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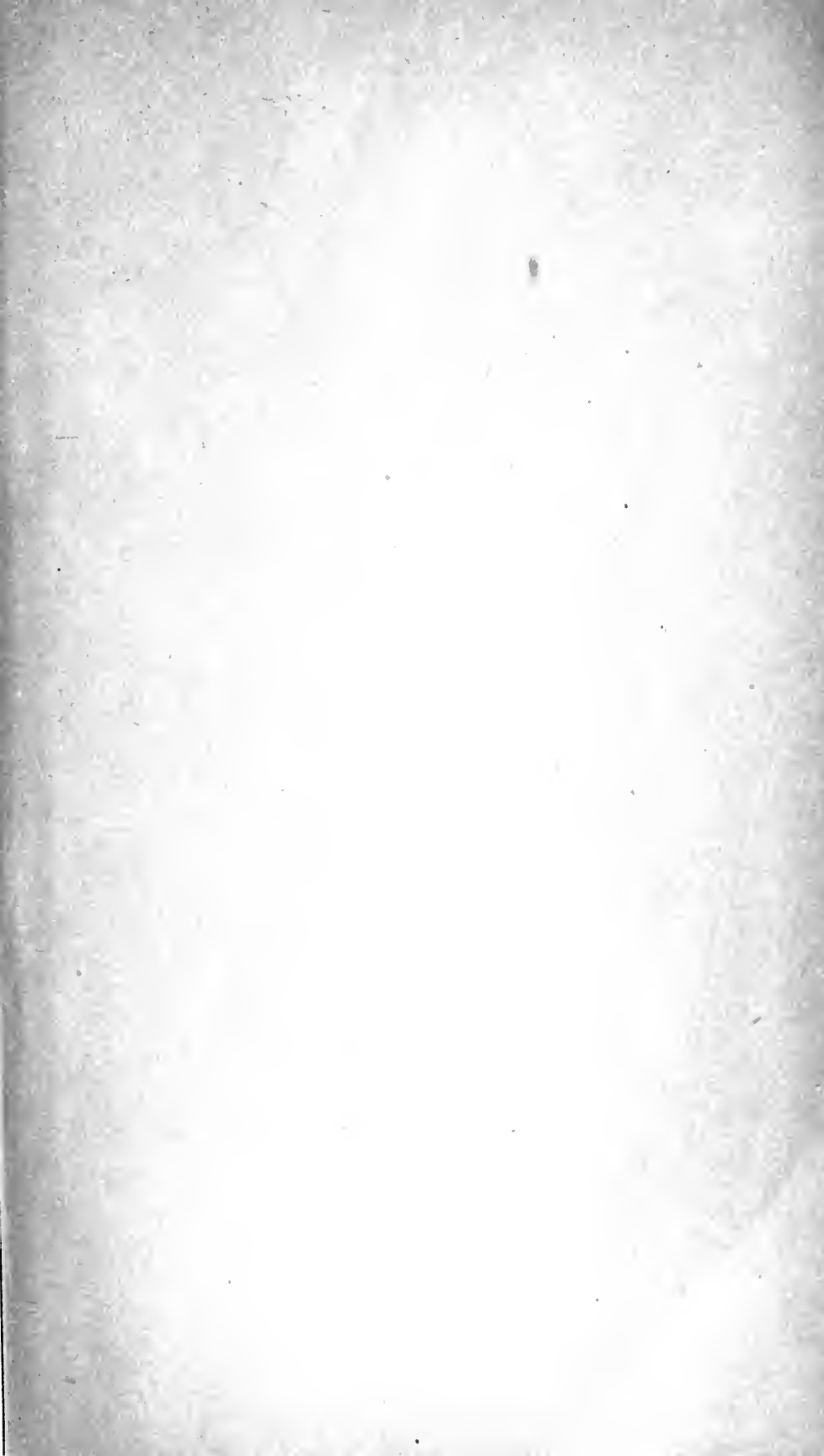
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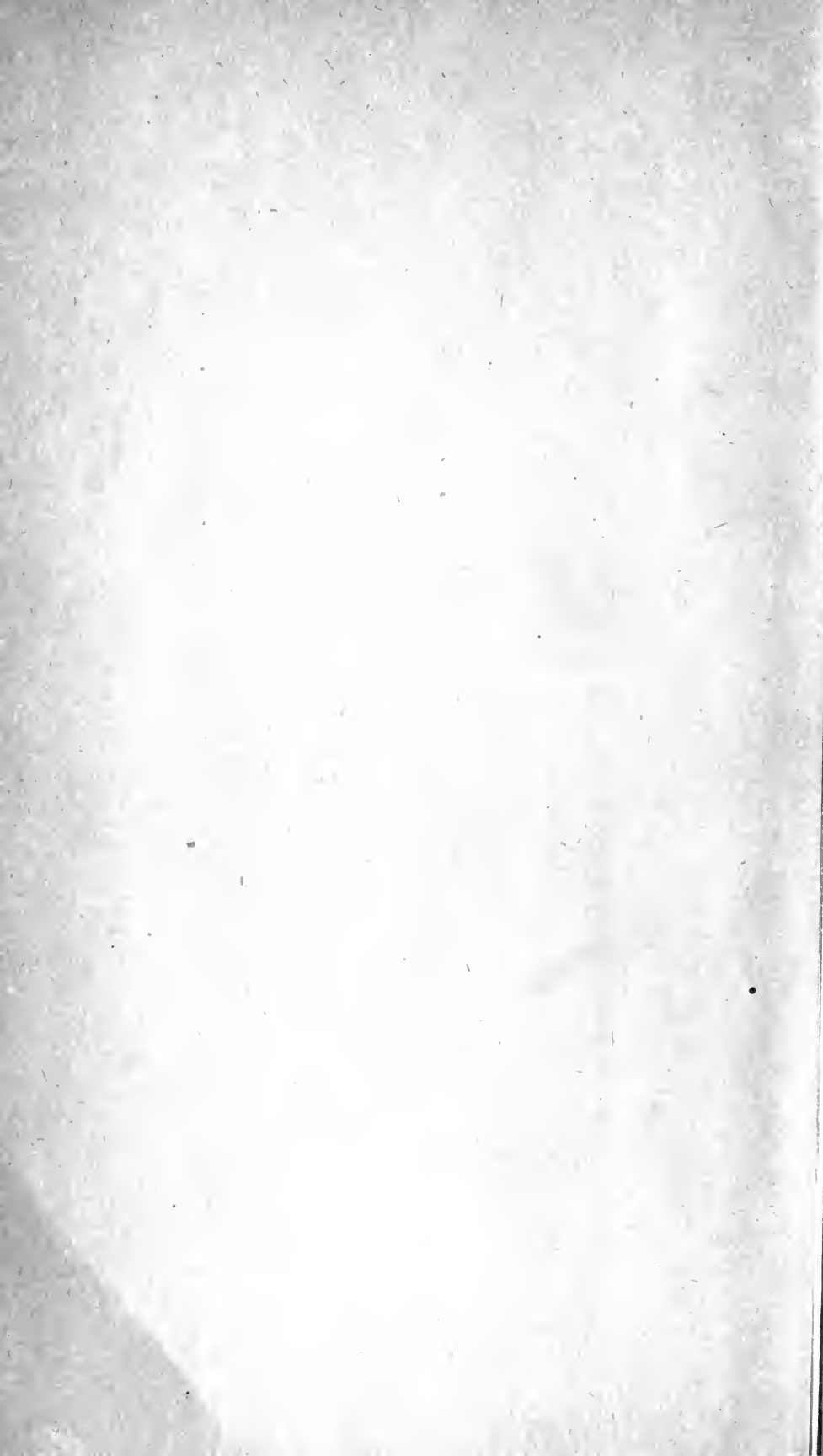
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FIRST
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FAITH
IN NEW FRANCE.

BY
FATHER CHRISTIAN LE CLERCO,
RECOLLECT MISSIONARY.

NOW FIRST TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES,

BY
JOHN GILMARY SHEA.

VOL. II.



NEW YORK :
JOHN G. SHEA.
1881.

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FIRST ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE FAITH
IN NEW FRANCE,

Containing the publication of the Gospel, the history of the French colonies, and the famous discoveries from the river St. Lawrence, Louisiana, and the river Colbert, to the Gulf of Mexico, accomplished under the direction of the late

MR. DE LA SALLE.

BY ORDER OF THE KING.

With the victories gained in Canada by his Majesty's arms over the English and Iroquois in 1690.

Dedicated to Monsieur, the Count de Frontenac, Governor and Lieutenant-General of New France.

BY

FATHER CHRISTIAN LE CLERCO,

*Recollect Missionary of the Province of St. Anthony of Padua, in Arthois,
Guardian of the Recollects of Lens.*

VOL. II.

PARIS:

AMABLE AUROY,

RUE ST. JACQUES, NEAR ST. SEVERIN'S FOUNTAIN, SIGN OF ST. JEROME.

1691.

WITH ROYAL PRIVILEGE.

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FIRST

Establishment of the Faith

IN

NEW FRANCE.

CHAPTER I.

PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH OF CANADA IN THE
FRENCH COLONY TO THE YEAR 1663.

AFTER what we have explained in the preceding chapter as to the feeble progress of the Church among the Indian nations to 1660 and '63, it follows that we must look for and can find true and solid progress of the Church only in the French colony during the present epoch.* It is indeed, properly speaking, rather a transplanted Church,

* This treatment of the Indian missions as a nullity is certainly unjust. See Du Chesneau's Report, "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. p. 150.

changing place, region, and climate, than a newly-established Church, as the colony is composed only of French Europeans and of families already Christian and Catholic, which, leaving their native country, come to form settlements in a strange land, there to profess the religion of their fathers and exercise its worship in a new world, as the religion of the Israelites was neither new nor different from having been transferred to other parts of the world. Hence it comes that as the Church began to appear at first in Canada with the colony in 1615, we would have only to pass in review and receive each year the French settlers who come successively from Old France to settle in the New from 1632 down, and this would suffice to show the progress of a Church which received its increase only as a greater number of families already Christian passed over; but this would be to stray from my subject and to enter rather on a natural and political history of the colony, which, properly speaking, is only an extension of the Gallican Church, to which it is attached. We may add that during the epoch in which we

are the colony had not increased much, there being only about two thousand five hundred souls at most scattered in those vast countries.*

We can, then, form an idea of the dispersion of families in the first ages of the world or in the first years after the deluge. As the children of Adam and Noe multiplied they gradually formed little cantons, which increased to villages, the villages to towns, and these to numerous cities. As these first inhabitants of the world divided, some to cultivate the earth, others to the mechanical arts, many to navigation or commerce, some to the administration of justice, some to the service of the altar, some to arms for the defence of their country against their common enemies.

Thus the first inhabitants of the French colony settled during my first epoch, aided by reinforce-

* The earliest census of Canada, that of 1666, gave a population of 3,418 ("N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. p. 58); that of 1667, 4,312; that of 1668, 5,870 (ib. p. 61); that of 1679, 9,400 (ib. p. 136). The converted Indians are not included, but they were sufficiently numerous to engage the attention of Talon and Colbert (ib. pp. 55, 59) and of Frontenac (p. 93). Du Chesneau had a census made of them in 1679, but the number is not given (ib. p. 136).

ments of new families sent over successively to Canada after 1632, divided and gradually scattered in the country to increase the colony on the foundations laid in 1615. Quebec was the centre, whence we see already re-established in 1633 settlements and forts of Cape Tourment and Tadoussac, which were resumed in 1634, those of Three Rivers in 1635, with the forts of great and little Richelieu. They even advanced in 1636 to Mont Royal as the head of the French settlements which covered the colony on one side against the incursions of the Indians. Some repair the old dwellings, others build new ones, north and south, ascending the river from St. Paul's Bay to Mount-Royal. During this second epoch of thirty years Quebec itself, Mount-Royal, and Three Rivers were only very insignificant villages, and all those beautiful shores for seventy leagues of inhabited country on the river to the left and right, now cleared, cultivated, and peopled by seigneuries and villages like our river-sides in France, then began to be inhabited under tents and huts, which changed into separate

settlements, formed subsequently into villages and towns.

The first inhabitants of the world needed a particular protection for the reciprocal defence of life ; it was given to the children of God, and we read that he gave it even to Cain as a kind of divine charm which made him proof against the attacks of his enemies. Our colonies needed a similar favor, especially during the thirty years of which I treat here, the colony being still, so to say, in the cradle. Before the coming of the English it gave less jealousy ; but as it increased and strengthened in the number of inhabitants savage nations took umbrage, and, in spite of the alliances contracted on all sides, it was continually necessary to make head against the incursions of the Iroquois. The forts at Quebec, Richelieu, Three Rivers, and Mount Royal were still feeble, although fortified with cannon ; and as the gentlemen of the Company furnished few soldiers, the inhabitants were obliged to hold themselves armed for self-defence—the farmers not daring to go out to cultivate their fields, unless the

bravest were on guard at the approaches to keep them in security.

Canada has always had the advantage of being governed by men of distinguished birth and merit from the time of Monsieur de Champlain, who was succeeded in 1636 by Monsieur de Mont-Magny, Knight of Malta, and under him Monsieur de l'Isle, also a Knight of Malta ; they governed the country as lieutenant-generals for his Majesty, appointed commanders, subject to removal, in the principal forts and settlements of the country. Although they were all well qualified, it is remarked that, except two or three under whom the country was governed, the others who wished to distinguish themselves for uprightness, equity, fidelity, and zeal for the advancement of the common good (qualities then utterly incompatible with the intentions and interest of many) had the misfortune to sustain continual persecutions from the very men who should have done most to uphold their good intentions.

Such* is the national character of the French, es-

pecially in foreign countries beyond the reach of laws, to live in perpetual movement and agitation, to labor little for their own repose and the real common good, to wish to rule one another, to sacrifice to individual advantage the national good, and, over-greedy of gain and profit, wishing to reap as soon as they sow. I shall here discreetly draw the veil over the applications which might be made to Canada. The simplicity, uprightness, disinterestedness, love of union and concord, which reigned in the early times * was soon changed in many into the opposite qualities; and as division and partiality did not fail to creep into the first colonies of the world, and began between Abel and Cain and their families and descendants, so this predominating trait has not in a less degree traversed the birth and progress, spiritual, temporal, and political, of the Canadian colony.

In this point, however, great injustice has been done to Canada, from which they now apparently begin to recover, in believing that the colony is

* The picture of the colony, ante i. pp. 161. 165, etc., is very different.

made up only of nobodies, debauchees, libertines, fallen women, fugitives from justice, or at best subjects and families driven to these new countries by disgrace or reverse of fortune. It would, I avow, be flattery to say that in the epoch now under consideration, or the preceding one, any persons of rank settled in Canada, if we except some recognized as real gentlemen to whom the country will be eternally indebted, such as the Messieurs de Tilly, de Repentigny, de la Poterie, Denis Daillibourt,* Robineau de Becancour, and Chateauneuf; but we must also admit that other heads of families who passed to Canada were in France good city bourgeois pretty well off or mechanics of different trades, farmers not very well off or soldiers, but all honest folk, having probity, uprightness, and religion, and, although reverse of fortune may have induced the emigration of a few, they were nevertheless men of honor in their state and condition. We know, too, that many heads of families went over

* Denys, D'Ailleboust.

to Canada with the intention of contributing to the conversion of the Indians, such as the Company of Gentlemen of Mount-royal under the direction of the Seminary of St. Sulpice.

I know that, on the part of France, they have often sent over suspected persons among many of honor ; but this justice is due to the governors and missionaries of the country, that they suffered nothing impure, libertine, or irregular. The settlers were examined and chosen, contraband goods and vicious or marked persons were sent back to France as soon as known ; and if some of both sexes remained who would not have been altogether free from reproach in France, it has been remarked that the sea-voyage had purified them, that they nobly effaced by penance the stains of early misconduct, their fall having served only to render them more reserved and cautious, so that they became and have been the examples and models of the colony.

I could hardly believe what I was told one day when about to set sail for Canada by a man of

talent, who had resided there and restored the Recollect missions (it was the Most Reverend Father Germain Allart, afterwards Bishop of Vences), that I would be surprised to find so many good people there; that he did not know a province in the kingdom with an equal proportion, and generally with more talent, penetration, politeness, luxury even in dress, a little ambition, desire of show, courage, intrepidity, liberality, and capacity for great things; he assured us even that we should find a more polished language, a clear and pure enunciation and a pronunciation free from accent.

I could scarcely conceive how a colony made up of men from every province of France, so different in manners, race, condition, interest, and natural disposition, as well as contrary in mode of life, customs, education, could be as accomplished as I was told. I know that this is due chiefly to those who went there after 1663, but it is true that when I was on the spot I found nothing had been exaggerated; New France being in this respect more for-

tunate than colonies lately established in other parts of the world. Till then there had been little form of justice established in the country; the council of Quebec sufficed for so small a colony, those of Three Rivers and Mount-royal not having begun till some years after.

As may be imagined, arts multiplied and extended as workmen were sent over from France and men of all trades; so that the reader may easily see that though I have only touched on the plan and state of the colony during the years to which I confine myself, I have nevertheless given a sufficient idea for my purpose, reserving to a natural history of the country what might be said in praise of some of the heads of families, who have been in a manner founders and patriarchs of the colony in which they still live, some in person, all in their numerous posterity.

I have now to conduct to the country and establish the ecclesiastical and religious communities of both sexes, which by happy increase still constitute the dearest and most illustrious portion, the

corner-stones and foundation, of the Canadian Church.

This vineyard of the Lord has been chiefly cultivated from 1632 to 1658 by the zeal and labors of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, who administered the spiritualities for twenty-six years both to the French and to the Indian tribes. To their care and the common contribution of the colonists, but chiefly to the royal allowance, is due the erection of the first parish church of Quebec, where these reverend Fathers exercised the parochial functions during all that time with a plenitude of power. There is only an interval of two years, during which the Abbé de Quélus, as illustrious for his piety, learning, and great zeal as for his birth, exercised the office of parish priest at Quebec and vicar-general of the Archbishop of Rouen in all New France, with great fruit and edification ; but he could bear up no longer than that against the opposition made to him on all sides both in France and Canada. He was recalled by authority, and returned the next year in the fishing-smacks as a private

ecclesiastic and an associate in the pious company of which we shall speak, exercising his functions only at Mount-royal.*

We have in the preceding chapters said that the Jesuit Fathers had established their head-house and seigneurie, to which they had transported the name of our convent under the title of Notre Dame des Anges,† but the place where the fort is now, on the top of a promontory on the river St. Lawrence, having been thought a proper site for the capital of the country, they chose an advantageous plot there, where they laid the foundations of a magnificent church and of that large house that has been gradually erected near it. To this house they have transferred their usual abode. It serves as a seminary, where missionaries of the Society are formed, who are distributed throughout Canada, and at the

* For the Abbé de Queylus and his career see Faillon, "Histoire de la Colonie Française," ii. pp. 271-300; La Tour, "Vie de Mgr. Laval," pp. 19-20. Shea's "Charlevoix," iii. p. 20, n.

† The grant to the Jesuits of the Seigneurie of Notre Dame des Anges was made in 1626 while the Recollects were still in Canada. "Seigniorial Questions," vol. A, p. 19a.

same time as a college for a small number of scholars, which may augment as the colony increases in subjects; the Canadians being full of fire and talent, capacity, and inclination for the arts, although little is done to inspire them with application to letters, unless such as are intended for the Church.*

Sufficient praise cannot be given to these reverend Fathers for their care in the spiritual and temporal progress of the colony, their pastoral solicitude in watching over the flock of Christ committed to their care, in enlightening everywhere the faults of individuals, in preventing, correcting, exhorting, in assisting the colonists in health, sickness, and death, in following them everywhere in danger and peril like true pastors.

We owe, too, to the exertions of their zeal the purging of Canada from some heretics who crept

* The old Jesuit college, after the conquest of the country by the English, was occupied as a barrack until 1879, when it was demolished. See the "Relation de ce qui s'est passé lors des fouilles faites par ordre du gouvernement dans une partie des fondations du Collège de Québec, par Faucher de Saint-Maurice, Québec, 1879."

in at first and wished to settle, their credit having obtained of the court the necessary orders.*

All know the good produced in all the Christian world by the Sodalties of the Blessed Virgin established in their houses. From the very beginning they sought to extend them to Canada, and they have produced no less fruit there than elsewhere ; persons of every rank, at all pious, being stimulated by a feeling of honor or grace to become members.

God accordingly gave the blessings of his grace to their zeal in those first times beyond what could be hoped from a church made up of people of such different countries ; so that it has been consoling to see some by natural rectitude, others by hopes and promises, some by fear of authority, others by the good principles of a careful education, many from maxims of faith and religion, rendered exact in their Christian duties, or at least affect them exteriorly. Moreover, as during the times

* The Recollects first asked the exclusion of Huguenots. See ante, vol. i. p. 111.

when the colony was so small in numbers and so scattered, the colonists were incessantly exposed to the incursions of the Indians, daily in peril of life, their property swept off, their children led away into captivity—this continual agitation contributed not a little to keep them in order and render them assiduous in the practices of religion suggested to them ; so that, except the vices of the mind, you can find few Christian countries where piety is more generally practised, leaving God to judge whether it was animated by a true spirit of religion.

This is all that can be said without overstepping the bounds in this matter by vain and chimerical fictions of spurious facts, and without abusing the easy credit given to certain relations from distant countries ; for it seems now that to please the reader a writer is forced to recur to extraordinary deeds and surprising adventures, to studied exaggerations such as we remark in many parts of Massé's history of the discoveries in the East Indies. Who, for instance, will believe what he relates of the

courage of a Portuguese soldier, who, having no more lead to fire at the enemy, pulled out all his teeth in order to load his musket? * We pardon such rodomontades and such fictions when found in a profane subject, but they become intolerable in a sacred one; they rather weaken credit in true historical passages. When we hear men canonize persons of ordinary piety, set forth visions, apparitions, revelations, ravishments and ecstasies, extraordinary operations of the Spirit of God, miracles and prodigies; when we see processions for three-quarters of a league on the ice and snow, barefooted and bareheaded, in mid-winter, † when you could not make twenty steps without being frozen; soldiers and mechanics take thirty disciplines; those fasts, those alms, those prayers, that fervor, those holy follies never seen in Canada: putting seven devils in the tooth of a nun to show her sanctity. By this great number of enemies what must we

* Maffei, "Historiæ Indiciæ," lib. xi. (ed. Caen, 1614, p. 474), is here alluded to.

† This may refer to Cartier. "Brief Recit" (1535), Tross edn., p. 35.

think of the four devils shaking the city of Quebec by the four corners,* and many other extraordinary things with which books are filled? I must be pardoned if in all that I sacrifice complaisance to the truth and fidelity of the historian.

The great progress of the new historic church of Canada among the Indians, and the appearance of an ample harvest, made a great sensation in France for the first years after the king resumed possession of the country. Few persons of piety were not touched with devotion and did not enter into feelings of holy zeal to contribute to it by their means or personal exertions.

Two ladies of quality were distinguished among others as early as 1637 and 1638. These two were the Duchess d'Eguillon and Madame de la Pellerie. The latter conceived the project of going to Canada herself, to labor in person amid the forests in converting Indian women, fondly believing that

* Ragueneau, "Vie de la Mère Cathérine de St. Augustin," p. 239; Juchereau, "Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu," p. 141; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, "Choix de Lettres Historiques," p. 279.

subjects would be as well disposed there as was represented to her ; and in order to concur more efficaciously by a multiplication of evangelical laborers, she resolved to employ a part of her means in founding a convent of Ursuline ladies at Quebec.*

The Duchess d'Eguillon, burning with the same zeal, and wishing to procure the sanctification of souls by the corporal relief of the Indians in sickness, resolved to found Hospital nuns there.†

The Reverend Jesuit Fathers willingly entered into these two projects, making it even a pleasure of grace to associate these two institutes to their apostolical functions as the deaconesses of the rising Church.

We shall begin by the Ursulines. The foundress, Madame de la Pelletier de Chavigny, was

* For Madame de la Peltrie, see her Life, by Mother St. Thomas, New York, 1859 ; Rel. 1672, part 3, Queb. edn., p. 57.

† Mary Magdalen de Vignerod, Duchess d'Aiguillon, was a daughter of René de Vignerod and Frances Duplessis, sister of Cardinal Richelieu. She became one of the ladies of Queen Mary de Medicis, and married Antoine du Roure de Combalet, but was soon left a widow. She was created Duchess d'Aiguillon, and devoted herself to works of piety and charity under the direction of St. Vincent de Paul. She died in 1675.

born at Alençon of one of the most distinguished families of Provence, and had married Monsieur de la Pelleterie, a gentleman of the house of Tournoy, by whom she had a daughter, who died a few days after baptism. The father soon followed the daughter; the widow, thus disengaged from her bonds, resolved to apply herself solely to please the Lord. As she belonged to the third order of St. Francis, she was animated by a seraphic zeal to contribute to the salvation of souls. Meanwhile a fatal malady which soon after seized her made her believe that God was satisfied with her good will. She was reduced to her agony, clad in the habit of a Franciscan nun, in which she wished to die; but at last God, by the interposition of Providence, having delivered this lady from peril, she on her recovery consented, in order to please and obey her father,* to marry Monsieur de Bernieres, treasurer of France in the generalship of Caen, who lived in a great odor of virtue, on condition, as she agreed with her intended husband, of keeping the

* It was, on the contrary, to free herself from the family control.

vow of chastity which she had made, and accomplishing her design of going to Canada. The marriage, however, did not take place, because her father, who urged her strenuously to it, having died, she found herself freed from all his persistency. Monsieur de Bernieres was her guardian angel, facilitating all the means of her enterprise ; hence came the close connection of the Canadian Church with these gentlemen of Caen,* who gave it a first bishop in the person of Monseigneur de Laval, and its first three vicar-generals—Messieurs de Bernieres, nephew of the one just mentioned, Angot de Mezeray, and du Doüy.†

The Reverend Jesuit Fathers had all confided to them, and henceforth impelled the execution of so pious a design. It is said that an Ursuline of Tours, a lady of talent and experience, of distin-

* The Hermitage at Caen grew out of a pious association formed at Paris by the Jesuit Father Bagot. The Recollects and the Frontenac party in Canada always show a bitter feeling to it. See Margry, i. p. 32 ; 369, etc.

† Rev. Louis Ango des Maizerets and Rev. John Dudouyt. Tan: uay, "Repertoire," pp. 45-6.

guished grace and virtue, had as early as 1635 conceived an ardent desire of going to Canada to labor for the conversion of that barbarism. This was Mother Mary Guiart, called "of the Incarnation," an Ursuline nun at Tours, prepared by extraordinary impressions for the apostolate of these savage nations, the Lord deigning, by a kind of prophetic infusion, to reveal to her the wide harvest destined to her zeal and the numerous conversions that he would effect by her means. The Reverend Father Poncet, a Jesuit, drew Madame Pelleterie's attention to this nun; she went herself to Tours with Monsieur de Bernieres. There they concerted the means of executing the enterprize; powers were obtained from the archbishop, her superior; and at last Mother Mary of the Incarnation, to whom Mother St. Bernard, afterwards called Mother St. Joseph, was assigned as companion, left Tours on the 22d of February, 1639. This happy party, composed of these two Ursuline ladies, Monsieur de Bernieres, and Madame de la Pelleterie, arrived at Paris, and after some stay

proceeded to Dieppe to prepare for embarking. There the Ursulines of that city granted to Mother Mary of the Incarnation Mother Cecilia of the Holy Cross to accompany her with 'Mother St. Joseph.*

The Duchess d'Eguillon had always loved Canada from affection and zeal. Our Fathers had even in the earliest times received great succors from the piety of that lady, who interested herself greatly to favor their return. She continued to send succors and charity there, thus contributing, as far as in her lay, to the establishment of the kingdom of Jesus Christ in that New World. She wished now to become the foundress of a house for Hospital nuns, and of the hospital projected there.

The monastery of Dieppe had been for the last two years selected and was preparing subjects to lay the foundation. Mother Mary Guenet of St. Ig-

* The Life of the Ven. Mary of the Incarnation has been written by her son, Dom Martin, Paris, 1677; by Father Charlevoix, Paris, 1724; by the Abbé Casgrain, Quebec, 1864; and in English by the Superior of the Blackrock Convent, Cork, 1880. See, too, "Les Ursulines de Quebec," 3 vols. 8vo, Quebec, 1863.

natus, Mother Anne of St. Bernard, and Mother Mary Foretier, called of St. Bonaventure, were chosen from the rest for this charitable enterprise. They were furnished with papers, contracts for the foundation, obediences and orders of the Archbishop of Rouen, Canada being then in his spiritual jurisdiction and direction.*

Their embarkation being prepared and the fleet ready to hoist anchor, on the 4th of May in the said year, 1639, Madame de la Pellerie, with these two seraphic troops of three Ursulines and three Hospital nuns, embarked on Monsieur Cotton's vessel under the direction of the Reverend F. Vimont, † a Jesuit.

The fleet which bore these new seeds of apostolic zeal and spirit for the establishment and propagation of a new Christian world in Canada, ar-

* The History of the Hotel Dieu or Hospital of Quebec has been written by Mother Juchereau de St. Ignace, Montauban, 1751, and more recently by the Abbé Casgrain, Quebec, 1878.

† Father Barthélemi Vimont. The vessel was the *St. Joseph*, Captain Bontemps. Acte de Reception, Ursulines de Quebec, i. p. 21-2. Letter of Mary of the Incarnation, May 20, 1639. Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 11.

rived happily at Quebec on the 1st day of August in the present year.

We may imagine the joy with which this little colony, as yet containing but a small number of inhabitants, received this new aid. After landing, and a Te Deum chanted amid the roar of the canons of the fort and ships, Madame de la Pellerie and the Ursulines were conducted to the house prepared for them, and resided there three years till their convent was completed on the spot where it is yet. They went to take up their residence there on the 21st of November, 1641.

During this time they received new reinforcements from France by the arrival of a number of religious as well from the congregation of Paris as from that of Tours. As these two congregations had habits of different form and different constitutions, it would perhaps have excited in individual members sentiments and feelings prejudicial to harmony and union, had not the prudence of the reverend Jesuit Fathers and the cautious policy of Mother Mary of the Incarnation, their Supe-

-

rior, found a medium proper to satisfy all. The congregation of Tours had been founded by a holy nun of St. Francis, who had left them the cord and a certain form of habit with peculiar constitutions. Those of Paris, it is known, besides having different constitutions, take a fourth vow to instruct children, which those of Tours do not. It was agreed that to establish uniformity in Canada the Paris Ursulines should take the Tours habit and the Tours nuns adopt the Paris vow. This continued till 1680, when all adopted the habit and constitutions of Paris, changing all that was gray to black, and taking a leather girdle instead of the cord of St. Francis.

They have constantly given their charitable instructions to youth as the colony increased in number. They also gave their care and attention, as they still continue, to the instruction of Indian girls boarding with them, whom they receive successively. The scholarships are endowed, and the number is increased when the devotion of the pious gives them means.

It is true that neither Madame de la Pelletterie nor the nuns, on leaving France, intended to limit their zealous labors to the circuit of that convent. They hoped to extend them amid the savage nations in the forests. Madame de la Pelletterie, inflamed with this divine ardor, ascended for that purpose to Montroyal in the following years, but she was finally led to see that she ought to adore the designs of God over those tribes, conform to his disposal, as he was satisfied with her good-will ; that the hour of grace had not yet come for those Indians, nor was the harvest ready. She needed all her virtue to submit. Our Fathers have heard her declare in her later days that nothing had affected her more acutely ; but it was finally necessary for her to confine herself to the convent at Quebec and live in the hope of wider designs for her piety when it should please God to give them his blessing.

We must admit that if that establishment has not had happier results in converting the Indians, it has produced great good in the country

by the sanctification of the colony, which has even furnished well-qualified members to the convent, so that they no longer need aid from France. It pleased God to visit them by a conflagration of their convent, first at the close of the year 1650, when the house was in its perfection; but it was afterwards restored by Mother Mary of the Incarnation, God having wished to try doubly her great virtue and the heroic courage of that holy religious.

I now return to the Hospital nuns whom we left at Quebec. They were first placed at Syllery, one league from the fort, where the reverend Jesuit Fathers had already begun an Indian village by the alms and foundation of the Commander de Sillery,* whose merit and piety are sufficiently known. They remained there two years, exercising all the offices of charity, particularly to the Indians; but as religious women were too much exposed in a

* Noel Brulart de Sillery, Bailly Commander Grand Cross in the Order of Malta, was born in December, 1577, of a family allied to Villegagnon's. He was French ambassador at Rome and at Madrid, but renounced the world and took orders. He died in 1640. See his *Life*, Paris, 12mo, 1843.

country place, they were transferred to Quebec. New members came over from France, as Mothers Mary Jane of St. Mary and Catharine of St. Joseph,* in 1640; Mothers Mary of St. Joachim and Mary † of St. Genevieve, in 1643; Mothers Catharine of St. Agnes and Mary of the Conception, in 1654. ‡ At last, after several changes of residence at Quebec, they fixed themselves on the spot where they now are, with all the comforts and attractions that could be desired for a regular convent and for the relief of the sick. We cannot give sufficient praise to their charitable zeal in the exercise of their functions for the French and the Indian neophytes of the two villages which are established near Quebec. Their confidence in Providence surpasses all expression, sparing nothing, even their own fund and revenues, depriving themselves of part of their own necessaries to provide for the sick. It would be difficult to find in any other part of the world a better regulated charitable

* St. Nicholas. Juchereau, p. 24. † Martha. Ib. p. 46.

‡ They arrived in 1657. Juchereau, p. 107; Casgrain, p. 583.

institution, or one where the works of mercy are performed with more zeal and edification.

If the Canada missions have hitherto been so unsuccessful in converting this New World, we may say that God, to justify his conduct in the condemnation of these barbarians, has forgotten nothing to draw them to the knowledge of the truth, and that there have been no infidel nations to whom Providence has sent more salutary and efficacious external means of attaining it, in order to render these nations entirely inexcusable.

God had long impelled several ecclesiastical and religious communities in France to concur in this great work by the sacrifice of their persons and labors; but as they found in their way various obstacles, their good-will was but a mere desire.

In this the community of Saint Sulpice was happier than the rest. The Abbé Olier conceived the first design and long entertained the project. This holy man thought it too little for his zeal to labor for the sanctification of Old France by reforming the clergy and establishing the Seminary of

Saint Sulpice, which has since been the source of so many others, unless he extended its effects to the New World and New France for the conversion of this barbarism.*

We may say that of all projects made with this noble design, none has been more disinterested, more solid, or better concerted than this.

The island of Mont-royal lies about two hundred leagues up the river St. Lawrence, surrounded on one side by the great river, on the other by the river Des Prairies. These two rivers, blending, form, as it were, two lakes, one at each end of the island, which may be about twenty leagues in circuit. As it is at the head of the country, it constitutes its chief defence, the more so as all the nations of the north, south, east, and west find easy access to it by the rivers leading thither.†

Methinks I see in Monsieur Olier an Apostle Paul taking in hand the map of this New World

* For Mr. Olier, see Faillon, "Vie de M. Olier," 2 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1853.

† The island was ceded to the Associates by John de Lauson, Aug. 7, 1640. Faillon, "Histoire," i. p. 394.

to achieve its conquest and subject it to the empire of Christ ; God having communicated the same fervor to many other persons of quality, especially to Messieurs de Quelus, Abbé de Lau Dieu and Chevrier, a priest, both of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice ; Monsieur Garibard, Maitre des Requêtes and President of the great Council ; Monsieur de Barillon, de Morangis, State Councillor ; du Plessis, Baron of Monbart, also Royal Councillor ; de Roüart, Esquire ; de Renti, de la Marguerie, Dailibout, de Maisonneuve, a gentleman of Champagne, and many other persons of rank to the number of thirty or thirty-five, among whom was Mademoiselle Manse, who distinguished herself particularly among them, first by the sacrifice of her labors and lastly of her own life.*

All these persons united together by a bond of grace and spirit to contribute with their means to

* For the early history of Montreal see Dollier de Casson, "Histoire de Montreal," Montreal, 1869 ; Faillon, "Histoire de la Colonie Française," 3 vols. 4to, Paris, 1865 ; Faillon, "Vie de Mlle. Mance," 2 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1854. Faillon considers the list of members here given incorrect. "Histoire," i. p. 437.

the promotion of this great work, intending to establish seminaries in the island for the instruction of the Indians, a general hospital for the relief of the sick, houses and hospitals to lodge the Indians who should come, to clear lands for their support ; to maintain missionaries—in a word, to employ all possible means to gain these nations to God ; these devout associates uniting in this good work with so much concert and union that they treated one another only as brothers and sisters. It was not difficult to obtain of the king and of the gentlemen of the Commercial Company the grant and donation of all the land in the island to belong as a seignery, a property in perpetuity, to that devout association.

This holy society had already in 1640* sent twenty tons of provisions, and other things necessary to begin the settlement. Monsieur de Maison-neuve went over the next year with forty men

* This seems doubtful. Faillon, " Histoire," i. p. 461 ; Dollier de Casson, p. 19, say nothing of it. The agreement with the Company was made only Dec. 17, 1640, too late to send anything ; but La Tour, " Memoires," p. 123, repeats it.

to reconnoitre the ground and lay out the settlement.* The members of the holy society who were in Paris at the close † of February, 1642, assembled in the Church of Notre Dame at Paris, where, in the celebration of the divine mysteries, they consecrated the island of Mont-royal to the Holy Family, Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, under the special protection and title of the Blessed Virgin.

A new shipment was prepared, and these devout Associates, among other things, sent all the church furniture, chasubles, sacred vessels, tabernacles, and all that could be desired for the decoration of the altars. New workmen, farmers, and laborers were sent over at the expense of these gentlemen. Monsieur de Maison-neuve was appointed the first governor, and letters and powers issued to him.

At last on the 17th of May, in the year 1642,

* About fifty-one came over with Maisonneuve in three vessels, and arrived in August, 1641. Faillon, "Histoire," i. pp. 418-420. Belmont says forty-five men and seventy-five thousand francs' worth of supplies. "Hist. de Montreal," p. 2.

† Dollier de Casson, p. 40, says Feast of the Presentation. See Rel. 1642, p. 37.

Monsieur de Montmagny, governor-general of the country, having gone up to Mont Royal with the principal inhabitants, the Sieur de Maison-neuve was put in possession of the island in due form, and on the 15th of August following was solemnized the dedication of the island, consecrated to the Blessed Virgin under the title of her glorious Assumption.*

Although these gentlemen spared nothing to advance their work, which Monsieur Maison-neuve and Mademoiselle Mance pressed with great assiduity, still time was needed to put it in a state of defence against the incursions of the Indians, during which and the following years it is impossible to express the toils, discomforts, and perils which had to be endured, and which the reverend Jesuit Fathers also shared during the three or four † years that they had the spiritual direction, the Associates having for that purpose granted them, like all other settlers, a site two arpents in front.

* Relation 1642, ch. ix. (Queb. edn., pp. 35-9).

† The Jesuits were the clergy of Montreal from 1642 to 1657.

Monsieur and Madame Daillibout went over from France in the first years to aid by their persons.* The settlement increased to almost a hundred farmers or workmen of different nations, who nevertheless worked in wonderful harmony to establish this holy colony, and to secure it against the assaults of the Indians. At last, after five years' stay in the country, the Associates added an article to their convention and treaty not to grant any lands in mortmain in the island of Mont-royal, so that Monsieur de Maison-neuve took over some priests of Saint Sulpice for the spiritual administration, and the Abbé de Quelus himself personally chose to consecrate to it the efforts of his zeal.

We may here see the futility of our projects for the conversion of souls, well-intentioned as they may be, and much as they be guided by the rules of wisdom, when the sins of nations render them unworthy of these graces. The enterprise of Mont-royal seemed founded on knowledge and

* Mr. d'Ailleboust and his party reached Quebec August 15, 1643. Rel. 1643, p. 6.

measures perfectly enlightened and solid, yet the prodigious expense, the zeal and labors of so many individuals of signal merit and tried virtue, had no effect in the conversion of the Indians beyond a small number of baptisms on which no reliance could be placed. God did not fail to give these gentlemen faithful credit for their good-will and the merit of their services, but, persuaded at last of the futility of their efforts and their great outlay, they resolved to induce the priests of Saint Sulpice to assume to themselves the seigniory, property, and management of the island of Mont Royal in temporals and spirituals. This resolution, though adopted in 1657, was not carried out in form till 1663.*

Till then the Sulpitians had furnished evangelical workmen, but this was only as a passing mission, and not as a fixed seminary or solid establishment.

