

MICMAC HIEROGLYPHS WERE THEY INVENTED BY THE FRENCH?

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INTRODUCTION

Most of us are aware of the Indians' use of unique marks as signatures, but the elaborate use of pictographs by the Micmac Indian pupils of French Missionaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries raises intriguing questions about the history and origin of this system of these North American hieroglyphic marks on birch bark.

It has been universally accepted that the French priests in the Canadian Maritimes had actually invented the system of hieroglyphs to instruct the natives in Catholic ways.

This study sets out to demonstrate that the French verb *inventer* had at that time the preferred meaning of "discover" (something that was already there), rather than "invent" something new. This misunderstanding can be traced from one authority to another back to the work of Abbé Maillard in 1740. In reconsidering this concept, I hope that students will become interested in taking another look and join the search for the Micmacs' own "marks on birch bark" before the missionaries added their own artistic touches.

John Hewson (1970) presents a good history of the Micmacs and of their hieroglyphs, declaring that the hieroglyphs were taught in the Micmac Newfoundland colony's school until 1910. Hewson accepts them as ideograms, saying "a European missionary developed and systematized a native Indian trick of making marks on birch bark as an *aide-mémoire*. Consequently the shapes of many of the hieroglyphs are pure Algonkian, adopted from the double-scroll patterns that the Algonkians used for decorative motifs on clothes, moccasins, and other items." But it may be noted that a Penobscot Indian Professor at the University of Maine remarked that such scrollwork, sometimes referred to as the double incursive, always reminds him of the embroidery found on the priests' vestments.
[FIGURE 2-A & 2-B]

This raises a question that certainly should be answered: Does Micmac or Algonkian art prior to contact exhibit the double incursive figure? It almost seems that the later versions of Abbé Maillard and Silas Rand look more incursive than those that are thought to be early.

One of the objects of this search is to find examples of the hieroglyphs described by Father Chrestien LeClercq in 1691. Although he wrote about the marks on birch bark, he gave us no examples. Such a find would illuminate this subject. Of course, finding original examples dating before conjecture.

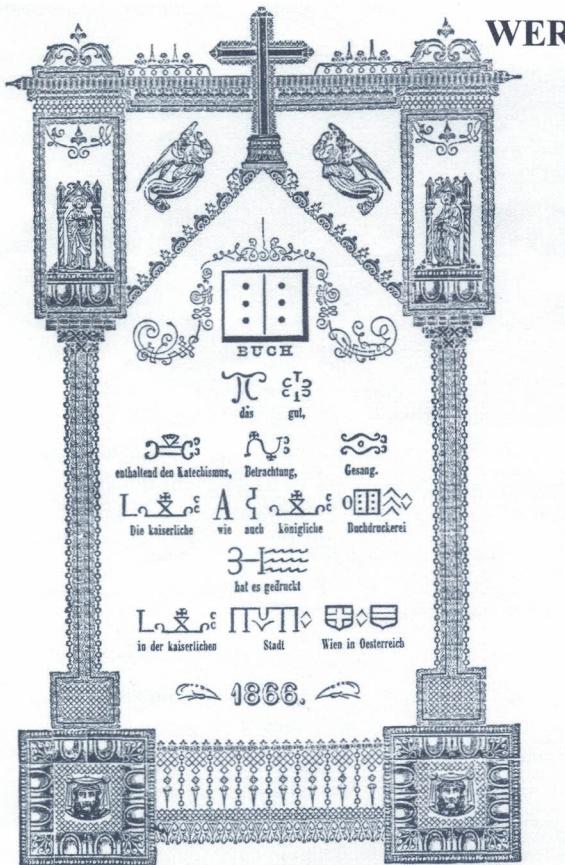


FIGURE 1: TITLE PAGE OF KAUDER'S MICMAC CATECHISM

FROM MALLORY (1888)

CHRONOLOGY

- | | |
|------|--|
| 1652 | Father Gabriel Drulettes reported Micmacs at Kennebec mission making marks on birch bark that aided their memory. |
| 1679 | Father Chrétien LeClercq reports the same at Perce and adapts them to form new characters to teach the Bible and Christian doctrines. |
| 1691 | LeClercq publishes <i>Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspesie</i> , in Paris, stating "caracteres que j'ai formez" but leaves no examples. |
| 1738 | Father, later Abbé, Antoine Maillard introduces his Micmac hieroglyphic system with "caracteres que nous avon inventez." |
| 1861 | John Gilmary Shea reviews glyphs, attributes origin to LeClercq. |
| 1864 | Publication of <i>La Langue Micmaque</i> , Maillard, edited by Rev. Joseph Bellinger. |
| 1866 | Father Christien Kaude publishes prayer book using 5703 character type font in Vienna. Based on Maillard. |
| 1878 | James C. Pilling Bibliography of Algonkian languages, Garrick Mallery publishes <i>Picture Writing of the American Indians</i> . |
| 1893 | <i>New Relations of Gaspesia</i> , Leclercq's 1691 work translated by William Ganong, with introduction on glyphs, etc. Champlain society. Toronto Facimile republished, Greenwood Press, NY 1968. |
| 1910 | |



FIGURE 2A: MICMAC DESIGN

FROM ROBERTSON (1973)

tionaries (1888 & 1902). The only dictionaries of the language to date." They are done in manually produced hieroglyphs, with no translation.

