

The Règlements of 1739: A Note on Micmac Law and Literacy

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INTRODUCTION

DURING THE 18TH CENTURY British and Micmac leaders in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick concluded a series of treaties intended to reduce tensions between their two peoples. A recent compilation of these treaties includes no less than 32 in number drafted between 1720 and 1786.¹ The French, in contrast, concluded only one written agreement with the Micmacs during their 150 years of colonial efforts in the same region. Remarkably, its primary (or, at least, overt) goal was not the amelioration of French-Micmac relations but the punishment of native-on-native crime. Enacted on 9 July 1739 at Port Toulouse on Cape Breton Island, the agreement codified criminal acts and their prescribed punishments and is referred to as the Règlements in contemporary French accounts. While the present whereabouts of the original Règlements are unknown, the missionary Pierre Maillard made a copy of the document and sent it to France where it has survived in the colonial archives.² His reproduction, labeled with the masthead *Tableau de L'idiome et des Hirogliphs des Sauvages du Cap-Breton ou Isle Royale 1739* ("Chart of the dialect and hieroglyphs of the Indians of Cape Breton or Isle Royale 1739") and referred to hereafter as the Tableau, is shown as Figure One.

The origins of the Règlements can be partially reconstructed from a 1740 report written by François Le Coultre de Bourville, Louisbourg's *Lieutenant de Roi* and acting governor.³ As they had each year since the early 1720s, natives and colonists gathered at Port Toulouse for the ceremonial exchange of European "presents" (muskets, flints, blankets) for Micmac political and martial fidelities. Leading participants at the 1739 meeting were Bourville, the "Indian chiefs of Cape Breton, Naltigonneich, and Chikpenakady" (three of the Micmacs' seven regional districts), Gabriel Rousseau de Villejouins, commander of the Port

- 1 "We should walk in the tract Mr. Dummer made", unpublished manuscript, 1992, Treaty and Fisheries Policy Branch, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, and the Mawiw District Council, pp. 18-21. Research funding for Schmidt was provided by the National Science Foundation, the Wenner-Gren Foundation, the Jacobs Fund and the Government of Canada.
- 2 The document is located in F3, article 95, folio 35, Archives des Colonies, Archives Nationales, Paris. To our knowledge, the only previous mention of the Règlements in the literature appears in Olive Dickason's "Louisbourg and the Indians: A study in imperial race relations 1713-1760", *History and Archaeology*, vol. 6 (1976), p. 122.
- 3 Bourville to Maurepas, 26 October 1740, Serie C11B, vol. 22, folios 118-124, Archives des Colonies, Archives Nationales, Paris.

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Toulouse garrison, and the missionaries Maillard and Jean-Louis Le Loutre.⁴ At the first of several sessions Bourville criticized the Micmac headmen, “sur les representations que Ms. Maillard et Le Loutre”, for their indifference toward the commitment of certain unspecified crimes: “je ne pus m’empêcher de reprocher aux Sauvages dans le premier conseil, leur nonchalance a punir le crime, a quoy Les chefs me repondirent qu’ils voyent bien [que] etoit temps detablir une regle entre’eux, et que si je voulois ils alloient faire un reglement en ma presence”. Bourville concurred and, at a later session, the Règlements was approved by the assembled delegations. Copies were subsequently distributed to Bourville, the missionaries and the three chiefs, the last ensuring the laws would be promulgated among and reviewed by other Micmac leaders before the next summer’s meeting and, presumably, all meetings thereafter (“et délibèreront tous les printemps sur tout ce qui leurs blessera la Vuë”).⁵ This clause in the Règlements (lines 24-26, Documents One and Two) calling for an annual review met at least two goals. For the Louisbourg command, the clause committed native leaders to future assemblies at which their compliance with the regulations could be monitored. For the Micmac, on the other hand, it guaranteed a forum for review and, if necessary, revision of the laws.

Following the conclusion of talks on 11 July, Le Loutre journeyed throughout mainland Nova Scotia to discuss the Règlements with Micmac headmen absent from the Port Toulouse meeting. It is not known whether the laws were introduced to New Brunswick Micmacs.⁶ Given the relatively equitable nature of the native-French alliance during this period, Le Loutre presumably did so to seek their ratification of the agreement rather than to impose its terms unilaterally.

