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— IROQUOIS FIVE NATIONS AND



MISSION SITES. 1656-1684. BY JOHNS. CLARK. 1879.

EARLY CHAPTERS

OF

CAYUGA HISTORY:

JESUIT MISSIONS IN GOI-O-GOUEN,

1656—1684.

ALSO AN ACCOUNT OF THE SULPITIAN MISSION AMONG THE
EMIGRANT CAYUGAS, ABOUT QUINTE BAY, IN 1668.

✓
BY CHARLES HAWLEY, D. D.,

— *President Cayuga County Historical Society.*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY JOHN GILMARY SHEA, LL. D.,

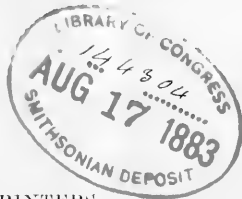
*Author of "History of Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the U. S.,"
&c., &c.*

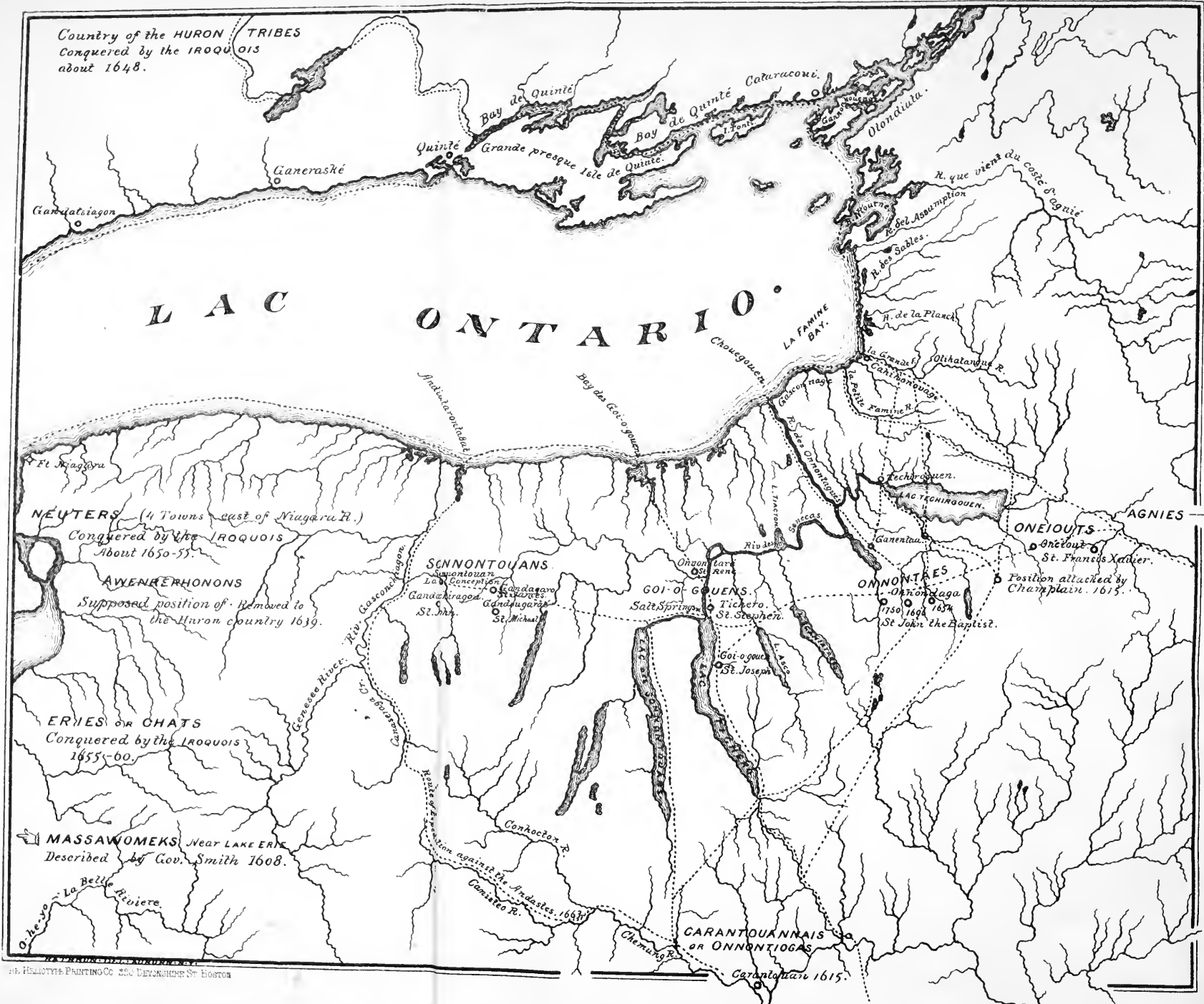


AUBURN, N. Y.

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P R E F A C E .

When the writer began the researches out of which the following pages have grown, he did not anticipate that the work would reach its present proportions. His original design was simply to translate from the *Relations* of the Jesuit Fathers at his command, such extracts as described their labors among the Cayugas whose canton, known to the French as Goi-o-gouen, was largely comprised within the limits of the county which bears their name—and of special interest to the local historian as its earliest annals and written by the first white men who trod its soil. The several translations were carefully made for the purpose, and with the desire that the work of these heroic and devoted men should speak for itself. With this view, a series of articles, which first appeared in the *Auburn Daily Advertiser*, was prepared, but carrying the history of the Mission in detail no further than 1672 (the *Relations* in the writer's possession closing with that year) and they were subsequently gathered into a pamphlet as originally printed.

The publication attracted attention outside the immediate locality for which it was intended; and a second series was undertaken at the suggestion and with the co-operation of Dr. John Gilmary Shea, the accomplished historian of *Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States*, who generously proposed to arrange and translate from the ampler material in his possession, the narrative of the Cayuga Mission from 1672, the point where it was left in the previous publication, to its close. The translations made by Dr. Shea with this view, are included in chapter VII of the present series and also cover the complete account of the Sulpitian Mission among the Emigrant Cayugas about Quinté Bay, which forms an important chapter in the religious history of this people. The proof sheets of the entire work have passed under his revision, and the Introduction, from his pen, happily interprets its scope and purpose. It gives me great satisfaction to acknowledge this courtesy, and the invaluable service thus rendered in the interests of our local history, while the pleasant relations which have sprung up in this mutual labor, are by no means among the least of its rewards.

The opening chapter, containing the preliminary history common to the several Iroquois Missions, appears for the first in the present edition, and is condensed from the several *Relations* which cover that period.

The writer takes this opportunity to renew his acknowledgments, in the prefatory note to the first edition, to Mr. Theodore P. Case of Auburn, for valuable aid in the work of translation, and to Mr. John H. Osborne, also of this city, whose collection of rare volumes, maps, &c., illustrative of the early history of the country have been of essential use in the preparation of these papers, and whose assistance has been most serviceable in their publication. He is also under special obligations to Gen. John S. Clark, of Auburn, for the topographical and archaeological information to be found in the several notes over his initials, he having given much time and careful study to the location of Iroquois towns and kindred researches; also, for the map prepared expressly for the present work and embracing the territory with the places, routes and relative positions of the several Indian nations, referred to in the text.

It is only necessary to add, that the whole work has been carefully revised, re-arranged and annotated; and contains, it is confidently believed, as full a narrative of these early and self sacrificing labors to Christianize the Cayugas, in common with the other Iroquois nations, as it is possible to compile from existing sources. It is re-issued in this more complete form, not without the hope that it may contribute somewhat to a truer and more impartial estimate of what has been wrought centuries ago, on this ground, by men who forsook all and endured all, to win these fierce barbarians to the Christian Faith. C. H.

AUBURN, N. Y., June, 1879.

INTRODUCTION.

The Jesuit Relations, or Reports of Missions conducted by the religious of the Society of Jesus in Canada, have had a curious history. They are a series of small volumes issued in France from 1632 to 1672, soon after the annual arrival in that country of the ships from Canada, bearing, with the shipments of American produce, the report of the Superior of the Jesuit missions. These volumes were issued in cheap form, and seem to have circulated widely among the pious, in some cases several editions appearing. They thus excited an interest in the American mission, and led to the establishment in Canada of the Sulpitians, the Ursuline and Hospital Nuns, as well as induced many to emigrate to the country and settle there from religious motives. That they contributed greatly to the colonization and relief of Canada is unquestionable.

For many years the influence of the Jesuits in Canada was very great, but their strictness, and especially the stand taken by them against the sale of liquor to the Indians, arrayed a strong party opposed to them with the Count de Frontenac at its head. The Recollects were introduced to replace the Jesuits as far as possible, and Indian missions under Sulpitians and secular priests were encouraged, while Frontenac's despatches, the writings of La Salle and his companions, as well as La Hontan and later travelers, united in assailing and depreciating the Jesuits and their labors.

The Jesuit Relations dropped out of sight and were almost unknown, except as used by Du Creux or Charlevoix. When, however, in our time collections of American books began to be formed,

a few of these Relations found their way to libraries. Bancroft's History of the United States and Murray's British America, the first works to use them to any extent as historical material, drew attention to them. The volumes, however, were scattered far and wide. They were books that no one had thought to treasure up, and thirty years ago nothing approaching a complete set was known to exist anywhere. A student had to seek volumes where he could in a dozen different public and private collections, and depend in many cases on manuscript copies or extracts when he was so fortunate as to find even them in the hands of some kind collector.

Of one volume a single copy alone was known, and that had been secured by the veteran Faribault for the Parliament Library in Canada. That perished when the valuable collection of books was destroyed by a mob. Fortunately, Mr. James Lenox, of New York, had caused an accurate transcript to be made of it, and he reprinted this Relation, as well as two others, of the very scarcest in the series. Dr. O'Callaghan prepared a bibliographical account of the whole collection for the New York Historical Society, who printed it in their Proceedings. This stimulated interest in the books, and the Jesuit Relations were sought by collectors with great avidity and in the competition rose to very high prices.

The Canadian government, however, reprinted the whole series in three stout volumes, thus enabling students to obtain access to the Relations, which the bibliomaniacs were making it ruinous for any ordinary student to think of attempting to obtain in the original form.

While the old French volumes are still the pride of a few choice libraries, the matter they contain is accessible to all and has been widely consulted and used. Some indeed, hearing of the interest attached to these volumes, are disappointed when

they come to examine them, and consider their value overrated. But they were not written with any view of supplying documents for the history of a vast republic to whom Providence was to confide so much of this continent. As the Jesuit missionaries toiled fearlessly through the wilderness in the Indian canoe or by the Indian trail, their wildest fancy never studded the land with the thriving cities and busy agriculture of the future. They were zealous missionaries, full of their work, pious, often enthusiastic and sanguine, and they wrote not to leave data for historians, but simply to edify and interest the pious in France. Their Relations are the work of many hands, thrown together hastily by the Superior of the Mission, with no attempt at literary effect, but they bear the impress of honesty and of being printed as they were written. The missions embraced Canada and the whole frontier, from Maine to Lake Superior and Illinois; and the Relations give information as to the various tribes, their language, ideas, relations and annals for nearly half a century. When tested by other contemporaneous documents they bear scrutiny and afford us, to the extent of the information they give incidentally, excellent data; while it is almost impossible to read them without feeling a personal interest in the educated men who faced such perils for a noble cause, and who record their trials, hardships and the deaths of fellow laborers with such simplicity.

The general historians of our country have felt the influence and drawn from this source chapters full of eloquence and beauty: the latest historian of our own State has used them freely, and thus invested his narrative with an interest which previous writers on New York could not command.

But the Relations themselves acquire a new importance, and local history receives a valuable addition in works of which the present opens a new series. Here the long and patient re-

search and topographical knowledge of the antiquarian aid the translator by determining the position of every mission, town and hamlet, the direction of trails, the position of friendly and hostile tribes, and the narrative comes with a fresh interest as we follow the missionary of two centuries ago in his labors on spots with which we are familiar, and with pleasure we listen to the story of his labors and his hopes, what he was doing for the cause of Christianity among the savage inhabitants of our land. Grand old Cayuga chiefs come up before us, sketched by a few traits and incidents, friends or opponents of the missions. We live in their midst, listen to their harangues, scan their policy, and watch their conduct in peace and war.

When the work which is here done for Cayuga is accomplished for each mission, maps will be possible which we can scarcely dream of now, and a translation of all the Relations be one of the greatest contributions to American History.

Writers have been reproached for not giving maps fixing the sites of missions two centuries ago. But those who censured little knew the hours and days which had to be spent in determining the sites mentioned in this volume. Guesses and fancies would have been worthless. Here are given the fruits of long and patient study.

Cayuga here establishes her claim as the pioneer in this department of accurate and authentic study.

JOHN GILMARY SHEA.

ELIZABETH, N. J., June 13, 1879.

EARLY CHAPTERS
OF
CAYUGA HISTORY.



Jesuit Missions Among the Cayugas.

I.

It was in the year 1656, that the French Jesuit Fathers first attempted a mission among the Cayugas, one of the five nations then comprising the far-famed Iroquois League.¹ The same year, and with concert of plan, missions were planted in the other cantons with Onondaga² as the centre of operations, it being also the recognized capital of the confederacy.

It had been for some time a cherished project with these zealous pioneers, both in religion and civilization on this continent, to win these fierce and powerful nations to the Catholic Faith and, at the same time, secure their friendship to the colony of New France, then aspiring to the mastery of the New World. The Hurons, a compact and numerous nation on the western border of the French possessions in Canada, whose alliance to the crown of France had been secured by a similar policy,³ had been driven from their country by the Iroquois and reduced to a wretched remnant, a part of whom sought refuge near Quebec, under the

¹Its several cantons extended from east to west in the following order: Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, the last four corresponding in locality to the counties which bear their respective names.

²This was the chief town of the Onondagas, situated on a considerable elevation between two deep ravines, formed by the west and middle branches of Limestone creek, in the present town of Pompey, N. Y., two miles south of the village of Manlius. It contained at this time three hundred warriors, with one hundred and forty houses, several families often occupying a single house. Their cornfields extended for two miles north and south, and in width from a half to three fourths of a mile, interspersed with their dwellings. The grand council chamber was here, in which all matters of interest common to the several nations of the League, were decided. This site was abandoned, about 1680.—J. S. C.

³The first missionaries among the Hurons were of the order of the Recollects, in 1615. The Jesuits came to their aid in 1625. The mission was interrupted during the occupation of Quebec by the English (1629-1632), but was resumed and maintained with signal heroism and success, until the destruction of the nation by the Iroquois in 1649, when the mission fell with it; not, however, until five of the missionary Fathers had won the coveted crown of martyrdom. Four of them, viz., Anthony Daniel, in 1648, John de Brebeuf, Gabriel Lalemant, and Charles Garnier, in 1649, fell at their posts and shared the cruel fate which befell their converts, at the hands of their savage conquerors. Garnier's colleague, Father Chabanel, was, at the same time, tomahawked by an apostate Huron, who afterward confessed the deed.

protection of the French, while others were scattered among their western neighbors. The overthrow of the Hurons was quickly followed by the destruction of the Neuter nation occupying the territory on both sides of the Niagara, and now the Eries, the only remaining barrier to Iroquois ambition on the west, had in turn become the objects of the same relentless spirit of conquest.

This was in 1653. Besides this bloody work with neighboring tribes, the Iroquois had made frequent incursions upon the Canadian settlements, consisting of Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers. But now they were ready for peace with the French, at least while they had on their hands this war with the Eries. Accordingly, in the summer of this year, sixty Onondagas, representing also the Cayugas and Senecas, appeared in sight of the fort at Montreal, shouting from their canoes that they came for peace. An Oneida delegation soon followed. The French, at first, suspected treachery and were slow to accept assurances of friendship so suddenly tendered, especially as bands of Mohawks were infesting Montreal and Three Rivers at the time. But arrangements were made for a council, at Quebec; and in February of the following year (1654), the embassy arrived prepared to conclude the desired peace. The council was convened, when the Onondaga chief, who headed the deputation, presented six large belts of wampum, indicating the principal points of his speech.

The first was to calm the spirit of the French, and prepare their minds to receive without misunderstanding or offence what he had to say.

The second was in token that his heart was upon his tongue, and his tongue in his heart, i. e., that all he was about to say was from a sincere desire for friendship and peace.

The third represented a tree, he said, planted in the midst of the great river St. Lawrence, opposite the fort of Quebec and the house of Onontio, whose top reaches above the clouds, to the end that all the nations of the earth could see it, and repose in peace under its shadow.

The fourth opened a wide and deep abyss in which should be buried all past differences, and all persons who should attempt to disturb, or in any way violate the peace about to be concluded.

The fifth was to take away the clouds which had so long obscured the sun, referring to the false speeches of the Algonquins, and Montagnais, which like clouds had prevented the sweet light of day on them and on the French, and made darkness everywhere.

Finally, in the sixth present, they promised to bury deep in the earth the war kettle in which they had been accustomed to boil the flesh of captives taken in battle, since all their old hatreds were now changed into love.

Everything seemed to make for peace; as if indeed the cloud was to be lifted which hung so darkly over the French settlements. "Yesterday," wrote Father Le Mercier, of the overtures the summer previous, "all was dejection and gloom: to-day all is smiles and gaiety. On Wednesday, massacre, burning, pillage. On Thursday, gifts and visits as among friends. If the Iroquois have their hidden designs, so, too, has God." "There was nothing but joy and opening of heart," he writes of the council, "and the sun has no rays more benign than shone in the faces of these ambassadors. But a dark night follows a bright day." It appears that the Onondaga orator, who had made this fine speech in the council, had approached several of the Huron chiefs with a proposition that the following spring a colony of Huron families, under pretence of a desire to be nearer Montreal, should remove to a point between that place and Three Rivers, where a party of Iroquois, to the number of five or six hundred would meet them, when the plan would be more fully disclosed, and all under pledge of inviolable secrecy. A similar project for a colony had come from the Mohawks. The Hurons at once suspected treachery, and one of their chiefs disclosed the secret to the Governor General, while the council was yet in progress, and sought advice as to the answer they should give to this proposal, which had greatly disturbed them. "It is for thee now, Onontio, and not for us to speak," said the Huron: "We have been dead for four years, since our country was desolated. Death follows us every where. It is ever before our eyes. We live only in thee. We see only through thine eyes. We breathe only in thy person. Our thoughts are without reason only as thou givest it to us. It is then, for thee, Onontio, to draw us from these perils and tell us what to do."

It was concluded that the French authorities should appear to concur in the enterprise, with the understanding that it should be postponed for at least a year; and the Huron chief, thus instructed, replied to the ambassador in a private conference, that the project would doubtless succeed beyond their present hopes; that the French themselves were disposed to form a colony on the great Lake of the Iroquois; and for this reason it would be better in all frankness to communicate to them the design, and not attempt to conceal so important a movement. The Iroquois assented, and it was arranged by the Hurons that the enterprise should be deferred for a year at least, and in the meantime a residence should be provided for the Jesuit Fathers somewhere in the Iroquois country, and that then they would go willingly, with their wives and children. The Governor General gave his assent in a speech accompanied by six presents, the purport of which was that the Hurons must be left to act with entire freedom, and go to whichever of the Iroquois cantons they desired, or back to their ancient country, or still farther, to remain with the French if they preferred. He suggested that the tree of peace, which the Onondaga orator had fixed opposite Quebec, be transplanted to Montreal, on the frontier, where it could be more readily seen by neighboring nations. He also urged harmony among the Iroquois themselves, that they might maintain peace with others, and skillfully used their own project of a Huron colony to excite the hope of each of the cantons that it might obtain the desired acquisition.¹

In response to these overtures of peace, but as a precautionary step, it was concluded to send Father Simon Le Moyne, a veteran Huron missionary, as a special envoy to Onondaga to confirm these friendly proposals, before venturing either a mission or a colony in their country. Le Moyne left Quebec July 2, 1654. He was joined at Montreal by a young Frenchman, noted for both courage and piety, and taking two or three Indians as guides, started on his adventurous journey by way of the St. Lawrence, in a single canoe. Thirteen days were consumed in making their way up the river, struggling with the rapids and encountering heavy

¹ *Relation*, 1654, Chap. II. The references to the *Relations*, unless otherwise indicated, are to edition printed at Quebec, 1858.

winds, which greatly retarded their progress. At night they would seek shelter in the woods, or, if more convenient, under their inverted canoe, and sometimes in the bark hut they would build for the emergency. Game was plenty, and the large herds of elk they met seemed little disturbed by their presence. They reached Lake Ontario, July 30, but such was the violence of the wind that they were compelled to take to the islands in the vicinity, and traverse them on foot, carrying their luggage, provisions and canoe on their shoulders. They soon fell in with a party of Iroquois fishermen, who proved friendly and conducted Le Moyne and his companions to their village, where the good Father was met by several of his old Huron Christians, who recognized him with expressions of delight, and to whom he, in turn, gave the consolations of religion. From this point they took the usual course through the woods, reaching Onondaga on the fifth of August, after a journey of three weeks from Montreal.¹

Le Moyne was received at the Iroquois capital with every mark of respect and enthusiasm. They overwhelmed him with kind attentions, tempting him with the choicest luxuries of the season, such as roasting ears of the young corn, with a bread made of its pulp, than which they knew nothing more delicious. One would call him "brother," another "uncle," another "cousin," while every face beamed a welcome. Familiar as the missionary was with barbarous life and customs, he writes: "I never saw the like among Indians before." Deputies from the Oneidas, Cayugas and Senecas soon arrived; and on the tenth of August the council was convened by criers passing through the town proclaiming its purpose and summoning all to come to the cabin of Ondessonk,² and listen to his words. After invoking the blessing of Heaven in solemn prayer, the sagacious Father, who was well versed in the arts of Indian diplomacy, displayed his presents and began his speech, which he tells us lasted two full hours, and in which he imitated the tone and manner of their own chiefs on such occasions. He caught the spirit of metaphor characteristic of their oratory, and addressed each of the nations represented in the council, as if he had always known their his-

¹ *Relation*, 1654, Chap. VI.

² Huron name given to Le Moyne.

tory and been familiar with the deeds of their noted sachems and warriors, all of which drew from the dusky councillors repeated ejaculations of approval. In the eighth, ninth, tenth and eleventh presents he gave to the four nations "each a hatchet for the war in which they were then engaged with their new enemies, the Eries." In another present he encouraged them "to strengthen their palisades that they might be prepared against every attack of the enemy;" and in another he proposed "to daub their countenances, since it is the custom of the warriors never to go into battle except they paint their faces either black or red, or in divers colors, each having his own favorite color, like a particular uniform, to which he adheres until death." The nineteenth present, with which the eloquent Father closed his speech, was "to dry up the tears of the young warriors at the death of their great chief, Annereroas, who had just before fallen into the hands of the Eries."

The reply of the orator, who spoke in behalf of the council, was all that could be desired. He was specially importunate that the French should select a spot for their colony "on the shores of the Great Lake, where they would dwell securely in the midst of the country of the Iroquois as they already dwelt in their hearts." Le Moyne added two presents to confirm this proposal: and with this favorable termination of his mission, returned to Montreal, where he arrived on the seventh of September, having been absent nearly nine weeks.¹

He was followed, the next year (1655), by Father Joseph Chaumonot, also an experienced Huron missionary, accompanied by Father Claude Dablon, recently come from France. They arrived at Onondaga on the fifth of November; and the fifteenth of the same month was appointed for convening a general council and the delivery of the customary presents. At ten o'clock in the morning of that day, the preparations having been commenced, and while the prayers were being recited amid the stillness of the vast assembly, news came that the embassy from Cayuga had entered the village. The announcement put an end to this part of the ceremony, in order that the deputation might be received with the formalities due to their rank.

¹*Relation*, 1654, Chap. VII.

The Father made them two complimentary presents to which they responded with the same number, and adding a third, desired that further ceremonies might be deferred until the morrow, as the day was already advanced. It was so arranged; and the next day was occupied in conferring the presents, accompanied by a speech from Chaumonot, which produced a marvelous effect and called out various expressions of wonder and delight from the savages. "The Dutch," they said, "never spoke to us of heaven or hell," implying even that their language had no words by which such ideas could be expressed. As the assembly broke up the chief of the Cayugas (Saonchiogwa) assured the Father of his desire to take him as a brother, which was accepted as a mark of the highest confidence.