Hewson wrote to me on 1988 expressing doubts that we will find anything earlier than Maillard's 1740s examples. He advised against searching for any phonetic relationships. They represent ideas, concepts, not sounds, and are an example of an Europeanized extension of what was already in use among the Amerindians. These symbols and marks were ideographic, not phonetic. Regarding my reference to Barry Fell, Hewson suggested that I beware, citing Prof. Glynn Daniel, "Fell is a deluded scholar of abysmal ignorance of European prehistory which would be unacceptable among third year undergraduates." Hewson suggests, "there may well be items in libraries in France...saw Abnaki MSS. in the treasury of the Cathedral in Chartres sent by eighteen missionaries." Still, Hewson's statement that the hieroglyphs were already in use among the Amerindians does give us encouragement in our search.

John L. Lenhart (1921) claims Maillard benefited by LeClercq's prior work, though Maillard gives no credit and assumes all to himself. Maillard worked at Halifax from 1735 to his death in 1762.

Father Christian Kauder, a very remarkable missionary, came to the Micmacs in 1856, and worked until he was probably lost at sea about 1877. Father Kauder copied by hand what manuscripts he found, and by 1860 he had abstracted from Maillard's manuscripts a "word list" of 5703 characters. In 1866 he was able to have type fonts produced in Vienna and a book printed containing many of Maillard's Prayers and Sacraments. [FIGURE 1] Most of that edition was lost at sea, and was not reprinted until the 1921 Lenhart edition. [FIGURE 3]

Lenhart states that Kauder "went to Nova Scotia and made his home with the Trappists of Trocadie. Father Kauder labored incessantly among the Micmacs for fifteen years until the beginning of the year 1871, when he was forced by ill health to discontinue his work.... On November 14, 1877 he left his country (Luxemburg) again to return to his mission among the Micmacs. This is the last we know of him." Lenhart quotes from a Kauder 1859 letter, "these savages cannot read any other writing besides these

hieroglyphs. I never could find out with any degree of certainty how these hieroglyphs have come to them which they prize so highly." Evidently he was unaware of both LeClercq and Maillard. The word "savages" above was underlined, as it must be noted that LeClercq almost always referred to the Micmacs as "*Les sauvages*," frequently adding "who cannot read or write." This was a belief evidently held by the Europeans, even after, as in LeClercq's case, he had lived with them for most of ten years.

In a very comprehensive study of the picture writing of the American Indians, Garrick Mallery (1893) quotes Father Gabriel Druillette's subordinate report to the Jesuit Relations of 1652: "Some of them wrote out their lessons in their own manner. They made use of a small piece of charcoal instead of a pen, and a piece of bark instead of paper. Their Characters were novel, and so *particuliers* (individual or special), that one could not know or understand the writing of the other, ...we would observe that any of us, writing with the finest pens, paper and ink, may not always be legible to others!"

The editor of *The Relation*, Abbé Maurault, added a footnote: "We have ourselves been witnesses of a similar fact among the Têtes-de-Boule (Round Head) Indians, branch of the Ojibwa of the River St. Maurice..." Writing of LeClercq and then Kauder, Mallery states, "It [the book] was printed in Vienna in 1866 and therefore was about two centuries later than the first recorded invention of the characters." Here, referring to LeClercq (1691), obviously unaware of Maillard (1738).

James C. Pilling (1891), in his *Bibliography of the Algonkian Language*, is also unaware of Maillard, but does refer to John G. Shea's work (1861) on LeClercq. On page 305, he reports "a very odd coincidence shows a Facsimile of the Lord's Prayer in Micmac Hieroglyphs (from LeClercq)." These cannot be LeClercq, but must be from Kauder's type font. [FIGURE 4 & 5] However, the very same characters shown are also shown by Shea on the cover of the Historical Magazine as the "Our Father," except the last character is inverted.

Later Pilling reports, "LeClercq, Pere Chrestien: *De La Langue Gaspesiens*, worked in Gaspe from 1655 through 1661 and 1662." (The dates are at odds with the other writers.)

Lenhart reports that Maillard appears to claim that he invented the characters: "...in a letter written by l'Abbé Maillard himself at a date unknown, but certainly much later than that of Abbé de Loutre (1738), 'on which we have



FIGURE 2A: MICMAC DESIGN

FROM ROBERTSON (1973)

traced in heiroglyphics, which we have invented ourselves..." ("nous leur avons tracé en heiroglyphics, que nous avons inventez nous-memes...")