We have related in the first epoch how Father Joseph le Caron, a Recollect of Paris, was the real

* The transfer was made March 9, 1663. Dollier de Casson, "Histoire de Montreal," p. 173.

apostle of the country, and that the spiritual direction of the mission had devolved upon him from 1615 to 1629, and how he died in the desires and yearnings of a holy ardor to return. This apostolical man had lighted up the fire of the same zeal in his family. Monsieur Souïart, his nephew (his sister's son), having left court and the prospects of a successful fortune, already far advanced, devoted himself to the Church and united himself particularly to the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, with the design of laboring efficaciously in the conversion of souls. This same charity inspired him especially with the desire of following his uncle's steps and going to resume his work in Canada in converting the Indian nations. Providence accomplished his designs this year. With him were associated the Abbé de Quelus, Monsieur d'Alignier,* and Monsieur Dalet,

* The first body, sent by Mr. Olier, just before his death, comprised Gabriel de Thubière de Levy Queylus, Abbé de Loc-Dieu, who had just been proposed for a bishop's see in Canada, and on the failure of that plan had obtained powers of Vicar-General for Canada from the Archbishop of Rouen; Gabriel Souart, nephew of F. Joseph le Caron, Dominic Galinier, priests, and Mr. d'Allet, a deacon. Faillon, "Histoire," ii. p. 271.

all four of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice. They embarked at Nantes on the 17th of May, 1657. The great advantages of this mission will be hereafter set forth.*

An hospital had indeed been projected in the island, but had not yet taken any form. Pious individuals made up for one by their charity, aided by succors from France. The regular establishment of one, begun this year, is due to these gentlemen.

Madame de Bullion gave twenty thousand crowns as an endowment for beds for the poor, and twenty thousand for the support of the religious. The Hospital sisters of Anjou were selected to lay the foundation, being then only secular Sisters, who took simple vows; their congregation, which has since been raised to a regular order, not having as yet received any confirmation at Rome. They accordingly came out in 1657, at the same time as the missionaries of Saint Sulpice. The commencement was happy; they even received new members from

* La Tour, "Memoires," p. 132.

France during the following years, and during the life of Madame de Bullion they carried out her designs with great success in relieving French and Indians. We may even say that, though in course of time they lost more than three-quarters of their endowment and of that of the hospital, God supplied the loss by a secret multiplication of his Providence, and it is remarked even now that, with almost no endowment, the expenses for the sick amount every year to eight or ten thousand livres.*

As there was still wanting at Mont Royal a house for the education and instruction of French and Indian girls, God prompted a holy maiden to proceed from France to Canada in order to found one. This was Sister Bourgeois, whom we have known full of the spirit of God, wisdom, and experience, of invincible constancy amid all the obstacles to her design. This Sister, having been joined in

* See Faillon, "Vie de Mlle. Mance," 2 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1854, for the history of the Hospital nuns of Montreal. La Tour, "Memoires," p. 128.

France by two others who aimed at the same object, under the direction of the Sulpitians, arrived in Canada in 1659, where she commenced the establishment of the "Sisters of the Congregation," who still maintain schools at Mont Royal and do great good there, keeping day-schools for the French girls, and boarding-schools also, where they train them not only to piety but also to the little handiwork of their sex, and form mistresses for the Canadian village schools, and others who are employed in Indian villages to instruct the girls. This house, though twice burnt, is still maintained, although it has no endowment but a continual blessing of Providence, the great faith and virtue of these good Sisters.*

Although the Canadian Church was very insignificant in point of numbers in 1657, yet, as there was reason to hope that it would increase in time, it was necessary to provide for a head on the spot.

* The life of Margaret Bourgeoys was written by Ransonet, Liege, 1728; by Montgolfier, 12mo, Montreal, 1818; in English, 12mo, New York, 1880; and more fully by Faillon, 2 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1853. See also La Tour, "Memoires," p. 138.

a common father and pastor, to give it all its form.

For this Providence destined Monsieur Pavillon de Montigny, of the noble and ancient house of Laval, who had renounced his rights as eldest son to give himself to the Church, and was connected with that of Evreux as archdeacon. This great man, as well known by the regularity of his exemplary life, by his capacity and the experience of his zeal, as by his illustrious birth, was consecrated Bishop of *Petræa* and named Vicar-Apostolic of Canada, to which country he proceeded the next year. We cannot sufficiently praise his assiduous cares, his pastoral solicitude, the prudence and wisdom with which this worthy prelate labored for the establishment of this little church, of which he afterwards became the first titular bishop.* He

* Bishop Laval is still held in the highest veneration in Canada. His life was written by la Tour, "Memoires sur la vie de Mr. de Laval, premier Evêque de Quebec," 12mo, Cologne, 1761; and recently by the Abbé Langevin, "Notice Biographique sur François de Laval de Montmorency, 1er Evêque de Quebec," 8vo, Montreal, 1874. "Esquisse de la vie, etc., de sa Grandeur Mgr. Fr. Xavier de Laval-Montmorency, Premier Evêque de Quebec," 8vo, Quebec, 1845; "Notice

son, father, and pastor, as well as all its

His Excellency de la Roche-Monsieur Pavillon
de Montigny, of the noble and ancient house
of La Roche, who had renounced his inheritance
to devote himself to the Church, and was con-
ferred with that of Evreux in commendam. This
great man is well known by the regularity of his
ecclesiastical life, by his capacity, and the experience
of his zeal, as by his abilities; he had, was con-
ferred Bishop of Petta, and was Vicar-Apos-
tolic of that, to which country he proceeded
in 1750. We cannot sufficiently praise his
zeal, his pastoral solicitude, the prudence
of his administration, which he has fully labored
for the establishment of the Church, of which
the affairs are now in a happy and happy state. He

was also present at the General Assembly of the Council
of France, and was present at the death of Mr. de La
Roche-Monsieur, who died at Evreux, on the 17th of
July, 1760, at the age of 78 years. He was buried
at Evreux, on the 19th of July, 1760, at the age of
78 years, and was buried at Evreux, on the 19th of
July, 1760, at the age of 78 years.



FRANCIS BACON
1561-1626

first began to provide for the rising parishes,* and to distribute in the principal settlements devoted and zealous ecclesiastics. But as all the success depended on ministers who were to labor under his orders, he founded a seminary at Quebec, feeble at first, but since notably increased in the number of members in science, learning, fervor, and virtue, and in funds and buildings by the liberality of the king, and the care and attention of the said lord bishop, its principal founder.

sur la fête célébrée à Quebec, le 16 Juin, 1850, 200eme anniversaire de l'arrivée de Mgr. Laval," 8vo, Quebec, 1859; "Translation des Restes de Mgr. de Laval," 8vo, Quebec, 1878. None of these works give him the name of Pavillon. He was born in the diocese of Chartres, April 30, 1623, and renounced his inheritance to enter the Church. He was ordained priest in 1647, and spent some time at Caen in a community directed by Mr. Bernières. This is frequently alluded to in contemptuous terms by Frontenac, La Salle, and the Recollects who were arrayed against him in Canada. He was appointed Bishop of Petrea and Vicar-Apostolic of New France, and consecrated December 8, 1658, by the Pope's Nuncio at Paris. He was made Bishop of Quebec in 1674, resigned in 1688, and died May 6, 1708. His remains were translated in 1878 to the chapel of the University Laval, and the Canadian Church solicits his canonization.

* As to their condition see La Tour, "Memoires," p. 149; the Jesuits, on his arrival, resigned to him all the French settlements attended by them, confining themselves to the college and Indian missions (ib. p. 153). "Arrets et Ordoimances," i. p. 443, gives the parishes as established in 1722.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE KING REUNITES THE COUNTRY TO HIS DOMAIN—THE GREAT ADVANTAGES HIS ROYAL PROTECTION AFFORDS THE CHURCH, COLONY, AND INDIAN TRIBES.

THE Church of New France, far from making any progress, could not subsist long unless a more powerful arm than that of the gentlemen of the Company came to her assistance in the extremity to which Canada was reduced in 1663.

The Iroquois, after having defeated and almost entirely destroyed our allies, desolated our habitations. The people were not in security even at Quebec, being unable to resist the enemy, who threatened us with total destruction. The missionaries' route to go and preach the Gospel was closed; the barbarians having already destroyed a great number* of them during this war and the preced-

* This is the only allusion to the many missionaries killed by the Indians while engaged in their devoted labors. The priests who thus perished were: Fathers Isaac Jogues, 1646; Anthony Daniel, 1648;

ing one. The colony, far from increasing, began to diminish. Some returned to France, others were taken and killed by the Indians. Many died of misery; the clearing and cultivation of lands advanced but little, and they were obliged to expect all from France. The order of police and justice, so necessary for the establishment of the Church, had taken no form. More powerful assistance was needed for the ministers of the Gospel, in order not to be obliged to support themselves by ways forbidden by their institute. Although the colony was so thinly inhabited, division always reigned more and more among the inhabitants. Commerce (the only resource for the country) was entirely ruined.

Till then the king reserved only the sovereign authority, having yielded the domain and the property, seigneurie, and commerce of New France to the gentlemen of the Company, on condition that

John Brebeuf, Gabriel Lalemant, Charles Garnier, Natalis Chabanel, 1649; James Buteux, 1652; Leonard Garreau, 1656; René Menard, 1661, all Jesuits; and Rev. William Vignal and Rev. James le Maître, Sulpitians, 1661.

they should pay all charges at their own expense. These gentlemen had doubtless good intentions, and we knew that most had joined only from a zeal for religion. They had made great efforts in the first years, but, being finally weary of so many useless outlays which produced no return, they had for the last years abandoned the commerce to the inhabitants of the country under certain conditions.* These were ruined by several reasons which are no part of my subject.

Involved by its great loans to more than two hundred thousand livres, far from being able to sustain itself or advance, it daily became more embarrassed, although ten per cent. was levied on all merchandise.

Worthy object of the piety of the king—who, after having given peace to Europe by the treaty of the Pyrenees, re-established order and felicity in the kingdom; begun to destroy heresy, which is now entirely annihilated; obtained from God a successor to the crown in the person of the Dauphin—

* For the condition of Canada, see Shea's "Charlevoix," iii. p. 52.

he wished to turn his zeal towards New France, which his Majesty united to his domain,* assumed the debts of the country, undertook to provide all the expenses of the Church, justice, and war, established a company for the sole direction of commerce † in a single hand, which has since been so advantageous to the inhabitants, a true father and saviour of Canada. This great prince, from a principle of religion, reserved to himself and his council every care, more with a view of forming a Christian empire than of extending the limits of a temporal kingdom. Of all the effects of protection which his bounty occasioned during the present epoch, the most advantageous was the powerful assistance he sent—intelligent and enlightened ministers and officers capable of giving a form to this rising country, with considerable sums drawn from his treasury, and sparing nothing to establish this colony. He sent also experienced troops to repel the enemy and sustain the inhabitants.

* "Edits et Ordonnances," i. pp. 30-1.

† *Ib.* pp. 40-8. "Memoires des Commissaires," ii. p. 527.

The Marquis de Tracy, after having restored the affairs at Cayenne and in the West India Islands under the king's control,* was ordered to pass to Canada to render the same services as governor-general of North and South America. He proceeded thither in 1665, and arrived at Quebec on the last days of June.†

About this time a fleet of seven ships which the king had equipped at Rochelle appeared in port, landed Monsieur de Courcelles, who came as lieutenant-general for the king in New France,‡ and Monsieur Talon, secretary of the cabinet, invested with the rank and power of the first intendant of justice, police, and finances; Monsieur de Salieres, colonel of the regiment of Carignan, with twenty full companies of the same regiment, that had served against the Turks in Hungary; besides two other transports which brought many colonists, horses, other beasts, and everything necessary to settle a new

* Lieutenant-general. "Edits et Ordonnances," iii. p. 27.

† Lalemant, "Journal," June 30, 1665. "Journal des Jesuites," p. 332.

‡ He was appointed governor and lieutenant-general. See commission, "Edits et Ordonnances," iii. p. 31.

country.* For fifty years Canada had sighed for such a succor. Messieurs de Tracy and Courcelles and the intendant with the troops took the field together a few days after their landing.

Till then the inhabitants had thought it much to hold themselves on the defensive, but with such a powerful reinforcement they were in a position to attack the enemy. Three forts were built forty, fifty, and sixty leagues from Quebec before the snow set in. The first, at the entrance of the river of the Iroquois, was Lake † Chambly, from the name of the commander. The second, seventeen leagues higher, at the foot of a rapid which was called St. Louis, was under the command of Monsieur de Sorel. The third, where Monsieur de Sallieres was posted, three leagues further up, called the Fort of Saint Anne, whence they could go without rapids to Lake Champlain, which is sixty leagues long, and which ends in the country of the Agniets, the first nation of the Iroquois. ‡

* Rel. 1665, pp. 3, 25.

† Fort.

‡ See Relation 1665, pp. 10, 13, and the map. Le Clercq, misled by the Relation, is incorrect. The fort at the mouth of the river is Fort

Such hardy enterprises began to spread alarm in the lands of their enemies, but still more the expeditions made during the winter to their country, over snow, ice, and lakes, during which they were defeated, their cabins destroyed, and their provisions carried off by our troops, so that these barbarians, having received other checks in various subsequent engagements, were obliged to solicit peace, which was granted them.* They voluntarily made peace themselves with the nations which were our allies. *Toto novo orbe in pace composito.*†

Whilst God gave these blessings to the arms of the king, the intendant gave his attention to the establishment and general good of the country, which soon changed its appearance by the wisdom of so penetrating, so experienced a minister, so zealous for the service of God and the king, as Sorel, on the site of old Fort Richelien ; Fort St. Louis, at the Chambly Rapids, was built by Chambly and generally bore his name ; de Salieres' fort was St. Teresa. See Shea's "Charlevoix," iii. p. 83. Fort St. Anne was erected in 1666 on an island in Lake Champlain (Lamotte). Dollier de Casson, p. 238.

* "Traitez de Paix Conclus entre S. M. le Roi de France et les Indiens du Canada, etc.," Paris, 4^o, 1667.

† Relation 1666, pp. 7-8. "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. p. 56.

Monsieur Talon has always been, as were, too, his brothers in the intendancies and other employments of distinction.

The colony, which was as yet only a handful of settlers scattered here and there in different cantons, was notably increased by the number of officers and soldiers who chose to settle when the troops were disbanded, and who formed more than three hundred new families. To each soldier the king allowed fifty livres and rations for a year, to a sergeant fifty crowns, and to an officer in proportion. Sixty leagues of land ascending the Saint Lawrence, on the lakes, rivers, and inland, were divided up. The lands were erected into seigneuries for the captains and officers,* each seigneur granting farms in his district to his soldiers and others who came from France, so that in a few years the clearing and cultivation of the lands having materially increased, they were able to support the settlers. The young women sent over in great numbers by

* See list of seigneuries in Bouchette's "Topographical Description," Appendix. The military grants are chiefly in 1672.

the king in the following years found regular settlements, and were advantageously married according to their degree.

Courts were not as yet fixed and regulated. The king everywhere established royal subaltern seigniorial courts and a superior sovereign council erected by letters-patent at Quebec, composed of a president, dean, and councillors, judging as a court of last resort in all cases of appeal, according to the laws of the kingdom.*

The intendant endeavored to give some form of administration everywhere as in France, establishing the manufacture of linen, leather, shoes, hats, lace, etc. Potash works and breweries, public edifices in many parts of the country, were the result of his attention, as well as the construction of ships and barks; the re-establishment of treaties with Indian tribes, free trade for the colonists, the regulation and perfect order of the royal income, attracted merchants from France.

* The council was established in April, 1663. "Edits et Ordonnances," i. pp. 37, 83.

gress could be made, they undertook, under favor of the peace of 1668, a considerable mission among the Iroquois nations living north of Lake Frontenac. We may say that they lavished there their persons, labors, and property, but, taught by an experience of twelve years that they labored in vain (the hour not having come), they were obliged to abandon these missions,* in order to devote them exclusively to a number of Huron and Iroquois families whom they had drawn gradually into the island, and who now form a Christian village one-quarter of a league from Ville Marie.†

The Iroquois missions, which had been interrupted for so many years on account of the war, began to be restored in this and the preceding year. The reverend Jesuit Fathers divided themselves among the Five Nations in as many fixed missions to

* These were the missions at Quinté Bay, under Messrs. Fenelon and Trouvé. Hawley, "Early Chapters on Cayuga History," pp. 83-99.

† This was established in 1677, on the Mountain of Montreal, at what is now called The Priests' Farm, removed subsequently to Sault au Recollet, and then to its present site, The Lake of the Two Mountains. Belmont, "Histoire du Canada," p. 13.

the zeal of the said Sulpitians, resigned to them by a contract of donation, pure, simple, and irrevocable, dated March 9th, all their domain, seigneries, farms, farm-houses, lands, and other rights in the island of Montreal, to have and enjoy for ever as the property of said seminary.

The whole spiritual and temporal authority of the island being united in one community, these gentlemen exercised it usefully for the progress of good in a perfectly disinterested manner. It would be hard to believe what I have heard from most trustworthy persons as to the amount of the great contributions of the community of the seminary and of individual members for this good work. To their care is due the progress of Ville Marie, of the domain of five regular villages in the island and several others just forming, but chiefly for the fine order of the Church distributed in six principal French parishes, attended by these gentlemen with great edification and fruit.

Impelled by zeal for the conversion of the Indians, and wishing to try in their turn what pro-

The Seminary of Quebec * gradually took form. It was increased by ecclesiastics and priests, some Canadians, others from France, so that as the colony visibly increased, his Lordship the Bishop of Petraea had enough priests to distribute to the principal villages in the country as missionaries, fixed parishes not having been yet established any more than the titular bishopric, although Monsieur de Petraea was already named and designated by the king as first bishop of Quebec.

The Sulpitian Seminary at Mont Royal, under the direction of Monsieur Soüart, being posted at the head of the country and settlements, had suffered most during the years of war, and sustained with great courage the frequent incursions of the Iroquois without losing heart. It even augmented its number of qualified ecclesiastics, full of capacity and zeal, who contributed by their persons and property to the increase of the glory of God. We find that in 1663 the members of the pious society of Mont Royal, their associates, wishing to second

* See "Edits et Ordonnances," i. pp. 33-37.

The number of workmen in all trades insensibly increased by means of those whom the king annually sent to aid the colonists, and in the same way the country was supplied with horses and domestic animals of all kinds.

The colony also assumed an entirely new face by the continual favors bestowed by the king and by the application of Monsieur de Courcelles and Monsieur Talon; but the chief advantage was the restoration of the missions among the Indian nations and the new progress of the Church in the colony, which form the subject of my history.

The king, forgetting nothing that depended on his piety to contribute to the establishment of the kingdom of God in Canada, assigned considerable allowances to the two seminaries and all the religious communities of both sexes, besides concessions of the best lands and farms in the country to give them means to fulfil their functions, for the spiritual edification of the colony and the Indian nations.



THE WIFE OF
MORNING

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resume their apostolical labors: Father Pierron among the Agniers, Father Carhiel among the Oiongoüens, Father Garnier among the Onnontaguetz, Father Bruyas among the Onnejouts, Father Fremin among the Sonnontrüans.* It is not easy to imagine how affected these good Fathers were to find no mark of Christianity among those barbarous nations; the few trained Huron and Iroquois Christians having taken refuge in the French country near Quebec and Mont Royal.†

The Outaouac missions were continually traversed during the period of the war, but a free passage was opened by the peace, especially after Talon, on his return from France, deputed in the king's name celebrated embassies to fifty Indian nations already known and frequented, to whom great presents were made to facilitate the entrance of missionaries

* Mohawks, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, Senecas.

† The missions were restored in July, 1667, by Fathers Fremin, Pierron, and Bruyas. Rel. 1668, p. 4. Captive Hurons and Algonquins formed two-thirds of Gandawague (Caughnawaga); the missionaries visited them first, and nowhere say that they found no marks of Christianity among them. Fathers Garnier, Carheil, and Milet were sent to aid them. Ib. pp. 17, 20.

and favor the effects of their zeal in their apostolic labors.

As the Northland and Tadoussac trade down the Saint Lawrence was especially attached to the royal treasury under the direction of the new society, the Associates perfectly seconded the good intentions of the reverend Jesuit Fathers in all their district, comprising different Indian nomad tribes often mentioned.

If the fruits of these missions then corresponded to all the Relations tell us of them, great changes have occurred since. We must not the less esteem the merit of the unwearied labors of the missionaries who followed the Indians in winter and summer to the North Sea. In fine, all the missions would have promised everything, if their success and conversion of the Indians had depended on the zeal and devotion of the ministers of the word of God.*

* Monsieur Belmont, Sulpitian, writing at this time and in more direct communication with the west than Le Clercq, bears testimony to the value of the labors of the Jesuits. "Histoire du Canada," p. 13.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE RECOLLECTS OF PARIS RETURN TO CANADA BY
THE KING'S ORDER—MONSIEUR DE FRONTENAC
SENT OUT AS GOVERNOR—HIS ARRIVAL AND
HAPPY COMMENCEMENT.

FOR nearly thirty years they had complained in Canada of the hampering of their consciences.* As the colony increased the clamors of the settlers redoubled and were more loudly heard. I am willing to believe that no occasion was given and that the great exactitude of the ministers was useful and necessary. The Frenchman loves liberty. He is an enemy of constraint even in religion, wherever he is. We have seen with what repeated instances the Canadians had called for the Recollects from the restoration of the colony. The

* See Shea's "Charlevoix," vol. iii. p. 54; La Tour, "Memoires sur la vie de Mgr. Laval," p. 124; Talon, "Memoire," 1667; Belmont, "Histoire du Canada," p. 13.

obstacles raised only heightened their suspicions and their eagerness to see us back.

The gentlemen of the Company had been thoroughly notified thereof, as we have said in previous chapters, but since his Majesty had reunited the country to his domain, that great prince, whose knowledge nothing ever escaped, whose penetration, wisdom, and vigilance are ever devoted to the least details in the government of his realm, to conduct them himself, well informed by his ministers of the great desire of his subjects in New France for the return of our Fathers of Paris to their old mission, and that it was expedient for the glory of God, the good of the colony, and his own service, in 1669 ordered the Reverend Father Germain Allart, then Provincial of the Recollects of the province of Saint Denis, to send over four of his religious that very year to resume possession of their former establishments.*

Monsieur Talon, the intendant of Canada, was then in France, having come to report the state of

* Letter of Louis XIV. in Faillon, "Histoire," iii. p. 198.

the country and receive new orders and new succors, to continue and consolidate what he had already so happily begun; he took on himself the care of their embarkation. The reverend Father Cæsarius Herveau, then Definitor of the province, in which he was subsequently Provincial, a religious of known capacity, virtue, and experience, was named the first Superior of the mission, and embarked at Rochelle on the 15th of July that same year, with Fathers Romuald Papillion and Hilariion Guenin, priests, and Brother Cosmas Graveran, lay brother.

The voyage was not a fortunate one. Father Romuald died on the way. The vessel, after being three months at sea, buffeted by storms and tempests, and suffering even from hunger and want of provisions, was obliged to put in at Lisbon, and, sailing thence on the 25th of December, the ship was wrecked and went to pieces three leagues from that city, so that our religious were obliged to return to their province.*

* M. Marie de l'Incarnation, "Choix des Lettres" p. 646.

So unfortunate a result, contrary to the good intentions of our Fathers, only increased their zeal to return to Canada in fulfilment of the royal orders to our province, which his Majesty renewed, even commanding (by *lettre de cachet* dated April 4, 1670) the reverend Father Germain Allart, Provincial, to proceed in person with four religious. Other *lettres de cachet* were issued to the Bishop of Petræa, to Messieurs de Courcelles, Governor, and Talon, intendant of the country, for the same purpose.

It is said of the prophet Nehemias, one of the favorites of Artaxerxes, that, touched by the desolation of Jerusalem and the temple of the Lord, of which only the sad foundations remained as sole token of its ancient splendor, this prophet conjured the king to authorize the zeal he felt to go and rebuild the city and temple of the Lord; he asked and obtained letters to the governors and lieutenants-general *trans flumen*, beyond the river, to facilitate the execution of his enterprise. The holy man, full of the spirit of the Lord, took leave of the king, to

return to him when he had accomplished the order of God. The Scriptures note that Nehemias succeeded perfectly, and accomplished the great work by the help of the governors and nations who seconded him in spite of the opposition of Sanabellat, who, supported by the Samaritans, made every effort to defeat the execution of his pious design by secret intrigues.

The reverend Father Germain Allart, filled with that prophet's very zeal to restore the house of the Lord which had formerly served as first convent, first church, and first seminary in that new world, furnished with commendatory letters from the king* and his ministers commanding under his orders in the country *trans flumen*, after taking leave of his Majesty, set out for Rochelle, where Fathers Gabriel de la Ribourde, Simple Landon, Hilarion Guesnin, and Brothers Luke le François, deacon, and Anselm Bardou, lay brother, had repaired. The fleet, being ready to sail, weighed anchor in

* The king by letters-patent gave them 1,200 livres salary a year, but forbade them to solicit alms. La Tour, p. 200; Margry, i. p. 89.

the latter part of May, 1690,* in company with Monsieur Talon, the intendant, and, after a pretty long and dangerous voyage of three months,† arrived at last at Quebec, where our Fathers were received by Monsieur de Petræa, Monsieur de Courcelles, the Governor, by the reverend Jesuit Fathers, and a great crowd of settlers, with every mark of joy which could be expected in a country where our Fathers were desired with eagerness for so many years.

We leave our readers to conceive with what feelings of grief and zeal this new Nehemias regarded the sad ruins of our ancient house of Notre Dame des Anges. There were yet in the country many persons and settlers of the time of our first Fathers, from whom he learned with sensible consolation a part of the apostolic labors sustained in that country by its first apostles. He was led to the spots signalized by their zeal, of which traces were yet to be found. They showed him the site they had for-

* 1670.

† They were nearly wrecked at Tadoussac. Rel. 1670, p. 2.

merly occupied. He deliberated for a time, but at last resolved to rebuild on the ruins of our former house, half a league from town. Seconded by the charitable assistance of the governor and intendant, they had in less than six weeks raised a wooden building which served as a chapel and house.* The Bishop of Petræa did us the honor of celebrating the first Mass there on the 4th of October, the festival of our Seraphic Father, Saint Francis. The cross was planted amid a gathering of all the most distinguished at Quebec, with the ordinary ceremonies amid the roar of cannon and small arms, nothing having been omitted to give solemnity to the action.†

Meanwhile the time of sailing approached, and as the reverend Father-Provincial had orders to return to France, he appointed Father Gabriel de la Reibourde his Commissary and first Superior of the mission. Governor de Courcelles kindly agreed

* It occupied the site subsequently taken by the Hospital. La Tour, "Memoires," p. 201.

† Talon to Colbert, Nov. 10, 1670 (Margry, i. p. 89, etc.), praises Allart's course highly.

to accept letters as first apostolic syndic of our convent, and the intendant, always equally zealous for our Fathers, made it a point of religion and honor to direct the expenditure of the king's liberality and the alms from France in supporting the religious and building a church and regular house.

The materials having been collected during winter to build the church, the corner-stone was laid June 22, 1671, with the ordinary ceremonies, by Monsieur Talon,* our religious meanwhile celebrating the divine mysteries in the little wooden chapel built at our arrival.

Three months afterwards the mission received a considerable reinforcement by the arrival of four of our Fathers and a lay brother. The Father-Superior, aided by this succor, extended the effects of his zeal to many parts of the settled country for the spiritual assistance of the colony. For his own district he took five villages in the neighborhood of Quebec.† The re-establishment of the Third

* La Tour, "Memoires," p. 201.

† To the Recollects were assigned Three Rivers, Ile Percée, St. John's River, and Fort Frontenac. Ib. p. 200.

Order of St. Francis was begun for the edification of both sexes, and in course of time it produced many persons of virtue and piety.

Brother Luke le Francois, well known in France as one of the ablest painters of his time, who never devoted his pencil to any but pious subjects the sight of which inspires a devotional spirit—this good religious labored for fifteen months on many works, which he has left as so many marks of his zeal : the painting over the high altar of our church and that of the chapel ; he enriched the parish church with a large painting of the Holy Family ; that of the reverend Jesuit Fathers with an Assumption of the Blessed Virgin ; and he completed that of the high altar representing the Adoration of the Wise Men. The churches at Ange Gardien, Chateau-riche, the Cote de Baupré, at Sainte Famille on Isle Orleans, and of the Hospital of Quebec were also indebted to him for works of his hand.

The Father-Commissary, seeing a sufficiency of zealous and willing laborers to toil in converting

the Indians, would have wished to resume a part of the missions which our first Fathers had formerly occupied ; but as some were worthily filled by other missionaries, and not wishing to follow where they had cleared the way, made frequent efforts to obtain permission to send some religious to those at least which had been abandoned ; but as all these requests were useless and nothing could be obtained, he had to rest satisfied with his good will and defer the action of his zeal to some other time. Some of our Fathers, especially Simple Landon, Exuperius d'Ethune, and Leonard, studied Indian languages, and progressed so as to be ready to serve ; for as yet nothing was said openly, and it was merely hinted to us that the Recollects had come to Canada only to live in solitude, chant in choir, pray, and lead a regular spiritual life, as there were other laborers enough to cultivate the vineyard of the Lord and fulfil the ministry to the people.

The king being pleased in 1672 to recall to his court Monsieur de Courcelles and Monsieur Talon,

who had in concert asked to return to France, the Count de Frontenac was appointed* to fill their place and unite in his person the powers and authority of both. As Canada can never sufficiently acknowledge the singular obligations it is under to the care and attention of those gentlemen, their loss would have been more deeply regretted if it had not been happily supplied by a nobleman of the birth, merit, valor, equity, and zeal of the Count de Frontenac.

To try his constancy God permitted a vessel of the fleet, bearing his outfit, furniture, and provisions, to be taken off Isle Dieu by the Dutch, as we were at war with them. The vessel on which he was arrived safely at Quebec, where he was received with extraordinary marks of joy, as a presentiment of the advantages which the country was to derive from his government.

He soon gave proofs of it, and showed how perfectly he could blend the duties of a nobleman and

* His commission, dated April 7, 1672, is in "Edits et Ordonnances," iii. p. 40. His instructions are in "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. p. 85.

officer of a great king with the piety of a Christian governor full of zeal for the Church and religion. He was the first who appeared in Canada to maintain his dignity by a company of guards and all the officers, high and low, which compose the household of a provincial governor, and in such fine order that his might pass for a regular academy and a seminary of virtue.

In autumn he sent to the Iroquois nations, who had been restless for the last year and threatened a rupture. He sent presents to the other nations also, to bring them to trade the next summer, as well as to confer with the chiefs on the means of advancing religion. He had the address to induce many to entrust to his care their children of both sexes, putting the girls to board at the Ursuline convent at his own expense, and educating the boys either in his own house or with pious colonists.

A spirit of litigation began to creep into Canada. The governor, full of charity, undertook to settle all disputes by himself amicably, and has al-

ways continued to do so, so that the officers of justice, seeing themselves deprived of business, complained to the court the next year. There was not a poor family which did not experience to profusion the first effects of his liberality; for, a real father to the poor, he had directed his confessor to inform him of all the needy who came to his knowledge.

He convoked at Quebec a kind of Estate and assembly of all the notables of the country to declare to them the king's intentions, to concert means for advancing the establishment of the colony, giving form to all the branches of the civil and military administration. An unswerving protector of the Church and missions, it was not his fault that the Indians were not brought up to French manners to dispose them for Christianity, for he often declared the king's intentions on this point, and to the end endeavored to carry them out.

While the governor thus traced the plan of his great administration, of which he afterwards gave so many proofs for the good of the country, Mes-

sieurs Denis* and Bazire, seigneur proprietors of Isle Percée in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, asked a Recollect to found a mission there, it being a spot where four or five hundred fishermen and many Indians assemble during the summer. The Bishop of Petraea was then in France. Monsieur de Bernières, his vicar-general on the spot, after much difficulty, was obliged to yield to the authority of the governor, who so ordered for the king's service.† Father Exuperius Dethunes was chosen and accepted; he set out with Monsieur Denys' family in May, 1673. This good Father, who labored sixteen years in Canada, where he consumed his strength and health, with all possible edification, began this establishment, which he conducted till '83, when he returned to Quebec as Superior, succeeding Father Valentine le Roux.

* Richard Denys, Sieur de Fronsac, son of Nicholas, Proprietor and Governor of Acadia. He was lost on the St. François Xavier before 1694.

† Le Clercq, in his "Relation de la Gaspésie," p. 20-1, gives Fathers Hilarion Guesnin and Exuper de Thunes as first missionaries, and says he succeeded them in 1675. It is scarcely possible that Le Clercq wrote this part and ascribed his own labors at Ile Percée from 1675 to '83 to another person.

Our early Fathers had for ten years occupied the mission of Three Rivers. On our return to Canada God wished to give us at least the consolation of resuming that mission, which was then vacant. Father Hilarion Guesnin had been there for some time. Father Claudius Moreau succeeded him. This good religious, who has labored in Canada for the last twenty years with great zeal and edification, laid the foundation of this mission and a regular establishment which we owed a few years after to the piety of Messieurs Crevier and Pepin.

CHAPTER XX.

THE NEW DISCOVERIES BEGUN BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FORT FRONTENAC—ERECTION OF THE TITULAR SEE OF QUEBEC—PLAN OF THE RECOLLECT MISSIONS IN NEW FRANCE.

WE will begin this chapter by the establishment which was made of a colony on Lake Ontario, an enterprise at once the hardest, most opposed, and most useful to the country for the maintenance of peace by keeping the Iroquois in check, so as to open a way for missionaries in the vast regions of America, to assure the colony against the insults of infidels, and, lastly, to give a commencement to the finest and most famous discovery made in our century in the New World.

It must be known that above Mont-Royal and Lake St. Louis the river St. Lawrence divides, as it were, into two branches, one of which leads to the

old Huron country, to the Ontaouacs* and other nations situated to the north. The second branch, to the south, leads to the Iroquois country by ascending for sixty leagues falls and rapids, and the rest of the continuation of the river as far as Lake Ontario, which is at least eighty leagues long and forty broad; the entrance where the fort is being forty-four degrees and some minutes north. This lake formed by the river is sufficiently deep for large ships, there being no bottom found at seventy fathom. The waves, tossed by the frequent winds there, rise as high as those of the sea, and are more dangerous because they are shorter and fall more abruptly, so that the ship is less obedient to the swell. There is also some appearance of a perceptible tide and ebb, for it is observed that the waters rise and fall regularly in slight tides, even during and against the wind.

The fisheries of every kind are abundant, especially that of salmon trout much larger than our largest salmons. The lands around the lake are ex-

* Ottawas.

tremely fertile, as we know in different places by experience. The chase offers all that can be desired in the way of deer and small game. The forests are thick with the finest trees found in Europe, and besides that pines, red cedars, and spruce. Iron-mines are found there, and some other metal may be discovered in time. Around this lake inland there are on the south the five great Iroquois nations, with several towns of the same nation on the north. The villages are arranged almost as those of France, the cabins being ranged in streets near one another. As may be seen on the map, this lake leads, by those of Conty, Orleans, and Dauphin (which are connected by their rivers), to an infinity of different tribes. We enter by a channel of the river twenty-five leagues long without a rapid.

Spring being come, the governor, having considered the advantages of this post, resolved to go up in person, build a fort, and begin a colony there. The enterprise was hardy. Certain persons were interested to traverse it under the pretext that this post would watch too closely the upper country,

north and south. Reports were spread at one time that the Iroquois had seized the passes from Ontario to Mont Royal with a powerful army; at other times that the Hollanders were at the mouth of the gulf with a large fleet to seize the country.* Suborned persons came in daily with new alarms. Monsieur de Frontenac, who never lacked discernment and resolution, stood alone in his opinion, and they were forced to obey. The rendezvous was at Mont-Royal, whence, after receiving embassies of the principal Indian nations whom he had summoned there,† he ascended, at the head of four hundred men, through the rapids and the wilderness to the lake which has since been honored with his name, and such we shall hereafter call it.

This march, far from exciting the Iroquois, induced them to send deputies to assure Monsieur de

* Father Dablon met Frontenac at Cap de la Magdeleine and reported the capture of New York by the Dutch, and mentioned his fear that they might blockade the St. Lawrence. "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. p. 97. Their fleet really captured a French post in Maine. J. W. de Peyster, "The Dutch in Maine."

† Frontenac sent La Salle to Onondaga to ask the Iroquois to send deputies to Kenté. Margry, i. p. 198.

Frontenac of their submission. Our people labored assiduously to establish a state of defence, and in less than six weeks this fortress was much advanced. It was at first only wood and turf. A commandant was left there with a sufficient garrison, which completed the work of putting the fort in proper condition.*

Meanwhile, as the reverend Father Eustace. Maupassant had arrived from France † as Superior of the mission, Father Gabriel de la Riebourde was appointed first missionary at Fort Frontenac. Before his departure he had the consolation of taking part in the blessing of our new church, which was now completed. The Reverend Father Dablon, Superior of the Jesuits, honored this ceremony with a very fine sermon. At the same time were celebrated the dedication of the church of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers and the solemnity of the

* See Journal of Count de Frontenac's voyage to Lake Ontario in 1673. "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix, p. 95; Margry, i, p. 195. The fort was laid out by Randin, July 13, 1673.

† In 1673. See as to Father Maupassant, La Tour, "Memoires," pp. 206-7. He was an eloquent preacher. Frontenac in Margry, i, p. 251.

canonization of St. Francis Borgia, at which the reverend Father Eustace, Superior of the Recollects, had the honor of preaching with applause.

The great utility of Fort Frontenac for establishing and securing peace with the Indian nations was soon felt. The alliance became daily closer and commerce more abundant. The Indians even chose to give their children as a kind of hostages to Monsieur de Frontenac, and he accepted them to favor their conversion ; but above all the missionaries exercised their functions freely among the Indians, and it is remarked that by this means many Iroquois families insensibly drew off to come to our settlements to assure their salvation in the missions around Mont-Royal and Quebec. An Iroquois village gathered, too, near the fort, to which Fathers Louis Hennepin and Luke Buisset were appointed. The former made excursions to the Iroquois nations, drew families from them to the fort, and, having perfected himself in the knowledge of their language and the means of gaining them to God, labored there several years with

fruit.* Father Luke Buisset, a religious of singular merit, profound erudition, and great regularity of life, followed the Indians everywhere, and even twice wintered with them in the woods, in order to gain them to Christ.

Our province of Saint Anthony of Padua, which sprang from that of St. Denis, will be eternally indebted to that charitable mother for a host of favors conferred, but particularly for having associated it in the apostolic ministry in New France. As I had the honor to be the first novice and first professed in the province after its erection, so, too, I had the advantage of being with Father Zenobius Membré, the first chosen for the Canada mission. It was in the year 1675 that obedience sent me to the mission of Isle Percée, which forms a part of the various Gaspesian missions, of which I shall say nothing here, having already published a Relation.†

* See Shea's "Hennepin," pp. 53-6, 64, 23.

† His "Relation de la Gaspésie," published almost simultaneously with this work, but which refers to this book for a continuation of his labors.

The religious of our province are entitled to the credit of having endeavored, by the exertions of their zeal and apostolic labors, to answer as best they might the honor done them, and surmounted with pleasure the greatest dangers at the peril of life, exposing themselves even to the effects of persecution for the conquest of souls in this barbarous world.

The *Sieur Robert Cavalier de la Salle*, a native of Rouen, of one of the most distinguished families there, a man of vast intellect, brought up to literary pursuits, capable and learned in every branch, especially in mathematics, naturally enterprising, prudent and moral in his conduct, had been for some years in Canada, and had already, under the administration of *Messieurs de Courcelles* and *Talon*, shown his great abilities for discoveries.*

* This work, which glorifies *La Salle*, makes no pretence that he had at this time discovered the *Mississippi*. This utterly absurd theory has been put forward by *Mr. Margry* in various forms. In 1669 *La Salle* set out with two *Sulpitians*, *Dollier de Casson* and *Galinée*, to reach the *Ohio* (*Margry*, i. p. 87; *Galinée's* account, *ib.* p. 112). They attempted to reach it by way of the *Seneca* country, but, abandoning this, crossed to the north shore of *Lake Ontario*. Here *La Salle* left the *Sulpitians*, who went to *Green Bay*, while he returned to *Montreal*, as

Monsieur de Frontenac cast his eyes on the said sieur to confide to his hands the command of Fort Frontenac, where he was nearly a year, till, coming to France in 1675,* he obtained of the court the

Galinée positively asserts. Margry (*Margry*, i. p. 144) declares that he did not, although the "Relation des découvertes" given by him (i. p. 435), and stolen bodily from Hennepin's "Description de la Louisiane," says that fever obliged him to leave the Sulpitians, and goes on to say that he resumed his discoveries some time after at the instigation of de Courcelles and Talon (*ib.* p. 436). Margry cites a memoir of La Salle ("Découvertes," i. p. 330) where he says: "In the year 1667 and the following years he made divers voyages at great expense, in which he first discovered much country south of the great lakes, among others the great river Ohio. He followed it to a place where it falls from very high into vast marshes at the latitude of 37° after being swollen by another very large river that comes from the north." He also cites a scurrilous anonymous document, full of errors, which claims ("Découvertes," i. pp. 378-9) that after reaching the Ohio with its fall and marshes at 41°, he some time after made a second attempt, reached it again, then by a portage reached Lake Erie, passed on to Lake Michigan, at the head of which he entered a river running from east to west, followed it till it joined a river at 39° running from northwest to southeast, which he followed to 36° N. The St. Joseph's, a river La Salle is known to have preferred, alone answers the description, but he could not ascend it till it joined any such river at 39°. The document is worthless, and its statements impossible. No American historian has given a moment's credit to Margry's claim for La Salle. Mr. Parkman, a strong admirer of La Salle, admits that all Margry's matter gives no proof that La Salle reached the Mississippi before the voyage of Joliet and Marquette in 1673. See "The Bursting of Pierre Margry's La Salle Bubble," New York, 1879.