The next day (17th) was devoted to responses from the representatives of the several nations to the presents, when the chiefs and others crowded around the missionary Fathers, with their songs of welcome. "*Happy land!*" they sang, "*happy land! in which the French are to dwell,*" with the chorus led by the chief of the Onondagas, "*Glad tidings! glad tidings!*" when he declared: "*It is well that we have spoken together: it is well that we have a heavenly message.*" A third chant ran: "*I salute thee, my brother; I salute thee, it is well you have come to us. Oh the charming voice thou hast.*" They also sang: "*Farewell to war: Farewell to the hatchet; until now, we have been enemies; henceforth we are brothers, yes, we are truly brothers.*"

These several songs were followed by four beautiful presents, and the significance of each explained—after which the chief of the Cayugas arose and made a speech of thanks, for a good half hour, characterized by remarkable eloquence and sagacity. He said that both himself and his nation held themselves under great obligations to Onontio¹ for the honor he had done them in their adoption: and that never should they act unworthily of this honorable relationship, nor degrade so illustrious a distinction. Never had they been adopted except by persons of rank; but the

¹ Derived from Onnonte, signifying a *mountain*. It was a literal translation by the Hurons and Iroquois, of the name of M. de Montmagny (*Mons Magnus*) who was Governor of Canada from 1636 to 1648, and signified *Great Mountain*. It continued to be applied to his successors in office, and in like manner to the King of France, whom they called Grand Onontio. The English wrote it Yonnondio.

crowning glory of all their alliances had been conferred by Ontario. And in token of his gratification at this great honor, he struck up a song as pleasing as it was novel. All his companions sang in harmony with him, keeping time by striking their mats, while he danced in the midst of them with violent movement, after the Indian fashion.

Giving play to every part of the body he gestured with his feet, his hands, his head, eyes and mouth, as he sang. *A, a, ha, Gaiandere, gaiandere, O, o, Gaiandere, gaiandere*, equivalent (says the Father) to *Io, io, triumphe*, in the Latin tongue; and then, *E, e, he, Gaiandere, gaiandere, O, o, ho, Gaiandere, gaiandere*. He explained the word *Gaiandere* to signify what they deemed most excellent;¹ and added that what others called the Faith should be named among them *Gaiandere*, in proof of which he made the first present of beads.²

Dablon returned to Quebec early in November, leaving Chammonot to remain at Onondaga for the winter. He was impressed with the good disposition of the Iroquois and favored compliance with their demand for a mission and French settlement, to be established among them the following spring. The whole subject was one of anxious deliberation at Quebec, with alternate hopes and fears. With the fate of their great Huron mission fresh in mind, Father Le Mercier, Superior of the Missions, writes thus of the projected movement among the Iroquois: "It is their fury that has desolated the country of the Algonquins and Hurons while they were fast becoming a Christian people. They cruelly burned both pastors and the flock. But while the blood of the martyrs is making itself heard in heaven, we find ourselves called to renew our efforts to spread the Faith, by these cruel barbarians themselves who would seem to exist in the world, for the sole purpose of opposing it. In a word, the Iroquois have pressed us to come and instruct them, demanding with equal urgency that a colony should be planted on their Lake (Ontario) which should be to them for an asylum and between them and us a lasting bond of peace. * * * The promise having been made to them for

¹ *Gaianderesera*, nobility; *gaiander*, man or woman of rank. Bruyas, *Mohawk Raftcats*, p. 58.

² *Relation*, 1656, Chap. VII.

the next spring, their heart has not been able to contain itself for joy. Their countenance has been more expressive than their tongue, and God has caused us to hope that in some way He will secure his glory and our good in the event."¹

About this time, a Huron prisoner who had escaped from Onondaga, brought the report that the whole project was an Iroquois plot to allure the French with the Hurons into their country, to be followed by a general massacre, when once in their power. The Huron chiefs took the alarm, and though expecting to accompany the mission in accordance with the pledge made to the Onondagas, as already related, not only refused to furnish a colony from their own people, but implored the French for the love they bore them not to expose themselves to such manifest perils. In the meanwhile the Mohawks, jealous of the preference shown to the Onondagas in the location of the settlement, gave indications of their displeasure, which boded nothing but evil.²

¹ *Relation*, 1654, Chap. VIII.

² The place first selected for the French settlement appears to have been on the south bank of Salmon river, at the present site of Port Ontario, about a mile from the Lake, afterward known as Cahionovage. The journal describing Le Moyne's return journey in 1654, after leaving Oswego river, says: "We arrived at the place which is fixed upon for our house and a French settlement, beautiful prairies, good fishing, a resort of all nations, where I found new Christians, who confessed and inspired me with devotion." The same place is mentioned by Chaumonot and Dablon in 1654, Oct. 29: "We arrived about nine o'clock in the morning at Otihatangne (the name of the river). They presented us with a repast of welcome. Otihatangne is a river which flows into Lake Ontario, narrow at its mouth, but much wider above. It abounds in meadows which it fertilizes, and divides into hilly and flat islands, all suitable for sowing grain." (*Relation*, 1654.) An Indian town is indicated at this point on a map of "Pere Coronelli, Paris, 1688," described as "Cahionovague, or La Famine, where the greater part of the Iroquois disembark to trade their beaver." Another map of 1679 says, "it is the place where most of the Iroquois and Loups land to go in the beaver trade at New York." In 1684, Mons. de la Barre, Governor of Canada, landed with his army on the opposite side of the river nearer the lake at the point now known as Selkirk. The place was described by him in his official report as "La Famine, a port favorable for fishing and hunting and four leagues from the river of Onnontague (at Oswego). Col. Hist. N. Y., IX, 242, Charlevoix visited the place in 1721. In describing it he says: "Famine Bay, thus named since M. de la Barre, Governor General of New France, had like to have lost all his army here, by hunger and distemper, in going to make war with the Iroquois." Charlevoix evidently errs as to the origin of the name, for it was attached to the locality many years previous to M. de la Barre's campaign, and undoubtedly resulted from the sufferings experienced by Mons. Du Pays and his companions while on their way to establish the French colony in the country of the Onondagas in 1656. For many years historians considered Famine Bay as identical with Hungry Bay (now Henderson,) several miles north, but at the present time the best authorities concede that the Famine Bay of the French was the extreme south-eastern angle of Lake Ontario, and that the Grand Famine, and Petite Famine rivers, correspond respectively to Great and Little Salmon rivers of the present day. The great central trail of the Mohawk Valley, if prolonged westward in a direct line from Rome, would follow substantially the line of the Rome and Watertown R. R. as

After a review of the whole ground and in the light of these fresh disclosures, it was considered too late to retreat, notwithstanding the dangers visible on all sides, as a refusal now to carry out the negotiations already agreed upon, would bring upon the French settlements the combined fury of the Iroquois nations, while at the worst the result of the present enterprise would be the sacrifice of the few in place of the many. It was, moreover, the only door opened to them to maintain peaceful relations begun with these savages and for the spread of the Faith; and on the 17th of May, 1656, the entire company embarked at Quebec in two large shallows, with a number of canoes, for Onondaga. It was composed of the missionary Fathers René Menard, Claude Dablon, James Fremin, and Francis Le Mercier, the Father Superior, and Brothers Ambrose Broas and Joseph Boursier; ten soldiers, with between thirty and forty French colonists under command of M. DuPuys. Hurons, Onondagas and Senecas completed the party. They had a long and perilous journey. On reaching Lake Ontario they had exhausted their provisions, and the fishing being poor, they were without food for six days except a small berry found in the woods, and were saved from starvation only by a bountiful supply of Indian corn and salmon despatched from Onondaga whither they had sent a courier for relief. This was while at or near the point still called Famine Bay, from whence the whole flotilla proceeded by way of

far as Salmon River and from thence continuing on the south bank of the river, reach Lake Ontario at Cahihonovage. This was the most convenient and direct route for the Orange (Albany) traders to reach the numerous Indian tribes of the great lakes via Quinte Bay. In like manner the great thoroughfare of the French, to their possessions in the south west, passed through this point, the forty miles along the eastern end of lake Ontario being common to the two routes. This accounts for its being described as *the place of resort of all nations*, and for this reason was considered as second only in importance to Cataraguay, (Kingston.) In the great strife for dominion between the French and English colonies, the French sought to attract and control the western trade, by the establishment, in 1673, of the trading post and fort at Cataraguay. The English, no less mindful of their interests, found means to divert this trade to the south shore of Lake Ontario, and thence to their market. This led to the expedition of Denonville against the Senecas, in 1687, and the construction of Fort Niagara. In 1727 the Marquis de Beauharnois, claimed that the French, at some time previous, had a fort of settlement at La Famine, (Col. Hist. V, 827) which Gov. Burnet, in answer, says was abandoned before the treaty of Utrecht (1712). (Col. Hist. V, 829.) The map of Col. Romer shows a fort on the bank of the river at Oswego as early as 1700; and Gov. Dongan, in 1687, says that M. de la Barre came to Cahihonovage, *where the Indians would have me build a fort.* (Doc. Hist. III, 475.) From these accounts it appears that the French had a fort, or settlement, at or near this point, at some time previous to 1712, that the English were solicited by the Five Nations to locate there, but probably considering Oswego as preferable, concluded to establish the English post at that point.—J. S. C.

the Oswego river and entered Lake Ganentaa the eleventh of July, firing a salvo of guns which made the forests resound with its echoes, to the delight and astonishment of the crowds of savages along its banks.

A grand council was soon assembled to confirm the alliance, and Father Chaumonot, who had been on the ground through the previous winter, was the spokesman for his missionary brethren and their companions. His speech on the occasion is described as one of remarkable eloquence, in which he disclosed, with entire frankness and characteristic earnestness, the design of their coming. "It is not trade" he said "that brings us here. Our purpose is a more lofty one. Do you think that your beaver skins can pay us for all the toils and dangers of a long and weary voyage? Keep them, if you like, for the Hollanders; and if any fall into our hands, we shall use them only for your service. We seek not the things that perish. It is for the Faith that we have left our country; it is for the Faith that we have forsaken parents and friends; it is for the Faith that we have crossed the ocean and left the great ships of France to embark in your little canoes. It is for the Faith that we have left our comfortable houses to live in your hovels of bark. It is for the Faith that we have denied ourselves the food that is natural to us, for that which the beasts of our country would scarcely touch." And here displaying a large and beautiful belt most artistically designed,¹ he continued:

"It is for the Faith that I take in my hands this rich present and open my mouth to remind you of the pledges you gave at the time you came to Quebec, to conduct us into your country. You with great solemnity promised to give ear to the words of

¹ The Onondagas have preserved with great care to the present time, the ancient wampum belts of the Confederacy. Those associated with the first union and league of the Five Nations are looked upon with peculiar reverence and held as sacred treasures. Among these is one about four feet in length, composed principally of purple shell beads of the richest hues, and for this reason esteemed as of great value. At one end of this belt is a rude representation of a man, and at the other that of a cross, with a narrow white stripe connecting the two. The legend of this belt as explained at this day is as follows: "Great many years ago, a company from Canada presented this belt, desiring that missionaries from the Roman Catholic Church might be settled among the Five Nations, and erect a chapel at Onondaga, and that the road (represented by the white stripe) should be continually kept open and free between them." In examining this belt and listening to the traditions connected with it, I was strongly impressed with the idea that it was the identical one presented by Chaumonot on this occasion.—J. S. C.

the great God. They are in my mouth. Listen to them. I am only His voice. We are messengers whom He has sent to tell you that His Son became man, for the love of you; that this man, the Son of God, is the Prince and Master of men; that He has prepared in heaven eternal joys for those who obey Him and kindled the fires of hell for those who will not receive his word. * * * If you reject it, whoever you are, Onondaga, Seneca, Mohawk, Cayuga or Oneida, know that Jesus Christ who inspires my heart and my voice will plunge you one day into hell. Avert this crime! Be not the author of your own destruction! Accept the truth! Listen to the voice of the Omnipotent!"¹

Early in August an aged chief from Cayuga, an intelligent man and still engaged in public affairs, presented a request on behalf of his nation, that one of the Fathers might be sent to instruct them in the Faith with the assurance that a chapel would be provided, and that this was the desire of the whole people. Father Menard was accordingly sent, with two Frenchmen, and became the guest of Saonchiogwa the chief of the canton, and the same that responded to Chaumonot and Dablon in the council of the previous year.

¹ *Relation* 1657, Chap. V.

II.

The Cayuga Mission now determined upon as part of the general policy, already indicated, was confided to the care of Father René Menard, who for nine years had been a missionary among the Hurons, and for devotion and tact was regarded as second to none among his co-laborers. The following narrative of his work in founding the mission, is from Chapter XVI of the *Relation* for 1657, viz.:

CONCERNING THE PUBLICATION OF THE FAITH AMONG THE CAYUGA IROQUOIS.

Having adopted, immediately on our arrival in this country, the Onondagas as brothers, and the Cayugas and Oneidas as children,¹ it became necessary, for the preservation of this alliance, to visit them in order to make them presents, which we shall be obliged to do each year, to render our relationship with them serviceable and desirable. This was to us a very agreeable necessity, as it opened the way for the proclamation of the Gospel in conferring our presents, after the manner in which we had happily commenced our labors.

It was with this design that Fathers Chaumonot and Menard left (Onondaga) at the end of the month of August in the year 1656 for Cayuga,² where they arrived after a journey of two

¹ The Five Nations, wrote Count Zinzendorf, nearly a hundred years later (1742), are divided into fathers, or children, or brethren, or members of the covenant; and such as do not belong to some one of these classes, they call cousins. He adds that the Mohawks, Onondagas and Senecas are called fathers. The two other nations which are styled children are the Cayugas and Oneidas; and when at any time they have general proposals made them about Christianity they give for answer that they will follow the Onondagas and do the same as they.—*Memorials of Moravian Church* I, 124.

² Goi-o-gouen, the site of the Mission of St. Joseph, the principal village of the Cayugas, appears to have been located at this time about three and a half miles south of Union Springs, near Great Gully Brook. Thiohero or St. Stephen, ten miles distant, was on the east side of Seneca river at the northern extremity of Cayuga Lake, the Salt Springs described by Father Raffeix in 1672, being a mile and a half north west of Thiohero and about a half mile north of the Seneca river R. R. bridge. The archaeological remains in the vicinity of Goi-o-gouen indicate different locations occupied at different periods, one of which was on a point at the junction of two ravines about four miles from the lake; this was very ancient, and probably occupied in the pre-historic age. According to Dr. Lewis H. Morgan, the locality known as the "Residence Reservation," was called in the Seneca dialect Ga-ya-ga-an-ha. Several other dialectical variations appear to have been used, Onnio, Onioen, Ouen,—all, apparently,

days; and that Father Chaumonot having made a brief sojourn there, proceeded to the country of the Senecas, leaving Father Menard to the labors of founding the church about to be formed. This is what he has sent to us :

The antipathy toward the faith and our persons, which the Hurons had created among the natives of the country, persuading them that we brought with us sickness and misfortune to the places we visited, caused us to be received quite coolly, and rendered our presents, made for the sake of the Faith, worthless in their esteem.¹ Nevertheless, the men of authority,² who out of regard for their temporal interests, would not break with us, and trusting that an experiment of the Faith would not endanger the lives of their slaves, set them at work four days after our arrival, to build for us a chapel, on which they employed themselves so diligently, that in two days it was in a condition to receive the Christians. After it had been furnished and adorned with the most beautiful mats, I there exposed the picture of our Lord, and that of our Lady; this was a spectacle the novelty of which so greatly surprised our barbarians that they came in crowds to consider it, and gaze upon the countenance and movement of the two pictures. I thus had abundant opportunity to explain our mysteries; and so inquisitive were they about the pictures, that each day was but catechetical instruction from morning till night; the result of which was, that they were so subdued in spirit that in a few days, we had many neophytes not only of Hurons and slaves, but also from the natives of the country.

referable to the original Huron words, signifying, *people of the great tobacco pipe*. In their own language, according to Greenhalgh in 1677, the French called the Cayugas *Les Petuneurs*. This is an obsolete word, with a similar signification equivalent to "*tobacco users*." The totem of the Cayugas was a calumet, or *great tobacco pipe*, and their chief sachem is often called Sanun-awean-towa, signifying the tongue, or voice, of the *great pipe*. On the return of the Cayugas after the destruction of their towns in 1779, in Gen. Sullivan's campaign, they appear to have established their castle, one and a half miles north of Union Springs, where it appears on several early maps. The early French writers applied the term *Goi-o-gouen*, also to the country and canton of the Cayugas.—J. S. C.

¹ This superstition that the Missionary Fathers caused all their misfortunes was one great obstacle to success among the Hurons, and often brought the missionaries themselves into great peril. Menard had often encountered it, and he does not appear to be surprised at finding that the old prejudice, as created by these Huron captives, had preceded him at Cayuga.

² *Anciens*, the word used to denote the chiefs of the council in distinction from the war chiefs.

Many brought their children to me for Baptism; and aided me in teaching them the prayers, by repeating them after me; and in a short time grace wrought such marvelous changes, that the little children, who at first made me the constant object of their ridicule and sport, now rendered me the offices of good angels, conducting me into the cabins, attending me wherever I visited, and giving me the names of those I baptized, as well as the names of their parents; which these barbarians are accustomed to conceal from us, believing that we record their names that we may send them to France, and there procure their death by magic.

The providence of God gave me three excellent teachers for acquiring the language. They are brothers, natives of the country, and of good natural dispositions. Their kindness in inviting me to their houses, and the patience and assiduity with which they have instructed me, very soon qualified me to instruct them, and by means of the pictures, which greatly excited their curiosity, lead them to apprehend our mysteries.

The first adult person that I judged capable of baptism, was an old man eighty years of age, who, having been touched of God on hearing me instruct a Christian, desired me, two days after, to visit him, being to all appearance nigh unto death. I had no hesitation in according to him baptism, finding in him all the dispositions of a soul chosen for heaven, in the way to which he has had opportunity to prepare himself.

The second adult that I baptized, was a cripple whose face was covered with a cancer, which rendered him horrible to the sight. This poor afflicted one received me with a joy, equalled only by the fervor of desire he had evinced that I should visit him, and applied himself so faithfully to retain the prayers and instructions, that I soon conferred upon him baptism in our chapel. Perhaps these graces, which God has wrought in him, are the fruits of the charity that he manifested for Fathers Brebeuf and Lalemant some time before. He told me that he was a witness of their death, and having by his valor acquitted himself with credit among his fellow warriors on that same day in which he had slain with his own hand eight Hurons and taken five others prisoners, he had pity on these two captive Fathers,

and had bought them of the Mohawks for two beautiful wampum belts, with the design of returning them to us in safety: but that soon their captors gave back to him these pledges, reclaimed their prisoners and burned them with all imaginable fury.¹

This poor Lazarus, as I have named him in baptism, is much esteemed in the canton; and he is the first support that it pleased God to give to this little Church, which he augments continually in attracting others to the Faith, through the zeal of his discourse and his example.

The enemy of the Gospel, unable to endure its progress, has not wanted for calumnies with which to trouble the Christians. Our faith is accused of being the murderer of all who profess it: and the death of several Christians at Onondaga having given occasion for this delusion of the savages, the speech of a certain chief, an enemy of our religion, made at a council, served to excite still more their prejudices. So that not only many natives of the country, judging it was safer to believe what this man of authority among them said than to put faith in the totally opposite experience of our ancient Hurons, have begged me to regard it well for them to omit attendance at prayers, until their fear of me should abate; but also they accuse the Faith of the French of all the evils, both public and private, with which they appear to be afflicted. This it is, that a certain apostate endeavored to make these barbarians believe, citing the Hollanders for

¹ On the 16th of March, 1649, at daybreak, an army of a thousand Iroquois burst upon the Huron town of Taenhatentaron, the mission station of St. Ignatius, which, after a resolute but ineffectual defence was involved in a general massacre. The two missionaries, the veteran Brebeuf and Gabriel Lalemant, while engaged in ministering to the wounded and dying, fell into the hands of the Iroquois, who, after tearing out their nails, forced them through the gauntlet of a double row of savages, dealing their furious blows on every side, to the place of torture. Each was bound to a stake. The hands of Brebeuf were cut off, and the body of Lalemant pierced with awls and pointed irons. Red hot hatchets were thrust under the arm pits and between the thighs of the sufferers, and around the neck of Brebeuf they hung a collar of the heated weapons. As the voice of the old Huron missionary was heard above the din, consoling his converts and proclaiming the judgments of God upon the unbeliever, his enraged tormentors crushed in his mouth with a stone, cut off his nose and thrust a burning brand into his throat; and as if this was not enough they tore off his scalp, and thrice, in derision of baptism, poured scalding water upon his head. Then, after hacking off his feet, they tore out his heart and devoured it. The gentle Lalemant was wrapped in pieces of bark, which were set on fire, and after a series of tortures similar to those which had been inflicted on Brebeuf, they tomahawked him, leaving the charred and mangled bodies of their victims among the ashes of the town.—See Shea's *History of Catholic Missions, &c.*, 188-191; also *Relation, 1649*, Chap. III, IV.

proof of what he said, when he asserted that the children of the Iroquois died two years after their baptism; and that the Christians either broke a leg, or pierced their foot with a thorn, or became emaciated, or vomited up the soul with the blood, or were attacked with some other signal malady.

If our reputation is thus calumniated, our life is in no greater safety. A warrior of my acquaintance, having come to lodge in our cabin, has given me no little anxiety. For having entered three nights in succession, with a species of possession which renders him furious, he has attempted to take my life; and would, without doubt, have succeeded in his purpose if he had not been prevented by our host.

I was threatened with death, after a more haughty fashion, by a young man, who, after having heard me instruct a catechumen, very sick, whom I wished to prepare for death, said to me that I was a sorcerer of whom it was necessary to rid themselves; that I caused to live or die such as I pleased; and that it was as easy for me to heal this man, as to lead him to heaven. Was not this an agreeable reproach?¹

Nevertheless, these difficulties, raised by the Evil One, have not prevented the faith from gaining day by day upon the confidence of the people; nor that I should be heard everywhere; nor our chapel from being filled with catechumens; and finally, that I should not baptize daily either children or adults.

This is what the Father has informed us during the two months he has had charge of the mission, having been obliged to leave there and return and join his labors with those of the

¹The persecution of the Jesuit Fathers as sorcerers was common among the Hurons. In a house of Ossossané, a young Indian rushed suddenly upon Father Francis Du Peron and lifted his tomahawk to brain him, when a squaw caught his hand. Paul Ragneneau wore a crucifix from which hung the image of a skull. An Indian, thinking it a charm, snatched it from him. The priest tried to recover it, when the savage, his eyes glittering with murder, brandished his hatchet to strike. Ragneneau stood motionless, waiting the blow. The assailant forbore and withdrew, muttering. Pierre Chaumonot was emerging from a Huron town, named by the Jesuits St. Michel, where he had just baptized a dying girl, when her brother, standing hidden in the doorway, struck him on the head with a stone. Chaumonot, severely wounded, staggered without falling, when the Indian sprang upon him with a tomahawk; but the bystanders averted the blow. A noted chief, in the town of St. Louis, assailed Le Mercier, with the violence of a madman, charging upon him all the miseries of the nation, and seizing a fire brand from the fire, shook it in the Jesuit's face and told him that he should be burned alive. Le Mercier met him with looks as determined as his own, till, abashed at his undaunted front and bold denunciations, the Indian stood confounded.—*Parkman's Jesuits in North America*, 124-5.

two other Fathers at Onondaga, where they have established the foundation and the seminary of all the other missions among the Iroquois.

Since then, however, at that same place, the Father having returned there accompanied by five or six French and the more prominent of the village, who had come here to beg him to return, he has been received with all the eclat imaginable. Having found the chapel in the same condition in which he left it, he resumed prayers on the day of his arrival; and so great was the zeal manifested by the converts and the catechumens, that the Father writes that this church is not less promising than that of Onondaga."

In addition to this account of the labors of Menard at Cayuga, during the year he was there, and the dangers to which he was exposed, we find in Chap. VIII of the *Relation* 1662-3, written after his death, this passage alluding to his connection with the mission: "His courage was equal to his zeal. He had seen without fear the Iroquois rushing upon him knife in hand to cut his throat, while laboring for their conversion in the village of Cayuga. Others in the same place had lifted their hatchets to cleave his skull, but he preserved his calmness. He met, with a benign countenance, the insults of the little children who hooted at him in the streets, as if he were a lunatic.

"But this generous Father gloried with the apostle in being counted a fool for Jesus' sake, that in the very pangs of persecution, he might give birth to this Iroquois church founded by him and which, in a short time, grew to the number of four hundred Christians, with the hopeful prospect of converting the entire *bourg*, had he not been arrested in the midst of this work. This was when we were obliged to abandon the Iroquois missions in consequence of the fresh murders committed by these treacherous savages, on our frontier settlements. Thus was he forced to abandon this bountiful harvest, the first fruits of which he had offered to heaven, in the death of many little ones and also of adults, whom he had baptized. It was like taking his heart from his body, or tearing a loving mother from her children."