Shea also notes that "...Father LeClercq introduced symbolic characters among the Micmacs, and as they still remain, modified perhaps by time, there can be little doubt but that he is entitled to the honor of inventing the characters we have given." And "our investigations... have persuaded us that they are a European work on an Indian Foundation."

He continues, "A manuscript in this character is said to exist in one of the public libraries at Paris, and steps have been taken to have it copied in whole or in part. As described to me, it is of the seventeenth century, and it may possibly be one of those sent to France by Father LeClercq himself." Shea's manuscripts have been saved, as a noted Catholic historian, but are dispersed in several institutions. Thanks to many helpful archivists, these records have been searched, but no mention of a manuscript of Micmac hieroglyphs has been found. Hopefully, the Paris volume will turn up.

In his introduction to a translation of LeClercq's book about the French explorations of the Mississippi, Shea (1881) noted "a government officer on that coast thus speaks of them in a recent report: 'The earlier missionaries,' says R. MacDonald, Indian Agent, 'had invented a system...'"

Shea does not recognize any similarity with Egyptian or other hieroglyphs, nor does he appear to be aware of Fathers Maillard or Kauder.

In his introduction to his translation of Le Clercq's *New Relation of Gaspesia*, Ganong (1910) states: "He tells us that he formed (*formez*) these characters, by which he could only mean that he invented them... and it is generally believed by those having knowledge of the existent Micmac systems that it was invented by l'Abbé Maillard in the middle of the eighteenth century." And on page 25, "he nowhere gives any further description of the characters themselves" and "Such is the record of the invention by Father LeClercq of a hieroglyphic system of characters." [FIGURE 6 & 7]

From the text itself, we quote Father LeClercq, "Our Lord inspired me with this method the second year of my mission (1677). I perceived some children making

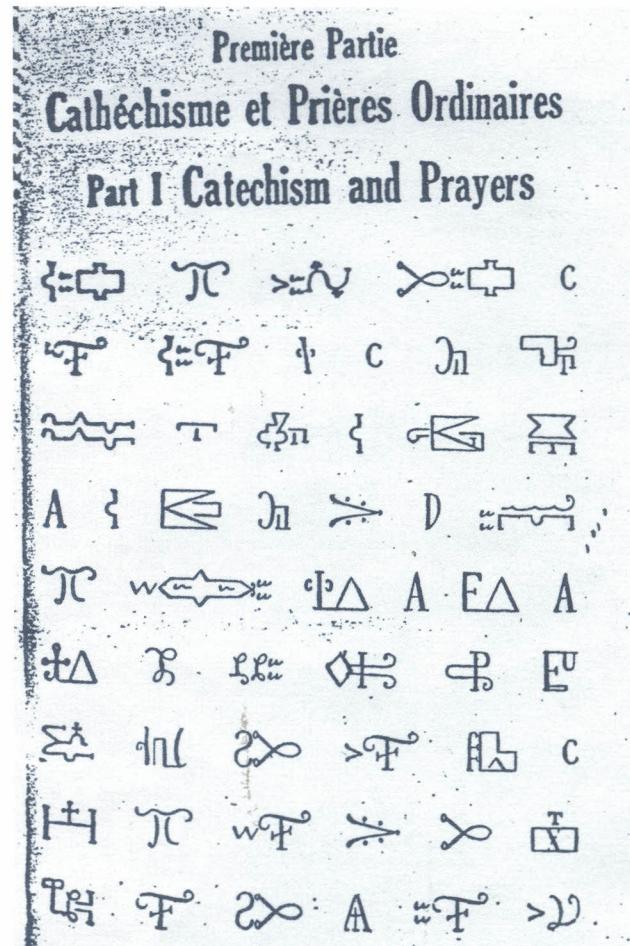


FIGURE 3: MICMAC CATECHISM & PRAYERS FROM LENHART (1921)

