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EARLY CHAPTERS

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OF

SENECA HISTORY:

JESUIT MISSIONS IN SONNONTOUAN,

1656-1684.

BY CHARLES HAWLEY, D. D.,

Author of "Early Chapters of Cayuga History," &c., &c., and President of the
Cayuga County Historical Society.

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ST. LOUIS
MISSOURI
JANUARY 1850



ONTARIO

Seneca IROQUOIS CASTLES — AND — MISSION SITES

From 1650 to 1750

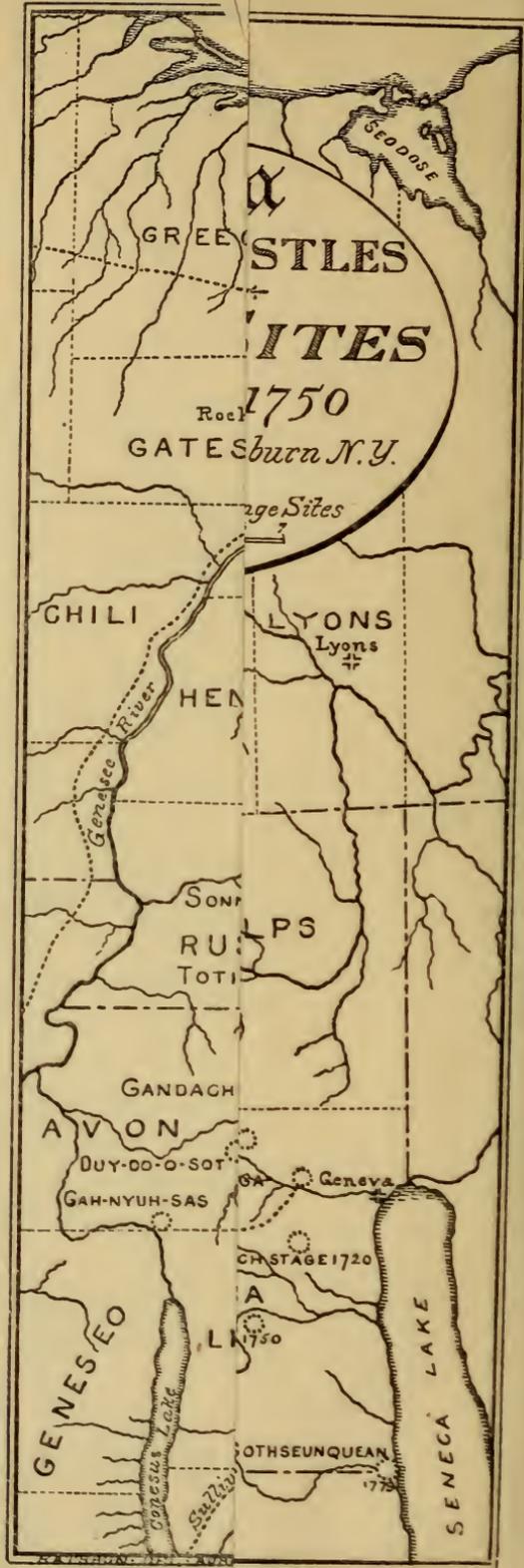
By John S. Clark Auburn N.Y.

1885

Indian Castles and Village Sites

Scale of Miles





P R E F A C E.

The plan of the present work is similar to that of the *Early Chapters of Cayuga History*, issued in 1879, as the first of a series intended to include a complete account of the missionary labors of the French Jesuit Fathers, in the several Iroquois cantons, in the last half of the seventeenth century. It has the same distinctive feature, in the use made of the Relations for the purposes of local history, which belongs to the previous publication. These records of two centuries ago, are allowed to tell their own story of devotion and heroism, while they also serve a most trustworthy guide to the researches of the antiquarian, topographer, and local historian, as will be seen in the notes to the translations in the text, and the accompanying map.

The writer would acknowledge his indebtedness, as in the preparation of the Cayuga Chapters, to Dr. John Gilmary Shea, author of *Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the U. S.*, (and kindred volumes illustrating the early history of the country,) for his counsel and aid, which has been of service in various particulars. The introductory chapter, which narrates the first missionary visit to the Indians within the present limits of the state of New York, and chapter VIII which concludes the history of the Seneca Mission, were furnished by him, while the translations that

compose the body of the work, were submitted to his careful revision. It also gives me pleasure to direct attention to the notes contributed by Gen. John S. Clark, of Auburn, over his own initials, as of special value. They are the result of much study and research, and so far as they relate to Indian village sites, of repeated personal inspection of the several localities, until entire satisfaction has been reached. It is hardly possible to appreciate the patient labor inspired by the true historic spirit, required to attain accuracy in this department of study.

C. H.

AUBURN, N. Y., July, 1884.

Jesuit Missions Among the Senecas.

I.

The earliest attempt at mission work in Western New York was that of the Franciscan Father Joseph de la Roche Daillon, a zealous man who though of high rank, belonging to the family of the Dukes du Lud, devoted himself to the American missions with all their hardships and privations.

Sagard preserves the following letter of this clergyman addressed to a friend at Angers in France, giving an account of his visit to the Neuter nation in 1626-7. It properly forms a preliminary chapter of the present series, since after the overthrow of the Neuters by the Iroquois in 1650, their territory was incorporated in the Seneca canton and one of the principle villages, Gandougare, was at the time of the missionary labors of the Jesuit Fathers among the Senecas, composed largely of captives from the conquered nation. In the wars between the Iroquois and the Hurons, which resulted in the destruction of the latter, in 1649, the Neuters took part with neither; and it was their neutral position that gave them their name.

NARRATIVE OF FATHER DE LA ROCHE DAILLON.¹

“SIR:—My humble salutation in the mercy of Jesus. It is still permitted though separated by distance to visit one’s

¹ Translated by Dr. John Gilmary Shea as the introductory chapter of the present work. The notes, together with the sketch of Brulé which follows the narrative, are also from his pen, except as otherwise indicated.

friends by missives, which render absent persons present. Our Indians are astonished at this, seeing that we often write to our Fathers who are at a distance from us, and that by our letters they learn our thoughts and even what these very Indians had done at the place of our residence

After having made some stay in our convent in Canada, and communicated with our Fathers, and the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, I was induced by religious impulse to visit the sedentary nations whom we call Huron, and with me the Reverend Fathers Brebeuf and De Noue, Jesuits. Having arrived there, with all the hardships each one can conceive, by reason of the wretched roads, I received a letter (some time after) from our Reverend Father Joseph le Caron, by which he encouraged me to push on further to a nation which we call Neutral, of which the interpreter Brulé told wonders. Encouraged by so good a Father and the great account made to me of this people, I journeyed thither and set out from the Hurons with this design, October 18, 1626, with one named Grenolle, and La Vallée, Frenchmen by nation.¹

Passing by the nation of the Petun,² I made the acquaintance and friendship of a chief who is in great repute there, who promised me to guide us to that Neuter nation, and furnish Indians to carry our packages, and the small stock of provisions that we had laid up, for it is self-deceit to think of living in these countries as mendicants, these people never

¹ "We have no knowledge of any one who proceeded thither with the design of preaching the gospel, except the Rev. Father Joseph de la Roche Daillon, Recollect, who in 1626 made a journey to that country and spent the winter there." Relation 1641, p. 74. It is evident that the Xenters lay on both sides the Niagara, as late as 1640, although at that time the Weuro, and perhaps other bands had been forced away by the Senecas, and only the smaller portion of the villages were on the Iroquois side of the Niagara. From the proximity of Ounontisaston where Father de la Roche wintered to the Wenros, who were on the Iroquois frontier, the presumption is very strong that that Neutral town was east of the Niagara, and in what is now New York.

² These are the Tionontates or Dinondadies, who were overthrown with the Hurons. Their descendants form principally the western band now known as Wyandots.

thinking to give unless you put them under obligation, and it is often necessary to make long stages and even pass many nights without finding any other shelter than that of the stars. He fulfilled to our satisfaction what he had promised us, and we slept only five nights in the woods, and on the sixth day we arrived at the first village, where we were very well received, thanks to our Lord, and then to four other villages which competing with each other brought us food, some venison, others squashes, neintahouy¹ and the best they had, and they were astonished to see me dressed in the style and that I desired nothing belonging to them, only that I invited them by signs to raise their eyes to Heaven, and make the sign of the Holy Cross, and what filled them with wonder was to see me retire at certain hours of the day to pray to God, and devote myself to interior exercises, for they had never seen religious, except towards the Petuneux and the Hurons, their neighbors.

At last we reached the sixth village,² where I had been advised to remain; I had a council held here, where you will remark, by the way, that they call all their assemblies councils, which they hold seated on the ground, as often as it pleases their chiefs, not in a hall, but in a cabin, or in the open field, with very strict silence as long as the chief speaks, and they are inviolable observers of what they have once concluded and determined.

There I told them through the interpreter that I had come in the name of the French, to form alliance and friendship with them, and to invite them to come to the trade, that I

¹ Sagard in his Huron dictionary explains this to be parched corn.

² He calls this subsequently Onnontisaston. In 1640 Father Brebeuf calls the village furthest from the Hurons, and only one day's journey from the Senecas, "the last town of the Neuter nation on the east side, called Onguiaahra, the same name as the river," Relation 1641, p. 75. The town nearest the Hurons was Kandoucho. *Ib.* Teotogiaton was midway. *Ib.* p. 78. Brebeuf and Chaumonot visited 13 of the Neuter towns and apparently crossed the Niagara. p. 78, as Father de la Roche Dailon did. Unfortunately Champlain mentions no Neuter village in his text or map.

also begged them to permit me to remain in their country, in order to be able to instruct them in the law of our God, which is the only means of going to Heaven. They accepted all my offers, and assured me they were very pleasing to them, consoled by which, I made them a present of the little I had, as little knives and other trifles, which they esteem at a high price, for in these countries you never treat of anything with the Indians without making them presents of something or other, and in return they begot me (as they say) that is, they declared me a citizen and a child of the country, and gave me in charge (a mark of great affection) to Souharissen, who was my father and my host, for according to age, they are accustomed to call us cousin, brother, son, uncle or nephew, &c. This one is the chief of the greatest credit and authority, who has ever been in all the nations, for he is chief not of his village only, but of all those of his nation, to the number of twenty-eight, including towns, cities, and villages, built like those of the Huron country, as well as of several little hamlets of seven or eight cabins, built in various places, convenient for fishing, hunting or cultivating the ground.

This is without example among the other nations to have so absolute a Chief. He acquired this honor and power by his courage, and for having several times gone to war against the seventeen nations who are their enemies and brought back heads, or brought in prisoners from all.

Those who are valiant in this style are highly esteemed among them. And though they have only the war club and the bow, yet they are very war-like, and dexterous in these arms. After all this friendly welcome, our Frenchmen having returned, I remained, the happiest man in the world, hoping to advance something there for God's glory or at least to discover the means, which would be no small thing, and to endeavor to learn the mouth of the river of the Iroquois in order to conduct them to the trade.

I have also done my best to learn their customs and mode of life, and during my stay I visited them in their cabins, to know and instruct them, and I found them sufficiently tractable, and I often made the little children, who are very bright, stark naked and disheveled, make the sign of the Holy Cross, and I remarked that in all these countries I never saw any humpbacked, one-eyed, or misshapen.

I have always seen them firm in their wish to go with at least four canoes to the trade, if I would guide them ; the whole difficulty was that we did not know the way. Yroquet, an Indian known in these countries, who had come there with twenty of his people to hunt beaver, and who took at least five hundred, was never willing to give us any mark to know the mouth of the river. He and several Hurons assured us firmly that it was only ten days' sail to the place of trade, but we were afraid of taking one river for another, and losing our way or dying of starvation in the land.

For three months I had every reason in the world to be satisfied with my people. But the Hurons having discovered that I talked of taking them to the trade, spread through all the village where they passed, very evil rumors about me, that I was a great magician ; that I had diseased the air in their country and poisoned several ; that if they did not soon make way with me that I would set fire to their villages, and make all their children die ; in fine, that I was, as they represented, an *Atatanite*—this is their word to signify one who makes sorceries, which they hold in the greatest horror ; and, by the way, know that there are many sorcerers who undertake to cure the sick by mummeries and other fancies.¹

In fine, these Hurons have always told them so much evil of the French that they could imagine, in order to divert them from trading with us, that the French were inapproach-

¹ When the Jesuits Brebeuf and Chaumonot attempted a mission among the Neuters in 1640, the same accusations were made against them by Hurons. Relation 1641, p. 75.

able, harsh, sad and melancholy men, who live on nothing but snakes and poison; that we eat the thunder¹ (which they imagine to be an unparalleled monster, relating strange stories about it); that we all had tails like animals, and that our women had only one breast, which was in the middle of the bosom; that they bore five or six children at a birth, and they added a thousand other absurdities to make us hated by them.

And in fact these good people who are very easily persuaded, conceived such a mistrust of me, as soon as any one fell sick, they came to ask me whether it was not true that I had poisoned him, that they would surely kill me if I did not cure him. I had much difficulty in excusing and defending myself. At last ten men of the last village called Ouaronon,² one day's march from the Hiroquois, their kindred and friends, coming to trade in our village, came to see me and invited me to visit them in return at their village. I promised to do so without fail, when the snow had melted, and to give them all some trifles, with which they showed themselves satisfied. Thereupon they left the cabin where I lodged, all the time hiding their evil designs against me, and seeing that it was growing late, they came back to see me, and brusquely began to quarrel with me, without provocation. One knocked me down with a blow of his fist, and the other took an axe, and as he was about to lay my head open, God diverted his hand and turned the blow on a post that was there near me. I received several other ill treatments, but that is what we come to seek in these countries. Quieting a little,

¹ This had reference to the use of gunpowder.

² "The Wenrohonon formed hitherto one of the nations associated to the Nenter nation and were situated on their borders, on the side of the Hiroquois, the common enemy of all these nations." Relation 1639, p. 59. After stating their abandonment by the Nenters and their emigration to the Huron country it speaks of their march of more than 80 leagues, on which there were more than 600 persons, the women and little children constituting the greater part. —Ib. p. 61.

they vented their anger on the little property we had left. They took our writing desk, blanket, breviary and our bag in which there were some pocket-knives, needles, awls, and other little things of like quality, and having thus stripped me, they went off all that night overjoyed at their exploit, and on arriving at their village, on making an examination of their booty, touched perhaps by a repentance come from the Most High, they sent me back our breviary, compass, writing desk, blanket and sack, but it was quite empty.

On their arrival in my village, called Ounontisaston, there were only women there, the men having gone to hunt stags. On their return they manifested to me that they were sorry for the disaster that had befallen me, then no more was said about it.

The rumor spread forthwith to the Hurons, that I had been killed, whereupon the good Fathers Brebeuf and de Noue, who had remained there, sent Grenolle promptly to me to learn the truth, with orders that if I were alive to bring me back, to which I was invited also by the letter which they had written me with the pen of their good will, and I did not wish to gainsay them, since such was their advice and that of all the French, who feared more disasters than profit by my death, and thus returned I to the country of our Hurons, where I am at present all admiring the divine effects of Heaven.

The country of this Neuter nation is incomparably greater, finer and better than any other of all these countries.¹ There

¹ "There is also two days' journey from these (the Petuns) another nation of Indians who raise a great quantity of tobacco, on the side towards the south, who are called the Neuter nations who number 4,000 warriors, who dwell west of the lake of the Entouhonorons, 80 to 100 leagues in extent." Laverdiere's Champlain, 1619, p. 60. "These Neuters enjoy, according to the report of some, eighty leagues of country, where they raise very good tobacco, which they trade with their neighbors. They assist the Chevenx Revez (Ottawas) against the Nation of Fire, of whom they are mortal enemies; but between the Hiroquois and our Hurons * * * they had peace and remained neutral between the two nations." Sagard, p. 893 "From the first town of the Neuter nation

is an incredible number of stags there, which they do not take one by one, as is done on this side, but making three hedges in a spacious place, they run them all ahead, until they collect them in this place, where they take them; and they have this maxim for all kinds of animals, whether they need them or not, to kill all they find, for fear, as they say, that if they do not take them the beasts would go and inform the others how they had been pursued, and that afterwards, in their necessity, they would no longer find any. A great abundance of moose or elk, beaver, raccoons, and black squirrels, larger than those of France, are found there, a great quantity of wild geese, turkeys, cranes, and other animals, which remain there all winter, which is not long nor rigorous as in Canada, and no snow had fallen there on the 22d of November, which was not at most more than two feet deep, and began to melt on the 26th of January. On the 8th of March¹ there was no longer any at all in the open places, though there was a little, indeed, in the woods. Residence there is pleasant and convenient enough, the rivers furnish quantities of very good fish, the soil gives good corn more than for their want. There are squashes, beans and other vegetables in plenty, and very good oil which they call a Touronton,² so that I do not doubt but that we should settle

found on proceeding from here (the Hurons) keeping on south or southwest it is about four days' journey to the mouth of the so famous river of that nation in Ontario or Lake St. Louis. This side of that river and not beyond it, as a certain map states, are the most of the towns of the Nenter nation. There are three or four beyond ranged from east to west towards the Nation of the Cat or Eriechronons. This river is that by which our great lake of the Hurons or Mer Douce, which flows first into that of Erie or the Nation of the Cat, and there it enters into the lands of the Nenter nation and takes the name of Ongniaahra, till it empties into Ontario."—Relation 1641, p. 71. The map referred to is evidently Champ'ain's, of 1632, where he makes the Niagara run from west to east and places the Nenters entirely west of Lake Ontario and south of the Niagara. The oil springs in their country were evidently east not west of that river.