We have in the *Relation* of 1659-60 an account of the last labors of this devoted missionary. In 1659, two years after he

was forced to leave Cayuga at the breaking up of the Iroquois missions, Menard, then at Quebec, was selected to found a mission among the Sioux, who, with other western tribes had desired commerce with the French that they might gain the means to resist the Iroquois. He was commissioned to visit Green Bay and Lake Superior, and at some convenient inlet establish a residence as a missionary center for the surrounding nations. The enterprise was regarded as one involving peculiar exposures and perils from the rigor of the climate and the pitiless barbarity of the savage; notwithstanding which, this aged man, obedient to the vows of his order, and trusting, as he said, "in the Providence which feeds the little birds of the desert, and clothes the wild flowers of the forest," went forth into the wilderness to scatter the seeds of truth which could only be sown in tears.

He appears to have had a premonition that this would prove his last work, as writing in haste from Three Rivers, August 27, 1660, to a dear friend, he says: "In three or four months you may add my name to the *memento of the dead*." After a journey crowded with hardships and peril, he reached in the month of October, the bay which he named St. Theresa, where he remained eight months, when he yielded to the entreaties of a wretched company of Huron Christians, refugees on Black River, who implored him to come to them in their misery, lest they should lose altogether a knowledge of the faith; and against the expostulation of both the French and his neophytes, the aged Father departed with a single attendant, a Frenchman, for the bay of Chegoimegon on Lake Superior by the way of Keweena Lake.

About the tenth of August (1661), while making a portage, Menard became separated from his companion, who was transporting the canoe, and missing his way was lost in the forest and was never again seen. His faithful attendant, after a fruitless search, shouting and firing his gun repeatedly in the hope that the poor Father might be attracted by the noise, started for the nearest Huron village, to procure help at any cost; but, unfortunately, he himself lost his way, and only reached the village two days after, under the guidance of an Indian whom he

¹ *Relation* 1660, p. 30, in which the letter is given in full.

chanced to meet in his wanderings. It was some time before he could make the savages understand him, unable as he was to speak a word of their language. At last, however, he succeeded by signs and gestures, in making known his sad errand, and in assuring them that they would be liberally rewarded for any assistance they might render in searching for the lost Father—when the whole village was thrown into sudden alarm by a cry to arms, as the enemy was at their doors, and in the confusion, the last hope of continuing the search dissipated. Some time after, the cassock of the lost missionary, was seen in the possession of an Indian; but he would not acknowledge that he had found the body, lest suspicion should rest upon him that he had dealt the fatal blow. Other articles used in worship, belonging to the Father, were seen in an Indian cabin; but no satisfactory clue could be discovered as to the time or mode of his death. A small piece of dried meat which he had with him would suffice to appease his hunger for two or three days only; and the most probable supposition is that he died of starvation. But whatever doubt there may hang over the circumstances of his death, none can rest upon the sincerity and fervor of his apostolic zeal, or the heroism of his self-sacrifice, whether the lot fell to him to be the first to plant the cross among the Cayugas, or to bear it to the nations not less fierce that dwelt by the great maritime lakes of the distant west.

III.

The first missions among the Iroquois were of short duration. The settlement of the French with the Onondagas, instead of on the banks of Lake Ontario as at first proposed, and on ground common to the several nations, had provoked anew the hatred of the Mohawks, while the murder of three of the colonists by the Oneidas, had led to acts of retaliation on the part of the French. Moreover, the war being waged for the extermination of the Eries was at its height; and the prisoners, including women and children, were brought in numbers to Onondaga and other Iroquois villages, and after the customary tortures consigned to the flames. In the midst of the general turmoil, a conspiracy was organized for the slaughter of the colony, including the missionaries. The plot was disclosed by a dying Onondaga who had recently been baptized. Messengers were sent in haste to call in the missionary Fathers from the several cantons, who together with the colonists, fifty-three in number, were speedily gathered in their fortified house on Lake Ganentaa. M. Du Puys, the officer in command, immediately entered upon preparations for their escape from the country. Every movement had to be conducted with the utmost secrecy, as the slightest suspicion of their intentions would be the signal for a general massacre. Moreover the savages were on the watch day and night as they lounged before the gate of the mission house or stealthily crept about the palisade that enclosed the premises. The French finding that they had only canoes for half their number, built in the garret of the Jesuits' house, unsuspected by the Indians, two batteaux of light draft and capable of holding fifteen persons each, which were kept concealed until everything should be in readiness for the departure.

Resort was now had to strategem. Among the French was a young man who had been adopted into the family of an Onondaga chief and had acquired great influence with the tribe. He

gravely told his foster father that he had dreamed the previous night he was at a feast at which the guests ate everything set before them, and asked permission to make a similar feast for the whole tribe.¹ A day was named for the banquet; the stores of the settlement were freely contributed to swell the bounty and give zest to the festivities, which took place on the evening of the 20th of March in a large enclosure outside the palisade that protected the mission house. Here, amid the glare of blazing fires, Frenchmen and Iroquois joined in the dance, the musicians, in the meanwhile, with drums, trumpets and cymbals keeping up a continuous uproar, in the midst of which those in charge of the boats were making the necessary preparations for the embarkation. The feast lasted until midnight, when gorged to repletion and under the soothing notes of the guitar played by the young Frenchman, the guests fell into a profound slumber. He then silently withdrew and joined his companions who lay upon their oars anxiously awaiting his coming; and before morning, the fugitives were far on their way to Oswego. Late into the next day, the Indians stood wondering at the silence that reigned in the mission house; yet, as the afternoon wore away, their patience was exhausted, and scaling the palisade, they burst open the doors to find, to their amazement, every Frenchman gone. Gazing at each other in silence, they fled from the house. No trace betrayed the flight of the French. "They have become invisible," cried the savages, "and flown or walked upon the waters, for canoes they had not."²

The party reached Montreal, after a perilous journey, on the 3d of April, with the loss of a single canoe and three of their number drowned in the St. Lawrence. The same year, (1657) a ferocious war between the French and Iroquois raged all along the Canadian frontier. It lasted some two years, during which the missionary Fathers had a steadfast friend in Garacontie, the renowned chief of the Onondagas, who left no means untried to

¹ A dream was regarded as a most imperative form of divine revelation, and was to be obeyed at all hazards. This sort of feast at which everything was to be eaten (*festin à manger tout*) also ranked among their superstitions, and was sometimes resorted to for the healing of the sick, an instance of which occurs in the next number.

² *Relation* 1658, Chap. I, II. See also; *Old Regime of Canada*, pp. 35-39. Shea's *Catholic Missions*, pp. 238-239. *Field Book Revolution*, I, 229-230.

bring about a peace for the sake of their return.¹ It was through his influence that an embassy under charge of Saonchiogwa, the head sachem of the Cayugas, was sent to Montreal to secure this object. The negotiations were attended with many difficulties, and required adroit management on the part of the Cayuga orator. The French had learned to view with distrust such overtures, if they had not lost all confidence in Iroquois sincerity. "They cry peace," writes Father Le Jeune in his account of this embassy, "and murder in the same breath. Peace is made at Montreal and war is waged at Quebec and Three Rivers. While we receive them at our homes, they kill us in the forests, and our people are murdered by those who protest that they are our best friends."

In giving the account of the embassy we follow the narrative of Le Jeune: "It was in the month of July (1660) amid such disasters, that there appeared above Montreal two canoes of the Iroquois, who, on displaying a white flag, came boldly under that standard and put themselves into our hands as if their own were not red with our blood. It is true they had with them a passport that put them above all fear of harm from us, go where they would, in four French captives whom they came to return as a pledge of their sincerity. They asked for a conference, saying that they were deputed by the Cayugas and Onondagas, from whom they had brought messages of importance. Indeed, the head of the embassy was the celebrated Captain of the Cayuga na-

¹ It was not until after the flight of the French that Garaontie became the avowed protector of Christians and the advocate of peace. Indeed, he fitted up in his own cabin a chapel, and maintained, so far as he was able, the emblems and associations of the Faith. He succeeded in rescuing a number of French captives brought to the different cantons, and these he would assemble at Onondaga, morning and evening, with the Hurons to prayer, at the sound of the mission bell, which he had carefully preserved, and which was only allowed to be used on the gravest public occasions. A war party of the Mohawks in one of these raids in the vicinity of Quebec, took from the Hurons on the Isle of Orleans a crucifix, some two feet in length, which they bore among their spoils to their village. On learning of this, Garaontie went in person to the village and by arguments and rich presents rescued the sacred symbol from profanation and set it up over the altar which awaited the return of the missionary Fathers. On the resumption of the mission at Onondaga, Father Milet, in speaking of his methods of assembling the adults to Catechumen, says: "I borrowed for this purpose a bell which they had thirteen or fourteen years ago from those of our Fathers who were in this mission when the war was kindled there." He also speaks of its having been used to summon the deputies to the council, the same that had called the faithful to worship to the Jesuit's chapel at Ganentaa. *Relation*, 1661, 32: 1670, 51. For an interesting account of the finding of fragments of this bell, see Clark's *Hist. Onondaga Co.*, II, 257, 276.

tion, who was friendly to us when we were among the Iroquois, and the host of our Fathers in their labors to found the first church among his people.

We appointed a day for the conference, and received him as if innocent of any participation in the murders which had been committed throughout our settlements. The day arrived, when he displayed twenty belts of wampum, which spoke more eloquently than his speech, marked though it was from beginning to end with much native grace, and presenting with great adroitness all the points to be secured by his mission. He had come, and this was the important object of the embassy, to obtain the release of eight Cayugas, his countrymen, kept at Montreal since the previous year. In order to induce us to liberate these prisoners, he broke the bonds of the four Frenchmen he had brought with him, promising at the same time the liberty of twenty others who were held at Onondaga; and finally assured us of the good will of his nation, notwithstanding the acts of hostility committed during the past two years. His speech was clothed in excellent terms and was attended with much ceremony.

First of all he offered a present to Heaven to bring back, he said, the Sun which had been in eclipse during these wars, the evils of which that luminary had refused to look upon. It had been, he said, forced, as it were, to retire so as not to shine upon the inhumanities that attend such conflicts among men.

Having thus propitiated Heaven, he next sought to restore the earth, convulsed as it had been by the tumult of war. This he did by a present which was intended at the same time to calm the rivers, clear out all the rocks, smooth down the rapids and thus establish free and safe intercourse between us and them.

Another present covered all the blood that had been shed and brought again to life all that had been slain in these wars. Another gave us back the comfort and peace we had lost in the troubles we had suffered. Another was to restore the voice, clear the throat and organs of speech, that none but the pleasant words of peace might pass between us; and in order to show with what sincerity he desired to be bound to us, he said, in presenting a magnificent belt: This is to draw the Frenchman to us that he may return to his mat which we still preserve at Ga-

nentaa;' where the house is yet standing that he had when he dwelt among us. The fire has not been extinguished since his departure, and the fields, which we have tilled, await but his hand to gather in the harvest; he will make peace flourish again in the midst of us by his stay, as he had banished all the evils of war. And to cement this alliance, and bind us together so firmly that the demons, jealous of our happiness, shall never be able to cross our good designs, we ask that the holy sisters should come and see us, as well to take care of the sick as to instruct the children, (he intended to speak of the Hospital nuns and the Ursulines); we will erect roomy cabins, furnished with the most beautiful mats the country affords; and they need have no fear of the water-falls or the rapids, for we have so united the rivers that they may put their own hands to the oar without trouble or fear. Finally, he made a full recital of the comforts these good nuns would find in his country, not forgetting to mention the abundance of Indian corn, strawberries, and other fruits of this sort, which he set forth in his discourse as the strongest inducement to attract them on this expedition. His whole manner, both of gesture and posture, in arranging the two presents given with this object, indicated that he was moved in their bestowal by his gallantry, rather than by any expectation that the request would be granted. The final word he spoke, was in a tone of stern resolve, as raising the last belt he exclaimed, a Black-gown must come with me, otherwise no peace; and on his coming depend the lives of twenty Frenchmen at Onondaga. In saying this he produced a leaf from some book, on the margin of which these twenty Frenchmen had written their names, in confirmation of the object of the embassy.

1 Ganentaa—The site of the Mission of St. Mary. The Onondagas had a small Indian village, used as a landing place, situated near the southern extremity of Onondaga Lake. North of this and about midway between the two extremities of the lake, on the north side, was the site assigned for the French residence and Mission. It was about twelve miles from the main village of the Onondagas, who then lived about two miles south of the present village of Manlius in the town of Pompey. The "Jesuits Well" still exists with its accompanying salt fountains, and may be found just north of the railroad bridge on lot 106. This was the first Catholic Chapel erected in the present territory of the State of New York. Frontenac, in 1696, erected a palisaded fort on this site, for the protection of his batteaux and supplies, while engaged in the destruction of the Onondaga and Oneida villages. In 1797 Judge Geddes, in making surveys for the State, found the remains of a palisaded work at this point, some of the pickets of which were still standing. This was probably erected on the same site in 1756 by Sir William Johnson for the Onondagas. (See instructions for building, Doc. Hist. N. Y., II. 442-470.)—J. S. C.

After the speech, he formally delivered up the four French captives, who recounted to us the hospitable reception given them at Onondaga and the kind treatment bestowed upon their companions whom they had left behind. Finally, these poor Frenchmen implored us, with clasped hands, to have pity on them as we had nothing to fear from these people among whom they had thus been cared for, and begged us to send one of the Fathers to break the bonds of their fellow captives and deliver them from the flames, to which otherwise they were inevitably doomed.

The diplomacy of Saonchiogwa proved a success, and, notwithstanding the misgivings of the French as to his personal safety, Father Le Moyne, whose visit to Onondaga in 1653 opened the way for the first missions, was allowed to return with the embassy, and arrived at Onondaga the 12th of August, 1660, when the pledge given by Saonchiogwa was fulfilled in the release of the French prisoners and their safe return with the Father to Montreal. The chief obstacle to resuming the missions at this time, was in the implacable hostility of the Mohawks, who persistently refused to make peace with the French, until six years after, when they were attacked on their own territory by a force of a thousand men, led in person by M. de Tracy, Viceroy of Canada, and three of their villages, with a large quantity of corn, destroyed. This was in the autumn of 1666, and resulted in the restoration of peace, followed by the resumption of the missions in the several cantons of the Iroquois.

Before his return to Montreal, (1662) Le Moyne made a brief visit to the Mohawks,¹ which nearly cost him his life, and he was

¹ In 1655, Le Moyne made a visit to the Mohawks, and instead of returning directly to Quebec, passed the winter in New Netherland, and for the first time saw New Amsterdam, the Dutch capital, containing then about 1,000 inhabitants. While there, says Brodhead, (Hist. N. Y. Vol. 1, pp. 645) he formed a warm friendship with Dominic Johannes Megapolensis, whose early missionary efforts among the Mohawks led him to look with lively interest, if not with entire sympathy, on the zealous labors of the Jesuit Fathers. It was at this time that Le Moyne communicated to his distinguished friend an account of his visit in 1654 to the "salt springs" of Onondaga. Governor Stuyvesant availed himself of the presence of Le Moyne to obtain through his influence a permission from the Governor of Canada for Dutch vessels to trade in the St. Lawrence, and a bark was forthwith cleared from New Amsterdam with a cargo on which the duties were remitted, as it was the first from Manhattan to Canada. But the unlucky pioneer vessel on entering the St. Lawrence was wrecked at Anticosti.

barely able to make his escape from the scene of his earlier missionary labors. The Cayugas offered him protection, and he spent a month with them, laboring with characteristic zeal for their spiritual welfare. In the *Relation*, 1661-2, Chap. IV, we have this account of the reasons which led Le Moyne to visit Cayuga, and of his work during the brief time he was there.

“The Iroquois of Cayuga, who are less cruel and whom we have found more affectionate than the other Iroquois nations, especially at the time when we ministered in their cantons to the Huron church among them, were moved with compassion at our troubles, and in order to give protection to the Father, invited him to come and instruct them until the danger should have passed. The Father was rejoiced at this offer, more for the sake of the salvation of these kind barbarians than from any considerations of personal safety, and went to serve them for some weeks. He was received with public acclamation, and found an ample field for the exercise of his zeal.

“The lancet of a young French surgeon who accompanied him, and whose skill God wonderfully blessed during the prevalence of a dangerous and infectious disease, aided the good cause inasmuch as many, whose lives had been despaired of, were cured. This won the hearts of the people and opened to the Father the door of every cabin, where he was met with a kindly eye and listened to with a ready ear, as he spoke to them of the things pertaining to their salvation. A whole month was too short to baptize all the little children, and to console a number of good Huron Christian women, whose captivity of fifteen or twenty years had not separated them from the cherished Faith. They convert the cabin of their masters into a temple; they serve one another instead of pastors, and sanctify by their prayers the woods and fields where Jesus Christ would not be worshiped except for these poor captives. What a joy to this scattered flock to see again their shepherd! The eye spoke more than the lips in this happy interview. How could we restrain our tears of joy and compassion, seeing these poor Christians weeping with such devotion! Surely these are the tears which, flowing from the eyes of the savage, heal his pains and soften the labors of his hard lot.

IV.

Cayuga was among the last of the cantons to have its mission restored. In 1664, four years after the embassy narrated in the previous number, Saonchiogwa headed a delegation of Cayugas to solicit missionaries, but failed. Two years afterward he renewed the request; and Fathers James Fremin and Peter Raffeix were chosen to accompany him to his canton; but again his hopes were baffled. Fremin went on to the Mohawks, and Raffeix remained at Montreal to carry out a plan for a settlement at Laprairie. Father Julian Garnier was already at Onondaga, and no sooner was the mission there inaugurated by the building of a chapel, than Garacontie with several French prisoners, set out for Quebec to secure an additional missionary for his own people, and one for the Cayugas who had been so sorely disappointed the year before. He made his appeal directly to the Governor, and Fathers Peter Milet and Stephen de Carheil were selected to accompany him to Onondaga. Milet remained there; and de Carheil proceeded to Cayuga with Garnier to conduct the ceremony of his introduction to the village.

We give the account of the first year of Father de Carheil's labors in re-establishing the mission, from *Relation* 1669, Chap. IV :

MISSION OF ST. JOSEPH IN CAYUGA.

This people, making a fourth Iroquois nation, are located about one hundred and sixty-five leagues from Quebec and twenty from Onondaga, going always between west and south. Father Stephen de Carheil arrived at Cayuga on the 6th of November, 1668, and there presented to Heaven, as the first fruits of his labors, a female slave of the Andastes.¹ They had come

¹ ANDASTES, a term used generically by the French, and applied to several distinct Indian tribes located south of the Five Nations, in the present territory of Pennsylvania. They were of kindred blood, and spoke a dialect of the same language as the Iroquois of New York. The most northerly of these tribes called by Champlain in 1615 Carantonannais, were described by him, as residing south of the Five Nations, and distant a short three days' journey from the Iroquois' fort attacked by him in that year, which fort is supposed to have been

in company from Onondaga, and this journey which they made together was the means of enabling her to proceed on her way joyfully towards paradise; for having been instructed and baptized during their journey of two days, as soon as she had arrived at Cayuga, she was roasted and eaten by these barbarians on the 6th of November.¹

located in the town of Fenner, Madison Co., N. Y. Late researches appear to warrant the conclusion that the large town called Carantouan by Champlain, and described as containing more than eight hundred warriors, was located on what is now called "Spanish Hill," near Waverly, Tioga Co., N. Y. One of the most southerly tribes was located at the Great Falls between Columbia and Harrisburg, Pa., and in vicinity of the latter place; described by Gov. Smith in 1608 as occupying five towns, and called by him Sasquesahanoughs or Susquehannas. At an early date, a tribe resided in the vicinity of Manhattan, called Minquas, and the Dutch colonists appear to have applied this term to all cognate tribes, west of them, and south of the Five Nations; in like manner the English of Virginia, knowing only the Susquehannas, considered all as Susquehannas in their vicinity, to the north and west. Less is known of these tribes than of other nations by which they were surrounded. The Jesuit Fathers had no missions among them, though frequent reference is made in the Relations to the wars between them and the Iroquois, and of the torture, and burning of prisoners, brought by the latter to their villages. In *Relation*, 1647-8, Andastoe is described as a country beyond the Nenter Nation one hundred fifty leagues southeast, $\frac{1}{4}$ south from the Hurons in a straight line, or two hundred leagues by the trails. This distance locates the town at this date, in a vicinity of Columbia, Pa., and identifies them with those known as Conestogas, probably the same as the Susquehannas of Smith. In *Relation* 1662-3, Father Lallemant says that in the month of April (1663,) eight hundred Iroquois warriors proceeded from the western end of Lake Ontario to a fine river resembling the St. Lawrence, but free from falls and rapids, which they descended one hundred leagues to the principal Andastogue village, which was found to be strongly fortified, and the aggressors were repulsed. This route appears to have been through Genesee river, to Canaseraga creek, thence up that stream and by a short portage to Canisteeo river, and thence down the Canisteeo, Chemung and Susquehanna rivers to the fort. This route is indicated on the earlier maps, as one continuous river, flowing from Lake Ontario, under the name of Casconchagon and so appears in Charlevoix's Map of 1744. This probably is same position alluded to in 1647-8. These tribes were engaged in various wars with the Iroquois which began as early as 1600 and continued with more or less frequency until 1675, those nearest the Five Nations being first overthrown. At the latter date, their power for further resistance appears to have been completely broken, and they were incorporated into the League, a part, however, retreated southward, and were menaced by the Maryland and Virginia troops, the last remnant falling victims to the butchery of the Paxton boys. A very interesting account of the Andastes may be found in a paper by Dr. Shea, originally printed in the October number of the *Historical Magazine* 1858, entitled, "The Identity of the Andastes, Minquas, Susquehannas and Conestogues;" and since incorporated in his edition of *Alsop's Maryland*. Gallatin in his map, followed by Bancroft and others, place the Andastes near Lake Erie. This may have been one of the most western of these tribes originally located farther east, and to escape destruction by the Iroquois, accepted the alternative of emigration. La Houton in his map of 1683 also places Andastoguerons south of the west end of Lake Erie. These may have been the Ontastois described by Galinée in 1669, as near the Ohio.—J. S. C.

¹ Father Isaac Jogues, the first missionary among the Mohawks, and who suffered martyrdom at their hands, relates a similar instance which occurred while he was among them. They sacrificed an Algonquin woman, in honor of Areskouï, their war god, exclaiming—*Areskouï to thee we burn this victim, feast upon the flesh, and grant us new victories*—wherefore her flesh was eaten as a religious rite.

Father Garnier, who accompanied Father de Carheil, on arriving at the village, made the customary presents to secure the building of a chapel and prepare the way for the reception of the Christian faith. These were responded to by similar presents on their part, in which they promised to embrace the faith and erect a chapel. The chapel was completed on the 9th of November, two days after his arrival, and dedicated to St. Joseph by Father de Carheil.

He writes, that on St. Catherine's day, he had the proof that this eminent saint was actively engaged in Heaven on behalf of himself and these poor savages; that on this day there came quite a number desiring prayers and instruction, so that he thinks he may call this the day of the birth of this mission and church. "This is also the day," he adds, "that I implored this saint to whom I had before been consecrated, that she would teach me to speak in the way she had formerly spoken to convince the idolatrous philosophers. Since this time, the chapel has been enlarged and has never lacked for worshipers."

It so happened, at first, that but few of their warriors were able to come for instruction, as the greater part were engaged in hunting or fishing. But the rumor of a war party of the Andastes in the vicinity, soon gathered them together and gave the Father an opportunity to preach the Gospel to a large number.

This wide-spread report that the enemy, to the number of three hundred, were on their way to attack Cayuga, proved false; but it served as an occasion for the Father to show to the Iroquois that he loved them, and to raise him in their esteem by his contempt for death, in remaining night after night with those who acted as sentinels. Thus were they disabused of the idea, that in the general panic, he would manifest the same alarm which had seized others; and the warriors themselves, the chiefs with the old men, gave him a testimonial of the honor in which they held him, in a public feast.

The Father knew how to make the most of the opportunity, as he passed from cabin to cabin, saying to them: "Know, my brothers, that men like us fear not death. Why should they be afraid to die? They believe in God; they honor Him; they love Him; they obey Him, and are certain, after death, of eter-

nal happiness in heaven. It is you, my brothers, who ought to fear death; for till now, you have neither known nor loved God. You have never obeyed Him. He will punish you eternally if you should die without believing in Him, without loving Him, without keeping His commandments and without being baptized." Then, having been invited by a child into a lodge where there were about twenty warriors, he harangued them after this manner: "I am delighted, my brothers, to find myself in like danger with you. Be assured that I do not fear death; that I would rather lose my life than to see you die without receiving baptism." And he added as the moral of this apprehended combat, that they would behold him fearlessly going among the wounded, to baptize such as were rightly disposed by a firm belief in our mysteries and a true sorrow for sin.