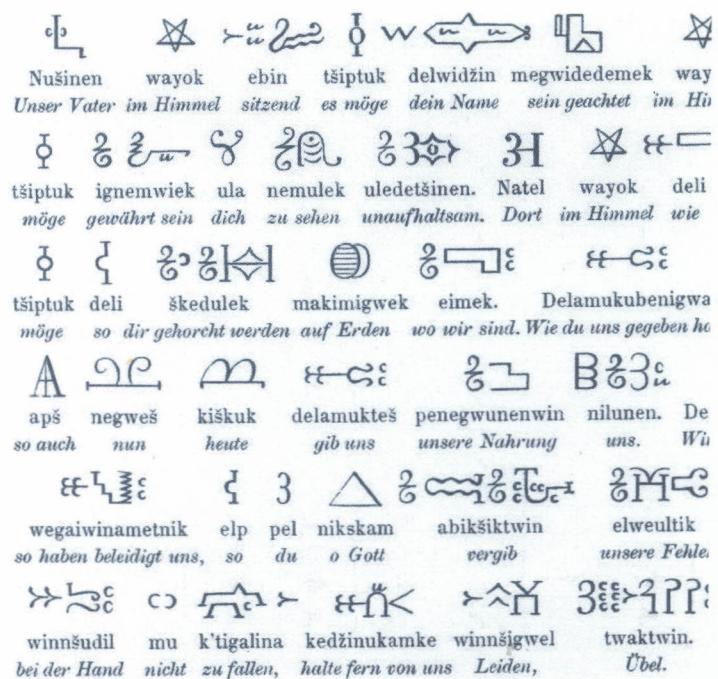


FIGURE 4: LORD'S PRAYER WITH GERMAN TRANSLATION FROM FAULMANN (1880)



FIG. 1083.—The Lord's Prayer in Micmac hieroglyphics.

FIGURE 5: THE LORD'S PRAYER WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION
FROM MALLORY (1989) IDENTICAL TO PILLING & SHEA

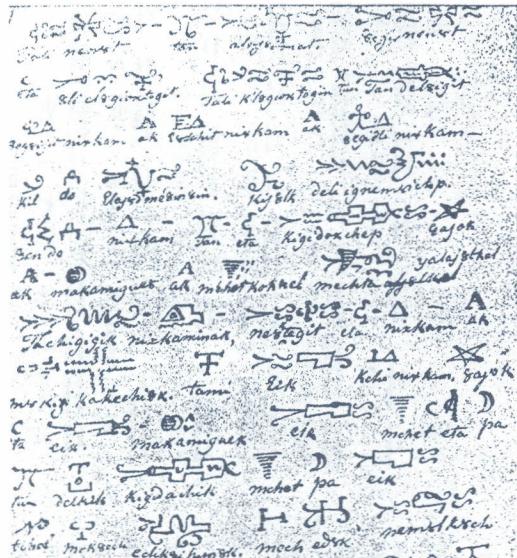


FIGURE 6: SAMPLE OF MICMAC HIEROGLYPHIC WRITTEN BY ABBÉ MAILLARD FROM GANONG (1910)

marks with a coal on a piece of birch bark, and pointing to them very exactly at each of the prayers that they uttered; this led me to believe that by giving them some formulary which would help their memory by certain characters, I would be able to progress much more...these characters which I had formed on paper...." "It is true it cost them much time and pains to form as many as they ask...." We note that he cannot bring himself to use the word "write," so the characters must be "formed." This does not imply that he has "invented" the hieroglyphic system; in a previous part of his volume (p.129) he says, "The easy method which I found for teaching...with certain characters that I formed."

We move on to consider the observations of Barry Fell in his controversial book *America BC*. One portion of the book has nothing to do with stone markings. It tells of a French priest adapting the marks made on birch bark "into a system of characters by which the priest could more easily instruct his native students in the Bible and sacraments." Micmac hieroglyphs were already in use before 1738, when Abbé Maillard adapted them for his Manual *Hieroglyphique Micmac*. (Fell 1978) Fell suggests "more recent studies (Fell 1983) have led me to the conclusion that the Micmac contact was not so much with ancient Egyptian writers directly, but rather with eastern Libyans, from the border of Egypt and Libya." [FIGURE 8]

Fell claimed to have found definite relationships between the Micmac hieroglyphics and ancient East Libyan hieroglyphic scripts (1979). While they hardly resemble the court-scribe texts in the British Museum, Fell indicates that the Micmac glyphs are well within the many variations in the Libyan depictions made by different scribes. Fell studied only Kauder's type font, which follows after Maillard. This is many times removed from the original Micmac marks on birch bark as to prove absolutely nothing with respect to the original work. Fell could only wonder how in 1740 Father Maillard could have managed to create the same meaning for many of the same glyphs eighty years before Champollion deciphered the Rosetta Stone.

Intrigued by the question, I wrote to archaeologist Robert McAdams, Secretary of the Smithsonian, asking for guidance on Mystery Hill, Fell, and the hieroglyphics. His reply was completely negative, and he enclosed a rejection written by the Smithsonian staff of both Mystery Hill (which it appears neither author had visited) and of Fell. However, it was their explanation of the hieroglyphics that caught my attention. Why would Maillard, an educated man, try to teach the Bible by inventing a complete new writing system, unless the natives' marks were something much more than pictographic mnemonics? What a truly impossible job, even for Champollion himself.

