632), 3-12; Wood, "Of their Language", in *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 91-92; Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 79-84.

of Northern America will undergo an analysis based on the discourse analytical framework as presented by Marnix Beyen.[61] This approach first looks at the discursive elements of a text, pointing out the interpretation of a text by its expected readership and elements of intertextuality. Most of these elements will have been outlined by the framework of the fourth phase and will thus not be discussed in the fifth phase as a separate element. The following steps outlined by Beyen go deeper into the actual text, first analyzing word use, then sentences, structure, and finally the cohesion of passages internally and in the text as a whole.

Three aspects will be analyzed on the word and sentence levels: the terms used to identify the Native speakers of the language, the terms used to identify the described languages, and possessive pronouns. These levels will uncover the relationship between Natives as perceived in European terms and the varying degrees of othering that occurred, which reflects the stance of authors on the integration of Natives into colonial structures. On the structural level, the analysis will uncover how the authors portrayed their knowledge and how their variegated acceptance of responsibility for their presented information influenced the impression left on readers. The cohesion between the authors will be uncovered by presenting the overlapping topics on language origin, language change, evolution, and conformity; the conception of Natives' speech; the role of language in the conversion of the Natives; and finally its perceived share in Natives' savagery. In the conclusion of this part, both the imagined and factual aspects of the language will provide a clear picture of how the discourse on language was intertwined with the Early Modern conceptions of humanity and civility, and thus played a role in the formation of these theories.

The second part of this phase will be dedicated to analyzing the language information derived from translations. Due to the large variety in this technique of language presentation, direct translations and necessary translations will be approached differently to better stress the differences between these two types. Direct translations will be approached in a rather quantitative and comparative manner.[62] First, their content and its implications will be analyzed. Here, the hope is to expose how their inclusion into the travelogues influenced the debates on languages. Next, an experimental analysis of the information will be undertaken. In order to uncover the cohesion between the directly translated vocabularies, a comparison will be made based on the presumed use of the vocabularies and the nature and depth of the information they contained. These two parameters are indications of the purpose of the translations in a broad sense. This ranges from the intent of the author to provide the reader with a manual to learn Native languages to the difficulties of use. The

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[61] His approach to discourse analysis was outlined in Marnix Beyen, *De Taal van de Geschiedenis: Hoe Historici Lezen En Schrijven* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2019).
[62] Which travelogues contain vocabularies and direct translations was shortly mentioned above and will be presented in more detail in chapter 1.

rather vague description of the experiment in this introduction is due to the high level of needed information to explain it, which will be provided as this study progresses through the different phases. The details of this experiment will therefore be outlined later on.

Necessary translations will be discussed as the final aspect of the language information analysis. The nature of these translations and the reason for their inclusion in prints was very different from those of direct translations. It was nonetheless the most common type of language information and was present in almost all sources. The analysis of their content will be rather brief, as there is a numerous amount of literature that also touches upon this phenomenon. A more important comparison will be to see how their use impacted travelogues from the earliest stages of colonial literature on the American continent to their use in conversion.

The layout and structure of this study will be rather standard. The first chapter contains two parts. The first part combines the elements of the first two phases – largely completed in this introduction – and contains the remainder of the third phase, and thus combines the geographical and temporal frameworks with the selected sources to provide a clear outline to the historiographical context of this study and the relevance of its objectives. Within this context, the authors and their motivations are analyzed in the wave scheme. The second part then provides the conclusions of the historical criticism and its effects on the methodology of the fourth phase, which was excluded from this introduction because of its complexity. The second chapter contains phase 4: the framework which uncovers the broad conception of the Native American in Europe and the portrayal of their culture. This enables the final chapter to go into the extreme detail of phase 5, in this case the conceptualization of Native languages. Additional historical context will be integrated into the analyses in order to provide a transparent picture of the analyzed elements on languages and their perception.

Finally, in this and the following chapters, I have used variations on the term 'Native'. Today, 'Natives' or 'Native Americans' is an agreed upon term used to identify the indigenous peoples of the Americas, specifically those inhabiting Canada and the United States. To state the obvious, these peoples had already been present on the American continent for generations before the discovery of America at the end of the fifteenth century. The ancestors of these peoples most likely migrated over a land bridge made up of ice through the Bering Strait from the East Asia up to 40.000 years ago.[63] In 1492, Natives were labeled 'Indians' by Columbus, who believed he had reached India.[64] Something that could lead to confusion is the term 'Native' in relation to Native American languages. For clarity: not capitalized, 'native' is a synonym for 'indigenous' or 'present before European colonization' and can be used to indicate languages native to America or Europe. Capitalized, 'Native language' instead

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[63] Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, 5.
[64] Although a derogatory term today, the term 'Indians' stemmed from indifference, as it was commonly used to refer to Asian peoples.

refers to 'languages originally spoken by Native Americans' or 'language of the Native American people'. When referring to languages of indigenous peoples, I find the capitalized word more appropriate, as European language are likewise linked to their native speakers, not their location. It furthermore sidesteps the colonial inclinations of duality between native American languages and non-native American languages. Finally, for many the history of colonial subjects will bring the idea of the Noble Savage to mind. This term, however, is never used in this study as it was coined by Lahontan in 1703 and is therefore an anachronism in this period.[65]

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[65] For more information about the creating of the idea of the Noble Savage, see: Haskins Gonthier, "Une colonisation linguistique?", 115–29.

1   Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Travelogues

In present day historiography, the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus in 1492 is one of the iconic events that marked the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Early Modern Period. In a generalized sense, this transition was characterized by the expansion of the known world. First of all, the revival of Classical literature as a result of the Renaissance opened European societies to the knowledge of past civilizations outside of the Christian and papal tradition.[66] Due to the invention of fiber based paper and various forms of printing presses, this new information was easily spread throughout Europe.[67] These new technological innovations also facilitated the expression of opinions on perceived societal misconduct. Central in these debates was the role of the institutionalized Church, openly critiqued by the Reformatory movements. A physical expansion occurred parallel to this mental expansion as a result of the rise of the Ottoman Empire, blocking the access to the wealth of the Far East. The seasoned seafarers of the would-be empires of the Iberic Peninsula were the first to venture out into the unknown Atlantic Ocean in search of new passages to the Far East.

Travel writing was not a new phenomenon in the sixteenth century. For some time, travel within Europe had been a vital part of the education of the elite.[68] Other parts of the world had been travelled and documented as well, of which Marco Polo is a good example. The most dominant form of travel writing came from pilgrimages.[69] Medieval travel writing was, however, vastly different from the reporting done on the American continent. The success of the Columbus voyage expedited the discovery into the Americas. Spanish conquistadors reported huge amounts of gold and silver in American cities, the most wealthy of which the mythical El Dorado. In 1494 – barely two years after the initial voyage – the Iberic states divided the New World amongst themselves by ratifying the Treaty of Tordesillas, which received a papal sanction in 1506.[70] This effectively cut France and England out of the New World. Because of this French and English actions throughout this first period of exploration – although halted by domestic and religious conflicts outlined below – were inspired by anti-Iberic sentiment.

In this chapter, the language information in nine selected travelogues will be uncovered and the methodology to analyze this information disclosed. In the first part of this chapter, the nine travelogues are divided into their respective waves of knowledge gathering. As a sketch of the political

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[66] Elliott, *The Old World and the New*, 3.
[67] Andrew Pettegree, "Centre and Periphery in the European Book World", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 18 (2008), 101-102.
[68] Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels*, 11.
[69] Rubiés, "Travel Writing as a Genre", 15.
[70] Frances G. Davenport, ed., *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies* (New Jersey: The Lawbook Exchange, Ltd., 2004), 84-108.

and cultural background of French and English exploration is key to understanding how their colonial projects were unique in time and space, the analysis of the sources in each wave will be preceded by a short introduction into the historical context of each wave. Following this, the travelogues and their authors are analyzed, ranked in the chronological sequence of the author's earliest voyage. In the second part of this chapter, the remaining details of the methodology that were not explained in the introduction are detailed.

1.1   Three Waves of Knowledge Gathering

The first part of this chapter is dedicated to the introduction of sources selected for this study and the necessary criticism they need to undergo in order to be used to an academic purpose. In total, nine sources were selected based on the information they contain on the languages of the indigenous population of Northern America. The first wave was marked by the tentative approach of two domestically tumultuous nations anxious to break the Iberic monopoly on global trade. Its authors, travelling to the American continent between 1534 and roughly 1600, defined the early discovery of not only the continent, but also the Native inhabitants and their language. Representing France, pioneer Jacques Cartier undertook multiple voyages between 1534 and 1542 to ensure a French political claim to the area. Thomas Harriot, who undertook a single, scientifically motivated voyage in 1585/6, represents English discovery.

After multiple decades of tranquility on the American mainland, the second wave explorers undertook the journey and attempted to gather more information about the Native languages. These authors explored the interior of America, where good relations with the Native population proved essential to survival. Set between 1600 and 1620, this period marked the first truly invasive European action as they laid the groundwork for colonial activity. The voyagers were mostly military men, skilled strategists, and cartographers, often accompanied by men with a literary background to report on the voyages. French exploration, beginning in 1603, was steered by Samuel de Champlain who sailed down the coast of Acadia and up the Saint Lawrence River as far south as the Huron lakes. His compatriot, lawyer Marc Lescarbot, set sail in 1606 on the invitation of his benefactor Sieur de Poutrincourt. To the south, John Smith landed in Virginia in 1606. Finally, after some misfortune, poet William Strachey remained in America from 1610 to 1611.

The third wave added a different genre of travel writing. Although exploration continued during this period, incoming Europeans could already rely on developed infrastructure. Emboldened by this sense of security, the first French missionaries traveled to New France in order to convert the

Native population to Catholicism. Their achievements as part of missionary linguistics are represented below by Recollect Gabriel Sagard and Jesuit Jean de Brébeuf. In English colonial regions, religious actors also appeared. These were exiled Puritans who fled England on account of religious persecution. Among them was William Wood – although not a Puritan himself – who travelled to America in 1929. Due to the social changes in both colonial spheres of influence, this study does not include authors arriving in America after 1630.

1.1.1 The First Wave: Early Discovery (1534-1600)

Sixteenth century France was plagued with conflict. First, the Italian Wars (1494-1559) polarized its outlook on the newly unified Spanish state.[71] Additional conflicts – grouped under the term Religious Wars – decentralized and undermined state authority to the point where this religious conflict took on a political character.[72] In this tumultuous period, the first small scale efforts were mainly French-Basque fishing expeditions.[73] From the outset, politically sanctioned French colonial efforts were focused on their permanent settlement in the colony. The first exploratory missions were sent to Canada in 1534, led by Jacques Cartier and later joined by Jean-François de la Roque de Roberval.[74] Due to domestic political unrest and disloyalty amongst the explorers, the missions were disbanded in 1542. A Huguenot colony named France Antarctique was attempted in Brazil in 1555, but was destroyed by the Portuguese shortly afterwards in 1560.[75] French colonial efforts lay dormant for forty years until the domestic upheave was quelled by the ascension of Henry IV, former king of Navarre. Under his reign, a religious peace was brokered, and the power of the nobility was once again centralized.[76] The stabilized regime renewed colonial efforts into Northern America under the leadership of pioneer Samuel de Champlain.

Much like the French, English colonial efforts were delayed because of religious strains. The religious renewal of the sixteenth century and its ensuing difficulties needs no introduction. During the sixteenth century, the Tudors ruled over England.[77] Their colonial approach imitated the Portuguese

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[71] Bolton and Marshall, *The Colonization of North America 1492-1783*.
[72] For more information regarding the different political aspects of religious conflict during this period, see: Barbara Diefendorf, "Were the Wars of Religion about Religion?", *Political Theology* 15, no. 6 (November 1, 2014): 552–63.
[73] Bakker, "'The Language of the Coast Tribes Is Half Basque'", 120.
[74] Bolton and Marshall, *The Colonization of North America 1492-1783*.
[75] For more information on the French exploration of Brazil, see: Frank Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage: l'Amérique et la controverse coloniale, en France, au temps des guerres de religion (1555-1589)*, 3rd ed. (Genève: Droz, 2004).
[76] The Edict of Nantes (1598) secured toleration and the protection of the civil rights of Protestants. The Treaty of Vervins (1598) ensured peace with Spain.
[77] Bolton and Marshall, *The Colonization of North America 1492-1783*.

system, relying on trade outposts rather than the Spanish invasive colonial domination. At the turn of the century, John Cabot had set sail to the Americas and several fishing expeditions had taken place near Newfoundland.[78] However, the first noteworthy voyages into the New World occurred from 1570 onward under the strict control of Queen Elisabeth I (1558-1603): they were without exception economically motivated.[79] This period was marked by English piracy of Spanish galleons and the quest to locate the Northwest passage to the Pacific. The first small settlements were never meant to become permanent: their sole goal consisted in accommodating temporary voyagers.

Jacques Cartier (1491-1557)

Jacques Cartier was the first voyager in service of the French king Francis I (1494-1547) to cross the Atlantic Ocean to North America in 1534, 1535, and 1541-42.[80] The success of the first voyage, as related in Cartier's report, persuaded Francis I to finance a second exploratory voyage which would remain in America over the course of the winter. The settlement created for this purpose is now the site of Quebec. At this point, the first skirmishes with the Native population (Iroquois) occurred. The third voyage (1541/42) took place in the context of the Religious Wars in Europe: the king sent Cartier and a second explorer, Jean-François de La Rocque de Roberval, to claim North America as a French colony in order to halt Spanish expansion. Although ultimately successful, French initiatives into Northern America lay dormant until the voyages of Samuel de Champlain in 1603.[81]

Cartier's voyage reports, although containing valuable information about a newly discovered continent, did not gain circulation in French society as would be expected. Tracing their origins has proven difficult because no found manuscript can be unequivocally identified as the original. Out of three voyages, only the first two reports became widely read.[82] Historians argue about the authorship of the second voyage, which was published anonymously in 1545.[83] The third voyages account was only published in English – compiled by Richard Hakluyt – in 1600.[84] The events of the third voyage – Cartier's difficulties with Roberval – were not common knowledge in 1609 when Lescarbot published

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[78] Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, 12-13.

[79] Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels*, 14.

[80] Marcel Trudel, "Cartier, Jacques", Dictionnaire biographique du Canada, vol. 1, accessed January 6, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/fr/bio/cartier_jacques_1491_1557_1F.html.

[81] Marcel Trudel, "Champlain, Samuel de", Dictionnaire biographique du Canada, vol. 1, accessed January 6, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/fr/bio/champlain_samuel_de_1F.html.

[82] Ramsay Cook, ed., "Preface", in *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, The Canadian 150 Collection (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2017), https://books.google.be/books?id=Q2spDwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

[83] Carla Zecher, "Marc Lescarbot Reads Jacques Cartier: Colonial History in the Service of Propaganda", *L'Esprit Créateur* 48, no. 1 (2008), in footnote 21; Cook, "Preface", page not listed.

[84] Cook, "Preface", pnl.

his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France.*[85] Out of the three available voyage relations, the origins of the relation of the first voyage can be best identified. As a result, it was the only edition selected for this study. The current consensus surrounding the source is that the information was based in the ship's log, kept by Cartier himself, and was compiled into a manuscript by Cartier and possibly Renaissance writer François Rabelais in France between 1536 and 1557, the *terminus ante quem* being Cartier's death.[86] The nature of the relation was most likely a report to the French king, who had financed the voyage, which also indicates Cartier's motivation to portray the continent rather positively and open to possibilities.

Cartier's intent and ability to publish is unclear. While the earliest prints were published in Italian (1556) and in English (1580) – the Italian print said to be translated by printer-publisher Ramusio from an unpublished French manuscript – the first French edition was printed in 1598, 63 years after the voyage. [87] Because Cartier had died, the publisher's intent is more important than the author's. Published in the context of religious peace and new colonial impulses, the book was most likely meant to propagate the exploration of New France. It claimed to contain the eyewitness account of Jacques Cartier on his first voyage and was probably read by those curious about New France as an investment or those looking to travel there themselves who were in search of reliable information. The French short title is *Discours du voyage fait par le Capitaine Iaques Cartier aux terres-neufues de Canadas, Norembergue, Hochelage, Labrador, & pays adiacens, dite nouuelle France*.[88] The places listed in the title hold some mystery, as it would have been physically impossible for Cartier to visit these places, considering the length of the journey. 'Norembergue'/Norumbega was allegedly located by Champlain in 1604 somewhere up the Penobscot River (Acadia, Atlantic coast).[89] The village of Hochelaga was never found but is assumed to have stood on the Montreal island in the St. Lawrence River.

The Universal Short Title Catalogue lists seven known copies, of which the John Carter Brown Library print is available online and was consulted for this undertaking.[90] The John Carter Brown Library copy has 74 pages, of which 64 are imprinted with text, of 17 cm (8°). The pages are bound together

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[85] Zecher, "Marc Lescarbot Reads Jacques Cartier", 115-116.

[86] Cook, "Preface", page not listed.

[87] "Cartier, Jacques, 1491-1557", Indian Languages Database, accessed October 27, 2019, https://www.brown.edu/Facilities/John_Carter_Brown_Library/exhibitions/ildb/browse.php?by=Language&search_type=browse; Cartier, *Discours* (1598).

[88] This is different from the diplomatic title by excluding 'auec particulieres moeurs, langage, & ceremonies des habitans d'icelle. [Device] || A ROVEN, || DE L'IMPRIMERIE || De Raphaël du Petit Val, Libraire & Imprimeur || du Roy, à l'Ange Raphaël. || [-] || M. D. XCVIII. || AVEC PERMISSION. Listed in: "Cartier, Jacques, 1491-1557".

[89] Stephen J. Hornsby, "Champlain and the Settlement of Acadia 1604-1607", Canadian-American Center - University of Maine, accessed July 24, 2020, https://umaine.edu/canam/publications/st-croix/champlain-and-the-settlement-of-acadia-1604-1607/.

[90] "Search: Jacques Cartier", Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC), Accessed February 16, 2020, https://www.ustc.ac.uk/results?qa=0,0,jacques%20cartier,AND&qo=0,0,1&qp=1&qso=11; Cartier, *Discours* (1598).

with Steffano di Lusignano's *Basilicon philactirion.* On the inside of the cover, the University emblem was attached together with a reference to Mrs. Jesse H. Metcalf, who gifted the copy to the library. On the recto of the first page there are several handwritten phrases. The name 'Hironijmi Vn Winghe, cann tornacen' (Hi[e]ronymus v[a]n Winghe, Can[onicus] tornacen[sis]) refers to a Canon from Tournai.[91] The title page portrays the title, printer, place of print and date. In the middle, there is a small engraving of Tobias, son of Tobit (Book of Tobit) who encountered the Archangel Raphael while fishing. The slogan on the engraving is 'Deo Duos'.

The book begins with a note from the printer as an introduction. He states that 'Il m'est du depuis tombé entre les mains un Discours […] escrit en langue estrangere que i'ay fait traduire en la nostre', from which I deduce that he did not work off Cartier's original French manuscript, but rather one of the earlier published translations.[92] The publisher stated *Discours du voyage* was printed to encourage others to explore Northern America. The next part of the book is a poem. This edition contains the incidents report of Jacques Cartier's first voyage to North America, which took him to the Gulf of Saint Lawrence (Newfoundland and northern Acadia). In it, Cartier chronologically noted the most prominent things from the journey. Each chapter was titled in accordance with the visited place. The geographical approach implies the importance of the discovery of the land above any other new information. The Native population, their appearance, and their habits are mentioned throughout the print. However, he only mentioned their existence when he came across them, in which case the Natives often took the initiative for contact.[93]

Before the account on the voyage begins, a section was dedicated to the 'language of the lands and kingdoms of Hochelaga and Canadas'. Although the list was added to Cartier's first voyage report, it is important to note that he did not travel up the St. Lawrence River – allegedly landing in Hochelaga – until his second voyage. The Native language he encountered was later identified as an Iroquois language but was believed to be an Algonquin language called 'Laurentian' in the studied time period.[94] Cartier's knowledge of the Native languages was synthesized in a vocabulary list. It contains around 80 seemingly arbitrary words and phrases, some of which contain traces of Basque vocabulary. As a result, it is unclear which of the words are of the Native language, and which are part of the Basque pidgin.[95] It is quite likely that the intent of the list was just to be an eyecatcher or a piece of trivia to make the

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[91] "Portret van de Kanunnik Hieronymus van Winghe, Johannes Wierix (Attributed to), 1609", Rijksmuseum, accessed March 10, 2020, https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search/objects?p=1&ps=12&f.classification.people.sort=Winghe%2c+Hierony mus+van&st=Objects&ii=0#/RP-P-OB-67.120,0.

[92] Cartier, *Discours* (1598), 3. Translation: It has since fallen into my hands a Discourse [...] written in a foreign language that I had translated into ours.

[93] Cartier, *Discours* (1598), 43-46.

[94] Lounsbury, "Iroquoian Languages", 335. The relevance of this misconception will be discussed in 3.2.2.

[95] Bakker, "'The Language of the Coast Tribes Is Half Basque'".

relation more appealing and credible. The insertion of the vocabulary list was therefore an oddity, as it required a certain level of meaningful contact to create. It can be hypothesized that while Cartier had extensive contact with the Native population, he chose not to flaunt this as it was of secondary importance to his mission.

Thomas Harriot (1560-1621)

The second author of the wave of early discovery is Thomas Harriot: a mathematician and astronomer from Oxford who traveled with his patron Sir Walter Raleigh to Roanoke Island in 1585.[96] Harriot's lineage is unclear. The fact that he was able to study at Oxford, but was obligated to work under a patron points toward lowborn origins.[97] However, due to the acquisition of his bachelor degree, he is commonly counted as gentry.[98] Under Elizabethan rule, the monarch had complete control over all expeditions into the New World through the use of Privileges. It was only when Sir Walter Raleigh's half-brother Sir Humphrey Gilbert passed that Raleigh was awarded the Privilege.[99] The journey to Roanoke was led by Raleigh, who requested the presence of scholars to document his discoveries, amongst whom Thomas Harriot and painter John White. As part of the preparations for the undertaking, Harriot was taught an Algonquin dialect by two Natives named Manteo and Wanchese who were abducted by a previous expedition.[100] At this point in time, enslaving Natives to be presented in England was not an uncommon practice.[101] When the expedition had collected sufficient data, they returned to England. Harriot dedicated the remainder of his life to the study of astronomy.[102]

Harriot drafted *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* a year after the expedition returned to England.[103] Its short summary was first printed as a pamphlet in 1588 in London by R. Robinson.[104] Five copies of this 48-page booklet exist today, while the original manuscript it was

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[96] Michael G. Moran, "Hariot, Thomas (ca. 1560–1621)", Encyclopedia Virginia, accessed February 19, 2020, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/hariot_thomas_ca_1560-1621#start_entry.

[97] Moran, "Hariot, Thomas (ca. 1560–1621)".

[98] Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, 191.

[99] John W. Shirley, "Harriot (Hariot or Harriott), Thomas", NCpedia, accessed January 7, 2020, https://www.ncpedia.org/biography/harriot-hariot-or.

[100] Daniela Hacke, "Colonial Sensescapes: Thomas Harriot and the Production of Knowledge", *Empire of the Senses* (2017), 176.

[101] For more information on the objectification of Native Americans and their presentation in Europe, see: Peter Mason, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 1998), 112-121.

[102] Moran, "Hariot, Thomas (ca. 1560–1621)".

[103] The full title continued: *of the commodities and of the nature and manners of the naturall inhabitants. Discouered by the English colony there seated by Sir Richard Greinuile knight in the yeere 1585. Which remained vnder the gouernment of twelue monethes, at the speciall charge and direction of the honourable Sir Walter Raleigh knight lord warden of the stanneries who therein hath beene fauoured and authorised by her maiestie and her letters patents.*

[104] Sandra Young, "Narrating Colonial Violence and Representing New-World Difference: The Possibilities of Form in Thomas Harriot's A Briefe and True Report", *Safundi* 11, no. 4 (October 1, 2010), 343.

based on is lost.[105] Considering the control and censorship exercised by Queen Elizabeth I, books published in England during this time were thoroughly vetted by the State.[106] Being published at all is in this case an argument for it containing state propaganda. A second edition printed in Frankfurt am Main in 1590 – compiled by editor and printer-publisher Theodore de Bry – was not subjected to the same level of scrutiny. This later version was more widely distributed and read because it appeared in Latin and three vernacular languages – English, French, and German – as a part of de Bry's *Great Voyages*-series.[107] The series combined the travel accounts of various writers from all over Europe with engravings of the places, people, and occasions they described.[108] This print contains two books: first Harriot's *A briefe and true report*, consisting of 36 pages, followed by engravings based on John White's watercolor paintings of the Natives of Virginia, their descriptions translated from Latin into English by Richard Hakluyt.

The 1585/86 voyage to Roanoke was a scientific endeavor with the intent to produce an inventory of the discovered North American territories. The conclusions drawn from this inventory would then dictate colonial, imperialistic action with the intent of settlement. The chosen format can be situated in the context of the explorations, in which intellectuals, nobility, and modern nations, having depleted the sources of the Antiquity, began collecting knowledge about the New World *en mass*.[109] Artist John White was commissioned to capture both the fauna and flora, and the people of North America. For Thomas Harriot, this meant describing the land he encountered, what was on it, and what could be done with it. The source is commonly categorized as promotion literature: Harriot wished to convince the reader to financially support the further exploration and colonization of North America.

Before discussing the text, two important notes must be made. First, Harriot did not intend for his text to be incorporated into de Bry's compilation, but rather to be an independent scientific publication. However, at that time, the esthetical portrayal of knowledge contributed greatly to the appeal of prints otherwise containing dull, yet reliable information.[110] The second note concerns the style and structure of the sources. Harriot's scientific approach did not stem from naturally occurring

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[105] "Harriot, Thomas, 1560-1621", English Short Title Catalogue, accessed August 4, 2020, http://estc.bl.uk/F/SHFBXCSNVQ1YSS2S8H8GG3BRKG4RDD8SUUUDCQKXBP5ULIP5HX-04165?func=full-set-set&set_number=018315&set_entry=000002&format=999; Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels,* 266.
[106] Andrew Pettegree and Matthew Hall, "The Reformation and the Book: A Reconsideration", *The Historical Journal* 47, no. 4 (2004), 117.
[107] Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report* (1590), 84; Young, "Narrating Colonial Violence and Representing New-World Difference", 344.
[108] Michiel van Groesen, "The De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590–1634): Early America Reconsidered", in *Imagining the Americas in Print: Books, Maps and Encounters in the Atlantic World* (Brill, 2019), 14.
[109] Madeleine Pinault Sørensen, "Portrait of Animals, 1600-1800", in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. Matthew Senior (Oxford: Berg, 2008), 158.
[110] Young, "Narrating Colonial Violence and Representing New-World Difference", 347.

notions on how he viewed the world, but was based on the letters of Sir H. Gilbert.[111] These letters – left to Harriot after Gilbert's death in 1583 – contained writing instructions on how the report was to be structured and which sentiments it should convey. Consequently, he provided portrayal of knowledge in *A briefe and true Report* was based on empirical, sensory observations and was drawn up in accordance with the acceptable structure required from all travel accounts and reports. Despite these directives concerning the scientific method, Harriot's *Report* was highly polemic. As a part of promotion literature, the central question in Harriot's text was whether the Native inhabitants' claim on the land was justified, and how the English could justify its colonization.[112] The scientific methodology that inspired a reader's trust was a resource through which imperialistic values were propagated.

There are thirteen surviving prints today: five in the United Kingdom and eight in North America. The 1590 print available through the John Carter Brown Library was consulted, for which the listed engraver is Gijsbert van Veen.[113] Before Harriot's account begins, a handwritten about-the-author section was inserted. The printed title page is on the tenth sheet of the book, being preceded by more handwritten remarks. On the left-hand side, a metaphorical engraving is present of a Native man and women by a fruit tree with a snake with an angel head. On the right, the full title, as well as the name of the author, date of print, and name of printer can be found framed in a Greek temple. On both sides of the temple and on top are engravings of Native Americans that also appear later in White's descriptions. There are three introductory passages: 'To Sir Walter Rale[i]gh', 'To the adventurers […]', and 'To the Gentle Reader'. After this, it is divided into different parts: 'Of Marchantable Commodities', 'Of Such Commodities as Virginia is Knowne to yeeld', and 'Of Such Other Things'. In this last part, the Natives and their customs are described.

Out of all encountered noteworthy and unfamiliar things, Harriot construed the New World by its commodities.[114] This was brought about by inserting 76 words for agricultural and natural products, of which 37 remained in the printed summary. The name of the language is Carolina Algonquin, although its speakers were never identified by Harriot and have since become extinct.[115] These objects were then defined by a short paragraph of comparable substances native to Europe. This representation was quite common in sources which mention language. In this study, this falls under the category labeled 'necessary translations'. Whether the knowledge of these words was acquired in

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[111] Hacke, "Colonial Sensescapes", 170.
[112] Hacke, "Colonial Sensescapes", 168.
[113] Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report* (1590).
[114] Hacke, "Colonial Sensescapes", 178.
[115] Goddard, "Eastern Algonquin Languages", 74.

America when in contact with Natives or in English under the tutelage of the enslaved Natives mentioned above, remains ambiguous.[116] In either case, Natives were not acknowledged in the source.

1.1.2   The Second Wave: Begin of Exploration (1600-1620)

Throughout the sixteenth century, explorers focused on one central question: what is there? The North American continent was largely shrouded in mystery and – although France and England both had small footholds on the American continent – no colonial borders had been determined. The first two decades of the seventeenth century were dominated by a different question: what is ours? The civic peace and powerful heads of state of the seventeenth century made the pursuit of territorial expansion possible for both states. The first settlements, starting off as little more than trading posts, were expanded to towns throughout the first two decades of the seventeenth century. The colonial actors inhabiting these towns often received instructions on infrastructural planning from the European motherland.[117] In turn, European states would propagate the existence of state infrastructure as a second and better Europe. It is not coincidental that these newly discovered lands were christened New France, New England, and Virginia.

In 1598 – after a forty-year absence – French colonial efforts were renewed.[118] The new voyages focused on two things: the continued exploration of the St. Lawrence river and Acadia, and the fur trade. For this first objective, voyagers consisted primarily of seasoned military nobility and cartographers. The fur trade employed licensed merchants and was dependent on the relationship with the indigenous hunters and trappers.[119] From the start, the Natives were categorized by cultural affiliation, in particular by language group.[120] Although a practical forethought, this did not correctly portray Native political alliances, as will be discussed in detail in a following chapter.

Slowed by domestic unrest, England's colonial efforts had slowly built up after 1570. In 1603, James I became England's monarch and deepened the colonial administrative procedure.[121] Mainly motivated by the economic and territorial threat posed by Spain, James ordered the settlement of the American coastline.[122] The settlements created during the second wave were meant to be permanent but were often abandoned due to starvation and conflict with the indigenous population. The trauma

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[116] Because of the specific nature of the words, it seems unlikely that Harriot learned them before the journey. This statement will be defended in 4.3.

[117] Paquet and Wallot, "Nouvelle France/Québéc/Canada: A World of Limited Identities", 98.

[118] Peter Cook, "Vivre comme frères : Le rôle du registre fraternel dans les premières alliances franco-amérindiennes au Canada (vers 1580-1650)", *Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec; Montréal* 31, no. 2 (2001), 126. In 1598, the Treaty of Vervins ensured peace between France and Spain.

[119] Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France,* 35.

[120] Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, 7.

[121] Bolton and Marshall, *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783*.

[122] Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels*, 15.

of the Jamestown failures (ca. 1609) greatly impacted English literary society. Promotional writing changed to include more humble values such as temperance and persistence where America had previously been presented as the land of opportunity and profit.[123] The most dominant sentiment was how untamed the land and all it contained was and its dire need for civilization.[124]

Samuel de Champlain (1567? -1635)

The first selected author of the second wave, Sieur Samuel de Champlain, marked the beginning of the French exploration of Northern America. Much of Champlain's early life remains unknown. His birth most likely took place in 1567, although his parentage and status are unclear.[125] Likewise, his religious affiliation is a mystery: his birth in Brouage, his biblical name of Saintonge, military struggles against the Catholic League, and Protestant wife suggest a Protestant upbringing. However, Trudel argues that in 1603, at the beginning of his campaign in Canada, Champlain was Catholic, as is also defended in the seventeenth century by Jesuit Paul Le Jeune.[126] Champlain was a part of the French King Henry IV's army as a 'fourrier', a map maker who provided the army with lodgings and food on a march.[127] He had gained military experience in Central America and Europe before his Canadian explorations.[128] As an adept cartographer, he undertook several journeys of varying extent to New France over the course of seventeen years.[129] On these expeditions he explored the rest of the Saint Lawrence River, the Huron Lakes, and the coast of Acadia. He was the first to stress the need for a good relationship with the 'Huron Indians' due to their crucial role in the American fur trade.[130]

Champlain is one of the most famous explorers in French history. He was the first to cross the Atlantic after France's domestic peace provided the opportunity of continuing the exploration of North America.[131] His unique position in historiography due to his presence in New France for multiple stretches of time is an integral part of why Champlain is categorized as a second wave author yet compiled and published his books respectively within and after the third wave. During his second wave exploration, his maps and writing in a chronological fashion followed suit of other travel writings, and

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[123] Fitzmaurice, "The Civil Solution to the Crisis of English Colonization, 1609–1625", 41-42.
[124] Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "Before 1607", *The William and Mary Quarterly* 72, no. 1 (February 6, 2015), 13.
[125] Trudel, "Champlain, Samuel de".
[126] Trudel, "Champlain, Samuel de".
[127] Buisseret, "The Cartographic Technique of Samuel de Champlain", 258.
[128] Trudel, "Champlain, Samuel de".
[129] Trudel, "Champlain, Samuel de".
[130] René Latourelle, "Brébeuf, Jean de (Échon)", Dictionnaire biographique du Canada, vol. 1, accessed January 6, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/fr/bio/brebeuf_jean_de_1F.html. The Native tribe referred to here is named Wendat.
[131] Bolton and Marshall, *The Colonization of North America 1492-1783*.

his motives for exploration were mostly commercial, relating to the fur trade.[132] In 1620, his explorations came to an end.[133] He settled in Quebec and devoted his energy to expanding the city's infrastructure. There, he came into contact with the missionaries of the third wave. During the third wave, Champlain's narrative carefully broke away from the second wave sentiments. In his later prints the information from the earlier works was reused, but also infused with the language information and prayer translations from the missionaries.[134] He died in Quebec in 1635.

Champlain is the listed author of several books. The book useful for this study is *Les voyages de la Nouuelle France occidentale, dicte Canada.* It was first published in 1632, nineteen years after Champlain had arrived in New France and twelve years after his explorations came to an end. There are small differences between the 1632 and 1640 prints, all related to structure, not content. I consulted the 1632 print, available online via the John Carter Brown Library.[135] The title page lists the bibliographical information of the print, as well as the privilege. There is no noteworthy engraving on the title page. It was dedicated to Cardinal Richelieu, instead of the King.[136] It is a huge work, very confusingly structured into two parts, and three additional parts that are not mentioned in the later added table of content. The first part sums up all relevant French explorations to that point. It contains four 'livres', the first being the explorations of Florida. The other three 'livres' provide an overview of the travels of Champlain himself. The 'Seconde Partie' is dedicated to new information, building on the information of the first part. This part, comprising three 'livres', begins with a book again about Champlain's travels, followed by a report on the French war with the Iroquois in book 2, and the French war with the English in book 3.

What discerned this print from other prints was the inclusion of two religiously motivated tracts. In this edition, Champlain inserted excerpts written by religious figures Jacobus Lesdisma, Enémond Massé, and Jean de Brébeuf. The latter two co-authors arrived in New France as part of the third wave; their texts translations of religious doctrine meant to aid in the conversion of the Natives. The selected print was compiled in 1629 at the earliest. This can be established by the insertions of the translation made by Brébeuf of Ledisma's *Doctrine Chrestienne*, which was only completed by this date.[137] The print as a whole was a summary of Champlain's voyages and the voyage reports of previous explorers, enriched by the knowledge of other French actors. It was most likely reprinted because of the popularity of its preceding print. As a result, Champlain's audience was updated on new

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[132] Michel Despland, "The Indians of the St. Lawrence Valley and Their Religion: An Essay on Four Centuries of Scholarship in French", *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 32, no. 4 (December 1, 2003), 463.
[133] Trudel, "Champlain, Samuel de".
[134] See also: 1.1.3 Jean de Brébeuf.
[135] Champlain, *Voyages* (1632).
[136] Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), 3.
[137] Trudel, "Champlain, Samuel de".

developments and new information while simultaneously able to rely on all historical events to that date.

As was mentioned above, the relationship between Champlain and the religious authors is difficult to define within the wave structures. The form and structure of Champlain's *Voyages* was consistent with other travelogues of the second wave. As an author with a military background who focused on French expansion and only gather a limited amount of information about Native languages himself, it would be hard to argue he was not a second wave author. Furthermore, he had a considerable impact on the writings of Lescarbot.[138] However, on the eve of the third wave in 1620, his intent changed. His interactions with third wave missionaries influenced his prints on several levels, the most relevant level the addition of their language information to his writings. Likewise, the religious authors of the third wave relied on the information and its presentation and structure in Champlain's early works.[139] As a consequence, Champlain's prints published after 1620 became part of the third wave literature. In this way, Champlain's account and its additional excerpts provide a good example of how the second wave context and sentiment continued to influence third wave literature.

Throughout his work, Champlain inserts various necessary translations. Furthermore, two religious texts were inserted. The first text, *Doctrine Chrestienne*, was a popular catechism at the time drafted by Jesuit Ledesme (Ledisma). It was translated by Jean de Brébeuf into what he named 'the Canadian language, different from the Montagnais'.[140] In this eighteen-page masterpiece, the authors were able to translate whole sentences of the Native language into French. A first print of the *Doctrine* was published in 1630.[141] Regretfully, the text gives very few insights into its translator's motivations and was furthermore not included in Brébeuf's own print of 1634. The last part of the Champlain's print contains prayers translated into Huron by Jesuit Enemond Massé. In this text, like Brébeuf's, fixed sentences are translated. However, because the structure of Massé's translated prayers is too ambiguous to efficiently locate which words were translated, it was not selected for this study. While it is important to know that these translations existed, they do not provide relevant or additional insights into the portrayal of Native languages.

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138 Despland, "The Indians of the St. Lawrence Valley and Their Religion", 463.
139 Despland, "The Indians of the St. Lawrence Valley and Their Religion", 472.
140 Brébeuf, "Doctrine" (1632), 15.
141 Hanzeli, *Missionary Linguistics in New France*, 55.

Marc Lescarbot (1570 - ca.1642)

Marc Lescarbot was a well-connected French lawyer and polemist born in 1570 in Northern France.[142] His religious affiliation is difficult to define, although he is most likely Catholic: the bishop of Laon saw to his higher education, enabling him to study languages (Latin, Greek, and Hebrew) and law. However, he took a firm stance against the Jesuits when in New France, siding with his patron Jean de Biencourt de Poutrincourt, who had a deep distrusted for them. On the invitation of Poutrincourt, he joined the 1606 expedition of Sieur de Gua de Monts to New France. Due to the revocation of de Mont's privilege a year later, the company was forced to return to France. Due to his experience in writing treatises and his personal connections in the Parisian printing world, Lescarbot drew up an account of his travels right after his return. In his writings, Lescarbot displayed himself as a humanist by using biblical quotes as well as references to other sources of Antiquity. Furthermore, he had a keen interest in Native Americans and portrayed an unseen understanding of their culture.

Lescarbot claimed authorship of over twenty texts, fourteen of which concerned his travels in New France. The book included in this study is *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, often printed together with Lescarbot's poem *Les Muses de la Nouvelle France*, the first edition compiled in 1607 and published in 1609.[143] The account was translated and published in English in the same year, by London's printer-publisher George Bishop, and in German in 1613 by Chrysostomus Dabertzhofer in Augsburg.[144] In French, it was published in 1609, 1611, 1612, 1617, and 1618. Lescarbot relied heavily on information presented by other authors he admired, such as the Cartier, Champlain, etc.[145] Because Lescarbot often paraphrased their works – printed at an earlier time or pertaining to a different place – when lacking knowledge of the subject himself, the information in these parts must be correctly allocated as not to confuse these portrayals with those of the Natives Lescarbot actually encountered.

Lescarbot was invited on the journey to New France with the sole intent to document the actions of the noblemen who explored and colonized the region in the name of the King. As a result, Lescarbot placed his companions next to the legendary voyagers of French history. The relation can be classified as promotion literature, as it provided an idealized description of past explorations to encourage new voyages. This glorified stance was not customary to the travel accounts in this period. In several passages, Lescarbot's literary imagination took precedence over the accuracy of the information he presented.

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[142] René Baudry, "Lescarbot, Marc", Dictionnaire biographique du Canada, vol. 1, 1986, http://www.biographi.ca/fr/bio/lescarbot_marc_1F.html.

[143] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609).

[144] "Search: Marc Lescarbot", Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC), accessed February 16, 2020, https://www.ustc.ac.uk/results?qa=0,0,marc%20lescarbot,AND&qo=0,0,1&qp=1&qso=11.

[145] The borrowed passages and their original authors will be identified in the analyzed passages of the account in 2.2.2 and 3.1.

For this study, the 1609 and 1611 prints were consulted via the John Carter Brown Library.[146] In this study, the content of the 1609 edition is the main focus. The 1611 edition is only used to compare its language chapter with the 1609 edition, as some paragraphs were added.[147] The title page of *Histoire* contains a lot of information: the title in full, the author and his occupation, an engraving, the place of print, the printer, the year, and the privilege.[148] The engraving is a scene in a laurel crown of a boat pushed by the wind at sea. Above and in it are two Latin phrases: respectively 'Multa renascentur quae iam cecidere, cadéntque' and 'fortior in adversis'.[149] On the shore stands a tower, and there are two stars in the sky. A Holy Heart is visible at the bottom. Before the relation commences, Lescarbot inserted five 'To the reader' paragraphs: 'Au Roy tres-chretien de France et de Navarre Henri IIII', 'A la Royne', 'A Monseigneur Le Dauphin', 'A La Royne Marguerite', and finally 'A la France'.[150]

This source consists of three books, starting with a chronological overview of earlier French colonial efforts into the Americas. The 'Livre Premier' recapitulated the voyages of Verrazano, Ribault, Laudonnière, and Gourgues into Florida, and that of de Villegagnon to the Brazilian coast (France Antarctique). The 'Livre Deuxiéme' summarized the Canadian exploration by Cartier and his initial partner de la Roche de Roberval, those of de Monts and de Pourtincourt (in whose company he resided), and the later voyages of the Marquis de la Roche and Champlain. In the 'Livre Troisiéme', Lescarbot described the people of New France. This book was divided into 26 chapters.[151]

As for the information of Native languages, the diversity of the source is its main advantage. First, Lescarbot dedicated a chapter of his relation to explain the language of the Natives. This contains a lot of information concerning various aspects of the nature of the language. Throughout the rest of the Book 2 and 3, various words were presented due to a lack of a French equivalent, which has previously been categorized as necessary translations. Which language Lescarbot encountered, however, is still unclear, as he could not differentiate between different languages of different places on the voyage. In the area he visited, Natives spoke either Mi'kmaq or Masileet-Passanaquoddy, both of which Algonquin languages.[152] Lescarbot also named two languages that cannot be identified: 'Etechemin' and 'Souriquois'.[153] Etchemin is not found in any other sources and could possibly be the name of a language that has vanished. Souriquois, on the other hand, was most likely the pidgin trade

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[146] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609); Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611).

[147] In chapter 3, the 1611 edition will be referred to, but the added information will always be explicitly indicated.

[148] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), ai.

[149] Translation: Many things shall be born again that have fallen or will fall; Stronger in adversity.

[150] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), aii, aiii, aiiii, not numbered, not numbered.

[151] The titles – roughly translated – are: birth, naming, feeding infants, parental love for children, religion, soothsayers and religious actions, language, letters, clothing and hairdo, anatomy, bodily ornaments, other ornaments, marriage, tobacco, dance and song, dispositions of the body (about medicine), male tasks, female tasks, civilization, virtues and vices, hunting, falconry, fishing, agriculture, war, and funeral.

[152] Goddard, "Eastern Algonquin Languages", 70-71.

[153] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 699.

language Natives used when they spoke to Europeans, the word originating from Basque, meaning 'language of the whites'.[154]

John Smith (1580-1631)

The first English author of the second wave is Captain John Smith, who became an American and modern-day legend due to his relationship with the Native Chief Powatan's daughter, Pocahontas. John Smith was raised in an Anglican in a yeoman family, the latter being a rather low rank in English society.[155] In his early life, he spent a great deal of time on the European continent as a soldier.[156] There, he received the military title and rank of Captain. After his imprisonment by the Turks in Hungary, he was sold into slavery but managed to escape, returning to England in 1604.[157] In 1606, he sailed to Virginia under the leadership of Christopher Newport and helped establish the first Jamestown settlement, which would later become the first permanent British settlement in North America.[158] As a result of an injury from an accidental gunpowder explosion in 1609, he was forced to return to England. He was later part of a second exploratory mapping expedition into New England in 1614.

His experiences on the first voyage to North America are related in *A Map of Virginia* printed in 1612.[159] Remarkably, it was the only one of Smith's prints that was not reissued. Evidently, the book was written after Smith's return to England in 1609 and its publication three years later. Although the captain was selected for the journey because of his military career, he was also tasked with describing the events of the voyage in print. The documentation of the voyage led by Newport, Smith's superior, is therefore very positive. Smith's goal was to convince his readers, either private individuals or state officials, of the economic opportunity that lay in providing funding for a second voyage. Although the captain described his voyage into the territory under the control of Chief Powhatan, he tried to describe what he saw of the land, not just how he travelled. This pointed to the objects already present in America that could be exploited by the English, such as the nature and commodities. In the description of Virginia, he utilized the same methodological approach as was encountered in Harriot's *Report*. Only things and events that were personally observed by Smith were related and each of these were categorized thematically.

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[154] Bakker, "'The Language of the Coast Tribes Is Half Basque'", 121.
[155] Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, 193.
[156] Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels*, 303.
[157] Walter W. Woodward, "Captain John Smith and the Campaign for New England: A Study in Early Modern Identity and Promotion", *The New England Quarterly* 81, no. 1 (2008), 91.
[158] Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels*, 303.
[159] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612).

Although the book was only published once, as many as twenty copies are still available today.[160] In the John Carter Brown Library's edition, it was bound together with Thomas Abbay's *The proceedings of the English colonie in Virginia.*[161] The first page of the print contains a 1606 map of the explored parts of Virginia, along with engravings of a Native house and hunter made by William Hole. When unfolded, I estimate its length to be of just more than double the length of the print.[162] The title page lists the normal bibliographical information, as well as eight authors of other books from which information about North American discoveries was used by Smith in his work.[163] An introduction 'To the Hand' follows the title page.[164] The book was structured thematically and started with a 'Description of Virginia'.[165] Three chapters on local products are followed by three chapters on the native inhabitants.[166]

This source presented the Native language known as Powhatan in several capacities.[167] First, at the beginning of the print, in front of the first chapter, a vocabulary list named 'because many doe desire to knowe the maner of their language', contains several Native words and phrases translated into English by Smith.[168] Furthermore, the translation of certain words throughout the text also point to the everyday use of the Native language by the English. What these necessary translations described, was determined by the interest Smith showed in the subject.

William Strachey (1572-1621)

William Strachey was of Anglican faith and part of the English gentry.[169] He studied at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, but whether he studied law or arts remains unclear.[170] The legal battle for the inheritance of his father, claimed by his stepmother, points towards studies in law. However, sources portrayed him as an active member of literary society. His early unsuccessful carrier as a poet, led him

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[160] "Smith, John, 1580-1631", English Short Title Catalogue, accessed August 4, 2020, http://estc.bl.uk/F/6ARNNRUDFMPCMR5MHHH9J6HFE64VM6L95XQMC327IAA6SPNDAX-11147?func=full-set-set&set_number=019618&set_entry=000009&format=999.

[161] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612).

[162] The exact measurements of the print and the map are not available.

[163] These are: Dr. Russel, Tho. Studley, Anas Todxill, Ieffra. Abot, Richard Wiefin, Will. Phettiplace, Nathaniel Powell, and Richard Pots.

[164] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), *2.

[165] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), 1.