Little is known of the effects — or lack thereof — of the Règlements on Micmac legal practices. One tentative line of evidence appears in Bourville’s account of a native woman convicted of killing several children.⁷ As a demonstration of the laws’ efficacy, Bourville was pleased to report to his superiors that the murderess had been publicly beaten for her crimes. One fact here is striking: the punishment for murder called for in the Règlements was death. Bourville’s positive tone despite this seeming discrepancy may indicate that French concerns about the chiefs’ “nonchalance to punish crime” could be assuaged short of full compliance with the laws. That the punishment was both public and corporal was probably enough to satisfy French tastes; that the woman kept her life suggests the Micmac were able

4 For biographies of Bourville and Villejoûin see A.J.B. Johnston, “Officers of Isle Royale, 1744: Accommodations and biographical summaries”, *Manuscript Report No. 270* (Ottawa, Parks Canada, 1978). Micheline Dumont-Johnson’s *Apôtres ou Agitateurs* (Trois-Rivières, 1970) provides useful summaries of Maillard’s and Le Loutre’s careers.

5 Bourville to Maurepas, 26 October 1740. Translations: “based on the reports of Messieurs Maillard and Le Loutre”; “I had not stopped reproaching the Indians in the first session, concerning their nonchalance to punish crime, to which the chiefs responded to me that they thought it was time to establish a law between them, and that if I wished they would draft regulations in my presence”; “and every spring they will deliberate about anything which disturbs their agreement”.

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Ibid.*

to retain flexibility and forgiveness as fundamental tenets of native jurisprudence. Of course, we should not be surprised: as in other kin-based societies where people must continue to live together following disputes, Micmacs were surely more concerned with the preservation of social harmony than the abstract legal principle of universal application.

The Tableau, Maillard's hand-written copy of the Règlements, contains a number of intriguing design features. The main text appears in triplicate in two languages and three distinct scripts — French, Micmac inscribed alphabetically, and the Micmac hieroglyphs — arranged in a columnar format reminiscent (albeit at a 90-degree angle) of the Rosetta Stone. The French, written in the orthographic and stylistic conventions of the day, can be read easily. The alphabetic Micmac is also legible although with some difficulty due to Maillard's inconsistent assignment of letters to phonemes and the poor quality of the copy made available to us. The hieroglyphic Micmac, finally, was deciphered through comparative methods developed in an earlier phase of research.⁸ Based on Maillard's testimony, these methods assume that (1) hieroglyph (or 'glyph') order follows word order, reading from left to right, and (2) horizontal dashes separating glyphs correspond to spaces between words.⁹ Translations of the French and the alphabetic and hieroglyphic Micmac versions of the Tableau are given in Documents Two and Three.

Historians of literacy have long classified the hieroglyphs as mnemonic prompts for oral recitation, as the signs were used almost exclusively for reading oft-repeated and, thus it is assumed, memorized Catholic prayers. Linguists, as a result, have seen little reason to undertake structural analysis of the graphic system.¹⁰ Two facts challenge these prevailing views. First, the Règlements' unique, secular content suggests that new information could be written and read in the hieroglyphs. In describing his teaching methods, Maillard states that he had Micmacs repeat their hieroglyphic prayers "de gauche à droit, et de droit à gauche" to ensure signs were being learned as discrete units.¹¹ Literate Micmacs may have been able, then, to apply their sign-recognition skills to unfamiliar messages. Secondly, even a perfunctory visual analysis of a hieroglyphic text reveals regular patterns of glyph-meaning association. Linguistic research in progress indicates that glyphs encode bound morphemes (affixes and stems) and free morphemes (whole words) of spoken Micmac with sufficient consistency to enable the encoding and decoding of unique utterances. Confirmation of this hypothesis would establish the Micmac hieroglyphs as the first writing system developed and used in North

8 These methods are described in David L. Schmidt, "The Micmac hieroglyphs: A reassessment", in *Proceedings of the 24th Algonquian Conference*, forthcoming.

9 Maillard to Madame Drucourt, n.d., in *Les Soirées Canadiennes*, III (Québec, 1863), p. 355.

10 For examples of these views, see Ives Goddard and William Fitzhugh, "A statement concerning *America B.C.*", *Man in the Northeast*, vol. 17 (1979), pp. 166-71 and Allan Ross Taylor, "Nonverbal communications systems in native North America", *Semiotica*, vol. 13, no. 4 (1975), pp. 329-74.