Goddard and Fitzhugh (1979) state that, "The Micmac writing system is used to aid in the reciting of Christian prayers; it cannot be used to write new messages. It was developed by Roman Catholic missionaries inspired by the use of pictographic mnemonics among the Indians, but its principles have never been explicated in detail." (Mallery 1893:666-671)

It would be appropriate here to call attention to Roger Ray's excellent *Bibliography of the Indians of Maine and the Atlantic Provinces* (1977). When asked why he did not mention Fell's three books, which certainly treat voluminously in this area, Roger remarked that he had excluded Fell on the advice of the Librarian at Harvard University, which at that time harbored Dr. Fell as professor of marine biology.

However flawed Fell's interpretation may be, there is just enough similarity between some of the Micmac and Egyptian symbols to pique one's curiosity. While no definitive conclusion can be drawn either to assert or to deny a clear connection, the door remains open to those who would choose to pursue this line of inquiry.

For those who wish to study the early account in *New Relations*, we include the following LeClercq excerpts in original 1691 French beside Ganong's 1910 translation:

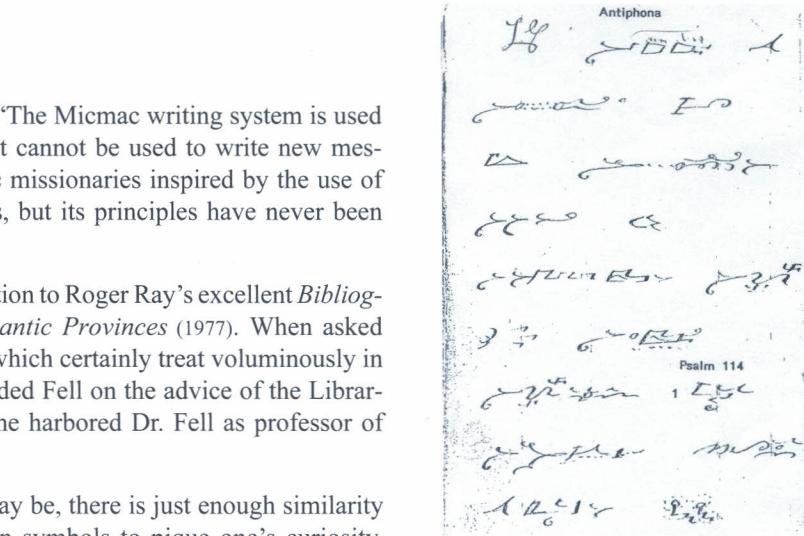


FIGURE 7: MICMAC HIEROGLYPHS FROM THE COLLECTION OF BETTY SINCERBEAUX

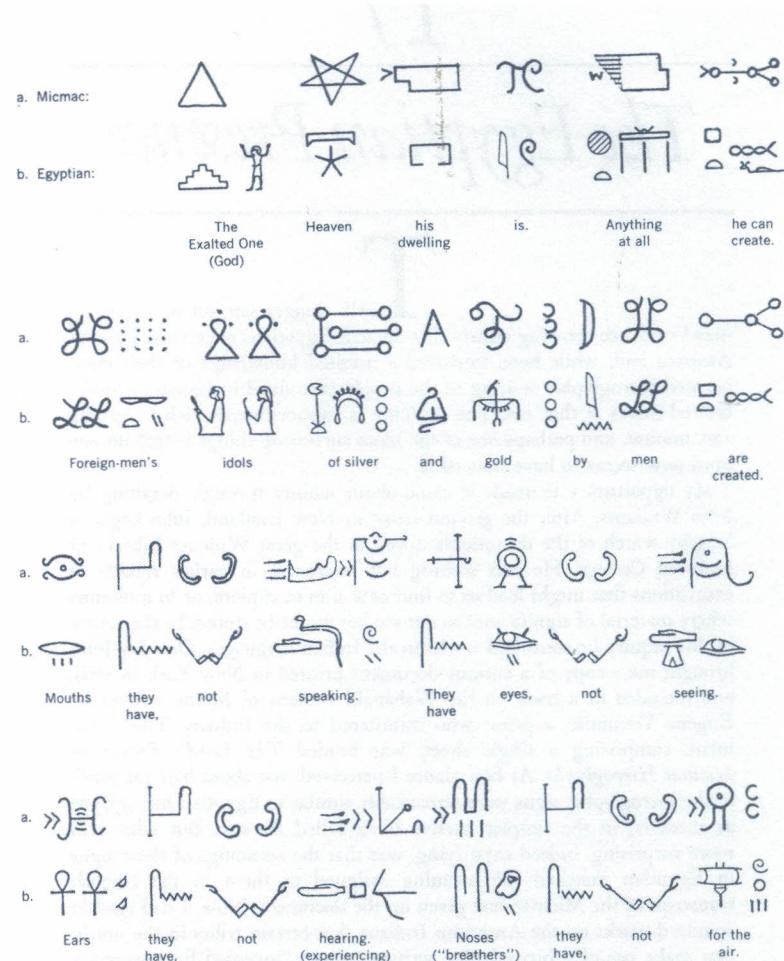


FIGURE 8: COMPARISON BEWTEEN MIC MAC AND EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHICS FROM FELL (1978)

EXCERPTS FROM
THE NEW RELATION OF GASPEIA

The New Relation of Gaspesia, by Father Chrétien LeClercq, was translated and edited by William Ganong, Professor, Smith College, and published by the Champlain Society, Toronto in 1910 and reprinted by Greenwood Press, New York in 1968. We are pleased to present relevant excerpts from both the original French and Ganong's English translation for your study.