[166] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), 10, 16, 18, and 19, 29, 34. Resp.: 'Of such things which are naturall in Virginia and how they use them', 'Of their Planted fruits in Virginia and how they use them', and 'The commodities in Virginia or that may be had by industrie', 'Of the naturall Inhabitants of Virginia', 'Of their religion', and 'Of the manner of the Virginians government'.

[167] Goddard, "Eastern Algonquin Languages", 73.

[168] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), *3.

[169] Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, 193.

[170] Betty Wood, "Strachey, William (1572–1621), Historian of Virginia", Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed January 5, 2020, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26623.

to invest in the Virginia Company. He set sail in the company of Christopher Newport and George Somer in 1609. The fleet ran aground in the Bahamas due to a hurricane and trapped the survivors on an island for almost a year, after which they fashioned boats and again set sail to Virginia. Upon arrival, Strachey was able to fill a vacant administrative position. He returned to England in 1611 and began writing the manuscript for *The Historie of Travaile Into Virginia Britannia*. Due to its criticism on English colonial efforts, and competition with John Smith's *Map of Virginia,* the book was not published during Strachey's life.[171]

In many ways, Strachey's experiences and opinions were much like those of other English colonial voyagers. Much like John Smith, he defends England's right to colonial expansion and provides an accurate portrayal of the Native threat. However, on Strachey's voyage, the obvious difference was the shipwreck. The ship's absence had a surprisingly large effect on the new colony. In a second relation of the voyage (*True Reportory*), Strachey recorded how the shipwrecked crew, faced with starvation and ultimately death, refused to defer to English class hierarchy and mutinied several times.[172] Sir Thomas Gates, the would-be governor, had to rely on other means of power to secure his subordinates' allegiance. The presumed death of the colony's new governor, along with the much-needed provisions he was to provide, took its toll on Virginia as well.[173] The relation of said events can hardly be described as propaganda, to which end the Virginia (trade) Company decided to keep Strachey's *True Reportory* and possibly all of his other manuscripts unpublished. Strachey had, however, produced three handwritten versions of *The Historie of Travaile Into Virginia Britannia* in 1618.[174] His radically new ideas on power and the necessity of rebellion for the greater good were critically received by the English elite.[175] As part of the gentry, Strachey would have been well aware of this.

Three unpublished, handwritten version of *The Historie of Travaile Into Virginia Britannia* existed during Strachey's life, of which two were located by Richard Henry Major, editor of the 1849 printed edition.[176] The first is property of the British Museum, as part of the Sloane Collection, no. 1622, and is dedicated to Sir Francis Bacon, 'Lord High Chancellor'. The second is part of the Ashmolean Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, no. 1754, dedicated to Sir Allen Apsley, 'Purveyor to his Majesties

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[171] Stanford E. Lehmberg, review of *William Strachey, 1572-1621*, by S. G. Culliford, *The American Historical Review* 71, no. 4 (1966), 1327.

[172] Alexander Mazzaferro, "'Such a Murmur': Innovation, Rebellion, and Sovereignty in William Strachey's 'True Reportory'", *Early American Literature* 53, no. 1 (March 6, 2018), 4.

[173] Mazzaferro, "Such a Murmur", 10.

[174] Virginia Freund ed., "Introduction", in *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania (1612), by William Strachey, Gent*, ed. (New York: Routledge, 2017), https://books.google.be/books?id=PggkDwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false, page not listed.

[175] Mazzaferro, "Such a Murmur", 12.

[176] Major ed., "Editor's Preface", in *The Historie of Travaile* (1849), 4.

Navie Royall'. The third manuscript, dedicated to Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, remained in the Percy family library until 1928, when it was sold to Cyrus H. McCormick, a collector. Upon his death, the manuscript was donated to the Princeton University.[177] These three manuscripts were all based of the same information gathered in the 1609 voyage. Evidently, they were not drafted simultaneously, yet differed only slightly.[178] This was most probably due to the short period of time between the first edition after 1611 and the last, which was gifted to Bacon in 1618. For this study, I consulted the 1849 print edited by R.H. Major, available online through the John Carter Brown Library.[179] It contains a two-page preface and thirty-six-page introduction by the editor, followed by Strachey's writing, annotated. *The Historie of Travaile Into Virginia Britannia* relates Strachey's voyage to Virginia, offering a description of the land and its inhabitants, the workings of the Virginia government, and a sixteen-page dictionary of the Powhatan language.

I have hinted that Strachey's print was not published during his lifetime because of the nature of the information he provided. The description of the precarious situation of the settlement was deemed inconsolable with the propagated image and would only hamper the future expansion into Virginia. I defer to previous historical research which probed more deeply into Strachey's other account to substantiate this argument, as I find these negative elements were highly dramatized at the time, as there is very little evidence of such a portrayal in the structure and researched paragraphs of *The Historie of Travaile*.[180] In my opinion, it seems more likely that Strachey's account was not published because it lacked new information. Strachey added his own literary style to the then popular thematical portrayals. The paragraphs rely heavily on previous information contributed by other travelers and authors, although often longer and more detailed than they were in their original prints. These details provide interesting insights into the reasoning of the seventeenth century and their arguments for and against imperialism.

Strachey's varying interest in the commodities and economic opportunities seemed to suggest that his account was not for the benefit of investors. Instead, his literary style and his choices on structural arrangement suggest this book was more a cultural tract than a voyage report. The many controversial elements of the book raise further questions on the provided information. To what extent did Strachey aim to radically split from earlier travel narratives? The answer I find is none. The rest of the book, like many of the second wave sources, provide information of passed voyages, followed by the author's own voyage described in Book 2.[181] Furthermore, Strachey amply described the Natives and their culture. The short amount of time Strachey spent amongst the Natives was not

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[177] Freund, "Introduction", pnl.
[178] Freund, "Introduction", pnl.
[179] Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile* (1849).
[180] Mazzaferro, "'Such a Murmur'", 3–32.
[181] Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile* (1849), 137-180.

out of the ordinary for this wave. His descriptive manner of writing best resembles Lescarbot's, who also took an interest in religion and gender roles, as will be discussed in chapter 2.

The difficulty in the case of William Strachey is his ambiguous position as an influential author. His book was not published during his lifetime, which begs the question whether he fits into research based on knowledge gathering and distribution. The difficult settlement of Jamestown, combined with the immense popularity of travel writing on North America related to both investments and pure curiosity, played a crucial part on censorship by the English state and its licensed Companies. However, Strachey's ideas did seep into English society through other means. For example, the journey and shipwreck in the Bahamas in 1609 provided the inspiration for Shakespeare's *The Tempest*.[182] Although the exact knowledge *The Historie of Travaile Into Virginia Britannia* contained was never reproduced on a larger scale, the general sentiment was aptly conveyed and would actively shape how English colonizers perceived the Natives.[183]

A second argument for the integration of this source into this study is his place in the literary tradition. Strachey relied heavily on information provided by other authors such as James Rosier and Richard Willes.[184] His stance on Natives and their portrayal in *The Historie* was in turn influenced by John Smith and Thomas Harriot, whose understanding of Native customs allowed them to make respectful and accurate descriptions, mainly on governmental organization.[185] Borrowing texts and referring to experiences of other authors was a commonly used tactic to connect the author's journey to historic and often heroic travels. By resorting to this tactic of continuity, Strachey made it clear it was his intention to pass his knowledge on through print. Furthermore, the two other manuscripts with identical content Strachey drew up, each dedicated to a notable nobleman of the time, point to a small-scale demand of his knowledge, even through the less convenient medium of a manuscript.[186]

A movement of ideas among the British elite can, of course, not be deemed a wide distribution of knowledge to the next wave of travelers. However, because of the intent of distribution on a large scale, the actual distribution on a small scale, and the implicit use of his ideas in socially critical art and other forms of expression, the original unprinted text does fit in to the research question of this study. *The Historie of Travaile Into Virginia Britannia* contains a rather large dictionary on the Powhatan language.[187] Together with Smith's vocabulary, this was the only source of its time to document this language. The length of the dictionary at this early stage is quite remarkable. The original order of the

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[182] Wood, "Strachey, William (1572–1621), Historian of Virginia".
[183] Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse", 570.
[184] Wood, "Strachey, William (1572–1621), Historian of Virginia".
[185] Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels*, 296.
[186] Major, "Editor's Preface", in *The Historie of Travaile* (1849), 4-5.
[187] Goddard, "Eastern Algonquin Languages", 73.

words listed in the dictionary was not changed in the analyzed edition.[188] Strachey also inserted necessary translations throughout his account.

1.1.3 The Third Wave: Laying the Foundation for Colonial Expansion (1620-1630)

Ca. 1620, a new group joined the colonial stage. The growth in knowledge of North America and the perceived readiness of the continent for religious education brought missionaries to New France.[189] The European religious conflict between Catholics and Reformatory confessions was exported to America as these Catholic priests began the conversion of the indigenous inhabitants. Their arrival had a stabilizing effect on the existing settlements and encouraged religiously motivated exploration. In order to properly reeducate the Natives in the 'true faith', Natives needed to be forced to abandon their nomadic lifestyle and populate the new towns. Recollects, Jesuits, and other missionaries acted as diplomats between the French trade companies and the Wendat fur suppliers.[190] Under their supervision a trade agreement was brokered between the Wendat and the French, which included a French military alliance against the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy.[191] Highly dependent on the fur supply, the French colonization was more inclusive towards the Natives. The internal division among the French in America grew as religious disputes were reopened in their homeland and economic restrictions were put on Huguenot traders.[192] Throughout the 1620s, missionaries were often called to abandon their missions as a result of escalating situations with varying causes.[193]

One of these causes was English infringement on French territory in order to benefit from the profitable fur trade. Several violent conflicts occurred between these European powers, often resulting in the alienation of their trade contacts among the Native population.[194] Furthermore, in English regions, conflicts arose between settlers and the Native population. In 1622, the finally somewhat stable Jamestown settlement was attacked by the Powhatan Confederacy.[195] This massacre in reaction to British annexations and 'civilizing' tactics had a considerable impact on the English perception of Natives. It confirmed the English paranoid belief that America and its inhabitants were deceptive and

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[188] Major ed., "Introduction", *The Historie of Travaile Into Virginia Britannia*, xxii.
[189] Binasco, "Few, Uncooperative, and Endangered", 148-150.
[190] Edward G. Gray, *New World Babel: Languages and Nations in Early America* (Princeton University Press, 2014), 30.
[191] Bruce Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered* (McGill-Queen's Press, 1986), 181. Five Nations, Iroquois Confederacy, or Iroquois League are colonial terms used to indicate five, self-distinguished Iroquois communities (Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca) of Northern America that were politically allied throughout the seventeenth century.
[192] Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France,* 34-35.
[193] Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France,* 35-36.
[194] Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France,* 35.
[195] M. Zucherman, "Identity in British America: Unease in Eden", in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (Princeton University Press, 1987), 148.

hostile.[196] Like in French regions, religious strains created a divided English population. To the north of Jamestown, the project to create a new England was commenced by religious actors, mainly Puritan refugees, exiled from England in 1620. These radicals saw America as a clean slate and aimed to produce a purer version of English society. As the decade progressed, both isolated religious and state sponsored trade settlements expanded and solidified.

Gabriel Sagard (before 1604-1636)

Gabriel Sagard Théodat was a French Recollect (Franciscan) missionary.[197] To his own account, he joined the order of Recollects in Paris in 1604, but the first external historic mention of him is in 1614. In 1615, four Recollects left for New France, among whom Joseph Le Caron (1586-1632).[198] In 1623, the Paris Recollect Order sent a second wave of missionaries, including Sagard and his companion Nicolas Viel. Upon arrival Sagard openly criticized the baptismal work performed by Le Caron, who had baptized several Natives who had not been properly introduced to Catholic Doctrine.[199] Sagard, Viel, and Le Caron then traveled to the Huron Lakes. They labeled the Natives living there 'les Hurons', while the tribe called themselves Wendat (and were first 'discovered' by Samuel de Champlain in 1615).[200] Although culturally Iroquois, their territory lay on the 'border' with Algonquin speaking communities, who were more commonly the Wendat's political allies.

Upon the arrival of the French, the Five Nations – often depicted as the most violent of the Native tribes – were at war with the Wendat.[201] The Recollect missionaries were sent into the territory primarily to convert the pagan peoples, but indirectly also forged trade relations between the Wendat and the French. In 1624, Sagard met Etienne Brûlé, a Frenchman and trader who had been active in relations with the Native since 1610.[202] Due to changing political constellations in France and the rise of the Jesuits, Sagard was forced to return to France in 1624.[203] He left the Recollect Order after the publication of his second book *Histoire du Canada* in 1636.

Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons was printed in 1632, eight years after Sagard had returned to France.[204] Only published once, nine copies are still available today, including the online scans

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[196] Kupperman, "English Perceptions of Treachery", 269.

[197] Jean De La Croix Rioux, "Sagard, Gabriel (Baptisé Théodat)", Dictionnaire biographique du Canada, vol. 1, accessed January 6, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/fr/bio/sagard_gabriel_1F.html.

[198] Frédéric Gingras, "Le Caron, Joseph", Dictionnaire biographique du Canada, vol. 1, accessed February 25, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/fr/bio/le_caron_joseph_1F.html.

[199] Marie-Christine Pioffet, "Gabriel Sagard, l'insoumis", 46.

[200] Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats, une civilisation méconnue* (Presses Université Laval, 1994), 11.

[201] De La Croix Rioux, "Sagard, Gabriel (Baptisé Théodat)".

[202] De La Croix Rioux, "Sagard, Gabriel (Baptisé Théodat)".

[203] De La Croix Rioux, "Sagard, Gabriel (Baptisé Théodat)".

[204] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632).

provided by the John Carter Brown Library.[205] The title page was divided into horizontal layers. The first, at the top of the page, contains the Hebrew inscription 'יהוה' (Yahweh). The second layer shows six armed Natives. Five are wearing deer skin around their waist, and one is fully nude, holding a decapitated head. The bibliographical information is placed on a plaque in the engraving's third layer.[206] On either side, a Recollect was engraved: the left with the Holy stigmata visible on his left hand and right foot, and the right holding a cross and what can be assumed is a Bible. At the bottom of the page, a 'cabanne', a 'canot', and a 'sepulcra' are drawn on the bases of the pillars holding the priests. The following page is a second title page, but only containing bibliographical text. There are three epistles: 'Au Roy du Roys […] Iesus-Christ […]', 'A […] Henri de Lorraine, comte d'Arcourt', and 'Au lecteur'.[207]

Its delayed printing was most likely due to Sagard's unwillingness to provide information to those who wished to use the knowledge to economically exploit the Natives.[208] As a religious actor, Sagard was appalled by the short-term, mercantilist approach to the French colonization managed by the nobles and traders who would use the provided information for the further exploitation of the Natives.[209] Sagard was an eyewitness to most of the events he depicted. However, some of the information in his print can be attributed to other actors. The French trader Brûlé, mentioned above, shared his knowledge of the Natives and their language with Sagard, enabling him to compile the *Dictionnaire de la langue Huronne*.[210] Furthermore, considerable numbers of passages and paragraphs were based on Lescarbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*.[211] Sagard did publish the print eventually, probably due to external stress from other religious actors and institutions.[212] In his account, he accented the need for proper religious education and raised the issue of exploitation by French traders. The account was divided into two parts, structured both chronologically and thematically. The first part contained five chapters recounting the journey from France to a Wendat tribe and seventeen chapters on Wendat customs, culture, and everyday life. For the second part – on commodities – Sagard waisted very little paper, as they were only five chapters. Even here, Sagard focused primarily

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[205] "Search: Gabriel Sagard", Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC), accessed February 16, 2020, https://www.ustc.ac.uk/results?qa=0,0,gabriel%20sagard,AND&qo=0,0,1&qp=1&qso=11.

[206] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632).

[207] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), aiii-é(v).

[208] Pioffet, "Gabriel Sagard, l'insoumis", 39.

[209] Pioffet, "Gabriel Sagard, l'insoumis", 45.

[210] Olga Jurgens, "Brûlé, Étienne", Dictionnaire biographique du Canada, vol. 1, accessed February 25, 2020, http://www.biographi.ca/fr/bio/brule_etienne_1F.html.

[211] Nicolas Hebbinckuys, "Les échos de Marc Lescarbot dans l'oeuvre de Gabriel Sagard", *Études littéraires* 47, no. 1 (2016): 23–37. To what extent this intertextuality could be problematic, is considered in chapter 2.

[212] For more information regarding organized religious documentation of Native languages, see: Guillorel, "Gérer la « confusion de Babel »".

on American fauna and flora. Behind the account of his journey, Sagard inserted his *Dictionnaire de la langue Huronne*.[213]

In the travel account, Sagard implemented necessary translations in both parts of the account. The *Dictionnaire* added behind his account, however, contains more valuable language information on the Wendat language. It was originally in light of the missionaries' language strategy created for baptismal purposes, to ensure that Natives understood Christian Doctrine before they were baptized.[214] In order to compile the *Dictionnaire de la langue Huronne*, Sagard used the works and knowledge of others.[215] In the case of Le Caron, the only surviving copy of the vocabulary he was able to learn was included in the *Dictionnaire.* It is important to note here that the *Dictionnaire* had a different purpose and readership than the rest of the print and was drafted with its own introduction. In the introduction, Sagard aimed to linguistically describe how the language works, and points to the social situation in which the language is used and viewed.

William Wood (fl. 1629-1635)

There is still a lot of mystery concerning William Wood's person: his parentage, place of origin, and religious affiliation are unknown. The first written record of him was in 1629, when he disembarked in New England. He settled among a Puritan community, although he is not believed to be a Puritan himself.[216] He returned to England in 1633 to write of his experiences in the New World, publishing his first print by 1634. There is no information about his life after 1635 or his death. *New Englands Prospect* was printed in 1634 in London by printer-publisher Thomas Cotes.[217] The prints were sold to John Bellamy, who owned a book shop in Cornhill, London.[218] A revised edition of *New Englands Prospect* came out in 1635, although the changes were minor.[219] In 1639, this revised edition was reissued with no changes. Nineteen copies of the original 1634 print are still available today, of which the John Carter Brown Library print was consulted online.[220] The title page contains the bibliographical information and a small engraving with an English rose in it.[221] The edition provides a map of New England at the beginning of the book, as well as a table of content, which divides the print into two

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[213] Sagard, "Dictionnaire", in *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons* (1632), 3-Vo-Yo.

[214] Guillorel, "Gérer la « confusion de Babel »", 180.

[215] De La Croix Rioux, "Sagard, Gabriel (Baptisé Théodat)".

[216] Alden T. Vaughan, "Wood, William (Fl. 1629–1635), Writer on America", Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed February 12, 2020, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/72606.

[217] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634).

[218] Vaughan, "Wood, William (Fl. 1629–1635), Writer on America".

[219] "Wood, William, Active 1629-1635", English Short Title Catalogue, accessed August 4, 2020, http://estc.bl.uk/F/6ARNNRUDFMPCMR5MHHH9J6HFE64VM6L95XQMC327IAA6SPNDAX-16337?func=full-set-set&set_number=020740&set_entry=000005&format=999.

[220] "Wood, William, Active 1629-1635"; Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634).

[221] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634).

parts. In the first part, Wood portrayed the topographical and natural aspects of the continent. The discourse was heavily promotional, emphasizing the benefits of the land and its opportunities, often a comparing it with England.

The second part was an ethnographical portrait of the native inhabitants. The described aspects of their culture and political organization suggests Wood was privy to many things not commonly revealed to Europeans, such as the workings of political councils. All these elements provide a picture of Wood's intent. He witnessed a rise in the number of settlers and noted that these had little comprehension of what awaited them. His prints were sold in England because he was aware of the demand for reliable information regarding the English colonial project. Unlike other authors of this time, Wood seemed to minimize his own experiences for the benefit of a generalized portrayal. Furthermore, he made an important nuance when including Native tribes not necessarily found in New England in his description, like those he called 'Mowhacks' and 'Tarrenteens'.[222] By doing this he underlined the ambivalent nature of the continent, claiming it was inhabitable but not completely tamed.

Although publishing his work in English, Wood inflated the book with Latin phrases and sayings. This was motivated by one of three possibilities. First, Wood expected his work to be read by a public educated in Latin. However, this would be contradictory to the use of English throughout the rest of the book. A more likely option would be that these saying were common knowledge, in which case the expected public had not received higher linguistic education but were aware of the mythical position of Latin within society and relied on rudimentary knowledge in order to translate the inserted proverbs. A third possibility was that Wood aimed to distinguish himself from other vernacular authors by flaunting Latin knowledge. This source provides information on Native languages in several capacities. In this second part of the book, Wood dedicated a chapter to the language of the Natives he encountered. Contrarily to other authors, Wood rarely uses Native words when describing the land, fauna, or flora. The inclusion a vocabulary list of around 250 words at the end of the book proves that he knew the words for the things he described but chose not to provide this information in the relevant parts of his discourse.

Jean de Brébeuf (1593-1649)

Jean de Brébeuf was a spiritual figure who was present in New France in two phases. First as a novice from 1625 to 1629 and later as a Jesuit from 1634 to 1640. The 24-year-old of Normandy origin began

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[222] The Mohawk and Abenaki or Mi'kmaq were Native American peoples living respectfully west and north-east of New England. "Tarrateen", Native Languages, accessed May 11, 2020, http://www.native-languages.org/definitions/tarrateen.htm.

his novitiate at the Rouen Jesuit College in 1617.[223] In 1625, after a long legal process and as a result of the failed missions by other orders, the Jesuits were permitted to venture to New France.[224] Among the first to travel to New France was Jean de Brébeuf, accompanied by two sworn Jesuits, Charles Lalemant and Enémond Massé. In 1626, after receiving a short introduction to the Montagnais language, Brébeuf was reassigned to the Huron country together with Father Anne de Noüe. In this period, Brébeuf learned the Wendat language as well as many other things concerning their societal practices. Due to unrest in 1629, Brébeuf was recalled to Quebec, where he was captured by the English and deported.[225] Once returned to France he took the final Jesuit vow.[226] In 1632, missionary endeavors were resumed under the leadership of Paul Le Jeune, the superior of all Jesuit missions in New France. From 1634 onward, Brébeuf continued his work in Huronia and reported back to Le Jeune. At this point in time, the situation in Huronia and other marginal places became dangerous due to plague outbreaks among the Natives. The spread of European diseases and colonial expansion created friction between the invading and native population. When the Iroquois were integrated in the French fur trade in 1640, becoming violent competitors of the Wendat, the situation became even more dire. As a result, all missionaries were recalled.[227] Brébeuf did return for a third time to Huronia in 1647, where he was entangled in the Wendat-Iroquois conflict and killed.

Brébeuf's knowledge of the customs and language of the Wendat was immortalized in the letters he sent in 1634-1635 to his superior, Le Jeune, as updates of the situation in Huronia. These letters were copied and published as part of the *Jesuit Relations* of 1635 and 1636, and in *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans le pays des Hurons en l'annee 1636*, compiled by Paul Le Jeune in 1637.[228] Many prints are still available today. For this study, the John Carter Brown Library print was consulted.[229] This book contains two sections. The first, a 272-page monologue, was written by the Jesuit superior Le Jeune. It contains no information of the Native language, save for its crucial role in the efforts of missionaries. The title page contains the bibliographical information for Le Jeune's part of the print and an engraving of two fighting storks, the emblem of the printer-publisher Sébastien Cramoisy. Brébeuf's name is not mentioned here, nor in the table of content a few pages later. The second part contains the compilation of Brébeuf's letters sent over the course of several years, of which the most important is 150 pages long.[230] The title of the second part ('Enuoyée à Kébec au r.p. Paul le Ieune

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[223] Latourelle, "Brébeuf, Jean de (Échon)".
[224] Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France,* 33.
[225] Hanzeli, *Missionary Linguistics in New France*, 20.
[226] Latourelle, "Brébeuf, Jean de (Échon)".
[227] Latourelle, "Brébeuf, Jean de (Échon)".
[228] Carolyn Podruchny and Kathryn Magee Labelle, "Jean de Brébeuf and the Wendat Voices of Seventeenth-Century New France", *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 34, no. 1–2 (2011), 106. Because this study does not focus on missionary linguistics, the *Relations* are not analyzed.
[229] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637).
[230] Podruchny and Labelle, "Jean de Brébeuf and the Wendat Voices of Seventeenth-Century New France", 103.

superieur') implicitly refers to a change of author. The only explicit indication of his authorship is on the last page of the print (p. 223). The numbering restarts when Brébeuf's *Relation* begins. The work is structured much like Le Jeune's and contains for the most part practical information needed for conversional efforts.

Contrary to other sources, this text was written in the form of letters while Brébeuf was living amongst the Wendat in New France. These letters were meant to update Le Jeune on the conversion of the Natives in Huronia. This is clear from the information these letters contained, focusing solely on how Brébeuf attempted to implement Christianity into Native society. As a result of his utilitarian approach, Native society was portrayed only superficially. Furthermore, it is highly likely that Brébeuf was aware that tracts he sent to Le Jeune would be published.[231] Brébeuf used this opportunity to present his own thoughts on how missionaries had worked in the past and on the changes in this approach needed. This expectation does not, however, interfere with the selection of information or how it was presented. Whether the letters were published or not, they were after all still meant for his superior (Le Jeune) and consequently portrayed a positive and steadily developing image of his mission. In this print, Brébeuf dedicated a chapter to the language of the Wendat. Additionally, Brébeuf contributed a translation of Christian Doctrine to Wendat to the prints of Samuel de Champlain.

1.2   Portrayal of Language Information and Methodology

The fourth phase of this study is dedicated to creating a framework as a foundation of the analysis of language information. In the previous part of this study, the chronological difficulties in the studied period became clear. The impact of the discovery of America by Spanish explorers was immense on many levels of all European societies. Spanish and Portuguese supremacy on the new continent, as well as internal conflicts in France and England, kept French and English authors from collection their own information to form ideas and conceptions of the New World. When these two states engaged in Atlantic exploration – although the continent had been 'present' for several decades – they used the information available to them to create their conceptions. A first source of information was Spanish discourse. However, Spain being the rival of both France and England and receiving a great degree of domestic criticism, the Spanish approach guided them as to what not to do. The other sources of information were literature from the past: Christian literature from late Medieval times and literature

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[231] Hypothesis based on: Guillorel, "Gérer la « confusion de Babel »", 181.

from Antiquity revived during the Renaissance. To properly analyze the ideas and conceptions of sixteenth and early seventeenth century French and English authors, the ideas from these two information sources must first be understood. As a result, the first part of the framework created in the second chapter will outline the underlying ideas and conceptions that influenced the conception of the Americas in French and English travel writing.

Because language was a form of expression inherent to Natives and strange to European travelers, it is important to look at the presented language information as part of a general presentation and interest of Native culture. As a result of the different techniques to portray language employed by the authors, the interpretation of how they depicted Native languages will take on a twofold approach. In general, there are two different techniques undertaken by both French and English authors throughout this period.[232] The first technique was used when authors provided a discourse with their insights on Native languages. In this case, no translations were provided, but the author dedicated a part or chapter of their print to their perception of the language, how it was used, or how it should be interpreted by Europeans. The inclusion of such a chapter was not common and hints that these authors had a different view on Native culture – and as a result Native language – than their contemporaries. A second noteworthy point is that these chapters are mainly found in third wave sources. The discourse in these language chapters lies at the base of the need to a twofold methodological approach.

The second technique Early Modern travel writers used is referred to in this study with the term 'translations', further divided into two types: 'direct translations' and 'necessary translations'. The former, as the name implies, provided a direct or single translation in which case an actor is only able to say or understand exactly what was translated. The direct translations are further divided into two subtypes, the first of which occurring when an author included a list in which words in the authors mother tongue were linked with its Native equivalent, as was often the case in vocabulary lists and dictionaries. The second subtype of direct translations concerns phrases and sentences where an author often only portrayed the sentence in one tense, one subject pronoun, or other fixed grammatical elements which left the user, again, with limited options as how to use the provided information. The only text that is part of this subtype is Brébeuf's translation of the *Doctrine Chrestienne*. Nonetheless, this subtype is vital, as will become clear in chapter 3.

The second type of the translation technique is labeled necessary translations. This type is a discursive strategy used when authors did not portray the Native word next to its European equivalent, but rather surrounded by context as part of their accounts. There are two contradicting theories as to why exotic words were inserted in travelogues. Peter Mason claims they were employed to increase a

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[232] Which technique each author preferred, is described per sources as a part of source criticism in chapter 1.

reader's excitement by making the text more exotic.[233] He also linked this to the creation of 'anti-lexica': lists of words that Natives did not have.[234] Steven Greenblatt argued a different motivation for the inclusion of exotic words into travel accounts: by describing the unknown word, the exotic became more familiar and less threatening.[235] Because both theories seem equally logical, the exotic words are defined in this study by their most basic intent. The use of exotic words relates to the inability of the authors to properly define the Native object they described in their mother language, at which point the use of the Native word became a necessity. Because a European equivalent could not be found or would not accurately convey what was meant, authors appropriated the Native word, often followed by a short explanation as to the meaning of the word and its closest European translation.[236] These kinds of words were studied in philosophical 'untranslatability' theories.[237] As the term 'untranslatable translations' is too paradoxical for my taste, untranslatable words inserted into European accounts analyzed in this study are instead referred to as 'necessary translations'.

With this distinction between translations, both direct and necessary, and language chapters in mind, the second chapter starts its investigation of the selected travelogues. The investigation of the fourth phase of this study, as outlined in the introduction, aims to reveal the changes in the perception of Native culture due to the accumulation of European knowledge. The wave system provides the structure to uncover these changes by analyzing the dominant themes presented in the travelogues of each wave. These themes are primarily visible in the structural elements of the prints, such as the tables of contents and/or the use of subtitles throughout the work. The structural elements furthermore aptly convey level of importance the author attributed to various aspects of Native culture.

This method suffices for the travelogues that do not contain chapters on language. The sources that do contain such chapters, however, need to undergo a more thorough analysis of both their structure and discourse. As has been hinted above, the inclusion of a language chapter points to the deeper knowledge of the author than their contemporaries, making them in a sense outliers. For this

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[233] Mason, *Infelicities*, 148-151.

[234] The anti-lexicon lists were lists of European words created to demonstrate the limits of Native languages and were described in: Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World,* 127. These became surprisingly popular – considering they held no real language information – and will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3.

[235] Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (University of Chicago Press, 1991), 135.

[236] A good example found today is 'Nantucket Island' (an island off the coast of Rhode Island), 'Nantucket' already meaning island in Wampanoag. In Smith's account, this is for example visible in the phrase 'Their chiefe ruler is called *Powhatan*', 'Powhatan' being a title instead of a name. Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), 34.

[237] Untranslatability was outlined in a quite radical form by Jacques Derrida, who argued that all translations made of any form of language lost part of their meaning. For more information, see: Martine Delvaux, "Dichtung Und Wahrheit: Jacques Derrida and the Untranslatability of Testimony", *Studies in Practical Philosophy* 2, no. 3 (2003): 40–56. Less radical definitions point to a small number of specific words for which their translation to a different language does not convey the same meaning. For more information, see: Emily S. Apter, *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability*, (London: Verso, 2013).

reason, these sources are not analyzed within the wave system, but rather compared to each other as to expose the full extent of their deepened knowledge. This approach can lead to two regrettable consequences. First, since the travelogues with different and deeper knowledge are not integrated into the waves, it can create the illusion of a stable general image within each wave from which very little deviation is possible. This illusion also wrongly implies a lack of agency on the author's part, who could only write within the narrative of his wave instead of being influenced by the general sentiments of each wave which resulted in its general image.

A second, more tangible consequence is that the formulation of the general image of the third wave is based solely on available secondary literature. However, the disadvantages of the *inclusion* of detailed discourse analyses of the sources containing discourse into the framework of general wave sentiments far outweigh those of their exclusion. It is important to remember that sources containing any kind of information on language were rare in their genre and time. To include the outliers of these outliers in the creation of a general framework for the portrayal and knowledge of Native culture would lead to a substantial misrepresentation of what is supposed to be a conventional sentiment, defeating the purpose of the investigation altogether.

As a result, the four sources whose author included a chapter on language in their work are analyzed in the third part of chapter 2.[238] Due to the immensity of the sources, the largest being Lescarbot's 900-page *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* and the shortest still a staggering 100 pages, a selection was necessary. Three aspects – sometimes spread over several chapters – of each author's presentation of Native culture are analyzed. The first of these is the first impression of Natives the author related to his reader. These are often found at the beginning of the ethnographical parts of the sources, although often not at the beginning of the book as a whole. These passages provide a glimpse into what the authors deemed most important to introduce. This element of essentiality can also be fit into the context of language representation and the selection process authors were faced with when drafting their works. Furthermore, these first impressions convey the general sentiment for the rest of their book. This part will include descriptions on various subjects, as each author determined the sequential organization of their works themselves. They also offer an answer as to why the author included his description in the first place.

The second aspect of Native culture analyzed in this chapter is the authors' portrayal of Native religion. As many of the third wave authors were religiously motivated when traveling to Northern America, this aspect cannot be ignored in this analysis. Furthermore, there was an undeniable link between the religion of the Natives and the European need to master their language. The third

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[238] Which parts of the travelogues are included in this analysis, was outlined in the introduction, mentioned per author above, and will again be repeated in the next chapter.

investigated aspect is the European portrayal of Native women. In both European and Native societies, gender played a crucial role in the actions and exercises of people. Women, making up half of the population and work force in Native societies, were dominantly active in food production and preparation, but were also often builders and tailors. The portrayal of these women by the European authors says a lot about their understanding of Native culture. From this analysis, the degree of generalization of 'the Native' as a Native man can be uncovered. Furthermore, especially in colonial discourse, the emphasis in the portrayal of women lay more on the aspect of European domination that was often less explicit in the discourse on Native men. A final argument for the inclusion of the portrayal of women in this discourse analysis is to uncover the gender bias in the language information. The authors undoubtably came into contact with Native women, and also portrayed their language in their works.

The portrayal of these three investigated aspects, in my opinion, provides enough variable information concerning the authors' opinions on Native culture. The conclusions uncovered by the framework will serve as the first part of the broad discourse analysis of the discourse on language in the language chapters. As mentioned in the introduction, the first part of discourse analysis outlined by Beyen was dedicated to understanding the context of the sources, their statute, the expected readership, intertextual practices, and the larger discourse they were part of. The criticism the travelogues underwent above has already provided parts of the answers to the statute and readership of the travelogues. The fourth phase framework will thus deepen out these answers along with uncovering answers to the extent and interpretations of intertextuality visible in the three selected topics and how the travelogue discourses fit into their historical context and wave trend.

To summarize, the fourth phase of this study – the creation of a framework in order to correctly analyze the language information in the travelogues – will take up the second chapter. This chapter, and thus phase, is divided into three parts. The first part outlines the ideas from before the studied period that influenced the authors in their descriptions. The second part of the framework will analyze the French and English travelogues that provide information on Native languages. It will be divided into two parts based on the two techniques: translations and discourse. First, a general image of the sentiments within each wave is portrayed based on available literature and substantiated by the information from authors who inserted translations into their prints. The last part of this chapter is dedicated to an analysis of the four travelogues which contain discourse on Native languages.

2 The Perception of America in Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century Travelogues

This chapter is dedicated to a methodological framework to reveal how French and English travel writers generally portrayed Native Americans during the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. It will commence by outlining the process of forming concepts on American instances throughout the sixteenth century that influenced the writings of the selected authors. These concepts had roots in the medieval images of the world and its peoples which were contradicted by the existence of a fourth continent. Throughout the sixteenth century, the indigenous inhabitants of the continent were mainly assessed by Spanish and Portuguese explorers whose writings and ideas circulated in Europe. The second part of this chapter will then focus on the creation of the general framework based on the accounts of sixteenth and seventeenth century French and English authors who provided language information. Because these authors employed two techniques, the framework will likewise be divided into two.

The first division will follow the structure provided by the wave scheme. This approach accurately envisions the evolutions and changes of the perception of the Natives throughout the outlined period, as it highlights how each author was influenced by the events and trends of his wave. The claims made here are based on literature and will be substantiated by information from the accounts of authors who translated Native languages. As all third wave authors provided a discourse on Native languages, the third wave framework is based solely on contextual literature. In the second division, a different approach is used to analyze the conceptions of authors whose accounts contain chapters on Native languages. The account of second wave author Lescarbot and those of all third wave authors will therefore be part of a separate, more thorough discourse analysis of three selected topics: the first impressions they provided, their understanding and description of Native religion, and finally their views on Native women. The conclusions drawn from these sources will provide the framework needed for the analysis of the language chapters in chapter 3.

2.1 The Image of the Americas in the Sixteenth Century

As outlined in the previous chapter, French and English explorations were halted by internal en external factors and could thus not gather their own information concerning the new continent themselves. Instead, they were forced to rely on information from two different sources. The first of these was religious medieval literature which described the three parts of the world and the monstrous

creatures who inhabited its peripheral region. The second source of information originated in the Spanish world: actual descriptions of the new continent and debates about its inhabitants. Based on these, English and French scholars created their own perception of the American inhabitants which influenced the discourse of their later voyages.

2.1.1 Roots in the Medieval World

The discovery of America had such far-reaching and unintended consequences that the extent of its significance is debated until this day. The effect I would like to focus on here is how discovery shook the foundations of European knowledge about the world and their place in it. Almost all medieval knowledge was based on the available literature of past centuries. Traditionally, the world had been divided into three continents, Europe, Asia, and (North) Africa, surrounded by water. The creation of Man and the Flood had occurred in this Old World.[239] The discovery of a fourth, hidden continent, was shocking because it contradicted these medieval 'truths'. In order to salvage the Christian conceptualization of the world, a niche within medial theology was reexamined.[240] Although not widespread throughout the Middle Ages, scholars had philosophized about the existence of an undiscovered southern continent and created a theoretical framework of what this could contain.

As for the peoples of the Americas, their existence puzzled Old World intelligentsia. They believed that after the Flood each continent had been repopulated by the descendants of Noah's three sons, respectively Japheth, Shem, and Ham.[241] The 'civility' of mankind had moved steadily westward throughout time, resulting in the expansion of Christianity throughout the central European regions. The expansion of Christianity as the motor for civilization was therefore also linked to the environmental influence on the characteristics of people.[242] In peripheral regions dwelled 'monstrous races'.[243] Those races included anything outside of the dominant image of men, ranging from the Irish to the descendants of Cain, cursed by God. The only 'monster' native to Europe was the 'Wild Man': a hairy, half-beast creature that lived in the remote places of the European wilderness. His disconnection from society and animalistic sexual needs made him a threat to others. However, he had not been corrupted by this same society and functioned as a moral example. The positive characteristics

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[239] This refers to the Book of Genesis

[240] Seymour Phillips, "The Outer World of the European Middle Ages", in *Implicit Understandings*, 31.

[241] Phillips, "The Outer World of the European Middle Ages", 44.

[242] In this circular reasoning: people with lighter skin tones were Europeans, and therefore more civil than darker skinned, non-European peoples.

[243] For more information about imagined monstrous humans, see: Peter Mason, "The Monstrous Human Races", In *Deconstructing America: Representations of the Other* (London: Routledge, 1990), 71–96.

attributed to the 'Wild Man' made this concept an exception to the general portrayal of 'barbaric' peoples.[244]

This identification process was rather challenging. To understand the origins of this continent and uncover its place in the world order, scholars needed information about America and everything present there. All attempted theories where thus based on the information presented in travelogues written by early voyagers.[245] To this purpose, it is important to touch upon the theory of reality distortion as an effect of unidentifiable sensory impressions. This theory states that voyagers were often not mentally equipped to understand the places they arrived and is largely accepted by historians studying language encounters. Also, in my opinion, it is often clear that Early Modern travelers lacked the mental 'structures' to understand and aptly convey what they had seen in the newly discovered parts of the world.[246] The psychological ability of voyagers to understand America was explained most clearly by J.H. Elliott.[247] European voyagers arriving on an unknown continent could not accurately describe the reality they encountered. They could only reflect how they saw things – not what they saw – and had equal difficulties describing these strange phenomena. Even if this had been possible, their descriptions would have been misinterpreted by their European audience who had not shared their experiences. Because they were unable to comprehend the existence of such a radically different continent, each early description of America can be interpreted as a description of what America is in relation to Europe.

2.1.2 Assessing the Native American

The portrayal of Native Americans was thus linked to how Europeans of differing national identities defined and redefined these peoples. Many of the elements from the earlier attempts of identification would remain present throughout the sixteenth and the seventeenth century. The reoccurring elements of these first debates, described in the following paragraph, were predominantly conceived in the Spanish Empire by Spanish speaking explorers and/or theologians.[248] To further examine this issue, a brief understanding of how sixteenth century actors viewed humanity is necessary. The most influential theories on humanity originated in the mind of the Greek Aristotle (4th century BC). His Great

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[244] For more information about the Wild Man, see: Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art Sentiment, and Demonology* (Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University, 1952).

[245] For more information on the influence of travel writing on Early Modern societal debates, see: Rubiés, "Travel Writing as a Genre".

[246] Structure is meant here in the anthropological sense of the word.

[247] Elliott, *The Old World and the New*, 18-27; Elliott also formulized theories on the 'invention' of America in this edition which I do not agree with. However, he provided the clearest explanation of sensory misconceptions in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century America, which is why this outline is included.

[248] For a full overview of the Spanish conceptualization of natural slavery, see: Pagden, "The Theory of Natural Slavery", In *The Fall of Natural Man*, 27–56.

Chain of Being theory placed all existing beings on a graded scale based on the nature of their soul. Humans contained three souls: rational, sensitive, and nutritive. The 'rational' soul separated men from animals, which only had the two lower ranked souls.[249]

Thus, the central question was: did the Native's rational soul outweigh his sensitive soul? The importance of this question was linked with a second Aristotelian theory: natural slavery. As part of his political theory outlined in *Politics*, Aristotle justified slavery when the enslaved subject was by their nature not their own property, i.e. the sensible soul did not outweigh the rational soul and could thus not govern the body.[250] In this case, the enslaved subject was so inferior and brutish that it was deemed best for them to be under the control of a superior being with a prevalent rational soul. To sixteenth century voyagers, Natives appeared physically human but their actions were so unidentifiable that they were often described as 'bestial'.[251] Their position in philosophical limbo was easily exploited by the Spanish conquistadors, who stood to profit from their enslavement.[252] From the perceived savage nature of the Natives, conquistadors concluded that these peoples had been left to their own devices long enough and were pressed into service.

The appalling nature of the conquistador's misconduct quickly received criticism. Dominican missionary Bartolomé de las Casas (1474/1484-1566) was the first to call for the abolition of the enslavement of Natives.[253] Another key figure in the debate was Francisco de Vitoria (1486-1546) who substantiated the rationality and civility of the Natives.[254] He defined rationality as the ability to receive faith, in which case the Natives were not doomed 'natural slaves' but could be civilized by converting to Christianity.[255] In the context of the Reformation, conversion had become a priority within Catholic circles. For this reason, Pope Paul III promulgated the papal encyclical *Sublimis Deus* (Sublimus Dei), which decreed that Natives were 'true men' and called for their conversion.[256] However, this did not imply that Natives were equal to civil Christians.

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[249] For more information on Aristotle and his influence on the conceptualization of Native Americans, see: Lewis Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians: A Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World* (Hollis & Carter, 1959).

[250] G. L. Huxley, "Aristotle, Las Casas and the American Indians", *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 80C (1980): 59.

[251] Elliott, *The Old World and the New*, 42-43.

[252] For more information concerning Vitoria's role in the Spanish debate, see: Lewis Hanke, *All Mankind Is One: A Study of the Disputation between Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in 1550 on the Intellectual and Religious Capacity of the American Indians*, Repr. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974).

[253] For more information of Bartolomé de Las Casas and his opinions, see: Nathan Ron, "Erasmus' and Las Casas' Conception of Barbarian Peoples", in *Erasmus and the "Other": On Turks, Jews, and Indigenous Peoples*, ed. Nathan Ron (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), 77–96.

[254] Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, 60. Vitoria's role in the Spanish debate is outlined in: Anthony Pagden, "From Nature's Slaves to Nature's Children", in *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*, Cambridge Iberian and Latin American Studies (Cambridge: University press, 1982), 57–108.

[255] Elliott, *The Old World and the New*, 45.

[256] Pope Paul III, *Sublimis Deus* (Rome, 1537).

The English and French colonial efforts were instigated by Spanish expansion, and thus influenced by the debates that unfolded in the Spanish Empire. For several reasons unique to their political context, the French and English states could not afford the luxury of domestic or international criticism on their colonial approach.[257] Furthermore, their colonized regions and its inhabitants differed greatly. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, there was no consensus among French and English scholars and travel writers alike on the Natives' place on the Greater Chain of Being or how far they figuratively stood from Europeans.[258] A negative image that circulated for Southern American Natives was that of the cannibal.[259] For Northern American Natives, the combined efforts of French and English authors led to the creation of a more positively charged archetype for the 'Savage/Sauvage'.

The European 'Wild Man' became the foundation for the concept of the American 'Savage', an image that existed in temporal duality. First, savages were something of the past. 'Barbarians' had existed since their identification by Classical Greek society. From the Christian teleological stance, pagans had been the savages. This insinuated two possible outcomes to savagery: to become civilized or to be eliminated. The first outcome refers to the early Romans, some Middle Eastern peoples, and most varieties of Germanic peoples. The second outcome insinuated a comparison with Celtic peoples, who actually did perish; and Jews and Turks, who were actively persecuted.[260] Moreover, the 'Wild Man' was found in their own time, deep in the forests or mountains.[261] His isolation had been accidental yet had such drastic effects that he could never again become part of civil society. He had no need for governmental structures or communicative tools such as language.[262] Other social values such as sexual norms, basic hygiene, eating manners, and religion were irrelevant. His loss of civility posed a threat to those around him, yet somehow his depravity held high moral value. The indigenous peoples of America were portrayed in much the same way, although they did not fulfill all the requirements.

The idea that Natives were deteriorated European peoples both explained and contradicted their presence in America, the 'new' continent. America had not been created on the eve of discovery: it had always been there but had been kept hidden. The same was not true for its inhabitants, who were believed to originate from the Old World. Language variation between Native peoples proved

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[257] The political context was summarized in chapter 1.

[258] Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels*, 6.

[259] For more information on the portrayal of Natives from French travelogues to South America which portrayed Natives as cannibals, see: Frank Lestringant, "Le Brésil de Montaigne: L'essai 'Des Cannibales' (1580)", in *Le Huguenot et Le Sauvage: L'Amérique et La Controverse Coloniale, En France, Au Temps Des Guerres de Religion (1555-1589)*, 3rd ed. (Genève: Droz, 2004), 133–48.

[260] For more information concerning the perception of Jews and Turks, see: Ron, "Erasmus' and Las Casas' Conception of Barbarian Peoples".

[261] Phillips, "The Outer World of the European Middle Ages", 48.

[262] Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, 45.

that they had not always been present in America. Like all other peoples, their ancestors had contributed to the Tower of Babel and had been cursed to speak different languages. This theory even went as far as to suggest they were part of the monstrous races.[263] Unlike the 'Wild Man', however, their isolation had not been accidental. It was commonly believed that God had forced their isolation by hiding the continent. This belief is based on Spanish 'evidence' of the Natives' exposure to Christianity in the past.[264] From there on, they had inevitably fallen into depravity. The French and English did not hold the Native accountable for his degeneration. Although the term 'savage/sauvage' had the interwoven connotations of civil inferiority yet moral perfection, it became the conventional name for the Native Americans.[265]

When the Natives were separated from the rest of humanity, their progress and development as humans was thought to be frozen. To illustrate the suspended state of their development, the 'tabula rasa' metaphor is often used, both in sources and in literature. [266] Translated, this means razed tablet or cleaned slate. In the sixteenth century, the American continent was a 'new' territory, a clean slate to build a better society than the one left in Europe.[267] This civilizing optimism was characteristic to the ascribed period in terms of the continent, but also its inhabitants. The Native could be taught to be civil, as he had once been. The metaphor went even farther than that: the Native was an empty vessel, ready to be imprinted. For this approach, Martin Calder has coined a more fitting term: 'tabula virginia'. [268] This more precisely expresses the general sentiment of the time, referring to an untouched object and linked to the name of the first English colony. In the case of the Natives, their civil 'emptiness' was symbolized by their 'nakedness' in a literal sense. Moreover, in concepts such as Wild Man, tabula virginia, and nakedness, an implicit gendering is present.[269]

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[263] For more information on the monstrous races found in America, see: Peter Mason, "The Monstrous Human Races of America", in *Deconstructing America: Representations of the Other* (London: Routledge, 1990), 97–118.
[264] Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, 78-79.
[265] Thomas G. M. Peace, "Deconstructing the Sauvage/Savage in the Writing of Samuel De Champlain and Captain John Smith", *French Colonial History; East Lansing* 7 (2006), 16.
[266] Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse", 562.
[267] Percy G. Adams, "The Discovery of America and European Renaissance Literature", *Comparative Literature Studies* 13, no. 2 (1976): 105.
[268] Martin Calder, *Encounters with the Other: A Journey to the Limits of Language Through Works by Rousseau, Defoe, Prévost and Graffigny* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), 152.
[269] Louis Montrose, "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery", in *New World Encounters*, ed. Stephen Jay Greenblatt (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 179.