11 Maillard to Madame Drucourt, in *Les Soirées Canadiennes*, III, p. 356. Translation: "from left to right, and from right to left".

America (pre-dating the better-known Cherokee and Cree syllabaries by nearly 150 years) and make a significant contribution to our knowledge of Amerindian intellectual achievement.

Because the history of the French-Micmac alliance is generally known only in broad strokes, the Règlements/Tableau — both as legal code and linguistic data — is an important source for further analysis and interpretation. Of particular interest are issues of motivation. Years after its enactment, Maillard referred to the agreement as “*règlements que je demandai* alors qui fussent faits, par rapport au dérangement de conduite que je voyois dans presque tous les jeunes gens de la nation” (italics added).¹² His request is likely to have been prompted as much by military concerns as moral ones: to the degree that “disorderly behaviours” (presumably incidents of rape, murder and incest as targeted by the Règlements) among natives could disrupt tribal cohesion, they threatened the French-Micmac stand against British expansion, and thus the French themselves. For their part, the chiefs’ affirmative response to Maillard’s request indicates the sway of his moral authority as well as their own anxieties over unchecked aberrant behaviours. A complete analysis of the Règlements, its genesis, and its implications, then, must take into account both the political and ethical grounds which led to its enactment.

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and
B.A. BALCOM

12 *Ibid.*, p. 322. Translation: “regulations which I had requested be made in response to the disorderly behaviours I had seen among nearly all the young people of the nation”.

Figure One
Tableau de L'idiome et des Hiéroglyphs des Sauvages du Cap-Breton
ou Isle Royale 1739

| TABLEAU DE L'IDIOME ET DES HIÉROGLYPHES DES SAUVAGES DU CAP BRETON OU ISLE ROYALLE 1739. | | |
|--|--|--|
| Kijoudantich | ont réglé | |
| <i>Les chefs Sauvages du Cap Breton, de Nartiguennech et de Chikpenakady touchant celui qui seroit coupé de ce qu'il a eu de dettendu.</i> | Les chefs Sauvages du Cap Breton, de Nartiguennech et de Chikpenakady touchant celui qui seroit coupé de ce qu'il a eu de dettendu. | |
| <i>Le Sene de Bourville venant aujour d'hui present, et d'autre adresser au Cap Breton, dans le temps de la distribution des presents.</i> | Le Sene de Bourville venant aujour d'hui present, et d'autre adresser au Cap Breton, dans le temps de la distribution des presents. | |
| <i>Devant le Roi Chikpenakady de l'Isle Royale, le 16 Mars 1739.</i> | Devant le Roi Chikpenakady de l'Isle Royale, le 16 Mars 1739. | |
| Par Exemple | Par Exemple | |
| <i>Un Sauvage: motta de Kiteo Kitemach, Focke-ahaneh eliqua.</i> | Celui qui frappera son pere et son frere, de meurtre sans elleverant, ou à la mort. | |
| <i>Un Sauvage: ejerick Kigoum Agouade ou - quoum Tchikpakan.</i> | Celui qui commettra de tuer son frere, de meurtre qu'il le tue, ou assy à la mort. | |
| <i>Un Sauvage: Kachitach out Kitchaupak, Kichitach Kitchaupak, Kitchaupak Kitchaupak.</i> | Celui qui sera donné avec une femme malgre elle, ou bien dans la liste d'un commun consentement, sera donné dans un jour à peine à la porte de Bayle, et sera coupé qu'il entrera tout d'un coup pendant auant de sonner un coup de Sasseur. | |
| <i>Un Sauvage: Kijepit.</i> | On en fera autant à la femme, qui sera allégué et couronné par le mari sans. | |
| <i>Un Sauvage: Kichitach out Kiteo Kitemach, Focke-ahaneh eliqua.</i> | Pourant, celui qui en face pour tous des lettres des Anglois qu'il s'en va en quatre, sans ne parlo sans point, et ses freres par ce point entré sans se qui les rendent du present par ce qui a traiti le Roy avec les. | |
| <i>Un Sauvage: Kichitach out Kiteo Kitemach, Focke-ahaneh eliqua.</i> | Celui qui est un parente avec son mari, et qui n'est pas un parente avec son mari, et qui n'est pas un parente avec son mari, et qui n'est pas un parente avec son mari. | |

Le Sene de Bourville touchant celui qui seroit coupé de ce qu'il a eu de dettendu.