* Margry, i. p. 277.

government and property of the lake and its dependencies, on condition of building a regular stone fort there, clearing the ground, forming French and Indian villages, and supporting at his own expense a sufficient garrison and Recollect missionaries.*

Monsieur de la Salle returned to Canada and fulfilled these conditions completely ; the fort, with four bastions, was built at the entrance of the lake on the northern side, at the head of a basin in which a considerable fleet of large vessels might be sheltered from the winds. This fort enclosed that built by Monsieur de Frontenac.† He also gave us a piece of ground fifteen arpents in front by twenty deep, the donation being accepted by Monsieur de Frontenac, syndic of our mission.‡

It would be difficult to detail the obstacles he had to encounter, raised against him daily in the

* See grant in "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. 133, Margry, i. p. 283 ; Propositions, p. 278 ; Patent of Nobility, p. 286.

† Expenses, amounting to 44,521 livres, in Margry, i. p. 293.

‡ Grant dated March 22, 1677, ib. p. 298. See Shea's "Hennepin."

execution of his plans, so that he found less opposition in the savage tribes, whom he was always able to bring into his plans. Monsieur de Frontenac went up there every year,* and care was taken to assemble there all the chiefs and leading men of the Iroquois nations, great and small ; maintaining by this means alliance and commerce with them and disposing them to embrace Christianity, which was the principal object of the new establishment.

A sweet peace was enjoyed in all those vast regions, during which the gentry, the officers of disbanded troops, and many other considerable persons sold all they had in France to settle for good in Canada. The colony multiplied insensibly, for, by a special blessing of God, as many as fifteen, eighteen, and nineteen children of the same father and mother are sometimes to be seen, as I myself can witness.† Commerce also was greatly established

* This seems doubtful.

† William Baudry, married at Quebec in July, 1682, had fifteen children (Tanguay, "Dictionnaire," p. 31) ; James Bedard, married at Quebec in October, 1666, had eighteen (ib. p. 36) ; Anthony Bordeleau, mar-

by the free access to nations for five or six hundred leagues right and left. The Indians even came in fleets of two hundred canoes to bring their peltries to the settlements; agriculture also advanced, villages were formed as in France, so that, the country growing, it was now possible to establish a church in all its forms. His Majesty had appointed Monsieur de Petraea titular bishop of New France, and he had obtained his bulls for the erection of the bishopric, which, with a chapter, had been endowed by the king's piety. The bishop, invested with this new title, arrived at Quebec early in September, 1675, in company with Monsieur du Chesneau, President of the Treasurers of the Generalship of Tours, who came as intendant of the country. The new bishop, by Monsieur de Frontenac's care, was received with all the ordinary ceremonies due to his character. The Reverend

ried at Pointe aux Trembles in 1696, had sixteen (ib. p. 68); the famous Peter Boucher had sixteen by his second wife (ib. p. 71); Chorel Sieur de St. Romain, married at Three Rivers in 1663, had seventeen (ib. p. 128); Louis Fontaine, married at Quebec in 1656, had twenty-one children (ib. p. 234); Peter Parant, married at Quebec in 1654, had eighteen (ib. p. 461).

Father Potentian Ozon, now Provincial of our province, then Custos of that of Paris, came over at the same time. This great religious, illustrious in our order for his doctrine and piety and the high offices he has so worthily filled, then came out to Canada as Visitor of the mission.*

The chapter of the cathedral being, as it were, the bishop's council, the erection of the chapter was a necessary sequel of that of the see, as well as the establishment of fixed parishes.† The chapter of this church is composed of a dean, a grand chanter, an archdeacon, a theologian, grand penitentiary, and twelve canons.

As to the fixed parishes, the number had not been determined, but they have been regulated up to thirty-six, capable of supporting a pastor by means of tithes, which are regularly paid, the king's liberality furnishing the surplus. The right of appointing to these livings varies: the Superior

* La Salle and Hennepin came also at this time.

† The erection of the chapter was directed by the bull of October 1, 1674, and Bishop Laval organized it November 6, 1684. Langevin, "Notice Biographique," pp. 191, etc.

of the seminary has the right of naming the parish priest of Quebec and five or six others; the Superior of the Seminary of Mont Royal has the same right for the parish of Ville Marie and five others on the island; the reverend Jesuit Fathers are also primitive parish priests of two or three; the right of naming to the rest of the parishes, as well as to the canonries in the cathedral, belongs to the bishop. Besides the parishes just named there are many other places settled as villages which, being yet unable to support a parish priest, are served as missions, two or three being joined together and supporting the missionary by the tithes which they pay regularly.

As there gradually came in from France enough Fathers to observe the offices regularly in our house of Our Lady of the Angels, and as there was no suitable accommodation, the Count of Frontenac had the goodness to erect, at his own cost and expense, a building sixty feet long by twenty-one broad, the upper part of which he left us, and we there made a dormitory, choir, and nine

cells for the religious; in the lower part he reserved apartments where this nobleman came and made retreats of ten or fifteen days at each of the five great festivals.

In this way the house was able to support a novice. Father Potentian Ozon, the Superior, gave the habit on the 9th of May, 1677, to the eldest son of Monsieur Denis,* who took the name of Joseph. Father Valentine le Roux, who came out as successor of Father Potentian Ozon and commissary of the mission in the month of September following, caused this novice to make his profession, and some time after gave the habit to two others, Charles Bazire and Didacus Pelletier,† who still serve with edification in the country. Meanwhile Father Claudius Moreau, who, after administering the mission of Three Rivers, had gone in '75 to resume the missions which our Fathers of the province of Aquitaine had occupied

* Joseph, son of Peter Denys, Sieur de la Ronde, seems intended (Tanguay, "Repertoire," p. 66); but he was only nine years old in 1677. "Dict.," p. 181.

† Le Clercq, "Gaspésie," p. 303.

in Acadia, found himself induced to remain particularly at Beaubassin with Monsieur de la Vallière, Seigneur of the place, whence he made apostolical courses in all parts of the country to the singular edification of French and Indians.* Monsieur de la Vallière, wishing to fix the religious of our order in his seignury by a permanent establishment, gave us a piece of land six arpents in front by a contract which Monsieur de Frontenac, Apostolic Syndic of our missions, accepted on the 8th of September, 1678.

In the same year Father Xistus le Tac, who occupied the mission of Three Rivers, built a house there on our grounds with the little contributions and aid which the reverend Father-Commissary sent him from our convent of Our Lady of the Angels.

Our reverend Fathers having obtained of the king his letters-patent for our establishments at Quebec,†

* Moreau joined Le Clercq at Ile Percée in 1678. "Relation de la Gaspésie," p. 553.

† For that of Quebec see "Amortissement de 106 arpents de terre en faveur des R.R. Recollets" ("Edits et Ordonnances," i. p. 98).

Isle Percée, and Fort Frontenac, they were registered the preceding year in the Sovereign Council at Quebec. Monsieur de la Salle built at his own expense a house on the land he had given us * near the fort, in which a chapel was made. A building was also erected on Isle Percée at the expense of the community of Quebec. A church was afterwards added, very handsome for the place, adorned with paintings and all necessary vestments, etc., with a regular house fitted with all departments, completed by the care of Father Joseph Denis.†

The same year, 1678, a very fine chapel in rond-point was added to our church of Our Lady of the Angels, and the next year a large sacristy below and a choir above to chant the divine office ; a large stone dormitory, which was completed in the

There is no mention of Isle Percée or Fort Frontenac in it or in the edict of March, 1692. *Ib.* p. 275.

* "Donation de Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, aux RR. PP. Recollets" (*Margry*, i. p. 298). La Salle, p. 335, exaggerates this into "a house and a church."

† This church was dedicated during Le Clercq's pastorship ("Gaspésie," p. 17), and burned by the English in August, 1690 (*Jumeau's Letter*, *ib.* p. 13). In that work no allusion is made to Father Joseph Denis' connection with the church.

following years with all the regular departments and a large cloister, so that this house, with all its accompaniments, may be said to be one of the most regular, commodious, and beautiful; the situation of the place giving it, moreover, all the charms that could be desired.

The Sulpitians of Mont Royal, as well as the inhabitants, having shown an inclination and desire to have an establishment of our Fathers in the island, and Monsieur Tronçon, Superior-General of the Sulpitians, having agreed to it, I had the happiness of carrying the letters to Mont Royal and delivering them to Monsieur Dollier, Superior of the seminary, who granted us for that purpose four arpents of land at the entrance of the city by a contract of cession.*

The reverend Father Germain Allart, afterwards honored with the see of Vences, having obtained of the king the cession of a site in the upper city at Quebec to build a regular hospice for

* Le Clercq, "Relation de la Gaspésie," p. 570. This was in 1679. Faillon, "Vie de Mlle. Mance," ii. p. 55.

the use of our Fathers, dated May 28, 1681,* the letters were registered in the sovereign council, Quebec, October of the same year. The bishop sent his vicar-general, Mr. de Bernieres, to plant the cross solemnly ; Monsieur Souïart attending with a great concourse of people. The site was at once regularly enclosed, and the next year the commissary built a chapel there for the service of the public, and a little house which has been since augmented by a large building by the care of Father Seraphin Geogemé.†

I thought proper to give this little plan of our establishments for the consolation and edification of my brethren, without descending in particular to the detail of the great services which our religious till now render this new church, it not being the custom of the religious of Saint Francis to draw vanity from their labors. I speak of our order in this little work only so far as they are nec-

* "Memoire Instructif," Margry, i. p. 27.

† This house was begun as an infirmary for the sick who were too far from medical care. It was made a convent and a church built in defiance of the bishop. See La Tour, "Memoires," p. 201.

essarily connected with the history of the establishment of the faith. Besides, as this detail would require me to set forth a host of persecutions and traverses of all kinds that we had to sustain, charity obliges me to cut it short.*

Postera vix credet, præsens mirabitur ætas.

* See "Memoire Instructif contenant la conduite des Rev. PP. Recollets," Margry, i. pp. 18-33.

CHAPTER XXI.

NEW DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTH, SOUTH, AND WEST, WHERE MISSIONARIES GO TO ANNOUNCE THE GOSPEL—THAT OF THE WEST, UNDER THE SIEUR DE LA SALLE, PARTICULARLY DWELT ON.

MY design being to treat of the publication of the faith to that prodigious quantity of nations who are comprised in the territories of the king's dominions, as his Majesty has caused them to be discovered, we shall continue our subject by those which were made during the rest of the present epoch in all parts of New France.*

While the reverend Jesuit Fathers among the Iroquois south of the upper river had the honor of bearing the Gospel to the nations bordering on

* He has ignored entirely the explorations of the Jesuits, and especially the voyage of Joliet and Marquette, the discoveries of Perrot and others. Yet Joliet's voyage was recognized by Frontenac. Despatch November 2, 1672, Margry, i. p. 255, 257; "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. pp. 92, 121.

those tribes—the peace between the two crowns of France and England giving them free access everywhere without being traversed by the English, they announced the faith to the Etchemins and other Indian nations that came to trade at the settlement on Loup River, where the ordinary post of the mission was; our missions of St. John's River, Beaubassin, Mizamichis, Nipisiguit, Ristigouche, and Isle Percée were similarly supported—we continued to labor for the conversion of the Indians of those vast countries comprised under the name of Acadia, Cape Breton, and the great bay.*

In the time of Messieurs de Courcelles and Talon, at the close of 1671, a design was formed to push discoveries toward the North Bay, of which something was known from two or three attempts previously made. The Sieur de Saint Simon was chosen for the expedition, with the reverend Father Albanes,† a Jesuit. By the maps of the country

* Gulf of Saint Lawrence.

† Father Charles Albanel and Paul Denys, Sieur de St. Simon. Tanguay, "Dict.," p. 180. The account of their voyage is in the Relation

it is easy to see what difficulties had to be surmounted, how much toil and hardship they were obliged to undergo, how many falls and rapids to be passed, and consequently portages made, to reach by land these unknown regions and tribes as far as Hudson's Bay or Strait. Monsieur de Frontenac was in Canada on the return of the party towards the close of the year 1672. This discovery thenceforward enabled them to push the mission much further to the northward, and draw some elect from those distant nations to receive the first rudiments of Christianity, until in 1686 the victorious arms of the king, under the guidance of Monsieur de Troye, Messieurs D'Hiberville, Ste. Helaine, and a number of brave Canadians, by order of the Marquis d'Enonville,* then governor-general of the country, effected the conquest of those northern parts where, as the French still hold

1672, ch. vi. p. 42. The Denys were friends of the Recollects, and Le Clercq could not avoid giving Father Albanel credit. Margry, i. p. 93.

* Chevalier Peter de Troye, Peter le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, the founder of Louisiana, James le Moyne, Sieur de Sainte Helène. Shea's "Charlevoix," iii. p. 270. James René de Brisay, Marquis de Dénonville.

possession with great glory, the zeal of the Jesuit Fathers is employed in publishing the Gospel.

The unwearied charity of those illustrious missionaries advanced their labors with much more success, during the present epoch, among the Outaouaze nations, seconded by the great zeal of Monsieur de Frontenac's protection, and the ascendancy which the wisdom of the governor had acquired over the savages. A magnificent church, furnished with the richest vestments,* was built at the mission of St. Mary's of the Sault; that of the bay of the Puants, and of Michilimakinak island,† were more and more increased by the gathering of Indian tribes. The missions around Lake Condé,‡

* The Rel. 1670, p. 81, says simply: "We have set up a chapel, which we have taken care to adorn better than one would venture to expect in a country so destitute of everything." It was burned January 27, 1671, and "soon they set up another chapel, which greatly surpasses the first." Rel. 1671, p. 31. This is the sole foundation for "magnificent church and richest vestments." Compare Galinée in Margry, i. p. 161.

† The mission was not on the island but on the north shore. Hennepin, "Description de la Louisiane" (Shea's "Hennepin," p. 97), is very clear and explicit. The various chapels here are definitely described and distinguished. The Bay of the Puants is Green Bay, the Puants being the Winnebagoes.

‡ Lake Superior.

further north, also took a new increase. This lake alone is one hundred and fifty leagues long, sixty wide, and about five hundred in circuit, inhabited by different nations, whence we may form an idea of the labors of the missionaries in five or six establishments. Finally, in the last years of Monsieur de Frontenac's first administration, Sieur du Lut, a man of talent and experience, opened a way to the missionaries and the Gospel in many different nations, turning toward the north of that lake, where he even built a fort. He advanced as far as the lake of the Issati, called Lake Buade from the family name of Monsieur de Frontenac, planting the king's arms in several nations on the right and left, where the missionaries still make every effort to introduce Christianity, the only fruit of which, indeed, consists in the baptism of some dying children, and in rendering adults inexcusable at God's judgment by the gospel preached to them.*

I shall hereafter limit myself especially to laying

* See du Lhut's report in Shea's "Hennepin," p. 374. The mention of his discoveries at this point is very curious, as they took place during La Salle's attempts, when he rescued Hennepin from the Sioux.

before the public the great discoveries made by order of the king, under the command of Monsieur de Frontenac and the direction of Monsieur de la Salle, as being those which promised the greatest fruits for the establishment of the faith, if in course of time they are resumed and supported as they deserve.

The Sieur de la Salle, having completed the construction of Fort Frontenac, and greatly advanced the establishment of French and Indian settlements, was induced, by the report of many tribes, to believe that great progress could be made by pushing on the discoveries by the lakes into the river Missisipi, which he then supposed to empty into the Red Sea.* He made a voyage to France in 1677, and, favored by letters from the Count de Frontenac, obtained of the court the necessary powers to undertake and carry out this great design at his own expense.†

* The Gulf of California. Marquette alludes to this idea.

† His memoir is in Margry, i. p. 329; the letters-patent, *ib.* p. 337; and in English in "New York Col. Doc.," ix. p. 127. The letters-patent show already designs against the Spaniards in Mexico, the government opposing any settlement in the West. See Margry, i. p. 329, where permission is refused to Joliet to begin a settlement in Illinois.

Furnished with these powers, he arrived in Canada toward the close of September, 1678, with the Sieur de Tonty, an Italian gentleman, full of spirit and resolution, who afterward so courageously and faithfully seconded him in all his designs.* He had also with him about thirty men, pilots, sailors, carpen-

* "Memoire du Sieur de Tonty," published by Margry; English in French's "Historical Collections of Louisiana," i. p. 52; Dernières "Deconvertes," etc., par le Chevalier Tonty, Paris, 1697; "Voyages au Nord," v. p. 82. The last is said to have been disavowed by Tonty, but was evidently based on his papers and prepared by a man who consulted other documents. None of the Tonty memoirs are absolutely his own. All have been rewritten. For a specimen of his genuine writing see HARRISSE, "Notes," p. 171. Henry de Tonty, son of Lorenzo de Tonty, Governor of Gaeta, the inventor of the Tontine system, was born in Italy, but entered the French army in 1668, and served some years in the navy, losing a hand at Libisso. At the close of the war he won the favor of the Prince de Conti, who recommended him to La Salle. He sailed from Rochelle July 12, 1678, in the *Saint Honoré*. Tonty in Margry, i. p. 574; "La. Hist. Coll.," i. p. 79. After repulsing the Iroquois in 1685, he descended the Mississippi to meet La Salle in 1686, and began a settlement on the Arkansas, where he obtained a grant. He took part in Denonville's expedition against the Senecas, and in 1689 again attempted to reach La Salle, having been deceived by Cavalier. After this he remained at Fort St. Louis till 1702, when he joined d'Iberville at the mouth of the Mississippi and was sent to the Chickasaws. This is the last trace of this honest and energetic officer, faithful to La Salle, yet esteemed by all. Alphonse, his brother, was commandant at Detroit, where he died in 1727, leaving a son, Henry, who seems to have succeeded his uncle as governor of Fort St. Louis. Tanguay, "Dictionnaire."

ters, and other mechanics, with all things necessary for his enterprise. Some Canadians joined him. He sent all his party in advance to Fort Frontenac, where Father Gabriel de la Ribourde and Father Luke Buisset were already, and to which now proceeded Fathers Lois Hennepin, Zenobius Membré, and Melithon Watteau, all three missionaries of our province of Saint Anthony of Padua, in Artois, as well as Father Luke Buisset, his Majesty having honored the Recollects with the care of the spiritual direction of this expedition by express orders addressed to Father Valentine le Roux, Commissary Provincial, and Superior of the mission. The *Sieur de la Salle* soon followed them, the Almighty preserving him from many perils in that long voyage from Quebec, over falls and rapids, to Fort Frontenac, where he arrived at last, much emaciated.* Deriving new strength from his great courage, he issued all his orders, and on the 18th of November sent off his troop in a brigantine for Niagara with Father Louis.

* He reached the fort December 16. Tonty in Margry, i. p. 575.

The navigation, in which they had to encounter many dangers and even disasters, crossing the whole of the great lake in so advanced a season, prevented their reaching Niagara River before the 5th of December. On the 6th they pushed further up the river, and the following days, by canoe and land, advanced to the spot where the Sieur de la Salle intended to raise a fort and build a bark above Niagara Falls, whence the main river communicates with Lake Conty and Lake Frontenac, by the said falls and river, which is, as it were, the strait of communication.*

It may be seen by glancing at the map that this project, with that of Fort Frontenac and the fort he was about to build at Niagara, might excite some jealousy among the Iroquois who dwell in the neighborhood of the great lake. The Sieur de la Salle, with his usual address, met the principal chiefs of those tribes in conference, and succeeded

* These operations were under the direction of Lamotte. Hennepin, "Description of Louisiana," p. 65; Letter of Lamotte, Margry, ii. p. 7. See La Salle's charges against Lamotte, *ib.* p. 230.

so well in gaining them that they not only agreed to it, but even offered to contribute with all their means to the execution of his design; and this great harmony lasted some time. The Sieur de la Salle also sent many canoes to trade north and south of the lake among these tribes.

Meanwhile, as certain persons traversed with all their might the project of the Sieur de la Salle, they insinuated feelings of distrust among the Sonnontouans Iroquois as the fort building at Niagara* began to advance, and they succeeded so well that the fort became an object of suspicion to them, so that its erection had to be suspended for a time, and he had to be satisfied with a house surrounded by palisades. The Sieur de la Salle did not fail to give orders at once; he made frequent voyages from Fort Frontenac to Niagara, during the winter on the ice, in the spring with vessels loaded with provisions. In all the opposition raised by those envious of him, fortune seemed to side with them

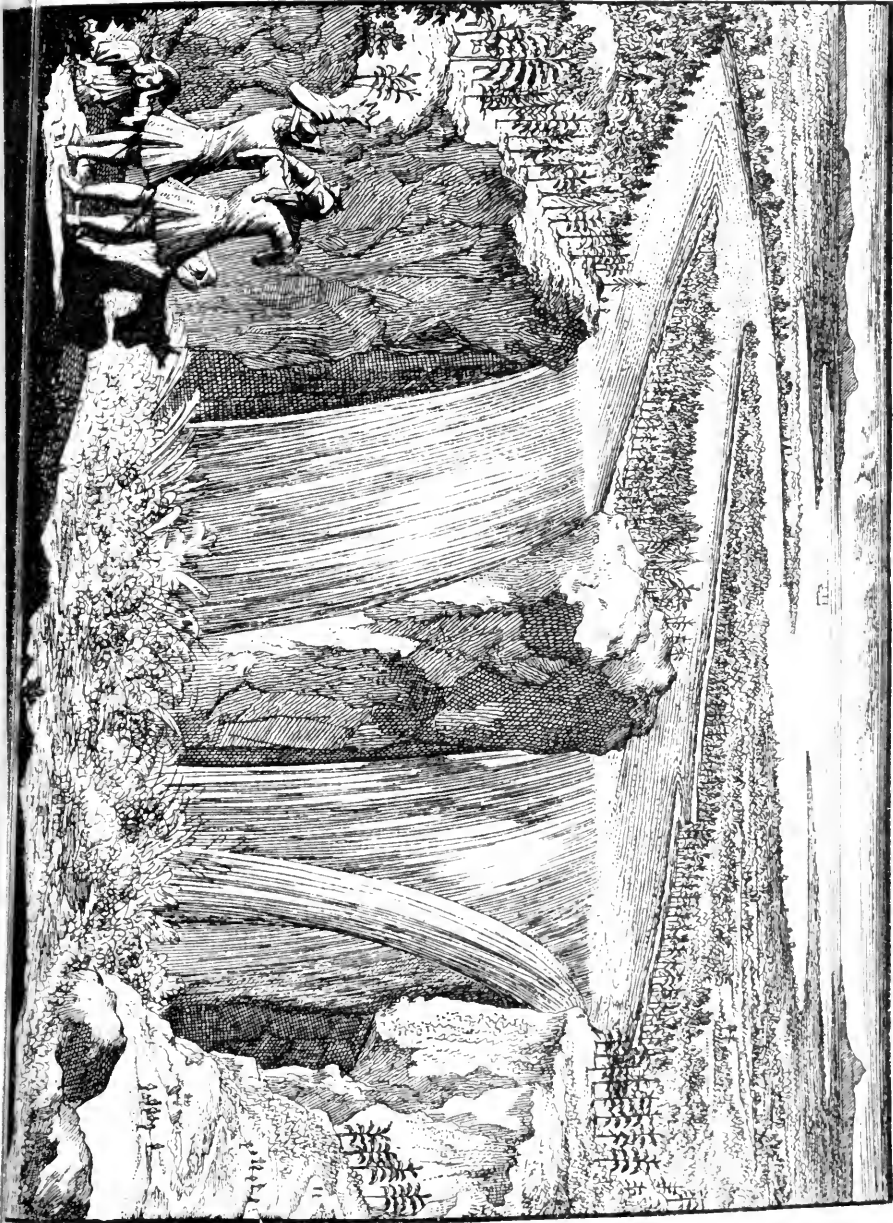
* Fort Conty. Letter of La Salle, Margry, i. p. 392; Tonty's Relation, ib. p. 577.

against him; the pilot who directed one of his well-loaded barks lost it on Lake Frontenac.* When the ice began to melt he sent fifteen of his men to trade on the lake and by canoe as far as the Illinois, to prepare him the way till his bark building at Niagara was completed. It was perfectly ready in the month of August, 1679.

The Father-Commissary had started some time before from Quebec for the fort, to regulate what regarded his ministry and put in force the orders and obediences which he had expedited in the month of July, by which Father Gabriel was named Superior of this new expedition, to be accompanied by Father Louis Henpin, Zenobius, Membré, and Melithon Vatteaux; that Father Melithon was to remain at Niagara and make it his mission, while Father Luke should remain in the mission at the fort.

The three former accordingly embarked on the 7th of August, with Monsieur de la Salle and his whole party, in the vessel, which had been named

* January 8, 1679. Tonty in Margry, i. p. 576.





the *Griffin* in honor of the arms of Monsieur de Frontenac. Father Melithon remained in the house at Niagara with some laborers and clerks. The same day they sailed for Lake Conty, after, contrary to all expectations, passing the currents of the strait* by the resolution and address of the Sieur de la Salle, his men having before his arrival used every means to no purpose. It appeared like a kind of marvel, considering the rapidity of the current in the strait, which there is not a man, or animal, or any ordinary vessel able to resist, much less ascend.

As may be seen by the map, from this place you sail up Lake Conty to Lake Orleans, and this terminates in Lake Dauphin; these lakes being each about a hundred or a hundred and twenty leagues long, and about forty or fifty wide, communicating with one another by easy channels and straits, which offer vessels a convenient and beautiful navigation. These lakes are full of all kinds of fish; the coun-

* Tonty, Relation 1693, p. 6; "Hist. Coll. La.," p. 53; Relation, Margry, i. p. 578; Hennepin, "Description of Louisiana," p. 90.

try is most finely situated, the soil temperate, being north and south, bordered by vast prairies, which terminate in hills full of vines, fruit-trees, groves, and tall woods, all scattered at intervals, so that one would think that the ancient Romans, princes and nobles, would in bygone days have made them as many country villas. The soil is everywhere equally fertile.

The Sieur de la Salle, having entered Lake Conty on the 7th, crossed it in three days, and on the 10th reached the strait by which he entered Lake Orleans. The voyage was interrupted by a storm as violent as could be met in the open sea; our people lost all hope of escape; but a vow which they made to Saint Anthony of Padua, the patron of mariners, delivered them by a kind of miracle, so that, after long making head against the wind, the vessel on the 27th reached Missilimakinak, which is north of the strait by which we go from Lake Orleans to Lake Dauphin.*

* Tonty, Relation 1693, p. 6; "La. Hist. Coll.," i. p. 53; Relation in Margry, i. p. 579; Hennepin's; "Description of Louisiana," p. 97.

No vessels had yet been seen sailing on the lakes ; yet an enterprise which should have been sustained by all well-meaning persons, for the glory of God and the service of the king, had produced precisely the opposite feelings and effects, which had been already communicated to the Hurons, the Outaoüats of the island, and the neighboring nations to make them suspicious. The Sieur de la Salle even found still there the fifteen men whom he had sent in the spring prejudiced against him and seduced from his service ; a part of his goods wasted, far from having proceeded to the Illinois to trade, according to the orders he had given them, the Sieur de Tonty, who was at their head, having in vain made every effort to inspire them with fidelity.

At last he weighed anchor on the 2d of September, and arrived pretty safely at the Bay of the Puants, at the entrance of Lake Dauphin, forty leagues from Missilimakinak. Would to God that the Sieur de la Salle had continued his route in the

Hennepin, like Membré, distinctly says that the two Indian villages were north of the strait, each with its church.

vessel. His wisdom could not foresee the misfortunes which awaited him; he deemed proper to send it back by the same route to Niagara with the furs already bought,* in order to pay his creditors. He even left in it a part of his goods and implements, which were more difficult to transport. The captain had orders to return with the vessel as soon as possible and join our people in the Illinois.

Meanwhile, on the 18th of September † the *Sieur de la Salle*, with our Fathers and seventeen men, continued their route in canoes by Lake Dauphin, the town of the *Pontevatamis*, to the mouth of the river of the *Miamis*, where they arrived on the 1st of November. This place had been appointed a rendezvous for twenty Frenchmen who came by the opposite shore, and also for the *Sieur de Tonty*, who had been sent by the *Sieur de la Salle* to *Missilimakinak* on another expedition.

* This act was a violation of *La Salle's* patent, *Margry*, i. pp. 336, 338, and arrayed the fur-traders against him.

† *Hennepin*, "Description of Louisiana," pp. 104-8. He gives the date 19th.

The Sieur de la Salle built a fort there to put his men and property in safety against the assaults of the Indians; our religious soon had a bark cabin erected to serve as a chapel, where they exercised their ministry for French and Indians until the 3d of December following, when, leaving four men in the fort, they went in search of the portage which would bring them to the Seignelay River, which descends to the river Missisipi. They embarked on this river to the number of thirty or forty persons, by which, after a hundred or a hundred and twenty leagues' sail, they arrived toward the close of December at the greatest village* of the Illinois,

* This Great Illinois village was not the village of any one tribe of the nation, but made up of several bands, each tribe having its own village. Margry, ii. p. 201. It is located by Parkman near the village of Utica, opposite Starved Rock, the site of La Salle's fort St. Louis ("Disc. of the Great West," p. 156 n.) La Salle found evidences of Indian cultivation there (Margry, ii. p. 176) when he built his fort, and the Illinois again occupied it (ib. 169, Franquelin's map). From the rock a plain extended to the Aramoni (ib. p. 122, 244). The village of the Kaskaskias proper was two leagues below the mouth of the Pestegonki, or Fox, and six leagues above the Great Village (Margry, ii. p. 175), fifteen leagues below the confluence of the Checagou and Teakiki (Margry, ii. pp. 128, 175). Both villages were destroyed by the Iroquois (Margry, ii. pp. 122-3, 128).

composed of about four or five hundred cabins, each of five or six families.*

It is the custom of these tribes, as soon as they have gathered their harvest, to put their Indian corn in caches, in order to keep it for summer, when meat easily spoils, and to go and winter at a distance, hunting wild cattle and beaver, when they carry very little grain. That of our people had run short, so that, passing by the village of the Illinois, they were obliged, there being no one there, to take some Indian corn, as much as they deemed necessary for their subsistence.

They left it on the 1st of January, 1680, and by the 4th were thirty leagues lower down amid the camp of the Illinois; they were encamped on both sides of the river, which is very narrow there, but very near there forms a lake about seven leagues long and one wide, called Pimiteoui, meaning in their language that there are plenty of fat beasts in that spot. The *Sieur de la Salle* estimated

* Hennepin, p. 152. December 31, according to Tonty. Margry, i. p. 582.

it at $33^{\circ} 45'$. It is remarkable because the Illinois River, which for several months in winter is frozen down to it, never is from this place to the mouth, although navigation is interrupted in places by accumulations of floating ice from above.

Our people had been assured that the Illinois had been excited and prejudiced against them. Finding himself, then, in the midst of their camp, which lay on both sides of the river, at a narrow pass where the current was hurrying on the canoes faster than they liked, the Sieur de la Salle promptly put his men under arms, and ranged his canoes abreast so as to occupy the whole breadth of the river; the canoes nearest the two banks, in one of which was the Sieur de Tonty, and in the other the Sieur de la Salle, were not more than half a pistol-shot from the shore. The Illinois, who had not yet discovered the little flotilla ranged in battle order, were alarmed; some ran to arms, others took flight in incredible confusion. The Sieur de la Salle had a calumet of peace, but would not show it, so as not to appear weak before them.

As they were soon so near them that they could understand each other, they asked our Frenchmen who they were. They replied that they were French, still keeping their arms ready, and letting the current bear them down all side by side, because there was no landing place except at the end of their camp.*

These Indians, alarmed and intimidated by this bold conduct (although they were several thousand against a handful), immediately presented three peace calumets; our people at the same time presented theirs, and, their terror changing to joy, they conducted our party to their cabins, showed us a thousand civilities, and sent to call back those who had fled. They were told that we came only to give them a knowledge of the true God, to defend them against their enemies, to bring them arms and other conveniences of life. Besides the presents which were made them, they were paid for

* According to La Salle (*Margry*, ii. p. 37), January 5, 1680; but 4th, according to Hennepin and Tonty; or 3d, "La. Hist. Coll.," i. p. 45.

the Indian corn taken at their village; a close alliance was made with them, the rest of the day being spent in feasts and mutual greetings.

All the *Sieur de la Salle's* intrepidity and skill were needed to keep the alliance intact, as *Monsoela*,* one of the chiefs of the nation of *Maskoutens*, came that very evening to traverse it. It was known that he was sent by others than those of his nation; he had even with him some *Miamis*, and young men bearing kettles, knives, axes, and other goods. He had been chosen for this embassy rather than a *Miami* chief, in order to give more plausibility to what he should say, the *Illinois* not having been at war with the *Maskoutens*, as they had with the *Miamis*. He caballed even the whole night, speaking of the *Sieur de la Salle* as an intriguer, a friend of the *Iroquois*, coming to the *Illinois* only to open the way to their enemies, who were going to come on all sides with the *French* to destroy them; he made them presents of

* *La Salle* (*Margry*, ii. p. 41) says *Monso*, and explains it to mean a deer—really, however, a moose.

all that he had brought, and even told them that he came on behalf of several Frenchmen whom he named.

This council was held at night, the time chosen by the Indians to transact secret business. This ambassador retired the same night, so that the next day the Illinois chiefs were found completely changed, cold and distrustful, appearing even to plot against our Frenchmen, who were shaken by the change; but the *Sieur de la Salle*, who had won over one of the chiefs to him particularly, by some present, learned from him the subject of this change. His address soon dispelled all these suspicions, but this did not prevent six of his men, already tampered with and prejudiced at *Michilimackinac*, from deserting that very day.*

* January 5, Tonty. As to the *Monsoela* affair, see *Hennepin*, "Description of Louisiana," p. 164; Tonty, "Dernières Decouvertes;" "Voyages au Nord," p. 72; *La Salle*, *Margry*, ii. p. 41, etc., 100. As to the attempt to poison *La Salle*, which he ascribed to a servant named *Nicholas Perrot*, dit *Jolycœur*, see the vile *Recit* (*ib.* i. p. 390, 393). Tonty (*ib.* p. 583). This *Perrot* cannot be the well-known explorer. He was a workman at *Fort Frontenac*. *Margry*, i. p. 297. There was a carpenter there named *Pérot*. *Taingny* notes four families of the name settled at the time in the colony.

The Sieur de la Salle not only reassured that nation, but found means in the sequel to disabuse the Maskoutens and Miamis, and to form an alliance between them and the Illinois which lasted as long as the Sieur de la Salle was on the spot.

With this assurance the little army, on the 14th of January, 1680, the floating ice from above having ceased, repaired to a little eminence, a pretty strong position, near the Illinois camp, where the Sieur de la Salle immediately set to work to build a fort, which he called Crève-cœur, on account of many vexations that he experienced there,* but which never shook his firm resolve. The fort was well advanced and the little vessel already up to the string-piece by the first of March, when he resolved to make a journey to Fort Fron-

* This reason assigned for the name seems doubtful. Compare note in Hennepin, "Description of Louisiana," p. 175. La Salle (Margry, ii. p. 49) gives no name to the fort. Since raising the question as to the origin of the name of Crève-cœur, I find that H. A. Rafterman does the same in a valuable series of articles on Hennepin in the *Deutsche Pionier* (August-October, 1880). He claims that Tonty had taken part in the capture of the Netherland Crève-cœur, and refers to "Tegenwoordige Staat der Vereingte Nederlanden," Amsterdam, 1740, ii. p. 57.

tenac. There were four or five hundred leagues to go by land; but not finding his brigantine, the *Griffin*, return, nor those he had sent on to meet her, and foreseeing the disastrous consequences of the loss that might have befallen his vessel, his courage rose above the difficulties of so long and painful a journey.

As Father Louis* had been appointed and had offered to continue the discovery toward the north by ascending the river, the Sieur de la Salle reserving to himself its continuation in canoe by descending till the sea should be found, Father Louis set out in canoe from Fort Crevecoeur on the 29th of February, 1680, with two men well armed and equipped, who had besides twelve hundred livres in goods, which make a good passport. The enterprise was great and hardy, although it did not equal the great zeal of this intrepid missionary, who undertook

* This makes Hennepin virtually head of the party as the educated man. Tonty does the same (Margry i. p. 583). La Salle also (ib. ii. p. 54), though subsequently, from policy, spoke of Accault as the chief man, but his motive is easily seen (ib. ii. p. 246, etc.) For the fate of the *Griffin* see La Salle (Margry, ii. p. 73).

the work and mission, and continued it with all the firmness, constancy, and edification which could be desired, amid inconceivable toils.

Although the discovery had already been pushed four or five hundred leagues into Louisiana, from Fort Frontenac to Fort Crevecoeur, this great march can be considered only as a prelude and preparation for enterprises still more vast, and an entrance to be made into countries still more advantageous.

I have hitherto given only a short abridgment of the Relation which Father Zenobius Membré gives us of these first commencements of this enterprise. Father Louis, who has just set out for the upper river, has published the description of the countries which he visited and into which he carried the Gospel. I, therefore, must refer my reader to it without repeating any part of it here.* It only remains for us to describe what is most essential and most important in this discovery, which

* Hennepin, "Description de la Louisiane," Paris, 1683; in English, "Description of Louisiana," New York, 1880.

was conducted by the personal labors of the Sieur de la Salle during the subsequent years.

LETTERS-PATENT FOR THE DISCOVERY OF THE
WESTERN SEA, MAY 12, 1678.

LOUIS, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF FRANCE AND OF
NAVARRÉ,

*To our dear and well-beloved Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle,
greeting :*

We have received favorably the very humble petition which has been made us in your name for permission to labor in discovering the western part of our country of New France, and we have the more willingly given our consent to this proposal as we have nothing more at heart than the discovery of that country, in which it seems a road may be found to penetrate to Mexico, to which your care in clearing the lands granted to you by act of our council of May 13, 1675, and letters-patent of said day to form settlements on said lands and put Fort Frontenac in a good state of defence, of which we have also granted you the seigneurie and government, give us every ground to hope that you will succeed to our satisfaction and the advantage of our subjects in that said country. For these causes and others moving us thereto, we have permitted you, and by these presents, signed with our hand, do permit you, to labor in discovering the western part of our country of New France, and, in order to execute this enterprise, to build forts wherever you shall deem necessary, which we wish you to enjoy with the same clauses and conditions as Fort Fron-

tenac, following and conformably to our letters-patent of May 13, 1675, which we by these presents have confirmed, and do confirm as far as need be, wishing them to be executed according to their form and tenor. To do this and all above we hereby authorize you, on condition, nevertheless, that you complete this undertaking in five years. In default whereof these presents to be null and of no effect. You shall carry on no trade with the Indians called Outaouïacs and others who bring their beavers and other peltries to Montreal ;* and you shall do all at your own expense and that of your company, to which we have granted the monopoly of the trade in cibola†-skins. We enjoin the Sieur de la Frontenac, Governor and our Lieutenant-General ; and the Sieur du Chesneau, Intendant of justice, police, and finances ; and the officers composing the sovereign council in said country, to assist in the execution of these presents, for such is our pleasure.

Given at St. Germain-en-Laye the 12th day of May, 1678, and of our reign the thirty-fifth.

(Signed)

LOUIS,

and lower down

By the King,
COLBERT,

and sealed with the great seal of yellow wax. The memorandum of the governor on the patent is dated November 5, 1678.

* This patent should have been inserted previously. La Salle violated it by purchasing furs at Michilimackinac and Green Bay. That step arrayed all the Western fur-traders against him. See ante, p. 107.

† Buffalo.

CHAPTER XXII.

CONTINUATION OF THE DISCOVERY AND MISSIONS
OF LOUISIANA.

AS I continue the account of a discovery in which Father Zenobius* took a considerable part and was constantly present, and as we derive from his letters the chief information we can have about it, I think I shall please the reader better by giving here in his own words what that Father left in form of abridged Relation, from which I retrench merely a number of adventures and remarks which are not essential.