2.2   The Conceptualization of the Native in English and French Travel Accounts

Before the French and English had begun their colonial efforts, their states and prospective voyagers had been influenced by existing literature.[270] Due to Spain's negative public image, these newly active nations approached colonization differently. As they continued to be influenced by external factors, voyagers reported their experiences and opinions to their respective societies. With each voyage providing more information of the native inhabitants of Northern America, their understanding of these people deepened. Based on the nature of the language information in English and French travelogues, the following part of this study is divided into two sections. The first section will look at the conceptions of each individual wave and how these influence each other. The wave sentiments are visible in travelogues that have an average understanding of Natives and their culture, i.e. in the accounts that only contain translations, either directly translated or by presenting a necessary translation. The second section moves away from the wave structure in order to analyze the accounts which included chapters explaining the essence of Native languages. These accounts are not analyzed to uncover the sentiments of the waves, as the inclusion of a chapter on language indicated that their authors' understanding was well above what can be considered average. Instead, these four accounts are analyzed on three topics to uncover the extent of the authors' understanding of Native culture in order to comparatively measure the value of their opinions on language.

2.2.1   The Changing Conception of Natives Throughout the Three Waves

This first section provides a general overview of how Natives were perceived during each wave. A thorough discourse analysis of these sources is not of primary importance due to the quantitative approach used to process their language information in chapter 3. The first wave descriptions echoed the nature of their authors' voyages and were generally rather brief, quite superficial, and yet very positive. The second wave authors were explorers sent to define the colonial boundaries and identify economic opportunities. As a result, they were determined to deepen their knowledge of the intricate nature of the inhabitants. They were generally more wary in their portrayals. Dominant throughout their relations were notes on religious structures to determine the level of paganism, the identification of political and social power structures, and substantiated hypotheses on the extent of Native's barbarism. The frameworks of the third wave were heavily influenced by the second wave accounts but ascribed a different position to Natives in colonial structures. The frustrations and violent incidents

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[270] One good example of this is Theodore de Bry's *America*-series. In this series, de Bry inserted engravings of Spanish conquistadors torturing the indigenous inhabitants.

of the 1620s radically challenged the existing concepts of Natives' natural nobility and purity. The selected third wave authors' willingness to describe Native languages made these accounts exceptions to the general European sentiment. As not to distort the image of the framework, the general third wave ideas and conceptions were based on literature.

The First Wave Authors

Two authors travelling in the context of the first wave provided information on the Northern American languages. Besides the timing of their voyage and their basic interest in language, Cartier and Harriot had little in common, which hampers the creation of a generalized image of their views on Natives. However, both authors undertook the journey as some of the first explorers and brought back detailed eyewitness descriptions of Northern America. Their shared aim was to persuade their respective governments to fund more exploratory voyages. Furthermore, these earliest colonial accounts sought to distinguish themselves from their Spanish competitors who had received an abundance of criticism on their colonial approach. Heavily influenced by an open, humanitarian tradition, they adopted the aforementioned 'tabula rasa' framework.[271] As a result, Native culture was depicted as simplistic, inferior, and most importantly unthreatening.

In Cartier's account, the Native was of secondary importance. When he reached the New World in 1534, the debate of the place of the Natives in human structures was still raging within the Spanish empire. His portrayal reflected his opinion that the Natives were indeed humans, although inferior.[272] The first passage describing these people was riddled with allusions to monstrous races: 'Et en somme ie pense que ceste terre est celle que Dieu donna à Cain: là on y void des hommes de belle taille & grandeur, mais indomptez & sauuages'.[273] The land God gave to Cain refers to the land of Nod, where Cain was forced to abide after the murder of his brother, which was said to be outside the presence of God.[274] Although Natives were also believed to have lived 'outside God's presence', connecting this to Cain's land implied a problematic heritage. In Harriot's account, the first and by extension the most notable element of Natives' 'natures and maners' was unsurprisingly their nakedness. In the Christian perspective of the time, this would have been interpreted as an argument in favor of their belonging to a people hidden by God, whose ancestors had not experienced the Fall and therefore could not be ashamed of their nakedness.[275] While both Harriot and Cartier relied on

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[271] Adams, "The Discovery of America and European Renaissance Literature", 104.

[272] Cook, "Preface", pnl.

[273] Cartier, *Discours* (1598), 27. Translation: To summarize, I think that this earth is the one that God gave to Cain: here we see men of good size & height, but untamed & wild'.

[274] Gen 4:16.

[275] The Bible describes how Adam and Eve had only become ashamed after the Fall. This sentiment will be returned to in 2.2.2 Portrayal of Natives Based on Gender.

this Christian framework, their conclusions were vastly different. Harriot's interpretation of Natives as a 'new' people, a second chance for humanity, was very much in line with his contemporary view on the continent as a 'tabula rasa' and 'Terra Virginia'.

Although Harriot used the term 'inhabitants' over the more common 'savages', the Natives were still represented as 'wild beasts' or 'men out of their wits', in line with the idea of the Wild Man.[276] What were probably simple conversations were described as nonverbal sounds. This lack of speech was inherent to the savage-half-man who has lost this ability as a consequence of his isolation from civil society.[277] Within the French literary tradition, the word 'sauvage' had a slightly different connotation than its English equivalent.[278] It was the literal translation of 'wild' and was more commonly an adjective used to describe an inanimate object, for example a landscape. Its appearance as a word to describe people throughout Cartier's account was therefore a direct reference to the European 'Wild Man'.

What is most striking about Cartier's account is the described reaction of the Natives to European ships and people. Upon their first meeting, there 'sauta en terre vn grand nombre de ces gens faisans grá[n]d bruit & nous faisoyent signe qu'allassions à terre'.[279] When the French responded to their request, 'tous s'approcherent de nostre barque sautans & faisans signes d'allegresse & de vouloir nostre amitié'.[280] Their enthusiasm could only be dissuaded when threatened with violence.[281] This statement recounts at least one encounter where the French explorers had violently deterred the approaching Natives. It was not uncommon to minimize these kinds of passages in printed accounts. From Cartier's humoristic tone, I conclude that it indicates the extent to which Natives were dehumanized and how violence against these 'unthreatening', 'simplistic' peoples was normalized in the sixteenth century.[282]

Furthermore, the great ease the Natives allegedly had when around Europeans – implying their willingness to be colonized – brings the metaphor of a beggar to mind. In this portrayal, Natives were desperate to trade and were only encountered within trade contexts. The abundance of pelts and

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[276] Bruce R. Smith, "Mouthpieces: Native American Voices in Thomas Harriot's 'True and Brief Report of... Virginia', Gaspar Pérez De Villagrá's 'Historia de La Nuevo México', and John Smith's 'General History of Virginia'", *New Literary History* 32, no. 3 (2001): 504.

[277] Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse", 566.

[278] Christopher M. Parsons, "Wildness without Wilderness: Biogeography and Empire in Seventeenth-Century French North America", *Environmental History* 22, no. 4 (October 2017), 645.

[279] Cartier, *Discours* (1598), 43. Translation: '[Having] jumped ashore, a big amount of these people made great noise and signaled to us to come ashore'

[280] Cartier, *Discours* (1598), 44. Translation: All of them approached our boat jumping & making signs of joy & wanting our friendship.

[281] Cartier, *Discours* (1598), 45.

[282] The casual mention of violence resembles those of Spanish accounts. For more information, see: Inga Clendinnen, "'Fierce and Unnatural Cruelty': Cortés and the Conquest of Mexico", in *New World Encounters*, 12–47.

trinkets they brought with them, even onto the European vessels, were described for the benefit of the French king, to whom Cartier primarily reported. They were not in possession of precious metals but could offer trade opportunities of equal value. Additionally, this willing trade partner could be easily exploited due to his simplistic nature. Likewise, Harriot described them as 'a people poore, and for want of skill and iudgement in the knowledge and vse of our things, doe esteeme our trifles before things of greater value'.[283] Furthermore, they were eager to learn, as was expressed in the passage where the Natives were presented with a Bible, which they wanted to touch, kiss, etc. 'to shewe their hungrie desire of that knowledge which was spoken of'.[284] This emphasis on learning reflected back on the 'natural slave' rather than the Wild Man.

The most significant difference between Cartier and Harriot was the latter's attention to cultural aspects. The intent of Harriot's catalogue was to indicate how much 'true culture' the Natives already possessed, and how much needed to be added. There were elements that could be built on, like 'the immortalitie of the soule, that after this life as soone as the soule is departed from the bodie, according to the works it hath done, it is eyther carried to heaue[n] the habitacle of gods, there to enioy perpetuall blisse and hapinesse, or els to a great pitte or hole, which they thinke to bee in the furthest partes of their part of the world towarde the sunne set, there to burne continually: the place they call *Popogusso*'.[285] Although the dual conception of the afterlife was likely inspired by Protestant influences, the indication of good works hints at a Catholic influence as well. In fact, there is a great variation between the authors on this topic. While most Protestants held to a dual conception of the afterlife, other authors put forward a singular afterlife, where all souls ended up in the same place, or even a multilayered afterlife, where souls could get lost on any part of the journey to the 'end'. However, this idea of the afterlife being in the West does often return in other sources. Other elements needed to be repressed, of which 'ungodlie'-ness and the 'ignorance of their phisitions' were only a few examples.[286]

The Second Wave Authors

Ultimately definitive of the second wave was the excessive reliance on earlier travel accounts, both as a methodological tool and as a prologue to the authors' own accounts. In the case of the former, the attention to economic and geographical circumstances was present in all second wave publications. The descriptions in Smith's *A Map of Virginia* started with information about the plant life and possible exploits of the colony. In these passages, Smith utilizes the same methodological approach as was

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[283] Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report* (1590), 25.
[284] Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report* (1590), 27.
[285] Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report* (1590), 26.
[286] Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report* (1590), 28, 29. 'Phisitions' was the name Harriot used for Native priests.

encountered in Harriot's *Report*. The content of Strachey's *Historie of Travaile* further confirms this, as Strachey was highly reliant on the information of his predecessors, whose information he often presents as his own.[287] In French literature, this took a more explicit approach, the first book(s) of Champlain relations consisting solely of previous voyage reports.[288] As explorers ventured deeper into the continent, they began to get a better understanding of the Native religion, and their political and social power structure. At no point, however, was the Native perceived as anything other than an inferior creature.

The first notes made on Natives' beliefs came from the works of Champlain. In on of his earlier prints (*Du Sauvage)*, Champlain drew a parallel between the mystical murder creature 'Gougou' and God, as a way to explain Christianity to the pagan Natives.[289] Gougou was a humanoid mythological monster, also called Kokotché or Wendigo, that terrorized villages by kidnapping and cannibalizing his victims.[290] Furthermore, Champlain was able to deduce certain elements of the indigenous beliefs, like how '[…] ils croyent que tous les songes qu'ils ont, sont veritables'.[291] Champlain also noted beliefs Europeans and Natives shared: 'Ils croyent l'immortalité des ames, & dissent qu'ils vont se resioüir en d'autres pays, auec leurs parents & amis que sont morts'.[292] In the discourse of these passages, a clear distinction between 'bestial' and 'accepted' beliefs is visible. In English narratives, Harriot had already paid some attention to notions on the afterlife and gods. In his *A Map of Virginia*, Smith dedicated an entire chapter to native beliefs, illustrating his deeper understanding of their cultural importance. He identified a hierarchical polytheist system with 'their chiefe God they worship is the Diuell. Him they call *Oke* & serue him more of feare then loue'.[293] As a protestant, the nature of the paganism was of equal importance as the paganism on its own; he often labeled its practice 'blind idolatrie', 'his image euill'.[294] Apart for its essence, he noted its social usage, described under various subheadings, and his opinion on the idiocy of these practices.[295] Strachey's views, like most part of his relation, were based on the writings of Smith. He did, however, add his own insights, resulting in a more specified presentation. An example: the paragraph concerning *Oke* was plagiarized but also expanded to a two-

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[287] Wood, "Strachey, William (1572–1621), Historian of Virginia".

[288] This structure is also present in Lescarbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*.

[289] Norman Clermont, "Le gougou de Champlain et les croyances algonquiennes", *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 35, no. 3 (1981): 379–80.

[290] In this passage, Champlain did not deny that cannibalism was part of America but made a clear distinction between the non-cannibalistic people and cannibalistic monsters.

[291] Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), 126. Translation: they believe that all the dreams that they have, are real.

[292] Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), 127. Translation: 'They believe in? the immortality of the souls, & say that they [the souls] reside in another land, with their parents & friends that are dead.

[293] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), 29.

[294] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), 34, 29.

[295] Smith, "Of their Religion", in *A Map of Virginia* (1612), 29-34. 'How they bury their kings', 'Their ordinary burials', 'Their Temples', 'Their ornaments of their Priests', 'Their times of solemnities', 'Their coniurations', 'Their altars', 'Sacrifices to the water', 'Their solemn sacrifices of children', and 'Their resurrection'.

page description on devil worship.[296] The section about child sacrifice is identical. Although Strachey did not provide new information of Native beliefs, he made it more intelligible. Whenever Smith had stated a fact, Strachey explained the phenomenon by harnessing his knowledge of other parts of the world. 'Okens' in this case, was associated to 'Baal or Belzebub', 'Asmodius', and other variations on Satan.[297]

In contrast to first wave , second wave authors began to identify political structures, such as names of chiefs, for example Bessabez, chief of the people living near the 'Quinibequy' river, and military alliances.[298] In Champlain's narrative, political divisions were so ubiquitous that it is counterproductive to list examples. Even in his subtitles several politically independent Native tribes are listed. Because Champlain opted to give an outline of the possible threats other Native tribes posed, he provided very limited information about the inner workings of each tribal government.[299] By contrast, English voyagers disembarked in a politically consolidated territory and were thus faced with what they thought was a single, unified Native population. 'The forme of their Commonwealth is a monarchicall gouernement […] Their chiefe ruler is called *Powhatan*, and taketh his name of the principall place of dwelling called *Powhatan*' was Smith's introduction to the topic.[300] His understanding of power structures went as far as the correct identification of war chiefs, called '*Werowances*', and their respective rank. In my opinion, this is confirmed in the following phrase, where an interpretation of '*Werowance*' was provided: 'But this word *Werowance* which we call and conster for a king, is a common worde whereby they call all commanders'.[301] Furthermore, Smith analyzed the influence of religious authorities. In appearance, 'the chiefe differed from the rest in his ornaments, but inferior Priests could hardly be knowne from the có[m]mon people, but that they had not so many holes in their eares to hang their iewels at'.[302] Moreover, their true power lay in 'When they intend any warres, the *Werowances* visually haue the advice of their Priests and Coniurers […] [who] determine their resolution'.[303]

To identify power structures, Strachey did not rely on his own experience. Passages such as 'his will is a lawe, and must be obeyed, not only as a king, but as a half a god, his people esteem him

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[296] Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile* (1849), 83-84.

[297] Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile* (1849), 84, 88,

[298] Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), 65.

[299] For more information on the descriptions of chief Membertou in particular, see: Maureen F. O'Meara, "Converting the Otherness of Membertou: The Patriarchal Discourse of Champlain, Lescarbot, and Biard", *L'Esprit Créateur* 30, no. 3 (1990): 51–58, https://doi.org/10.1353/esp.1990.0011.

[300] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), 34-39. The subtitles include: 'manner of the Virginians government', divided into eight parts: 'A description of Powhatan', 'His attendance and watch', 'His treasurie', 'His wives', 'His successors', 'Their authority', 'The tenor of their lands', and 'His maner of punishments'.

[301] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), 36.

[302] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), 30.

[303] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), 25.

soe' were exact replicas of Smith's *A Map of Virginia*.[304] However, Strachey contradicted Smith on one crucial element. Although Smith and Strachey were allied in the struggle for English expansion into America, Smith never questioned the Natives' natural claim on the land. They were to be colonized, resulting in their integration into the British state system. Strachey claimed that Powhatan 'which place, or birth-right of his, he sold anno 1609, about September, unto Captain Francys West'.[305] Crudely put, whether this statement held any truth was irrelevant. It pointed to a changed sentiment regarding Natives' claim to their ancestral lands, from which they could be removed under the pretense of legality.[306]

The second wave authors, like those of the first wave, never questioned the savage nature of the Natives, but made a more nuanced depiction: '[They are] quicke of apprehensió[n] & very ingenuous. Some are of disposition fearefull, some bold, most cautelous, all *Savage*'.[307] These positive elements which portray the Native's intellect and capacity for complex emotions were nonetheless irrelevant to their savage nature. Practices such as their eating habits, their nakedness, their licentious sexual norms, and their simplistic manmade tools still emphasized their inferiority as it had in the previous decades. The nuance nonetheless came from the identification of religious and governmental structures, which could not exist in truly savage communities and 'There is yet in *Virginia* no place discouered to bee so *Savage* in which the *Savages* haue not a religion'.[308] Likewise, Natives' obedience to their ruler 'excel many places that would be counted very civill'.[309] Due to this contradiction, authors were forced to further explore the Natives' true nature. This generally started by describing their skin color, as this would facilitate their categorization into one of three aforementioned groups.[310] Strachey, continuing on Smith's opinion, stated: 'They are generally of cullour browne or rather tawny […] Captain Smith affirmeth how they are from the womb indifferent white'.[311] Of course, all newborns come into the world with little pigmentation, a fact sixteenth century scholars seemed eager to

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[304] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), 36; Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile* (1849), 70.

[305] Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile* (1849), 48.

[306] For more information on English legal claims on American land, see: Jeffrey Glover, *Paper Sovereigns: Anglo-Native Treaties and the Law of Nations, 1604-1664* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014). For more information about Spanish debates on Natives' property rights, see: Anthony Pagden, "Dispossessing the Barbarian: The Language of Spanish Thomism and the Debate over the Property Rights of the American Indians", in *The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe*, ed. Anthony Pagden, Ideas in Context (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 79–98.

[307] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), 20.

[308] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), 20.

[309] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), 34.

[310] Based on the three sons of Noah: see footnote 240; Skin and pigmentation became a more important issue in Latin America than in the North, as Northern Native Americans were deemed 'white' but 'tanned'. For more information, see: Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, 36-37.

[311] Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile* (1849), 63.

ignore.[312] Smith further associated them with Asian peoples, 'In their hunting and fishing they […] reduce themselues into companies, as the *Tartars* doe'.[313] Strachey, on the other hand, was not as kind to compare them with this barbaric, yet capable people. He stated 'the better sort use large mantels of deeres' skynns, not much differing from the Irish faling' and compared their 'leather breeches and stockings […] after the fashion of the Turkes or Irish trouses'.[314] The comparison with the Irish was not that farfetched, as they were perceived as European savages due to their isolation.[315] However, the position of Turks as inferior was more ambiguous.[316] Although willful pagans and a political threat to many Christian states, they were often regarded with more respect.

These comparisons outlined the approximate relative position of the Natives' position in the world order, but did not define their nature, also referred to as their 'disposition'. Under this subheading, the distrust and wariness of the indigenous inhabitants was very clear. Champlain expressed his concerns in the following passage: 'Ils ont une meschanceté en eux, que est d'user de vengeáce, d'estre grands menteurs, & ausquels il ne se faut pas trop asseurer, sinon avec raison, & la force en la main'.[317] Smith, and thus also Strachey, reaffirmed this sentiment of the Natives' ambiguous nature, 'they are soone moved to anger, and so malitious, that they seldome forget an iniury'.[318] However, they could be taught to be better, as Champlain stated: 'ils apprendroient fort bien: car il s'en trouve assez qui ont bon iugement, & respondent à propos sur ce qu'on leur demande'.[319]

The biggest difference between the first and the second wave based on their perception of Natives is that the second wave authors were clearly filled with mistrust. In Cartier and Harriot's brief visits to the American continent, they never wrote of an event in which they had been in a position

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[312] The skin of newborn babies has a lower concentration of melanin than adults. The development of pigmentation begins at birth and can last up to a year to fully develop, depending on the circumstances of birth (Teresa Oranges, Valentina Dini, and Marco Romanelli, "Skin Physiology of the Neonate and Infant: Clinical Implications", *Advances in Wound Care* 4, no. 10 (October 1, 2015): 587–95). Because Native Americans do not differ greatly in pigmentation when compared to 'Europeans' (including Southern Europe), the difference in pigmentation would have been hard to tell in newborns. The implications of this passage, however, refer to the 'problematic' conception of Africans, whose 'blackness' was the result of the curse Noah placed on his son Ham, who had insulted his father while he slept.

[313] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), 24. Of all non-European people, Mongols (or 'Tartars') were perceived as the most civil due to their fierce and warlike nature. Phillips, "The Outer World of the European Middle Ages", 49.

[314] Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile* (1849), 65-66. 'Fallaing' is the Irish word for cloak.

[315] For more information on the Irish as a colonized people, see: Nicholas Canny, "Identity Formation in Ireland: The Emergence of the Anglo-Irish", in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World: 1500-1800*, ed. Anthony Pagden (Princeton (N.J.): Princeton university press, 1987), 159–212.

[316] William O'Reilly, "Conceptualizing America in Early Modern Central Europe", *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 65 (1998), 104.

[317] Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), 125. Translation: The have a wickedness within them, that is to take vengeance, to be great liars & to which it is not necessary to promise much (there is no obligation to fulfill a promise), either with reason, and (or) with the power to compel.

[318] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), 20; Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile* (1849), 69.

[319] Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), 125. Translation: They would learn very well: because there are enough who have good judgement, & responding a timely manner to what is asked of them.

where they did not control the situation. I argue that the reason for this can be linked to the psychological factor that they were not sent there to secure a permanent foothold on the continent. If a situation went awry, they could simply get back on their boats and escape the danger or – in Cartier's case – fire warning shots at the Natives from the safety of their vessel. Second wave authors, on the other hand, needed to create this safe space in 'enemy' territory. Furthermore, this 'enemy' behaved in ways they had never before encountered and were only beginning to understand. The parts they understood best, in their own opinions, were furthermore proof that the Natives were devil-worshipping, primitive people. The continuous comparisons made to aspects they knew themselves was therefore not strange. However, the point remained that these Natives would be better off under European dominance, not only for the Natives' sake but to ensure European control and safety.

The Third Wave Authors

The perception of the third wave authors is the hardest to properly define. There was already a lot of information of the continent from previous waves and other explorations that continued to circulate. For this reason, third wave authors had very little trouble identify political structures. Along with this, the Natives were no longer conceived as a unified threat. Furthermore, authors were no longer trying to prove that American colonization would be in the state's best interest. Instead, their main concern was the position of the Native in colonial structures. During the second decade of the seventeenth century, the Natives became a noteworthy problem for colonial efforts. England and France saw the colonial regions as natural expansions of their Empires. In both cases, the Natives were an integral part of these lands. In New France, since scarce agricultural opportunities. Since this impeded the mass settlement of nomadic Native tribes, missionaries were sent to peripheral regions in order to convert Natives to Catholicism and integrate them into French state structures.[320] It furthermore resulted in the French focus on fur trade, to which the Native trappers' knowledge of the woods was essential. A bad relationship with the Natives meant less profit, which was to no one's benefit. This dominant sentiment was visible in Champlain's later prints, which contained both old and additional information from later voyages, including the linguistic works of various missionaries. This nuances his conception of the Natives: the barbarians had very few positive traits but could be civilized if properly christened.

To the south, the French monopoly on the fur trade forced the English to redefine their economic plan.[321] English annexation of Powhatan lands and requisition of Native food stores was met with violent resistance in 1622.[322] The Jamestown Massacre was proof of the Native's treacherous

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[320] Paquet and Wallot, "Nouvelle France/Québéc/Canada: A World of Limited Identities", 98–99.
[321] Kupperman, "Before 1607", 13.
[322] Kupperman, "English Perceptions of Treachery", 266.

nature and birthed the image of the 'unreconstructable savage'.[323] This vision furthermore implied that the Natives were not lesser beings, as they were capable of thought beyond the present. The 'unreconstructable' and treacherous nature of the Natives negated the need to convert and civilize them.[324] Only by destroying Native culture could they be redeemed. The duality between the reconstructable and unreconstructable savage became an allegory for the continent as a whole, as large parts of the American continent were still unexplored.[325] Within Puritan milieus, America was an opportunity to recreate civil society based on the depraved existence of mankind. Traditionally, their communities were closed off from the world, as they were likely to create conflict with outsiders. [326] Known for their bigotry, the fleeing Puritans had a very low opinion of the Natives. In this context, many authors are found that sought to nuance the circulating image of the Natives, stressing their cultural practices and hospitality.[327]

A second kind of religious actors in Northern America were missionaries. These actors had been disorganized and impermanent during the second wave but had managed to renew their efforts from 1622 onward.[328] Very important to the motivation of these new missions were the failure of those before, undertaken in 1610 by Fleché and in 1611 Biard and Massé. While these first Catholic priests traveled during the second wave, the alleged language information they gathered is lost.[329] The importance and influence of Catholic missions in New France only took shape from the new missions of 1622 onward, which actively sought to improve their attempts. Fleché's work became somewhat of a trauma for the conversion missions, as he had baptized countless Natives without explaining Doctrine to them nor undertaking any attempts to do so.[330] While this kind of mass conversion was not uncommon in colonial regions, it was supposed to be followed by education, as the Natives' incomprehension of Christianity would still impede their salvation. In all writings of following missionaries, criticism on this act was visible.[331] Biard and Massé were received more positively, laying the foundation for conversion, but still criticized because of the small scale of their actions.

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[323] Kupperman, "English Perceptions of Treachery", 265.
[324] Zucherman, "Identity en British America: Unease in Eden", 147-149.
[325] This is visible in portrayals of the barrenness, emptiness, and barbary of the continent, contrasted with information regarding its plenty.
[326] Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, 30-31.
[327] Two examples of these authors are William Wood (see 2.2.2) and Edward Winslow, a prominent Puritan who traveled to New England on the *Mayflower*.
[328] Binasco, "Few, Uncooperative, and Endangered", 150.
[329] For a more detailed description of these earliest missions and hypotheses on the language information they gathered, see: Margaret J. Leahey, "'Comment Peut Un Muet Prescher l'évangile?' Jesuit Missionaries and the Native Languages of New France", *French Historical Studies* 19, no. 1 (1995): 105–31.
[330] Binasco, "Few, Uncooperative, and Endangered", 148.
[331] The role of language in conversion will become clear in the rest of this study.

Furthermore, Biard's conversion and language strategy would become highly influential, although it largely remained within Jesuit circles.[332]

2.2.2 *Portrayal of Native Culture in Travelogues That Contain Language Chapters*

The methodological approach of this framework is based on the two variant techniques of portraying Native languages: translation or discourse. The latter technique is present in four sources: Marc Lescarbot's *Histoire*, Gabriel Sagard's *Le grand voyage,* William Wood's *New Englands Prospect*, and Jean de Brébeuf's "Relation".[333] By inserting a chapter on language, an author was able to demonstrate a more thorough understanding of Native culture by describing the structure of the language, its shortcomings, and other hypotheses. The accounts in which these language chapters are present describe Native culture to such an extraordinary extent that their content cannot be fully understood in the general wave sentiment. Furthermore, because this language information will be interpreted through a historical discourse analysis in chapter 3, the travelogues containing these language chapters require more detailed analyses. To this purpose, as explained above, they are investigated separately from their respective wave contexts and compared on three topics.

The first topic concerns the first impression the author provided on the Natives. In all sources, these were located differently in the work's structure. Introductory passages often indicate the structure of discourses and influence its content. In this section, I will defend the statement that the first mention of the Natives in sources can aptly reflect the author's initial interest in their culture and, as a result, their language. Because the first impressions were heavily influenced by the agency of the author – on what he deemed to be of primary importance – these parts of the texts will be analyzed per author. In the final paragraph of this part, I will shortly compare similar sentiments. The second topic is religion. All of the analyzed authors were to some extent connected to a religious context. In the chapter(s) on religion, the authors presented information with two purposes. The first was descriptive. By means of intertextuality, the encountered Natives were described and compared to other Natives or other peoples. Furthermore, the others described the essence of their religion – their deities and 'superstitions' – to the best of their abilities. The other kind of information was of a utilitarian nature. In these passages, the authors provided their thoughts on the Natives' conception of the afterlife and how difficult they perceived conversion to be.

The final topic is views on women, as both European and Native society were structured by gender. Throughout the relations, authors tended to generalize the actions of those of their same

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[332] Guillorel, "Gérer la « confusion de Babel »", 180. I will explain the language strategy in detail in 3.1.5.
[333] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609); Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632); Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634); Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637).

gender to the entire society. This bias was often only uncovered in their perception of Natives of the opposite gender. Before commencing the analysis, some notes will be presented on the readership of the accounts. Information concerning Native women was generally divided into two parts. The first examined the subject of sexuality in Native societies, often with a negative undertone. Reoccurring themes within this subject were the sexuality of unmarried women, marriage and consent, and adultery and divorce. An opposite undertone is visible in the descriptions of the second subject, namely the daily activities of Native women. Dominant themes here were objectification and possession of women, male laziness, and female obedience. To conclude the analysis of this topic, the absence of women in Brébeuf's account will be investigated.

First Impressions

Lescarbot's first impression was situated in the prologue of the third and last part of his book.[334] It began: 'Diev Tout-puissant en la creation de ce monde s'est tant pleu en la diversité'.[335] The biblical allusions of the first sentences placed the Natives firmly in the realm of God, where natural variation and distinctions were intended. Instead of starting his chapter with an undisputed fact, Lescarbot took an implicit approach to a highly debated subject: did God intend for the Natives to inhabit America? The inclusion of this passage, as well as the way of phrasing, was aimed to convince the reader of Lescarbot's own values, implying that to disagree with the equality of Natives was to go against God. There were, however, still some difficulties when it came to the nature of the Natives. First, the information Europeans had on America and its people was generally very selective and was distorted by the ethnocentric and egocentric view of Lescarbot and many of his contemporaries who published for a European audience. In the introduction to the ethnographical chapter of the *Histoire*, Lescarbot clearly stated that Natives could only be validated in the eyes of God if they were understood by Europeans. As a result, the explorers' quests for knowledge was the noblest of quests, going back ages to Odysseus himself.[336] In his own words, it was therefore Lescarbot's divine duty to share his knowledge with others.

A second difficulty arose from the claim of equality. How could Natives be our equal if they were pagan? For the answer, Lescarbot called upon all Europeans who travelled to North America to convert the Natives – a rare statement within the second wave. Disagreeing with Spanish narratives,

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[334] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 660-661. The first two parts were: 'Auquel sont déscrits les voyages & navigations faites de l'authorité & aux dépens de noz Rois tres Chréstiens François I' and 'Auquel sont descrits les voyages & navigations du Capitaine Iacques Quartier', respectively on the previous French explorations and on the voyages of Jacques Cartier and Samuel de Champlain, the latter not mentioned in the title.

[335] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 660. Translation: God, prime mover in the creation of the world is very pleased with diversity.

[336] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 661.

Lescarbot stated that forced conversion could not be counted as true conversion, as it was impossible for God's creations to be enlightened and to deny Him. Natives were portrayed as children and could not grasp the concept of salvation and would remain pagan until they became enlightened. In order to convert them, Lescarbot stated it was necessary to civilize them first. This civilization meant the total reeducation of the Natives started from birth. As a result, his relation was structured to resemble the stages of life, starting with 'De naissance' and ending with 'Des funerailles'. The theme of Natural Slavery was thus implicit in this introduction.[337]

In this first passage it already becomes clear how much importance Lescarbot attributed to communication between Natives and Europeans, which begins to explain why this author – as the exception in his wave – included a chapter dedicated to understanding Native languages. Lescarbot's depiction of the Natives as willing to be civilized and the reference to literature from Antiquity shows the influences of the first wave's humanist approach on Lescarbot's opinions. The element of European control over the Natives in education can be accurately placed within the trends of the second wave.

Sagard's *Le grand voyage* commenced with the account of the journey. First, he introduced his reader to New France and noted his expectations. The account began with a biblical quote (Marc 16:15), implying that only by preaching the gospel in New France could this savage land be rid of its barbarism.[338] Like Lescarbot, Sagard legitimized his voyage by recounting the experiences of missionary works in Antiquity, particularly those of Apollonius of Tyana (15-100 AD).[339] This ambiguous figure was said to spread the gospel to India, Ethiopia, and Rome and was often mentioned in early Christian writings.[340] In a Reformatory context, he was often referred to as the founder of a different branch of Christianity. In the seventeenth century, his figure symbolized the positive and godly nature of travel with the purpose of acquiring knowledge.[341] His incorporation in *Le grand voyage* is, in my opinion, a testament to Sagard's hubris, comparing himself to this holy figure by insinuation.

In a following passage, Sagard claimed he did not want to be a missionary, preferring the comfort of an abbey over rigorous journeys. Furthermore, he stated that he only wrote his book on the request of his superiors 'pour tascher à y porter le flambeau de la cognoissance du Fils de Dieu, en chaser les tenebres de la barbarie & infidelité'.[342] At this point in the relation, Sagard reflected his belief

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[337] The Theory of Natural Slavery, based on the works of Aristotle, was explained in 2.1.2.

[338] Marc 16:15: 'He said to them, "Go into all the world and preach the gospel to all creation"'.

[339] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 2.

[340] Jeffrey Henderson ed., "Philostratus: the Life of Apollonius of Tyanal" (Harvard University Press, 2005), https://www.loebclassics.com/view/LCL016/2005/pb_LCL016.3.xml. Apollonius was also a miracle worker and had become a lost memory in Western Christianity as his miraculous actions threatened the position of Jesus Christ as the only son of God. However, he was included in the Islamic tradition and rediscovered during the Renaissance.

[341] Rubiés, "Travel Writing as a Genre", 9.

[342] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 4. Translation: For the task to carry there the light of the knowledge of the Son of God, chasing away the darkness of the barbary and infidelity.

that the Natives could be saved from their barbarism.[343] The cure for incivility was conversion to Christianity, which was the driving force behind human progress, a theme often found in religious treatises.[344] Upon reading the first chapter where Sagard was among the 'Hurons', some very typical Catholic sentiments are visible.[345] The most dominant of these is the belief that those who suffered for a divine purpose would be rewarded in the afterlife. Sagard was very vocal about his suffering. First, he was separated from his companions Ioseph and Nicolas and placed into a 'vault' – either huts or caves – until morning. [346] In these first hours, they were not invited to eat with the Natives and were forced to accompany the tribes when they migrated. Nevertheless, Sagard was always careful to note the friendly nature of the Natives, who sang beautiful songs in the night and showed him kindness on the journeys.[347] However contradictory it may sound, this discourse on misery was often visible in the accounts non-Jesuit missionaries. Because these missionaries had failed to convert the Wendat – at which point they were gradually replaced by Jesuits – they focused on persistence to receive some form of recognition for their efforts.[348]

Wood's description of the Natives in *New Englands Prospect* took an unprecedented form. He categorized four 'shires', west, east, south, and north, each of which the home of a different type of Native. These 'shires' provided the illusion of a geographical approach but were instead categorized on the amount of contact its inhabitants could have with the English. The first to be described were the 'Connectacuts, Mowhacks, or such *Indians* as are West-ward'.[349] Much like in Champlain's *Du Sauvages*, Wood based their image on the monstrous Wendigo creature. The 'Mowhacks' were tall, grim, slender men with long arms and thighs. They possessed extraordinary strength, being able to kill a dog with a flick of their fingers.[350] Furthermore, they were 'cruell, bloody people which were wont to come downe upon their poore neighbours with more than bruitish savagenesse'.[351] Luckily for the other Native tribes, there was only one thing they feared: 'they dare not meddle with a white faced man', who was known to carry firearms.[352] Wood was very graphic when retelling the horrific scenes these Natives often left.

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[343] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 5.
[344] Phillips, "The Outer World of the European Middle Ages", 44. This teleological idea related back to the medieval framework in which Christian scholars substantiated their own superiority by stating that Civilization as a concept had been spread from East to West throughout Europe
[345] Huron was a derogatory term used to refer to the Wendat.
[346] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 61.
[347] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 62, 64.
[348] Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France,* 177-178.
[349] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 56. The 'Connectacuts' could be any tribe that later gave their name to the state of Connecticut. 'Mowhacks' refers to Mohawk, but the term could envelop other Iroquois tribes as well.
[350] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 57.
[351] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 57.
[352] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 57.

Moreover, Wood mentioned their cannibalistic practices on several occasions. He described how these Mowhacks were found 'eating on a man one part after another before his face, and while yet living', which was gruesome but not out of character, as their diet was known to be 'so hardie that they can eat such things as would make other *Indians* sicke to looke upon'. What is noteworthy is how Wood described the openness of these cannibals about their practices as to terrify their victims. Before a battle they would 'fiercely crying out, *Hadree Hadree succomee succomee*, we come we come to sucke your blood' and when they captured other Natives they would 'cutteth a gobbit of flesh from his brawnie arme, eating it in his view'.[353]

The next Natives that were described were the 'Tarrenteens or *Indians* inhabiting East-ward'.[354] They were less horrific than the 'Mowhacks' (not cannibalistic) but were still unreconstructable savages. In fact, contact with Europeans had furthered their degeneration. In this passage of societal critique, Wood portrayed these Natives as kind, wise, and friendly before the arrival of the British and the French. However, these Europeans had corrupted them by teaching them to use firearms and to drink. At this point in time, Wood stated they would not trade for anything other than alcohol. The last two shires, north and south, contained 'reconstructable' savages. The 'Pequants & Narragansets, *Indians* inhabiting Southward' were noble peoples that comprised the peasant class.[355] They were a peaceful people who did not often partake in war and had the largest population of all Native tribes. The last shire was inhabited by the 'Aberginians', 'amongst whom we live'.[356] The remained of the descriptions in his account were solely about this group. These Natives are portrayed much like the Noble Savage, a framework that would be explicitly theorized in the following century.[357] They were at their best when naked – 'in Adams livery' – were tall and strong, had smooth tanned skin and long black hair, etc. Their uncorrupted nature was their biggest asset. This corruption could only be brought to them by the English. In fact, if they ate English food, they were described to become ill.

In these passages Wood did not hide the savagery that much of the continent was subject to. However, by portraying the New England Natives as pure, noble men, he implied that the continent was not lost to its savagery. It could be saved, but only if the Natives remained untouched by the

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[353] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 57-58.
[354] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 60. The 'Tarrenteens' were most likely the Tarrateens, the English name for Abenaki or Mi'kmaq.
[355] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 61-62. The 'Pequants' are the Pequots. Barry M. Pritzker ed., *A Native American Encyclopedia: History, Culture, and Peoples* (Oxford: university press, 2000), 457–59, https://books.google.be/books/about/A_Native_American_Encyclopedia.html?id=ZxWJVc4ST0AC&printsec=fr ontcover&source=kp_read_button&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=connecticut&f=false. 'Narragansets' is the name for a group of tribes inhabiting southern Rhode Island. Pritzker, *A Native American Encyclopedia*, 442–43.
[356] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 62. The origins of the word 'Aberginian' is unknown. Wood used the term to refer to the Massachusett Native tribe(s).
[357] The explicit 'invention' of the Noble Savage is often credited to Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, baron de Lahontan (1703). For further reading on this subject: Haskins Gonthier, "Une colonisation linguistique?", 115–29.

English, who had already corrupted many of them. Wood's conception was extraordinary in both time and place, as it went against most of the dominant conceptions of Native inferiority. As noted above, the English image of the unreconstructable savage became dominant from 1622. This went hand in hand with the idea that an uncorrupted society could be created in America – the 'new' land. Wood seemed not to share this belief, pointing out that Native society was the morally better and uncorrupted society which English influences could only destroy. Furthermore, his descriptions of Natives' bodies resemble the descriptions found in Harriot's *A brief and true report*. The call for Native autonomy fits better into the French framework, where the colonial project focused on the inclusion of the Natives into European infrastructure.

The first chapter of Brébeuf's *Relation* was titled 'De la conversion, Baptesme & heureuse morts de quelques Hurons, & de l'Estat du Christianisme en ceste barbarie'.[358] As a Jesuit, Brébeuf began by assessing the state of religious education in New France, in particular the Huron country, concluding that missionary works were still extremely necessary. His own struggle was 'Mesme mon ignorance en la langue accroissoient la difficulté & me rendoient moins intelligible'.[359] As for the Natives, 'Ils ne recherchent presques le Baptesme que pour la santé'.[360] He related several occasions were a sick child was healed when baptized. However, because baptism was about the salvation of the soul, and not the health of the body, Brébeuf cried out for change.

In his opinion, this change was needed on two topics. First, missionaries should know the language, as there were several instances were baptisms were 'unsuccessful' because the Natives did not understand Christianity properly. This was part of the conversion strategy outlined by Biard and was stressed in all Jesuit *Relations*, primarily motivated by the failure of Fleché's mass conversions.[361] Secondly, the conversion to and explaining of Christianity needed to be on the Natives' pace, not that of missionaries. Brébeuf implied that previous missionaries had overestimated the learning capacities of the Natives: they were more difficult to educate on religious matters than previously accepted. He vocalized his understanding for this painstaking process, but emphasized that Natives, who had 'le Lumiere naturelle', would instinctively know that it was God's truth.[362] However, Brébeuf ventilated his frustrations on the Natives as well. Although convinced they could be saved, he was shocked by their unwillingness to receive said salvation.[363] Furthermore, he called for mass translation efforts of prayers and catechisms 'le tout en leur langue, pource que ces Peuples ont une ineptitude naturelle

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[358] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 4.
[359] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 5. Translation: still, my ignorance in the language makes it more difficult & renders me less intelligible
[360] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 5. Translation: They almost never seek the Baptism except for health.
[361] Guillorel, "Gérer la « confusion de Babel »", 180.
[362] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 8. Translation: natural light.
[363] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 16.

d'en apprendre une autre'.[364] To achieve this goal, Christianity needed to be part of every aspect of Native life. Contrarily to Lescarbot's lifecycle approach, he chose to look at the day-to-day activities.

The interpretations of the first impressions the authors provided for their readers give clues as to how the authors viewed the Natives. A first noteworthy aspect is the preference of Lescarbot and Wood for a humanist and Renaissance inspired stance which is missing from Sagard and Brébeuf's passages. Lescarbot outed this with his reliance on Classical literature, placing himself in the humanist tradition. Wood, on the other hand, preferred the scientific and anatomical side of Renaissance literature, opting only to use the framework as a guide rather than being a part of it. Comparing the elements of the four passages, it seems Wood was even more of an exception. He did not call for the conversion of the Natives, like the French authors did, or state his reasons for travel or what he wanted to achieve in America. This last element can, however, be attributed to being too obvious, as Wood never denied his economic motivations neither by words nor by actions. Furthermore, Brébeuf was equally vague on his motivation, leaving the reader to believe there was little choice in the matter whether he went willingly or not. Lescarbot and Sagard portrayed their voyages as a spiritual duty, placing them in line with famous voyagers of Antiquity, respectively Odysseus and Apollonius.

Finally, the authors were divided in their conceptualization of the Natives. Lescarbot and Brébeuf associated Natives' inferiority with their paganism, which would be cured in time. Sagard did not weigh Natives' worth against Europeans', instead noting both positive and negative characteristics. Wood's conception of four kinds of Natives – each with a different level of civility and potential for change – was unseen, especially considering how radical the variations were. The cannibalistic 'Mowhacks' were the most threatening to Europeans. The 'Aberginians' at the other end of the spectrum, however, were elevated beings that stood to be corrupted by English influences.

Views on Native Religion

Any study relating to the perception of Natives or Native culture cannot ignore the fundamental role the perception of Native religion played in European encounters. In the seventeenth century, it was not self-evident that the Native population of Northern America had a (or several) valid religion(s). Native souls were often perceived as easy targets in the competitive conversion efforts of the Catholic Church and the Reformed Congregations. This misconception would undergo a forced alteration throughout the beginning of the seventeenth century when it became apparent that Natives were not as keen to be converted as previous explorers had made them out to be. The tense situations that ensued led to various interpretations on the Natives' ability to be rid of their uncivilized nature. As

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[364] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 11. Translation: all of them in their language, because these Peoples have a natural ineptitude for learning another.

many of the selected authors traveled to America with missionary purposes and their presentation of the language was structured by their conversional efforts, a better understanding of their stance on Native religion is vital to the interpretation of their language portrayals. In their accounts, they compared the encountered religion with other religions, uncovered its spiritual content and the Native conception of the afterlife, and described its practice.

Lescarbot's chapter 'De la Religion' began, like his prologue, by naming the place of Man in the eyes of God.[365] In these first sentences, a lot of religious terms and implications of human nature and Native nature were visible: 'la nature humaine ayant esté corrompüe par la peché, cette belle lumiere que Dieu lui avoit premierement donné a tellement esté obscurcie'.[366] In this passage, it is clear that Lescarbot perceived Europeans, i.e. Christians, as 'true to man's nature', whereas Natives had not regained their 'belle lumiere'. Since they were ignorant to True Faith, the Natives made up deities that functioned as gods. Because Lescarbot wished to portray himself as a true humanist, his opinions and statements were heavily influenced by literature from Antiquity. Quoting Cicero, Lescarbot stated that all peoples of the Americas were less developed, as these barbarous deities that reflected the nature of the civilization. Furthermore, in order to compare the Natives to the Romans – also 'infideles' – Lescarbot relied on the work of Pliny the Elder. The work of Tacitus came into use when Lescarbot described the invisibility of Native deities, much like those of the 'anciens Allemans'.[367]

Lescarbot generalized the New France Natives by comparing them with other indigenous peoples from the works of other Early Modern travel writers.[368] First, Lescarbot cited Jacques Quartier on how the French on Cartier's journey were able to convince the encountered Natives that their deity '*Cudouagni*' was not real, upon which the Natives renamed the deity to '*Agoiuda'*, meaning 'méchant'. He also noted their belief in the immortality of the soul. Secondly, Champlain was quoted on his mention of various objects the Natives employed in their worship. The third author was Englishman Thomas Harriot. Lescarbot did not mention him by name, rather describing the information to come from 'un historien Anglois qui y [en Virginie] a demeuré'.[369] Although Thomas Harriot had not traveled to Virginia, but rather to a region further south, the name Lescarbot used to refer to the afterlife – *Popogusso* – was clearly borrowed from Harriot's account.[370] Another author was Jean de Léry, whose

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[365] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609, 671.
[366] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 671. Translation: Man's nature having been corrupted by the Fall, this 'good light' that God first had given him so much of was obscured.
[367] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 682. Both authors lived during the first century AD. Romans, at that point in time, were not Christian. Reference to Germanic tribes outside of the Roman Empire.
[368] Apart from the authors listed in the following paragraph, Lescarbot cited the works of Francisco López de Gómora and Rene Goulaine de Laudonnière, whose contributions are not relevant to the purpose of this study.
[369] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 678.
[370] In passages on pages 678-679 and 682, Lescarbot also borrowed information on Native polytheism, their belief that celestial bodies were demigods, the immortality of the soul and its reward or punishment in the afterlife, their belief in resurrection, that women were created before men, and in holy rocks as gods.

voyage founded the colony of France Antarctique in Brazil.[371] He recorded the Natives' belief in an evil spirit *Aignan* who had the ability to transform into animals. *Aignan*'s role in the torment of souls in the afterlife was compared to the Christian devil.[372] Léry's most important contribution was his opinion on Natives' fatalistic nature. The Natives he had encounter had related a story to him of earlier 'white-faced' people who had instructed them on Christianity.[373] The fact that the Natives continued to refuse conversion served as proof of their doomed civil deterioration. This last aspect is in contradiction to the positive sentiment Lescarbot had for the Natives' reeducation and is odd in this chapter.

Borrowing information from predecessors was not only done by Lescarbot. The first page of Sagard often fell back on Lescarbot's print to legitimize his own and his chapter on religion is almost an exact copy of Lescarbot's first page.[374] However, he did not copy Lescarbot's comparative framework, rather relying on replications of conversations to convey information. Wood and Brébeuf did not reference any other authors in their chapters on religion, providing their own information instead of building on the works of their predecessors. In Wood's case, my hypothesis is that because the print was only meant to provide a quick summary of what a traveler could expect in New-England, he was not well read on the subject and therefore preferred to only rely on this own experiences. Since Brébeuf's account was compiled while he was on his mission, he did not have any literature available to include such comparisons.