These warriors listened with marked pleasure to this discourse, and although it grew out of a false alarm, common among the savages, yet it exerted an influence as favorable for the faith, as if the enemy had really been at the gates. Thus a wise missionary neglects no opportunity, and intelligently improves the time to gain, for eternity, precious souls which cost the blood of the Son of God.

This church begins already to grow. It numbers among its converts not only women and children, but also warriors, two of whom are among the more noted—one because he bears the name of the *bourg* of Cayuga,¹ which he maintains with honor, and the other in consequence of his riches and valor. Prayer is not despised at Cayuga as in other places. If some are opposed to it, they are the very few; nevertheless, we are not in haste to give baptism to this people. We wish rather to prove their constancy, for fear of making apostates instead of Christians.

The Father employed in the beginning of his teachings exclusively the Huron language, readily understood by the Iroquois when it is well spoken. He has since prepared a formula

¹ The name of this great war chief was written Goigouen Orehaoue, and he is known in the annals of the time as "Orehaoue the Cayuga." The other warrior here referred to was doubtless Sarennoa, who is associated with Orehaoue in the subsequent history, and particularly in the expulsion of Father de Carheil from their canton in 1684, of which at the time they were the two head chiefs. The latter became, as will be seen, a conspicuous figure in the history of New France.

of baptism in the Cayuga dialect, and in composing it has used only the simple roots of the language; and is assured from his familiarity with the Iroquois tongue, acquired in his travels, and from his past experience, that if in the use of roots and of various discourses, he can gather a sufficient number of words to express different actions, he will have mastered the language.¹

Besides the town of Cayuga, which is the seat of the mission, there are two others under his charge—one four leagues from there, and the other nearly six leagues. The last two are situated upon a river, which coming from the region of the Andastogue, descends, at four leagues distant from Onondaga, on its way to empty into Lake Ontario. The great quantity of rushes on the borders of this river (Seneca) has given the name of *Thiohero*² to the village nearest Cayuga. The people who compose the body of these three large villages are partly Cayugas, and partly Hurons and Andastes—the two latter being captives of war. It is there that the Father exercises his zeal and asks companions in his apostolic labors.

While he takes occasion to praise the docility of the Cayugas, he is nevertheless not without his trials. His host (Saonchiowaga), who is the chief of the nation and who had taken him under his protection, has for some time past ill-treated him; for desiring as the missionary of his people a certain other Father, whom he had brought with him to his home and whom it was

¹ The difficulties which the missionary had to encounter in this regard are given at length by Le Jenne in his *Relation* 1633, where he recounts his experience, in acquiring the language of the Lower Algonquins, which in its structure resembled closely that of the Hurons. After long and patient labor, enhanced by the incompetency of his teacher, of whom he would often be compelled to ask a number of questions to reach the meaning of a single word, he prepared a grammar and a dictionary and succeeded in composing a catechism, including the Lord's prayer, the creed, &c., in their own language. He could do this only as he used words which approximated to the ideas he wished to express; for while he found the language copious in words fitting ideas derived from the senses, and singularly adapted the knowledge and experiences of the savage, it had no words to designate moral truths and spiritual conceptions.

² *THIOHERO*, or *St. Stephen*, was located at the northern extremity of Cayuga Lake, on the east side of the river, on the farm now owned by John La Rowe. This was the crossing place of the great trail, at which was afterward the bridge of the Northern Turnpike. The Salt Springs mentioned by Pather Rafflex in 1672 were a mile and a half northwest on the opposite side of the river, and about half a mile north of the Seneca river railroad bridge. Both of these places are mentioned by the Jesuit Fathers as being four leagues, or ten miles, distant from Goigouen, then located on Great Gully Brook, three and a half miles south of Union Springs. At the time of Sullivan's campaign in 1779, a small village was found here named in some of the journals, *Choharo*.—J. S. C.

his indisputable right to retain,¹ he had allowed Father de Carheil, against his own wishes, to be given to Cayuga by Garaontie the famous chief. He says in a haughty way that he does not belong to them, but to Onondaga, or perhaps to Oneida, where he insists he ought to go. On the other hand Garaontie would have preferred Father de Carheil, as having been placed in his hands at Quebec, for Onondaga where he is chief. But the necessity of affairs at present has compelled the arrangement as it is.² This conflict of rights, however, and this emulation as to who will have these missionaries is sufficient ground for great hopes, and is proof that to establish the faith, all that is required is the necessary number of evangelical laborers.

The famous Garaontie, the most renowned of all the Iroquois chiefs, and the most friendly of all to the French, earnestly desires baptism. He no longer accepts a dream as a guide to human conduct,³ and promises that hereafter he will no more grant the things that are dreamed, without the explicit understanding that it is not because it is a dream that he accedes to the request. Furthermore he has so conquered himself that he will no longer have more than one wife. But inasmuch as it is necessary in a chief of his reputation, that all these matters should undergo a strict examination, we still defer baptism.⁴

He has made the host of Father de Carheil a present of a wampum belt, to affirm peace and to establish our Fathers firmly in that country. Moreover, everybody among the Iroquois con-

¹ The reference here is to Father Fremin, who, the previous year had accompanied Saonchiowaga from Montreal, but instead of remaining at Cayuga proceeded to the Mohawks, and was at this time Superior of the Iroquois Missions.

² In the existing arrangement, the distribution of missionaries was as follows: Dablon, who was with Chaumonot at Onondaga in 1656, and Jean Pierron, who had just arrived from France were assigned to the Mohawks. Bruyas, who had been about a year in Canada, and who afterwards became so distinguished as an Indian philologist, was sent to the Oneidas. Garnier the first Jesuit ordained at Quebec, and Milet were at Onondaga, when Carheil was transferred to Cayuga. Fremin, after being made Superior of the Missions, went to the Senecas and was soon joined by Raffeix. There was a Seneca village, named Gandougare, composed of refugees from the Neuter Nation and the Hurons, which Fremin himself took charge of, detailing Garnier from Onondaga to Gandachiragou, about four miles south of the great town of the Senecas, Sonnontouan.

³ Dreams were the oracles of the Iroquois, and were to be obeyed at all hazards.

⁴ In June 1670, an embassy led by Garaontie visited Quebec, at which time the renowned chief was baptized by the Lord Bishop Laval, with great ceremony, and took the name of Daniel, from Courcelles, Governor of Canada. His Indian name signified—*sun that advances*.

times to appreciate the blessings of peace, after seeing the victories of the French arms among their neighbors. Nevertheless, nothing is so assured among these barbarians, that it is not necessary always to be on one's guard.

Father de Carheil, perceiving that it had a good effect, by way of ridicule, with those savages who choose something created and vile as the master of their lives,¹ to frame a prayer in accordance with their notions, has, in certain instances, resorted to this method :

"We must pray," said he, "to the master of our life; and since this beaver is the master of thy life, let us offer him a prayer: *Thou O Beaver, who canst not speak, thou art the master of the life of me, who can speak! Thou who hast no soul, thou art the master of my life who have a soul!*" One such prayer brought them to serious reflection, and made them admit that they had hitherto shown a want of common sense in recognizing these creatures as the masters of their lives. Thus he introduces little by little, the knowledge of the true God, and teaches them his commandments, which they find to be most reasonable.

But alas! these fair beginnings are unhappily reversed. All the powers of hell are arrayed in opposition. Superstition has taken a new lease of life; and the Father has discovered that in a heathen and barbarous country a missionary is compelled to carry his life in his hand. The Father had gone to Tiohero, and there been invited to a feast, at which everything was to be eaten,² for the healing of a sick person, whom he went to visit

¹ The *manitou*, or master of life, was the spirit that ruled all things. It might be of a bird, a buffalo, a bear, &c., or even a feather or a skin. It is said, moreover, that no Indian would choose the *manitou* of a *man* for an object of adoration.

² Each guest was required to eat the whole of the portion assigned him, however great the quantity; otherwise his host would be outraged, the community shocked, the evil spirits be roused to vengeance, and death and disaster ensue to the individual and the nation. This kind of feast had other significations, as would appear from an incident which Mr. John Bartram relates as occurring on his journey from Philadelphia to Onondaga in the summer of 1743. He was in company with Conrad Weiser, who was in high repute with the Delawares and Iroquois, Lewis Evans and Shickalmy, the father of the celebrated Logan. "We lodged," he writes, "within about fifty yards of a hunting cabin, where there were two men, a squaw, and a child. The men came to our fire, made us a present of some venison and invited Mr. Weiser, Shickalmy and his son to a feast at their cabin. It is incumbent on those who partake of a feast of this sort, to eat all that comes to their share or burn it. Now Weiser, being a traveler, was entitled to a double share; but being not very well, was forced to take the benefit of a liberty indulged him of

with the design of baptizing her, after imparting the necessary instruction. Observing that he did not eat all this they had prepared for him, they insisted that it was essential that he should eat it all in order to heal the sick one. "I do not see my brothers," he replied, "that I can heal her in making myself sick by over eating, and by a remedy which the Master of our lives forbids; since it would make two persons sick instead of one—the first one remaining sick and he who over eats becoming so." All were taken by surprise with this reply. The sick person, above all, approved of what had been said, declaring that since this was not the proper course, she was resolved to have nothing more to do with superstitious remedies of this sort, nor with their dances as well, which only served to split a sick person's head.¹ After that, she permitted no remedy which the missionary deemed superstitious, and after baptism, she was taken from Tiohero to Cayuga where she made confession of sins committed since she had received the grace of baptism. At length she died, filled with the consolation of knowing that after death she would be eternally happy. Her death, however, joined with the wide spread impression that baptism caused the death of individuals, confirmed the delusion with which the Evil One has blinded these people to prevent their salvation.

Since this occurrence, the Father writes us, that he has often been repulsed and even driven from the cabins whither he has gone to visit the sick. But to understand fully the situation in which he soon found himself, and the danger of losing one's life,

eating by proxy, and called me. But both being unable to cope with it, Evans came to our assistance, notwithstanding which we were hard set to get down the neck and throat, for these were allotted to us. And now we had experienced the utmost bounds of their indulgence, for Lewis, ignorant of the ceremony of throwing the bone to the dog, though hungry dogs are generally nimble, the Indian more nimble, laid hold of it first and committed it to the fire, religiously covering it over with hot ashes. This seems to be a kind of offering, perhaps first fruits to the Almighty power to crave future success in the approaching hunting season." These Indians proved to be Cayugas, on their return to their own country.—*Observations &c., in his travels from Pensilvania to Onondago, Oswego, &c.*, London, 1751, p. 24.

¹ Charlevoix gives an extended account of the superstitious customs here alluded to. The instance as told him by a missionary Father who witnessed the scene, was that of a Huron woman afflicted with a rheumatic distemper, who took it into her head that she should be cured by means of a feast, the ceremonies of which were under her own direction. The various performances lasted four days, attended with cries or rather howlings and all sorts of extravagant actions. His informant stated that she was not cured, but claimed to be better than before; nevertheless, he added, a strong and healthy person would have been killed by the ceremony.—*See Journey in North America, II, 202-206.*

to which the missionary in this heathen country is continually exposed, it is necessary to give, in his own words, the evil treatment he has received, more particularly on one or two occasions.

"I had entered a cabin," he says, "to instruct and baptize a young woman, the daughter of a Huron captive; and though the time for baptism was pressing she would not listen to me as she did at the commencement of her sickness, when her father answered saying, "Thou speakest as formerly spoke Father Brebeuf in our country. Thou teachest that which he taught; and as he caused men to die by pouring water on their heads, thou wilt cause us to die in the same manner." I well knew from that moment that there was nothing to hope for. Immediately after this, I observed one to enter who is a medicine man of our cabin; nevertheless he is much attached to me, and is in the habit of praying to God, and even knows the prayers by heart. He remained for some time without disclosing his purpose, but seeing that I did not retire, he commenced, in my presence, first to apply some remedies in which I saw no harm; and then not wishing my presence during the application he was about to make of certain other remedies, he insisted that I should leave the cabin. It caused me great sorrow to make up my mind to leave, and I could not do it, as I looked upon this poor creature dying, without weeping with all the compassion of which my eyes were capable. As I saw the people that filled the cabin astonished at my tears, and also met the look of the sick person who at the first had turned her eyes from me, I spoke to them after this manner: "Why do you wonder, my brothers, to see me weep thus? I love the salvation of this soul, and I see her about to fall into eternal fire, because she is not willing to hear my words. I bewail her danger which you cannot know as I do." After this I left and sought a neighboring field to pour out my complaint to God, still beseeching the salvation of this person. But there was no more time; for a few moments after they had driven me out, and in my person the mercy of God, this unhappy soul was taken from the body by divine justice and banished eternally from heaven.

I felt, through the evening, my heart filled with the bitterness of grief, which took away all disposition to sleep, ever keeping

before my eyes the loss of this soul that I loved and desired to save, but which now was lost. I then had a much clearer conception than ever before of the singular anguish of the heart of Jesus who loved all men and desired to save them all, but who nevertheless knew the prodigious multitude of men that would damn themselves in the course of the ages. His sorrow was in proportion to the greatness of his love. That, which at the loss of this one soul, so beat down my heart, was out of love which did not approach the love of Jesus—only a feeble spark of it. O God, what was the condition of the Saviour's heart, conscious of this universal sorrow over the fate of all the damned! O how small is the grief which men feel for temporal losses in comparison with that which one feels for the loss of souls, when he realizes their infinite worth! Then the words of St. Paul, which describe the sufferings he recounts from his experience, came into my mind; and it seemed to me that those which expressed his deepest anguish, were *Sollicitudo Ecclesiarum*—the care of the churches.

Whilst engaged in these thoughts I was astonished at the appearance of my host, who approached me with a frightened countenance and whispered in my ear, that I must not go abroad on the morrow, nor even for three days, on the side of the town in which is the cabin of the woman who had just died. My first thought was that they had formed the design to tomahawk me. Then all the bitterness of my heart was dissipated and changed into extreme joy, at seeing myself in danger of death for the salvation of souls.¹ I urged him to give me the reason why I should not go in that quarter; and though he did not seem willing that I should think they intended to kill me, he nevertheless said enough to make me believe it. I did what prudence demanded, and replied that I would restrain myself from going,

¹The Jesuit missionary craved, above all things, the glory of martyrdom. The desire sometimes rose to a passion, as in the vow of Brebeuf which he renewed each day, exclaiming as he partook of the sacred wafer: *What shall I render unto thee, Jesus my Lord for all thy benefits. I will accept thy cup, and invoke thy name. I row therefore in the sight of thy Eternal Father and the Holy Spirit; in the sight of thy most Holy Mother, and St. Joseph; before the holy angels, apostles and martyrs, and before my sainted Fathers Ignatius and Francis Xavier, to thee my Jesus I vow, never to decline the opportunity of martyrdom and never to receive the death blow but with joy.* Relation 1649 Chap. V; 18.

during these three days, in my work of instruction to the other side of the town.

In the meanwhile the old men were almost continually in council to restrain, by presents, this furious man who had resolved my death, the report of which reaching Onondaga created much excitement among all our Fathers and in the neighboring cantons, even causing them to send by express to know the truth of the matter." The affair has had no further result. All is now appeased, and Father de Carheil continues, without fear, his ordinary labors.

This first affront that he received was only a trial of his courage to prepare him for a similar one given by a young warrior, who chased him from his cabin because the Father would not allow him to say, that in roasting an ear of Indian corn in the ashes he was roasting the master of his life.¹ These are the only instances of ill-treatment that he has received in the town of Cayuga, composed of more than two thousand souls, and in which they count more than three hundred warriors.

They do not associate death with prayer, as with baptism. Many warriors and numbers of women pray to God. The children even know the prayers by heart. The knowledge of God's commandments has become common in their families; and so eager are they for instruction, that they ask to pray to God in the open streets.

Drunkenness,² which has penetrated even to the Cayugas, has made havoc among them and hindered greatly the progress of

¹ The maize, the native corn of America, is still honored with a species of worship by the Arickasses in Dacotah. See *Ethnography and Philology of Hidatsas—U. S. Geol. and Geog. Survey, 1668, p. 12.*

² In this same year, 1668, at the suggestion of Father Pierron of the Mohawk mission, several sachems of that canton, came to New York with a petition to the English Governor, Lovelace, accompanied by a letter from the missionary asking him to interpose his authority to prevent the introduction of intoxicating liquors among the Indians. Lovelace at once directed the officers at Albany to put in force the existing laws against selling liquors to the Indians, and assured Pierron in a letter that he would take all possible care, and under the severest penalties to restrain and hinder all such traffic. *Relation 1669, Chap. 1, p. 6.* In 1702, Father de Carheil himself writes to Intendant Champigny from Michilimackinac: "Our missions are reduced to such extremity that we can no longer maintain them against the infinity of disorder, brutality, violence, scorn and insult which the deplorable and infamous traffic in brandy has spread universally among the Indians in these parts. * * * In the despair into which we are plunged, nothing remains for us but to abandon them to brandy sellers as a domain of drunkenness and debauchery." *Archives Nationales.* For full account of what was styled the "Brandy Quarrel," see *Old Regime of Canada, 319-325.*

the gospel. The Father writes us from there, that it is very common for them to drink for the mere sake of intoxication. They avow this loudly beforehand; and one and another is heard to say, "*I am going to lose my head; I am going to drink the water which takes away my wits.*"

The number of persons that have been baptized is twenty-eight, of whom one-half have already died, with such preparation as leads us to believe that they have gone to heaven.

V.

The second letter of Father de Carheil from Cayuga bears date June, 1670, and is prefaced with the statement that the canton has three principal towns, viz., Cayuga, which bears the name of St. Joseph, Kiohero, otherwise called St. Stephen, and Onontare¹ or St. René.

I have baptized, since last autumn, twenty-five children and twelve adults, a good portion of whom Heaven has claimed, and among them nine children, whose salvation is thus secured. The loving providence of God has appeared to me so manifest in reference to some for whom I had almost no hope, that I have been taught by experience, a missionary ought never to despair of the conversion of any soul, whatever resistance it may offer to divine grace.

I had, as it appeared to me, thrown away my time and labor in endeavoring to gain to God a man and woman already very old, and who at best could not live long. The things of heaven made no impression upon their hardened hearts. They regarded faith and baptism with horror, as serving only to hasten their death. For it is the received opinion of the larger part of this people, founded as they say on their own observation, that for the thirty years and more, in which our fathers have labored for the conversion of the Indians of Canada, not only the families, but likewise whole nations, which have embraced the faith have

¹ The site of this town was near Savannah, in Wayne Co., N. Y. It was about five miles north of Thiohero, located at the foot of Cayuga Lake (note on page 21), and fifteen miles from Goi-o-gouen (Cayuga) on Great Gully Brook, three and a half miles south of Union Springs. It appears on Charlevoix's map as Onnontatacet, and is mentioned in 1688 as Onnontatac, a village of the Cayugas where there are several cabins and being on the way from the Bay of the Cayugas (Great Sodus) to Goi-o-gouen. All these names convey the idea of *mountain*; and a site known locally as Fort Hill, south-east of Savannah, on a high elevation, was probably one of the very early locations of this town. Other sites on lower lands near would naturally retain the name after the great hill had been abandoned.—J. S. C.

become desolated or extinct, almost as soon as they have become Christians, and that the greater part of those on whom is conferred holy baptism die soon after receiving it. These wretched people seem to be so possessed, on this subject, with the artifices of the Evil One that they do not consider that, for the most part, the persons we baptize are already in the extremity of their disease and nigh to death, and thus that baptism cannot be the cause of their death any more than of their sickness. This popular error had so alarmed these two poor savages that they would not listen to the idea of being baptized, nor permit me even to visit their friends when sick. Nevertheless, having seen each other stricken down with a mortal malady, they sought our instructions and demanded baptism with such ardor of desire that it was not possible to refuse them. Thus God knows well how to interpose in favor of His elect and the most suitable time for the infallible operation of His grace.

The person of all this neighborhood, who had given me most solicitude with respect to her baptism, and finally the most consolation, is a woman of the Senecas, who had been sick for nine or ten months. The extraordinary number of persons she had seen die after the arrival of Father Fremin in her canton, men, women and children; and the noise made everywhere about him as the sole author of this general desolation, and by his sorceries and magic and poisons causing death wherever he went, had given this woman such a horror of our person and remedies, our instructions and of baptism, that I could not gain access to her, nor obtain an opportunity to speak to her of her salvation. She had even communicated this aversion to all in the same cabin, saying that they were dead if they permitted me to come near them. She had alarmed them to such a degree, that as soon as I entered the cabin they all remained in profound silence, regarding me with a frightened look, and in their unwillingness to hear me, making no response, except that I should leave forthwith. In exchanging her residence subsequently, she fortunately went to live with persons who were friendly to me; still she preserved in her heart the old aversion toward me as one who carried about with him a deadly poison, with the power to communicate it by

word or look.¹ But the more this poor woman held me in repugnance, the more our Lord enabled me to exercise charity toward her, and to hope for her salvation, even against hope; and though I saw no way in which this could be brought about, night and day I thought of her, commending her to God, and her guardian angel, and to the one who has care of me, and to those who watch for the salvation of the people near to her. The night of her death I felt strangely impressed to offer mass solely for her; and in this I solemnly vowed to our Lord that there was nothing in this world that I was not willing to sacrifice to Him, provided he would accord to me this soul for whose salvation He had given a thousand fold more than I could offer Him, since He had bought it with His own blood, and by His life. After mass, I went to visit her five or six times; but the Evil One still retained his hold upon her blinded mind. She would only regard me with a fierce and angry look and drive me from her presence. One time her resentment rose to such a pitch, that weak as she was, she took one of her shoes and hurled it at me, and I left the cabin. But God, who would save this soul, pressed me to re-enter immediately; and prompted me to adopt this method of gaining her attention. I addressed the people about her, saying to them the things which I would teach the sick person herself, as if intended for them. In this way she was led to apprehend very clearly the danger of eternal misery, which hung over her, and was touched with the thought of infinite happiness in paradise, now brought so near for her acceptance. In availing myself of this mode of address, I spoke before her to those persons of all these things, to which I added

¹ David Brainerd in his diary of missionary labors among the Delawares in 1744, writes thus: "I perceived that some of them were afraid to hearken to and embrace Christianity lest they should be enchanted and poisoned by some of the *pouaues*; but I was enabled to plead with them not to fear these; and confiding in God for safety and deliverance, I bid a challenge to all these powers of darkness to do their worst on me first." (*Life of Brainerd*, p. 107.) John Brainerd, brother of David, also a missionary among the Delawares thus alludes to the same superstition: "It is said that the Indians keep poison among them; and that it is of such a nature that if one takes it in his breath it will cause him in a few months to pine away and die. And this is supposed to be in the keeping of their old and principal men, and by this means they keep the people in continued dread of them. And some of the Indians seem to be so sottish as to imagine that they can poison them by only speaking the word, though they are at a distance of twenty or thirty miles, and are consequently afraid to displease them in any point."—*Life of John Brainerd*, p. 234.

some considerations on the mercy of Jesus Christ, who became man for our salvation, giving her to understand that He would bestow upon her His everlasting love, if she would only have recourse to Him in simple trust. I passed the day without any satisfactory result. Finally, I returned that evening as for the last time. It proved however, the first in which I gained her confidence. This time I only spake to her with my eyes, regarding her with a gentle kindness, and a sympathy sensibly touched by her affliction, and endeavoring to render some little attentions to alleviate her condition. I perceived that she began to relent and show a disposition to tolerate me. But God availed himself of a brave woman, who was instrumental in finally gaining this soul to Him. "It is time," she said "that thou hearest this which the Father would teach, to the end that thou mayest be happy through all eternity." "I am content," replied the sick person, "let him instruct me. I will hear him gladly." She now listened with remarkable attention and docility. She received with faith all my instructions, and at my request that she would repeat after me the prayers, said: "Thou seest well, my brother, that I can scarcely speak. My disease is heavy upon my chest and suffocates my voice, but I pray you believe that my heart says all that thou sayest, and what my tongue cannot say. Now baptize me without delay; I wish to die a Christian, that Jesus may have pity on me." I baptized her on the moment, and the same night God called her to heaven. Oh! how well we are rewarded for all our anxieties, painful as they may be, by one such marvelous conversion; and how happy is a missionary in awaiting from God that which to his feebleness appears impossible. He realizes the truth of the words of the evangelist, that *God can cause to be born of these very stones children unto Abraham*—that is to say, choose his elect from these hearts which to us appear so hard and impenetrable to His grace.

I declare in all sincerity that it is to me a great consolation to see myself surrounded by so many sepulchres of saints in a place, where, on my arrival, my eyes rested only on the graves of the heathen; and as it was this spectacle of the dead which struck me so painfully on my first coming here, so it is now, the thought that gives me the greatest joy.