This good Father, who has been left with Father Maximus in Louisiana, will one day, if God spares

* Father Zenobius Membré was a cousin of le Clercq, and born at Bapaume about 1645. He came to Canada in 1675, and his missionary services are described in this volume. After returning to Europe with the report of La Salle's success in reaching the mouth of the Mississippi, he became Guardian of the Recollects at Bapaume. He was left at the fort in Texas and perished there.

his life, give it more in detail. He will then, too, have acquired more information and remarked all the peculiarities of those vast and beautiful countries. I produce what he says here more confidently, as it corresponds with many fragments which we have of the *Sieur de la Salle's* letters and the testimony of Frenchmen and Indians who accompanied them, and who witnessed the discovery.

The following is, then, word for word what that good religious has written concerning it :

“ Father Louis* having set out on the 29th of February, 1680, the *Sieur de la Salle* left the *Sieur de Tonty* as commandant of Fort Crevecoeur with ammunition and provisions, and peltries to pay the workmen, as had been agreed, and merchandise to trade with and buy provisions as they were needed ; and having lastly given orders as to what was to be done in his absence, he set out with four Frenchmen and one Indian on the 2d of March, 1680.†

* Tonty, *Relation*, 1693, p. 8. “ *La. Hist. Coll.*,” i. p. 55.

† *La Salle's* own account of this journey from the Illinois to Fort Frontenac is in Margry, ii. pp. 55-64. The “ *Relation des decouvertes et des voyages*,” *ib.* i. from 435-488, is a palpable plagiarism

He arrived on the 11th at the great Illinois village where I then was, and thence, after twenty-four hours' stay, he continued his route on foot over the ice to Fort Frontenac.* From our arrival at Fort Crevecœur, on the 14th of January past, Father Gabriel, our Superior, Father Louis, and myself, had raised a cabin, in which we had established some little regularity, exercising our functions as missionaries towards the French of our party, and towards the Illinois Indians, who came in crowds. As by the end of February I already knew a part of their language, because I spent the whole of the day in the Indian camp, which was but half a league off, our Father-Superior appointed me to fol-

from Hennepin's published work ; after that an account of this journey based on La Salle's letter. La Salle set out, according to it, March 1 (Tonty, *ib.* 583, says 10th), with six Frenchmen and one Indian in two canoes.

* According to La Salle (*Margry*, ii. p. 59) and the *Relation*, he reached Lake Michigan on the 23d, and the next day his fort on the river of the Miamis. He then crossed the peninsula to the St. Clair River, and, crossing it, followed the shore of Lake Erie to Niagara, where he arrived April 22. He did not reach Quinté Bay till May 6. *Margry*, ii. p. 64 ; i. p. 496. This march is the only really bold and adventurous act known of La Salle.

low them when they began to return to their village. A chief named Oumahouha had adopted me as his son in the Indian fashion, and Monsieur de la Salle had made him presents in order that he might take good care of me. Father Gabriel resolved to stay at the fort with the Sieur de Tonty and the workmen ; this had been, too, the request of the Sieur de la Salle, who hoped that by his credit and the apparent confidence of the people in him he would be better able to keep them in order ; but God permitted that the good intentions in which the Sieur de la Salle thought he left them should not last long. On the 13th the said Sieur had met two of his men whom he had sent to Missilimakinak to meet his vessel, but who had got no tidings of it. He sent them to the Sieur de Tonty ; but these two evil-disposed men caballed so well that they revived suspicion and dissatisfaction in most of those who were there, so that almost all deserted, carrying off the ammunition, provisions, and all that was in the store. Two of them who were conducting Father Gabriel to the Illinois village

where Monsieur de Tonty had come on a visit, abandoned the good Father at night midway and spiked the guns of the Sieur de Boisrondet and the man called l'Esperance, who were in the same canoe but not in their plot.* They informed the Sieur de Tonty, who, finding himself destitute of everything, sent four of those who remained, by two different routes, to inform the Sieur de la Salle.

“The perfidious wretches assembled at the fort which the Sieur de la Salle had built at the mouth of the river of the Miamis, demolished the fort, carried off all that was there, and we learned some months after that they went to Missisimackinak, where they seized the peltries belonging to the Sieur de la Salle which he had stored there. †

“The great Illinois village alone being composed of seven or eight thousand souls, Father Gabriel and I had a sufficient field for the exercise of our

* Tonty, Relation ; Margry, i. p. 584 ; La Salle in Margry, ii. p. 117.

† “Relation des Descouvertes,” Margry, i. p. 503. Tonty, ib. p. 584.

zeal, besides the few French who soon after came there. There are, moreover, the Miamis situated south by east of the bottom of Lake Dauphin, on the borders of a pretty fine river, about fifteen leagues inland, at 41° north latitude; the nation of the Maskoutens and Outagamys,* who dwell at about latitude 43° , on the banks of the river called Melleoki,† which empties into Lake Dauphin very near their village; on the western side the Kikapous and the Ainoves,‡ who form two villages west of these last, up the river Checagoumemant. The village of the Illinois Cascaschia, situated west of the bottom of Lake Dauphin, a little southwest, at about latitude 41° ; the Anthoutantas § and Maskoutens, Nadouessions, || about one hundred and thirty leagues from the Illinois, in three great villages built near a river which empties into the river Colbert on the west side, above that of the Illinois, almost opposite the mouth of the Miskoncing ¶ in

* Foxes. † Milwaukee. ‡ Iowas. § Ottoes.

|| A band of the Sioux. The two names belong together.

¶ Wisconsin.

the same river. I might also name here a number of other tribes with whom we have intercourse, and to whom French *coureurs-de-bois*, or lawfully sent, spread while I was with the Illinois, under favor of our discovery.

“The greater part of these tribes, and especially the Illinois, with whom I have had most intercourse, make their cabins of mats of flat rushes sewed together double. They are tall of stature, strong and robust, and good archers. They had as yet no firearms; we gave some to a few. They are wandering, idle, fearful, and dissolute, almost without respect for their chiefs, irritable, and thievish. Their villages are not enclosed by any palisades, and, being too cowardly to defend them, they take to flight at the first news of a hostile army. The richness and fertility of the plains give them fields everywhere. They have used iron implements and arms only since our arrival. Besides the bow they still use in war a kind of half pike and wooden mace. Hermaphrodites are numerous. They have many wives, and often take several sisters that they may

agree better ;* and yet they are so jealous that they cut off their noses on the slightest suspicion. They are lewd, and even unnaturally so, having boys dressed as women, destined only for these infamous purposes. These boys are employed only in women's work, without taking part in the chase or war. They are very superstitious, although they have no religious worship. They are, moreover, great gamblers, like all the Indians in America that I am able to know.

“As there are in their country many serpents, these Indians know herbs much superior to our orvietan and theriaque, for after rubbing themselves with them they can without fear play with the most venomous insects, and even put them some distance down their throat. They go perfectly naked in summer, except the feet, which are covered with shoes of ox-hide, and in winter they protect themselves against the cold (which is piercing in these plains, though of short duration) with skins, which they dress and card very neatly.

* Navigation, etc., Margry, ii. p. 99.

“ Although we were almost destitute of all succor, yet the *Sieur de Tonty* never lost courage ; he kept up his position among the Illinois either by inspiring them with all the hopes he built on the *Sieur de la Salle’s* return, or by instructing them in the use of firearms, and many other arts in the European way. As during the following summer a rumor ran that the *Myamis* wished to move and join the *Iroquois*, he taught them how to defend themselves by palisades, and even made them erect a kind of little fort with entrenchments, so that, had they had a little more courage and subordination, I have no doubt they would have been in a position to sustain themselves.

“ Meanwhile, from the flight and desertion of our men, which took place about the middle of March to the month of September, *Father Gabriel* and I devoted ourselves constantly to the mission. An Illinois named *Asapista*, with whom the *Sieur de la Salle* had contracted friendship, adopted *Father Gabriel* as his son, so that that good Father found in his cabin a subsistence in the Indian

fashion. As wine failed us for the celebration of the divine mysteries, we found means, towards the end of August, to get wild grapes, which began to ripen, and we made very good wine, which served us to say Mass till the second disaster, which happened a few days after. The clusters of these grapes are of prodigious size, of very agreeable taste, and have seeds larger than those of Europe.*

“ With regard to conversions, I cannot rely on any. During the whole time Father Gabriel unravelled their language a little, and I can say that I spoke so as to make myself understood by the Indians on all that I wished ; but there is in these savages such an alienation from the Faith, so brutal and narrow a mind, such corrupt and anti-Christian morals, that great time would be needed to hope for any fruit. It is, however, true that I found several of a somewhat docile character. We baptized some dying children, and two or three others, dying persons, who manifested some dispositions. As these people are entirely material in their ideas,

* See La Salle in Margry, ii. p. 121.

they would have submitted to baptism, had we liked, but without any knowledge of the sacrament. We found two who attached themselves to us and promised to follow us everywhere; we believed that they would keep their word, and that by this means we would make sure their baptisms; but I have felt great scruples since I learned that an Indian named Chassagouache, who had been baptized, had died in the hands of the medicine-men, abandoned to their superstitions, and consequently doubly a child of hell—*duplo filium gehennæ*.

“ During the summer we followed our Indians in their camps and to the chase. I also made a voyage to the Myamis to learn something of their dispositions; thence I went to visit other villages of the Illinois, all, however, with no great success, finding only cause for chagrin at the deplorable state and blindness of these nations. It is such that I cannot express it fully.

“ Thus far we enjoyed a pretty general peace, though meanwhile a cruel war, which we knew not,

was machinating. While we were still at Fort Frontenac, the year before, the *Sieur de la Salle* learned that his enemies had, to baffle his designs, excited the Iroquois to resume their former hostilities against the Illinois, which had been relinquished for several years. They sought, too, to draw the Myamis into the same war. These are tribes which formerly dwelt beyond the Illinois, as regards the Iroquois and Fort Frontenac. They had been persuaded to invite the Iroquois by an embassy to join them against their common enemies; those who came to treat of this affair with the Iroquois brought letters from some ill-disposed Frenchmen who had correspondents in those tribes, for there were at that time many *coureurs-de-bois*.

“The *Sieur de la Salle* happened to be among the *Tsonnontouans* when this embassy arrived; the moment seemed unfavorable; the ambassadors

* At Cannagaro, or Ganagaro, *Margry*, ii. pp. 99, 217. *La Salle*, in his letter to Frontenac, August 22, 1682 (*ib.* p. 217), ascribes all the plotting against him to the Jesuit Fathers *Allouez*, *Garnier*, and *Raffeix*; but every mishap was in his eyes the result of their efforts. On the other hand, see the statement of *Duchesneau*, the intendant (*ib.* p. 270).

were privately warned that they risked their lives if they did not depart as soon as possible, the *Sieur de la Salle* being a friend of the Illinois. The *Myamis*, however, left his former country, and came and took up a position where he is now, between the *Iroquois* and the *Illinois*. We have since believed that this was intentional, and we, having to pass through both these nations suspected by each other, might become so to one of them, who would then prevent our progress. *Monsieur de la Salle*, on his arrival at the *Illinois* last year, made peace between the two nations ; but as these tribes are very inconstant and faithless, the *Iroquois* and the *Myamis* afterward united against the *Illinois* by means which are differently related.

“ Be that as it may, about the 10th of September in the present year, 1680, the *Illinois* allies of *Chaouenons* were warned by a *Chaouenon*, who was returning home from the *Illinois* village, but turned back to warn them, that he had discovered an *Iroquois* army, to the number of four or five hundred, who had already entered their territory.

The scouts sent out by the Illinois to reconnoitre confirmed what the Chaouenon had said, adding that the Sieur de la Salle was there. For this there was no foundation, except that the Iroquois chief had a hat and a kind of vest. They at once talked of tomahawking the French, but the Sieur de Tonty undeceived them, and, to show the falsity of this report, he offered to go with the few men he had to fight with them against the Iroquois. The Illinois had sent out to war the greater part of the young men, yet the next day they took the field to meet the enemy, whom the Myamis had reinforced with a great number of their warriors. This multitude terrified the Illinois; nevertheless, they took heart a little at the solicitation of the Sieur de Tonty and the French. They at first mingled and wrangled; but the Sieur de Tonty, having grounds to fear for the Illinois, who had almost no firearms, offered to put matters in negotiation, and to go to the Iroquois as a man of peace, bearing the calumet. The latter, hoping to surprise the Illinois, and seeing their hopes baffled by the state in which

they found them resolved for battle, received without any demur a man who came with a calumet of peace and told them that the Illinois were his brothers, friends of the French, and under the protection of Onontio, their common father. I was also beside the Sieur de Tonty when an Iroquois, whom I had seen in the village of the Thesonnotouans, recognized me.* These proposals for peace did not, however, please some young men whose hands itched for fight. All at once we beheld ourselves assailed by a volley of musket-balls and arrows, and a young Onontaghé ran up, knife in hand, and stabbed Monsieur de Tonty near the heart, but it fortunately glanced off a rib. Several surrounded him and wished to carry him off. They recognized by his ears, which were not pierced, that he was a Frenchman. This made one of the Iroquois chiefs ask loudly what they had meant by striking a French-

* Tonty, Relation 1693, p. 10; "La. Hist. Coll.," i. p. 56; and Relation 1684, Margry, i. p. 585, says nothing of Father Membré, but states that he started with an Illinois, whom he sent back. After leaving the Iroquois he met the Father coming in search of him (ib. i. p. 587; ii. p. 123).

man in that way ; that he must be spared ; and he drew forth a belt to stanch the blood and make a plaster for the wound. Nevertheless, a mad young Iroquois having hoisted the *Sieur de Tonty's* hat on a gun to intimidate the Illinois, the latter believing by this sign that the *Sieur de Tonty* was dead, we were all in danger of losing our heads ; * but the Iroquois having told us to show ourselves and stop both armies, we did so. The Iroquois received the calumet and pretended to retire ; but scarcely had the Illinois reached his village when the Iroquois appeared on the opposite hills.

“ This movement obliged the *Sieur de Tonty* and the chiefs of the nation to depute me to these savages to know the reason. This was not a very agreeable mission to a savage tribe with arms in their hands, especially after the risk I had already run ; nevertheless, I made up my mind, and God

* The “ *Relation des Descouvertes,*” Margry, i. p. 510, pretends that at this moment Boisrondet and the Illinois charged and drove the Iroquois back nearly half a league. *Tonty* (p. 586) confirms the fact of the attack.

preserved me from all harm. I spoke with them ; they treated me very kindly, and at last told me that the reason of their approach was that they had nothing to eat. I made my report to the Illinois, who gave them their fill, and even offered to trade with them for beaver and other furs, very abundant in those parts. The Iroquois agreed, hostages were given and received, and I went with an Illinois to the enemy's camp, where we slept.* The Iroquois came in greater numbers into that of the Illinois, and even advanced to their village, committing hostilities so far as to disinter the dead † and destroy their corn ; in a word, seeking a quarrel, under show of peace, they fortified themselves in the village. The Illinois, on the first announcement of war, had made their families draw off behind a hill, to put them out of sight and enable them to reach the Missisipi river, so that the Iroquois found the village empty. The Illinois warriors retired in troops on the hills, and even

* There is nothing of this in the Relation.

† Margry, ii. p. 124.

gradually dispersed, so that we, seeing ourselves abandoned by our hosts, who no longer appeared in force, and that we—the reverend Father Gabriel, the *Sieur de Tonty*, and the few French who were with us—were left alone exposed to the fury of a savage and victorious enemy, we were not long in resolving to retreat. We began our march on the 18th of September, without provisions, food, or anything, in a wretched bark canoe, which crashing and breaking the next day, compelled us to land about noon to repair it. Father Gabriel, seeing the place of our landing fit for walking in the prairies and hills with little groves, as if planted by hand, retired there to say his breviary while we were working at the canoe all the rest of the day. We were full eight leagues from the village, ascending the river. Towards evening I went to look for the Father, seeing that he did not return; all our party did the same; we fired repeatedly to direct him, but in vain; and as we had reason to fear the Iroquois during the night, we crossed to the other side of the river and lit up fires, which were also

useless.* The next morning at daybreak we returned to the same side where we were the day before, and remained till noon, making all possible search. We entered the wood, where we found several trails recently made, as well as in the prairie on the bank of the river. Each was followed in its own direction without discovering anything, except that Monsieur de Tonty had ground to believe and fear that some hostile parties were hid in ambush to cut us all off ; for, seeing us take flight, these savages had imagined that we declared for the Illinois. I insisted on staying to wait and obtain positive tidings ; but the Sieur de Tonty forced me to embark at three o'clock, maintaining that the Father either had been killed by the enemy or else had walked on along the bank, so that, following it constantly, we should at last infallibly meet him. We got, however, no tidings of him, and the more we advanced the more this affliction half killed us, and we supported this remnant of a lan-

* Tonty, Relation 1693, p. 12 ; " La. Hist. Coll.," i. p. 57 ; Relation 1684, Margry, i. pp. 588-9.

guishing life by some potatoes and garlick and other roots that we found by scraping the ground with our fingers.*

“ We afterward learned that we should have awaited the Father in vain, as he had been killed soon after he was put ashore. The Kikapous, a little nation who may be observed on the west and very near the nation of the Puants, had sent some of their youth on war-parties against the Iroquois ; but learning that the latter were attacking the Illinois, this war-party came after them. Three of them, who formed a kind of advanced guard, having met this good Father apart, although they knew well that he was not an Iroquois, killed him for all that, cast his body into a hole, and carried off even his breviary and diurnal, which soon after fell into the hands of a Jesuit Father. They carried off the scalp of this holy man, and bore it in triumph through their village as an Iroquois scalp. Thus died this man of God by the hands of some mad

* “ Relation des Descouvertes,” Margry, i. p. 511 ; compare ii. p.

youths. We can say of his body what the Scripture remarks of those whom the sanguinary Herod immolated to his fury, 'et non erat qui sepeliret.' Surely he deserved a better fate, if, indeed, we can desire a happier one before God than to die in the exercise of the apostolic functions, by the hands of nations to whom we are sent by God. He had not been in life merely a religious of common and ordinary virtue; it is well known that he had in Canada, from 1670, maintained the same sanctity of life which he had shown in France as superior, inferior, and master of novices. He had for a long time, in certain transports of fervor and in the extreme grief which he felt at the utter blindness of these people, declared to me that he longed to be an anathema for their salvation. His death, I doubt not, has been precious before God, and will one day have its effect in the vocation of these nations to the Faith, when it shall please God to use his great mercy.

"We must admit that this good old man, quite extenuated like ourselves by want of everything,

would not have been able to support the hardships we had to go through after that time. The Sieurs de Tonty and de Bois Rondel, and two other Frenchmen with myself, had still eighty leagues to make to reach the Pouteouatanis.* Our canoe often failed us, and leaked on all sides. After some days' travel we had to leave it in the woods and make the rest of our journey by land, walking barefooted over the snow and ice. I made shoes for my companions and myself of Father Gabriel's cloak. As we had no compass, we frequently got lost, and found ourselves in the evening where we had started in the morning, with no other food than acorns and little roots. At last, after fifteen days' march, we killed a deer, which was a great help to us. The Sieur de Bois Rondet lost us, and for at least ten days we thought him dead. As he had a pewter cup, he melted it to make balls for his gun, which had no flint. By firing it with a coal

* They went down the Kankakee to the Divine or Desplaines, ascended it and reached Lake Michigan, and followed the lake-shore to Green Bay. Margry, i. p. 512.

he killed some turkeys, on which he lived during that time ; at last we fortunately met at the village of the Poutcoutanis,* where their chief, Onanghissê, quite well known among those nations, welcomed us most cordially. He used to say that he knew only three great captains, Monsieur de Frontenac, Monsieur de la Salle, and himself. This chief harangued all his people, who contributed to furnish us food. Not one of us could stand for weakness ; we were like skeletons, the *Sieur de Tonty* extremely sick ; but being a little recruited, I joined some Indians who were going to the bay of the Puants, where the Jesuit Fathers have a house. I accordingly set out to go there, and cannot express the hardships I still had to undergo on the way. The *Sieur de Tonty* followed us some time after with the Frenchmen. We cannot sufficiently acknowledge the charity which these good Fathers displayed towards us until, when the ice thawed, we

* *Tonty* (*Margry*, i. pp. 589-592) makes their sufferings still greater. He says that they were found by some *Kiskakons*, who took them in their canoes to the *Pottawatamies*, where they found five Frenchmen.

set out with Father Enjalran in a canoe for Missilimakinak, hoping to find news there from Canada.

“ From the Illinois we had always followed the route by the north ; had God permitted us to take the route by the south of Lake Dauphin, we should have met the Sieur de la Salle, who was coming with well-furnished canoes which had started from Fort Frontenac, and had gone by the south to the Illinois,* where he expected to find us with all his people in good order as he had left us when he started in the preceding year, March 2, 1680.

“ This he told us himself when he arrived, about the middle of June,† at Missilimakinak, where he found us a little restored from our sufferings. I leave you to conceive our mutual joy, much damped though it was by the narrative he made

* He left Missilimakinac October 4, and reached the mouth of the river of the Miamis (St. Joseph) November 4. He then ascended it and went through the desolated Illinois country. On the 6th of January, 1681, he was at the junction of the Kankakee and Desplaines, ascended the latter, reached Lake Michigan, and followed it to the mouth of the St. Joseph's. Margry, i. pp. 514-524 ; ii. p. 137.

† Tonty says he reached Missilimakinac the eve of Corpus Christi, June 4, 1681, and La Salle the next day.

us of all his misfortunes, and by that we made him of our tragical adventures. He told us that after our departure from Fort Frontenac they had excited his creditors before the time to seize all his property and all his effects, on a rumor which had been spread that he had been drowned with all his people. He related to us that his ship, the *Griffin*, had perished in the lakes a few days after it left the Bay of the Puants; that the captain, sailors, and more than ten thousand crowns in merchandise had been lost without any tidings of it ever reaching him. He had sent little fleets of canoes to trade right and left on Lake Frontenac. All these wretches, he told us, had profited by the principal and the trade, without their* being able to obtain any justice from those whose duty it was to render it, notwithstanding all the efforts made by Monsieur de Frontenac, the governor, in his favor; that, to complete his misfortunes, a vessel † coming from France with a cargo for his account, amounting to twenty-two thousand livres, had been wrecked

* His.

† The *St. Pierre*. Margry, i. p. 496.

on St. Peter's islands, in the great gulf of St. Lawrence; that canoes ascending from Mount Royal to Fort Frontenac loaded with goods had been lost in the rapids; in a word, that, except the Count de Frontenac, all Canada seemed in league against his undertaking: the men he had brought from France had been seduced from him; one part had escaped with his goods to New Netherland; and as regarded the Canadians who had joined him, means had been found to make them discontented and draw them from his interests.

“Although he had left Fort Frontenac in his bark on the 23d of July, 1680,* he was detained on the lake by head winds, so that he could not reach the straits of Lake de Conty till the close of the month of August. Everything seemed to oppose his undertaking. He embarked in the beginning of September on Lake de Conty. He had been detained with Monsieur de la Forest, his lieu-

* He set out at this time to arrest some deserters. Margry, i. p. 497. After visiting Montreal he returned to Fort Frontenac, starting from it August 10, 1681, to make “a second voyage to the Illinois country.” *Ib.* p. 500, the date being a misprint for 1680.

tenant, and all his men at Missilimakinak, being unable to obtain Indian corn for goods or money; but at last, as it was absolutely necessary, he was obliged, after three weeks' stay, to buy some for brandy, and in one day he got sixty sacks.*

“ He had left there the 4th of October, and on the 28th of November arrived at the river of the Miamis, where he left a ship-carpenter and some of his people; then, pushing on, he reached the Illinois on the 1st of December,† greatly surprised to find their great village burnt and without inhabitants. The rest of the time was spent in a journey to the river of the Miamis, where he went to join his men forty leagues from the Illinois. Thence he passed to different tribes, among others to an Outagamis village, where he found some Illinois, who related to him the unhappy occurrences of the preceding year.

* He reached Sault St. Mary's September 16. The Relation says thirty sacks. Margry, i. p. 502. La Salle says he refused more than twenty. Ib. ii. p. 117.

† Margry, i. pp. 514-6. The date November 28 in text seems incorrect. The Relation says 24th. Compare ii. p. 132.

“ He learned, moreover, that after our flight and departure from the Illinois their warriors had returned from the Nadouessious, where they had been at war, and that there had been several engagements with equal loss on both sides, and that, at last, of the seventeen Illinois villages the greater part had retired beyond the river Colbert, among the Ozages, two hundred leagues from their country, where a part of the Iroquois had pursued them.

“ At the same time the Sieur de la Salle intrigued with the Outagami chiefs, whom he drew into his interests and those of the Illinois ; thence he passed to the Miamis, whom he induced by presents and arguments to leave the Iroquois and join the Illinois ; he sent two of his men and two Abenakis Indians to announce this to the Illinois, in order to prevent new acts of hostility and to recall their dispersed tribes. To strengthen both the more, he sent others with presents to the Chaouennons to invite them to come and join the Illinois against the Iroquois, who carried war even to those tribes. All this had succeeded happily when Monsieur de

la Salle set out on the 22d of May, 1681, to return to Missilimakinak, where he expected to find us.* If we wish to settle in those countries and make any progress for the faith, it is absolutely necessary to keep all these tribes, as well as others more remote, in peace and union against the common enemy—that is, the Iroquois—who never make a real peace with those whom he has once beaten, or whom he hopes to overcome by the divisions which he artfully excites, so that we should be daily exposed to routs like that to which we were subjected last year. Monsieur de la Salle, convinced of this necessity, has since our return purchased the whole Illinois country, and has given cantons to the Chaoïenons, who there colonize in large families.

“The Sicur de la Salle related to us all the hardships and voyages that he had made, and all the misfortunes that had befallen him. He learned from us as many regarding him; yet never did I remark in him the least alteration, always maintain-

* The Relation, after detailing all La Salle's movements, says he embarked May 25 (1681) (p. 543). See ii. p. 142.

ing his ordinary coolness and self-possession. Any one but him would have renounced and abandoned the enterprise; but, far from that, by a firmness of mind and a constancy that has seldom been equalled, I saw him more resolute than ever to continue his work and to carry out his discovery. We accordingly set out for Fort Frontenac with his whole party, in order to adopt new measures to resume and complete our course with the help of Heaven, in which we put all our trust."

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SIEUR DE LA SALLE PURSUES AND COMPLETES
HIS DISCOVERY FROM THE ILINOIS BY THE
RIVER COLBERT TO THE GULF OF MEXICO, AND
HIS RETURN TO CANADA.

AS I remark nothing of importance in the new preparations that had to be made for this second enterprize, nor in the voyage of the Sieur de la Salle and Father Zenobius from Missinimakinac to Fort Frontenac, and from Fort Frontenac to the Myamis and Illinois, I shall here omit what Father Zenobius says concerning it in his Relation, so as not to occupy the reader uselessly.

We need only observe that the Sieur de la Salle, seeing that all his attempts to go in a bark from the Illinois to the sea had failed, and that all his great expense had become useless, resolved to pursue the rest of his discovery in canoes. For this purpose, as he had just left men in Illinois and Mya-

mis, some other Frenchmen joined him. The nation called Loups, of which we have spoken, and that of the Abenakis, which are two very warlike nations and full of resolution, as the English have at all times experienced, seemed to him best fitted to second his design. He chose some of the bravest.* He also made an arrangement with his creditors, and, collecting all that was left of his property, satisfied them in part and secured the rest, which became a lien on Fort Frontenac, the land and commerce of that great country, which he left free to them. He even received fresh aid from them. He went down to Mont Royal, whither Monsieur de Frontenac, unable to come himself, had sent his secretary, Monsieur Barrois, a thorough man of business, formerly secretary of legation. They concerted together as to the steps necessary to be taken, and the Sieur de la Salle at last went up once more to the fort, whence he set out immediately to follow Father Zenobius and the great body

* See the curious proceedings between these New England Indians and La Salle in Margry, ii. p. 149.

of his men, who had by his orders already started on.*

We have said that Lake de Conty empties into Lake Frontenac by a channel fourteen or fifteen leagues long and by a cataract or waterfall one hundred fathoms high. The current of this channel is of extraordinary rapidity. One of the canoes launched a little below the mouth of the lake was carried away by the current, but the men and goods were saved. This accident caused a delay of only one day. At last the Sieur de la Salle, after sending new orders to the Sieur de la Forest, commandant at Fort Frontenac, and leaving men at Fort de Conty, embarked on Lake de Conty on the 28th of August in the year 1681, and at the beginning of November arrived at the river of the Myamis.†

At this place we now proceed to resume word for word what is most essential in the continuation

* He left Fort Frontenac August 10, 1681, according to the Relation Margry, i. p. 500.

† Father Membré reached the Miamis October 15, 1681. Letter in Margry, ii. p. 203.

of the Relation of Father Zenobius, which seems even to be drawn from the memoirs of the Sieur de la Salle, who accompanied him.

“Monsieur de la Salle,* having arrived safely at the Myamis on the 3d of November, † bent himself, with his ordinary activity and great breadth of mind, to prepare all things necessary for his departure. He selected twenty-three Frenchmen and eighteen Indians inured to war, some Mahingans or Loups, some Abenaquis. They desired to take along ten of their women to cook for them, as their custom is, while they were fishing or hunting.

* Thomassy, in his “Geologie Pratique de la Louisiane,” and Gravier, “Decouvertes,” publish as La Salle's a “Relation de la Decouverte de l'embouchure de la Rivière du Mississipi,” which is slightly abridged from this of Membré's. Gravier admits, p. 172, that the Relation “bears the name of Father Zenobius Membré,” yet ascribes it to La Salle. Parkman thinks it the official report “made by La Salle, or perhaps for him by Membré.” It seems strange, however, to assume that the fuller document given here by Le Clercq must be drawn from a shorter form.

† A letter in Margry, ii. p. 20, says December 16, and Tonty December 19 (ib. i. p. 593). He gives the names of the twenty-three Frenchmen and of seventeen Indians, mentioning besides ten Indian women and three children. Membré, Letter of June 3, 1682 (ib. ii. p. 206), says he set out with Tonty, and La Salle overtook them on the Checagou.

These women took with them three children, so that the whole party consisted of but fifty-four persons, including the Sieur de Tonty and the Sieur Dautray, son of the late Sieur Bourdon, procurator-general of Quebec.

“On the 21st of December I embarked with the Sieur de Tonty and a part of our people on Lake Dauphin, to go toward the divine river, called by the Indians Checagou,* in order to make the necessary arrangements for our voyage. The Sieur de la Salle joined us there with the rest of his troop on the 4th of January, 1682,† and found that the Sieur de Tonty had had sleds made to put all the party on and carry them over the Checagou, which was frozen; for though the winter in these parts lasts only two months, it is notwithstanding very severe.‡

“There is a portage to be made to enter the river of the Illinois, which we found also frozen; we

* This was the Desplaines called by Joliet La Divine, a name given to Madame de Frontenac.

† Membre, Margry, ii. p. 206.

‡ La Salle had always opposed the Chicago route, which Joliet had advocated, but finally adopted it himself. See Margry, ii. pp. 94, 166.

made it on the 27th of the same month, dragging our canoes, our baggage and provisions about eighty leagues' distance on the river Seignelay, which runs down into the river Colbert; we traversed the great village of the Illinois, without finding any one there, the Indians having gone to winter thirty leagues lower down on Lake Pimiteoui, where Fort Crèvecoeur stands. We found it in a good condition; the Sieur de la Salle left his orders here, and as from this spot navigation is open at all seasons and free from ice, we embarked in our canoes, and on the 6th of February reached the mouth of the river Seignelay, situated at latitude 38° .* The ice which was floating down on the river Colbert at this place kept us there till the 13th of the same month, when we set out, and six leagues lower down we found the river of the Ozages † coming from the west. It is full as large as the river Colbert, into which it empties, and which is so disturbed

* Tonty notes (Margry, i. p. 595) that on this occasion the Mississippi was named the Colbert by Monsieur de la Salle.

† Emissourita. Tonty (Margry, i. p. 595).

by it that from the mouth of this river the water is hardly drinkable. The Indians assured us that this river is formed by many others, and that they ascend it for ten or twelve days to a mountain where they have their source ; and that beyond this mountain is the sea, where great ships are seen ; that it * is peopled by a great number of large villages, of several different nations ; that there are lands and prairies, and great cattle and beaver hunting. Although this river is very large, the main river does not seem augmented by it ; but it pours in so much mud that from its mouth the water of the great river, whose bed is also very slimy, is more like clear mud than river water, without changing at all till it reaches the sea, a distance of more than three hundred leagues, although it receives seven large rivers, the water of which is very beautiful, and which are as large as Mississipi.

“ On the 14th, six leagues further, we found on the east the village of the Tamaroa, who had gone to the chase ; we left there marks of our peaceful coming

* The river.

and signs of our route, according to practice in such voyages. We went by short stages, because we were obliged to hunt and fish almost daily, not having been able to bring any provisions but Indian corn.

“Forty leagues from Tamaroa is the river Oüabache, where we stopped. From the mouth of this river you must advance forty-two leagues without stopping, because the banks are low and marshy, and full of thick foam, rushes, and walnut-trees.

“On the 24th * those whom we had sent to hunt all returned but one named Peter Prudhomme ; the rest reported that they had seen Indian trails. This made us fear that our Frenchman had been taken or killed. This induced the Sieur de la Salle to throw up a fort and entrenchment, and to put some French and Indians on these trails. None relaxed their efforts till the 1st of March, when Gabriel Minime and two Loups, having discovered five Indians, took two. They said that they belonged to the Sicacha nation, and that their village

* Metairie, Procès Verbal (Margry, ii. p. 187), says the 26th.

was a day and a half off. After showing them every kindness I set out with the Sieur de la Salle and half his party to go there, in hopes of learning some news of Prudhomme; but after having travelled the distance stated we showed the two Indians that we were displeased at their lying; they told us frankly that we were still three days off. (These Indians generally count ten or twelve leagues to a day.) We returned to the camp, and one of the two Indians having offered to stay while the other bore the news to the village, the Sieur de la Salle gave him some goods; he set out after giving us to understand that we should meet their nation on the bank of the river as we descended.

“ At last Prudhomme, who had lost his way, was found on the ninth day and brought back to the fort, so that we set out the next day during a fog; and having sailed forty-five leagues till the 3d * of March, we heard a drum beating and sasacouëst †

* Membré, in his letter of June 2, 1682 (Margry, ii. p. 20; see also 204), says 13th.

† War-cries.

on our right. Having made out that it was a village of the Akansa, the *Sieur de la Salle* immediately passed over to the other side with all his force, and in less than an hour threw up there a retrenched redoubt on a point, with palisades, and felled trees, to prevent a surprise and give the Indians time to recover confidence. He then made some of his party advance on the bank of the river and invite the Indians to come to us. Their chiefs sent out a *periagua* (these are large wooden canoes, made of a hollow tree like small *batteaux*), which came within gun-shot. We offered them the calumet of peace, and two Indians, advancing, by signs invited the French to come to them. The *Sieur de la Salle* sent a Frenchman and two *Abe-naquis*, who were received and regaled with many tokens of friendship. Six of the principal men brought him back in the same *periagua*, and came into the redoubt, where the *Sieur de la Salle* made them presents of tobacco and some goods. On their side they gave us some slaves, and the most important of the chiefs invited us to go to the vil-

lage to refresh ourselves, to which we readily consented.

“ All those of the village, except the women, who had at first taken flight, came to the bank of the river to receive us. Here they built us cabins, brought us wood to burn and provisions in abundance. For three days they feasted us constantly ; the women having returned, brought us Indian corn, beans, flour, and various kinds of fruits ; and we, in return, made them other little presents, which they admired greatly.

“ These Indians do not resemble those at the north, who are all of a morose and stern disposition ; these are far better made, civil, liberal, and of a gay humor. Even the young are so modest that, though they had a great desire to see the *Sieur de la Salle*, they kept quietly at the doors, not daring to come in.

“ We saw great numbers of domestic fowls, flocks of young turkeys, tamed geese, many kinds of fruits, peaches already formed on the trees, although it was only the beginning of March.

“On the 14th of the same month the Sieur de la Salle took possession of this country with great ceremony.* He planted a cross and set up the king’s arms, at which the Indians showed a great joy. You can talk much to Indians by signs, and those with us managed to make themselves a little understood in their language. I took occasion to explain something of the truth of a God and the mysteries of our redemption, of which they saw the insignia. During this short time they showed that they relished what I said by raising their eyes to heaven and kneeling as if to adore. We also saw them rub their hands over their bodies after rubbing them over the pillar where the cross was. In fact, on our return from the sea we found that they had surrounded this cross with a palisade. They finally gave us provisions and men to guide us and serve as interpreters with the Taensa, their allies, who are eighty leagues distant from this village.

* The Procès Verbal, dated March 13-14, 1682, at Kapaha, and signed by La Salle, Membré, d’Autray, etc., is in Margry, ii. pp. 181-5; Tonty, Relation 1693, p. 15; “La. Hist. Coll.,” i. p. 60.

“On the 17th we continued our route, and six leagues lower down we found another village of the same Akansa nation, and then another three leagues lower, the people of which were of the same kind, and welcomed us heartily. We gave them presents and tokens of our coming in peace and friendship.

“On the 22d* we reached the Taensa, who dwell around a little lake formed in the land by the river Missisipi. They have eight villages. The walls of their houses are made of earth mixed with straw; the roof is of canes, which form a dome that is adorned with paintings; they have wooden beds and much other furniture, and even embellishments in their temples, where they inter the bones of their chiefs.† They are dressed in white blankets made of the bark of a tree, which they spin; their chief is absolute and disposes of all without consulting anybody. He is served by slaves, as are all his family. Food is brought him outside his cabin;

* La Metairie says 20. Margry, ii. p. 188.

† Tonty describes temple, Relation 1693, p. 16; “La. Hist. Coll.,” i. p. 61.

drink is given him in a particular cup, with much neatness. His wives and children are similarly treated, and all the other Taensa address him with respect and ceremony.

“The *Sieur de la Salle*, being fatigued and unable to go into the town himself, sent in the *Sieur de Tonty* and me with presents. The chief of this nation, not content with sending him a quantity of provisions and other presents, wished also to see him, and accordingly two hours before the time a master of ceremonies came, followed by six other men; he made them clear the way he was to pass, prepare a place, and cover it with a delicately-worked cane-mat. The chief, who came some time after, was dressed in a fine white cloth or blanket. He was preceded by two men carrying fans of white feathers. A third carried a copper blade and a round plate of the same metal, both highly polished. He maintained an extremely grave demeanor during this visit, which was, however, full of confidence and marks of friendship.

“This whole country is covered with palm-trees,

laurels of two kinds, plum, peach, mulberry, apple, and pear trees of every kind. There are also five or six kinds of nut-trees, some of which bear nuts of extraordinary size. They also gave us several kinds of dried fruit to taste; we found them large and good. Many other kinds of fruit-trees which I never saw in Europe are to be found there; but the season was too early to allow us to see the fruit. We observed vines already out of blossom. The mind and character of these tribes appeared on the whole docile and manageable, and even capable of reason. I made them understand all I wished about our mysteries. They conceived pretty well the necessity of a God, who created and who governs all; they attribute this divinity to the sun. Religion may be greatly advanced among them, as well as among the Akansa, both these nations being half civilized.

“ Our guides would go no further for fear of falling into the hands of their enemies, for the people on one shore are generally enemies of those on the other. There are forty villages on the east, and

thirty-four on the west, the names of all which were given us.

“The 26th of March resuming our voyage, we perceived, twelve leagues lower down, a periagua or wooden canoe, to which the *Sieur de Tonty* gave chase, till, approaching the shore, we perceived a great number of Indians. The *Sieur de la Salle*, with his usual precaution, turned to the opposite bank, and then sent the same *Sieur de Tonty* to bear the calumet of peace. Some of the chief men crossed the river to come to us as good friends. They were fishermen of the *Nachié** nation, enemies of the *Taensa*. Although their village lay three leagues inland, the *Sieur de la Salle* and I did not fail to go there with a part of our force. We slept there, and received as kindly a welcome as we could expect; the *Sieur de la Salle*, whose very air, engaging manners, and skilful mind, command alike love and respect, so impressed

* *Tonty's* narrative corresponds generally, but is more detailed. He calls this tribe *Nahy* (*Margry*, i. p. 603). *La Metairie* (*ib.* ii. p. 189) does not mention the visit to the *Natchez*. *Iberville* (*ib.* iv. p. 179) calls them *Theloël*.

the heart of these tribes that they did not know how to treat us well enough. They would gladly have kept us with them ; and even, in sign of their esteem, they that very night informed the Koroa,* their ally, whose chief and head men came the next day to the village, where they paid their obeisance to the king of the French, in the person of the *Sieur de la Salle*, who was well able to exalt in every quarter the power and glory of his nation.