GANONG — 1910

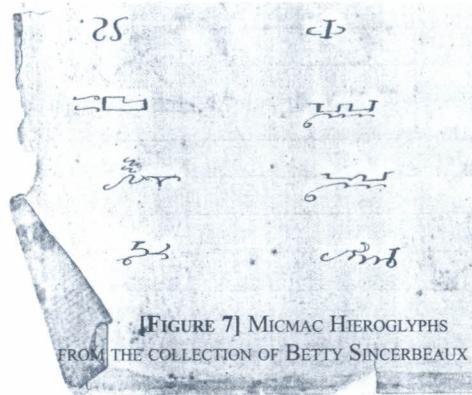
[PAGE 28] I learned them in a very short time, with much greater ease than I had anticipated. I taught them also for the first time to our Indians, with much success, by means of the instructive characters of which I will speak in the continuation of this history.

[PAGE 104] These tormented and persecuted them continually with so much cruelty at the sole recollection of the horror of the crime which they had just perpetrated (cannibalizing their child in a famine), that they believed themselves wholly unworthy to receive the leaflets and the characters which I gave to the other Indians and which I made to good effect in teaching them the prayers, the catechism, and the principles of faith I was preaching to them.

[PAGE 129] The facility which I have found in a method for teaching the prayers to our Gaspesiens by means of certain characters which I have formed, fully persuades me that the majority would soon become educated; for in fact, I should find no more difficulty in teaching them to read than to pray to God by means of my papers, in which each arbitrary letter signifies a particular word.

[PAGE 130] ...and sometimes even two together. They have so much readiness in understanding this kind of writing that they learn in a single day what they would never have been able to grasp in an entire week without the aide of these leaflets, which they call Kignamotinoer, or Katequenne. They preserve these instructive papers with so much care, and they have for them so particular an esteem that they keep them very neatly in little cases of birch bark bedecked with wampum, with beadwork, and with porcupine quills. They hold them between their hands, as we do our prayer books, during holy Mass, after which, they shut them up again in their little cases.

The principle advantage and usefulness which results from this new method is this, that the Indians instruct one



[FIGURE 7] MICMAC HIEROGLYPHS
FROM THE COLLECTION OF BETTY SINCERBEAUX

LECLERCQ — 1691

[PAGE 28] *Je les apris en fort peu de temps, avec beaucoup plus de facilité que je ne me l'étois persuedé; je les enseignoi même pour la première fois a nos Sauvages, avec beaucoup de succez, par des caractères instructifs dont je parlerai dans la suite de cette Histoire.*

[PAGE 104]... *qui les boureloit et les persécutoit continuellment avec tant de cruauté, au seul souvenir de l'horreur du crime qu'ils venoient de commettre, qu'ils se crurent enfin tout-à-fait indignes de recevoir les billets et les caractères que je donnois aux autres Sauvages, et donc je me servois tres-utilement pour leur enseigner les Prières, le Catéchisme, et les principes de la Foi que je annocois.*

[PAGE 129] *La facilite et la méthode que j'ai trouvé s'enseigner les Prières à nos Gaspesiens, avec certains caractères que j'ai formez me persuadent efficacement que la plupart se rendroient bien tôt scavons: car enfin, je ne trouverois pas plus de difficulté à leur montrer à lire, qu'à prier Dieu par mes papiers, dans lesqués chaque lettre arbitraire signifie un mot particulier.*

[PAGE 130] *Quelque fois même deux ensemble. Ils ont tant de facilité pour concevoir cette sorte d'écriture, qu'ils apprennent dans une seule journée, ce qu'ils n'eussent jamais pu retenir en une semaine entière sans le secours de ces billets, qu'ils appellent Kignamotinoer, ou Katequenne. Ils conservent ces papiers instructifs avec tant de soin, et ils en font une estime se particulière,*

Qu'ils mettent bien proprement dans de petits étuis de bouleau enrichis de pourcelaine, de rassade et de porc-épi. Ils les tiennent entre leurs mains comme nous faisons nos heures, pendant la sainte Messe, après laquelle ils les serrent dans leur étuis. L'avantage et utilité principale que produit cette nouvelle méthode, c'est que les Sauvages s'intruisent les uns les autres en

another in whatever place they may happen to be. Thus the son teaches his father, the mother her children, the wife her husband, and the children the old men, for advanced age gives them no reluctance to learn from their little nephews, and even from the girls, the principles of Christianity. Even some of the youngest Indians, those who do not yet possess the entire use of speech, pronounce nevertheless, the best that they can, some words from the leaflets which they hear spoken in their wigwams when the Indians, by a holy emulation, read them and repeat them together.