All authors provided insights into the essence of Native religion in a spiritual sense. Lescarbot himself provided very little information on the Natives he encountered. Only four passages can be attributed to his authorship, all of which towards the end of his first chapter on religion.[375] Sagard was able to identify different deities by name and use, synthesized into stories, the first recounting an incident where an anonymous Frenchman had asked the *Sagamos* 's'il ne croyoit point qu'il y eust un autre qu'un seul Dieu'.[376] The answer, in my opinion, did not reflect the truth as much as what the missionary wanted their answer to be. The *Sagamos* was said to explain how they had 'un seul Dieu,

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[371] For more information regarding Jean de Léry's influence on the conception of Natives, see: Frank Lestringant, "The Philosopher's Breviary: Jean de Léry in the Enlightenment", in *New World Encounters*, 127–38.

[372] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 680.

[373] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 686. In Spanish territories, 'proof' was found that the Natives had been previously christened. In Lescarbot's account, this passage is borrowed and does not indicate that Northern Natives had likewise been christened. Voyagers in these parts found no proof that this had been the case.

[374] For a more detailed study of Lescarbot's influence of Sagard, see: Hebbinckuys, "Les échos de Marc Lescarbot dans l'oeuvre de Gabriel Sagard".

[375] In the first two, he claimed Natives had no true religion and would therefore be easy to convert. In the third, he noted Souriquois and Armouchiquois use of idols or small statues, although they were not as ignorant as other Natives in their beliefs. On the last page of the chapter, Lescarbot presented his reader with a mystery. He recounted how an elderly Native man who told him that their knowledge was passed on orally from father to son since Creation. He concluded the chapter by posing the question whether these people were inhabitants of the world before the Flood.

[376] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 226. Translation: if they do not believe that there is any other than one God alone.

un Fils, une Mere, & le Soleil, qui estoient quatre'.[377] Two other stories to determine the existence and temperament of this deity followed. This was quite a task, especially 'bien que tres mal entenduë par euxmesmes, & en parlent fort diversement'.[378] The world was created by *Yoscaha*, called *Ataouacan* in 'Canada', who was accompanied by his grandmother *Ataensiq*. They lived far away, but left traces of themselves in the stones. Their immortality did not mean they looked old; when they reached a certain age, they became young again. Furthermore, they believed in spirits that inhabited certain places or had certain domains, such as war. Each deity had a place of worship, often a holy rock or boulder.[379]

Sagard stated that the spirit they respected most was *Oki*, both devil and angel.[380] This 'Oki' and other phonetic variations on the word appeared in many travelogues. In this study, the deity first appeared in Smith's *A Map of Virginia*. Brébeuf knew of two deities: *Oki* who inhabited the sky and *Tsanhohi*, who lived in one of the most holy rocks *Tsanhohi Arasta*. Brébeuf did not apply describe the deity *Oki,* describing it as either a demon or a force of nature. In either case, it controlled the weather, threatening floods and storms when displeased.[381] Furthermore, the term 'oki' also appeared in Brébeuf's chapter on the Natives' conception of the immortal soul. Brébeuf was pleased 'de les entendre parler des ames […] de voir des hommes raisonnables auoir des sentiments si bas, d'vne essence si noble, & qui porte des traicts si vifs de la Diuinité'.[382] The first part of the soul, *Khiondhecɤi*, gave life and allowed bodily movements. *oki andaerandi* was the reasonable soul, but was described as misshapen, like a demon. *Endionrra* was for thinking and deliberating and *gonennoncaɤl* for loving something. Finally, *esken* was the soul outside the body.

Wood was able to identify two deities.[383] The first, *Ketan*, was compared to the Roman god Ceres, who represented agricultural products and demanded offerings of the same nature. Ignoring Roman paganism, this carried a very positive connotation and stood in stark contrast to the second deity. This unnamed being was heralded by the Latin phrase 'Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo', derived from Virgil. The literal translation is 'If I cannot move Heaven, then I will move the river Acheron', the contextual sentiment of the phrase being: if not by heaven, then by hell.[384] When Native prayers remained unanswered, they resorted to devil worship.

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[377] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 226. Translation: … one sole God, a Son, a Mother, & the Sun, who are four.
[378] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 228. Translation: although very badly understood by themselves, & speak of it very diversely.
[379] The veneration of holy rocks was also noted by Lescarbot and Brébeuf.
[380] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 230.
[381] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 110.
[382] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 96. Translation: to hear them talk of souls […] to see these reasonable men have sentiments that deep, of such noble essence, & who carry the vivid features of Divinity.
[383] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 82.
[384] This is my own translation. The Acheron was one of the five rivers of the Greek underworld.

Brébeuf was pitiful of the Natives' unawareness of 'simples voeux', instead believing that every wish warranted a sacrifice.[385] However, he described one exception: dreams. Brébeuf possessed a very precise understanding of the religious and social meaning of dreams. As they warranted no compensation, he believed that these visions came from God. Much like divine inspiration, dreams had the weight of true oracles, often vital into communal choices such as punishments of a crime or decisions on and during war.[386] Brébeuf therefore compared the dreamers with the Greek oracle Cassandra and healer Asclepios.[387] Because dreams carried such heavy weight within society, 'good dreamers' – people who dreamed of the actual future – often had better social standing than others. However, Brébeuf noted their resulting disproportionate superstition stemmed in the fear of misinterpreting a dream. Since dreams were very complex, this was often the case.[388] Brébeuf mercilessly related the tale of a child whose parents had dreamed of their illness and had failed to undertake the prescribed actions.[389] The parents had been forewarned, and thus their child's death was on their hands.

The authors' conceptions and descriptions of religious practice were far less openminded than the ones regarding spiritual aspects. In Lescarbot's chapter 'Des devins & Maitres des ceremonies entre les Indiens', the words were even more negatively charged. Their reliance on oracles, like the Greek, was the only positive comparison in this chapter. By contrast, their pagan rituals are compared to those of Turks and Jews, both peoples living in willful paganism.[390] Songs became 'conjurations en langue inconeu'; their deity 'le diable' or 'l'ennemi de Nature'; and their actions 'demonomanie'.[391] However, in his musings, Lescarbot questioned the unholy nature of these rituals. After all, Jews also made use of fire rituals to interpret their god's will. Based on information of an oral tradition passed to the eldest son, Lescarbot hypothesized that Native beliefs could be remnants of ancient religions that were part of the Eastern world.[392] Wood made no such nuance, explicitly stating that the practice of their religion included 'exorcismes and necromanticke charmes' and was without a doubt devil worship.[393] He recounted the story of 'Pissacannawa', who made water burn and rocks move, although he ascribed

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[385] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 109. Translation: simple wishes.

[386] A topic not discussed in this analysis are the Natives' political and juridical systems, as Europeans in this early stage were not privy to such information. Although Brébeuf noted their communal approach to punishment, it was still inserted in a chapter of religion, again emphasizing the secondary importance of the Native legal framework.

[387] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 117.

[388] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 121.

[389] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 119.

[390] The discourse on Turks had many different aspects and was increasingly variable. For more information on the image of Turks in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, see: Schwartz, *Implicit Understandings*.

[391] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 690, 691, 693.

[392] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 696.

[393] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 82.

this to a 'deceptio visus', an illusion. However, the story of an Englishman who was healed by Native magic proved that their religion was more than ignorant superstition.[394]

Brébeuf stated that the most tragic and pitiful people amongst the Huron were their 'Sorciers'.[395] In his final chapter on religious practices, Brébeuf elucidated the respected position of these witchdoctors, who were 'les plus sages en iugeront'. He assigned many criticized characteristics of Protestant priests to them: they were not stupid, but simply in search of the divine and misled by the Devil. In a way, Brébeuf's judgement was harsher than those of his predecessors, as he did not attribute their devilry to their ignorance. Rather, these 'Sorciers' knowingly and willingly damned their own people in exchange for personal gain. However, due to the simplicity of the other Natives, it was important not to engage with them, as their social standing was so great, they could turn the other Natives against missionaries.

Remarkably, Sagard did not note any religious practices, only mentioning how Catholic priests had taken over these rituals. Instead, his focus lay on outlining the most effective way to convert the Natives, organizing his chapter on religion much like a manual. He described conversations as if Natives were truly willing to sit around a campfire and debate the utter stupidity of their religion. First, Sagard related how he confronted the Natives with the contradictions of their folklore. The Natives did not defend their traditions, but instead called themselves ignorant.[396] Furthermore, he noted how interested they were in the Bible, although their fascination of scripture has been proven to be exaggerated.[397] Nevertheless, the Native was portrayed as a simple being, eager to learn, who quickly accepted European truths, 'mais ie leur donnay à entendre (selon ma petite capacité) comme & en quoy ils se trompoient, & qu'ils ne deuoient penser si bassement de choses; dequoy ils resterent fort contents & aduoüoient auec vn peu de hont leur trop grande simplicité & ignorance'.[398]

A big part of Natives' conversion to Christianity, either Catholicism or Protestantism, depended on the Natives' conception of the afterlife. As was briefly touched upon when discussing Harriot, authors did not agree on which conception Natives had. Lescarbot did not mention the conception the Natives he personally encountered had, opting to provide the options noted by others.[399] In his

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[394] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 83.
[395] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 132-145.
[396] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 230.
[397] Peter Wogan, "Perceptions of European Literacy in Early Contact Situations", *Ethnohistory* 41, no. 3 (1994), 414. The interest in the Bible was also described by Harriot.
[398] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 230. Translation: but I gave them an understanding (according to my small capacity) as to & in what they deceive themselves, & that they must not think so deeply on things; about which they remained very happy & admitted with a little shame their very great simplicity & ignorance.
[399] Harriot's singular perception of 'Popogusso' which – according to the Natives – lay behind the sunset, using this as a metaphor to convey how Natives burned (like they would if they were in hell). Léry's dual perception: the spirit *Aignan* who tormented bad souls (unclear in Lescarbot if souls are alive or dead during torment) versus the 'good place' were people danced with their parents which lay behind the mountains.

opinion, not relating to anything he had seen in Acadia, the afterlife consisted of three levels, the middle of which was meant to 'reeducate' souls.[400] This, of course, reflects Lescarbot's assumed Catholic affiliation and additionally followed his emphasis on education.[401]

Wood and Sagard's portrayal of the afterlife also indicated their own conception, rather than those of the Natives. Wood indicated a dual afterlife, which was symbolized in the inclusion of the Latin quote: 'Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo'. This conception was common amongst Protestants, who rejected the Catholic conception of Purgatory, and was first uncovered in this study in *A Brief and True Report* by Harriot. It is interesting to see how this belief was even visible in the use of proverbs. Likewise, Sagard related how he told Natives of heaven and hell. [402] Although Catholic, he did not mention Purgatory. According to Sagard, Natives were quite pleased to learn of the existence of hell and heaven and showed their gratitude to Sagard for teaching them this, even when they learned it meant all their loved ones and enemies had indiscriminately gone to hell. The rest of this passage, in my opinion, indicates that this conversation did not take place but was rather incorporated to reflect the willingness of the Natives to convert to Christianity.

Finally, Brébeuf portrayed a layered afterlife with many stages and challenges, where punishment and reward happened in the same place.[403] The journey started with the release of the *esken*-soul from the bones of the dead, which were called '*atisken*'.[404] In Sagard's account, this word appears as '*Atiskein andahatey*, le chemin des ames, que nous appellons la voye lactee': the route Natives believed their souls would travel after death.[405] Although the term *atiske(i)n* was used by Sagard and Brébeuf in a different sense, it clearly pointed to a similar concept of something not part of the world of the living. The *esken*-soul would slowly separate itself from the body and remain in the cemetery until the 'feast of the dead'.[406] After this, it would transform into a dove and make the journey to the west, where the afterlife was located.[407] The world of the dead was a copy of the world of the living, to which all, regardless of sin, went. All information the Natives had on the afterlife was said to be based on the testimony of Natives who said they had witnessed their loved ones be

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[400] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 681.

[401] Whether he was Catholic or not, is not decisively known, as explained in chapter 1 of this study. In his discourse, I have noticed elements that could point to either conviction and can therefore not provide an answer to this question either.

[402] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 234.

[403] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 99-100.

[404] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 97.

[405] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 233. Translation: the road of the souls, which we call the milky way.

[406] This resembles Dia de los muertos, which is still celebrated today by Latin American communities.

[407] Although there are some species of doves indigenous to America, the most important part of this passage is the European connotations it carries. If Natives truly believed their souls became birds and traveled to the afterlife in that form, I believe the exact species of bird would not have mattered to Sagard.

resurrected in order to tell people of the afterlife. Brébeuf, of course, saw the hand of the devil in this, concluding that the Native afterlife could be nothing other than hell itself.

The sentiment that was dominant in Brébeuf's work was how easy it was to convert Natives. While Brébeuf based this statement on the spiritual religion already present, Lescarbot denied that there was a religion to begin with. He explicitly referenced the 'tabula rasa' concept: 'estant semblable à un tableau nud, lequel et prest à recevoir telle couleur qu'on luy voudra bailler'.[408] In this same passage, he state how conversion was only difficult when the Native 'a vne fois receu vne mauvause impression de doctrine', because then 'il la lui faut arracher devant qu'y en subroger vne autre'.[409] Luckily, unlike other Native tribes, Lescarbot's described people did not have this problem 'pour qu'ilz n'ont aucun vestige de Religion'.[410] Their cultural emptiness and readiness to receive God placed them above other Native tribes and indigenous peoples, whose false images first had to be deconstructed.[411]

Sagard and Wood, on the other hand, noted that the Natives were easily converted because Christianity was beneficial to their health and prosperity. Sagard stated their receptiveness to Christianity was due to the fact that God could do anything their lesser deities could, like divert war, heal the sick, and alter the weather.[412] These miracles were probably mentioned in light of the following passage of criticism. Sagard's predecessor Le Caron had baptized Natives without properly educating them on religious doctrine. In this light, it would be logical that Sagard exaggerated the effortlessness of conversion in order to conclude that Le Caron and all those who followed his method were lazy and incapable of completing their simple missionary task. Wood stated that the arrival of the English was a blessing for the Natives, who worshiped the devil primarily out of fear of punishment.[413] Since the English arrival, there had been no accounts of people going missing. Furthermore, since the English remained unharmed by the devil, as they stood under God's protection, Natives were keen to be converted in order to benefit from the same protection. In exchange God also granted them goods as gifts and had tempered the climate.

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[408] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 672. Translation: Being like a blank canvas, which is ready to receive some whatever color that we want to add.

[409] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 672. Translation: has once received a bad impression of doctrine; it needs to be removed from them before that it can be exchanged with another.

[410] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 676. Translation: because they have no remnants of Religion.

[411] For more information about the '(over)full' nature of other American Natives, see: Peter Mason, *Infelicities*, 154–59.

[412] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 237, 238-239, 242.

[413] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 84.

Portrayal of Natives Based on Gender

Women made up half of the workforce in the American, pre-industrial societies.[414] In seventeenth-century Native societies, they were vital to agricultural production, as well as protection against the elements through their ability to weave clothes and houses. Furthermore, many of the day to day activities that lay at the foundation of these societies were realized by Native women, whereas men were often occupied with hunting, smoking tobacco, and politics. Therefore, analyzing how Europeans portrayed women, whether this was in accordance with reality or not, provides insights on the alleged activities of half of the population.[415] Another interesting point is that women were often compared to Native men, whereas men were more commonly compared to other peoples, either indigenous, European, or 'Eastern'. As a last argument, with a superficial glance at the vocabulary lists, the mention of natural products and household objects is abundantly clear. Because these objects often belonged to the realm of women, these women are essential to the understanding on language encounters. It is important to make a note on these chapters before beginning the analysis. Generally, information concerning women was divided into two parts: their sexual behavior, often portrayed in chapters on marriage and female labor, and their exercises, often examined in a different chapter. The portrayal of Native sexuality was very negative as a result of the perceived 'curtesan-like' behavior of women, who were less sexually restrained than European women.[416] The tone of the discourse on female activities concerning labor were more positive although authors were often motivated in this presentation to depict Native men as lazy.[417]

There is one other remarkable aspect of Wood's print that distinguished his views from the other authors. He began his chapter on women with the following remark: 'To satisfie the curious eye of women-readers, who otherwise might thinke their sex forgotten, or not worthy a record let them peruse these few lines, wherein they may see their owne happinesse, if weighted in the womans ballance of these ruder *Indians*'.[418] This passage implied a female audience, although female literacy in early modern times is hard to determine as a result of differences between societal position and religious affiliation. [419] At the end of the chapter, Wood addressed the female reader again, confirming that her position in America would be much the same as in England, although her life would be easier,

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[414] Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, 60.

[415] For more information on the topic of gender in colonial America, see: Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (UNC Press Books, 2012).

[416] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 82.

[417] The idle man was an often-recurring theme in colonial literature and was motivated to minimize the threat of colonial men. Furthermore, the image was interwoven with the framework of the Undeserving Poor. The comparison to beggars was first mentioned in Cartier's descriptions of the effortless trade.

[418] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 94.

[419] For more information on female readership: Merry E. Wiesner, "Literacy and Learning", in *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd edition, New Approaches to European History (Cambridge: University Press, 2019).

as she could count on the help of the Native women and on the bountiful nature of the land. Wood's intention to stimulate English settlement in New England explains the attention to female readership, as women were recognized as the cornerstone of English society, especially in light of the repopulation of the American continent and the service industry. Since such indications of female readership were not present in the other accounts – on top of the negative tone – it can be hypothesized that the other authors did not expect a female reader.

In the previous two parts of this analysis, it has become clear that intertextuality was a large part of what was written. In the chapters on women, Lescarbot, Wood, and Sagard refer to previously written knowledge to substantiate their own account. Throughout Lescarbot's chapter, the actions of all Native women in the Americas were generalized, as is clear from his comparisons between Native women from Brazil, Florida and 'Canada'.[420] In contrast to Lescarbot's other chapters, the information he provided on Native women was mostly based on his own experiences. As per usual, Lescarbot's first passages pointed to the biblical commandment of marriage, the ritual as old as Judaism.[421] Sagard's chapter on women nuances the statements Lescarbot made without explicitly naming Lescarbot's work. Finally, Wood disputed an unnamed account which presumably talked about the polygamous nature of marriages in America.[422]

In Lescarbot's and Sagard's accounts, the theme of Native nakedness reappeared, but was more positively described. Lescarbot stated it was not vulgar, erotic, or perverse as it would have been if they were Europeans.[423] Natives abided by the laws of nature, washing themselves in rivers, not feeling the need to cover themselves. This purity was also characteristic to the savages of the Germanic tribes. Furthermore, their nudity had another benefit. Due to their unashamed nudity, Natives were clearly incapable of impure thoughts. This was also due to their avoidance of spiced food, meat, wine, and their habit to smoke 'la fumée duquel etourdit les sens, & montant au cerveau empeche les functions de Venus'.[424] These passages were largely plagiarized in Sagard's print.[425] However, the information in Sagard's print was more nuanced and lacked the hateful undertone of Lescarbot's discourse. He did not fully agree with Lescarbot's nudity theory but noted that Natives did indeed seem

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[420] As was Lescarbot's habit, the comparisons were made based on the prints available to him; included in this chapter those written by Cartier, Champlain, Léry, etc.

[421] Most of the customs Lescarbot described were placed after the Flood, with the exception of the oral tradition on religious practice.

[422] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 81.

[423] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 747.

[424] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 747. Translation: the smoke that stuns the senses, & rising to the brain prevents the functions of Venus.

[425] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 159-160.

to suffer less from impure thoughts.[426] Furthermore, Sagard borrowed information about conditions of marriage, rules on interbreeding, and fatherly permission. Although these passages contain the same information that was related by Lescarbot, Sagard substantiated them himself.[427]

The topic of Native sexuality – a topic that is often present in colonial literature – was described rather negatively. Lescarbot, Sagard, and Wood were very clear on the fact that Native women did not behave according to European sexual norms. Lescarbot described how women seeking husbands were not ashamed 'de faire vne impudicité publique' to seduced men.[428] In order to marry within Native society, upon fatherly approval, couples underwent a concubinage period to up to a year, after which a marriage ceremony could take place. In Native culture, when a woman came of age, they moved out of their parents living quarters to a communal house.[429] These houses filled with virgin women, were of course perceived as brothels.[430] Lescarbot was revolted by this practice, frustrated by the inaction of the girls' fathers, and called upon God to punish them as he punished European women: with 'la vérole'.[431] Building on this information, Sagard provided a much more detailed and nuanced description of the marriage custom, allowing for examples and cases that did not follow the general pattern. On the concubinage period, he noted that marriage was only the result in a handful of cases. In most cases 'si la fille a ce seruiteur agréable, elle reçoit ce present, cela faict, cet amoureux viendra coucher auec elle trois ou quatre nuicts'.[432] Like Lescarbot, Sagard concluded that this was prostitution.

On marriage customs, opinions varied. Lescarbot's stated Native marriages were sinful and savage, and held no legal value. This opinion was based on the concubinage traditions as well as his understanding of Native divorce, which he thought was very common and easy on the husband.[433] Furthermore, he stated that a legal marriage contract was not necessary for Europeans, although he encouraged Europeans to legally record the marriage nonetheless.[434] Lescarbot's discourse leads me to believe that Lescarbot condoned sexual violence against Native women.[435] This was sadly not the only source of its time where European sexual violence was justified by claiming Native women were

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[426] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 160. Lescarbot's nudity theory was not explicitly mentioned, but the wording is almost exactly the same. Furthermore, the previous analyses have successfully pointed out that Sagard often relied on Lescarbot's work, whether explicitly mentioned or not.

[427] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 163; Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 748.

[428] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 745. Translation: to behave sexually immoral in public.

[429] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 744.

[430] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 744, 746-747. Lescarbot was of this opinion himself, and cited Cartier and Léry for emphasis.

[431] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 746. Translation: the pox.

[432] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 161. Translation: If the girl has an agreeable suitor, she receives the gifts, this done, this lover will come to sleep with her for three or four nights.

[433] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 748.

[434] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 748.

[435] There are several indications throughout this chapter to substantiate this. However, although shocking, this is of little relevance to the aim of this study.

incapable of revoking consent.[436] Because of Lescarbot's opinion, a remarkable feature of Sagard's depiction was his attention to the agency of Native women. Men were obligated to convince a woman to marry them, although a girl's father had the final word. His consent could be withheld when the suitor was not deemed capable of providing for his daughter. Even in the event where the girl was married without her father's consent, willingly or unwillingly, the tribe would see to it that she was returned to her father's household until her husband could prove himself worthy.[437] Furthermore, divorce could be initiated by both married parties as long as the couple did not have children. In the event that the marriage was no longer to their liking, a woman would simply move back in with her parents. However, the community was told in intervene in the event of arguments, pressuring the couple to make up.[438] Contrarily to Lescarbot and Sagard, Wood stated parental permission was not required, but rather the endorsement of the community was essential.[439]

Wood stated these marriages were permanent except in the case of adultery on the woman's part, denying the facility of divorce Lescarbot and Sagard noted. He related the story of a man who did not believe his neighbors' accounts of his adulterous wife. When he caught her and her lover in the act, he 'expos[ed] her to the *curtesie* of strangers for her maintenance, that so *curtesan*-like had entertained a stranger into her bosome'.[440] Unlike Lescarbot, Sagard related that adultery was not punished in Native customs. In fact, since there was no jealousy, hate, dishonor, or infamy, he described how neighbors were often also sexual partners.[441] Sagard's detailed description of Native women, their position, and their agency was remarkable, as these elements were highly debated during the seventeenth century.

Besides marriage, a second subject was the every-day activities of women. These descriptions of women were kept separate from the chapters on sexuality and marriage. The reason for this was most likely that the opinions on sexuality were meant to illustrate the negative aspects of women, while chapters on labor were instead focused on the positive aspects of women in contrast to lazy Native men. A reoccurring theme here was the objectification and possession of women. Lescarbot's chapter on 'les exercices des femmes', began by stressing the position of women, who 'dés le commencement a esté bailée à l'homme'.[442] A woman's primary task was to 'estre le receptacle de la generation'.[443] This objectification continued when women were compared to the earth, their children

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[436] For more information concerning this topic: Stephanie Wood, "Sexual Violation in the Conquest of Americas", in *Sex and Sexuality in Early America*, ed. Merrill D. Smith (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 35–54.
[437] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 164.
[438] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 166.
[439] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 81.
[440] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 82.
[441] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 167.
[442] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 789. Translation: from the beginning were reliant on men.
[443] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 789.

being fruit.[444] In this passage, Lescarbot drew a clear parallel between women and the American continent, the latter of which was often gendered and described with the same language.[445] The objectification of women in a literal sense was confirmed by Sagard's description of women being traded.[446] He nuanced that this was only done in gambling games and added that children were also part of this equation. All traded people were voluntarily returned 'afterwards'.[447] In Wood's print, there was no evidence of true objectification. However, he did note how Native men viewed their wives as little more than servant machines. The most shocking instance were Native men misuse their wives pertained to the exploitation of their lack of personal possessions. Wood related an occasion were a husband sold his wife's 'beaver petticote'.[448] Even faced with this kind of humiliation, the women's modest nature persevered, only taking off the petticoat when she had found another to wear.

Lescarbot, Sagard, and Wood agree that Native women were very hard working. In Lescarbot's print, they occupied themselves with 'les oeuvres serviles, à faute de serviteurs', like gathering firewood and preparing meals.[449] By listing all the tasks women preform, Lescarbot made it clear that men made little contributions. In this case, the portrayal of women invoked the image of the hard-working poor who were worthy and grateful for the charity they received. In addition, these women, who worked harder than men, were not allowed to partake in councils. Sagard's work was heavily influenced by Lescarbot and copied most of his notes on female activities. The discourse was less influenced by the Bible and less misogynous in nature, as he did not mention women's divine duty to bear children and obey their husbands. Instead, he copied the information about domestic chores, adding little information to the chapter himself. However, Sagard detailed what women did in their spare time and how they prided themselves on their hair, again portraying their agency and ability to do things besides their duties.[450]

In Wood's account, it is difficult to separate the activities of Native women from the laziness of Native men. Wood stated Native women were superior to Native men, being physically equal, but working harder, being more capable of love, more modest, mild tempered, etc. Their daily activities included making huts and houses, which were stronger and warmer than English houses and could be

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[444] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 789-790.
[445] The gendering of the American continent was briefly mentioned in the previous part of this chapter. For more information concerning this topic, see: Zoe Detsi-Diamanti, "Politicizing Aesthetics: The Politics of Violence and Sexuality in Colonial and Revolutionary Representations of America as an Indian Woman", *The AnaChronisT* (2006), 61–79.
[446] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 123.
[447] This passage must also be read in the context of the sexual abuse during this period that was noted in the analysis of Lescarbot's portrayal of Native-European marriage.
[448] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 97.
[449] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 791.
[450] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 124, 131.

moved depending on the season. They oversaw food production and conservation. This was their duty because it could not be entrusted to their 'gurmandizing husbands, who would eate up both their allowed portion, and reserved feed'.[451] Lobster fishing, which often took a lot of time in cold water, was included in this. Their husbands were described to fish occasionally but would depend on their wives to carry their boats back to the village and clean and prepare the fish. The same was true for when men hunted, leaving their wives to locate and carry home their kills before the wolves or bears could get to them. The abominable behavior men showed towards these women was highlighted as well. They were lazy, presumptuous 'hogges' who would never credit a woman on her feats and made her wait to eat her own supper until he had finished his.[452] Even when pregnant or having recently given birth, her workload would not be lessened, often being forced to take her newborn into icy waters to fish.[453]

In the last part of this comparison, the element of obedience is uncovered, as this reflects the European stance on colonial dominance for at least half of the population. Of course, while Native women could 'easily' be dominated, it also brought nuance into the framework of the unreconstructable savage which had appeared as a result of the Jamestown Massacre in 1622. A duality appeared between the savagery of men and women. While the lazy and inferior nature of Native men in the discourses of Lescarbot and Sagard has been pointed out above, both authors also noted the remarkable servitude women showed their husbands. In Lescarbot's account, apparently one of their only positive traits, they were utterly devoted to the men they served.[454] Whereas Lescarbot accented their servitude was a result of their inferior nature, Sagard emphasized that 'elles n'y soient point forces ny contraintes' when doing their chores.[455] Wood's description on servitude is the only topic on which he provided more information than Lescarbot and Sagard. Native women's obedience to their husbands was absolute.[456] Although they were aware of their superiority, they were powerless to better their position as they had never known anything other than their subjugation. With the arrival of the English, they were able to see that these women were treated with more respect. Native men, savages through and through, looked down on the English for being so wasteful of 'good working creatures'.[457] As a result, many Native women looked to the English for protection, often bringing gifts of food.

[451] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 95.
[452] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 95.
[453] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 96.
[454] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 791, 193.
[455] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 130. Translation: They were hereto not forced or obligated.
[456] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 94, 97.
[457] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 97.

The work of Brébeuf did not reserve a chapter to the exercises and marriages of women. In fact, women were very scarce throughout the entire narration. Not only were they never explicitly investigated, it seemed Brébeuf also knowingly avoided all topics in which women were active. He did not mention culinary habits or food preparation and conservation. Neither did he provide information of housing and clothing. Whether this was the result of the Natives' wariness around Europeans due to unpleasant encounters in the past, is unclear, but it is a viable hypothesis considering the timing of Brébeuf's voyage. In other historical research, it has been suggested that Europeans generally had very little contact with Native women as a safety measure on their part, resulting in the perception that they were dominated by their male counterparts.[458] Brébeuf complied with this theory when accounting on Native warfare, where he portrayed their only reason for war to be in service of the protection of women and children.[459] However, this theory only makes sense if the European contact with Natives was brief. It is highly unlikely that the Natives Brébeuf lived among hid their women from him during his five-year stay.

A second hypothesis would attribute this element to Brébeuf's position as a Jesuit, as part of the celibate clergy. While this theory makes more sense to me, it does not fully explain why women were so radically ignored, seeing as Sagard was also clergy. As I have demonstrated above, Sagard provided two chapters on Native women and, while these were mostly copied from Lescarbot's work, they contained sufficient nuances and additions to point out Sagard did take an interest in Native women. Since Brébeuf, unlike Sagard, was very selective in what he included in his text, it is indeed most likely that Brébeuf did not see the need to described women in his letter to his superior.

2.2.3   Conclusion

The conclusions that can be drawn from these analyses point to the interest and eye for detail European authors had for Natives and their existence. As a second wave author, Lescarbot could not substantiate the image of the unreconstructable savage, as the major turning points that instigated this perception had not occurred in 1609. However, his approach cannot be properly defined in the outlined framework of the second wave. His literary style and attention to cultural phenomena were an anomaly at that time. I find it necessary to note that he remained unmarried until the age of fifty. I will not presume to know whether this was the cause or the result of his views, but either way is relevant to contextualize his portrayal. In either case, his descriptions were quite misogynous, even judging by seventeenth-century standards. In general, his chapters were organized by identical

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[458] Helen C. Rountree, "Powhatan Indian Women: The People Captain John Smith Barely Saw", *Ethnohistory; Durham* 45, no. 1 (Winter 1998): 22.

[459] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 168.

structures. First, he noted the biblical prescriptions of a theme, followed by the opinions of other authors possibly on other peoples. After this, he expanded the chapter with his own opinions. He clearly envisioned a very static image of America, portraying that the Natives' progress had been halted by their isolation. They were not equal to Christian European peoples, but could become so if properly educated, which he believed should be the primary motivation to seek out these peoples. At some point in the future, he hoped the Native could become truly equal, completely free from his savage nature, which was to be achieved through conversional efforts.

In his chapter on religion, Lescarbot clearly stated he believed Natives had no true religion, only a superficial belief system that could be renounced easily. He was not threatened by these superstitions, carefully detailing them in the *Histoire*. However, he did pose the question whether these were perhaps based in an older tradition the preceded the Flood. If true, the Natives' nature could become more difficult to change. As for his opinions on women: their immoral nature was their biggest flaw. However, their willingness to be used as manual laborers and their recognition of their inferior nature was perceived as beneficial. Echos of the natural slavery debates are thus present in Lescarbot's portrayal. Furthermore, he was quick to generalize the behavior of the Natives of any gender he encountered to those of the entire continent. To sum up, Lescarbot's comparative method enabled him to comprehensibly describe the Native Americans he encountered. He relied on analogies with other peoples and opinions of other authors in order to provide the generalized image of the Native as a Wild Man.

Sagard was heavily influenced by Lescarbot's work but was remarkably capable of separating Lescarbot's opinions from his factual descriptions. In his first impression, he described a dual image of the Native. They were untrusting people in a harsh society but had great capacities to show kindness and beauty. The conversion of these people was so necessary that he undertook the effort at great personal expense. The concept of the ignorant savage was dominant throughout the work. Like children left to their own devices, the Natives had mimicked society but were unable to realize it fully. Luckily, they were aware of this and were willing to learn. When confronted with their ignorance, Natives gladly discarded their own cultural knowledge in exchange for European truths, making it very easy to convert them. In his description of Native women, Sagard provided a very detailed picture. This went against any other discourse at the time. His attention for and understanding of the agency of women in Native culture is highly remarkable. Although they still had some bad qualities, they were not the simple slave laborers anxious to be freed from their male oppressors. Instead, they were men's counterparts who took many chores upon themselves as part of societal gender structures they were aware of. His approach to making the new continent understandable was adding to prior information of one specific tribe. He did not portray Natives as natural slaves, instead opting for the tabula rasa concept focused on (re)education.

The Englishman Wood was motived to publish by commercial elements, selling his knowledge of America to prospective settlers. He could not deny the continent's savage nature, as it had been previously stressed by other authors. Instead, he aimed to convince his reader of the progress that had been made over time. In his first impression, he tried to provide a general description of the continent as a whole. From here on out, he systematically narrowed down the area he described. The conclusion from his first impression was that, even though some parts of the continent were not yet tamed, there were parts that Europeans could inhabit. Throughout the rest of the text, Wood often divided his descriptions into two situations: before and after the arrival of the English. In a religious context, this implied the Natives' acceptance of Christianity and the resulting benefits for the continent. For women, the situation had likewise improved. His chapter on women, however, was not intended to portray the correct image as much as to convince European women that migration was to their benefit as well. In short, Wood's portrayal of the American Native can be compared to a micro analysis aimed at nuance and detail. He did not compare his knowledge of the New England Natives to that of other authors or other peoples, but instead contrasted 'known' and 'civil' areas to more 'savage' places.

Brébeuf's work was partly intended as a report to his superior Paul Le Jeune, who published the text. As a result, the information provided in the work related to religious matters. The Christianization of the Natives had proven more difficult than previous missionaries had suggested. In introductory passages of the report, Brébeuf defended the notion that Natives had to be converted differently than in the past, on their own terms. With this intent, he surveyed and analyzed Natives' everyday life in order to assess how Christian practices could be introduced into this. In this outline, the understanding of Native women and their endeavors was deemed irrelevant. Only religious practices were described. Brébeuf did portray a very clear understanding of the indigenous religion of the Wendat. These were categorized by their usefulness to the conversional efforts. The Natives' conception of the immortal soul proved that they were able to grasp some of the more intricate ideas of Christianity. Furthermore, their unquestioned acceptance of God's will in the form of dreams was a testament to their readiness to be made aware of their creator. However, various aspects held them back. The biggest problem Brébeuf identified were the 'Sorciers'. Although they were said to be in search of God themselves, they more often relied on the devil. In these passages, Brébeuf warned future missionaries to not underestimate the power these deceivers, both in relation to magic as their influence on the rest of the Native population. Due to the intent of his work, Brébeuf did not portray Native society as he witnessed it. Because Brébeuf knew more about Native society than he described in the text, this cannot be counted as a thorough analysis. It does, however, point to how important the information that was included, was deemed at the time.

In all four accounts, the influences of the past waves were most clear in the substantiations of the Native as a 'tabula rasa', either explicit or implicit in themes of nakedness or religious education.

Lescarbot's account diverged from the general second wave sentiments in a couple of ways. His emphases on a static America where inhabitants were eager to receive an education and his persistence on the unity of mankind were influenced by the first wave's humanism. Furthermore, the Natives were never perceived as threatening, although Lescarbot did hint at their unknown origins throughout his account. The clear identification of power structures was likewise not present. His focus on education was remarkable, as it went against dominant wave sentiment and was furthermore more often found in the books of the religious authors of the third wave.

In the third wave, the dual nature of the Native was the dominant theory, which was conveyed in the books of Wood and Sagard. Wood saw the Natives' humanity on a graded scale, on which the Massachusset were ranked as morally superior to Europeans. This denial of the 'unreconstructable' savage was intertwined with the Puritan idea that European society had degenerated due to its civility. Wood did not share Sagard's and Brébeuf's opinion on the dynamic nature of Natives, instead dividing Natives into fixed shires. The missionaries' focus on the education of the changeable Native was not out of their wave sentiment, which hoped to distance itself from the embarrassing conversions of past missionaries. Sagard's attention for the Natives' agency was remarkable, as this was not present in any of the analyzed travelogues and furthermore brought nuance to the idea of the simple, natural savage whose decisions were controlled by their animalistic needs. It was furthermore remarkable when compared to Brébeuf's unilateral descriptions pertaining only to religion, who stated education needed to be implemented in the rituals of day-to-day life.

3 The Portrayal of Native American Languages

Based on the framework from the fourth phase, the fifth phase of this study analyzes the language information in the nine sources to uncover how French and English authors portrayed Native languages and which elements motivated them in their portrayals. Once again, this chapter is divided into two parts by the two techniques to portray language: discourse and translation. A first influence on language information was the already existing theories on Native languages. Because these are easier to locate in discourse, the discourse on Native languages in the four language chapter accounts will be discussed in the first part of this chapter.[460] The selected discourse analysis is outlined by M. Beyen.[461] This first part is further divided into five sections and a conclusion. The first section investigates the influence of the biblical Tower of Babel on the perception of languages. Often based on this theory, the second section uncovers how authors conceived language communities. Because the framework in chapter 2 and source criticism has uncovered that authors often borrowed information from other people, the third section will look into the portrayal of the author's own knowledge. From this, the conception of Native languages can be uncovered in the fourth section. A fifth section will then approach the elements of perceived savagery in Native languages.

The second part of this chapter is dedicated to the translation technique. Its first three sections are reserved for direct translations. A descriptive first section will offer some introductory insights into the structure and content of the vocabularies analyzed in this study. Next, these vocabularies are compared based on the nature of the translated words, in this study divided into numbers and nine categories (Humans, Tools, Household, Religion, Animals, Space and time, Commodities, Active use of languages, and Other). Based on the proportional number of translations put in each category, this study uncovers the influence of the wave sentiment on direct translations. In order to uncover further similarities between the vocabularies, in the third section, an experimental portrayal of cohesion is attempted. The catechism translated by Brébeuf was kept separate from the analysis of the vocabularies, as it contains both types of translations. In the fourth section, Brébeuf's translated

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[460] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 686-697; Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 3-12; Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 91-92; Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 79-84. Lescarbot's 1611 print will be used, while before his 1609 was analyzed. While passages in Lescarbot's account on other topics are largely the same, there are significant differences between the language chapters of the 1609 and 1611 editions, as considerable parts added to this later print. The additions will always be noted when they are discussed. As a result, when no notes are made, the reader can safely assume that these elements were already present in the 1609 print. Furthermore, Sagard's 'language chapter' is actually not a chapter on language, but an introduction to his dictionary. To provide a valuable comparison, all passages that refer to the workings and structure of the dictionary were not included in this first part of the analysis, but will instead be analyzed in the second part (3.2.1 and 3.2.2 will go deeper into the direct translations).

[461] Beyen, *De Taal van de Geschiedenis*. His discourse analysis investigates writing on three levels: stature, text structure, and cohesion.

concepts will therefore connect the analysis of the direct translations to that of the necessary translations, the latter of which will forms the final section.

3.1   Discourse on American Languages

The late Middle Ages and the Renaissance brought change to the cultural position of language in society. The revival of old Latin and Greek texts made humanists aware of the fluid nature of language, which changed throughout time. Furthermore, a movement towards the vernacular appeared and Latin became less commonplace.[462] These 'living languages', as opposed to the 'dead' Latin, became a source of pride and identity for the speaker. The link from personal identity to a group identity was then not far of a leap. Language communities consisted of people who proudly shared a language and, more importantly, did not share a language with other communities. This first impulse linking language and political structures had many long-term effects and is crucial to understanding how Native language communities were interpreted by early colonizers.

The Renaissance furthermore brought forward a new theory on the origin of languages, based on traditional Biblical truths and revived Greek philosophy. The first of these dictated that the origin of language could be traced back to the Creation. When Adam had been created, God asked him to name all animals, thus creating the first language. The ability to speak and to name not only distinguished Adam from the animals, it also confirmed his dominion over them. The Adamic language that was spoken in Eden was passed down to all of humanity, surviving the Flood, and was so divine it enabled all of mankind to work together and build a tower that reached to Heaven.[463] As punishment for the attempt to infringe on God's territory, God took away Man's ability to understand each other. During the Renaissance, these Christian ideas on the origins of languages were interwoven with the Platonic Theory of Forms.[464] The Theory implies a link between a word and the essence of the thing it names.

Christian theologians of the time conjoined these two theories, stating that the Adamic language was the language in which the idea/form could be universally expressed. However, there

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[462] Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, 161.

[463] The story of the Tower of Babel is told in the Book of Genesis, chapter 11. Short summary: All people spoke one language and settled in Babylonia to build a city and a tower that would be at the center of the human world. However, God was fearful of the unity that granted Man the ability to build a tower that reached to Heaven. To stop the construction, God confused their language so that they were not able to understand each other. He then scattered them all over the earth. Babel (the place where the tower was meant to come) was abandoned and the tower was never constructed.

[464] Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World*, 126.

were two main interpretations about how languages had changed after the 'confusion of Babel'.[465] The first interpretation stated that God had given Men new languages, the total number of these being 69 or 72.[466] This led to the assumption that remnants of the Edenic language were visible in all languages. Because of this, all languages shared the same foundation. As for Native American languages, this theory was in line with the conception of the frozen Native as a 'tabula rasa', whose language was descendant from Babel and had not altered since. The defenders of this side of the debate were mostly humanitarian minded Renaissance men, who envisioned a static America that could begin to progress with European aid and would be the basis of the ultimate and godly land.[467] The second conception, in contrast, focused on the man-made nature of current languages, which had not been shaped by God, but by the men who had lost their original tongue.[468] In this conception of the post-Babel evolution, God had not given humanity different languages but had instead taken away all methods of communications, forcing mankind to 're-invent' language in separate communities. As a result, the link between the Forms and language was not guaranteed.

The conception of the origin of Native languages and the identification of the speakers formed the foundation of the authors' opinions on different aspects of the encountered languages. Although the arguments relating to these two topics were not necessarily discussed first in the sources, they are prioritized here because of the reoccurring references to them throughout the language chapters. During the Early Modern period, the prevalent dogma concerning language variation was based on the Tower of Babel. However, opinions differed about how the confusion of Babel had shaped Native languages. Next, the author's views on Natives as separate and/or hierarchal communities will be uncovered based on their conception of Babel and their choice of words when referring to Native groups or when comparing these to European language communities.

With the elements of these first two topics uncovered, the third section will then look into how the authors portrayed their knowledge of the languages they encountered. To this purpose, this includes a comparison of how the authors substantiated their knowledge and which arguments were more or less convincing. It aims to uncover the extent of the authors' knowledge of the encountered language(s) and the amount of responsibility they took for their presented language information. A fourth section looks at the conception of Native languages, focusing on three questions the authors aimed to answer: 'Does the language progress?', 'What are Native language?', and 'Can the Native speak?'. Because these questions did not have standardized, dogmatic answers, the authors personal

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[465] This euphemism is based on the translation of the Bible (Gen 11:7). Furthermore, in the whole chapter (Gen 11), a word play is visible, as the Hebrew words for Babel and confusion sounded similar.
[466] George J. Metcalf, *On Language Diversity and Relationship from Bibliander to Adelung* (John Benjamins Publishing, 2013), 141.
[467] Adams, "The Discovery of America and European Renaissance Literature", 105.
[468] Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World*, 127.

encounters with Native languages was the principal factor in their portrayal. A fifth section will look into more negatively charged discourse that identified languages as a part of Natives' uncivil nature. In these paragraphs, the themes of education and savagery reappear. The most interesting thing here is to see how the authors used their knowledge of languages to substantiate, nuance, or contradict Natives' civil inferiority.

3.1.1   Babel and the Origin of Languages

One of the most important aspects related to the Native American languages was that Europeans could not determine their origins without any doubt. This was intermixed with their uncertainty about the presence of America as the fourth continent that God – for whatever reason – had kept hidden, as well as their uncertainty on the status of the people that inhabited this continent. The Spanish debates on America and its inhabitants during the previous century influenced later voyagers into a more humanist/humanitarian stance.[469] The unity of all mankind had been assured by God in the Creation. This singular human essence had wide-ranging consequences for theories on languages.[470]

Marc Lescarbot's chapter 'Du Langage' began much like his other chapters with the Biblical judgement concerning the described element, in this case Babel.[471] He stated: 'Les effects de la confusion de Babel sont parvenus jusques à ce[s] peoples desquels nous parlon[s] aussi bien qu'au monde deça'.[472] Several elements of this sentence hint at Lescarbot's conception of the origin of languages. First, he speaks of the effects of Babel, implying the importance of the act of confusion and the dispersion of people by God throughout linear time over the act itself. In fact, as he preferred 'Babel' to 'tower of Babel', he made no reference to what happened before, during, or after the act of confusion. The first part of the sentence appears rather fatalistic and simplistic, implying that language differentiation had been God's will from the start, not something done to mankind in reaction to building a tower. The second part of the sentence is influenced by this fatalistic view but used this as a reason why all peoples and languages of the world had the same origin instead. This placed the Natives firmly within the realm of Godly people, a topic that was still debated at the time.[473]

As was demonstrated in detail in the previous chapter of this study, Sagard's work was heavily influenced by Lescarbot, but was more nuanced. The same reliance on Babel to explain the origin of

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[469] For more information on the Valladolid debates, see: Chiappelli, *First Images of America*. The criticism on the Spanish approach was outlined in chapter 2.
[470] Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse", 572-573.
[471] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 686-697. Translation: On the Language.
[472] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 686. Translation: The effects of the confusion of Babel reached in the same way to these peoples of which we speak as well as in the rest of the world.
[473] The debates were explained in chapter 2. For example, Cartier hinted that Natives were Cain's descendants and were thus meant to be wiped out by the Flood.

languages was visible in the introduction to Sagard's 'Dictionnaire de la langue huronne', the phrasing of this passage similar to Lescarbot's passage.[474] According to Sagard, 'Le peché des ambitieux Babyloniens, qui pensoient s'eslever iusques au Ciel, par la hautesse de leur incomparable tour […] est communiqué par ses effects à toutes les autres Nations du monde'.[475] In contrast to Lescarbot, Sagard's reasoning for God's actions against men was clearer: pour s'exempter d'un second deluge vniuersel'.[476] Sagard thus portrayed this action as an act of mercy: mankind should be grateful that – so shortly after the Flood – God had spared them of total extinction.[477] This gratitude for language variety among Catholic missionaries was an anomaly in this time and was not present in any other analyzed travelogue. In fact, it was far more common for authors to express their frustrations about the many different languages, as it impeded both communication and conversion efforts.[478] Sagard's opinion about the equality of Natives and Europeans as Biblical people is clear in this passage.

Wood and Brébeuf did not follow the examples of Lescarbot and Sagard in stating that Babel was the origin of all the American languages, nor did they agree with each other what the actual origin was. Wood's chapter did not begin with the origins of the language, instead pointing out how different Massachusett was from the 'refined tongues'.[479] With this statement, Wood chose not to reflect the divine order and equality visible in all languages of the world, instead implying a duality between refined or cultivated tongues and unrefined or savage tongues.[480] The use of language as an indication and/or element of the Natives' savage nature was not common in the early seventeenth century. This phenomenon will be returned to later to discuss it in full. Furthermore, Wood did not provide a definitive answer on the origins of the language but did not give preference to the Babel theory. While 'some have thought they might be of the dispersed *Iewes*, because some of their words be neare unto the *Hebrew*', he contradicted this theory as 'by the same rule they may conclude them to be some of the gleanings of all Nations, because they have words which sound after the *Greeke*, *Latine*, *French*, and other tongues'.[481] That Native languages were not derived from Hebrew was also something argued by Lescarbot in the 1611 edition, where he noted that it lacked the nasal sounds and sounds

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[474] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 3-12. The numbering started anew fort his part of Sagard's *Le grand voyage,* but only the first 12 pages of the Dictionnaire (so only the introduction) were numbered.