The first winter after I came to this village, God favored me with the privilege of giving baptism to two good women, one of whom had called me expressly to baptize her, on the Day of Purification. They both survived their baptism an entire year, and as they had been faithful to their promises, and frequented the prayers and sacraments with devotion, I doubt not they have increased the number of the elect in Heaven.

A Christian man and Christian woman of our ancient church of the Hurons, have also given me the greatest consolation as the witness of the purity of their faith and of their lives, until death for which they had attained a saintly preparation in the use of the sacraments of the church.

In arranging for my first catechetical exercise, and apprehensive that none would, of their own accord, respond in public, I drilled beforehand some of the children more particularly, as an example to the others of the manner I would have them answer the questions. But I was taken by surprise when I saw three or four women, among the more aged, rise on their feet to anticipate the children in their responses. After the first day, we counted eighty-eight persons present, besides a number who listened at the door. One day, after explaining the creation of the world and the number of years we count since the beginning to our time, and in order that they might the more readily comprehend the matter, I had shown it by some small stones which I used as counters, to prevent confusion and aid them to repeat the computation, when a warrior rose all at once in his place and faithfully rehearsed all that I had said: but he did not fail to demand, by way of reward, the same prize that I gave to the children.¹

¹ LeJeune thus describes his method of catechetical instruction while among the Algonquins. Calling the children around him with his little bell, he had them all join in the opening exercise, in this prayer in their own language:—*Noukhimamè Jesus iagoua Khistimohimouïton Khikïtounim caïz Khiteritamouïn. Cacatonachichien Maria ouccaonia Jesu ca cacatonachichien Joseph aimihitouninan*—*My Captain, Jesus, teach me thy words and thy will. O good Mary, mother of God! O good Joseph, pray for us.* After this they were made to repeat the several parts of the catechism, when the Father would explain to them the mysteries of the faith, as the Holy Trinity, or the Incarnation; after which he would ask: Do you understand me? At which they replied—*Eoco, Eoco, ninistiouenan*—*Yes, yes, we understand.* Then followed such questions as these: How many Gods are there? Which of the three persons became man? The exercises being concluded by chanting in their native tongue the *Pater Noster*, put in metre, the Father gave them some simple food, which they ate with much relish. *Relation* 1633, p. 23.

The remainder of this letter of Father de Carheil is more particularly occupied with the methods by which he sought to combat the superstitions of the people in the matter of dreams, evincing tact and ingenuity not only, but a sincerity and devotion which we cannot fail to respect and admire. It will serve to illustrate the whole subject by giving one or two instances, occurring at Cayuga, as found in Chapter IX of *Relation*, 1656, showing among other curious details of the customs and life of these people the estimate in which dreams were held as authoritative revelations of the divine will.

It is not long since that a man of the castle of Cayuga dreamed one night that he saw ten men plunge into a frozen river, through a hole in the ice, and all come out at a similar opening, a little way beyond. The first thing he did, on awakening from his sleep, was to make a great feast, to which he invited ten of his friends. They all came. It was a joyous occasion. They sang; they danced, and went through all the ceremonies of a regular banquet. "This is all well enough," at length said the host; "you give me great pleasure, my brothers, that you enjoy my feast. But this is not all. You must prove to me that you love me." Thereupon he recounted his dream, which did not appear to surprise them; for immediately the whole ten offered themselves for its prompt execution. One goes to the river and cuts in the ice two holes, fifteen paces from each other; and the divers strip themselves. The first leads the way, and plunging into one of the holes, he fortunately comes out at the other. The second does the same; and so all of them until the tenth, who pays his life for the others, as he misses the way out and miserably perishes under the ice.

In the same town of Cayuga there happened an occurrence which produced a great excitement throughout the canton. A man dreaming that he had made a cannibal feast, invites all the chiefs of the nation to assemble in council, as he has something of great importance to communicate. Being assembled, he tells them that it has fallen to him to have a dream, which if he did not execute would cost the ruin of the nation, and with its overthrow a general destruction over the whole earth. He goes on at some length with the matter; and then gives an opportunity

for any one to interpret his dream. No person ventures to divine its meaning; until finally, one hardly believing that it can be so, says: "*Thou desirest to make a feast of a man. Take my brother. Behold I place him between thy hands! Cut him in pieces! Put him into the kettle!*" Terror seized all present, except the dreamer himself, who replied that his dream demanded a woman! Whereupon, such was their superstition, they took a young maiden and adorned her person with all the riches of the country, with bracelets, and collars and coronets; indeed with every variety of ornament in use among women, even as they are wont to decorate their sacrificial victims; and thus this poor innocent, in ignorance of the meaning of this profuse adornment, was led to the place designated for the sacrifice. All the people came together to witness the strange spectacle, and the guests took their places. The victim was brought into the centre of the circle and placed between the hands of the sacrificer, the one on whose account this offering was to be made. He receives her, and regarding intently the innocent one, has compassion upon her; and as all are looking for him to deal the death stroke, he cries out: "*I am content; my dream is satisfied!*" Is it not, adds the missionary Father, a great charity to open the eyes of a people imposed upon by such absurd errors?

The narrative of Father de Carheil, detailing his method of meeting this superstition, is a further illustration of its nature and the power it had over the habits and life of this people. He writes: I have earnestly combated their superstitions, particularly the divine authority they attribute to dreams, which may be said to be the foundation of all their errors, as it is the soul of their religion. I have nevertheless recognized two things in my efforts to combat it. First, that it is not properly the dream that they worship as the master of their life, but a certain one of the genii, they call Agatkonchoria,¹ who, they believe, speak to them in sleep and command them to obey implicitly their dreams. The principal one of these spirits is Taronhiaouagon² whom they recognize as a divinity and obey as the supreme master of

¹ Otkon means a spirit or demon. *Ojondaja Dictionary*. Bruyas, *Mohawk Radicals*.

² "Upholder of the heavens," from Garonhiague, heaven.

their life; and when they speak of a dream as divine they only mean that it is by means of it they know the will of God, and what is necessary for the preservation of their life; and furthermore that the actual doing of the things they had seen in a dream, contributes to promote their health and happiness. They also sometimes give the name of master of their life to the object of their dream, as for example to the skin of a bear, or to similar things which they have seen in their sleep; and because they regard them as charms to which God has attached the good fortune of a long life. Thus they take special care to preserve them with this view, and when they are sick, cover themselves with them, or place them near their persons as a defence against the attacks of disease.

The second thing I have recognized in combating the obedience they render to their dreams, is that they are not able to understand how the soul acts during sleep in thus representing to them objects distant and absent, as if near and present. They persuade themselves that the soul quits the body during sleep, and that it goes of itself, in search of the things dreamed, and to the places where they see them, and it returns into the body toward the end of night, when all dreams are dissipated. To refute errors so gross, I proposed to them three questions.

First: I demanded of them, whether the body of the person while in the act of dreaming was dead or alive? It is alive, they said. It is the soul then, I replied, that makes one live, and if it were absent from the body, the body would be dead, and so it cannot be true that the soul leaves the body during sleep.

Second: Tell me, I said, is it with the eyes that we see the things which appear to us in our dreams; as for example an enemy who comes to attack me; a friend whom I meet on the path; a deer which I am pursuing in the chase? It cannot be with the eyes, they replied, that we see them, for during sleep our eyes are closed and covered with darkness, they see nothing. It is our soul then, I said, that causes us to see at the time, what we see in our dreams, and consequently it is as necessary that it should be present with us, and in our body while we sleep, as for our eyes to be in our head, in their ordinary place, when by

means of them we see the objects which present themselves during the day.

My third question was this: If the soul leaves the body during sleep, where does it go? Does it go unto the enemy's country? Does it go on the chase in the forest? What is it doing while absent? Have you ever found, on waking, the scalp the soul put into your hands, bringing it to you from the war? Or the bear upon your mat, that the soul has killed for you while you were asleep? Often at the same moment I see myself in France, on the other side of the great water, and here among you. Is my soul at the same time here and in France? They had no reply to these questions, and stood convicted of their errors.

It is not so easy, however, to make them understand the philosophy of dreams, in which things that impress themselves upon the imagination are present to the mind in sleep, in the same manner in which the images of the objects we see, represent themselves to the senses. I have always endeavored to explain in as clear a manner as possible these things, by comparing the mind with itself, when it simply recalls by an act of memory distant scenes, and when in a dream it only imagines what appears to be present. You know well, I said, that during the day our soul remembers what occurred some time ago, and in places very far off. Is it not true that even now it presents the country of the Andastogues, Outaouaks, Quebec and Montreal, to those of you who have been there, as if you were there now? Your soul has not left your body to go to any of these places, for you are still alive; it has not passed the great river, nor made any journey. The same thing occurs in dreams during the night. But again I said to them, why should the mere representations of objects which are in the mind while we are asleep be the masters of our lives rather than the images of the same objects which are depicted in the same mind while awake? For this, which is called a memory during the day, is called a dream if it occur in the night.

I then asked them if children not yet born had not some one who was master of their life? They said yes. Now it is not possible, I replied, that this should be a dream, for as yet it is not possible for them to have a dream. In fact, of what could they

dream? Of knives, hatchets, swords or the like things? They have never seen any. It cannot be a dream that is the master of their life before birth, nor even a long time after they come into the world, since it is some years before they have dreams. It is necessary then that they should have some other master of their life, and another god than the dream, for all this while. But when they begin to dream, it cannot be that the one who was formerly the master of their life should cease to be such. None would know how to displace him nor rob him of this quality and this power that he exercised over this infant before he began to dream. He continues then to be the same as before, and thus he is their master before their birth, and when as yet they have had no dreams. He is their master after their birth and when they begin to dream. He is equally such in the time of their youth and of their old age; in fact to their death, and even after their death. And know that this Master, whose power is immutable and eternal, is the God whom we adore, and who will recompense all of us according to our deeds. It is not the dream, which, as your own experience has often told you, only imposes upon you impious and unreasonable demands, and which has deceived you a hundred times in the course of your lives.

These barbarians show that they are capable of listening to reason and of perceiving its light in all its purity; for some of the more enlightened declare that they were convinced of the truth of what I had said to them and have since renounced these vain superstitions.¹

The inclinations of these people only prompt them to engage in the chase or in war. They form into parties of twenty, thirty, fifty, a hundred, sometimes two hundred,—rarely do they amount to a thousand in a single troop; and these bands divide in pursuit, the one of men and the other of beasts. They make war more as robbers than as soldiers, and their expeditions are rather surprises than regular battles. Their chief glory is in returning accompanied by captives, men, women and children,

¹ For account of the Dream Feast of the Iroquois as witnessed by Dablon and Chammonot, see Appendix.

or laden with the scalps of those whom they have slain in the fight.¹

As for the rest, one can only say that there are no greater obstacles to the success of our missions than the victories they obtain over their enemies, which only render them insolent; and that there is nothing more desirable for the advancement of Christianity in this country than the humiliation of their spirits, which breathe only blood and carnage; which glory in killing and burning their fellowmen and whose brutal disposition is so directly opposed to the meek and humble heart of Jesus Christ.

We have passed the last winter quite peaceably, and without the alarm into which, ordinarily, the incursions of the Andastogues, who have been long enemies of this nation, have occasioned us. But last Autumn they sent a messenger with three wampum belts to treat for peace. He had been until the month of March awaiting a reply in order to return home. But the Onondagas having made war with the Andastogues this last winter, and having taken from them eight or nine prisoners, presented two of them to the inhabitants of Cayuga with forty belts of wampum to induce them to continue the war against the common enemy. Immediately after this, they broke the head of the unfortunate messenger whom they had detained for five or six months, and who believed himself to be on the eve of his departure. His body was buried after his death, and a nephew of his, who had accompanied him, shared the same fate at the hands of these savages who care but little for the laws of nations, and who keep faith no further than it serves their own interests. We can truly say that we are among them as perpetual victims, since there is no day in which we are not in danger of being massacred. But this also is our greatest joy, and the spring of our purest consolation.

¹ The smaller parties of six or seven were the most to be dreaded. They would follow the trail of an enemy to kill him while he slept, or lie in ambush near a village for an opportunity to tomahawk, it might be, a woman and her children, when the brave would fly back with his companions to hang the trophies in his cabin. It was the danger of such inroads in time of war that made every English family on the frontier insecure.

VI.

The Cayuga mission had from the first a steadfast friend and patron in Saonchiogwa, the chief of the canton, who may be said to have stood next to Garaontie, the great Onondaga chieftain, in esteem and influence among both the Iroquois and the French. His speeches at the general council, which opened the way for the establishment of the missions in the several cantons of the confederacy, and as the head of the embassy to Montreal for the restoration of peace with the French, in 1660, as given in previous numbers, are fine specimens of Indian sagacity and eloquence. The year 1671 is signalized in the history of the mission by the baptism of this distinguished sachem. The event took place in Quebec, and was attended with marked solemnities. It appears from the *Relation* for 1671, that in the spring of that year, a Seneca embassy headed by Saonchiogwa, was sent to Quebec, to restore some Pottawatamies whom the braves of that canton had captured by a surprise and in violation of good faith toward the French. The account proceeds to say that as soon as Saonchiogwa arrived at Quebec, he labored incessantly to acquit himself of the commission with which he was charged by the Senecas. "He held a council with the Governor, and placed in his hands the eight captives with earnest protestations on the part of the Senecas of submission and obedience to all his orders. The Governor entertained him and his suite, and all things being concluded with testimonials of satisfaction on both sides, the Chief concentrated all his energies upon the important matter of his salvation, to the exclusion of every other subject. He had an earnest conference with Father Chaumonot then in charge of the Huron Mission. It was not necessary to devote much time for his instruction and enlightenment in the knowledge of our holy mysteries. He had been well informed concerning them for more than fifteen years, even from our first arrival in their coun-

try, when it was his good fortune to be present in the distinguished council of the Five nations at Onondaga, which Father Chaumonot addressed, for two entire hours, in explanation of the principal articles of our faith. This Father was listened to with a silent and wrapt attention, that was very noticeable, particularly in the countenance and eyes of our Catechumen. The Chiefs of these nations, each in his turn, repeated, according to their custom, the discourse of the Father, but he did this more eloquently than all the others. Besides, he has had the advantage of having been the host of Fathers René Menard and Stephen de Carheil, who formed and nurtured in his nation the church of St. Joseph. He had the good fortune to share in all the instructions, general and personal, of these Apostolic men. He had conversed familiarly with them, and been a witness, day and night, of their labors, cares and indefatigable zeal. He had seen the marvelous conversions among his compatriots and of his nearest kindred, who had embraced the faith and made a public profession of the same. But all these favors of heaven only served at the time to convince him of the vanity of their superstitious customs, and of the superiority of our holy religion, without making any efficacious impression on his heart, or inducing him to abandon the vices common to savage life. Besides, the spirit he then manifested, which appeared to us crafty, politic, adroit and complaisant, compelled us to wait upon divine mercy for a more favorable moment to open to him the door of salvation in holy baptism.

In fine, this moment, so much desired, seemed to have come with this occasion. He opened his heart to Father Chaumonot, declaring in such satisfactory terms his resolution to be a Christian, and to renounce forever all the customs of his country not in conformity with the holy precepts of the Gospel, that the Father was fully persuaded that he spoke from his heart. So that his Lordship the Bishop, thoroughly informed of the whole case, deemed it unnecessary to withhold any longer the grace of baptism. He was pleased, therefore, to confer with his own hand this sacrament; and M. Talon, the Intendant, gave him the name of Louis. The ceremony was attended with all possible solemnity, and concluded with a magnificent feast which the

Intendant caused to be prepared in behalf of the new convert, allowing him the liberty to invite all whom he desired. The Iroquois, Algonquins and Hurons, were present in large numbers: and yet so bountiful was the provision, that after having partaken abundantly, they carried away enough to feast those who remained to guard the cabins."

The condition of the mission of St. Joseph at Cayuga for this memorable year in its history, appears from the annual narrative of Father de Carheil, which is as follows:

"The recent progress of Christianity, in the advancement of the faith and the salvation of souls, being all the consolation your Reverence expects each year from our missions, I know not how to give you greater joy than to inform you of the growth of this church, in the number of souls regenerated in the waters of baptism or rendered eternally happy by a saintly death. If the salvation of a single soul is a source of greater consolation than all the most illustrious achievements of earth, I trust that sixty-two to whom I have given the life of grace, and thirty-two who have gone to live in glory, will give this abundant joy. The greater part of those who died after baptism were children, whose age allows of no doubt concerning their happiness. The others were adults, whose disposition leads me to believe that they obtained, by their voluntary submission to grace, that which these little innocents received as the sole effect of the sacrament.

Without stopping to treat of each particular case, the one that has appeared to me the clearest, is that of a young woman of about twenty-five years of age. She was of an admirable temper, and of such sweetness of disposition, so entirely devoid of the savage, that she appeared more like one nurtured in France than in a country of barbarians. Before her baptism, she was frequent at prayers, and often leading at her side her little daughter four or five years of age. This, doubtless, had its influence in disposing her the more readily to receive the grace of baptism. While still under the impression of Christian truth, which little by little found its way into her mind, she fell sick, and in this state I found her on my round of visits through the town. She begged me to have pity on her, and give her some

medicine that would cure her. I gave her the medicine, and improved the opportunity to instruct her in all our mysteries, and more especially of the necessity of baptism. She appeared to listen with pleasure to what I said of the nature and value of the sacrament. She would readily have allowed me to put a little water on her head, if by that means she might be eternally happy, and had I demanded nothing besides, would have been quite disposed to receive baptism. But, when I added that the simple application of water was not sufficient to obtain for us eternal happiness or to exempt us from endless pains; that it was necessary, besides to acknowledge the sins one had committed; to have a true sense of sorrow on account of them, and firmly resolve never to repeat them—it was then that her heart, which before had hope, felt opposition and resistance. She drew a deep sigh, cast a glance of her eye toward me, turned away and hid her face, thus compelling me to say no more than she was willing to hear. At this moment, a woman of her cabin having entered to oppose my further instructions, I was constrained to retire.

Three days passed away before she would allow me to visit her for this purpose. In the meanwhile her malady increased, and excited in me the earnestness necessary to her salvation, which at length had its effect. As all these repulses came from the opposition of her will to an enlightened conscience, the frequent visits I made her, and the desire I manifested for her eternal welfare, together with the near approach of death, softened her heart and changed its opposition into love.

One morning as I was visiting her for the purpose of giving some further remedies, with the ordinary signs of compassion for her, which could avail but little, as her end was near, she begged me to give her all the comfort within my power. This confidence on her part gave me the opportunity to speak to her again of baptism. I found that all her opposition had vanished: and whatever difficulty she had experienced in cherishing sorrow for sin, and a hatred for the things to which she was attached by inclination and habit, God had permitted it, only to dispose her to exercise her repentance with the greater efficacy and sincerity, and assurance of her salvation. Indeed, when I came to speak

to her the second time of the necessity that she should abhor her sins which I indicated, and asked her if she did not detest them, as God would have her, to the end that they might be washed away in baptism, I saw that her whole demeanor was changed, and the pain I felt on her first refusal to repent was recompensed by the greater joy. She joined her heart and tongue to this word of penitence; she pronounced it; she repeated it to herself many times with an inexpressible tenderness which penetrated the depths of my soul, and all that I can say is, that one must have heard it to understand it. After this, I no longer doubted that she was of the number of the elect.

I baptized her after a suitable prayer, in which she followed me, including all the acts appropriate to prepare her. When she saw that I drew near to baptize her, she presented her head to receive the water with such a modest expression of countenance, that the work of grace was visibly manifest. I remained after baptism no longer than was needful to give her the assurance of eternal felicity, and have her repeat a few prayers; and shortly after I had retired, she rendered her soul to Him who had sanctified it."

Father de Carheil had now been three years among the Cayugas, when he was obliged from broken health, to relinquish his labors for a year, during which his place was supplied by Father Peter Raffeix. Raffeix was chaplain of the French Expedition against the Mohawks in 1666, and, at the time of his taking the Cayuga Mission, was laboring among the Senecas, with whom he resumed his work, on the return of de Carheil, and continued among them until 1680. His familiarity with the several cantons of the Iroquois gives interest to the comparison he here makes between the Cayugas and the other four nations of the confederacy.

The letter bears date June 24th, 1672.¹ He writes:

Cayuga is the most beautiful country I have seen in America. It is situated in latitude $42\frac{1}{2}$, and the needle dips scarcely more than ten degrees. It lies between two lakes, and is no more than four leagues wide, with almost continuous plains, bordered by fine forests.

¹ *Relation 1671-2*, Chap. VI, Part 1.

Agnie (Mohawk) is a valley very contracted; for the most part stony, and always covered with fogs; the hills that enclose it appear to me very bad land.

Oneida and Onondaga appear too rough and little adapted to the chase, as well as Seneca. More than a thousand deer are killed every year in the neighborhood of Cayuga.

Fishing for both the salmon and the eel, and for other sorts of fish, is as abundant as at Onondaga. Four leagues distant from here, on the brink of the river (Seneca), I have seen, within a small space, eight or ten fine salt fountains. It is there that numbers of nets are spread for pigeons, and from seven to eight hundred are often caught at a single stroke of the net. Lake Tiohero (Cayuga), one of the two adjacent to the village, is full fourteen leagues long by one or two wide. It abounds with swan¹ and geese through the winter; and in the spring, nothing is seen but continual clouds of all sorts of game. The river Oehoueguen (Oswego) which rises in this lake soon branches into several channels, surrounded by prairies, with here and there fine and attractive bays of sufficient extent for the preservation of hunting.

I find the people of Cayuga more tractable and less haughty than the Onondagas or Oneidas; and had God humiliated them, as have been the Mohawks, I think that the Faith would have been more readily established among them than with any other of the nations of the Iroquois. They count more than three hundred warriors and a prodigious swarm of little children.

As to the spiritual, and that which appertains to the Mission, I hardly know what to say. God having withdrawn from it, first, Father Menard at the commencement of his successful labors, and since then, nearly a year ago, Father de Carheil, after he had mastered the language and favorably disposed the hearts of these barbarians toward their salvation, I cannot think that the hour of their conversion has yet arrived. In order to remove a prejudice to Christianity, created among our catechumens and neophytes by some slaves, captives from the Neuter

¹ Now accidental or very rare. A single specimen of the trumpeter swan (*Cygnus Buccinator*) taken on Cayuga Lake, is now in the rooms of the Phenix Sportsmen's Club of Seneca Falls, N. Y.—*Birds of Central New York*, by Frank R. Rathbun, Auburn, 1879.

Nation, and some renegade Hurons, I have introduced the chant of the Church with an arrangement of the several prayers and hymns, in their language, pertaining to the chief mysteries of our faith. It was on the first day of the year that we presented for a New Year's offering to our Lord, songs of praise, which we have since continued with profit, and much to the satisfaction of our savages.

I am occupied the most of each day in visiting the sick, to give them the proper instruction, in order that they may not die without receiving baptism.¹ God did not permit me to succeed with the first one whom I visited on my arrival here, and who died soon after. I went to see him many times and commenced with the necessary course of instruction. But his mother would not permit it. One day, as I remained with the sick person a longer time than suited her mind, she seized a stick to drive me out, and her daughter, at the same time, threw a large stone, which, however, failed to hit me. I seized every opportunity to make an impression. I spoke in different interviews to this wretched mother, beseeching her to have pity on her son. But she remained inflexible to the last. Thus this poor young man died without baptism, at least the actual administration. It seems as if the curse of God rested upon this cabin—the same in which Father de Carheil had been treated with still greater indignity than myself, and for a like reason.

Some time after this affliction, which greatly grieved me, it pleased God to console me by the conversion of a prisoner of war, a young man from twenty to twenty-two years of age. I have never found a savage more docile. They chopped off the half of one hand, and tore out his finger nails, while a crowd of people surrounded him on all sides, and demanded that he should sing to them. In the intervals in which they allowed him to take breath, I seized the occasion to instruct him. It appeared in the midst of all this torture that he retained the presence of mind to appreciate the Christian truth that I taught

¹The life of the Jesuit missionary was simple and uniform. The earliest hours from four to eight were occupied in private devotions. The day was given to visiting the sick, instructing the catechumens, and a service for proselytes. It is said of Brebeuf that sometimes he would walk through a Huron village and its environs, inviting the braves and principal ones to a conference, when he would discuss with them the deeper mysteries of the Faith

him. At last, I was so well satisfied that I baptized him. This gave him such joy that he publicly thanked me, even singing of the love I had shown him.¹

I count thirty, both children and adults, to whom God has given the same grace, since the departure of Father de Carheil. I trust that this troop of little innocents will move God at last, by the prayers they make to him, to hasten the time for the conversion of these barbarians, which as yet does not seem to be near. To believe that an entire nation is to be converted at once, and to expect to make Christians by the hundreds and thousands in this country, is to deceive one's self. Canada is not a land of flowers; to find one, you must walk far among brambles and thorns. Persons of exalted virtue find here enough to call out their zeal. The less worthy, like myself, are happy in finding themselves compelled to suffer much, to be without consolation save in God alone, and to labor incessantly for personal sanctification. I sincerely beg your Reverence, to retain me in this blessed service all my life, and to be assured that this is the greatest favor that can be conferred upon me. I will add a word (says the Father) to give you some account of our petty wars.