Admiration has often and justly been expressed in our monastery at Quebec for a little child about seven years of age, who read distinctly in his book the prayers that I had taught him during my mission. He deciphered the characters with so much ease and presence of mind that our religious, as well as the seculars, were extraordinarily surprised thereat.

[PAGE 139] How agreeably I was surprised, and what consolation I felt in my heart, when wishing to present some of my papers to certain Indians who had come from a long distance on purpose to be instructed, I found they could already decipher the characters with as much ease as if they had always lived among us. This was because some whom I had formerly instructed had returned to their homes and had taught the others, thus performing, in regard to them, the office of missionary. It is easy then, from this, to judge the utility of these characters for a missionary who wishes to garner much fruit in a little time through all the extent of the district. For however little memory these Indians may have, they can not only readily learn their prayers by aid of these characters, but it is also easy after they have forgotten the prayers to recall them by enumerating the characters one after another in the manner they have been shown. In fact, I have employed them so usefully for the space of ten years that if ...Mexico.... I should present these to those barbarians...most effective means for instructing them in a very short time in the most holy truths of our Christianity.

Our Lord inspired me with the idea of them the second year of my mission, when being much embarrassed as to the method by which I should teach the Indians to pray to God, I noticed that some children were making marks with charcoal upon birch bark, and were counting these with the finger very accurately at each word of prayers which they pronounced. This made me believe that by giving them some formulary, which would aid their memory by definite characters, I should advance much more quickly than by teaching them through the method of making them repeat a number of times that which I had said to them. I was charmed to find that I was not mistaken and that these characters which I had formed on paper produced all the effect that I could wish, so that

quelque endroit qu'ils se rencontrent: ainsi le fils enseigne son père, la mère les enfants, la femme son mari, et les enfans les vieillards, sans que le grand age leur donne acune répugnance d'apprendre par leurs petit neveux, et ou par les filles mêmes, les principes du Christianisme, ils n'est pas jusque aux plus petits Sauvages, qui n'ait pas encore entièrement l'usage de la parole prononcent cependant du mieux qu'ils peuvent, quelque mots de ces billets qu'ils entendent dans leur Cabannes, lorsque les Sauvages par une sainte emulation, les lisent et les répètent ensemble.

On a même souvent admiré avec justice, dans notre Convent de Québec, un petit enfant d'environ sept ans, qui lisoit distinctement dans son livre les Prières que je lui avois apprises en faisant la Mission. Il déchifroît ces caractères avec tant de facilité et présence d'esprit, que nos Religieux aussi bien que les Séculiers, en furent extraordinairement surpris.

[PAGE 139] Que je fus agréablement surpris, et que je ressentis de consolation dans ma coer, lorsque voulant présenter de mes papiers à des Sauvages qui étoient venus de bien loin, exprès pour se faire instruire, ils en déchifroient déjà les caractères avec autant de facilité que s'ils étoient toujours demeurés parmi nous; d'autant que ceux que j'avais auparavant instruits étant retournez chez eux, avoient enseigne ceuz-ci, et avient fait à leur égard l'office de Missionnaire. Il est donc aisé de juger par la, de l'utilité de ces caractères pour un Missionnaire qui veut faire beaucoup de fruit en peu de tems dans toute l'entendue de son district: car pour peu de mémoire qu'aient nos Sauvages, ils peuvent non-seulement apprendre facilement leur Prières par ces caractères: mais encore il leur est aisé après les avoir oubliées, de s'en ressouvenir, en les comptant les uns apres les autres, de la manière qu'on leur a montré, Enfin, je m'en suis servi si utilement l'espace de dix ans, que si....Mexique,...; je les présenterois ca ces Barbares le plus efficace pour les instruire en fort peu de tems des véritez les plus saintes de notre Christianisme.

Notre Seigneur m'en inspira la méthode la seconde année de ma mission, ou étant fort embarrassé de quelle manière j'enseigneroyais les Sauvages à prier Dieu, je m'appercus que quelques enfans faisoient des marques avec du charbon sur de l'écorce de bouleau, et les comptoient avec leur doigt fort exactement, a chaque mot de Prières qu'ils prononcoient: cela me fit croire qu'en leur donnant quelque formulaire que soulageat leur mémoire par certains caractères, je pourrois beaucoup plus avancer, que de les enseigner en les faisant répéter plusieurs fois ce que je leur disois. Je fus ravi de connoître que je ne m'étois pas trompé, et que ces caractères que j'avois formez sur du papier,

in a few days they learned without difficulty all their prayers.