¹ This fixes apparently the period of his stay in the country of the Nenters from November 22, 1626, to about March 8, 1627.

² "The copyist of the Father's letter mistook in my opinion, the Huron word Otoronton, which he makes to mean *oil*; for it is, properly speaking, *muck*, or *Oh! how much there is!*"—Sagard, p. 893.

there rather than elsewhere, and, doubtless on a longer stay there would be hope of advancing God's glory, which is more to be sought than aught else, and their conversion is more to be hoped for the faith than that of the Hurons, and I am astonished how the Company of Merchants, since the time they have come to these countries, have not made some Frenchmen winter in said country: I say assuredly that it would be very easy to lead them to the trade, which would be a great advantage to go and come by so short and easy a route,¹ as I have already told you, for to go trading to the Hurons amid all the difficult rapids, and always in danger of drowning, is scarcely attractive, and then to march for six days from the Hurons to this country, crossing the land by fearful and awful routes as I have seen—these are insupportable hardships and he alone knows it, who has found himself amid them.

I say then that the gentlemen associates should, in my opinion, send some Frenchmen to winter in the country of the Neuters, who are less remote than that of the Hurons, for they can proceed by the lake of the Hiroquois to the place where the trade is held² in ten days at most; this lake is their's also, the one on the one shore, and the others on

¹ "I conjecture also easily the proximity of the Neuters to Quebec, in that the Hiroquois are nearer to the French than the Hurons are, and the Neuters are only a day's journey from the Hiroquois, who all lie southward."—Sagard.

² The place of trade, already several times mentioned, was on Lake St. Peter, about fifty miles below Montreal. Sagard in 1636 says: * * * * "After having been refreshed for several days with our brethren, and enjoyed their sweet conversation, in our little Convent, we ascended in our barques by the River St. Lawrence for the trade of the Cape of Victory, which is from Quebec about fifty leagues. * * * * We reached Lake St. Peter, which is six or seven leagues long, and three or four wide in places, and four fathoms deep where the water is still. * * * * A little above the outlet of the lake we enter the harbor of Cape Victory and cast anchor about six or seven o'clock in the evening of the day of St. Magdalen, where already were encamped along the bank, a great number of savages of various nations for the trade of beavers with the French. * * * * From the harbor one sees in front six or seven islands covered with beautiful trees of uniform height, which conceal from view the lake and the river of the Iroquois, which discharges itself into the great river opposite the harbor." (Sagard's History of Canada, I, 172)—J. S. C.

the other, but I see one obstacle, which is they hardly know how to manage canoes, especially at rapids, although there are only two, but they are long and dangerous. Their real trade is hunting and war, outside of that they are great sluggards, whom you see like beggars in France, when they are full, lying on their belly in the sun. Their life, like that of the Hurons, very dissolute, and their manners and customs entirely the same. The language is different, however, but they understand each other as the Algonnequins and Montagnais do.¹ As for clothes, do not look for any among them, for they do not wear even breech cloths, which is very strange, and is scarcely found in the most savage tribes. And to tell you the truth, it would not be expedient to let all kinds of people come here, for the wicked life of some Frenchmen is a pernicious example to them, and in all these countries, the people though barbarous, reproach us, saying that we teach them things contrary to what our Frenchmen practice. Think, sir, what weight our words can have after that; yet better is to be hoped for, since what consoled me on my return was to see that our countrymen had made their peace with our Lord, had confessed and received communion at Easter, and had sent away their women, and have since been more guarded.

I must tell you that they treated our Fathers so harshly, that even two men of whom the Jesuit Fathers had deprived themselves for their accommodation, have been driven out by force, and they were unwilling to give them any provisions to nourish and support some Indian boys who desired to live with us, although they promised to have them remunerated by some of our benefactors. It is cruel to be treated in this

¹ "Our Hurons call the Neuter nation Attiwandarok, as much as to say, " People of a language a little different," for as to nations which speak a language that they do not understand at all, they call them Akwanake, of whatever nation they may be, as if to say "Strangers." The people of Neuter Nation in turn for the same reason call our Hurons "Attiwandarok." Relation 1641, p. 72.

sort, by our very countrymen, but since we are Friars Minor, our condition is to suffer and to pray to God to give us patience.

It is said that two new Fathers came to us from France, named Father Daniel Boursier and Father Francis de Binville, who had been promised us already last year; if this be so, I beg you as a crowning of all your trouble, that you take for me, to let me have without fail a habit that they can send me, it is all that I ask, for no cloth is made here, and ours being all worn out, I cannot do without one. The poor religious of St. Francis having food and clothing, this is their whole lot on earth; Heaven we hope under favor of our good God in whose service we must voluntarily devote our life for the salvation of these benighted people, in order that it please him, if he accept our care, to make Christianity flourish in these countries. God permits martyrdom to those who merit it, I am sorry not to be in that state, and yet I am not unaware that to be recognized a true servant of God, one must expose himself for his brethren. Come then bravely pain and toil, all difficulties and death itself will be agreable to me, God's grace being with me, which I implore by means of the prayers of all our good friends over there, whose, sir, and your most humble servant,

I am in our Lord.

Dated at Toanchain, a Huron village, this 18th day of July, 1627.

Stephen Brulé, whose eulogy of the country of the Neuters led Father de la Roche Daillon, to visit them, had, we must infer, already been in that part of the country, and been struck by its advantages. He came over at a very early age and was employed by Champlain from about 1610 and perhaps earlier. He was one of the first explorers, proceeding to the Huron country and acquiring their language so as to serve as interpreter. (Laverdiere's Champlain, vi pp. 244-266). As early as

September 8, 1615, when Champlain was preparing to join the Hurons in their expedition against the Entouhonorons, in Central New York, Stephen Brulé set out with a party of twelve Hurons from Upper Canada for the towns of the Carantouannais, allies of the Hurons, living on the Susquehanna, and evidently forming part of the confederacy known later as the Andastes. (Ib. (1615.) p. 35) to secure their co-operation against the enemy.

He crossed from Lake Ontario apparently to the Susquehanna, defeated a small Iroquois party and entered the Carantouannais town in triumph.¹ The force marched too slowly to join Champlain, and Brulé returned to their country where he wintered. He descended their river (the Susquehanna,) visiting the neighboring tribes, meeting several who complained of the harshness of the Dutch. At last he started to rejoin his countrymen, but his party was attacked and scattered by the Iroquois, and Brulé losing his way entered an Iroquois village. He tried to convince them that he was not of the same nation of whites who had just been attacking them, but they fell upon him, tore out his nails and beard and began to burn him in different parts of the body. He was far from being an exemplary character, but wore an *Agnus Dei*, and when the Indians went to tear this from his neck he threatened them with the vengeance of Heaven. Just then a terrible thunder storm came up, his tormentors fled and the chief released him. After he had spent some time with them they escorted him four days' journey and he made his way to the Atinouaentans, the Huron tribe occupying the peninsula between Nattawassaga and Matchedash bays on Lake Huron (Laverdiere's Champlain 1619, pp. 134-140, 1615, p. 26; Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, p. 466.)

¹ Carantonan was in the environs of present Waverly, in Tioga County, N. Y., on the line between Pennsylvania and New York, on the east side of Chemung River. It was enclosed by a palisaded work, the remains of which are still plain to be seen, containing about ten acres. Brulé reported that in 1615 it contained 800 warriors.—J. S. C.

He found Champlain in 1618, and made his report to him. It was apparently on this return march that he passed through the territory of the Neuters, as it would be his safest course. We find him in Quebec in 1623, when he was sent to meet and bring down the Hurons coming to trade. He returned with them, leading a very dissolute life among the Indians (as Sagard complained).—Laverdiere's Champlain, 1624, p. 81. When Kirk took Quebec he went over to the English, and was sent up to the Hurons in their interest in 1629, notwithstanding the bitter reproaches of Champlain. (Ib. 1632; p. 267.) Sagard, writing in 1636, states that provoked at his conduct the Hurons put him to death and devoured him.—Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, p. 466, *Lejeune Relation 1633*, p. 34. The latter fact is not mentioned by the Jesuits. From the remark of Father Brebeuf (*Relation 1635*, p. 28,) it would seem that he met his death at the very town, Toanchain, whence Father de la Roche wrote. It was about a mile from Thunder Bay.—Laverdiere's Champlain 1619, p. 27.

Such was the fate of the man who was the first to cross from Lake Ontario to the Susquehanna, and pass from the village of the Iroquois through the Neutral territory to the shores of Lake Huron.

II.

The founder of the first mission among the Senecas in 1656 was Father Joseph Chaumonot, an old Huron missionary, not less distinguished for his eloquence than for his pious devotion. He came to Onondaga, the capital of the Iroquois Confederacy, the year previous, together with Father Claude Dablon, and remained there during the winter of 1655-6, preparing the way for the establishment of missions in the several Iroquois cantons.¹

The following narrative of his work in founding the Seneca missions, is translated from Chapter XVII. of *Relation* for 1657,² viz:

CONCERNING THE PUBLICATION OF THE FAITH AMONG THE SONNONTOUANS.

The country of the Sonnontouans (Senecas), which is much the most fertile and populous of the cantons of the Iroquois, contains two very large towns and a number of lesser villages, besides a town of the Hurons named St. Michael, who took refuge there in order to escape the common calamity of their nation.³ These Hurons, who have preserved their

¹ For the preliminary history common to the Iroquois missions, see *Early Chapters of Cayuga History*, pp. 9-20.

² *Relations des Jésuites contenant ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans les missions des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus dans la Nouvelle France*. Quebec, 1858. The subsequent references to the *Relations* are to this edition unless otherwise indicated.

³ The Hurons, as a nation, were destroyed by the Iroquois in 1649. This village was composed of the survivors of the missions of St. Michael and St. John in the Huron country. In 1656 the Senecas had two very large villages—Sonnontouan and Gandagan: another important one made up of captive Onontioagas, Neuters and Hurons called in 1669 Gandougarae and several smaller villages in all not less than six.

customs and particular habits, live separate from the Iroquois, and content themselves with being one with them in good feeling and friendship. Not having a sufficient number of laborers to cultivate the whole of this extensive field, we confine ourselves to preaching the good tidings to them, having exchanged with them presents of ceremony and alliance. For as soon as Father Chaumonot, on our arrival in the (Iroquois) country, had adopted the Cayugas as children of Onontio¹ he went to Seneca to adopt that people as brothers indeed, after the manner of the Faith to which we would dispose them.

Having assembled the sachems of Gandagan,² the principal town of the Senecas, and made the customary presents of alliance, he commenced in an earnest and elevated tone of voice to explain the principal truths of the gospel, which he sealed with three very beautiful presents that he had reserved for the purpose; and to press the matter still farther, "Myself" he said, "I give with these as guarantee of the truths which I preach; and if my life, which I consecrate to you, should seem to you of little account, I offer to you the lives of all the French who have followed me to Gannentaa³ as a testimony of the Faith which I proclaim to you. Do you not put confidence in these living presents—these noble braves? Can you be so simple as to think that such a courageous band would leave their native country, the most agreeable and beautiful in the world, suffer so great hardships and come so far, to bring you a lie?"

¹ For an account of this interesting ceremony together with the speech of Saonchiogwa, the distinguished Cayuga orator, on the occasion, see *Early Chapters of Cayuga History*, pp. 15, 16. Onontio was the name by which the French Governor was known to the Iroquois.

² See note on Seneca towns, p. 25.

³ The site of the Onondaga Mission of St. Mary. It was also the seat of a French colony of some forty persons who had accompanied the missionaries from Quebec, under command of M. Du Puits, and was situated on the north side of the Onondaga lake, about midway between its two extremities.

The result proved that these barbarians were moved by the discourse of the Father. For after due deliberation over the matter, they answered that they believed what we had the goodness to present to them, and embraced the Faith, and entreated with great earnestness that the Father would live with them, the better to instruct them in our mysteries. There was one more deeply touched than the rest, who would not consent that the Father should depart until he, himself, was instructed and baptized, and he had also obtained for his wife the same happiness. God has blessed the labors of this Father with similar success in the other towns.¹

Annonkentaoui, who is the chief of this people, resolved to surpass all others in zeal, and to be himself one of the first to become a Christian. A cancer which had eaten into his thigh, having confined him to the bed, the Father although indisposed, saw him and converted him to the Faith of which he will be a great support in his country, since God seems with this end in view, to have healed him of a disease which all thought to be incurable.

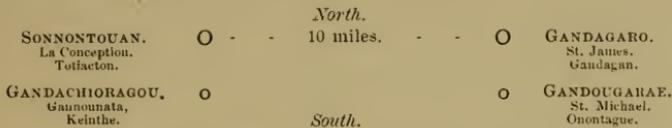
Among the many Hurons who have kept their faith during their captivity, the Father met with a woman who had preserved the zeal of a good Christian, and from whom he learned that the Hurons of the Isle of Orleans, continued in the practice of our religion with all their former devotion; and that one of them named Jacques Otsiaouens, had astonished by his fortitude the Iroquois who burned him, not omitting to repeat at length the usual prayers and invoking without ceasing the name of Jesus during the whole of his torture.²

¹ See note on Seneca towns, p. 25.

² At the dispersion of the Huron nation and with it the missions, a number sought refuge under French protection at Quebec, and after a while were removed to the Isle of Orleans in the vicinity, where a church and a fort were built; and the cultivation of the soil gave the refugees an ample support. Guided by Fathers Leonard Garreau and Chaumonot, two of their surviving pastors in their own country, they are said to have become models of piety and devotion.

The Hurons of St. Michael' did not manifest any less signs of piety, being filled with joy at seeing again one of their dear pastors, each asking forthwith absolution for himself or baptism for his children. Even the old men who despised

¹SENECA TOWNS.—When the Senecas were first known to the whites, and from that time up to the French expedition of Denonville in 1687, they had four principal towns. In 1669 according to Galinée, they were living in five villages, two of which contained a hundred cabins each, the others from twenty to thirty. At this time certainly two, and probably three of the largest were enclosed by palisades. In 1677 when visited by Greenhalgh, an Albany trader, they were occupying four villages, none of which were palisaded. Frequent changes of location with the large towns was a necessity. Abbe Belmont who accompanied Denonville in 1687 says "they change their locations every ten years in order to bring themselves near the woods." This was probably true of the larger villages, but the smaller ones might continue for twenty years or more. During the time of the Jesuit Missions among the Senecas and up to 1687 the four principal villages occupied the relative positions indicated in the following diagram.



Of GANDAGARO it is known certainly that in 1677 and 1687 it was on the great hill known as Boughton Hill, a mile south of the village of Victor in Ontario county. Greenhalgh says it contained one hundred and fifty houses, located on the top of a great hill and was not "stockadoed." In 1669 Galinée describes it as in a large plain about two leagues in circumference, on the edge of a small hill and surrounded with palisades. No indications of a palisaded work of this character have been found, on, or in the vicinity of Boughton Hill. Denonville found some kind of a work, on the hill north of Victor, and some evidences of a minor Indian village have been found there, but the preponderance of evidence, goes to show that Gandagan was south of the great hill on the farm of Mr. Chapin. In this vicinity, in different locations have been found pipes, beads, iron hatchets, brass kettles, numerous skeletons, and all the usual accompaniments of important Indian villages. This Gandagan alias Gandagaro was the "St. James" of the missionaries, the Capital and residence of the chief sachem who presided over the grand councils of the tribe.

GANDOUGARAE, the "St. Michael" of the missionaries, peopled principally by captives from the Huron and other conquered tribes, was located at different dates from one and a half to four miles south of the capital town. A site on the east side of Mud creek on the line between the towns of Canandaigua and East Bloomfield about five miles south-east of Victor, appears to have been one site of this village. Other sites were probably on, or in the vicinity of the Chapin farm, directly south of Boughton Hill.

The two eastern villages after their destruction in 1687 gradually drifted eastward, and were found a hundred years later by Sullivan near present Geneva. In 1720 they were two miles east of the foot of Canandaigua lake; in 1750 on the White Springs farm two miles south-west, and on Burrell's creek, four miles south-west of Geneva; in 1756 at the Old Castle two miles north-west of Geneva.

SONNONTOUAN alias Totiaction, Tegarnhies, the "Conception" of the missionaries was located a mile and a half N. N. W. of Honcoye Falls in the town of Mendon,

the light of the Gospel while their land flourished, sought it with great eagerness, asking immediate baptism. How true it is, that affliction giveth understanding, and adversity openeth the eyes of them whom prosperity had blinded. But pleasant as were these fruits of the Gospel, the Father was nevertheless obliged to deprive himself of them, pressing work calling him elsewhere.¹

On his way (back to Onondaga) he had an excellent opportunity to ridicule a superstition of the infidels, his guide

Monroe county. It is indicated on Galinée's map as "Father Fremin's village." It was about ten miles directly west of Gandagaro on Boughton Hill, in a bend of Honeoye creek, which at this point sweeps around abruptly to the west, forming a right angle on the east and north sides of the town. A second location and probably the one occupied in 1657 when destroyed by fire, was on the Ball farm, a mile west of Honeoye Falls village. Here, on a space of about twenty acres, a great abundance of relics have been found, of copper, glass and iron; brass crosses, medals and rings, and hundreds of iron hatchets bearing evidence of having passed through fire. This great village was the western door of the Long House and the residence of Tegarohies hence sometimes called Tegarohies town.