[475] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 3. Translation: The *Fall* of the ambitious Babylonians, who thought to raise themselves to Heaven, by the high of their incomparable tower […] is communicated by its effects on all the Nations of the world.

[476] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 3. Translation: to exempt them of a second universal *Flood*.

[477] The Flood is described in the Book of Genesis, chapters 6 to 9, and is only one chapter away from the tower of Babel, creating the impression that these events were not far apart in time.

[478] Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse", 563. For more information on this discourse, see: Zanna Van Loon, "Languages of Evangelization: The Early Modern Circulation of Missionary Knowledge on the Indigenous Languages of New Spain, Peru and New France" (Unpublished PhD Dissertation: KU Leuven, 2020), 88-89.

[479] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 91.

[480] For more information of this duality and its occurrence in later periods, see: Gray, *New World Babel*.

[481] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 91.

'du profond de la gorge' which were typical to Hebrew.[482] However, in Wood's passage it remained unclear whether the dispersed Jews he spoke of were the Babylonians who were scattered around the world by God, because he still noted that they had a single language, namely Hebrew. Although he provided no answers to the origin of the language(s), Wood's approach to the description of the language started off less dogmatic with a comparison based on the sounds of the spoken language. This is remarkable due to the fact that, while the other authors did describe certain sounds unfamiliar to them, only Wood provided his readers with a sense of what to expect when they heard the language.

Brébeuf also did not refer to Babel explicitly. Furthermore, he did not agree that all languages were equal as Lescarbot and Sagard had argued. Instead, Brébeuf held to the man-made creation of languages after Babel, in which case some were more complex than others. Mixed with the conception of Forms, Brébeuf expressed this as 'Comme ils n'ont presque ny vertu, ny Religion, ny science aucune, ou police, aussi n'ont-ils aucuns mots simples [,] propres à signifier tout ce qui en est'.[483] Brébeuf believed that Natives' lack of words to identify these concepts meant that they generally had no notion of them. As a result, the Natives needed to be educated on a lot more than just religion.[484]

3.1.2   Peoples and Languages

The theories explained above on Babel furthermore indicate a bond between a language and a nation that spoke it.[485] This part of the analysis will therefore look into the communal identities the authors ascribed to the Natives in their language chapters. Lescarbot divided the peoples of America into three groups based on both geographies and colonizing European power. Within South-America, colonized by Spain, he identified five peoples: 'Patagons', 'Brésiliens', 'Peröuans', the people of 'iles de Cuba' and 'Mexiquains', who were distinguishable by their different languages.[486] In Southern North-America, colonized by France, Spain, and England, the people of 'Floride' spoke differently than those of 'Virginie'.[487] In French Northern America, Lescarbot identified 'noz Souriquois et Etechemins' as

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[482] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 690. Translation: from deep in the throat; These sounds are known as pharyngeal.
[483] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 80. Translation: Because they do not have almost no virtue, nor Religion, nor science either, or police, likewise they do not have any simple or proper words to signify all that this is.
[484] This sentiment is linked with the debates on natural slavery outlined in 2.1.2.
[485] For more information about this topic, see: Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*. While Burke's work tends to overestimate the definitiveness of the bond between language and community, he does successfully draw attention to the early roots of language as a part of identity.
[486] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 686-687. 'Patagons' were an imaginary people of Chile rumored to be giants. Mason, *Deconstructing America*, 110. Cubans were the only people additionally noted on page 687.
[487] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 686. Lescarbot used Harriot as a source for ideas on English colonization, so the 'Virginians' were in fact the indigenous peoples of the present-day Carolinas.

different from 'les Armouchiquois et Iroquois'.[488] Sagard, as well as Wood and Brébeuf, made no such effort to distinguish to such a broad level, instead keeping the comparison to Northern America. Sagard identified the 'Huron', 'Algoumequins', 'Canadiens', 'Montagnets', 'Epicerinys', 'Skéquaneronons', 'Honquierons', and 'Anasquanans', the last three speaking a similar dialect.[489] Furthermore, Sagard called the Natives – although only once throughout his print – 'Houandates', which was phonetically closer to their name Wendat.[490] The Wendat were more commonly known as the 'Huron', originating from the French word with the same spelling meaning 'peoples with bristle hair'. This passage in Sagard's introduction was the only time the Wendat were not referred to as 'Hurons'.

Despite these different nations the authors were able to distinguish, in most cases the authors only discussed one language they came into contact with most. Wood and Brébeuf never explicitly named the Natives they described in their chapters because this was obvious, as they only described one tribe which was identified at the beginning of their accounts.[491] They furthermore made little references to other Native tribes. Most of his language chapter, like the rest of his descriptions, focused on the Massachusett. Only two other groups were shortly mentioned. The first were the Tarrenteens of the second shire. Furthermore, in the last sentence of the chapter, Wood wrote that the Massachusset were often visited by 'stranger *Indians* […] from more remote places, with an unheard language', implying the existence of Natives and Native languages beyond the scope of his four

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[488] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 687. The 'Souriquois' are an unidentified Native group, probably related to the Maliseet-Passamaquoddy. Hypothesis based on Ives Goddard, *Languages*, 70. There is, however, also evidence that these people were the Mi'kmaq. Hypothesis based on Peter Bakker, "'The Language of the Coast Tribes Is Half Basque'", 122. The 'Etchemin' were a Native people who lived in Acadia. This chapter contains the only mention in history of their language. Goddard, *Languages*, 70. Other names for these people are Wolastoqiyik or Maliseet. Based on: Tom McFeat, "Wolastoqiyik (Maliseet)", The Canadian Encyclopedia, accessed May 11, 2020, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/maliseet. The 'Armouchiquois' were presumed to be a single village, enemies to the 'Souriquois' and eradicated in 1630. They had no known strife or ties to the Iroquois. Hypothesis based on: "Summary of Native American Tribes", Legends of America, accessed May 11, 2020, https://www.legendsofamerica.com/tribe-summary-a/5/.

[489] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 4. The 'Huron' have already been identified as the Wendat. The 'Algoumequins' and 'Canadiens' could be any people, as these were terms often used in a broad sense for 'other' Natives. The terms furthermore indicate that Sagard only had second-hand knowledge of their existence, most likely from the prints of Champlain and Lescarbot. The 'Montagnets' were most likely the Naskapi, a Cree-speaking tribe or the Onondaga, one of the five Iroquois Nations. Hypothesis based on: Patricia Roberts Clark, *Tribal Names of the Americas: Spelling Variants and Alternative Forms, Cross-Referenced* (McFarland, 2009), https://books.google.be/books?id=mpRrp_PJnFIC&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false, 149. Because Naskapi is considered a derogatory term, the tribe identifies as Cree. Hypothesis based on: "Naskapi/Montagnais", In *A Native American Encyclopedia*, 507-510. The 'Epicerinys' were most likely the Nipissing, living North of Lake Ontario and known for their trade in spices. Hypothesis based on: Clark, *Tribal Names of the Americas*, 91. The Skéquaneronons could be the Susquehannock or Conestoga. Hypothesis based on the phonetics and vicinity of this people to 'Huronia'. The 'Honquerons' were most likely the Kichesipirini. Hypothesis based on: Clark, *Tribal Names of the Americas*, page not listed. The 'Anasaquanans' were most likely the Anishinaabe. Hypothesis based on the fact that this tribe belonged to the nation of 'Three Fires', which Sagard references as 'fire nation' on p. 78 of *Le grand voyage*: 'Aβitagueronon'.

[490] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 4.

[491] Resp. 'Aberginians' and 'Hurons'.

delineated shires.[492] It furthermore continued to uphold the duality between the 'civil' Massachusett and the 'other', 'uncivil' Natives whose speech was unknown. Finally, Brébeuf only mentioned the 'Montagnés' and 'Algonquins' again to point out language differentiation, and 'des langues Americains' when explaining verb conjugation.[493] This last element was rather remarkable, as none of the other author had at this point theorized that there could be similar aspects to all 'American' languages. Which languages Brébeuf included in this, he sadly kept to himself. In their works, as a result, they would instead use subject pronouns when referring to the Natives they described and possessive adjectives when referencing the language.[494]

'Othering' was also visible in the other travelogues. While Brébeuf and Wood kept their literary distance from the Natives, Sagard's discourse was rather inclusive. Aside from 'Huron', he used 'nos gens' and 'nos Hurons' to refer to Natives, indicating a more inclusive approach than the other authors who used no such indications.[495] A more difficult case was Lescarbot's discourse, in which he used both 'noz Souriquois' and 'noz Sauvages' twice throughout the language chapter.[496] Additionally, it was unclear at which point he was talking about which language. To give one example, on the second page of the chapter he made a clear distinction between 'les Canadiens' and 'les Souriquois', yet later he referenced the 'langue de/en Canada' which makes it seem like this was the same as the language of the 'Souriquois'.[497] Furthermore, he made very few mentions of the people speaking the language, instead opting to use 'la langue' (and variations) as the subject of most sentences.

The identification of different nations, however, did not necessarily correlate with the authors' conception of language variation. In these language chapters, it became increasingly clear that, even though the authors paid special attention to the identification of 'communities' of Natives in America, they could not integrate language variation into the European framework in which each 'community' had their own language. Lescarbot – who filled almost two pages at the beginning of his chapter on the different 'communities' – was remarkably unclear about which language he described and by which people this language was spoken. On the third page of his chapter he compared the numbers of the language Cartier described on his 'first' voyage to those of a 'nouveau' language, that of 'les Souriquois', and 'les Etechemins', providing the illusion that he spoke of at least three languages in the entire chapter.[498] However, he quoted Harriot that each '*Vviroan*, ou seigneur, ha só[n] langage

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[492] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 92.
[493] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 92. The 'Tarrenteens' were most likely the Tarrateens, the English name for Abenaki or Mi'kmaq. Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 79, 83. The 'Algonquin' could be any people, as it refers to the language family. For 'Montagnés', see footnote 489.
[494] Resp. 'they'/'ils'; 'their'/'leur'.
[495] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 7, 9. Sagard used 'Huron', including in the sense of 'la langue Huronne', a total of 15 times, while the other two were only used once.
[496] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 686, 689, 693, 694.
[497] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 686, 687, 690.
[498] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 688.

pa[r]ticulier', a theory he later proved by translating a word from the language of 'des Souriquois Marchin … q[ui] est le nó[m] d'vn Capitaine Armouchiquois'. Although noting that each tribal leader had his own language that the people of his tribe spoke, Lescarbot remained vague about whether the 'Souriquois' were different from the 'Armouchiquois'; according to page 686, they were.[499]

In my opinion, Lescarbot's incoherence about which people spoke which language can be attributed to the fact that it did not really matter to him. He did take the time (and space) to identify the largest communities or groups on the American continent, a fact that should be seen in the light of breaking the second wave stereotype that the Natives were an undivided people and threat. However, Lescarbot argued that all Natives would have to learn French in order to become civil, so which language they spoke before this was of little importance. I will go deeper into this statement in the fourth section of the language chapter analysis.

Likewise, Sagard and Wood point to language variation outside of the demarcated 'Nations'. It is striking how adamantly Sagard distanced the 'Hurons' from these other tribes, claiming that their language was in no way related and therefore unique. The Wendat spoke an Iroquois language but where commonly politically allied with Algonquin-speaking tribes and often victims to raids by the other Iroquois Nations. Their radical separation was most likely a result of Sagard's inability to understand that people speaking the same language could be nemeses, as language had become a part of national identity in Europe. Also, there had been very little European contact with the Iroquois Nations, as these were (rumored to be) more violent and less tolerant of strangers. Furthermore, like Lescarbot, Sagard identified language variation on a very small scale, 'qu'vne mesme chose se dise vn peu differemment, ou tout autrement en vn lieu qu'en vn autre, dans vn mesme village, & encore dans vne mesme Cabane'.[500] This could point to different Wendat dialects and differences of pronunciation, which were undoubtably also present. However, in my opinion it is equally important to note how this passage provided Sagard with an easy escape from blame if the translations in his dictionary proved to be incorrect.

The elements detailed above provide a first glance at the presentation of Natives and their language in the early seventeenth century based on European frameworks of language origins and societal function. Lescarbot stressed that Natives were divided on a small scale, using a different language per village/chiefdom out of a second wave concern for European safety if permanent settlements were created. Brébeuf, on the other hand, carefully put forward a universal American language group, although this was only mentioned once. Furthermore, Lescarbot was vague on which peoples spoke which languages, as well as which languages he had encountered. However, he took an

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[499] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 688.
[500] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 6. Translation: That a same thing [they] say a little differently, or a totally other way in one place or another, in one same village, & also in a same hut.

inclusive stance towards 'our' Natives, which in addition to the vague outlines, seemed to be all of them. Wood, like Lescarbot, was vague in his description, using 'them' or 'they' with only three exceptions, in which case the exceptions did not refer to the 'Aberginians' but to the 'Tarrenteens'. As a result, his exclusive stance was very clear. This even went to the second degree, where he related the story of a preacher who could speak their language and was well liked by Natives as a result.[501] In this passage, the divide between the English and Native populations could only be bridged by specific people, most commonly clergy. Sagard shared the inclusive stance with Lescarbot but was clear about how different 'his' Natives were from the others in America due to the unique nature of their language. However, as I mean to demonstrate later, different did not necessarily mean better. Finally, the role of the Native speaker was minimized by Lescarbot's preference of using 'le langage/la langue' as the subject of sentences. Likewise, Wood used several synonyms for language but was generally very polite in his descriptions and preferred to refer to the sound of the language rather than its grammar. Sagard generally made very little distinction in his print between 'Huron' as a people or as a language. Likewise, Brébeuf hardly ever used 'le langage', instead stressing the importance of the speaker.

3.1.3   The Depiction of Knowledge of Native Languages

As illustrated above, in their descriptions of the encountered languages, the authors dedicated time and space to present theories on the origins of Native languages based on preexisting language theories and attempted to identify its speakers. The hypothesis each author defends on these two topics form the basic assumptions upon which each author further developed his opinion. How the authors conceived the languages was betrayed by how they chose to portray their knowledge in the language chapters included in their prints. For this reason, the following section is dedicated to the analysis of the discourse on the word and syntax levels.

A first element that provides insight into the discourse is the level of clarity used when describing the encountered language. For example, Lescarbot almost always wrote of 'the language', a very abstract notion. Because of this, it is not clear at several points in the chapter which language Lescarbot described. Furthermore, the chapter was narrated from the first person, which has the effect that Lescarbot's person became central to language encounters. In this way, there a subtle difference is created between 'the language of the Native Americans/of America' and 'the language I encountered while I was in America'. What adds to this framing is the lack of indications of place. While the chronology and geography of the 1606 voyage was explained in the second part of the print, Lescarbot

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[501] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 92.

left out any indications as to where he encountered which Natives and which language.[502] By contrast, Sagard's language chapter proved that a first-person narration did not necessarily result in Lescarbot's vagueness, as Sagard was able to clearly state which language he described. However, I do not intend to imply a negative correlation between vagueness and the explicit denomination, as Wood never and Brébeuf hardly ever spoke from the first person. In both their chapters, the language was never explicitly named, yet which language they described was clear.

In line with the hypothesis that Lescarbot could not or would not differentiate between different languages – which he attempted to cover up by making his chapter vague and difficult to read – was his use of tenses. All other authors used the present tense in the chapters. Lescarbot, however, used both the past and the present tense, all referring to four different 'times'. Sentences written in the present tense were used when Lescarbot addressed his reader with his own remarks or thoughts on a matter (i.e. I think that _) and when Lescarbot described how Natives spoke to him (i.e. They say/pronounce _). The past tense was used when Lescarbot addressed his reader on an action he had done before writing this passage (i.e. I mentioned in chapter 2, I read this in a book) or when the Natives did certain things before his arrival (i.e. They went to war, they used different words). As a result, Lescarbot not only failed to outline which Native tribe or language community he described, he also mixed the portrayal of both the present and past peoples of America. This can be seen in light of Lescarbot's tendency to generalize or as a part of his portrayal of a static America.

Upon closer inspection of Sagard's introduction, two contradictory discourses are visible. In the previous section of this chapter, I have noted that Sagard described Wendat quite respectfully. However, I must nuance this statement, as it is only true for the discourse before the tenth page of his introduction to the dictionary. On this tenth page, Sagard defended the imperfections that might have slipped into the translations. His first argument was rather administrative and technical, pointing to the banality of alphabetical perfection in any language and the short amount of time he had until the dictionary needed to be delivered to the printer.[503] From his second argument onward, however, the tone of the entire discourse changed. He stated the imperfections in the dictionary were because 'il est question d'vne langue sauuage, presque sans regle, & tellement imparfaicte'.[504] Where before he had used 'ils dissent … en la langue' or 'ils changent tellements leurs mots', the 'langue sauvage' from then on took precedence as the subject of sentences over the Natives who spoke the language.

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[502] Short recapitulation: Lescarbot's prints are divided into three parts; the first containing earlier French voyages, the second his own voyage report, and the third his descriptions of the inhabitants.

[503] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 10-11. In chapter 1, I have pointed out that Sagard's book was published eight years after he returned to France and that he was well aware that he was required to publish an account on the events of the journey. Furthermore, even if this is not the truth, it is impossible that he drafted the entire dictionary in ten to twelve days, as he said himself.

[504] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 10.

Together with the discourse becoming more abstract, as has been pointed out in Lescarbot's text, the language was described in a more negative sense.

A good example of this change towards a more negative portrayal of language was very clear in Sagard's opinions on how to learn Wendat grammar. On page eight and eleven, so before and after 'Secondement', he wrote two different sentences using almost the same words.[505] First, learning the grammar required 'la practique & le long usage de la langue qui peut user des regles; qui sont autant confuses & mal-aisees à cognoistre, comme la langue est imparfact', while later he stated: 'tout y est tellement confondu & imparfaict, … qu'il ny a que la pratique & le long usage qui y peut perfectionner les negligens & peu studieux'.[506] This sentence on page eleven was furthermore placed after the passage on page nine in which Sagard expressed his opinion that the Wendat language was at its most rudimentary form when he was there, and had known a devolution throughout time which could be reversed into a positive trend if the Wendat continued to care for the perfect forms. While Sagard noted this in a rather neutral sense, the sentence on page eleven turned this into something much more focused on the savage nature of the language.[507]

Next to polemic word choice and confusing tense use, the authors employed the structure of the text to convey their opinions on the Native languages. In each of the language chapters, the authors portrayed both the elements of the languages and their opinions and interpretations of these facts. By looking at how they portrayed their knowledge, the extent to which authors took responsibility for the information they provided can be uncovered. Furthermore, how their statements were substantiated sheds a light on how important they found their statements to be. For reasons of clarity, the five methods I distinguished are presented in the table below.[508]

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[505] On the tenth page, a new paragraph begins with the word 'Secondement' (secondly), which I have indicated as the begin of the changed tone.

[506] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 8-9, 11. Translation 8-9: practice & long use of the language which can use rules; which are as confusing & difficult to known, as language is flawed. Translation 11: Everything is so confusing & imperfect, … that there is only the practice & long use which can make perfect the failures & 'with little hard work'.

[507] The implications of savagery in all four language chapters will be analyzed in full later.

[508] For those interested, the statements are listed per author. **Lescarbot**: Babel was the origin of all languages; languages are different per tribe; languages change; languages are conform in two ways (same words, different meanings and same words, same meanings); languages changed because of war; pronunciation is easy (only in 1611); Natives have an 'ou' sound (Greek letter); some words end in '-a'; Natives cannot pronounce 'v', 'f', 'b', or 'p'; Natives can pronounce French well; Natives have a secret language; Natives need to learn French; first the words needed for conversion (only in 1611); Natives use certain numbers and words to indicate time; Natives have no clear conception of time. **Sagard**: Babel was the origin of all languages; Huron is different from all other languages; the language is difficult to pronounce; the language is different on a small scale; Natives have no intonation in their sentences; Natives do not use tenses; Natives have a lot of words; sometimes a sentence can be condensed into one word; the language changes; the language has no clear grammatical rules; the Canadian language is more organized than Huron; Natives need to be converted in their language. **Wood**: the language is unique; the language is hard to pronounce; Natives cannot pronounce 'l' or 'r'; every country/shire has its own language; Natives speak in long speeches that are not interrupted; the English clergy can speak the Natives'

	Lescarbot	Sagard	Wood	Brébeuf
Total amount of statements	13 (15 in 1611)	12	7	19
More than 1 argument	4 (6 in 1611)	1	1	3
Example as proof	4 (5 in 1611)	4	1	9
Unfounded explanation by the author as proof	3 (5 in 1611)	5	6	4
Comparison with Europe as proof	3 (5 in 1611)	1	1	4
Reference to literature as proof	5 (8 in 1611)	1	0	1
Bible	0 (2 in 1611)	1	0	1
Antiquity	1 (2 in 1611)	0	0	0
Contemporary author	4	0	0	0
No proof presented	2	2	0	4

Table 1: Method of proof provided to substantiate statements on the described language.

For each statement, the author used at least one of the five methods (addition of an example, comparison with a similar linguistic phenomenon in Europe, reference to relevant literature, substantiated based on a provided explanation, not substantiated) to justify the statement. In the graph, the number of different methods per statement are portrayed, not the total number of arguments provided for one statement, as often there are several of the same kind (e.g. referring to several Bible passages to incorporate different arguments). The most convincing of these methods was to provide an own example of a Native word and/or sentence in which the argued statement appeared to be true. To use this method, the author needed a thorough knowledge of the language in order to provide the correct example. As can be seen in the table, this type of verification was used by all authors, most often by Brébeuf. However, the complexity of the given examples varies. Brébeuf and Sagard, for instance, provided examples of the polysynthetic nature of the language: the first translating 'vn pied long' as '*Achitetsi*' and the latter 'donne-moy du poisson' as '*Taoxritan*'.[509] Lescarbot, on the other hand, provides more trivial examples of how some Native words end in '-a', like 'Banquet, *Tabaguia*' or 'Capitaine, *Capitaina*', for which no great knowledge of the language is required.[510]

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language; Natives speak English well. **Brébeuf**: Natives have a 'Khi' sound; Natives cannot pronounce 'b', 'f', 'l', 'm', 'p', 'x', 'z', and 'i', 'e', and 'u' are always consonants; Natives cannot pronounce labial consonants; Natives have no words for virtue, religion, science, or police; some words are entire sentences; Natives use divers 'genres'; in Natives' languages, there is a declension of the possessive pronoun; Natives conjugate adjectives; the name of a relative is always linked with a possessive pronoun; Natives cannot speak of the dead; there are different verbs for animate and inanimate objects; the Native language has more tenses than French; the Native language has a double conjugation; all American languages have double conjugation; verb form indicates both speaker, tense, and people spoken about; there are different conjugations for female speakers; Natives use of proverbs.

[509] Resp. Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 80. Translation: a long foot. Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 9. Translation: give me fish.

[510] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 693. Translation: feast, captain.

One other example that stands out is Brébeuf's example of double conjugation, for which he demonstrates it using the verb 'escrire', to write.[511] Although none of the authors explicitly mention that Natives had any kind of script, there are other implicit indications.[512] Lescarbot included a chapter 'Des Lettres' after 'Du Langage', and although the provided information only refers to European script, he does not explicitly state that Natives had no script.[513] Likewise, Sagard did not mention any writing ability in his introduction but did include 'escrire' in his dictionary.[514] The seventeenth century meaning of the word is ambiguous, but today the verb base '-hiaton-' translates as to write or to mark something.[515]

The second most popular method had very little scientific foundation, as the author would simply explain by means of a specific situation why a statement held truth. Most of what Wood described is substantiated in this manner. To give one example, Wood relayed the story of his experience in a Native governing council, thereby demonstrating how Natives spoke 'their minds at large, without any interjected interruptions from any'.[516] The difficulty with this method, however, is that the eyewitness testimony of the author could be twisted to serve the author's intentions, often to convince the reader of something entirely different. For example, when Lescarbot stated language changed over time, he described how there had been a war between Native tribes (the 'peuple en *Canada*' versus 'les Iroquois').[517] Such a war could point toward the disappearance of a certain tribe, and thus also their language, but does not necessarily point to language evolution.

Brébeuf often inserted stories that had little relevance to this initial statement. He provided a lot of detailed information, mostly using examples as proof, which increased his credibility. In some cases, the method was used to convey correct information. To give one example, Brébeuf indicated that Natives could not speak of the departed, as it would somehow harm them ('leur parler des morts qu'ils ont aymé, c'est les iniurier').[518] The personal encounter with this phenomenon related in the chapter is relevant to the statement and proves it to be true. In other cases, however, Brébeuf used this method to other purposes. An example of this is his testimony as to why the Wendat could not pronounce labial consonants; the reason being because 'ils ont tous les lévres ouuertes de si mauuaise

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[511] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 83. '*iehiaton*, j'escris, *chiehiatonc*, tu escris, *[i]hahiatonc*, il escrit, *aȣahiatonc*, nous escriuons, *jcȣahiatonc*, vous escriuez, *attihiatonc*, ils escriuent'.
[512] It is assumed that the Native people who are selected in this study had no script, as no European author mentioned that they did, and no evidence was ever found proving otherwise.
[513] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 697-699.
[514] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), *En-Es.* 'l'escris, i'escriray, 3. per. *Ayaton*. Escris, marque-le. *Séyaton, Séyatonqua, Chéyaton*. Escris-tu? aff. *Eyatonque*. Tu ne l'as pas escrit. *Téchéyatonque*'.
[515] "Dictionary Search: Écrire", Langue Wendat, accessed August 6, 2020, https://languewendat.com/en/recherche/?motcle=ecrire&langue=fr&catsem=&catmot=.
[516] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 92.
[517] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 690. Translation: the people in Canada.
[518] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 82.

grace'.[519] While it could be possible that Brébeuf often encountered Natives with their mouths open, this does not in the least explain why their language lacked labial consonants. Furthermore, instead of a linguistic element, this lack was attributed to their lack of civility, as Brébeuf clearly indicated that he considered their open hanging mouths to be rude.

The third method – comparison to a linguistic phenomenon in Europe – was only used to a small extent by Sagard and Wood. Sagard only used a comparison with the French language and its different dialects as an example why there were differences in pronunciation in Wendat.[520] Wood compared the trouble Natives had with pronouncing certain English words with how the Dutch were unable to pronounce 'th'.[521] Furthermore, Brébeuf made two comparisons between Wendat and Greek, who shared diverse genres and an abundance of tenses.[522] He also made a comparison between French and Latin and Wendat, all of which use double conjugation.[523] Lescarbot likewise compared the Native language to French, Latin, and Greek, in addition to Hebrew and German.

The fourth method of providing proof is implemented by referring to literature relevant to the statement. In this analysis, three types of literature are distinguished, as they were in chapter 2: the Bible, literature of Antiquity, and contemporary travelogues. Excluding Lescarbot, the overall level of intertextuality is rather low. Wood never referred to literature and both clergymen only referenced the Bible to substantiate one statement. For Sagard, this reference was to the story of Babel.[524] Considering the conclusion of chapter 2 that much of Sagard's work was influenced by Lescarbot, I believe that this passage has a double layer. The unwitting reader – who was oblivious to or simply not as well acquainted with Lescarbot's works – would have identified this passage as a Bible reference. However, as Sagard was clearly influenced by Lescarbot, it seems likely that he commenced the introduction with the idea.[525] This is furthermore substantiated by the fact that Sagard did not reference literature in any other passage.

Comparisons with Europe and references to literature were primarily used by Lescarbot. These two methods furthermore see the highest levels of additions in the 1611 reprint. In the 1611 edition, Lescarbot adds just two statements (each with more than one argument as proof) yet adds 8 (different) arguments to other statement. This, again, substantiates the hypothesis that Lescarbot's knowledge of the language was rather limited. The reprint can best be seen as an inflated version of the 1609 print to which personal stories, Bible stories, and references to literature of Antiquity were added. As can

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[519] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 79. Translation: They all have the 'open lips'/mouth hanging open, of very bad grace.
[520] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 5.
[521] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 91.
[522] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 80, 82.
[523] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 83.
[524] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 3.
[525] See chapter 2: in some passages, the wording is also identical.

be seen in Figure 1, the unsubstantiated statements remain without proof. Furthermore, one of the newly inserted statements concerns the language of conversion, which holds little information about the Native language and will be discussed later.[526] The addition that does provide language information is the insertion of a vocabulary list as proof that the Native language was easy to pronounce. However, its insertion was more likely due to aesthetic reasons, as its placement in the middle of the print renders the vocabulary list useless.[527]

Finally, some statements were slipped into the text with no proof of their veracity. In most cases, these statements were simple facts. Brébeuf, for example, did not provide arguments as to why most Native languages had more vowels than consonants or how Natives distinguished between animate and inanimate objects when conjugating.[528] In Sagard's introduction, one of the unproven statements is polemic, and states that the 'langue Canadienne' was superior to Wendat.[529] Only one statement – made by Lescarbot – is of extreme importance. Lescarbot hypothesized that Natives had a second, secret language, 'une langue particuliere qui est seulement à eux connuë', different from the language they spoke to the French 'a beaucoup the Ba[s]que entremelé', which was easier to understand.[530] However, the language they spoke amongst themselves was less comprehensible. In a short remark, he noted that this made him doubt his earlier theory on the vanishing of the language spoken at the time of Cartier's voyage, but he left this open. This reference to Cartier provided the illusion that this information came from Cartier, when in fact it did not.

The passage was more focused on the half-Basque language that Natives spoke to Europeans, which Lescarbot believed to be their main language. In describing the sounds Natives could and could not make, Lescarbot pointed out that most of their words end in '-a', much like Basque words. Based on these two passages and the discourse throughout the chapter, I hypothesize that Lescarbot thought this mixed language was the Natives' mother tongue.[531] This language, however, was created when the first Basque fishing expeditions went to the American East coast and came into contact with the Natives, and was from thereon used by several Native tribes for trade with Europeans, mixing words from Basque and different Native languages.[532] This explains why Lescarbot was so vague on the language's origin and the people who spoke it. The actual language of the Natives was only mentioned in this one sentence and was clearly not of great importance to Lescarbot.

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[526] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 695-969.
[527] This is also discussed in full later.
[528] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 79, 82.
[529] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 11.
[530] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 694. Translation: a language that is only known to them; had a lot of Bask mixed in it.
[531] For more information on the Basque pidgin in Northern America, see: Bakker, "'The Language of the Coast Tribes Is Half Basque'".
[532] Bakker, "'The Language of the Coast Tribes Is Half Basque'", 121.

Some statements received more than one kind of argumentation, as noted in the third row of Figure 1. This is most common in Lescarbot's chapter, who even used up to five different types of arguments (contemporary source, Bible as source, literature from Antiquity as source, comparison with Europe, and own explanation) to substantiate the conformity in Native languages in the 1611 edition.[533] The most interesting cases of multiple arguments appears in Brébeuf's chapter. Only three statements receive two arguments: double conjugation in all American languages, the polysynthetic nature of Wendat, and female conjugation. These first two are the most important statements Brébeuf made, with far reaching consequences. Double conjugation in all American languages implied the existence of languages families and language 'evolution', whereas the Wendat were previously seen as unique and all Natives as separate and with varying degrees of degeneracy. Furthermore, polysynthesis in Wendat led to difficulties in translations for God but also exposed Wendat as a highly complex language, whereas Native languages were commonly thought to be simple like their speakers. The double argumentation for female conjugation was therefore rather odd, as chapter 2 uncovered Brébeuf – unlike the other authors – did not include a chapter on Native women and minimized their presence in the rest of his book. In the language chapter, however, he filled an entire page on the differences in conjugation for a female speaker, substantiating this fact with examples and a musing as to why this was, based on the Bible.[534] Since Brébeuf felt no need to mention women's activities to his superior, the importance of this passage cannot be overlooked. Although women could be largely ignored in all other aspects of Native life, missionaries needed to understand and speak to women (even if only for conversional efforts) and thus needed to learn the female conjugation.

From this analysis, certain conclusions on how much responsibility the author took for his text can be identified. Of course, by providing an example of the statement one aimed to prove, the author took full responsibility and was sure of its truthfulness. In line of this hypothesis, the inclusion of other sources and opinions (method four) pointed to distancing, either stating the author's statement was based on presumably reliable information or that the conclusion was reached because of this added information. The latter pointed to an attempt by the author to integrate himself into the discourse of the time, something Lescarbot was clearly eager to do. It is therefore logical that in his language chapter his aim remained the same, although he provided his own opinion more often than in other chapters.[535]

In the case of William Wood, this analysis has demonstrated that he either gave examples or gave his own explanation to the perceived events. This link between truth and narrative can easily be

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[533] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 688-690.
[534] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 83- 84. Proverb 31:26 -loving instruction is on her tongue- was literally translated into French but not mentioned. Furthermore, there is a likewise difference in conjugation between male and female speakers in Greek, which Brébeuf failed to mention.
[535] See chapter 2.

explained by Wood's motivations as well. With his print, he aimed to convince people to settle in New England. As a result, while the perception of truth was of equally importance to the positive image Wood conveyed. His readers would not be convinced by knowledge of abstract grammar or outdated information. In Brébeuf's chapter, the same trend was visible. Like Wood, his work had a very specific purpose which explains this. Additionally, as has been pointed out in the previous chapter of this study, Brébeuf saw himself as an expert on Native culture, of which he was able to discern the aspects that would be most valuable in conversion efforts. Language was a part of this, in which case he either proved statements to his reader with a very specific example or forced his reader to rely on his expertise.

As for Sagard, this analysis based on the statement-proof method yielded little useful results on responsibility, of which he actually took very little. Considering the length of his introduction, as well as the expertise clearly demonstrated by the length of the dictionary that followed, Sagard's statements on the nature and essence of Wendat remained quite superficial.[536] Apart from this, throughout the introduction of the dictionary, Sagard regularly apologized for his work or distanced himself from the information it contained. A first element hereof was his continued persistence on how difficult Wendat was.[537] Furthermore, he stated that the entire page of examples of difference between Wendat and 'Canadien' words would have to 'suffire pour satisfaire & contenter ceux qui en auroient peu douter'.[538] His appeasement of the anonymous 'they' did not end with this passage. On the same page, he noted that 'they' were the reason he compiled the dictionary in the first place.[539] In a later paragraph, he defended himself against 'their' criticism on the unorderly structure of the dictionary which did not always strictly follow the alphabetical order.[540]

The extent of justification was in my opinion linked to the expected readership, which was somewhat different from the readership of *Le grand voyage*.[541] The latter could be read by anyone who was interested in travel writing on America, while the dictionary was meant to aid those who had direct contact with the Wendat. With this anticipation, Sagard provided an outline of the readers who would benefit most from the dictionary: those who often found themselves on Wendat land and who wanted to be able to correctly express themselves.[542] While Sagard had no notion of who these travelers would be, he seemed to understand that they were more critical of his language information

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[536] The dictionary will be discussed in the next part of this chapter. For now, it is sufficient to know that Sagard provided the most information on Native languages out of all early seventeenth century authors. In the 1632 print, the dictionary contained 130 pages, which is less than the number of pages Sagard originally drafted.
[537] Examples are found on almost all ten pages.
[538] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 5. Translation: suffice to satisfy & please those who could have doubted it.
[539] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 5.
[540] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 9-10.
[541] This difference was first explained in 1.1.3 and is a result of the differences in use. While a voyage report was read to provide information about America, a dictionary was used in America by those readers who needed it.
[542] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 8.

than the average French reader who would most likely never see American soil. By stressing its difference from other languages and great level of variation in dialects, he could escape scrutiny should traders or travelers have noted that the information was not as reliable as they expected.

Additionally, in what is clearly false modesty, Sagard stressed his own insecurity on his capacity to provide correct information many times. This motif of self-loathing is clearly a reoccurring trope, as it was also uncovered by the analysis of Sagard's first impression, detailed in chapter 2. His failure to speak the Wendat language he linked to his being 'fort incapable de faire quelque chose de bien', a rather pitiful description of one's abilities.[543] This sentiment was present throughout the introduction: his dictionary -'imparfaict en beaucoup de choses'- was 'grossement dressé', did not follow the alphabetical order, did not include some of the more basic words, and was in some dialect regions completely useless.[544] Furthermore, some of the dictionary's shortcomings Sagard blamed on the printer – who had not provided enough time to polish the dictionary and had ignored his notes and markings, capitalized letters, and specific exceptions.[545] His deliberate underestimation of his own capacities and refusal to take responsibility for the structure or user friendliness of the dictionary would have successfully lowered reader expectations to the point where any reliable information would have been praised.

3.1.4   The Conception of Native Languages

Although methods to present information to the reader and the responsibility of each author was greatly variable, the authors provided answers on a variety of similar topics. I have divided this part of the chapter into three sections based on three encompassing subjects, each section containing answers to more specific questions. The first section – titled 'Language Progress' – will focus on the conception of language conformity and language modification in light of European conceptions of linear and eschatological time. These two elements belong to the subject which revolves around the origin, existence, and formation of indigenous American languages, which was in part analyzed in the previous section of this chapter. The second section, named 'What are Native language?', will investigate the differences of opinion of the essence of Native languages. As also seen above, several factors influenced the authors' understanding of how the languages worked, just as the presentation of their understanding did not necessarily correlate with their actual knowledge. This section will therefore analyze the authors' opinions on how difficult Native languages were, and how well they

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[543] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 5. Translation: [being] very incapable of doing something right.
[544] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 9, 5, 9, 8, 6. Translation 9: imperfect in many things. Translation 5: roughly drawn up.
[545] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 10.

knew its details, exceptions, and social implications. The third section – 'Can the Native Speak?' – goes deeper into the difficulties that arose from Native speech. In this section, special attention will be given to the authors' opinions on the extent and limits of Native languages, as well as the Natives' ability to communicate in European languages, as these themes heavily influence the discourse.

Language Progress

In the first and second part of this chapter, this study has demonstrated how each author's conception of the events of and after Babel varied, both in terms of the godly origin of indigenous languages and the distinction between peoples based on language communities.[546] A third element of the origin and formation of Native languages was their conformity. The element of language conformity relates to similarities between languages to prove or disprove a collective point of origin from which languages had deviated throughout time and were influenced by other languages during this process. For European languages, conformity and change had been established in Early Modern terms. Critical reevaluation of primary sources during the Renaissance had demonstrated how Latin and Greek evolved and which elements were typical to each era.[547] Furthermore, studies into medieval vernacular works clearly showed how these languages had also undergone change. Likewise, similarities in sounds and spellings were undeniable. For example, Latin, Hebrew, and Greek were seen as sacred and immortal languages.[548] Opposed to them stood the vernaculars, whose origins were not said to be found in these languages but were instead 'created' separately, and from which dialects derived.[549] Furthermore, all European languages were thought to be influenced by other languages in their proximity.

Lescarbot presented these theories in his print, using the examples of European languages to imply a similar process in American languages.[550] He had a dual interpretation of language conformity.

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[546] This study only scratches the surface of the implication of Babel. For more information, see: Arno Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel: Geschichte Der Meinungen Über Ursprung Und Vielfalt Der Sprachen Und Völker*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1957).

[547] Perhaps the most famous example of this is Lorenzo Valla's criticism on the *Donatio Constantini*, proving it was a forgery. For more information, see: Salvatore I. Camporeale, "Lorenzo Valla's 'Oratio' on the Pseudo-Donation of Constantine: Dissent and Innovation in Early Renaissance Humanism", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 57, no. 1 (1996): 9–26.

[548] Irven M. Resnick, "Lingua Dei, Lingua Hominis: Sacred Language and Medieval Texts", *Viator* 21 (January 1, 1990): 51.

[549] As mentioned before, this was based on the belief that after Babel, God had created 69 or 72 languages for Man, from which all possible languages or dialects originated. There was, however, little agreement on the number of languages, or on which the originals and which the variations were. For more information concerning this topic in a Spanish context, see: Kathryn A. Woolard, "Bernardo de Aldrete and the Morisco Problem: A Study in Early Modern Spanish Language Ideology", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, no. 03 (July 2002).

[550] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 189-690. An interesting note on the comparison between American and European languages is that in the European examples, Lescarbot implied that French not only borrowed form Greek and Hebrew, but that it also lent words to Greek. Furthermore, he ignored the connection between French and Latin.

First, he noted that all American languages shared similar words; their meaning determined by geography.[551] Secondly, he argued for the existence of universal words that were and meant the same thing, even on different continents. For the latter theory, he chose the example of 'Sagamos', which had been noted in other travel writing and could furthermore be found in the Bible as a word used by several peoples in Antiquity.[552] In this passage, he noted that the 'Armeniens Scythes', 'Tolosains', and 'Tectosages' also had words for king similar to 'Sagamos'.[553] Since theories existed in the seventeenth century that one of these peoples spoke the Edenic language, this passage must be interpreted to at least hint that Lescarbot believed Native languages had originated from this same Edenic language. As was uncovered in chapter 2, Lescarbot had a habit of hinting at the mysterious origins of the Americas.[554] The other authors were less willing to rely on theories of language conformity. Brébeuf only mentioned it once, when hypothesizing that verb conjugation would be uniform in all Native languages, although he did not comment on theories of shared origins.[555] Sagard and Wood dismissed language conformity altogether, explicitly stressing the unique nature of the languages they encountered.[556]

Opinions were much more diverse on the subject of language change. Any sort of indication of change throughout time in America was of great importance as it had far reaching consequences for the image of the Natives. In the previous chapter of this study concerning Native culture, several conceptions were identified. Elements of noble and pure savagery were dominant in this humanist discourse, portraying the Native as equal to known European peoples of Antiquity. In this discourse, God had placed a veil over America when he isolated it from the rest of the world, halting all progress and possibly even the passage of time. Partisan to the static conception of Natives and their language, Brébeuf and Wood in no way indicated that they had any reason to believe Native languages changed throughout time. Brébeuf's previously analyzed statement on the Natives' lack of understanding of certain concepts proved that their development had been frozen at an early stage.[557] Furthermore, Wood's clear delineation of the four shires as well as a separate language for each shire portrayed a similar static image.

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[551] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 688-689.

[552] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 689. The examples from the Bible were only added to the 1611 edition.

[553] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 689. Scythian was believed to be an ancestor of German. The comparison of Natives to these people was most likely due to their shared nomadic nature. For more information about the Scythians, see: Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 124-128. 'Tolosains', as the name and context imply, were an ancient people from the region of Toulouse, France. Likewise from France, 'Tectosages' were believed to originate from Gaul. For more information on seventeenth century theories on the origins of languages, see: Metcalf, *On Language Diversity and Relationship from Bibliander to Adelung*.

[554] In the analysis on Native religion, it was noted how Lescarbot incorporated a myth on an orally passed on tradition that he believed to have pre-Flood origins.

[555] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 83.

[556] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 5; Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 91.

[557] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 80.

Sagard and Lescarbot, on the other hand, conveyed a picture with more room for movement. However, both authors took very different methods to come to very different conclusions. Sagard voiced his opinions on the possibility of changes in Native languages over time in a paragraph on the 'instabilité' of languages.[558] A first noteworthy aspect here was that Sagard placed the Natives as the primary motor of change, noting 'Nos Hurons, […] changent tellement leur mots'.[559] Continuing in a passive voice, he stated that their present language was different from 'l'ancien Huron' and would keep changing.[560] Remarkably, he mentioned a positive evolution: 'car l'esprit se subtilise, & vieillissant corrige les choses, & les met dans leur perfection'.[561] Furthermore, Sagard stated that Native languages would evolve into their perfect form without the aid of Europeans' tutelage. Although this remains just a single passage by one author on a very specific topic, its significance must be noted. It radically went against all beliefs of Natives' dependence on Europeans, especially in terms of education and language education, and would not have been expected by any of Sagard's readers.[562]

In contrast to the rather static image Lescarbot portrayed throughout his book, in the language chapter he included the probability of change.[563] He first noted that this was true for European languages – taking the example of French during the reign of Charlemagne – thereby implying that the same was true for American languages. His practical basis for this theory was completely based on the vocabulary list added to Cartier's first voyage report.[564] The content of this list, as well as its relevance as Lescarbot's source on this topic will be thoroughly uncovered in the next part of this study, concerning direct translations. It is important to note here that, when comparing the translations Cartier had made to the language he had encountered while on his voyage, Lescarbot was surprised to learn that only one word – *Caracona*, the word for bread – corresponded with what he knew. From this, he concluded that Cartier's vocabulary could not be of further use to 'noz François qui[ ]y [han]tent aujourd'huy', as it contained information about a language that was no longer existed.

To further prove this point, Lescarbot added a comparison of the numbers from one to ten in four languages to his print. The first language was labeled 'Ancien' and was a perfect copy of the numbers Cartier had provided.[565] A parallel column was labeled 'Nouveau', in which very different names for numbers were visible, proving Lescarbot's point. Under these two, two other columns were inserted. The first named 'Les Souriquois disent' and the second 'Les Etechemins'. Apart from the

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[558] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 9. Translation: instability.
[559] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 9. Translation: Our Hurons always change their words.
[560] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 9. Translation: ancient Huron.
[561] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 9. Translation: because the spirit becomes more subtle/refined, & aging corrects things, & puts them in their perfection.
[562] As a side note on this topic, the inclusion of such a positive element made the contradiction between the discourse on the first ten pages and the last three even more extreme.
[563] Lescarbot's static conception was uncovered in chapter 2.
[564] See 1.1.1 Jacques Cartier.
[565] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 688. Translation: ancient.

number ten in 'Souriquois' and 'Nouveau' there are no likenesses between any of the columns. Furthermore, it implies that the 'Nouveau' language – which was apparently different from Souriquois and Etchemin – was the languages Lescarbot primarily wrote about in his chapter on languages. The most prominent element of this paragraph was that Lescarbot argued that languages could change to great extents, which recognized the dynamic nature of Native languages. This stood in sharp contrast with his otherwise rather static interpretations, which placed Natives in need of European education.

A final element of language change in Lescarbot's chapter was again linked to the voyage report of Cartier. Lescarbot hypothesized that there had been a war during the second half of the sixteenth century, where the tribes Cartier encountered – who Lescarbot believed spoke an Algonquin language – had been wiped out by a large army of 'les Iroquois'.[566] In this passage, he concluded that this must have been the reason the language had changed, since the Natives now living in the region were active in the fur trade, something Cartier's Natives had not been. The passage is puzzling. Did Lescarbot believe the original inhabitants had been wiped out altogether and others had taken their place? Had Natives changed their entire societal organization as a result of the war, also changing their language? Had the 'Iroquois' been justified in the 'destruction de peuple' because the Natives after the war were more susceptible to French domination?[567] Whatever he believed, however, his theories held little truth as he had wrongly interpreted Cartier's report, an important point that will be uncovered in detail later on.

What Are Native Languages?

At the beginning of the exploration of the American continent, it was entirely unsure whether the American 'humans' could speak at all.[568] Of course, the Natives that encountered European expedition were not mutes and most definitely undertook attempts at communication. In the accounts of Harriot and Cartier, Natives were told to scream unintelligibly at European vessels.[569] However, not all

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[566] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 690. Translation: the Iroquois. This referred to all tribes speaking an Iroquois language but was most likely used to name those east of the St. Lawrence River, among which the Five Nations.
[567] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 690. Translation: destruction of the people.
[568] Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse", 563.
[569] This has been uncovered in chapter 1.