The day of Ascension, twenty Senecas and forty of our young braves, went from this town to make an attack upon the An-

¹ Breuef describes the torture of an Iroquois prisoner taken by the Hurons in 1637, with eight others while fishing in the Iroquois Lake. All but this one made their escape. On the way to the cabins of his conquerors, the hands of the prisoner were crushed between stones, his fingers torn off, his arms scorched and gashed to the bone, while he himself preserved his tranquillity and sang the songs of his nation. At one village after another, festivals were given in his name, at which they compelled him to sing. A young maiden was given him as a companion of his last loves. The old chief who might have adopted him in place of a fallen nephew chose rather to gratify his revenge, and doomed him to death. "That is well," was the captive's reply. The sister of the slain warrior, in whose place it had been proposed to receive him, still treated him with the tenderness due to a brother, offering him food, and serving him with every token of affection. The father caressed him as though he had become his kinsman, gave him a pipe and wiped the thick drops of sweat from his face. This last entertainment given at the charge of the bereaved chief began at noon. To the crowd of guests, he declared: "My brothers, I am going to die. Make merry around me with good heart. I am a man. I fear neither death nor your torments;" and then sang aloud. The feast being ended he was conducted to the cabin of blood. They place him on a mat and bind his hands. He then rises to his feet and dances around the cabin chanting his death song. At eight in the evening eleven fires had been kindled and these are hedged in by files of spectators. A war chief now strips the prisoner, assigns their office to the tormentors and exhorts them to do their work faithfully. Then ensued a scene most horrible, lasting until sunrise, when the wretched victim was carried out of the village and hacked to pieces.—*Relation*, 1637, Chap. II, 109-119.

dastes, whose country is four days' journey from here. The Senecas, who formed a band by themselves, the others having previously gone by water, were attacked by a party of sixty young Andastes, from fifteen to sixteen years of age, and put to flight with a loss of two of their men—one killed on the spot and the other carried away prisoner. The youthful victors, learning that the band of the Cayugas had gone by water,¹ immediately took to their canoes in hot pursuit, and overtaking them beat them in the fight. Eight of the Cayugas were slain in their canoes, and fifteen or sixteen wounded by arrows and knives or half killed by strokes of the hatchet. The field of battle was left with the Andastes, with a loss, it is said, of fifteen or sixteen of their number. God preserves the Andastes who have barely three hundred men of war. He favors their arms to humble the Iroquois, and preserve to us peace and our missions.²

¹ Via Cayuga Lake and the Susquehannah river.

² Every success of a war party was a loss to the Faith and every reverse was a gain. Meanwhile a more repulsive or a more critical existence than that of Jesuit Father in an Iroquois town is scarcely conceivable. The torture of prisoners turned into a horrible festivity for the whole tribe; foul and crazy orgies in which as the priest thought, the powers of darkness took special delight; drunken riots the work of Dutch brandy, when he was forced to seek refuge from death in his chapel—a sanctuary which superstitious fear withheld the Indians from violating; these and a thousand disgusts and miseries filled the record of his days and he bore them all in patience.—*Old Regime in Canada*, 317-318.

VII.

There is necessarily some repetition in these annual narratives of the work of the missionary whose life was a simple round of the same duties with substantially the same obstacles to success, and the ever impending peril of death at the will and even whim of the savage. But this very monotony of duties and danger only serves to exalt the devotion and courage of the missionary, while there is sufficient variety of light and shade in his experiences to give vividness and great interest to the whole picture.

After writing the letter just given, Father Raffeix proceeded to the Seneca country to assist Father Garnier: and Father de Carheil, after a year's respite, returned to the mission with restored health. The record is that "finding human skill unavailing, he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Anne¹ and obtained deliverance from the nervous disorder which afflicted him." He resumed his labors at Cayuga with characteristic zeal, and in the face of increasing opposition as appears from the following letter contained in *Relation* 1672-3² Chap. VI.

"The number of baptized this year is fifty-five, of whom eleven are adults, the rest are children, of whom thirteen received baptism in the chapel with the ceremonies, the others without ceremonies. I had not yet until this year been able to baptize any one except secretly, and without any one being cognizant of it except those from whom I could not conceal it, when necessity and an evident danger of death obliged me to prepare them for

¹ St. Anne, about twenty miles below Quebec, on the St. Lawrence, is the place here referred to. Parkman found the old chapel still standing in 1873, but about to be replaced by a new and much larger one in course of erection. It is said that thirteen Canadian parishes bear the name of St. Anne, but of all her shrines, none have the fame or receive the devotion which attach to this, nestled under the heights of the Petite Cap.

² *Relation ce qui s'est passe de plus remarquable aux Missions des Peres de la Compagnie de Jesus en la Nouvelle France es annes 1672 et 1673. Par le Rev. Pere Claude Dablon, New York, 1861.* This *Relation* was printed by Dr. Shea, from an unpublished manuscript: also the *Relations* for 1673-1679, from which extracts have been translated by him for the present work.

this sacrament by a previous instruction with which I could not dispense, on account of their too advanced age. I was compelled to act in this manner to avoid the calumnies which hell raised up against me and against baptism, by the universal idea which he had imprinted on all minds that this first and most necessary of all sacraments had not the advantageous effects which I declared to them; but others quite contrary, which I concealed in order to bring them to it more easily, and of which the chief two which sprang from it as their source, were a speedy death and an eternal captivity, after death, under the domination of the French. As the rage of the demons could invent nothing more contrary to the salvation of the souls of my dear mission than this thought, therefore I could hope to do nothing for the establishment and advancement of the Faith except by banishing it from their minds, or at least gradually diminishing it, although from all the efforts I had made to this end in previous years, I could not see any success, and this year even, I could hope for it still less than ordinarily because sickness and deaths had been more frequent than before. Yet I do not know how Providence has acted, but it has done me the grace (in spite of all the false rumors which have been spread against me more than usually) to infuse into the heart of some mothers dispositions which I could not expect from my endeavors. There have been thirteen who have asked me for their children what they did not yet wish to ask for themselves: they have besought me to baptize them, bringing them to me in the chapel. This prayer could not but be infinitely agreeable to me, as it was a first step in effacing from minds all the false impressions against baptism, to remove the aversion towards it and to produce the love and esteem for it which I desired; but as nothing should be done precipitately, I never granted on the spot what they asked me. I have always put them off to some coming holiday, in order by this delay to make them conceive a better idea of what I wished to grant them and which I in fact granted on the appointed day, baptizing their children with the ceremonies and even making some who were capable, answer the interrogations which are to be made therein. There are still other mothers who solicit at my hands baptism for their children, and to whom I granted it in time.

having learned by experience that those whose children are baptized, have much greater respect for a missionary, and consequently a greater disposition for the Faith than the others, inasmuch as they esteem themselves as it were bound, according to what I told them, to come and bring their little baptized ones to the prayer if they are not of an age to come to it themselves or to receive them there if they can do so.

As for the eleven adults whom I baptized, they are all dead, inasmuch as I no longer baptize any except in danger of immediate death, apart from which I find none who are susceptible of all the dispositions necessary to baptism. License in marrying and unmarried at their option, the spirit of murder, and human respect prevent their becoming docile to instructions. Of the children baptized eighteen are dead, who, added to the adults, make in all twenty-nine; but I must avow that what consoles me most during this year was the death of a young warrior of the age of twenty-five years. He was attacked by a malady which, causing him to languish a considerable time, gave me leisure to instruct him gradually. He always listened to me without repulsing me, but also without evincing conviction from what I said to him, like a person who wishes to examine and determine for himself whether what is told him is reasonable. He remained in this state, until seeing him fail, I deemed it my duty to press him the more, but always in such a way as to constrain him gently (by a simple representation of the importance of the truths which I taught him, and conformable to his intelligence) to ask me for baptism of his own accord. He did in fact solicit it, and I baptized him with all the greater assurance of his good disposition as I have had more time to prepare him, and as I knew that he had examined all that I had taught him. He remained some days after his baptism without his disease seeming to increase notably, when I myself fell into such a prostration of strength that I was obliged to take to my bed in order to get a little rest so as to restore me. But the very day I wished to do so, my patient, feeling himself much more oppressed than usual, and having no doubt but that it was the last day of his life, sent about nine o'clock in the morning to beg me to go and visit him in his cabin. I went there at once, when he de-

clared to me that he was conscious that he was near death and entreated me to do all I knew to be necessary for his eternal happiness in heaven, as he had a strong hope of attaining it through my instrumentality.

I was ravished at his disposition, and according to his desire began to repeat to him summarily our principal mysteries and to make him exercise upon each of them acts of faith in the form of prayer, after which I questioned him as to what he might have committed since his baptism that might be displeasing to God; and I warned him that if he had not conceived a genuine sorrow for the sins he had committed before baptism that he should do so now; otherwise it would be useless to him to have been baptized. He assured me that before I baptized him, he had formed a true act of sorrow for his sins and that he continued in this sorrow, both as to them and to those he had committed since baptism. I then gave him absolution, after which he begged me not to leave him until he was dead, but to remain constantly with him and not cease to pray or to make him pray, as I did from nine o'clock in the morning until four o'clock in the afternoon when he died. During all that time, if I wished to breathe a little for a few moments' relaxation, he would immediately warn me to begin again, and consoled me infinitely by this eagerness which could proceed only from the Holy Ghost who, in spite of his disease, attracted him powerfully to the prayers which I recited aloud and in his name, because he could no longer do this himself. From time to time he rallied his strength to ask me about Heaven, in order that I might confirm him in the hope of going thither, and that I might increase the consolation which he derived therefrom. Towards the end he had moments of such intense pain that it made him burst out into words of impatience, which I stopped immediately by telling him that this impatience displeased God, and that he ought to bear the sufferings he experienced in order to satisfy for his past sins. He acquiesced readily; he conceived sorrow for his outbursts, and I gave him absolution, after which he remained calm until death, without showing the least sign of impatience, however great the pain caused by his disease. I closed his eyes; and I could not refrain from embracing and

kissing him when I saw he was dead, so great was the joy I felt, and the assurance that he would pray earnestly for me before God, according to the promise which he had made me."

In Chap. V, Sec. 2 of *Relation* 1673-9,¹ Father Dablon quotes the account of the conversion and death of this young warrior from the above letter of Carheil as a remarkable illustration of the power that the Faith once embraced has over the converted savage. "The hope of Paradise," he writes, "gives the Iroquois converts incomparable courage, and once they have embraced the Christian religion in earnest, they hold fast to it courageously in view of Paradise, and in the hope of the eternal happiness which Faith promises us."

The following extracts from the *Relations Inédites*² continue the history of the mission for the years 1673 and 1674.

"Although the number of baptisms has been, this year, less in this mission than the preceding years, the Faith has not failed to make there more solid progress than in the past. For while it was but the object of contempt and even of hatred on the part of the Indians, it has begun to be esteemed and sought by the majority. There have been indeed only twenty-two children baptized; but all except three or four have been baptized at the request of their parents. This circumstance will appear important if reflection is made on what has been several times noted, viz: the fear which all the Indians are under who have not embraced the Faith, lest their children should be baptized, impressed as they are with the idea that baptism will cause their death. But it will appear still more important if the genius of these barbarous tribes is known, their scanty enlightenment making them more susceptible of such fears and less capable of getting rid of them. Moreover experience seems to aid in confirming them in this opinion, because in this heathen country this sacrament of Faith is given only to those among the children who appear to be at the point of death, and because in fact

¹ *Relation de ce qui s'est passé des plus remarquable aux missions des Peres de la Compagnie de Jesus en la Nouvelle France es années 1673 a 1679 Par le Rev. Père Claude Dablon, New York, 1860.*—(Shea's edition.)

² *Relations Inédites de la Nouvelle France (1672-1679) pour faire suite aux anciennes Relations (1615-1672) avec deux cartes Géographiques* Paris 1861.—Vol. I. 266-8, II, 41-44.

almost all to whom it is given die inevitably thereafter. Hence it comes that the affection they have for their children, which amounts to a kind of folly, has always induced them to use all their efforts to prevent their receiving this grace. As for the adults, the five who were baptized all died after baptism. Three were Andastes taken in war; Father de Carheil had time to instruct them before they were burned. Many of the same country who had escaped after some months captivity, had told them of the charity that the Black-gowns had for them as well as for the Iroquois. They had related the acts of kindness which the Fathers had done them and the pains they took to assist them in all imaginable ways. This report had disposed them to a much greater docility than had hitherto been manifested by the other captives. There was even one who thanked the Father in his death chant for the services he had rendered him, saying that he knew well that he loved them, and that the French nation was not of the number of their enemies."

The *Relation* 1675, (vol. ii. p. 41-4.) introduces the narrative for the year with the statement: "Father de Carheil is not so happy among the fourth nation, which is that of the Oïogouens. They have become so haughty and so insolent that they have maltreated him quite rudely, when they were in a state of intoxication, they have even thrown down a part of the chapel. But these insults do not make him lose courage, and as a reward God has given him the consolation to have sent twenty-one children to heaven this year, and probably eleven adults, dead after baptism, though it has not been without fighting many battles."

Thus does he describe the difficulty he had to baptize a young woman, by which other cases may be judged. She yielded, he says, only at the last moment, and I won her only by patience, by gentleness and by constancy in hoping for what all the repulses I suffered had several times all but made me despair of. She readily permitted me to visit her, and after I had given her some medicines, she allowed me to speak of every other subject except the chief one which was the salvation of her soul. As soon as I opened my mouth to insinuate a few words concerning this, she flew into a passion that was surprising and such as

I had never observed in any Indian. I was compelled to retire instantly for fear of irritating her still more, and rendering her obdurate beyond remedy. As her disease was only a languor caused by the worms which were insensibly devouring her, two months passed without my desisting to visit her daily, and without her ceasing to repulse me in the same manner and even with redoubled rage, which at last forced me to present myself simply before her without uttering a word. Yet I endeavored to tell her with my eyes and with a countenance full of compassion what I no longer durst tell her with my lips. And as one day she seemed slightly touched by some little services that I was rendering her, by building the fire, in the forsaken condition in which I saw her, no one any longer caring for her, I thought that she would suffer me to speak to her of what I solely desired for her and what she had always repulsed with horror. In fact, she let me approach her, and listened to me for a considerable time without flying into her accustomed passion, but yet with agitations of body that disclosed the state of her mind, in which grace and nature were in conflict. I was beginning to cherish some slight hope, when turning in fury upon me she seized my face with all the energy of which she was capable, and she would assuredly have wounded me seriously had her strength equalled her rage, but she was too weak to do me the injury she desired. Her weakness caused me to give up my face to her, while I continued my instruction telling her that the interest I felt in her soul obliged me, do what she would, not to leave her. I was however compelled to leave her this time also, with the thought of returning to her no more. Yet I did not fail to return the next morning rather to see whether she was dead than to speak to her. I found her *in extremis*, yet without having lost consciousness. "Well," I said to her, "you have but a moment to live, why will you lose your soul forever, when you can still save it?" These few words softened her heart, which so many others had failed to shake. She leaned over towards me, she made the prayer which I suggested to her, evinced sorrow for her past sins, asked baptism to efface them and received it to be confirmed in grace by the death which quickly ensued.

I have learned by the example of this sick woman that I should never abandon any one, whatever resistance he may offer, so long as there is left a remnant of life and reason, and that my hope and my labors should have no limit, save that which God sets to His mercy."

In Chap. V. Section vii. of *Relation 1673* this case is cited as an illustration of the qualities of a faithful missionary, as that of the young warrior already quoted in this chapter, as proof of the virtue and constancy of the Indian converts. The Iroquois missionaries, it says, acquire especially two, which are very singularly theirs. The first is a holy address to seize diligently and profit by every occasion, so as to allow no sick person or child to die without baptism. The other is a heroic patience to suffer everything, and be repulsed by nothing, when the salvation of a soul is at stake, never losing hope, whatever the opposition, but await the time of grace.

In *Relations Inelites*, Vol. II, p. 11, Dablon in a letter to the Provincial Father Pinette, writes: "Further on we find the town of Oïogouin where Father de Carheil resides. This holy man is of an apostolic zeal which does not find that the Indians correspond to his care; but I think that he asks from them too much virtue for beginnings. If he does not sanctify as many of them as he would, it is certain that he sanctifies himself in a good degree as do Fathers Garnier and Raffeix in the towns of the Sommoutouans." (Senecas).

All that remains to be gathered from the *Relations* concerning the Cayuga Mission may be found in the brief notices contained in the present number, and in connection with the general history of the Iroquois Missions. Thus in *Relation 1676-7*¹ printed by James Lenox, Esq., of New York, from the original manuscript, we have the following:

"The upper Iroquois, that is to say those that are most remote from us, as the Sommoutouans and the Oïogouens are the most haughty and the most insolent, running after the missionaries with axe in hand, chasing and pelting them with stones, throw-

¹ *Relation de ce qui s'est passé des plus remarquable aux missions des Peres de la Compagnie de Jesus, en la Nouvelle France es années 1676 et 1677.*

ing down their chapels and their little cabins, and in a thousand other ways treating them with indignity.

The Fathers suffer all and are ready for all, knowing well that the Apostles did not plant the faith in the world otherwise than by persecution and suffering. What consoles them in the pitiable state they are in, is to see the fruit which God derives for His glory and for the salvation of these very Indians by whom they are so maltreated. For within a year since these violences have begun, they have baptized more than three hundred and fifty Iroquois, of whom, besides twenty-seven adults, there were one hundred and seventy children who died after baptism, which is a certain gain for heaven. I cannot extract anything else from Father de Carheil, Pierron, Raffeix and Garnier who are among the upper Iroquois, because their greatest employment is to suffer and, so to speak, die at every moment by the continual threats and the insults which these Indians offer them, who, notwithstanding all this, fail not to wrest many souls from the devil. Father de Carheil writes from Oïoguen that the spiritual gain of this year is thirty-eight baptized, six of them adults and thirty-six dead, all children except three."

The notice of the mission in 1677-8 is still briefer, but of the same general tone: "Father de Carheil who has experienced most severely the effects of Iroquois fury, and who for the last two years is ever in a proximate danger of death, has not failed to administer at Oïogouin baptism to fifty persons, and to send to heaven more than forty children who have died with baptismal grace."—*Relations Inédites* 11, 197.

In chap. V. sec. viii of *Relations* 1673-9, (Shea's edition) Da blon thus sums up the condition of the several missions:

"By all that we have related, it may be judged that the Iroquois missions render great glory to God and contribute largely to the salvation of souls. This encourages the missionaries amid the evident danger of death in which they have lived constantly for three years that the Iroquois speak of making war on us: so that they have not been willing to leave their missions, although they were urged by their friends, who warned them of the evil designs formed against their persons. They accordingly persevere in laboring for the conversion of these

peoples, and we learn that God has rewarded their constancy by a little calm which He gives them, and by more than three hundred baptisms which they have conferred this last year, to which I add that the preceding year they had baptized three hundred and fifty Iroquois. The year before, Father Garnier had baptized fifty-five in one of the towns of the Sonnon-touans; Father de Carheil as many at Oiogouten; Father Milet forty-five at Oneiout (Oneida); Father James de Lamberville, more than thirty at one of the towns of Agnie (Mohawk), and Father Bruyas in another eighty; Father John de Lamberville seventy-two at Onnontage, and Father Pierron ninety at Sonnontouan. It is estimated that they have placed in heaven more than two hundred souls of children and sick adults, all dead after baptism."

The Mission at Cayuga for the remaining brief period of its continuance was unmarked by any striking event, the obstinate and haughty spirit of the people being the same, until about the year 1684, when Father de Carheil who for sixteen years had labored so faithfully for their good, was plundered of every thing and driven from the country by Orehaoue¹ and Sarenmoa

¹ The same referred to in note page 29. Father John de Lamberville of Onondaga, in a letter to M. de la Barre, Feb. 10, 1684, writes: "The man named Orehaoue of Cayuga, told me also he intended to visit you at Montreal. It is he who made Father de Carheil to withdraw from Cayuga and who treacherously brought the six Tionnontates there. He is exceedingly proud. Sorrenna and he are the two greatest chiefs in Cayuga. It is this Orehaoue that the English of Albany made use to prevent Penn purchasing land of the Andastes, who were conquered by the Iroquois and the English of Maryland. I believe he will be better pleased with you than with the English after he shall have had the honor of an interview with you. I told him that if he should wish to see Father de Carheil you would send for him to come to Montreal. He has great influence among the Cayugas and has conceived a profound esteem for you as a great Captain, which he also piques himself to be. Your dexterity and experience in winning over all these various characters, will attach him to you, I believe, most intimately, and he will be convinced that Onontio of Canada is quite a different thing from the Burgomasters of Orange, (Albany) whose civilities in his regard are the never ending subject of his praise." (Col. Hist. N. Y., IX, 227.) M. de la Barre was soon succeeded by M. Denonville as Governor General, who, in 1687, under the guise of peace and friendship attracted to Ganecout, some ten leagues above Fort Frontenac, a number of Iroquois, and some forty Cayugas were seized as prisoners, among whom was Orehaoue, and sent to France. (Col. Hist. N. Y., IX, 171.) But in 1689, Orehaoue and his companions were released from their captivity by the King on learning of the circumstances of their seizure, and they arrived at Quebec, Oct. 12th of that year with Count Frontenac, who had been re-appointed Governor of Canada. The kind treatment received at the hands of the Count on the voyage attached Orehaoue very strongly to him and served greatly to conciliate him toward the French. At his own suggestion and with the approval of Frontenac, a commission consisting of four Indians of the returned captives and Gagnieaton, was sent to Onondaga with the news of Orehaoue's return, inviting his tribe to come and welcome their father the Gov-

the two head chiefs at the time of the Cayuga canton. This was doubtless due to English intrigue. In 1683, Col. Thomas Dongan, governor of New York had so far succeeded in destroying the influence of the French with the Iroquois that, though himself a Catholic, he directed all his efforts to expel the Canadian missionaries: and to inspire the Indians with confidence, he promised to send them English Jesuits instead, and build them churches in their cantons. As a result the Oneida and Seneca missions were broken up a year before the expulsion of Father de Carheil from Cayuga. Father John Lamberville was the last to leave his post, at Onondaga, where his life was put in peril, owing to the alleged treachery on the part of the French in seizing a number of Iroquois as prisoners and taking them to Fort Cataracoui.

In concluding the history of the mission at Cayuga, so long the scene of the labors of Father de Carheil, a sketch of this accomplished and intrepid missionary is herewith appended. He came from France to Quebec in 1656 and was immediately sent to the Hurons among whom he acquired great influence, and who gave him the name of Aondechete. In 1667, he accom-

ernor, whom they had so long missed, and thank him for his goodness in restoring to them a chief whom they had supposed irrecoverably lost. The deputation brought back word expressing the great joy felt by the Five Nations at the return of Orehaone whom they still regarded as chief of their country, but demanding his prompt return to them and that he be accompanied by a messenger and all who had been his companions in captivity, when further consultation would be had in the matter. It was also demanded that full reparation be made for the treacherous seizure of the prisoners at Ganneont, before any further negotiations could be had. Frontenac was greatly mortified at this turn of affairs, and for the time was disposed to blame Orehaone as either insensible to the kindness shown him or as wanting in influence with his nation. The great war chief himself was chagrined as he felt the justice of the rebuke; but without evincing the least annoyance, counselled Frontenac to remember that on his return from France he had found the cantons bound by an alliance with the English and so embittered against the French, whose treachery had driven them to contract this alliance, that it became necessary to trust to time and circumstances for a more favorable disposition; that for his own part he could reproach himself with nothing; that his refusal to return to his own canton where he was passionately desired should banish every suspicion of his fidelity; and if, notwithstanding so unmistakable a token of his attachment to the French, they were so unjust as to entertain any such suspicions he would soon dispel them. Orehaone renounced his own people and became firmly attached to the cause of the French. He was active in hostile operations against the Iroquois, and such was his valor that the other tribes demanded him for their chief. He died at Quebec, in 1698, from an attack of pleurisy, after a brief illness, greatly lamented as "a worthy Frenchman and a good Christian:" and as a mark of distinction for his fidelity and eminent service was buried with ecclesiastical and military honors.—See *Col. Hist. N. Y.*, IX, 464, 524, 681; also Shea's *Character*, IV, 151, 203, 212, 246.

panied Garaontie, the Onondaga chief, from Quebec and the following year was assigned to Cayuga. After his expulsion from this canton, he was transferred to the Ottawa mission and was stationed at Michilmakinae. He stood in the very front rank of the Jesuit Fathers of his time, and was distinguished alike for his scholarly attainments and his saintly devotion. He died at Quebec in 1726 at an advanced age.