GANDACHORAGOU, the western small town, was probably on the site of the present village of Lima, four miles south of the great town when located near Honeoye Falls. The relics found here are abundant, and indicate an important but not a large town.

These western villages after 1657, drifted south and then west, occupying several different locations, and probably reached the Genesee river about 1740. Sullivan found them in 1779 in two villages, one east and one west of the river, and a third small one, near the head of Conesus lake.—J. S. C.

¹ Father PETER MARY JOSEPH CHAUMONOT, or as he is sometimes called CHAUMONOT, was born in 1611, near Chatillon Sur Seine, where his father was a wine dresser. While studying with his uncle, a priest, he was induced by a wicked associate to rob his guardian and go to Baume to finish his studies. Soon disabused, he feared to return, and proceeded on a pilgrimage to Rome. After a variety of adventures, which he has imitantly described, he entered the Society of Jesus, on the 18th of May, 1632, as the son of an advocate. He soon revealed his deceit, and sincerely converted, devoted himself to the study of perfection. While in his theology, Father Poncet, then also a student of Rome, gave him one of Brebeuf's Huron Relations, and he solicited the Canada Mission. His desire was granted; and, after being ordained, he was sent to America. He landed at Quebec on the 1st of August, 1633, with Father Poncet, and with him proceeded immediately to the Huron Territory. Here he remained till 1650, visiting the villages of the Hurons, Petuns and Neutral. He descended to Quebec with the party who settled on Isle Orleans, and was constantly with them till his death, on the 21st of February, 1693, except from 1655 to 1658, when he was at Onondaga, and a short stay at Montreal. *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States, 1529-1854, by John Gilmary Shea, New York, 1857, note p. 128.* The several sketches of the Jesuit Fathers, which appear in the subsequent pages, are largely derived from this work, with additional facts furnished by Dr. Shea.

having presented a bit of wood to cast upon two round stones which they encountered on the journey, surrounded with the symbols of a superstition of this people who in passing throw a small stick upon these stones in token of their homage, adding the words *Kōuê!* *askennon eskatongot*, that is to say: Hold! this is to pay my passage in order that I may proceed with safety.¹

I cannot omit the death of David Le Moyne which should seem precious in the eyes of good men, as we believe it to have been in the sight of God. He was a young man from Dieppe,² aged about thirty years, whose zeal led him to follow the Father in this mission, being disposed by a general confession. A hemorrhage which weakened his body for some time, did not interrupt for a moment his enthusiasm; and he died on the banks of *Lake Tiohero* (Cayuga) with the gentleness and resignation of the elect, blessing God for this, that he was permitted to die in the land of the Iroquois, and in the work of spreading the faith. Is not such a death an ample recompense for a life devoted to the salvation of souls, and a fitting illustration of the protection of the Blessed Vir-

¹ On his return to Onondaga, Chaumonot was immediately sent with Father Menard the founder of the Cayuga mission, to the Oneidas to open friendly relations with that most obstinate of the Iroquois tribes. While on their way, and the first night they spent in the woods, a chief in the company thus addressed the Fathers: "Ah, my brothers, you are weary. What trouble you have to walk on the snow, on ice and in the water! But courage! Let us not complain of the toil since we undertake it for so noble a cause. Ye demons who inhabit the woods, beware of injuring any of those who compose this embassy. And you trees laden with years, whom old age must soon level to the earth suspend your fall; envelop not in your ruin those who go to prevent the ruin of provinces and nations." *Relation* 1657. Chap. xviii. p. 46. This is similar, both in sentiment and imagery, to the opening sentences of the preliminary ceremony of the Iroquois "Condoling Council," which was convened to mourn a deceased councilor of the League, and install his successor. See *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, edited by Horatio Hale, M. A., Philadelphia, 1883; pp. 117-119.

² A seaport town of France, at the mouth of the river Arques, and takes its name from "diep" an inlet, a place of considerable importance as early as the 12th century. During the Franco-German war it was occupied by the Germans from December 1870 to July 1871.

gin toward whom this young man manifested a devotion that was most remarkable ?

The central mission at Onondaga was broken up the following year (1657), on the discovery of a conspiracy involving the massacre of the French colony located at Ganentaa and the death of the missionaries. The circumstances attending the timely disclosure of the treacherous plot and the manner of their escape, were fully narrated in the history of the Cayuga Mission.¹ Suffice it to say here, that a war followed between the French and the Iroquois which raged for two years, when negotiations for peace were concluded at Montreal, accompanied by the request from the Iroquois embassy that the several missions might be re-established. For this purpose, and not without misgivings on the part of the French for his personal safety, Father Simon Le Moyne, when on a visit to Onondaga in 1653, opened the way for the first missions, returned with the embassy, and arrived at the Iroquois capital the 12th of August, 1660. He made a brief visit to the Mohawks who had taken no part in the overtures for peace, and maintained an implacable hostility to the French, but without success, and barely escaped with his life from the scene of his earlier labors. He spent the autumn and winter in missionary work, largely among the Onondagas. A notice of it occurs in the *Relation* of 1662, as follows :

“ Behold here a mission of blood and fire, of labors and of tears, of captives and of barbarians. It is a country where the earth is still red with the blood of the French, where the stakes yet stand covered with their ashes : where those who have survived their cruelty, bear its fatal marks on their feet and hands, their toes cut off and their finger nails torn out, and where in fine Father Simon Le Moyne has been for a year to soothe the sighs of this afflicted church, and to take

¹ *Early Chapters of Cayuga History*, pp. 29, 30.

part like a good pastor in all the misfortunes of his dear flock.

“He was chiefly occupied during the winter with three churches, one French, one Huron and one Iroquois. He preserved the piety among the French captives, and became himself the sole depository of all their afflictions; he re-established the Huron church, formerly so flourishing in their own country; he laid the foundation of the Iroquois church, going from place to place to baptize the children and the dying, and to instruct those who, in the midst of barbarism, were not far from the kingdom of God.

“A little chapel formed of branches and bark was the sanctuary where God received every day the adoration of those who composed these three churches. Here the French assembled each morning, half an hour before daylight, to assist at the august sacrifice of the mass; and every evening to recite in common the rosary; and often too, during the day to seek consolation from God in their misfortunes, joining their mangled hands and lifting them to Heaven, they prayed for those who had thus mutilated them.”¹

Owing to the continued hostilities of the Mohawks, it was not until 1668, that the missions were renewed, when all the cantons once more welcomed the missionary Fathers.

¹ For an account of Le Moyne's visit to Cayuga, see *Early Chapters of Cayuga History*, p. 25.

III.

The mission among the Senecas was resumed in 1668, by Father James Fremin, who was in Onondaga in 1657, at the breaking up of the Iroquois missions, as referred to in the previous number. His narrative occupies Chapter IX of the *Relation* 1670, and is as follows :

THE MISSION OF ST. MICHAEL, OF TSONNONTOUAN.

Our Iroquois missions made in the year 1669 very gratifying progress. We then began to preach the Gospel at Tsonnontouän, (Seneca), where there is a greater number of people than in the other four cantons of the lower Iroquois. When I arrived here at the close of the year 1668, I was well received; but a fatal form of sickness breaking out at the time, desolated the entire region, so that I was wholly occupied in visiting the cabins to instruct and baptize the sick, who were in extremity. It pleased God to bless my humble labors, so that in a short time, I baptized more than one hundred and twenty persons, nearly all adults, of whom more than ninety died soon after baptism. But as I was alone and could not leave the field, more than one hundred and fifty died (without baptism) in districts far removed from here, while engaged in fishing or hunting. A necessity so pressing impelled me to ask for assistance and beg Father Garnier, who was at Onondaga, to come to my aid at the earliest moment. But by the time of his arrival the contagion had ceased. Thus being relieved from exclusive occupation with the sick we began to proclaim the Gospel to the people who

had never heard the name of Jesus Christ; and in order to do this with the greater success in different directions, Father Garnier took charge of the town named Gandachiragou,¹ where in a short time he built a very commodious chapel to which they flock from all sides for instruction.

As for myself, on the 27th of Sept. 1669, I entered the town called Gandougarac,² and was received with every demonstration of public joy. They had for some time awaited with impatience my coming. The town is composed of the remnants of three different nations which having been subdued by the Iroquois, were forced to submit at the discretion of their conquerors and to establish themselves in their territory. The first nation is called Onnontioga; the second the Neuter and the third the Huron.³ The first two have seldom if ever seen Europeans, neither have they heard mention of the true God. As for the third, they are a collection from many Huron villages, all of whom have been instructed in the Faith, and many of whom had already been

¹ See Seneca Towns, p. 55.

² Ibid.

³ This was after the subjugation of the Hurons, Neuters and Eries and previous to that of Gandastognes; whence the inference that the Onnontiogas were a tribe of the Eries whose towns seem never to have been visited by the French. "The territory of the Iroquois," says Mr. Hale (*Iroquois Book of Rites* pp. 32, 33.) "constantly extending, as their united strength made itself felt, became the 'Great Asylum' of the Indian tribes. Of the conquered Eries and Hurons many hundreds were received and adopted by their conquerors. The Tuscaroras, expelled by the English from North Carolina, took refuge with the Iroquois and became the sixth nation of the League. From still further south the Tuteloes and Saponies of Dakota stock, after many wars with the Iroquois, fled to them from their other enemies and found a cordial welcome. A chief still sits in the council as a representative of the Tuteloes, though the tribe itself has been swept away by disease or absorbed in the larger nations. Many fragments of tribes of Algonkin lineage—Delawares, Mohegans, Mississagas—sought the same hospitable protection, which never failed them." Again (*Ibid* pp. 95, 96.): "Those who suppose that the Hurons only survive in a few Wyandots, and that the Eries, Attiwandaronks and Andastes have utterly perished are greatly mistaken. It is absolutely certain that of the twelve thousand Indians who, now in the United States and Canada, preserve the Iroquois name, the greater portion derive their descent, in whole or in part, from those conquered nations. No other Indian community, so far as we know, has pursued this policy of incorporation to anything near the same extent or carried it out with anything like the same humanity."

baptized by our Fathers before that flourishing nation was destroyed by the arms of the Iroquois.¹

While they were building me a chapel, I began visiting the cabins in order to know the people, and chiefly to seek out the scattered sheep of the ancient church of the Hurons, and endeavor to lead them back to the fold of Jesus Christ. These good people were overjoyed to see me and hear me speak of the Faith. It was not possible to satisfy their desire in this regard. Some of them said to me that it was not enough to pray to God but once a day. Others complained that I spent too little time in preaching of our Lord and Paradise. Some of them even reproached me with partiality in that I had preferred others to them, as I did not visit them as much as I did the others. Indeed these poor souls were so hungry and thirsty for righteousness and their salvation, that I had difficulty in persuading them that as soon as the chapel should be finished, their good desires would be completely satisfied.

My round of visits being finished, I found about forty adult Christians who had preserved faith and prayer, been kept from the general dissoluteness of the country and were living in all the purity of Christianity. All the rest of the Hurons gave proof of great eagerness for holy baptism: and I have remarked in them an assiduity so exact and such constancy in prayer, public and private, that I have great hope that they all will become devoted Christians. Shall not such fidelity and constancy in the Faith in these invincible Hurons serve in the day of judgment to condemn the indolence and corruption of the Christians of Europe? These barbarians, who had just started into Christianity when the Iroquois compelled them by force of arms to take part with them, have nevertheless preserved for this long time their

¹ In 1649.

faith in the midst of the corruption of a people abandoned to all sorts of vice and superstition; and scarcely were they imbued with the principles of the Christian religion, when they were transported into the very home of disorder and abominations, destitute at the same time of pastors, having neither preachers to fortify them in the Faith, nor confessors to reconcile them with God, nor any of the external means with which Europe is so amply provided. Thus to live with fidelity, in prayers and innocence of manners, and with an ardor for their salvation equal to that of the first Christians, is it not something that ought one day to put to shame the weakness and unfaithfulness of so many Catholics who corrupt and destroy themselves, in the possession of all the means of piety and salvation?

As for the Onnontioias, Tsonnontioians (Senecas) and Neuters since they have scarcely ever seen Europeans or heard of the Faith, it is a work to absorb all the zeal of the missionary, who will find it no small labor to cultivate a field the Evil One has possessed for so many ages. The chapel being finished, the Hurons came to pray to God with great fervor. I said the holy mass to them, and they assisted with a reverence and devotion which charmed me, and was pleasing in the sight of Heaven. A venerable person served me as catechist, and as he knew the prayers well, he pronounced them with an elevated and distinct voice, easily understood and followed by all the others; and this zeal of the Hurons extended even to their children. These little savages were eager to persuade those of the other nations to accompany them to the chapel and pray with them. This compelled their fathers and mothers to come and see what they were doing, and, in some cases, to follow their example, to avoid the shame of being outdone by them.

What I have most admired in those Hurons who have for many years been Christians, is the open profession which

they are accustomed to make of their faith, which is more difficult than one can well imagine, among a people wholly infidel and barbarous, without blushing for the gospel, nor caring for the insults and ridicule of the pagans; and so well convinced were the other nations of their constancy in the Faith, that they give them no other name than that of Believers, and The Faithful; and such is the reputation two of them have acquired in the entire region for virtue, that all the people revere them.

One of these bears the name of James Atondo and the other Francis Teoronhiongo. The first gives himself almost continually to prayer, and in his ordinary conversation speaks only of God, alike to Christians and infidels. He is very exact in his observance of all the commandments of God. "If you but knew," he is wont to say to them "what prayer is and the power it has to make us happy, you would all pray to God without ceasing. You are so careful in doing all that your dreams require; you spare neither feasts nor presents, nor any expense to render them propitious and secure through them good success in fishing, in hunting, and in war, and a long life as well; but nevertheless you see plainly that you are involved in poverty and misery; that sickness and the enemy are every day taking many of you out of the world. As for myself, I pray to the Master of Heaven and earth, and the Sovereign Lord of our lives, and He gives me strong and vigorous health at an age very advanced. I catch ordinarily more fish than you; I am, by His grace, better off than you are, and what overwhelms me with joy is, that when I come to die, I hope to be happy to all eternity; and as for you others, you will only exchange the evils of this wretched life for torments and eternal fires."

The second named Francis Teoronhiongo who was formerly the host of the late Father Le Moynes,¹ is an old man of ap-

¹ See account in *Relation 1662*, p. 8.

proved faith, and has not passed a single day in twenty-seven years without saying prayers. He has instructed his wife and children in the Faith and reared his entire family in holiness. Now that he is intelligent in our mysteries and as he is familiar with the history of the New Testament, his greatest pleasure is in discoursing about it to all he meets, both Christian and heathen, so that if the gospel had never been published in this country by the missionaries, he alone had spoken enough of it to justify the ways of God concerning human salvation.

He has said to me many times, that during the twenty years he has been separated from our Fathers, he scarcely passed a day without earnestly beseeching our Lord the grace that he should not die before being confessed and without having previously prayed to God with some one of the missionaries. "Ah my God," he said, "Thou hast shown so great indulgence for me; Thou hast already granted me so many favors, wilt Thou refuse me this that I now ask? Shall I be so unhappy as to die without being confessed? Hast Thou called me to Christianity, only to leave me to finish my life without participating in its holy mysteries? The frailty of man is so great and his nature so inclined to sin, that I have strong reason to tremble as guilty before Thee, and deserving death eternal. And what will it avail me to have been baptized, to have prayed to Thee, if I am to be so wretched as to be finally damned? No, no, my God, I hope for this favor of Thy mercy. Thou art all powerful; and when Thou dost will it, our Fathers will come to instruct us, and I trust in Thy pity, that I will not end my life without the benefit of receiving the sacraments." I doubt not that prayers so sacred may have contributed much to the establishment of this mission. On learning of my arrival, the first thing he said to me was, "At last God has heard me. Confess me."

At another time when conversing with him of his deceased parents, he said: "Why should I regret them? My mother died immediately after receiving baptism. Almost all my near relatives have yielded their souls into the hands of the Fathers who have made them Christians. They are all happy in Paradise. I hope soon to go and find them. The greatest unhappiness I have had in my life," he added with a sigh, "is that one of my children died some years since, without being able to confess his sins. He was thirty years old. He had lived badly, and though I had taken pains to make him a good man, he despised equally the law of God and the warning of his father; and what afflicts me sorely is that he died in this sad condition, without the opportunity of being reconciled with God by confession. I have only one child in the world, and he is at present out to war. If God dispose of him, I shall have but little trouble in consoling myself, since thou did'st confess him just before he went away." This goes to show what ideas our savages have of Paradise while as yet they are not fully instructed in our mysteries.