“After having planted the king’s arms under the cross, and made presents to the *Nachié*, we returned to the camp the next day with the head men of the town, and the chief of the Koroa, who accompanied us to his village, situated ten leagues below, on an agreeable eminence, surrounded on one side by fine corn lands and on the other by beautiful prairies. This chief presented the *Sieur de la Salle* with a calumet, and feasted him and all his party. We reciprocated here as we did everywhere else.

* *Tonty* writes *Coroha* and *Coroa* ; *Iberville*, *Coloa*. In his “*Letter*” (*Margry*, ii. p. 210) *Membre* mentions their reaching the *Oumas*, a day’s sail below the *Koroas*. See, too, p. 205 ; but *Iberville* found the *Coloa* between the *Akansa* and *Taensa* (iv. p. 180).

They told us that we had still ten days' sail to the sea.

“The Sicacha who had guided us thus far obtained leave to remain in the village, which we left on Easter Day, the 29th of March, after having celebrated the divine mysteries with the French, and fulfilled the duties of good Christians. For our Indians, though of the most advanced and best instructed, were not yet capable.

“About six leagues below, the river divides into two arms, or channels,* forming a great island, which must be more than sixty leagues long. We followed the channel on the right, although we had intended to take the other, but passed it in a great fog without seeing it. We had a guide with us, who pointed it out by signs; but the canoe in

* Early maps showed the Mississippi as two rivers connected by a branch or channel. La Salle and his party with this idea looked for a second branch, and Membré here supposes they passed it. La Salle in Texas was still under the same idea. Iberville till he found Tonty's letter was not sure that he was on the Mississippi, and constantly sought this lateral channel. He denounces Membré (Margry, iv. pp. 167, 178, 181) because he could not find it. Membré's statements are on the whole borne out by Tonty and la Metairie, and his errors were evidently shared by the whole party. (See Margry, ii. p. 603.)

which he was being then behind, those who managed it neglected what this Indian told them, to endeavor to overtake us, for we were considerably ahead. We were assured that, in that other channel, ten different nations are encountered, which are all numerous and very good people.

“ On the 2d of April, after having sailed forty* leagues, we perceived some fishermen on the bank of the river, who took flight, and we immediately after heard sasacoüest—that is, war-cries, and beating of drums. It was the nation of the Quinipissa.† Four Frenchmen were sent to offer them the calumet of peace, with orders not to fire; but they had to return in hot haste, because these Indians discharged a number of arrows at them. Four of our Mahingans or Loups, who went afterwards, met no better welcome. This obliged the Sieur de la Salle to continue his route, till, two leagues

* Tonty says 80.

† Iberville when ascending the river could not find either Quinipisas or Tangibao, and denounces le Clercq (Margry, iv. p. 120), but finally recognized the Bayougoulas and Mongoulachas as the Quinipisas (p. 191).

lower down, we entered a village of the Tangi-bao,* which had been very recently sacked and plundered; we found there three cabins full of men dead for fifteen or sixteen days.

“At last, after a navigation of about forty leagues, † we arrived, on the 6th of April, at a point where the river divides into three channels. The Sieur de la Salle divided his party the next day into three bands to go and explore them. He took the western, the Sieur Dautray the southern, the Sieur Tonty, whom I accompanied, the middle one. These three channels are beautiful and deep. The water was brackish; after two leagues ‡ it became perfectly salt, and advancing on, we discovered the open sea, so that on the 9th of April, with all possible solemnity, we performed the ceremony of planting the cross and raising the arms of France.

* La Metairie calls them the Maheouala (Margry, ii. p. 190).

† Iberville makes the village of the Mongoulachas 64 leagues from gulf (Margry iv. 119), and condemns “histories that place the Quinipissas only 25 leagues from the mouth” (Ib., p. 161). Tonty’s estimate is 30; le Clercq’s, 44.

‡ Iberville estimates two and a half.

After we had chanted the hymn of the church, 'Vexilla Regis,' and the 'Te Deum,' the Sieur de la Salle, in the name of his majesty, took position of that river, of all rivers that enter it, and of all the countries watered by them.* An authentic act was drawn up, signed by all of us there, and, to the sound of a volley from all our muskets, a leaden plate, on which were engraved the arms of France and the names of those who had just made the discovery, was deposited in the earth.† The Sieur de la Salle, who always carried an astrolabe, took the latitude of this mouth. Although he

* Besides this narrative of La Salle's voyage down the Mississippi, there is Tonty's, November 14, 1684, Margry, i. pp. 573-616; that of 1693 ("Louisiana Hist. Coll.," i. p. 52); that of Nicholas de la Salle, ib. i. pp. 547-563; Metairie's, ii. p. 187; and that in Membré's "Letter" of June 3, 1682, ii. pp. 206-212. A short account appeared in the *Mercure Galant*, May, 1684, reprinted in Margry, ii. p. 355.

† The Procès Verbal drawn up by James de la Metairie, notary of Fort Frontenac, is in Margry, ii. p. 186; in English in French's "Historical Collections of Louisiana," i. p. 45. The inscription was in Latin: "Ludovicus Magnus regnat nono Aprilis, 1682." On the other side: "Robertus Cavalier, cum domino de Tonty, legato, R. P. Zenobio Membre, Recollecto, et viginti Gallis, primus hoc flumen, inde ab Ili-neorum pago enavigavit, ejusque ostium fecit pervium nono Aprilis, anni 1682."

kept to himself the exact point, we have learned that the river falls into the gulf of Mexico, between latitude 27° and 28° , and, as is thought, at the point where maps lay down the Rio Escondido. This mouth is about thirty leagues distant from the Rio Bravo, sixty from the Rio de Palmas, and ninety or a hundred leagues from the river Panuco, where there is the nearest Spanish settlement on the coast. We reckoned that Espiritu Santo bay lay northeast of our mouth. From the river of the Illinois we always went south and southwest; the river winds a little, preserves to the sea its breadth of about a quarter of a league, is everywhere very deep, without any bar, or any obstacle to navigation, although the contrary has been published. This river is estimated at eight hundred leagues long; we travelled at least three hundred and fifty from the mouth of the river Seignelay.*

“Provisions had failed us; we found only some

* Le Clercq makes the distance from the Arkansas to the mouth 190 leagues; Iberville, $263\frac{1}{2}$; Tonty, 214 (Margry, iv. p. 150).

dried meat near our mouth, which we took to appease our extreme hunger ; but soon after it was remarked that it was human flesh, so that we left the rest to our Indians. It was very good and delicate. At last, on the 10th of April, we began to remount the river, living only on potatoes and crocodiles. The country is so bordered with canes, and so low in this part, that it was impossible to hunt without a long halt. On the 12th we slept at the village of the Tangibao, and as the *Sieur de la Salle* wished to have corn, willingly or by force. Our *Abenakis* perceived, on the 13th, as we advanced, that there was a great smoke very near. We thought that this might be the *Quinipissa*, who had fired arrows at us some days before ; those whom we sent out to reconnoitre brought in four women of the nation on the morning of the 14th, and we went and encamped opposite the village. After dinner some *periaguas* came towards us, intending to brave us ; but the *Sieur de la Salle* having advanced in person with the calumet of peace, on their refusal to receive it a gun was fired, which

terrified these savages, who had never seen firearms. They called this thunder, not understanding how it could be that a wooden stick could vomit fire, and kill people so far off without touching them. This obliged the Indians to take flight, although they were in great force, armed in their manner. At last the *Sieur de la Salle* followed them to the other side. He put one of their women on the shore with a present of axes, knives, and beads, giving her to understand that the other three should soon follow her if she had some Indian corn brought to us. The next day a troop of Indians having appeared, the *Sieur de la Salle* went to meet them, and concluded a peace with them ; he received and gave hostages, and proceeded to encamp near their village. Here they brought us some little corn. We at last went up to the village, where these Indians had prepared us a feast in their fashion. They had notified their allies and neighbors, so that, when we went to enjoy the banquet in a large square, we saw a confused mass of armed savages arrive in file. We were, however, welcomed by the chiefs,

but we had reason to be on our guard, so that each of our men kept his gun ready, and the Indians seeing this durst not attack us.

“The *Sieur de la Salle* retired with all his people and his hostages into his camp, and gave up the *Quinipissa* women. The next morning before day-break our sentinel reported that he heard a noise among the canes on the banks of the river. The *Sieur Dautray* said it was nothing; but the *Sieur de la Salle*, always on the alert, having already heard the noise, called to arms. As we instantly heard war-cries, and arrows were fired from quite near us, we kept up a brisk fire, although it began to rain. Day broke, and after two hours' fighting, and the loss of ten of their men killed and many wounded, they took to flight without any of us receiving any injury. Our people wished to go and burn the village of these traitors; but the *Sieur de la Salle* prudently wished only to make himself formidable to this nation without exasperating it, in order to manage their minds in time of need. We, however, broke many of their canoes. They were

very near, but contented themselves with running away and shouting. Our Loup Indians took only two scalps.*

“We set out then the evening of the same day, the 18th of April, and arrived on the 1st of May, at the Koroa, after having suffered much from want of provisions. The Koroa had been notified by the Quinipissa, their allies, and had, with the intention of avenging them, assembled Indians of several villages, making a very numerous army, which appeared on the shores, and which often approached us very near to reconnoitre. This nation, which had contracted a friendship with us on our voyage down, surprised us not a little by the change; but they told us the reason, which obliged us to keep on our guard. The Sieur de la Salle even advanced intrepidly, so that the Indians durst not undertake anything.

“When we passed there going down, as we were pretty well provided with Indian corn, we had put

* Nicholas de la Salle, *Margry*, i. pp. 563-5; Tonty, *ib.* p. 607; Tonty, *Relation 1693*, p. 20.

a quantity in *cache*, pretty near their village. We found it in good condition, and having taken it up continued our route ; but we were surprised to see the Indian corn at this place, which only just began to come out of the ground on the 29th of March, was already fit to eat, and we then learned that it ripened in fifty days. We also remarked other corn grown four inches above ground.

“ We set out then the same day, the 1st of May in the evening, and after seeing several different nations on the following days, and renewed our alliance with the Taensa, who received us perfectly well, we arrived at the Akansa, where we were similarly received. We left it on the 18th. The Sieur de la Salle went on with two canoes of our Loup Indians, and pushed on to a hundred leagues below the river Seignelay, where he fell sick. We joined him there with the rest of the troop on the 2d of June. As his malady was dangerous and brought him to extremity, unable to advance any further, he was obliged to send forward the Sieur

de Tonty* for the Illinois and Miamis in order to take up our *caches*, and put everything in order, appointing the said Sieur to command there. But at last the malady of the Sieur de la Salle, which lasted forty days, during which I assisted him to my utmost, having somewhat abated, we started at the close of July, by slow journeys. At the end of September we reached the river of the Miamis, where we learned of several military expeditions made by the Sieur de Tonty after he had quitted us. He had left the Sieur Dautray and the Sieur Cochois among the Miamis, and other people among the Illinois, with two hundred new cabins of Indians, who were going to repeople that nation. The said Sieur de Tonty pushed on to Missilimakinac, to render an account, more at hand, of our discovery to the governor, the Count de Frontenac, on behalf of the Sieur de la Salle, who proposes to retrace his steps to the sea next spring with a larger force, and families to begin establishments.†

* Tonty set out June 4 with four men. Margry, i. p. 611.; Relation 1693, p. 21.

† A memoir of the Cavalier family claims that up to this time

“ The river Seignelay is very beautiful, especially below the Illinois (Indians), wide and deep, forming two lakes as far as the sea,* edged with hills, covered with beautiful trees of all kinds, whence you discern vast prairies on which herds of wild cattle pasture in confusion. The river often overflows, and renders the country around marshy, for twenty or thirty leagues from the sea.* The soil around is good, capable of producing all that can be desired for subsistence. We even found hemp there growing wild, much finer than that which grows in Canada. The whole country on this river is charming in its aspect.

“ It is the same with what we have visited on the river Colbert. When you are twenty or thirty leagues below the Maroa, the banks are full of canes until you reach the sea, except in fifteen or twenty places where there are very pretty hills, and spacious, convenient landing-places. The inundation does not extend very far, and behind these

La Salle had spent on his discoveries 500,000 livres (Margry, i. p. 424).

* Meaning evidently the mouth.

drowned banks you see the finest country in the world. Our hunters, French and Indian, were delighted with it. For an extent of at least two hundred leagues in length, and as much in breadth, as we were told, there are vast fields of excellent land, skirted in spots by very charming hills, lofty woods, groves through which you might ride on horseback, so clear and unobstructed are the paths. These little forests also line the rivers which intersect these plains in various places, and which abound in fish. The crocodiles are dangerous here, so much so that in some parts no one would venture to expose himself, or even put his hand out of the canoe. The Indians told us that these animals often dragged their people in, where they could get hold of them in any part.

“The plains are full of all kinds of game, wild cattle, stags, does, deer, bears, poules d’inde, partridges, parrots, quails, woodcock, wild-pigeons, and ring-doves. There are also beaver, otters, martens, wild-cats, till a hundred leagues below the Maroa, especially in the river of the Mistouri, the river

Ouabache, that of the Chepousseau, which is opposite it, and on all the smaller ones in this space ; but we could not learn that there were any beavers on the side toward the sea.

“ There are no wild beasts which are formidable to man. That which is called Michybichy never attacks man, although it devours beasts, strong as they may be ; its head is like that of a lynx, though much larger ; the body long and large like a deer’s, but much more slender ; the legs, too, are shorter, the paws like those of a cat, but much larger, with longer and stronger claws, which it uses to kill the beasts that it wishes to devour. It eats a little, then carries off the rest on its back, and hides it under some leaves, ordinarily no other beast of prey touching it. Its skin and tail resemble those of a lion, to which it is inferior only in size.

“ The cattle of this country surpass ours in size ; their head is monstrous, and of a frightful look, on account of the long, black hair with which it is surrounded, and which hangs below the chin, and

along the houghs of this animal. It has on the back a kind of upright mane, of which that nearest the neck is longest; the rest diminishes gradually to the middle of the back. The hair is fine, and scarce inferior to wool. The Indians wear their skins, which they dress very neatly with earth, which serves also for paint. These animals are easily approached, and never fly from you; they might be domesticated.

“There is another little animal like a rat, though as large as a cat, which has silvery hair sprinkled with black. The tail is bare, as thick as a large finger, and about a foot long; with this it suspends itself, when it is on the branches of trees. It has under the belly a kind of pouch, where it carries its young when it is pursued.

“The Indians assured us that inland, toward the west, there are animals on which men ride, and which carry very heavy loads; they described them as horses, and showed us two feet which were actually hoofs of horses.

“We observed everywhere wood of various kinds

fit for every use ; and among others the finest cedars in the world, and another kind of tree shedding in abundance a kind of gum, as pleasant to burn as the best French pastilles. We also remarked everywhere hollies, and many other trees with white bark, which grow very large. The cotton-wood trees are large ; of these the Indians dig out canoes forty or fifty feet long, and have sometimes fleets of a hundred and fifty at the foot of a village. We saw every kind of tree fit for ship-building. There is also plenty of hemp for cordage, and tar might be made remarkably near the sea.

“ You meet prairies everywhere ; sometimes of fifteen or twenty leagues front, and three or four deep, ready to receive the plough—good land, capable of supporting great colonies. Beans grow wild without planting, and the stalk lasts several years, always bearing fruit ; it grows thicker than an arm, and runs up like ivy to the top of the highest trees. The peach-trees are quite like those of France, and very good ; they are so loaded with

fruit that the Indians have to prop up with forks those they cultivate in their clearings. There are whole forests of very fine mulberries, of which we ate the fruit from the month of May; many plum-trees and other fruit-trees, some known and others unknown in Europe; vines, pomegranates, and chestnuts are common. They raise three or four crops of corn a year. I have already stated that I saw some ripe, while more was just coming up. Winter is little known except by the rains.

“We had not time to look for mines; we found only coal in several places; the Indians who have lead and copper wished to lead us to many places, whence they take it; there are quarries of very fine stone, white and black marble, yet the Indians do not use it.

“These tribes, though savage, seem generally of very good dispositions, affable, obliging, and docile. They have no true idea of religion by a regular worship; but we remarked some confused ideas, and a particular veneration they had for the sun, which they recognize as Him who

made and preserves all. It is surprising that their dialect is different from that of tribes not ten leagues off; they manage, however, to understand each other; and, besides, there is always some interpreter of one nation residing in another, when they are allies, and who acts as a kind of resident. They are all different from our Canada Indians in their houses, dress, manners, inclinations, and customs, and even in the form of the head, which these have very flat. They have large public squares, games, assemblies; they seem lively and active; their chiefs possess all the authority; no one would dare pass between the chief and the cane-torch which burns in his cabin, and is carried before him when he goes out; all make a circuit around it with some ceremony. They have their valets and officers, who follow them and serve them everywhere. They distribute their favors and presents at will. In a word, we generally found men there. We saw not one who knew firearms, or even iron or steel implements, using stone knives and hatchets. This was just contrary to what had been

told us, when we were assured that by trade with the Spaniards, who were said to be only twenty-five or thirty leagues off, they had axes, guns, and all commodities which are found in Europe. We found, indeed, tribes that had bracelets of real pearls; but they pierce them by fire, and thus spoil them. Monsieur de la Salle has brought some with him. The Indians told us that their warriors brought them from very far, in the direction of the sea, and receive them in exchange from some nations apparently on the Florida side.

“There are many other things which our people observed on advancing a little into the country to hunt, or which we learned from the tribes through which we have passed; but I should make myself annoying by giving details here. Moreover, it is necessary to know the particulars more thoroughly.

“To conclude, our discovery is accomplished without our having lost any of our men, either French or Indian, and without anybody's being wounded, for which we are indebted to the protection of the Almighty, and the great capacity of Monsieur de

la Salle. I will say nothing here of conversions; formerly the apostles had but to enter a country, when on the first publication of the Gospel great conversions were seen. I am but a miserable sinner, infinitely removed from the merits of the apostles; but we must also acknowledge that these miraculous ways of grace are not attached to the exercise of our ministry; God employing only an ordinary and common way, following which I contented myself with announcing, as well as I could, the principal truths of Christianity to the nations I met. The Illinois language served me a little about a hundred leagues further on the river, and I made the rest understood by gestures and some term in their dialect which I insensibly picked up; but I cannot say that my little efforts produced certain fruits. With regard to these nations, perhaps, some one, by a secret effect of grace, has profited; this God only knows. All we have done has been to see the state of these nations, and to open the way to the Gospel and to missionaries; having baptized only two infants whom I saw at the

point of death, and who, in fact, died in our presence.”

I here give my readers all that is important in the Relation which Father Zenobius addressed to Father Valentine, superior of the missions at Quebec, and which I copied on the spot some years after. The missionary did not at the time expect to go to France that same year, 1682, but the Sieur de la Salle, having suddenly taken his resolutions, asked him to consent to make the voyage, in order to give the first tidings of his discovery,* until he could the next year proceed thither in person. The good Father accordingly set out from the Miamis on the 8th of October; but in spite of all the diligence he could employ in descending the lakes and the river, he did not reach Quebec till the 15th of November,† the day but one before the departure of the vessels; and he embarked in that which

* Tonty in Margry, i. p. 613. Membré's report was apparently not credited in France. Rev. Mr. Tronçon, of St. Sulpice, records doubts in regard to it (ib. ii. pp. 305, 354), but at last believed it in 1684 (pp. 353-4). La Salle wrote from Missilimakinak in October (ib. p. 288).

† See Letter of de la Barre, Margry, ii. p. 303.

carried the Count of Frontenac, who returned that same year to France.

DECRETUM* SACRÆ CONGREGATIONIS GENERALIS DE PROPAGANDA FIDE, HABITUM DIE 8^a JANUARI, 1685.

Referente Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali Estræo Sacræ Congregationis declaravit Præfectum Missionis ad septentrionem in Insulâ vulgo dictâ Louisianâ in Americâ, Fratrem Hyacinthum LE FEBVRE, Ordinis Minorum Recollectorum Sancti Francisci Provinciæ Sancti Dionysii in Gallia, cum auctoritate ea quæ ad Missionis Regnum pertinent, & ad præscriptam Decretorum Sacræ Congregationis, & facultatum eidem concessarum exercendi, eâ tamen conditione quod ultra quatuor Fratres transmissos alios, non nominet inconsulta Sacrâ Congregatione, & non alius. Datum Romæ die, & anno quibus suprâ.

G. CARDINALIS DE ALTERIIS,

Præfectus,

(*cum chirographo & sigillo*).

This decree was accompanied by four others for the four missionary Fathers, whereof the tenor was :

DECRETUM SACRÆ CONGREGATIONIS GENERALIS DE PROPAGANDA FIDE, HABITUM, DIE 8 JANUARI, 1685.

Referente Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali Estræo Sacræ Congregationis Missionarium Apostolicum in Insula vulgo

* This document belongs to the following chapter.

dictâ Louisianâ in Americâ ad septennium declaravit Fratrem Zenobium MAMBRÉ, Ordinis Minorum Recollectorum Sancti Francisci, subjectione tamen & præfectura Fratris Hyacinthi LE FEBVRE ejusdem Ordinis cui omninò parere debeat ac necessarias facultates, ad missiones exercendas ab eodem juxta sibi tributam auctoritatem in toto vel in parte recipiat, servatâ semper ipsius Præfecti tam circa facultates, quam circa loca & tempus eadem exercendi moderatione, nullo modo vero extra fines suæ Missionis eis uti queat. Datum Romæ die & anno quibus suprâ cum chirographo & sigillo.

F. CARD. DE ALTERIIS, Præfectus.*

The brief of the Holy Father which accompanied the said decrees containing the permissions and powers in twenty-six articles is entitled "Facultates concessæ a S. D. N. D. Innocentio Divinâ Providentiâ Papa XI. Fratri Hyacintho LE FEBVRE, Ordinis Minorum Recollectorum Sancti Francisci, Provinciæ Sancti Dionysii in Gallia Præfecto Missionum in Insula vulgò dictâ Louisianâ in America." The brief ends in these terms: "Et præditæ facultates gratis & sine ulla mercede exercentur & ad annos septem tantum concessæ intelligantur. Feria 4, die 24 Maii, 1685.

"In solita audientia Sanctissimus D. N. D. Innocentius Papa X. concessit supra dictas facultates Præfecto Fratri Hyacintho LE FEBVRE, Ordinis Minorum Recollectorum Sancti Francisci, Provinciæ Sancti Dionysii in Gallia Præfecto Missionis in Insula vulgò dictâ Louisianâ in America ad septen-

* Margry, ii. p. 476, prints similar faculties for Morguet, who did not go, and the twenty-six articles in full.

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nium : hac tamen conditione quod ultra Fratres transmissos non nominet inconsultâ Sacrâ Congregatione de propaganda fide.

“ Signatum erat,

*“ EPISCOPUS PORTU CARDINALI.

“ Cum sigillo & infra,

“ ALEXANDER SPERONUS,

“ S. Romanæ, & universalis inquisitionis Notarius.”

* Margry gives this document (ii. p. 482) with a most extraordinary signature. It was probably Ald^{us} Portuen. Card^{lis} Ep., meaning Alde-
ranus Cibo, Bishop of Porto, Cardinal.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE SIEUR DE LA SALLE CONTINUES HIS DISCOVERY BY THE GULF OF MEXICO—ESTABLISHMENT OF A FRENCH COLONY AT ST. LOUIS BAY—THE UNFORTUNATE ADVENTURES WHICH BEFELL HIM.

IT was thus that Monsieur de la Salle,* whom we may justly call the Columbus of his age, completed by land the most important, most difficult,

* La Salle has been exalted into a hero on the very slightest foundation of personal qualities or great deeds accomplished. Robert Cavelier, son of John Cavelier and Catharine Gest, was born in Rouen towards the close of the year 1643, and was baptized in the church of St. Herbland November 22. He is said to have studied in the Jesuit college, but there is no proof of it. He is said to have entered the Society of Jesus, but there is no proof of it, and his name does not appear on the catalogues of the province during the years prior to 1667. The statement is made in a work bearing Hennepin's name, but probably not his, and says, what cannot be, that he was nine or ten years in the order. He may have been a tutor in a Jesuit college, but that would not make him a Jesuit. He is said to have come to Canada at the age of twenty-two (*i.e.*, 1665). At the marriage of Sidrac Dugué, Sieur de Bois Briant, November 7, 1667, his existence in Canada is first noticed. There Robert Cavelier signs: R. de la Salle. Even his most devout worshippers, like Margry and Gravier, have been unable to

and most traversed discovery, without having lost a single man, in countries where John Ponce de Leon, Pamphilus de Narvaez, and Ferdinand Soto

discover his right to the name René or the title "Sieur de la Salle," borne by no other of the Cavelier family. There was unfortunately a Robert Cavelier, armorer at Montreal (Tanguay, p. 108), and the name René Sieur de la Salle would save him from being confounded with a man of low degree. Through his brother John apparently he obtained of the Sulpitians, in 1667-8, a grant of land at the place now called Lachine, but attached himself to Frontenac and played the spy on the Sulpitians. He heard of the Ohio and believed it ran to the Pacific, and his first object was clearly to reach China by it (Margry, i. p. 81). Finding that its course lay towards the southwest, he early conceived projects on Mexico (ib. i. p. 87). What he actually explored will never be known, as he never followed out any river thoroughly; he was, in fact, thorough in nothing. All early maps allude to the rivers he discovered as rivers by which he was to go to Mexico. Margry, Gravier, and others have tried to build up a theory that he discovered the Mississippi before Joliet's voyage in 1673 and after La Salle visited the Seneca country with the Sulpitians in 1669, and left them on the northern shore of Lake Ontario, pleading sickness and professing an intention to return to Montreal. Galinée says he did return and declared that the Sulpitians would perish during the winter. His pretended Mississippi discovery at this time is not accepted by Parkman, is refuted by Tailhan (Perrot, "Mœurs et Coutumes," p. 279), by the Abbé Verreau ("Voyage de MM. Dollier et Galinée," p. 59, etc.) His known explorations and operations are traced in this work by a friendly hand, but they show only great vanity, little judgment and perseverance, no commercial tact, no power to control men, irresolution: He continued Joliet's exploration from the Arkansas River to the Gulf of Mexico; then wasted two years, \$50,000, and 150 lives in Texas, without being able to get beyond the Sabine or reach the Arkansas, as some of his party easily did after his death.

perished without any success, with numerous troops and more than two thousand Spaniards. No one had ever achieved such undertakings with so few men and so many enemies; his first design had been to find the passage to the South Sea, which has been sought for so long a time; and although the river Colbert did not lead to it, yet this great man had so much talent and resolution that he hoped to find it, if it were possible, as he would have succeeded in doing had God spared his life.

The country of the Illinois and the vast countries around being the centre of his discovery, he spent there the winter, summer, and beginning of autumn of 1683 in establishing posts.* He left Monsieur de Tonty as commandant, and at last, having resolved to return to France to render an account of his fulfilment of the royal orders, he reached Quebec early in November, and Rochelle on the 23d of December.

* He built Fort St. Louis at Starved Rock, "an inaccessible rock," during the winter of 1682-3. He left it in August, 1683. On the 21st of March following Tonty was attacked here by an Iroquois army. Margry, i. p. 614; *Mercur Galant*, 1685, pp. 340-350; *Relation* 1693, p. 22.

His design was to go by sea to find the mouth of the river Colbert, and there found powerful colonies under the good pleasure of the king. These proposals were favorably received by Monsieur de Seignelay, minister and secretary of state, and superintendent of commerce and navigation in France. His Majesty accepted them and condescended to favor the undertaking, not only by new powers and commissions with which he honored him, but also by the help of vessels, troops, and money which his royal liberality furnished him.*

* La Salle's commission is in Margry, ii. pp. 382-3. It was pretended that La Salle sailed from France to settle in Louisiana. This farce has been kept up till recently, and historians generally have been misled. The truth is at last made clear. The letters of Peñalosa, a renegade Spaniard, Margry, iii. p. 63; La Salle's Projects, *ib.* pp. 44, 48, 63; his Memoir on the expedition he proposed against one of the Mexican provinces, *ib.* ii. p. 348; the journal of the Sulpitian, Rev. Mr. Desmanville, *ib.* ii. p. 515, all show that his real object was the conquest of the Santa Barbara and other mines in Mexico. It would seem to have been his object from the first to reach the rich mining country by means of the Mississippi. The perfect madness of attempting to invade Mexico and wrest New Biscay from the Spaniards with a hundred men is apparent, but La Salle told Beaujeu that they were only the forerunners of Peñalosa, who was to follow them the next year with considerable forces (Beaujeu in Margry, ii. p. 428). This furnishes the only clue to La Salle's obstinate refusal of Beaujeu's last

The first care of the *Sieur de la Salle*, after being invested with these powers, was to provide for things spiritual, in order to advance especially the glory of God in his enterprise. He cast his eyes on two different bodies of missionaries, in order to obtain men able to effect the salvation of souls and lay the foundations of Christianity in this savage land. He accordingly applied to *Monsieur Tronçon*, superior-general of the clergymen of the seminary of *St. Sulpice*, who willingly took part in the work of God, and appointed three of his ecclesiastics, full of zeal, virtue, and capacity, to commence these new missions. They were *Monsieur Cavelier*, brother of the *Sieur de la Salle*, *Monsieur Chefdeuille*, his relative, and *Monsieur de Maiulle*,* all three priests.

offers, and of his lingering near the coast without making any serious effort to reach the *Mississippi*. But this renders all the more cruel the neglect of the French government to rescue *La Salle* when the *Peñalosa* project was abandoned. An account of *Peñalosa's* march to the *Mississippi* from *New Mexico*, which *La Salle* had examined, will be published shortly.

* Instead of *Majulle*, *Dainmaville* (*Joutel*, p. 13), or *Désmanville* (*Margry*, iii. p. 92, etc.), was sent. *Margry*, ii. pp. 515, 584.

As for nearly ten years * the Recollects had endeavored to second the designs of the Sieur de la Salle for the glory of God and the sanctification of souls throughout the vast countries of Louisiana, depending on the said sieur from Fort Frontenac, and as they had accompanied him on his expeditions, in which, too, our Father Gabriel was killed, he made it an essential point to take some one of our Fathers with him to labor in concert to establish the kingdom of God in these new countries. For this purpose he applied to the Reverend Father Hyacinth le Febvre, who had been twice provincial of our province of St. Anthony, in Artois, and was then for the second time provincial of that of St. Denis in France, who, wishing to second with all his power the pious intentions of the Sieur de la Salle, granted him the religious whom he asked—namely, Father Zenobius Mambré, for superior of the mission, and Fathers Maximus Le Clercq and Anastasius Douay, all three of our province of

* After Father Mambré left Illinois in 1682 there was no Recollect beyond Forts Frontenac and Niagara.

St. Anthony, the first having been for the space of four years the inseparable companion of the *Sieur de la Salle* during his discovery on land; the second had served for five years with great edification in Canada, especially in the missions of the Seven Islands and of Anticosti. Father Denis Morguet was added as a fourth priest; but that religious finding himself extremely sick on the third day after embarking, he was obliged to give up and return to his province.

The reverend Father-Provincial had informed the Congregation de propagandâ fide of this mission, in order to obtain the necessary authority for the exercise of our ministry; he received decrees in due form, which we will place at the end of this chapter,* not to interrupt the reader's attention here. The holy Father, Innocent XI., added by an express brief authentic powers and permissions in twenty-six articles, as the Holy See is accustomed to grant them to missionaries whose remoteness makes it morally impossible to recur to the au-

* They precede it in the original.

thority of the ordinary. This was granted notwithstanding the opposition of the bishop of Quebec, Cardinal d'Estrées having shown that the distance from Quebec to the mouth of the river was more than eight or nine hundred leagues by land.*

The hopes that were then justly founded on this famous discovery induced many young gentlemen to join the Sieur de la Salle in the character of volunteers. He chose twelve who seemed most resolute; among them the Sieur de Morangé and the Sieur Cavelier, both nephews of his, the latter only fourteen years of age.†

The little fleet was fitted out at Rochellē, which was to be composed of four vessels—the *Joly*, a royal ship, a frigate called the *Belle*, a store-ship called the *Aimable*, and a ketch called the *St. Francis*. The royal vessel was commanded by Monsieur de Beaujeu, captain, a gentleman of Nor-

* The Sulpitians received faculties from Archbishop Colbert, coadjutor of Rouen, who was still further off. See Margry, ii. p. 475.

† The younger Tonty was appointed captain, de la Sablonniere, Barbier, d'Autray, and Morangé lieutenants, in the company of soldiers sent out. Margry, ii. pp. 386-7. La Salle, however, had some dispute with Tonty and left him. Margry, ii. p. 423.

mandy, known for his valor and experience and his meritorious services;* he had as lieutenant the Chevalier d'Aire, who is now a royal captain, and son of the dean of the Parliament of Metz. The Sieur de Hamel, a gentleman of Brouage, a young man full of fire and courage, served as ensign. Would to God that the troops and the rest of the crew had been as well chosen! Those who were commissioned for this, while Monsieur de la Salle was at Paris, picked up a hundred and fifty soldiers, all mere wretched beggars soliciting alms, many too, deformed and unable to fire a musket.† The Sieur de la Salle had also given orders at Rochelle to engage three or four mechanics in each trade; the selection was, however, so bad that when they came to their destination, and they had to be set

* Beaujeu commanded the *Joly* only, and for the course to be taken, and all but the working of the ship, was subject to La Salle. The *Joly* carried thirty-six or forty guns; the *Belle* was a little sixty-ton vessel, carrying six guns, given to la Salle by the king; the *Aimable*, Captain Aygron, of three hundred tons, belonged to Mr. Massiot, of Rochelle. Joutel, p. 14; "Memoire pour servir d'instruction," Margry, ii. p. 384.

† This is the first indication of troops on the expedition.

to work, it was found that they knew nothing at all. Eight or ten families of very good people presented themselves, and offered to go and begin the colony. Their offer was accepted, and even great advances were made to them as well as to the mechanics and soldiers.*

All being ready, they set sail on the 24th of July, 1684. A storm which came on a few days later obliged them to put in at Chef-de-Bois to repair one of their masts, broken in the gale. They set sail again on the 1st of August, steering for St. Domingo; † but a second storm overtook them and dispersed them on the 14th of September, the *Aimable* remaining alone with the *Belle*, which reached Petit Goave ‡ in St. Domingo, where they fortunately found the *Joly*. The *St. Francis*, being loaded with goods and a quantity of effects, having been unable to follow the others, had remained at

* Joutel, Journal, p. 13; in Margry, iii. 92, makes the whole expedition two hundred and eighty, one hundred being soldiers.

† Joutel, p. 13; in Margry, iii. pp. 92-3; Cavelier, Voyage, p. 7; Journal, Margry, ii. p. 501; Minet, Journal, ib. 591; Letter of November 14, 1684, Margry, ii. 492.

‡ September 27. Joutel, p. 23; Letter in Margry, ii. p. 496.

Port de Paix, whence she sailed, after the storm was over, to join the fleet at the rendezvous ; but as during the night, in quite calm weather, the captain and crew, thinking themselves in safety, were perfectly off their guard, they were surprised by two Spanish periaguas, which made themselves masters of the ketch.*

This was the first mishap which befell the voyage—a disaster which caused universal consternation in the party and much grief to the *Sieur de la Salle*, who was just recovering from a dangerous malady which had brought him to the verge of the grave. They stayed, indeed, some time at *St. Domingo*, where they laid in a quantity of provisions ; they obtained a supply of Indian corn, and of all kinds of domestic animals to stock the new country. *Messieurs de St. Laurent*, governor-general of the Isles ; *Begon*, intendant ; and *de Cussy*, governor of *St. Domingo* itself, favored them in every way, and even restored the reciprocal under-

* *Joutel*, p. 27 ; in *Margry*, iii. p. 100 ; Letter in *Margry*, ii. p. 498 ; "Memoire de *St. Laurens et Begon*," ib. p. 500.

standing so necessary to succeed in such undertakings; but the soldiers and most of the crew, having plunged into every kind of debauchery and intemperance so common in those parts, were so ruined and contracted such dangerous disorders that some died in the island and others never recovered their health.*

This little fleet, thus reduced to three vessels, weighed anchor November 25, 1684, and pursued its way quite successfully along the Cayman isles, and passing by the Isle of Peace,† after anchoring there a day to take in water, reached Port San Antonio, on the island of Cuba, where the three ships immediately anchored. The beauty and allurements of the spot, and its advantageous position, induced them to stay and even land. For some unknown reason the Spaniards had abandoned there several kinds of provisions, and among the rest some Spanish wine,‡ which they took, and after two days'

* Joutel, p. 29 ; Cavelier, p. 7 ; in Margry, ii. p. 504.

† All others have Isle of Pines.

‡ Joutel contradicts this, p. 35 ; Margry, iii. p. 113.

rest they left it to continue the voyage to the Gulf of Mexico.

The Sieur de la Salle, although very clear-headed and not in a humor to be misled, had, however, too easily believed the advice given him by some persons in St. Domingo; he discovered, too late, that all the courses given to him were absolutely false. The fear of being injured by northerly winds, which had been represented to be very frequent and dangerous at the entrance of the gulf, made them twice lie to, but the discernment and great courage of the Sieur de la Salle made them try the passage a third time, and they entered happily on the 1st of January, 1685, when Father Anastasius celebrated a solemn Mass as a thanksgiving, after which, continuing their course, they arrived in fifteen days in sight of the coast of Florida, when a violent wind forced the *Joly* to stand off, the store-ship and frigate running along the coast-line, the Sieur de la Salle* being anxious to approach the shore.

* La Salle went on the *Belle* January 1. Désmanville, ib. ii. p. 512.

He had been persuaded at St. Domingo that the sea-currents of the gulf ran with incredible rapidity toward the Bahama channel. This false advice set him entirely astray, for, thinking himself much further north than he really was, he not only passed Espiritu Santo Bay without recognizing it, but even followed the coast also far beyond the river Colbert.* They would even have continued to follow it, had they not perceived by its turning south, and by the latitude, that they were more than forty or fifty leagues from the mouth, the more so as the river, before entering into the gulf, coasts along the shore of the gulf to the west; and as longitude is

* Joutel, p. 44; Cavelier in Margry, ii. p. 507, state their belief that La Salle was at the mouth of the Mississippi January 5-6, 1685, in the *Belle*, the *Joly* being further out. He anchored off there for several days, but made no personal effort to determine whether it was really the Mississippi, merely sending one of the *Belle's* officers, who reported that he could see nothing for the fog. Joutel, p. 46; Margry, iii. pp. 123-4. But after this they ran not more than forty-five or fifty leagues to St. Louis or Espiritu Santo Bay, so that Mr. Parkman ("La Salle," p. 354) considers La Salle to have mistaken Galveston Bay for the mouth of the Mississippi. Most writers believe La Salle to have entered Matagorda Bay, but, to reconcile La Salle's accounts and the Spanish, I believe he entered Espiritu Santo Bay and built his fort on the Guadalupe. See Shea's "Charlevoix," iv. p. 82.

unknown to pilots, it proved that he had greatly passed his parallel lines.

The three vessels at last, in the middle of February,* met at Espiritu Santo Bay, where there was an almost continual roadstead. They resolved to return whence they came, and advanced ten or twelve leagues to a bay which they called the Bay of St. Louis. As provisions began to fail,† the soldiers

* This is evidently wrong. They parted company January 3 and met again the 19th (Joutel, pp. 43-53; Désmannville in Margry, ii. pp. 513-4; Cavelier, ib. p. 508, seems to make it the 18th). It was La Salle's design to go to Espiritu Santo Bay (Joutel, p. 46), by which apparently Mobile Bay was intended; and this had been made the rendezvous in case of separation (Margry, ii. p. 511; Minet, ib. p. 592). On the 5-6th La Salle supposed himself at Apalaché Bay (Joutel in Margry, iii. p. 128), and kept on till the coast trended south (p. 133). He was sailing back when they discovered the *Joly*, Beaujeu's vessel (Joutel in Margry, iii. p. 133; Cavelier, ib. ii. p. 509; Minet, ib. p. 595). They met south of Espiritu Santo Bay, in Texas, Beaujeu having been at Paso Cavallo January 17 (Minet in Margry, ii. p. 597). They sailed north together and reached that pass again February 13 (ib.)