I cannot express to you the ardor with which these poor Indians competed against one another, with an emulation worthy of praise, as to which would be the most learned and most clever. It is true that it costs much time and trouble to form as many of them as they ask, and especially since I have enlarged the number in order to teach them all the prayers of the church, with the sacred Mysteries of the Trinity, of the Incarnation, of the Baptism, of the Penitence, and of the Eucharist.

[PAGE 144] As I have sought in this little formulary only the good of my Indians, and the readiest and easiest method for instructing them....

[PAGE 145] His Grandeur received with pleasure, from this zealous missionary, our leaflets and our instructive characters in order to give them to one of his missionaries: Our Gaspesiens have so much veneration and respect for these characters that they scruple to throw them into the fire. When these are torn or spoiled they bring the fragments to me... a young Indian woman who threw the characters into the fire....

[PAGE 148] because his daughter had thrown the "oukate guenne Kignamotinoer" into the fire.

[PAGE 151] From this you can see the esteem in which the Indians hold my "oukate guenne Kignamotioer," which we call as I have already said papers or instructive characters.

[PAGE 152] although our Indians exist in an ignorance so gross that, as we have said, they do not know how to read or how to write, they have nevertheless some knowledge of the Great...

produisoient tout l'effet que je souhaitoie: en sorte qu'en peu de jours ils apprirent sans peine toutes leurs Prières. Je ne vous puis exprimer avec quelle ardent ces pauvres Sauvages contestoient les uns avec les autres, par une émulation digne de louange, qui seroit le plus scavant et plus habile.

Il est vrai qu'il en coûte beaucoup de temps et de peine, pour en former autant qu'ils en demandent, et particulièrement depuis que je les ai augmentés, pour apprendre toutes les Prières de l'Église, avec les sacrez Mistères de la Trinité, de l'Incarnation, du Baptême, de la Pénitence et de l'Eucharistie.

[PAGE 144] *Comme je n'ay recherche dans ce petit formulaire, que l'utilité de mes Sauvages, et la méthode la plus partie promette et la plus facile pour les instruire, ...*

[PAGE 145] *Sa Grandeur reçut avec plaisir de zèle Missionnaire, nos billets et nos caractères instructifs, pour en faire part à l'un de ses Missionnaires: Nos Gaspesiens ont tant de vénération et de respect pour ces caractères, qu'ils de font scrupule de les jeter au feu. Lorsqu'il se déchirent ou qu'ils se gâtent, ils m'en rapportent les fragmens: ...d'une Sauvagesse qui les jetta au feu...*

[PAGE 148] *...depuis que sa fille avait jetté dans le feu les "oukate guenne Kignamatinoer"*

[PAGE 151] *Vous voiez par là l'estime que nos Sauvages font de mes "oukate guenne Kignamatiner", que nous appellons comme j'ay déjà dit, papiers ou caractères instructifs.*

[PAGE 152] *Quoique nos Gaspesiens soient dans une ignorance si grossière, qu'il ne scachent, comme nous avons dit, ni lire, ni écrire, ils ont cependant quelque connaissance de la grande...*

FINIS

Meaning	Micmac	Ancient Egyptian
name		
mountains		
metal		
silver		

SAMPLES FROM FELL
1976

Meaning	Micmac	Ancient Egyptian	
today, now			heaven
water, rain			burn to ashes
dwelling, sanctuary			fire
			to skip about, leap

SOME DICTIONARY DEFINITIONS

[1855] **Inventer:** v.a. Trouver quelque chose de nouveau, d'ingénieux, par la force de son esprit, de son imagination. Dictionnaire d' Academe Francaise

[1869] **Inventeur, trice**, celui, celle qui a inventé: celui qui trouve un monument enfoui [he who finds a buried monument]; celui qui imagine.

— **Invention**, faculté, action d'inventer; chose inventée: découverte de monuments enfouis, des reliques: *l'invention de la sainte croix*.

Dictionnaire Classique Universal

[1966] **Inventer**, Créer, en montrant de l'ingéniosité ou de génie chose de nouveau, d'original, dont personne n'avait eul'idée, dans le domaine de 'industrie, de 'art, de la pensée. V. Concevoir, créer, d'ecouvrir, imaginer. (Pou d'ecouvrir, il suffit de mettre en lumiere ce qui existe, mais caché: - etc.) Le Robert, Dictionnaire Langue Francaise

[1961] **Inventer** – to invent, (a) to find out, discount, (b) to devise, (c) to take into one's head to do something. Harrup's New Standard French-English Dictionary.

The name **inventeur**, coined in 1454, is said: from the Latin *inventor, inventio, invenire*, to find. In liturgy, there is an expression "Invention de la Sainte Croix", the "discovery of the Holy Cross." Dictionnaire Etymologique.

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