I baptized the past year a young woman of the more distinguished of Seneca, who died the day after her baptism. The mother was inconsolable at her loss, since our savages show extraordinary affection for their children: and as I was endeavoring to calm her grief by representing the infinite happiness her daughter was enjoying in Heaven, she artlessly said:

"Thou dost not understand. She was a mistress here, and had at her command more than twenty slaves who are still with me. She never knew what it was to go to the forest to bring wood or to the river to draw water.¹ She knows

¹ This probably had reference to the village Totiaction north-west of Honeoye Falls where the river was not far distant from the town. This was eight years previous to Greenhalgh's visit in 1677. While residing on the site south-west of the falls they probably obtained water from the small brook flowing west of the village.—J. S. C.

nothing about house-keeping. Now, I have no doubt that being for the present the only one of our family in Paradise, she will have much trouble to accustom herself to the change, for she will be compelled to do her own cooking, go for wood and water and provide with her own hands what she needs to eat and drink. In truth, is she not to be pitied in having no person who is able to serve her in that place? Thou seest here one of my slaves who is sick. I pray thee instruct her fully and show her the path to Heaven, that she by no means miss the way, but that she may go and lodge with my daughter and relieve her of all the affairs of her household."

I took advantage of the occasion and of the simplicity of this woman, to instruct the sick slave. I spoke to her; I found her disposed to listen to me; I exhorted her; I instructed her; she opened her eyes to the truth and desired of me baptism, which I could not refuse, thinking her in immediate danger of death. But God determined otherwise, for in time her health was restored; and now she conducts herself in all respects as a worthy Christian.

After a while, as I sought to instruct the mistress—she having gradually given up her low and gross notions of Paradise—to enable her to form a more correct and worthy idea of supreme happiness, she assured me that there was nothing in the world she was not willing to do to reach the place; that she was resolved to go and join her daughter, to dwell with her in the same blessed sojourn; after which she remained faithful in prayer and assiduous in the means of instruction. She manifested the same zeal in having all her slaves instructed how to pray to God; and it may be said that through her alone, there were won to God more than twenty persons.

During the six months since I came here, I have baptized twenty or twenty-five savages. There are besides, ten or

twelve adults who are prepared to receive that sacrament.

Owing to the unusually abundant harvest of walnuts this year, the joy of the people is so great, that one sees scarcely anything but games, dances and feasts which they carry even to debauch, although they have no other seasoning than the oil.¹ But what consoles me in all these disorders is, that only two of our Christians have lacked the courage to resist the solicitations of the sorcerer, to make a certain superstitious banquet in which all who join the dance, throw hot ashes on the sick, thinking this to be a sovereign remedy for the disease.

The Iroquois, strictly speaking, have but a single Divinity and that the Dream. They render it absolute submission, and follow all its demands with scrupulous exactness. The Senecas are much more devoted than the others. Their religion, in this regard, goes to the last scruple, since whatever they suppose is told them in the dream, they hold themselves absolutely bound to execute as speedily as possible. The other nations content themselves with observing the more important dreams; but this people who are looked upon as living more religiously than their neighbors, think themselves guilty of a great sin if they disregard even one.

They think of nothing else; they talk of nothing else: all their cabins are full of their dreams. They spare no labor

¹ "They parch their nuts and acorns over the fire to take away their rank oilness, which afterwards pressed, yield a milky liquor, and the acorns an amber-colored oil. In these mingled together, they dip their cakes at great entertainments, and so serve them up to their guests as an extraordinary dainty." Lederer's Discoveries, 1683-73, p. 21. "BUTTERNUT.—The kernel is thick and oily and soon becomes rancid; hence, doubtless, are derived the names of Butternut and Oilnut. These nuts are rarely seen in the markets of New York and Philadelphia. The Indians who inhabited these regions, pounded and boiled them, and separating the oily substance which swam upon the surface, mixed it with their food." North American Sylva, translated from the French of F. ANDREW MICHAUX—Paris, 1819. Vol. 1, p. 163. "SHELL-BARK HICKORY.—The Indians who inhabit the shores of Lake Erie and Lake Michigan, lay up a store of these nuts for the winter, a part of which they pound in wooden mortars, and boiling the paste in water, collect the oily matter which swims upon the surface, to season their aliments." 1b. p. 183.—J. S. C.

or pains to manifest their devotion, and their folly on this subject goes to the last measure of excess imaginable. One dreams during the night that he has bathed himself; upon which he rises immediately, wholly naked, goes to a number of cabins, at each of which he makes the inmates throw over his body a kettle full of water, however cold it may be. Another who dreamed that he was taken captive or burned alive, caused himself to be bound the following day, after the manner of a prisoner to be burned, persuading himself that having in this way satisfied his dream, his fidelity would avert from him the pain and infamy of captivity or death, which otherwise it had been revealed by his divinity he should suffer among his enemies.

There are some who have been as far as Quebec, and traveled one hundred and fifty leagues to have a dog which they had dreamed they could purchase there. It is easy from this to judge in what peril we are every day among a people who would tomahawk us in cold blood, if they dreamed they ought to do this. Since it is a little thing that gives offence to a savage, it is easy for his imagination once excited, to represent to him in a dream that he should take vengeance on him who had caused the offence. We appear to ourselves as victims liable to be taken any moment to torture; and since one is made to die a hundred times by the ever present image of death, we esteem ourselves happy in approaching so near to martyrdom.

The infidel women, by inclination natural to the sex, are the more devoted in observing their dreams, and following the commands of this idol. It is true that the worship which this people render, would rather pass for a superstition than a form of idolatry, as they neither pay adoration to the dream nor offer it any sacrifice. They are confident from a certain infallible experience, that whatever they dream and fail to execute, it always comes back to them in some misfortune,

mysteriously expressed in the dream. I have remarked at the same time, that the greater part of these savages are at less pains to obey their dreams while in health, but the moment they have the slightest ailment, they are persuaded that there is no such sovereign remedy for their healing, and to save their life, as to do all they have dreamed. The sorcerers, who are the same as priests of their divinity, contribute not a little to establish them in this superstition, since they are always called in to explain the dream: and, since they know admirably well how to turn it to their profit, they live and enrich themselves of this poor people, who, so soon as they are sick, spare nothing in doing whatever the sorcerer declares the dream ordains.¹

This is the greatest obstacle to the spread of the Faith among these people: and it is not too much to say that it is the one stumbling block to the Christian; since as drunk-

¹ Father de Carheil, who, when among the Cayugas, gave this subject of dreams particular attention, and seems to have been more than usually successful in convincing the Indian mind of the absurdity of yielding them implicit obedience, writes: "I have earnestly combated their super-stitions, 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 Agatkouchoria, who they believe speak to them in sleep and command them to obey implicitly their dreams. The principal one of these spirits is Tarouliouagon (Upholder of the heavens) whom they recognize as a divinity and obey as the supreme master of their life; and when they speak of a dream as divine, they only mean, that it is through 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 the master of their life to the object of their dreams, 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 defense 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 the night, when all dreams are dissipated." See *Early Chapters of Cayuga History*, pp. 54, 55.

eness, strongly as they are addicted to it, nevertheless, the women and old men do not abandon themselves to excess. One is thus enabled to hope that their example and the zeal of the missionaries, may moderate the deportment of the young warriors who breathe only for blood and brandy.

For the overthrow of this superstition of the dream, I have found no method more efficacious, than to make them see clearly and by way of inference, that the faithfulness of any number of people whom they know to have carried out the observance of their dreams, has neither saved them from death or captivity, nor from destruction itself of their entire nation. This consideration has served me, in this country, to undeceive and open the eyes of many, thus leading them to detest the whole thing, both the superstition of the dream and the bad faith of the sorcerer.

Nevertheless, in general, we may say, that there is nothing more efficacious to attract the Iroquois to the Faith, than to subdue their pride by the might of arms; and by as much as they fear those of the French, will they lessen the obstacles to their conversion.

God has his elect not only among the Iroquois where he has his missionaries, but he permits them to go forth carrying war to regions most distant, and bring back captives to introduce them into the sacred liberty of the children of God and thence to Paradise, from the prisons and fires of the Iroquois. Thus we are led to adore from day to day the hidden and mysterious ways of Divine Providence toward his elect.

Two captives of the Gandastogué having been brought here to be burned, according to the custom, the first being so well instructed and giving all the marks of a saintly disposition to receive baptism, I conferred it, and after fifteen hours of terrible torture which he endured with true Christian resignation, he left the earth to go to Heaven. The other at the first, was unwilling to listen to me, and having

repelled me many times, I was at length compelled to leave him, that at his leisure he might reflect on what I said to him of heaven and hell; but in a short time he called me to him of his own accord, saying that it was all good, and that he wished to obey God and be saved. I baptized him on giving him the necessary instruction, after which it was manifest that faith was truly wrought in his heart. He was taken immediately to the place of torture, and from the happy moment of his conversion to his latest breath, he sang all the time, with a courage invincible—"Burn my body to your heart's content; tear it in pieces: this torture will soon be over, after which I go to heaven; I go to heaven there to be eternally happy." He pronounced these words with such faith and so great fervor, that one of our good Christians who witnessed the burning, and who did not know that I had instructed and baptized him, said to those standing by: "This captive has truly the Faith: it must certainly be that he has been instructed by some one of our Fathers, who is at Gandastogué."

Thus it is that God gathers his elect from all parts of the world. A woman who had been taken prisoner from a country far distant, some days after her arrival here, was seized with a dangerous malady. I repaired immediately to the cabin where she was, to endeavor to instruct her; but she could not understand me, as I was ignorant of the language of her country, and it was not possible to find any one to act as interpreter. I saw nevertheless that she was rapidly sinking, and that she was about to enter the final agony. From that moment my heart was cut with grief at seeing the loss of a poor soul which God had brought to the very threshold of Paradise. Leaving the cabin, wholly penetrated with affection and sorrow, I took myself to prayer and commended to God the salvation of this soul with all the fervor of which I was capable; I employed at this same point the merit of the

Holy Virgin of all the saints. At last, having for a long time invoked the compassion of our Lord in behalf of this woman, I was strongly inclined to return to her cabin and recommit her to her good Angel.

Scarcely had I done the one and the other, when I saw enter two women whom I did not know, and who were not of the town where I reside; the one and then the other approached near the sick one and giving her many caresses, assured her that they were come to console her and that they would by no means leave her. A meeting so happy, so unlooked for, greatly surprised me, since I could not but think that this meant that God had sent two Angels from Heaven to instruct and baptize this poor woman. I then asked if they were willing to serve me as interpreters, to procure for the sick person, about to expire, eternal happiness. They both offered themselves to render this good office. I explained to her the mysteries of our Faith; they repeated all my words in her language, with plainness and also such unction as enlightened the spirit of the sick one and at the same time touched her heart. I was delighted with the zeal and fervor with which each of these good catechists labored for the instruction of this foreigner. They exhorted her and pressed her to quickly open her eyes to the truth, since she had but a very short time to live.

They pointed her to the open heaven ready to receive her. Not content with faithfully interpreting my words, they added, themselves, motives and reasons, which at last compelled this poor woman, who was scarcely able to speak, to make a final effort for her salvation. She then caused me to approach her bed and gave me to perceive that God Himself had instructed her, and that He had in this short time wrought in her great things. I baptized her as quickly as possible, seeing her so well disposed, and in some moments after, she expired to go and possess in heaven eternal glory.

Is not this a miracle of the grace of God? And should we not be thrice happy that He is so willing to serve Himself of us, as the instrument of His mercy?

IV.

The conclusion of Father Fremin's narrative, discloses some of the more serious obstacles encountered by the missionaries in their work, and at the same time gives a vivid picture of Iroquois life and manners more than two centuries ago. The brief reference to the Cayuga mission, recalls the labors of the devoted and gentle Menard, its founder in 1657, who, four years after, lost his life among the forests which bordered Lake Superior, while on his way to plant the cross among the savage tribes of that distant region, as he was among the first to do on the banks of our own Cayuga.¹

¹ Father RENE MENARD, who was born in 1604, had been in France confessor to Madame Daillebout, one of the founders of Montreal; but of his previous history we know nothing. He came to Canada in the *Esperance*, which sailed from Dieppe on the 26th of March, 1640, and, after being compelled to put back by storms, reached Quebec in July. After being director of the Ursulines, he was sent to the Huron country, and succeeded Raymbaut as missionary of the Algonquins, Nipissings, and Atontratas. On the fall of the Hurons he was stationed at Three Rivers until May 1656, when he accompanied the French expedition to Onondaga, and from thence accompanied Chaumonot to the Cayugas in August of the same year. He remained for two months, when he was recalled to Onondaga, but soon after returned and remained until the missions were broken up in 1657; after which he returned to Three Rivers, and remained there until he was chosen in August 1660 to succeed Garreau in an attempt to begin missions among the Western Algonquin tribes. He set out with a flotilla of Indians and after great suffering reached Lake Superior and founded the mission of St. Teresa among the Ottawas at Keweenaw Bay, Oct. 15. He labored here during the winter and was planning a mission among the Dakotas, when his services were urgently solicited by a band of Hurons then at the source of the Black river, a branch of the Mississippi. He set out for their village in July 1661, and perished of famine or by an Indian hand, near the source of the Wisconsin in Lake Vieux Desert in the early part of August 1661. For the place of his death, which has been much debated, we adopt the theory of Rev. E. Jacker, who to a close study of the data, adds a personal knowledge of Indian life and their trials in Wisconsin and Michigan.

The narrative of Father Fremin (chap. IX. *Relation*, 1670) is concluded as follows :

Before finishing this *Relation* concerning our Iroquois missions, I will give here in the form of a journal, what remains to be said of the condition in which they are at present, and of what has occurred this year.

As there were no more sick in Tsonnontouian, I started on a journey to Onondaga, where the missionaries of this country meet to confer together on the methods of laboring more efficiently for the salvation of these people, and of overcoming the numerous obstacles in the way of their conversion.¹

¹ It so occurred that during the absence of Father Fremin at the missionary council held in Onondaga, La Salle, in company with two priests of the Sulpitian order, M. Dollier de Casson and René de Bichan de Galinée, visited the Senecas in furtherance of his first expedition to prosecute his discoveries toward the Mississippi. The party landed at Irondequoit Bay, the nearest point by water to the principal village of Sonnontouan, distant about twenty miles, the tenth of August, the very day that Father Fremin arrived at Cayuga on his way to Onondaga, and some five or six days after he had left the Seneca village. La Salle and his companions were escorted from the landing place by a large company of Indians to the village, where they arrived on the twelfth of August, and which is described in the journal of the expedition "as a collection of cabins surrounded with palisades twelve or thirteen feet high, bound together at the top and supported at the base, behind the palisades, by large masses of wood of the height of a man. The curtains are not otherwise flanked but form a simple enclosure, perfectly square, so that these forts are not any protection." At the council held the next day, the servant of Father Fremin acted as interpreter, and presents were exchanged. La Salle requested that a captive from the country of the Toagenhas (probably the Ontonagannha also called Mascoutins, nation of the Prairie, and Nation of Fire, at this time located in the southern part of present Wisconsin, between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi) might be given him as a guide to conduct the expedition to that people. This they promised to do as soon as the young men, who were away trading with the Dutch to whom they carried all their captives, should return, which would probably be in ten or twelve days. In the meanwhile a quantity of Dutch brandy was brought to the village, followed, as usual by a drunken debauch, in which La Salle and his associates were threatened with death; and a Toagenha captive whom they desired for a guide, was put to the most cruel torture of six hours' duration, when his body was cut to pieces and prepared for the feast. Thus the visit of La Salle to the Senecas resulted in disappointment, and by the detention he lost the most favorable season for traveling. The expedition reached no farther than the mouth of Grand river on the northern side of Lake Erie. There they were overtaken by the winter and made their camp in the neighboring woods, where they remained until the following spring, when De Casson and Galinée went west, La Salle having returned to Montreal the previous autumn.

It has been alleged that Father Fremin left Tsonnontouan for Onondaga at this particular time, to avoid acting as interpreter to La Salle and the Sulpitians, or aiding the

The 10th of August, 1669, I had the happiness to embrace Father de Carheil at Oiogouien (Cayuga), from whence I wrote to the others of our Fathers, who are among the Iroquois, to assemble at Onondaga the last of the month, where we would meet them. I had the leisure in the meanwhile, to tarry some days at this mission, where I was witness of the faith and courage of the earlier Christians whom the late Father Menard had, himself, baptized; many even of the infidels themselves, had not forgotten the prayers which he had taught them. Indeed all in this recent church, gave me very great consolation and strong hope of the conversion of the entire country. Father de Carheil is greatly beloved. No one opposes the Faith. Many of the sachems come to pray to God in his little chapel. He has undertaken another, which is to be much larger and more commodious, and which will be completed in a couple of months. I think that then they will come in great numbers to worship God. It is René,

object of their enterprise. But there is no evidence that he was notified of their coming, much less that his assistance was desired. Indeed the narrative of Galinée would seem to dispose of the whole story as an after thought. Speaking of the council held on their arrival at the Seneca town, he says: "When we saw the assembly large enough we began to talk of business, and *then* it was that Mr. de la Salle avowed that he was not able to make himself understood." The inference here is that, his Sulpitian companions had been led to suppose La Salle capable of conversing with the Senecas, and only when it came to the point, was it discovered that he could not. But more than this. The narrative continues: "On the other hand, my interpreter saw that he did not know French well enough to make himself well understood by us, hence we deemed it more expedient to make use of Father Fremin's man to make our speech and to report to us what the Indians might say; and in fact the matter was so transacted. It is to be remarked that Father Fremin was not then at his mission station, but had gone a few days before to Onondaga to attend a meeting to be held of all the missionaries scattered among the Five Iroquois nations. There was only Father Fremin's man there who served as an interpreter." It appears then, that Dollier de Casson had an interpreter also, who broke down, and that then they applied to Father Fremin's man, a *donne* or mission aid, who actually did all they required.