European voyagers portrayed the Natives with the ability of speech; something that can be overlooked easily as this study primarily focusses on the accounts that did portray language. Opinions on the extent of the level and capacity of speech by Natives was also diverse: the most radical theory denied the Natives could speak at all. [570] On the other side of the spectrum, for example, Gregorio García noted in 1607 that Natives had many languages with many difficult words, a curse put upon them by the devil to impede the work of missionaries.[571] Most theories lay somewhere between the two extremes, holding to speech impairment but classifying this obstacle as surmountable.[572]

The most common portrayal of Native languages was that they were simplistic.[573] In travelogues from other colonial regions, Native speech was often reduced to encompass only the most basic needs in the shortest way possible. These passages were never meant to portray a truthful picture of speech and were included to accentuate European superiority.[574] In the travelogues from Northern America, however, this portrayal was different. The only author to portray Native languages as easy was Lescarbot. In the 1611 print, the section on pronunciation began with an inserted paragraph and three pages of translated words as proof of the facility of pronunciation.[575] At the end of these rather simple translations, Lescarbot nonetheless stated that he did not portray the entirety of the language but only enough translations to prove his point.[576]

In my opinion, Lescarbot certainly did not believe that language was easy, as his vagueness implied that he could not speak it and possibly could not even tell different languages apart. His motivation for presenting a simplistic language should instead be credited to his conception of humanity. In his print, Lescarbot valiantly defended Natives' equality on the condition that they were educated. In this defense it would be logical for Lescarbot to minimize the difficulties in communication and emphasizing the unity of mankind whose languages had originated at Babel, had been influenced by others, and had grown into their current forms. As part of 'global' humanity, Natives' languages were similar to those of other peoples and therefore easy to learn. Furthermore, his positive stance on colonization and seamless integration of Natives into European cultural structures was also reflected in this passage. The inferior Natives with their simple language would rejoice to be educated, converted, and finally civilized.

The other authors stood in stark contrast with their contemporaries, each highlighting how difficult the Natives' language was and how different they were from European languages. Sagard

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[570] Greenblatt quoted Columbus on this matter.
[571] Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse", 563.
[572] Greenblatt quoted Cartier and Lescarbot on this matter.
[573] Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse", 571.
[574] Greenblatt noted that even Las Casas, one of the most passionate advocates for the ethical treatment of Spanish American Natives, was guilty of such a portrayal.
[575] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 690-693.
[576] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 693.

relayed his own hardships integrating into a community he could not communicate with, although he thought the main difficulty of learning the language was the internal differences.[577] As for speaking: even if the reader had a firm grasp of the vocabulary, the lack of intonation and confusion about tenses and conjugation would still make the language incomprehensible.[578] Brébeuf's opinions on the difficulty were not explicitly expressed. However, he explained a lot of grammatical rules, some of which were unheard of in any of the known languages and the majority of which were not present in French.[579] Nonetheless, on the matter of vocabulary, Brébeuf did emphasize a lack of depth when it came to complex conceptions such as virtue and religion.[580] This is rather paradoxical, considering Brébeuf dedicated no less than four chapters detailing very complex Native religious concepts and practices.

Moreover, chapter 2 uncovered that Brébeuf included the words for their concepts into his work, for example the five parts of the soul. This proved to Brébeuf's readers that Natives could understand such complex conceptions, which makes the derogatory comment odd. However, the more nuanced chapters on religion were part of the second section of Brébeuf's print, while the chapter on language was included in the first section titled 'De la conversion, Baptesme & heuresse mort de quelques Hurons, & de l'Estat du Christianisme en ceste Barbarie'.[581] Nonetheless, it is equally true that Brébeuf believed that Natives could not grasp certain concepts. The concepts for virtue, religion, science, and police were European concepts, and although they had Native equivalents, they could not be understood by Natives as they had no conception of anything European.[582]

Wood took the most radical stance on difficulty. He explicitly stated that the language was difficult for English speakers and that few could do it. Furthermore, he described how Natives preferred to speak in long speeches – harangues – that went uninterrupted and were often answered by more long speeches. The manner of speaking went unnoted by the other authors, with the exception of Sagard in a different book published at a later time.[583] Because Native languages had always been portrayed as simple and only capable of short sentences, the fact that Natives could form long sentences, let alone form harangues, was generally not believed in Europe. Wood's mention of

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[577] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 5.
[578] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 7.
[579] Brébeuf often had to compare Wendat to Greek or Hebrew in order to properly explain how Native speech worked. The known languages, of course, refer to the languages which were known in the seventeenth century, which excludes almost every non-European language.
[580] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 80.
[581] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 4. Translation: On conversion, Baptism & celebrated death of some Hurons, & on the State of Christianity in this Barbary.
[582] Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse", 572.
[583] For more information of Sagard's *Histoire du Canada* and Sagard's description of harangues, see: Peter Murvai, "« Qui harangue le mieux est le mieux obey ». La parole « sauvage » dans l'Histoire du Canada de Gabriel Sagard", *Études littéraires* 47, no. 1 (2016): 65–76.

this was therefore a dissident opinion in both the dominant discourse as well as the English discourse which had given up on the 'unreconstructable' savage in 1622.

In the analyzed travelogues, the authors based their idea on what language was on the knowledge they gathered on their voyages. The author who had the best understanding and knowledge of the language he encountered was Brébeuf, who was able to identify grammatical structure and correctly portrayed the polysynthetic nature of Wendat vocabulary. Sagard was also well versed in the language but seemed to be increasingly frustrated by its complexity and the extent of the elements he could not understand. In his opinion, however, with intensive study the language could be mastered by non-native speakers.[584] Lescarbot could probably not speak the language he described, which even he seemed to have difficulties identifying. He nonetheless acted like he had mastered it with ease, as others would too. Finally, Wood made it clear that he could not speak his Natives' tongue and that few could, but that this was possible for the persistent.

Can the Native Speak?

Based on their own knowledge and ideas, the authors outlined what Natives were able or unable to say. In their chapters, authors wrote of the sounds that were common in Native words or provided examples of words by translating certain things. These translations were done through the Latin alphabet and thus portrayed a phonetic spelling that was meant to come as close as possible to the actual heard word. The imposing of the Latin alphabet had many colonial connotations involved with power structures and European dominion.[585] The most remarkable consequence, however, was that the alphabet was simply not equipped to properly reduce Native speech to writing. Sounds they could pronounce that the authors could not are of little importance here, as the authors would most likely not have been able to tell. An exception to this were two Greek letters '8' and 'khi', the first noted by Lescarbot and Brébeuf, the latter only by Brébeuf. [586] Some other mentions of sounds were more ambiguous. For example, Brébeuf noted 'X' as a letter that Natives could not pronounce. This statement is furthermore confusing as 'X' appears in many French words in different capacities. The fact that 'Z' was also included in this list led me to believe that the sounds he wished to convey with 'X' was similar to this.[587] However, it is more likely that Brébeuf wanted to convey that Natives could not combine a 'K' with an 'S'.

More interesting were the sounds Natives could not pronounce. While labial consonants were indeed not found in Iroquois languages, most of the theories concerning a lack of speech were based

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[584] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 5.
[585] Errington, *Linguistics in a Colonial World*, 5.
[586] This is the 'ou' sound in French. Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 79.
[587] French words beginning with 'X' were often pronounces similarly to 'Z'.

on symbolic sounds. The most prominent and most visible in these sources were the letters L, R, and F.[588] The origin of this motif probably came from the Italian Jesuit Maffei whose *Le istorie delle Indie orientali* was published in the late sixteenth century, at which point the three missing letters became a symbolic indication of Natives' savagery.[589] Unlike other letters, the fact that these were missing from Native speech was generally seen as highly problematic, as they were the first letters of Lex, Rex, and Fides.[590] The motif therefore symbolized the difficulties Natives would have integrating in European structures and was primarily used in the context of the holy concepts of Christianity. [591]

It is quite remarkable how well this motif was hidden in the analyzed chapters, as none of the authors include all three letters and none explicitly mention why these letters were important. Instead, in every analyzed chapter, the motif lingers in the background. First, Lescarbot mentioned the letters of the motif throughout his book.[592] In his language chapter, however, they were not repeated, although he mentioned Maffei ('Maffeus') and his '*Histoire*' by name.[593] Next, Wood stated Natives could not say L or R. The language of the Tarrateens, for example, 'runne so much upon the *R*, that they wharle much in pronunciation'.[594] For Massachusset, the example Wood used was the word 'Lobster', which he spelled 'Nobstann' in Native pronunciation.[595] Also, as will be discussed later, all three letters were left out of Wood's vocabulary list.

Sagard and Brébeuf both excluded F from Native speech on the basis that it was a labial consonant, but their opinions on L and R differed. First, neither explicitly stated Natives could not pronounce the R. Sagard implicitly indicated this by inserting the Native equivalent of his name – 'Auiel' – in an earlier chapter.[596] When compared with 'Gabriel', the G and R are missing, and the B has become a V.[597] The L, however, was still there. Brébeuf, on the other hand, did not mention the Natives' difficulty with R, but did explicitly exclude the L from their speech.[598] Another contradictory element glimpsed in Sagard's spelling of his name was the letter 'U', which can be read as either 'U, 'W', 'V', or even 'OU/8'. However, since 'V' is a labial consonant and Brébeuf noted that in Wendat 'iamais I. E. V.

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[588] 'F' is also a labial consonant.
[589] Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World*, 133.
[590] Also Loi, Roi, Foi in French.
[591] Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, 163.
[592] For example on pages 6, 157, and 159.
[593] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 689.
[594] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 92. 'Wharle' referred to the 'w' or 'ou' sound made in the English dialect spoken in Northumberland to replace the R. Based on: Joan C. Beal, *English Pronunciation in the Eighteenth Century: Thomas Spence's Grand Repository of the English Language* (Oxford University Press, 2002), 167.
[595] Note how both L and R become N.
[596] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 87. His opinions on the pronunciation of certain letters was not part of the introduction to the dictionary but was provided in *Le grand voyage*.
[597] The B/V difficulty was also noted by Lescarbot (1611, p. 693) who compared it to Spanish.
[598] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 79.

ne leur sont consones', Sagard's name was likely made purely out of vowels with the possible exception of 'L'.[599]

All authors agreed that there were limits to what Natives could say, either concerning letters and sounds or, like Brébeuf, concerning the ideas behind certain words. However, in their texts, a narrative convention provided the idea that all conversations between Europeans and Natives went rather smoothly and in the European language.[600] Furthermore, the authors also explicitly state the level of understanding Natives had for European languages. Wood described how Massachusset Natives could speak English fluently, using it almost every day, and thereby 'puzling stranger *Indians*, which sometimes visite them'.[601] Likewise, Lescarbot noted Natives had picked up some French words 'par longue hantise' by the French.[602] Here, Natives were portrayed to actively resist learning French and only being able to speak those words that were forced on them. I hypothesize that Lescarbot meant words used in a trading context, as French travelers in this period were only motivated to seek out – or 'harass' – Natives for trade. Nonetheless, Lescarbot did note that some Natives could speak and pronounce French better than some of the native French, like the Gascon and Parisian.[603]

Sagard never spoke of the Natives' ability to speak French throughout the introduction. An explanation for this could be that, if he stated that the Natives could speak French, there would be no need for a dictionary on their language. However, in other parts of *Le grand voyage*, the use of French in conversations between the two cultural groups was implied. The conversations were long and sometimes concerning abstract notions, and Sagard often described other Frenchmen being present and actively taking part in these conversations. The narrative convention was also present in Brébeuf's book but was less prevalent. Brébeuf had demonstrated at an early stage of the book that he was capable of speaking Wendat and could therefore present information he had learned in conversations in Wendat as well.

3.1.5   Language of the Uncivil?

The demand for information of Native languages by French and English readers was quite large.[604] However, the interest in the exotic languages did not generate the belief that it was useful. In order to

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[599] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 79. Translation: I. E. V. are never consonants for them. In Latin, and seventeenth century French, I and J, and U and V were interchangeable. It is unclear, however, how 'E' could possibly be a consonant, in French or any other language. Its addition to this list is very odd.
[600] Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse", 572.
[601] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 92.
[602] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 695. Translation: by being pestered for a long time.
[603] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 694. Lescarbot noted the Parisians sometimes switched the 'r' and 'z' sounds. The examples he gave on page 694 were 'mon courin/cousin' (my cousin) and 'mon mari/mazi' (my husband).
[604] Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, 47.

operate properly in the colonial society, Natives would have to learn European languages, as they were believed to be more civil. This was connected to the fear that Europeans who traveled to America might lose their civility as Natives had, the most outspoken feature of which was visible in discourse on skin color and tanning.[605] Although the selected authors portrayed Natives with an adequate capacity of speech, the belief that Native languages were little more than gibberish would persist throughout the century.[606] Why Natives were thought to be less able of speech went back on theories on humanity and civility. In biblical terms, speech was what separated men from beasts, as Men had been the only of God's creations that had the ability to speak. As a result, a person's speech reflected their nature. Furthermore, the ability to speak was not something static, but could be lost. The Wild Man, for example had lost his speech during his isolation: a metaphor which was interpreted quite literally. If the Wild Man was then 'recivilized' he would regain his ability to speak. This last conclusion linked speaking to civility, and learning to speak to becoming more civil. Perhaps the most famous example of this was Caliban, Prospero's savage slave in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, who had been found with only the ability to curse.[607] As discussed in chapter 1, *The Tempest* was inspired by the work of William Strachey. Furthermore, in this example, the portrayal of the savage as a wild brute half-man who could not speak clearly symbolized how he could not be left to his own devices. How these ideas influenced the language chapters is therefore the topic of the last part of this chapter.

Language and Conversion

In the previous chapter, the authors' stances on Native religion and the difficulties for conversion were discussed. In the chapters on religion that were analyzed, already some Native words crept into the texts. Likewise, the conception of the afterlife was portrayed to be a viable alternative to explain the Christian afterlife. It is therefore not surprising that the only element all authors agreed on was that language would be instrumental in the conversion of Natives to Christianity. The link between language and conversion is undeniable: it was even visible in passages that seemingly had no religious motives whatsoever. The first studies into Native languages were done by Spanish clergy and was not done out of interest, but rather in order to convert Natives faster.[608] Worldly voyagers originating from Spain, as noted before, ignored Native speech or went as far as to deny it altogether. In the Northern

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[605] Skin color was shortly discussed in chapter 2 in the texts of Smith and Strachey which stated that Natives were naturally white skinned, and their complexion was the result of tanning by the sun. If they were to stay out of the sun, their skin would revert to white. Likewise, Europeans did not need to fear tanning in hotter climates, as their 'whiteness' would return to them.
[606] Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse", 564.
[607] Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse", 570.
[608] Elliott, *The Old World and the New*, 34.

territories, there was no such divide in language interests. However, the first concern for integration was to cure the Natives of their savagery by means of conversion.

Lescarbot's opinion on the practical utility of Native languages and language education was added to his 1611 print, where it is clear that he believed Native languages were simply useless. In order to become civil, the Natives needed to learn French.[609] Their education in French furthermore had to begin with teaching them the necessary vocabulary to understand Christianity, because 'il ne les [o]nt surcharger de langues inconuës'.[610] His opinion was based on quotes of St. Paul and St. Chrysostom which both stressed the necessity of understanding prayers in the profession of faith. Sagard agreed with the statements that prayers should be understood by the people but used this as an argument in favor of conversion of Natives in their own language. In fact, Sagard's dictionary was primarily drafted to 'ayder ceuw qui entreprendront ce voyage, pour le salut & la conversion de ces pauures Sauuages Hurons'.[611] The difference in conclusions based on the same principle was a result of the different contexts of Lescarbot and Sagard.

In Lescarbot's next passage, he criticized the Catholic Church's firm stance to not translate the essential parts of Christianity into vernacular languages, pointing out that it was impossible for Natives to learn both Latin and French and that an exception should be made for them.[612] He was extremely careful in this passage, noting that he was *not* of the opinion that regular Church services should likewise be in the vernacular and that if such a translation of scripture was made, they would have had to be 'approuvez de no[z] Evéques & Docteurs'.[613] Furthermore, he felt justified to point out this need for change since 'en l'assemblée Ecclesiastique [de] Trente le Conseil de France a trouvé bon po[ur] la general union de l'Eglise, & consolation d[es] ames', in which case translations of religious texts to French 'se peut à beaucoup meilleu[r] raison accorder à ces pauures Sauuages'.[614] Although Lescarbot's words were not unusual for a reform-minded Catholic, criticism regarding Church matters would not have gone unnoticed by the Protestant leader of the 1606 expedition, Sieur de Poutrincourt.[615] Whether Lescarbot truly believed conversion would be most successful if Natives were

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[609] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 695.

[610] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 695. Translation: it does not overload them with unknown languages.

[611] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 11. Translation: helping those who undertake the journey, for the greeting and the conversion of the poor Huron Savages.

[612] For more information of Early Modern Catholicism and the extent to which the Church allowed vernacular translations, see: John W. O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013).

[613] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 696. Translation: approved by our Bishops and Doctors (i.e. religious experts).

[614] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 696. Translation: in the Ecclesiastical assembly [of] Trent the Council of France approved the general union of the Church, & consolation of souls; is all the more reason to grant it for these poor Savages.

[615] In 1.1.2 I have outlined that Lescarbot's religion is still debated. Although he is believed to be Catholic, he often spoke out against the clergy in New France on behalf of Sieur de Poutrincourt.

taught French and converted in French or whether he simply took this change to criticize Catholic missionary action, can be debated.

For Sagard and Brébeuf, there was no debate on the matter: Natives needed to be converted in their own language, in their case Wendat. This stance went back on the French Catholic language strategy that was outlined by Jesuit Pierre Biard between 1614 and 1620.[616] This three-step strategy started with all missionaries learning the Natives' language. After this, they were expected to present their knowledge in books and dictionaries for others to learn from. Finally, when their own knowledge was good enough, they were expected to start translating the principal religious texts. Although this strategy was accepted and to varying levels enforced within each religious order, the disorganized and impermanent nature of the first missions had as effect that missionaries did not always follow these steps.[617] Sagard was clearly in the second stage. Brébeuf's language chapter cannot fully be understood in this language strategy, as it fits into none of the three stages. Brébeuf did note that he provided this chapter 'attendant vne Grammaire, & Dictionnaire entier', which would put him in the first stage.[618] However, Brébeuf had completed a first translation of the Christian Doctrine in 1630.[619] The lack of discipline in following the outlined structures can be attributed to a lack of central organization that oversaw missionary efforts.

The main topic of Brébeuf's chapter on language was conversion. Apart from his lengthy explanations of verb forms and conjugation, Brébeuf contributed to the debate on the problem of correctly portraying the essence of God. Wendat had two problems: 'Father' could not exist separate from a possessive pronoun and the Wendat refused to speak of people that had died. To pray to *a* holy father who *was in heaven* was thus not possible, not to mention the concept of the Holy Trinity. Brébeuf provided the simple solution of God as 'nostre Pere': *our* Father, *his* Son, and *their* holy Spirit.[620] This was backed by three Bible verses which likewise used 'our' as the possessive pronoun for Father. He did not, at this point, propose an answer for their residence 'aux Cieux'.

In Wood's chapter, the only mention he made of conversion was an anecdote on an English preacher.[621] In this passage, it becomes clear that learning and speaking Native languages was only done by the clergy who wished to convert them. In Wood's opinion, Native languages were only useful in the context of conversion and could be largely ignored by settlers. This passage again refers to Wood's belief that the Massachusett Natives were a noble and pure people, to whom 'civility' could only bring corruption. The clergymen who aimed to convert the Natives were portrayed as exceptions,

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[616] Guillorel, "Gérer la « confusion de Babel »", 180-181.
[617] Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France*, 61.
[618] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 79. Translation: while waiting on a full Grammar and Dictionary.
[619] Hanzeli, *Missionary Linguistics in New France*, 55.
[620] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 81-82.
[621] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 92.

rather radical. Since education on English was not necessary – as Natives spoke it already – and conversion was done by others, he implied that the 'average' settler should not be concerned with these matters.

In the other authors' passages on conversion, however, the discourse was less positive than Wood's and also less positive than the other parts of their chapters. This is most clear in Lescarbot's and Sagard's texts, where the Natives were normally referred to by their 'tribal' name. On the topic of conversion, however, the authors preferred to use the term 'les pauures Sauvages'.[622] Brébeuf never referred to the Wendat by any name, and therefore did not use this term, but had already ascertained their inferiority in the first part of language chapter: their mouths hung open all the time and they had no conception of virtue, religion, science, or police. This last element points to the problem that some Christian concepts were hard to explain to Natives and was also noted by Lescarbot and Sagard, although respectively in a different print and in a different chapter.

Savagery in language

Although the authors successfully nuanced the image that Natives could not speak, as their savage nature guaranteed their developmental stagnation at the level of a child, their discourse was not free from the demeaning sentiment of the seventeenth century. These elements were inserted in the chapters with varying levels of subtility. The mention of Maffei in Lescarbot's text would have required a great level of background knowledge to link this name to the Lex, Rex, Fides motif. Likewise discreet was Wood's silence on the language of the 'Mowhacks', the most savage of '*Indians*'. In the first chapter of his print, however, these Natives were discussed at length, at which point Wood mentioned their war cries: 'We come we come to suck your blood'.[623] It is unlikely that a reader forgot about this horrific war cry. Nonetheless, in the language chapter the 'Mowhacks' of the West were mute. I hypothesize that Wood did not want to portray more of their language because, first of all, he did not know any more, and secondly because this portrayal stressed the savagery of the people who could only express their longing for human flesh.[624]

Less subtle were the references to the inferiority of Native languages. A good example of this was Sagard's theory on language evolution, where he stated that Wendat would evolve for the better. However, this meant that Wendat as he had encountered it was far from a civil language. The civility

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[622] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 695; Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 12-13.
[623] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 58. The cannibalistic nature of the Mowhacks was discussed in chapter 2.
[624] The 'Mowhacks'/Mohawk were an Iroquois-speaking tribe that often raided the villages of their enemies, under which also the Wendat. They avoided any meaningful contact with European colonizers until 1620 at the earliest by simply killing all Europeans who approached their villages.

of Massachusett was indicated when Wood made a distinction between 'their' language and the 'refined tongues'.[625] The hierarchal conception of the languages of the world, specifically under the term 'refined', is more commonly allocated in time much closer to the Enlightenment.[626] From Wood's example, however, it seems its roots went farther back into the early seventeenth century. In the most visible references, the authors openly mocked Natives and their speech. As mentioned above, Brébeuf attributed the fact that Natives could not pronounce labial consonants to their lack of manners.[627] A rather cruel remark was made by Lescarbot, who described how the Natives had begun to refer to themselves as 'Chabaia […] ne sachans en quel sens nous avons ce mot'.[628] Upon hearing Frenchmen speak of them as 'Sauvages', Natives had corrupted the word to 'Chabaia', which was easier for them to pronounce. The misunderstanding served as proof for their stupidity and simple, trusting nature.

Although 'unrefined', Wood portrayed the Massachusett language as very civil. In his description of the harangues Natives often made in their councils, he added a subtle Latin phrase: 'multa sed multum'.[629] The original proverb was non multa sed multum, a quote of Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit order.[630] The comparison of Natives' speeches and Jesuit preaching was implied by the insertion of their motto. Furthermore, in the last sentence on this topic, Wood clarified that 'many and much' furthermore referred to the Natives' use of hand gestures and facial expressions in their harangues.[631] However, the passage can also be interpreted differently. Since New England which was the region closest to New France, the Jesuits were a threat to both Anglican and Puritan expansion and were the Protestants' rivals in the conversion 'race'. The comparison might not have been inserted to humanize Natives, but rather to stigmatize Jesuits who, apparently, had the same manner of preaching. This polemic slandering was also visible from the other side. Sagard – although a Recollect, not a Jesuit – stated that two elements hindered the Natives' entrance to Heaven: the viciousness in their hearts and 'les Anglois, ennemmis de la foy' who occupied 'leurs terres'.[632]

In Sagard's introduction, the extent of Native savagery was not disguised throughout the text as it had been in the other chapters but was instead only noticeable on the last three pages. As mentioned above, the word 'Secondement' in the middle of the tenth page heralded a radically changed discourse that was a lot more negative than the previous nine pages. To add to the uncovered elements of changed word use and parallel sentences, Sagard made a statement on the inferior nature

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[625] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 91.
[626] Gray, *New World Babel*, 4.
[627] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 79.
[628] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 693. Translation: Chabaia […] without knowing in which sense we use the word.
[629] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 92.
[630] Translation: not many but much. Meaning: quality over quantity.
[631] Hand gestures can be seen as a trope concerning Natives speech, as they were not uncommonly mentioned in other travelogues that did not provide language information. Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 92-93.
[632] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 12. Translation full quote: (I pray that God gives them entrance to heaven, banishing from) their land all of the English, enemies of the faith.

of Wendat compared to 'Canadien', which had 'si peu de lumiere'.[633] Although the changed discourse made sense as an initiation into the topic of conversion, the notes Sagard made in this passage before the topic of conversion arose contradict everything he had said about the language and himself in the first part of the introduction, where Wendat had been unique and -at the very least- equal to other languages. Furthermore, Sagard took an extremely apologetic stance for any mistakes that could have been made, the reasons for which were outlined above. However, after 'Secondement', he stated his dictionary should be received by gratitude as he alone had undertaken the most difficult task.[634] It seemed almost as if Sagard, or possibly an editor, had thought the introduction had been too kind on the Wendat and had added such a radically negative end passage to balance this out.

While I do not intend to form a definitive answer on the question of the authorship of this introduction, as it is not the main focus of this study, I would like to put forward two elements that could possibly indicate that the passages on the tenth and eleventh page were either added at a different point in time or not drafted by Sagard at all. The first of these is the already mentioned parallel sentence which makes itself suspicious by its same use of nouns and adjectives to describe Wendat, but its opposite meaning. Furthermore, on page eleven, Wendat was misgendered. In the title and other passages, Wendat was referred to as 'la langue Huronne', the female declension due to 'langue' being a female noun. However, when separate, 'Huron' was always male. 'La Huronne' on page eleven was the only place in the print the language was misgendered, something that would have been obvious to Sagard and places further suspicion on this passage.

3.1.6   Conclusion

While Lescarbot, Sagard, Wood, and Brébeuf might have differed in most of their opinions, the minimal statement they all clearly agreed on was that the people found in America were capable of speech. Having classified the Natives as humans with a rational soul, they looked at their language to reflect the nature of their humanity. The first question on this topic sought to find an answer whether the Natives were a 'godly' people. In order to assess whether God had intended for the Natives to live, they looked at Native languages in light of the two 'deluges' humanity had undergone as punishment: the Flood and the Confusion of Babel. With the Flood, God had ensured that only the worthy descendants of Noah would inhabit the earth, although some descendants of Cain were rumored to inhabit the margins of the world. The descendants of Noah tested God again with their hubris in building the Tower of Babel. As punishment, God 'confused' them, took away their ability to

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[633] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 11. Translation: so little of the light; Light referred to the Natural Light given to all creature by God.
[634] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 10.

communicate with each other, and dispersed them all over the world. If the people of America were a godly people, their ancestors had contributed to the Tower of Babel. As a result, the Confusion would be visible in their languages. On how languages had changed after Babel, however, there was no consensus among seventeenth century authors. To definitively determine whether Natives were godly people, authors had to look for the aspects of the godly languages in Native languages.

The godly languages, especially those found in Europe, had four main similarities that the authors tried to locate in Native languages. First, when God had dispersed mankind, each people had either received a new language from God or had been forced to create their own language. As a result, different languages were present in different places. Since all authors agreed that there were varieties of American languages, this implied Native language had originated in the confusion of Babel. Furthermore, from their creation, languages had split into different dialects. On whether Native languages had done the same, the authors did not agree. Lescarbot and Sagard did note local variations in pronunciation, while Wood and Brébeuf upheld the belief that one people spoke one, identical language. The third aspect of European languages was that they were influenced by languages in their proximity, and thus showed conformity. That this was also present in American languages, was only defended by Lescarbot. Brébeuf hinted that this might be the case but did not defend the statement. In Sagard's opinion, Wendat showed no conformity and was in no way like any other American language. While Wood did not explicitly explain this, his denial of conformity was implied in the divisions into shires and lack of information to the contrary.

Finally, European languages had changed over time, and were thus fluid. This aspect was intertwined with the discovery of America as a continent hidden from the rest of humanity. If languages proved to be static, this would indicate that all progress had been frozen on the continent when it had been hidden. The Natives could then best be compared to children or 'inferior' peoples of the European past. If the language was capable of change, however, this implied that the Natives had also changed since their isolation and were thus capable of progress. The authors were divided on this matter. Sagard presented his own theory on how Wendat had developed and would continue to do so until it reached its ideal form. By contrast, Wood and Brébeuf portrayed a static American continent and did not mention language change, implying that it did not. Wood took this static theme so far he stated that the Massachusset did not need to change, as they were one of the purest people in the world and change could only make them worse.

Whether or not they were able to provide an answer to the nature of humanity of the Natives based on the origin and formation of their languages, they were captivated by a second question: what *was* the language these people spoke? None of the authors that attempted to answer this question were motivated by interest. Instead, the answers were influenced by the conceptualization of Natives' civility. Furthermore, the answers were influenced by how well the authors understood the languages

they described. A first question their audiences wanted an answer to was whether Native languages were difficult. Lescarbot, who probably could not understand the language he described at all, was the only author to state that Native languages were simple. His belief in the unity of humanity and the simplistic nature of the Natives lay at the basis of this portrayal. Sagard and Wood contradicted his sentiment, stating that Native languages were instead extremely difficult to learn, even more difficult than other (European) languages because of their complexity. Likewise, the language Brébeuf described had so many divergent grammatical rules and complex words that this sentiment was implicit in his chapter.

However, a complex language was often thought to reflect a complex society, something all authors agreed that Native societies were not.[635] The inferior nature of the language was instead demonstrated in what it lacked. While most authors focused on the symbolic and literal sounds and letters missing from Native speech, Brébeuf went as far as to state that some forms and ideas could simply not be grasped by Natives. In other passages, the other authors also portrayed how the savage nature of the language betrayed their savage nature of the Natives. However, like the European Wild Man, the fact that Natives were uncivil could be attributed to their isolation and was reversable. This sentiment was clear in the passages when each author portrayed the ease Natives showed when speaking civil, European languages. Although not all Natives had been eager to learn or could not yet understand some of the finer points of European languages, their capacity to learn was remarkable if they often came into contact with Europeans, as Lescarbot and Wood stated. Lescarbot's opinion on the matter was influenced by the dominant 'tabula rasa' theme that was present throughout his book. Furthermore, he depicted the Natives as simple and childlike, in need of European aid to become their equal. Wood disagreed, stating that Natives had no need for European education, as they were morally pure and could only be corrupted with 'civility', a sentiment clearly borrowed from his Puritan companions in New England. This was further substantiated by the statement that the Natives were already capable of speaking English. Sagard and Brébeuf, who traveled to the more isolated Wendat tribes, did not make notes of their capacity to speak French. However, this was mainly due to the fact that they were not exposed to frequent contact and did not reflect on their capacities to become civil.

Whatever their opinion on the level of civility, all authors strongly agreed that Natives needed to be converted. However, the fact that they could not communicate with Natives made this rather difficult. Lescarbot was of the opinion that Natives needed to learn French, starting with the essence of Christianity to understand the implications of baptism. This statement reflects his opinion that Natives needed to be taken out of their savage environment in order to become equal to Europeans. In this case, Natives' language was one of the savage elements that held them back from becoming

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[635] Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, 47.

truly civil and truly Christian. The other authors disagreed, instead pointing out that conversion in Native languages was possible and should be sought after. In Wood's chapter, this was visible in the anecdote of the preacher who was well liked because of his knowledge of the language. While he found the knowledge of Native language very relevant in that context, he furthermore implied that it was irrelevant in all other contexts. Knowing Massachusset and being well liked as a result was useful to preachers, as happy Natives were more likely to listen to the gospel. In all other contexts, Natives did not need to be appeased, and the language of communication was English. Sagard and Brébeuf, who lived among the Wendat, saw this very differently. Although the purpose of learning the language was to convert Natives as efficiently as possible, they did not see communication in Native languages as something to be avoided. Unlike Lescarbot, these missionaries looked for ways to Christianize, and thus civilize, Native languages so that they could correctly express Christian/civil concepts and ideas. Sagard had started this process by outlining the difficulties of grammar so that others might find a way to overcome them. Brébeuf was already trying to fix these difficulties, for example by suggesting the translation of the holy Trinity as our Father, His Son, and Their Holy Spirit.

3.2   Understanding Language by Translating

A second technique used in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century to portray the language spoken in Northern America was the technique of translations. To enrich their descriptions, French and English travel writers drafted vocabularies and explained exotic artefacts, plants, or ideas not found in Europe throughout their travelogues. As announced in the introduction to this study, this technique has been divided into two types: 'direct' translations and 'necessary' translations. In the first type, a Native word was directly translated into a European word, most often found in the form of vocabulary lists. These provided the translation of something known in Europe – for example bread – into a Native language, and thus portrayed the similarities between Europe and the new continent.[636] In the early stage of colonization, learning Native languages was very hard; sometimes denied by authors in order to boast about their own capacities.[637] As a result, the first vocabularies portrayed the basic words and simple sentences that authors had been able to learn on their voyage, implying that these genuinely portrayed the lack of complexity of the language. In historiography, the seventeenth century idea that Native language did not have certain 'more complex' words has been studied under

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[636] Although most likely different from European bread, this word appears in all vocabularies – with the exception of Smith, who for reasons listed below only included meat as a food source. The word nonetheless existed in the Powhatan language Smith encountered and was translated by Strachey.

[637] Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse", 576.

the term anti-lexicon. These word lists – which of course offered no translations – presented the European words, sounds, and things that Natives could not say, thereby aiming to highlight the perceived limits of Native languages.[638] While the vocabularies and dictionaries in this study were not yet actively compiled with this purpose, their compilation in the early stage of colonization contributed to the belief that Native languages were indeed simple and only included nouns or short sentences relevant to survival.

To which extent this was the case, and which nuances the authors provided will be uncovered in the first three sections of this part. The first section will begin to uncover why vocabularies were included in travelogues and offer a descriptive overview of their content and structure. The second section will then compare the contents of the vocabularies to uncover how the wave sentiments influenced the portrayal of Native languages. To this purpose, the reoccurring themes in the translated words will be outlined, starting with the authors obsession for Native numbers. From the comparison of numbers, Lescarbot's faulty interpretation of Cartier's vocabulary became clear. Next, the translated words are divided into nine categories and compared based on the proportional share of translations in each vocabulary. In the third section, this study attempts an experimental comparison of the cohesion of the vocabularies in a graph based on the direction of translation and the possible level of communication. Charted on the x-axis, the direction of translation indicates whether the vocabulary was compiled to understand Native languages, to speak Native languages, or to do both to varying degrees. On the y-axis, based on the proportional number of translations in certain relevant categories, this study hypothesizes to which level an actor could communicate when using a certain vocabulary. The purpose of this experiment is to uncover similarities between the nature of the vocabularies, the nature of translations in each wave, or the nature of translations of English or French authors.

To connect the direct translations to the necessary translations, an analysis of Brébeuf's translation of the Christian doctrine will be used to transition between the two types. Brébeuf's translation contained both types and is therefore discussed separately. In the last section, the second type of translation – necessary translations – are analyzed. The term selected for this type reflects their use in texts, in which the insertion of the Native word by the European author was absolutely necessary to the comprehension of its meaning. In other words, some Native words had no European equivalent – as they pointed to the differences between Europe and America – and thus needed further explanation. In their travelogues, authors inserted various Native words that were followed by the explanation of their meaning. A good example of this is '*Powwowes*', a Massachusett 'Conjurer' or

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[638] For more information on the anti-lexicon theory, see: Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World*.

healer, or 'Mockasin', a Powhatan type of shoe.[639] Throughout the delineated time period, untranslatable Natives words were added to prints in many capacities. In their most likely form, these words were announced with variations on the sentence 'that the Natives call […]'. These are the most common elements of Native languages and were visible in all the travelogues, although in all on different levels.

3.2.1 Direct Translations in the Waves

Vocabularies were found in seven of the selected travelogues. In these vocabularies, a European word was placed next to or opposed to a Native word, producing a direct translation. Although language was presented in similar capacities, not all vocabularies shared a same purpose or were used in the same way by their readers. In the travelogues, there were two kinds of motivations in adding a vocabulary in the prints, a sentiment which was mostly visible in the title of the lists. The first was to inform the reader on the basics of the language. In Smith's account, a vocabulary 'Because many doe desire to knowe the maner of their *language, I have inserted these few words*' was inserted before the voyage report began.[640] The stress on the 'maner' instead of the language of itself is also visible in Lescarbot's vocabulary, inserted into his language chapter purely 'pour montrer la facilité de leur prononciation'.[641] With a similar motivation, Wood's '*Nomenclator*' was inserted '[b]ecause many have desired to heare some of the Natives Language'.[642] Cartier's list was also added for the curiosity of the reader, although this was not indicated by the title, but rather by the content, as explained below. Strachey's and Sagard's vocabularies were inserted instead for practical reasons. Strachey's title indicated his 'dictionarie of the Indian language' was meant 'for the better enabling of such who shalbe thither ymployed'.[643] Although Sagard did not convey this sentiment in the title of the 'Diction[n]aire de la langage hvronne', he mentioned his motivations in the introduction: 'pour la commodité & vtilité de ceux qui ont à voyager dans le païs, & n'ont l'intelligence de ladite langue'.[644]

Cartier's vocabulary was inserted before the beginning of the report of the first voyage and named 'Ensvyt le langage des pays et royavmes de Hochelage & Canadas, autrement appelee par nous

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[639] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 81; Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), *3; 'Mockasins' was spelled as 'Mawheasuns' by Strachey. Other examples not found in this study, but nonetheless relevant examples are 'tīpī'/ 'tepee', a Sioux word for a kind of 'dwelling', or 'qayaq'/ 'kayak', an Innu word for a type of boat.
[640] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), 3-5.
[641] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 693; Laura J. Murray, "Vocabularies of Native American Languages: A Literary and Historical Approach to an Elusive Genre", *American Quarterly* 53, no. 4 (2001), 594.
[642] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), O2; Even in this title, Wood's positive stance is visible, as he was the only author to not use a defamatory name for the language.
[643] Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile* (1849), 183.
[644] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 3, 5. Translation: For the convenience and utility of those who have to travel in the land & do not have the knowledge of said language.

la nouuelle France'.[645] The three pages of the vocabulary list were each divided into two columns. The vocabulary started with Natives' words for numbers from one to ten, the Native word on the left-hand side and its corresponding number on the right. The second section started with a subtitle 'Ensvit les nomes de parties du corps de l'homme'.[646] Here, the layout was somewhat changed, as the cursive French words were located on the left, with their Native equivalent on the right, not in cursive. The section did indeed begin with the names for body parts, but other translations were made as well, such as names for people, clothes, food, animals, short sentences for everyday use, terms for hunting, etc. There was no real order to these, as for example 'Vn homme' and 'Vne femme' were grouped together, but the translations for 'Mon pere' and 'Ma mere' were presented a page later.[647] Instead, words were organized by connotational links between them. For example, some translations of food (e.g. 'Pain', 'Prunes') used eatable fish (e.g. 'Vn lamproye', 'Vn saumon') to transition to the category of animals, starting with maritime animals like 'Vne balaine' and ending with 'Des tortues'.[648] A third subtitle was inserted on the last page of the vocabulary: 'Ceux de Canadas dissent qu'il faut vne Lune à nauiger depuis Hochelaga, iusques à vne terre où se prend la canelle & la girofle'.[649] The only two translations of this section were for cinnamon and cloves, two spices that are not native to America. However, in light of Cartier's sponsor – the French king – I hypothesize this information probably served to convince the king that his money had been well spent, as the Northern territories were indeed as rich in spices as the East Indies.

This study has opted to rely on the information presented in the 1598 publication of the events of Cartier's first voyage in 1534. The vocabulary added to this book was not drafted by Cartier himself, but was instead based on the knowledge of several Natives that had been abducted and taken to France.[650] Furthermore, the enslaved Natives were not all from the same tribe, and thus did not all speak the same language, something the French were not aware of. As a result, the words in the vocabulary are from different languages, although all words are believed to be from the Iroquois family.[651] This voyage report was not, however, the first of Cartier's voyage reports to be published, as the report of the second voyage in 1535/6 was published in 1545.[652] On the 1535/6 voyage, Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence River and allegedly discovered the village of Hochelaga, where the Natives

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[645] Cartier, *Discours* (1598), 9. Translation: Now, the language of the land and kingdom de Hochelaga & the Canadas, otherwise called by us New France. The list contains a total of 115 translations, of which 86 are words, 12 are sentences, 10 are numbers, and 7 can be counted as necessary translations.
[646] Cartier, *Discours* (1598), 10. Translation: Now the names of the body parts of the man.
[647] Cartier, *Discours* (1598), 11-12. Translation: A man, a woman, my father, my mother.
[648] Cartier, *Discours* (1598), 11-12. Translation: a lamprey, a salmon, a whale, tortoises.
[649] Cartier, *Discours* (1598), 14. Translation: Those of the Canadas say that it takes one Moon to journey from Hochelaga, where there is a land where to get cinnamon and cloves.
[650] Lounsbury, "Iroquoian Languages", 335.
[651] Lounsbury, "Iroquoian Languages", 335.
[652] This print did not circulate in the seventeenth century.

spoke an Iroquois language.[653] In contrast to the second voyage report, the report of the 1534 voyage circulated in the early seventeenth century and was moreover used by Lescarbot to add information to his own book.[654] On this 1534 voyage, however, Cartier remained in the St. Lawrence Bay, briefly disembarking in Acadia, where Lescarbot returned to in 1606 and where the Natives spoke Algonquin languages. The late publication of this book, as well as some seventeenth century confusion on which places Cartier traveled to, would influence Lescarbot's opinions in unforeseen ways. For some reason, most likely because it was fashionable, the printer of the 1598 edition added the vocabulary list from the second voyage report to that of the first. The importance of this 'mistake' lies in Lescarbot's reliance on Cartier's report to substantiate his own theories on Native languages.

Lescarbot was the first second wave author to publish direct translations, although the vocabulary list was inserted into the text of the language chapter of the second edition of his print in 1611.[655] As disclosed in the language chapter analysis in the previous part of this chapter, Lescarbot informed his reader as to why he provided some translations: to illustrate that the pronunciation of the language was easy.[656] Furthermore, the list's location in the middle of the chapter on language would have made it hardly possible to use in an actual encounter. As a result, the nature of the words presented by Lescarbot will be used to outline which kinds of words were most frequently translated, but will not be integrated in the analysis of the usefulness of direct translations, as no elements of structure would have compensated for its inconvenient location in the 900-page print.

At the beginning Smith's work, a vocabulary was inserted that featured translations from Powhatan to English.[657] To this purpose, Smith did not use columns, instead inserting a dot after each cursive Powhatan word, after which its English equivalent was put.[658] At a first glance, the arrangement of the words seems arbitrary and the whole lacks in structure. However, the nature of the words, as well as the use of sentences reveal some structural elements. The list began with words of an 'earthly' nature, referring to names for people, household objects, clothing, etc. The earthly section was concluded by a sentence 'In how many daies will there come hether any more English ships?'.[659] A subtitle initiated a second section titled 'Their numbers' which seamlessly passed into a third section on 'unearthly' things, for example 'Moones' or 'Heavens'. This section was again concluded by a sentence: 'I am verie hungrie? What shall I eate?'.[660] The next section contains a translated

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[653] Lounsbury, "Iroquoian Languages", 335.
[654] Zecher, "Marc Lescarbot Reads Jacques Cartier", 114-115.
[655] Lescarbot's vocabularies are kept separate by text. The first (p.688) contains 40 numbers. The second (p. 691-693) contains 65 translations, all of which are words.
[656] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 693.
[657] Smith's vocabulary contains a total of 87 translations, of which 45 are words, 31 are numbers, and 11 are sentences.
[658] To provide a visual: e.g. p*3: *Nemarough*. a man.
[659] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), *Ne-*.
[660] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), FINIS.

conversation where Smith tried to locate the Powhatan chief, also named Powhatan. The concluding sentence for this section was 'Bid Pokahontas bring hither two little Baskets, & I wil giue her white beads to make her a chaine'. At the bottom of the page, 'finis' was printed in capitalized letters.

It was uncovered by the framework in chapter 2 that Strachey hardly ever provided new information about America in his manuscript, only adding to information of other authors. As a result, a logical hypothesis would be that the information in the 'dictionarie' would likewise be plagiarized. However, on the presentation of translations, Strachey showed great independence from other authors. Only one other vocabulary on the Powhatan language had been made, which was Smith's, which was furthermore rather short. By contrast, Strachey's vocabulary was the largest vocabulary of any Northern Native language at that point, comprising fourteen, double-columned pages and translating 983 words.[661] There are several possible explanations for this sudden change in portrayal. First, since Strachey had relied on the information of previous voyagers for most of his print, he might have used this vocabulary to demonstrate the extent of his own knowledge. This in turn would also have brought credibility to the additions he made to others' works. A second explanation might be that there was simply no need for a second short vocabulary, as this had already been provided by Smith. In this case, if Strachey had wanted to add a vocabulary, it needed to be innovative and thus longer. Whether there was a demand in England for such a thorough vocabulary, is hard to tell, as Strachey's work was not published during his life.

The extent of the dictionary Strachey presented was more in line with the dictionaries made during the third wave. Furthermore, Strachey's alphabetical list translated words within each letter of the alphabet first from Powhatan to English and then from English to Powhatan. There were two columns on each page, each column containing one set of translations. The first word of each set was typed normally, followed by a comma, and the translation of said word following the comma and typed in cursive.[662] The alphabetical approach had not been used by Cartier or Smith, as this created some difficulties. Powhatan, like all Native languages, did not fit within the restraints of the Latin alphabet. As a result, for letters starting with E, F, G, and L, Strachey was unable to note any Native words, and only one Powhatan word began with D. Likewise, the letters J and X were not part of the vocabulary.[663] Strachey made no notes on what Natives could or could not say, thus leaving the sudden disappearance of these sounds in the dictionary unexplained.

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[661] Strachey's vocabulary provides a total of 983 translations, of which are 907 words, 9 are numbers, and 67 are sentences. The number of different words is difficult to determine because some words, for example 'tobacco bag', were translated in more than one way.

[662] To give a visual, e.g. p.193: A polecat, *cuttenamuwhwa* | Rayne, *camzowan*; On page xxii of the introduction of the 1849 published edition, editor, R.H. Major assured that he 'thought it better not to interfere with the original arrangement [of the dictionary]'. Whether this included the structural elements is unclear but assumed.

[663] V was included, but most of the words listed here started with U.

In the context of the third wave, imposing the Latin alphabet was undertaken rather often when creating vocabularies for languages outside of European language structures, and can be seen as an aspect of colonial domination.[664] Sagard's and Wood's vocabularies also used the structure of the Latin alphabet, although their approach was different from Strachey's: they only made one-way translations. Sagard's alphabetical order did not seem out of the ordinary, as he translated from French to Wendat.[665] Furthermore, he interpreted the alphabet in a different way, inserting categories into the letter their category name started with. For example, all animals were listed under A, then subdivided in an orderly fashion by the type of animal. First came all birds, then 'bestes à quatre pieds', and finally 'nourrir animaux'.[666] Moreover, Sagard did not primarily provide translations based on nouns, as all other authors did, but on verb roots. The only nouns that were used were the categories, in which the nouns would also be translated in a sentence. The importance of this emphasis on verbs will become clear later on. As for the structure of 'Les mots Francois tournez en Huron', each page had two columns and two sets of translations. First, each verb or category was centered in its column and printed in cursive. After a blank line, a first French word/sentence appeared. Its cursive Wendat equivalent was visible after a dot, sometimes on the line below it due to lack of space in the column.

The vocabulary inserted in Wood's print was, like all other parts of the print, included to give potential settlers an idea of the environment they were going to live in. He translated all words from Massachusset to English, imposing the Latin alphabet on the Native words.[667] Here again, the author was forced to admit that some letters were never used. The L and R had already been noted as missing in Wood's chapter on language, explained with the example of 'Lobster'/'Nobstann'.[668] However, in the 'Nomenclator', he stated that F and X were likewise 'not used'. The exclusion of F, whether correct or not, additionally substantiates the Rex, Lex, Fides motif in Wood's chapter, although the reason why F was not included in the chapter itself, is unclear. Other discrepancies between the discourse in the account and the vocabulary appear on the last page. There, Wood provided the names of the Native tribes in the area. The separation into shires disappeared completely, as a dual division was presented of no less than eight Native tribes 'divided into several Countries'.[669] Left stood the 'Tarrenteens' (of the East, second shire), 'Churchers' (not mentioned within the shire framework), 'Aberginians' (of the North, fourth shire), and 'Narragansets' (one of the tribes of the South, third shire). On the right, from

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[664] Errington, *Linguistics in a Colonial World*, 5. In 3.1.3, based on the translation of the verb 'to write' in the language chapters of Brébeuf and Sagard, the question was posed whether the Natives had their own form of writing, although the question largely remains unanswered.

[665] Sagard's vocabulary contained a total of 2456 translations, of which 805 are words, are 32 numbers, and 1619 are sentences.

[666] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), *An-An1 – An-An3*. Translation: beasts on four feet, to feed animals.