Le Sene de Bourville touchant celui qui seroit coupé de ce qu'il a eu de dettendu.

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Le Sene de Bourville touchant celui qui seroit coupé de ce qu'il a eu de dettendu.

Regemens faits

Par les chefs Sauvages de l'Isle Royale, de Nartiguennech et de Chikpenakady, contre les personnes convaincues des Crimes cy dessous mentionnés.

- 1° Celui qui frappera son Pere ou la Mere, sera puni de mort.
- 2° Celui qui volontairement et de dessein premedité tuera son amy, sera puni de mort.
- 3° Celui qui violera la femme ou la fille de son amy, sera écarté pendant neult jours consentant à la porte de Bayle, par tous les parment de la nation.
- 4° Paroille punition pour les filles qui tomberont en faute.
- 5° Celui qui manquera à la fidelité qui dut au Roy son pere, en le charquant des lettres sans l'usage, ou en le devant en quoy que ce soit, sera puni des presents du Roy, et de recourant au profit du Village.
- 6° Celui qui commettra ineste sera puni et amené au consentement de lui, au jugement des quel les deux chefs referent la punition.

Savoir

1° Les cels demorer à jamais dans leurs courses.

2° Les cels demorer à jamais dans leurs courses.

Document One

1 Tableau de L'idiome et des Hirogliphs des Sauvages du Cap-Breton ou
Isle Royale 1739

2 ont réglé

3 Les chefs Sauvages du Cap-Breton, de Naltigonneich et de
Chikpenakady touchant celuy

4 qui seroit convaincu de ce qu'il y à icy de deffendu.

5 Le Sieur de Bourville y estoit aussy present, et d'autre officiers du
Cap-Breton, dans le temps de la

6 distribution des presents.

7 Dans ce temps le même les chefs Sauvages ont jugé à propos d'ordonner
que ce que le Sieur de

8 Bourville leurs avoit proposé eût son effet.

9 Par Exemple

10 Celuy qui frappera ses père et mère, ou les prendra aux cheveux,
11 ira à la mort.

12 Celuy qui consentira de tuer son frère, desorte qu'il le tuë, ira aussy à la
mort.

13 Celuy qui fera du mal avec une femme malgré elle, ou bien tous les deux
d'un commun consentement,

14 sera pendant neuf jours à genoux à la porte de l'Eglise et tous ceux qui
15 entrerons luy donneront pendant autant de jours un coup de verge.

16 On en fera autant à la femelle qui fera atteinte et convaincûe de pareil
17 crime.

18 Pourtant celuy qui se fera porteur des lettres des Anglois, et qui
les servira en autres choses, ne partagera point,

19 et ses frères partageront entr'eux ce qui luy revient du
20 presents, parce qu'il à trahi le Roy notre Père.

21 Ceux qui étant parents font du mal ensemble, on les menera au

22 chef françois, les chefs Sauvages consentent qu'on les traite comme il
23 l'ordonnera.

24 Le Sieur de Bourville tiendra entre ses mains ce qui est icy écrit, les
Patriarches l'auronts aussy, et

25 les chefs Sauvages et délibereront tous les printemps sur tout ce qui
26 leurs blessera la Vuë, car ils n'ont en Vuë que

27 de faire à la volonté du Roy leurs Père, ils aideront en cela leurs frères

28 tant du costé de lâme, que du costé du corps, et les engageront à estre
autant soumis et obeissants

29 au Roy qu'ils le sonts eux mesmes. Que cela demeure à jamais dans leurs
coeurs.