Charlevoix, the historian of New France, pays this touching tribute to his character :

“I left this missionary at Quebec in 1721, in the prime of his vigor and apostolic zeal ; yet how clearly had his life illustrated the truth, that men the most holy and most estimable for their personal qualities are but instruments in the hands of God, with whom He can as easily dispense as with His most unprofitable servants. He had sacrificed noble talents through which he might have attained high honors in his profession, and looking forward only to the martyr fate of many of his brethren, who had bedewed Canada with their blood, he had, against the wishes and larger designs of his Superiors, obtained this mission whose obscurity thus placed him far without the circle of ambitious strife, and could present to him naught but the hardships of the Cross. Here he had labored persistently for more than sixty years, and could speak the language of the Hurons and the Iroquois with as much facility and elegance as his native tongue. The French and the Indians alike regarded him as a saint and a genius of the highest order. Yet with all these accomplishments, his conversions were very few. He humiliated himself before God, and this mortification of pride served more and more to sanctify his life. He often declared to me, that he adored these manifest designs of Providence toward him, persuaded as he was, that the honors and success he might have attained upon a more brilliant arena would have resulted in the loss of his soul ; and that this thought was his unfailling consolation amid the sterile results of his long and toilsome apostolate.

“I have deemed it my duty to record this bright example, that those now entering upon the calling of an evangelist may understand that no years and no toils can be lost, if through

them all they attain saintliness of character; that the conversion of souls is alone the work of grace; that no natural talent, nor even the sublimest virtues, can have any power to melt hard hearts, except as God himself may give them efficiency; and that amid all their fruitless toils, they should ever remember, that those ministering angels who draw from the very bosom of Divinity the heavenly fire, a single spark of which would suffice to draw the whole world to the embrace of the Divine Love, and to whom the guardianship of nations, as of individuals, is committed—even those holy angels often are left to mourn over the blindness of unbelievers and the obduracy of their sinful hearts.”¹

A similar estimate of his genius and devotion is to be found in the *Relations Inédites* Vol. II, 367–9, which is as follows:

“Although Father de Carheil wrote nothing, at least nothing of his has reached us, he studied thoroughly the languages of those countries, and is cited by many writers as constituting an authority in such matters.

“This Father enjoyed in France the reputation of an excellent littérateur: he might have taken his place beside the Vasseurs, the Commires, the Jouvaneycs, the de la Rues, but he sighed only for the painful missions of New France. The rector of the college of Vannes, where he taught humanities, opposed the departure of the young professor; and there exists in the archives of the Gesu at Rome, a letter from the Father General of the Jesuits, which authorized the Provincial of the Province of France to leave Father de Carheil still at the college of Vannes, but without this leading to any result, and without inducing us to believe that distinguished talents were a motive for excluding one from the foreign missions. It was probably to enter into the views of his General that the Father Provincial according to the pious desires of the young religious, permitted him the following year to set out for Canada.

“There Father de Carheil acquired universal esteem, as much by his virtues as by his rare talents. But it is a remarkable thing that this zealous missionary who had received as his portion the

¹ *Histoire de la Nouvelle France, Paris, 1744. Tome Premier, 403–404.*

most precious gifts of nature and grace, never produced great fruit among the Indians. "So true is it," says Father Charlevoix on this point, "that the conquest of souls is solely the work of grace; that not only natural talents but even the most sublime virtues, are efficacious in touching hearts only so far as God himself may give them efficiency." Yet we must not think that the zealous labors of Father de Carheil were entirely fruitless. Truly apostolic men always do good in souls, at least an interior good, and which God alone knows. Moreover the reputation which Father de Carheil enjoyed among French and Indians, "who," says Charlevoix again, "agreed in regarding him as a saint and a genius of the first order," and the perfect knowledge of the languages which he possessed gave him authority over cultivated minds. Thus the famous Huron, The Rat, that extraordinary man who combined all the most eminent qualities, had a singular esteem for Father de Carheil, who had won him to God and Christianity. "At first The Rat used to say that he knew only two men of mind among the French, Count de Frontenac and Father de Carheil. It is true that he knew others in the sequel to whom he rendered the same justice."

Charlevoix makes frequent reference to this distinguished Huron, and vouches for the general opinion that no Indian had ever possessed greater merit, a finer mind, more valor, prudence, or discernment in understanding those with whom he had to deal. His measures were always found wise, and he was never without resource, hence he always succeeded. He was as famous for his eloquence as for his wisdom and valor. He never opened his lips in council without applause even from those who disliked him. He was not less brilliant in conversation in private, and they often took pleasure in provoking him to hear his repartees, always animated, full of wit, and generally unanswerable. In this he was the only man in Canada who was a match for the Count de Frontenac who often invited him to his table to give his officers this pleasure.

It was undoubtedly, continues Charlevoix, his esteem for Father de Carheil which determined him to embrace Christianity, or at least to live in conformity to the maxims of the Gos-

pel. This esteem became a real attachment and that religious could obtain anything from him. He was very jealous for the glory and interest of his nation and was strongly convinced that it would hold its ground as long as it remained attached to the Christian religion. He even preached quite frequently at Michilemakinae, and never without fruit.

His death (1701) caused a general affliction and there was no one, French or Indian, who did not show that he felt it. His funeral, which took place the next day, was magnificent and singular. M. de St. Ours, first captain, marched in front at the head of sixty men under arms; sixteen Huron braves attired in long beaver robes, their faces blackened, followed with guns, marching in form. Then came the clergy, with six war chiefs carrying the bier, covered with a pall strewed with flowers, on which lay a chapeau and feather, a gorget and a sword. The brothers and children of the deceased were behind accompanied by all the chiefs of the nations: de Vaudreuil, Governor of the city, supporting Madame de Champigny, closed the procession. At the end of the service there were two volleys of musketry, and a third when the body was committed to the earth. He was then interred in the great church at Montreal, and on his tomb this inscription was placed: *CY GIT LE RAT, CHEF HURON*—Here lies The Rat, a Huron Chief.¹

As regards the further history of French Missions among the Iroquois, it is only necessary to add that in 1701, when a separate peace was concluded between the Five Nations and Canada, several of the old missionaries left Quebec to raise their fallen altars on the former ground of their labors and sacrifices. But in the continued struggle between the English and French for the dominant influence, little was accomplished, when by the treaty of Utrecht, concluded in 1712, Louis XIV acknowledged the right of England to the whole Territory occupied by the Five Nations and thus completely closed their cantons against the French Jesuit Fathers.

¹ The reader who would learn more of this remarkable Indian is referred to *La Hontan's Voyages* I, 117, 139, 191; also Shea's *Charlevoix* IV, 12, 14, 57; V, 68, 110, 141, 143, 145-7, from which the above sketch has been derived.

The Sulpitian Mission at Quinté Bay.

In the *Relation* for 1668, mention is made of a colony of Cayugas who for fear of the Andastes had fixed their abode on the north side of Lake Ontario, at the western extremity of Quinté Bay. The language of the *Relation* implies that Jesuit missionaries had labored among them for some two years previous, but no statement is made elsewhere as to the fact.¹ If they had a mission there in 1666, at the partial conclusion of peace between the French and the Iroquois, the Mohawks alone remaining hostile, it was surrendered at the re-opening of the missions in the several Iroquois cantons in 1668 to the Society of Sulpitians, founded some twenty years before in the parish of St. Sulpice, Paris, by Jean Jacques Olier, and to which had been transferred the lauded proprietorship of the island of Montreal. Two members of the order, Claude Trouvé² and Francis de Salignac de Fénelon,³ who arrived at Montreal in June, 1667, were selected for the Mission (the first under the auspices of the Sulpitians among the Iroquois) and the following year proceeded to their field of labor which they reached Oct. 28, 1668.

¹ Shea's *Charlevoix* III, 110, note.

² Trouvé was of the diocese of Tours, and was only a sub-deacon when he came to Canada. He was ordained priest a short time after his arrival at Montreal. In 1690, at the capture of Port Royal by the English Admiral Phibs, he was taken prisoner with a number of others, and one account says carried to Boston. But on the raising of the siege of Quebec, in the same year, by Admiral Phibs, Trouvé was recovered by the French in an exchange of prisoners. See Shea's *Charlevoix* III, 110, n.; IV, 127, n. 152, 187, n.

³ Hennepin, in his *Nouvelle Decouverte* 1697, p. 14, says that this Abbé de Fénelon was the great archbishop of Cambrai. This error was developed by Greenbow, in a paper read before the N. Y. Historical Society (Proceedings 1844). The life of the Canadian missionary has been clearly and well drawn by the Abbe Verreau, in a series of articles in the *Canadian Journal of Education*, and by Mr. Faillon in his *Histoire de la Colonie Francaise*. Pons de Salignac, Marquis de la Mothe Fénelon, married Feb. 20, 1629, Isabelle d' Esparsis de Lusson, daughter of Marshal d' Aubeterre, and had eleven children, among them Francis the Canadian Missionary, who was born 1641: entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice in October, 1665, and having received minor orders, came to Canada June 27, 1667. He was ordained priest June 11, 1668. The same year, as we have seen, he began a mission at Quinté Bay.

A contemporaneous account of the attempt to Christianize the portion of the Cayugas who retired beyond Lake Ontario is found in the Rev. Dollier de Casson's¹ *Histoire de Montreal*, a work which remained in manuscript till it was issued by the Historical Society of Montreal in 1869, as the fourth part of their *Mémoires*. The portion devoted to the Quinté Mission begins on p. 209.

SUMMARY OF THE MISSION OF KENTE.²

All that we have to say of any importance on this mission is contained in a letter which has been addressed to us by Mr. Trouvé, who has always been an eye witness of all that passed there, not having abandoned it from the very beginning. The following is a faithful report of what he has written me:

Since you desire me to tell you something in writing as to what has passed in our dear mission among the Iroquois, I will do so very willingly in spite of all the repugnance which I feel, never having desired anything till now, except that all that passed there should be known only by Him to whose glory all our actions should tend: and this is the reason why our gentlemen who have been employed in this work have always maintained great silence. Hence it came that the Abbe de Fénelon, having been questioned one day by Monseigneur de Pestrée, our bishop, as to what he might insert in the *Relation* concerning the Kenté mission, made this reply: "that the greatest favor he could do us, was not to have us spoken of."

He also founded an establishment at Gentilly for Indian children, to aid which Frontenac in 1673 granted him three small islands. In 1674, he preached the Easter sermon at Montreal, and La Salle reported some passages to Frontenac, as painting him as a tyrant. The governor went to work with a high hand. Fénelon claimed all his rights, but was sent back to France and died in 1679. See Faillon's *Histoire de la Colonie Française* III. pp. 171, 480. Francis de Salignac Fénelon, archbishop of Cambrai, was the son of Pons de Salignac by his second wife, Louisa de Cropte, and was born August 6, 1651, and was, consequently, but seventeen when his brother went to Quinté.—Shea's *Charlevoix* III. 100, n.

¹ Dollier de Casson, born about 1620, had been a captain in Turenne's Cavalry where he displayed a courage equal to his immense strength; for he is said to have been able to hold a man seated on each hand: Faillon's *Histoire de la Colonie Française* III. p. 150. He came to Canada about 1665. In 1670 he explored Lake Ontario. He was Superior of the Sulpitians at Montreal, till 1676, when his health compelled him to return to France. On his recovery he resumed his office at Montreal, and died Sept. 25, 1701. Shea's *Charlevoix* III. 96, n.

² Translated by Dr. Shea for the present work.

It was in the year 1668 that they gave us orders to set out for the Iroquois; and the principal place for our mission was assigned to us at Kenté, because that same year several persons from that village had come to Montreal and had asked us positively to go and instruct them in their country. Their embassy was made in the month of June, but as we were expecting a Superior from France that year, our gentlemen thought best to beg them to return, not deeming it right to undertake an affair of this importance without awaiting his advice, so as to do nothing in the matter, except in conformity with his orders.

In the month of September the Chief of that village returned punctually at the time assigned to him, in order to endeavor to obtain missionaries and conduct them to his country. The Abbe de Quélus having by that time arrived as Superior of this community, it was referred to him, and he very willingly gave his consent to this design, in consequence of which we applied to the Bishop who supported us by his formal act. As to the Governor and Intendant of this country we had no difficulty in obtaining their consent, inasmuch as they had from the first fixed upon us for this enterprise. These absolutely necessary steps having been taken, we set out without delay, because we were already far advanced in the Autumn. At last we embarked at La Chine for Kenté on the 2d of October, accompanied by two Indians of the village to which we were going. After having already made some advance on our way and overcome the difficulties which are between Lake St. Louis and Lake St. Francis, which consist in some carrying places and dragging places for canoes, we perceived smoke in one of the bays on Lake St. Francis. Our Iroquois at first thought it was their own people who were on that lake. Under this belief they made for the fire, but we were greatly surprised, for we found two poor Indian women, utterly emaciated, who were on their way to the French settlements in order to escape from the slavery in which they had been for several years. It was forty days since they left the Onneion village where they had been slaves. During all that time they had lived only on some squirrels killed by a boy ten or twelve years old with some arrows which these poor forsaken women had made for him. On our arrival we

made them a present of some biscuits which they at once threw into a little water to soften and to be able the sooner to appease their hunger. Their canoe was so small that they could scarcely sit in it without upsetting it. Our two Indians consulted together what was to be done. They resolved to take these two poor victims and the boy with them to their village, and as the women feared they would be burned, as that is the usual punishment for fugitive slaves among the Indians, they began to show their grief; then I endeavored to speak to the Indians and induce them to let these women go, as they would soon be among the French. I told them that if they took these women, the Governor on being informed of it, would be convinced that there was no sure ground for peace, inasmuch as one of the articles of peace was that prisoners should be given up. All these threats had no effect on their minds. They gave us as a reason that the life of these women was important, that if the Indians of the village from which they had escaped, should happen to meet them they would tomahawk them at once.

Then we advanced for four days through the most difficult rapids that there are on this route. After that one of our Indians who carried a little keg of brandy to his country, drank some, and so much that he got drunk, for they do not drink otherwise or with any other object unless some one prevents them by force. Now as these people are terrible in their intoxication, the prisoners thought it was all over with them, because Indians usually get drunk to commit their evil deeds. This Iroquois having passed into this excess, entered into a furious and unapproachable state, and then he began to pursue one of these women. She, in her alarm, fled into the woods, preferring to die by starvation rather than by the hatchet of her enemy. The next day this brutal fellow, surprised at the escape of his prey, went to look for her in the woods, but in vain. At last, seeing that time pressed for us to reach his village, and that we had already had some snow, he resolved to leave her in that place with her child, and in order to make her die of hunger there, they wished to break their little canoe, because that place was an island in the midst of the river St. Lawrence; nevertheless by dint of prayers, they at our instance left her this sole means of

safety. After our departure, when the Indian woman was somewhat reassured, she came out of her hiding place and then finding her canoe which we had made them leave for her, she embarked in it with her little boy, and safely reached Montreal, the ancient asylum of the unhappy fugitives. As for ourselves, having taken the other Indian woman five or six days above that island, without her ever being able to obtain her liberty, at last meeting some Hurons who were going to trade at Montreal, our Indians reflected on what I had said that Mr. de Courcelle, for whom they had an extraordinary fear, would take ill their conduct, when he came to know it. This reflection induced them to deliver up the other women into the hands of these Hurons to take her back to Montreal, which they did faithfully, as we ascertained the year after, when we learned what had happened to the other poor woman and her little boy.

By dint of paddling we arrived at last at Kenté on the feast day of St. Simon and St. Jude. We should have reached it the eve, but for our encountering some Indians, who, delighted to hear that we were going to Kenté to reside there, made us a present of half a moose. Moreover the same afternoon after meeting these men who had made us this present, being very near the cabins, we perceived in the middle of a beautiful river which we had entered that day to shorten our route, an animal called here Scononton, and in France called Chevreuil (deer), which gave us the pleasure of a very agreeable hunt, especially on account of its beauty and grace which much excel what we see in those of France. Its taste also is better and surpasses all the venisons of New France.

Having arrived at Kenté we were regaled there as well as it was possible by the Indians of the place. It is true that the feast consisted only of some citrouilles (squashes) fricasseed with grease and , which we found good; they are indeed excellent in this country and cannot enter into comparison with those of Europe. It may even be said that it is wronging them to give them the name of citrouilles. They are of a very great variety of shapes and scarcely one has any resemblance to those in France. There are some so hard as to require a hatchet if you wish to split them open before cooking. All have different names.

One poor man having nothing to give us, was all day long fishing in order to catch something for us, and having taken only a little pickerel presented it to us, utterly discomfited and confused to have only that to give us. There is nothing more capable of mortifying an Iroquois than to have a stranger arrive in his country when he has nothing to offer him; they are very hospitable and very often go to invite those who arrive in their nation to come and lodge with them. It is true that since they frequent the Europeans, they begin to act in a different manner; but seeing that the English and Dutch sell everything to them, if it is only an apple, they like them less than the French who usually make them a present of bread or other little things, when they come to our houses.

No one could be received in a more friendly way than we were by these savages. Every one did what he could, even to a good old woman, who for a great treat threw a little salt in a sagamite or boiled Indian corn she was preparing for us.

After having breathed a little the air of this country, Mr. de Fénelon and I deliberated what we should do on the subject of religion. We agreed to apply on this point to the chief of the village called Rohiario, who had obliged us to go to his country. In consequence of which we went to say to him that he was perfectly aware that he had come to seek us in order to instruct them, that we had come only for that purpose, that he ought to begin to aid us in this design, that he should notify every one in his village to send his children to our cabin in order to be instructed. This having succeeded as we had desired, sometime after we begged this same Indian to find it good and persuade his nation that we should baptize their children.

To this that old man replied: "It is said that this washing with water (so they call baptism) makes the children die. If thou baptizest them and they die, they will say that thou art an Andastogueronon (who are their enemies) who has come into our village to destroy us."

"Do not fear," said I to him, "they are ill-advised who told thee that this baptism killed children, for we French are all baptized, and but for that we would not go to heaven, and yet thou knowest well we are very numerous."

Then he said: "Do as thou wilt; thou art master."

We accordingly assigned a day when we should confer this great sacrament. Several adults were present, and we baptized about fifty little children, among whom Rohiario's daughter—his only one—was the first. She was named Mary, thus putting our first fruits under the protection of the Blessed Virgin. What is to be remarked is, that as no one of the first fifty baptized died, they have no longer any difficulty against holy baptism, although several other children have since died after baptism.

In the spring of 1669, Mr. de Fénelon having gone down to Montreal for consultation as to some difficulties that he had, during the voyage in which he dragged his canoe himself, both ascending and descending amid the most furious rapids, he baptized a child which died soon after. This greatly gladdened him amid his hardships which are so great that we should not be believed, if we ventured to relate them, since in many places and very often you ascend waters more impetuous than a mill-fall, being sometimes up to the armpits, walking barefoot over very cutting stones with which most of these waters are paved.

Mr. de Fénelon on his return from Montreal brought with him another missionary who was Mr. d' Urfé. Then having arrived, he went to winter in the village of Gandatsetiagon, settled by detached Sonontouans, who had come to the north shore of which we have charge; these people having asked us to go and instruct them, were delighted that this favor was granted them so soon after they had asked it. As for us, having been obliged to go with the Indians into the woods in order to extricate ourselves from the want of food in which we were because our settlement was new, by a singular providence I fell on the trail of some Indians who had passed shortly before, but we were surprised in the evening on seeing ourselves arrive in a place where there was smoke. It was the very Indians whose trail we had been following in the snow. Approaching nearer, we saw some branches of — trees, from which a little smoke arose: it was a poor Iroquois woman who had been delivered of two children, who were hidden under this wretched cabinage with some others. Then her husband waking up said to me: "Come Black-gown, she has been delivered of three children."

These poor people were reduced to the last necessity, for they had no food, and subsisted only by means of some porcupines which they killed and ate. The whole was not enough to satisfy two people, although they were more than nine or ten. On seeing this poor woman I was all the more touched from my inability to render her any assistance, for we were at least as destitute as they. I asked her if her children were in good health. The husband answered that one of the two would soon die. The woman unrolled them both before me and I saw that they were half frozen, and beside one had a fever and was dying. From this I took occasion to speak to them of our religion, telling them that I was very sorry that these children were going to die without being baptized, and that they would never go to heaven without it. After which I explained these things to them more in detail, till the husband interrupted me saying, "Courage, baptize them both, my brother, it is a pity not to go to heaven." This consent given, I baptized them both, and soon after a good number of these new Christians went to enjoy glory that same winter which was in 1670.

Since then something occurred to Mr. d'Urfé which had well nigh proved fatal to him, and which I wish to note. After saying holy mass he went out into the woods to offer his thanksgiving, but struck in so far that he lost his way and could not get back. He spent a whole day and night seeking his way but unable to find it, and at last after — he was obliged to take his rest, which he did in a wolf pit which an Indian had made some time before. The next day in the midst of the anxiety which his position caused him, he had recourse to the late Mr. Ollier, to whom he commended himself, and pursuing his march came straight to the village. For this he believed himself greatly indebted to his protection. During his absence the Indians had run in all directions to seek him, and when he returned they all made a feast to thank the Spirit, that he had not died in the woods. He said that during his march he had supported himself by those bad mushrooms which grow around the foot of trees, and he assured us that he had found them good, so true is it that appetite gives the best taste to things which are the worst.

In 1671 this same missionary well nigh perished by another mischance. This was, that on his way to Montreal his canoe upset almost in the middle of the river, being under sail and a violent wind astern, but fortunately, although he did not know how to swim, God preserved him, so that he clung so firmly to the canoe, that they had time to help him, although they were at some distance.

This last year Mr. d'Urfé having made some stay in a village of our mission called Ganeraské, he took a resolution to go and visit some Indians settled about five leagues from it, to see whether there was not something to do for religion. The day after his arrival a poor Iroquois woman was seized with pains of labor. Now as these poor women are extremely shame-faced when they are in this state and strangers near, this poor woman resolved without saying anything about it, to go out into the snow to be delivered, although it was in the very depth of winter. In fact soon after they heard the child cry, the women of the cabin, taken all by surprise, ran out to take the child and assist the mother. Mr. d'Urfé seeing that this shame had produced so distressing a result, set out in all haste to return to Ganeraské and leave the cabin free: but on the third day he determined to go back to that cabin with some Frenchmen, inasmuch as his chapel service had been left there. On his return to the place he found the Indian woman very low. The other women told him that after his departure she had had another child also, and had lost all her blood. Three quarters of an hour later, the sick woman called out aloud to one of her companions, "Give me some water;" and she died at the very instant. Immediately after, those who attended her thrust her into a corner of the cabin like a log, and threw her two living children near her, to be buried the next morning with their mother. Mr. d'Urfé who was near enough to hear, but not in a position to see what passed, asked what was the matter and why there was so much bustle. The Indians told him: Because that woman is dead. Then that gentleman having attested, with his own eyes, the death of the mother, wished to guarantee the two children by baptism, as he did on the spot, and very seasonably, for one of them died the same night. The other, though quite well, was taken by an

Indian the next day to bury alive with its mother. Mr. d'Urfé said to him, "Is that your method of doing, what are you thinking of?" One of them replied, "What would you have us do with it, who will nurse it?" "Can you not find an Indian woman to suckle it?" replied Mr. d'Urfé." "No," retorted the Indian.

Mr. d'Urfé seeing these things, begged for the child's life. He made it take some raisin juice and sugar syrup of which he left a small supply, in order to assist the orphan, while he went to Kenté, twelve good leagues distant, to seek a nurse—but he did so in vain—the Indian women, by a strange superstition, would not for anything in the world, suckle a dead woman's child. The missionary returning to see his orphan found it dead to the world and living to eternity, after having lived on this juice and syrup for several days.

Such is the misery to which these poor Indians are reduced, which extends not only to women who are pregnant, a great many of whom die for want of wherewith to relieve them in childbed, but also to all sick women, for they have no delicacies and a poor patient in these nations is delighted to receive a missionary visit, hoping after the instruction which the latter is going to give him, he will make him a present of a prune, two or three raisins or a small piece of sugar as big as a nut.