[667] Wood's vocabulary contained a total of 317 translations, of which 240 are words, 20 are numbers and 57 are sentences.

[668] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 91.

[669] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), pnl.

bottom to top, come first the 'Pequants' (the other tribe to the South, third shire), again an unmentioned tribe 'Nipucts', and the 'Connectacuts' and 'Mowhacks' (of the West, first shire). This order, as well as the added Native tribes, makes no sense. However, it seems most likely that Wood simply did not put that much effort into this presentation – it was not of vital importance to his readers how different tribes were outlined, as they had been discussed in previous parts.

As for structure, Wood's alphabetical vocabulary was presented on five pages, the first four divided into four columns, each page containing two sets of translations. The cursive Massachusset words stood in the first and third column, while in the second and fourth columns the English equivalents were presented. On the fourth page, this structure was maintained, although printed vertical lines divided the translations of three topics: 'The number of 20', 'The *Indians* count their time by nights, and not by days, as followeth', and 'How they call their Moneths'. For the numbers, each of the four columns held a set of translations. Under the other two subtitles, a printed vertical line down the middle created two columns, although each of these held one set of translations. On the fifth page, as mentioned above, the printed vertical line down the middle of the page created two columns.

3.2.2   Reoccurring Themes in Vocabularies

A first element that was present in all of the compared vocabularies was the translation of numbers. While rather trivial, numbers give a good indication of what a language sounded like. Because of this, it was not illogical for authors to examine and compare the numbers by their predecessors, although not all authors interpreted the previous translations of numbers correctly. Lescarbot thought he was retracing the footsteps of Cartier, whom he believed had traveled Acadia some decades before him and had encountered the same Native people. However, Lescarbot noted that the language spoken by the Natives he encountered was very different. In fact, there were very few similarities. From Lescarbot's descriptions, it is quite clear that seventeenth century travelers were unsure which areas had been explored by Cartier and were likewise unsure about the location of Hochelaga. The reason for this is most likely because not all of Cartier's reports circulated publicly, as well as there were some copies – allegedly by Cartier – that circulated anonymously.[670] Lescarbot stated himself that he had access to the first two voyage reports, the first as print and the second as an anonymous manuscript.[671] While Lescarbot did mention the second voyage report throughout his print, it is unclear whether this was actually written by Cartier. Furthermore, it did not aid Lescarbot in correctly locating Hochelaga.[672]

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[670] Zecher, "Marc Lescarbot Reads Jacques Cartier", 115.
[671] Zecher, "Marc Lescarbot Reads Jacques Cartier", 113.
[672] The village of Hochelaga was never found by later voyagers. If the village ever existed or what happened to its people is unclear.

In light of Lescarbot's comparison and confusion, this study opted to include a similar comparison, as shown in the scheme below:

	Smith	Strachey	Wood	Lesc 'Etech'	Lesc 'Souriq'	Lesc. 'Nouv'	Cartier	Sagard	Brébeuf*
	English	English	English	French	French	French	French	French	French
1	Necut	Nekut	Aquit	BechKon	Negout	Begou	Segada	Escate	Escat
2	Ningh	Ninge	Nees	Nich	Tabo	Nichou	Tigneni	Téni	Tends
3	Nuss	Nousough / Nuss	Nis	Nach	Chicht	Nichtoa	Asche	Hachin	Achinc
4	Yowgh	Yeough	Yoaw	Ïau	Neou	Rau	Honnacon	Dac	Dac
5	Paranske	Porance	Abbona	PrenchK	Nan	Apateta	Oniscon	Ouyche	Oüich
6	Comotinch	Camatinge	Ocquinta	Chachit	Kamachin	Coutouachin	Indaie	Hondahéa	Oüchia
7	Toppawoss	/	Enotta	Coutachit	EroegueniK	Neouachin	Ayaga	Sotaret	Soutarrè
8	Nusswash	Nuscawes	Sonaske	Erouiguen	Megu marchin	Nestouachin	Addegue	Atteret	Atterrè
9	Kekatawgh	Kykeytawe	Assaquoiquin	Pechcoquem	EchKonadeK	Pescouadet	Madellon	Néchon	Enkhon
10	Kaskeke	Koske	Piocke	Peïock	Metren	Metren	Assem	Assan	Assan arre

Table 2: Comparison of numbers, ranked according to the proximity of the authors' location to each other.

First, some general notes to aid in the interpretation of this scheme. In the first row, the authors are ranked according to the similarities in their translations of numbers. The second row shows the authors' native tongue and indicates in which language the written 'sounds' of Native languages should be interpreted. When similar sounds were described, a same color was provided per row. The various tints of green are used to point out the similarities between different Algonquin languages, while the shades of orange indicate Iroquois languages. In the first column, the respective digits are presented. In the second and third column, Smith's and Strachey's Powhatan numbers are presented in their interpreted English spelling. There is very little remarkable about the small differences in spelling, as they described the same language. Furthermore, it is odd that Strachey did not translate 'seven', although understandable as numbers were translated in alphabetical order throughout his dictionary. It seems plausible that seven was simply overlooked.

A second observation can be made from the comparison between Smith and Strachey. The differences in spelling demonstrated that Strachey did not copy his language information from Smith, even for the words that Smith had already presented. Upon further comparison of all of the words in Smith's vocabulary to their equivalents in Strachey's dictionary, Strachey's originality was proven to be true. The words sounded similar when pronounced because they were both Powhatan, but the spelling was different. Furthermore, in some cases, Strachey's dictionary even provided a synonym. For example, Smith translated 'Moones' as 'Nepawweshowghs', while Strachey presented the translation to be 'Vmpsquoth'.[673] On another note, Brébeuf's numbers inserted here are ordinal numbers (i.e. first, second, third, etc.) taken from the numbered 'lessons' of the catechism. However, they do not differ greatly in pronunciation.

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[673] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), FINIS; Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile* (1849), 195.

More interesting to analyze are Lescarbot's numbers. As explained in the language chapter analysis, Lescarbot used the numbers of different languages he knew of to conclude that Native languages changed and that there were different languages in America, which he believed to be the result of 'la confusion de Babel'.[674] He noted four languages: 'Ancien', 'Nouveau', 'Souriquois', and 'Etechemin'.[675] Etchemin was never definitively identified, and it has been debated whether it can even be seen as a separate language or as a dialect of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy.[676] Its similarities to Wood's Massachusett numbers, however, makes this latter theory the more plausible. Furthermore, which languages Lescarbot described with 'Nouveau' is still unclear. Souriquois is thought to be the Basque trade pidgin.

In this scheme, I have listed the 'Ancien' under the name Cartier, as this list was copied into Lescarbot's print. As noted above, Lescarbot was most likely unaware of where 'Hochelage & Canadas' were located. The inclusion of the list into the first voyage report, however, led him to believe that these were places in Acadia. From the scheme, it is quite clear what happened. Cartier did not describe an Algonquin language of Acadia. Instead, the language of Hochelaga was an Iroquois language that was never identified.[677] As a result, it sounded more similar to Wendat numbers. However, from this miscommunication Lescarbot concluded that the language spoken in these parts had changed so considerably that Cartier's vocabulary had become irrelevant.[678] As discussed above, Lescarbot's statements on the changing of languages went against the static theme he upheld throughout his print. His belief that the Natives' language changed, however, contributed to his opinion that Natives were capable of radical change, and could thus be civilized and integrated into colonial structures.

In order to make a clear comparison of the content of the vocabulary lists, the translations were categorized. In this part of the study the exact number of words per category will not present as some words can be placed in more than one category. The nine encompassing categories are: 'Humans', 'Animals', 'Tools', 'Space and time', 'Household', 'Commodities', 'Religion', 'Active use of language', and 'Other'. The human category, to start with, covers all translations in some way related to humans. The subcategories found in this category are: body parts (e.g. arm), people (includes all translations of 'man' and 'women', but also the names of relatives e.g. mother), clothing (e.g. shoes), moods (e.g. happy), and political groupings (e.g. Mohawk). The second category indicates all kinds of animal life (birds, pets, animals for hunting, maritime animals, etc.) and all kinds of tools (weapons, cutlery, European objects, etc.). The third has two subcategories: normal tools (e.g. needle) and weapons (e.g. arrow). However, the division is not always clear, as for example a knife can be both.

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[674] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 686. Translation: the confusion of Babel.
[675] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 688. Which languages these are was explained in the previous part of this chapter.
[676] Lounsbury, "Iroquoian Languages", 335.
[677] See Annex for map.
[678] In the language chapter analyzed in the previous part of this chapter. Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 687.

The category of time and space has three main subcategories: indications of time (e.g. tomorrow), celestial bodies (e.g. moon), and geographical words (e.g. lake). The reason for this is that these words could be used in more than one way, as Natives often used the movement of celestial bodies to indicate time (e.g. three suns would mean three days).

The fifth category contains all translations relating to household objects. Again, there is an overlap: a needle can be placed both in this category and in that of tools. It has three subcategories: regular household objects (e.g. ladle), all translations of fire (as these were normally located in the house), and food preparation. The categories of commodities and religion are self-explanatory. For the eighth category, the term 'Active use of language' is rather vague, as it comprises translations of short sentences (e.g. shut the door), verbs (e.g. to come in), and verb conjugations (e.g. give me). The last category contains all words that could not be identified or did not fit into one of the outlined categories, for example colors. Two important subcategories, however, were outlined for abstract constructions (e.g. dig a deep hole) and adverbs (e.g. long). The following graphs visualizes which categories were most common among the authors:[679]
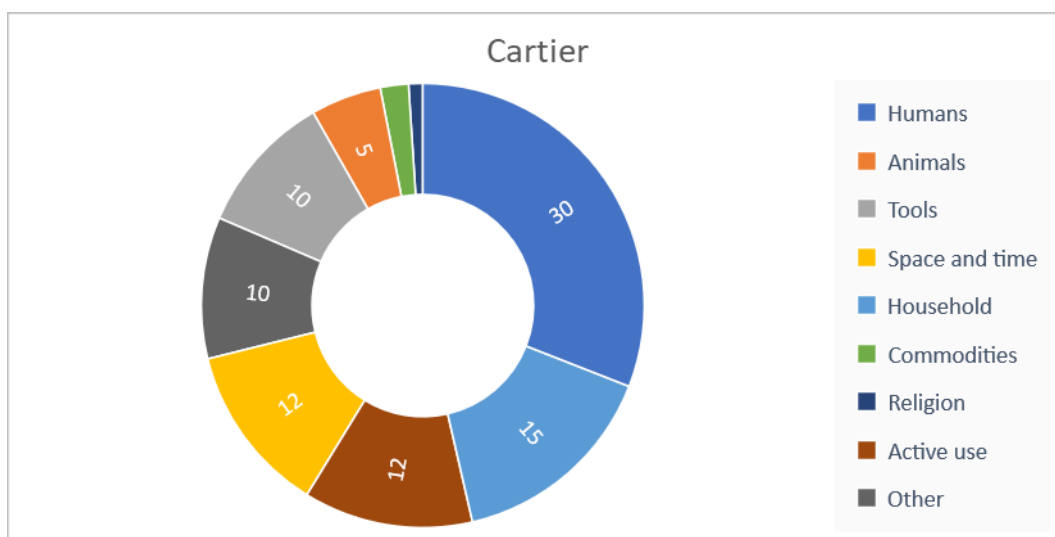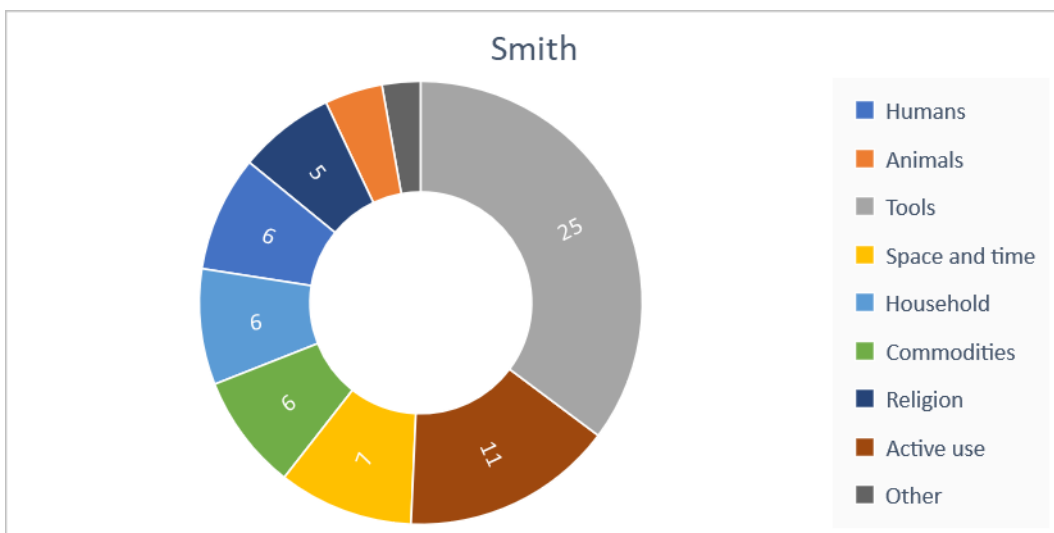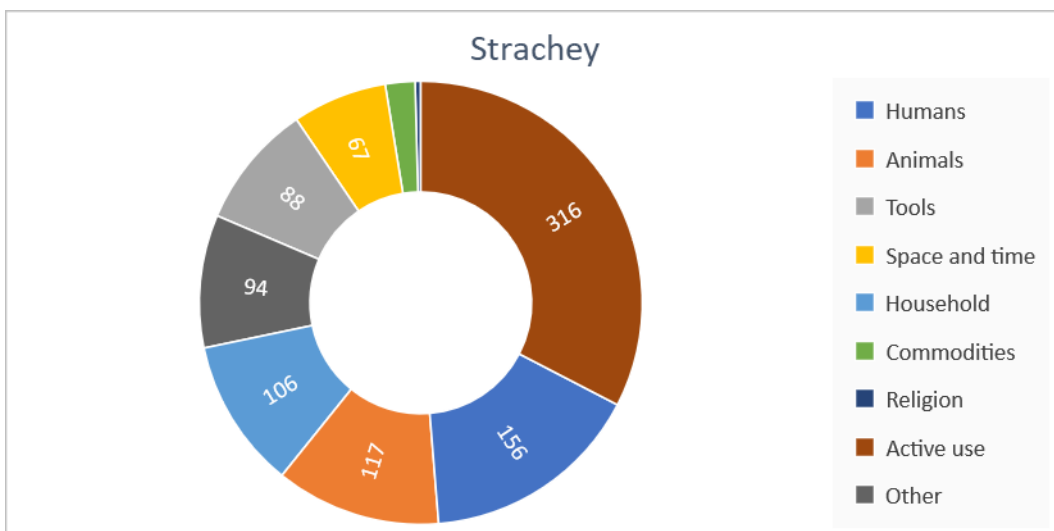

Graph 1: Categories vocabulary Cartier 1598.

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[679] Some smaller categories are not labelled in the graphs. Cartier: Commodities (2), Religion (1); Smith: Animals (3), Other (2); Strachey: Commodities (21), Religion (4); Sagard: Animals (91), Commodities (61), Religion (34), Tools (14); Wood: Tools (12), Household (9), Religion (3), Commodities (0).
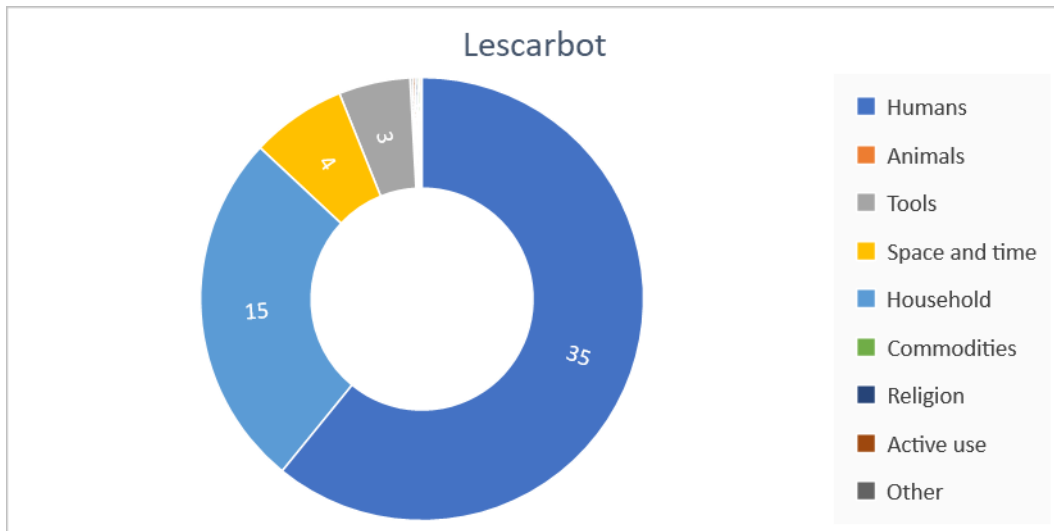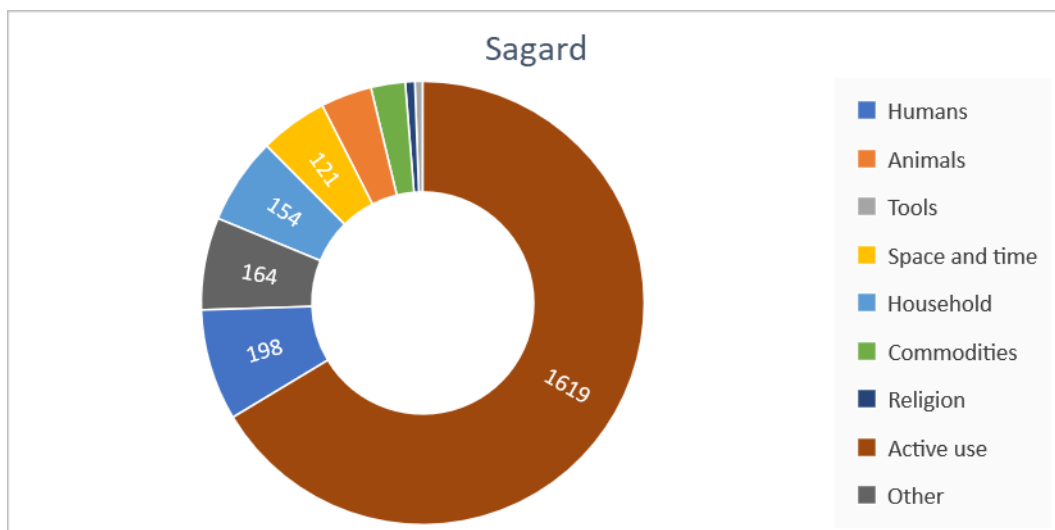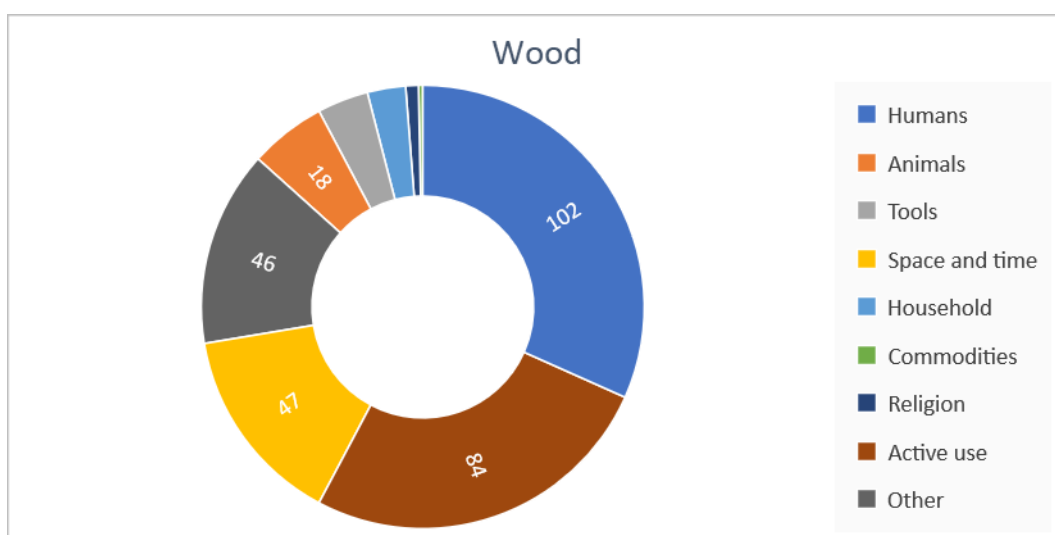
Graph 2: Categories vocabulary Lescarbot 1611.

Graph 3: Categories vocabulary Smith 1612

Graph 4: Categories vocabulary Strachey 1849.

Graph 5: Categories vocabulary Sagard 1632.

Graph 6: Categories vocabulary Wood 1634.

First, the translations in Cartier's vocabulary (Graph 1, p. 138) were quite equally spread over the categories. His attention for people and household objects was not surprising, as he saw the Natives as unthreatening, simplistic people who were keen to trade with Europeans. The third biggest category was 'Active use of language', where Cartier translated some simple sentences, all of which commands, such as 'Regardez moy', and 'Allons au basteau'.[680] In more rude sentences like 'Donnez moy à boire' and 'Taisez vous', it is clear how Cartier viewed Natives as inferior servants.[681] Also remarkable were the translations that were classified in the 'Other' category. Cartier often presented a Native word which had no French equivalent and was therefore translated as 'Ils appellent […]'. The words following this were 'leur bled', 'leur Dieu', 'la graine de Concombres ou Melons', 'demain', 'leurs

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[680] Cartier, *Discours* (1598), 12. Translation: Look at me; Let us go to the boat.
[681] Cartier, *Discours* (1598), 12. Translation: Give me something to drink; Stop talking.

feues', 'vne ville', and 'la canelle'.[682] While these translations indicated that the French language could not properly communicate what these terms meant, one remarkable translation is provided.[683] 'Ils appellent vne ville' was translated as 'Canada'.[684] This term, originally meaning village, was quickly adopted by French travelers as the name for Northeastern New France.

Smith's vocabulary (Graph 3, p. 139) betrayed his stance as a second wave author, as most of the translations can be categorized as tools or sentences. His interest in humans and household objects was very small in contrast. As explained in chapter 2, second wave authors were voyagers who explored the possibilities for colonial permanence and expansion. Within this wave, Smith translated words that portrayed his sense of insecurity: which weapons did the Natives have? The second wave sense of insecurity was not visible in Lescarbot's list (Graph 2, p. 139). However, since this was added to serve as an anecdote rather than a useful list of translations, it seems more logical for Lescarbot to not portray the possible threatening nature of the Natives in the list. Instead, Cartier's influence (Graph 1, p. 138) is visible. Placing himself in the tradition of first wave humanism, Lescarbot focused on the people and their tools. Something that Smith (Graph 3, p. 139) and Lescarbot (Graph 2, p. 139) did share was their disinterest to actively use the language. Smith included several sentences that were clearly part of a conversation, as well as his gift of beads to Pocahontas, which served very little purpose, as it was unlikely that Europeans would ever exactly hear these same sentences again.[685] These were most likely added to flaunt Smith's knowledge; the same reason why the vocabulary was inserted into Lescarbot's language chapter.

Strachey's dictionary (Graph 4, p. 139) included different kinds of translated words, as he actively attempted to distance himself from Smith (Graph 3, p. 139). This is for example visible in the lack of translations on religious matters in Strachey's list, as this topic had been thoroughly uncovered by Smith in his vocabulary and his account.[686] The most notable difference between Strachey and Smith is that Strachey was not a pioneer. The region he traveled to had already been discovered and knowledge about it had already reached Europe, at which point he added to this knowledge. As a result of the sense of security the limited infrastructure the Jamestown settlement attempt offered, Strachey was probably able to have more meaningful contact with the Powhatan. For the first time in Northern America, verbs and some simple forms of conjugations were translated. Furthermore, Strachey was the first to translate what this study has labeled moods, for example 'lame', 'better', 'angry', 'weary',

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[682] Cartier, *Discours* (1598), 11-14. Translation: their small village, their God, the grains of Cucumbers or Melons, tomorrow, their fires, a village, cinnamon.

[683] This manner of describing words is the same as is employed when making necessary translations.

[684] Cartier, *Discours* (1598), 13. Translation: a village.

[685] In the conversation, Smith acquired after the whereabouts of Powhatan. The vocabulary is translated from Powhatan to English, which means it was served the purpose of understanding Natives when they spoke, not to speak to them.

[686] This was analyzed in chapter 2.

etc.[687] While Smith had translated a sentence 'I am hungrie', this was motivated out of need for food.[688] Strachey's mood translations showed a different, more understandable side of the Natives, in which they – like Europeans – were subject to the same emotions. In the third wave vocabularies, these moods would likewise always be present.

The focus on active use of the language and growth in adverbs were also characteristics later found in the third wave vocabularies. Strachey's vocabulary (Graph 4, p. 139) is interesting because it foreshadows how authors – under the illusion of permanence that became reality in the third wave – tended to use language to a different purpose, one less focused on survival. It is nonetheless clear from Strachey's list that the English were still in the precarious first stage of colonization. This is most visible in Strachey's portrayal of a homogenous native population; their unity alone threatened colonial efforts. Moreover, further distinctions into tribes would have been impossible, as the Powhatan Confederacy encompassed the entirety of the explored regions in Virginia.

Sagard's dictionary (Graph 5, p. 140) contained the highest number of verbs. The number of sentences he created was even higher, as all words – either verbs, nouns, or adverbs – were used in sentences when translated. For example, under 'Nations, de quelle nation', first came some nouns (e.g. 'Kebec', La Nation de Feu'), followed by a term for nation in a sentence (e.g. 'De quelle Nation es-tu?', 'Elle est de N.[ation …]').[689] Furthermore, several possibilities were provided for the conjugation of a verb. For example, for the verb 'Fermer', some possible sentences were 'I'ay fermé la porte', 'Ferme la porte apres toy', or 'La porte n'est point fermee'.[690] In the introduction to his dictionary, Sagard had noted that Wendat had little grammatical structure, or at least that he could not tell if it had it. From these translations, it becomes clear that Sagard did not understand Wendat grammar. However, he knew some fixed sentences which he was able to use when speaking to the Wendat. As it would have been easier – and more comprehensible for the reader – if Sagard had simply explained how verbs were conjugated and how to use them in a sentence by giving some short examples, I hypothesize that Sagard did not understand Wendat well enough to structure the dictionary in this manner. Instead, the structure of the dictionary became so complex that Sagard felt the need to explain it in the introduction.

Finally, Wood's dictionary (Graph 6, p. 140) contained 317 words, which was rather short compared to Sagard's or even Strachey's dictionary. Nonetheless, Wood was still able to equally distribute his translations over different categories, as well as integrate the kinds of words that were

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[687] Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile* (1849), 190, 184, 183, 195.
[688] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), FINIS.
[689] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), *Mo-Na – Na-Na*. Translation: Nation, of which nation; Quebec; The Nations of Fire; From which Nation are you?; She is from the […] N[ation].
[690] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), *Fa-Fe – Fe-Fe1.* Translation: To close, I have closed the gate; Close the gate after yourself; The gate is not closed.

typical for the third wave. Like Sagard, much of his attention went to verbs and adverbs, which included a high number of moods. However, unlike Sagard, Wood's largest category was 'Humans'. Although it was not odd for a third wave author to focus on humans, as the names for nations were part of this category, more than half of Wood's words in this category were translations of body parts. The number of these translations was remarkable, especially considering the gradual decline of the importance of body parts as the waves progressed and the rather short vocabulary Wood presented.[691] This study suggests two possible explanations. First, Wood's dictionary was the first vocabulary to be created of the language spoken in New England. As there was no information to work from, Wood selected which kinds of words were most necessary in order to engage in a basic form of communication with Natives. In the Puritan and humanist style he adhered to in his book, the descriptions of body parts were an important aspect.[692] Furthermore, like numbers, they give a good idea of the basics of a language and are for this reason used in all of the vocabularies.

From this comparison, some of the more subtle similarities and differences in the vocabularies were uncovered. First, the number of translations in the category of religion varied greatly. It was not mentioned to any capacity in Lescarbot's list (Graph 2, p. 139) and only on a very small scale in the other lists. Only Smith and Sagard mentioned translations for religious affairs to a relevant level. The reason for their inclusion in Smith's list (Graph 3, p. 139) was most likely because he knew the words anyway, as he also noted these terms in his chapter on religion. For missionary Sagard (Graph 5, p. 140), conversion was the main reason he drafted a dictionary. In order to convert Natives, his readers needed to be aware of the names for religious objects and ideas already present among the Wendat. By this logic, the reason why the other authors were so hesitant in their translation of religious things was because they did not know them. Cartier (Graph 1, p. 138), as a first wave author, would not have been aware of the religious structures of the Natives, only noting one deity that 'ils appellent leur Dieu'.[693] In the second wave, authors were first able to identify religious structures, as Smith (Graph 3, p. 139) had demonstrated. Lescarbot (Graph 2, p. 139), however, claimed in his chapter on religion that Natives did not have any, which explains the absence of these translations.

In Strachey's (Graph 4, p. 139) and Wood's (Graph 6, p. 140) dictionaries, the number of translations for religious words was lower than was originally hypothesized. In Strachey's list, which was the largest compiled at that time and contained translations normally only seen in the third wave, only four translations referred to religion. Like Smith, Strachey had roughly outlined the structure of Powhatan religion in his book, proving he was aware of the names for deities. Furthermore,

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[691] Because so little is known of Wood's life, it is hard to explain why he found the human body so interesting.
[692] In the first four chapters of the second part of the book, describing the Natives in each shire, Wood was very detailed in the description of bodies. For more information regarding the body as a metaphor in New England, see: Martha L. Finch, *Dissenting Bodies: Corporealities in Early New England,* Columbia University Press, 2009.
[693] Cartier, *Discours* (1598), 12. Translation: they call their God.

irregularities appeared in the dictionary, as 'Oke' was replaced by 'Ahone' as the name for 'God' and the 'devill' was translated twice, as 'riapoke' and 'Riokosick', the former of which was also translated as 'to morrow'.[694] Likewise unexpected, only three translations occurred in Wood's list (Graph 5, p. 140), although he had dedicated an entire chapter to religion. Like Strachey, he did not insert the translation he had provided there into the dictionary.

In the previous chapter, an analysis was done to uncover the discourse on women. The reason for this – as mentioned in the introduction – was the need to investigate the authors' stances on women, as many of the translated words belonged to the category household, in which women were primarily active. In the earlier vocabularies, these words belonged to some of the larger categories. It is important to note that not all knowledge of household objects came from contact with women. For example, when Smith translated 'beds', or Cartier translated 'Des souliers', although these objects were made by women, their translation could just as likely have come from men.[695] Some translations, however, do imply contact with women. In Lescarbot's list, for example, words like 'aiguille' was included.[696] I hypothesize this translation was provided by a women (or at the very least a women was present with the object, which would likewise indicate contact with women) based on the fact that needles are small and easy to misplace, and were therefore probably stored in safe places and only taken out when they were needed. Because of its small size and contextual use, I assume Lescarbot needed to be in close proximity to the needle to ask for its translation, perhaps even holding it himself. Additionally, the analysis in of Lescarbot's chapter on women portrayed that sewing was only done by women, a statement corroborated by the other authors.[697] Because of these reasons, I believe it is safe to assume Lescarbot had at least a minimum of contact with Native women. The exact extent of this contact is however hard to deduct based on three translated household objects.[698] In Sagard's dictionary (Graph 5, p. 140) the objects belonging to the realm of women were represented less than other categories. However, since the vocabulary was so long, even this smaller category contained many translations. Because his dictionary was organized on verb roots, it is not possible to identify the gender of the speaker. His stay among Wendat for several months nonetheless implies contact with women.

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[694] 'Oke': Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile* (1849), 83-84. 'Ahone': Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile* (1849), 183. 'devil': Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile* (1849), 186, 193.
[695] Cartier, *Discours* (1598), 11. Translation: soles of shoes. Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), *3.
[696] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 692. Translation: needle. The words 'Alene' (awl) and 'Corde ou fil' (thread) which follow 'Aiguille', can also be used as examples to demonstrate this point.
[697] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 792; Sagard 1632, 132. (This passage is clearly influenced by Lescarbot. However, as concluded in chapter 2, it can be assumed that Sagard also witnessed this himself.); Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 96. Women are even portrayed to sew in Brébeuf's account (p. 202), although he did not include a chapter on women.
[698] The evidence of this is found in different parts of Lescarbot's account and could be the subject of a different study.

3.2.3 Experimental Portrayal of Cohesion

In the next part of the analysis, this study will illustrate an experimental comparison that focusses on two aspects of the vocabularies: how they could be used (to either understand Natives or speak a Native language) and which categories of words the author deemed most important (and thus contained more translations). With this presentation, the hope is to clearly demonstrate the small level of coherence between the different vocabularies. The reason why this experiment was attempted is because for this study, the outlining of universal categories does not adequately portray – and in fact minimizes – the large number of differences between the vocabularies. Furthermore, the different categories only give one indication of how vocabularies were used. This experiment will therefore test how vocabulary lists could be used in America to communicate with Natives. While it is difficult to uncover the extent of actual perusal of the vocabularies during encounters, the motivations of each author – as mentioned above – was to provide his reader with a basic understanding of the language. In Graph 7 (p. 148) below, the vocabularies of each author are charted on two axes: the x-axis portrays with which intent the vocabularies were meant to be employed and the y-axis charts the level of meaningful contact someone could have with Natives by the nature of the translated words. Because these concepts remain rather vague when summarized in this manner, detailed explanations of what these included, as well as why these should be seen on a scale, follow in the next paragraphs.

The x-axis ranges from -4 to 4 and portrays the direction in which vocabularies were used. When a vocabulary list is charted below 0 (green), the words were translated from a Native language to a European language. As an intended result of the direction of translation, these were meant to enable their users to understand something said in a Native language. At 0 (white), both directions of translations were equally possible, and could be used to understand Native speech as well as to speak it. Above 0 (blue), translations were made from European language into Native language, and were thus used only to speak to Natives in their language. Because I intend to add nuance to this portrayal, this experiment uses a scale of nine: both ends of the axis (scores of -4 and 4) when only one direction was possible and seven scores for the middle ground (ranging from -3 to 3), in which the direction of translation could be reversed to any extent. The reason for this is that even when translations were only made in one direction, structural elements or categorical arrangement created the ability to locate words on the translated (right-hand) side and enabled the reader to reverse the direction of translation. Furthermore, the reason for the divide into nine parts is because none of the vocabularies provide the same kinds of structural elements. Thus, within each vocabulary list, the extent to which the direction of translation could be reversed is variable.

In Graph 7 (p. 148), the vocabularies will receive an x-axis value based on the dominant translation direction and its flexibility. In vocabularies with a score of 4 or -4, the direction could not

be switched. When the score is 3 or -3, structural elements were inserted by the author to indicate certain kinds of words. In vocabularies with a score of 2 or -2, words were grouped by category. Finally, the scores of 1 or -1 and 0 are used to indicate that the author provided translations in both directions. For 0, the number of translations in both directions was equal, while for 1 or -1 one direction was provided with more translations than the other.

On the four levels of the y-axis, the vocabularies are given a value based on the level of communication of each vocabulary. As demonstrated by comparing different categories (Graphs 1 to 6), the nature of the translated words in all vocabularies were quite similar. However, there were large differences in representation in these encompassing categories, as well as in the subcategories. From the translations in the subcategories, it is clear that authors did not always proved the reader with the opportunity to communicate on the same level of communication. There are even some subcategories for which some authors did not provide any translations. To properly analyze which kinds of words were deemed most important by their authors, this study looked into which categories and subcategories possessed the most words. The scheme below shows in which (sub)categories authors provided translations above the respective median.[699]

	Cartier	Lescarbot	Smith	Strachey	Sagard	Wood
Tools						
Space and time						
Food (incl.animals; subcat. of Household)						
People (subcat. of Humans)						
Household (subcat. of Household)						
Verbs (subcat. of Active use)						
Adverbs (subcat. of Other)						
Commodities						
War weapons (subcat. of Tools)						

Table 3: The relevant categories and subcategories with the number of translations above the respective median of the (sub)categories per author highlighted in yellow (number of translations not above the median in white), ranked chronologically by voyage date.

Before analyzing this scheme, the selection and use of colors must be clarified. The categories and subcategories presented in the table are only those which are relevant to the comparison, meaning those which contained majority numbers that cannot be explained by differences in chronology.[700] When a vocabulary presented translations in a certain (sub)category above the

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[699] The medians were calculated per author. The medians of the categories and the subcategories were of course calculated separately. As not all authors used all the subcategories, their medians were calculated on the subcategories the authors *did* use, as not the distort the calculation.

[700] For example, the subcategories Moods (subcat. of Humans) and Nations (subcat. of Humans) increased during the third wave and have translations above the median in Sagard's print. Since the rise in these subcategories can be attributed to the changed wave context, the subcategories are not included in the table.

respective median, the box under its respective author is marked in yellow. The boxes not marked in yellow indicate that the respective (sub)category *did* contain a certain number of translations, but that this number was not above the median. A second note concerns the use of red outlining in Smith's column. Smith broke the pattern of the high level of representations for food and people. Instead, the majority of his translations appeared in the subcategories of commodities and war weapons. The red outlined boxes indicate how the 'missing' translations of people and food were instead found in those two subcategories. As explained above, this phenomenon is attributed to Smith's sense of insecurity in creating a permanent settlement.

Thirdly, an exception was made for Lescarbot's vocabulary. It is visible in Graph 2 (p. 139) that Lescarbot presented translations from just four of the nine categories, leading to the consequence that the four categories contain a number above the median by default.[701] Because these translations were clearly favored by Lescarbot, I have included all of the subcategories Lescarbot added words to in this experiment. However, to ensure a fair comparison, a second median was calculated based on the *used* categories and subcategories. The subcategories with an amount of words not above this second median are highlighted in a lighter shade. The inclusion of these smaller subcategories is nonetheless vital to the experiment, as their complete exclusion from the scheme would consequently distort this representation.

Based on this scheme, the four parts of the y-axis can be determined. The lowest, receiving a score of 1, is for vocabularies that were created to ensure the survival of the user. The second level comprises vocabularies that were created to ensure the peaceful cohabitations of Natives and Europeans. The third level looks at the extent to which the author intended more than cohabitation, but instead cooperation between all inhabitants of America. The last level, being most extreme, concerns vocabularies that were meant to provide the reader with the ability to assimilate into Native society. The results of this experiment are visible in the graph below:

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[701] Five of the nine categories contained zero translations. The median is thus 0.
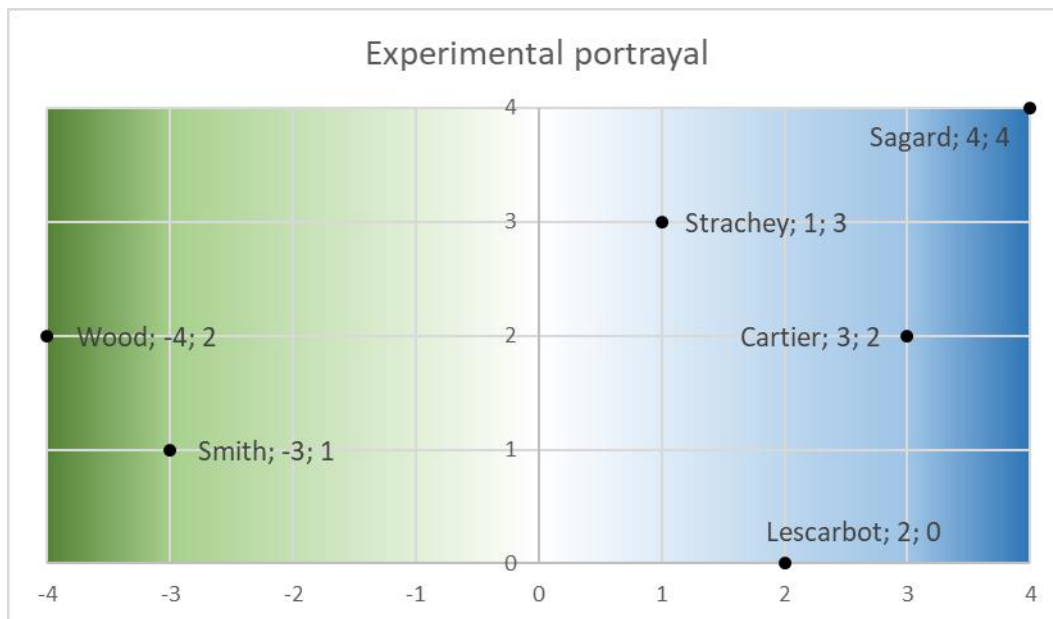
Graph 7: Experimental comparison of Native American vocabulary lists based on the direction of translations (x-axis) and the possible level of communication (y-axis).

From left to right, the order of the authors on the x-axis is: Wood (-4), Smith (-3), Strachey (1), Lescarbot (2), Cartier (3), and Sagard (4).[702] The vocabularies with a negative score (green) were translated from Native language to European language – in this case only English. As a result, they were meant to allow the reader to understand Native speech. Those on the positive side (blue) of the graph were translated in order to speak to Natives and were thus organized translating from European language to Native language. As has been previously explained, Wood and Sagard provided translations in one direction. As they both structured their works in alphabetical order, it was not possible for readers to reverse the direction of translation. Smith and Cartier were both given a score of |3|, as they both provided structural elements to locate words.[703] In Smith's vocabulary, these were the sentences at the end of each part that divided the 'earthly' words from the numbers and the 'unearthly' words from the conversation. The distinction between 'earthly' and 'unearthly' words was furthermore made clear by the opportune insertion of the numbers. Likewise, Cartier's vocabulary used subtitles to differentiate between topics. However, these structural elements helped in locating certain words that could enable reverse translations, but this would still have been difficult, as words were not grouped together by subcategory in each part. This was only the case in the vocabulary of Lescarbot, who was given a score of 2 as a result. Finally, Strachey's bidirectional vocabulary provided more translations from English to Powhatan, which is why he was given a positive score of 1.

On the y-axis, the situation is more complicated. First, Lescarbot was given a symbolic score of 0 as he explicitly stated in his language chapter that the vocabulary served no other purpose than to

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[702] Which direction of translation would be present on the positive or negative side, was decided arbitrarily.
[703] |3| refers to the absolute value of three, indicating both -3 and 3.

demonstrate how easy Native words were to pronounce.[704] Furthermore, its location of the vocabulary in his language chapter would have made it nearly useless in a conversation. Next, Smith's intent in providing this vocabulary was clearly to ensure the survival of the readers, which in his opinion could only be realized if they were able to understand when Natives spoke of weapons or war.[705] Likewise easy to interpret is Sagard's placement at the very top of the graph. In the introduction of the *Dictionnaire*, he had already pointed out that the translations were aimed to serve 'ceux qui n'ont qu'à passer dans le pays, ou à traiter peu souuent auec les Hurons', but most importantly 'd'ayder ceux qui entreprendront ce voyage, pour le salut & la conuersion de ces pauures Sauuages Hurons'.[706] The analysis shows Sagard provided translations of words from all of the subcategories, meaning his dictionary could indeed be used by missionaries who would assimilate into Wendat communities.

More difficult to define within one level are the vocabularies of Cartier, Wood, and Strachey. These three authors all translated words linked to tools, celestial bodies or indications for time, and people. To differentiate cohabitation from cooperation, this experiment argues that the subcategories of household and food were crucial. This hypothesis seems to correspond with logic, as food can be shared with cohabiting communities, but translations of household objects would indicate a more mixed society. Additionally, a more diverse vocabulary can indicate more interest in Native society or more contact. In either situation there is a higher chance that it results in integration. Cartier, especially for his time, provided a well-balanced vocabulary list. However, the list did not go deeper into Native societal structures. The only translations he made concerning the category of household were 'Vne maison', 'Ils appellent leurs feues', and 'Ils appellent vne ville'.[707] Moreover, these translations can easily also be categorized under indications of geography. Furthermore, the translations he made for food (e.g. bread, prunes, raisins, fish) indicated Cartier's intent for Europeans to live in America.[708] As a result, this experiment argues that the intent of Cartier's vocabulary was to ensure cohabitation.

With the same reasoning, Strachey's attention for food and household objects would indicate the intent of the vocabulary to be cooperation. Finally, Wood, like Cartier, did not provide sufficient translations of household objects. Furthermore, his refusal to cooperate with Natives was visible in the first part of his chapter, where he never used a Native word to describe food or commodities. The nature of the other translations, however, placed his intent above simple survival at the level of

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[704] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 691. The words are not necessarily hard to pronounce.

[705] Smith even translated the Native words for 'friend' and 'enemy'.

[706] Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 8, 11. Translation: those who only have to pass through the land, or to treat seldomly with the Huron; To help those who will undertake the voyage, for the salvations & the conversion of those poor Savage Hurons.

[707] Cartier, *Discours* (1598), 13. Translation: a house, they call their fires/hearths, they call a town.

[708] Cartier, *Discours* (1598), 11.

cohabitation. From this experiment, it is clear that the intended purpose of each vocabulary list was different for each author.

In conclusion, there was generally very little encompassing structure in the creation of vocabulary lists, as authors were more influenced by wave patterns, the existence of previous knowledge, and personal agency. However, if analyzed thoroughly, links between some of the vocabularies are visible. As was clear above, the information in the lists is hard to substantiate based on the waves, as not every list started with the same level of information on languages already present. Something that is remarkable, however, is that all the outlined categories were present in the first vocabulary list by Cartier. These then deepened but did not change in essence. As soon as there was a foundation to build on, language information would begin to include moods, verbs, adverbs, and abstract translations, as was the case in the lists made by Strachey, Sagard, and Wood. The third wave distinguished itself by adding translations of different Native political entities, something that was not yet capable within the second wave. Finally, as time progressed, so did the abilities of Europeans to translate some of the more difficult aspects of Native languages. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, only nouns and short, simple sentences were translated. Although these confirmed that Natives could speak, it still upheld the European belief that their languages had little complexity and could only identify things directly related to survival. From Strachey onward, more verb forms came into play, as well as longer, yet abstract sentences. The languages were thus portrayed as more fluid and complex. Nonetheless, how the vocabularies could be used, was still very limited.

From the outlined experiment, however, the obvious conclusion would be that there were in fact very few similarities between the different vocabularies, as the authors' choice in translation direction and intended use were so diverse. However, even here some links can be made. First, it seemed English authors were keener to translate from Native to English, while French authors preferred translations from their language to Natives'. This difference in the direction of translation had implications that were already hinted at when Lescarbot explained Natives had learned some French 'par longue hantise'.[709] In the French regions, the French sought out the Natives in order to profit from the fur trade or to convert them. Thus depending on the Natives' good will, the French addressed them in their language. By contrast, the English were less willing to be economically reliant on the Natives. Instead, in English regions, Natives needed to 'become civil' in order to profit from colonial trade. As a result, it was more important for voyagers to be able to understand Natives when 'they' reached out to 'us'. Strachey's double direction translations were an exception to this. However, a lot of Strachey's ideas were controversial, which was the reason why his manuscripts were never published.

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[709] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 695. Translation: by long harassment.

The differences in colonial approach are, however, not visible on the y-axis. The differences between the authors instead portray each authors intent, in which their personal agency and motivations were far more influential than their country of origin or their wave sentiment. The general intentions found in the first wave were to identify what was present in America and how European states would benefit from colonization. The vocabulary presented by Cartier, however, provided translations that would have allowed settlers to – for example – go hunting together with Natives. The second wave authors' sense of danger was clearly visible in Smith's vocabulary. His focus on commodities and space and time were furthermore also typical in the second wave. In contrast to this, Strachey's vocabulary did not illustrate how dangerous Natives were, but instead how the English could live among them. This general third wave sentiment was taken to an even more radical level with Sagard's list, with which Europeans could assimilate into Native societies. However, Wood was less eager to cooperate with Natives, instead portraying knowledge to allow for cohabitation, but keeping English and Native societal spheres separate. A last clarifying element was therefore foreshadowed in to titles of the vocabularies. The titles of Strachey's and Sagard's dictionaries stated their intent for the dictionaries to serve those who would be employed in America, while the other authors indicated that their vocabularies were inserted to satisfy the curiosity of their readers. As a result, it is logical that Strachey's and Sagard's dictionaries allowed more meaningful communication.