There is no hint in the whole narrative of dissatisfaction with Fremin's man, or of any reluctance on his part to serve them. In fact, the impression from the whole is, that they came prepared, entirely independent of the missionary, but when La Salle and Dollier de Casson's interpreter, both admitted their inability, they were thankful to obtain the services of Fremin's man. Parkman, in his *La Salle, &c.*, (1880) p. 14, compared with his *Discovery of the Great West* (1869) p. 13, completely rejects the charge of La Salle against the Jesuits.

his associate, who is both the architect and builder. It will in no respect resemble the cabins of the savages, except in its covering of bark. In all other particulars it will resemble a house such as they build in France. Behind the altar he has contrived to make a small room. Every one in the whole town speaks of the skill of René. He dispenses various medicines which he prepares, himself, on the spot; he dresses all kinds of wounds and heals them; he treats all the sick. Many Cayugas said to me, that but for him they would have died. One cannot believe to what extent he is loved by these savages. Would that it might please God that each of our missions had a man like him!

The 20th of August, Father de Carheil¹ and myself, ar-

¹Father STEPHEN DE CARHEIL was born at Vienne, November 20, 1633. He entered the Society of Jesus, August 30, 1652, and arrived in Canada, August 6, 1666. He was sent to the Cayuga Mission in 1668, where he remained until 1684, at the breaking up of the Iroquois Mission, when he was driven from the canton by Orehauone and Saranoa, the two principal chiefs of the tribe. He then became connected with the Ottawa Mission, where he labored until early in the next century. Charlevoix, who saw him in 1721, at the age of 88, describes him as then "full of vigor and vivacity." He had sacrificed the greatest talents which can do honor to a man of his profession, and in hopes of a fate like that of many of his brethren, who had bedewed Canada with their blood, he had employed a kind of violence with his superiors to obtain a mission whose obscurity sheltered him from all ambition, and offered him only crosses. There he labored untiringly for more than sixty years. He spoke Huron and Iroquois with as much ease and elegance as his native tongue, and wrote treatises in both these languages. French and Indians concurred in regarding him as a saint and genius of the highest order. It was through the influence of de Carheil that the famous Huron Chief, Kondarout, commonly known as "The Rat," was converted to Christianity, and who, (himself an extraordinary man,) was accustomed to say that there were but two Frenchmen of talent in all Canada, the Count de Frontenac and Father de Carheil. The Indian name of this Father was Aondechete. He early impressed the Cayugas with his courage by acting as a sentinel on a certain occasion when a rumor that a party of Audastes, their most dreaded enemies, were near at hand, had filled the town with alarm, and when he accompanied their warriors to repel the expected attack. In 1702, and while stationed at Michilimackinac, he bore a prominent part in what is known as "The Brandy Quarrel," in resisting with his personal influence and the power of the pen, what he styles (in his letter to the French Intendant: "the deplorable and infamous traffic in brandy," which he declares has been fruitful only "of disorders, brutality, violence, scorn and insult," among the Indians, till it had become impossible to maintain the missions, and nothing remained "but to abandon them to brandy sellers as a domain of drunkenness and debauchery." Father de Carheil died at Quebec in July, 1726, at the advanced age of 93 years. For a more extended sketch of this accomplished missionary, see *Early Chapters of Cayuga History*, pp. 78-81.

rived at Onondaga, where in waiting for Father Bruyas who is at Oneida, and Father Pierron who is at Mohawk, I had time to consider the affairs of our early mission; and all appeared in the same state it was when we left it, in the year 1658, except that the Onondagas were greatly humiliated shortly after by the Gandastogué, as nearly all their braves had been slain in the war. They spoke to us with great gentleness, and in all respects were more tractable than before. There is a church of early Christians, which numbers about forty who live becomingly. Many present themselves for instruction. Garaontie is our true friend. That Prince and Orator visited me with all the courtesy imaginable and did for us many kindnesses.

The 26th of August, Father Bruyas¹ and Pierron arrived, and we had the consolation of seeing our entire number (six)²

¹ FATHER JAMES BRUYAS, was a native of Lyons, arrived at Quebec, August 3d, 1666 and on the 14th of July, of the following year, set out for the Mohawk country and thence in September for Oneida. Having been appointed chief of all the Iroquois missions, in 1671 he returned to the Mohawks. He was among the Senecas in 1673, but returned to the Mohawks and remained there until succeeded by Father Francis Vaillant at Tionnontoguen, in 1679. In 1684 he was in charge of the mission at the Sault St. Louis, on the St. Lawrence, and in 1687 accompanied the French expedition against the Senecas under Denonville. He was again at the Sault in 1691, and in 1693 became superior of his order in Canada and retained this position until 1700. In 1699 the Onondagas being desirous to conclude a peace, visited Montreal and invited Father Bruyas, to return as Ambassador with them, but their request was refused until they would conclude a treaty at Montreal, and in the fall of that year he was sent with Major La Valiere with the king's letter announcing the termination of hostilities between England and France, (*La Potherie*, IV. 131.) In the summer of 1700 the Iroquois renewed their request and Father Bruyas proceeded to Onondaga (*La Potherie*, IV. 148,) where he arrived in August and returned the month following with a delegation that concluded a final peace between the French and Five Nations which lasted for more than 50 years. He visited Onondaga again in July 1701 on public affairs, and acted as interpreter to the Iroquois at the grand ratification of peace in August following, by all the Indians (*La Potherie*, IV. 241.) His death took place among the Iroquois in 1712. He was the best authority of his day as a philologist of the Mohawk language, and compiled several works in that dialect. (His *Racines Agnières* published by Dr. Shea as number X. of his linguistics.)

² Including Fathers Garnier and Milet at Onondaga, whose names are not given in the text. Father Pierron was transferred the following year from the Mohawk to the Seneca Mission and Garnier accompanied Fremin on his return to the Senecas. FATHER PIERRE MILET arrived in Canada in 1687, and was sent the following year to Onondaga

together to deliberate on all matters, during the six days we were engaged in concerting measures needful to the success of our missions, and for overcoming the obstacles which hinder the progress of the Faith in the country of the Iroquois.

As we were about to separate, lo an Iroquois messenger of Monsieur, the Governor, arrived there from Montreal, with belts of wampum, and letters from your Reverence and from Father Chaumonot, by which we were advised that the French had massacred, near Montreal, seven Oneidas with one of the most distinguished of the Senecas. This news produced a terrible excitement throughout the nation. A council was held immediately to deliberate on what had been done, and at which we were summoned to be present. The deputy coldly rehearsed the whole affair. He was bold to change on his own responsibility, the belts, taking the more beautiful one of five thousand beads, all black, which he accorded to this nation and only gave to the Senecas that which was the least esteemed. But the letter of Father Chaumonot had informed us of all these matters; and we all strenuously opposed him in this, and at last compelled him to act in strict accordance with his instructions. Garaontie having met, in the town, one from Seneca gave to him the belt which was for that nation, saying to him: "It is too far for me to

where he received the name of Teharonhiaganna, or the looker up to heaven. He was removed to Oneida in 1671 and labored there until July 1684, when he left and joined De la Barre on Lake St. Francis, Aug. 1. At the request of the Marquis de Denonville, he was appointed Chaplain to Fort Frontenac in 1685, where he acted as interpreter in 1687, and in 1688 succeeded de Lamberville as Chaplain of the fort at Niagara. He returned to Fort Frontenac in 1689, and being lured outside the palisades to attend a dying Indian, was taken prisoner by the Oneidas and his life saved by adoption into an Oneida family. During his captivity the English made many efforts, though in vain, to get him in their power, for which purpose Governor Fletcher sent Dirck Wessels to Oneida. He was adopted into the tribe by a Christian agorander, Susan Gouentagrandi, and received the name of Otassete, that of the leading sachem of the first or Turtle branch of the tribe. Father Millet continued in this capacity until the fall of 1694 when he returned to Quebec. He asked to be returned again as missionary to those Indians, but the aspect of the times did not permit it. Charlevoix who was in Canada from 1705 to 1722 lived several years with Millet and speaks of him in terms of high esteem. Father Millet died at Quebec, Dec. 31, 1708.

go myself. Represent thou to thy sachems the voice and desire of Onontio." As to the belt designed for those of Oneida, he said that since they would shortly come to Onondaga to hold a general council, he would make known to them the will of Onontio. Without doubt a single affair of this nature is most unfortunate, and is enough to rekindle war between the Iroquois and French.

Scarcely had the council finished its business, when there was heard through the town, the cry of an Oneida, who had fortunately escaped from the hands of a troop of warriors of the nation of the Nez Percés. At this cry, they reassembled in council, to listen to the rehearsal of the adventure. "We were," he said, "five in one band. We were returning victorious with two prisoners, of Toüagannha; but unfortunately encountering a company of warriors of the nation of the Nez Percés, we were defeated, my four comrades having been slain, or taken together with our two captives; I alone am escaped from the combat.¹ Consider well the matter in dispute and how it should rouse to vengeance a people so fierce and indomitable as are the Iroquois." We did not learn what action was taken on the subject. What I am able to assure you is, that we are, by the grace of God, prepared for any event, according as it shall please Him to dispose of us, and that we esteem ourselves too happy to be able to offer our lives a sacrifice to Him.

Taking our departure from Onondaga, we arrived on the 7th of September, at Gandachioragou;² and, as we were passing through Gandagaro,³ a drunken savage seized Father Garnier with one hand and raised the other at two different times to stab him with a knife; but fortunately, a woman happened near enough to this barbarian, to wrest the knife from his

¹ Here we have evidence of the proximity of the Toüagannha to the Nez Percés or Pierced Noses.

² See Seneca Towns, p. 25. ³ Ibid.

hand, and prevented him from carrying farther his brutal design. I could not but admire in this encounter, the firmness and self-possession of the Father who did not betray the least sign of fear.

Three days after our arrival, he took charge of the mission of Gandachioragou,¹ where there are three or four Christians who have made open profession of their faith. He has only the charge of a single town, at least for the present year, in order that he may have time to acquire more perfectly the language of the country, and make for himself rules and a dictionary, that he may instruct the others: hence I am obliged to take care of the three other towns.

The twenty-seventh of September, as I was about to leave, to assume charge of the mission of St. Michael, I was taken ill, and compelled to remain for several days until the violence of the attack was passed.

After the first of September, the youth of the place, according to the custom, start for the open country: and the rest of the inhabitants who are able to endure the fatigues of the war or the chase, follow soon after. Of the latter there are about five hundred capable of war, divided into many bands who all go against the Tonaganuha, and four or five hundred to hunt the beaver, which they take in the direction of the country of the Hurons. The latter take their women and children with them, so that there remain only a small number of old people. I learn that it is the same at Gouïgouïen, and that they, also, divide themselves into hunters and warriors. This is very deplorable, as the result is that numbers from these nations die without baptism, as these expeditions are attended with the loss of many people, and what grieves me is that we are not able to remedy the evil. But God who knows His elect does not fail to furnish them the

¹ See Seneca Towns, p. 25.

favorable opportunity to gain Paradise. We are often hindered by such absences and expeditions common to these people, from laboring for their instruction with the success we could desire. The greater part of those who belong to the towns where we were established, are away either at the war or the chase, nine months out of the year; and for a month previous to their departure, the youth are accustomed to abandon themselves to excess in drinking, till they become furious; so that excepting the old people and the women who are not addicted to such disorders, it is next to impossible to find opportunity to speak to them.

The Seneca arrived by way of Onondaga, in charge of the belt of wampum, which Onontio sent to the Senecas, in the matter of the death of one of their warriors, who was slain by the French. The belt was received with a marked coldness, and although the exemplary punishment which Monsieur the Governor inflicted upon the assassins, led them to approve of his conduct and applaud his justice, I think, nevertheless, that they would have been much better satisfied with ten belts of wampum than with the death of three Frenchmen, since they would not be disposed to render the same justice in similar circumstances. They declare, however, that they are content with this satisfaction; and I do not think they will dare to carry their resentment farther, nor attempt anything against the French.

The 27th of September, as I thought myself sufficiently recovered from my illness, I set out on the journey, to take charge of the mission of St. Michael in the town called Gandagarae.¹ Our brave Christian, Francis Tehoronhiongo, met me and conducted me to one of the finer cabins of the town, that of a person of consideration although an unbeliever, whose authority gave me protection against the insolence of the drunkards.

The third of November, which was the Sunday after the

¹ See Seneca Towns, p. 25.

Festival of All Saints, the chapel being in order, I invited all our savages to come there to pray to God and be present at the Mass, which I was to say early in the morning. The chapel being full of people, I began my exhortation by declaring the object of my coming, and accordingly begged them to open their eyes to the truth, to recognize the God of heaven and earth, to put away everything that was displeasing to Him, and by their consistent fidelity, render themselves worthy of eternal happiness. I hope of the goodness of God, that His grace will dispose their minds to relish the truth of Christianity, and undeceive their vain superstition, beside drunkenness and the dream which are the two obstacles to the Faith among the Iroquois.

Father Garnier continues to labor bravely in the town of Gandachioragon. God serves Himself of him for the conversion of some souls toward whom His compassion has been extraordinary. More than twenty persons, happily, having been baptized, died most Christian-like. But it is evident that sufferings are the lot of the apostolic missionary, and that one must give himself up to the providence of God, laboring hard, and leading a life which may be called one continual death.

The missionary labors of Father Fremin in New York, close with the foregoing narrative, he having been transferred to important service in the vicinity of Montreal.¹

¹ Father JAMES FREMIN arrived in Canada in 1655. He accompanied Dablon to Onondaga in 1656 and remained there until the breaking up of the missions in March, 1657; was then for two years at Miscoon; next year at Three Rivers and Cape de la Madeleine. In 1666 he was assigned to the Cayuga Mission, but did not serve and next year was sent to the Mohawks. Near the close of 1668 he visited the Senecas and resided at Sonnotouan and remained there until the arrival of Father Garnier in the following year, when he changed his residence to Gandagarae, the south-eastern of the Seneca villages, laboring in that village and Gandagara until 1670, when he was recalled and assigned to the mission of St. Francis Xavier, then located at La Prairie. This mission was removed to the Sault St. Louis in 1676, and in 1679 he visited France in its behalf. He was again in Canada in 1682, and died at Quebec on the 20th of July, 1692.

V.

The last chapter concluded the account of the mission for the year 1669 when Father Fremin was called to the residence of St. Francis Xavier¹ opposite Montreal, leaving Father Garnier in sole charge of the Seneca Mission. The following narrative for the succeeding year is contained in Chapter V. of *Rélation* 1671: Second part.

Although the nation of the Seneca may be more rude and savage, having less intercourse with the French, and farther from the requisite disposition to embrace the Faith, nevertheless our Fathers who have labored in their missions for the past two years, have found there choice souls; and Father Garnier who at present has the entire charge of them, requests assistance in the hope that these people who are more numerous than all the other Iroquois, may at length be tamed, and give excellent scope to the zeal of the missionaries whom it may please God to send among them. The little that he sends us is well adapted to touch and attract hearts filled with the Holy Spirit. The miracles of grace wrought there, give us to see that the hand of God is not shortened; more than one hundred and ten baptized this year, are manifest

¹ The place was originally designed as a resort for the missionary Fathers, to which they might retire in their annual retreats or in case of sickness; but it had already become a mission home where converts from the several Iroquois cantons might take refuge from the constant persecution of their own kindred, and also from the bad example and corrupting influence of their Pagan countrymen who were becoming more and more debauched by their intercourse with New York traders. The new village increased rapidly, and in 1674, had its organized government with permanent Christian institutions.

proofs of this, as well as the fervor and courage of some souls of the elect.

An old Christian named Francis Tehoronhiongo of the first of the church of St. Michael, distinguished for his eminent virtue and for the authority he has acquired over those of his own nation (Hurons), having recently lost by death an intimate friend, a good and very virtuous Christian, very suddenly, was so impressed by the circumstance of the importance of dying well, and the necessity of being ready at any moment to make the passage on which depends eternal happiness or misery, that he is not able to divert his thoughts. Such was the effect of this grace upon him, that from that time he formed the resolution, which he has inviolably kept, to debar himself from all feasts where he saw any appearance of superstition or of sin; and as the time approached when the infidel savages course through the towns for the accomplishment of their dreams, he made public proclamation in the towns of St. Michael and St. James, that no person should approach him or any of his relatives to satisfy his dream, since he had done with this ceremony, and renounced these things at his baptism; and as he did not recognize in a dream anything divine, so he would neither render worship to his own dream or the dreams of others.