† Beaujeu has been accused of having carried La Salle astray, then betrayed and deserted him, and grounds of suspicion alleged that were palpably absurd. The correspondence between Margry and La Salle shows that Beaujeu, convinced that La Salle was not near the Mississippi, wished to sail back, and even offered to go to the West Indies for relief for him, but La Salle declined his offers. Margry, ii. pp. 526-552. La Salle, on seeing the coast, evidently repented of his proposed expedition. His soldiers were a burden. Beaujeu had them

had already landed, the *Sieur de la Salle* explored and sounded the bay, which is a league broad, with a good bottom. He thought that it might be the right arm of the river Colbert, as it had the appearance of it. He brought the frigate in very successfully on the 18th of February; the channel is deep—so deep, in fact, that even on the sand-bar which in a manner closes the entrance there are twelve or fifteen feet of water at low tide.*

The *Sieur de la Salle* having ordered the captain of the store-ship not to enter the channel without the pilot of the frigate, in whom he put all confidence, to unload his cannon and water into the boats to lighten his cargo, and, lastly, to follow exactly the channel which had been designated by buoys, none of his orders were executed; and this faithless man, in spite of the warning, given him by a sailor who was at the main-top, to keep to windward, let his vessel fall off to leeward, where she

on his ship and wished to get rid of them. *La Salle* was loath to give the rations for more than fifteen days, and this *Beaujeu* deemed insufficient. At last *La Salle* resolved to land them.

* *Joutel*, p. 71; in *Margry*, iii. p. 148.

touched and stranded, so that it was impossible to get her off.*

He was then on the seashore when he saw this deplorable manœuvre, and was embarking to remedy it when he saw a hundred or a hundred and twenty Indians coming ; he had to put all his force under arms. The roll of the drum put the savages to flight ; he followed them, presented the calumet of peace, and conducted them to the camp, where he regaled them, and even made them presents. And the *Sieur de la Salle* gained them so that an alliance was made with them ; they brought meat to the camp the following days ; some of their canoes were obtained by trade, and there was every reason to expect much from this necessary union.

Misfortune would have it that a bale of blanketing from the stranded vessel was thrown on shore. Some days after a party of Indians seized it ; the

* " Procès Verbal du *Sieur de la Salle* sur la naufrage de l'*Aimable*," *Margry*, ii. p. 555. *Aigron* returned with *Beaujeu*, but was put in prison on reaching France. See *La Salle's* letter, *ib.* p. 561 ; *Joutel*, pp. 78-9. *Minet's* statement (*Margry*, ii. 599) favors *Aigron*, who, he says, acted by *La Salle's* orders against his own advice, that of *Beaujeu* and others.

Sieur de la Salle ordered his men to get the bale out of their hands by gentle means ; they did just the contrary : the commander presented his musket as if about to fire. This so alarmed them that they regarded us no longer except as enemies. Provoked to fury, they assembled on the night of the 6th and 7th of March, and, finding the sentinel asleep, poured in a destructive volley of their arrows. The French ran to arms. The noise of musketry put them to flight, after they had killed on the spot the Sieurs Oris and Desloge, two cadet volunteers, and dangerously wounded the Sieur de Moranger, lieutenant and nephew of the Sieur de la Salle, and the Sieur Gaien, a volunteer. The next day they killed two more of our men whom they found sleeping on the shore.*

Meanwhile, the store-ship remained more than three weeks at the place of its wreck without going to pieces, but full of water from all sides ; all that could be was saved in periaguas and boats

* Joutel, p. 91 ; La Salle to Beaujeu, March 7, 1685, Margry, ii. p. 567.

when a calm allowed them to reach it. One day Father Zenobius having gone out in a boat, it was dashed to pieces against the vessel by a sudden gust of wind. All quickly got on board, but the good father, who remained last to save the rest, would have been drowned had not a sailor thrown him a rope, with which he was hauled on board as he was sinking in the sea.*

At last, on the 12th of March, Monsieur de Beaujeu set sail in the *Joly* with all his men to return to France,† and the Sieur de la Salle, having thrown up a redoubt with planks and pieces of timber to put his men and goods in safety, left a hundred men under the command of the Sieur de Moranger, and set out with fifty others, the Sieur Cavelier and Fathers Zenobius and Maximus, in-

* This was the *Aimable's* boat. Joutel (Margry, iii. p. 155-6) says it was not dashed to pieces; it floated off and was found six months after.

† Beaujeu to Seignelay, Margry, ii. p. 580. Joutel, from memory, says 14th, p. 94. He attempted to reach Espiritu Santo Bay, then steered to Cape San Antonio, had his long-boat captured by a Spanish cruiser, redeemed it, then ran up to Chesapeake Bay, obtained supplies, and finally reached Rochefort July 5. Margry, ii. p. 583.

tending to seek at the extremity of the bay the mouth of the river and a proper place to plant his colony.*

The captain of the frigate had orders to sound the bay in boats, and to bring his vessel in as far as he could; he followed twelve leagues along the coast, which runs from southeast to northwest, and anchored opposite a point to which the Sieur Hurier gave his name, and of which he was appointed commander; † this post serving as a station between the camp at the sea and the one at the head of the bay which the Sieur de la Salle proceeded, on the 2d of April, to form two leagues

* Cavelier, "Voyage," pp. 10-11. Joutel, pp. 95-6, says he was left in command. The Procès Verbal, Margry, iii. p. 537, names both, Moranger being wounded and Joutel acting. La Salle showed strange infatuation and irresolution. He declined Beaujeu's repeated offers to go to Martinique for aid, and would not give him the papers necessary (Margry, ii. p. 565, etc.); he told Mr. Dainmaville that he was resolved to take his soldiers and march against the Spaniards in New Biscay, and that he did not care about the Mississippi, on which Dainmaville declined to remain, having been sent to preach to Indians, not to fight Spaniards (ib. p. 515); but in his letter to Seignelay, March 4, he announces his intention of proceeding to Illinois before making the attempt (ib. p. 563). His subsequent course shows no settled purpose or intelligent action.

† Joutel, p. 107.

further on up a beautiful river, which was called Cow River from the great number of those wild animals they found there. Our people were attacked there by a party of Indians, but repulsed them without loss.

On the 21st, Easter Eve, the Sieur de la Salle came to the camp at the sea, where the next day and the three following that great festival was celebrated with all possible solemnity, each one receiving his Creator. The following days all the effects, and generally all that could be of service to the camp of the Sieur de la Salle, were transferred from those of the Sieurs de Moranger and Hurier, and the two forts were destroyed. For a month the Sieur de la Salle made them work in cultivating the ground; but neither the grain nor the vegetables sprouted, either because they were damaged by the salt water or because, as was afterwards remarked, it was not the right season. The fort, which was built in a very advantageous position, was soon in a state of defence,* furnished with twelve pieces of

* The fort was merely a block-house with eight cannon, Joutel

cannon and a magazine under ground for fear of fire; here all the effects were safely deposited. The maladies which the soldiers had contracted at

(Margry, iii. p. 190); and in Michel's edition, p. 117, he denies the underground magazine.

That Fort St. Louis was on Mission Lake, near Espiritu Santo Bay, and not on the Lavaca, is, I think, clear. The Spanish account of the expedition to the spot in 1689, and Joutel's description of the buildings, coincide, and authenticate the former. The Carta (Smith, "Coleccion de Documentos"), pp. 25-8, places the fort on Espiritu Bay, which still retains that name. The entrance is clearly Porto Cavallo, Saluria Island, in the middle of the pass, being mentioned. From this point the direction to the French post was southwest, leading, therefore, into Espiritu Bay and not into Matagorda Bay. It was "on the bank of a very deep little river which enters Espiritu Santo Bay" ("Coleccion," p. 25), "twelve leagues from the mouth, two leagues up a little river" (ib. p. 28). "It is situated about two leagues inland on the bank of a river" (Joutel in Margry, ii. p. 209). This river would be a branch of the Guadalupe, that enters Espiritu Santo Bay through Green Lake, Long Matt, and Mission Lake. These Joutel mentions: "There are up the river several lakes full of rushes" (ib. p. 214).

The Spanish description, 1689, says: "On St. Mark's day we discovered Espiritu Santo Bay and the settlement which the French had, which is composed of a strong house of wood with its iron spikes, and the roof of nailed boards, and a chapel attached thereto of same wood, and five other wooden houses plastered with clay, with many loopholes." This agrees with Joutel: "This house was the first ready; it was roofed with old boards that we had brought, and over which we nailed buffalo-skins to keep out the rain" (Margry, iii. p. 179). "There was, in fact, only this house which I have already mentioned, having eight pieces of cannon at the four corners" (ib. p. 191). "Mass was said in a passage in the house. Mr. Chefdeville and the Recollect Fathers represented to me that it would be more becoming to make a special

St. Domingo were visibly carrying them off, and a hundred* died in a few days, notwithstanding all

cabin, which might serve as a chapel. They even offered to work on it. This was done, and, as it was made somewhat long, Mr. Chefdeville made a division in it, in which he lodged, to be by himself. He had till then lodged with me. Although this chapel was made only of posts planted upright and covered with grass or reeds, the said sieur proceeded to decorate the altar with pictures, and anything he had as the convenience of the place permitted" (ib. p. 235).

"As our people were not very well lodged, I found it right to make them a kind of room with posts set up near one another, which we did" (ib. p. 208). "After which I made a kind of separate building, one side set apart for the women, the other for the men. I thatched this building with reeds. . . . I then plastered it with earth, which I was obliged to mix with other, for if pure it cracked when it dried" (ib. p. 209).

Here is the main house, the chapel, the separate houses for the colonists. The Spanish account mentions the eight bronze cannon as found there.

There can be no doubt that the expedition of Don Andres de Pes reached La Salle's post, and that its position was known to the Spaniards in 1689. Father Morfi, in his elaborate "History of Texas," describing the erection of the fort and mission of Santa Maria de Loreto de la Bahia del Espiritu Santo, April 6, 1722, says that the fort was on the site of La Salle's post, and that in digging they found relics of that unfortunate expedition, such as nails, gun-locks, etc., and noticed the place where the powder had blown up. He states, too, that the Bay St. Louis of the French was Espiritu Santo Bay.

The mission of Loreto gave name to the lake. It was certainly on Espiritu Santo Bay, and when moved inland retained the name of Bahia.

* Joutel, p. 109, under date of August, 1685, says thirty had died. The Procès Verbal (Margry, iii. p. 540), however, says more than half were dead before the end of July.

the relief afforded by broths, preserves, treacle, and wine which were given them.

On the 9th of August, 1685, three of our Frenchmen, while hunting all kinds of game and deer, which are plentiful in these parts, were surrounded by several troops of armed savages ; but our men, putting themselves on the defensive, promptly killed the chief and scalped him. This spectacle terrified and scattered the enemy, who nevertheless, some time after, surprised and killed one of our Frenchmen.*

On the 13th of October the Sieur de la Salle, seeing himself constantly insulted by the savages, and wishing, moreover, to have some of their canoes by force or consent, as he could not do without them, resolved to make open war on them in order to bring them to an advantageous peace.

He set out with sixty men armed with wooden corselets to protect them against arrows, and arrived where they had gathered ; in different engagements

* Joutel, p. 111, does not mention the killing of the Indian, but the Procès Verbal does.

by day and night he put some to flight, wounded several, killed some; took others as prisoners, among the rest some children, one of whom, a girl three or four years old, was baptized and died some days after, as the first fruits of this mission and a sure conquest sent to heaven. The colonists now built houses, and formed fields by clearing the ground, the grain sowed succeeding better than the first. They crossed to the other side of the bay in canoes, and found on a large river a plentiful chase, especially of cattle and turkeys. At the houses they raised all kinds of domestic animals, cows, hogs, and poultry, which multiplied greatly.* Lastly, the execution done among the Indians had rendered the little colony somewhat more secure, when a new misfortune succeeded all the preceding.

The *Sieur de la Salle* had ordered the captain of the frigate to sound the bay carefully as he ad-

* This expedition of *La Salle's* is not mentioned by *Joutel*, p. 119, or by the *Procès Verbal*, and *Joutel*, p. 117, refers to this part as incorrect. He says they had a few swine, one cock, and one hen.

vanced, and to recall all his men on board at nightfall ; but this captain and six of his strongest, stoutest, and ablest men, charmed with the agreeableness of the season and the beauty of the country, left their canoe and arms on the sand at low water, and advanced a gun-shot on the plain to be dry ; here they fell sound asleep, and an Indian party, espying this, surprised them, aided by their sleep and the darkness, massacred them cruelly, and destroyed their arms and canoe. This tragical adventure produced the greatest consternation in the camp.*

After rendering the last honors to these deceased men the *Sieur de la Salle*, leaving provisions for six months, set out with twenty men and his brother, the *Sieur Cavelier*, to seek the mouth of the river by land.† The bay which he discovered to be in latitude $27^{\circ} 45'$ is the outlet of a great number of

* *Procès Verbal* (Margry, iii. pp. 542-3) ; Joutel, pp. 101-2.

† The *Procès Verbal* gives no date for this expedition. La Salle reached Texas in February, 1685, and had wasted the whole year without attempting to open communication with the Mississippi, nor had he made any attempt to explore beyond the bay. There is no hint of his sending a boat up any of the rivers. In fact, his whole conduct shows his utter unfitness. The expedition here alluded to must have set out in January, 1686.

rivers, not one of which, however, seemed large enough to be one of the arms of the river Colbert. The Sieur de la Salle explored them in hope that a part of these rivers was formed higher up by one of the branches of the said river, or at least that by traversing the country to some distance he would recognize the course of the Missisipi. He was longer absent than he had expected, being compelled to make rafts to cross the rivers and to entrench himself every night to protect himself against attacks. The continual rains, too, formed ravines and destroyed the roads. At last, on the 13th of February, 1686, the Sieur de la Salle thought that he had found the river;* he fortified himself there, left a part of his men, and with nine others continued his exploration through a most beautiful country, traversing a number of villages and populous nations, who treated him very

* Procès Verbal (Margry, iii. p. 543) also pretends that he reached the Mississippi at this time, and Cavelier, "Voyage," p. 29, pretends that he reached it March 10, after meeting two of the Shawnees who went down the river with him in 1682. But Joutel, p. 137, says he did not find "his fatal river," and in the more extended Relation in Margry, iii. p. 220, says: "but he had not found his river."

kindly; at last, returning to find his people, he arrived at the general camp on the 31st of March,* charmed with the beauty and fertility of the plains, the incredible quantity of game of every kind, and the numerous tribes he had met on the way.

God was preparing him a still more sensible trial than the preceding in the loss of the frigate, his only remaining vessel, in which he hoped to follow the seacoast and then pass to St. Domingo, in order to send news to France and obtain new succor. This sad accident happened from want of precaution on the part of the pilot. All the goods were lost irrecoverably. The vessel struck on the shore, the sailors were drowned, and the *Sieur de*

* Towards the end of March (Joutel in Margry, iii. p. 218). The Procès Verbal says March 24 (ib. p. 547); Cavelier (p. 29), March 30. In contrast with the inefficiency of La Salle stands the energy of Tonty. That officer in Illinois heard before the end of 1685 of La Salle's landing, the loss of the *Aimable*, and the hostility of the natives. He sent out an Indian party to try and get more definite knowledge. When it returned in February, 1686, he formed a party of French and Indians with canoes and supplies, and set out on the 13th. He reached the mouth of the Mississippi April 10 and sent canoes in both directions to look for La Salle. Tonty in Thomassy, "Geologie Pratique," pp. 22, etc.; in Margry, iii. pp. 553-562.

Chefdeville, priest, the captain, and four others with difficulty escaped in a canoe which they found almost miraculously on the shore. Thirty-six barrels of flour, a quantity of wine, the trunks, clothes, linen, equipage, and most of the tools were lost. We leave the reader to imagine the grief and affliction felt by the Sieur de la Salle at an accident which completely ruined all the measures which he had formed. His great courage even could not have borne him up, had not God aided his virtue by the help of extraordinary grace.*

* For the loss of the *Belle* see Procès Verbal (Margry, iii. p. 544); Joutel (ib. iii. pp. 226-9); Michel's edition, p. 140; Cavelier, pp. 29-30. Joutel makes six escape: Chefdeville, Sablonniere, Tixier the pilot, one soldier, a girl, and a boy (p. 226).

CHAPTER XXV.

UNFORTUNATE INCIDENTS OF THE TWO ATTEMPTS
MADE BY THE SIEUR DE LA SALLE TO REACH
THE ILLINOIS—HIS TRAGICAL DEATH—A PART OF
HIS MEN RETURN TO FRANCE THROUGH THE
TERRITORIES OF CANADA.

THOSE who are somewhat versed in the oft-repeated attempts and tragical incidents which happen in all the explorations of new countries which have been made in the East and West during these later ages, will not be at all surprised to read all the reverses and sad accidents with which the Almighty chose to traverse the first attempts for the exploration and settlement of the French colony in the vast regions of Louisiana. Several historians have wished to sound these reasons of this dispensation of God as to such enterprises, which would seem to redound to his glory by the conversion of savage nations; it is our part

to adore the designs of his Providence. The wonder of this exploration is the fortitude and courage wherewith God animated and sustained to the end that of the Sieur de la Salle.

All these measures being thus disconcerted, and his affairs brought to extremes, he resolved to try to reach Canada by land; he returned some time after and undertook a second, in which he lost his life by the cruelty of his men, some of whom, remaining faithful, continued their route and reached France, among the rest Father Anastasius Douay; and although the detail of his remarks was lost in his many wrecks, the following is an abridgment of what he could gather from them, with which, perhaps, the reader will be better pleased than if I gave it in my own style :

“The Sieur de la Salle, seeing no other resource for his affairs than to cross the land all the way to the Illinois, to be able to send to France tidings of his disasters, chose twenty of his best men, including Nika, one of our Chaouenon Indians, who had constantly attended him from Canada to France,

and from France to Mexico; Monsieur Cavelier, the Sieur de Moranger, and I also joined company for this great journey, for which we made no preparation but four pounds of powder and six pounds of lead, two axes, two dozen knives, as many awls, some beads, and two kettles. After celebrating the divine mysteries in the chapel of the fort, and all invoking together the help of Heaven, we set out on the 22d of April, 1686,* in a northeasterly direction.

“On the third day we perceived in some of the finest plains in the world a number of people, some on foot, others on horseback, who came galloping toward us, booted and spurred, and seated on saddles. They invited us to their town; but as they were six leagues to the northwest, out of our route, we thanked them, after learning in conversation that they had knowledge of the Spaniards. Continuing our march the rest of the day, we cabined at night in a little fort entrenched with stockades,

* Joutel in Margry, iii. p. 225, says April 28; Cavelier, “Voyage,” p. 32, April 13.

to be beyond reach of insult; this we always after practised with good results.

“Setting out the next morning, we marched for two days through continual prairies to the river which we called Robek,* meeting everywhere so prodigious a quantity of cibola, or wild cattle, that the smallest herds seemed to us to contain two or three hundred animals. We killed nine or ten in a moment, and dried a part of the meat so as not to have to stop for five or six days. A league and a half further we met another river, finer, wider, and deeper than the Seine † at Paris, skirted by some of the finest trees in the world, set as regularly as though they had been planted by hand, among others many mulberry and other fruit-trees, with prairies on one side and woods on the other. We passed it on rafts. This river was called La Maligne.

* If they started from the site of the Loreto mission near the Guadalupe, the Robek will be the Lavaca, evidently from its Spanish name a great buffalo haunt. They probably kept up the Mustang branch.

† This is generally accepted as the Colorado. Parkman's "La Salle," p. 388.

“ Passing through this beautiful country, its delightful plains and prairies skirted with vines, fruit-trees, and groves, a few days after we reached a river which was called Hiiens,* after a German from Vuittemberg, who got so fast in the mud that he could not get out without great difficulty. One of our men, with an axe on his back, swam over to the other side ; a second followed at once. They then cut down the largest trees, while others on our side did the same. These trees were allowed to fall on each side across the river, where meeting, they formed a kind of bridge on which we easily passed. This invention we had recourse to more than thirty times in our journeys, finding it surer than the cajeu, which is a kind of raft formed of many pieces and branches of wood tied together, which is managed with a pole and enables one to cross.

“ It was here that the Sieur de la Salle changed his route from northeast to east, for reasons which he did not tell us, and which we could never penetrate.

* Probably the St. Bernard.

“ After several days’ march in a pretty fine country, crossing nevertheless some ravines on rafts, we entered a much more agreeable and perfectly delightful territory, where we found a very numerous nation. It received us with all possible friendship, the women even came to embrace our Frenchmen. They made us sit down on very well made mats at the upper end, near the chiefs, who presented us the calumet adorned with feathers of every hue, which we had to smoke in turn. They served up to us among other dainties a sagamity made of a kind of root called Toqué, or Toquo. It is a shrub, like a kind of bramble without thorns, and has a very large root, which when well washed and dried is pounded and reduced to powder in a mortar. The sagamity has a good taste, though astringent. These Indians presented us with some cattle-skins, very neatly dressed, to make shoes; we gave them in exchange beads, which they esteemed very highly. We made some stay here, during which the *Sieur de la Salle* so won them by his manners, and insinuated so much of the glory of our

king, telling them that he was greater and higher than the sun, that they were all ravished with astonishment.

“The Sieur Cavelier and I endeavored here, as we had done everywhere else, to give them some first knowledge of the true God. This nation is called Biskatrongé, but we called them the nation of weepers,* and we gave their beautiful river the same name, because at our arrival and landing they all began to weep bitterly for a good quarter of an hour. It is their custom when they see people who come from afar, because it reminds them of their deceased relatives, whom they suppose on a long journey, from which they await their return. These good people, in conclusion, gave us guides, and we passed their river in their periaguas.

“We crossed three or four others the following days; nothing important occurred, except that our Chaouenon having fired at a deer pretty near a large village, the report spread such consternation

* Cabeza de Vaca, from the same circumstance, gives a similar name to a tribe in that quarter.

there that they took to flight. The *Sieur de la Salle* put all his force under arms to enter the village, which consisted of three hundred cabins. We entered the largest, that of the chief, where we found his wife still, unable to take to her feet from old age. The *Sieur de la Salle* made her understand that we came as friends; three of her sons, brave warriors, observed at a distance what passed, and, seeing us to be peaceable, recalled all their people. We treated of peace, and the calumet was danced till evening, when the *Sieur de la Salle*, not trusting them over-much, went and encamped beyond the canes, so that if these Indians approached by night the noise of the canes would prevent our being surprised.

“This showed his discernment and prudence, for during the night a band of warriors, armed with arrows, approached; but the *Sieur de la Salle*, without leaving his entrenchment, threatened to thunder his guns, and, in a word, spoke to them with so bold and firm an air that he obliged them to draw off. After their retreat the night passed off

quietly, and the next day, after reciprocal marks of seeming friendship, at least on the side of the Indians, we pursued our route to five or six leagues beyond. Here we were agreeably surprised to find a party of Indians coming out to meet us, with ears of corn in their hands and a civil, courteous air. They embraced us, inviting us most pressingly to go and visit them in their villages ; the *Sieur de la Salle*, seeing their sincerity, agreed. Among other things these Indians told us that they knew whites toward the west, who were a cruel, wicked nation, that depeopled the country around them. (These were the Spaniards.) We told them that we were at war with that people. Then it was that the news of this spread through all the village called that of the *Kironas*. All vied with each other in welcoming us, pressing us to stay with them in order to go to war with the Spaniards of Mexico. We put them off with fair words, and made a strict alliance with them, promising them to return with more numerous troops ; and after all the feasts and presents they carried us over the river in periaguas.

“As we held our way constantly to the east through beautiful prairies, a misfortune befell us after three days’ march. Our Indian hunter, Nika, suddenly cried out with all his might, ‘I am dead!’ We ran up and learned that he had been cruelly bitten by a snake; this accident stopped us for several days. We gave him some orvietan, and applied viper’s salt on the wound after scarifying it to let out the poison and tainted blood; he was at last saved.

“Some days after we had many other alarms. Having reached a broad and rapid river, which we were told ran to the sea, and which we called the river of Misfortunes,* we made a raft to cross. The *Sieur de la Salle* and *Cavelier*, with a part of our people, got on; but scarcely had they reached the current when by its violence it carried them off with incredible rapidity, so that they disappeared almost instantly. I remained ashore with a part of our men; our hunter had been absent for the last

* This seems to be the Brazos. Compare *Joutel in Margry*, iii. p. 317.

three days, and was lost in the woods. It was extreme anguish for us all, who despaired of ever again seeing our guardian angel, the *Sieur de la Salle*. God vouchsafed to inspire me constantly with courage, and I cheered up those who remained as well as I could. The whole day was spent in tears and weeping, when at nightfall we saw on the opposite brink *La Salle* with all his party. He told us that, by an interposition of Providence, the raft had been arrested by a large tree which was floating in the middle of the river. This gave them a chance to make an effort and get out of the current, which would otherwise have carried them out to sea; that one of his men sprang into the water to catch the branch of a tree, and that this poor lad was unable to get back to the raft. He was a Breton by birth, named *Rut*. But soon after this young man appeared on our side, having swam ashore.

“The night was spent in anxiety, thinking how we should find means to pass to the other side to join the *Sieur de la Salle*. We had not eaten all

day, but Providence provided for us by letting two eaglets fall from a cedar-tree ; we were ten at this meal.

“The next day the question was how to cross. The Sieur de la Salle advised us to make a raft of canes ; the Sieur Moranget and I, with three others, led the way, not without danger, for we went under every moment, and I was obliged to put our breviary in our cowl, because it got wet in the sleeve. The Sieur de la Salle sent two men to swim out and help us push the canes on, and they brought us safely in. Those who remained on the other side did not at all like risking it, but they had to do it at last on our making show of packing up and continuing our march with* them ; they then crossed at much less hazard than we.

“The whole troop, except the hunter, being now assembled, we for two days traversed a country of very thick cane, the Sieur de la Salle cutting his way with two axes, and the others in like manner, to break the canes. At last, on the third day, our

* Without.

hunter, Nika, came in loaded with three boucanned deer, and another which he had just killed. The Sieur de la Salle ordered a discharge of several guns to show our joy.

“ Still marching east, we entered countries still finer than those we had passed, and found tribes that had nothing barbarous but the name ; among others we met a very fine Indian returning from the hunt with his wife and family. He presented the Sieur de la Salle with one of his horses and some meat, invited him and all his party to his cabin ; and, to induce us to accept, left his wife, family, and game as a pledge, while he went to the village to announce our coming. Our hunter and a servant of the Sieur de la Salle accompanied him, so that two days after they returned to us with two horses loaded with provisions, and several of the chiefs. They were followed by warriors very neatly attired in dressed skins adorned with feathers, bearing the calumet ceremoniously. We met them three leagues from the village, coming to greet us ; the Sieur de la Salle was received as if in triumph,

and lodged in the great chief's cabin. There was a great concourse of people; the young men being drawn out and under arms, relieving one another night and day, and besides loading us with presents and all kinds of provisions. Nevertheless, the *Sieur de la Salle*, fearing lest some of his party might make free with the women, encamped three leagues from the village, at which we remained three or four days, and traded for horses and all that we needed.

“ This village, which is called that of the *Cœnis*, is one of the largest and most populous that I have seen in America. It is at least twenty leagues long; not that it is continuously inhabited, but in hamlets of ten or twelve cabins, forming, as it were, cantons, each with a different name. Their cabins are fine, forty or fifty feet high, of the shape of bee-hives. Trees are planted in the ground, which touch by the upper branches, and are covered with grass. The beds are ranged around the cabin, three or four feet from the ground; the fire is in the middle, each cabin holding two families.

“ We found among the *Cœnis* many things which

undoubtedly come from the Spaniards, such as dollars and other pieces of money, silver spoons, lace of every kind, clothes, and horses. We saw, among other things, a bull from Rome, exempting the Spaniards in Mexico from fasting during summer. Horses are common; they gave them to us for an axe; one Cœnis offered me one for our cowl, to which he took a fancy.*

“They have intercourse with the Spaniards through the Choïmans, allies of the Cœnis, and who are always at war with New Spain. The Sieur de la Salle made them draw on bark a map of their country, of that of their neighbors, and of the river Colbert, or Missisipi, with which they are acquainted. They reckoned themselves six days' journey from the Spaniards, of whom they gave us so natural a description that we no longer had any doubts on the point, although the Spaniards had not yet undertaken to come to their villages, their warriors merely joining the Choïmans to go war on New Mexico. The Sieur de la Salle, who perfectly un-

* Cavelier, “Voyage,” p. 32.

derstood the art of gaining the Indians of all nations, filled all these nations with admiration at every moment. Among other things he told them that the chief of the French was the greatest chief in the world, as high as the sun, and as far above the Spaniard as the sun is above the earth. On his recounting the victories of our monarch they burst into exclamations, putting their hand on their mouth as a mark of astonishment. I found them very docile and tractable, and they seized well enough what we told them of the truth of a God.

“There were then some ambassadors from the Choïmans among them, who paid us a visit; I was agreeably surprised to see them make the sign of the cross, kneel, clasp their hands, raise them from time to time to heaven. They also kissed my habit, and gave me to understand that men dressed like us instructed tribes in their vicinity, who were only two days' march from the Spaniards, where our religious had large churches, in which all assembled to pray. They expressed very naturally

the ceremonies of holy Mass ; one of them sketched me a painting that he had seen of a great woman, who was weeping because her son was upon a cross. He told us that the Spaniards butchered the Indians cruelly, and, finally, that if we would go with them, or give them guns, it would be easy to conquer them, because they were a cowardly race, who had no courage, and made people walk before them with a fan to refresh them in hot weather.

“ After remaining here four or five days to recruit we pursued our route through the Nassonis, crossing a large river which intersects the great Cœnis* village. These two nations are allies, and have nearly the same character and customs.

“ Four or five leagues from there we had the mortification to see that four of our men had deserted under cover of night and retired to the Nassonis ; and, to complete our chagrin, the *Sieur de la Salle* and his nephew, the *Sieur de Moranger*, were at-

* The Cœnis were called Assinais by the Spaniards ; the Arrapahoes are said by some to call themselves Atsina. The Choumans seem to be the Padoucas or Comanches. In this expedition *La Salle* seems to have reached Trinity or Neches River.

tacked with a violent fever, which brought them to extremity. Their illness was long, and obliged us to make a very long stay at this place ; for when the fever, after frequent attacks, left them at last, it required time to restore them.

“The length of this sickness disconcerted all our measures, and was eventually the cause of the last misfortunes which befell us. It retarded us more than two months, during all which time we had to live ; powder began to fail us ; we had not advanced more than a hundred and fifty leagues in a straight line, and some of our people had deserted. In so distressing a crisis the *Sieur de la Salle* resolved to retrace his steps to *Fort Louis* ; all agreed, and we straightway resumed our route, during which nothing happened worth note but that, as we repassed the *Maligne*, one of our men was carried off with his raft by a crocodile of prodigious length and bulk.

“After a good month’s march, in which our horses proved of great help to us, we reached the camp on the 17th of October in the same year,

1686,* where we were received with all the welcome that can be imagined, but, after all, with feelings tinged alike with joy and sadness as each related the tragical adventures which had befallen both parties since we had parted.

“It would be difficult to find in history courage more intrepid or more invincible than that of the Sieur de la Salle; in adversity he was never cast down, and always hoped with the help of Heaven to succeed in his enterprise, despite all the obstacles that arose.

“He remained two months and a half at Saint Louis Bay, and we visited together all the rivers which empty into it.† To my own knowledge I am perfectly sure that there are more than fifty, all navigable, coming from the west and northwest. The

* Joutel (Michel's edition), p. 151, says “in the month of August, 1686”; but in Margry, iii. p. 248, no date is given. If Father Anastasius is correct this second expedition took six months of precious time. It is amazing that neither on this nor the previous expedition did La Salle try to get a guide or send on men to reach the Quappas, among whom Tonty had, under a grant from La Salle, begun a post.

† Cavalier says: “We turned all our hopes on the succor that the king might be able to send us from France, and we awaited it in patience till the end of the year 1686.” “Voyage,” p. 34.

place where the fort stands is somewhat sandy ; everywhere else the ground is good. On every side we saw prairies on which the grass is, at all seasons of the year, higher than our wheat. At intervals of two or three leagues is a river skirted with oaks, thorn, mulberry, and other trees. This continues westward till within two days' march of the Spaniards.

“The fort is built on a little eminence which runs north and south, having the sea on the southeast, vast prairies to the west, and on the southwest two ponds, and woods a league in circuit ; a river flows at its foot. The neighboring nations are the Quoaquis, who raise Indian corn and have horses cheap, the Bahamas,* and the Quinets, wandering tribes with whom we were at war. During all this time the Sieur de la Salle neglected nothing to console his little infant colony, in which the families began to increase by births. He advanced greatly the clearing of land and the erection of buildings ;

* Bracamos (Cavelier, p. 12) ; Ebahamos (Joutel, Margry, iii. p. 276). The other names do not occur elsewhere. The Spaniards called the Indians at that point Carancaguaces. Morfi.

the Sieur de Chefdeüille, priest, the Sieur Cavelier, and we three Recollects, laboring in concert for the edification of the French, and of some Indian families who withdrew from the neighboring nations to join us.* During all this time the Sieur de la Salle did his utmost to render the Indians less hostile; peace with these tribes being of the utmost consequence for the establishment of the colony.

“ At last Monsieur de la Salle resolved to resume his expedition to the Illinois, so necessary for his plans. He made an address full of eloquence, with that engaging way so natural to him; the whole of the little colony was present, and were almost moved to tears, persuaded of the necessity of his voyage and the uprightness of his intentions. Would to God that all had persevered in the same sentiments! He completed the fortification of a great enclosure, in which were embraced all the habitations with the fort, after which he selected twenty men, the Sieur Cavelier, priest, his brother,

* The births and Indians joining them are not mentioned by Joutel, and the Michel edition, p. 157, denies the presence of Indians.

the Sieurs Moranger and Cavelier, his nephews, with the Sieur Joutel, pilot, and myself. Public prayers were offered ; at last we set out on the 7th of January, 1687.*

“The very first day we met an army of Bahamas † going to war with the Erigoanna ; the Sieur de la Salle made an alliance with them. He wished also to treat with the Quinets, who fled at our ap-

* Cavelier says January 6. The party left at the post were, according to Joutel (Margry, iii. p. 258 ; Michel's edition, p. 156), Barbier, commandant, Rev. Mr. Chefdeville, Father Zenobius Membre, Father Maximus le Clercq, the Marquis de la Sablonnière, a surgeon, seven women and girls, including Mme. Barbier, the only married woman, and others to the number of twenty or twenty-one in all. Their fate was long in doubt. The Spanish letter May 18, 1689 (Smith, “ Coleccion de Documentos,” p. 25), says that small-pox carried off many, and that, as they were told by two whom they rescued (Larchevêque and Grollet), the Indians three months before killed the survivors, including the three priests ; the bodies of a man, woman, and boy were found and interred. Four Talon children and Eustace Bréman were subsequently rescued, all apparently belonging to Barbier's party ; the oldest Talon and Larchevêque having gone with La Salle (Margry, iii. p. 619). Barcia (“ Ensayo Cronologico,” pp. 294-6) gives an account of the Spanish expeditions by land and water to break up the French posts. La Salle's party, according to Joutel (Margry, iii. p. 260), was only seventeen.

According to Talon (Margry, iii. p. 614), the Indian women who saved them and their sister protected for a time Madame Barbier and her infant, but the warriors finally killed them.

† Joutel (Margry, iii. p. 276) mentions meeting Ebahamos on the 21st. Cavelier says they halted at a Bracamo village on the 6th.

proach; but having overtaken them by means of our horses, we treated them so kindly that they promised an inviolable peace.

“On the fourth day, three leagues further to the northeast, we came to the first Cane River.* There were nothing but prairies on our route, with little groves at intervals; the soil is so good that the grass grows ten or twelve feet high. There are on this river many populous villages; we visited only the Quaras † and the Anachorema.

“Proceeding in the same direction, three leagues further we came to the second Cane River, inhabited by different tribes; here we found fields of hemp.

“Five leagues further we passed the Sandy River, so called ‡ because it is surrounded by sandy soil, though all the rest is good land and vast prairies.

“We marched seven or eight leagues to Robec

* Joutel (Margry, iii. p. 261) says they reached it January 13.

† Cavalier says they reached the village of the Kouaras January 9.

‡ La Sablonniere. Joutel (Margry, iii. p. 279) says La Salle named it after that nobleman from an adventure of his there some time before. They reached it January 26.

River, passing through prairies and over three or four rivers a league from one another. Robec River has many populous villages, where the people speak in such a manner from the throat that it would require a long time to form ourselves to it. They are at war with the Spaniards, and pressed us earnestly to join their warriors; but there was no possibility of our stopping. We stayed, however, five or six days with them, endeavoring to gain them by presents and Christian instruction, which they do not get from the Spaniards.

“Continuing our route, we crossed great prairies to the Maligne.* This deep river, where one of our men had been devoured by a crocodile, comes from a great distance, and is inhabited by forty populous villages, which compose a nation called the Quanoatinno; they make war on the Spaniards and lord it over the neighboring tribes. We

* Joutel mentions but does not name the Robek. La Salle probably called it so after a stream that runs through Rouen. For the Maligne see p. 286. Michel's Joutel, p. 183 (Margry, iii. p. 299), mentions the Canohatinno and Ayano, enemies of the Spaniards. Cavelier says they met the Kanoutinoa on the 17th. “Voyage,” p. 38.

visited some of these villages; they are a good people, but always savage, the cruelty of the Spaniards rendering them still more fierce. As they found us of a more tractable nature, they were charmed with our nation; but after these mutual presents we had to part. They gave us horses cheap, and carried us over the river in canoes of ox-hide.

“Further in the same direction, after four leagues of similar land, extremely fertile, we crossed Hiens River on rafts; then turning north-northeast, we had to cross a number of little rivers and ravines, navigable in winter and spring, the land diversified with prairies and hills and numerous springs. Here we found three large villages, the Taraha, Tyakapan,* and Palonna, who have horses. Some leagues further on we came to the Palaquesson, † composed of ten villages, allies of the Spaniards.

* Cavelier, “Voyage,” p. 42, says: “I think they told us that they were called Nicapanas,” and Ticapanas is given on the margin. This was January 20. On the 23d they were at the cane-palisaded village of the Palomas; then at the Akasquy, 27th; Penoy, 29th; Sassory, 30th; Tipoy, February 1; Anamis, 3d; Senis on the 8th, and left it the 16th. Here his account stops. Joutel does not name these tribes.

† Joutel (Margry, iii. p. 305) has Palaquechauré. Michel’s edition,

“It was after having passed these nations that the most disheartening of all our misfortunes overtook us—the murder committed on Monsieur de la Salle, the Sieur de Moranger, and some others. Our prudent commander, finding himself in a country full of game, after all the party had recruited and lived for several days on every kind of good meat, sent the Sieur Moranger, his lackey Saget, and seven or eight of his people to a place where our hunter, the Chaouenon Nika, had left a quantity of cattle to boucan them, so as not to be obliged to stop so often to hunt.

“The wisdom of Monsieur de la Salle had not been able to foresee the plot which some of his people would make to slay his nephew, as they suddenly resolved, and executed on the 17th of March by a blow of an axe, dealt by one of them whom charity does not permit me to name.*

p. 186, has Palaquechauné. Cavalier, p. 45, has Alakea. They crossed Canoe River (Brazos) March 14.

* Liotot, according to Larchevêque's statement, killed Moranget, Saget, and Nika while asleep. Margry, iii. p. 329. Moranget sat up, but Liotot forced de Marle to give him a death-blow.

They also killed the valet of the *Sieur de la Salle*, and the Indian *Nika*, who, at the risk of his life, had supported them for more than three years. The *Sieur de Moranger* lingered for the space of two hours, during which he gave every mark of a death precious in the sight of God, pardoning his murderers, embracing them even, and making all the acts of sorrow and contrition, as they themselves assured us after they recovered from their great blindness. He was a perfectly upright man and a good Christian, confessing every week or fortnight on our march. I have every reason to hope that God has shown him mercy.

“ These wretches resolved not to stop here ; and, not satisfied with this murder, formed a design of attempting their commander’s life, as they had reason to fear his resentment and chastisement. We were full two leagues off ; the *Sieur de la Salle*, troubled at the delay of the *Sieur de Moranger* and his men, from whom he had been separated now for two or three days, began to fear that they had been surprised by the Indians. Asking me to

accompany him, he took also two Indians with him. During the whole way he conversed with me only of matters of piety, grace, and predestination; expatiating on all the obligations which he had to God for having saved him from so many dangers for more than twenty years that he had traversed America. He seemed to me peculiarly penetrated with God's benefits to him, when suddenly I saw him overcome by a deep melancholy, for which he himself could not account; he was so troubled that I did not know him any longer; this state of mind being very far from usual with him. I roused him from his lethargy, nevertheless, and at the end of two leagues we found the bloody cravat of his lackey. He perceived two eagles flying around over his head, and at the same time discovered some of his people on the edge of the water, which he approached, asking tidings of his nephew. They answered us in broken words, showing us where we should find the said sieur. We followed them some steps along the bank to the fatal spot, where two of these murderers were hid-

den in the grass, one on one side and one on the other, with their guns, cocked ; one of them missed : the second fired at the same time and lodged his ball in the head of Monsieur de la Salle, who expired an hour after, on the 19th of March, 1687.