3.2.4 Brébeuf's Translated Concepts

Brébeuf's direct translations were portrayed differently than the other translations analyzed in this study. His structure and approach was common in the field of missionary linguistics, more specifically in the 'third stage' of language learning outlined by Biard.[710] In this stage, missionaries with sufficient knowledge of the Native languages had begun translating the principal Christian texts so that they could be read to and understood by the Natives. This is thus a direct translation because it provides the reader with one single option to express himself. Because of the complexity of the translation, this text is analyzed separately. A second noteworthy aspect of Brébeuf's translation is that it was not printed within religious circles, as his discourse on languages had been. Instead, it was inserted at the end of the 1632 and 1640 reprints of Champlain's *Les voyages de la Nouuelle France, dicte Canada*.[711] As might already have become clear, Champlain did not contribute to the debates on Native languages with his own knowledge. In fact, apart from the two insertions translated by missionaries Brébeuf and Massé, Champlain made little notes on the language.

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[710] Guillorel, "Gérer la « confusion de Babel »", 180.
[711] Brébeuf, "Doctrine" (1632), 15.

However, Champlain's account was included in this study and used in the creation of the framework in chapter three. The reason for this is that Brébeuf's text cannot be analyzed if it is seen as separate from Champlain's text, because the popularity of these revised editions during the third wave was the reason that Brébeuf's translation circulated as well. Furthermore, for early seventeenth century readers, Brébeuf's translation was irrevocably linked to Champlain's name: not only was the text added to Champlain's text, it also circulated under his name, while Brébeuf's name was only mentioned on the first page of the translation. The willingness to include the works of missionaries stood in stark contrast with the English approach to language, where – as Wood demonstrated in his language chapter – the ability to speak the language was not deemed a necessity for ordinary people, nor was the conversion of the Natives something ordinary people had to concern themselves with. This study defends the statement that Champlain's choice to include the translation, implying to his reader that conversion of the Natives in their own languages was of great importance to the colonial project, was in fact his contribution to the debate on the essence and necessity of Native languages. This contribution, although different from the other author's contributions, cannot be minimized, as it was Champlain's name – and not Brébeuf's – that resulted in the spread of the information.

As part of the third step of the language strategy upheld by missionaries in New France, Brébeuf translated thirteen lessons of Christian doctrine into Wendat. In the title, Brébeuf noted that he had translated it 'en Langage Canadois, autre que celuy des Montagnars'.[712] In his chapter on language, published five years later, Brébeuf had clearly defined the language of his chapter as Wendat. However, in this translation, this was not the case. A hypothesis for this might be that Brébeuf was not sure which language he had learned, as he had encountered many on his voyages.[713] Previous works by Biard and Massé had translated Algonquin languages, as these Jesuits had traveled to Acadia.[714] Brébeuf's translation was published first in 1630, before any other information of Wendat language circulated. However, the name of the language was clear in Sagard's *Dictionnaire*, which was published only two years later. Since Recollects and Jesuits often worked together during the second decade of the seventeenth century, it is likely that Brébeuf did come into contact with other Recollects.[715] Whether he failed to mention the name of the language to avoid confusion with Algonquin languages, or whether Wendat had not yet received a French name in 1630, can be debated.

Brébeuf's translation of the *Doctrine Chrestienne* compiled by Ledesme is analyzed as a direct translation, as it translated exact sentences which could only be used in the context of the intended purpose. However, this was an exceptional text of which the translations cannot be compared with

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[712] Brébeuf, "Doctrine" (1632), 1. Translation: in the Canadian language, different from that of the Montagnars.
[713] Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France*, 61.
[714] Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France*, 63.
[715] Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France*, 34.

the other direct translations. Structured in two columns, the French doctrine was found on the right-hand side of the page. However, the direction of translation is of little relevance, as the structure of the doctrine – which those who taught it knew by heart – would allow the reader to follow in both languages. The purpose of the text is clear: to ensure that Natives were comprehensibly educated on the foundation of Christianity before they were baptized. This happened by teaching them thirteen lessons using a question-answer format.[716] For example, in the first lesson, the 'Maistre' asked 'Estes vous Chrestien', to which the 'Disciple' replied 'Ouy, par la grace de Dieu'.[717]

While the French part of the doctrine provides insights into early seventeenth century Catholicism and the Wendat part is grammatically interesting to dissect, neither of these elements are the main focus of this study. As a result, what is relevant to this study in Brébeuf's translations were the alternatives he sought for abstract notions. The origins of most of these translations cannot be determined. For example, 'Eglise Catholique' was translated as 'Ecankhucoüatè Aoüettichaens' and 'Purgatoire' as 'Achoüateüa'.[718] Other words, however, were already encountered in this study. Some examples of this are the translations of 'Esprit', 'Paradis', and 'Saincts'. 'Esprit' was translated by 'Esken', a word Brébeuf used in his chapter on language.[719] For Natives, this word represented one of the five parts of the soul which was separate from the body; the part that traveled to the afterlife.[720] While the definition was somewhat different than that of the Holy Spirit, Brébeuf thought it an adequate translation. 'Paradis' and 'Saincts' were translated by the same word: 'attisken'.[721] Natives used this word to refer to the bones of someone recently departed.[722] In that case, the 'esken' part of the soul slowly separated itself from the 'atisken'/bones in which it was contained. For 'Saincts', this translation made sense, as veneration of relics could thus be easily explained. However, in Brébeuf's chapter on language 'atisken' was never used to refer to a place. Nonetheless, the word was also used in Sagard's chapter on religion: 'atiskein andahatey' meant 'route of souls', which Sagard stated referred to the Milky Way.[723] However, with this translation, the afterlife and people in the afterlife became the same thing. The ramifications of this translation would be an interesting topic for a different study.

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[716] 'Du nom Chrestien', 'Du signe du Chrestien', 'De la fin de l'homme', 'De la Foy', untitled fifth lesson on God, 'De l'Esperance', untitled seventh lesson on saints, 'untitled eighth lesson on veneration of relics, 'De la Charité', 'Des bonnes oeuures', 'Des oeuures de misericorde', 'Des pechez', and 'Des Saincts Sacremens'. This structure is similar to the structure of other catechisms. For more information on the didactic purpose of catechisms, see: Victor Infantes, "De la cartilla al libro", *Bulletin Hispanique* 97: 1 (1995): 33-66.

[717] Brébeuf, ""Doctrine" (1632), 1. Translation: Are you Christian; Yes by the grace of God.

[718] Brébeuf, "Doctrine" (1632), 2, 8. Translation: Trinity, Purgatory.

[719] Brébeuf, "Doctrine" (1632), 2. Translation: Spirit. The chapter on Native religion was published in the 1637 print, and thus the information came after the translation.

[720] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 97.

[721] Brébeuf, "Doctrine" (1632), 3, 6. Translation: Paradise, Saints.

[722] Brébeuf, "Relation" (1637), 97. Brébeuf spelled it 'atiskein' in the 1637 book.

[723] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 233.

3.2.5 Influence of Necessary Translations on Discourse

The final technique used by authors to convey their knowledge of Native languages to their audience was by inserting a Native word for which there was no European equivalent that could correctly convey the essence of its meaning. The words were then explained to the reader in a short sentence that followed. Throughout this study, these translations have been called necessary translations. These were Native words inserted into European sentences out of necessity because the described object could not be defined by one European word, and thus needed to be explained. In the context of understanding the American continent, this had a peculiar consequence. By offering European explanations for exotic and strange objects, the author became a proxy.[724] As a result, the use of these Native words implied that America could be known and understood by Europeans, but only if it was explained on European terms. These necessary translations furthermore make their way into other travelogues which offer no information on language.[725]

The first explorer to actively use necessary translations was Thomas Harriot. In his scientific tract published in 1588, he used 76 Algonquin words to name animals, plants, and other objects not found in Europe.[726] In the more popular summary printed in 1590, this amount was reduced to 37.[727] As Harriot noted himself, the largest number of words left out were for names for trees, as 'neither is it so conuenient for the present to trouble you with particular relatió[n]'.[728] For Harriot, most of the translations were linked to agricultural products like grains, types of trees, animals, berries, etc. For example, in his chapter 'Of Beastes', he described two animals 'Saquenúckot & Maquówoc' which were 'small beastes greater than conies which are very good meat'.[729] Remarkable about the translations is the extent of effort and detail that went into them. In some cases, Harriot described the food by its taste, like 'Sapúmmener, which being boiled or parched doth eate and taste like vnto chestnuts'.[730] In other cases, the description of the commodities was a group effort, as was the case with 'Coscúshaw, some of our company tooke to bee that kinde of roote which the Spaniards in the West Indies call *Cassauy*'.[731]

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[724] Hacke, "Colonial Sensescapes", 178-179.
[725] Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, 49.
[726] Hacke, "Colonial Sensescapes", 177.
[727] Considering the difference in size, this number was still high. Furthermore, some words – like '*Wiróans*'/king– were repeated several times.
[728] Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report* (1590), 23.
[729] Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report* (1590), 19. A cony is a rodent, a close relation to rabbits and hares. Other theories state these animals could be muskrats, opossums, minks, or raccoons.
[730] Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report* (1590), 19. Sapúmmener is most likely a type of acorn or nut.
[731] Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report* (1590), 17. Coscúshaw/Cassauy is most likely cassava. Kraig, Bruce, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Food and Drink in America*, 2013, 316.

The most relevant translations, in the sense that they influenced all English colonial writing to follow, where those inserted into the chapter 'Of the nature and manners of the people'.[732] In light of the timing of Harriot's voyage in the first wave and the economic/scientific motivations for this voyage, Harriot showed he had a good understanding of the Natives' cultural practices. He made notes on the Natives' political structures, including the translation of '*Wiróans* or chiefe Lorde'.[733] Likewise, he added translation for religious elements of Native society, such as how they 'beleeve that there are many Gods which they call *Mantóac*, but of different sortes and degrees' and how 'they represent them by images in the formes of men, which they call *Kewasowok*'.[734] In their singular form, these '*Kewás*' were found in 'houses appropriate or temples which they call *Machicómuck*'.[735] Perhaps the most important of these translations, however, was '*Popogusso*': 'a great pitte or hole, which they thinke to bee in the furthest partes of their part of the worlde to warde the sunne set, there to burne continually'.[736]

The reason why Harriot's work is one of the most important works in the history of language encounters is because it was distributed all over Europe, published by de Bry in four languages.[737] Its influence is clearly visible in the works of the English second wave authors.[738] Smith and Strachey both made similar necessary translations throughout their discourse, and Strachey even went as far as to refer to Harriot by name, as he 'spake the Indian language'.[739] More remarkable was Harriot's influence on French discourse. On several occasions throughout his book, Lescarbot compared the Natives he had encountered to those of 'Virginie'. From most passages, it is not possible to indicate which source he used for the information. However, in his chapter on religion, Lescarbot inserted information from 'un historien Anglois qui y a demeuré'.[740] What definitively determined Harriot as the source of this information were the insertions of two phrases: 'plusieurs Dieu[x] […] lesquels ils appellent *Montóac*, mais de diverse[s] sortes & degrez' and '*Popogusso* [(] qui fut leur enfer)'.[741]

Necessary translations were by far the most common elements of Native languages present during the early seventeenth century, as each of the analyzed authors, as well as some authors not

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[732] Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report* (1590), 24-30.
[733] Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report* (1590), 25.
[734] Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report* (1590), 25, 26.
[735] Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report* (1590), 26.
[736] Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report* (1590), 26.
[737] Andrew Hadfield, "Thomas Harriot and John White: Ethnography and Ideology in the New World", in *The Arts of 17th-Century Science: Representations of the Natural World in European and North American Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 201.
[738] Harriot's influence was also visible in Wood's book, although this was more on structures, as Wood did not use necessary translations.
[739] Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile* (1849), 15.
[740] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 678. Translation: an English historian who resided there. This passage was present in the 1609 and 1611 editions.
[741] Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1611), 668-669. Translation: several gods that they call *Mantóac*, but different sorts and degrees; *Popogusso* (which was their hell).

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part of this study, used the terms for Native objects in their works. Still, there were differences to the extent of these additions and the nature of the words. In Cartier's first voyage report, only very few Native elements arose. On just one occasion did Cartier mention words that 'ils appellent [...] en leur langue', the words being 'mittaine' and 'couteau'.[742] Furthermore, both translations were not added to the vocabulary list, although the phrase 'ils appellent' did return there.[743] Instead, Cartier gave French names to everything he encountered, whether these were rivers, islands, mountains, or even flowers. As there was no map added to this print, it becomes increasingly difficult to determine which places he visited. Because of this, it becomes more understandable why Lescarbot was not suspicious of the absence of the village name 'Hochelaga' not being mentioned throughout Cartier's account.

The framework of chapter 2 uncovered the second wave authors' ability to identify political and religious structures of Native society.[744] These elements were often accompanied with their respective Native word. While these place names were 'erased' from the map, an opposite phenomenon is visible concerning political titles. Words such as 'Sagamos' (Lescarbot and Champlain) or 'Werowance' (Smith and Strachey) were always used instead of European titles like king, roi, or lord.[745] The names for deities return in most second wave sources: 'Oke'/'Okens' from the Powhatan religion and 'Gougou' the monster-deity mentioned by Champlain. Lescarbot defended the statement that the Natives he encountered had no religion, and thus only inserted the names of deities from other places in America.

Within the second wave, necessary translations were most common for place names. It can be hypothesized that this is a result of the confusing place names used by first wave authors. Like Cartier, Harriot used European names for geography, calling the discovered territory 'the new found land of Virginia'.[746] Because this led to confusion as to where previous explorers had landed, it seems likely that the second wave explorations influenced second wave authors to use the Native place names, as these places could be more easily located again with the help of the indigenous population. As a result, the local names for rivers, lakes, mountains, villages, etc. appeared throughout the second wave books. For example, in Champlain's print, the village of 'Tadoussac' was often mentioned, the meaning of the word probably referring to the breast-shaped hills in its surroundings.[747] Likewise in Smith's book,

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[742] Cartier, *Discours* (1598), 49. Translation: mitten, knife.

[743] These were also discussed in 3.2.2. For clarity, the listed words were: 'leur bled', 'leur Dieu', 'la graine de Concombres ou Melons', 'demain', 'leurs feues', 'vne ville', and 'la canelle'.

[744] All statements made in this paragraph are based on the analysis of chapter 2 and were thus substantiated there. The necessary translations and the sentences they were placed in were included in full in chapter 2.

[745] This is of course linked to colonial power relations.

[746] In the parts of the print following Harriot's summary, maps and engravings were inserted that did use Native words for places, but Harriot did not make such distinctions.

[747] Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), 58. This passage also appeared in the 1613 print. Hypothesis on the etymology of the Innu word 'Totouskak' based on: Marc St-Hilaire, "Tadoussac", The Canadian Encyclopedia, accessed May 22, 2020, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/tadoussac.

rivers were first described by their location and then by their Native name, as was the case for example for the rivers '*Payankatank*' and '*Toppahanock*'.[748]

The extent of the translations of place names in English and French colonial writings had different effects that cannot be properly uncovered by these travelogues alone. In both colonial spheres, second wave authors fixed the names for places in both present languages. However, the underlying motivations were very different, and can mainly be attributed to the colonial approach. In New France, names such as 'Canada', 'Tadoussac', 'Quebec', etc. became the dominant names for places, as French colonizers took a more inclusive stance towards the Natives. In English regions, Native place names were instead only used when absolutely necessary, as different names would otherwise create confusion. For example, many of the Native names for rivers were appropriated, while names for regions were replaced. This was most clear in the use of the word 'Virginia'. Strachey, like Cartier had done with 'Canada', had translated this name in his dictionary as 'Tsenahcommacah'.[749] While the French colony in New France aimed to integrate Natives into its structures by combining it with the structures already present, the English colonial project demanded the integration of the Natives on European terms, as they thought this the only way to rid Natives of their savagery. This was quite visibly displayed in Wood's dictionary, where some local place names were also provided with an English translation.

Where the second wave had laid the foundation by locating and naming some of the basic structures of Native American societies, the third wave authors were devoted to deepening their understanding of the Natives. In Sagard's chapter on religion and his introduction to the dictionary, he first presented information regarding the 'Canadiens'.[750] Although the original author of these passages was likely Cartier, Sagard plagiarized the information from Lescarbot.[751] Besides providing the name of the 'Canadian' deities 'Cudouagni/Agoiuda', 'Ataouacan', and 'Pirotois', Sagard also provided his reader with the names of the deities and concepts belonging to the religion of the Wendat.[752] Likewise, Brébeuf's entire print was dedicated to the purpose of explaining these concepts so that they might be used in the conversion efforts. Wood's account was not aimed at conversion, yet also contained necessary translations for 'Conjurers' ('*Powwowes*') and 'the Devill' ('*Abamacho*').[753]

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[748] Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (1612), 6.

[749] Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile* (1849), 195.

[750] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 255. Sagard, "Dictionnaire" (1632), 4.

[751] Especially in the chapter on religion, the beginning was identical to Lescarbot's introduction, who quoted Cartier's report.

[752] Sagard, *Le grand voyage* (1632), 225, 228, 231. The latter two translations are not found in Lescarbot's chapter on religion.

[753] Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 81, 76-77.

Throughout the waves, the nature of the necessary translation became more complex. Necessary translations for agricultural products continued to appear predominantly in the first two waves, in the last two either supplemented with or substituted for religious words. As exotic commodities did not become less popular in Europe, commodities continued to appear in separate chapters.[754] Only in the commodity chapters of Champlain, Lescarbot and Wood were these necessary translation missing.[755] This was not out of the ordinary for Champlain, as he generally did not concern himself with Native languages. That these words were missing from Lescarbot's account is yet another argument in favor of the hypothesis that Lescarbot had a very limited knowledge of the language. For Wood, the most likely explanation is linked to the intent of his book, which was to convince Europeans to settle in America. Adding in many kinds of plants and animals they could not begin to phantom might not have been the best approach to this. Furthermore, the descriptions were only added to portray the bountiful nature of the American continent. Which names these commodities went by, was of lesser importance, and could furthermore more easily be learned when the settlers arrived in America themselves. Finally, in Brébeuf's account, commodities were not mentioned in his book, as the purpose of the work was to aid missionaries, not settlers.

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[754] Harriot, "First part: Of merchantable commodities" and "The second part: Of such commodities as Virginia is knowne to yeelde", in *A Briefe and True Report* (1590), 7-21; Smith, "Of such thing which are naturall in Virginia" and "Of their Planted fruits in Virginia", 1612, 10-18; Strachey, "Caput X: Of the commodities of the country", in *The Historie of Travaile* (1849), 115-133; Sagard, "Second partie", 1632, 296-380.

[755] Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), 1-7; Lescarbot, *Histoire* (1609), 808-839; Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), 1-55.

Conclusion

In order to interpret the language information in the selected travelogues, the wave scheme was developed. The three *Waves of Knowledge Gathering* encompass three general trends visible in consecutive time periods on how the Native American population was conceived by authors that traveled to the continent at some point during these trends. The foundations of the wave sentiments were the circulating ideas and general discourse on America in France and England, which influenced the author's perception before his departure. The wave sentiments were in turn influenced by the authors, as the ideas and discourse in their published accounts contributed to the public debate on America and its inhabitants. This interaction between general wave sentiments and individual authors is crucial to understanding how certain pivotal events changed the general perception (e.g. the 'unreconstructable savage' in English discourse after the Jamestown Massacre of 1622), as well as to understand which descriptions were present in the accounts and why (e.g. 'trusting simpleton' Native in the first wave, Sagard's use of the 'pauvres sauvages' trope at the end of the introduction of the *Dictionnaire*). Furthermore, the wave scheme allows the identification of ideas or opinions outside of the norm, as was the case with the length, content, and possible level of communication in Strachey's dictionary.

At the beginning of this study, a hypothesis was made concerning which aspects of Native languages would be discussed in the analyzed sources: that all authors would portray those parts of the language that related to their basic needs as travelers (i.e. food, shelter, tools) to which could be added on an individual level those parts of the language that reflected the author's interest in Native society and were in his direct environment. All of the elements of this hypothesis turned out to be incorrect. The only constant language information in all waves – and most of the selected travelogues – are numbers.[756] What can instead be interpreted as the minimum of language information shared in all of these travelogues are necessary translations. To refresh, these Native words went without European equivalent and were thus integrated into the discourses of the accounts in order to be properly explained to the reader. They were inserted because the objects they denominated were deemed important enough to describe, yet a strange object to the European reader.

In the first wave accounts of Cartier and Harriot, a modest amount of highly variable words was inserted. Throughout Cartier's account, only three necessary translations were added, two of these referring to food, the last to geography. Instead, a number of necessary translations were found in Cartier's vocabulary, which was hypothesized only to portray direct translations. In Harriot's

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[756] With the exception of Harriot.

account, the necessary translations were found throughout and mainly concerned fauna and flora. More interesting were the words he inserted for political titles and words belonging to the sphere of religion. I do not find it a fair observation to conclude that the necessary translations inserted into Harriot's account influenced and motivated later English authors to do the same, as Harriot's account clearly influenced Lescarbot as well, who did not include any of his own necessary translations. However, the fact that his account did influence both English and French authors cannot be minimized. The first wave influences in the second wave's necessary translations are very clear in Smith's and Strachey's accounts. For Champlain and Lescarbot, this was less visible in the necessary translations, as both authors provided very few of these. More influential to second wave necessary translations was the general second wave sentiment that aimed to uncover political and religious elements of Native culture, but prioritized geography and the practical use of Native geographical names. This sentiment disappeared in the third wave accounts where authors' personal preference and the available previous information were the main factors in the inclusion of necessary translation. The most common kind of necessary translations were consequently words concerning religion and culture.

The direct translations found in vocabularies and dictionaries were inserted into the printed accounts for two reasons: to serve as an embellishment or to aid those who would travel to and be employed in America. The first kind was found in the works of Cartier, Smith, Lescarbot, and Wood, the second kind added to the accounts of Strachey and Sagard. The content of the vocabularies also reflects this division, as was demonstrated in the experiment (Graph 7, p. 148). All authors still translated a great variety of words, for this study divided into nine categories each further divided into subcategories. The number of translations in these categories vary based on wave sentiment and the author's personal preference and context. As the knowledge of the American continent grew, so did the information present in the vocabularies. Not only do they generally become larger, but they also integrate new knowledge (e.g. new translations for nations or the growing number of sentences). Here again, the main explanation for the inclusion of certain words can be located in the author's personal agency. Although the focus of the translations gradually moved from isolated nouns to more active parts of the language such as verbs, sentences, and adverbs (cat. 'Active use of language' and 'Other'), translations relating to the categories of Humans, Tools, and Household were still well represented.

The largest and most common of these categories were then used to create an experimental comparison of the vocabularies (Graph 7, p. 148) which aimed to uncover the similarities between the lists based on the extent to which they could be used to communicate. The second element in this comparison was the direction of translations, which indicated whether lists were used to understand or speak Native languages. From this comparison, it seemed that English vocabularies were primarily drafted in order to understand, whereas French leaned more towards speaking. In my view, this was a

result of the different stances on the integration of the Native population. Second wave authors advocated for the need for independent and self-sufficient English lands. This became a reality in the third wave, further facilitated by the small, isolated, and agrarian Puritan communities. In French territories, by contrast, French actors (missionaries, fur traders, …) actively sought out Natives, which moreover implies the need to address Natives in their own language, as their knowledge of French was not guaranteed. The other results of the comparison indicated that there was no correlation between the level of communication and the wave sentiment. Instead, the author's agency and intent – although influenced by wave sentiment – persevered.

A final technique to portray language information was by describing it in accounts. These descriptions were extraordinary additions to the public debate as their authors had a better understanding of Natives and their culture than others. For this reason, the sources in which such discourse was found were excluded when uncovering the wave sentiments and analyzed separately on their first impression and two other topics that required deeper knowledge of Native society: Native religion and the position of women. The authors' knowledge of these topics were furthermore also visible in the language information they provided (e.g. translated concepts or translations for household objects). Discourse on language was found in four sources containing language chapters of various length and quality. In the language chapters, the four authors give their opinions on various topics such as – to list but a few – the origins of Native languages, how these languages changed (or failed to change) throughout time, or the difficulties of pronunciation. The reasons why these authors used this technique and were thus willing to describe Native languages in greater detail, however, varied. Lescarbot included a description of the language because he saw it as a part of education, something he deemed Natives were in dire need of. His interest was furthermore influenced by Cartier – whom he idolized in his account – and his language information – of which he inserted the 'relevant' parts. Due to the inclusion of Cartier's language information in Lescarbot's investigation of the Natives, he was forced to reevaluate his static conception of America. Sagard's introduction to his dictionary was mainly motivated by the missionary language strategy, although the explanations only became religious and political on the last three pages. Wood's language chapter was rather short and aimed to demonstrate that the indigenous languages were a part of America that did not need to be feared. The fourth language chapter was written by Brébeuf as an update on his progress among the Natives for his superior.

The authors used the three outlined methods to present information concerning Native languages. Their knowledge of the subject, however, was more variegated than the number of methods. Cartier's knowledge of the encountered language was next to nothing. He was only able to insert three necessary translations into his account and never provided the original names of the places he visited. Furthermore, the vocabulary at the beginning of his print was drafted in Europe with the

aid of the enslaved Natives he had brought back with him on his second journey. The focus on numbers, body parts, food, and animals betrayed the trivial intent behind the vocabulary. All of the translated sentences were commands, portraying Cartier's mentality that assumed the Native population existed to serve him. Cartier perceived the language as a tool to aid the French in the colonization of these 'lesser' people. Champlain likewise had almost no real knowledge of the Native language and – like Cartier – only saw its practical benefits, primarily when referring to places. Based on the language information in his source, Harriot seemed to have a better command of the language than Cartier and Champlain, although not by much. However, he had been educated on the language before his journey by two enslaved Natives. Oddly, none of this previous knowledge seemed to have made it into the print, as only necessary translations were inserted. Because it would have been impossible for the enslaved Natives in England to provide Harriot with these words – as they could not indicate what animals and plants they meant – this knowledge was most likely Harriot's own. If he had more knowledge of the language, it did not make it into the 1590 summary. In the account, the portrayal of the Natives was generally quite positive, stressing their unthreatening yet developed nature. The insertion of necessary translations slightly altered the meaning of this image, conceiving the Natives as 'different', not just 'underdeveloped'. This did not necessarily make the discourse more negatively charged.

From the analyses, I estimate that Smith and Lescarbot had about the same amount of knowledge of respectively Powhatan and 'Souriquois'. Their conceptions, however, differed. More like Cartier and Champlain, Smith conceived language as a trinket; something easy to learn and possibly practical to know, but which held no great value.[757] Furthermore, as is also clear from his focus on tools in the vocabulary, Smith saw the danger of the large and well organized Powhatan Confederacy. He perceived Natives as a barbaric people that threatened English colonization, a fact which could not be dissuaded and was enhanced by his portrayal of the language. While Lescarbot might have agreed that Native languages were of lesser importance, as Natives would be required to learn French, his conception differed somewhat. He saw language as part of Native life, and thus something that needed to be analyzed in order to be able to properly educate them. The idea that the language was simple and uncivil was dominant in his language chapter and vocabulary. Likewise, the lack of necessary translations allowed for a comparison of the similarities between Natives and other peoples of the world, even Europeans. There is one remarkable aspect to his perception of the language: his misinterpretation of Cartier's numbers. Because Lescarbot assumed Cartier had encountered the same language he had, he concluded that the language must have changed over the last ca. 70 years. This assumption, in addition to the 'double language' which implied Natives had the mental capacities to

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[757] Especially the translated sentences portrayed this idea.

keep certain aspects of their lives hidden from Europeans, nuanced the otherwise dominant static portrayal of America and its people.

I believe Strachey and Wood likewise had about the same amount of knowledge of respectively Powhatan and Massachusett. From extent and translation directions of Strachey's dictionary and the large amount of necessary translations throughout the account, it is clear that he spent some time among the Native community in order to learn the language to a greater level than others of his wave. However, especially the large amount of abstract notions, (e.g. 'come look at my head', 'cleere stones we gather'), conjugated verb forms, and fixed sentences indicate that he had not mastered the language. Furthermore, because of the arbitrary nature of the words and phrases, I believe the dictionary holds the full extent of Strachey's knowledge. In Wood's vocabulary, although clearly shorter, it is clear that a selection was made to portray what the author deemed the most necessary words and phrases to aid new settlers, and thus that Wood's knowledge could have been greater than presented. Wood's account and language chapter furthermore indicate that he also spent considerable time among a Native tribe.

Although their knowledge was probably similar, their perception of the language and its influence on their image of Natives varied. The discourse on Natives present in Strachey's account portrayed the typical second wave characteristics of knowledge of societal organizations which lacked nuance. The account was however a testament to the depth of Strachey's knowledge, as he presented the information from previous voyages with their original arguments and augmented those with his own. While this style convincingly portrayed the accuracy of Strachey's information, it set a limit to the nature of information he could spread, and possibly a limit to the information he could gather. To give a trivial example: Strachey described skin color because Smith had done so. He added to this topic because he had knowledge of it, but also because the topic had been suggested to him. He might also have had information about other 'arbitrary' corporal characteristics (e.g. length of earlobes, length of the second toe, eye color, etc.), which were not described simply because these topics had likewise not been described in earlier accounts. In light of this, it could be theorized that Strachey had sufficient knowledge to include a chapter of language but did not do so because previous explorers had not.

Necessary translations had been part of Harriot's and Smith's accounts, and were thus also present in Strachey's, although he presented more translations. Strachey's direct translations, on the other hand, was different from his predecessor Smith. With both directions of translation represented and a great variety of words, especially verbs, adverbs, and sentences, Strachey's dictionary portrayed language as something that needed to be used by settlers. The Powhatan language was not the underdeveloped language of the servant class of which a few words were known to the English elites but was the language of the American colony. Like the fauna, flora, and inhabitants, it was unfamiliar but needed to be mastered by settlers in order to guarantee the success of the colonial project. This

sentiment was uncovered by the experimental comparison (Graph 7, p. 148) and further substantiated by the insertion of necessary translations throughout the account. As a result, Strachey's portrayal of the Powhatan language nuanced the dominant image found in Smith's account: Natives did not need to be feared and kept away from English settlements but needed to be included in the colonial project that they were inevitably a part of.

Wood, like Strachey, perceived Native languages as an integral part of the content of America, which was why he included a chapter on the Massachusett language in his account. In his chapter, the main aim was to portray the amount of contact new settlers would have with the Native population and their languages, and how this would influence their lives. From this language chapter and the dictionary at the end of the print, it is clear that Wood's opinions on the inclusive nature of settlements differed from Strachey's. The dictionary was alphabetized on Native word, only allowing one direction of translations which implied settlers might need to understand Massachusett but not speak it. Furthermore, in his language chapter, he stated all 'local' Natives would speak English when they encountered settlers. The inclusion of language information into the print consequently highlighted the exclusive nature of English settlements.

As missionaries who spent years immersed in Native communities, Sagard and Brébeuf naturally had the best knowledge of the Native language, in their case Wendat. From the complex structure and fixed translations in Sagard's dictionary, I assume the level of Sagard's knowledge was just below that of Brébeuf. Furthermore, Sagard was the only author to employ all techniques to portray language. Necessary translations were located throughout the account, not only related to commodities but also cultural objects, religious concepts, and political titles. His account was concluded with a Wendat dictionary, commencing with an introduction which provided information on the nature of the language, an explanation of the structure of the dictionary, and Sagard's religious and political incentives to create the dictionary. Compared to all other authors, Sagard provided the most positive portrayal of the language. He stated Wendat was unique in America, increasingly complex and with many local variations, and was dynamic and changeable. The stress on variation and change was also visible in the dictionary, which was organized alphabetically on verb roots. This positive portrayal was also visible in his account, where Natives were portrayed as eager to learn, yet capable to understand their undeveloped nature and able to consciously decide to become Christian. Like his portrayal of the people, Sagard opted not to present the language as barbaric and uncivil. The Natives were 'fully developed' people with a great amount of personal agency with a language that portrayed those same characteristics. Sagard thus portrayed his mission as the conversion of civil yet pagan people, not the reeducation of barbarians; a sentiment which was fortified by his conception of language.

In his language chapter and the translated catechism, Brébeuf demonstrated he had a firm grasp of Wendat vocabulary, religious symbols, and grammar. His conception of the language, however, was not as positive as would be expected. In his account, the parts of Natives' society relevant to their conversion were described. The insertion of a language chapter as part of this description already implicitly classified it as a tool for missionaries. This utilitarian sentiment was furthermore visible in his discourse. His language chapter began with the Natives' inability to form certain letters which Brébeuf linked to their rude manners and absence of some 'higher' concepts. The described parts of the language in the language chapter and the account all indicate or solve a 'problem'. For example, Brébeuf noted that it was considered taboo to use the names of the deceased or refer to them in any way, which hindered the translation of 'Our Father who is in Heaven'. Likewise, the necessary translations of religious concepts were also used in the catechism to substitute Christian concepts. This last example furthermore indicates how the language was used and altered to serve the purpose of conversion. Brébeuf thus conceived the language as uncivil yet necessary to his mission. From thereon, he used it to convey its 'missing concepts' and appropriated existing words, changing their meaning to import Christian ideas. According to Brébeuf, missionaries did not need to learn the Natives' language, they only needed to be able to provide Natives with comprehensible scripture. Because of this, he did not create a dictionary or outline Wendat grammar.

Over the three waves, knowledge of language knew an overall growth, although the level of knowledge of authors of the same wave was variable. Likewise, the amount of knowledge did not always influence the author's perception or his final description. Instead, the author's personal agency and – to a lesser extent – wave sentiment influenced the portrayals of Native languages. The first wave authors portrayed a simple and hospitable Native population living on a prosperous continent. The emptiness of the tabula rasa framework persevered as little information about Native practices circulated. In light of this, Cartier conceived language as equally simple and portrayed its submissive and rudimentary words and phrases as an entertaining extra part of his account, much like voyagers often inserted maps. Like his account, this vocabulary served to interest the French king and generate the idea of effortless colonization. It was then later printed to portray this same idea when French explorations recommenced. Harriot's account similarly aimed to portray the economic opportunities of permanent American colonization. The necessary translations indicated the bountiful yet unknown plants and wildlife. Language was conceived and used as a tool to portray the exotic objects of the continent.

The second wave authors portrayed more substantial knowledge of the continent and its inhabitants. The voyages they accompanied aimed to explore, map, and prepare for colonial permanence. Champlain showed no interest in the language – apart from its practical use in geography – until after the second wave. Only after his explorations had ceased did he concern himself with the

fate of the Native population, then including religious texts at the back of his print to spread the translations of catechisms. Language was thus only perceived as useful in two cases. Smith and Strachey shared Champlain's opinion when language related to places. However, Smith also portrayed the language as a tool, which he consequently used to provide new voyagers with the knowledge of what words the Powhatan would use when they referred to their weapons. It could be hypothesized that Smith's sense of insecurity was a result of his near-death experience at the hands of Powhatan. However, I believe that personal experience was only one of many that contributed. It is understandable that Smith perceived America as a threatening place, as he also fell victim to a gunpowder explosion which forced him to return to England.

Strachey and Lescarbot embarked on their voyages with the sole intent to report their experiences and were thus more literary. Strachey had a similar experience as Smith's on his shipwreck, although his experiences on the mainland differed. He had filled an vacant administrative position in the Jamestown settlement, and was thus an active part of the colonial state apparatus. I believe that this explains the difference between his inclusive approach to Natives – whom he knew as neighbors – whereas the other second wave authors were more wary. Lescarbot's portrayal of Natives and their language was presented in the third and last part of his print and was motivated by a number of factors. First, his journey had been financed by the Protestant explorer Sieur de Poutrincourt, for whose benefit several critical religious remarks were inserted. A second factor was Lescarbot's humanist focus on education. In his account, he inserted various quotes from sources of Antiquity, all of which inserted into passages where the comparison with Native tribes was implied. The static image that was evoked by this comparison was furthermore visible in several anecdotes on the origins and evolution of the Natives and their languages. Lescarbot believed the Natives development had been halted by God when their continent was isolated from the rest of the world. Now that they had been 'reunited' with humanity, it was the European's task to educate them.

A final factor that motivated Lescarbot's conception and portrayal of language was personal fame. As a lawyer and a poet, he was of no great value to the exploratory mission, something he seemed to compensate for in his account. He often equated the travels of great French explorers such as Ribault, Laudonnière, Léry, and Cartier by inserting excerpts from their travelogues into his own account. Lescarbot's reliance on their expertise, however, forced him to conceptualize and portray the language in a different way than usual. Cartier's vocabulary list, drafted after his second voyage in 1535 which traveled into the St. Lawrence river to Iroquois territory, added his first voyage report which explored the territory of Algonquin-speaking Natives, was the main source which forced Lescarbot to nuance his portrayal. Because Cartier never used Native words to indicate places, Lescarbot assumed that the village of Hochelaga lay in the same region he traveled, i.e. Acadia. This misinterpretation led

Lescarbot to conclude that the language Cartier encountered had disappeared or changed, either option invalidating Lescarbot's static conception of the continent.

Third wave authors found themselves privy to a relatively great amount of previous information to aid their journey and benefited from the available colonial infrastructure in terms of safety and resources. These authors were always found in a religious context: Sagard and Brébeuf as missionaries and Wood as a traveler among the Puritan communities of New England. The missionaries of New France were sent out to convert Natives, but also received a fixed, three-step language strategy from their superiors: to learn the language themselves, to draft dictionaries and grammar books to aid other missionaries in learning the language, and then to translate Catholicism's principal texts. Sagard's own conception of the language thus had very little influence on the fact that language information was included in his print. However, in the parts where he could include his own opinions, he portrayed a very nuanced and informed image of the Natives and their language, only implementing the 'pauvres sauvages' trope on a couple of occasions. Wood's print aimed to convince his audience to settle in America, to which purpose he portrayed the most visible aspects of the Natives they would encounter. The inclusion of a language chapter and vocabulary among the other aspects – such as their appearance, politics, or religion – aimed to normalize the exotic and unfamiliar American population. Since the print was compiled for commercial purposes, it also hints that potential settlers were interested in Native languages.

The most striking example of the triumph of agency over a fixed pattern in presenting language information is Brébeuf's works. Upon Brébeuf's first voyage in 1625, this strategy had (unsuccessfully) been in place for five years. Nonetheless, the first language information Brébeuf drafted was a translated catechism (first printed in 1630, step 3) and later his chapter on language (printed in 1637, step 1). Three elements stress the triumph of agency. First, when the catechism was printed, Brébeuf had returned to France and took his Jesuit vows. He was certainly aware of the language strategy, as he successfully completed its first and third steps. Secondly, he was undoubtably aware of the 'failure' of other orders to convert Natives, for example the Recollects of whom Sagard was a member. Although Sagard did follow the steps of the strategy, his order was recalled from France and replaced by the Jesuits. Finally, Brébeuf had continued contact with his superior after his return to New France in 1634, as is evident from the printed letters. He failed to create a dictionary or a grammar despite his abilities to do so, all seemingly without repercussion. As is clear from this example, even when authors were given explicit instruction on language information, the selection of information was still highly influenced by personal choices. It is therefore not surprising that so little structure and similarities can be found in the portrayal of language by other authors, who were furthermore separated by space, time, heritage, and motivations. As a result, I argue that the few similarities that could be uncovered were due to an implicit, shared mentality on how to approach Native languages.

In this study's introduction, a transregional approach to French and English travel writing was announced. This was based on the evidence that there were few substantial differences in colonial approach in the earliest period of permanent colonization in Northern America. Throughout this study, small scale local discrepancies were clarified where necessary. In language information, there likewise seem to be very little differences that can be explained by the heritage of the author, as in both colonial spheres the author's agency explained the presentation of language information. In the insertion of necessary translations and the nature of these words, there were no differences between French and English accounts. First wave author Harriot inserted a high number of necessary translations – something extraordinary for his wave – but thereby influenced both the English and the French second wave authors. For the second wave, the reliance of Lescarbot and Strachey on the accounts of respectively Champlain and Smith explains why their necessary translations were similar, and thus does not portray a national sentiment. The similarities between the French and English second wave necessary translations, on the other hand, advocate for a similar transregional perception of language during this wave. Likewise, between all third wave accounts, the only common denominator was the necessary translation of religious words.

The addition of direct translations to travelogues evolved differently in French and English travelogues. In each wave, one French author inserted a vocabulary, while English vocabularies only appear in the second and third wave sources. This does not indicate greater language interest on the French side, as the lack of direct translations in Harriot's account was counteracted with the amount of necessary translations. Although there was no difference in language interest, the 1622 Jamestown Massacre heavily impacted the perception of Natives and their language in English colonial regions. As Table 3 (p. 146) illustrated, there was a general transregional growth in the content of the vocabularies, where they not only became larger but also translated more varieties of words. In third wave vocabularies, the English vocabulary in Wood's print did not continue this trend but could instead only be used on a cooperation level. 1622 was not the date on which the English perception of Native languages changed but hardened the already present sentiment of exclusion. In the direction of translation, it is clear that English vocabularies had always been outlined in order to understand Natives, never to speak to them in their language. By contrast, the language information in the French third wave accounts was inserted to guarantee the inclusion of Natives in French colonial structures.

As thoroughly stressed throughout this study, language chapters were the rarest form of language information, primarily found in the third wave sources. Because there are only four authors to use this technique to portray Native languages, it is hard to locate 'national' sentiments. Lescarbot's inclusion of a language chapter did not reflect French sentiments as much as it reflected his own attention for language. Likewise, the missionaries were compelled to include descriptions of Native language because of their religious affiliation, not their nationality. In conclusion, in both colonial

regions authors collected and portrayed language information using the same techniques, the amount and content of this information mainly influenced by their personal opinions and wave sentiments. Furthermore, the divide between French and English territories is an arbitrary one, considering there were regional differences in these territories as well. As a result, in the study of the perception of Native languages, a division between French and English travelogues is not a necessity as long as the nuances of regional contexts are properly respected in the interpretation of the source material.

This implies the existence of a 'general European' conception of Native languages; a topic that was present in all analyzed travelogues. In providing language information, all authors were aware of the influence their presentations had on the European conceptualization of Native savagery. An argument can be made that the inclusion of language information of itself aimed to nuance the dominant image of savagery, as the authors at least acknowledged that the American inhabitants *could* speak. However, considering the lengthy analyses of this study, I argue instead that the selected authors purposely included language information to either substantiate, nuance, or contradict the image of Native savagery. The language information in the works of Cartier, Champlain and Smith clearly aimed to substantiate the savage nature of its speakers. Cartier's vocabulary – which contained both direct and necessary translations – was not compiled out of respect for the Natives' form of expression. Its insertion at the beginning at his account and the connotational structure hints at its frivolous purpose. The more convincing arguments that point toward Cartier's intent to use language as a way to portray savagery were uncovered in the cohesion experiment. Cartier's vocabulary was meant to speak Natives' language and allowed for cooperation. When this aspect is put together with the commanding nature of sentences, it becomes clear that Cartier viewed Natives in a similar way as Spanish explorers had: as natural slaves. Unironically, Cartier had enslaved several Natives on his 1535/6 voyage and forced them to provide translations for words Cartier then used to implicitly justify their enslavement.

Champlain's and Smith's insertions of language information were considerably less cruel, yet also substantiated Native savagery. Champlain can be interpreted as indifferent to Natives and their language, which he only used when it was more convenient than French. This indifference made the insertion of translated catechisms stand out. Language was only used to one purpose, to stress the Natives' pagan nature and their need for education and conversion. Smith's vocabulary was – like Cartier's – inserted as an appetizer to the account and has a thematic structure. The pervasiveness of Smith's paranoia is tangible in the direction of translation and the following translations of weapons and sentences. In addition to the fact that his vocabulary was only useful on a survival level, it becomes clear that Smith aimed to prepare his reader for the violent and savage nature of the continent.

Whilst the accounts of Harriot, Lescarbot, Strachey, and Brébeuf portrayed an unwavering image of Native savagery, the inclusion of language information into their accounts (unwillingly)

nuanced their discourse. As a first wave author on a scientific endeavor, Harriot only aimed to describe the encountered commodities. Nonetheless, the inserted necessary translations brought an exotic element to the description. Especially the words for 'Lorde' and religious concepts (deities and the afterlife), nuanced the tabula rasa image in which Natives had no societal order or religion. Dominant throughout Lescarbot's account was the static America theme, the L-R-F motif, the call for the religious education for Natives, and other elements that uncover how uncivil he perceived Natives. His chapters on women and religion made it clear that he perceived Natives as so 'inferior' that they were even unfit to be servants, unless they were '(re-)educated'. In his language information, I argue that Lescarbot – surely unwillingly – nuanced savagery on at least two occasions. The first was provoked by his misinterpretation of Cartier's numbers, already summarized above. A second unintended nuance is found in the insertion of vocabulary. While this was solely meant to portray how easy Native languages were, Lescarbot's choice of translations actually humanized Natives, showing them mending clothes and cooking. Especially when compared to Brébeuf – who had the best knowledge of Native culture and language – Lescarbot's hints at savagery seem small scaled.

Brébeuf's language information was included in order to improve conversion efforts. Although he was able to portray a very nuanced picture of Native savagery, his frustrations as a missionary are visible. As he translated a catechism before compiling a Wendat vocabulary or grammar, it is clear he did not agree missionaries needed Native language in their efforts. The nature of the information – the details that showed how complex Wendat truly was and how complicated its cultural use was – nonetheless nuanced the dominant savagery image he often promoted. Like his chapter on religion, the language information was extremely detailed, even including the otherwise ignore female speakers. However, his language chapter was compiled to suggest answers to various problems, not enlighten his reader on the details of Native culture. In Strachey's account, the savagery image from previous authors was blindly reproduced and augmented with Strachey's own arguments. The language information in his vocabulary, however, portrayed an opposing image. Strachey's included both directions of translation, ensuring reciprocal communication in order to successfully cohabite the continent. Likewise, the large number of necessary translations stressed the unique nature of the American continent. As a result, Strachey's language information did not envision that the differences between Europe and America were bridgeable, but that they would create a colony as 'equal' partners.

Finally, Sagard and Wood used their accounts and its language information to contradict the image of savagery. In providing a first impression of Natives to his readers, Wood had stated that while most parts of the continent were wild and uncivil, the Massachusett Natives were by nature superior to Europeans. The positive sentiment continued in his chapter on women and religion, stressing the ability of America to change for the 'better' and become a 'civil' place. In his language chapter, he negated their comparison to Jews, preferring comparisons to the Dutch and the English themselves.

He furthermore noted the unique oral culture and the extraordinary ability of these Natives to speak English. This positive sentiment is less visible in his vocabulary, although this can be attributed to the commercial purpose of the list. As noted above, Sagard used defamatory language on just a few occasions, each of which can be clearly separated from his generally positive discourse. Throughout his account he proved to have an exceptional understanding of Native culture and more importantly the Natives' agency, especially that of women. Despite his personal distaste for paganism, Sagard was still able to provide a nuanced and 'fair' image in his chapter on religion. He portrayed Wendat as a highly complex language – at the very least equal to European languages – which was certainly suited to convey Christian concepts to Natives. Moreover, he recognized that knowledge of Wendat was useful for more than conversion, and as a result inserted a large number of mundane translations into his dictionary.

To summarize, language information was rare in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century travelogues as various factors of the early colonial permanence impeded a correct European understand of the American continent, its inhabitants, and their languages. In three slightly different colonial contexts, enveloping three consecutive time periods, nine authors inserted acceptable language information into their travel accounts. In order to understand how and why these authors portrayed language in a certain way, a first necessity was knowledge of the authors' historical context and knowledge of the underlying ideas that influenced their conceptions. A second necessity was knowledge of the manner of portrayal of any kind of information by the authors. Based on this foundation, it became clear how the authors portrayed their knowledge and perceptions of Native languages. For this purpose, they were able to use two techniques: discourse or translations. The latter technique was employed creatively, and therefore has three types: direct translations, necessary translations, or a combination of the two. This study made a twofold conclusion. First, its states that analyzed French and English authors were primarily influenced in their conception of Native languages by their personal encounters with the language, which was in part influenced by their wave sentiment. This conception was then portrayed in their travelogues largely unaltered, which indicates a great level of agency in the contents of their accounts. The second conclusion argues that – instead of separate French and English sentiments – the language information was presented in a general sentiment which is intricately linked to the perception of Native savagery.

Annex

1.   *Northeast Indian: distribution*, Image, from *Encyclopedia Britannica,* accessed May 17, 2020, https://academic-eb-com.kuleuven.ezproxy.kuleuven.be/levels/collegiate/assembly/view/331.

Notes: Algonquin is a language family, here used to refer to Cree.

Huron is Wendat

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