One of the sachems of the town for whom that people have great respect, and desire to please, approaching him in the course of this public ceremony with a threat that unless he accorded to him what he had dreamed, he would impute to him, as is the belief of these people, all the misfortunes that might befall him, the menace did not in the least disturb him. He replied, proudly, that being a Christian, he had no fear; he made the same reply to all who importuned him on the subject. This Christian consistency has won for him such confidence and respect, that if he happened unexpectedly in a gathering where the infidels are conversing together of

things immodest or to the disparagement of the Faith or of Christianity, they immediately change their conversation; many apply to him for instruction in our holy mysteries which he understands perfectly; also to learn the prayers.¹

Divine Providence serves himself the oftener of affliction to dispose them to listen to his holy speech; humiliation and misfortune render them the more docile. The same Father writes us that never has he had more attentive hearing than since the burning of the town of St. Michael which occurred last spring, when all the cabins with the chapel, were reduced to ashes, without the possibility of saving anything, neither furniture, corn, nor anything necessary to life. These poor people do not appear in any wise troubled by it, but on the contrary they testify to the Father that they recognize God has punished them justly for their infidelity and the resistance they had maintained till then, to the progress of the gospel. They beg earnestly that he will by no means leave them; they promise so soon as they have rebuilt their cabins and their palisade for security against their enemies, to set up a chapel much more beautiful than the former one, and that they will be more assiduous in prayer than in the past. The Father adds that they make their protestation in terms so strong and with such marks of sincerity, that he is firmly persuaded they will keep their word. *Fiat, fiat.*

We recognize even more sensibly in their fatal maladies the effects of grace, and the fruits the daily instructions pro-

¹ This aged man and his wife left the Seneca towns in 1677, with a son and a grandchild to spend their remaining days at the mission of the Mountain of Montreal; having become free by the death of the heads of the cabin in which he had been so long a slave. He was received there with joy; already known by the annual Relations of the Jesuits for his fervent piety, he justified his reputation by his conduct at the mission by his labors for the poor and afflicted, where he finally became blind, as was supposed by his intense devotion. He died in 1690, at the advanced age of 100 years; and the inscription over the place of his burial, in one of the ancient towers on the Mountain of Montreal, reads: "He was by his piety and probity the example of Christians, and the wonder of unbelievers."

duce on minds that, at the time, appear the more rebellious and opposed to the Faith. I give here among others two or three examples which appear to be attended with circumstances the more remarkable.

A Seneca of the town of St. James,¹ very aged and a person of consideration, having been taken sick, the Father visited him and offered on his part to render him all possible assistance for the relief of his malady and the salvation of his soul. He refused both roughly, so that the Father was compelled to withdraw after some kind attentions, in order not to prejudice him at the outset. Many days passed with him in this ill nature, during which the Father was able to do nothing, except to intercede with God for the miserable one, who to all human appearance must die without baptism and in unbelief, the door of his cabin closed and all access to him denied.

In the meanwhile, the Father was well apprised that he was visibly sinking, which was to him an unspeakable sorrow. It is only for those who have had the experience, to understand what it is to see a single unfortunate soul, that one has come to seek from across the sea, so near to perdition without being able to give aid and succor in rescuing it from the danger: but the goodness of God who shows Himself equally favorable to the poor savage as to the greatest monarch of earth, extended his hand toward him in an unlooked for manner. As these people are guided by their dreams, it was permitted that in sleep he should see the Father who gave him a medicine most efficacious for his recovery. This was enough to induce him to send with all possible dispatch and, on his own part, beseech the Father to come and visit him immediately. He was found at St. Michael, where, awaiting the moment of grace, he had gone to visit his

¹ Gandagara. See note on Seneca towns, p. 25.

church. He left everything at this news and returned with all possible speed. The sick man was overjoyed at his coming; made him take a seat at his bed and said to him; "Ourasera (which is the Indian name for the Father) give me, I pray thee, immediately, the medicine; I have seen it, while dreaming, in thy hands and it will cure me." "Ah, my brother," replied the Father, "most willingly, I am about to give thee a medicine, but very different and far better than that which thou hast seen in the dream; thou art in no farther need for the body, which is in no condition to be benefited; a medicine of this nature, would only serve to hasten the end of thy life. The great Master of life, who loves thee, commands me to give thee a medicine which is wholly heavenly, and will restore life and health to thy soul; deliver it from eternal death; procure for it instead of this poor life which we have in common with the animals, a life of everlasting happiness in heaven, by the help of baptism." While the Father was speaking, the Holy Spirit wrought upon the heart of the savage, and at the word baptism of which he had spoken many times without effect, he roused himself as from a deep sleep and besought him, earnestly, to remind him of the instructions, which at other times he had given him to prepare him to receive the sacrament. This the Father was prompt to do, and the sick man listened with joy and consolation. Having nevertheless judged it proper to defer his baptism until the morrow, at the break of day he visited him and found him in holy impatience to see himself of the number of the children of God, having passed the entire night in acts of faith and contrition, and in reciting the prayers taught him the previous day, which in no particular had he forgotten, so far as observed by the Father, the sick one having repeated them from memory in his presence. He then received holy baptism with sincere devotion; and having passed the whole day and night in praising God, asking

that he might be taken to paradise, he died the following day, leaving this impression with his pastor, that he was infallibly of the number of the elect.

I conclude this chapter with an extract from a letter which I have received from this same missionary in these terms : “ Drunkenness caused by the beverages which the infidels obtain from the Hollanders, brought more than eighty leagues by land, is now more universal than ever, extending even to the women ; and these disorders continue for twelve or fifteen days after the arrival of each band of traders. During all this time as there is neither food nor fire in their cabins, they are abandoned day and night. The rest of the people flee for concealment to the fields and the woods. Amid all this debauchery, the virtue of our Christians shines out brightly. They are steadfast in their duties and show as great aversion to these orgies, as they are foreign to their profession. The drunkards, themselves, evince this respect, that they do not come near the chapel.¹ We have our assemblies as usual on Sundays, and our Christians gather with great pains from their hiding places, hearing mass with as much quiet and devotion as at any other time of the year. I have more concern for the sick, not knowing where to find them. I have not failed to baptize certain ones, among them, an adult, who after a year of labor, gave me much consolation. He was a catechumen and sufficiently diligent in the ordinary prayers. One day, finding him very ill, I judged it proper, with his consent, to prepare him for baptism. I instructed him to this end, in the mysteries of our faith, and caused him to perform the acts necessary to prepare him for this sacrament, which, nevertheless for good reasons, I deferred. Then finding him delirious and in danger of death, I

¹ This was often the only refuge of the missionary against personal violence to which from various causes, he was exposed ; but more especially, in scenes such as are here described.

did not scruple to baptize him. Some time after coming to himself, he called me and said angrily that I had deceived him; that in his dream he had found himself in heaven where the French had received him with the whoops that they (savages) are accustomed to make on the arrival of their captives of war, and that at the time he made his escape, they already had the fire brands in their hands to burn him. As for the rest, that the water which I poured upon his head was a spell and sorcery which would cause his death or fix his fate to be burned eternally in the other world. I had recourse to God, more especially, in this juncture so unexpected; and at last, He gave me grace after three hours of conflict, with mildness and kindness, to convince and undeceive him. He gave up all these delusions caused by the demon that would destroy him. He recovered with admirable behavior his first thoughts, and the sentiments of a soul truly converted. He only desired to die, rather than offend God any more, and be eternally happy in heaven. He made of his own accord a petition at the close of the ordinary prayers in these words: "Thou who art in heaven have pity on me; draw me, as soon as possible from here below, that I may be perfectly happy in heaven."

One other sick person has consoled me still more, acting in the matter of his health in a most extraordinary manner for a savage, and who has given noble testimony to the Faith. To gain him to God, besides the frequent instructions I gave him, I spared myself in no respect night or day, to minister to him and lead him to believe that I strongly desired his recovery. One day, perceiving clearly that my remedies were without effect, and that he was continually growing worse, nevertheless, seeing my extraordinary earnestness to relieve him, he said to me: "My brother, I see well that thou art my friend, but I pray thee no longer think of my body, but apply thyself rather to save my soul; it is all over; I shall

die ; I can no longer doubt, and what is important is to die well." I then instructed him fully and baptized him. From that time, well satisfied and thinking only of Paradise, he commenced to sing his song, which they call the death song, but in very different terms from those he formerly would have used, in straits or while an unbeliever. " It is Jesus," he said, " who is the Master of my life ; he leads me to heaven, never more to sin ; nevermore to dream ; the great Master in heaven forbids it." These were his last sentiments which he clung to even unto death.

After all it is to be confessed that these peoples are strongly opposed to the Faith, and that the conversion of even one savage is a stroke from heaven. The freedom that they cherish more than their life ; the arrogance which is their nature as well as the fickleness of their resolutions ; the impurity in which they are reared ; the strong attachment they have for their dreams and superstitious customs : their sports and ordinary occupation in the chase and in the war, which renders them unsettled and keeps them for the most of the time in the field or forest, besides the demon of drunkenness, which has possessed them for some years, are without doubt great hinderances for the permanent establishment of religion. Nevertheless, the zeal, the trust, the devotion, patience and forbearance of our missionaries, surmount all these obstacles and give us reason to hope that God will increase the blessings already bestowed, beyond even what He at present gives to their labors. It is already a great advantage, that they know the language ; that they have found access to their minds ; that they are loved and esteemed among them ; that they have entire freedom to preach, in public and private, the word of God, and that there is scarcely a family in all their country that is not more or less instructed in the principal mysteries of our Faith. Many possess the Faith, although still attached to their evil customs and are not

Christians by profession. They evince this in their maladies when often of their own accord, they send for our Fathers lest they should die without baptism.

Prayers are regularly observed in each town, both morning and evening, in the chapel where the catechumens are gathered, and where Christians receive on Sunday the sacraments. There also they go through the catechism, in addition to the instructions given them each day in their cabins. Numbers of little children escape to heaven through the grace of baptism, it being one of the chief solitudes of our Fathers to see to it that not a single one of these dies without the sacrament. It is thus that, in spite of hell, these little churches make progress. There is none of them that does not contain choice souls, who imitate the fervor and charity of the Christians of the first ages, and furnish by their good example a powerful motive for the conversion of others. In a word, our evangelical laborers are so far from thinking that there is nothing to be done for the Faith among these peoples, that they call upon us from all sides and ask us for reinforcements with all conceivable urgency, particularly those who labor in these lands full of briers and thorns, for the culture of peoples more barbarous and rebellious toward the Gospel.

VI.

The following letter of Father Julian Garnier, still in sole charge of the three missions of the Conception, St. Michael and St. James, occupies Chap. VII. First Part of *Relation*, 1672.

The spiritual condition of these missions, depends largely upon temporal affairs, and more than all on the disposition of mind to maintain peace with the French. The sachems of the town of Gandachioragou¹ had given me the assurance, in a council assembled for the purpose, that they desired to pray to God, and in fact certain of them began to do this: and though I had not as yet seen in them the essential principles of the Faith, nevertheless, their example led the people to listen to me and gave me every liberty to visit and instruct the sick. But rumors of a French invasion, very soon, overturned these small beginnings. Their minds being thus badly disposed, the evil one takes occasion to raise an outcry against the Faith and those who preach it. An old man who came here some years since from Goiogouien—a troublesome spirit, but skillful in speech, who does what he will with our Senecas and passes among them for a wonderful person—proves to them that the Faith produces death, for the reason that of whole families who formerly embraced it, when the late Father Menard, the apostolic missionary, resided at Cayuga, not a single soul, as he declares, remains. He further says, that the Black-gowns are only here as spies who report everything to Onontio, that is, Monsieur the Gov-

¹ See note on Seneca towns, p. 25.

error, or that they are sorcerers who accomplish by disease what Onontio could not effect by force of arms. I know of a certainty that they have deliberated concerning my death as a spy and as a sorcerer; our host himself, Onnonkenrita-ouii,¹ the most prominent of the chiefs of this great nation, has often proposed to his sister to kill me, while she, at the same time, has shown a great distrust of me on account of her little daughter who often fell sick. As I do not retire at as early an hour as is their custom, and as I remain a considerable time in the evening, to pray to God in the chapel, they persuade themselves that I cannot employ myself in any other manner, than in holding communication with some demon in plotting the ruin of their family. Thus my life, humanly speaking, depends upon the health of this little daughter, and I run a great risk of losing it, if she should die. There would be as much cause for me to fear, should any one bring the news of the probable march of the French into this country. Many have assured me in advance, that should this happen, they would certainly tomahawk me.²

In this it is, my Reverend Father, that I am happy, and that I esteem the felicity of my mission which compels me to consider each moment as the last of my life, and to labor joyfully in this state for the salvation of these poor souls.

¹ Danoncaritaoui of Gandachiragou assistant of Tegarohies, as keeper of the western door, the latter exercising jurisdiction over the most northern of the two western towns, the Sonnontouan of the Relations.

² Father Menard at Cayuga was repeatedly threatened with death as a sorcerer. He relates that a warrior lodging in the same cabin, for three nights in succession, attempted to kill him, and was only prevented by his host and friend Saonchiogwa, the chief of the canton. The persecution of the missionary Fathers as sorcerers was also common among the Hurons. They were charged with causing not only personal calamities, but all the miseries of the nation, and at times it would appear, that nothing short of special divine intervention stayed or turned aside the murderous blow of the infuriated savage. Father Jogues was killed among the Mohawks on charge of being a sorcerer. A belief in sorcery and witchcraft appears to have prevailed very generally among the Indians of America. The Zunis in their recent visit to the Atlantic coast in charge of Mr. Frank H. Cushing, while passing through Salem, looked upon the place with great reverence and awe, as being the place where witches once lived, and were burned.

One single infant secure in heaven through holy baptism, is sufficient to change into sweetness all these bitter trials.

This old man of whom I have spoken, takes advantage of everything that has occurred of late, and particularly of whatever those who have been to Quebec, have reported against us. It by no means needed this, to turn from prayer and to embitter against us a people so suspicious, and who are entirely given up to sorceries and superstitions: hence they cease to come to the chapel. If I enter their cabins to seek out the sick, they regard me with an evil eye; and if I attempt to instruct, they ordinarily interrupt me with insulting speech. Any sudden outbreak of drunkenness, in such circumstances, compels me to retire to the chapel where I have always found refuge. I wonder that, in these troubles, never but in a single instance, has a drunkard come to seek me there, and him they prevented, nevertheless, from doing me injury. During eleven months there have died in all the towns of this nation, thirty-three baptized persons, almost all infants. We have baptized seven others who are still sick: in all forty.

The mercy of God has been great toward certain baptized adults, among others, toward a captive of the Ontoïagannha or Chaoïanong, advanced in age: ordinarily they bring as captives, only the young men from countries so distant. God so ordered it that, happily, I should find myself in this place, on his arrival with an interpreter, the only one I know of this language in this country; he heard with pleasure all that I taught him of the chief mysteries of our Faith and of eternal happiness in paradise. At length I found him disposed to baptism, and I think he entered heaven the same day he arrived at Tsomontoïan. Divine Providence had conducted him bound, more than three hundred leagues, to enable him to find here the true liberty of the children of God.

A woman being seized with epilepsy, threw herself in the midst of a large fire and before she could be rescued, was so

severely burned, that the bones of her hands and arms fell away one after the other. As I was not in the village, at the time, a young Frenchman that I have with me, who is well acquainted with the language and performs worthily the office of a catechist, hastened thither; and having found her in her right mind, spoke to her of God and His salvation, instructed and performed for her all the necessary acts on the occasion and baptized her. This poor creature spent the eight or ten days that remained of her life, in prayer; this was her only consolation in her terrible suffering, and extreme abandonment of all human succor, which she endured with admirable patience, in the hope of eternal life. These are effects of divine grace, which make themselves understood in these barbarous countries most obviously, and which greatly alleviate the toils, fatigues and afflictions of a missionary.

A Christian young man of a strange nation who died a most saintly death, touched me greatly whenever I encouraged him to pray to God during his last sickness; his affection and devotion were visible in his eyes, over his countenance and in the fervor of his speech; his relatives were struck with admiration; he assured me over and over again, that he desired death that he might the more speedily see himself in heaven. Such sentiments are a most manifest token of faith. A Christian Huron woman has given to us similar proofs; she had, in short, allowed herself to be persuaded in the prostration caused by a long sickness, that a superstitious feast would heal her; but she discovered her mistake, and of her own accord desired to make public reparation, manifesting great grief at having obeyed the instruments of hell, whom she upbraided in good earnest for the wickedness they had shown in giving to her advice so detestable.¹

¹ Father de Carheil gives an account of one of these feasts of healing, to which he was invited, at Tiohero, one of the stations of the Cayuga mission.—See *Early Chapters of Cayuga History*, pp. 42-3.

The Hurons of the Mission of St. Michael, manifest greater desire than ever to return to Quebec to augment the church of Notre Dame de Foye.¹ Some of them who are not now Christians, declare that then they would embrace the Faith. The most notable and aged of them all, took up the word in continuation of a short lesson that I had given touching this matter, and declared that for himself, he would not wait so long a time to become a Christian; that he had from this hour formed the resolution; that he renounced his dreams and all that was forbidden of God; that he would present himself for continual instruction; that he would not fail a single day to assist in the prayer and that he would exhort others to follow his example. He has held to his word thus far, and I hope that soon he will be baptized.