30

Reglemens faits

- 31 Par les chefs Sauvages de l'isle Royale, de Naltigonneiche et de
Chikpenakady, contre
32 les personnes convaincues des crimes cy dessous mentionnés. Faits en
présence de Monsieur
33 de Bourville, Chevalier de l'ordre militaire de St. Louis, lieutenant de Roy
et commandant
34 à l'isle Royale dans le Conseil tenu pour la distribution des presents au
Port
35 Toulouze le Neuvieme juillet 1739.
- 36 Sçavoir
- 37 1e. Celuy qui frappera son Père ou sa Mère, sera puni de mort.
38 2e. Celuy qui volontairement et de dessin prémédité tuera son amy, sera
39 puni de mort.
40 3e. Celuy qui violera la femme ou la fille de son amy, sera fouetté
pendant neufs
41 jours consécutifs à la porte de l'Eglise, par tous les paroissiens de
la
42 mission.
43 4e. Pareille punition pour les filles qui tomberont en faute.
44 5e. Celuy qui manquera à la fidélité qu'il doit, au Roy son père, en se
chargeant
45 des lettres pour l'Etranger, ou en le servant en quoy que ce soit,
sera privé des
46 présents du Roy, et ils retourneront au profit du Village.
47 6e. Celuy qui commettra inceste sera pris et amené au Commandant du
48 lieu, au jugement du quel les dits chefs referent la punition.

Document Two - Translation from the French

1 Chart of the dialect and hieroglyphs of the Indians of Cape Breton or Isle
Royale 1739

2 have ruled

3 The Indian chiefs of Cape Breton, Naltigonneich and
Chikpenakady concerning those

4 who should be convicted of what is forbidden here.

5 Sieur de Bourville and other officers from Cape Breton were also
there during the

6 distribution of presents.

7 At the same time the Indian chiefs considered it proper to order that what
Sieur de

8 Bourville had proposed to them should take effect.

9 For example

10 Anyone who strikes his father or mother or quarrels [literally, 'pulls the
hair'] with

11 they will be put to death.

12 Anyone who consents to kill his brother and then kills him, will also be
put to death.

13 Anyone who has relations with a woman against her will, even if both
have consented,

14 will spend nine days on his knees at the door of the church and everyone
who

15 enters during this number of days will give him a lash with a rod.

16 The same thing will be done to a female who is guilty in fact and in law
of a similar

17 crime.

18 Anyone who carries English letters or serves them in other ways
will no longer share

19 and his brothers will share among themselves what he would have received
of the

20 presents, because he betrayed the King, our Father.

21 All those, being from the same family, who have relations together will be
brought to

22 the French leader, the Indian chiefs agree that they will be dealt with as he
23 orders.

24 Sieur de Bourville will keep what is written here, the Patriarchs will have
it also, and

25 the Indian chiefs, and every spring they will deliberate about anything
which

26 disturbs their agreement [literally, “offends the eye”] because what is
important
27 to them is to do the will of the King, their Father, they will help their
brothers
28 to do this spiritually and bodily, and commit them to being as dutiful and
obedient
29 to the King as they themselves are. This remains forever in their hearts.

30 Rules made

31 By the Indian chiefs of Isle Royale, Naltigonneiche and Chikpenakady
against
32 persons convicted of the crimes mentioned above. Made in the presence of
Monsieur
33 de Bourville, Knight of the Order of St. Louis, King’s Lieutenant and
Commander
34 at Isle Royale during the Council held for the distribution of presents at
Port
35 Toulouse, 9 July 1739.

36 Namely

- 37 1. Anyone who strikes his father or mother will be punished with death.
- 38 2. Anyone who voluntarily and with premeditation kills his friend will be
- 39 punished with death.
- 40 3. Anyone who violates his friend’s wife or daughter will be lashed for
- nine
- 41 consecutive days at the door of the church by all the parishioners
- of the
- 42 mission.
- 43 4. The same punishment for women who fall into error.
- 44 5. Anyone who lacks the fidelity that is owed the King, his Father, by
- carrying
- 45 letters for foreigners or serving them in any way will be deprived
- of the
- 46 King’s presents which will be turned over for the benefit of the
- village.
- 47 6. Anyone who commits incest will be taken and brought to the
- commander of the
- 48 place, to whose judgement the said chiefs refer the punishment.