We have had from time to time adults, whom God has so touched in their maladies, that after having obtained holy baptism, they died in our hands with admirable sentiments of sorrow for their past sins. Where it is to be remarked that the Indians not having received like us this great grace of Christian education, they are not in compensation, punished like us at death by that great hardening of the heart, then ordinarily found among us, when we have lived badly; on the contrary, as soon as these people are prostrated by the disease, and by this means in a better state to reflect on the littleness of this life and the greatness of Him who is thus the Master of our days, if Providence at this time puts him in the hands of a missionary, he commonly dies with all the appearance of a great regret for all the past.

I must relate an example which happened this year, (1672) on this subject. Moreover there is something extraordinary in it

which deserves being brought to the light. An Indian a short distance from us, and who scarcely cared to approach us, because he had no good opinion of religion, was seized this winter with a languishing malady, which at last brought him to the grave. Long before his death he dreamed in his sleep, that he saw a large fine house at Kenté entirely filled with missionaries, and that a young one among them baptized him, which prevented his going to burn in a fire, and put him in a state to go to heaven. As soon as he awoke, he sent his wife to Kenté for a priest to baptize him. Mr. d'Urfé having perceived the woman went to see what the case really was. The sick man having told him the affair just as I have related it, he began to instruct him solidly. The sick man heard him with great attention. After Mr. d'Urfé came to see me, and I went there in my turn. During nearly three months we two made our visits in turn, the sick man always hearing us with ears so eager that we were extremely touched while instructing him. It was nothing but regrets for sin, displeasure at having offended God, and sighs for his service. He kept incessantly soliciting baptism from us in order to go and see his Creator, but we always deferred conferring it upon him, both on account of the circumspection we practice on this point, and on account of the great advantage which the sick man would derive from his fervent desire in preparing to receive this sacrament; at last after many importunities on the same subject, we granted him his earnest wish, when we saw that it was time to do so, and after having been washed with this salutary water, having edified every one of those who saw him practice so many beautiful acts of virtue, he died to live more happily, going to the place he sighed for in the last days of his life.

Such good works constitute the sole consolation of missionaries amid all the difficulties they encounter in the instruction of these poor forsaken ones. I call them so even in regard to their souls, because very often they have not all the aid that is necessary for them in spiritual things, *operarii pauci, messis vero multa.*

We have three villages¹ in this extent of our mission without

¹ The villages mentioned in the narrative as under the care of the mission, are Kenté, Ganeraské, Gandatsiagon, on the north side of Lake Ontario, between the present sites of

counting scattered cabins. There is not one of these villages where there is not enough employment for a good missionary. Our principal occupation is among the sick, and among the children who willingly attend the instructions given them, and even pray to God very well in their own language, and think themselves well rewarded, if after their instruction, the missionary makes them a present of a prune or a raisin, or some other like delicacy, which serves us as *Agnus Dei's* and pictures in France serve those who teach catechism. The fathers and mothers show no opposition to the instruction of their children. On the contrary they are vain of it, and frequently even solicit it from the missionaries. I am obliged to render this testimony to the truth, that the Indians, barbarous as they are, and without the light of the gospel, do not commit as many sins as most Christians."

This is a little sketch of all that has passed in our mission, as far as memory can supply it, for I never applied myself to draw up any remarks, knowing well that God is a great light, and that when he wishes things known which concern his glory, he would sooner make the trees and stones speak.

I have not taken any great pains to describe the little trials which the Kenté missionaries have felt, nor the privations in which they have frequently found themselves, since the time when this enterprise was undertaken. What I may add to Mr. Trouvé's letter is that the Kenté missionaries will suffer much less in the future than in the past, inasmuch as the gentlemen of the Seminary of St. Sulpice have supplied the place with cattle, hogs and poultry, which the missionaries have transported thither with great difficulty. If the King at any time orders any enterprise on Nontario, as the place seems to require in order to keep the Iroquois in the last submission and have all their peltries which

Kingston and Toronto, and as indicated on the earliest maps nearly equi-distant from each other. Kenté, the seat of the mission, was at the western extremity of Quinte Bay, a long, irregular, winding body of water divided from Lake Ontario by the peninsula of Prince Edward, and indented on every side by small bays and coves, offering anchorage and shelter for such vessels as navigate the Lakes. The lake harbor at this point is now known as Presque Isle, and is about 70 miles west by south from Kingston. Ganeraské was located at or near the present harbor of Port Hope, the capitol of Durham county, at the south terminus of the Midland railway, and on the Grand Trunk Line, 60 miles east by north of Toronto. Gandatsiagon, a Seneca village, corresponds to Whitby, also a port of entry, the capital of Ontario county, south terminus of the Whitby and Perry railway, and on the Grand Trunk line, 30 miles east by north of Toronto. The harbor is said to be one of the best on the lake.

they come and obtain from our territories, and afterwards carry to other nations than ours, those appointed to execute and establish it will be able to receive great spiritual as well as temporal aid at Kenté by means of the labors and outlay made by the gentlemen of St. Sulpice in that place. I do not name in this history those of the Seminary who bear the expenses at Montreal and Kenté, although they are great and heavy, because I do not venture to do so. If those who read this find cause to blame, let them find it right that I submit to their condemnation, and not incur the displeasure of these gentlemen who would very soon have effaced their names had I put them on paper."

It will be remembered that Messrs. de Fénelon and Trouvé, just before entering on the Kenté mission in 1668, were ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Laval, the first Bishop of New France, who also supported them by his formal act, in the instructions already referred to, and which are herewith given as an important part of the history. The document is from the Register of the Archbishopric of Quebec, as in *Memoirs of the Montreal Historical Society*, iv, pp. 260-3.

INSTRUCTION FOR OUR WELL BELOVED IN OUR LORD, CLAUDE TROUVE AND FRANCIS DE SALAGNAC, PRIESTS, GOING ON A MISSION TO THE IROQUOIS SITUATED ON THE NORTH SHORE OF LAKE ONTARIO.

I. Let them be well persuaded that being sent to labor in the conversion of the infidels, they have the most important employment there is in the Church, which should obligé them to render themselves worthy instruments of God, to perfect themselves in all the virtues proper to an Apostolic Missionary, often meditating in imitation of St. Francis Xavier, the patron and ideal of missionaries, these words of the Gospel: "What doth it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul."

II. Let them endeavor to avoid the two extremes, which are to be feared in those who devote themselves to the conversion of souls, excessive hope or excessive despair. Those who hope for too much are often the first to despair of everything, in view of the great difficulties met with in the undertaking of converting the infidels, which is rather the work of God, than man's indus-

try. Let them remember that the seed of the Word of God bears fruit in patience. Those who have not this patience are endangered (after having scattered much fire in the beginning) of losing courage at last, and abandoning the undertaking.

III. The language is necessary to act with the Indians. Yet it is one of the least parts of a good missionary, just as in France, speaking French well is not what makes one preach with fruit.

IV. The talents which constitute good missionaries, are 1st, To be full of the Spirit of God; that Spirit must animate our words and our hearts. "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." 2d, To have great prudence in the choice and order of the things necessary to be done either to enlighten the mind, or to bend the will; all that does not contribute to this are words lost. 3d, To pay great attention not to lose the moments for the salvation of souls, and to make up for the negligence which often creeps over Catechumens, for as the devil on his side "goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour," so it is necessary that we should be vigilant against his efforts with care, mildness and love. 4th, To have nothing in our life or our manners which may seem to contradict what we say, or which may infuse indisposition into the minds and hearts of those whom we wish to win to God. 5th, We must make ourselves loved by our mildness, patience and charity, and gain minds and hearts to gain them to God; often a sharp word, an impatience, a repelling look will destroy in a moment what we have done in a long time. 6th, The Spirit of God requires a peaceful recollected heart and not a restless heart full of idle thoughts. It requires a cheerful, modest countenance; it is necessary to avoid railleries and unbridled laughter and in general all that is contrary to a holy and cheerful modesty, "Let your modesty be known to all men."

V. Their main care in the actual condition they are in, will be, as far as possible, to let no Indian die without baptism; let them take care nevertheless to act always with prudence and reserve on occasion in regard to the baptism of adults, and even of children not in danger of death.

VI. In the doubt whether an adult has been already baptized, let him be baptized conditionally and to make more sure of his salvation, cause him to make a general confession of his whole life, instructing him beforehand on the means of doing it well.

VII. Let them take great care to enter in writing the names of the baptized, their fathers and mothers, and even some other relatives, the day, month and year of the baptism.

VIII. When they have occasion let them write to the Jesuit Fathers, who are employed in the Iroquois missions in order to resolve their doubts and to receive from their long experience the necessary light for their conduct.

IX. They will also take great care to inform us, by all the occasions that offer, of the state of their mission, and the progress they make in the conversion of souls.

X. Let them often read these counsels, and the other Memoirs of Instructions which we have given them in order to refresh the memory and observe them well, persuading themselves well that thereon depends the happy success of their mission.

FRANCIS, Bishop of Petrea.

A contemporaneous letter of Bishop Laval to Mr. de Fénelon, under date of Sept. 15; 1668 (Archives of the Seminary of Montreal. Faillon, *Hist. de la Colonie Francaise*, III, pp. 192-3) probably accompanied the above instructions and is in the following terms:

TO OUR WELL-BELOVED IN OUR LORD, FRANCIS DE SALAGNAC, PRIEST.—It is with a singular satisfaction and consolation of our soul that we have seen the fervor and courage with which you devote yourself to the conversion of the heathen nations, and that you have made known to us the sentiments which God has given you to go, before this winter, to a place situate towards the outlet nearest to us of the lake called Ontario, north shore, to labor there for the conversion of a nation, which has been settled there for about three years, and to seek there the strayed sheep which heretofore the Fathers of the Society of Jesus had brought to the fold of our Lord.

We give you power and authority to labor for the conversion of this people, to confer the sacraments on them and generally

to do all that you shall deem proper for the establishment of the faith and the increase of this new Christian body : enjoining you, however, to be subordinate in all these functions, to our well beloved Claude Trouvé, priest, whom we associate with you for the same design, and to receive from him in all that shall regard the salvation of souls, direction and power. We commend you to preserve always a very close connection and intimate union with the missionary religious of the society of Jesus, in order that having all only one same heart and one same spirit, it may please the Sovereign Pastor of souls to make us all partakers of the same grace and same blessings. This is what we implore him to grant you through the intercession of his most holy Mother, and of the Blessed Saint Joseph, especial Patron of this rising church.

Faillon, in his account of the mission, follows Dollier de Casson giving few other facts. Coucelle and Talon made them a grant of lands at Kenté bay to settle and clear, with right of fishing in the bay and lake of that name, in the Tanaouate river, and in Lake Ontario from Kenté to Gagonion bay. (Letter of Mr. Tronson to Mr. Trouvé June 1, 1681. Archives of Seminary of Montreal, October 5th, 1679.) They spent the winter of 1668 at Kenté. In the spring Fénelon went to Montreal and Quebec. He returned with Mr. Lascaris and Mr. d'Urfé.

The Sulpitians having resolved to maintain the mission, sent up cattle, etc., with laborers to clear the land, and other workmen to build a farm with a large house, which was supplied with all agricultural implements, furniture, provisions and other necessities for such a settlement. (Letter of Mr. Tronson, April 25th, 1675. Letter of Mr. Brétonvilliers, May, 1675, April 5th, 1677.)

“ Besides Mr. Trouvé, Mr. de Fénelon and Mr. d'Urfé, other priests of the Seminary were employed on this mission, and among them Mr. de Cicé and Mr. Mariet.¹ It was perhaps some

¹ In explanation of the difference of title as applied to the Jesuit Fathers and the Sulpitian missionaries it ought to be said that the Sulpitians are a community of secular priests, and devoted especially to the direction of theological seminaries. They are not a religious order, as the Jesuits, bound by vows ; and they are invariably spoken of as Mr. Trouvé, Mr. de Fénelon, &c., (the Rev. being used in English), never as Father. This title is properly used only of members of a religious order, and it is a misnomer to apply it, as it is common with the newspapers, to every secular priest. In England, until the Reformation, the secular priest had the title Sir, like a Knight.

one of these missionaries who composed a manuscript, formerly preserved in the Mazarin Library entitled: "Abridgment of the life and manners, and other particulars of the Iroquois nation which is divided into five villages and tribes, Agniés, Onneiouts, Nontagués, Goyououans, Sonnantouans." Faillon, *Histoire de la Colonie Francaise* III, p. 198, note.

This completes the Sulpitian mission at Kenté. When Fort Catarocouy was erected, Recollects were appointed chaplains, and the Sulpitians apparently withdrew.¹ When a clergyman speaking Iroquois was needed there, Father Milet was sent up, the same who with de Carheil and Garnier re-established the Onondaga mission in 1668. Nothing is said of the chapel, if any was erected by the Sulpitians, or of the condition and numbers of the little flock they finally gathered; but of the devotion and heroism of these self-denying men the record of their labors gives abundant testimony. It is a record which, like that of the earlier and more extended efforts of the Jesuit missionaries occupying the larger share of our attention in these chapters, will never lose its charm, nor cease to command the respect and admiration of men irrespective of religious opinion or prejudice, though all trace of their work has passed away with the disappearance of the once powerful nations for whose conversion they toiled with such zeal and self-sacrifice.

¹ The first Recollect missionaries sent to the Quinte mission were the famous Father Louis Hennepin and Father Luke Buisset. The former visited the cantons in New York, copied Bruyas' dictionary, and returned to Fort Frontenac (Catarocouy). His missionary career was, however, short. He soon set out with La Salle on his voyage of discovery. Father Luke, a man of piety and erudition twice wintered with the Indians and labored zealously for their conversion, as Le Clercq assures us (vol. II, p. 114; Hennepin *New Discov.* p. 19, 277). He was succeeded apparently about 1668, by Father Francis Wasson of whom Le Clercq speaks in terms of eulogy, and who remained as Chaplain of the fort and missionary of the Iroquois for six years (Le Clercq, *Relation Gaspésie*, 565). His labors in the latter capacity could not, however, have been great, for when Denonville required an interpreter at the place, he was compelled to substitute Father Milet as chaplain, a step which would have been unnecessary had Father Wasson spoken the Cayuga dialect. It may, therefore, be concluded that the mission was virtually abandoned in 1687. Shea's *List. Catholic Missions among Indian Tribes*, *V. S.* p. 309. n.



APPENDIX.

HONNONOUARORIA:¹ THE DREAM FEAST OF THE IROQUOIS.

One of the most noted of the Iroquois festivals was the Dream Feast, which, while it lasted, was one scene of frenzy. The dream whose behest must be obeyed to the letter, was to the Indian a universal oracle; and on this occasion license was given to every one who may have dreamed of any thing involving his welfare to demand of others that they should tell him his dream and satisfy his desire as thus indicated.

The following description of this feast, called HONNONOUARORIA, is by Father Claude Dablon, who with Father Joseph Chaumonot, witnessed its observance in 1656, the year of their embassy to Onondaga to open the way for the Missions in the several Iroquois Cantons:

"It began with the 22nd of February and lasted three days. Immediately on the proclamation of the Feast by the old men of the village, to whom this duty is entrusted, the whole population, men, women and children, rush from their cabins through the streets in the wildest confusion, but by no means after the fashion of an European masquerade. The larger part are nearly naked and seem insensible to cold, which is almost intolerable to the warmly clad. Certain ones carry with them a plentiful supply of water, and it may be something more hurtful, to throw upon those who come in their way. Others seize fire brands, live coals with ashes, which they fling about without regard to consequences. Others still, occupy themselves in smashing pots, plates and the small household utensils they happen to encounter. A number are armed with swords, spears, knives, hatchets, clubs, which they make as if they would hurl at the first comer; and this is kept up until some one is able to interpret and execute the dream.

"It sometimes occurs, however, that the skill of each and all fails him in divining their meaning, since instead of proposing the matter plainly, they rather conceal it in enigma, chanting a jumble of ambiguous words or gesticulate in silence as in pantomime. Consequently they do not always find an Oedipus to solve the riddle. At the same time they obstinately persist in their demand that the dream shall be made known, and if the diviner is too slow, or shows an unwillingness to risk an interpretation, or makes the least mistake, they threaten to burn and destroy. Nor are these empty threats, as we found out to our cost. One of these mad fellows slipping into our cabin demanded in a boisterous manner that we should tell him his dream and that at all hazards he must be satisfied. Now though we declared in the outset that we were not there to obey these dreams, he kept up his noise and gabble long after we had left the spot and retired to a cabin in the open field to avoid the tumult. At length one

¹ *Omonhouara. la cervelle, (brains).—Bruyas, Mohawk Raticals.* Some render the word "La cervelle renversée,"—"the disordered brain."

of those with whom we lodged, wearied with his outcry, went to ascertain what would satisfy him. The furious creature replied: "I kill a Frenchman; that is my dream, and it must be done at any sacrifice." Our host then threw him a French dress as though the clothes of the dead man, at the same time assuming a like fury, saying that he would avenge the Frenchman's death, and that his loss would be that of the whole village, which he would lay in ashes, beginning with his own cabin. Upon that, he drove out parents, friends, servants, the whole crowd gathered to witness the issue of this hubbub. Having his house to himself he bolted the door and set fire to the interior in every part. At the instant that the spectators were looking to see the cabin in flames, Father Chaumont, on an errand of charity, arrived, and seeing the smoke issuing from the bark house, exclaimed, "this must not be,"—burst open the door, threw himself in the midst of the smoke and flame, subdued the fire, and gently drew our host from his peril, contrary to the expectations of the whole populace who had supposed that the demon of dreams was irresistible. The man however continued to manifest his fury. He coursed the streets and cabins, shouting at the top of his voice that everything should be set on fire to avenge the death of the Frenchman. They then offered him a dog as a victim to his anger and to the god of his passion. "It is not enough," he said "to efface the disgrace and infamy of the attempt to slay a Frenchman lodged in my house." They then made a second offering similar to the first, when he at once became calm and retired by himself as if nothing had occurred.

"It is to be remarked in passing, that as in their wars they make more of the spoil taken from the prisoner than they do of his life, so when one dreams that he must kill any one, he is often content with the clothes of the one to be slain, in place of his person. Thus it was that the Frenchman's dress was given to the dreamer, with which he was entirely appeased. But to pass to other instances.

"The brother of our host had a part also in the performances quite as prominent as any of the others. He arrayed himself to personate a Satyr, covering himself from head to foot with the husks of Indian corn. He dressed up two women as veritable Furies, with their hair parted, their faces blackened with charcoal, each covered with the skin of a wolf and armed with a light and a heavy stick. The Satyr, and his companions thus equipped, came about our cabin singing and howling with all their might. He mounted the roof followed by the shrews, and there played a thousand pranks, shouting and screaming as if everything was going to destruction. This being over, he came down and marched soberly through the village, preceded by these women who cleared the way with their sticks, breaking indiscriminately whatever lay in their path. If it is true, that there is no man who has not at least a grain of madness, and the number of fools is infinite, it must be confessed that these people have each more than half an ounce. But this is not all.

"Hardly had our Satyr and his companions disappeared, when a woman threw herself into our cabin, armed with an arquebuse, which she had obtained through her dream. She sang, shouted, screamed, declaring that she was about to go to the war against the Cat Nation; that she would fight and bring back prisoners, calling down a thousand imprecations and maledictions if the thing did not come out as she had dreamed.

"A warrior followed this Amazon armed with a long bow, arrows and spear in hand. He danced, he sang, he threatened, then all at once rushed at a woman who was just coming into the cabin to see the comedy, and contented himself with seizing her by the hair and placing the spear at her throat, careful lest he should inflict any wound, and then retired to give place to a prophet who had dreamed that it was in his power to discover secrets. He was most ridiculously accoutred, holding in his hand a sort of rod, which served him to point out the spot where the thing was concealed. It was needful, nevertheless, that he should have an assistant who carried a vase filled with I know not what kind of liquor, of which he would take a mouthful, and sputter or blow it out on the head, the face, the hands, and on the rod of the diviner, who after this, never failed to discover the matter in question.

"Next came a woman with a mat which she held in her hand, and moved about as if she were catching fish. This was to indicate that they had to give her some fish because of her dream. Another woman simply hoed up the ground with a mattock, which meant that some one would give her a field or piece of land that she thought was justly her right. She was satisfied however with the possession of five holes in which to plant Indian corn.

"One of the principal men of the village presented himself in a miserable plight. He was all covered with ashes; and because no one had told his dream which demanded two human hearts, he succeeded in prolonging the festival for a day and a night, and during that time did not cease the repetition of his madness. He came to our cabin where there were a number of fires, and seating himself before the first, threw into the air the coals and ashes. He repeated this at the second and third fire-place; but when he came to our fire, he refrained from the performance out of respect to us.

"Some came fully armed, and as if actually engaged in combat, they went through the positions, the war cry, the skirmish, as when two armies meet each other. Others marched in bands, danced and put on all the contortions of body, like those with evil possessions. But we should never get through with the narrative if we were disposed to rehearse all that was done through the three days and nights in which this folly lasted, with one continual uproar, in which one could not so much as think of a moment's repose.

"Nevertheless, it did not hinder the prayers from being made as usual in our chapel, nor the manifestation of God's love toward this poor people in certain miraculous cases of healing accorded by virtue of holy baptism, of which we cannot now speak; and thus we close the account of the homage they render to their dreams." *Relation* 1656, chap., IX, 26-29.

WAR FEAST OF THE IROQUOIS.

In chapter X of his *Relation* (1656) Dablon describes this feast, the immediate occasion of which was the contemplated war with the Eries alluded to in the account of the establishment of the missions among the Iroquois as given in the preliminary chapter of this work.

“ We saw in the latter part of January (1656) the ceremony which takes place every winter, in their preparations for war, and which serves to stimulate their courage for the approaching conflict. First of all the war kettle, as they call it, is hung over the fire as early as the preceding autumn, in order that each of the allies going to the war may have the opportunity to throw in some precious morsel, to be kept cooking through the winter, by which act they are solemnly pledged to take part in the proposed enterprise. The kettle having been kept steadily boiling up to the month of February, a large number of warriors, Senecas as well as Cayugas, gathered to celebrate the war feast which continue for several nights in succession. They sang their war songs, danced and went through all possible contortions of body and expressions of countenance, protesting the while, that never should they retire from the combat, but fight to the death, whatever tortures they might suffer, before they would yield an inch of ground. At the same time that they make this boast of their courage, they hurl at one another fire brands and hot ashes, strike each other heavy blows, and burn one another to show they do not fear the very worst the enemy can do. Indeed, one must remain firm and suffer himself to be bruised or burned by his nearest friends without flinching; otherwise he is regarded as a miserable coward.

This being done, Father Chaumonot was invited to put something into the war-kettle as a mark of favor toward the enterprise. He replied that this accorded with his own desire, and accommodating himself to their customs, he assured them the French would put powder under the kettle. This pleased them greatly.

The next thing they do, by way of supporting their courage, respects the medicines relied upon to heal the wounds they may receive in battle; and to ensure their virtue for this purpose all the sorcerers or *jongleurs* of the town who are the medicine men of the country, come together, that by their incantations they may impart to these medicines an efficacy and healing power which is not natural to them. The chief of these sorcerers places himself in the midst of his fellows, surrounded by a vast crowd of people; then elevating his voice he declares that he is about to infuse into herbs or roots, which he has in a bag, the power to heal wounds of every description. Whereupon he sings with a full, clear voice, while the others respond by repeating the words of the song, until the healing virtue has entered into the roots; and to prove that this has been really accomplished, he does two

things: First he scarifies his own lips, from which the blood is allowed to flow until it drops upon his chin, when he applies, in the sight of all the crowd, the remedy to the wound, at the same time adroitly sucking the blood from his lips, upon which the people seeing that the blood has ceased to flow, raise a great shout as if the medicine had suddenly healed the wound. The second thing he does is to demonstrate that his roots have not only the power to heal, but also to restore life. To prove this he draws from the bag a small dead squirrel that he retains the control of by a secret attachment at the end of the animal's tail, and placing it upon his arm so that every one can see that it is really dead, he applies the medicinal root, and at the same moment skillfully drawing upon the string makes the animal re-enter the bag, to all appearance as if it had been restored to life. He produces the little creature again, and causes him to move about at will, much as the French jugglers manage their puppets. There is scarcely one of the vast crowd that does not elevate his shoulders in admiration of the wonderful virtues of the medicines which have wrought such miracles.

Immediately after this marvelous prodigy the chief sorcerer goes through the streets of the village, followed by the crowd of people, shouting at the top of his voice and parading his roots as empowered with this strange efficacy—the whole effect of which is to take from the younger warriors all dread of being wounded in battle, since they may have at hand a remedy so sovereign. It is not in America alone but in Europe also, that people seem to take pleasure in being deceived. If these incantations make no impression upon the spirits, they certainly have succeeded in inspiring an admirable courage for the war already determined against the nation of the Eries."



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