I conclude for the present, with a worthy act of Christian courage. An aged person of this little church, who has performed with great edification the office of catechist for more than twenty years, during which it had been deprived of a pastor, in consequence of the wars of many years, having learned that his only son had been killed on the spot in a battle with the Gandastogue, he was afflicted to the last degree, although with entire resignation to the will of God, which he constantly evinced in acts of heroism. But what surprised every one was, that a second report having been brought in, that the young man was not dead and that the wounds he had received did not appear to be mortal, as he had been borne away on a sort of a litter, the old man at

¹ This mission was founded by Father Joseph Chaumonot, from a small Huron colony which sought refuge on the Isle of Orleans opposite Quebec, and which he himself accompanied, the year after the destruction of their nation. Here he remained with the exception of the years 1655-8, when he was at Onondaga preparing the way for the establishment of the Iroquois missions. In 1693, the year of his death, he removed the mission to a new site where he erected a church and chapel modeled on the Holy House of Lorette, and perfectly like it in form, materials, dimensions and furniture. From this circumstance the mission took the name of Lorette. Here the Hurons long enjoyed great prosperity.—See Shea's *Catholic Missions*, pp. 197, 198.

once regained his spirits and breathing into his faith new vigor, he passed the day in rendering thanksgiving to God, full of reverence and gratitude. The whole village gathered in a body at his cabin in order to testify to him their joy, and they left it with a high estimate of his virtue.

After all, I have remarked that it is not so much the degeneracy of manners that prevents our savages from being Christians, as the false ideas which, for the most part, they have concerning the Faith and of Christianity. I know nearly two hundred families, among others, in firm and permanent marriages, who bring up their children morally well; who forbid their daughters too free outside acquaintance, so that they are kept from dissipation and lewdness; who have a horror of drunkenness, and who only need the Faith to lead in all respects Christian-like lives. It is this gift of God that we implore without ceasing for these poor souls, who are the price of His blood, and whom I commend very specially, my Reverend Father, to your holy prayers and pious sacrifices.

TSONNONTOUAN, July 20, 1672.

VII.

This letter of Father Garnier comprises chapter VII. of *Relation* 1672-3,¹ and pertains to the missions of the Conception and St. Michael.

"We have never discharged our duties with more of quiet, or with more of freedom than the present year. The Father P. Raffeix,² arrived at the Conception, at the end of July, a month after I resumed charge of St. Michael, where I had not been for a year, as the village had entirely burned down, and as I was left alone at Tsonnontöian. I have received all the satisfaction I could hope for in our Christians, from their assiduity in frequenting the chapel, morning and evening, for the prayer, and from their promptness in coming every Sunday to the instruction that I give them before the mass, as well as for the zeal with which many of them bear testimony in support of the party of the Faith in the presence of lewd persons who talk against it. A certain person having said, one day at a superstitious feast which she had given, that the fear of my reproofs had kept her for a length of time to her duty: "the fear of God and His judgments should restrain you always," replied a good Christian who was present; and as he was acquainted with our mysteries, he followed with excellent instruction in the hearing of all.

What has given esteem to the prayer, is the example of

¹ *Relation ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable aux Missions des Peres de la Compagnie de Jesus en la Nouvelle France les annes 1672 et 1673 Par le Rev. Pere Claude Dablon.* This Relation was printed by John Gilmary Shea in 1861.

² Father Raffeix had left the previous year to take charge of the Cayuga mission in the absence of Father de Carheil for the recovery of his health.

the principal men who are foremost to come to pray to God. The Chief of the Hurons allows no occasion to pass, without exhorting, especially, the old men to embrace the faith without delay; and were it not for the eagerness with which they recur to superstitious remedies in their sicknesses, this church would largely increase in a short time. The Neuters and the Onontogas, who form a part of the town, are at last softened by the example of the Hurons and at present come to the prayer in common with them.

As there is not yet a chapel in the town of St. James, which, however, at one time was larger than St. Michael, I was obliged to make up the want, by frequent visits among the cabins, both to baptize the sick infants and to instruct the adult sick and others. I assist them in the prayer, after the instruction in the cabins; and many have come to meet me at St. Michael and to pray to God in the chapel. The complaint that each one makes to me when I go to see them is, that we prefer the Hurons to them; and that of all the Iroquois principal towns, this is the only one that has not a missionary among them; if your Reverence would do us the favor to send us a third, I have hope that he will be well received.¹ It is necessary there for the commencement of a church, which can only be successfully done by a person who resides on the spot, since there are many infants and adults who die before I learn of their sickness, and consequently without assurance; for the reason that I am not on the ground, whatever diligence I use, it will be that some continually escape.

I have baptized since the month of July, 1672, forty-three infants, of which twenty-nine rejoiced soon after in the happiness which baptism had brought them, and many of the others still languish; and twelve adults, of whom nine died

¹ Father Pierron was soon after sent to St. James in accordance with this request.

shortly after their baptism and left me excellent signs of their predestination. Besides these, many infants are dead, baptized in preceding years. Among the twelve adults whom I baptized, the divine mercy appeared more especially toward certain ones who appeared to offer the greatest resistance to the grace. The first was an old man, strongly attached to the superstitions of the country, and above all to the principal one, which is the fulfillment of their dreams. God served Himself of this, at the same time for his salvation ; for after having listened often to what had been said of the great Master of all things who is in heaven ; of the mercies which He bestows upon those who are obedient, and the judgments which He inflicts upon those who are rebellious, it was permitted that He Himself be shown to him in a dream, which offered to him his friendship, and promised to him all kinds of good in heaven. I had no further difficulty in persuading him that if he would listen to the word of God, he would have pity upon him. "I doubt no more," replied the sick man, "make me to understand His will as soon as possible, that I may execute it."¹

¹ Frequent reference is made in the previous articles of this series, as indeed throughout both the Huron and Iroquois *Relations*, to the power of dreams over the savage mind, which when once interpreted, were to be executed at all hazards. The Senecas, according to Father Fremin, were exceedingly scrupulous in this obedience to their divinity. This superstition retained its hold among them long after, as may be inferred from the following incident given by Morgan in his *Iroquois League*, (in a note to page 214) which, in this connection, will be read with interest : In 1810 the celebrated Cornplanter, chief of the Senecas, resigned his chiefship in consequence of a dream. "During a New Year's celebration at his village on the Allegany, he went from house to house for three days, announcing wherever he went, that he had had a dream and wished to find some one to guess it. On the third day a Seneca told him he would relate his dream. Seeing him nearly naked and shivering with cold, he said, you shall henceforth be called Onono, meaning cold. This signified that his name, Gyantwaka, should pass away from him and with it his title as chief. He then explained the interpretation to Cornplanter more fully ; that he had had a sufficient term of service for the good of the nation ; that he was grown too old to be of much further use as a warrior or a counsellor and that he must therefore appoint a successor ; that if he wished to preserve the continued good will of the Great Spirit, he must remove from his house and sight every article of the workmanship or invention of the white man. Cornplanter having listened with earnest attention to this interpretation, confessed that it was cor-

Another old man of the Ouenro nation, whom I had solicited for a long time to become a Christian, fell sick; his wife, who was the only one to take care of him also was taken sick and died a few days after, as she had lived, in a Christian-like way. The man seeing himself in the last extremity, commenced to listen to the instruction that I gave him. He had no other consolation upon earth but the hope of Paradise, which strengthened in him continually in the measure that he became disgusted with his life.

I conclude with the baptism of a young woman who languished for a long time. She was of a gentle and innocent disposition and readily remembered, as well as listened to my instructions. Both her parents, who had a great aversion to the Faith, told her continually that she should not listen to me; that I only deceived her and that she would find in heaven only fires in place of the happiness I had caused her to hope for. As the savages have great respect for their parents and believe readily all that they say to them, this good woman for a length of time prayed to God conditionally; "If it is true that one is happy in heaven, Thou who art the Master of it, have pity on me and conduct me there after my death." After laboring for a long time to remove the suspicion with which they had inspired her, I had the consolation of seeing her depart life entirely convinced of the truth of the Faith, and with great desire to go

rectly guessed and that he was resolved to execute it. His presents, which he had received from Washington, Adams, Jefferson and others, he collected together, with the exception of his tomahawk, and burned them. Among his presents thus consumed, was a full uniform of an American officer, including an elegant sword and his medal given him by Washington. He then selected an old and intimate friend to be his successor, and sent to him his tomahawk and a belt of wampum to announce his resolution and wishes. Although contrary to their customs, the Senecas, out of reverence for his extraordinary dream, at once raised up as chief the person selected by Cornplanter, and invested him with the name of Gyantwaka, which he bore during his life. Cornplanter, after this event, was always known among the Iroquois under the name of Onono. His tomahawk, the last relic of Cornplanter, is now in the State Historical Collection at Albany."

to heaven, which made her importunate to be baptized as soon as possible. Seeing her in so holy a disposition, I accorded to her desire; and going to see her the following day, I learned that she had died soon after her baptism. At the same time, I learned that a youth wounded with an arrow, was in extremity; I baptized him and in an hour afterward, he died. Seven adults and eight children baptized by Father Raffeix, who died shortly after baptism, increased the number of the elect.”

It was in this year (1673) that Frontenac began the fort, which subsequently bore his name, near the outlet of Lake Ontario; but in order to quiet any suspicions the Iroquois might take at such a movement, he despatched La Salle to Onondaga, the capital of the confederacy, to arrange for a council to be held at Kente¹ the last of June, and should he judge proper, to convey word of the same to the other villages. The following letter of Father Garnier to Frontenac, written from Tsonmontouan, under date of July 10, 1673, (translated from the Margry Documents, I. pp. 239-240.) will show how the proposition was received by the Senecas.

“After presenting you with my most humble respects, and assuring you that I share largely in the general joy at your happy arrival in the country, praying God that He would assist you by His spirit, in order that your plans may succeed to the advancement of His holy service; for the honor of the King, and for the welfare of the whole country, it is my further duty to inform you of what is passing in this quarter regarding the King’s service. As soon as I received your commands, conveyed by Sieur de la Salle, I made them known to the savages of this nation, which comprises three principal towns; two are composed of the natives of the

¹ The place was changed at the request of the Iroquois, and the council was held at Cataracoui, the site of the projected fort.

country, and the third, of the remnants of several Huron nations, destroyed by the Iroquois. Altogether, they are able to raise about eight hundred men, capable of conducting war against their enemies. The chiefs of each village have been deputed to meet you at the place which you have designated. They have made peace with all the nations with which M. de Courcelles¹ had forbidden them to make war, the King having taken them under his protection. They have recalled all their young men, no more to turn their arms against that region. Their greatest desire now is, to carry on commerce with Montreal whither they will gladly take their skins, if their commodities find as good a market there as at Orange, where this year they have advanced in price. They greatly desire that the French should dwell in their country, above all such as will be most useful, as blacksmiths, and armorers. These are the requests they make for themselves. I am, etc.”

The French occupation of the Niagara River under La Salle, in 1678, rendered it expedient to send another embassy to the Senecas, to quiet their suspicions, more particularly with reference to the project of building there a vessel to facilitate purposes of trade.² The mission was confided to the Sieur de la Motte, accompanied by the Recollet Father Louis Hennepin, who records the journey of five days from Niagara, in the dead of winter, and their reception at the Seneca village.³ The next day after their arrival (January 1, 1679), mass was celebrated in the little bark chapel and a sermon was preached by Hennepin, both the Fathers, Garnier and Raffeix, being present. The council was convened the following day, composed of forty-two sachems; “and

¹ The predecessor of Frontenac as Governor of New France.

² For a full account of this enterprise and the subsequent fortunes of the vessel, see *The Building and Voyage of the Griffon in 1679*, by O. H. Marshall.

³ Shea's Hennepin, *Description of Louisiana*, pp. 75-81.

although these Indians, (says Hennepin), who are almost all large men, were merely wrapped in robes of beaver or wolf skins, and some in black squirrel skins, often with a pipe in the mouth, no Senator of Venice ever assumed a graver countenance or spoke with more weight than the Iroquois sachems in their assemblies." After the interpreter had explained the object of this visit, stating "that the Sieur de la Salle, their friend, was going to build a great wooden canoe to go and seek goods in Europe, by a shorter way than that by the rapids of the St. Lawrence, in order to supply them with the same at a cheaper rate," with other reasons, the customary presents were distributed in behalf of the French nation, consisting of goods to the value of four hundred livres. But before his speech, Sieur de la Motte demanded the withdrawal from the council, of the Jesuit Garnier, of whom he was suspicious: and Hennepin,¹ mor-

¹ FATHER LOUIS HENNEPIN was born at Ath, in Hainhut. He entered the order of St. Francis as a novice in the Recollect convent at Bethune in the province of Artois. He arrived in Canada in September 1675, on the same vessel with Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle to whom Louis XIV had granted letters of nobility and the seigniory of Fort Frontenac, a short time previous. He journeyed as a missionary to different points, and from Fort Frontenac with a single companion made a journey on snow-shoes to the country of the Iroquois, visiting the Onondagas, Oneida and Mohawk cantons, at the latter, meeting Father Bruyas, and making a copy of his *Racine Agnieres*, after which he returned to Fort Frontenac and built a mission house in which Iroquois and French children were associated together in a school. In 1678 he was one of the number selected to accompany La Salle in his fourth voyage of discovery to the south-west of the great lakes. The party left Fort Frontenac in November, and after coasting along the northern shore of Lake Ontario reached Tetiaagon at the head of the lake. On the 6th of December they reached the mouth of the Niagara river which no barque had ever yet entered. The next day explorations were made to find a suitable place to construct a vessel above the falls, which resulted in selecting a point on Cayuga creek near the present hamlet of La Salle. While the workmen were engaged in the construction of this, the first vessel to navigate the upper lakes, he accompanied Sieur de la Motte on a five days' winter journey through the forest to the great village Sonontonau, of the Senecas, of which Tegarohies was chief sachem, and hence, sometimes called Tegarohies town. This was then located on the west side of Honeoye creek, a mile and a half N. N. W. of Honeoye Falls. Father Julian Garnier was then in charge of the Mission at this village, and Sieur de la Motte refused to deliver his message to the council in his presence, for which reason Garnier withdrew accompanied by Hennepin, both highly offended. The vessel, named the Griffon, was launched early in the spring, loaded with a forge, ship carpenter's tools and the iron work for a vessel to be

tified at the affront given to the missionary of the village, withdrew with him and took no farther part, for that day, in the proceedings. The next day the Senecas replied to the presents, article by article, expressing their satisfaction and their thanks. On the last day of the council, a band of Seneca warriors brought in a "Hontouagaha" captive and after subjecting him to the customary tortures, allowed the children to cut bits of flesh from the dead body, and eat them. Disgusted with the whole scene, de La Motte and his companions withdrew from the chief's cabin and without delay retraced their steps through the forests to the Niagara River.

In the meanwhile the work of the missionaries, now reinforced by the arrival of Father John Pierron from the Mohawk, was contested at every step, especially by the medicine men, who were ever using their influence with the people, for the persecution of the missionaries. "Garnier was accused of sorcery, and as accusation and condemnation were nearly synonymous, they determined to tomahawk him. The executioner was named and paid; but God averted the

built on the banks of the Illinois river, and started on its perilous voyage August 7, 1679. Coasting along the north shore of Lake Erie, through lakes St. Clair and Huron, they reached St. Ignace of Michillimacinae, and afterward an island at the entrance of Green Bay, where the cargo was unloaded and transferred to small boats, and the vessels reloaded with furs and sent back to Niagara. They reached the southern extremity of Lake Michigan October 28th, from which two routes led to the Illinois; one followed by Marquette and Joliet on their return by way of Desplaines and Chicago rivers; the other by way of St. Joseph's on the east side of the lake, to present South Bend, and thence by a short portage to the Kankakee and down it to the Illinois. La Salle chose the latter and constructed at the mouth of St. Joseph's a fort named the Fort of Miami. On the 3d of December they ascended the St. Joseph's to the portage, and thence descended the Kankakee and Illinois to present Peoria, where a second fort was commenced under the significant name of *Fort Crevecoeur* or the Broken Heart, for this apparently marked the extreme western limit of La Salle's third attempt and third failure to reach the great Mississippi. Here the keel was laid of a barque, in which it was proposed to descend the Mississippi. From here, with two companions, Michael Accault and Anthony Auguelle, Hennepin, on February 29th, was sent to explore the upper Mississippi, and lay the foundation for missions among the unknown tribes. They descended the Illinois to the Mississippi and thence ascending the latter through the drifting ice, were on the 11th of April 1680, captured by a party of 120 Sioux who were descending the river to make war on the Miami's, Illinois and Tamaroas.—J. S. C.

blow. Raffeix sought to lead a dying girl to the truth, but such was the hatred then prevailing against the missionaries, that she sprang from the sick couch and tore his face with her nails, till he streamed with blood. He did not however, despair; continuing his visits, his kind and gentle manners disabused her. She listened, was convinced, and to his consolation died piously uttering a prayer to Jesus the Giver of life."¹

¹ Shea's *Catholic Missions*, 292-3.

VIII.