Notes on Documents One and Two

A number of features in the Tableau's text should catch the reader's eye. First, punishment by death was called for in instances of striking a parent or killing a fellow Micmac (lines 10-12). The use of "parent" here may be figurative; that is, the law may have applied to all cases involving the physical abuse of elders. Rape and illicit sexual relations were to be punished by public floggings "at the door of the church" (lines 13-15), the Shubenacadie ("Chikpenakady" in the Tableau), Antigonish ("Naltigonneich") and Cape Breton bands all having standing churches by 1738.¹³ In lines 18-20 the regulations prohibited Micmacs from carrying "English letters", probably a reference to correspondence between British military officials. To be caught doing so meant the forfeiture of the following year's presents, and the French promise to reward loyal Micmacs ("his brothers will share among themselves what he would have received") with these presents was likely an attempt to entice informants. Finally, the response called for in cases of incest is especially noteworthy: the accused was to be turned over to "The French leader" for judgement and punishment (lines 21-23). Why this transfer of jurisdiction was stipulated and what comprised incest in this context are not known.

Document Three




Translation/Transliteration from the Micmac¹⁴





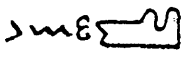
Hieroglyphic signs in the following transcription were scanned and formatted to appear, line by line, as in the original (without horizontal dashes between glyphs, however). Printed below each glyph in descending order are: (1) Maillard's alphabetic form in plain type, (2) its modern-day Micmac equivalent (Cape Breton dialect), transliterated in the Smith-Francis orthography and printed in boldface, and (3) its English translation. Where we could not read Maillard's handwriting, questionable segments have been underlined or, in one case, indicated with the word "illegible" (line 23). Diachronic change and Maillard's idiosyncratic spellings account for a number of differences between our transliteration and the original; these differences, we believe, are not significant for our purposes. The letter "8" in Maillard's orthography signifies a high back vowel, as in 'boot'. Note that at line 5 Bourville's name is spelled *Boulville* and was probably pronounced /bu:lvi/, Micmac lacking the phoneme /r/ (apparently, the equally non-phonemic /v/ posed no problem for native speakers). At line 30 the first two glyphs, separated by a horizontal dash in the Tableau, appear to constitute a single sign for *wo'kmatijik*. Finally, in two instances (lines 4 and 32), the missionary omitted glyphs for *wjit* ('for') and *ta'n* ('what', 'who', 'that'); these omissions were probably copying oversights on his part.
























13 Pierre Maillard, "*Memoire sur les Missions des Sauvages Mikmaki et de l'Accadie*" [ca. 1738-1739], C11B, vol. 1, folios 249-254, Archives des Colonies, Archives Nationales.



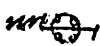






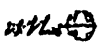


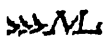




14 Translation and glyph analysis by Schmidt with invaluable assistance from Murdena Marshall, Wilfred Prosper, Helen Sylliboy and Thomas George Poulette.




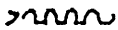






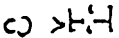



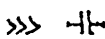




Document Three: Translation/transliteration from the Micmac

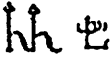



















| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 |  | | | |
| | Kijoudimitich Kisutmitij <i>They came to a consensus</i> | | | |
| 2 |  |  |  |  |
| | Ln8i-chakmak Lnui saqmaq <i>Indian chiefs</i> | 8namakik Unama'ki <i>Cape Breton</i> | delegu tle'k <i>they are from</i> | Nalkilkonneich Nalkilkonneich <i>Antigonish</i> |
| 3 |  |  |  |  |
| | delegu tle'k <i>they are from</i> | ak aqq <i>and</i> | Chikpen-akadi Chikpen-akadi <i>Shubenacadie</i> | kedlamin ketla'min <i>spoken truthfully</i> |
| 4 | MISSING GLYPH |  |  |  |
| | 8gë wjit <i>for</i> | tan ta'n <i>those</i> | ala ala <i>there</i> | deli8stokoltimkël. teliwtqulultimkl. <i>thus have they laws</i> <i>against forbidden acts.</i> |
| 5 |  |  |  |  |
| | Jebel Jelpel <i>Now there</i> | elp elp <i>also</i> | ouindgi8chakmak wenjui saqamaw <i>French chief</i> | Boulville Boulville <i>Bourville</i> |

| | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|
| 6 |  |  |  |  |
| | tegotk teko'tk <i>he is present</i> | ak aqq <i>and</i> | 8namakik Unama'ki <i>of Cape Breton</i> | edliyalz8z8ltigik etlialsusultijik <i>there other bosses</i> |
| 7 |  |  |  | |
| | elp elp <i>also</i> | tegodem8tigik teko'tmoti'jik <i>they are present</i> | tebitimkek. tepi'timkek. <i>where presents are distributed.</i> | |
| 8 |  |  |  | |
| | Neguela Nekla <i>Henceforth</i> | In8i-chakmak Inui saqamaq <i>Indian chiefs</i> | deli 8lidedemitich teli wulite'tmi'tij <i>they see fit</i> | |
| 9 |  | |  |  |
| | pa tal el8deminau pa tel elo'tumwanew <i>here they agree to treat badly</i> | | tletlen na fle'tn <i>it is said</i> | Chakmaw Saqamaw <i>Chief</i> |
| 10 |  |  | | |
| | Boulville Boulville <i>Bourville</i> | deli nechd8ab8g8etch. telinestuapukwej. <i>thus let us try to to preach.</i> | | |
| 11 | |  |  | |
| | | 8la Wla <i>Here</i> | ketch ke'j <i>from now on</i> | |

| | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|--|
| 12 |  |  |  |  |
| | 8en Wen who | 8negueik8 wnki'ku his parents | mattach mata'j he beats | kizne kisna or |
| 13 |  |  |  | |
| | <u>kamiach</u> taqamaj he hits | 8neb8akanek npuaqniktuk to death | eliedau. elitew. he will be taken. | |
| 14 |  |  |  |  |
| | 8en Wen Who | 8igmachel wikma'jl his partner | agidetk ajite'tk he plans | 8nepan ne'pa'n he kills |
| 15 |  |  |  |  |
| | elp elp also | nan ba nan pa so | niguem nekm him | 8neb8akan. npuaqn. to death. |
| 16 |  |  |  |  |
| | 8en Wen Who | epiligil epitlil a woman | 8inalach wina'laj he molests | m8 mu not |
| 17 |  |  |  |  |
| | kedamag8k8nl keta'makuknl she does not agree | ak aqq and | elp elp also | kizna kisna or |

| | | | |
|----|---|---|---|
| 18 |  |  |  |
| | k'tamatitich ketamatitij <i>they agree on</i> | pechk8nadek pesqunatek <i>nine</i> | dej8knak te'sukna'q <i>days</i> |
| 19 |  |  |  |
| | tedau ebitk8igintau tetew epitkoqintew <i>will be bowed there</i> | kakanek alaz8dmoog8om kaqnak alasutmo'komk <i>at the church's door</i> | tan ta'n <i>whoever</i> |
| 20 |  |  |  |
| | dechit tesit <i>the number of</i> | pichk8at piskwat <i>enters</i> | nan na <i>therefore</i> |
| 21 |  |  |  |
| | dej8knagil tesukna'q <i>the number of days</i> | mchet msit <i>all</i> | ne8kt newt <i>once</i> |
| 22 |  |  | |
| | ylik8nedadak i'lilkunetata'q <i>they make his path straight</i> | nibijokinil. npisoqnil. <i>with switches.</i> | |
| 23 |  |  |  |
| | Elp Elp <i>Also</i> | tlei8aden tlwa'titen <i>will say</i> | epilgil epitlitl <i>the woman</i> |
| | | | (illegible). ---. --- |

| | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|--|
| 24 |  |  |  | |
| | Chkadu Skatu <i>Like</i> | tan ta'n <i>those</i> | aglachi8i18 katiguin'l aklasie'we'l wi'katiknl <i>Englishmen's books</i> | |
| 25 |  |  |  | |
| | yalatokol ela'toql <i>he carries</i> | ak aqq <i>and</i> | kok8e koqoey <i>whatever</i> | |
| 26 |  |  |  | |
| | aglachie8ikt8k aklasie'wiktuk <i>in English</i> | delkimch telkimj <i>you read</i> | chakt8ach saqtuaj <i>they recognize</i> | |
| 27 |  |  |  | |
| | yapchi8 i'apjiw <i>forever</i> | mun tpiat ma'tpiat <i>he will not receive</i> | ak aqq <i>and</i> | |
| 28 |  |  |  | |
| | 8tip8tp tpiata <i>what he receives</i> | 8igma wikma <i>his family</i> | atkenachilida atknasultitaq <i>they will divide</i> | |
| 29 |  |  |  |  |
| | Eligue8itigil Elekewitijl <i>from the King</i> | okotch oqoj <i>therefore</i> | k8schinal kujjinal <i>our father</i> | adnagil. a'tnaql. <i>he betrays.</i> |

| | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|
| 30 |  |  | | |
| | 8okmatigik Wo'kmatijik <i>Who are related</i> | 8inaditich wina'titij <i>they molest each other</i> | | |
| 31 |  |  | | |
| | laladen la'laten <i>they will be taken</i> | 8endgi8ichakma8ikt8k wenjui saqamawiktuk <i>to the French chief</i> | | |
| 32 |  |  | MISSING GLYPH |  |
| | kedomitich ketamatimitij <i>they will agree</i> | ln8ichakmak lnui saqamaq <i>Indian chiefs</i> | tan ta'n <i>whatever</i> | neguem nekm <i>he</i> |
| 33 |  |  | | |
| | delch8mach telsumaj <i>imposes on them</i> | 8tlelen. tle'lin. <i>they will let be.</i> | | |
| 34 |  |  |  |  |
| | Chakmau Boulville Saqamaw Boulville <i>Chief Bourville</i> | | kelnidau kilnidew <i>he will hold</i> | 8la wla <i>here</i> |
| 35 |  |  |  |  |
| | niguech nike'j <i>now</i> | del8ikagik telwikesik <i>it is written</i> | Patlachk Pa'tlia'sk <i>the priests</i> | elp elp <i>also</i> |
| 36 |  |  |  | |

| | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|--|
| | <p>8chkóttak sku'ttaq <i>they possess</i></p> | <p>ak aqq <i>and</i></p> | <p>ln8i-chakmak lnui saqamaq <i>Indian chiefs</i></p> | |
| 37 |  |  |  | |
| | <p>dech paniakl te's paniakl <i>every end of winter</i></p> | <p>kok8e koqowe'l <i>anything</i></p> | <p>padapterniligil pataptimitijil <i>wrongdoings</i></p> | |
| 38 |  |  |   | |
| | <p>apch apj <i>also</i></p> | <p>yl8ttak illutaq <i>they will make right</i></p> | <p>mok8ech moqe'j <i>not</i></p> | <p>okotch oqoj <i>therefore</i></p> |
| 39 |  |  |  | |
| | <p>ankaptimiti8k ankaptimitikw <i>they will look at</i></p> | <p>chik sik <i>for</i></p> | <p>8likichkajat8nau wlikiskaja'tunew <i>they prepare well in advance</i></p> | |
| 40 |  |  |   | |
| | <p>tan ta'n <i>who</i></p> | <p>Eligue8iligil Elekewilijil <i>the king</i></p> | <p>8schi8al wijjual <i>their father</i></p> | <p>delkimk8itich telkimkwi'tij <i>sends them</i></p> |
| 41 |  |  |  | |
| | <p>nan 8schiedau na wjiatew <i>so will come from</i></p> | <p>8igma8ak wikimawaq <i>for his relatives</i></p> | <p>8tab8g8nmek8anau wtaoqinimakunew <i>they will assist them</i></p> | |
| 42 |  |  |   | |

| | | | | |
|----|--|--|---|---------------------------------|
| | 8schijakmij8ak wjiijaqamijua'kl <i>their souls</i> | ak aqq <i>and</i> | 8stinini8akel wtinnewage'l <i>their body also</i> | ak aqq <i>and</i> |
| 43 | »H | »B | Y | » |
| | 8stalk8amau wtakumanew <i>their blood line</i> | 8stelikeyplichked8anau telikeypmsqatuanew <i>reverently they will obey</i> | Eligue8iligil Elekewilijil <i>the king</i> | negmau nekmow <i>they</i> |
| 44 | »~H | | | |
| | delikeplichked8adich. telikeypmsqatua'tij. <i>their way of reverent obedience.</i> | | | |
| 45 | H | o | 2 | |
| | Yaptidich I'aptitij <i>Forever</i> | tok toq <i>therefore</i> | 8skamelam8n8ek. wskamalamunuqk. <i>imprinted in their hearts.</i> | |