“I expected the same fate, but this danger did not occupy me at all ; penetrated as I was with grief at so cruel a spectacle, I saw him fall a step from me with his face full of blood, which I watered with my tears, exhorting him, to the best of my power, to die well. He had confessed and fulfilled his devotions just before we started ; he had still time to recapitulate a part of his life, and I gave him absolution. During his last moments he elicited all the acts of a good Christian, grasping my hand at every word I suggested to him, and especially at that of pardoning his enemies. Meanwhile his murderers, as much alarmed as I, began to strike their breasts and detest their blindness. I did not wish to leave the spot, after he had expired, without having laid him out and buried him as

well as I could, and I raised a cross over his grave.*

“ Thus died our wise commander, constant in adversity, intrepid, generous, engaging, dexterous, skilful, capable of everything. He who for twenty years had softened the fierce temper of countless savage tribes was massacred by the hands of his own domestics, whom he had loaded with caresses. He died in the prime of life, in the midst of his course and labors, without having seen their success.

“ I occupied myself with these thoughts, which he had himself a thousand times suggested to us while relating the events of the new discoveries, and I unceasingly adored the inscrutable designs of God in this conduct of his providence, uncertain still what fate he reserved for us, as our desperadoes plotted nothing less than our destruction. We at last reached the place where Mon-

* Joutel (*Margry*, iii. pp. 330-1) says that Father Anastasius told him that La Salle was killed on the spot; that the murderers stripped him naked, insulted his body, and threw it into the bushes.

sieur Cavalier was ; the assassins entered the cabin unceremoniously, and seized all that was there. I had arrived a moment before them ; I had no need to speak, for at the mere sight of me, all bathed in tears, the Sieur Cavalier exclaimed with all his strength : ‘ Ah ! my poor brother is dead.’ This holy ecclesiastic, whose virtue has been so often tried in the apostolic labors of Canada, fell at once on his knees ; his nephew the Sieur Cavalier, myself, and some others did the same, to prepare to die the same death. The wretches, however, touched by some sentiments of compassion at the sight of the venerable old man, and besides half penitent for the murders they had committed, resolved to spare us, on condition that we should never return to France ; but as they were still undecided, and many of them wished to return home, we heard them often say to one another that they must get rid of us ; that otherwise we would accuse them before the tribunals, if we once had them in the kingdom.

“ They elected as chief the murderer of the Sieur

de la Salle, and at last, after many deliberations, resolved to push on to that famous nation of the Cœnis. Accordingly, after marching together for several days, crossing rivers and ravines, everywhere treated by these wretches as servants, having nothing but what they left, we reached the tribe without accident.

“ Meanwhile the justice of God accomplished the punishment of these men in default of worldly justice. Jealousy and desire of command arose between Hiens and the Sieur de la Salle’s murderer; each one of the guilty band sided for one or the other. We had passed the Cœnis, after some stay there, and were already at the Nassonis, where the four deserters whom I mentioned in the first expedition rejoined us. On the eve of Ascension, seeing all together, and our wretches resolved to kill each other, I made them an exhortation on the holiday, at which they seemed affected and resolved to confess; but this did not last. Those who most regretted the murder of their commander and leader had sided with Hiens, who, seiz-

ing his opportunity two days after, sought to punish one crime by another. In our presence he shot the murderer of the *Sieur de la Salle* * through the heart with a pistol ; he died on the spot, unshriven, unable even to utter the names of Jesus and Mary. Another † who was with *Hiens* shot the murderer of the *Sieur de Moranger* in the side with a musket-ball. He had time to confess, after which a Frenchman fired a blank cartridge at his head ; his hair, and then his shirt and clothes, took fire and roasted him before our eyes, and in this torment he expired.‡ The third author of the plot and murder fled ; *Hiens* wished to make way with him, and thus completely avenge the death of the *Sieur de la Salle*, but the *Sieur Joutel* conciliated them, and it stopped there.§

“ By this means *Hiens* remained chief of the wretched band ; we had to return to the *Cœnis*,

* *Duhaut*.

† *Ruter*.

‡ *Joutel* (*Margry*, iii. p. 370) makes *Duhaut*'s clothes take fire.

§ This was *Larchevêque*. With *Grollet*, who had deserted from *La Salle* on his first excursion, he surrendered to a Spanish party under *Don Alonzo de Leon*. *Barcia*, “ *Ensayo Cronologico*,” p. 295.

where they had resolved to settle, not daring to return to France for fear of punishment.

“An army of Cœnis was ready to march to war against the Kanoatinno, a tribe very cruel to their enemies, whom they put in the kettle alive; the Cœnis took our Frenchmen with them, and we awaited their return, after which Hiens pressed us strongly to remain with them, but we would not consent. We accordingly set out from the Cœnis, six Frenchmen, among whom were the Sieurs Cavelier, uncle and nephew, and the Sieur Joutel. They gave us each a horse, powder and lead, and some goods to pay our way.* We stopped at the Nassonis † to celebrate the octave of Corpus Christi. They spoke to us daily of the cruelty of the Spaniards in regard to the Americans, and told us that twenty Indian nations were going to war against the Spaniards, inviting us to join them, as we would do more with our guns than all their braves with their war-clubs and arrows; but we had very different designs. We only

* Joutel (*Margry*, iii. pp. 385-6).

† *Ib.* p. 388.

took occasion to tell them that we came on behalf of God to instruct them in the truth and save their souls.* In this we spent ten or twelve days' time till the 3d of June, the feast of St. Anthony of Padua, whom the Sieur de la Salle had taken as protector of his enterprise.

“ They gave us two Indians to serve us as guides, and we continued our way north-northeast through the finest country in the world; we passed four large rivers and many ravines, inhabited by many nations; we reconnoitred the Haquis on the east, the Nabiri and Naansi, all numerous tribes which are at war with the Cœnis; and at last, on the 23d of June, we approached the Cadodacchos.† One of our Indians went on ahead to announce our coming; the chiefs and youth, whom we met a league from the village, received us with the calu-

* Joutel (Margry, iii. p. 396) denies this, and says that Father Anastasius made no attempt to instruct the Indians.

† The Caddoes are not yet extinct. According to Joutel, p. 278, the tribe consisted of four allied villages, Assony, Natsohos, Nachitos, and Cadodaquio. Tonty describes them as forming three villages, Cadodaquis, Nachitoches, and Nasoui, all on the Red River, and speaking the same language.

met, which they gave us to smoke ; some led our horses by the bridle, others, as it were, carried us in triumph, taking us for spirits and people of another world.

“ All the village being assembled, the women, as is their wont, washed our head and feet with warm water, and then placed us on a platform covered with a very neat white mat ; then followed banquets, calumet-dances, and other public rejoicings, day and night. These people knew Europeans only by report ; like other tribes through which we had passed, they have some very confused ideas of religion and adore the sun ; their ceremonious dresses bear two painted suns ; and on the rest of the body are representations of cattle, stags, serpents, and other animals. This afforded us an opportunity to give them some lessons on the knowledge of the true God and on our principal mysteries.

“ At this place it pleased God to traverse us by a tragical accident. The *Sieur de Marne*, in spite of all that we could say, resolved to bathe on the even-

ing of the 24th; the Sieur Cavelier, nephew, accompanied him to the river-side, very near the village. De Marne sprang into the water and instantly disappeared. It was an abyss, where he was in a moment swallowed up. A few hours after his body was recovered and brought to the chief's cabin. The whole village mourned his death with all ceremony; the chief's wife herself neatly wound him in a beautiful cloth, while the young men dug the grave, which I blessed the next day, when we buried him with all possible solemnity.* The Indians admired our ceremonies, from which we took occasion to give them several instructions during the week that we remained in this fatal place. The deceased was interred on an eminence near the village, and his tomb surrounded by a palisade, surmounted by a large cross above it, which we induced the Indians to prepare, after which we started on the 2d of July.

“These people are on the banks of a large river, on which lie also three famous nations, the

* Joutel, p. 276. What follows is not supported by him.

Natchoos, the Natchites, the Ouidiches, where we were very humanely received. From the Cœnis river, where we began to find beaver and otter, they became more plentiful as we advanced from that point. At the Ouidiches we found three warriors of two nations called the Cahinnio and the Mentous, twenty-five leagues further east-northeast, who had seen Frenchmen. They offered to guide us there, and on our way it was necessary to cross four rivers on rafts. They received us with the calumet of peace in their hands, and every mark of joy and esteem.* Several of these Indians spoke to us of a great captain, who had only one arm (this was Monsieur de Tonty), whom they professed to have seen, and who had told them that a greater captain than he would pass through their villages ; this was Monsieur de la Salle.

“The chief lodged us in his cabin, from which he made his family retire. We were here regaled for several days on every kind of meat ; there was even a public feast, where the calumet was danced

* Joutel calls this village Cahainihoua (p. 284).

for twenty-four hours, with songs made for the occasion, which the chief intoned with all his might, treating us as people of the sun, who came to defend them from their enemies by the noise of our thunder. Amidst these rejoicings the young Cavalier fired his pistol three times, crying, 'Vive le roi,' which the Indians repeated with loud cries, adding a cry in honor of the sun. These Indians have prodigious quantities of beaver and otter skins, which could be easily transported by a river near the village; they wished to load our horses with them, but we refused them, to show our disinterestedness; we made them presents of axes and knives, and set out with two Cahinnio to act as guides, after having received embassies from the Analao, and the Tanico, and other tribes to the northwest and southeast. It was delightful to traverse for several days the finest country, intersected by many rivers, prairies, little woods, and vine-clad hills. Among others we passed four large navigable rivers, and at last, after a march of about sixty leagues, we reached the Osotteoz, who dwell

on a great river which comes from the northwest, skirted by the finest woods in the world. Beaver and otter skins, and all kinds of peltries, are found there in such great quantities that, being of no value, they burn them in heaps. This is the famous river of the Achansa, who here form many large towns. It was at this point that we began to know where we were, and finding a large cross and at the bottom the royal arms, with a house in French style, our people discharged their guns in front of it, and we saw two Frenchmen come forth. The commandant, by name Coutûre, told us that the *Sieur de Tonty* had stationed them there to serve as an intermediate station to the *Sieur de la Salle*, to maintain the alliance with those tribes, and to shield them against attacks by the *Iroquois*.* We visited three of these villages, the *Torimans*, the *Dogingga*, and the *Kappa*; everywhere we had feasts, harangues, calumet-dances, with every mark of joy;

* *Joutel*, pp. 299-300; *Margry*, iii. p. 436. *Couture's* companion was *Delaunay*. For *Couture's* account of what he learned from young *Barthélémy*, see *ib.* p. 601.

we were lodged in the French house, where these gentlemen gave us all the welcome that we could desire, putting all at our disposal. Whenever any affairs are to be decided among these nations they never give their resolution on the spot ; they assemble the chiefs and old men and deliberate on the point in question. We had asked a periagua and Indians to ascend the river Colbert, and thence to push on to the Illinois by the river Seignelay, offering to leave them our horses, powder, and lead ; when the council was held it was said that they would grant us the periagua and four Indians to be selected, one from each tribe, in token of a more strict alliance. This was faithfully executed, so that we dismissed our Cahinnio with presents, which perfectly satisfied them.

“ At last, after some time stay, we embarked on the 1st of August, 1687, on the river Colbert, which we crossed the same day in our periagua forty feet long ; but as the current is strong, we all landed to make the rest of our journey on foot, having left our horses and equipage at the Akansa.

There remained in the canoe only the *Sieur Cavalier*, whose age, joined to the hardships he had already undergone on the way, did not permit him to accomplish on foot the rest of our course (at least four hundred leagues) to the Illinois. One Indian was in the canoe to pole it along, one of his comrades relieving him from time to time. As for the rest of us, we used the *periagua* only when necessary to make some dangerous passages or cross rivers. It was not without much suffering; for the excessive heat of the season, the burning sand, the broiling sun, heightened by want of provisions for several days, gave us enough to suffer.*

“ We had already travelled two hundred and fifty leagues across the country from *St. Louis Bay*—viz., one hundred leagues to the *Cœnis* (sixty north-northeast, the last forty east-northeast); from the *Cœnis* to the *Nassonis*, twenty-five to the east-northeast; from the *Nassonis* to the *Cadodacchos*, forty to the north-northeast; from the *Cadodacchos* to the *Cahinnio* and *Mentous*, twenty-five to the

* *Joutel*, p. 318; in *Margry*, iii. pp. 437-464.

east-northeast; from the Cahinnio to the Akansa, sixty to the east-northeast.

“We then continued our route, ascending the river through the same places which the Sieur de la Salle had formerly passed when he made his first discovery, of which I have heard him frequently speak, except that we went to the Sicacha,* where he had not been. The principal village is twenty-five leagues east of the Akansa. This nation is very numerous; they count at least four thousand warriors, having in abundance every kind of peltry. The chiefs came several times to offer us the calumet, wishing to form an alliance with the French and put themselves under their protection, offering even to come and dwell on the river Oüabache to be nearer to us.

“This famous river is full as large as the river Colbert, receiving a quantity of others by which you can enter the main river. The mouth, where it empties into the main river, is two hundred leagues distant from the Akansa, according to the

* *Ib.* p. 468.

estimate of the *Sieur de la Salle*, as he often told me; or two hundred and fifty, according to *Monsieur de Tonty* and those who accompanied him in his second voyage to the sea—not that it is that distance in a straight line across the prairies, but following the river, which makes great turns and winds a great deal, for by cutting across the land it would not be more than five good days' march.

“We passed, accordingly, opposite the *Oüabache* on the 26th of the month of August, and found it full sixty leagues to the mouth of the river *Illinois*, still ascending the main river. About six leagues below this mouth there is on the northwest the famous river of the *Massourites*, or *Ozages*,* at least as large as the main river into which it empties; it is formed by a number of other known rivers, everywhere navigable, and inhabited by many populous tribes: the *Panimaha*, who have but one chief and twenty-two villages, the least of which has two hundred cabins; the *Pancassa*, the

* The *Missouris*. *Joutel* in *Margry*, iii. p. 471; *Michel's* edition, p. 322, says 19th.

Pana, the Paneloga,* and the Matotantes,† each of which, separately, is not inferior to the Panimaha. They include also the Ozages, who have seventeen villages on a river of their name, which empties into that of the Massourites, to which the maps have also extended the name of Ozages. The Akansa were formerly situated on the upper part of one of these rivers,‡ but the Iroquois drove them out by cruel wars some years ago, so that they, with some Ozage villages, have been obliged to descend and settle on the river which now bears their name, and of which I have spoken.

“About midway between the river Oüabache and that of the Massourites is found Cape St. Anthony. It was to this place only, and not further, that the Sieur Jolliet descended in 1673; they were there taken, with their whole party, by the Mansopela.§ These Indians having told them that they

* These seem to be Pawnee tribes.

† Probably the Ottoes.

‡ They were on the Ohio, Gravier, Voyage.

§ Marquette on his map places the Monsoupelea south of the Ohio. They are apparently the tribe described Discov. of the Mississippi, p. 43. As neither Father Anastasius nor Father Zenobius met such a tribe he knew nothing of them except from Marquette.

would be killed if they went further, they turned back, not having descended lower than thirty or forty leagues below the mouth of the river of the Illinois.*

“ I had brought with me the printed book of this pretended discovery, and I remarked all along my route that there was not a word of truth in it. It is said that he went as far as the Akansa, and that he was obliged to return for fear of being taken by the Spaniards; and yet the Akansa assured us that they had never seen other Europeans before Monsieur de la Salle. It is said that they saw painted monsters that the boldest men would have difficulty to look at, and that there was something supernatural about them.† This frightful monster is a horse painted on a rock with matachia,‡ and some other wild beasts made by the Indians. It is said that they cannot be reached, and yet I touched them all without difficulty. The truth is

* For this there is no authority.

† For a similar attack on Joliet see Margry, ii. p. 95; Joutel in Margry, iii. p. 471. For what Marquette really says, see *Discovery of the Mississippi*, p. 39. ‡ An old term for paint used by the Indians.

that the Miamis, pursued by the Matsigamea, having been drowned in the river, the Indians ever since that time present tobacco to these grotesque figures whenever they pass, in order to appease the manitou.

“I should be loath to believe that the *Sieur Joliet* avowed the printed account of that discovery, which is not, in fact, under his name, and which was not published till after the first discovery made by the *Sieur de la Salle*. It would be easy to show that it was printed only on false memoirs, which the author, who had never been on the spot, might have followed in good faith.*

* The charge that *Marquette's* narrative was not published till after the discovery made by *La Salle* is incorrect. *Thevenot* published it from a mutilated copy in 1681, and *La Salle* reached the mouth of the *Mississippi* only in April, 1682, while his discovery was not known in France before January, 1683.

The *Arkansas* may have said that they had never seen any European before *La Salle*. Making every allowance for the difficulty of conversing with a tribe whose language was utterly unknown to *Father Anastasius*, and admitting the fact, it remains to show that the *Arkansas* he met were the same as those visited by *Marquette*. This does not appear certain, as they were on different sides of the *Mississippi*. *Marquette* describes a rock above the mouth of the *Missouri*; *Anastasius* saw another below the mouth, and half-way between it and the *Ohio*, and, as it did not answer *Marquette's* account, declares there is

“ At last, on the 5th of September, we arrived at the mouth of the river of the Illinois, whence they reckon very near a hundred leagues to Fort Creve-cœur, the whole route presenting a very easy navigation. A Chaouenon named Turpin, having perceived us at his village,* ran on to the fort to carry the news to the Sieur de Belle Fontaine, the commandant, who could not credit it; we followed close on the Indian, and entered the fort on the 14th of September. We were conducted to the

not a word of truth in his book! Joutel, whose work appeared only in 1713, avoids this difficulty. From the words of Father Anastasius I am inclined to think that they never saw Marquette's rock; but deceived by Thevenot's map, which gives a figure and the word Manitou at the place below the Missouri which Marquette mentions as the demon of the Illinois, mistook it for the painted rock. Here, as Father Anastasius tells, some Indians actually perished, and their countrymen, supposing them engulfed by some demon, propagated the belief in the existence of one there. The Piesa described by Marquette existed till our time. For his positive assertion that Marquette and Joliet went only as far as Cape St. Anthony, thirty or forty leagues below the mouth of the Illinois, Father Anastasius gives no authority. Joutel (Margry, iii. p. 471) denies any extraordinary height in the pictures he saw one day above the mouth of the Missouri. It is curious that on the map prepared for Le Clercq the River of Father Marquette is laid down.

* Joutel names no such Indian. He says they entered the Illinois on the 3d (Margry, iii. p. 471). They met some Kaskaskias on the 13th, who accompanied them next day to the fort (ib. p. 477).

chapel, where the Te Deum was chanted in thanksgiving, amid the noise and volleys of the French and Indians under arms. The Sieur de Tonty, the governor of the fort, had gone to the Iroquois to conciliate the minds of those Indians;* we, nevertheless, received a very cordial welcome, the commandant neglecting nothing to show his joy at our arrival, to console us in our misfortunes, and restore us after our hardships.

“Although the season was advanced, we had, nevertheless, set out in hope of reaching Quebec soon enough to sail to France; but head-winds having detained us a fortnight at the entrance of Lake Dauphin,† we had to give it over and winter at the fort, where we made a mission till the spring of 1688.

“The Sieur de Tonty arrived there at the beginning of winter with several Frenchmen; this made our stay much more agreeable, as this brave gentle-

* To fight them.

† They were at the Chicago River September 25, and went a little beyond it, but returned and reached Fort St. Louis October 7 (Joutél in Margry, iii. pp. 483-9).

man was always inseparably attached to the interests of the *Sieur de la Salle*, whose lamentable fate we concealed from him, it being our duty to give the first news to the court.

“ He told us that, at the same time that we were seeking the river *Missisipi* by sea, he had made a second voyage, descending the same river with some French and Indians to the mouth, hoping to find us there ; that he remained there a week, visited all the important points, and remarked that there was a very fine port with a beautiful entrance and wide channel ; and also places fit for building forts, and not at all inundated, as he had supposed when he descended the first time with the *Sieur de la Salle* ; adding that the lower river is habitable, and even inhabited by Indian villages ; that ships can ascend the river a hundred leagues above the gulf ; that, besides the tribes which he had discovered when descending the first time, he had seen several others on the second, as the *Picheno*, the *Ozanbogus*, the *Tangibao*, the *Otonnica*, the *Mausopelea*, the *Mouisa*, and many others which I do not remember.

“The conversations we had together confirmed me in the opinion of the Sieur de la Salle, who calculated that St. Louis Bay could not be more than forty or fifty leagues from the mouth of one of the arms of the river Colbert in a straight line, for, though we struck that river only at the Akansa, it was because we took the route for the Illinois across the country, God having led us through these parts to enable us to discover all those tribes which dwell there.

“I had remarked one hundred and ten populous nations on my route, not including a great many others of which I heard in those through which we passed, who knew them either in war or in trade. The greatest part of these tribes are unknown to Europeans.

“These are the finest and most fertile countries in the world; the soil, which there produces two crops of every kind of grain a year, being ready to receive the plough. From time to time there are vast prairies where the grass is ten or twelve feet high at all seasons; at every little distance there are rivers

entering larger ones, everywhere navigable and free from rapids. On these rivers are forests full of every kind of trees, so distributed that you can everywhere ride through on horseback.

“The chase is so abundant and easy, especially for wild cattle, that herds of thousands are discovered; there are deer and other animals of the stag kind in numbers, as well as turkeys, wild geese, partridges, parrots, rabbits, and hares. Poultry are common there and produce at all seasons, and swine several times a year, as we observed at the settlement, where we left more than two hundred.

“The rivers are unusually abundant in all kinds of fish, so much so that we took them at the foot of the fort with our hands, without basket or net. Our people one day took away from the Indians a fish-head which was alone a load for a man. No settler arriving in the country will not find at first enough to support plenteously a large family, or will not, in less than two years' time, be as comfortably settled as in any place in Europe. I have already remarked that horses for every use are there very

common, the Indians thinking themselves well paid when they get an axe for a good horse.

“ There might be a very great trade there in all kinds of peltries, tobacco, and cotton. Hemp grows very fine ; and as the plains are full of mulberry-trees, which also line the rivers, silk might be raised in abundance. Sugar-canes will succeed there well, and could be easily got by trade with the West Indies, as the European nations have done in Terra-firma, where they are neighbors to Louisiana. Besides the great quantity of wool with which the cattle of the country are loaded, the vast prairies everywhere afford means of raising flocks of sheep, which produce twice a year.

“ The various accidents that befell us prevented our searching for the treasures of this country ; we found lead completely formed, and copper ready to work. The Indians told us that there were rivers where silver-mines are found ; others wished to lead us to war in a country known to the Spaniards, full of gold and silver mines. There are also some villages where the inhabitants have pearls, which

they go to seek on the sea-coast and take, they say, from oysters.

“We found few nations within a hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues of the sea who are not prejudiced against the Spaniards on account of their great cruelty. These tribes are all very populous, and there is one which, in war, would furnish as many as five thousand men.

“The shortness of our stay among these tribes gave us no time to lay solid foundations of Christianity; but we remarked good dispositions for the faith; they are docile, charitable, faithful, susceptible of good impressions; there is even some government and subordination, savage though it always be. By the help of God, religion might make progress there. The sun is their divinity, and they offer it in sacrifice the best of their chase in the chief's cabin. They pray for half an hour, especially at sunrise; they send it the first whiff of their pipes, and then send one to each of the four cardinal points.

“I had left St. Louis Bay, on the second voyage,

designing to remain among the Cœnis and found a mission there. Here Father Zenobius was to join me, to extend our visits to the neighboring tribes while awaiting from France a greater number of laborers; but the melancholy death of the Sieur de la Salle having compelled me to proceed, Father Zenobius, I have no doubt, went there to meet me, and is, perhaps, there yet with Father Maximus, and they may have left Monsieur de Chefdeuille at the mission at the port, which he assumed at our departure. There were there nine or ten French families with their children, and, besides, several of our people had gone to get and had actually married Indian women to multiply the colony. What has befallen them since I do not know."

This is a faithful extract of what Father Anastasius could remember of his toilsome voyage. He set out from the Illinois* in the spring of 1688, with Monsieur Cavelier, his nephew, the Sieur

* March 21. Joutel in Margry iii. p. 508.

Joüstel, and an Indian who is now domiciled near Versailles. They arrived at Quebec on the 27th of July,* and on the 20th of August † sailed for France, where, God enabling them to be still together at Paris, after having passed through so many perils, they presented an account of all to the late Marquis of Seignelay. ‡

* 29th. *Ib.* p. 523.

† 21st. *Ib.* p. 525.

‡ Cavelier and his companions concealed the fact of La Salle's death. Peñalosa's project fell through, and La Salle's colony was left to its fate. No effort was made to relieve the survivors, the French government showing absolute indifference in their regard. A paper exists, entitled "Memoir on the proposition to be made by the reverend Jesuit Fathers for the discovery of the country around the Mississippi." Evidently the work of some schemer, it was an attempt to get the Jesuits to undertake an expedition. It bears no name, no date, and nothing about it suggests that it could be the work of any missionary of the Society of Jesus. When Iberville was sent out in 1698 the French Government sent Father Anastasius with him. Margry, iv. 70.

CHAPTER XXVI.

NEW FRANCE VICTORIOUS BY SEA AND LAND OVER
THE ENGLISH AND INDIANS BY THE TRIUMPHANT
ARMS OF HIS MAJESTY IN 1690.

L OUISIANA was not the only part of New France where it pleased God to traverse the establishments and progress. Canada at the same time underwent terrible trials from the incursions of the Iroquois. These Indians, who both feared and loved Monsieur de Frontenac, had revolted soon after his return to France; and although naught either of valor or of courage was lacking in our Frenchmen, nor in their leaders good and wise conduct, although great and successful expeditions were made against the enemy, these savages had since retaliated, and, as if heaven were in concert with them, two widespread diseases of a contagious kind carried off in one year more than twenty-five

hundred persons. The Indians, finding the colony thus enfeebled, had pillaged and burnt the villages and houses somewhat on the frontier, wasted the fields, killed a great number of our brave men in various skirmishes, carried off numbers of prisoners, on whom they inflicted a thousand cruelties,* when, to crown the misfortunes, the English, having joined the savage nations, had even shaken the fidelity of those who had at all times been our allies; we had been obliged to abandon the forts which were at the head of the country, and which formed its principal defence; and, finally, the condition of the treaty between these common enemies was that they should not lay down their arms till the total destruction of the French. For this purpose a land army was to attack the country above while the English fleet attacked below on the river, so that nothing should escape their fury.

God is often pleased to lead things to extremes, in order to oblige us to have recourse to him

* The greatest blow was the destruction of La Chine, August 5, 1689. See Shea's "Charlevoix," iv. pp. 29-30, and authorities cited.

and to acknowledge that we are indebted solely to him when, against all human hope, he saves us from the last misfortune. Moreover, the colony did not yet know its strength, and God wished to extend to another hemisphere the great blessings which he gave in Europe to the justice of our king's arms by saving the Church and colony of New France from the enterprises of the heretics and infidels who had conspired its ruin.

His Majesty had sent back the Count de Frontenac to resume the government. He arrived at Quebec on the 14th of October,* 1689, and found the country in a very different state from the peaceful and flourishing condition in which he had left it; the troops and colonists, however, filled with new courage by the presence of this governor, declared that they now felt secure from the attacks of their enemies.

One of the chief causes of the discontent of the Iroquois was the fact that forty of their tribe, with

* Frontenac, "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. p. 435, says October 15, 8 P.M. La Hontan, i. p. 198, gives the same date.

one of their principal chiefs named Oneouaré, had been sent to the galleys in France. The king had had the goodness to give freedom to those of the party who were yet alive, and to send them back to Canada with the Count de Frontenac, who had gained their affection by the kind treatment which he had shown them on the voyage, so that the first care of the new governor was to calm the Iroquois by their means.*

For this purpose he first went to Mont Real, and thence sent four of these liberated Iroquois to convey tidings of their return to Onontaé, which is the chief village of the five Iroquois nations, and where their important affairs are transacted. These four deputies went merely for Oreouaré to invite the cantons to come and salute their father Onontio, and thank him for his goodness in bringing back their chief,† whom they believed for ever lost. Onontio means great mountain,‡ and is the Indian

* Compare Shea's "Charlevoix," iii. p. 276, and Parkman's "Frontenac," p. 142.

† "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. p. 437; "Canada Doc.," ii. v. p. 45.

‡ It means beautiful mountain. *to* in composition means beautiful.

name for our governors-general. Monsieur de Frontenac, to attract at once the respect and love of the savages, had added that of father, treating them only as his children.

Monsieur de Frontenac at the same time received the unpleasant tidings that the upper nations, Hurons, Outaoüacs, and Algomquins, who had at all times been our allies, were openly treating with the Iroquois. The Sieur Joliet was sent by the Sieur de la Durantaye, Captain Commandant at Missilimakinak, and by the Jesuit Fathers, to bring this intelligence, and that these Indians, to effect a reconciliation with the Iroquois, had sent back their prisoners and promised to join them and the English with their warriors to act against the French.*

The Sieur Joliet was at the same time sent back with necessary instructions to bring these tribes to reason and attach them to our interest by detaching them from that of our enemies. This first de-

* De la Potherie, "Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale," iii. p. 60; Shea's "Charlevoix," iv. pp. 52-3. Zachary Joliet, a brother of Louis, brought an important letter from the Jesuit Father Stephen de Carheil.

putation began to open their eyes by showing these Indians that their father Onontio had returned to Canada. A second was sent in the spring with the *Sieur de Louvigny*,* reformed captain (who was going to relieve the *Sieur de la Durantaye*). *Nicholas Perrot*,† acting as interpreter, accompanied him, bearing presents from the king and the words of the count for all the upper nations. Nearly a hundred and fifty Frenchmen accompanied them on this voyage, going for their furs, which they had not dared to bring down the preceding years on account of the Iroquois forays. Thirty armed men under the command of *Sieurs D'hosta* and de *la Gemberaye*, reformed lieutenants, had orders to escort them sixty leagues above *Mont Real*.

A band of Iroquois lay in wait for them in ambush at *Pointe aux Chats* on the upper river, but as

* *Louis de la Porte*, *Sieur de Louvigny*. See sketch by *L. C. Draper*, "*Wisconsin Hist. Coll.*," v. p. 108.

† This is the first mention of *Nicholas Perrot*, who plays so important a part in western affairs. See his "*Mœurs et Coutumes de Sauvages*," edited by *Tailhan*. It is not easy to see how he can be supposed to be the man who worked as a laborer at *Frontenac* and then became *La Salle's* valet.

a part of our brave fellows attacked them on land, at the same time that others engaged them in canoes, a cruel butchery of the enemy took place and thirty were killed on the spot ; the wounded were put in four canoes. Two men and two women were taken ; one of the former was led and given to the Hurons, Outaoüacs, who ate him ; the other was taken to Quebec and given to Oreoüare. In this engagement we lost only seven men from having been at first taken by surprise by a volley from the Iroquois in ambush. Our men finally pursued their route, and we afterwards learned that their arrival with presents from the king had absolutely retained all these nations in our interests.*

As the English, who have powerful cities and very populous towns and villages in that country, and well-defended forts in all parts, were the chief authors of all our disasters, Monsieur de Frontenac formed three parties to go over the ice and attack them in their own country : one at Quebec,

* Monseignat in "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. p. 470, etc. ; Frontenac's Despatch, Tailhan's Perrot, p. 323.

under the command of the *Sieur de Portneuf*; the second at *Three Rivers*, under *Sieur Artel*; and the third at *Mont Real*, under *Sieurs de Sainte Heleine* and *de Mantet*.

The last set out for *New Holland* early in February, 1690. The force consisted of two hundred and ten men, part French and part Indians from the two villages which we have near *Mont Royal*. There were also sixteen *Algomquins*. They marched twenty-three days by hard and painful ways, for they had to break the ice and be sometimes knee-deep in water. They hesitated whether to attack the city of *Orange* or that of *Corlard*,* but resolved to proceed against the latter. They reached it without accident. *Giguire*,† a Canadian, was detached with nine Indians to reconnoitre the place, which is a kind of long square with only two gates, one on the side where our people were, the other on the opposite side leading to *Orange*. The little army reached it at eleven o'clock at night, scaled it without being perceived till they had sur-

* *Orange* is *Albany*; *Corlar*, *Schenectady*.

† *Giguère*.

rounded the houses and posted detachments at the corners of the streets and in the squares. When all was ready for the attack it was made simultaneously by a death-cry in the Indian style ; then there was nothing but a confusion of voices and cries of our people bursting in the doors with heavy blows of their axes and killing all who resisted.

The Sieur de Mantet attacked the fort with his detachment ; the garrison held out for a time, but musket, sabre, and axe soon brought them down. Little resistance was made elsewhere, except at one house, where the Sieur de la Marque, Montigny was wounded twice with a partisan ; but the Sieur de Ste. Heleine having come up, all were put to the point of the sword and edge of the hatchet, the Indians sparing none.

The sack lasted two hours ; the rest of the night was spent in refreshing themselves after having posted guard parties in the various quarters. It was intended to spare the minister's house, but, not being recognized, it was burnt with his books. This sack is a loss which reaches more than four hundred

thousand livres. They spared only a widow's house and that of the major, for they did not wish to do him any injury, as he had always treated the French well. About eighty old men, women, and children, and thirty Agniez, Iroquois, were spared; the latter were told that we sought only the English, and only the major and thirty others were carried off as prisoners.*

In another direction the *Sieur de Portneuf* set out from *Quebec* at the end of January with fifty Frenchmen, and two leagues thence took in sixty *Abenaquis*. He spent the months of February, March, and April, and down to the middle of May, hunting, till he reached a village of *Abenaquis* on the river of the *Kinibequis*, † where he took one

* The expedition against *Schenectady* was commanded by *Nicholas d'Ailleboust*, *Sieur de Manteht*. *Repentigny de Montesson*, *Le Moyne d'Iberville*, and *Le Moyne de Ste. Helène*, the future founder of *Louisiana* and others serving as volunteers. The place was taken February 8, 1690, O.S. Compare the French account here (*de la Potherie*, ii. p. 68) and "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. pp. 466-7, with *Smith's "History of New York,"* 4to, p. 66; *Colden's "Five Nations"* (edition 1727), p. 114; "List of ye People kild," etc., "N. Y. Doc. Hist.," i. pp. 190-1. It was a terrible retaliation for the massacre of the French at *Lachine*.

† *Kennebec*.

hundred and fifty more. With this little army he arrived on the 25th of May four leagues from Kasquebé* on the sea-shore. It is a considerable port; there were eight pieces of cannon, and it was surrounded by four other small forts. Having reached it next morning at daybreak, he concealed two Frenchmen and four Indians near the gate, who killed the first man who came out; the death-cry spread the alarm in the fort, and our men returned to the main body, which was divided into two parties, one commanded by the Sieur de Portneuf, the other under the direction of the Sieur de Repentigny, Courte-Manche, his lieutenant. All lay hid in the woods till midday, when thirty men of the garrison came out to reconnoitre, but they did not get far; our men killed twenty-six on the spot, and the four others who were wounded barely escaped.

The great fort † was summoned to surrender, and

* This means Casco Bay. The place was Falmouth, now Portland, Maine.

† Fort Loyal, at the foot of what is now King Street.

on its refusing an attack in form was resolved upon. The little forts were taken ; here were found tools for opening trenches, and the works were advanced so that in four or five days they were ready to storm it. Sledges of wood and tar to fire it were all ready, when the commandant asked to capitulate. He was received at discretion with his garrison to the number of seventy men, who were made prisoners of war, the rest having been killed during the attack. The cannon were spiked and thrown into the sea. All the forts and more than two hundred houses were burned. The Indians took a rich booty, carrying off all the cattle they pleased. Some prisoners were given to them, and the *Sieur de Portneuf* resumed the road to Quebec with the rest and the commandant, named Denis, some women, among others the widow and two daughters of his lieutenant, who had been killed. We lost only one of our Indians and one Frenchman wounded by a cannon-ball.*

* *Robineau de Portneuf* left Quebec January 28, 1690, and reached Falmouth May 25. Compare this and the other French accounts

The Sieur Artel,* who commanded the third party, had taken with him three of his sons, twenty-four other Frenchmen, twenty Socoquis Indians, and five Algomquins. After a long and painful march he had arrived on the 27th of March near the town of Sementals,† in Acadia. This town was defended by three forts, which his party, dividing, attacked simultaneously. Each carried one. Fifty-four English prisoners were taken, all the houses (from which most of the inhabitants had fled) were fired, the surrounding country ravaged, the dwellings burned, and more than two thousand head of live stock killed, with no loss but one Frenchman killed and two others wounded.

This town being only six leagues from Pesca-
doüet,‡ a very populous city, two hundred men

(“N. Y. Col. Doc.,” ix. p. 472 ; De la Potherie, iii. p. 78) with Davis’s Declaration, “Mass. Hist. Coll.,” i. p. 104 ; Willis’s “History of Portland,” p. 284 ; Williamson’s “Maine,” i. p. 620 ; Shea’s “Charlevoix,” iv. p. 133.

* Francis Hertel, Sieur de Chambly. See Shea’s “Charlevoix,” iii. p. 43 ; iv. p. 130.

† Salmon Falls. La Potherie, iii. p. 76, has Semenfalls. It is the present Berwick, N. H.

‡ Piscataway, now Portsmouth, N. H.

sallied out in pursuit of our men, who manfully faced the enemy and awaited them. On various occasions we killed a great many, wounded several others, and at last were left in possession of the field of battle. Crevier, nephew of the *Sieur Artel*, and a *Socoquis* were killed, and *Sieur Artel's* son * was wounded in the thigh.†

On *Ste. Helaine's* return a new party was formed for another expedition against the English. It was composed of our faithful Indians, who were joined by the *Sieurs de Beauvais, de Tilly, and de la Brosse*, seconded lieutenants, with four other Frenchmen. They had entered the enemy's territory, and in one engagement killed four men and two women, and took forty-two prisoners, including eight Englishwomen; but as they were advancing further they heard that a hostile party of seven hundred *Iroquois* and *Mahingans* were only a day and a half off. This obliged them to retrace their steps.

* *Zachary Hertel, Sieur de la Fresnière.*

† The skirmish was at *Wooster River*. Compare de la *Potherie*, iii. p. 76; *Monseignat*, "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. p. 471; *Williamson's "Maine,"* i. p. 618; *Belknap's "New Hampshire,"* i. p. 207.

This little advantage was followed by an unfortunate adventure which gave great grief to Monsieur de Frontenac. As this party was at Salmon River, which enters into Lake Champlain, making canoes for their return, another party of Algonquins and Abenakis, who were going to operate in our interest against the English, discovered this troop at night while they were at prayers, and, taking them for Iroquois enemies, charged them at sunrise next morning, killed two men and wounded ten—two Frenchmen, six Indians, and two English. This mistake was the more distressing as the Great Agnié, the chief of our faithful Indians, was killed there. The two parties soon after recognized each other, grieved to have thus attacked each other by mistake.*

The Count de Frontenac, who forgot nothing that was necessary for the security of the country, had detached two bodies of troops to secure the settlements on the south shore, which seemed most

* De la Potherie, iii. p. 81; "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. p. 473; Shea's "Charlevoix," iv. p. 127.

exposed : one under the command of the Chevalier de Clermont, seconded captain, who was to guard from Mont Real to Saurel, about eighteen leagues in front ; the other under the orders of the Sieur de la Motte, also seconded captain, who was to reconnoitre from Lake St. Pierre to St. Francis on the way to Three Rivers, and below on the Quebec side. Each gained several trifling advantages.

North of Mont Real island is the river Des-Prairies, by which an Iroquois party had descended to Pointe au Tremble, at the end of the island. Monsieur de Calliere, the governor of the island, being informed of this, sent the Sieur Colombet, seconded lieutenant, with twenty-five colonists to reconnoitre the enemy, who were more than three times as numerous ; yet our men killed twenty-five and wounded a still larger number, though we lost twelve of our party, the large force of the enemy having constantly kept up a hot fire.*

Meanwhile, as there was reason to fear a descent from an English fleet in the direction of Quebec,

* This action was at Pointe au Tremble.

and the city, though quite populous, had as yet no fortifications, the governor during the winter transported all necessary materials and carried them over the snow. He traced the plan of the work, and as soon as the ice thawed they began to fortify the city with eleven good stone redoubts to serve as bastions, connected by curtains of palisades ten feet high, terraced within with turf as high almost as a man.

He used all possible exertions to hasten the work, and it was nearly completed at the close of July before his departure for Mont Real.*

He left Monsieur Prevost † as commandant at Quebec in his absence. He is a Parisian gentleman, who has for the last twenty years rendered the greatest service to the country by his wisdom, valor, and experience in his position as major of the capital.

I will repeat nothing here that I have said in my Relation of the Gaspésiens as to our reverses on

* As to these fortifications see Shea's "Charlevoix," iv. pp. 152, 167.