This chapter will conclude the history of the Seneca Missions; and comprises all that may be gathered from *Relation* 1673-9.¹

Father Raffeix writes from Sonnantouan in these terms: "We endeavor to let no children die without baptism. I have conferred it on many this year, 1675, several of whom died after receiving it. As they are our surest gain, they form our greatest consolation, and we watch over them with special care, and God very often in regard to these innocent little ones discovers the treasures of his special Providence. Frequently mothers who had no inclination for the faith have come to me to restore to health their dying children, who expired after I had given them spiritual health by baptism, instead of the bodily health they had brought me to confer.

I had for six months been watching a sickly little child. Our fear of making apostates, in case they recover from disease, makes us wait to the last, till danger of death. Satan envious of the glory which this child will render to God for all eternity in heaven, it was carried away to a cabin remote from the village, and deep in the woods.

Besides this I learned that it was dying. One day as I was ready to say mass, I was told that some were going to that cabin. I had begged them to let me know when any one was going. I left the village with those who set out to go there, and I ascertained the road they took. After mass

¹ The several translations contained in this chapter were made by Dr. John Gilmary Shea, for the present work.

I started. The child's guardian angel made me find people at every fork of the road. But I should never have got there, had not three young children, who had come from the place whither I was going, and who were on their way home, changed their mind. They turned back with me, but scampered around in the woods so that I lost sight of them. I overtook them at last and reached the cabin, but found neither the mother nor the dying child there, although the three children had left them there shortly before. I sent three times to call the mother from a neighboring field to which she was in the habit of going. Three times, too, I went there myself, and as I was returning the last time she entered the cabin with her child from another direction. I remained some time with it while she went to fetch water, which I used to baptize the child, which died soon after.

You see how a missionary should not spare himself, but if he has not great tact, he will lose many opportunities of acting for the salvation of the children."

"Last year they baptized 350 Iroquois. The year before Father Garnier baptized 55 in one of the Seneca towns, and Father Pierron 90 at Sonnontogan."

RELATION 1673-4, CHAP. V. MISSIONS OF ST. MICHAEL AND
ST. JAMES AMONG THE SENECAS.

If the Indians of the town of St. Michael were as well weaned from the superstitious of the country as they have hitherto preserved themselves from the vice of drunkenness, there would be no difficulty in making them genuine Christians. Most of them solicit baptism from Father Garnier, who is obliged to refuse them, because they will not renounce certain dances and other superstitious ceremonies, which they employ as remedies in sickness. Two things render their attachments to this kind of folly more difficult to break.

The first is the false hope of recovering their health by this means. The second is the profit which many derive from them. This has not prevented two of the poorest families in the town from setting an example of courage and fidelity to God, all the more admirable, inasmuch as by abandoning the practice of these superstitions, they deprived themselves of the only stay left them to relieve their poverty and extreme want. We often see in these poor savages, similar effects of a powerful grace, an evident testimony of heroic virtue.

A Huron woman, who had long been a Christian, after having lived in great innocence, combined with much delicacy of conscience, feeling herself attacked by a severe disease, summoned the Father at once, to assure him, in the presence of all her kindred, that she wished to die as she had lived, renouncing everything at variance with her profession of Christianity. As she soon saw herself beset by the medicine men and soothsayers of the country, who urged her to permit them at least to tell her the cause of her death, she left her cabin to be rid of their importunity, and dying as she was, had herself carried to the middle of the fields. Thence she sent to ask the Father to come and suggest to her some pious prayers. This noble act merited her obtaining, as a reward in this life, the conversion of her husband. While she lived he would never listen to anything in regard to his being baptized; but as soon as she was dead, he was the first to ask this favor, with great earnestness. Thus does God display in these far countries, as well as elsewhere, that he is the Master of hearts, to touch and attract them efficaciously, at the time and in the manner that he pleases. He seems to expect some at the hour of death, and employs bodily ailment to restore health to the soul, as he did in the case of a young woman, the infection exhaling from whose body had made them turn out of several cabins, although the Indians are far from nice in such matters. The missionary was still

less so, and this infectious odor did not prevent his assiduous visits to instruct her. He found her very well disposed by the lively apprehension of the sufferings of a future life, and by deep sorrow for having indulged in a life of sin. The Father deemed it expedient to grant her the grace of baptism, and he had reason for prompt action, for the sacrament was immediately followed by death.

There are others whom God converts by the ministry and exhortations of those who resist conversion themselves. An Indian of the town of the Conception has already obtained the salvation of several of his relatives, but has been unwilling to labor for his own salvation. He is a man of very good sense, who has always taken pleasure in the instruction of the missionaries. As he has much intellect, he is well versed in the mysteries of our religion; he calls himself a Christian by choice, although his life has hitherto rendered him unworthy of baptism. When he learns that any of his relatives or friends is dangerously ill, he goes and instructs him, and to be more easily believed by the patient, he assures him that he has long examined what the Black Gowns say, and that after all his examination, he could find nothing that did not conform to the truth; that moreover he is persuading them only to do what he intends to do himself; and he intends really to solicit baptism when he sees he is going to die. He says these things so appositely and skillfully, that scarcely one fails to be convinced, or be perfectly prepared by him to receive that sacrament. He did this recently so happily in the case of one of his nephews, that Father Garnier was delighted at the fervor with which this young man solicited baptism, and the rare dispositions with which he received it.

But of all the means which God employs most in these three towns of St. Michael, St. James and the Conception, which belong to the nation of the Senecas, that which most

efficaciously converts the Indians, is misery and being abandoned by all creatures. None are better disposed to hear instructions or more prompt in obeying the movements of grace, than the poor slaves or other persons destitute of all succor, and forsaken by all the world. These give the missionary the greatest consolation, and amid their temporal miseries, they more voluntarily receive the good tidings of their eternal happiness. The Father has baptized this year some of this class, and they all live as true Christians. He might have expected the same success with many others, if he had had time enough to continue to instruct them, and at the same time attend the sick who have been very numerous, and many of whom died after receiving baptism.

MISSION OF THE CONCEPTION AT SONNONTOUAN.

Father Raffeix, who has charge of this mission writes as follows: "The great number of superstitions, which have gathered here with these tribes, which have taken refuge here after the destruction of their own country, raises up a very notable obstacle to the propagation of the gospel. The remoteness of the French, whose settlements the Senecas rarely visit, makes the teaching of our Faith seem strange to them, because they have never seen any one believe and practice it. Moreover libertinage and moral corruption which makes them publicly approve and praise all vices, do much to induce them to live like beasts, and make them insensible to all that concerns salvation. Not but that a very good natural disposition is observable in many, and that most of them are much less subject to their passions than Europeans. But where corrupt nature rules, men give way to bad example, and these rich natures which will one day do wonders, when virtue controls them, are as yet too weak to resist human respect. Few adults would die without receiving

baptism, if we could find them alone to instruct them : but the shame of passing for Christians in the eyes of those who are not, is a great obstacle to their conversion. And for this reason I have been unable this year to baptize more than ten adults, who all died after receiving that blessing. Many of those who pray to God when they are alone in the chapel, would be ashamed to do so before those who do not pray. A young woman took poison in consequence of some grievous displeasure she had received. I went to see her in her cabin several times to speak to her of her salvation. Human respect sealed her lips. From time to time I took her remedies and some delicacies, that she might relish more easily what I said of God, and of the eternal happiness or misery of her soul. As long as her husband or mother was near her, she would not speak at all. I saw clearly that I must find her alone, and that very soon, for she was near her end. I went there sometimes so early or so late that I lost my way in the fields as I returned. At last one day when her husband was away, and her mother went for water, she opened her heart to me, praying to God with much fervor to pardon her sins. She then listened very voluntarily to the instructions I gave her, and prepared to receive baptism. All, it is true, are not so completely slaves of human respect. One of the sachems of the town called me to say : " Here are my niece and grand-daughter, who can do no more, they have lingered long. Tell them clearly, all about the prayër, so as to prepare them as well as you can to become Christians."

I should regret it deeply, if this old man, who is not yet baptized, should himself lose the grace, which two of his daughters, his niece and grand niece have received this year : and which, we have grounds to believe, they carried unsullied to heaven, for they died soon after baptism.

Traveling one day with a man who was returning from a war party, as I conversed with him on religion and the mys-

teries of faith, he related to me that one of the chiefs of their army, holding council near the enemy's country, had said that they must go fearlessly into action. "For my part," he continued, "I am far from entertaining any fear; for I know that nothing happens to us, except by the permission of him who is in heaven, whom I adore and whom I invoke since I embraced Christianity." Would that all possessed the same courage, and could rise above human respect.

I cannot express the pleasure which I felt on hearing an old man who had been a Christian for several years, and who does not belong in the country. "Ah," he said. "When will it be my happiness to remove to the country of Faith, among the French, and live no longer where God is not known and where he is so often offended? How happy should I live and die among my brethren, the Christians of Quebec or of la Prairie la Magdelaine? If I and my family do not soon leave this country, my son, my grand-daughter and my wife will be exposed to lose the faith amid this infidelity, and debauchery, whereas if they lived among Christians, they would be saved by following their good example." He has accordingly resolved, cost what it will, to set out a month hence to reside at Quebec. He will not accomplish it without great toil and difficulty. God has his predestined everywhere: but this good grain is still very rare in this country. It will be for fervent and zealous missionaries, who come here often to cultivate this ungrateful and sterile land, to make the seed yield a hundred fold.

Of the number of these predestined, are especially the little children, whom we endeavor never to allow to die unbaptized. I have conferred it on a great number this year. Fourteen of them died after receiving it. As they are our surest gain, they are also our greatest consolation,

The following extracts embrace all that is contained in the Relations concerning the Seneca Missions from 1673 to 1679:

RELATION 1674.

“If Father Carheil does not sanctify himself as much as he desires, it is certain that he does so, as do Fathers Garnier and Raffeix in the towns of Seneca, which are the most remote from us, and also apparently from the Faith. However these two brave missionaries make many conquests from the enemy. Father Pierron has gone to join them to take care of a large town, which we have not been able hitherto to provide.”

RELATION 1675, MISSION AMONG THE IROQUOIS, CALLED SONNONTOUANS.

Fathers Pierron, Raffeix and Garnier, who labor in three different towns, are, so to say, obliged to carry their lives in their hands at all times, for they are in almost habitual danger of being massacred by those savages.

In fact, since the Senecas entirely defeated the Andastogues, who were their ancient and most formidable enemies, their insolence knows no bounds. They talk only of renewing the war against our allies, and even against the French, and beginning by the destruction of Fort Catarokoui. They not long since resolved to tomahawk Father Garnier, treating him as a sorcerer. They had not only selected, but even paid the man who was to strike the blow, and we should no longer possess this missionary had not God preserved him by a most singular Providence. All these insults do not prevent the Fathers from performing their functions boldly, giving instruction in their cabin and chapels, where they have baptized more than a hundred persons within a year, and they find that fifty, children and adults, die every year, after baptism. However, if these savages take up arms against us, as they threaten, our missions are in great danger, either of being ruined or at least interrupted, as long as the war lasts.

RELATION 1676-7.

The upper Iroquois, that is to say, those whose lands are most remote from the French settlements, especially the Senecas and Cayugas, are the most haughty and insolent of all. They go so far as to pursue the missionaries tomahawk in hand, pelt them with stones, demolish their chapels and their little cabins, heaping on them a thousand other kinds of gross ill treatment.

* * * * *

I can draw nothing else from the letters of Fathers de Carheil, Pierron, Raffeix and Garnier, who are among the upper Iroquois; their greatest and almost sole occupation is to suffer, and so to say, die each moment, under the blow of continual threats and insults which these savages necessarily breathe against them. In spite of all this, they have not neglected to wrest many souls from hell. For his part, Father Pierron has baptized since a year ago, ninety of these Indians, almost all children, of whom fifty died after baptism.

* * * * *

In one town of the Senecas, where Father Garnier is, there have died within a year forty children and forty adults, baptized. As for Father Raffeix, who is in another town of the Senecas, he reports that he profited well by a pulmonary disorder with which God has chastised these savage inhabitants, and which carried off in a month sixty small children. "I have not spared myself in order to be able to obtain the grace of baptism for them, as well as for those adults whom God made known to be His in the course of this fatal malady."

RELATION 1677-8.

Further on, Fathers Raffeix and Garnier, who are at Son-nontouan, and where the danger is greatest (because it is the nation which more especially desires war) have conferred

during this year baptism on two hundred and twelve, among whom there are more than seventy children, a part of whom have gone to increase the church triumphant."

Father Pierron¹ evidently was recalled in 1677, and Father Raffeix² some years later, leaving Father Julian Garnier³ alone. DeMeules, writing to Siegnlay, July 8, 1684, says: "Father Garnier, a Jesuit, who was a missionary to the said

¹ FATHER JOHN PIERRON came to Canada June 27th, 1667, from the Province of Champagne, France. In 1668 when Father Fremin was sent to the Senecas, he was succeeded in the Mohawk canton by Father Pierron. In 1670, while in attendance at a council, a chief commanded him to leave, wishing to be free to perform some superstitious ceremony, which he knew the missionary would not approve. Pierron thought it expedient to show his displeasure; he even declared that he could no longer continue in a place where they did not hesitate to insult him, and would present the matter of his treatment to Onnontio. The same day the chiefs made public apologies for having insulted him, which the missionary accepted graciously, but expressed his regret at the indisposition shown to accept the great truths which he had announced to them, and added that he could no longer tolerate so many odd customs, nor their attachment to fables, the absurdity of which he had so often shown them; that since he was losing his time speaking to a people that would not hearken either to the voice of Heaven or that of reason, he considered it his duty to bear in other parts the word of God. This gave rise to much discussion and at the next grand council it was determined that thenceforward, no public invocation to Agreskone would be permitted, or even a recognition as the Author of Life; that medicine men should not be called to see the sick; and that superstitious and indecent dances should be abolished. Garacontie, the Onondaga, rendered efficient aid in securing this result. In 1674 Pierron wintered in Arafia to attend the French on the coast, and examine as to the possibility of establishing Indian Missions there. He also in disguise traversed the English colonies from New England to Virginia and visited the Jesuit Fathers in Maryland. In 1673 he was sent to Gandagaro of the Senecas and remained there until 1677. He returned to Europe in 1678. See Charlevoix 111, 163 and Relation 1671, pp. 5, 6.—J. S. C.

² FATHER PETER RAFFEIX arrived in ill health in Canada in 1663 (Sept. 22). He was chaplain of the expedition of Conreelles and Tracy against the Mohawks in 1665; was appointed missionary to the Cayugas in 1666. In the following year he was at 1896 Percée, and, after founding La prairie, labored among the Cayugas and Senecas till 1680. He died at Quebec in 1723, broken down with years and toil.

³ FATHER JULIAN GARNIER, was born at Conneral in the diocese of Mans, about 1643, and was a brother of the celebrated Benedictine Garnier. He came to Canada, while still a scholastic, in October 1662, and, after teaching some years, completed his studies, and was ordained in April, 1666. After passing with success his final examination in 1668, he was sent to the Iroquois missions, and labored at Oneida, Onondaga and Seneca. He probably returned as late as 1702 and died at Quebec in February, 1730. He was also apparently employed on the Algonquin Missions. Lafitan, who derived from him much of the matter of his work, speaks highly of his zeal and austerity.

Senecas, after being informed secretly of intention to make war, escaped in the said barque (one built by the Governor to trade on Lake Ontario), which was anchored in a little river seven leagues from their village, and where all the Iroquois used to come to trade."—[N. Y. Col. Doc. IX. p. 229.]

In November 1702, Mr. De Callieres announced that Father Garnier and Father Vaillant¹ had gone to the Senecas, accompanied by Captain De Maricourt, and some French men to arrange their establishment.—[ib. p. 737.] Garnier and Vaillant must have left soon after, as Garnier was sent back in 1703, (ib. 750;) and Vaillant in 1704, (ib. p. 762.) There was a missionary as late as 1706, (ib. p. 775.)

¹ Father FRANCIS VAILLANT DE GUESLIS, came to Canada as a student in 1670, received holy orders at Quebec, December 1st, 1675, according to the *Liste Chronologique* and replaced Father Bruyas as Missionary at Tionnontoguen near present Canajoharie, in 1679. He was resident among the Mohawks in 1683, and accompanied Denonville's expedition against the Senecas in 1687, and in the beginning of 1688 visited Albany as Ambassador to Governor Dongan on the part of the Canadian Government, on which occasion he acquitted himself with ability.—*New York Council Minutes*, V. 211. At the conclusion of this negotiation he proceeded to Cataracouy, (present Kingston) escorted by two Indians, who were sent by Governor Dongan to prevent him having any intercourse with the Mohawks, his former flock. The breaking out of King William's war and the abandonment of Fort Cataracouy, drove him back to Canada, but after the peace he was sent in 1702-3 with Father Garnier on a mission to the Senecas, by whom he was deputed in 1704 to Governor Vandreuil to demand satisfaction for a violation of the Treaty on the part of the Ottawas. He returned immediately to the Senecas and contributed to thwart the efforts of Col. Schuyler at Onondaga who sought to prevail on the Five Nations to expel the French missionaries.—Charlevoix II, 292-4. Father Vaillant was succeeded in 1707 in the Seneca Mission by the Rev. Father d'Heu, and returned to France in 1715.—O'Callaghan, N. Y., Col. History IX, 762.

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