† Provost.

the Acadian coast, where the English fleet landed and pillaged some defenceless spots and even carried off the governor of Acadia. Monsieur de Frontenac had received the news at Quebec, whence he set out on the 22d of July, and on the last of the same month reached Mont Real with Monsieur de Champigny, the Intendant, and Madame the Intendante.

We have said that the previous winter four of the Iroquois returned from France had been sent as a deputation to the canton of Onontage on behalf of the chief Oreouïare, whom Monsieur de Frontenac always kept near his person. They arrived at Mont-Real, where Monsieur de Caillière had given them public audience. They were entrusted with six belts of wampum. It is the custom of the Indian tribes in public audiences to present as many belts as there are declarations to make. They are so many assurances of their word, and it seems as if they cannot open their lips unless the belt appears first to inspire them with what they are to say in the matter which comes up for negotiation.

The first belt explained the reason of their delay, caused by the arrival of the Outaouacs during the winter at the Sonnontouans, to give back the slaves taken from the Iroquois, promising an alliance with them. This belt also said that to make a peace it would be necessary for Onontio to send back the rest of the Iroquois slaves.

The second belt testified the public joy of the Five Nations and of the Dutch, their allies, on learning the return of Oreöüaré, whom they styled the General Chief of the whole Iroquois nation.

The third spoke on behalf of Onontaé in the name of the Five cantons, and demanded the speedy return of Oreöüaré, whom they again styled chief of their lands, asking that he should be accompanied by all the Iroquois who were among us, and protesting that they would not dispose of all the French prisoners in their hands except according to what Oreouaré should direct on his return.

The fourth addressed to Onontio, and spoke thus: "You say, my Father, that you wish to raise

up the tree of peace which you had planted at your Fort Frontenac. This is well, but the fifth belt speaks and says: Are you ignorant, my Father, that there is no longer a peace fire in that fort; that it is quenched by the blood shed there; the places where the council was held are all red with it? That place is polluted by the deceit and treachery done us there in carrying off our prisoners. The land of the Sonnontouans, the greatest of our towns, has been spoiled by the ravages which the French have committed there. Repair all this and you shall be free to place the fire of peace elsewhere than in that place. Moreover, my Father, you have scourged your children very severely; your rods were too sharp and too long. After having thus treated him you think right that I have sense now. I repeat, my Father, that I, Onontaé, I am the master of all the French prisoners. Smooth the road to La Galette or Chambly; there Teganissorens will come to meet you. You will come attended by what force you like, and I also."

La Galette is a spot twenty-six leagues below the

fort; Teganissorens is an Iroquois chief much attached to Monsieur de Frontenac.

The sixth belt informs them that an Iroquois war-party has taken the field, and promises that if it takes prisoners they shall be cared for, praying us, if we take any on our side, to preserve them. It also adds reproaches because we had killed in the preceding years twelve of their men, and that it was on this account that they ate some of ours.

These Indian deputies had descended to Quebec while Monsieur de Frontenac was yet there. Not being satisfied with them, he sent other deputies with the Chevalier d'Eau, a reformed captain. Oreoüaré gave his people eight belts.

The first to wipe away the tears of the Five Nations, to clear their throat of anything disagreeable remaining there as to past unfortunate matters, and to wipe up the blood that had been shed.

The second to show their joy that the Outaouacs had restored their prisoners, and to assure them that Onontio promised to keep those he should take from the Iroquois.

The third thanked them for asking Onontio to send him back with his nephews.

The fourth is to tell them that he sees well that they have forgotten him as well as their old father Onontio, since they have not sent any of their chiefs for him or to speak to their father.

The fifth begs them to send to Mont-Real those who are accustomed to transact affairs with him, in order that they may know Onontio's goodwill for their nation, and the good treatment he and his nephews had received since they came to his hands.

The sixth is to bind the arms of the Five Nations, in order to bring them to Mont-Real, and after that they should take him back with them.

The seventh is to recommend to them the Chevalier d'Eau as one of our important men, and to exhort them not to listen to the Dutch, who have disordered their mind, because they are rebels to their lawful king.

The eighth is to say that he, Oreoiaré, is brother of the French; that he will not leave his father, to

whom he will be ever united, but that they should come to get him to renew their friendship with Onontio, who for ten years has given them so many marks.

The Chevalier d'Eau was accompanied by four Frenchmen; they all arrived at Onontaé, but the English had so gained the Iroquois in a council that this deputation proved ineffectual at this time; on the contrary, these Indians conducted the Chevalier and the Frenchmen, his companions, to New York, where they were detained as prisoners, though without otherwise harming them.*

The governor soon after received news that the Canibas and Abenaquis had not ceased since winter to go out in war-parties against the English; that they had ravaged and burned their fields to the very gates of Baston (a famous city and capital of New England); that they had killed nearly two hundred; and that the English having made them every proposal for peace, they had answered that

* De la Potherie, iii. pp. 63-6; "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. p. 465-9; La Hontan, i. p. 205. Some were burned. See Shea's "Charlevoix," iv. p. 141; "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. pp. 499, 525.

neither they nor their children nor their children's children would ever make peace with them.*

Meanwhile the Sieur de Louvigny, sent as commandant to Missilimakinac, had so confirmed our alliance with all the upper tribes that we were agreeably surprised on the 18th of August to see a hundred richly-loaded canoes of those Indians arrive with five hundred Indians of various districts, led by four great chiefs who came to render their obeisance to Onontio, their father. Public audience was given them on the 22d of the same month.

In this council the governor received separately the words and harangues of three nations who principally composed that numerous flotilla—viz., Outaouacs, Hurons, and Algomquins—tending to show him their joy at his happy return, to offer him the arms of all their warriors against the English and Iroquois, and to ask a good trade, which was opened on the 23d.

* Shea's "Charlevoix," iv. p. 183; Frontenac's Despatch, "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. p. 495.

Meanwhile we learned that an army of English, Iroquois, and Mahingans had appeared on Lake Saint Sacrement,* coming in war against the French. Monsieur de Frontenac having given a feast and made a war harangue to all the upper Indians, as well as to the leading men of the two Indian villages established near Mont Real, all the French troops were assembled, and with these and a part of the Indian warriors the Count de Frontenac, on the last of August, went out three leagues from there to meet the enemy.

The little army, which consisted of twelve hundred men, was reviewed on the 1st of September ; and though this force was much inferior to that of the enemy, all, nevertheless, felt confident of victory under the command of so great a leader.

As scouts had been sent out, one of our Indian allies reported that he had found the army, and, gliding up cautiously, had thrown three war-clubs into their camp, by which he showed them that they were discovered and to defy them to come to

* Lake George.

Mont-Real. These are sticks on which the Indians make figures to show what they mean. It is also the custom of these Indians to make war only by surprise, and not to attack an enemy on his guard and able to defend himself.

We afterwards learned that this hostile army on ascertaining that we had collected men resolved to fight them, had wheeled about ; that the English had brought among them the small-pox, a plague and contagion in these countries ; that four hundred Iroquois warriors and two hundred of their allies had died of it ; that the rest of their troops had dispersed, very indignant at the English, whom they accused of bringing the pestilence to kill them. Thus, by a special blessing of God and by the reputation of the French arms, this numerous army was conquered without striking a blow. It was concerted by the English that this land army should attack at Mont-Real at the same time that the fleet should make a descent on Quebec, sixty leagues lower down.*

* See the various authorities in Shea's "Charlevoix," iv. p. 145.

On this occasion Monsieur de Frontenac experienced the firmness and fidelity of our Indian allies, whom he led back to Mont-Real, where they concluded the trade. After this followed feasts, councils were held, and parting audiences given with presents to the leading men, three or four of whom had in turn dined daily at the governor's table.

Soon after their departure on the 1st of October the Sieur de la Durantaye arrived at Mont-Real, coming from Missilimackinac, where he commanded. He brought with him fifty-five canoes loaded with furs for the account of Frenchmen who had not dared to have them brought down on account of the war. The Count de Frontenac had already arranged winter quarters for the troops, and on the 10th of October was preparing to return to Quebec with Monsieur de Champigny, Intendant of the country, and Madame the Intendante, when he received two letters from the major commandant of Quebec, by which he announced that an English fleet of thirty-five sail had entered the river and was already near Tadoussac.

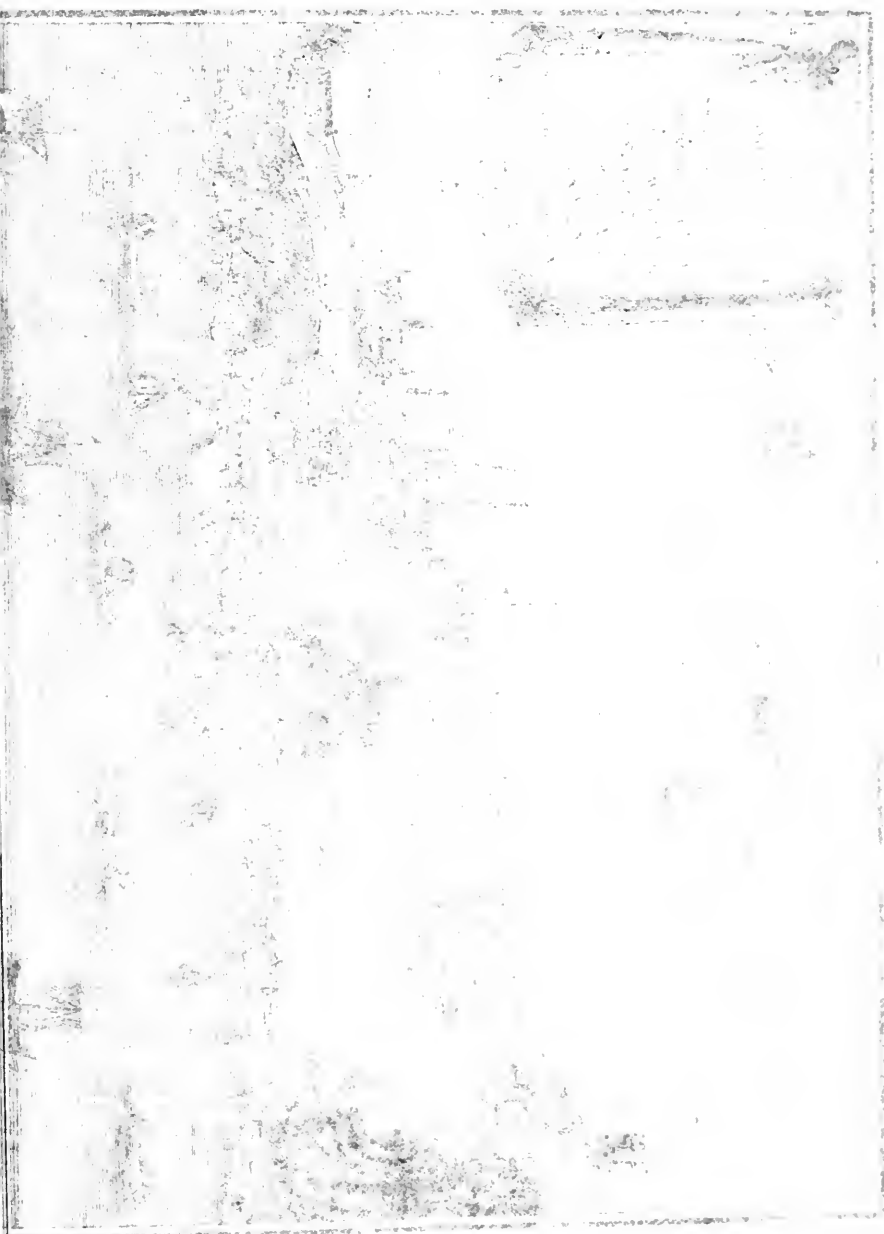
On this news Monsieur de Frontenac set out immediately, and was fortunate enough to reach Quebec on the 14th. The governors of Mont Real and Three Rivers soon followed him with the troops of their departments.

He immediately proceeded to visit all the posts, which, by the orders and diligence of the mayor, he found in good condition. That officer had completed the fortifications and raised great intrenchments on all sides. The Sieurs d'Esquera, captain, and de Villebon, formerly captain of dragoons, had also given all their care, the latter having come to Quebec through the woods from Acadia.

On Sunday, the 15th, the Sieur de Vaudreil, colonel in the army, accompanied by the Sieur de Villebon, set out with one hundred and twenty men to meet the enemy, and charge them if they attempted to land. The Sieur de Longüeil had likewise gone in canoe, at the head of the Hurons and Abenakis, to reconnoitre the mien of the enemy. In the evening we heard that their fleet had anchored three leagues from Quebec, near Isle Orleans.

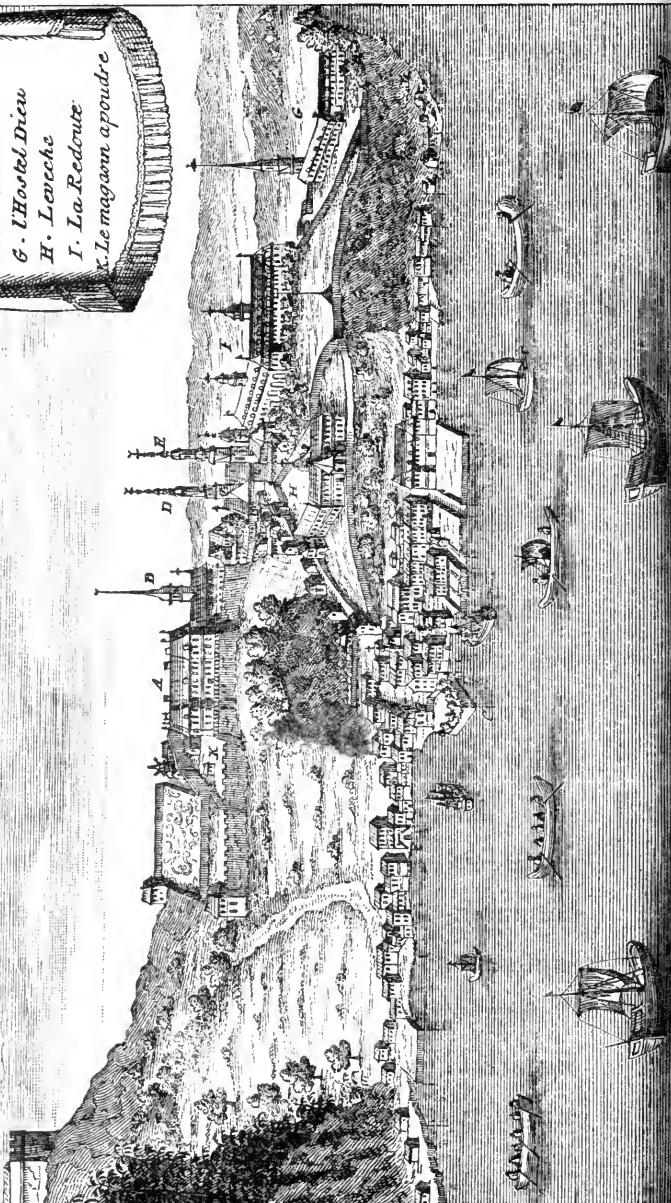
The situation of Quebec is this: The river St. Lawrence forms a great basin in front, and keeps on by another channel which divides into two branches at Isle Orleans, two leagues below, one passing north between the island and the Côte de Beaupré, the other branch south between the same island and Point Levy. This forms the great basin where the English fleet moored on the Beauport side, which is separated from the Côte de Beaupré only by the falls of Montmorency, a cataract which forms the finest sheet of water in the world. Beauport is a league from Quebec, from which it is separated by the little river St. Charles. Quebec lies in face of Point Levy, a league above; it is divided into the lower and upper town, which communicate only by a very steep road. The churches and all the communities are in the upper town. The fort is on the crest of the mountain and commands the lower town, which contains the finest houses, and where the merchants reside.

The palace occupied by the intendant is apart from the rest of the city, on the lower part of the



QUEBEC

- A. Le Fort
- B. les Recolets
- C. La place, ferme
- D. Les Jezuïtes
- E. La Cathedrale
- F. Le Seminaire
- G. L'Hostel Dieu
- H. Leveche
- I. La Redoute
- K. Le magasin a poudre



slope on the left, on the banks of the St. Charles. The Recollect church and convent are half a league further on the same river. Monsieur de Chateau Fort, captain, commanded there.

The fortifications made by the Count de Frontenac began at the palace, running up on the side of the upper town, which they encircled, and ended at the brow of the hill towards the fort at a spot called Cape Diamond. A palisade had been begun near the palace, along the beach, which ran from below the hospital to the seminary wall, and was lost in inaccessible rocks. There is another palisade above, which comes in at the same place, called Sailor's Leap, where there is a battery of three eighteen-pounders, with another on the right. There are also two planted below in the lower town. The places where there were no gates were barricaded with timbers and hogsheds full of earth and stones. The road from the lower to the upper town was intersected by three intrenchments of barrels and sacks of earth.

Since the arrival and attack of the English a bat-

tery has been erected near the Sailor's Leap, and one at the gate going to the little river. Other pieces of artillery were also placed around the upper town, especially on a mill eminence which served as a cavalier.*

Such was the state of affairs when the English fleet appeared before Quebec; it was composed of thirty-four sail, including four large ships, four others somewhat smaller, the rest ketches, barks, brigantines, or flyboats. It is said that they also had fireships. The smaller craft drew up along the Côte de Beauport; the larger ones, in the stream.

About ten o'clock on the same day (October 16) a boat with a white flag at its bow left the flagship for the shore; four canoes, likewise bearing a flag of truce, went to meet it and reached it half way. They found there a trumpeter who accompanied the general's envoy.† He was put alone in

* "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. pp. 478-485; De la Potherie, iii. pp. 90-113; Juchereau, "Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu," p. 319.

† "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. pp. 459, 455, 485; Major Walley's Journal in Hutchinson's "Hist. Massachusetts," p. 471.

one of the canoes, his eyes blindfolded, and he was conducted to Count de Frontenac's room in the fort ; there he presented him a letter to this effect :

“ Sir William Phips, Knight, Commander-in-Chief of all their Majesty's forces in New England on sea and land, to Count Frontenac, Lieutenant-General and Governor for the King of France in Canada, or, in his absence, to his deputy or the Commander-in-Chief at Quebec.

“ The war between the two crowns of England and France being not only a sufficient motive, but the destruction made by the French and Indians under your command on the persons and property of their Majesty's subjects in New England, without any provocation on their side, has obliged them to make this expedition for their security and satisfaction, as also the cruelties and barbarities which have been perpetrated by the French and Indians might on this occasion prompt us to a stern revenge ; but desirous of avoiding inhuman and unchristian acts, and to avoid bloodshed as much as possible, I, the said William Phips, Knight, by these presents, and in the name of their Majesties William, King and Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, and by order of their Majesties and the government of the colony of New England, demand the surrender of your forts and castles undemolished, and of all munitions untouched, as also an immediate surrender of your persons and property at my discretion. By so doing you may expect pardon of me as a good Christian, as shall be deemed proper for the service of their Majesties and the security of their subjects. If you refuse

I have come able and resolved, with God's help, in which I trust, to revenge by force of arms all the wrongs and injuries which have been done us, and to subject you to the dominion of the English crown, and, when you wish it too late, make you regret that you did not sooner accept the favor which is offered you. Your positive answer in an hour, given by your trumpeter and mine, is what I demand on peril of the consequence.

“(Signed)

WILLIAM PHIPS.”

On concluding the explanation of this letter, which was in English, the envoy drew from his pocket a watch, which he presented to the Count de Frontenac, who took it ; but pretending not to see the hour, the envoy advanced, and, remarking that it was ten o'clock, asked to be sent back at eleven. “ I will not keep you so long,” said Count Frontenac ; and this was his reply :

“ Tell your general that I know no King William ; that the Prince of Orange is a usurper, who has violated the most sacred rights of blood in endeavoring to dethrone his father-in-law ; that I recognize no sovereign in England but King James II. ; that your general should not have been surprised at the hostilities which he says have been committed

by Frenchmen in the colony of Massassets, since he might expect that the king, my master, protecting the King of England to restore him to his throne, would order me to carry the war among people in these parts in revolt against their lawful prince." Then, turning and showing him the crowd of officers that filled his room, he smilingly said: "Does your general believe, even should he offer me better conditions, and I were disposed to hear them, that they would consent or advise me to trust a man who broke the capitulation which he had made with the governor of Port Royal, and a rebel who fails in the fidelity he owes his king to follow the party of the Prince of Orange, who, while trying to persuade men that he is the liberator of England and defender of the faith, actually destroys there the laws and privileges of that kingdom? This the divine justice which your general invokes in his letter will never fail to punish severely." *

This discourse having surprised and alarmed the

* "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. pp. 456, 485-6; Mather's "Magnalia," bk. ii.

envoy, he asked Count Frontenac to give him his answer in writing. "No," he replied, "I have none to give but by the mouth of my cannon; and let your general learn that this is no way to send a summons to a man like me. Let him do the best on his side, as I am resolved to do on mine."

With this answer the envoy was dismissed, his eyes blindfolded. He was taken back by the same canoes to his boat. At four o'clock in the afternoon the *Sieur de Longueil* came back with his Indians from *Isle aux Coudres* to escape falling, as he would have done, into the hands of the English, who had anchored a league above him, whose fleet he went to see with the *Sieur de Longueil*, who left him soon after; seeing it hoist sail to approach *Quebec*, he re-embarked, and coasting along in hopes of taking some prisoner if the enemy landed any of their people. Several boats were detached against him on seeing that he was making for *Quebec*, but they could not overtake him. He reported all that he had done, and brought news that the English had attempted to

land at River Ouel, fifteen leagues from Quebec, in six boats, with one hundred and fifty men, and that the habitans had killed half in three volleys which they poured in on them. This was certified by the Sieur de Franche Ville, a Canadian and parish priest of the place.*

On the same day the Chevalier de Caillieres arrived in the evening with five or six hundred men whom he had assembled at Mont-Real and its vicinity; he had come with great expedition, having been only three days on the way from Mont-Real, that is, sixty leagues. On Tuesday, the 17th, one of the enemy's barques, full of men, approached the land between Beauport and the little river. After it ran aground there was some skirmishing, though without much effect, as we could not attack the boat without going waist-high in mud and water. †

At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 18th almost all their boats, filled with men, were seen making for the same spot. As we were uncertain

* Juchereau, "Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu," p. 321; Langevin, "Archives de Beauport," p. 113.

† "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. p. 486; Walley in Hutchinson, i. p. 471.

where they would land, we had few people on that side, but a part of the Three Rivers and Mont-Real troops were sent out to skirmish. The enemy had two thousand men drawn up for battle before we got there. The Beauport habitans joined our men, but the whole force did not exceed three hundred. They divided into many squads and attacked in Indian fashion, almost without order, as they were on a rugged ground full of rocks and brush. The main body of the enemy was closely arrayed, and the first battalion was forced to fall back to the rear of the others. The action lasted more than an hour without our men being greatly harassed by the enemy's fire, as they skirmished around them, darting from tree to tree, and seldom losing a shot.

Count Frontenac sent up the battalion of troops under Sieur Crusel to cover the retreat. The Chevalier de Clermont, seconded captain, and the son of the Sieur de la Touche, Seigneur of Champlain, were killed on this first occasion.* The Sieur

* Lieutenant Alexander Samuel de Clermont and Joseph Pézard de la Touche ; but the latter does not seem to have been a son of the

Juchereau de St. Denis, aged seventy, who commanded the Beauport militia, had his arm broken, and ten or twelve others were wounded, but the enemy lost a hundred and fifty men. After the engagement they set fire to some houses.

Towards evening the largest vessels came and moored before Quebec. The rear-admiral, bearing the blue flag, took post on the left nearly opposite Sailor's Leap; the admiral was on the right, and the vice-admiral a little above, both before the Lower Town; the fourth, which bore a commodore's pennant, drew off more towards Cape Diamond. We saluted them first, and they returned our fire vigorously, and we again. After that, for the rest of the evening, they fired only on the upper town. One townsman's son was killed and another wounded. The Sieur Godefroy de Vieuxpont had his gun carried off by the same ball and his arm dislocated. The cannonade on both sides ceased about eight in the evening.

seigneur of Champlain. "Registre de Beauport," October 23, 1690: Tanguay, pp. 163, 430.

We were the first to renew the fire in the morning at daybreak. The enemy's fire seemed to slacken. The rear-admiral, who had fired the most vigorously the preceding day, was doubtless harassed by our upper and lower batteries at the Sailor's Leap, for we saw him draw off without much noise; the admiral followed him very closely and precipitately, running out all his cable and abandoning his anchor. His flag was carried into the river and left to our discretion, so that our men went out to fish it up.

All his rigging was cut up, his mainmast almost cut away, and he had received twenty balls in the hull, all of them at the water-line. The *Sieur de Ste. Heleine* himself pointed the cannon against this flagship. Many of the people were killed and wounded on both these vessels; the other two held on for a time, but ceased firing at noon, and about five o'clock they took shelter in *L'Anse des Mères*, behind Cape Diamond, where they refitted as best they might. A detachment was sent to this bay to observe some people who had killed some of theirs,

but they were compelled to anchor out of reach of our small arms.*

On the 20th, as the enemy marched in good order along the river St. Charles, the Sieurs de Longüeil, de Ste. Heleine, de Moncarville, d'Oleançon, and de Repentigny, with other Frenchmen, marched thither at two in the afternoon and began to skirmish with the head of their advanced column. They drove it back on the main body. An obstinate fight ensued on both sides, our men fighting in squads and in the same manner as on the previous day. The Count de Frontenac, who believed that the enemy wished to try and pass the river, sent up the Sieurs de St. Ours, de St. Cirq, de Valreine, and du Crusel, with the four battalions of troops under their command, and put himself at their head. He detached the Sieur de la Maison-Fort, captain, and la Perade, his ensign, with forty men, to guard and defend the Recollect convent and prevent the enemy from

* "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. pp. 460, 487, 489; De la Potherie, iii. pp. 117-120; Hutchinson, i. pp. 472-6; La Hontan, i. p. 214.

taking that post ; but they merely skirmished with us across the little river. The Sieur de Ste. Heleine, who had had his leg broken the year before in the fight at Lachine, received in this a contusion in his side ; but for his powder-horn, on which the ball struck, he would have run greater risk.* We had three more wounded, with one soldier and one habitant killed. A brisk cannonade was kept up at our people who were on that side and in the place where our troops were drawn up. By this we knew that they had landed artillery ; we replied from the battery at the mouth of the little river. Their loss in the second attack equalled that in the first. On the 21st the Sieur de Villier, seconded lieutenant, was sent with some soldiers who had asked to go with him in the direction of the enemy's camp. He began to skirmish with them about two o'clock, and, having drawn them into his ambuscade, he held out for a long

* Ste. Helène was wounded in the knee and died soon after ; his brother, Longueuil, escaped with a contusion. "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. p. 488 ; Tanguay, "Dictionnaire," p. 380.

time. A detachment tried to surround him, but it was charged by the men of Beauport, Beaupré, and Isle Orleans, who were ambushed near. The Sieurs de Groye, de Cabanac, and de Beaumanoir, who had troops there, joined them and killed many. At last, by retreating and constant skirmishing, they reached a house on a height surrounded by a palisade. Here the combat lasted till night. The fresh troops sent by the general only served to increase their loss; we had only one scholar and one Indian wounded. The English must have lost many men there. The night, which was dark and rainy, enabled them to carry off their dead and prevented our knowing the disorder in which they were. They embarked so precipitately that they abandoned their artillery. This we learned on Sunday, the 22d, when our Indians who were out on a scout found, first, five pieces of cannon, a hundred pounds of powder, and sixty balls. These the Beauport and Beaupré militia seized. The next day several boats tried to land and recapture them, but were repulsed with loss and compelled

to retire.* The Sieur de Monique, captain, who started the day before with a hundred men to throw himself into Beauport, was too late for the combat, as he made too wide a circuit. He was ordered to remain at some distance from the militia camp, to support it in case of a fresh attack, and for this purpose two of the captured cannon were left with them, with which they were confident of holding their post successfully; the other three cannon were taken to Quebec.

That afternoon the two vessels in the Anse des Mères set sail to join the fleet. They were saluted with balls as they passed; they returned the salute, but no harm was done us.

The same afternoon the Sieurs de Subercase and d'Orvilliers, captains, set out with a hundred men to throw themselves into Isle Orleans; the Sieur de Villieu had orders to go down to Cape Tourmente, below the cote de Beaupré, to prevent the enemy from landing; for we then perceived that they would not be satisfied unless they took leave

* Hutchinson, i. p. 477; "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. p. 460.

of us. In fact, they set sail that very evening and floated down with the tide, but some of their vessels, not finding good anchorage, lay to ; but they all disappeared at last about ten o'clock on the 23d of October, and went and anchored off Arbre sec.

Demoiselle la Lande, a Canadian, who had been taken by the enemy with Demoiselle Joliet, her daughter,* and some other persons, seeing them about to depart, asked General Phips, through an interpreter, whether he intended to take them to Baston and leave his own countrymen prisoners at Quebec, suggesting that an exchange might be made if proposed to the Count de Frontenac, and that the matter did not seem past hope of success. She was allowed to go on her parole to make the proposition, and the count accepted it, being very glad to release her and her daughter, with the Sieur de Grandville, brother-in-law of the major, as well

* Demoiselle was then applied to married ladies not of the noblesse. Demoiselle la Lande was Mary Couillard, her second husband being James de la Lande. The Demoiselle Clare Frances (Bissot) Joliet was the wife of Louis Joliet, explorer of the Mississippi, and sister of John Baptist Bissot, Sieur de Vincennes, founder of Vincennes, Ind.

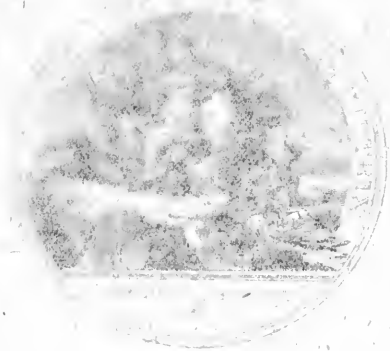
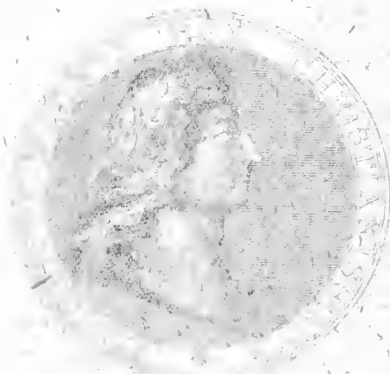
as Monsieur Trouvé, missionary priest, and the other Frenchmen who had been taken in Acadia, and whom the general had brought with him in hopes of deriving great services from them when he had taken Quebec. Demoiselle la Lande returned on board very joyful at the success of her trip. Monsieur de la Valliere, captain of the count's guards, having gone next day to see General Phips, in order to arrange what persons were to be given up on both sides; we gave up the commandant of Kaskebé and some girls that the general demanded, with two of our river pilots to help them pass the dangerous spots, on his promise to set them ashore. There were still left in our hands sixty of their prisoners after they had given up all ours.*

By these we learned that the enemy had lost ten or twelve hundred men, that the fleet was out of provisions, that the large vessels leaked on all sides, and that in fact they did not expect to reach

* "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. pp. 461, 489; "Mass. Hist. Coll.," iii. i. p. 107; Mather's "Magnalia," bk. vii.



FRANCOIS DE LAURENTIS DELINXIT



Boston without some wrecks. In fact, we afterwards learned that three of their large ships had been lost, and that several smaller ones had been scattered by storms and never heard of.*

It was God's will that there should not be a single spot in all those countries but felt the power of the king's arms. I have elsewhere spoken of Hudson Bay, which lies north of New France. It is over four hundred leagues long in every direction. They reckon at least eight hundred leagues to this bay from Quebec, and navigation on it is not easy, on account of the almost continual fogs that prevail, and the ice which must be traversed for the space of four hundred leagues. The masses of ice are enormous, higher than the towers of Notre Dame, steep as rocks, sunk in the sea, so that we need not wonder when mariners tell us that they have put forges on these ice-banks to forge anchors and all kinds of large iron-work.

After the expedition which had been sent by the Marquis d'Enonville to this bay, where the French

* Hutchinson, i. p. 356 ; Smith's "History of Canada," i. p. 105.

had settled some years before, the English retained only Forts Nelson and Neusavane ; the court had ordered that all that was possible should be done by the Sieur de Bonnavanture to expel them entirely.

He was a Canadian gentleman, son of the Sieur Denis, a gentleman of Touraine, and had recently arrived from France at Quebec, commanding a ship of the North Company's armed for war. He set out on the 28th of June with a second ship of the same company, commanded by the Sieur le Moyne d'Iberville, a Canadian gentleman, to fulfil his orders.

With all their diligence, starting as early as they could to navigate those frozen seas, a small English fleet, comprising among the rest four large men-of-war, had already arrived there ; the information they had in England of our intention to send there having obliged the English to anticipate us.

Our two men-of-war, on arriving in sight of Fort Nelson, built on a steep rock, defended by eighteen pieces of artillery, discovered the enemy at

anchor. Nevertheless the *Sieur de Bonnavanture* landed and put his men in ambush to cut off any who might sally from the fort ; but as none appeared he returned towards our two ships : there we remained some days at anchor in sight of the enemy's fleet, which lay under the cannon of the fort, inviting them to come out and fight. As they made no manœuvres for sailing, our men went to Fort Neusavane, twenty leagues off, to attack it ; but the garrison on our approach blew up the fort, burnt all the rest, and retreated across the woods to Fort Nelson with all the property that they could carry. Our Frenchmen profited by what was left, among other things seven pieces of cannon.

Leaving this, they sailed to the head of the bay, where our establishments are, in order to revictual the forts and colony and land goods for trade. The *Sieur d'Iberville* resolved to winter there for some expedition, and the *Sieur de Bonnavanture*, having orders to return to *Quebec*, loaded his vessel with the peltries of the merchants.*

* "The Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences" (N. Y. Col.

He had arrived within one league of Isle aux Coudres, fifteen leagues from Quebec, when he heard that an English fleet of thirty-four sail lay before the city. Being no match for them, he resolved to sail for France, which he subsequently reached safely; but before his departure he sent a canoe along the southern shore to inform Monsieur de Frontenac fully, and make a report of his expedition to the north. The canoe reached Quebec on the 25th of October, after the siege was raised.

On the 27th a canoe with three men, coming from Bay St. Paul, brought the governor most welcome news. As they had that year received only two vessels from France, although thirteen had cleared from Rochelle and Bordeaux, Canada was in want of provisions and merchandise. These three men brought word that some of these vessels had put back to France; others put in at

Doc., ix. p. 526) says d'Iberville reached Quebec from Hudson Bay in the *St. Anne*, October 19, 1691, loaded with beaver and peltries. See Marmette, "Les Machabées de la N. France," p. 103. D'Iberville seems to impeach Le Clercq. See Margry, iv. p. 120.

the Newfoundland islands, in order to be at Quebec early in the spring; and, finally, that the three which bore munitions and supplies, as well as considerable sums for the expenses of the war, having learned within fifteen leagues of Quebec that the English fleet lay before the city, had run into the Saguenay to escape observation till the enemy had retired. At last a second canoe arrived on the 10th of November to announce that these three ships were on their way. This canoe was followed by a sloop which brought most of the passengers, and a few days after—namely, on the 14th*—the three vessels anchored in the roadstead.

It must be acknowledged that all these happy results are due to a visible protection of God over New France, and that without speaking of all the other expeditions in which the hand of the Lord has appeared sensibly. The country, simultaneously attacked above and below on the river, could

* De Monseignat ("N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. p. 401) says 15th, 16th, 17th.

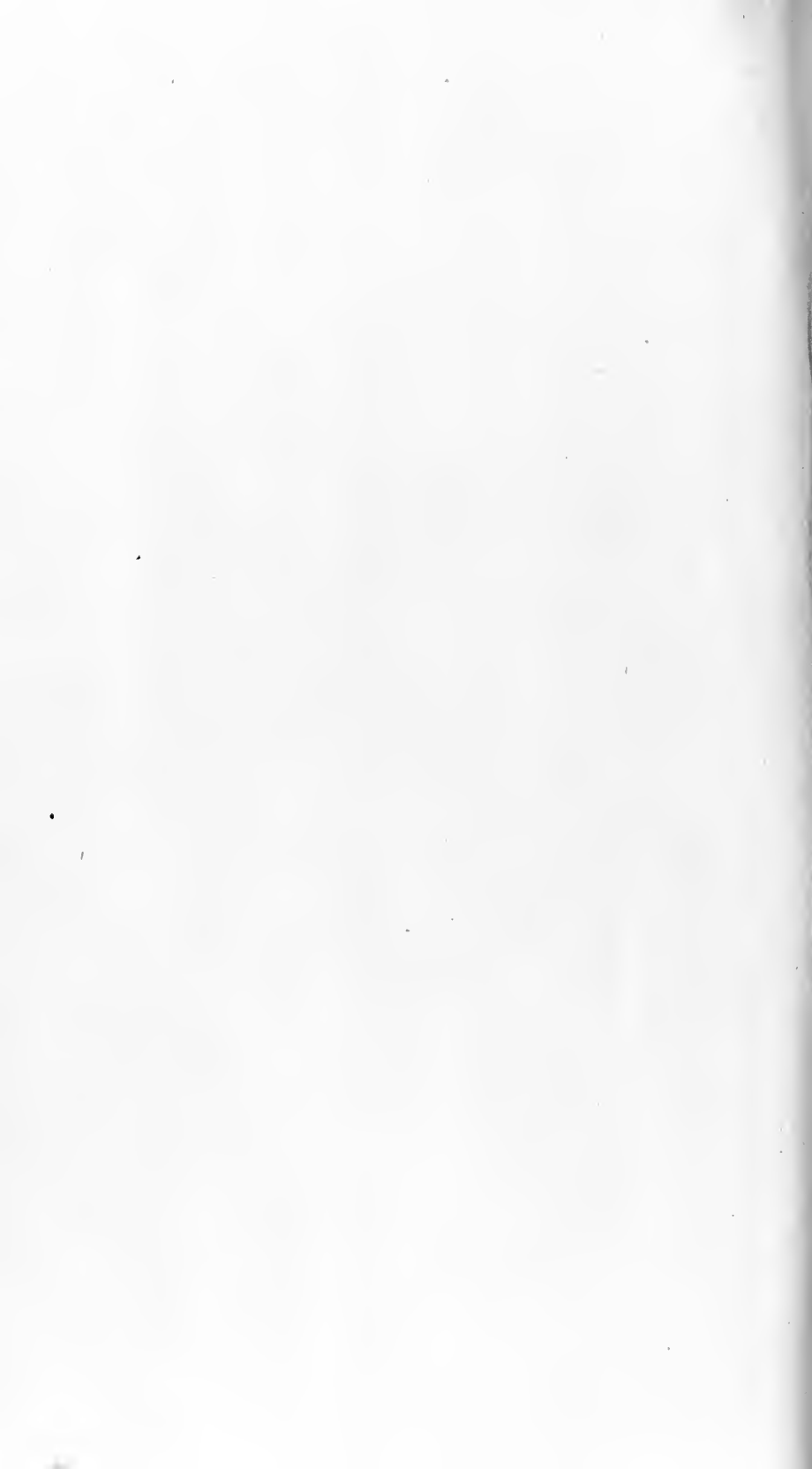
not have held out had not the upper army, through the agency of Heaven, been scattered by disease and by division, so that the Indian allies of the English had plundered those of the same party ; but although this land army was thus destroyed, yet if the English fleet had not been arrested for two weeks by head winds within twenty leagues of Quebec, it would undoubtedly have appeared before the city and surprised it in the absence of Monsieur de Frontenac, before he and the troops from above had arrived from Mont-Real, and then a part of the ships which were coming richly loaded from France would have fallen into the enemy's hands.

Monseigneur de St. Vallier, Bishop of Quebec, who was then in the place, impressed with the obligations of the country to God for all these benefits, ordered public prayers of thanksgiving. The great flag of the English admiral, and another taken by the Sieur de Portneuf in Acadia, were borne to the church to the sound of drums, the *Te Deum* was chanted, which was followed by a solemn procession in honor of the Blessed Virgin, patroness

of the country, all the troops being under arms. A festival was instituted in perpetuity under the title of Our Lady of Victory, and a church begun in the lowertown, vowed under the same name, as a mark of divine protection. Other public rejoicings followed, especially feux de joye and volleys of artillery and musketry; nor did they forget to discharge the guns taken from the enemy.* The same rejoicings were repeated on the succeeding days, with public prayers to thank God for the great victories which they learned his Majesty had gained in Europe by sea and by land, Canada being happy that, in spite of its misery, it had endeavored to publish to the other extremity of the earth the glory of its august monarch, and add something to the triumphs of Louis the Great.

* "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix. p. 491; De la Potherie, iii. pp. 122-3; "Les Ursulines de Quebec," i. p. 474; Juchereau, "Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu," p. 333.

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